



U.S. Department of Justice

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C. 20535

June 21, 2021

MR. JOHN GREENEWALD JR.
SUITE 1203
27305 WEST LIVE OAK ROAD
CASTAIC, CA 91384-4520

FOIPA Request No.: 1498667-000
Subject: TURE, KWAME

Dear Mr. Greenewald:

The enclosed 6,691 pages of records were determined to be responsive to your subject and were previously processed and released pursuant to the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA). Please see the selected paragraphs below for relevant information specific to your request as well as the enclosed FBI FOIPA Addendum for standard responses applicable to all requests.

- ☐ In an effort to provide you with responsive records as expeditiously as possible, we are releasing documents from previous requests regarding your subject. We consider your request fulfilled. Since we relied on previous results, additional records potentially responsive to your subject may exist. If this release of previously processed material does not satisfy your request, you may request an additional search for records. Submit your request by mail to **Initial Processing Operations Unit, 200 Constitution Drive, Winchester, VA 22602, or by fax to (540) 868-4997**. Please cite the FOIPA Request Number in your correspondence.
- ☒ Please be advised that additional records responsive to your subject exist. If this release of previously processed material does not satisfy your request, you must advise us that you want the additional records processed. Please submit your response within thirty (30) days by mail to **Initial Processing Operations Unit, 200 Constitution Drive, Winchester, VA 22602, or by fax to (540) 868-4997**. Please cite the FOIPA Request Number in your correspondence. **If we do not receive your decision within thirty (30) days of the date of this notification, your request will be closed.**
- ☒ One or more of the enclosed records were transferred to the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA). Although we retained a version of the records previously processed pursuant to the FOIA, the original records are no longer in our possession.

If this release of the previously processed material does not satisfy your request, you may file a FOIPA request with NARA at the following address:

National Archives and Records Administration
Special Access and FOIA
8601 Adelphi Road, Room 5500
College Park, MD 20740-6001

Reference file number 100-SE-28676 in your correspondence.

- ☐ Records potentially responsive to your request were transferred to the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), and they were not previously processed pursuant to the FOIA. You may file a request with NARA using the address above.

- ☐ One or more of the enclosed records were destroyed. Although we retained a version of the records previously processed pursuant to the FOIA, the original records are no longer in our possession. Record retention and disposal is carried out under supervision of the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) , Title 44, United States Code, Section 3301 as implemented by Title 36, Code of Federal Regulations, Part 1228; Title 44, United States Code, Section 3310 as implemented by Title 36, Code of Federal Regulations, Part 1229.10.
- ☐ Records potentially responsive to your request were destroyed. Since this material could not be reviewed, it is not known if it was responsive to your request. Record retention and disposal is carried out under supervision of the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) according to Title 44 United States Code Section 3301, Title 36 Code of Federal Regulations (CFR) Chapter 12 Sub-chapter B Part 1228, and 36 CFR 1229.10.
- ☒ Documents or information referred to other Government agencies were not included in this release.

Please refer to the enclosed FBI FOIPA Addendum for additional standard responses applicable to your request. **“Part 1”** of the Addendum includes standard responses that apply to all requests. **“Part 2”** includes additional standard responses that apply to all requests for records about yourself or any third party individuals. **“Part 3”** includes general information about FBI records that you may find useful. Also enclosed is our Explanation of Exemptions.

For questions regarding our determinations, visit the www.fbi.gov/foia website under “Contact Us.” The FOIPA Request Number listed above has been assigned to your request. Please use this number in all correspondence concerning your request.

If you are not satisfied with the Federal Bureau of Investigation’s determination in response to this request, you may administratively appeal by writing to the Director, Office of Information Policy (OIP), United States Department of Justice, 441 G Street, NW, 6th Floor, Washington, D.C. 20530, or you may submit an appeal through OIP’s FOIA STAR portal by creating an account following the instructions on OIP’s website: <https://www.justice.gov/oip/submit-and-track-request-or-appeal>. Your appeal must be postmarked or electronically transmitted within ninety (90) days of the date of my response to your request. If you submit your appeal by mail, both the letter and the envelope should be clearly marked “Freedom of Information Act Appeal.” Please cite the FOIPA Request Number assigned to your request so it may be easily identified.

You may seek dispute resolution services by contacting the Office of Government Information Services (OGIS). The contact information for OGIS is as follows: Office of Government Information Services, National Archives and Records Administration, 8601 Adelphi Road-OGIS, College Park, Maryland 20740-6001, e-mail at ogis@nara.gov; telephone at 202-741-5770; toll free at 1-877-684-6448; or facsimile at 202-741-5769. Alternatively, you may contact the FBI’s FOIA Public Liaison by emailing foipaquestions@fbi.gov. If you submit your dispute resolution correspondence by email, the subject heading should clearly state “Dispute Resolution Services.” Please also cite the FOIPA Request Number assigned to your request so it may be easily identified.

Sincerely,



Michael G. Seidel
Section Chief
Record/Information
Dissemination Section
Information Management Division

Enclosure(s)

FBI FOIPA Addendum

As referenced in our letter responding to your Freedom of Information/Privacy Acts (FOIPA) request, the FBI FOIPA Addendum provides information applicable to your request. Part 1 of the Addendum includes standard responses that apply to all requests. Part 2 includes standard responses that apply to requests for records about individuals to the extent your request seeks the listed information. Part 3 includes general information about FBI records, searches, and programs.

Part 1: The standard responses below apply to all requests:

- (i) **5 U.S.C. § 552(c).** Congress excluded three categories of law enforcement and national security records from the requirements of the FOIPA [5 U.S.C. § 552(c)]. FBI responses are limited to those records subject to the requirements of the FOIPA. Additional information about the FBI and the FOIPA can be found on the www.fbi.gov/foia website.
- (ii) **Intelligence Records.** To the extent your request seeks records of intelligence sources, methods, or activities, the FBI can neither confirm nor deny the existence of records pursuant to FOIA exemptions (b)(1), (b)(3), and as applicable to requests for records about individuals, PA exemption (j)(2) [5 U.S.C. §§ 552/552a (b)(1), (b)(3), and (j)(2)]. The mere acknowledgment of the existence or nonexistence of such records is itself a classified fact protected by FOIA exemption (b)(1) and/or would reveal intelligence sources, methods, or activities protected by exemption (b)(3) [50 USC § 3024(i)(1)]. This is a standard response and should not be read to indicate that any such records do or do not exist.

Part 2: The standard responses below apply to all requests for records on individuals:

- (i) **Requests for Records about any Individual—Watch Lists.** The FBI can neither confirm nor deny the existence of any individual's name on a watch list pursuant to FOIA exemption (b)(7)(E) and PA exemption (j)(2) [5 U.S.C. §§ 552/552a (b)(7)(E), (j)(2)]. This is a standard response and should not be read to indicate that watch list records do or do not exist.
- (ii) **Requests for Records about any Individual—Witness Security Program Records.** The FBI can neither confirm nor deny the existence of records which could identify any participant in the Witness Security Program pursuant to FOIA exemption (b)(3) and PA exemption (j)(2) [5 U.S.C. §§ 552/552a (b)(3), 18 U.S.C. 3521, and (j)(2)]. This is a standard response and should not be read to indicate that such records do or do not exist.
- (iii) **Requests for Records for Incarcerated Individuals.** The FBI can neither confirm nor deny the existence of records which could reasonably be expected to endanger the life or physical safety of any incarcerated individual pursuant to FOIA exemptions (b)(7)(E), (b)(7)(F), and PA exemption (j)(2) [5 U.S.C. §§ 552/552a (b)(7)(E), (b)(7)(F), and (j)(2)]. This is a standard response and should not be read to indicate that such records do or do not exist.

Part 3: General Information:

- (i) **Record Searches.** The Record/Information Dissemination Section (RIDS) searches for reasonably described records by searching systems or locations where responsive records would reasonably be found. A standard search normally consists of a search for main files in the Central Records System (CRS), an extensive system of records consisting of applicant, investigative, intelligence, personnel, administrative, and general files compiled by the FBI per its law enforcement, intelligence, and administrative functions. The CRS spans the entire FBI organization, comprising records of FBI Headquarters, FBI Field Offices, and FBI Legal Attaché Offices (Legats) worldwide; Electronic Surveillance (ELSUR) records are included in the CRS. Unless specifically requested, a standard search does not include references, administrative records of previous FOIPA requests, or civil litigation files. For additional information about our record searches, visit www.fbi.gov/services/information-management/foipa/requesting-fbi-records.
- (ii) **FBI Records.** Founded in 1908, the FBI carries out a dual law enforcement and national security mission. As part of this dual mission, the FBI creates and maintains records on various subjects; however, the FBI does not maintain records on every person, subject, or entity.
- (iii) **Requests for Criminal History Records or Rap Sheets.** The Criminal Justice Information Services (CJIS) Division provides Identity History Summary Checks – often referred to as a criminal history record or rap sheet. These criminal history records are not the same as material in an investigative “FBI file.” An Identity History Summary Check is a listing of information taken from fingerprint cards and documents submitted to the FBI in connection with arrests, federal employment, naturalization, or military service. For a fee, individuals can request a copy of their Identity History Summary Check. Forms and directions can be accessed at www.fbi.gov/about-us/cjis/identity-history-summary-checks. Additionally, requests can be submitted electronically at www.edo.cjis.gov. For additional information, please contact CJIS directly at (304) 625-5590.
- (iv) **National Name Check Program (NNCP).** The mission of NNCP is to analyze and report information in response to name check requests received from federal agencies, for the purpose of protecting the United States from foreign and domestic threats to national security. Please be advised that this is a service provided to other federal agencies. Private Citizens cannot request a name check.

EXPLANATION OF EXEMPTIONS

SUBSECTIONS OF TITLE 5, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 552

- (b)(1) (A) specifically authorized under criteria established by an Executive order to be kept secret in the interest of national defense or foreign policy and (B) are in fact properly classified to such Executive order;
- (b)(2) related solely to the internal personnel rules and practices of an agency;
- (b)(3) specifically exempted from disclosure by statute (other than section 552b of this title), provided that such statute (A) requires that the matters be withheld from the public in such a manner as to leave no discretion on issue, or (B) establishes particular criteria for withholding or refers to particular types of matters to be withheld;
- (b)(4) trade secrets and commercial or financial information obtained from a person and privileged or confidential;
- (b)(5) inter-agency or intra-agency memorandums or letters which would not be available by law to a party other than an agency in litigation with the agency;
- (b)(6) personnel and medical files and similar files the disclosure of which would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy;
- (b)(7) records or information compiled for law enforcement purposes, but only to the extent that the production of such law enforcement records or information (A) could reasonably be expected to interfere with enforcement proceedings, (B) would deprive a person of a right to a fair trial or an impartial adjudication, (C) could reasonably be expected to constitute an unwarranted invasion of personal privacy, (D) could reasonably be expected to disclose the identity of confidential source, including a State, local, or foreign agency or authority or any private institution which furnished information on a confidential basis, and, in the case of record or information compiled by a criminal law enforcement authority in the course of a criminal investigation, or by an agency conducting a lawful national security intelligence investigation, information furnished by a confidential source, (E) would disclose techniques and procedures for law enforcement investigations or prosecutions, or would disclose guidelines for law enforcement investigations or prosecutions if such disclosure could reasonably be expected to risk circumvention of the law, or (F) could reasonably be expected to endanger the life or physical safety of any individual;
- (b)(8) contained in or related to examination, operating, or condition reports prepared by, on behalf of, or for the use of an agency responsible for the regulation or supervision of financial institutions; or
- (b)(9) geological and geophysical information and data, including maps, concerning wells.

SUBSECTIONS OF TITLE 5, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 552a

- (d)(5) information compiled in reasonable anticipation of a civil action proceeding;
- (j)(2) material reporting investigative efforts pertaining to the enforcement of criminal law including efforts to prevent, control, or reduce crime or apprehend criminals;
- (k)(1) information which is currently and properly classified pursuant to an Executive order in the interest of the national defense or foreign policy, for example, information involving intelligence sources or methods;
- (k)(2) investigatory material compiled for law enforcement purposes, other than criminal, which did not result in loss of a right, benefit or privilege under Federal programs, or which would identify a source who furnished information pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence;
- (k)(3) material maintained in connection with providing protective services to the President of the United States or any other individual pursuant to the authority of Title 18, United States Code, Section 3056;
- (k)(4) required by statute to be maintained and used solely as statistical records;
- (k)(5) investigatory material compiled solely for the purpose of determining suitability, eligibility, or qualifications for Federal civilian employment or for access to classified information, the disclosure of which would reveal the identity of the person who furnished information pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence;
- (k)(6) testing or examination material used to determine individual qualifications for appointment or promotion in Federal Government service the release of which would compromise the testing or examination process;
- (k)(7) material used to determine potential for promotion in the armed services, the disclosure of which would reveal the identity of the person who furnished the material pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence.

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To: SACs Atlanta
Washington Field
EX-104 REC-74
From: Director, FBI (100-446080) —

W STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS

ReWFOairtel wherein it is stated that Stokely Carmichael has applied for a passport.

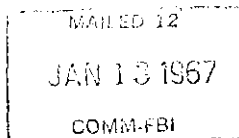
Atlanta, through established sources, should endeavor to determine any plans Carmichael has to travel outside the United States. WFO should closely follow this matter with the Passport Office and promptly report any pertinent information to the Bureau.

Carmichael and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee Organization have been most outspoken regarding United States participation in Vietnam.

It is noted that in the past Carmichael has indicated he might attempt to visit North Vietnam. He has indicated he might participate in a "war crimes tribunal" to "indict" President Johnson "and other war criminals responsible for American atrocities in Vietnam." This "tribunal" is now scheduled to be held in Paris, France, during March, 1967. It is possible that Carmichael may desire a passport to go to Vietnam and/or attend the "tribunal" to be held in Paris.

PTB:deh
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Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Wick _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

7/21/00

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BCEBmw

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

TELETYPE UNIT
JAN 16 1967
ENCODED MESSAGE

Mr Tolson	_____
Mr DeLoach	_____
Mr Mohr	_____
Mr Wick	_____
Mr Casper	_____
Mr Callahan	_____
Mr Conrad	_____
Mr Felt	_____
Mr Gale	_____
Mr Rosen	_____
Mr Sullivan	_____
Mr Tavel	_____
Mr Trotter	_____
Tele Room	_____
Mr Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

558 PM 0. URGENT 1-16-67 MRB
TO DIRECTOR 100-446080 AND BALTIMORE
FROM ATLANTA 100-6812 P

STOKELY CARMICHAEL. IS- MISCELLANEOUS.

REMYTEL JANUARY SIXTEEN.

[REDACTED] ADVISED THIS DATE THAT [REDACTED]
ALLEGEDLY WITH CARMICHAEL AT MORGAN STATE COLLEGE, IS A FORMER
STUDENT OF MORGAN STATE.

SOURCE ALSO ADVISES CARMICHAEL WILL STAY IN BALTIMORE UNTIL
JANUARY NINETEEN, WHEN HE RETURNS TO ATLANTA AND WILL REMAIN ATLANTA
UNTIL JANUARY TWENTYTHREE WHEN HE WILL LEAVE FOR PUERTO RICO
WHERE HE WILL SPEAK BEFORE UNIDENTIFIED GROUP ON JANUARY TWENTY
FOUR

ITINERARY OF CARMICHAEL BEYOND JANUARY TWENTYFOUR UNKNOWN.

END

QCC3

REY

FBI WA

REC- 52 EX-103

100-446080-104
14 JAN 18 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11/21/00 BY SP-6 JAW/BCE/AMW

57 JAN 26 1967

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Post Office Box 37
General Post Office
San Juan, Puerto Rico 00936
January 25, 1967

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE STUDENT
NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)
INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

On [redacted] SJ T-1, a source who has provided reliable information in the past, advised that [redacted] who source described as the [redacted] the Federacion de Universitarios Pro-Independencia (Federation of University Students for Independence) (FUPI), had given him the following information regarding the arrival of Stokley Carmichael, leader of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), in Puerto Rico and his activities on that date.

A characterization of the FUPI is contained in the appendix.

[redacted] stated that Carmichael arrived right on schedule via Pan American Airways Flight 291 which landed at the San Juan International Airport, Isla Verde, Puerto Rico, at 12:55 P.M., January 24, 1967.

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Juan Mari Bras, Secretary General of the Movimiento Pro-Independencia de Puerto Rico (Puerto Rican Independence Movement) (MPIPR); [redacted] of Organization of the MPIPR; and [redacted] youth group of the MPIPR, along with approximately 200 sympathizers, most of whom were students, were at the airport to greet Carmichael.

A characterization of the MPIPR is contained in the appendix.

DECLASSIFIED BY 39063 EHA/BCE/AMW
7/21/00

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Group 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

ENCLOSURE

100-446080-

EX-104
2 1967

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING
COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Upon Carmichael's appearance, the reception committee began to chant "black power" and "awake Puerto Rico, defend what is yours." Carmichael addressed the group in Spanish explaining that although he could not express himself clearly in Spanish at this time, he intended to master the language enough so that on his next trip to Puerto Rico he could address the islanders in their own language. There was no provocation or incident at the airport but numerous agents from the [redacted] of that organization were present.

[redacted] stated that from the airport, Carmichael and the people in the reception committee drove to La Perla, a slum area, which borders the ocean in San Juan, Puerto Rico, in the vicinity of Fort Brooke. From La Perla they went to a cemetery which lies adjacent to the walls of Fort Brooke to visit the grave of Pedro Albizu Campos, who for a long time had been the titular head of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico (NPPR) until his death in April, 1965.

The NPPR has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

[redacted] commented that Carmichael had stated that the plight of the Puerto Ricans living in La Perla was similar to the situation in which American negroes find themselves in the United States.

From the cemetery the group journeyed to the Mallorquina Restaurant in Old San Juan, where Carmichael read a statement in Spanish to a group of reporters.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Post Office Box BT
General Post Office
San Juan, Puerto Rico 00936

JAN 27 1967

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE STUDENT
NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)
INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

On January 24, 1967, SJ T-1 who has provided reliable information in the past advised that some of the members of the Movimiento Pro Independencia De Puerto Rico (Puerto Rican Independence Movement (MFIPR) and the Federacion de Universitarios Pro Independencia (FUPI) had indicated that they desired to demonstrate the militancy of their organizations to Stokely Carmichael, leader of the SNCC, during a march which would take place on January 25, 1967, protesting the draft of Puerto Ricans into the armed forces of the United States.

Characterizations of
the FUPI and the MFIPR
are contained in the
Appendix.

SJ T-1 advised that violence during the
march was a possibility.

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~~Group 1~~

~~Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification~~

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7/21/00

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be distributed outside your
agency

ENCLOSURE

100-446080

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF
THE STUDENT NONVIOLENT CO-
ORDINATING COMMITTEE (CNCC)

The "San Juan Star," an English language newspaper published in San Juan, Puerto Rico, carried an article on pages one and fourteen of its January 26, 1967 edition dealing with a protest march staged on January 25, 1967, by members of the FUPI and MPTR and lead by Stokley Carmichael. According to the article approximately 250 marchers left the vicinity of the University of Puerto Rico, Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico, and marched a distance of approximately ten miles to Fort Brooke, site of an armed forces induction center in San Juan, Puerto Rico. The marchers carried a large banner which read "We Support Black Power in the United States." The marchers were escorted by helmeted police of the Riot Squad of the Police of Puerto Rico, who carried night sticks and guarded the marchers on both sides of the column. As the marchers passed in front of the Inter American University Building in Hato Rey, Puerto Rico, rocks, beer cans, and oranges were thrown from the direction of that building.

Police prevented further violence by intervening between the marchers and the students hurling the missiles. Another minor incident occurred in the vicinity of Central High School, Santurce, Puerto Rico, where more rocks were thrown by hecklers. Two marchers were slightly injured. The marchers who were carrying red and black flags on long poles brandished them as weapons at this point and yelled insults to the hostile crowd gathered along the sidewalks. As

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COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF
THE STUDENT NONVIOLENT CO-
ORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

many as three thousand spectators observed the march and accompanied it part of the way. They were generally hostile and yelled insults at the marchers keeping the police constantly on guard.

At the marchers termination point, Fort Brooke, San Juan, Puerto Rico, Carmichael, who was accompanied by the SNCC Chairman in New York, Ivanhoe Donaldson, addressed the audience as "Brothers and Sisters" and stated that "We black Americans will not fight the dirty war in Viet Nam." Following the address by Carmichael, Juan Mari Bras, Secretary General of the MPIPS addressed the crowd stating that the MPIPS in New York is ready to join with the SNCC "when fighting the common enemy." At approximately 7:45 p.m. the rally was broken up because of rain. The marchers were instructed by their leadership not "to leave alone from Fort Brooke."

On January 26, 1967, SJ T-1 advised that Stokely Carmichael would not fly to Mayaguez, Puerto Rico, as originally scheduled but would travel there as part of a small group using an automobile belonging to the wife of Juan Mari Bras. According to the source, the group would leave the San Juan area at approximately 6:00 a.m. They were scheduled to return to San Juan from Mayaguez on Caribair 1:00 p.m. flight from Mayaguez. Carmichael according to source will address the student body at the College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts (CAMA), Mayaguez, Puerto Rico, at approximately 10:30 a.m. Source advised that a group of twelve individuals would travel to Mayaguez and five or six would return on the 1:00 p.m. flight.

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COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF
THE STUDENT NONVIOLENT CO-
ORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

[redacted]
[redacted] was to be one of those accompanying Carmichael to and from Mayaguez. Source stated that it was expected that a large number of MPIPR members from the southwestern part of the island would attend Carmichael speech at CAMA.

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**STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
STOKELY CARMICHAEL**

The source advised it is believed that [redacted]
[redacted] who is presently [redacted]
[redacted] for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee,
[redacted]

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**Appearance of Stokely Carmichael
Washington, D. C.**

On January 15, 1967, Carmichael spoke at the Church of the Redeemer, 15th and Girard Streets, Northeast. According to a press release, Carmichael pledged himself and the Committee to black power and called for its application in Washington, D. C.

Stokely Carmichael Plans to Travel Abroad

According to the files of the Passport Office, Department of State, Carmichael filed application for a passport at New York City on January 6, 1967, for proposed travel for six weeks to Europe and Africa "to visit other places for pleasure." He stated in this application that he intended to depart from the United States about March 1, 1967, not by organized tour, but did not list the port of departure or means of transportation. As of January 13, 1967, this application was under consideration in the Passport Office.

It was previously reported that Carmichael has been invited to visit Puerto Rico in January, 1967, to participate in the activities of Movimiento Pro Independencia de Puerto Rico, the largest of the militant groups seeking independence for Puerto Rico.

A confidential source has advised that in connection with Carmichael's trip, he is scheduled to confer with members of the Movimiento Pro Independencia de Puerto Rico in New York City on January 23, 1967. Carmichael will depart for Puerto Rico from New York City on January 24, 1967, and will remain in Puerto Rico from January 24, 1967, through January 26, 1967. During his stay, several meetings have been arranged for Carmichael with leaders of the Movimiento Pro Independencia de Puerto Rico and the Federacion de Universitarios Pro Independencia, a militant student group advocating independence for Puerto Rico.

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**STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
STOKELY CARMICHAEL**

The source advised that on January 25, 1967, Carmichael will participate in a march protesting compulsory military service which will take place in the Metropolitan San Juan area. On the evening of the same date, Carmichael will conduct a conference at the University of Puerto Rico in Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico, on the topic of "Black Power and the Anticolonial Struggle."

XEROX COPIES BEING SENT TO HONORABLE MARVIN WATSON, SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT; JOHN STEWART, LEGISLATIVE ASSISTANT TO THE VICE PRESIDENT; THE ACTING ATTORNEY GENERAL; DEPUTY ATTORNEY GENERAL; ASSISTANT ATTORNEYS GENERAL YEAGLEY, DOAR, AND VINSON; SECRET SERVICE AND THE MILITARY.

NOTE:

Classified "~~Confidential~~" since it contains information from informants whose disclosures could affect our national defense. (U)

See memorandum C. D. Brennan to Sullival dated 1/17/67, same caption, prepared by PTB:deh.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No

General Post Office Box BT
San Juan, Puerto Rico 00936

January 27, 1967

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING
COMMITTEE
INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

On January 26, 1967, SJ T-1, who has provided reliable information in the past, advised that Stokely Carmichael, leader of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), had traveled to Mayaguez, Puerto Rico, in the early morning of January 26, 1967, via an automobile which belonged to the wife of Juan Mari Bras, Secretary General of the Movimiento Pro Independencia De Puerto Rico (Puerto Rican Independence Movement) (MPIPR).

A characterization of the MPIPR appears in the appendix attached.

SJ T-1 stated that upon arrival in Mayaguez, Puerto Rico, Carmichael addressed an audience at the College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts consisting of approximately 500 individuals. Carmichael's theme was Black Power and the struggle of Puerto Rico against the colonization of the island by the United States.

SJ T-1 stated further that although the MPIPR was claiming a crowd in excess of 800 people who received Carmichael's address with enthusiasm, in reality a large number of the audience was hostile to his remarks and those who exhibited the most enthusiasm were MPIPR members and members of the Federacion De Universitarios Pro Independencia (Federation of University Students for Independence) (FUPI) from the Mayaguez area.

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Group 1

Excluded from automatic
downgrading or
declassification

DECLASSIFIED BY 39063 ELL/BCL/MLW
ON 7/21/00

ENCLOSURE

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING
COMMITTEE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

A characterization of the FUPI appears in the appendix attached.

According to SJ T-1, Carmichael returned to the San Juan, Puerto Rico area via a Caribair flight which left Mayaguez at approximately 1:00 p.m., January 26, 1967

At 6:00 p.m., Carmichael was observed [REDACTED]

b7D

[REDACTED] at the San Juan International Airport, Isla Verde, Puerto Rico, in the company of Juan Mari Bras. Carmichael and Mari Bras gave a press conference at the airport during which each expressed solidarity for the other's organization and pledged mutual cooperation in their common struggle.

[REDACTED] advised further that a "protocol", described as a written statement of cooperation and mutual interest, was signed by the MPIPR, FUPI and SNCC.

Juan Mari Bras and Stokely Carmichael were observed boarding Pan American Airlines Flight #296 destined for New York at approximately 7:00 p.m. [REDACTED] The flight left on schedule and was due to arrive in New York at 9:45 p.m., January 26, 1967.

On [REDACTED] SJ T-2, [REDACTED] who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that at a meeting of the Partido Comunista Puertorriqueno (Communist Party of Puerto Rico) (PCP) held in Hato Rey, Puerto Rico, on January 15, 1967, Gilbert Green, whom source described as the New York District Chairman of the Communist Party, USA (CP, USA), who was visiting Puerto Rico, had stated that relations between the MPIPR Vito Marc Antonio Mission in New York City, New York were excellent and that Juan Mari Bras had been invited by the CP, USA to address a group of Party leaders in New York City during the month of January, 1967.

A characterization of the PCP appears in the appendix attached.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

F B I

Date 1/23/67

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

AIRMAIL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
 FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (100-6812) (P)
 SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
 IS - MISCELLANEOUS

Re San Juan airtel 1/12/67 and LHM captioned "COMINFIL SNCC, IS - C," no copy to Chicago, reflecting that subject would be in Puerto Rico January 24 through 26, 1967, possibly as a guest of MOVIMIENTO PRO-INDEPENDENCIA DE PUERTO RICO.

On [redacted] advised that CARMICHAEL told informant that on the night of 1/22/67 he would go to Chicago and remain there until 2/2/67. CARMICHAEL said he would return to Atlanta on 2/2/67, remain here for about two hours and then leave for an unidentified destination. CARMICHAEL said that he would return to Atlanta on 2/18/67. Due to the nature of the conversation with CARMICHAEL, source was unable to discreetly ascertain from him as to whether or not he intended to fulfill his Puerto Rican engagement or as to what his location would be between 2/2/67 and 2/18/67.

LEADSSAN JUANAT SAN JUAN, PUERTO RICO

Through appropriate sources determine if CARMICHAEL has canceled his Puerto Rican engagement.

CHICAGO (INFORMATION)

Copy furnished Chicago inasmuch as CARMICHAEL reportedly will be in that city between 1/22/67 and 2/2/67.

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
 2 - San Juan (RM)
 1 - Chicago (157-1297) (Info) (RM)
 2 - Atlanta
 EUC:ld

JAN 24 1967

Approved

(8)

Sent

M

Per

Special Agent in Charge

INT. SEC.

b7D

SFBI NEW YORK /9/

456PM URGENT 1/23/67 WMS

TO DIRECTOR 100-446080, ATLANTA 100-6488, AND SAN JUAN

SAN JUAN VIA WASHINGTON

FROM NEW YORK 100-153751 /1P

STOKELY CARMICHAEL' IS - SNCC' OO, ATLANTA

A RELIABLE SOURCE ADVISED INSTANT DATE' STOKLEY CARMICHAEL
WILL ATTEND CONFERENCE OF THE MOVIMIENTO PRO INDEPENDENCIA DE
PUERTO RICO ,MPI, - NEW YORK MISSION ,NYM, EVENING THIS DATE
AND WILL THEN DEPART NEW YORK MIDNIGHT INSTANT DATE VIA PLANE' AIRLINE
UNKNOWN' FOR PUERTO RICO WHERE HE WILL ATTEND CONFERENCE AND
MEETINGS OF THE MPI AND MAKE PUBLIC APPEARANCES DURING THREE DAY STAY

SAN JUAN IS AWARE OF CARMICHAEL,S ACTIVITIES UPON HIS
ARRIVAL TO PUERTO RICO.

CORR DIRECTORS NUMBER SHLD BE 100-446080

END

JER R RELAY

FBI WASH DC

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10/24/88 BY 34063 BTW/BCE/AMW
#97 228

REC 36

2 JAN 30 1967

57 FEB 8 1967

cc - Bland

REPLAYED TO SJ

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOI/PA
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET
FOI/PA# 1327455-0

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X For this Page X
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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Detroit, Michigan
February 6, 1967

Re: Appearance of Stokely Carmichael
at the East Grand Boulevard
Methodist Church, 1101 East Grand
Boulevard, Detroit, Michigan,
February 8, 1967

On [redacted] a confidential source, who
has furnished reliable information in the past, advised
that [redacted] the Students Non-
Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), Detroit Branch,
made a statement on February 5, 1967, that Stokely Carmichael,
the national leader of SNCC, would make the following
appearances on a lecture tour;

b6
b7C
b7D

1. On February 7, 1967, he would speak at
the University of Windsor, Windsor, Canada.
2. On February 8, 1967, he would speak at
the East Grand Boulevard Methodist Church,
1101 East Grand Boulevard, Detroit, Michigan;
3. On February 9, 1967, he would speak at
the Michigan State University, Lansing, Michigan

[redacted]
[redacted] advised that Stokely Carmichael sponsored by
SNCC will speak at an open meeting at the East Grand Boulevard
Methodist Church on February 8, 1967, at 7:30 p m.

b6
b7C
b7D

This document contains neither recommendations nor
conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is
the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is
loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be
distributed outside your agency.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 2/24/87 BY SP-1 AG/NO
CHASAR

- 1* -

COPIES DESTROYED

377 FEB 23 1971

ENCLOSURE

100-446084-117

1 - DeLoach
1 - Sullivan
1 - Bland
1 - C. D. Brannan

b6
b7c

Mr. Sullivan

1

C. D. Brannan

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
STEHOEY CARMICHAEL

Due to the interest of the President in the activities of Steholy Carmichael and his organization, we have prepared a summary setting forth the current activity in this matter. A copy of the summary is attached for ready reference.

On 1/26/67, Carmichael received a passport valid for three years travel to all countries except Albania, Cuba and those portions of China, Korea, and Vietnam under communist control.

It is noted on 1/28/67 during a noon conference at San Juan, Puerto Rico, when asked if he wanted to visit Cuba Carmichael stated, "Nobody will stop me from going where I want to go. I will not be intimidated about who my friends are and what countries I will visit."

Two offices of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee in Philadelphia are to be closed on instructions from the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee Headquarters, Atlanta, Georgia. This decision was based on unfavorable publicity received last fall when Committee members were arrested in Philadelphia for illegal possession of dynamite.

RECOMMENDATION:

That copies of the enclosure be forwarded by routing slips to the Honorable Marvin Watson, Special Assistant to the President; Mr. William Welch, Administrative Assistant to the Vice President; Acting Attorney General; Deputy Attorney General; Assistant Attorneys General Yeagley, Boer, and Vinson; Secret Service and the military agencies.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12/10/00 BY SP8 EJE/BCE/AMW

100-446030

NOT RECORDED

40 13 1967

Enclosure

100-439100

① - Bufile 100-446030 (Steholy Carmichael)

FTE:ech

(7)

ORIGINAL FILED IN

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOI/PA
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET
FOI/PA# 1327455-0

Total Deleted Page(s) = 1
Page 1 ~ Referral/Consult;

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X For this Page X
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TELETYPE UNIT
FEB 27 1967
ENCODED MESSAGE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Wick	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

FBI NEW YORK /2/

1211PM URGENT 2-27-67 JAM

TO DIRECTOR ATLANTA AND SAN JUAN

ATLANTA AND SAN JUAN VIA WASHINGTON - ENCODED
FROM NEW YORK 1P

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISCELLANEOUS

BUFILE 100-446080 ATLANTA 100-6812 AND NEW YORK 100-153751.

[REDACTED] RELIABLE, ON INSTANT

DATE ADVISED CARMICHAEL IN NEW YORK CITY, FEBRUARY
TWENTY SIX LAST; STATED HE WILL DEPART ON MARCH ONE NEXT FOR
PUERTO RICO. HE WILL RETURN TO NEW YORK CITY, MARCH NINE
NEXT, AND ON MARCH TEN NEXT WILL TRAVEL TO MC GILL UNIVERSITY,
CANADA TO SPEAK.

BUREAU OF SPECIAL SERVICES, NEW YORK CITY POLICE DEPARTMENT
ADVISED. SAN JUAN ALERT LOCAL POLICE.

LHM FOLLOWS.

END

HL R RELAY TWO MESSAGES EX-106

FBI WASH DC

REC-69

MAR 6 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/24/00 BY 31023 ELL/COOLMAN

61 MAR 13 1967

W. H. L. 3/2/67

RELAYED TO

AT 150

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

FBI WASH DC

3 MAR 1967

TELETYPE

FBI PITTSBGH

6-47PM URGENT 3-3-67 RFS

TO DIRECTOR 100-446080, ATLANTA, BOSTON, CHICAGO, NEWYORK,

AND SAN JUAN (VIA REGISTERED AIR MAIL)

FROM PITTSBURGH

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, AKA., IS - MISCELLANEOUS, OO-ATLANTA.

RENYTEL THIS DATE.

PITTSBURGH PD AND SOURCES ADVISED CARMICHAEL ARRIVED
PITTSBURGH MORNING OF MARCH TWO, LAST AND SPOKE AT
U. OF PITTSBURGH, POINT PARK COLLEGE AND EBENEZER BAPTIST
CHURCH, ALL PITTSBURGH,

ON MARCH THREE, INSTANT, CARMICHAEL SPOKE AT ST. VINCENT
COLLEGE, LATROBE, PA., AND RETURNED PITTSBURGH THIS PM.

PD BELIEVES CARMICHAEL DEPARTING PITTSBURGH TONIGHT
DESTINATION UNKNOWN. PD ATTEMPTING TO DETERMINE CARMICHAEL'S
DESTINATION AND PITTSBURGH WILL ADVISE.

AIR MAIL RM COPY TO SAN JUAN.

END

RCS

FBI WASH DC

P

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/24/06 BY 306LB ELW/BCE/AMW

51 MAR 1 1967

cc [unclear]

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Bishop	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

C. D. [unclear]

FBI
K. [unclear]

REC-82 100-446080-127



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

New York, New York
March 1, 1967

NY 100-153751

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Stokely Carmichael

A confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on February 27, 1967, that he had learned that Stokely Carmichael attended a Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) Cocktail Party, held in New York City, on February 26, 1967, and is planning to leave for Puerto Rico, on March 1, 1967. Carmichael will remain in Puerto Rico until March 9, 1967, at which time he will return to New York City. He will then depart from New York City, on March 10, 1967, for Mc Gill University, in Canada, where he is scheduled to give a speech.

Stokely Carmichael is Chairman of SNCC.

The April, May, June, 1966 issue of "Rights", a self described publication of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (ECLC), states that at the annual meeting of the National Council of the ECLC, which was held in New York City, on April 23, 1966, "Stokely Carmichael, Organization Executive, Atlanta", was elected a member of the National Council of the ECLC.

A characterization of the ECLC is attached hereto.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~Group 1~~

~~Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

ENCLOSURE

100-446080-130

12/11/86 Sp/az/gtl
252028

1 - DeLoach
1 - Sullivan
1 - Bland

Mr. Sullivan

3/2/67

1 - C. D. Brennan

C. D. Brennan

1 - [REDACTED]

b6
b7C

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
STOKELY CARMICHAEL

12/11/86 381 ag/gth

Due to the interest of the President in the activities of Stokely Carmichael and his organization, we have prepared a summary setting forth the current and planned future activity in this matter. A copy of the summary is attached for ready reference.

On 2/22/67, Carmichael spoke at a memorial service in New York City commemorating the death of Malcolm X Little.

Little was a former leader of the Nation of Islam who split with the group and formed his own political and religious groups in New York City. In February, 1965, Little was assassinated by members of the Nation of Islam while addressing a mass rally at the Audubon Ballroom.

The Nation of Islam is an all-Negro semireligious organization which advocates a doctrine of violent hatred of the United States Government and the white race.

On 2/27/67, Carmichael sent a telegram to Fred L. Shuttlesworth, a Negro civil rights leader in Birmingham, offering his services to assist Shuttlesworth in endeavoring to obtain greater Negro participation and recognition in community affairs. A confidential source advised Shuttlesworth remarked Carmichael would be his "ace in the hole." However, he did not believe Shuttlesworth is seriously considering bringing Carmichael to Birmingham at the present time.

On 2/27/67, Carmichael appeared at a political rally in Chicago, Illinois, to urge support of independent Negro candidates for Chicago aldermanic offices.

Carmichael is scheduled to speak at McGill University, Canada, on 3/10/67.

Enclosure
100-439190

1 - Bufile 100-446000 (Stokely Carmichael)

PTB:coh

(7)

CONTINUED - OVER

NOT RECORDED

47 MAR 8 1967

ORIGINAL FILED IN
100-439190-1

TELETYPE UNIT
MAR 3 1967
ENCODED MESSAGE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Wick	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

NR 2 11-35AM DEFERRED 3-23-67 CRT
TO-- DIRECTOR, ATLANTA (100-6612) AND NEW YORK
(ATLANTA AND NEW YORK VIA WASH)
FROM-- SAN JUAN (142-6731)

COMINFIL SNCC, IS-C. ORIGIN ATLANTA. BUFILE ~~ONE~~^{ONE}
ZERO ZERO DASH FOUR FOUR SIX ZERO EIGHT ZERO. NEW YORK
FILE ONE ZERO ZERO DASH ONE FIVE THREE SEVEN FIVE ONE.

RE NEW YORK TEL TO DIRECTOR, ATLANTA AND SAN JUAN
FEBRUARY TWO SEVEN LAST ENTITLED STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS
-MISCELLANEOUS.

SAN JUAN AGENT COVERAGE AT SAN JUAN INTERNATIONAL
AIRPORT, CONTACT WITH [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] AND SAN JUAN INFORMANTS SHOW CARMICHAEL FAILED TO
ARRIVE IN SAN JUAN MARCH ONE LAST AS RETEL SHOWS HE
PLANNED. MARCH SPONSORED BY FUPI SCHEDULED MARCH TWO
LAST WHICH WAS TO INCLUDE CARMICHAEL WAS POSTPONED.

ATLANTA AND ^{NEW} ~~NEW~~ YORK DETERMINE CARMICHAEL'S TRAVEL
PLANS TO PUEPTO RICO.

END ACK PSE CA

MLT FBI R RELAY WASH D C

100 446080 -
NOT RECORDED
130 MAR 8 1967

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-434141-107D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/24/00 BY SP6 BJE/RC/AMW

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

**STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
STOKELY CARMICHAEL**

The source stated one of these leaders, Fred L. Shuttlesworth received a telegram from Carmichael on February 27, 1967, offering his services to assist Shuttlesworth.

The source stated that Shuttlesworth remarked Carmichael would be his "ace in the hole" and made the statement, "An incident is needed to get the power structure interested in our problem." However, the source said he does not believe Shuttlesworth is seriously considering bringing Carmichael to Birmingham at the present time.

**Stokely Carmichael Supports Negro
Candidates in Chicago, Illinois**

A confidential source advised that Stokely Carmichael appeared at a political rally supporting independent Negro candidates for Chicago aldermanic offices. The rally was held at the Senate Theater, Chicago, Illinois, on February 27, 1967. Carmichael urged Negro support for these candidates and called for an expression of "black power" through the ballot boxes.

Stokely Carmichael Plans to Visit Canada

A confidential source stated that Carmichael is scheduled to speak at McGill University, Canada, on March 10, 1967.

XEROX COPIES BEING SENT TO HONORABLE MARVIN WATSON, SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT; MR. WILLIAM WELSH, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT TO THE VICE PRESIDENT; THE ATTORNEY GENERAL; DEPUTY ATTORNEY GENERAL; ASSISTANT ATTORNEYS GENERAL YEAGLEY, DOAR, AND VINSON; SECRET SERVICE AND THE MILITARY.

NOTE:

Classified "~~Confidential~~" since it contains information from informants whose disclosures could affect our national defense.

See memorandum C.D. Brennan to Sullivan dated 2/2/67, same caption, prepared by PTB:deh.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TELETYPE UNIT
3 1967
ENCODED MESSAGE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Wick	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

FBI NEW YORK 151

405 PM URGENT 3/3/67 JAM

TO DIRECTOR 100-446080 ATLANTA BOSTON CHICAGO PITTSBURGH
AND SAN JUAN

F SAN JUAN VIA WASHINGTON

FROM NEW YORK 100-153751 1P

C. P. Brennan
[Signature]
K. [Signature]

STOKELY CARMICHAEL AKA IS-MISCELLANEOUS OO-ATLANTA

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/24/00 BY 34013 EFW/BCE/AMW

RE SAN JUAN TEL DATED MARCH THREE INSTANT CAPTIONED
"COMINFIL SNCC IS-C".

PRETEXT CALL TO SNCC OFFICE NEW YORK CITY REFLECTED
CARMICHAEL NOT IN NEW YORK AT PRESENT TIME BUT "MAY BE IN
TRANSIT BETWEEN PITTSBURGH CHICAGO AND BOSTON AND SCHEDULED
TO BE IN ATLANTA THIS WEEKEND." INFO FOR BOSTON CHICAGO AND
PITTSBURGH CARMICHAEL WAS SCHEDULED TO TRAVEL TO PUERTO RICO
MARCH ONE TO NINE NINETEEN SIXTYSEVEN BUT FAILED TO ARRIVE
THUS MARCH SPONSORED BY FUPI FOR MARCH TWO LAST POSTPONED.

BOSTON CHICAGO AND PITTSBURGH DETERMINE IF CARMICHAEL
IN THEIR AREA.

NEW YORK OFFICE SOURCES ALERTED.

END

51 MAR 14 1967 WASH D C

RELAYED TO

cc [Signature]

S. J.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U S DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

MAR 9 1967

TELETYPE

FBI WASH DC --

FBI CHICAGO

11037PM URGENT 3-9-67 RMF

TO DIRECTOR SAN JUAN ATLANTA NEW YORK

SAN JUAN VIA WASHINGTON

FROM CHICAGO /157-1297/

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Wick	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Gandy	

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, AKA. IS - MISCELLANEOUS. OO\ ATLANTA.

LT. [REDACTED] CHICAGO PD, AIRPORT DETAIL, ADVISED
INSTANT CAPTIONED INDIVIDUAL OBSERVED THIS DATE AT O'HARE
INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT, CHICAGO, ATTEMPTING TO ARRANGE PASSAGE
TO BIMINI IN THE BAHAMAS PRESUMEDLY TO CONTACT ADAM CLAYTON
POWELL.

PD ADVISED CHECK OF VARIOUS AIRLINES SERVING BAHAMAS HAS NOT
REVEALED CARMICHAEL DEPARTURE. PD NOT CURRENTLY AWARE OF CARMICHAEL
WHEREABOUTS.

CHICAGO SOURCES ASSIGNED.

ARTICLE IN LOCAL NEWSPAPER THIS DATE INDICATES [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] AND CURRENTLY CONDUCTING WRITE-IN CAMPAIGN
SEEKING ELECTION AS MAYOR OF CHICAGO, PLANS TO TRAVEL TO BIMINI
TO SEEK POWELL'S HELP IN HIS CAMPAIGN FOR MAYOR. ARTICLE INDICATES
[REDACTED] WILL ASK POWELL TO MAKE SPEECH IN CHICAGO FOR [REDACTED]

END PAGE ONE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1-10-80 BY 2842 pmv/rws

31 MAR 20 1967

Relayed to

b6
b7c

b6
b7c

Tolson _____
 DeLoach _____
 Mohr _____
 Wick _____
 Casper _____
 Callahan _____
 Conrad _____
 Felt _____
 Gale _____
 Rosen _____
 Sullivan _____
 Tavel _____
 Trotter _____
 Tele Room _____
 Holmes _____
 Gandy _____

DECODED COPY

☐ AIRGRAM ☐ CABLEGRAM ☐ RADIO ☒ TELETYPE

11-32 PM URGENT 3-10-67ARM

TO DIRECTOR, SAN JUAN, NEW YORK AND CHICAGO

NEW YORK AND SAN JUAN VIA WASHINGTON

FROM ATLANTA 110330

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, AKA. IS-MISCELLANEOUS, OO: ATLANTA.

RE CHICAGO TEL MARCH 10, 1967.

ADVISES CARMICHAEL PRESENTLY IN BIMINI TO
 CONFER WITH ADAM CLAYTON POWELL. CARMICHAEL REPORTEDLY
 WILL BE THERE UNTIL SUNDAY MARCH 12, NEXT, THEN TRAVEL TO
 RICHMOND, VIRGINIA.

RICHMOND PREVIOUSLY ADVISED.

RECEIVED: 11:52 PM LRC

REC 46

10 MAR 14 1967

137

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

7/24/00

BY

3903 EWB/BooLamW

RELAYED TO: SJ NY

61 MAR 21 1967

b7D

b6
b7C

TELETYPE UNIT
MAR 9 1967
ENCODED MESSAGE

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Casper	✓
Mr. Callahan	✓
Mr. Conrad	✓
Mr. Felt	✓
Mr. Gale	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Miss Holmes	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

914 AM URGENT 3-9-67 MRB

TO DIRECTOR 100-446080, MIAMI AND RICHMOND

MIAMI VIA WASH DC ENCODED RELAY

FROM ATLANTA 100-6812

Internal Security
STOKELY CARMICHAEL. IS-MISCELLANEOUS.

ADVISED ON

THAT SUBJECT IS LEAVING ATLANTA MARCH NINE, SIXTYSEVEN, TO VISIT WITH ADAM CLAYTON POWELL AT BIMINI, THE BAHAMAS. SOURCE BELIEVES POWELL INVITED CARMICHAEL, BUT DOES NOT KNOW TRUE PURPOSE OF VISIT.

CARMICHAEL WILL BE IN BIMINI UNTIL SUNDAY, MARCH TWELVE THEN TRAVEL TO RICHMOND, VA., WHERE HE IS TO FILL A SPEAKING ENGAGEMENT POSSIBLY AT THE VIRGINIA UNION UNIVERSITY.

MIAMI AND RICHMOND ALERT APPROPRIATE SOURCES CONCERNING CARMICHAEL'S ITINERARY. RICHMOND ATTEMPT TO IDENTIFY GROUP WHICH CARMICHAEL WILL VISIT WITH IN RICHMOND.

END

OK TO HOLD FOR CONTACT WITH MIAMI AT 10:00

QCC30MF

JER R RELAY

FBI WASH DC

DISC.O

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/24/00 BY 39063 EWL/BCL/mld

INT. SEC.

MAR 22 1967

W. H. L. 3/10/67 MB

RELAYED TO

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (100-446080) DATE March 3, 1967

FROM : Legal Attache, OTTAWA (100-1259) (P)

SUBJECT : **STOKELY CARMICHAEL**
IS-MISCELLANEOUS

Reference New York teletype - 2/27/67

Dissemination, as outlined below, was made on dates indicated

to

☐ _____ copies of

☒ Pertinent information from retel

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/2/00 BY 39063 EWS/bclamw

b7D

Name and Location of Agency

Date Furnished

3 Bureau
(1 - Liaison Section)

1-OTT

MLI:j1

61 MAR 10 1967

NOT RECORDED

11 MAR 6 1967

SUBV. CONTROL

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 3-9-67

Former Congressman Adam Clayton Powell (New York - D) is attempting to gain support from civil rights leaders in the campaign to regain his lost seat. On March 8, 1967, Powell stated during a press interview that Stokely Carmichael would be coming to Bimini soon and will publicly endorse him.

Attached being disseminated to the White House and the Attorney General.

DMW:jmw

DMW
CB
WCF
D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/24/00 BY 39063ETW/ GCE/AMW

**STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
STOKELY CARMICHAEL**

**Stokely Carmichael Promises to Support
Adam Clayton Powell**

It was previously reported Carmichael would visit former Congressman Adam Clayton Powell at Bimini, the Bahamas, the weekend of March 11, 1967.

Stokely Carmichael and Adam Clayton Powell held a news conference at Bimini on March 11, 1967. Carmichael blamed "pure unadulterated racism" for Powell's exclusion from Congress. Carmichael said the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee would campaign actively for Powell to help him get reelected in the April 11, 1967, special election in the Harlem District, New York City.

**Appearance of Stokely Carmichael at
Lafayette College, Easton, Pennsylvania**

On March 14, 1967, Carmichael spoke at Lafayette College before approximately 1500 students. Carmichael was critical of United States involvement in Vietnam and stated he would refuse to fight. He also criticized law enforcement in the South.

Stokely Carmichael to Stand Trial

It was previously reported that Carmichael and other members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee were arrested by the Atlanta Police Department, Atlanta, Georgia, on charges of inciting to riot in connection with a racial disturbance in Atlanta on September 6, 1966. They were subsequently released under \$1,000 bond.

According to a press release, Stokely Carmichael and 14 other individuals are scheduled to stand trial March 20, 1967, in Fulton County Superior Court, Atlanta, as a result of the above arrests.

ATTENTION

The following documents appearing in FBI files have been reviewed under the provisions of The Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) (Title 5, United States Code, Section 552); Privacy Act of 1974 (PA) (Title 5, United States Code, Section 552a); and/or Litigation.

☐ FOIA/PA☐ Litigation☐ Executive Order Applied

Requester: _____

Subject: _____

Computer or Case Identification Number: _____

Title of Case: _____ Section _____

* File _____

Serials Reviewed: _____

Release Location: *File _____ Section _____

This file section has been scanned into the FOIPA Document Processing System (FDPS) prior to National Security Classification review. Please see the documents located in the FDPS for current classification action, if warranted. Direct inquires about the FDPS to RIDS Service Request Unit, b2

File Number: 100-HQ-446080 Section 10Serial(s) Reviewed: All

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: 983317

File Number: _____ Section _____

Serial(s) Reviewed: _____

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: _____

File Number: _____ Section _____

Serial(s) Reviewed: _____

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: _____

THIS FORM IS TO BE MAINTAINED AS THE TOP SERIAL OF THE FILE, BUT NOT SERIALIZED.

ATTENTION

DO NOT REMOVE FROM FILE

EX-110

REC-9

July 3, 1967

100-446080-363

b7C

Dear [redacted]

Your letter of June 26th has been received.

With respect to your inquiry concerning Stokely Carmichael, the FBI is strictly an investigative agency of the Federal Government and, as such, does not determine whether prosecution will be undertaken in any situation. Such decisions concerning violations of Federal law are within the province of the United States Department of Justice.

You may be assured, however, the FBI is aware of the activities of this individual and any information obtained which might indicate a violation of Federal law over which this Bureau has investigative jurisdiction will be furnished to the United States Department of Justice for prosecutive consideration.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/10 BY 3963 EML/BAW

b7C

NOTE: Bufiles contain no information identifiable with [redacted]

HRH:mlb (3)

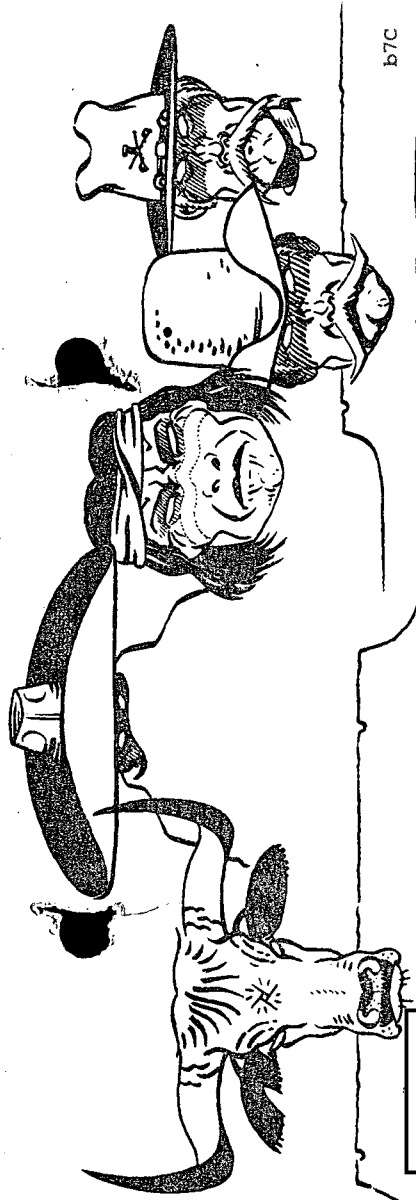
Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Wick _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

59 JUL 17 1967

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

b7C

REC'D DE LOACH
JUL 30 2 08 PM '67



b7C

b7C

b7C

26 JUNE 1967

DEAR SIR:

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

1. A KNOWN, ACTIVE, TROUBLE MAKER MAKING SPEECHES CONTRARY TO OUR NATIONAL POLICIES, EXERCISING THE RIGHT OF A UNITED STATES CITIZEN CONCERNING FREEDOM OF SPEECH - ONLY HE IS NOT A U.S. CITIZEN, NOT SUBJECT TO THE DRAFT AND A GUEST OF THIS COUNTRY FROM JAMAICA.

2. LETS DEPORT THIS CHARACTER AS A "PERSONA NON GRATA" AND DENY HIM THE BENEFITS OF THIS COUNTRY THAT HAVE BEEN PAID FOR BY THE BLOOD OF U.S. CITIZENS.

RESPECTFULLY YOURS

b7C

b7D

917,228

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/5/00 BY 59063 emw/scd/aw

ack: 7-3-67
NR N: mmw
mmw

b7C

Copy To

THE STATE DEPT

8/11

143

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Wick	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

26 JUNE 1967

Dear Sir:

0
Subject: Stokely Carmichael

1. A known, active, trouble maker making speeches contrary to our national policies, exercising the right of a United States Citizen concerning freedom of speech - only he is not a U. S. Citizen, not subject to the draft and a guest of this country from Jamaica.

2. Lets deport this character as a "persona non grata" and deny him the beniftits of this country that have been paid for by the blood of U. S. Citizens.

Respectfully yours,

b7C
b7D

[Redacted Signature]

Ch

Copy to
[Redacted]
&
The State Dept.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/10/02 BY 37063 EFW/SC/AMW
#977228

EX-110

REC-9

100-446080-362

COPY:hcv

ack: 9-3-67
NR N: mch
mle

JUL 7 1967

EXP. PROC.

JUN 29 1967

mm

stx

F B I

Date: 7/3/67

Transmit the following in _____

PLAIN TEXT

(Type in plain text or code)

Via TELETYPE

URGENT

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Wick	✓
Mr. Casper	✓
Mr. Callahan	✓
Mr. Conrad	✓
Mr. Felt	✓
Mr. Gale	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Miss Holmes	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI AND SACS, ATLANTA, DENVER AND NEW ORLEANS

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS - MISCELLANEOUS

INTERNAL SECURITY
REFERENCE Washington Field Office
RE WFO TELETYPE, JULY TWO LAST.

b7C

WFO SOURCE ADVISED INSTANT DATE CARMICHAEL ARRIVED
Washington, D.C.
(WDC) FOR PERSONAL PLEASURE AND IS NOT DESIROUS OF ANY

PUBLICITY. CARMICHAEL DOES NOT PLAN ANY RACIAL ACTIVITY

OR PUBLIC APPEARANCES WHILE IN WDC TO SOURCE'S KNOWLEDGE.

DURATION OF HIS STAY AS WELL AS FUTURE ITINERARY NOT

KNOWN BY SOURCE AT THIS TIME. Letterhead memorandum
LHM FOLLOWS. PENDINGALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/2/00 BY 39063 EWB/CLM/W

- 2 - Bureau
- 2 - Teletype Unit
- 2 - WFO

WWH/mrb
(6)

MR. DELOACH FOR THE DIRECTOR

CC- MR. SULLIVAN

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

JUL 7 1967

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 7/3/67

You were previously advised Stokely Carmichael left Atlanta, Georgia, 6/30/67 for Washington, D. C., where he intends to take up residence. The Department is being advised of attached, WFO has been instructed to promptly develop information concerning Carmichael's residence and plans.

PTB:jas

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/3/00 BY 39063 Gw/BA/AMW

Wes/jm

FBI WASH DC*

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

JUL 2 1967

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Wick	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

FBI ATLANTA

200 PM URGENT 7-2-67 ARK

TO DIRECTOR, WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE, AND NEW ORLEANS
FROM ATLANTA (100-6812) 1P

b7C

STOKLEY CARMICHAEL, IS-M.

RE NEW ORLEANS TEL SIX TWENTY-NINE CAPTIONED RACIAL SITUATION,
BOGALUSA, LOUISIANA, INDICATING SUBJECT EXPECTED THERE JULY TWO
TO PARTICIPATE IN DEMONSTRATION.

SOURCE, ATLANTA, ADVISES SUBJECT, [REDACTED]

b7C

b7D

[REDACTED] AND [REDACTED]
PRESENTLY IN WASHINGTON, D. C. FOR UNDETERMINED PERIOD AND SOURCE
HAS NO INFORMATION INDICATING POSSIBLE TRAVEL TO NEW ORLEANS AREA.

WFO REQUESTED TO ADVISE NEW ORLEANS IN EVENT INFORMATION
RECEIVED INDICATING SUBJECT MAY TRAVEL TO THAT AREA.

END.

SAA

FBI WASH DC*
TWO COPIES WFO

REC-28

EX 101

JUL 7 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/3/00 BY 32063 EIW/BCE/AMW

55 JUL 14 1967

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 6/30/67

It has been previously reported on several occasions that Stokely Carmichael, former chairman of Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee would spend the summer in Washington, D. C., as a Committee field worker. However, he was reportedly assigned by the Committee to work in Alabama this summer. In view of information indicating Carmichael now intends to move to Washington, D. C., Washington Field Office is being requested to ascertain Carmichael's residence and the identity and nature of the other organization he plans to affiliate with.

PTB:chs

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/2/08 BY 37063 EIW/BCE/AMW

COPIES DESTROYED

353 FEB 24 1971

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

JUN 30 1967

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Casper	✓
Mr. Callahan	✓
Mr. Conrad	✓
Mr. Felt	✓
Mr. Gale	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Miss Holmes	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

FBI WASH DC

FBI ATLANTA

1033 PM URGENT 6-30-67 ARM

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080) OKLAHOMA CITY, BUFFALO, MEMPHIS,
BOSTON, CHICAGO (157-1297) NEW ORLEANS, DENVER, NEWARK BLATIMORE.
FROM ATLANTA (100-6812)

Internal Security - Miscellaneous
STOKELY CARMICHAEL. IS - Mr.

REFERENCE
RE TELEPHONE CALLS AND COMMUNICATIONS UNDER VARIOUS CAPTIONS
FROM ABOVE OFFICES REQUESTING INFORMATION AS TO TRAVEL OF SUBJECT.

INFORMATION RECEIVED EARLY AFTERNOON JUNE THIRTY SIXTYSEVEN
THAT CARMICHAEL WAS PLANNING TRIP TO FLORIDA AND BIMINI ISLAND TO
BE FOLLOWED BY TRIPS TO WASHINGTON D.C. ON JULY EIGHT NEXT AND TO
LONDON ON JULY THIRTEEN TO PARTICIPATE IN INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS
DIALECTICS OF LIBERATION ON JULY EIGHTEEN. EX-115 REC-28 100-446080366

SOURCE ADVISED LATER JUNE THIRTY THAT CARMICHAEL HAD CHANGED
PLANS AND WAS LEAVING ATLANTA EVENING JUNE THIRTY FOR WASHINGTON,
D.C. WHERE HE WOULD TAKE UP PERMANENT RESIDENCE.

SOURCE BELIEVES CARMICHAEL HAS RECEIVED OFFER FROM
SOME OTHER ORGANIZATION TO BECOME AFFILIATED WITH IT AND IS

END PAGE ONE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/3/00 BY 3903EW/BZ/AMW

Xerox made for
WFO 7-1-67
GN

57 JUL 13 1967

COPIES DESTROYED

333 FEB 24 1971

PAGE TWO

EXTREMELY GUARDED IN CONVERSATION.

ATLANTA FOLLOWING CLOSELY AND WILL KEEP BUREAU AND INTERESTED
OFFICES ADVISED OF ANY CHANGE IN ABOVE.

END

MXS

FBI WASH DC

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

JUL 4 1967

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Wick	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

FBI BOSTON

325AM URGENT 7-4-67 JAD 1P

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080), ATLANTA (100-6812), ALBANY AND NEW YORK
FROM BOSTON (157-437)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-M

REF ATLANTA TEL TO BUREAU 6/30 LAST AND BOSTON TEL THIS DATE.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL LEFT NEWPORT, RHODE ISLAND APPROXIMATELY
12:30AM THIS DATE AFTER ATTENDING FINAL PERFORMANCE OF JAZZ FESTIVAL. SUBJECT WAS DRIVING [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] BEARING [REDACTED] REGISTRATION [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] HE WAS ACCOMPANIED BY SEVEN NEGROES, TWO BEING WOMEN,
AND APPEARED TO HAVE CONSIDERABLE LUGGAGE IN REAR COMPARTMENT.

[REDACTED] OBSERVED SUBJECT HAD VERY
FEW CONTACTS WHILE AT FESTIVAL. CARMICHAEL DID NOT ATTEND FUNCTIONS
AS FIRST BELIEVED AND NEWPORT DETECTIVES OVERHEARD HIM STATE WHEN
QUESTIONED BY UNKNOWN PERSON AS TO WHERE HE MIGHT BE GOING, HE
WAS NON-COMMITAL.

NO INCIDENTS OCCURRED DURING VISIT OF DEPARTURE OF CARMICHAEL.

ALBANY WILL IDENTIFY OWNER OF [REDACTED] REGISTRATION [REDACTED] 1967

END
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/3/00 BY 39063 EWB/DeLamC

HFL

54 JUL 17 1967

TU CLR

b7C

F B I

Date: 7/3/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Wick	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are eleven (11) copies of an LHM captioned as above. Two copies each are enclosed for Atlanta, Buffalo, Denver and New Orleans.

The [redacted] confidential source in the enclosed LHM is [redacted] (Bufile [redacted]) who was in contact with SA [redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/3/00 BY SP8 BAW/Bcl/amu

ENCLOSURE

- 3 - Bureau (Enc. 11)
- 2 - Atlanta (100-6812) (Enc. 2) (RM)
- 1 - Buffalo (Info) (Enc. 2) (RM)
- 1 - Denver (Enc. 2) (Info) (AM) (RM)
- 1 - New Orleans (100-16890) (Info) (Enc. 2) (RM)
- 2 - WFO
(1- 100-41626)

WWH:pag
(10)

EX-103

AIRTEL

AGENCY: ACSI, ONI, OSI, SEC. SER.,

DEPT: ISD, CRD, RAO, Crim

DATE FORW: 7/7/67

HOW FORW: 45

BY: PTB/ML

C. C. Wick

100-446080-369

Approved: [Signature]
Special Agent in Charge

Sent 14 JUL 10 1967

Per

WFO 100-43503

b2

b7C

b7D

The [] confidential source is [] contacted
by SA []

b7C

The SA's observing SNCC Headquarters were SA's []
[] and []

b7C

b7D

The SA's in conversation with [] were SA's
[] and []

WFO continuing to follow this matter closely and
any information received indicating CARMICHAEL's activities
will be furnished promptly to the Bureau and interested
Offices.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

July 3, 1967

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

A confidential source, with whom contact has been insufficient to determine reliability, advised on July 3, 1967, that he learned from a representative of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) that Stokely Carmichael had "very quietly" arrived in Washington, D. C., during the evening of July 2, 1967, and that he did not desire any publicity regarding his visit. Source added that although Carmichael's presence is known to a few SNCC representatives in Washington, D. C., they are not making any comments regarding the purpose of his visit. According to source, no comments were made by the SNCC representatives to source that any planned activity had been formulated in connection with Carmichael's visit during the Fourth of July holiday or in the future.

Source stated Carmichael's work project as a Field Representative of SNCC for the Summer of 1967, is Lowndes County, Alabama, and expressed the opinion Carmichael came to Washington for "personal pleasure." Source advised he did not know how long Carmichael planned to stay in Washington or information about his future itinerary.

A [] confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised [] that he spent several hours at the Washington, D. C., Headquarters of SNCC on that date and spoke with []

[] Source stated no information came to his attention about Carmichael that he was in Washington, D. C.

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

D.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8/3/00 BY 3903 EWL/BCL/AMW

100-446080-369

ENCLOSURE

COPIES DESTROYED

FEB 24 1971

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation observed SNCC Headquarters, 1234 U Street, N.W., Washington, D. C., to be closed as of 4:30 p.m., on July 3, 1967.

b7C

b7D

[redacted]
[redacted] while in conversation with Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), [redacted] spoke of Carmichael and indicated that when Carmichael visits Washington, He generally [redacted] [redacted] stated he has not seen Carmichael in the recent past.

b7C

b7D

[redacted]
[redacted] Washington, D.C., advised [redacted] that no information had come to his attention indicating Carmichael was visiting Washington, D.C.

*This document contains neither
recommendations nor conclusions of
the FBI. It is the property of
the FBI and is loaned to your agency;
it and its contents are not to be
distributed outside your agency.*

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

JUL 4 1967

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Wick	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

FBI BOSTON

1254AM URGENT 7-4-67 JAD

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080) AND ATLANTA (100-6812)
FROM BOSTON (157-437)

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-M

REF ATLANTA TEL TO BUREAU 6/30 LAST.

ADVISED

b7C

b7D

CARMICHAEL ARRIVE NEWPORT, R.I. ABOUT 10:00PM, 7/3/67 TO ATTEND
NEWPORT JAZZ FESTIVAL. CARMICHAEL SAT DOWN AMIDST CROWD AND LATER
MOVED TO BOX SEAT. PRESENTLY ATTENDING A PRIVATE SOCIAL GATHERING.
COVERAGE BEING AFFORDED TO DETERMINE HIS ITINERY AND BUREAU WILL
BE PROMPTLY ADVISED OF DEVELOPMENTS.

END

HFL

FBI WASH DC

TU CLR

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/3/00 BY 37063 EW/Boelamlo

REC 17

EX 101

14 JUL 10 1967

b7C

54 JUL 17 1967

W. H. LT 7/7/67 PJB

F B I

Date: 7/5/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, ALBANY (100-19800) (P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS-M

Re Boston teletype to Bureau, 7/4/67.

[redacted] registration [redacted] is registered to
[redacted]

3-Bureau (RM) *MASS.*
 1-Atlanta (RM)
 2-New York (RM)
 1-Boston (RM)
 2-Albany
 REM/jmh
 (9)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 8/3/00 BY 39063 ERL/CLM

REC 54

100-446080-311

JUL 7 1967

EX-105

INT. SEC.

C.C. Wick

Approved: [Signature]
51 JUL 11 1967 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

F B I

Date: 7/6/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, DETROIT (100-34122)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS

b7C

C Re Bureau airtel to all offices, 5/26/67, captioned
as above.Detroit has obtained from [redacted] b7D
[redacted] East Lansing, Michigan, a tape of STOKELY CARMICHAEL's
speech made on 5/17/67, at Fountain St., Church, Grand
Rapids, Mich.Tape in process of being transcribed and results
will be submitted to Bureau in accordance with instructions
set out in re airtel.(3) - Bureau
2 - Detroit
JEK/bag
(5)ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/3/08 BY 39063 EWT/BclanwREC 17 100 - 446080372
EX 101

100-922982

JUL 7 1967

E.C. WICK

56 JUL 17 1967

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

INT. SEC.

F B I

Date: 7/5/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS

ReWFOairtel, 7/3/67.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are eleven copies
of an LHM captioned as above. Two copies each are furnished
Atlanta, Boston, Buffalo, Denver, and New Orleans.*Fast
T
C*

b2

b7C

b7D

The confidential source in LHM is [redacted]
[redacted] (Bufile [redacted], who was
in contact with SAS [redacted] and [redacted]ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/3/00 BY 503 EMB/AMW

ST 102 REC 33

100-446080-373

- 3 - Bureau (Enc 11) ENCLOSURE
 2 - Atlanta (100-6812) (Enc 2) (RM)
 1 - Boston (Enc 2) (Info) (RM)
 1 - Buffalo (Enc 2) (Info) (RM)
 1 - Denver (Enc 2) (Info) (RM)
 1 - New Orleans (100-16890) (Enc 2) (Info) (RM)
 2 - WFO
 (1 - 100-41626) (COMINFIL, SNCC)

3 JUL 11 1967

WWH/mrb
(11)AGENCY: ACSI, ONI, OSI, SEC. SER.,
ST; 1cc to Legat, Paris & London
ISD, CRD, RAO, CriminalDATE FORW: 7/2/67
HOW FORW: R/S
BY: PTB/del

AIRTEL

M. H. LT 7/7/67

*INT
PTC*

56 JUL 18 1967

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

1cc airtel
1 Xerox of LHM
922 902 M

Per



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Washington, D. C. 20535

July 5, 1967

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

A confidential source, with whom insufficient contact has been had to determine reliability, advised [redacted] that [redacted]

[redacted] of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), while on a visit to Washington, D. C., [redacted]

b7C

b7D

[redacted] Stokely Carmichael had arrived in Washington, D. C., on that date for a short visit. According to the source, [redacted] stated that Carmichael had "very quietly" arrived in Washington, D. C., during the evening of [redacted] and that he did not desire any publicity regarding the visit. [redacted] also stated, according to the source, that Carmichael came to Washington, D. C., for "personal pleasure" and that no racial activity was planned by SNCC in connection with his visit.

The source continued that on the evening of [redacted] of the

b7C

b7D

Washington, D. C., branch of SNCC [redacted] Carmichael had left Washington, D. C., [redacted] According to the source, [redacted] stated that Carmichael did not participate in any SNCC activity while in Washington, D. C.

b7C

b7D

The source further advised he did not know Carmichael's complete future itinerary or schedule, but that [redacted] Carmichael is due in Paris, France, on July 14, 1967, to participate in the "Bastille Day" celebration taking place at that time. He stated Carmichael had reportedly received an

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8/3/00 BY 396235W/bce/cc

101-446087-375
ENCLOSURE

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

invitation to participate in the activities by an organization named "UNEF," but the source did not know the full name or nature of the organization. Source advised that after the visit to France, Carmichael plans to travel to London, England, where he is scheduled to take part in "some sort of symposium" being held there on or about July 18, 1967. The nature of the symposium is not known to the source.

According to this source, Carmichael is slated to be out of the United States about eight or ten days for the above appearances.

This document contains neither
recommendations nor conclusions of
the FBI. It is the property of
the FBI and is loaned to your agency;
it and its contents are not to be
distributed outside your agency.

FBI

Date: 7/7/67

Transmit the following in _____

PLAINTEXT

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE

URGENT

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Wick	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR (100-446080) AND SACS ATLANTA (100-6812)
NEW ORLEANS (100-16890)
MOBILE

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS DASH MISCELLANEOUS.

RE ATLANTA TELETYPE THIS DATE.

WFO SOURCE ADVISED [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] CARMICHAEL NOT PRESENTLY IN

WASHINGTON, D. C., AND ACCORDING TO [REDACTED] HE SHOULD
BE IN ATLANTA IN VIEW OF HIS PLANNED APPEARANCE AT SOME TYPE
OF TRIAL IN THE SOUTH, EXACT PLACE, TIME AND DATE NOT DISCLOSED
TO SOURCE.

SOURCES ASSIGNED TO FOLLOW THIS MATTER CLOSELY AND IF
ADDITIONAL INFO DEVELOPED, INTERESTED OFFICES WILL BE
PROMPTLY NOTIFIED.

2 - Bureau
2 - Teletype Unit
3 - WFO
(1- 100-41626) (CONFIDENTIAL - SNCC)

WWH:pag
(7)

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03/00 BY 3063 ELL/beckmw

REC 11

100-446080-374

JUL 11 1967

54 JUL 14 1967

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

F B I

Date: 7/5/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, BOSTON (157-437) (RUC) b7C

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL, aka C. Welcher
IS - M

(OO:AT)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/3/00 BY 39063 ELW/BCL/amu

Re Atlanta teletype to Director dated 6/30/67; and
Boston teletypes to Director dated 7/4/67.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are eleven copies,
for Atlanta and Albany two copies each, and for New York one
information copy, of a letterhead memorandum setting forth
information furnished to SA [redacted]
by [redacted]

One copy each of this letterhead memorandum is
being forwarded locally to OSI, NISO and 108th MI Group, as
well as Secret Service and USA, Providence, Rhode Island.

LEADALBANYAT ALBANY, NEW YORK

Will identify owner of car bearing [redacted]
registration [redacted] and furnish details to OO.

- 3-Bureau (100-446080) (Encs. 11) (RM)
- 2-Albany (Encs. 2) (RM)
- 2-Atlanta (100-6812) (Encs. 2) (RM)
- 1-New York (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)
- 1-Boston (157-437)

FEM:mtc

(9)

W. H. LT 7/7/67

ENCLOSURE

13 JUL 6 1967

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

AGENCY: ACSI, ONI, OSI, SEC. SER.,
LAW: ISD, CRD, RAO
DATE FORW: 7/5/67
HOW FORW: BY: [redacted]



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Boston, Massachusetts
July 5, 1967

STOKELY CARMICHAEL,
also known as
C. Welcher

b7C

b7D

[redacted] advised that Stokely Carmichael, accompanied by seven Negroes, two being women, arrived at Newport, Rhode Island at approximately ten p.m. and they attended the final performances of the Newport Jazz Festival being held on that date at Festival Field.

b7C

b7D

[redacted] explained that the Newport Jazz Festival has been held at Festival Field in Newport, Rhode Island over the Fourth of July weekend for the past fourteen years and is a regularly scheduled event. The Festival features sectional, national and international jazz music as well as singers and is highly regarded by the music community throughout the United States. The Festival is under the [redacted]

b7C

b7D

[redacted] further advised that at approximately 12:30 a.m., Stokely Carmichael and his group left Festival Field, Newport, at the conclusion of the jazz concert and entered a [redacted]

[redacted] bearing [redacted] registration [redacted] According to [redacted] Carmichael appeared to have considerable luggage in the rear compartment of this vehicle and that prior to leaving the immediate area of Festival Field, was asked by a reporter where he was going and answered "No comment".

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/3/02 BY 39063E/14 BCL/ANW

COPIES DESTROYED

333 FEB 24 1971

ENCLOSURE

100-446080-375

STOKELY CARMICHAEL,
also known as
C. Welcher

b7C [] said other than the above contact by
b7D a reporter, there were no other contacts made with Carmichael
during the course of the jazz concert.

b7C [] said that no incidents occurred
b7D during Carmichael's appearance as a spectator at the Jazz
Festival or during his departure from Festival Field.

This document contains neither recommendations nor
conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is
loaned to your agency: it and its contents are not to be
distributed outside your agency.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

FBI WASH DC*

JUL 7 1967

TELETYPE

FBI ATLANTA

328 PM URGENT 7/7/67 MRB

TO DIRECTOR, NEW ORLEANS AND MOBILE AND WFO
FROM ATLANTA 100-6812 P

STOKELY CARMICHAEL. IS - M.

RE NEW ORLEANS TEL JULY SIX SIXTYSEVEN CAPTIONED, "RACIAL
SITUATION, BOGALUSA, LA., " INDICATING RUMOR BEING CIRCULATED
THAT SUBJECT WOULD BE THERE ON JULY SEVEN TO PARTICIPATE IN A
MARCH SPONSORED BY THE BOGALUSA VOTERS LEAGUE.

RE ATLANTA TEL TO WFO AND NEW ORLEANS JULY SIX REFLECTING
CARMICHAEL WAS AS OF SIX THIRTY PM, JULY SIX, SIXTYSEVEN ENROUTE
TO ATLANTA FROM WASHINGTON.

ON JULY SEVEN, SIXTYSEVEN, SOURCE ATLANTA ADVISED THAT
CARMICHAEL HAS NOT YET ARRIVED IN ATLANTA BUT IS EXPECTED TO BE
HERE SOMETIME DURING DAY OF JULY SEVEN. CARMICHAEL ALLEGEDLY
APPEARING FOR TRIAL IN MONTGOMERY, ALA., ON JULY EIGHT NEXT.

WFO THROUGH SOURCES ATTEMPT TO DETERMINE IF CARMICHAEL HAS
DEPARTED WASHINGTON, DC.

MOBILE WILL ATTEMPT TO IDENTIFY TRIAL AT MONTGOMERY IN WHICH

CARMICHAEL IS TO APPEAR

END

BJP

FBI WASH DC*

TWO COPIES WFO

REC 30

100-446080-376

MR J & SE BH.ES

JUL 11 1967

DOM INTELL DIA

SEC. 0

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8/3/00 BY 39063 EWB/ckm

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Wick
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

b7C

b7C

b7C

Time

3-45 P

(Xerox / copy)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

JUL 7 1967

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Wick	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

FBI WASH DC

FBI MOBILE

549PM URGENT 7-7-67 MMA

TO DIRECTOR, NEW ORLEANS, ATLANTA

FROM MOBILE

STOKELY CARMICHAEL. IS - M.

b7C

RE AT TEL INSTANT DATE.

FOR INFO, STOKELY CARMICHAEL WAS ARRESTED JUNE ELEVEN
LAST AT PRATTVILLE, ALABAMA, WHEN HE WAS ADDRESSING A GROUP
OF NEGROES AND MAKING INFLAMMATORY STATEMENTS. HE WAS CHARGED
WITH DISORDERLY CONDUCT, RELEASED ON BOND JUNE THIRTEEN LAST,
CASE SET FOR TRIAL ON JULY EIGHT SIXTYSEVEN. INQUIRY AUTAUGA
COUNTY S.O. PRATTVILLE, ALA., WAS MADE AND INSTANT CASE POSTPONED
UNTIL AUGUST SEVEN NEXT. IN AS MUCH AS PRATTVILLE, ALA. IS BUT
A SHORT DISTANCE FROM MONTGOMERY, ALA., IT IS BELIEVED THAT
THIS IS THE TRIAL REFERRED TO IN REFERENCED TELETYPE.

END

BAP

FBI WASH DC

P

56 JUL 17 1967

CC:

REC 30

EX-103

100-446080-377

JUL 11 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/3/00 BY 37012 ELL/BCK/AMW

b7C

b7C

called

No action
JAN

FBI

Date: 7/5/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (100-6812) (P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY-MISCELLANEOUS

Enclosed for the Bureau are 8 copies of letterhead memorandum and 2 copies for WFO reflecting CARMICHAEL's intended participation in the International Congress Dialectics of Liberation which is to be held in London, England in July, 1967.

The source furnishing the information referred to in this letterhead memorandum is identified as [REDACTED]

b2
b7D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/3/00 BY 39063 enl/bcl/aww

3-Bureau (Enc. 8) (RM)
2-WFO (Enc. 2) (100-43503) (RM)
3-Atlanta (2-100-6812)
(1-[REDACTED])
EUC: sbw
(8)

b2

b7D

ST 102

1cc of airtel to
1 Xcopy of LHM
92-94 D

REC-28 100-446080-378

AGENCY: ACSI, ONI, OSI, SEC. SER.,
DEPT: ISD, CRD, RAO
DATE FORW: 7/10/67
HOW FORW: P/S
BY: P/B/aww

14 JUL 6 1967

51 JUL 1 1967
Approved: [Signature]
Special Agent in Charge

Sent

Per



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Atlanta, Georgia
July 5, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY-MISCELLANEOUS

On June 16, 1967, an article appeared in the "Peace ENG
News", London, England, reflecting that in July, 1967, the Inter-
national Congress Dialectics of Liberation would be held in
London and that numerous distinguished thinkers from all over
the world, including the third world, and Eastern Europe, would
be attending as well as many students who are dissatisfied with
what they are being taught in their own universities. The article
continued that Stokely Carmichael, described as a political
activist, would speak on Tuesday, July 18, 1967, at 10:30 a.m.

On June 30, 1967, a source, who has furnished reliable
information in the past, advised that Carmichael would be leaving
the United States from Washington, D. C. on July 13, for London
where he would participate in the aforementioned Congress.

Stokely Carmichael is the former National Chairman of
the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee who was not re-
elected to this position in May of 1967, by the Central Committee
of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. Carmichael
has publicly stated that he will continue his association with
the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, but in the capa-
city of organizer.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/3/00 BY 3803 EWB/BL/AMW

100-446080 -378

ENCLOSURE

FBI

Date: 6/29/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority)

b7c

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM: SAC, KNOXVILLE (157-34 Sub A)POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTERS

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of a letterhead memorandum bearing above caption. One copy of this letterhead memorandum has been designated for the USA, Chattanooga.

Informant coverage remains substantially the same as previously reported.

Crim Div, SS, FS, OEO, CRS
Agency G-2, ONI, OSI, CRD

Date Forw. 7-5-67How Forw. R/SBy CHP/COB

1836 980
ENCLOSURE

3 - Bureau (Enc. 11) (RM)
1 - Knoxville

TAS/arb
(4)

100-246080
NOT RECORDED
183 JUL 12 1967

18 JUL 3 1967

b7c

ENCLOSURE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/3/00 BY 39063 BWT/Reel/Amu

SUB CONTROL

50 JUL 1 1967

Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

ORIGINAL FILED IN 157-6-24-542



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Knoxville, Tennessee

June 29, 1967

POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTERS

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The information set forth is based on the comments and views of local government officials, police officers, leaders of various racial groups, established sources and public source information and pertains to the racial situation as of the time the comments and views are expressed; the possibility that the racial situation in a particular area may abruptly change at any time must be taken into consideration.

AT CHATTANOOGA, TENNESSEE:

GENERAL RACIAL CONDITIONS

The Chattanooga Times, Chattanooga, Tennessee, a daily publication, in issue of June 11, 1967, reported that WILLIAM T. UNDERWOOD, Jr., a lawyer and president of Chattanooga NAACP Branch, in an interview stated he disagreed with STOKLEY CARMICHAEL's views entirely. UNDERWOOD is ~~reported to have stated~~ he disagreed with CARMICHAEL's approach to the racial problem. He stated equal job opportunity is the NAACP's primary objective in Chattanooga. He was reported as saying the Civil Rights problem is both social and economical and the problem will only be solved when society and government "learn to accept a man as a man". He is reported to have stated despite progress made Chattanooga has several sore spots that could very well bring about a conflict of people. It was reported

100 - 446080

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8/3/00 BY 39063 EIW/Bcl/mw

ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE

POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS

UNDERWOOD outlined three steps of action used by NAACP to confront "sore spots" he said existed in Chattanooga. He stated first an attempt is made to solve problems through negotiations, court action is the next step, and demonstrations are only the last resort. It was reported he takes issues strongly with those leaders who attempt to link the Civil Rights Movement to the war in Viet Nam.

[redacted]
[redacted]
Tennessee, advised he had received information on that date from a confidential source, whose identity he would not reveal but who has furnished him reliable information in the past, that STOKLEY CARMICHAEL and representatives of SNCC had made plans to visit Chattanooga in the past. According to this source, CARMICHAEL reportedly said he will come to Chattanooga either in about ten days or during August, 1967, and will bring with him approximately 100 of his supporters. This source stated that CARMICHAEL is reported to have made the statement that since the "Niggers" in Chattanooga did not support him he would bring his own supporters; and, reportedly, several buildings on one of the Chattanooga streets have been marked for burning by CARMICHAEL and his supporters.

b7C

b7D

[redacted] advised [redacted] he had been informed of the information reported by [redacted] and he held a called meeting of the [redacted] on that date concerning this and also alerted the Chattanooga Police Department. He stated after talking to the members of the Committee, composed of both Negro and white leaders at Chattanooga, he believed if such visit by CARMICHAEL does occur, the majority of the Chattanooga citizens will ignore CARMICHAEL.

b7C

b7D

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

FBI WASH DC*

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUL 12 1967

TELETYPE

FBI ATLANTA

1246AM URGENT 7/12/67 LWG

TO DIRECTOR, WFO, AND NEW YORK

NEW YORK VIA WASH. D.C.

FROM ATLANTA (100-6812)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Wick	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; IS - M.

SOURCE ADVISES SUBJECT [REDACTED]

DEPARTED ATLANTA APPROX. SIX PM, JULY ELEVEN FOR WASHINGTON,
D.C.

THESE INDIVIDUALS ALSO SCHEDULED TO LEAVE NEW YORK, JULY
THIRTEEN AT ONE ZERO FOUR, AM OR PM UNKNOWN, FOR LONDON,
ENGLAND. SCHEDULED TO ARRIVE LONDON EIGHT FIFTYFIVE, AM OR
PM UNKNOWN.

SOURCE BELIEVES SUBJECT WILL BE COMMUTING BETWEEN U.S.
AND ENGLAND UNTIL THE LAST OF AUGUST.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/3/00 BY 3902 EWB/BEL/ANW

ADDITIONAL DETAILS, AS DEVELOPED, WILL BE SUBMITTED.

END

EX-115

REC 17 100-446080-379

~~PLS CORRECT YOUR HEADING TO READ OR TAKE OUT THE NY VIA WASHDC~~

~~YOU SEND TO NY DIRECTLY NOT THROUGH US YOU WILL PROTECT~~

~~CORRETECT OK TKS WILL DO AND SEND TO THEM DIRECT~~ JUL 13 1967

OK DLH

57 JUL 19 1967
FBI WASH DC*
TWO COPIES WFO

W. H. LT 7/12/67

C C'

b7C

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

DATE: 7/10/67

FROM : SAC, ALBANY (100-19800) (P*)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS

Re Bureau airtel to Albany dated 6/7/67.

Attached herewith for the Bureau is one (1) original and seven (7) copies of an LHM summarizing speeches and reactions to STOKELY CARMICHAEL's visits in the Albany division.

All future visits by CARMICHAEL in this Division will be reported as directed in referenced airtel.

3-Bureau (RM) (Enc. 8)
2-Albany (1-100-19134)
TCK:mgb
(5)

ENCLOSURE
ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/13/00 BY 39063 E/W/Bce/Amw

REC-43 100-446080-380

16 JUL 13 1967

1 Xerox 922 944

AGENCY: ACSI, ONI, OSI, SEC. SER.,
FBI: ISD, CRD, RAO, Comm
DATE FORW: 7/12/67
HOW FORW: NS
BY: PTE/dkt

SUBV. CONTROL

INT. SEC.

b7C



54 JUL 20 1967

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

502 Federal Building
Albany, New York 12201
July 10, 1967

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Stokely Carmichael appeared at Goddard College, Plainfield, Vermont, on the afternoon of November 14, 1966, and addressed the students, estimated at between 150 to 200, in the collegedining hall. According to information obtained, Carmichael termed the United States' involvement in Vietnam a "racist war", and called the draft the "Black power removal program", referring to the alleged high percentage of Negroes fighting in Vietnam. He indicated the fight against discrimination of Negroes must be led by the Negro community, though White efforts will also be welcome, and they can contribute money to the cause.

Addressing approximately 450 to 500 students in the same afternoon at the University of Vermont, he again referred to the United States' participation in Vietnam as a "racist war". He explained that "Black Power" was an attempt by the Negroes to gain political control of their own Black community.

The lecture was sponsored by the Vermont Student Movement, which at the time was a newly-formed organization presenting widely diverse viewpoints.

No demonstrations were present at either speech and both were very orderly.

On January 5, 1967, Stokely Carmichael was the guest speaker at the State University of New York College, at Cortland, New York. Carmichael spoke before a crowd of approximately 500 students, and the subject of his talk

~~ENCLOSURE~~

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

was "Black Power" -- its uses, needs, and substance. The context of his speech was as follows:

The trouble with the Civil Rights movement has been that its leaders have spent their time reacting to the White man's definition of their own terms; whereas, the Negroes must be the ones that define the terms. He defined "Black Power" as taking control by Negroes of the governments of communities and by creating a political power base from which they may fight. He stressed that Blacks must stop White supremacy and then there will be opportunities for the Negroes as a whole and not for a selected few. He attacked coalition politics and the American press, claiming that the press has become political.

Following his speech, there was a question and answer period, during which time Carmichael stated that the leaders in the Civil Rights movement would like to change the name from Civil Rights to Human Rights, but that this is difficult to do. He again stressed the right to be able to define terms by the Negroes, stating that if you can define, you can then create. He stated that "Black Power" is humanistic and will help in civilizing America.

Carmichael was asked whether he had any Marxist remnants in his background, to which he refused to give a direct answer. He then replied that he had read Marx and that Marx was right concerning White Western Europe.

Carmichael stated that the Black Muslims was a name given to that organization by the American press and that he considered that group as a religious organization and not as a political movement. He denied that the

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Black Muslims was an extremist organization but stated rather that it was a withdrawal movement.

Carmichael maintained that the Whites have always made the decisions and that the Blacks have not. He stated that integration is not relative to the real struggle for Black Power. He stated that Congressman Adam Clayton Powell should retain his seat because the people of Harlem voted for him.

In answer to the concluding question at the appearance, Carmichael stated that his hatred for racism made him join the movement and that he wants the Black people to overthrow White oppression. After that has been done, he maintained that the Negroes can do anything they want to without any concern to him.

During the week of February 27, 1967, the Cornell University (CU) Inter-Fraternity Council (an organization of representatives of all Cornell fraternities) sponsored a "Soul of Blackness Week" at the CU campus, Ithaca, New York. The purpose of this program was to present various speakers and to promote discussion relative to the American Negro and the civil rights problem. One of the featured speakers was Stokely Carmichael, Chairman of SNCC.

Carmichael arrived on campus February 28, 1967, and departed March 1, 1967. He was housed during this period as a guest of the Sigma Phi Fraternity.

Carmichael participated in a seminar with professors from the Government Department during the

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

afternoon of February 28, 1967. In this seminar he claimed that the Civil War was not fought for humanitarian reasons, and that Abraham Lincoln was a racist. He said that he would fight to death for his own liberation, and that he feels it honorable to pull down the rest of society if this is necessary to gain his liberation. He claimed that the Negro must confront, rather than withdraw, and he predicted that policemen will soon be killed in the black gattoes because they provide no protection for black people. He said that he was in favor of violent groups, such as the Deacons, as a means of survival.

Carmichael gave a speech at Bailey Hall on the subject "Soul and Black Power" at 7:30 p.m., February 28, 1967, before an audience of two thousand. This formal speech was followed by a question and answer period. In his speech, he claimed that "black power" - the power for Negroes to control their own destinies, to organize Negro communities so they have self-control and independence - is the answer to the Negro's plight, not integration. He said that most of the country's twenty million Negroes live in captive communities with white-controlled political, economic and social forces to run them.

Carmichael denounced white supremacy, defended Adam Clayton Powell, criticized the draft and condemned the war in Vietnam, both in his speech and in the question and answer period thereafter. He referred to lowered conscription standards as "black urban removal". He stated his position on the draft when one is called is to say "hell no", and that after seeing the rights of freedom and equality in the United States, he would not fight to give these rights to anybody.

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Concerning the Vietnam war, Carmichael said that the United States stands on the brink of becoming a nation of murderers, and that it is already a nation of thieves, claiming that it historically first stole the country from the Indians and then stole Negroes from Africa. He said that he expects to be sent to jail for his refusal to fight in Vietnam.

Carmichael also participated in a panel discussion which was open to the public and held on campus on March 1, 1967. He attended this discussion dressed in a yellow sweatshirt on which was a picture of Malcolm X. He complained of police brutality and he called the Christian church the best organization for murder in the country, claiming that "a cat like Cardinal Spellman will tell the people to kill the Vietnamese for Christ."

He further said that the solution to the Negro's problem is to fight for more money or to reduce those who have more by the power of disruption.

Stokely Carmichael, National Chairman of SNCC, delivered a speech at Syracuse University (SU), Syracuse, New York, on the evening of March 15, 1967, at Hendricks Chapel. His topic was "Freedom and Alienation". A panel of three Syracuse University faculty members and a representative of the Syracuse Negro community participated in the panel discussion following Carmichael's talk. Carmichael was sponsored at SU by "Footprints", a student organization whose function is bringing eminent speakers to the Syracuse campus in order to stimulate intellectual excitement.

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Prior to giving his talk, Carmichael attended a student dinner at Graham Hall, SU, at 6:00 p.m., March 15, 1967. He was housed at the Mohawk Motor Inn, 1060 East Genesee Street, Syracuse, New York. He departed Syracuse, New York, on March 16, 1967.

Carmichael gave a speech at Hendricks Chapel, SU, on the subject "Freedom and Alienation" at 8:00 p.m. March 15, 1967, before an audience of about 1500. In his speech, Carmichael stated that the "Black Power" concept has been misunderstood because it was distorted by the news media, that "these agencies reflected a white racist interpretation of the idea, rather than what was intended by its Negro advocates". "Black Power" does not mean "taking over the country". What it does mean, according to Carmichael, is that black men should take over control of the black community--they must develop the political and economic power of the black community so that it can become a functional and honorable segment of the total society, with its own cultural identity and institutions. He stated that what must be abolished is not the black community, but the dependent colonial status that has been inflicted upon it.

Carmichael in making reference to the freedoms provided by our constitution added the phrase "and all that garbage". It was felt that there was an unfavorable student reaction to that statement.

Carmichael made a comparison between individual racism and institutionalized racism. When white terrorists bomb a Negro church and kill five children, Carmichael said that this represents an act of individual racism

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

and most people are appalled by this. On the other hand, when 500 Negro babies die each year because of poor nutrition and inadequate medical attention, this is an act of institutionalized racism and much of society pretends that the situation does not exist.

Carmichael was critical of the poll registration in the South since, by this action, the politicians were only interested in soliciting support for the Democratic party.

He stated that only five per cent of the black children in the South attend integrated schools and that the remainder still attend the schools that are understaffed, overcrowded and inadequately equipped.

The only reference Carmichael made to Vietnam was in pointing out that although the Negro represents ten per cent of the population in the United States, thirty per cent of the troops in Vietnam are Negro.

Carmichael, after his one-hour speech, participated in a question and answer session.

During this session when one student asked him how he was going to enforce "Black Power", he stated that this would be done by "any means that is necessary." During the session one of the SU faculty members said that Carmichael was vague about the means of achieving the minority community power he advocated and that it was difficult to imagine any technique by which a minority of ten per cent of the population could maintain a stable autonomy.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

F B I

Date: 7/10/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, HOUSTON (100-10598) (P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS

Re Bureau airtel to Albany and all offices, 6/7/67.

[redacted]
[redacted] Houston, Texas, advised that he believed the [redacted]
[redacted] had recordings of the speeches given by
CARMICHAEL in April, 1967 when the latter visited Houston.
He said if such tapes exist they would be under the custody
of [redacted] who was presently [redacted]
[redacted]

[redacted] advised [redacted] that he had tape
recordings of two different speeches given by CARMICHAEL
in April, 1967 on the campus of Texas Southern University
and the University of Houston, both Houston, Texas. He
said they were a total of about three hours in length.

On 7/7/67, SA [redacted] and [redacted]
[redacted] made a rerecording of the speech
given by CARMICHAEL on 4/14/67 at Texas Southern University.
It was noted that the fidelity of the original recording
was poor and parts of the speech were not readily discernible.
However, effort will be made to transcribe the rerecording
on to dictabelts with a view towards preparing a transcript
thereof. If successful, a rerecording will be made of the
speech given by CARMICHAEL at the University of Houston,
and an appropriate letterhead memo will be prepared and
forwarded to the Bureau.

2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - Houston
CJP/sjm
(4)

REC 30

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/3/00 BY 57063EW/Bakmu

3 JUL 11 1967

JUL 18 1967

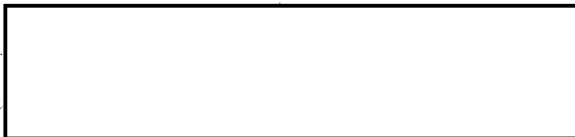
Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

July 6, 1967

Met-TO

REC 98

100-444080-382



b7C

Dear



b7C

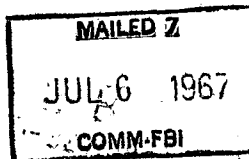
I have received your letter of June 29th, together with its enclosures, and want to thank you for your generous comment concerning my work.

With respect to your inquiry regarding Stokely Carmichael, the FBI is strictly an investigative agency of the Federal Government and, as such, does not determine whether prosecution will be undertaken in any situation. Such decisions concerning violations of Federal law are within the province of the United States Department of Justice.

You may be assured, however, the FBI is aware of the activities of this individual and any information obtained which might indicate a violation of Federal law over which this Bureau has investigative jurisdiction will be furnished to the United States Department of Justice for prosecutive consideration.

We in the FBI certainly share your concern regarding the crime problem and are doing everything within our jurisdiction to combat this cancer in our society. I am enclosing some material which I trust you will find of interest.

Sincerely yours,



J. Edgar Hoover

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/3/00 BY 39063 EIW/col/Amul

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Wick _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

Enclosures (2)

Respect for Law

The Role of the Citizen In Law Enforcement

NOTE: Bufiles contain no record identifiable with

HRH:clc (3)

b7C

MAIL ROOM

TELETYPE UNIT

57 JUL 18 1967

Wla

TRUE COPY

June 29 / 67.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Our country can't thank you enough for the wonderful job you have done. Its too bad you cannot continue to do your work. We all know that LBJ has curbed your work. It make us decent Americans sick, to see how the negro leaders tear up our communities, and the President of this wonderful country, will not stop these people.

The man whom I talking about is Stokely Carmichael and his hench men. He causes all sorts of riots, but he is never there to get hurt. This man has said many things about our country, he has also told his followers not to go into service of this country, has has called LBJ - a buffoon, a clown, and many other things. Why is this man allowed to do these things? Are not the laws of this country for all? If a white man caused so much destruction all over the country, he'd be arrested, sent to prison or deported. Why then hasn't this happen to this man? What right has he to destroy people's homes, businesses, even kill or hurt people? I think its time this man, and others were punished. I think he should be deported since he doesn't like our country. How can he call him self an American, when he abuses the laws and rights of others. He is not helping his people, he is promoting hate. I have also read there is a law against going into other states to start riots. Why, then isnt this man punished? I have written to senators and Congressmen, but not one has enough guts to do anything about it. Not even the ones whose state suffers from this riots. A man's home or property is his not for a bunch of wild eyed, keyed up rioters to ruin it. Don't we people who pay taxes, have any rights? I know you can't do much about it, but its time to stop these people, before we end up with a civil war again in our country. I hope you can give me some answers, and what can citizens do to protect them selves and their homes.

IT @ jow 7-5-67

ack: 7/6/67

NRH/ele
nm

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/3/00 BY 37063 EIW/Balamw

8/1/67

We have a high crime rate, streets are unsafe, homes are not safe, women getting raped, people robbed, shot, or hurt. Our country has never had so many young people taking drugs -- loose with morals, and so many against our country.

They have no respect for anyone, no respect for laws, no respect for our wonderful country and our wonderful flag. It makes decent people sick to look at beatniks with their dirty bearded faces, long hair and dirty clothes. It makes us sick to think decent young men are dying in Viet Nam for such scum. Thank you for reading my letter and I hope to hear from you.

Yours truly,



b7C

b7D

Ha-b

June 29.67.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Our country can't thank you enough for the wonderful job you have done. Its too bad you cannot continue to do your work. We all know that LBJ - has ruined your work. It make us decent Americans sick, to see how the negro leaders tear up our communities, and the President of this wonderful country, will not stop these people.

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anyone, no Respect for laws,
no Respect for our wonderful
country and our wonderful
flag. It makes decent people
sick to look at beatniks with
their dirty bearded faces, long
hair and dirty clothes. It
makes us sick to think decent
young men are dying in Viet
Nam for such reasons. Thank
you for reading my letter
and I hope to hear from you.

Yours truly,

b7C

b7D

Why doesn't LBJ take a look at all this and pass a law
against riots, looting and hurting people - For us there
are laws but not for the Negro rioters.

So what

Lets do something

throw him out

Is this right

He can do it but we can't
protect ourselves

Against the Law

He still does it

How nice

Bunk

No Good

Bunk

Why

They have LBJ's protection We
don't - They can kill-loot-we
can't.

Why doesn't LBJ take a look at this and pass a law against rioting and hurting people - for

FBI Study Indicates Riot Pros Are Trained Better Than Policemen

as there are laws but not for the Negro rioters.

By ROBERT S. ALLEN and PAUL SCOTT

WASHINGTON—The urgent need for a federal riot-control law is clearly indicated by a confidential FBI report on the latest outbreaks of local racial disturbances.

Prepared for the White House, the well-documented FBI study warns that local police are no longer dealing with amateurs in riots and demonstrations in their cities. *Southern*

It bluntly points out that hard-core agitators and demonstrators, more skilled than some policemen, are beginning to "show up over and over again in areas that explode with violence."

"The same faces are beginning to appear in riot after riot," states the FBI report. "No longer are we dealing with amateurs. Professional agitators are traveling from city to city inciting, organizing, and encouraging riots." *Let's do something*

While a large part of the FBI's investigation was devoted to the nationwide activities of Stokely Carmichael, the 26-year-old organizer of the Black Panther Negro group, the agency's report contained names of dozens of other agitators including several of Carmichael's aides known to be trying to touch off a Negro revolution in the U.S. *throw him out*

For instance, the report reveals that a top aide to Carmichael was spotted in several cities moving through crowds urging students and Negroes to "take an eye for an eye, arm for arm, and a life for a life." *In this way*

In most of his riot-provoking activities, this top aide is usually accompanied by another highly trained agitator, according to the FBI report. *He can do it but we can't protect our selves.*

FOLLOWING THE BOOK—Equally disturbing to the federal investigators is the recent establishment of training schools for the agitators by the militant civil rights and Communist groups. *AGAINST THE LAW*

The FBI study quotes Raymond M. Momboisse, attorney with the California Department of Justice:

"There are at least four training schools for demonstrators in California, and they are effective. By the time one of these agitators hits the streets he is probably better trained than many of our police."

Other training centers for the professional riot-makers are in New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio. In these centers, the demonstrators are taught both violent and non-violent techniques of turning a peaceful demonstration into a riot.



month, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover revealed that one militant Negro group, the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM), was training its members in guerrilla warfare.

Hoover linked Carmichael with RAM, pointing out that the Black Power leader had been in frequent contact with Max Stanford, field chairman of the Communist-controlled group. Several members of this organization were arrested recently on charges of plotting to assassinate moderate civil rights leaders.

Under the controversial riot-control bill approved by a House Judiciary subcommittee, it would be a federal crime to travel or communicate across state boundaries to incite, organize, or encourage a riot. Conviction would carry a maximum penalty of \$10,000 fine and/or a five-year sentence. *He still does it **

KEEPING HANDS OFF—The Justice Department's failure to endorse this riot-control measure is due in part to President Johnson's hands-off policy. *How nice*

The President instructed Attorney General Clark to neither support nor oppose this controversial legislation. However, administration supporters succeeded in adding to the bill a Justice Department proposal for protecting civil rights workers.

In a meeting with Democratic House leaders, the President explained his position saying that he favored leaving the problem of racial violence this summer to local governments, as far as possible. *BUNK*

By earmarking \$75 million for the cities for work programs, job training facilities, and summer recreation projects, the federal government was doing about as much as it could, the President said. *NO GOOD*

Concerned about the outbreak of rioting in several cities, the President stressed that the best way to dampen down this violence is to provide jobs for Negro youths. *BUNK*

LOOKING AHEAD—The President's Crime Commission is planning to wind up its business by June 30. Executive Director James Vorenberg is returning to Harvard to teach, despite those rumors that President Johnson would appoint him to a high position in the Justice Department. . . . The average wage settlement increase for 1967 is running at five per cent, 1.5 per cent above White House "guidelines," according to a study by the President's Council of Economic Advisers. . . . The council also reports a 14-year high in strikes during the first four months of the year. . . . U.S. intelligence sources are warning American shipping companies that the Suez Canal will be blocked for from three to six months. . . . The canal is obstructed by a sunken oiler, including one barge completely filled with cement. In 1956, it was five months after the end of hostilities before the canal was open for traffic.

Shoot Looters

Editor, The News:

A few weeks ago, when tornadoes struck Oak Park, Ill. and nearby communities, the familiar, traditional order came down from those in authority: "All looters will be shot on sight." And as usual in these natural disasters when such orders are issued, looting was held to an absolute minimum.

Why is it then that when current man-made disasters are taking place night after night in city after city no one has the guts to say: "All looters will be shot on sight?" *V.H.J.*

Does anyone seriously doubt that if a dozen or so of lawless were shot during the initial outbreak then at least the stricken city could escape repetitive nights of the same mess?

When will we Americans stop turning the other cheek? *THEY HAVE*

L.B.J.'S PROTECTION JOHN T. WILLIAMSON
Hollywood
w'e DON'T - They can
KILL - LOOT - WE CAN

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DATE 8/3/00 BY 38063 E/W/ber/amy

100-44600-36

F B I

Date: 7/10/67

Transmit the following in _____
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(Priority) b7c

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Wick	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKLEY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are eleven (11) copies and for Atlanta two (2) copies of LHM regarding the above-captioned subject. Copies to Atlanta are for information.

b7C

b7D

The source referred to in the attached LHM is

[redacted] who was contacted [redacted] by SA [redacted]

WFO affording this matter continuous attention and informants have been assigned to attempt to ascertain information regarding CARMICHAEL's travel and activities. Pertinent information received will be furnished promptly.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8/3/20 BY 3903 ELW/BEL/ANW

1) ENCLOSURE

- 3 - Bureau (Enc. 11)
- 2 - Atlanta (Enc. 2) (RM) (100-4812)
- 1 - WFO

WWH:pag
(6)AIRTEL

C. C. Wick

AGENCY: [redacted]

Logat, Paris, London 7/12/67
ACSI, ONI, OSI, SEC. SER.;
ISD, CRD, RAO

DATE FORW: 7/11/67

HOW FORW: 2/5

BY: P/B/det

EX 105

REC-42

Approved: [Signature]

57 JUL 19 1967 Special Agent in Charge

Sent

14 JUL 13 1967

Per



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No

July 10, 1967

STOKLEY CARMICHAEL

b7C

b7D

[redacted] Washington, D. C.,
advised [redacted] that according to radio news broad-
casts. [redacted]

[redacted] stated that Stokley Carmichael would arrive in
Washington on Wednesday, July 12, 1967.

DC

b7C

b7D

[redacted] stated in regard to the above press
announcements, [redacted] at which time [redacted] commented
that Carmichael is expected in Washington on July 12, 1967, [redacted]
[redacted] he expects to meet with Carmichael on the
evening of July 12, 1967.

On July 10, 1967, a confidential source, with whom
insufficient contact has been had to establish reliability,
advised that there is a possibility Carmichael will stop over
in Washington, D. C., on July 12 or 13, 1967, enroute to Paris,
France, where he has a scheduled appearance on July 14, 1967.
Source added he did not know of any plans Carmichael might
have to hold any meetings or keep any appointments in Washington
during that time. He further advised that Carmichael's stopover
in Washington could only be for a short period of time as he is
scheduled to depart the United States on July 13, 1967, in order
to be in Paris on July 14, 1967.

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it and its contents are not to be
distributed outside your agency.

ENCLOSURE

100-446080-383

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

DATE: 7/13/67

FROM : SAC, PORTLAND (157-240) (RUC)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS

Re Bureau communication to all offices, dated 5/26/67, entitled as above.

There are enclosed 11 copies of a letterhead memorandum (LHM) setting forth verbatim the speech delivered by subject at Portland State College, Portland, Oregon, on 2/16/67.

[redacted] made available for transcription a tape of CARMICHAEL's speech, which was recorded by one of his sources [redacted] The tape has been returned to [redacted]

2-Bureau (Encs. 11) (RM)
1-Portland

FJS:abk
(3)

ENCLOSURE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 8/3/00 BY 39063 Ew/BooLamw

ST 102

REC 29

100-446080-384

AGENCY: ACSI, ONI, OSI, SEC. SER.
DEPT: ISD, CRD, [redacted] Jensen, State
DATE FORW: 7/18/67
HOW FORW: [redacted]
BY: [redacted]

JUL 14 1967

INT/SEC.

57 JUL 24 1967

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan





UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Portland, Oregon

July 13, 1967

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

The following is a verbatim transcript of a speech delivered by Stokely Carmichael at Portland State College, Portland, Oregon, between the hours of 1:30 and 2:30 p.m., February 16, 1967, held under the sponsorship of the Portland State College Educational Activity Board:

It is a pleasure to be at your school today, Portland, Oregon. You still can't hear me? The reason why you can't hear me is when I was small I'd come home and I'd say, "Heah, Mom, I'm home", and she'd say, "Shh! Negroes are so loud." And so I didn't want to be a Negro so I got soft. That was long ago, today I'm fighting hard to be black and for the brothers. I thought that I would read a paper that is a much finer article than the one which appeared in the "New York Review of Books". Since then I've condensed it and re-written it and sort of given it a loose title, entitled, "Black Power, Its Needs and Substance", and perhaps we could use that for the content of our discussion today.

One of the basic requirements of any successful social movement is the necessity to call into question long-standing values, beliefs, and institutions of the society involved. Several observers have noted the need for this. One writer has stated, notably Mr. Kean, in his book, "Politics, Parties and Pressure Groups", that to carve out a place for itself in the political, social order, a new group may have to fight for a re-orientation of the values of the old order. The struggle involved in any political change cannot, by its very nature, be a nice, quiet, harmless, painless affair. If anyone tries to make it so, it is not capable of that process. Frederick Douglas clearly stated the case when he said, I quote, "Those who profess to favor

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333 FEB 24 1971

ENCLOSURE

100-446080-384

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

freedom and yet deprecate agitation, are men who want crops without plowing up the ground, they want rain without thunder and lightening. They want oceans without the awful roar of its waters." Power conceives nothing without demand. It never did and it never will. Find out just what some people will quietly submit to and you have found out the exact measure of injustice and wrong which will be imposed upon them and these will continue until they are resisted with either words or blows or with both. The limits of tyrants are prescribed by the endurance of those whom they oppress. It may be more or less clearly understood that the struggle of black people in the United States is precisely a struggle to modernize, indeed to help civilize this country, and to achieve this, black people must raise hard questions. Questions about the very nature of the society itself. Another American writer has concluded, "The struggle to modernize is what has given meaning to our generation. We should test our cherished institutions and our beliefs. So compelling a force has it become that we are forced to ask new questions of our own institutions. Each country which is modernized or modernizing stands in both judgement and fear of the results. Our own society is an exception that must appear in the politics of modernization. The reality is that this nation from top to bottom is racists. That is not primarily the problem of human relations, but when exploitation is maintained, either actively or through silence by the society as a whole. Can a man condemn himself, can whites, particularly liberal whites, condemn themselves, can they stop blaming blacks and start blaming their own systems? Are they capable of the change, which might become a revolutionary emotion? We have found that they usually cannot condemn themselves, and since black Americans are Negroes they have decided that we will do it. We must face the fact that the civil rights movement in this country has not really called into question the basic values and institutions of this system. If anything, it has accepted these values and institutions. One of the tragedies of the struggle against racism is that up to this point there has been no massive organization which could speak to the growing militancy of young black people

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

and the black doves of this country. There has been only a civil rights movement whose stoney voice is adapted to an audience of liberal whites. It serves as a sort of buffer zone between that audience and the angry young blacks. None of the so-called leaders could go into a community that was in rebellion and be listened to. In a sense, the blame must be shared, along with the mass media, by those leaders, for what happened in Watts, Harlem, Chicago, Cleveland and all over in many of our major cities in the past few years. Each time the people in those cities saw Dr. Martin Luther King get slapped, they became angry. When they saw five little black children bombed to death in a church, they were angrier, and when nothing happened, they were steaming. They had nothing to offer that they could see, except to get out and be beaten again. We helped to build their frustrations. We have only the old language of love and suffering and in most cases it is from the liberals we got back the old language of patience and progress. The civil rights leaders turned to the country. Look, you guys are supposed to be nice guys and we are only going to do what we are supposed to do. Why do you beat us up? Why don't you give us what we ask? Why don't you straighten yourselves out? And to the masses of the black people this language has resulted in virtually nothing. In fact, their objective day-to-day conditions worsen. The unemployment rate among black people increased, while that among whites declined. Housing conditions worsened. Schools, rather than getting better, continued to plod along on out-moded techniques, with tired and indifferent teachers. And all the time the President picks up the refrain of we shall overcome, Congress passes civil rights laws after civil rights laws, only to have them effectively nullified by deliberate enforcement. Progress is being made was the official language and this was simply not true.

When a few in a black community ultimately came to realize this and began to articulate a new language, submit new questions, to seek a re-definition of goals, short-term and long-term, they were blasted by whites and some blacks as extremists, racists, and even accused of contributing to the defeat of the proposed Civil Rights Bill in the summer and fall of 1966. Again, white America

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

was unable to blame itself, and thereby face the real issues, but instead insisted on blaming those who were calling for the achievement of black power. The significance of this development must not be overlooked. An organization which claims to speak for the needs of the community must speak in the tone of that community, not as somebody else's buffer zone. For one, black people are going to use the language they want to use, not just the language whites want to hear. An organization which claims to be listening to the needs of the community must hope to provide that community with a position of sense, from which to make its voice heard. The old language of yesterday is indeed good evidence, integration, progress, compromise, responsible vs. irresponsible, non-violent and love. This language, love, is somewhat a disillusioned belief that the present course was the only course to follow. It misled several into believing that a black minority could actually get into meaningful position of power. The notion is absurd. A white society devised the language, adapted the views, and had the black community narcotized into believing that the language and the views were in fact relevant. The black community has heard time and time again how other immigrant views finally won acceptance, that is by work and achievement. They worked hard, thus they achieved. Now our comment to that is that obviously this country was lying to the black people. Because if that is true, that is - that people who work hard achieve something, black people would own this country. But we will not say it was precisely through the development of Irish power, Polish power, or Jewish power, etc., that these groups got themselves together and operated from positions of strength. John F. Kennedy became President of the United States precisely because he started out in an Irish Catholic position of strength in Boston, Massachusetts. The Irish Catholics take care of their own without a lot of apologies for doing so. You have heard that dubious language from timid leadership about back-lash. This was the case because everyone understood this to be precisely the legitimate way to proceed. Of course there would be a back-lash. Organization begets counter-organization, but this is no reason to default. Therefore,

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it is very important to get it clear - crystal clear - that black people will no longer be bound by someone else's definition of themselves, their goals, and their fates. In the usual concept of black power, it is crystal clear in our minds what we mean and that, and only that, is the prime prerequisite. Black power can be clearly defined for those who do not attach the spirit of light and welfare to their questions about it. We should begin with the basic fact. Black Americans face two problems in this country. First, they are black; and secondly, they are poor. All other problems arise from this two-sided reality. Lack of education, the so-called apathy of black men, etc. Any program to end racism must address itself to this double reality. Almost from its beginning, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee sought to address itself to those conditions, with a program aimed at winning political power that impoverished southern blacks. It had to begin with politics because black Americans are a property-less people in a country that values property above all else. Now if you want to get a clear example of property rights vs. human rights you ought to analyze rebellion that is occurring around the country. For example, inside any black sector in this country there is more concentrated violence than anywhere else in that given city, that is black people fight, cut, and shoot themselves more than anybody else in that given city, especially on Friday and Saturday nights. Also in that given area there is more police power in terms of number, than there is anywhere else in the city. For example, in Harlem you see three policemen to a corner, just shivering in their white nakedness nowadays. You don't see three policemen on a corner in a white suburb. You hardly ever see a policeman in the white suburbs, but while black people cut and shoot each other, there is never any attempt by the policemen to stop violence on black people. In the black community if your house is robbed, there's no need to call the policemen because you know they're not going to do anything about it. But now, if in that same given city, one black boy throws a Molotov cocktail through some store window of people who have been expecting it, then they call in the whole damn National Guard. And what that

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clearly illustrates is that property rights are more important than human rights in this country and that is the problem of white America, not of black people - not of black people. It also clearly points out where the power is vested in our communities. The white people who own stores in our communities have more power than do we ourselves, and then finally what it illustrates is that after every major rebellion so-called "responsible" Negroes are called to do their role - you know - after rebellion Negro leaders are called to play their role, and their role is to condemn black people, that's their only function in society as a matter of fact. The first thing they get them to do is to say, we don't believe in violence, and then they turn around and say, but we're training all our young black men to go to Vietnam. And then they say the people who are starting these riots are really a group of small vagabonds in our neighborhoods. They do not reflect all our people and what is really reflected is that these cats don't have the strength, guts, and the courage to condemn the white people who have been exploiting us. They can only condemn black people. They do not have the guts to say the white grocery store has been exploiting us for 15 years, which store should have been bombed 12 years ago. And it is equally clear to us that precisely because black people do not have channels open to them that other people in society have, they must take their own action into their own hands. America advocates that. They gain deadlier things in Vietnam because they don't just bomb the hell out of it. You have to work with power because this country doesn't function on morality, love and non-violence, but on power. Thus the determination was made to gain political power with the idea of moving from there into activity that would have economic effect. With power, the masses could make and participate in making the decisions which govern their destiny and thereby create basic change in their day-to-day lives. But if political power was the key to self-determination, it would also be obvious the key had been thrown back many decades earlier. This enfranchisement nurtured by racist terror made it impossible to talk about organizing for political power in 1960. The right to vote

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had to be won. And some workers devoted their energy to that task from 1961 to 1965. We set up voter registration drives in the deep South, in places previously unheard of, in terms of meaningful protest action - like Hattiesburg, Mississippi, and Selma, Alabama. We created stature for the vote by holding mock elections in Mississippi in 1963, and by helping to establish the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party in 1964. That struggle was eased, though not won, with the passage of the voting rights act of 1965 - the country was very white to allow us to vote in 1965. SNCC workers could then address themselves to the question, whom can we vote for to have our needs met? How do we make our vote meaningful? SNCC had already gone to Atlantic City, New Jersey, in August of 1964, for recognition of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party by the National Democratic Convention and had been rejected. They also went to the House early in 1965 and they could not unseat the racist Mississippi Democrat, yet in 1967, they could unseat Mr. Adam Clayton Powell because he did the same things they did, with more style. The established political institutions of the society were proving themselves bankrupt. Few people, if any, denied the legitimacy of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party charges against the white Democratic Party in Mississippi, but they were unable to condemn themselves, that is they were unable to come to terms with the idea that a vital part of themselves had to be rejected and displeased and so they were non-responsive to legitimacy. They were more willing and able to perpetuate an intolerable status quo, that is intolerable to the masses of black people no longer willing to bestow respect and dignity on a dying dynasty. 30 blacks ran for school board elections, all but one was defeated and there was evidence of fraud and intimidations sufficient to cause this defeat. In several states black people ran in elections to agricultural committees which make crucial decisions concerning land use, loans, and other farming day-to-day materials. Although we won places on a number of committees, we never gained the majority needed to control those communities and control is what we are fighting for. All of these

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efforts were attempts to gain black power. And in Alabama opportunity came to see our blacks could organize on an independent party basis - an unusual Alabama law provides that any group of citizens could nominate candidates to county offices and if they win 20 percent of the vote, they will be recognized as a county political party. The same thing applies on the state level. SNCC proceeded to organize in several counties, such as Lions County, where black people constitute 86 percent of the population and have an average income of \$543. We felt we could accomplish nothing within the framework of the Alabama Democratic Party because of its racism and the filing fee for the 1966 election was raised from \$50 to \$500, an increase of 90 percent, in order to prevent those black people from becoming candidates. On May 3, 1966, five freedom organizations convened and nominated candidates for the offices of sheriff, tax accessor, and to the school board.

The battle symbol is the black panther - a bold, beautiful animal, representing the strength and dignity of black man today. And man needs a black panther on his side when his family must endure, as hundreds of Alabamians have endured loss of jobs, eviction, starvation, and sometimes death for political activities. And you also need a gun. In the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, we avenge the right of black men everywhere to defend themselves when threatened and attacked. This belief shall never be a piece of irrelevant language - non-violence. For years it has been said that blacks would not literally fight for their lives in the United States. They would do it in Germany, they'll do it in Japan, they'll do it in Korea, they'll do it now in Vietnam, but somehow they just can't do it over here. Why this is not entirely true, because neither this society nor blacks are noted for their passivity. Apparently the notion stems from the years of massive sit-ins and demonstrations where blacks did not strike back. The violence was always from white mobs. There are surely many who sincerely believe in that approach. But rampaging white mobs must be made to understand that in many instances their days of free head hitting

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are over. Black people should and must fight back. Nothing is more soothing to the soul than to have a man approach you with a gun and tell him that he has the same risk that you have of dying if he messes with you. When the concept of black power is used, admittedly many people immediately conjure up notions of violence. This is quite understandable, because these same white people who are so fearful of violence by blacks are saying in no uncertain terms that if they were subjected to the injustices and oppressions heaped on black people, they would react violently. So the astonishment is not that blacks do not become violent, but that they have contained themselves for so long. The black power has far more implications than mere physical self-defense. In Lions County for example, black power will mean that a black sheriff can end police brutality, a black tax accessor can collect and channel funds for the building of better roads, and schools so that black people can advance from political power into the economic arena. In such areas as Lions where black people have the majority, black power means proper representation and sharing of control. Would everyone think for example, looking at the political power structure of the Island of Manhattan that 60 percent of that island was populated by black people? It means the situation of power bases from which black people can work to change statewide or nationwide patterns of oppression through pressure from strength instead of weakness. Politically, black power means a coming together of black people to elect representatives and to force those representatives to seek to our needs. It does not mean merely putting a black face into office. A man or woman who is black and from the slums cannot automatically be expected to seek to the needs of black people. Most of the black politicians around the country today are not examples of black power. Most of them, and one notable example, is an example of Republican power - not black power. The power must be that of the community and emanate from there. The black politicians must start from there. Black politicians must stop representing downtown machinery.

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It should be crystal clear that in order to achieve those initial political goals, black people must not weaken their ranks by falling for the irrelevant rhetoric called "integration". It should be crystal clear before a group can enter the open society it must first close ranks. This is as much a physical matter as it is psychological. All too frequently integration has meant that a few blacks may leave the black community sapping it of the highly needed leadership. They become absorbed into a white mass - those token Negroes of no value to the remaining black masses and meaningless show pieces for a conscience fevered white society. Such absorbed people will state they prefer to be treated as individuals not as Negroes and that they are not and should not be preoccupied with race. This is totally unrealistic.

While ultimately it may be a sound goal - we must realize that in this historical period race is an overwhelming fact in our lives. There is no black man in this country who can simply live as a man. His blackness is an ever-present fact of this racist society, whether he recognizes it or not. Therefore, to realize this and to attempt to deal with it does not make one a racist or overly preoccupied with race, it puts one in the forefront of a significant struggle. It is unlikely that this or the next generation will witness a time when the contrary to this will be the case. But the struggle is significant. The end results must be postponed. Suffice it to say absent the struggle - absent any meaningful results tomorrow. It is absolutely essential that trained black people return to the ghetto and help to develop that indigenous faith. Too much black talent is wasted on middle-class rights. Black power directors should go to and develop one of these curriculums in black colleges. Black professionals and technicians should see the ghetto as their first call to duty. This may be asking more than many are able to give, but let us not delude ourselves into thinking that anything less will suffice. Again, the essential emphasis - a people must close ranks before it can enter the open society. The language of integration

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has confused all of us today. Moreover, integration speaks of the problem of blackness in a most despicable way. As a goal - it has been placed on the complete acceptance of the fact that in order to have decent education, blacks must move into a white neighborhood or send their children to white schools. This reinforces among blacks and whites the idea that white is automatically better and black is by definition inferior. This is why integration is a subterfuge for the maintenance of white supremacy. It allows the nation to focus on a handful of southern black children who get into white schools at a great price and to ignore the 94 percent who are left behind in schools all black, just as segregated schools. Such institutions will not change until black people have the power to control their own school board. The blacks can only then become equal in a way that means something and integration ceases to be a one way street. Then integration does not mean draining skills and energies from the ghetto into white neighborhoods. It can then mean white people moving from Beverly Hills into Watts - that's integration. Then and only then does integration in fact become relevant. A white reporter made the following observation in 1966 about white Mississippi's manipulation of the anti-poverty program. He said, and I quote, "The War on Poverty has been predicated on the notion that there is such a thing as a community which can be defined geographically and mobilized for a collective effort to help the poor. This theory has no relationship to reality in the deep south. In every Mississippi county there are two communities, despite all the pious platitudes of the moderates on both sides - these two communities habitually see their interests in terms of conflict rather than cooperation. Only when the Negro communities muster enough political, economic and professional sense to compete on somewhat equal terms can Negroes believe in the possibility of true cooperation and whites accept this necessity. The Negro community needs to develop greater independence, a chance to run its own affairs and not cave in whenever demand knocks - or so it seems to me and to most of the minority people with whom I talked in Mississippi. To Oleo this judgement may sound like black

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nationalism." That's Mr. Christopher James in the "New Republic", issue of April, 1966.

In line with these accurate conclusions, there is a very obvious prerequisite of black people leading and running their own organizations. Only black people can convey the revolutionary idea that black people are capable of doing things themselves. Only they can help create in the community an alive and continuing black consciousness that will provide the basis for political strength. Also, only black people can make black children make up other heros. Too long have our heros been George Washington and Abraham Lincoln. It is time that our heros be the Frederick Douglasses, the Du Bois, the Richard Wrights, the Malcolm X, and bring people up-to-date. In the past the white allies have favored white supremacy without the whites involved realizing it or even wanting it. Black people must do things for themselves. They must conduct educational programs themselves so that black children can identify with black people. This is one reason why Africa has so much importance to us. The reality of black people ruling themselves gives blacks elsewhere a sense of proximity of power which they do not now have. I only wish the CIA would leave the African countries alone. It is an interesting commentary on the racial nature of things in this country to have to articulate this openly. No other group would submit to being led by others. No other group would submit to that - Italians do not run the Anti-Defamation League, Irish do not carry the Christopher Columbus Societies, but yet black organizations are immediately classed in society with the Ku Klux Klan. This is interesting and ironic. But by no means surprising. The very simple fact is that this society does not expect black people to be able to take care of their own business. And of course there are many who prefer it precisely that way. Likewise, this is interpreted as a design to rid the civil rights movement of white people. Nothing could be further from the truth. There is a definite, much needed role whites can play. One of the most disturbing things about almost all white supporters to the movement has been that they are afraid to go into their own communities, which is where the racism exists. And to work inside those

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communities to rid it of racism. They want to run from Westchester to tell blacks what to do in Mississippi. Let them look instead at Westchester, which does not allow black people to live there. They admonish black people to be non-violent. Let them seek non-violence in the white communities where it belongs, starting with Lyndon Baines Johnson. They come to teach black history to blacks. Let them go to the suburbs and open up freedom schools for whites who desperately need it. Let them stop America's racist foreign policy, let them pressure this government and businesses here to stop supporting the racist government and exploiting the economy of South Africa. Let them realize there is a poverty of another kind in the sumg white communities across this country. A poverty of belonging, a poverty of humanity, indeed a poverty of ability to act in a civilized manner toward other human beings. There is a vital job to be done among poor whites. It is so bad eventually there will be a coalition of poor blacks and poor whites. This is the only coalition which seems acceptable to us and we see such a coalition as the major internal instrument to change the American society. It is thoroughly academic to talk about bringing poor whites and blacks together. The task of creating a poor white power block must be attempted. The responsibility for this task falls upon white activists. Too many young, middle-class white Americans, like some sort of Pepsi generation, have wanted to come alive through the black community. They have wanted to be where the action is and the action has been in the black communities. They have sought refuge among blacks from a small, meaningless, irrelevant life in middle-class America. They have been able to come to terms with the oppressive, parochial, split-level mentality of their parents, teachers, and friends. This is highly understandable. The reaction should be engagement, not withdrawal. Just as blacks must attack the fear and hesitancy rampant in the black communities. Black power speaks as much to this division of labor as it does to anything else and those who would panic and scoff at these conclusions are betraying their inability to accept reality. Thank you.

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Period of Questions and Answers

First question put by

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Question: First of all, it's difficult to quarrel with Mr. Carmichael on any of the statements he has made or the majority thereof. Certainly the criticisms which he levels against our society are well taken. We have much to be ashamed of. However, in terms of the mechanics for the attainment of ends which I think we share and I would suspect both Mr. Carmichael and I share the objective of the attainment of human dignity and to be responded to on the basis of a person rather than as a member of a category, rather that category be Negro, white, rich, poor, but rather as an individual. Now, the question I would like to raise is this. And it has to do with the mechanics for the attainment of the end. It seems to me that the categories of black and white are certainly social reality. But they are social realities which have been imposed by the majority, so-called white society. And it seems to me that by responding to a social definition, not a biological one, there is some question as to the legitimacy of the racial definition into black or white, Negro, Caucasian. There is no question about the social reality of the categories. But as I have said before, these categories are imposed by whites and one questions the utility of responding to that definition, accepting that definition, and in short, fall into the white group - the white definition. Rather, it would seem to me that this focuses upon the race distinction. A distinction which I suggest again to be a false one, one which stands in the way of human dignity. Consequently then, even though there is no question that group cohesion will obtain within the so-called Negro community, yet insofar as the struggle is an intra-group struggle, will not the emphasis upon black power delay, if you will, the attainment of this human dignity for all. This is the question I would like to ask at this time.

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Answer: Before I answer the question, I would like to introduce [redacted] who is here with us today. The reason I want to introduce [redacted] is because a lot of the content from which I'm going to answer comes from his philosophy. I want to make a distinction between individual racism and what we in SNCC call institutionalized racism. And once we got rid of that we can then talk about whitey's need to rid this country of institutionalized racism, not individualized racism, because that is what the doctor talked about. In a black community that means a lot. If I don't call you a doctor and you're a doctor he'd cut my head off. It's that middle-class nonsense. Let me give you an example of individual racism and the response of the country to it, and an example of institutionalized racism and the response of the country to it. When an unidentified white terrorist bombed and killed five black children who were in church, that is an act of individual racism - widely deplored by most segments of this country, both white and black. But when in that same city, Birmingham, Alabama, not five, but 500 black babies die each year because of lack of proper food, medical facilities, etc., and 1,000 more black people are being physically, emotionally, educationally, and psychologically harmed because of conditions in the ghetto - that is an act of institutionalized racism, and this country says that it doesn't even recognize institutionalized racism or is incapable of doing anything meaningful about it, and that is precisely why they suggest our approach should be on an individual basis - but we're not going to get put in that trick bag in 1967. No! We understand in our minds that it is institutionalized racism that we are attacking. - That runs rampant from Rochester to Watts. That in every major city in this country, in every state, black people are segregated into ghettos and this country says it doesn't even know how it happens. They say they didn't even plan it and if that is true it only shows how subconscious racism is

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in this country - that in every major city you can have a ghetto without it being planned by some malignant racist planning unit. Now then, we must then attack institutionalized racism, not the individual actions. We're going to take care of those ourselves from now on. In order to counteract institutional racism, which is able to perpetuate itself only because it has the power to do so, one must institute the power inside black communities to counteract those institutions of racism, then once you've done that maybe you can talk about individualism. Secondly, I want to make it crystal clear that we do not believe in that nonsense about individualism. Individualism is a luxury that black people can no longer afford. We are oppressed as a group, not as individuals, and we must present a front as a group. Only when we are able to wield that group power will white America recognize our power and let's let individualism go for us. So Brooks can become Senator to satisfy a self-justifying white America - to create a clear conscience for what it has done to black people? Is that what we want? We are not concerned about the Dicks who are Republicans, we are concerned about the black people in the ghettos who are black and that is where our concern will center and we must build those institutions of power. Now then, on the second part of his question about definitions. I want to read to you my favorite quote. I found it in an excellent book by Mr. Felix Green, called "Vietnam-Vietnam". The quote doesn't deal with Vietnam, don't get scared. One of my favorite books when I was small was "Alice in Wonderland" and as I grew up I re-read it and there was a little passage I always loved and I found it in Mr. Green's book. It says, I want to quote, "When I use the words, Humpty Dumpty said, in a rather scornful tone, it means just what I choose it to mean. Neither more nor less. The question is, said Alice, whether you can make words mean so many different things. The question is, said Humpty Dumpty, who is to be master. That is all." You have got to understand the importance of definition in your mind. The first necessity of a free people is that they are able to define themselves and their

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slogans and that they must have those recognitions recognized by their oppressor. If they are not able to do that they will not even begin to move toward their liberation. On the very first page of "The Rebel" it says, "When and only when, the slave says no to the master does he begin to create for himself - when he says no, I will no longer be bonded and contained by your definition. I will now create my own. I am not a slave. I am a free man. Then and only then does he begin to understand what liberation is all about. And that must be crystal clear to black people because we have been defined by white people all our lives - all our lives - and from now on we will define ourselves. Let me give you an example why that is so important. The other thing white America does to us - every time we mention our liberation they try to put us under the census and we have to defend our children by explaining because they don't meet the criteria of white America. For example, a couple of years ago when poor Dr. King would get up and talk about integration, in his mind and in black peoples' minds it was clear he was talking about good schools, better jobs, better houses, good life - the white people began to jump up, "You want to marry my daughter!" And so what would happen is that our poor black leaders at that time would start to jump. Oh, no we don't want to marry them. We don't want to be your brother-in-law we just want to be your brother. We don't want to sleep in your bedrooms. We just want to sleep next to you - and all that nonsense. By the time they stopped reacting to a white man's definition, they were out the window. Now we don't do that in SNCC. Today if somebody asks me do I want to marry their white girls, I'd tell them quite clear. "Your daughter, your sister, your mama - they're white women. The white woman is not queen of the world, she is not the Virgin Mary, she can be made just like anybody else - let's move on, let's move on." We will not allow them to define us and have us react to them and that's what they do. When we say black power, you mean violence don't you, and then they want us to get mad.. We will be master of our own terms. We will define it, they will recognize it. Therefore, to define ourselves as black and to say that what we need is black power,

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is not to accept their definition, but to give our own definition. Certainly the reaction of white America to the term black power is enough for us to know it is precisely what we need. Because if so many whites are against it I know it's good.

The second question will be put by
Question: I'd like to ask him several questions. It will not take very long to ask and the first field - not very long to answer. Can we both be up here together? I thought I was going to stand and talk to that when we started but I'd like you to comment for a minute on whether or not black power, as a concept and idea, as you've developed it, is a means or an end. If it is an end, then that would be relatively definitive. If it is a means, then I would like to have you comment on what it's a means toward. What is the end, if it is the means? And then your answer will determine a couple more questions.

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Answer: Well, it is both end and means. The first means is that black people recognize that they do not depend upon anybody, from liberal whites to conservative whites, to fight their own battles. That they stand up and begin to fight it themselves. That is the first means. And then the second means - psychologically, black people must understand that this is our fight. That nobody else can fight it for us, we must fight it for ourselves. The importance of that means is that black people will be able to control the momentum of our own movement and direct it the way we want it to go. Now dig it. Old President Johnson can get up and fight Dr. King over the movement see and he can get up and say we shall overcome and everybody'll say, wow, he's for us you know. And he takes the movement and leads it down the road, but I'll be damned if he can ever get up and say I want black power. This means that we will control our movement. The end is that black people in this country are powerless. They have been robbed of black power by white America. Our job is to regain that power, by any means necessary.

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Question: To the extent it's an end. It's a very raceless end it seems to me, since it continues the racial distinction and if it continues the distinction being made on the basis of race and avoids something which has progressed much further in South America than North America where various parts of our physical anatomy can of course be relevant or irrelevant - we can vary on height, color of eyes, on size of eyes, on size of ears. In South America race has been rendered considerably less relevant as a national concern - as an individual concern - as a social concern, and it seems to me the black power movement isn't moving away from that end and I'd like you to comment on whether that's desirable and whether my interpretation is correct in your eyes.

Answer: Let me say first that to understand that I'm black and to try to deal with the racism in America is not to say I'm a racist. A philosopher, in commenting on the movement says that what is being developed is an anti-racist racism. That is to say we are opposed to racists. I recognize that I am black. I recognize that white America denies me all sort of equalities because I am black. That is to say I am accepting my blackness and shall not be ashamed of it any longer as white America has made me for the last 400 years. I will beautify it, I will use it, accept it, be proud of it, and move on. That is not to say that I am a racist. It is to say the question of racism in this country exists because white people want it to exist. Integration is not so because white people do not want integration. Any of you who are white can move into any black community if you can rise above your own racism, and nobody will throw rocks and stones at you. We won't gather and march. Do you think any of us can move into a white community? Absolutely not. The question then is for white America to civilize itself and to recognize black people as human beings. I will not de-humanize myself to prove to white America that I am a man and as good as they are. I am - I am black, therefore I exist. Period. White America will deal with that.

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So because you call for group cohesion to yield group power to confront white America is not to say you're a racist - it is to say you recognize the racism of white America. If white America does not want segregation - by 90 percent - as they so often remind us, let them pass local bills - if they can rise above their own racism - let them deal with the question of integration. We are concerned with black people - not with white America.

Question: The issue in the whole racial distinction of black and white in the world and especially in this country, and especially at this time, is not a black problem. It's a white problem and it's a white problem that has to be coped with and changed. With this definition being made, we have a number of other social groups which are stigmatized and which are discriminated against - the American Indian, the Mexican, the Oriental, less so in recent years, but this type of group - and I wonder if the black power definition could not be transferred to these other groups. I wonder if it would be appropriate to transfer it because they are so small they could never acquire enough power to do them much good at all. With this being the case I wonder if it wouldn't be a better strategy to instead of promoting black power as an opponent force, to rather manipulate to change the white definition of the situation, to eliminate the iniquities, rather than to continue the conflict.

Answer: I would think that I am not in a position to speak for the Mexican communities, the Chinese communities, or the Indian communities. They have to speak for themselves. We can urge and help them in any way fit. I read in the newspaper the other day that a tribe was calling for red power and I think they're learning, that's good. They will now begin to fight. Maybe they'll take back the country, who knows? My only concern is that when they yell for red power, HUAC might investigate and kill

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them because they'd rather have people dead than red! That means the Chinese community should call for yellow power and the Mexican community and the Puerto Rican community are already calling for brown power, so obviously those people will develop their own indigenous groups and begin to fight. We will aid them because we recognize that they are fighting the same people that we are - who oppress and exploit us.

Question: I gotta stop, but I want to ask one more. The most classical example in the world of a non-violent movement, is of course the movement spearheaded by Ghandi in India and which was imminently successful in changing political definitions and gradually successful in changing actual social conditions of people. It did have some degree of success. I wonder if this couldn't be conceived as brown power in the sense that they were acquiring power in a non-violent way and I'd like to have your comments on similarities between that type of a definition of what went on in India and what's advocated here.

Answer: I'm not quite sure I accept your definition. Because while Ghandi was fighting there were an awful lot of powerless groups and certainly Ghandi's real power lied in the fact the British knew that if they ever laid a hand on his followers, India would blow up in flames. That was Ghandi's real threat to the British. Not the fact that he, himself, was non-violent. As a matter of fact, Ghandi went to jail several times to protest against the Indians because they would not become non-violent. I do not dis-accept that Ghandi was the one who lead that movement and certainly his most solid and most faithful disciples as soon as he got into power, started bombing the hell out of Pakistan. So I don't see how the non-violence theology or doctrine, or whatever, went all the way through. Now I do think that this country is one of the most violent countries that I

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

know today. They trained me to kill in Vietnam. They trained my parents to kill in World War II. My cousin and my uncle in the Korean War, they told them they were fighting for democracy. Well I'm ready to fight for democracy right here, so that I cannot be contained by white America's definition of non-violence. If white America were to be non-violent, they can start by stopping with Ho Chi Minh. If they know about non-violence. This country cannot tell anybody about non-violence, not after what it's done - raped, plundered, everywhere it went. Drop a bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki and then turn around and talk to me about non-violence. If they were not so critical I would not become schizophrenic. The very entertainment of this society is violence. You can't turn on your T.V. set without seeing some violence and nowadays they become super-realistic in their violence. Kill a man he doesn't even know he's dead. Not only have they done this, but they have begun to incorporate black people in that violence, notably Bill Cosby on "I Spy". Now, if this country is serious about black people being non-violent and fighting for their rights, when I look at "I Spy" and I see our man Bill Cosby get hit upside the head by a Russian spy and comb his hair and start singing "We Shall Overcome", to that Russian spy, I'll be non-violent.

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F B I

Date: 7/13/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Wick	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS
(OO:AT)ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/3/00 BY 39073 BAW/bcl/mw

ReWFOairtel 7/12/67.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are eleven (11) copies of an LHM regarding the above captioned subject. Two (2) copies each are being furnished Atlanta and New York.

The SA's observing CARMICHAEL enter and depart SNCC Headquarters were _____ and _____

The SA's observing CARMICHAEL and _____ at National Airport, Washington, D. C., were _____ and _____

ST-104

ENCLOSURE

- 3 - Bureau (Enc. 11)
- 2 - Atlanta (Enc. 2) (100-6812) (Enc. 2) (Info) (RM)
- 2 - New York (Enc. 2) (100-153751) (RM)
- 2 - WFO

(1- 100-41626) (COMINFIL-SNCC)

100-92298-D

WWH:pag
(9)

C. C. Wick

AIRTEL

AGENCY: ACSI, ONI, OSI, SEC. SER.;

T: CRD, RAO

DATE FORW: 7/17/67

HOW FORW: R/S

BY: RTB/jak

REC-40

100-446080-385

JUL 17 1967

54 JUL 21 1967

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

WFO 100-43503

The New York Office was notified telephonically this date of subjects' departure from Washington, D. C.

The New York Office verify departure of subjects for Europe as previously set forth.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

July 13, 1967

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

On July 13, 1967, Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation observed Stokely Carmichael enter the Washington office of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), 1234 U Street, N.W., Washington, D. C., at 2:44 p.m. He was observed to depart the same location at 2:49 p.m., accompanied by another male individual.

Special Agents subsequently observed Carmichael, [redacted] at National Airport, Washington, D. C., at 3:12 p.m. At 3:25 p.m., they boarded American Airlines Flight Number 474, bound for New York City, scheduled to depart at 3:30 p.m., and due to arrive at La Guardia Airport, at 4:28 p.m. b7C

This document contains neither
recommendations nor conclusions of
the FBI. It is the property of
the FBI and is loaned to your agency;
it and its contents are not to be
distributed outside your agency.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/3/00 BY 39023 (u) Bcd/mw

- 1* -

COPIES DESTROYED

333 FEB 24 1971

ENCLOSURE

100 - 446080 - 385

~~SECRET~~

7/12/67

AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, WFO (105-NEW) (S) (u)

8/3/08
CLASSIFIED BY 39063 EWL/BC/AMG
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 1/6

[REDACTED]

b1

(S) (S)

[REDACTED]

b1

(S) (S)

[REDACTED]

b1

(S) (S)

- 5 - Bureau (Enc 10)
 - (1 - 100-446080) (CARNICHAEL)
 - (1 - 100-435199) (COMINFIL-SWCC)
- 2 - Atlanta (Enc 2) (RM)
 - (1 - 100-6819) (CARNICHAEL)
 - (1 - 100-) (COMINFIL-SWCC)
- 1 - Chicago (Enc 1) (RM) (COMINFIL-SDB)
- 1 - Milwaukee (Enc 1) (RM) (COMINFIL-SWCC)
- 1 - New York (Enc 1) (RM) (COMINFIL-SWCC)
- 3 - WFO
 - (1 - 100-41626) (COMINFIL-SWCC)
 - (1 - 100-43503) (CARNICHAEL)

#252028
CLASSIFIED BY
DECLASSIFY ON:

SR-1 AG/owh
DATE 11/17/86

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

CEG/mrb
(13)

AIRTEL

NOT RECORDED

202 JUL 18 1967

56 ENCLOSURE
JUL 26 1967

~~SECRET~~

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-446080-274

WFO [105-New] (S) (U)

~~SECRET~~

The [] source used is [] the [] source is
the [] mentioned in
reNYteletype.

b1

b2

b7C

b7D

b1

(S) (U)

b1

(S) (U)

b7C

(S) (U)

If receiving Offices can identify the people
mentioned, their correctly spelled names and birth data
should be furnished WFO expeditiously. (S) (U)

The New York source also advised that []
[] CARMICHAEL and []
[] as far as London. WFO will attempt to locate his
passport.

b7C

b7D

Atlanta is requested to attempt to identify and
furnish birth data re above.

- 2 -

~~SECRET~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

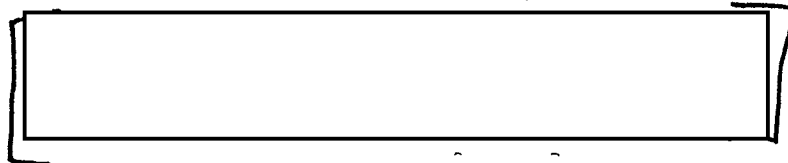
In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

~~SECRET~~

NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION

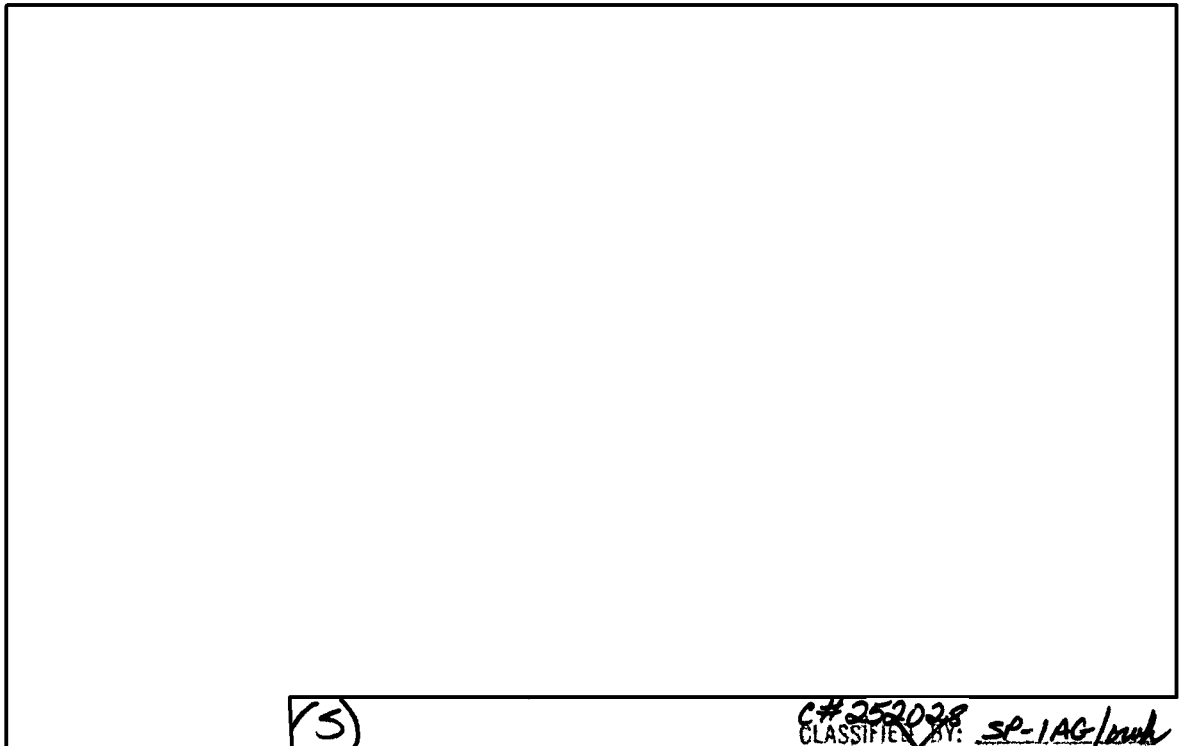
Washington, D. C. 20535

July 12, 1967



b1

(S)



b1

(S)

C# 252028
CLASSIFIED BY: SP-1AG/mrk
DECLASSIFY ON: OADR 11/17/80

~~SECRET~~

NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION

82100
CLASSIFIED BY 39013 EWB/Amw
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 1/16

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE

100-446080-

[REDACTED]

b1

(S)

~~SECRET~~

[REDACTED]

b1

(S)

[REDACTED]

b1

(S)

[REDACTED]

b1

(S)

Another source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised [REDACTED] that Stokely Carmichael, former head of SNCC, [REDACTED]

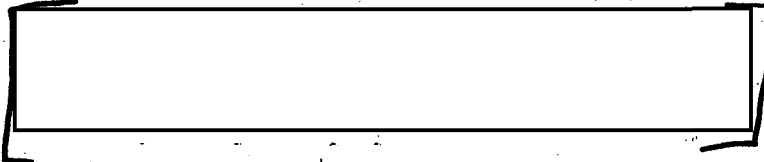
[REDACTED], have reservations on Pan American Airlines, Flight 104, departing John F. Kennedy Airport, New York City, at 8:15 p.m., [REDACTED] arriving London, England, 7:55 a.m., [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] They have further reservations at London on Aeroflot Flight 32, departing London, 12:30 p.m., [REDACTED] for Moscow, USSR, arriving Moscow at 6:15 p.m., [REDACTED] is also travelling with Carmichael [REDACTED]

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The above arrangements were made by the
New York Office of SNCC on July 10, 1967.



b7C

SDS is described in the
Appendix.

SNCC is a civil rights
organization.

The National Coordinating
Committee to End the War
in Vietnam, Madison,
Wisconsin, is described
in the Appendix.

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APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam, and to "radically transform" the university community and provide for its complete control by students. Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anticommunist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

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NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE TO END THE
WAR IN VIETNAM (NCCEWV)

A source stated on August 20, 1966, that the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam (NCCEWV) had its origin in August, 1965, when some participants in the March on Washington of August 7, 1965, decided to establish a center to co-ordinate all anti-Vietnam war activities in the United States. A Steering Committee was formed and at a National Convention, held in Washington, D. C., November 24-28, 1965, the NCCEWV was formally organized and a constitution approved. The Steering Committee included delegates from the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) and the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA).

Characterizations of the YSA and DCA are attached.

A [] source stated [] that at [] meeting of the Steering Committee of the NCCEWV, held at Milwaukee, Wisconsin, [] the committee included several members of both the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Communist Party.

b2
b7D

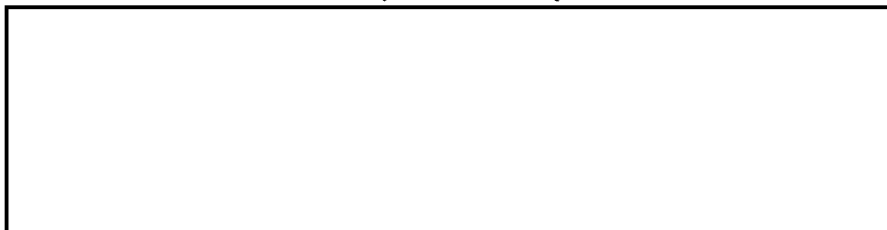
The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

The [] source further stated that a struggle for influence over the NCCEWV at its founding had taken place between the DCA and the YSA, with the DCA and its supporters winning out to become one of the major forces in the NCCEWV.

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The NCCEWV has, since its formation, [] located, since January, 1966, at 420 West Washington Avenue, Madison, Wisconsin.

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b7D



b7C
b7D

APPENDIX

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2

NCCEWV

The April 27, 1962, issue of "The Milwaukee Journal," a Milwaukee, Wisconsin, daily newspaper, reports that JULIUS EMSPAK, age 57, nationally prominent labor figure, who was once identified as a communist, died on April 26, 1962.

During the Fall of 1964, Special Agents of the FBI observed [redacted] in attendance at meetings of the Madison chapter of the DCA. b7C

"The Milwaukee Journal," in its edition of July 1, 1965, characterized FRANK EMSPAK as President of the Wisconsin Socialist Club (WSC).

A characterication of the WSC is attached.

The NCCEWV issues a newsletter, "Peace and Freedom News," distributes material attacking U. S. policy in Vietnam, and coordinates demonstrations and protests against the Vietnam war in the United States and abroad.

APPENDIX

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APPENDIX

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

The May, 1960, issue of the "Young Socialist" (YS), page 1, column 3, disclosed that during April 15 - 17, 1960, a national organization entitled "The Young Socialist Alliance" (YSA) was established at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. This issue stated that this organization was formed by the nationwide supporter clubs of the publication YS.

The above issue, page 6, set forth the Founding Declaration of the YSA. This declaration stated that the YSA recognized the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) as the only existing political leadership on class struggle principles, and that the supporters of the YS have come into basic political solidarity with the SWP on the principles of revolutionary socialism.

A source advised on May 7, 1965, that the original YSA was an organization formed during October, 1957, in New York City, by youth of various left socialist tendencies, particularly members and followers of the SWP. The leaders of this group were the guiding forces in the establishment of the national organization.

The source further advised on May 7, 1965, that the YSA is dominated and controlled on a national basis by the SWP through having SWP members comprise exclusively the National Executive Committee (NEC) and through an official SWP representative at all YSA NEC meetings. The YSA, in reality, is the youth and training section of the SWP and the main source of new SWP members.

The headquarters of the YSA are located in Room 535, 41 Union Square West, New York City.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

APPENDIX

W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (DCA)

A source has advised that on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party (CP), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist-oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates were told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A [] source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19 - 21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention. The aims of this organization, as set forth in the preamble to the constitution, are: "It is our belief that this nation can best solve its problems in an atmosphere of peaceful coexistence, complete disarmament and true freedom for all peoples of the world and that these solutions will be reached mainly through the united efforts of all democratic elements in our country, composed essentially of the working people allied in the unity of Negroes and other minorities with whites. We further fully recognize that the greatest threat to American democracy comes from the racist and right wing forces in coalition with the most reactionary sections of the economic power structure, using the tool of anti-Communism to divide and destroy the unified struggle of the working people."

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Over the Labor Day weekend, 1965, the DCA held a conference in Chicago, Illinois, and a new slate of officers was elected to the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the DCA. Since Labor Day, 1965, identities of those serving on the NEC has varied; however, according to a [] source as of May, 1966, thirteen of the fifteen members of the NEC were members of the CP in the San Francisco Bay area.

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As of July, 1966, the headquarters of the DCA was located at 180 North Wacker Drive, Chicago, Illinois.

~~SECRET~~

WISCONSIN SOCIALIST CLUB

~~SECRET~~

[redacted] source [redacted] described the Wisconsin Socialist Club (WSC) as then a duly registered and authorized student campus organization at the University of Wisconsin (UW), with a charter membership of 21, including [redacted] who prior to the dissolution of the Labor Youth League (LYL) [redacted]

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[redacted] source [redacted] identified [redacted] as then a [redacted]

[redacted] source [redacted] described the WSC as an organization founded primarily on principles closely allied with those of English socialists, with many of its members genuine socialists, but source observed there existed a pro-Marxist element in the club, including [redacted] and [redacted] which element had taken the lead in policy-making functions of the WSC. [redacted] this source reported that [redacted] and [redacted] had been [redacted]

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The November 16, 1963, issue of "The Daily Cardinal," student organ at the UW, identified [redacted] as the [redacted] according to source [redacted] also during 1964 became the [redacted]

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During April, 1964, source [redacted] reported that [redacted] had recently been recruited into the CP. This source also identified [redacted] as collaborating with [redacted] in the [redacted] and in February, 1964, source [redacted] identified [redacted] as [redacted]

[redacted] were observed by Special Agents of the FBI in attendance at meetings of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) during 1964, an organization publicly described as communist dominated by FBI Director J. EDGAR HOOVER.

b7C

[redacted] was identified by source [redacted] as [redacted]

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APPENDIX

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~~SECRET~~

2

WISCONSIN SOCIALIST CLUB

Issues of "The Daily Cardinal," during the 1964-1965 school year, reflected that the WSC continued to function as a student organization at the UW, periodically sponsoring off campus speakers, including HENRY WINSTON and [redacted] who have been identified by source [redacted] as vice chairman of the CP, USA, and [redacted] respectively.

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The LYL is an organization which has been designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

[redacted] source [redacted] advised that the WSC did not register as a student organization at the UW, Madison, during the Fall of 1965, and, as of October 15, 1965, was considered as being inactive at the UW.

b2
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APPENDIX

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~~SECRET~~ 110

~~SECRET~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

JUL 12 1967

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Wick	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

FBI WASH DC*

FBI NEW YORK

308PM URGENT 7-12-67

TO DIRECTOR 100-446080, WASHINGTON FIELD 100-43503 AND
ATLANTA 100-6812

WASHINGTON FIELD VIA WASHINGTON

FROM NEW YORK 100-153751 2P

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-M.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/3/00 BY 39063 E/W/BCL/AMW

RE ATLANTA TELETYPE TO BUREAU, JULY TWELVE, INSTANT.

SOURCE AT [REDACTED] ADVISED JULY

TWELVE, INSTANT, THAT STOKELY CARMICHAEL [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] HAVE RESERVATION ON PAN AMERICAN FLIGHT ONE ZERO
FOUR, DEPARTING JOHN F. KENNEDY AIRPORT, NYC, EIGHT
FIFTEEN P.M., JULY FOURTEEN NEXT, ARRIVING LONDON, ENGLAND,
SEVEN FIFTY FIVE A.M., JULY FIFTEEN NEXT; HAVE FURTHER
RESERVATIONS AT LONDON ON AERO FLOT FLIGHT THIRTY TWO,
DEPARTING LONDON TWELVE THIRTY PM, JULY FIFTEEN, NEXT,
FOR MOSCOW, RUSSIA, ARRIVING MOSCOW SIX FIFTEEN, SAME
DATE. TRAVELLING WITH CARMICHAEL [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (NOT FURTHER IDENTIFIED). [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] AT YU NINE - ONE THREE ONE THREE, WHICH IS TELEPHONE

NUMBER OF LOCAL OFFICE, STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING
COMMITTEE, ONE HUNDRED FIFTH AVENUE, NYC. RESERVATIONS WERE

END PAGE ONE

X-53 JUL 26 1967
TWO COPIES WFO

MR. DELOACH FOR THE DIRECTOR

W. A. LT 7/13/67 PM

b7C

b7D

446080-386

JUL 18 1967

5-128

PAGE TWO

MADE JULY TENTH, LAST. NYO WILL CONFIRM DEPARTURE OF
CARMICHAEL ON ABOVE FLIGHT OUT OF NEW YORK.

b7C

b7D

END

BJP

FBI WASH DC*

TU CLR

CC- MR. SULLIVAN

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 7/15/67~~SECRET~~

b1

(S) Attached New York teletype states Carmichael departed United States en route to London 7/14/67. Reservations from London to Moscow cancelled. Information in attached will be furnished White House and other interested agencies. (S)
DFXC:cop

OC

JAN

~~SECRET~~

JUL 15 1967

VIA TELETYPE

JUL 14 1967

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson ☒
Mr. DeLoach ☒
Mr. Mohr ☒
Mr. Wick ☒
Mr. Casper ☒
Mr. Callahan ☒
Mr. Conrad ☒
Mr. Felt ☒
Mr. Gale ☒
Mr. Rosen ☒
Mr. Sullivan ☒
Mr. Tavel ☒
Mr. Trotter ☒
Tele. Room ☒
Miss Holmes ☒
Miss Gandy ☒

FBI NEW YORK --19--

10-46 PM IMMEDIATE 7-14-67 JVD

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080) , WFO AND ATLANTA

ATT DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

WFO AND ATLANTA VIA WASHINGTON ---ENCODED

FROM NEW YORK (100-153751)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL IS-M

b7C

RE NEW YORK TELETYPE TO BUREAU SEVEN TWELVE SIXTY SEVEN.

John F. Kennedy

STOKELY CARMICHAEL DEPARTED JFK INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT,
NEW YORK CITY, AT TEN P.M. SEVEN FOURTEEN SIXTY SEVEN, ABOARD
PAN AMERICAN FLIGHT ONE ZERO FOUR BOUND FOR LONDON, ENGLAND.

b7C

FURTHER RESERVATIONS FROM LONDON TO MOSCOW

CANCELLED.

Letterhead Memo
LHM FOLLOWS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/3/00 BY 39023 (W) BCL/AMW

END;

RAK FBI WASH DC

DCD FBI/RAK

REG 44

ST-104

14 JUL 19 1967

TWO COPIES TO WFO

RELAYED TO

AT

COPY SENT TO MR. TOLSON

54 JUL 26 1967

cc: SULLIVAN

W.H. LT 7/18/67
VBS

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Bland
1 - Mr. Wick
7/12/67
1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan
1 - [redacted] b7C

Mr. Sullivan

~~SECRET~~

C. D. Brennan

**STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
STOKELY CARMICHAEL**

Due to the interest of the President in the activities of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and its former chairman, Stokely Carmichael, we have prepared a summary setting forth current and planned future activity in this matter. A copy of the summary is attached for ready reference.

[redacted] b1

[redacted] b1

Another confidential source advised Carmichael

[redacted] left Atlanta, Georgia, on the evening of July 11, 1967, for Washington, D.C. Carmichael plans to depart New York City on July 13, 1967, for London, England. It was previously reported that Carmichael was scheduled to appear at a "Bastille Day" celebration in Paris, France, and to speak in London, England at an international congress on the Dialectics of Liberation. (S)(U)

b7C
b7D

RECOMMENDATION:

That the enclosed memorandum to Mrs. Mildred Stegall at the White House; Mr. William Welsh, Administrative Assistant to the Vice President; Honorable Dean Rusk, Secretary of State; Attorney General; Assistant Attorneys General DeLoach, Yeagley, and Vinson; Secret Service, and the military intelligence agencies be approved.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/3/00 BY 3106 JEW/BCK/AMW

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

8/3/00
CLASSIFIED BY 39013 EMB/BCK/AMW
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 1/1

Encl.
PTB:des

~~SECRET~~

NOT RECORDED

167 JUL 18 1967

(7)
1 - Bufile 100-446080

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-446080-124

~~SECRET~~
NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Wick
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - [redacted]

July 13, 1967

b7C

**STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
STOKELY CARMICHAEL**

There is set forth below a summary of current and planned future activities of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and its former chairman, Stokely Carmichael.

It was previously reported that two unidentified members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee had received invitations to attend some type of meeting in the Soviet Union. (S)(u)

It was also previously reported that Stokely Carmichael is scheduled to participate in a "Eastville Day" celebration in Paris, France, on July 14, 1967, and to speak in London, England, on July 18, 1967, at an international congress on the Dialectics of Liberation.

A confidential source has advised that invitations have been sent to youth organizations in the United States to send representatives to an international youth meeting in Leningrad, Soviet Union. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee was among the organizations receiving an invitation to this meeting. According to the source, the Soviet Union will pay the air fares of those invited. [redacted]

b1

A [redacted] confidential source advised that the youth meeting will begin July 17, 1967, and last two weeks. The purpose of this meeting will be to plan activities for the celebration of the 50th Anniversary of the Great October Revolution in Moscow, Soviet Union, in November, 1967. (S)(u)

b2

b7D

~~100-446080~~

1 - Bufile 100-446080

PTB:des
(19)

~~SECRET~~

NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION

GROUP 1

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

8/3/00
CLASSIFIED BY 3026W/B/L/A
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 16

PLJ 02-176 7/15/02

SEE NOTE PAGE 2.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

57 JUL 2 1967

DUPLICATE YELLOW

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-439190-1330

~~SECRET~~
NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION

**STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
STOKELY CARMICHAEL**

A [] confidential source advised that Stokely Carmichael [] have reservations on Pan American Airlines Flight Number 104, departing John F. Kennedy International Airport, New York City, at 8:15 p.m., July 14, 1967, to arrive at London, England, at 7:55 a.m., July 15, 1967. [] source reported also that they have reservations at London for travel on "Aero Flot" Flight Number 32, due to depart London at 12:30 p.m., July 15, 1967, for Moscow, Russia, due to arrive Moscow at 6:15 p.m., the same date.

b2
b7C
b7D

A [] confidential source advised that [] is traveling with Carmichael [] to the Soviet Union. (X)(C)

b2
b7C
b7D

XEROX COPIES BEING SENT TO MRS. MILDRED STEGALL, THE WHITE HOUSE; MR. WILLIAM WELSH, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT TO THE VICE PRESIDENT; HONORABLE DEAN RUSK, THE SECRETARY OF STATE; ATTORNEY GENERAL; DEPUTY ATTORNEY GENERAL; ASSISTANT ATTORNEYS GENERAL YEAGLEY, DOAR, AND VINSON; SECRET SERVICE; AND THE MILITARY INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES.

NOTE:

See memorandum C. D. Brennan to Mr. Sullivan dated 7/13/67, same caption, prepared by PTB:des.

Classified "~~Secret~~ - No Foreign Dissemination" because the informatin came from a sensitive source, the disclosure of which could be detrimental to the United States.

~~SECRET~~
11-17-72

~~SECRET~~
NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Wick
1 - Mr. Sullivan

Mr. Sullivan

7/13/67

C. D. Brennan

1 - Mr. Bland
1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan
1 - [redacted] b7C

**STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
STOKELY CARMICHAEL**

Due to the interest of the President in the activities of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and its former chairman, Stokely Carmichael, we have prepared a summary setting forth current and planned future activity in this matter. A copy of the summary is attached for ready reference.

It was previously reported that Carmichael is to participate in a "Bastille Day" celebration in Paris, France, on 7/14/67 and to speak in London, England, 7/18/67.

b1

[redacted] (S)

b1

[redacted] (S)

b1

[redacted] (S)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

b7C

Stokely Carmichael [redacted] have reservations to leave New York on 7/14/67, arriving in London, England, 7/15/67. From London, they will travel to Moscow, Soviet Union, arriving 6:15 p.m., the same date. (S)

100-446080

Encl.

PTB:des

(8)

1 - Bufile 100-446080

CLASSIFIED BY 3902 EIW/BCL/ANW
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 1,6

100-446080-

NOT RECORDED

176 JUL 19 1967

CONTINUED - OVER

ORIGINAL FILED IN

100-439190-

Memorandum - C.D. Brennan to Mr. Sullivan
Re: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
STOKELY CARMICHAEL
100-439190

~~SECRET~~

One [] is traveling with Carmichael b7C
[] to the Soviet Union. (S)

Investigation is being conducted to more fully b7C
identify []

RECOMMENDATION:

~~SECRET~~

That the enclosed memorandum to Mrs. Mildred Stegall at the White House; Mr. William Welsh, Administrative Assistant to the Vice President; Honorable Dean Rusk, Secretary of State; Attorney General; Deputy Attorney General; Assistant Attorneys General Doar, Yeagley, and Vinson; Secret Service, and the military intelligence agencies be approved.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Bland
1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan
1 - [redacted]
b7C

July 12, 1967

**STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
STOKELY CARMICHAEL**

There is set forth below a summary of current and planned future activities of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and its former chairman, Stokely Carmichael.

(S) [redacted] b1

According to the source, the two Committee members had received invitations to attend some type of meeting in the Soviet Union. [redacted] did not identify these individuals; however, he stated they would like to leave on July 13, 1967. He mentioned Canada as a possible place of departure. (S) b7C b7D

Another confidential source advised that Stokely Carmichael [redacted] departed Atlanta, Georgia, the evening of July 11, 1967, for Washington, D.C. b7C b7D

The source advised that these individuals are scheduled to leave New York, New York, on July 13, 1967, for London, England. (S) b7C b7D

The source believes Carmichael will be commuting between the United States and England until the latter part of August, 1967. (S) b7C b7D

It was previously reported that Carmichael plans to leave the United States on July 13, 1967. He is scheduled to participate in a "Bastille Day" celebration in Paris, France, on July 14, 1967. He is also scheduled to speak in London, England, on July 18, 1967, at an international congress on the Politics of Liberation. (S) b7C b7D

EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

CLASSIFIED BY 38063 BTW/RO/AMW
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 46
NLT 02176 7/15/02

51 JUL 26 1967

PTB:des

(19)

100-46080

1 - Bufile 100-446080

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

SEE NOTE D

~~SECRET~~

**STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
STOKELY CARMICHAEL**

XEROX COPIES BEING SENT TO MRS. MILDRED STEGALL, THE WHITE HOUSE; MR. WILLIAM WELSH, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT TO THE VICE PRESIDENT; HONORABLE DEAN RUSK, THE SECRETARY OF STATE; ATTORNEY GENERAL; ASSISTANT ATTORNEYS GENERAL YEAGLEY, DOAN, AND VINSON; SECRET SERVICE; AND THE MILITARY INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES.

NOTE:

See memorandum C.D. Brennan to Mr. Sullivan dated 7/12/67, same caption, prepared by PTB:des.

Classified "~~Secret~~" because the information came from a sensitive source, the disclosure of which could be detrimental to the United States.

~~SECRET~~

F B I

Date: 7/17/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439190) (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (100-6488) (P)

SUBJECT: COMINFIL
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)
INTERNAL SECURITY - C
STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS

ReBuairtel 5/19/67, forwarding copy from New York Times of article making reference to recent election of certain individuals to offices in SNCC.

A report has been submitted on _____
_____ A LHM relative to other individuals mentioned in the newspaper article is being prepared and will be immediately forwarded to the Bureau.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 4/1/00 BY 39063 EWL/Bce/Amw

- 3 - Bureau
4 - Atlanta
(1 - 100-6488)
(1 - 100-6812)
(1 - 100-6921)
(1 - 157-1866)

EUC:jlh
(7)

B. E. M. W.

NOT RECORDED

140 JUL 20 1967

14 JUL 19 1967

INT/SRC

53

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M Per _____

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-446080-1331

EX-115

July 17, 1967

REC- 19

Honorable Thomas G. Morris
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C. 20515

My dear Congressman:

Your letter of July 11th has been received.

In response to your inquiry, by letter dated May 17th the Honorable Arch A. Moore, Jr., requested me to furnish him certain data concerning Stokely Carmichael. By communication dated May 19th, I advised Congressman Moore that information in our files must be maintained as confidential in accordance with regulations of the Department of Justice. Congressman Moore was informed the information developed during our investigation of Carmichael had been reported to the Attorney General, and it was suggested he might wish to contact him for any assistance he might be able to render.

I trust the above will be of assistance to you.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

NOTE: Bufiles disclose prior cordial correspondence with Congressman Morris, last outgoing 12-6-66.M

HRH:mlb (5)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/4/00 BY 32063 EML/BCL/Amw

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Wick _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

THOMAS G. MORRIS
AT LARGE—NEW MEXICO

HOME ADDRESS:
Box 1297 TUCUMCARI

WASHINGTON OFFICE:
2351 RAYBURN BUILDING
TELEPHONE: 225-6316

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

MEMBER:
APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON PUBLIC WORKS
JOINT COMMITTEE ON
ATOMIC ENERGY

July 11, 1967

Honorable J. Edgar Hoover
Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I have been contacted by one of my constituents who makes inquiry as to the reason why the Federal Bureau of Investigation refused to grant the request made by Representative Arch A. Moore, Jr., for a briefing on the activities of Stokely Carmichael.

I would appreciate having your remarks on this matter.

Kindest regards and best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Thomas G. Morris
THOMAS G. MORRIS

TGM/dja

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/9/85 BY 39062/1W/SC/AMW

EXP. PROC.
36 JUL 14 1967

EX-115

REC-19

100-446080-388

7-19
JUL 14 1967

ack: 7-17-67
HRN: mbb
mm

INT. SEC.

8/2/67

7/18/67

CODE

CABLEGRAM

URGENT

1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan

1 -

1 -

b7C

TO LEGAT LONDON

FROM DIRECTOR FBI

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS
REURCAB SEVEN SEVENTEEN SIXTY SEVEN.

NEW YORK CITY POLICE DEPARTMENT RECEIVED INFORMATION
JULY EIGHTEEN INSTANT INDICATING STOKELY CARMICHAEL TO MEET
WITH FLOYD MC KISSICK, NATIONAL DIRECTOR OF THE CONGRESS OF
RACIAL EQUALITY, IN BROOKLYN, NEW YORK, AFTERNOON OF JULY
NINETEEN NEXT. SUCAB IMMEDIATELY WHEN CARMICHAEL TO APPEAR
ON BRITISH TELEVISION. ALSO ENDEAVOR TO DETERMINE WHEN
CARMICHAEL SCHEDULED TO LEAVE LONDON FOR SUBSEQUENT RETURN,
TO THE UNITED STATES. THEREAFTER LEGAT INSTRUCTED TO VERIFY
DEPARTURE OF CARMICHAEL FROM LONDON AND SUCAB. COPY MAILED
NEW YORK.

REC 22

100 446080-37

1 - NEW YORK

DMW:SCR
(7)

EX-115

JUL 19 1967

1 - Foreign Liaison Unit (Route through for review)

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Wick _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

VIA TELETYPE
JUL 18 1967
ENCIPHERED

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/1/00 BY 30425/100/AMW

51 JUL 25 1967

TELETYPE UNIT

CABLEGRAM TO LONDON
RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

NOTE:

b7C At 12:10 p.m. this date, Supervisor []
[] New York Office, telephonically advised
Supervisor [] he had received information
from the New York Police Department indicating Floyd McKissick,
National Director of CORE, was to meet with Carmichael, former
chairman of SNCC, at the corner of Troy Avenue at St. Mark's
Place, Brooklyn, New York, on 7/19/67. [] did not know
the identity or reliability of the police source. He stated
that the nature of the meeting was not known but that this
address was in the "Black Belt" of the Brooklyn area of
New York and the police were concerned over the proposed
meeting in view of the tense racial situation in Newark.

We have previously received information Carmichael
is scheduled to speak at an International Congress on the
Dialectics of Liberation in London on July 18, 1967. Accordingly,
Legat being instructed to verify Carmichael's presence in
London and date of return to the United States.

CODE

7/18/67

CABLEGRAM

URGENT

1 - Mr. Branigan
1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan
1 - b7C

TO LEGAT LONDON

FROM DIRECTOR FBI

INTERNATIONAL YOUTH MEETING, LENINGRAD, SOVIET UNION,
INTERNAL SECURITY - R.

REBUCAB JULY THIRTEEN, LAST, AND LEGAT CABLEGRAM JULY SEVENTEEN,
IMMEDIATE.

INFORMATION RECEIVED THAT STOKELY CARMICHAEL'S RESERVATIONS
FOR AIR TRAVEL FROM LONDON, ENGLAND, TO MOSCOW, SOVIET UNION,
CANCELED AT NEW YORK CITY.

ADVISE BUREAU REGARDING ACTIVITIES OF CARMICHAEL IN ENGLAND.

NOTE:

Referenced Bureau cablegram requested Legat, London to
develop any information concerning Carmichael's travel to Moscow.
New York Office determined reservations for that travel have been
canceled.

VIA TELETYPE

REC 22

100-446080-390

TJD:des
(6)

JUL 18 1967

EX-115

ENCIPHERED

1 - Foreign Liaison Unit (Route through for review)

19 JUL 19 1967

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Wick _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/4/00 BY 39063 EIW/300/AMW

51 JUL 25 1967

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

7/19/67

airtel

1 -

b7C

To: SAC, Knoxville

From: Director, FBI

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - NISC.

ReKXtel 7/18/67.

For information of recipient offices, Carmichael departed John F. Kennedy International Airport, New York City, 10 p.m., 7/14/67, Pan American Flight 104, for London, England.

On 7/19/67, Legat, London advised Carmichael is still in London and is scheduled to stay there at least until 7/22/67.

1 - Atlanta
1 - Memphis

NOTE:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/9/00 BY 39063 EWP/SC (m)

Knoxville advised that the Chattanooga Police Department had received information that Carmichael was in the Chattanooga area the evening of 7/17/67 and is reported to have traveled from Chattanooga to Nashville, Tennessee. This is obviously erroneous information in view of Carmichael known to be in London, England, that date and interested offices are being so advised.

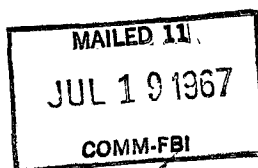
PTB:des *des*
(6)

REC- 52

100-446080-391

EX-115

9 JUL 20 1967



Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Wick _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

62 JUL 25 1967

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

JUL 18 1967

TELETYPE

FBI WASH DC

FBI KNOXVLE

3-46PM URGENT 7-18-67 JKL

TO DIRECTOR, ATLANTA AND MEMPHIS
FROM KNOXVILLE (157-403) (P)

2 STOKLEY CARMICHAEL, STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING
COMMITTEE (SNCC) PROPOSED VISIT, CHATTANOOGA, TENN.
SUMMER OF NINETEEN SIXTYSEVEN. RACIAL MATTERS.

RE KNOXVILLE LETTER TO BUREAU JULY TWELVE LAST.

[REDACTED] ADVISED THIS
DATE HE RECEIVED INFORMATION FROM NEGRO OFFICERS STOKLEY
CARMICHAEL [REDACTED] IN CHATTANOOGA AREA
EVENING *1* OF JULY SEVENTEEN LAST. [REDACTED] REPORTEDLY STAYED AT

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] AND CARMICHAEL IS TO HAVE DRIVEN TO
NASHVILLE, TENN. CARMICHAEL AND [REDACTED] NOT KNOWN TO HAVE MADE
ANY STATEMENTS OR CONTACTS IN CHATTANOOGA.

RECEIVING CONTINUOUS ATTENTION AND LHM WILL FOLLOW.

END.

BAP

FBI WASH DC

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/4/00 BY 3903/300/BAK

18 JUL 21 1967

Xerox - 2
JUL 26 1967

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Wick	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

C.D. [Signature]

b7C

b7C

b7D

REC 53

EX-103

100-446080-392

J. [Signature]

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : The Director

DATE:

June 21, 1967

FROM : N. P. Callahan

SUBJECT: The Congressional Record

*JP**2-1**66-17941-3103*

Original filed in:

Page H7557. Congressman Brinkley, (D) Georgia, spoke concerning civil disobedience and stated "our Nation cannot tolerate insurrection led by Stokely Carmichael, or anyone else, cannot afford to defer to him, cannot afford to honor him with preferential treatment." He included a letter he directed to Attorney General Clark in which he cites section 2383 (rebellion or insurrection statute) of title 18, United States Code. The letter states "It appears to me that a strong case can be made against Carmichael under this Statute. I call upon you in your capacity as Chief Legal Officer of the United States to investigate Carmichael's activities carefully and quickly and to initiate appropriate action under this or other Statutes."

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE *8/1/88* BY *39063/24/3ce/amw*

100-446080

NOT RECORDED

JUN 27 1967

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for *June 20, 1967* was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

ES JUN 20 1967

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Wick
1 - Mr. Sullivan

Mr. Tolson ✓
Mr. DeLoach ✓
Mr. Mohr ✓
Mr. Wick ✓
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen ✓
Mr. Sullivan ✓
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

July 10, 1967

MR. TOLSON:

With the Director's approval, I saw []
[] at the White House at 2:30 p.m. this afternoon.
[] stated that he personally had noted, after reading
a memorandum from []
[] that the same names were turning up
each time with regard to civil rights matters as well as anti-Vietnam
activities. [] asked if we had noted this. I replied in the affirmative and stated that the Director had sent numerous communications to the White House reflecting this fact.

Stokely I told [] that self-styled civil rights leaders such
as King, Carmichael and McKissick were now seeking to replenish their
empty larders by turning from civil rights to anti-Vietnam activities.
I stated that all of these men had realized that there was more financial
gain and more publicity in being in anti-Vietnam activities than in heading
up civil rights drives. It was indicated that the general public is
gradually beginning to realize that the civil rights activities of these
men have been phoney since their start. [] stated he agreed.

[] then indicated that the President had told him that
the next time I was over there he wanted to see me. He then took me in
to see the President. The President appeared to be deeply tanned,
greatly relaxed, and had his feet up on the desk. The real basis for
[] requesting me to come over then became apparent.

The President stated that he had recently had a discussion
with [] whom he regarded most highly.
[] told the President that the way to handle the anti-
Vietnam activities in this country was through positive demonstrations
on the part of patriotic groups. The President stated he concurred with
[] and he felt that the American Legion, rather than placing flowers
on black coffins when dead servicemen were returned, should in the
future institute programs of meeting troop ships, having parades, giving
presents to returning servicemen and generally stirring up great publicity

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/7/80 BY 39063 EMB/BCE/BN

NOT RECORDED

47 JUL 26 1967

CONTINUED... OVER

RECEIVED DIRECTOR

55 JUL 31 1967

CDD:amr

ORIGINAL FILED IN 140-21302-32

Informal to Mr. Tolson

in such matters. The President told me he had autographed a picture that afternoon to [redacted] and he felt that I should get in touch with [redacted] concerning this matter. b7C

I told the President that [redacted] was most indecisive, would be going out of office the latter part of August, 1967, and that very frankly the only reason he had sought the [redacted] b7C

[redacted] was because he could have a [redacted] [redacted] I told the President that I thought it best to mention the desired program to [redacted] [redacted] who is from [redacted] and who appears to be a very level-headed individual.

The President next asked if the FBI knew anything regarding the activities of King, Carmichael and McKissick, as mentioned above. I told him the Director had constantly sent communications over to him regarding these individuals and the FBI kept abreast of all their activities. The President asked who was behind these people. I told him that Stanley Levinson, prominent member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, and Bayard Rustin were behind King, and that although McKissick and Carmichael had left wing individuals supporting them, they obviously were self-styled civil rights leaders who were seeking only to get as much money out of a troubled situation as possible. I told the President of the situation at the University of Wisconsin where Carmichael arrogantly demanded \$1,800 prior to speaking and had raised hell simply because the students could only raise \$1,300. I briefed the President generally regarding King and McKissick.

The President inquired as to whether the information concerning Carmichael and his speech making activities had been given to the press. I told him it had not. He asked that we give it to Drew Pearson. I told him I doubted Pearson would print derogatory information concerning these characters. The President then stated that we should consider giving it to [redacted] on an off-the-record basis. He stated that [redacted] was an old friend of his and would understand the circumstances. I told the President I would bring this to the Director's attention. b7C

The President next asked if I knew [redacted] [redacted] I told him that the FBI was well aware of [redacted] and his background. I stated that the Director had sent me up to see [redacted] on one occasion in connection with the [redacted] some b7C

CONTINUED... OVER

Informal to Mr. Tolson

years ago and that [] had attempted to record our conversation. I stated I had told [] at the time that he would have to cut off his recording machine or else I would leave his office. The President was advised that [] had constantly issued false statements concerning the FBI and was slippery as an eel and not to be trusted. I stated that he was anti-Vietnam and had many associates who had very questionable backgrounds. The President stated that we should send [] a memorandum on [] however, the memorandum should not reflect that he had specifically requested this information.

b7C

The President asked if Bobby Kennedy saw [] while he was in the United States. I told the President that at [] request we had checked very carefully on this matter and there had been no indication that Kennedy had seen []. The President stated that apparently the Soviet Government had decided to turn down Kennedy's invitation.

b7C

The President turned once again to the subject of Carmichael and McKissick. He obviously avoided bringing up King's name again. He asked if the FBI could have [] hold hearings concerning Carmichael and McKissick. I told him I thought it would be out of order for the FBI to make the request of [] and besides, [] appeared to be in very bad physical condition at the present time. I stated also that the President might like to consider the fact that the House Committee on Un-American Activities has little reputation at the present time and that hearings on McKissick and Carmichael might react to their advantage rather than hurting them.

b7C

The President then asked how such information could get out. I told him that handling such matters with newspapers was perhaps the best way, however, there obviously had been a reluctance on the part of some individuals to leak anything against King. (I, of course, meant the Attorney General.) The President made no comment but stated that he hoped the anti-Vietnam activities of all these people could be watched most carefully.

The President asked about the Director and I told him the Director was fine and working as hard as ever.

ACTION:

(1) If the Director approves, I will call [] and give him the above information concerning Stokely Carmichael.

b7C

Since President has ordered it, I assume we have to do it but I don't like it.
CONTINUED.....OVER
↓ ↓

Informal to Mr. Tolson

(2) The Crime Records Division will prepare a summary memorandum addressed to [redacted] concerning [redacted]

b7C

*HANDLED 7/12/67 C.D. in
JCF*

(3) If the Director has no objections, I will bring to the attention of [redacted]

[redacted] the desire on the part of the President for the Legion to institute a program welcoming home returning servicemen from Vietnam.

b7C

*This is up to
you.*

H

RESPECTFULLY,

[Signature]
C. D. DE LOACH

*Letter to
7-12-67
JCF:DEC*

b7C

FBI

7/12/67

Date:

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Wick	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, SAN ANTONIO (100-10300) P*

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS-MISCELLANEOUS

Re Bureau airtel to Albany and all offices, 5/26/67
and 6/7/67.

In line with the Department of Justice's request
for verbatim transcripts of STOKELY CARMICHAEL's speeches,
there are enclosed herewith 11 copies of an LHM setting
out a verbatim transcript of Mr. CARMICHAEL's speech at
The University of Texas on 4/14/67.

It should be noted that this tape recording was
made by _____
and that the speech was recorded at 1 7/8" per second.
The tape was provided the San Antonio Division _____
by _____

It should be noted that this tape has been
returned to _____
together with a copy of the transcript which they requested.
_____ has been asked to
retain this tape recording in the event it should be necessary
for the FBI to use in the future.

ENCLOSURE

3-Bureau (Encs. 11) RM
1-Atlanta (Enc. 1) (Info) RM
4-San Antonio
(2-100-10300)
(1-66-1620)
(1-157-269) (SNCC)
CPG:eks
(8)
C. C. Wick

AGENCY: ACSI, ONI, OSI, SEC. SER.,
DEPT: ISD, CRD, _____, _____, _____
DATE FORW: _____
HOW FORW: _____
BY: _____

JUL 21 1967

Approved: _____

Sent _____

M

Per _____

59 JUL 26 1967

Special Agent in Charge

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DATE 7/10/83 BY SP-3 BUL/CAL/mk

REC-59 100-446080

393

SA 100-10300

It is also important to understand that Mr. CARMICHAEL, in delivering this speech, tended to revert to Negro dialect, to change tenses, and to interject personal asides throughout his prepared text. The true impact of the speech can only be obtained by listening to the tape.

One copy of this communication, together with the LHM, is being furnished Atlanta inasmuch as they are OO in SNCC.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Antonio, Texas
July 12, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Texas, made available to the San Antonio
Office of the FBI a tape recording of Stokely Carmichael's
speech at The University of Texas, Austin, Texas, on April 14,
1967. A transcription of this speech from the tape recording
is set out below:

b7C

b7D

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337 FEB 24 1971

ENCLOSURE

100-446080- 393

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

I want to apologize for being late, but we ran into some trouble on the road. We ran into some trouble on the road, we had some flat tires. That's because the CIA is cutting off the circulation of the electricity. Say, I wanted to apologize for us being late. We had some trouble on the road and we have some flat tires.

As I was coming in, a young man said, "The nigger's here." That's right, baby, the nigger's here, and I'm going to blow. But we hope the young man will be able to deal, we hope the young man will be able to deal with this paper because this nigger is going to deliver an intellectual paper for you. This article is entitled To Want Black Liberation. It was written for the Massachusetts Review. I hope the Hunkie who called me a nigger reads the Massachusetts Review. Not only him, I hope his mama reads it too, she needs to.

The paper theoretically deals with the concept of black power. It ends up by programmatically explaining black power. It attacks the concept of integration as it's currently practiced in this country and then it deals with the concept of coalition politics as explained by the major coalition exponents in the country, notably Mr. Bayard Rustin. It then goes on to, it then goes on to point out the difference between individual acts of racism and institutionalized racism. One of the most pointed illustrations of the need for black power as a positive and redemptive force in a society degenerating into a form of totalitarianism is to be made by examining the history of distortion that the concept has received in the national media of publicity. In this debate, as in everything else that affects our lives, black people are dependent on and at the discretion of forces and institutions within white society which have little interest in representing us honestly. My experience with the national press has been that where they have managed to escape a meretricious special interest in

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"Get Whitey" sensationalism and race war-mongering individual reporters and commentators have been so conditioned by the enveloping racism of the society to the point where they're incapable even of objective observation and reporting of racial incidents, much less the analysis of ideas. But, this limitation of vision and perception is an inevitable consequence of the dictatorship of definition, interpretation and consciousness along with the censorship of history that the (heckling from audience)... See, they're only upset cause we've learned their language better than they. I ought to speak it in Swahili. ...is an inevitable consequence of the dictatorship of definition, interpretation and consciousness along with the censorship of history that the society has inflicted upon black people and, consequently, upon itself.

Our concern for black power addresses itself directly to this problem. The necessity for black people to reclaim our history and our identity from the cultural terrorism and depredation of self-justifying white guilt. To do this, we shall have to struggle for the right to create our own terms through which to define ourselves and our relationships to the society and to have these terms recognized. This is the first necessity of a free people and the first right that any oppressor must suspend. Now, I think that's very important, the need to define. The existentialist philosophers talk about that all the time, notably Mr. Camus and Mr. Sartre. I read them in the white school. And what happens is that if you cannot define, you are defined by forces greater than you.

Now, white western society, as opposed to white western civilization, has defined everybody in the world. An example for us would be the cowboy and the red man pictures. You know, you see them fighting all the time and the white man is losing, so, he calls out the cavalry and the cavalry come out and they ride very white and very proper and they get off their horses and they shoot all the red men. And, they ride back to the

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fort and at the fort there's a white woman standing there and she says, "What happened," and he says, "We've won. We've had a victory." Everybody's happy. Now, when the reverse happens, when the red man beat the hell out of the white man, and he goes back to the fort and the white woman asks him what happened, he says, "The dirty Indians. They massacred us." And, you got to understand the difference because the connotation is that a victory is much more honorable than is a massacre. In a victory you shoot people to death. In a massacre you cut them to death. And we all know that if we are going to die, we would rather be shot to death than cut to death. Now you see that even more with the editorial twins of America, Huntley and Brinkley and the (laughter).... What they usually do is that when they talk about Vietnam, they say, "Dirty, filthy Vietnam, Vietcong, communist guerrilla forces threw a molotov cocktail, wounding our civilians." You get a flashback and the other cat's in Washington, Brinkley says, "Meanwhile, our good boys have been bombing the hell out of North Vietnam."

So, that the questions and definitions are very important and since I'm in such a good group, I ought to show what they did to us a couple of years ago. Black people would get up and say that we want to integrate. And, in their minds and the minds of all black people, they were talking about good schools, good houses, good jobs and good places to live. But, some Hunkie would jump up and say, "You want to marry my daughter," and they would start defining the black man's term for him and the black man would start reacting to their definition. He would say, "Unh-unh, we don't want to marry your daughter. Unh-unh, we don't want to be your brother-in-law. Unh-unh, we just want to be your brothers," and all that nonsense.

Now, they ask us in SNCC and we tell them to the point. Your sister, your daughter, your mama, dig it! The white woman is not the queen of the world. She's not the Virgin Mary. She can be made like anybody else. Let's move on. Move on. Move on.

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And, you now have an attempt to do that today. When we say black power, some Hunkie jumps up and says, "You mean violence." And they want me to say, "Unh-unh, bossman, we don't mean violence." Later, for you! We know what we mean. That's all that counts. You will recognize our definition. Okay.

The white fathers of American racism knew this instinctively it seems, as is indicated by the continuous record of the distortion and omission in their dealings with the red and black men. And the same way with the Southern apologist, for the Jim Crow Society have so obscured, muddled, and misrepresented the record of the Reconstruction Period until it is almost impossible to tell what really happened. Their contemporary counterparts, the racist press, who never have any black members with them, are busy doing the same thing with the recent history of the civil rights movements. In 1964, for example, the National Democratic Party led by L. B. Johnson and "Boy Wonder" H. H. Humphrey, we call them Batman and Robin in SNCC because they run a very camp government, and in the black community H. H. Humphrey stands for Handkerchief Head Humphrey - a Handkerchief Head is someone who is more obsequious than an Uncle Tom; he's an unconditional yes-man. Uh, did you dig television January-February when Johnson delivered his State of the Johnson Message to the Union? Well, if you noticed that the cameras were posed on Lyndon Baines Johnson. In the background you could see Humphrey, heh, heh, heh (laughter). Well, these two cats cynically undermined the efforts of Mississippi's black population to achieve some degree of political representation. We'll speak now of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party challenge that took place in 1964 at Atlantic City at the National Democratic Party Convention. Yet, whenever the events of the convention are recalled by the press, one sees only that version fabricated by the press agents of the Democratic Party. A year later the House of Representatives, in an even more vulgar display of political racism, made a mockery of the political rights of

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Mississippi's black people when they failed to unseat the Mississippi delegation to the House which had been elected through a process which systematically excluded over 450,000 voting age black people, almost one-half of the total electorate of that state. Yet, two years later, the same House is unable to unseat Mr. Adam Clayton Powell because he does the same thing they do but with more style.

Whenever this event is mentioned in print, it is in terms which leaves one with a rather curious impression that some of the oppressed black people of Mississippi are at fault for confronting the Congress with a situation in which they have no alternatives but to endorse Mississippi's racist political practices. I mention these two examples because having been directly involved in them, I can see very clearly the discrepancies between what happened and the versions that are finding their way into general acceptance as a kind of popular mythology. Thus, the victimizations black people in this country takes place in two phases. First, it occurs in fact and deed and, then, this is equally sinister, it occurs in the recording of those facts and deeds.

The black power program and concept which is being articulated by the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, the Congress of Racial Equality, and the host of community organizations in the ghettos of the North and South, has not escaped that process. The white press has been busy articulating their own analysis, their own interpretations, and criticisms of their own creations. We were quite disturbed about that 'cause all we said was two simple words, black power, and the whole white world came down on us for it and they began to tell us what was wrong. And I couldn't figure out what was happening until I read George Bernard Shaw. He's got a phrase which is quite apropos for all people who criticize black power. He says all criticism is in fact an autobiography. For example, while the press is giving wide and sensational dissemination to attacks made by figures in the civil rights movement, foremost among which are Mr. Roy Wilkins of the National

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Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and Mr. Whitney Young, of the National Urban League, and to the hysterical rantings about black racism made by that political chameleon that now serves as Vice President, it has generally failed to give accounts of the reasonable and productive dialogue which has taken place in the black community and in certain areas in the religious and intellectual communities.

A national committee of influential black churchmen affiliated with the National Council of Churches, despite their obvious respectability and responsibility, had to resort to a paid advertisement to articulate their position, while anyone shouting the hysterical yappings of black racism got ample space. Thus, the American people have gotten at best a superficial and misleading account of the very terms and tenor of this debate.

I wish to quote from the statement by the National Committee of Churchmen which I suspect the majority of Americans will not have seen. It appeared in the New York Times July 31 of last year. I want to quote it at length because I think it is important for you to know that inside the black community there are some intelligent people, other than the ones you always see denouncing black power. I quote:

"We, an informal group of Negro churchmen in America, are deeply disturbed about the crisis brought upon our country by historic distortions of important human realities in the controversy about black power. What we see shining through the variety of rhetoric is not anything new, but the same old problem of power and race which has faced our beloved country since 1619. The conscience of black men is corrupted because having no power to implement the demands of conscience, the concern for justice in the absence of justice becomes a chaotic self-surrender. Powerlessness

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"breeds a race of beggars. We are faced now with a situation where powerless conscience meets conscienceless power. (I would like to repeat that phrase because I believe it is axiomatic to race relations in the country today.) We are faced now with the situation where powerless conscience meets conscienceless power, threatening the very foundations of our nation. We deplore the overt violence of riots, but we feel it is more important to focus on the real sources of these eruptions. These sources may be abetted inside the ghetto but their basic cause lies in the silent and covert violence which white middle class America inflicts upon the victims of the inner city. In short, the failure of American leaders to use American power to create equal opportunity in life as well as law. This is the real problem and not the anguished cry for black power.

"Without the capacity to participate with power, that is, to have some organized political and economic strength to really influence people with whom one interacts, integration is not meaningful. America has asked us Negro citizens to fight for opportunity as individuals, whereas in certain points in our history, what we have needed most has been opportunity for the whole group, not just for selected and approved Negroes. We must not apologize for the existence of this form of group power for we have been oppressed as a group and not as individuals. We will not find our way out of that oppression until both we and America accept the need for Negro-Americans, as well as for Jews, Italians, Poles, and white Anglo-Saxon Protestants, among others, to have and to wield group power."

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Traditionally, for each new ethnic group, the route to social and political integration into America's pluralistic society has been through the organization of their own institutions with which to represent their communal needs within the larger society. Simply stated, this is what the advocates of black power are talking about. The strident outcry, particularly from the liberal community, that has been evoked by this proposal can only be understood by examining the historic relationship between black people and white power in this country. Blacks are defined by two forces, our blackness and our powerlessness. There have been traditionally two communities in America - the white community which controls and defines the forms that all institutions within the society would take and the black community which has been excluded from participation in the power decisions that shape the society and has traditionally been dependent upon and subservient to the white community. This has not been accidental. The history of every institution of this society indicates that a major concern in the ordering and structuring of this society has been the maintaining of the black community in its condition of dependence and oppression. This has not been on the level of individual acts of racism between individual whites against individual blacks, but as total acts by the white community against the black community.

This facts can not be too strongly emphasized, that what the racist assumptions of white superiority have been so deeply ingrained in the structure of this society that it infuses the entire functioning and is so much a part of the national subconscious that it is taken for granted and is frequently not even recognized.

Let me give an example of the difference between individual racism and institutionalized racism and the society's response to both. When unidentified Hunkies bomb a black church and kill five

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black children, that is an act of individual racism, widely deplored by most segments of the society, black and white. But, when in that same city, Birmingham, Alabama, not five but 500 black babies die each year because of lack of proper food, shelter, and medical facilities, and thousands more black people are maimed physically, emotionally, and intellectually because of conditions of poverty and deprivation in the ghetto, that is a function of institutionalized racism.

But the society either pretends it doesn't know of this situation or is incapable of doing anything meaningful about it. And this resistance to doing anything meaningful about conditions in the ghetto comes from the fact that the ghetto is itself a product of the combination of forces and special interests inside the white community. And, the groups that have access to the resources and power to change that situation benefit politically and economically from the existence of that ghetto. It is more than a figure of speech to say then that the black community in America is the victim of white imperialism and colonial exploitation. This is in practical economic and political terms true. It is a truism.

There are over twenty million black people comprising ten per cent of this nation. For the most part, we live in well defined areas of the country, in the shanty towns and rural black belt areas of the South and increasingly in the slums of northern and western industrial cities. If one goes into any black community, whether it be Jackson, Mississippi, Cambridge, Maryland, Harlem, New York, or Austin, Texas, one will find the same combination of political, economic, and social forces are at work. The people in the black community do not control the resources of that community, its political decisions, its law enforcement, even its housing standards. Even the physical ownership of the land,

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houses, and stores lie outside that community. It is white power that makes the laws and it is violent white power in the form of armed white cops that enforces those laws with guns and nightsticks. The vast majority of black people in this country live in these captive communities and must endure these conditions of oppression because, and only because, we are black and powerless.

I do not suppose that at any point the men who control the power and resources of this country ever sat down and designed these black enclaves and formally articulated the terms of their colonial and dependent status as was done, for example, by the apartheid government of South Africa which this country supports. Yet, one cannot distinguish between one ghetto and another. As one moves from city to city, it is though some malignant racist planning unit had done precisely this, designed each one from the same master blueprint and, in deed, if the ghetto had been formally and deliberately planned, instead of growing spontaneously and inevitably from the racist functioning of the various institutions that combine to make the society, the situation would be somehow less frightening. The situation would be less frightening because if these ghettos were the result of design and conspiracy, one could understand their similarity as being artificial and consciously imposed upon quantities, rather than the result of identical patterns of white racism which repeats themselves in cities as distant as Boston is to Watts.

Without bothering to list the historic factors which contribute to this pattern, economic exploitation, political impotence, discrimination in employment and education, one can see that to correct this pattern will require far-reaching changes in the basic pattern relationships and the ingrained social patterns within the society. Their question is, of course, what kind of changes are necessary and how is it possible to bring them about?

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In recent years the answer to these questions, which has been given by a most articulate group of black people and their white allies, the liberals of all stripes, has been in terms of something called integration. According to the advocates of integration, social justice will be accomplished by and, I quote, "integrating the Negro into the mainstream institutions of the society from which he has been traditionally excluded." It is very significant that each time I have heard this formulation, it has been in terms of the Negro, the individual Negro, rather than in terms of the entire black community. This concept of integration had to be based on the assumption that there was nothing of value in the black community and that little of value could be created among the black people, so, that the thing to do was to siphon off acceptable black people into the surrounding middle class white community. Thus, the goals of the movement for integration was simply to loosen up the restrictions barring the entries of black people into the white community. Goals around which the struggle took place, such as public accommodation, open housing, job opportunity on the executive level, are quite simply middle class goals articulated by a tiny group of black people who have middle class aspirations.

Now, I do think that the press media had quite a bit to do with the interpretation of that movement because we used to watch, sit and watch, them interpret our movement. For example, I would be in Alabama and I would see the editorial twins on TV and they would say, "Black people were marching today in Alabama. They were beaten down by Jim Clark, they were shot at, they were ridden over, they were horse-whipped, they were cattle-prod, but, alas, they are still marching to integrate." And, on the next day, he would say, "The black people from the North have come to join their black brothers from the South. They are marching again in Summer. They have been beaten, they have been ridden over with horses, they have been whipped, they have been kicked, they have been cattle-prodded, they have

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been sent to jail, but they're still marching to integrate." I sat down and figured out the logical conclusion of that. It meant that I.....(break in tape)

..... was reflected not only in the programs and goals of the civil rights movement but in its tactics and organizations. It is significant that the two oldest and most respectable civil rights organizations have consti..... I can only say three-fifths of that word. Let me spell it for you - constitutions. When we become five-fifths, I'll be able to say the whole word. But, any way, they have these things which specifically prohibit participant political activity. The Congress of Racial Equality once did, but changed that clause when it changed its orientation towards black power. But, this is perfectly understandable in terms of the strategy and goals of the older organizations. The civil rights movement saw its role as a kind of liaison between the powerful white community and the dependent black one. The dependent status of the black community apparently was unimportant since if the movement were successful, it was going to blend into the white community any way. We made no pretense of organizing and developing institutions of community power in the black community, but, in appealing to the conscience of white institutions of power, the posture of the civil rights movement was that of the dependent, the suppliant. The theory was that without attempting to create any organized base of political strength itself, the civil rights movement could by forming coalitions with various of the liberal pressure organizations in the white community, such as liberal reform clubs, labor unions and church groups, progressive civic groups, and, at times, one or other of the major political parties, influence national legislation and national social patterns.

I think we've all seen the limitations of this approach. We have repeatedly seen that political alliances based on appeals to conscience and decency

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are chancy things, simply because institutions and political organizations have no consciences outside their own special interests. The political and social rights of black people have been, and always will be, negotiable and expendable the moment they conflict with the interests of our allies. If we do not learn from history, the philosopher Santayana reminds us, then, we are doomed to repeat it. And that is precisely the lesson that we have learned from the Reconstruction Period. During that time there came into being something which was called the Populist Party. One of its major spokesmen was a man by the name of Mr. Tom Watson who hailed from Georgia. Mr. Watson was running for a county position in Georgia. The black population percentage-wise in that county was 40 per cent voting age population. He needed that 40 per cent in order to win and so, just like some modern day liberals who need the black vote in order to win the Presidential election in 1972, he began to expostulate some liberal nonsense, encouraging black people to vote with poor whites, and black people went into the Populist movement unorganized. When Mr. Watson tried to make the Populist Party a national party and decided to extend it first to the West before trying to take on the industrial East, the economic interests of the farmers whom he wanted to ally with conflicted with the economic interests of black people so he became a racist, led lynch mobs, and drove black people out of the party. This was developed before black people could develop any independent base of political strength in the South strong enough to challenge that decision.

Obviously we're learning from history. Today we will not go into any party unless we are first organized independently and know our strength, so, if they decide to throw us out of the party, at least we can disrupt it. Thus, at this point in the struggle, black people have no assurance, save a kind of idiot optimism and faith in a society whose

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history is one of racism that, if it were to become necessary, even the painfully limited gains thrown to the civil rights movement by the Congress will not be revoked as soon as a shift in political sentiment should occur. But, the major limitation of this approach was that it tended to maintain the traditional dependence of black people and of the movements. They depended upon the good will and support of various groups within the white community whose interests were not always compatible with ours to the extent that we depended on the financial support of other groups we were vulnerable to their influence and domination. Also, the program that evolved out of this coalition was really limited and inadequate in the long term and one which affected only a small selected group of black people. Its goal was to make the white community accessible to qualified blacks and presumably each year a few more blacks armed with their passports, a couple of university degrees, would escape into white middle class America and adopt the attitudes and life styles of that group and one day the Harlems and the Watts would stand empty, a tribute to the success of integration.

This is simply neither realistic nor is it particularly desirable. You can integrate communities but you assimilate individuals. Even if such a program were possible, its result would be not to develop the black community as a functional and honorable segment of the total society with its own cultural identity, life patterns and institutions, but to abolish it, the final solution to the race problem in this country.

Karl Marx reminds us that the working class is the first class that wished to abolish itself. If one were to listen closely to some of our moderate Negro leaders, you would think that black people were the first people that wished to abolish themselves. The fact is that what must be abolished is not the black community, but the dependent colonial status that has been inflicted upon that community. The racial and cultural personality of the black community must be preserved and the community

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must win its liberation by preserving its cultural integrity. This is the essential difference between integration as it is currently practiced and the concept of black power.

And what has the movement for integration accomplished to date? That a black person graduating from MIT with a doctorate will have better job opportunities available to him than to Lynda Bird Johnson? But, the rate of unemployment in the black community is steadily increasing, while that in the white community decreases. More educated blacks hold executive jobs in major corporations and federal agencies than ever before, but the gap between white income and black income has almost doubled in the last 20 years. More suburban housing is available to black people, if they can stand the rocks, but, housing conditions in the ghetto are steadily declining. While the infant mortality rate of New York City is at its lowest rate ever in the city's history, the infant mortality rate of Harlem is steadily climbing. This explains why the rate of school drop-outs is increasing among black teenagers who then express their bitterness, hopelessness, and alienation by the only means they have in imitating this society via violence. As long as people in the ghettos of our large cities feel we are the victims of misuse of white power without any way to have our needs represented, and these are frequently simple needs, we will continue to have rebellions. These are not the products of black power but in the absence of any organization capable of giving the community the power, the black power, it needs to deal with its problems.

SNCC proposes that it is now time for the black liberation movement to stop pandering to the fears and anxieties of white middle class in the attempt to earn its good will and to return to the ghettos to organize these communities to control themselves. This organization must be attempted in the Northern and Southern urban areas, as well as in the real black belt areas in the South. The chief

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antagonist to this organization is in the South, the overtly racist Democratic Party and, in the North, the equally corrupt and just as racist, big city machine.

The standing argument presented against independent political organization is that you are only 10 per cent. I cannot see the relevance of this observation since no one is talking about taking over the country since God knows we wouldn't know what to do with this monster, but taking control over our own communities. The fact is that the black population, 10 per cent or not, is very strategically placed because, ironically, of segregation. What is also true is that black people have never been able to utilize the full voting potential of our numbers. Where we could vote, the case has always been that the white political machine stacks and gerrymanders the political subdivisions in our neighborhoods so that true voting strength is never reflected in political strength. Would anyone looking at the distribution of political power in Houston, Texas, ever think that black people represented 25 per cent of the population there? Just as often, the effective political organization in black communities is absorbed by tokenism and patronage, the time-honored factors of giving certain offices to selected black people. The machine thus creates a little machine which is subordinate and responsive to the machine inside the black community. These so-called black political leaders are really vote deliverers more responsible to the white machine and the white power structure than to the community they allegedly represent. Thus, the white community is able to substitute patronage control for what Mr. Powell calls audacious black power in the black community. This is precisely what LBJ tried to do even before the Voting Rights Act of 1965 was passed. The National Democrats made it clear, crystal clear, that the measure was intended to register Democrats, not black people. The President and top officials of the Democratic Party called in almost 100 selected Negro leaders from the Deep South. Nothing was said about changing the policies of the racist state parties. Nothing was said about repudiating

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such leadership figures, as Eastland and Ross Barnett in Mississippi or George and Lurleen Wallace in Alabama. But, we have nothing to say about the lady from Alabama because we've just come to find out that the Governor of Alabama is a mother. And in SNCC we're for motherhood. What was simply said, and, I quote, was "Go home and organize your local people into the Democratic Party, then we'll see about poverty money and appointments, my fellow Americans."

We must organize black community power to end these abuses and to give the black community a chance to have its needs expressed, a leadership which is truly responsible not to the white press and to the power structure but to the community which will be developed. Such leadership will recognize that its power lies in the unified and collective strength of the black community. This will make it difficult for the white leadership group to conduct its dialogue with individuals in terms of patronage and prestige and will force them to talk to the community's representatives in terms of real black power.

The single aspect then of the black power program that has encountered most criticism is this concept of independent political organization. This is presented as third partyism which has never worked or a withdrawal into black nationalism and black isolationism which yields to reverse racism. If such a program is developed, it will not have the effect of isolating the black community, but the reverse. When the black community is able to control local offices and negotiate with other groups from a position of organized strength, the possibility of meaningful political alliances on specific issues will be increased. That is a rule of politics and there is no reason why it should not operate here. The only difference is that we will have the power to define the terms of these alliances.

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The next question usually is, "Can it work? Can the ghettos, in fact, be organized?" The answer is that this organization must be successful because there are no viable alternatives, not the war on poverty which was at its inception limited to dealing with effects, rather than causes, and has become simply another source of machine patronage and integration is meaningful only to a small chosen class within the black community. The revolution in agricultural technology in the South is displacing the rural black community into the Northern and Southern urban areas. Both Washington, D. C., and Newark, New Jersey, already have black majorities. One-third of Philadelphia's population of two million people is already black. The inner city in most major urban areas is already predominantly black and, with the white rush to suburbia, blacks within the next two decades control the hearts of these great cities. These areas can become either concentration camps with a bitter population whose only power is the power to destroy or organized and powerful communities able to make constructive contributions to the total society. Without the power, the black power, to control our lives and our communities without effective political institutions from which to relate to the total community, our communities will exist in a constant state of insurrection. This is a choice that white America will have to make. Thank you.

A question and answer period followed, among which are the following:

- Q. What Stokely thinks about a positive reaction. He says there has been a positive reaction by people like Bill Buckley, of conservatives, to the idea of black power. We would like you to comment on it.
- A. I don't know what their reasons are for being for black power. I would think that if they knew what was happening, they'd be against black power. I have no reaction to it because I'm not really concerned with the reaction of white people to black power. I'm concerned with the reaction of black people to black power.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Q. What if the ghetto can't be organized?

A. I've just never entertained that in my mind. I know that it can be organized. Black people can come together. I don't know how it could not be organized, but.... I understand.... what do you mean, on the part of black people.... are they just not willing to come together? That's true. That's true. We're gonna organize ourselves this time around.

Interruption from audience.

Q. The man says he has a friend who just went to jail for two and a half years, rather than go to Vietnam. He would like to know what Mr. Carmichael thinks of that?

A. I think he's great, absolutely great, because I feel it is more honorable to suffer than to inflict suffering. I think it is more honorable to be confined in jail, knowing that one is not a murderer than to be walking outside, knowing that one is a murderer.

Q. Is there any chance that the civil rights and peace movements can unite?

A. I think they can form coalitions. I don't think they can unite 'cause I think the peace movement is talking about peace and black people talking about liberation and there is a big difference, 'cause as far as we are concerned, there ain't gonna be no peace till we get our liberation.

Q. Is he to understand what he used to think was a brotherhood movement is contradictory with the black power movement?

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

- A. I'm not sure I understand that. Will you explain that a little bit more? The difference is that in the past people were fighting to integrate. I don't think integration is what you fight for. Oh, I'm refuting that. I think that the approach of the black people must be a institutionalized racism, not individual acts of racism.
- Q. What active part can a concerned, compassionate white person play in this part?
- A. Well, he can move into the white community and start organizing it on several levels. The first level he can begin to organize are poor whites who are politically and economically disfranchised, so that they can begin to fight for the power from which they have been robbed. On the second level, he can begin to organize them and teach them nonviolence because they really need it. That is, he can teach it to people like Jim Clark and to Ross Barnett, and those cats, rather than to us. They should get some (unintelligible)
- Q. If they're a minority, why are they governing?
- A. I'm afraid that Lurleen Wallace governs Alabama. I'm afraid she does, I'm afraid Eastland is the Senator from Mississippi with his racist counterpart, Stennis. I'm afraid that Strom Thurmond Talmadge and Russell are all sitting up there in the Senate. I'm afraid that Paul B. Johnson is, in fact, Governor of Mississippi. I'm also afraid that De La Beckwith is running for a position in the State of Mississippi and will probably win. Oh, Jim Clark is indeed Sheriff of Dallas County. I can just go down.... That's not what I read in the newspaper.... Oh, no, black people have always been willing to communicate. White people know that; they've always communicated with us after sundown.I would think that the best thing you can do is to move into the white community and start to begin to help civilize it so it will recognize the humanity of black people.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

- Q. Why Stokely's followers, if not he, call other colored brothers Uncle Tom's?
- A. You would have to ask my so-called followers that question.
- Q. What are we going to do with the Uncle Tom's who do not agree with us. Are we going to slit their throats?
- A. No. They're going to be our token integration boys.
- Q. Stokely has talked about political power and about people having domination in ghettos. The man says that economics governs the country as well as politics and what would Mr. Carmichael suggest be done to give black people more economic power than they have?
- A. I do not think it is possible for black people to move into the economic arena of the country right now because it's just too tight in terms of the fact that it is governed by stocks and bonds and there are no openings to get there. So, one of the things we can begin to do then is our own community, begin to develop cooperative programs which we can use as a stopgap measurement until we can develop enough political power to then bargain for economic power.
- Q. He wants to know if Mr. Carmichael thinks that black people are going to come back from fighting in Vietnam not fight for themselves? Laughter.
- A. Well, the question is, and he who laughs last, laughs best and, well, my brother, here is a veteran, he wants to know if I think it is possible for black people who have been used to fight in Vietnam a white man's war can come back and not fight for his rights. Laughs. Well, you know the answer to that question is some of us ain't even going to Vietnam; we're going to fight here first.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Q. Unintelligible.

A. It's from Nigeria which is in Africa and they build some beautiful things. It's not a beatnik shirt.

Q. Okay, Mr. Green has a question. The question is

A. whether or not I believe in the Constitution of the United States or whether or not I believe in overthrowing the Government here at home? Is that your question? Which one of the Constitutions, the one which makes me three-fifths. I want to know which one you're talking about. Now, you're talking about the United States Constitution. I understand the United States Constitution started off with a Declaration of Independence which said, "When in the course of human events it becomes necessary for one people to (interrupted)... I'm answering your question, I gave you courtesy. ...When in the course of human events it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which shall have connected them with another or to assume among the powers of the earth a just and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's gods entangle them, a decent respect to the opinion of mankind, states that they should declare the reason that caused them to this separation. We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equally, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights (applause), that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and that when any form of government or governments are instituted among people deriving their right to govern from the consent of the governed and that when any government becomes destructive to these ends, it is the right of the people to alter and to abolish it, laying its foundations on such principles that (unintelligible because of shouts from crowd) so as to insure their happiness..."

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

If we're talking about that Constitution or fighting to uphold that Constitution, I'm just trying to show the Hunkies that they have to uphold it too because they taught it to me. But, if you talk about a Constitution which for 100 years denied me the right to vote, then, I'm trying my best to overthrow that mumbojamma. (Because of background noise of audience, last word not too clear)

Q. What can the black students here at this college do? At any time? The first thing you ought to do at this college is organize yourselves 'cause you need help. What you ought to do is to get the skills and techniques that you learned at this college and bring them back to your black brothers in the rural areas and ghettos who need your skills. You should bring your education back to us so we can use them to better ourselves as a race of people.

Q. When does Mr. Carmichael think the black people in America will achieve full black power?

A. We gear our program in terms of a long struggle. We won't begin to see the semblance of that until around 1972 but hopefully, if organized, we can make the weight of our strength felt in the national elections and then move in on from there. It's at least a five-year organizing plan. (Laughs.) Oh, we're going to do it.

Q. The question is whether or not Mr. Carmichael sees black people in the United States as a permanently identifiable minority?

A. Yes, I do and we're proud of it.

Q. (Garbled)

A. I don't know if that's possible. I think that that's really up to white activists who should start moving into the white communities starting to speak about oppression. I do not want white people to speak of the oppression of the black people. I will not be as presumptuous as to speak to the oppression of white people.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Q. He wants to know if Mr. Carmichael is going to San Antonio this week?

A. No, I'm not.

Q. He wants to know if Mr. Carmichael would revise the poverty program?

A. I think the poverty program works on two basic assumptions which I disagree with. I think they're really fallacious. No. 1, they work on the assumption that you can bring together a coalition of forces which makes a tripartite coalition, that is, poor people, public figures, Government-established structure and technicians, and what you usually have is two-thirds outnumbering the one-third, the poor, that is, the technicians are not poor, and the power structure is not poor. And, so that, both of them together outbid the poor. So, they never really have a voice. Secondly, I think the assumption of the poverty program is that if someone is poor, it is because of his own individual blank, that is, he was born on the wrong side of the tracks or had too many children, didn't go to school and all that nonsense. I believe the poverty is well calculated in this country and it is systematic so that if you want to talk about smashing poverty, you must talk about getting rid of Government officials who exist, their positions exist out of the poor, and getting rid of technicians, letting the poor people control those programs themselves. Completely.

Q. Other than economic boycott, what other means does Mr. Carmichael advocate for bringing economic power to recognize black power?

A. I can't think of any right now. We're just going along with the economic boycotts.

Q. Did Harlem or Watts riots have any place in the black power movement?

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

A. They're not riots, they're called rebellions. And what they represent is that black people are no longer going to let a Hunkie cop come into our neighborhood, beat us up and walk out scot-free. When they touch one of us, they're going to have to face all of us. So that at least the police in Nashville and Watts and Harlem know that their days of head-whipping and free-hand whipping on black people are over. A recognition of that allows for us to do the type of organizing that we have to do and to put them out our community. Let the Nashville cops come and police your community; they're white, you're white, you can have them. We want black cops.

Q. What are the future possibilities of black people with the Republican Party?

A. There's no hope.

That's got it.

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DIRECTOR, FBI

7-12-67

SAC, KNOXVILLE (157-403) P

STOKLEY CARMICHAEL,
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING
COMMITTEE (SNCC)
PROPOSED VISIT, CHATTANOOGA, TENN.
SUMMER OF 1967
RACIAL MATTERS

Re Knoxville airtel to Bureau 6-22-67.

Submitted herewith to Bureau are 11 copies
of LHM, Knoxville, dated 7-12-67.

Copies have been disseminated locally to
Intelligence Agencies, two to Secret Service, and one
to USA at Chattanooga, Tenn.

This matter is receiving continuous attention
and the Bureau will be kept advised of any pertinent
developments.

100 - 446080 -
NOT RECORDED
162 JUL 17 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/7/00 BY 39063 ewl/bek/w

- ③ - Bureau (Enc. - 11) (RM)
2 - Atlanta (Enc. - 2)
4 - Knoxville (2 - 157-403)
 (1 - 157-292 Sub B)
 (1 - 88-70 A)

GCW:ga
(9)

ENCLOSURE

ORIGINAL FILED IN



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Knoxville, Tennessee, 37902
July 12, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

STOKLEY CARMICHAEL
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING
COMMITTEE (SNCC)
PROPOSED VISIT,
CHATTANOOGA, TENNESSEE
SUMMER OF 1967
RACIAL MATTERS

Reference is made to Knoxville memorandum captioned matter dated June 22, 1967.

[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted] was recontacted to determine if he had received any additional information regarding the proposed visit by STOKLEY CARMICHAEL to Chattanooga, Tennessee. [redacted]
[redacted] advised he had received no additional information concerning this proposed visit. He stated he had learned that two of CARMICHAEL's SNCC employees had supposedly visited Chattanooga, Tennessee, within the recent past, spent one night and then returned to Atlanta. He did not know who they had visited or the purpose of their visit. He identified the original source of the information furnished by him [redacted]
[redacted]

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DATE 8/1/00 BY 3963 EWL/Bcl/arnw

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ENCLOSURE 100 - 446080 -

STOKLEY CARMICHAEL
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE

[redacted]
[redacted] was recontacted concerning the proposed visit of the SNCC at Chattanooga, Tennessee, and concerning the alleged rumor that [redacted] [redacted] was going to attempt to cause a racial incident in Chattanooga. [redacted] stated he had received no additional information concerning proposed visit by SNCC. He again stated that if and when such information is received he would immediately notify the FBI. He said that he had not received any additional information concerning the proposed racial incident which [redacted] was planning. He advised he believed it was possibly a rumor but he had been unable to find the source of this rumor.

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[redacted]
[redacted] was contacted concerning the proposed visit by CARMICHAEL and the rumor concerning [redacted] [redacted] He said that the [redacted] [redacted] had been appointed to visit with [redacted]

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[redacted] stated [redacted] had visited [redacted] and reportedly been advised that [redacted] wrote a letter to STOKLEY CARMICHAEL and invited him to Chattanooga. [redacted] reported this was a spur of the moment decision by him after he had heard the report that CARMICHAEL had been rebuffed by citizens of Chattanooga. He promised [redacted] [redacted] he would immediately contact [redacted] if he received an answer from CARMICHAEL concerning his visit to Chattanooga. [redacted] stated he understood no answer had been received as of July 6, 1967.

STOKLEY CARMICHAEL
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE

[redacted] stated he had originally heard the rumor that [redacted] was planning a racial incident at Chattanooga so that he, [redacted] could enhance his reputation by stopping this racial demonstration. [redacted] stated that from all reports he can receive, this was purely a rumor and no basis has been established for such reports.

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During a previous investigation, [redacted] accompanied by [redacted] were interviewed by Agents of the FBI at Chattanooga, Tennessee, [redacted] advised he was a native of [redacted] had relatives living in [redacted] and that he is presently employed as a member of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, Atlanta, Georgia. He stated he was in Chattanooga on SNCC business. He listed his address in [redacted] as [redacted] and the [redacted]

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He did not state the purpose of his SNCC business in Chattanooga, Tennessee. [redacted] had [redacted] drivers license in his possession in his name which reflects his date of birth as [redacted] The license bore number [redacted] and was issued [redacted]

[redacted] advised that he had worked closely with the racial situation in Chattanooga, Tennessee. He advised that [redacted] had been a reported trouble maker for the past [redacted] years in Chattanooga, Tennessee, attempting to create trouble among the Negro race. He stated [redacted] reportedly claims to have the backing of SNCC out of Atlanta, Georgia. He stated he does not know of any incidents in which [redacted] has been successful in causing racial unrest Chattanooga, Tennessee, and does not believe that he is an official of SNCC from Atlanta, Georgia.

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Tolson _____
 DeLoach _____
 Mohr _____
 Wick _____
 Casper _____
 Callahan _____
 Conrad _____
 Felt _____
 Gale _____
 Rosen _____
 Sullivan _____
 Tavel _____
 Trotter _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holmes _____
 Gandy _____

DECODED COPY

☐ AIRGRAM ☒ CABLEGRAM ☐ RADIO ☐ TELETYPE

STATE 03

URGENT 7-19-67

TO DIRECTOR

FROM LEGAT LONDON NO. 89

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISCELLANEOUS

b7C

REBUCAB JULY 19 INSTANT

SUBJECT SPOKE AT DIALECTICS OF LIBERATION CONGRESS
 JULY 18 LAST. SPOKE ON TELEVISION JULY 17 LAST. SCHEDULED
 TO SPEAK EVENING JULY 20 NEXT AT LAMBETH TOWN HALL AND JULY
 22 NEXT AT DIALECTICS CONGRESS WITH ALLEN GINSBERG, POET.
 BUREAU WILL BE KEPT ADVISED.

RECEIVED: 1:23 PM LRK

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 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 8/7/00 BY 39063 E/W/Reckman

EX-103

REC-47/100-446080-394

3RD CC: MR. BRENNAN

56 JUL 20 1967

b7C

14 JUL 21 1967

FBI

Date: 7/13/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Wick	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-721) (C)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS

ReBuairtel 5/26/67.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/1/00 BY 39063 ERL/BAH

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 11 copies of an LHM incorporating a speech by STOKELY CARMICHAEL which he gave at the Greek Theater, University of California, Berkeley, California (UCB).

[redacted] allowed
a copy of a tape in his possession to be made. [redacted]
has had the original tapes from the "Black Power" Day on
10/29/66 in his possession locked in a safe. The original tape
was made 10/29/66.

[redacted] will testify, if necessary, and is
maintaining the original tape so that the chain of evidence will
not be broken. It should be noted that applause and background
noises render portions of the tape indistinguishable.

Other logical sources were contacted and they advised
they had no knowledge of the existence of any tape of speeches
by CARMICHAEL.

REC-52

EX-113

ENCLOSURE

3-Bureau (Enc. 11) (RM) 1- ATLANTA (ENCL. 1) (RM) JUL 21 1967
1-San Francisco
JD:kah #9
(4)

AGENCY: ACSI, ONI, OSI, SEC. SER.,
DEPT: ISD, CRD, [redacted], [redacted], [redacted]

DATE FORW: 7/18/67

HOW FORW: [redacted]

BY: [redacted]

1- Rm 1714

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

San Francisco, California

July 13, 1967

SPEECH BY STOKELY CARMICHAEL AT THE
GREEK THEATER, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA,
BERKELEY, ON THE OCCASION OF "BLACK
POWER" DAY, OCTOBER 29, 1966

[REDACTED] has maintained a tape recording of the
speech given by Stokely Carmichael at the Greek Theater, UCB, on
October 29, 1966. Stokely Carmichael, who was then head of the
Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, gave the following
speech:

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(Applause and mumbling)

"An example would be the Nazis. Any prisoner,
any Nazi prisoners who admitted after he was caught
and persuaded that he committed crimes that he
killed all the many people that he killed that he
committed suicide. The only ones who were able to
stay alive were the ones who never admitted that
they committed crimes against people. That is the
ones who rationalized the Jews were not human beings
and deserved to be killed or that they were only
following orders.

"On a more immediate scene the officials and
the population, the white population, in Eshoba
County, Mississippi, that's where Philadelphia is,
could not, could not condemn Rainey, his deputies
and the other fourteen men that killed three human
beings. They could not because they elected Mr.
Rainey to do precisely what he did, and for them to
condemn them would be for them to condemn themselves.
In a much later view SNCC says that white America
cannot condemn herself and since we are liberal
we have done it - you stand condemned.

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ENCLOSURE 100-446080-395

SPEECH BY STOKELY CARMICHAEL AT THE
GREEK THEATER, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA,
BERKELEY, ON THE OCCASION OF "BLACK
POWER" DAY, OCTOBER 29, 1966

"Now a number of things that arises from that answer how do you condemn yourselves seems to me that the institutions that function in this country are clearly racist and that they are built upon racism. The question then is how black people inside this country move and then how can white people who say they're not a part of those institutions begin to move, and how then do we begin to clear away the obstacles that we have in this society and let us live like human beings. How can we begin to build institutions that will allow people to relate to each other as human beings. This country has never done that, especially around the country white and black. Now several people have been upset because we said that integration was irrelevant when initiated by blacks and that in fact it was a subterfuge. The city is subterfuge for the menace of white supremacy.

"Now we maintain that in the past six years or so this country has been feeding us off the lattermaudrag (ph) of integration and that some Negroes have been walking down a dream street talking about sitting next to white people and that does not begin to solve problems. That when we went to Mississippi we did not go to sit next to Ross Barnett, we did not go to sit next to Jim Clark, we went to get them out of our way and that people ought to understand that. That we were never fighting for the right to integrate, we were fighting against white supremacy. (Applause)

"Now then in order to understand white supremacy we must dismiss the fallacious notion that white people can give anybody their freedom. No man can give anybody his freedom. Man is born free. You may enslave a man after he is born free and that is in fact what this country does, it enslaves black people after they are born. So that the only acts white people can do is to stop denying black people their freedom - that is they must stop denying freedom they never give it to anyone.

SPEECH BY STOKELY CARMICHAEL AT THE
GREEK THEATER, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA,
BERKELEY, ON THE OCCASION OF "BLACK
POWER" DAY, OCTOBER 29, 1966

"Now we want to take through logical extensions so that we can understand then what its relevancy would be in terms of new civil rights bills. I maintain that every civil rights bill in this country was passed for white people, not for black people. (Applause) For example, I am black, I know that. I also know that while I am black I am a human being. Therefore, I have the right to go into any public place. White people didn't know that. Everytime I tried to go into a place they stopped me so some boys had to write a bill to tell that white man, he's a human being - don't stop him. That bill was for the white man not for me, I knew it all the time. (Applause) I knew it all the time. (Applause) I knew that I could vote and that it wasn't a privilege it was my right. Everytime I tried I was shot, killed or jailed, beaten or economically deprived. So somebody had to write a bill for white people to tell them when a black man comes to vote don't bother him. That bill again was for white people not for black people. So that when you talk about open occupancy, I know I can live any place I want to live. It is white people across this country who are incapable of allowing me to live where I want to live - you need a civil rights bill, not me. I know I can live where I want to live. (Applause) So that the failures of passing civil rights bill isn't because of black power, isn't because of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, is not because of the rebellions that are occurring in the major cities, it is incapability of whites to deal with their own problems inside their own communities - that is the problem of the failure of the civil rights bill. (Applause) Its the law must say that the black people move. (?)

"But the question of the greatest sense is how can white people who are the majority and who are responsible for making democracy work make it work. They have miserably failed on this point.

SPEECH BY STOKELY CARMICHAEL AT THE
GREEK THEATER, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA,
BERKELEY, ON THE OCCASION OF "BLACK
POWER" DAY, OCTOBER 29, 1966

They have never made democracy work, be it inside the United States, Vietnam, South Africa, Philippines, South America, Puerto Rico - wherever America has been. She has not been able to make democracy work. (Applause) So that in the larger sense we not only condemn the country for what it has done internally, but we must condemn it for what it does externally. We see this country trying to rule the world and someone must stand up and start articulating that this country is not God and cannot rule the world. (Applause)

"Now then before we move on, we want to develop the white supremacy attitude that we are either conscious or subconscious of and how they run rampant through the society today. For example, the missionaries were sent to Africa. They went with the attitude that blacks were automatically inferior. As a matter of fact, the first act the missionaries did you know when they got to Africa was to make us cover up our bodies because they said it got them excited. We couldn't go bare breasted any more because they got excited. Now when the missionaries came to civilize us because we were uncivilized, educate us because we were uneducated and give us some literate studies because we were illiterate, they charged a price. The missionaries came with the Bible and we had the land. When they left they had the land and we still have the Bible. (Applause) And that has been the rationalization for western civilization as it moves across the world, stealing and plundering and raping everybody in its path.

"One rationalization is that the rest of the world is uncivilized and they are in fact civilized, and they are uncivilized. And that runs on today because you see we have what we call modern day Peace Corp missionaries. They come into our ghettos and start -----bound us to the white society. Because they don't want to face the real problem which is a man is poor for one reason and one reason only because he does not have money.

SPEECH BY STOKELY CARMICHAEL AT THE
GREEK THEATER, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA,
BERKELEY, ON THE OCCASION OF "BLACK
POWER" DAY, OCTOBER 29, 1966

If you want to get rid of poverty you give people money, period. And you are not to tell me about people who don't work, you can't give people money without working, because if that were true you'd have to start stopping Rockefeller, Bobby Kennedy, Lyndon Baines Johnson, Lady Bird Johnson, the whole Standard Oil, the Gulf Corporation - all of them. Including probably a large number of the Board of Trustees of this university. (Applause)

"So the question then clearly is not whether or not one can work its who has power. Who has power to make his or her acts legitimate - that is all, and that in this country, that power is invested in the hands of white people and they make their acts legitimate. It is now therefore for black people to make our acts legitimate. (Applause) We are engaged in a psychological struggle in this country, and that is whether or not black people will have the right to use the words they want to use without white people giving their sanction to us. (Applause) And that we maintain, whether they like it or not, we are going to use the word black power and let them address themselves to that. But that we are not going to wait for white people to sanction black power - we're tired waiting.

"Everytime black people move in this country they're forced to defend their position before they move. It's time that the people who are supposed to be defending their position do that - that's white people. They are to start defending themselves as to why they have oppressed and exploited us.

"Now it is clear that when this country started to move in terms of slavery, the reason for a man being picked as a slave was one reason, because of the color of his skin. If one was black one was automatically inferior, inhuman and therefore made for slavery. So that the question of whether or not we are individually suppressed is

SPEECH BY STOKELY CARMICHAEL AT THE
GREEK THEATER, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA,
BERKELEY, ON THE OCCASION OF "BLACK
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nonsensical and is a downright lie. We are oppressed as a group because we are black, not because we're lazy, not because we're apathetic, not because we're stupid, not because we smell, not because we eat watermelon and have good times. (Applause) We are oppressed because we are black and in order to get out of that oppression one must wield the group power that one has. Not the individual power which this country then sets the criteria under which a man may come into it. That is what is called in this country integration. You do what I tell you to do and then we'll let you sit at the table with us. And that we are saying we have to be opposed to that. We must now set a criteria and that if there's going to be any integration it's going to be a two-way thing. If you believe in integration you can come live in Watts. You can send your children to the ghetto schools. Let's talk about that. If you believe in integration then we're going start adopting us some white people to live in our neighborhoods. (Applause)

"So it is clear that the question is not one of integration or segregation. Integration is a man's ability to want to move in there by himself. If someone wants to live in a white neighborhood and he is black, that is his choice. It should be his right, it is not because white people will not allow him. So visa versa, if the black man wants to live in the slums that should be his right. Black people will let him, that is the difference and it's a difference in which this country makes a number of logical mistakes when they begin to try to put themselves above the program articulated by SNCC.

"We maintain that we cannot afford to be concerned about six percent of the children in this country. Black children who you allow to come into white schools. We have ninety-four percent who still live in shacks. We are going to be concerned about those ninety-four percent. You ought to be concerned about them too. The question is, are we willing to be concerned about those

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ninety-four percent? Are we willing to be concerned about the black people who will never get to Berkeley, who will never get to Harvard and cannot get an education. Who will never get a chance to rub shoulders with them and say, well he's almost as good as you are (inaudible). You ought to be concerned about them too. The question is are we willing to be concerned about those ninety-four percent? Are we willing to be concerned about the black people who will never get to Berkeley, who will never get to Harvard and cannot get an education so you'll never get a chance to rub shoulders with them and say well he's almost as good as we are. He's not like the others. The question is how can white society begin to move to see black people as human beings. I am black therefore I am. Not that I am black and I must go to college to prove myself. I am black therefore I am, and don't surprise me of anything and say to me that you must go to college before you gain access to XY and Z. It is only a rationalization to one question. For we see that - (Applause) My friend Ivanhoe said that's called white organizer, (Laughter) that type.

"We want - the political parties in this country do not meet the needs of people on a day to day basis. The question is how can we build new political institutions that will become the political expressions of people on a day to day basis. The question is how can you build political institutions that will begin to meet the needs of Oakland, California. The needs of Oakland, California is not 1,000 policemen with submachine guns - they don't need that - they need that least of all. (Applause) The question is how can we build institutions where those people can begin to function on a day to day basis. Where they can get decent jobs. Where they can get decent houses and where they can begin to participate in the policy and major decisions that affect their lives. That's what they need, not

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Gestapo troops because this is not 1942, and if you play like Nazis we playing back this time around - get hip to that. (Applause)

"The question then is how can white people move to start making the major institutions that they have in this country function the way it is supposed to function. That is the real question. Can white people move inside the old community and start tearing down racism where in fact it does exist - where it exists. It is you who live in Cicero and stop us from living there. It is white people who stop us from moving into the neighborhood. It is the white people who make sure we live in the ghettos of this country. It is white institutions that do that. They must change. In order for America to really live on a basic principle of human relationships, a new society must be born. Racism must die. The economic exploitation of this country of non-white peoples around the world must also die - must also die. (Applause)

"Now there is several programs that we have in the south amongst the poor white communities. We're trying to organize poor whites on a base where they can begin to move around the question of economic exploitation and political disfranchisement. We know we've heard the theories several times, but few people are willing to go into it. The question is not can the white activist tied to the "Pepsi generation" come alive in the black community, but can he be a man who's willing to move into the white community and start organizing where organization is needed. (Applause) Can he do that? (Applause) The question is can the white society or the white activists disassociate himself with two clowns who waste time harrying with each other rather than talking about the problems that are facing people in this state. Can you disassociate yourselves with those clowns and start to build new institutions that will eliminate all idiots like them? (Applause) And

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the question is if we are going to do that when
and where do we start, and how do we start.

"We maintain that we must start doing that
inside the white community. Our own personal
position politically is that we don't think the
Democratic Party represents the needs of black
people - we know it don't. (Applause) And that
if in fact white people really believe that the
question if they're going to move inside that
structure, how are they going to organize around
the concept of whiteness based on true brother-
hood and based on stopping exploitation, economic
exploitation, so that there will be a coalition
base for black people to hook up with. You can-
not form a coalition based on national sentiment.
That is not a coalition. If you need a coalition
to redress itself to r_____ of this country white

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people must start building those institutions inside the white community. And that is the real question I think facing the white activist today. Can they in fact begin to move into and tear down the institutions which have put us all in a trick bag, that we've been into for the last hundred years. I don't think that we should follow for many people say that we should fight to be leaders of tomorrow. Frederick Douglas said that youths should fight to be leaders today and God knows we need to be leaders today because the men who run this country are sick. (Applause) are sick (Applause). So that, can we on a larger sense begin now, today, to start building those institutions and to fight to articulate our position, to fight to be able to control our universities we need to be able to do that - to fight to control the basic institutions which perpetuate racism. Destroying them and building new ones. That's the real question that faces today. And it is a dilemma because of most do not know how to work and that they excuse that most white activists find to run into the black community.

"Now we maintain that we can have white people working in the black community and we made it on psychological grounds. The fact is that all black people often question whether or not they are equal to white because every time they start to do something white people come around showing them how to do it. If we are going to eliminate that for the generation that comes after us then black people must be seen in positions of power, doing and articulating for themselves. (Applause) For themselves. (Applause). That is not to say that one is a reversed racist - it is to say that one is moving in a healthy ground. It is to say what the Philosopher SOARTS (ph) says - one is becoming an anti-racist racist. And this country can't understand that, maybe it's because it is all caught up in racism. But what I think you have in SNCC is an anti-racist racism.

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"We are against racists. Now if everybody who is white see themselves as a racist and then see us against them, they're speaking from their own guilt positions not ours. (Applause) Now then the question is how can we move to begin to change what's going on in this country? I maintain as we have in SNCC, that the war in Vietnam is an illegal and immoral war. (Applause) And the question is what can we do to stop that war? What can we do to stop the people who in the name of our country are killing babies, women and children? What can we do to stop that? And I maintain that we do not have the power in our hands to change that institution to begin to recreate it so that they learn to leave the Vietnamese people alone, and that the only power we have is the power to say Hell No to the draft. We have to say. (Applause) We have to say to ourselves that there is a higher law than the law of the racist named Mc Namara. There is a higher law than the law of a fool named Rusk and there is a higher law than the law of a buffoon named Johnson - it's the law of each of us. (Applause) It's the law of each of us. (Applause) (extensive applause) It is the law of each of us saying that we will not allow them to make us hired killers. We will stand pat. We will not kill anybody that they say kill, and if we decide to kill we're going to decide who we're gonna kill. (Applause)

"This country will only be able to stop the war in Vietnam when the young men who are made to fight it begin to say Hell No we aint going (Applause) Now then it's the failure because the peace movement has been unable to get off the college campuses where everybody has a '2-S and is not going to get drafted anyway. The question is how can you move out of that into the white ghettos of this country and begin to articulate a position for those white students who do not want to go. We cannot do that. It is sometimes ironic that many of the peace groups have begun to call us violent and say they can no longer support us and we are in fact the most militant organization, peace or civil rights, or human rights against the war in Vietnam in this country today.

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"There isn't one organization that has begun to meet our stand on the war in Vietnam cause we not only say that we are against the war in Vietnam we are against the draft. We are against the draft. No man has the right to take a man for two years and train him to be a killer. A man should decide what he wants to do with his life. (Applause) So the question then is it becomes crystal clear for black people because we can easily say that anyone fighting in the war in Vietnam is nothing but a black mercenary and that is all he is. Any time a black man leaves a country where he can't vote to supposedly deliver the vote for somebody else - he's a black mercenary. Any time (Applause) Anytime a black man leaves this country, gets shot in Vietnam on foreign ground and returns home and you won't give him a burial in his own homeland - he's a black mercenary, a black mercenary (Applause) And that even if I were to believe the lies of Johnson. If I were to believe his lies that we are fighting to give democracy to the people in Vietnam. As a black man living in this country I wouldn't fight to give this to anybody. I wouldn't give it to any body. (Applause) So that we have to use our bodies and our minds in the only way that we see fit. We must begin like the philosopher Kamoo (ph) to come alive by saying No - that is the only act in which we begin to come alive.

"We have to say no to many many things in this country. This country is a nation of thieves. It has stole everything it has, beginning with black people, beginning with black people. (Applause) and then the question is how can we move to start changing this country from what it is - a nation of thieves. This country cannot justify any longer its existence. We have become the policemen of the world. The Marines are at disposal to always bring democracy. If the Vietnamese don't want democracy well, damn it, we'll just wipe them to hell out because they don't deserve to live if they won't have our way of life. (Applause)

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"There is then in a larger sense, what do you do on your university campus? Do you raise questions about the hundred black students that were kicked off campus a couple of weeks ago. Eight hundred? And how does that question begin to move. Do you begin to relate to people outside of the ivory tower or university walls. Do you think you're capable of building this human relationships as the country now stands. You're fooling yourself. It is impossible for white and black people to talk about building a relationship based on humanity when the country is the way it is - when the institutions are clearly against us. We've taken all the (?) of this country and found them to be downright lies. This country told us that if we worked hard we would succeed. If that were true, we would own this country, lock, stock and barrel - lock, stock and barrel. (Applause) Lock, stock and barrel.

"It is we who have picked the cotton for nothing. It is we who are the maids in the kitchens of liberal white people. It is we who are the janitors, the porters, the elevator men. It is we who sweep up your college floors. Yes, it is we who are the hardest workers and the lowest paid, and the lowest paid. It is nonsensical for people to start talking about human relationships until they're willing to build new institutions. Black people are economically insecure. White liberals are economically secure. Can you build an economic coalition? Are the liberals willing to share their salaries with the economically insecure people they so much love? Then if you're not are you willing to start building new institutions that will provide economic security for black people. That's the question we want to deal with - that's the question we want to deal with. (Applause)(long pause)

"We have to, we have to seriously examine the histories that we been told, but we have something more to do than that. American students are perhaps the most politically unsophisticated students in the world,

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in the world. In the world. (Applause) Across every country in this world, while we were growing up, students were leading the major revolutions of their countries. We have not been able to do that. They have been politically aware of their existence in South American and neighbors down below the border have one every 24 hours, just to remind us that they are politically aware. (Applause) And that we have been unable to grasp it because we have always moved in a field of morality and love while people have been politically delving with our lives. And the question is how do we now move politically and stop trying to move morally. You can't move morally against a man like Brown and Reagan. You've got to move politically to put them out of business. (Applause) You've got to move politically (Applause) You can't move morally against Lyndon Baines Johnson because he is an immoral man. He doesn't know what it is all about. So you've got to move politically - you've got to move politically. (Applause) And that we have to begin to develop a political sophistication, which is not to be a parrot. The two party system is the best party in the world, eh. (Laughter)

"There is a difference between being a parrot and being politically sophisticated. We have to raise questions about whether or not we do need new types of political institutions in this country, and we in SNCC maintain that we need them now. We need new political institutions in this country. (Applause) At any time, anytime Lyndon Baines Johnson can head a party which has in it Bobby Kennedy, Wayne Morse, Eastland, Wallace, and all those others supposed to be liberal cats, there's something wrong with that party. They're moving politically not morally, and that if that party refuses to seat black people from Mississippi and goes ahead and seats racists like Eastland and his clique, it is clear to me that they're moving politically and cannot begin to talk morality to people like that. We must begin to think politically and see we can have the power to impose and keep the moral values that we hold high.

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"We must question the values of this society. I maintain that black people are the best people to do that because we have been excluded from the society, and the question is we ought to think whether or not we want to become a part of that society. That's what we want to do. (Applause) And that is precisely what it seems to me that the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee is doing. We are raising questions about this country. I do not want to be a part of the American pie, the American pie means raping South Africa, beating Vietnam, beating South America, raping the Philippines. Raping every country you've been. I don't want any of your blood money. I don't want it, don't want to be part of that system. The question is how do we raise those questions. How do we raise them as activists? How do we begin to raise them? (Applause) We have grown up and we are the generation that has found this country to be a world power. That has found this country to be the wealthiest country in the world. We must question how she got her wealth. That's what we're questioning, and whether or not we want this country to continue being the wealthiest country in the world at the price of raping everybody else across the world. That's what we must begin to question. (Applause) And that because black people are saying we do not now want to become a part of you. We are poor reversed racists. Ain't that a gas? (Applause) Now then we want to touch on non-violence because we see that again as the failure of white society to make non-violence work. I was always surprised that Quakers who came to Alabama and counseled me to be non-violent, but didn't have the guts to start talking to James Clark to be non-violent. That is where non-violence needs to be preach to Jim Clark, not to black people. They have already been non-violent too many years. (Applause) The question is can white people conduct their non-violent schools in Cicero where they belong to be conducted, not among black people in Mississippi. (Applause) Can they conduct it among the white people in Granada, 6'2" men who kick little black children. Can you conduct non-violent schools there?

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That is the question that we must raise. Not that you conduct non-violence among black people. Can you name me one black man today who killed anybody white and is still alive? Even after rebellion when some black brothers throw some bricks and bottles, ten thousand of them have to pay the crime. Cause the white policeman comes in anybody who is black is arrested. Cause we all look alike. (Applause) So that we have to raise those questions. We the youths of this country must begin to raise those questions. We must begin to move to build new institutions that's going to speak for the needs of the people who need it. We are going to have to speak to change the foreign policy of this country. One of the problems with this peace movement is that it's just too caught up in Vietnam. If we pulled out the troops from Vietnam this week, next week you've to get another peace movement for Santo Domingo. And the question is how do you begin to articulate needs, to change the foreign policy of this country? A policy that is decided upon rape, a policy on which decisions are made upon getting economic wealth at any price, at any price. Now we articulate that we therefore have to hook up with black people around the world. That hookup is not only psychological but becomes very real. If South American today were to rebel and black people were to shoot the hell out of all the white people there, as they should, as they should, then Standard Oil would crumble tomorrow. (Applause) If South Africa were to go today, Chase Manhattan Bank would crumble tomorrow. (Applause)

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If Zimbatwee (ph) which is called Rhodesia by white people, were to go tomorrow, General Electric would cave in on the east coast. The question is how do we stop those institutions that are so willing to fight against communist aggression but closes their eye to racist oppression. That is the question that you raise. Can this country do that? Now many people talk about pulling out of Vietnam? What will happen if we pull out of Vietnam - there will be one less aggressor in there. We won't be there, we won't be there.

"And so the question is how do we articulate those positions and we cannot begin to articulate them from the same assumptions that the people in the country speak cause they speak from different assumptions than I assume the youth in this country are talking about. That we're not talking about policy or aid, or sending Peace Corps people into teach people how to read and write and build houses while we steal their raw materials from them. Is that what we're talking about? Cause that's all we do. What underdeveloped countries needs are information on how to become industrialized. So they can keep their raw materials where they have it, produce them, and sell it to this country, for the price it's supposed to pay. Not that we produce it and sell it back to them for a profit and keep sending our modern day missionaries in, calling them the sons of Kennedy. (Applause) And that if the youths are going to participate in that program, how do you raise those questions where you begin to control the Peace Corps program. How do you begin to raise them. How do you raise the questions of poverty.

"The assumption for this country is that if someone is poor they are poor because of their own individual blight or they weren't born on the right side of town. They had too many children, they went in the Army too early, the father was a drunk, they didn't care about school, they made a mistake. That's a lot of nonsense. Poverty is well calculated in this country. It is well calculated. And the reason why the poverty program won't work is because the calculators of poverty are administering it. That's why it won't work. (Applause) So how can we as the youth in the country move to

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start tearing those things down? We must move into the white community. We are in the black community. The challenge is that the white activist has failed miserably to develop the movement inside the peace movement and the question is can we find white people who are gonna have the courage to go into white communities and start organizing. Can we find them? Are they here, and are they willing to do that?

"Those are the questions that we must face the white activist. We're never gonna get caught up on questions about power - this country knows what power is - knows it very well and knows what black power is cause it deprived black people of it for four hundred years. So it knows what black power is. But the question is why do black people, why do white people in this country associate black power with violence. The question is because of their own inability to deal with blackness. If we had said Negro power nobody would get scared. Everybody would support it, or if we said power for colored people everybody would be for that. But is the word Black, it is the word Black, that bothers people in this country and that's their problem not mine, their problem not mine. (Applause) Their problem. (Applause) Their problem. (Applause) Now there's one modern day lie that we want to attack and them move on very quickly, and that is the lie that says anything all black is bad.

"Now, you're all college university crowds, you've taken your basic logic course, you know about the major premise, the minor premise, so people that tell me anything all black is bad - let's make that our major premise, major premise. Anything all black is bad. Minor premise or particular premise, I am all black; therefore, - I'm never going to put in that trick bag - I am black and I am all good. (Laughter and applause) Anything all black is not necessarily bad. Anything all black is only bad when you use to force to keep whites out. Now that's what white people have done in this country and they're projecting the same fear and guilt on us and we won't have it, we won't have it. (Applause) Let them handle their own fears and their own guilt. Let them find their own psychology - We refuse to be the therapy for white society any longer. We have gone mad trying to do it. We

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have gone stark raving mad trying to do it.

"I look at Dr. King on television every single day and I say to myself now there is a man who's desperately needed in this country. There is a man full of love, there is a man full of mercy, there is a man full of compassion, but everytime I see Lyndon on television I say Martin baby you've got a long way to go. (Laughter and applause) So that the question stands as to what we are willing to do, are we willing to say no, to withdraw from their system and to begin within our community to start to function and to build new institutions that will speak to our needs.

"In Lowndes County we developed something called the Lowndes County Freedom organization - it is a political party. The Alabama law says that if you have a party you must have an emblem. We chose for the emblem a black panther, a beautiful black animal, which symbolizes the strength and dignity of black people. An animal that never strikes back until he's backed so far into the wall he's got nothing to do but spring out, and when he springs he does not stop. (Applause) Now there is a party in Alabama called the Alabama Democratic Party - it is all white. It has as its emblem a white rooster and the words white supremacy for the right. Now the gentlemen of the press because they're advertisers and because most of them are white, and because they are produced by the white institution, never calls the Lowndes County Freedom organization by its name, but rather they call the Alabama Democratic Party the White Cock Party. It's fair to us (Laughter and applause) It's fair to us. (Applause)

"It is clear to me that that just points out America's problem with sex and color, not our problem - not our problem. And it is how white America is gonna deal with those problems of sex and color if we were to be real and to be honest. We would have to admit, we would have to admit, that most people in this country see things black and white - we have to do that - all of us do. We live in a country that's geared that way. White people have to admit that they are afraid to go into a black ghetto at night - they are afraid. That's a

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fact. They're afraid because they be beat, lynched, booted, cut up, etc. etc. Perhaps the black people inside the ghetto every day incidentally, and white people are afraid of that. So you get a man to do it for you, a policeman, and now you figure his mentality where he's afraid of black people. The first time a black man jumps that white man gonna shoot him. He's gonna shoot 'em. So police brutality is going to exist on that level because of the incapability of that white man to see black people come together and to live in the conditions.

"This country is too hypocritical and that we cannot adjust ourselves to its hypocrisy. The only time I hear people move to defend themselves against white people. Black people cut themselves every night in the ghetto don't everybody talk about non-violence. Lyndon Baines Johnson is busy bombing the hell out of Vietnam - don't nobody talk about non-violence. White people beat up black people every day - don't nobody talk about non-violence, but as soon as black people start to move the double standard comes into being. You can't defend yourself that's what you say. Cause you show me a man who would advocate aggressive violence that will be able to live in this country. (Pause) Jumps that white man's gonna shoot 'em, he's gonna shoot 'em. So police brutality is going to exist on that level because of the incapability of that white man to see black people come together and to live in the conditions.

"This country is too hypocritical and that we cannot adjust ourselves to hypocrisy. The only time I hear people talk about non-violence is when black people move to defend themselves against white people. Black people cut themselves every night in the ghetto - don't everybody talk about non-violence. Lyndon Baines Johnson is busy bombing the hell out of Vietnam - don't nobody talk about non-violence. White people beat up black people every day - don't nobody talk about non-violence, but as soon as black people start to move the double standard comes into being. You can't defend yourself, that's what you say. Cause you show me a man who would advocate aggressive violence that would be able to live in this country. Show him to me. The double standards again come into self, is it

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dutiful and hypocritical for the political civilian who calls himself the Vice President of this country (Applause) to stand up before this country and say murdering never got anybody anywhere. (Laughter and applause) Isn't it hypocritical for Lyndon to talk about murdering, that you can't accomplish anything by murdering and you must accomplish it by the legal ways. What does he know about legality? Ask HO Chi-minh, he'll tell you. (Applause)

"So that in conclusion let me say that number one, it is clear to me that we have to wage a psychological battle - on the right the black people to define their own terms. Define themselves as they see fit and organize themselves as they see it. Now the question is how is the white community gonna begin to allow for that organizing because once they start to do that they will also allow for the organizing that they want to do inside their community. It doesn't make a difference cause we gonna organize our way anyway. We gonna do it.

"The question is how we gonna facilitate those matters. Whether it's gonna be done with thousand policemen with submachine guns or whether or not it's gonna be done in the contest where it is allowed to be done by white people wanting more policemen. That is the question and the question is how are white people to call themselves activists ready to start move into the white communities, of building new political institutions to _____ the ones we have and to move around the concept of white refusing to go into _____. That we can start then to build a new world. It is ironic to talk about civilization in this country, this country is uncivilized. It needs to be civilized. It needs to be civilized. (Applause) And that we must begin to raise those question so civilization, what it is and who do it and so we must urge you to fight now.

"To be the leaders of today, not tomorrow - we've got to be the leaders of today. This country, this country is a nation of thieves. It stands on the brink of becoming a nation of murderers. We must stop it. We must stop it. We

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must stop it. (Applause) We must stop it. (Applause)
And then therefore the lord just sent us the question of
black people. We are on the move to our liberation. We
have been tired of trying to explain to white people that we're
not going to hurt them. We are concerned with getting the
things we want. The things that we have to have to be able
to function. The question is can white people allow for
that in this country. The question is will white people over-
come their racism and allow for that to happen in this
country.

"If that does not happen brothers and sisters, we have
no choice but to say very clearly Move over or we gonna move
on over you. (Applause) (Long applause) Don't move. (pause)
(another man) Two announcements - we need people to come
that take the step, contribute, come and clean up. Second
announcement - Give. There's gonna be baskets at both ends -
Give to SNCC. (3rd man) I think we all have a consensus
here on one challenge that we'd all like to voice. I think
a lot of us here would like to voice, especially the black
people, and that is that I would like for the news media for
once to go back and tell Whitey just what was here today and
don't distort us. (Applause) And give all you got, money,
we need money."

F B I

Date: 7/12/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via **AIRTEL**

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS

ReNYteletype 7/12/67.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are eleven (11) copies of a LHM regarding captioned subject. Two copies each are furnished Atlanta and New York in view of their interest in this matter.

The [] confidential source referred to in the LHM is []

The [] confidential source is a source at [] as set forth in reNYtel dated 7/12/67.

New York confirm departure of CARMICHAEL and [] from New York.

- 3 - Bureau (Enc. 11)
2 - Atlanta (100-6812) (Enc. 2) (RM) (Info)
2 - New York [] (Enc. 2) (RM)
2 - WFO

(1- 100-41626) (COMFIL - SNCC)

WHH:pag
(9)

AIRTEL

AGENCY: ACSI, ONI, OSI, SEC. SER.

DEPT: [] CRD, RAO, State, []

DATE FORW: 7/14/67

HOW FORW: []

BY: PTB/dk

Approved: []
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/10/00 BY 3913 BCL/ame

100-972980

56 JUL 26 1967

INP/EC.

WFO 100-43503

WFO affording this matter continuous attention and any additional information received will be reported promptly to interested Offices.

F B I

Date: 7/18/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTELAIR MAIL

(Priority)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIEDDATE 3-10-87 BY SP-1AG/EN
CA 252028

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

b7C

FROM: SAC, KNOXVILLE (157-403) (P)

STOKLEY CARMICHAEL
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT CO-
ORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)
PROPOSED VISIT CHATTANOOGA,
TENNESSEE, SUMMER 1967
RACIAL MATTERS

Re Knoxville airtel to Bureau 7/12/67.

Submitted herewith to the Bureau are 11 copies of
letterhead memorandum, Knoxville, dated 7/18/67. Copies
have been disseminated locally to intelligence agencies,
Secret Service at Nashville, and USA, Chattanooga, Tenn.

This matter is receiving continuous attention
and the Bureau will be kept advised of any pertinent
developments.

ENCLOSURE

- 3 - Bureau (Enc. 11) (RM)
2 - Atlanta (Enc. 2) (RM)
2 - Memphis (Enc. 2) (RM)
6 - Knoxville (2 - 157-403;
1 - 80-70A;
1 - 157-292 B;
1 - 157-1017;
1 - 157-8411)

GCW/arb
(13)

AGENCY: ACST, ONI, OSI, SEC. SER.
CRD, RAO

DATE FORW: 7/24/67

HOW FORW: R/S

BY: P.T.B./dtd

REC-24

ST-106

b7C

JUL 21 1967

SUBV CONTROL

59 AUG 1 1967



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535
July 18, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Director
United States Secret Service
Department of the Treasury
Washington, D. C. 20220

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-10-87 BY SP-1AG/EW
C#252028

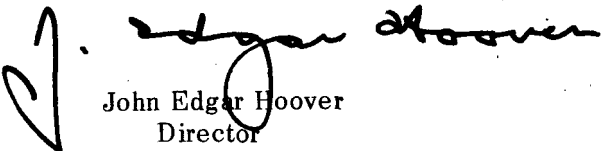
Dear Sir:

The information furnished herewith concerns an individual who is believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning Presidential protection, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

1. ☐ Has attempted or threatened bodily harm to any government official or employee, including foreign government officials residing in or planning an imminent visit to the U. S., because of his official status.
2. ☐ Has attempted or threatened to redress a grievance against any public official by other than legal means.
3. ☐ Because of background is potentially dangerous; or has been identified as member or participant in communist movement; or has been under active investigation as member of other group or organization inimical to U. S.
4. ☐ U. S. citizens or residents who defect from the U. S. to countries in the Soviet or Chinese Communist blocs and return.
5. ☒ Subversives, ultrarightists, racists and fascists who meet one or more of the following criteria:
 - (a) ☐ Evidence of emotional instability (including unstable residence and employment record) or irrational or suicidal behavior;
 - (b) ☐ Expressions of strong or violent anti-U. S. sentiment;
 - (c) ☒ Prior acts (including arrests or convictions) or conduct or statements indicating a propensity for violence and antipathy toward good order and government.
6. ☐ Individuals involved in illegal bombing or illegal bomb-making.

Photograph ☐ has been furnished ☐ enclosed ☐ is not available
☐ may be available through _____

Very truly yours,


John Edgar Hoover
Director

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s) - 2)
U. S. Secret Service, Nashville, Tennessee

Enclosure(s)

(Upon removal of classified enclosures, if any, this transmittal form becomes UNCLASSIFIED.)



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Knoxville, Tennessee, 37902

July 18, 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-10-87 BY SP-1AG/JEW
C #252028

STOKLEY CARMICHAEL
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT CO-
ORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)
PROPOSED VISIT CHATTANOOGA,
TENNESSEE, SUMMER 1967
RACIAL MATTERS

Reference is made to Knoxville memorandum captioned
matter dated 7/12/67.

[redacted] advised that several [redacted]
informed him that STOKLEY CARMICHAEL and [redacted]
were in the Chattanooga, Tennessee, area on the evening of
7/17/67. CARMICHAEL reportedly was driving from Atlanta,
Georgia, to Nashville, Tennessee, and [redacted] at
the [redacted]

[redacted] CARMICHAEL is not known
to have made any contacts in the Chattanooga area and [redacted]
visit is believed to be social. [redacted] advised that
[redacted]

b7C

b7D

[redacted]
[redacted] advised he was un-
aware of the reported visit of CARMICHAEL [redacted] on 7/17/67.
He reported he would attempt to obtain information concerning
this reported visit and would keep the FBI fully informed.

b7C

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b7C

b7D

100-446080-397
ENCLOSURE

STOKLEY CARMICHAEL, STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
PROPOSED VISIT CHATTANOOGA, TENNESSEE, SUMMER 1967

[redacted]
[redacted] advised he had not received any information that STOKLEY CARMICHAEL or [redacted] were in Chattanooga, Tennessee. He advised that [redacted] frequently visits [redacted] and always attempts to stir up racial unrest on these visits. He said [redacted] is looked upon by Negro leaders and Negro responsible citizens of Chattanooga as a "nut" and they do not believe that under any circumstances could he cause any racial unrest in Chattanooga. They also do not believe he has any influence with SNCC or with STOKLEY CARMICHAEL.

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[redacted] reported he was informed this week by [redacted] that STOKLEY CARMICHAEL had declined [redacted] letter of open invitation to CARMICHAEL to visit Chattanooga. [redacted]

[redacted] which has an [redacted] [redacted] wrote a letter to CARMICHAEL inviting him to Chattanooga to speak to [redacted] [redacted] when he received information alleging that CARMICHAEL had been refused admittance to Chattanooga. This information is set forth in Knoxville memorandum of 6/22/67, captioned matter.

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[redacted] advised [redacted] he is not now interested in having CARMICHAEL visit Chattanooga. He stated CARMICHAEL in his letter to [redacted] declined the speaking engagement as he is no longer president of SNCC. He also stated he planned to leave "the country" the first of the month on vacation. No other details are known by [redacted]

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This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

F B I

Date: 7/20/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, JACKSONVILLE (100-870)

SUBJ: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS

On 7/19/67, LEVY WILCOX, President, Jacksonville Chapter, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, held a press conference in Jacksonville, Fla., and advised local news media that STOKELY CARMICHAEL, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) leader, has accepted an invitation to speak in Jacksonville, Fla., on August 9, 1967. He advised that CARMICHAEL will be accompanied by H. RAP BROWN, Chairman, SNCC, and probably several other representatives of SNCC.

The Jacksonville Chapter, SCLC, has attempted in the past to sponsor various demonstrations with not much response from the local negro community. Announcement of CARMICHAEL's proposed appearance in Jacksonville has been made by local television and radio stations, but no coverage has been given by local newspapers.

LEADSATLANTAAT ATLANTA, GA.

Through SNCC sources attempt to verify if CARMICHAEL intends to speak in Jacksonville, Fla., on August 9, 1967, and furnish any other pertinent information re mode of travel, number, and persons in party and itinerary.

- (3) - Bureau (RM)
2 - Atlanta (RM)
4 - Jacksonville

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-1-00 BY 3035 BcelAmw

54 AUG

11/1967

100-870) (1 - 100-635)
157-823)

Approved: CR:jep
(9) Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

FBI

Date: 7/17/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

b7C

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-153751)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS-MISCELLANEOUS

Re New York teletypes to Bureau dated 7/12/67 and 7/14/67, and Bureau airtel to Atlanta dated 7/14/67.

Enclosed for the Bureau and offices listed are copies of LHM concerning CARMICHAEL's trip to Europe on 7/14/67.

b7C

b7C

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_____ furnished information to SA _____

b7C

b7D

_____ furnished information to SA _____

b7C

Physical surveillance at John F. Kennedy International Airport on 7/14/67, was conducted by SA _____

Dissemination of attached LHM is being made to Secret Service, NYC, 108th Military Intelligence Group, USA, SDNY and USA, EDNY.

A stop was placed with INS, NYC on 7/17/67, so that the NYO will be advised of subject's return to the United States at the Port of New York.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/10/05 BY 39063 ERL/Bachman

- 3-Bureau (ENCLS. 8) (RM) EX 101
- 3-Atlanta (100-6812) (ENCLS. 3) (RM) (AM) DEC 11
- (1- 100-) 100-446080-399
- 2-Washington Field (ENCLS. 2) (RM)
- 1-New York

b7C

VJA:aml
(10)

AGENCY: ACSI, OSI, SEC. SER.,

CHD, RAO

DATE FORW. 7/21/67

HOW FORW. 1/5

BY: P.T.B./dkt

JUL 19 1967

ENCLOSURE

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

INT. SEC.

54 AUG 1 1967



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

New York, New York
July 17, 1967

New York 100-153751

Stokely Carmichael
Internal Security-Miscellaneous

b7C

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[redacted] furnished the following information

Pan American Airways was at that time holding reservations for Stokely Carmichael and [redacted] from John F. Kennedy International Airport, Queens, New York, via Pan American Flight 104, departing at 8:45 pm on July 14, 1967. Earlier reservations for [redacted] and [redacted] as part of the Carmichael group had been cancelled. [redacted] advised that earlier reservations for this group from London to Moscow had also been cancelled. *USA*

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A Special Agent (SA) of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), on the evening of July 14, 1967, observed Stokely Carmichael, accompanied by another Negro male, board Pan American Flight 104 at John F. Kennedy International Airport, which flight departed the airport at 10:00 pm on July 14, 1967, bound for London, England.

b7C

b7D

[redacted] made available for review by an SA of the FBI, the Immigration Forms I-94 on Flight 104, which departed on July 14, 1967.

The following pertinent I-94s were noted and information therefrom is set forth below:

Stokely Carmichael
Pan American Flight 104, July 14, 1967
United States Passport Number H139577
Address - 360 Nelson Street Southwest,
Atlanta, Georgia

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-7-00 BY 39063 EMD/keelaw

ENCLOSURE

100-446080-399

Tolson ☒
 DeLoach ☒
 Mohr ☐
 Wick ☐
 Casper ☐
 Callahan ☐
 Conrad ☐
 Felt ☐
 Gale ☐
 Rosen ☒
 Sullivan ☒
 Tavel ☐
 Trotter ☐
 Tele. Room ☐
 Holmes ☐
 Gandy ☐

DECODED COPY

☐ AIRGRAM ☒ CABLEGRAM ☐ RADIO ☐ TELETYPE

STATE 06

URGENT 7-21-67

TO DIRECTOR

FROM LEGAT LONDON NO. 92

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISCELLANEOUS.

SUBJECT ANNOUNCED LAST SPEAKING ENGAGEMENT IN ENGLAND
 WILL BE AT 4 PM JULY 23 NEXT AT DIALECTICS OF LIBERATION
 CONGRESS. WE SUSPECT HE WILL LEAVE SHORTLY THEREAFTER.
 REMAINING ALERT TO DEPARTURE.

RECEIVED: 2:33 PM LRK

REC- 25

100-446082-400

4 JUL 27 1967

EX-113
 ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 8/7/00 BY 39063 G W Bclame

IX 660x
 3RD CC: MR. BRENNAN

CC: MR. SULLIVAN

MR. DELOACH FOR THE DIRECTOR

CODE

7/26/67

1 -

b7C

CABLEGRAM

URGENT

TO LEGAT LONDON

FROM DIRECTOR FBI

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS

INFORMATION RECEIVED FROM THE DEPARTMENT THAT

b7D

OBTAIN COPY AND FORWARD TO BUREAU

IMMEDIATELY.

1 - Foreign Liaison Unit (Route through for review)

PTB:skr
(4)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/7/00 BY 39063 EWL/Red/Amw

EX-102

REC-44/100-446080-401

19 JUL 28 1967

VIA TELETYPE

JUL 26 1967

ENCIPHERED

51 AUG 1 1967

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☒

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Wick _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____

F B I

Date: 7/21/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, TAMPA (100-1103) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - M

During the [redacted] received a
long distance telephone call believed from [redacted]
[redacted]
to join in plans for subject who is scheduled for appearance
at Jacksonville 8/9/67.

Tampa will provide any information received as to
above plans.

Jacksonville handle.

- 3 - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - Jacksonville (RM)
- 2 - Atlanta (RM)
- 5 - Tampa
 - (1 - [redacted] b2
 - (1 - 157-355) b7D
 - (1 - 157-309)

TCA:lm
(12)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/7/00 BY 39063 SW/BCE/Amw

ST-104

REC 51

100-446080-402

15 JUL 24 1967

IN SEC.

Approved

Sent

M

Per

F B I

Date: 7/19/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, KNOXVILLE (157-403) (P)

STOKLEY CARMICHAEL,
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING
COMMITTEE (SNCC)
PROPOSED VISIT, CHATTANOOGA, TENNESSEE,
SUMMER OF 1967
RACIAL MATTERS

Re Knoxville airtel to Bureau and LHM both
dated 7/18/67.

Submitted herewith for the Bureau are 14
copies of a LHM at Knoxville in captioned matter dated
July 19, 1967. 11 copies are for captioned file and
3 copies for Bureau file 157-1078, entitled "Chattanooga
Citizens Council. OO. Knoxville."

Copies have been disseminated locally to
intelligence agencies with two copies to Secret Service
at Nashville, and one copy to USA at Chattanooga,
Tennessee. Informants are [redacted] and
[redacted]

b2

b7D

LEADS: EX-113

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/1/00 BY 3903 GWS/BAL

6 - Bureau (3-captioned case, Enc. 11)
(3-case entitled Chattanooga Citizens Council
157-1078 - Enc. 3)

2 - Atlanta (Enc. 2)
5 - Knoxville (2-157-403) (1-157-292 B)
(1-157-153) (1-100-3301)

GCW:pjb
(13)

AGENCY: [redacted] JUL 21 1967

ENCLOSURE

DATE FORW: 9/24/67
HOW FORW: [redacted]
BY: [redacted]

INT. SEC.

Approved: **51 AUG 8 1967**
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

KX 157-403

ATLANTA DIVISION:

b7C Through [] and review of investiga-
tion conducted by Atlanta re SNCC, advise Knoxville if
b7D [] is [] and close
associates of STOKLEY CARMICHAEL.

b7C Will furnish a brief summary of his activities
and his potential for creating racial unrest, so that
b7D this information can be furnished to []
[] on a confidential basis.

KNOXVILLE DIVISION:

AT CHATTANOOGA, TENNESSEE:

Will follow and report all developments in
this matter.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

July 19, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Director
United States Secret Service
Department of the Treasury
Washington, D. C. 20220

Dear Sir:

The information furnished herewith concerns an individual who is believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning Presidential protection, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

1. ☐ Has attempted or threatened bodily harm to any government official or employee, including foreign government officials residing in or planning an imminent visit to the U. S., because of his official status.
2. ☐ Has attempted or threatened to redress a grievance against any public official by other than legal means.
3. ☐ Because of background is potentially dangerous; or has been identified as member or participant in communist movement; or has been under active investigation as member of other group or organization inimical to U. S.
4. ☐ U. S. citizens or residents who defect from the U. S. to countries in the Soviet or Chinese Communist blocs and return.
5. ☐ Subversives, ultrarightists, racists and fascists who meet one or more of the following criteria:
 - (a) ☐ Evidence of emotional instability (including unstable residence and employment record) or irrational or suicidal behavior;
 - (b) ☐ Expressions of strong or violent anti-U. S. sentiment,
 - (c) ☒ Prior acts (including arrests or convictions) or conduct or statements indicating a propensity for violence and antipathy toward good order and government.
6. ☐ Individuals involved in illegal bombing or illegal bomb-making.

Photograph ☐ has been furnished ☐ enclosed ☐ is not available
☐ may be available through _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/1/00 BY 39063 GJW/BAW

Very truly yours,

J. Edgar Hoover
John Edgar Hoover
Director

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s) - 2
U. S. Secret Service Nashville, Tennessee

Enclosure(s)

(Upon removal of classified enclosures, if any, this transmittal form
becomes UNCLASSIFIED.)



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Knoxville, Tennessee
July 19, 1967

STOKLEY CARMICHAEL
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE
(SNCC)
Proposed Visit to Chattanooga
Summer of 1967
RACIAL MATTERS

Re Knoxville memorandum in captioned matter dated
July 18, 1967.

[redacted] advised [redacted] that he had received information that [redacted] arrived in Chattanooga, Tennessee, on the night of July 17, 1967, and is visiting with [redacted] stated his sources, whom he did not identify, advised him that [redacted] is actually one of [redacted] in SNCC; that he has been considered to be a very good speaker among Negroes on "Black Power", and is capable of causing racial unrest. [redacted] stated that [redacted] was reported to be in the Waiters Lounge on East 9th Street, Chattanooga, Tennessee, a Negro club, on the night of July 17, 1967, making statements about stirring up activities in Chattanooga relating to "Black Power." Exact nature of these statements were unknown. [redacted] advised he heard through the same sources that STOKLEY CARMICHAEL passed through Chattanooga on the night of July 17, 1967. [redacted] to visit with [redacted] and departed. He knew of no contacts reportedly made by CARMICHAEL in Chattanooga.

[redacted] was very concerned that possible racial disorder might occur in Chattanooga, although he has no specific information to this effect and he feels that generally the Negroes in Chattanooga are all opposed to racial incidents, racial violence and to the "Black Power" advocacy of STOKLEY CARMICHAEL and SNCC.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/1/00 BY 37063 EWL/bcl/ammw

COPIES DESTROYED

333 FEB 24 1971

100-446080-403
ENCLOSURE

STOKLEY CARMICHAEL
STUDENT NON-VIOLENCE COORDINATING
COMMITTEE (SNCC)

[redacted] stated that a newspaper article appearing in a Chattanooga newspaper July 18, 1967, announced that former Governor GEORGE C. WALLACE would speak in the Memorial Auditorium, Chattanooga, Tennessee, on the night of August 9, 1967. He stated that this appearance of WALLACE would not help the racial situation at Chattanooga. He advised that WALLACE was supposed to have been invited as a guest speaker of the "Stand Up for America Committee." The Memorial Auditorium reservations were made by [redacted]

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[redacted] advised that he is afraid that if WALLACE speaks in Chattanooga that the Negroes will attempt to secure a similar speaking engagement at Chattanooga for STOKLEY CARMICHAEL as a counter measure. [redacted] advised that he does not know anything about the "Stand Up for America Committee."

[redacted] stated he was definitely not going to allow any violence in Chattanooga if it could possibly be prevented. He stated that they would instruct all available police officers, auxiliary police and other agencies, if necessary, to be present immediately when any sign of any possible racial unrest is received. They will be instructed to immediately arrest, or at least remove, those who appear to be trouble makers from the area. He advised he was considering moving these leaders in cars to some other area, having officers talk to them, but possibly not arrest them. He also stated that at any speaking engagement by CARMICHAEL or [redacted] and at the speaking engagement of WALLACE, scheduled for August 9, 1967, he would have a large number of police officers present to ensure no racial problems developed.

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Confidential Knoxville informants who have furnished reliable information in the past, and who are familiar with activities of the Dixie Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc., Chattanooga, Tennessee, advised that Klavern #1 of the

STOKLEY CARMICHAEL
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE
(SNCC)

b7C [redacted]
b7D Dixie Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc., donated \$100 at a [redacted] meeting [redacted] to the Chattanooga Citizens Council. The purpose of this donation was to assist this organization in raising \$1,000 reported necessary to reserve the Memorial Auditorium at Chattanooga for a speaking engagement for former Alabama Governor GEORGE WALLACE in August of 1967.

b7C At a [redacted] meeting, Klavern #1, Dixie Klans, Knights
b7D of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc., Chattanooga, Tennessee, [redacted]
[redacted] a letter was presented reportedly from the Chattanooga Citizens Council thanking the Dixie Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc. for their \$100 contribution.

The Chattanooga Citizens Council is affiliated with the Citizens Council of America, headquarters in Jackson, Mississippi.

[redacted]
advised [redacted] that he had some [redacted]
[redacted] visit lounges on East 9th Street, including the Waiters Lounge, for the purpose of talking with their acquaintances and attempt to obtain information regarding statements being made by [redacted] reportedly was telling a number of Negroes on East 9th Street, that "they" had received a number of letters in Atlanta, Georgia, from Chattanooga regarding the Negro situation in Chattanooga. He indicated "they" was SNCC, but made no positive statement to this effect. [redacted] reported he was in Chattanooga to check out some of these things. No comments are known to have been made regarding what action he, or SNCC, would take as a result of his inquiry. [redacted] stated he had not received any confirmation of reports that [redacted] was telling individuals in Chattanooga that he was in Chattanooga to cause unrest or to make any speeches.

STOKLEY CARMICHAEL
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE
(SNCC)

On the afternoon of [redacted] advised that he had just been informed by one of [redacted] that he had talked to [redacted] [redacted] reportedly stated that STOKLEY CARMICHAEL and his followers were scheduled to come to Chattanooga, Tennessee, on the day that Governor WALLACE speaks in Chattanooga. [redacted] stated he did not know if [redacted] was merely boasting, or if such plans were actually being made. [redacted] advised the Chattanooga Police Department will conduct an exhaustive investigation to learn as much as possible regarding [redacted] activities in Chattanooga and his associates.

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[redacted] advised the only record located in that department identifiable with [redacted] was [redacted] At this time [redacted] listed his address as [redacted] date of birth [redacted] place of birth, [redacted] Negro male, [redacted] weight [redacted] pounds, black hair, [redacted] eyes, medium brown complexion, employed by [redacted] refused to answer questions concerning [redacted] He was [redacted]

b7C

b7D

DIXIE KLANS, KNIGHTS OF
THE KU KLUX KLAN, INC.
(Tennessee)

Confidential sources reported September 17, 1957, that some former leaders of Klavern #1, U. S. Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc. (USK, KKKK, Inc.) Chattanooga, Tennessee, and their close associates had been banished from this organization in September, 1957. Sources advised that these banished individuals formed a new klan organization known as Dixie Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc., (DK, KKKK, Inc.) with headquarters in Masonic Hall, 2523 Glass Street, East Chattanooga, Tennessee. A general welfare charter was secured from the State of Tennessee on October 21, 1957, which charter lists some of the purposes of the organization as freedom of speech and association, rejection of forced integration, preservation of the Constitutions of the United States and of Tennessee, and preservation of the sovereignty of each state.

In August, 1966, sources stated that the DK, KKKK, Inc., only has one active klavern of this organization, this being located in East Chattanooga, Tennessee. Other klaverns which were located in the State of Georgia are no longer associated with the DK, KKKK, Inc.

A confidential source advised during the Fall of 1960 there was a "den" of Klavern #1, DK, KKKK, Inc., Chattanooga, Tennessee, consisting of [] members, []

[] and [] then [] These individuals, all members of Klavern #1, DK, KKKK, Inc., during the Summer of 1960 reportedly were responsible for five bombings of residences in Hamilton County, Tennessee, during July and August, 1960. They reportedly held [] meetings and discussed bombings and other acts of violence. Their existence and activities reportedly were unknown to rank and file members. All "den" members and alternates were interviewed during another investigation, denied knowledge of bombings or acts of violence, denied knowledge of "den" of DK, KKKK, Inc., and majority admitted current membership in the DK, KKKK, Inc.

b7C

b7D

Sources reported in August, 1966, that for the past four and a half years, none of the DK, KKKK, Inc. members or leaders have discussed acts of violence. They

reported that the individuals previously identified as members of the "den" in 1960 are no longer members or associated with the DK, KKKK, Inc.

During the period 1962 to present, Negroes have demonstrated at Chattanooga, Tennessee, seeking integration of public and municipal facilities. They have held demonstrations concerning integration of public schools in Chattanooga, Tenn., and Hamilton County, Tennessee, in the Fall of 1962 and the Fall of 1963, and since then the schools have been integrated, all public facilities, Chattanooga, Tennessee, have been integrated, and on May 24, 1966, a Negro family moved into a previously all-white housing project, which is located in the immediate proximity of a number of residences of DK, KKKK, Inc., members. During the period of all of the above, leaders of the DK, KKKK, Inc., have instructed their members at [] meetings and on an individual basis to stay away from the areas where demonstrations were occurring, not to participate in any counter demonstrations, not to commit any acts of violence or advocate any acts of violence or become engaged in any arguments over the above integration.

b7D

In September, 1965, a near racial riot occurred near a housing project, East Chattanooga, which began with an argument between Negro and white teenagers. Demonstrations occurred for a few nights, which included heckling of police officers, throwing rocks at police cars and policemen. All demonstrators were white. A large number of youthful members of the DK, KKKK, Inc., were involved in this incident.

Within a few days following this demonstration, Negroes and white youth became engaged in a fight in East Chattanooga near the DK, KKKK, Inc., headquarters, resulting in the shooting of one Negro. A number of arrests were made; charges later dismissed. Majority of the white youths were members of the DK, KKKK, Inc.

Sources report that in 1965, the DK, KKKK, Inc., had a group known as the "claw" or "black-card" members, which was formed for the purpose of taking any necessary acts of violence, violation of the laws, discipline of klan members, or intimidation of others when and if needed. These members are not known to have participated in any acts of violence and majority of the identified members terminated their membership in the DK, KKKK, Inc., in December, 1965, when a split in leadership and membership occurred. The members and leaders who have continued to be active in the DK, KKKK, Inc., during 1966 are not known to have been a part of this special group or to favor violence.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the F. B. I. It is the property of the F. B. I. and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

6X

F B I

Date: 7/27/67

Transmit the following in PLAINTEXT
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-153751)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS-MISCELLANEOUS
(OO:AT)

ReBuairtel to AT, 7/14/67.

NYO indices reflect no identifiable information concerning [redacted] Review of NYfile on Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee 100-147963 failed to develop any information identifying [redacted]

NYO possesses no information concerning [redacted] in addition to that set forth in WFO airtel to Bureau dated 7/12/67. [redacted]

3-Bureau (RM)
2-Atlanta (100-6812) (RM)
2-Washington Field (RM)
1-New York

VJA:axb
(9)

87100
CLASSIFIED BY 39063 EWL/301/AMW
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X

REC 57

18 JUL 28 1967

54 AUG 3 1967

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

JUL 28 1967

TELETYPE

PA BI WASH DC

FBI CHICAGO

1:27AM URGENT 7/28/67 GEH

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080)

FROM CHICAGO (157-1297)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS - M, OO: ATLANTA.

RE BU TELEPHONE CALL TO CHICAGO JULY TWENTYSEVEN LAST.

BOAC FLIGHT NUMBER FIVE SIX SEVEN ARRIVED CHICAGO FOUR TWENTY PM
JULY TWENTYSEVEN LAST. CARMICHAEL NOT ON BOARD.

CHICAGO COVERED ARRIVAL ALL FLIGHTS FROM MONTREAL, ALL OTHER
OVERSEAS FLIGHT ARRIVALS JULY TWENTYSEVEN LAST, CARMICHAEL NOT
ON BOARD.

SOURCES ALERTED FOR ANY INFORMATION RE CARMICHAEL'S ARRIVAL
THIS CITY OR ANY INFO RE HIS FUTURE TRAVEL PLANS.

BUREAU WILL BE PROMPTLY ADVISED OF ANY INFO RECEIVED
AM COPY ATLANTA.

END

JMS

FBI WASH DC

P

REC 13

EX-115

2 AUG 1 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/1/00 BY 3902 SW/BCK/AMW

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Wick	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

b7C

201 1967

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : C. D. Brennan

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Wick
1 - Mr. W.C. Sullivan

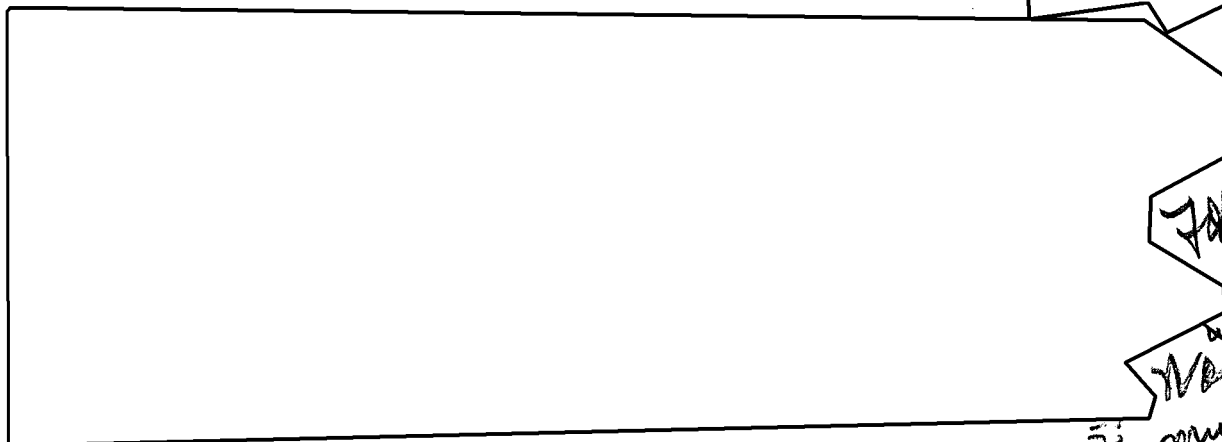
DATE: July 27, 1967

1 - Mr. J.F. Bland
1 - b7C
1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Wick _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

SUBJECT: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
STOKELY CARMICHAEL ✓

Referral/Direct



b7C

I immediately called our Chicago Office and spoke to Assistant Special Agent in Charge He was instructed to attempt to ascertain and confirm Carmichael's arrival in Chicago and through established sources to attempt to ascertain his itinerary and proposed future activities, and to keep the Bureau promptly advised of pertinent developments.

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

CDB:jes
(7)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/7/00 BY 39023

REC-50

EX 101

14 AUG 1 1967

62 AUG 4 1967

W.H. LT 7/28/67
713

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : W. R. Wannall

SUBJECT: CUBAN CLANDESTINE OPERATIONS
IN THE UNITED STATES
INTERNAL SECURITY - CUBA

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Casper
1 - Mr. Felt
1 - Mr. Sullivan
DATE: July 26, 1967

1 - Mr. Bland
1 - C. D. Brennan
1 - Mr. Wannall b7C
1 -
1 -

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Wick _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

In view of current racial violence in the U. S. and presence in Cuba of Stokely Carmichael, foremost "Black Power" advocate of violence, Special Agent in Charge (SAC) Letter being sent alerting field to possibility of future Castro involvement in U. S. racial strife.

The press today carried item disclosing that Stokely Carmichael had arrived in Havana by air from Prague, Czechoslovakia, as an official guest of the Castro government and would attend the Latin-American Solidarity Organization (LASO) conference which commences 7/31/67. It was indicated he expected to see Premier Fidel Castro during his stay and shortly before his arrival in Cuba, the Cuban news agency "Prensa Latina" published an interview with Carmichael in which he was quoted as saying: "In Newark, we are applying the tactics of guerrilla warfare. We are preparing groups of urban guerrillas for our defense in the cities. This struggle is not going to be a mere street meeting. It is going to be a struggle to the death."

Although we have no information which would indicate that any of the current racial violence is directed in any manner from Cuba, we are, of course, alert to the possibility that Castro at any time may give his support to such violence on a clandestine basis. In view of the fact that the avowed purpose of the LASO conference in Cuba is to plan ways and means to overthrow U. S. "imperialism" in Latin America by revolutionary violence, Stokely Carmichael's presence could be significant and could possibly presage Castro involvement in this country's racial situation.

Accordingly, we feel it is most timely to instruct the field to be alert to any indications of Castro involvement (consisting of support, direction or influence) in racial violence and riots here.

ACTION:

If you approve, attached SAC Letter in line with the above will be sent.

Enclosure

GCM:mar
(10)

NOT RECORDED

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/1/00 BY 39063 ELW/bcd/m

AUG 23 1967

59

105-83195-169
ORIGINAL FILED IN

7-26-67

PLAINTEXT

TELEGRAM

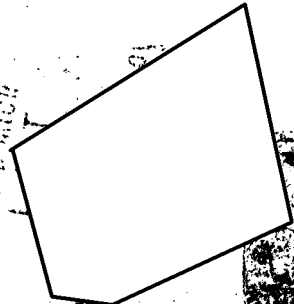
URGENT

REC-44/00-446080-409

EX-113



b7C



b7C

YOUR TELEGRAM RECEIVED JULY TWENTY-FIFTH. WITH
RESPECT TO YOUR INQUIRIES, FBI IS STRICTLY AN INVESTIGATIVE
AGENCY OF FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND DOES NOT DETERMINE
WHETHER PROSECUTION WILL BE INSTITUTED IN ANY SITUATION.
SUCH DECISIONS CONCERNING VIOLATIONS OF FEDERAL LAW ARE
WITHIN PROVINCE OF UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.
SINCE MATTERS REGARDING PASSPORTS HANDLED BY UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF STATE, COPY OF YOUR COMMUNICATION REFERRED
THAT DEPARTMENT FOR ANY ASSISTANCE IT MAY BE ABLE TO

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-7-00 BY 39063 (GWL/RC/AMW)

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
JUL 26 1967

WESTERN UNION

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER, DIRECTOR
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

NOTE: Bufiles disclose telegram referred to by [redacted] received
1-10-66 and a reply was forwarded to him 1-12-66, wherein he was advised
FBI aware of its responsibilities and would continue to make every effort
to discharge our obligation with highest degree of thoroughness and
dispatch. Copy of [redacted] telegram forwarded Department of State
by form referral of same date.

HRH:mlb (3)

meb

59 AUG 7 1967

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

INITIALED
DIRECTOR'S OFFICE

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Wick _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
JUL 25 1967
WESTERN UNION

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Wick	✓
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

BIA006 815A EDT JUL 25 67 LA158
L SAA068 NL PD SANTA ANA CALIF 24

✓ EDGAR HOOVER

DIRECTOR FBI WASHDC

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/1/00 BY 39063 Gw/Bce/kw

JUST HEAR ON TV HEWS, STOKELEY CARMICHAEL LEFT ENGLAND IN A
HURRY. DUE TO BRITISH POLICE COMPLAINTS. HE IS NOW ON HIS WAY
TO COMMUNIST CHECKOSLAVKIA AND FROM THERE IS IS GOING TO HANOY,
IN NORTH VIET NAM. I HAVE SEVERAL QUESTIONS ONE: WHO ISSUED
HIS PASSPORT TO THOSE SAME THREE COUNTRIES: TWO: WILL HE BE
PERMITTED TO RETURN TO THE UNITED STATES? AT THE END OF HIS
TRIP PLEASE REFERENCE MY TELEGRAM OF JAN 9 1966 TO YOUR OFFICE.

CONCERNING [REDACTED] AND ADMITTED COMMUNIST [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] AND [REDACTED] CONCERNING THEIR VISIT TO COMMUNIST
RUSSIA. I HAVE A REPLY FROM FRANCES KNIGHT DIRECTOR PASSPORT

DIVISION DEPARTMENT OF STATE DATED JAN 18 1966. IN WHICH HE
SAYS " YOU ARE ASSURED THAT I WILL MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO ASSE 1 1967

MR. DELOACH FOR THE DIRECTOR

THAT THESE FLAGRANT VIOLATIONS OF OUR LAWS AND REGULATIONS
BY THESE INDIVIDUALS WILL NOT GO UNPUNISHED" THESE GENTLEMEN,

ARE STILL AT LARGE IN OUR COUNTRY. TO MY QUESTIONS, I WOULD
LIKE A REPLY BY COLLECT WIRE IN 72 HOURS. IF THIS MAN IS PERMITTED
TO RETURN, TO THE US., I WISH TO INFORM YOU THAT THE VETERANS
ORGANIZATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES WILL BE SO INFORMED AND
I WILL GUARANTEE THAT IN THE ELECTION IN 1968 THAT WE WILL
ACTIVELY SUPPORT ANY CANDIDATE THAT WILL SEE THAT THERE IS
COMPLETE CLEAN-UP OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT IN THIS GREAT COUNTRY,
OF OURS

b7C

705 52 3 31 AM '68

EDT
11-10-68 10 10 02

cc: MR. WICK

F B I

Date: 7/24/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

~~SECRET~~ (Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: LEGAT, LONDON

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISC.
(Lon File 105-2989)

(P)

b2

b7C
(UC)

b7C

b1

CLASSIFIED BY 39063CJW/BCE/Amu
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 6

REC 33

COL X3

- 4 - Bureau
- 1 - Liaison (direct)
- 1 - 105-2989
- 1 - [redacted]

LM:VW
(7)

b2

b7C

15 JUL 27 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE~~SECRET~~Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

1067

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

July 31, 1967

SI-106

REC 8

100-446080-409



b7C

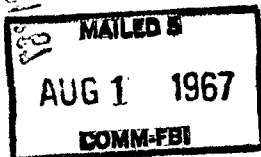
Dear



Your letter of July 25th, with enclosures, has been received, and I want to thank you for sending the newspaper articles to me.

With respect to Stokely Carmichael, the FBI is strictly an investigative agency of the Federal Government and, as such, does not determine whether prosecution will be undertaken in any situation. Such decisions concerning violations of Federal law are within the province of the United States Department of Justice.

You may be assured, however, the FBI is aware of the activities of this individual and any information obtained which might indicate a violation of Federal law over which this Bureau has investigative jurisdiction will be furnished to the United States Department of Justice for prosecutive consideration.



Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/7/00 BY 39663 EWL/BCE/RWJ

NOTE: Bufiles contain nothing unfavorable concerning [redacted]
The newspaper articles sent relate to Stokely Carmichael and riots.

b7C

JRP:acp

(3)

acp 8 1

REC'D-READING ROOM

30 JUL 31 2 50 PM '67

5 AUG 10 1967

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Bishop	✓
Mr. Casper	✓
Mr. Callahan	✓
Mr. Conrad	✓
Mr. Felt	✓
Mr. Gale	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Miss Holmes	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

[Redacted]

b7C

July 25 1967

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Enclosed is a newspaper article, datelined Tuesday July 25 1967, clearly linking the black power movement with international communism. It states that Stokely Carmichael, American black power advocate, plans to attend next week's Havana conference aimed at brewing revolutions.

For the past [Redacted] years I have been [Redacted] and like yourself, have been a devoted public servant dedicated to the highest ideals of law enforcement and preservation of the peace.

b7C

b7D

As one [Redacted] to another, I appeal to you in these circumstances on behalf of all of the dedicated law enforcement officers and the aroused citizens of the United States to investigate and expose and bring to justice all of these communist-oriented revolutionaries who now seek to foment racial disorder and anarchy by using the colored people as the pawns of their fifth column.

b7C

b7D

Sincerely yours,

[Redacted Signature]

b7C

b7D

EXP. PROC.

1967 JUL 27 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/1/00 BY 39023 EML/Redman

REC 8

100-446080-409

ST-106

ack
JRP/acp
7/31/67

8-2
16 JUL 27 1967

ENCLOSURE

CORRESPONDENCE

Stockton (Calif.) Record
TUESDAY, JULY 25, 1967

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LBJ Pledges Punishment of Rioters

WASHINGTON, July 25 (UPI)—President Johnson, faced with a crisis at home as grave as any overseas, has pledged that his administration will be relentless in suppressing and punishing rioters.

"Pillage, looting, murder, and arson have nothing to do with civil rights," the Chief Executive declared in a nationally televised and broadcast statement last night shortly after he ordered federal troops into shattered Detroit.

"We will not tolerate lawlessness. We will not endure violence. It matters not by whom it is done or under what slogan or banner. It will not be tolerated. This nation will do whatever is necessary to suppress and punish those who engage in it," Johnson said.

CALL TO PEOPLE

"I call upon all our people, in all of our cities, to join in a determined program to maintain law and order—to condemn and combat lawlessness in all of its forms—and firmly to show by word and deed that riots, looting, and public disorder will not be tolerated."

Johnson said it was "with the greatest regret" that he issued the proclamation sending two brigades of paratroopers into Detroit. But, he said, "the fact of the matter is that law and order have broken down in Detroit."

The President referred repeatedly to the pleas of Mich-

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/7/00 BY 39063 EML/cdmc

100-446080 - 409

ENCLOSURE

ham

Stockton (Calif.) Record
TUESDAY, JULY 25, 1967

Carmichael to Attend Havana Revolt Talks

MIAMI, July 25 (AP)—Stokely Carmichael, American black power advocate, plans to attend next week's Havana conference aimed at brewing revolutions, the Cuban radio said today.

Carmichael confirmed in London his plans to attend the conference as an observer, said a broadcast monitored in Miami.

"We are going to be reunited with you in Havana because we think the Cuban victory is our victory and the courage of the Cuban people inspires our fight," the radio quoted Carmichael as saying.

Leftists and revolutionaries from throughout Latin America have begun arriving in Communist Cuba for the conference sponsored by the Latin American Solidarity Organization—OLAS—an outspoken anti-United States body.

S.F. Mayor Has No Guarantees

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/1/00 BY 39063E/LW/BGP/AMW

100-446080-409
ENCLOSURE

ATTENTION

The following documents appearing in FBI files have been reviewed under the provisions of The Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) (Title 5, United States Code, Section 552); Privacy Act of 1974 (PA) (Title 5, United States Code, Section 552a); and/or Litigation.

☐ FOIA/PA☐ Litigation☐ Executive Order Applied

Requester: _____

Subject: _____

Computer or Case Identification Number: _____

Title of Case: _____ Section _____

* File _____

Serials Reviewed: _____

Release Location: *File _____ Section _____

This file section has been scanned into the FOIPA Document Processing System (FDPS) prior to National Security Classification review. Please see the documents located in the FDPS for current classification action, if warranted. Direct inquires about the FDPS to RIDS Service Request Unit, b2

File Number: 100-HQ-446080 Section 11Serial(s) Reviewed: A 11

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: 983317

File Number: _____ Section _____

Serial(s) Reviewed: _____

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: _____

File Number: _____ Section _____

Serial(s) Reviewed: _____

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: _____

THIS FORM IS TO BE MAINTAINED AS THE TOP SERIAL OF THE FILE, BUT NOT SERIALIZED.

ATTENTION

DO NOT REMOVE FROM FILE

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Bland

Mr. Sullivan

7/28/67

C. D. Brennan

1 - Mr. Wannall
1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan
1 - b7C

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Due to the interest of the President in the activities of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and its former chairman, Stokely Carmichael, we have prepared a summary setting forth current and planned future activity in this matter. A copy of the summary is attached for ready reference.

It was previously reported that Stokely Carmichael flew from London, England, to Prague, Czechoslovakia, on 7/24/67. On 7/26/67, Carmichael flew from Prague to Havana, Cuba. He is an official guest of the Castro Government and is scheduled to attend the Latin-American Solidarity Organization conference which begins 7/31/67.

The avowed purpose of the Latin-American Solidarity Organization conference is to overthrow United States "imperialism" in Latin America by revolutionary violence.

On the evening of 7/26/67, Fidel Castro, Premier of Cuba, spoke in Santiago, Cuba. Castro gave special attention to Carmichael who attended this meeting and sat in a place of honor.

Carmichael told a news reporter he did not care what the State Department did to him for visiting Cuba without permission.

The Immigration and Naturalization Service had received information that Carmichael was scheduled to return from Cuba to the United States via Montreal, Canada. He was to enter the United States in Chicago, Illinois, the evening of 7/27/67. According to the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Carmichael is not known to have arrived in Canada.

Encl.
PTR:des
(8)

1 - Bufile 100-446080

REC

100-446080-410

NOT RECORDED
191 AUG 3 1967

CONTINUED - OVER

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/2/01 BY 39063ELW/BCE/AMV

917228

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-446080-410

That the ordered command to the, Hildred
 of the War: Mr. William Hildred, Administrative
 Assistant to the Vice President; Honorable Don Hark,
 Secretary of State; Honorable Robert C. Harkness, Secretary
 of Defense; Attorney General; Deputy Attorney General;
 Assistant Attorney General; Harkness, Harkness, and Harkness;
 Harkness, Harkness, and Harkness; and the military intelligence agencies be
 approved.

RECOMMENDATION:

SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
 SECRETARY OF STATE
 SECRETARY OF THE ARMY
 SECRETARY OF THE NAVY
 SECRETARY OF THE AIR FORCE
 SECRETARY OF THE MARINE CORPS
 SECRETARY OF THE COAST GUARD
 SECRETARY OF THE NATIONAL GUARD
 SECRETARY OF THE NATIONAL RESERVE

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Wannall
1 - Mr. Bland
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan

July 23, 1967

b7C

**STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
STOKELY CARMICHAEL**

There is set forth below a summary of current and planned future activities of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and its former chairman, Stokely Carmichael.

It was previously reported that Stokely Carmichael flew from London, England, to Prague, Czechoslovakia, on July 24, 1967.

According to a press release, Carmichael arrived in Havana, Cuba, on July 26, 1967, by air from Prague, Czechoslovakia, as an official guest of the Castro Government. He is scheduled to attend the Latin-American Solidarity Organization conference which begins July 31, 1967, in Havana, Cuba.

The avowed purpose of the Latin-American Solidarity Organization conference is to overthrow United States "imperialism" in Latin America by revolutionary violence.

Shortly before Carmichael arrived in Cuba, the Cuban news agency, Prensa Latina, published an interview with Carmichael in which he was quoted as saying, "In Newark, we are applying the tactics of guerrilla warfare. We are preparing groups of urban guerrillas for our defense in the cities. This struggle is not going to be a mere street meeting. It is going to be a struggle to the death."

Carmichael also forwarded a message of greeting to the Latin-American Solidarity Organization delegates in which he said, "We are going to meet with you because we feel that your victory is a victory for us and your unlimited courage inspires us." He also pointed out that he is convinced that the Afro-Asian Latin-American Peoples Solidarity Organization is one of the most important elements contributing to the just struggle of the United States Negro.

PTB:des
(23)

100-439190

1 - Bufile 100-446080 - 410

See Note Page Three

67 AUG 7 - 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/2/01 BY SP6 GSW/RCE/MLW

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-439190-1347

**STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
STOKELY CARMICHAEL**

Carmichael also declared that his first contact with the Cuban revolution took place in Harlem, New York, in 1960 during the historic appearance by Fidel Castro, Premier of Cuba, before the United Nations. He emphasized that visit marked a historic moment in the struggle of the North American Negro who can never forget the presence of Castro in Harlem or turn against the Cuban revolution.

According to another press release, Carmichael sat in a place of honor as Castro spoke for two and one-half hours on the evening of July 26, 1967, in Santiago, Cuba. Castro gave special attention to Carmichael calling him "the representative of the Negro people of the United States." Castro said, "American Negroes are rebelling and are fighting because they have been criminally exploited and oppressed."

On July 27, 1967, it was reported that Carmichael was interviewed in Havana, Cuba, by a reporter from the evening newspaper, "Juventud Rebelde" (Rebellious Youth). Carmichael referred to a recent message said to have come from former Cuban revolutionary leader Ernesto "Che" Guevara urging the creation of several Vietnams in Latin America. He said, "We must internationalize our struggle, and if we are going to turn into reality the words of Che to create two, three, or more Vietnams, we must recognize that Detroit and New York are also Vietnam."

Carmichael told the reporter he did not care what the State Department did to him for visiting Cuba without permission.

Referral/Direct

**STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
STOKELY CARMICHAEL**

A representative of the Immigration and Naturalization Service advised on July 28, 1967, that Carmichael did not arrive in Chicago. The Immigration and Naturalization Service has not developed any information that Carmichael did, in fact, arrive in Canada.

XEROX COPIES BEING SENT TO MRS. MILDRED STEGALL, THE WHITE HOUSE; MR. WILLIAM WELSH, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT TO THE VICE PRESIDENT; HONORABLE DEAN RUSK, SECRETARY OF STATE; HONORABLE ROBERT S. MCNAMARA, SECRETARY OF DEFENSE; ATTORNEY GENERAL; DEPUTY ATTORNEY GENERAL; ASSISTANT ATTORNEYS GENERAL YEAGLEY, DOAR AND VINSON; SECRET SERVICE; AND THE MILITARY INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES.

NOTE:

See C. D. Brennan to Sullivan memorandum dated 7/28/67, same caption, prepared to PTB:des,

7/14/67

1 -

b7C

airtel

To: SACs Atlanta
New York
Washington Field

From: Director, FBI

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISC.

ReNYtel 7/12/67 captioned "Stokely Carmichael, IS-M,"
and WFO airtel and [redacted] (S) b1

New York and Atlanta should endeavor to more fully
identify Porter.

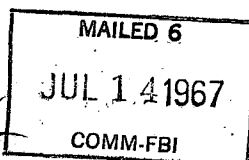
Any pertinent information developed should be sent to
WFO for review of passport file.

Leads should be handled expeditiously and results submitted
in a form suitable for dissemination.

PTB:des
(7)

SEE NOTE PAGE 2.

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Wick _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____



3/12/01
CLASSIFIED BY 39063 EWL/ice/lmw
CLASSIFY ON: 25X file

~~SECRET~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

7/14/67

AIRTEL

AIRMAIL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM: SAC, ALBANY (157-99) (P)
SUBJECT: POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTERS

Re Albany airtel and LHM 6/26/67, in captioned matter.

Enclosed for the Bureau, and Atlanta, are appropriate copies of an LHM in captioned matter. Info copy being furnished Boston in view of their interest in activities of STOKELY CARMICHAEL.

Dissemination has been made locally to U. S. Secret Service, USA, Naval Intelligence, OSI, and Military Intelligence. Close liaison has been maintained with [redacted] Syracuse, N.Y., and [redacted] who are sources referred to in LHM.

Rumors concerning CARMICHAEL's possible visit to Syracuse, N.Y. have declined subsequent to 7/4/67. The decision by the Office of Economic

4-Bureau (Enc. 11) (RM)
(1-100-446080- STOKELY CARMICHAEL)
2-Atlanta (Enc. 2)
(1-100-6812- STOKELY CARMICHAEL)
1-Boston (Info) (RM) (Enc. 1)
3-Albany (1-100-19800) - STOKELY CARMICHAEL (Enc. 1)
(10)
RAB:mgb

56 AUG 2 1967

ENCLOSURE

NOT RECORDED

165 JUL 27 1967

ORIGINAL FILED IN

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DATE 3/3/01 BY 3388 BJA/BCL/mw

AL 157-99

Opportunity (OEO) to refund the Crusade for Opportunity (CFO) for 60 days under a trusteeship arrangement has served to stabilize matters. A critical factor in assessing the potential for racial violence in Syracuse is whether or not the trustees, as yet unannounced, are acceptable to the neighborhood people. This matter will be followed closely and Bureau advised of developments.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Albany, New York
July 14, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
SYRACUSE, NEW YORK

b7C

On June 28, 1967, a confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, related that the eight double rooms reserved for June 29, 1967, at the Dinkler Motor Inn, Syracuse, New York, under the name of CARMICHAEL, had been cancelled, telephonically, at 9:37 p.m., June 28, 1967. The [redacted] at the Dinkler asked for the person's name and number in an effort to identify the person making the cancellation. However, source stated that this information proved to be fictitious.

Source observed that the persistent rumors concerning the visit of STOKELY CARMICHAEL to Syracuse, New York, appeared to be a "power play" to insure refunding of the Crusade for Opportunity, Inc. (CFO), the official "war on poverty" agency in Syracuse, New York. The deadline for refunding is June 30, 1967.

During the period from June 30, 1967 through July 11, 1967, numerous articles appearing in the Syracuse Herald Journal and the Syracuse Post-Standard, Syracuse, New York, evening and daily newspapers, respectively, have revealed the following information concerning the CFO controversy:

b7C

[redacted] of the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), New York City, announced on June 30, 1967, that CFO will be placed in a trusteeship for 60 days or longer. The trustees will be charged with the responsibility of: (1) recommending revision in CFO by-laws so that the Board of Directors will be a governing body in compliance with the requirements of the Economic Opportunity Act. (2) establishing a new community action agency for Syracuse and Onondaga County in the event of failure to achieve an acceptable reorganization of CFO.

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ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE

100-446080-

POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
SYRACUSE, NEW YORK

(3) Supervising, in all respects, the administration of grant programs during the period of trusteeship.

Trustees will theoretically take over the reins of CFO at midnight, June 30, 1967. CFO will be provided with a 60-day Federal grant to run its program, pro-rated on the agency's request for about \$2.16 million for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1967.

OEO Director, Sargent Shriver, indicated that OEO has no intention of permitting the Anti-Poverty Program, in Syracuse, to terminate abruptly.

NORMAN HILL, Chairman of the Board of Directors of CFO, at a meeting of neighborhood leaders on June 30, 1967, called on them to boycott Anti-Poverty Programs "until this thing is cleared up".

News articles have indicated that neighborhood residents are being urged to contact their neighbors over the weekend to keep their pre-Kindergarten children home from the Head Start registration centers.

On July 3, 1967, a [] confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, stated that the rumors had been circulating in the neighborhood (Negro community) that if the trustees, to be appointed by OEO, are not acceptable to the current CFO leadership, crusade buildings will be burned to the ground. Source said that some civic leaders in Syracuse had been approached for appointment as a trustee but have declined. It was rumored that OEO prefers a small number of trustees, perhaps three or four, whereas the community would like to see a larger number of trustees, perhaps seven.

According to an article appearing on page 13 of the Syracuse Herald-Journal, issue of July 11, 1967, captioned "CFO Trustees' Naming Near", the delay in naming trustees has been caused by difficulty in getting people for

POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
SYRACUSE, NEW YORK

this type of assignment. A two-man team from the regional OEO Office has been in Syracuse since July 7, 1967, surveying the area to make recommendations.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

FBI

Date: 7/24/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (~~157-6-24~~)
 FROM: SAC, KNOXVILLE (157-403) (P)

STOKLEY CARMICHAEL,
 STUDENT NON-VIOLENT
 COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC),
 PROPOSED VISIT,
 CHATTANOOGA, TENN.,
 SUMMER, 1967
 RACIAL MATTERS

Re Knoxville airtel to Bureau July 21, 1967.

Submitted herewith to the Bureau are 11 copies of letterhead memorandum, Knoxville, dated July 24, 1967.

Copies have been disseminated locally to intelligence agencies, two to Secret Service, Nashville, Tennessee, and one to USA at Chattanooga, Tennessee.

Bureau will be kept advised of any pertinent developments.

AGENCY: ACSI, ONI, OSI, SEC. SERV. (90374)
 SUBJECT: ISD, CRD, RAO

DATE FORW: 7/27/67
 ROW FORW: 7/3
 BY: [Signature]

100-446080-
 NOT RECORDED
 87 JUL 31 1967

- 3 - Bureau (Enclosures - 11) (RM)
 2 - Knoxville

GCW/epm
 (5)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 3/3/01 BY 39063 E/W/CC/LAMW

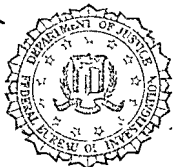
12 JUL 23 1967

62 AUG 2 1967

Approved: [Signature]
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

ORIGINAL FILED IN 157-6-24-540



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

July 24, 1967

Director
United States Secret Service
Department of the Treasury
Washington, D. C. 20220

Dear Sir:

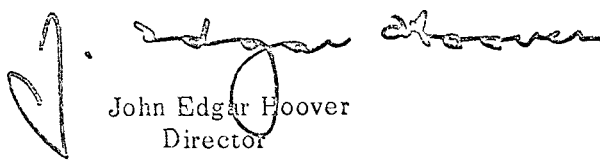
The information furnished herewith concerns an individual who is believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning Presidential protection, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

1. ☐ Has attempted or threatened bodily harm to any government official or employee, including foreign government officials residing in or planning an imminent visit to the U. S., because of his official status.
2. ☐ Has attempted or threatened to redress a grievance against any public official by other than legal means.
3. ☐ Because of background is potentially dangerous; or has been identified as member or participant in communist movement; or has been under active investigation as member of other group or organization inimical to U. S.
4. ☐ U. S. citizens or residents who defect from the U. S. to countries in the Soviet or Chinese Communist blocs and return.
5. ☒ Subversives, ultrarightists, racists and fascists who meet one or more of the following criteria:
 - (a) ☐ Evidence of emotional instability (including unstable residence and employment record) or irrational or suicidal behavior;
 - (b) ☐ Expressions of strong or violent anti-U. S. sentiment,
 - (c) ☒ Prior acts (including arrests or convictions) or conduct or statements indicating a propensity for violence and antipathy toward good order and government.
6. ☐ Individuals involved in illegal bombing or illegal bomb-making.

Photograph ☐ has been furnished ☐ enclosed ☐ is not available
☐ may be available through _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/2/01 BY 3902 EWL/BAW/mw

Very truly yours,


John Edgar Hoover
Director

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s) - 2
U. S. Secret Service , Nashville, Tennessee

Enclosure(s)

(Upon removal of classified enclosures, if any, this transmittal form
becomes UNCLASSIFIED.)



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Knoxville, Tennessee

July 24, 1967

STOKLEY CARMICHAEL
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING
COMMITTEE (SNCC)
PROPOSED VISIT CHATTANOOGA,
TENNESSEE, SUMMER 1967
RACIAL MATTERS

Reference is made to Knoxville memorandum in captioned matter dated July 21, 1967.

On July 21, 1967, [redacted] advised he had not received any additional information regarding the activities of [redacted] attempting to cause unrest among the Negroes in Chattanooga, Tennessee. He stated that in addition to the normal steps being taken by the City of Chattanooga to eliminate racial discrimination, racial prejudice and unrest, that he had taken three special steps on July 21, 1967, aimed at combatting efforts of [redacted] to organize racial unrest in Chattanooga.

b7C

He advised that on July 21, 1967, he and City Commissioners for Chattanooga had approved the appointment of [redacted] to be Assistant Chattanooga City Attorney. He had requested the Chattanooga Housing Authority to study areas north of McCallie Avenue, including Orchard Knob, Churchville, Avondale, Bushtown, and others all predominantly Negro residents, to be made a part of the Urban Renewal Rehabilitation Project of Chattanooga. He and Commissioners on this date also visited a one-half million dollar building construction of an addition to the Alton Park Junior High School to be completed September 1967. This addition is to be of great assistance to the predominantly Negro residents in that neighborhood. It will be a community service building available for recreation of all ages of residents in that vicinity. Nurses will be on hand for health benefits; staff of the Tennessee Department of Employment for job opportunities; vocational rehabilitation program; dental treatment; pre-vocational training and public welfare.

b7C

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100-446080 -
ENCLOSURE

STOKLEY CARMICHAEL, STUDENT NON-VIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE, PROPOSED
VISIT CHATTANOOGA, TENNESSEE SUMMER 1967

b7C [] advised that all three of these actions by the Commission would be given front page news coverage in all three daily publications, Chattanooga, Tennessee, July 21-22, 1967. He advised he hoped the Negro citizens would thus become more aware that Chattanooga is far advanced from other cities in offering assistance to Negroes and attempt to eliminate any discrimination or racial prejudice. He stated he hoped this would cause the Negro citizens to realize their benefits and assist in every possible way to resist efforts of []

[] STOKLEY CARMICHAEL, SNCC and "Black Power" advocates who may attempt to stir up unrest among the Negroes of Chattanooga.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : The Director

DATE: 7-25-67

FROM : N. P. Callahan

SUBJECT: The Congressional Record

Pages H9244-H9248. Congressman Rarick, (D) Louisiana, stated "the explosive literary work--'Communist Revolution in the Streets,' by Gary Allen-is a must for our fellow colleagues and every American who questions the 'why' and 'how' of the bloodshed, looting, and violence taking place on the streets and avenues today. Poverty and ignorance are far less the causation that education and subsidization by anti-American forces. Education against the dignity of man and exploitation of his individual liberty play a key role. I follow my remarks with a review from the book called 'The Plan To Burn Los Angeles.'" [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] The article also quotes the Director as having stated "that Stokely Carmichael, - - - 'has been in frequent contact with Max Stanford, field chairman of the Revolutionary Action Movement, a highly secret all-Negro, Marxist-Lennist, Chinese-Communist-oriented organization which advocates guerrilla warfare to obtain its goals.'" The article also quoted the Director concerning the Students for a Democratic Society and the DuBois Clubs.

b7C

b7D

Original filed in: 66-1731-3126

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 3/31/01 BY 39063 EWB/ckm

100-446080-

NOT RECORDED

176 AUG 16 1967

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for 7-24-67 was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

57 AUG 22 1967

~~SECRET~~

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Bland
1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan
1 - [redacted] b7C

100-446080

July 25, 1967

**STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
STOKELY CARMICHAEL**

There is set forth below a summary of current and planned future activities of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and its former chairman, Stokely Carmichael.

It was previously reported that Stokely Carmichael departed the United States at New York City on July 14, 1967, for a speaking engagement in London, England. He was accompanied by [redacted] of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

b7C

b7D

Carmichael spoke at an international congress on the Dialectics of Liberation, London, England, on July 18, 1967. According to a news article, Carmichael stated, "We are out to smash American white supremacy." In commenting on the war in Vietnam, he stated, "We have initiated black resistance to the Vietnam draft." He also said that over 700 Negroes had refused to go to Vietnam.

The congress was described in a news article as "a unique gathering to denystify human violence in all its forms, the social systems from which it emanated, and to explore new forms of action."

A confidential source advised that Stokely Carmichael, accompanied by [redacted] and [redacted] departed a London airport on July 24, 1967, destined for Prague, Czechoslovakia. The source had no additional information concerning the itineraries of these individuals.

b7C

b7D

It was previously reported that invitations had been sent to youth organizations in the United States to send representatives to an international youth meeting in

~~SECRET~~

GROUP 1

DECLASSIFIED BY 39025 WJ/ceekw
ON 3/8/01

100-439190

(1 - Bufile 100-446080

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

PTB:des (19)

SEE NOTE PAGE 2.

56 AUG 2 1967

DUPLICATE YELLOW

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-446080-124

~~SECRET~~

**STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
STOKELY CARMICHAEL**

Leningrad, Soviet Union. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee was among organizations receiving an invitation to this meeting. The youth meeting was scheduled to begin on July 17, 1967, and last two weeks. The purpose of this meeting is to plan activities for the celebration of the 50th Anniversary of the Great October Revolution in Moscow, Soviet Union, in November, 1967.

A [] confidential source advised that an international United Nations subcommittee will convene in Tokyo, Japan, on July 26, 1967. The following individuals have already departed the United States to participate in this meeting: []

[] who is also a Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee member.

According to this source, Stokely Carmichael, James Forman, [] all affiliated with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, have also been invited to attend this meeting.

NOTE:

See memorandum C.D. Brennan to Mr. Sullivan dated 7/24/67, same caption, prepared by PTB:des.

Classified "Secret" because the information came from sensitive sources, the disclosure of which could be detrimental to the United States.

~~SECRET~~

Mr. Sullivan

C. D. Brennan

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Bland
7/24/67

1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan
1 - [redacted] b7C

**STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
STOKELY CARMICHAEL**

Due to the interest of the President in the activities of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and its former chairman, Stokely Carmichael, we have prepared a summary setting forth current and planned future activity in this matter. A copy of the summary is attached for ready reference.

It was previously reported Stokely Carmichael departed the United States at New York City, 7/14/67, for a speaking engagement in London, England. He was accompanied by a Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee member, [redacted]

Carmichael spoke at an international congress on the Dialectics of Liberation, London, England, 7/18/67. According to a news article, Carmichael stated, "We are out to smash American white supremacy." He spoke against Negroes participating in the war in Vietnam.

A confidential source advised that Carmichael, accompanied by [redacted] departed a London airport, 7/24/67, destined for Prague, Czechoslovakia. A [redacted] confidential source advised that an international United Nations subcommittee will convene in Tokyo, Japan, on 7/26/67. According to the source, [redacted]

and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee members, [redacted] have already departed the United States for this meeting.

Stokely Carmichael, James Forman, [redacted] and [redacted] all affiliated with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, have also been invited to attend this meeting.

ENC1.

PPS-439190

1(2) Bufile 100-446080 (Stokely Carmichael)

100-446080 -
NOT
184 JUL 27 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/20/01 BY 3903 EIW/Beelanw

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100 439190-1337

C.D. Brennan to Sullivan Memorandum
Re: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
STOKELY CARMICHAEL
100-439190

RECOMMENDATION:

That the enclosed memorandum to Mrs. Mildred Stegall at the White House; Mr. William Welsh, Administrative Assistant to the Vice President; Honorable Dean Rusk, Secretary of State; Honorable Richard Helms, Director, Central Intelligence Agency; Attorney General; Deputy Attorney General; Assistant Attorneys General Yeagley, Doar, and Vinson; Secret Service; and the military intelligence agencies be approved.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : The Director

DATE: 7-27-67

FROM : N. P. Callahan

SUBJECT: The Congressional Record

Pages H9437-H9438. Congressman Bray, (R) Indiana, spoke concerning the rioting taking place in many cities. He also commented on the unauthorized travel of Stokely Carmichael to Cuba. Mr. Bray cited section 1544, title 18, United States Code, which provides "Whoever willfully and knowingly uses or attempts to use any passport in violation of the conditions or restrictions therein contained, or of the rules prescribed pursuant to the laws regulating issuance of passports - - - Shall be fined not more than \$2,000 or imprisoned not more than five years, or both." He pointed out that the travel ban to Cuba was published in Public Notice No. 257 in the Federal Register for March 16, 1967, by authority of Executive Order No. 11293. Mr. Bray stated "the Attorney General is the chief law enforcement officer of

the United States. He has working under his direction the FBI, all Deputy U. S. Attorneys General, all district attorneys, and deputy district attorneys, all U. S. marshals and deputy marshals. - - - I am aware that the Attorney General will say that the courts will not enforce this ban in the manner in which it is written. The Attorney General has not suggested to Congress laws in this regard which he believes can be enforced. - - - It is his solemn duty and responsibility to be suggesting laws which he can and will enforce to stop growing insurrection inside America and take action against those who travel abroad to plot against us. As yet, for reasons difficult to surmise, he has shown a minimum of interest in this field. The public demands action and is waiting to see what course he will take.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 3/8/01 BY 39063EWP/ELAMW

100-446080-

NOT RECORDED

176 AUG 10 1967

2
AUG 10 1967 XEROX

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for 7/26/67 was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

55 AUG 10 1967

Original filed in: 66-1731-3121

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : The Director

DATE: 7/27/67

FROM : N. P. Callahan

SUBJECT: The Congressional Record

Page H8433. Congressman Clausen, (R) California, spoke concerning riots and lawlessness and pointed out that he strongly supports the creation of a special joint committee comprised of Members of the House and Senate to look into the facts and circumstances surrounding these riots. He called on the President to initiate strong leadership "to crush this wanton rebellion before it is too late." He stated "Here in Washington, evidence is mounting that officials fear a riot of major proportions in the Nation's Capital in the near future. Riot squads are being trained in the use of tear gas and automatic weapons. They are to be on standby for duty in August. - - - The prime question of the hour that demands an answer is, What is the relationship between Stokely Carmichael's call for guerrilla warfare from Communist Cuba and the outbreak of racial riots in major American cities? - - - These riots, Mr. Speaker, have nothing to do with civil rights. This is open rebellion sparked by hatred for the purpose of creating more hatred and in the end, outright anarchy. It must be stopped now."

Original filed in:

(2)

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for 7/26/67 was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : The Director

DATE: 7-27-67

FROM : N. P. Callahan

SUBJECT: The Congressional Record

Pages H9474-H9476. Congressman Pucinski, (D) Illinois, pointed out that "today is the 14th anniversary of Fidel Castro's July 26 movement and should serve as a reminder that continued Communist control of Cuba constitutes one of the most serious dangers to the United States." He commented on the travel to Cuba by Stokely Carmichael and stated "Stokely Carmichael's arrogant boast in Havana yesterday that he will organize back power guerrilla groups in American cities cannot go unchallenged. I urge our State Department to withdraw Carmichael's passport and if he returns to the United States, we try him for treason. - - - He is openly consorting with Castro and the top Communist leaders of this hemisphere, and openly advocating guerrilla warfare for the overthrow of the United States." Mr. Pucinski included an article from the Washington Post entitled "Carmichael Turns Up in Havana, Calls For U. S. Guerrilla Warfare" written by Michael Arkus.

(3)

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for 7/26/67 was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : The Director

DATE:

7-27-67

FROM : N. P. Callahan

SUBJECT: The Congressional Record

Page H3499. Congressman Blanton, (D) Tennessee, spoke concerning the need for antiriot legislation and urged the Senate to approve the antiriot bill (H. R. 421) that recently was passed by the House. He also commented on Stokely Carmichael's trip to Cuba and advised that he had called on the Justice Department to make a full investigation into Carmichael's trip. He stated "Citizens are prohibited from travel to this country, and the Justice Department should report to Congress on the steps it will take in implementing this regulation."

3
XEROX
AUG 10 1967

T
In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

4

Date of Mail 7-27-67

Has been removed and placed in the Special File Room of Records Branch.

See File 66-2554-7530 for authority.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/8/01 BY 39063FW/BC/AMW

Subject

JUNE MAIL

Stakely Carmichael

Removed By

65 AUG 18 1967

File Number

100-446080-1

Permanent Serial Charge Out

Date of Mail 7-28-67

Has been removed and placed in the Special File Room of Records Branch.

See File 66-2554-7530 for authority.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/8/01 BY 39063 EWB/Bcl/Am

Subject JUNE MAIL Stokely Carmichael

65 AUG 18 1967

Removed By _____

File Number 100-446080-✓

Permanent Serial Charge Out

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : MR. TROTTER

DATE: 7-28-67

FROM :

[REDACTED]

b7C

SUBJECT:

[REDACTED]

b7C

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)
MEETING AT ST. STEPHEN AND THE INCARNATION CHURCH
16TH AND NEWTON STREETS, N.W.
EVENING OF 7-27-67
RACIAL MATTER

PURPOSE

To report receipt of information indicating possible Negro riot activity in Washington, D. C., tonight, 7-28-67, and tomorrow night, 7-29-67.

BACKGROUND

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/8/01 BY 39063EW/BCE/AMW

b7C

b7D

[REDACTED] advised me a few minutes ago, at approximately 12:05 P. M., that he had just returned from the Federal Aviation Agency Cafeteria at 7th and Independence Avenue, N.W., where he learned of the following information.

b7C

b7D

[REDACTED] at that cafeteria had informed [REDACTED] had attended the captioned meeting last night where [REDACTED] had spoken. [REDACTED] heard that riots were planned for tonight (time unknown) commencing at 14th and U Sts., N.W., and rioters would work down towards center of city as far as they could go before being stopped, burning and looting as they went along. After that they were scheduled to go to Anacostia and tomorrow night would hit Marlow Heights, Maryland, [REDACTED] said his information was very skimpy as [REDACTED] discussing the matter. He said the statement

(CONTINUED - OVER)

- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. Wick
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan

100-446080 -
NOT RECORDED

126 AUG 8 1967

CEG:nmr

56 AUG 7 1967

16 AUG 8 1967

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Wick _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

ORIGINAL FILED IN 105-168197-8

Memorandum to MR. TROTTER

b7C

RE: [REDACTED]

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)
Meeting At St. Stephen and the Incarnation Church
16th and Newton Streets, N.W.
Evening of July 27, 1967
Racial Matter

b7C

was also made that Stokely Carmichael, former National Chairman, SNCC, was on the Communist Party payroll. [REDACTED] suggested the FBI may

b7D

wish to interview [REDACTED] who was very upset at the time he reported the above information to [REDACTED]

b7C

I telephonically discussed this matter with Inspector Joseph Sizoo, Domestic Intelligence Division, who requested information be relayed to WFO with instructions to immediately arrange an interview with [REDACTED]

b7D

and advise local police and the Bureau of the results. This information was furnished to ASAC John J. McDermott, WFO, who will handle.

RECOMMENDATION:

Refer to Domestic Intelligence Division for information.

JBW

✓

Date of Mail 7-29-67

Has been removed and placed in the Special File Room of Records Branch.

See File 66-2554-7530 for authority.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/8/81 BY 39863EW/BC/AMW

Subject JUNE MAIL Stokely Carmichael

Removed By 85 AM 1-81

File Number 100-446080-✓

22

Permanent Serial Charge Out

FBI

Date: 7-27-67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____ (Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (157-6-24)

FROM: SAC, KNOXVILLE (157-403) P

STOKLEY CARMICHAEL
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING
COMMITTEE (SNCC)
PROPOSED VISIT TO CHATTANOOGA,
TENNESSEE, SUMMER, 1967
RACIAL MATTERS

Re Knoxville airtel to Bureau 7-24-67.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of LHM captioned as above and dated 7-27-67, and three copies for Atlanta.

Copies have been disseminated locally to intelligence agencies, Secret Service, Nashville, and USA, Chattanooga. This matter is receiving continuous attention and Bureau will be advised of all pertinent developments.

AGENCY: ACSI, ~~OSI~~, OSI; SEC. SER:

~~SECRET~~ ~~TOP SECRET~~ ~~SECRET~~ ~~RAO~~

HOW FORW: b7C

BY:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/8/01 BY 3003 D

ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE

3 - Bureau (Enc. - 11) (RM)
3 - Atlanta (157-1799) (2 - STOKLEY CARMICHAEL) (RM)
(1 - [REDACTED])
6 - KNOXVILLE (2 - 157-403)
(1 - 157-292 B)
(1 - 157-1101)
(1 - 80-70A)
(1 - 157-841)

100-446870 b7C
NOT RECORDED
181 AUG 2 1967

~~11 JUL 29 1967~~

Approved:

Sent.

M

Per

Special Agent in Charge

ORIGINAL FILED IN 157-6-24-552



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Knoxville, Tennessee
July 27, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

STOKLEY.CARMICHAEL
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING
COMMITTEE (SNCC)
PROPOSED VISIT TO CHATTANOOGA,
TENNESSEE, SUMMER, 1967
RACIAL MATTERS

Reference is made to the memorandum of the
Knoxville Division of the Federal Bureau of Investigation
captioned as above and dated July 24, 1967.

[redacted] Chattanooga,
Tennessee, on July 26, 1967, advised a meeting had been
held in Chattanooga on July 26, 1967, consisting of
representatives of the various law enforcement agencies,
the National Guard, [redacted] and [redacted]
[redacted] City of Chattanooga, for the purpose of setting
up some plan of action should racial violence erupt in
the city.

b7C
b7D

It was decided that all operations should be
conducted through the Police Department as this agency
is directly responsible for law enforcement in the city
limits. Representatives of all Agencies will work with
the Police Department with headquarters located in the In-
formation Center and the Detective Division of the
Chattanooga Police Department, Chattanooga City Hall.

In the event of serious troubles and should the
situation arise, the Field House located in Warner Park,
Chattanooga, would be used for a detention center. This
location provides ample parking area, privacy and security
and will not be difficult to maintain.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/8/01 BY 39063EWH/CC/AMW

100-446080-
ENCLOSURE

STOKLEY CARMICHAEL
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING
COMMITTEE (SNCC)
PROPOSED VISIT TO CHATTANOOGA,
TENNESSEE, SUMMER, 1967

Among the persons present at this meeting in addition to [redacted] were [redacted] Tennessee National Guard, Chattanooga, Tennessee, area; [redacted] Hamilton County Sheriff's Office and [redacted] and [redacted] Tennessee Highway Patrol, Chattanooga, Tennessee.

The National Guard upon proper authorization will have 1600 to 1800 men available and the Tennessee Highway Patrol will be able to muster up to 132 men. The entire force of the Chattanooga Police Department and Hamilton County Sheriff's Office will also be available.

[redacted] has been requested to contact all major outlets for guns, including high powered rifles to make some provision for the storage of the guns so that they will not be readily available in case of looting. [redacted]

[redacted] is contacting pawn shops and other logical sources of weapons for this same purpose.

[redacted] advised that there have been several rumors, sources not identifiable, to the effect that trouble may be expected in Chattanooga when GEORGE WALLACE, former Governor of Alabama, speaks in Chattanooga, August 9, 1967. The Memorial Auditorium, McCalla Avenue, Chattanooga, has been engaged for this speech. Arrangements for the rental of the auditorium were made by [redacted]

STOKLEY CARMICHAEL
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING
COMMITTEE (SNCC)
PROPOSED VISIT TO CHATTANOOGA,
TENNESSEE, SUMMER, 1967

b7C
b7D In connection with this speaking engagement, [] is having his regular compliment of men at the auditorium during the speech, however, a reserve force of men will be on immediate stand-by at the Detective Division of the Police Department as well as an additional force of men at the National Guard Armory, Holtzclaw Avenue. [] reiterated he does not have any factual information indicating definitely that trouble will take place but in view of the rumors, he is taking the above precautions.

b7C
b7D During the evening of July 25, 1967, [] [] advised he has received two telephone calls from persons he believes to be Negroes who have stated that since the NAACP prohibited STOKLEY CARMICHAEL from coming to Chattanooga, what does the organization intend to do about the proposed speaking engagement of GEORGE WALLACE. [] does not know the identity of the persons making the calls, but believes it is possibly one [] SNCC, who is reported to be in Chattanooga at this time, may have made one of the calls. [] noted that neither he nor the NAACP has had anything to do with prohibiting CARMICHAEL in coming to Chattanooga.

b7C
b7D [] also advised he has heard that remarks have been made, source not known, that his, [] home would possibly be burned. These remarks were possibly made because a number of people, Negroes primarily, believe the NAACP did take a part in preventing STOKLEY CARMICHAEL from coming to Chattanooga.

STOKLEY CARMICHAEL
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING
COMMITTEE (SNCC)
PROPOSED VISIT TO CHATTANOOGA,
TENNESSEE, SUMMER, 1967

[redacted]
[redacted] Chattanooga, Tennessee, on July
27, 1967, advised that no additional information has come
to the attention of this department concerning this matter.
[redacted] stated that the FBI will be advised of
all developments.

b7C

b7D

This document contains neither recommendations nor
conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the
FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents
are not to be distributed outside your agency.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : The Director

DATE: JULY 26, 1967

FROM : N. P. Callahan

SUBJECT: The Congressional Record

Pages H9287-H9288. Congressman Cramer, (R) Florida, spoke on the civil disorders. He cited the activities of Rep Brown and Stokely Carmichael pointing out that "There is no doubt that anarchy, and violation of the law, is being preached." He submitted a resolution he and other Congressmen introduced (H. Con. Res. 423) to establish a joint congressional committee to investigate riots and violent civil disorder. The text of the resolution is set forth in the Record.

100-446080-

NOT RECORDED

128 AUG 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/8/01 BY 39063 EIW/Bclamm

Original filed in:

66-1731-349

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for JULY 25, 1967 was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

59 AUG 13 1967
371

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439190)

DATE: 7/21/67

FROM : SAC, SAN JUAN (100-6731) (RUC)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATION
COMMITTEE (SNCC)
INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

OO ATLANTA

Re Bureau airtel to Albany captioned "STOKELY CARMICHAEL; INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS" dated 5/26/67; San Juan airtel and letterhead memorandum (LHM) to Bureau dated 1/25/67.

Referenced Bureau airtel to Albany advised that all offices should furnish any available speeches by STOKELY CARMICHAEL in LHM form.

Referenced San Juan airtel and LHM to the Bureau set forth a verbatim transcript of CARMICHAEL's speech in San Juan which he made on 1/24/67.

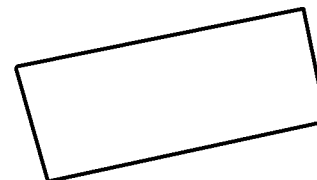
The following sources were contacted in this matter as indicated below, but none were able to furnish information concerning any additional CARMICHAEL speeches.

DATE

SOURCE

6/14/67
6/20/67
6/30/67
6/27/67
6/16/67
6/22/67
7/3/67

b2
b7D



b7C

CARMICHAEL departed Puerto Rico on 1/26/67, and has not returned to Puerto Rico since that date.

- (3) - Bureau (100-439190) (RM)
(1 - 100-446080) (STOKELY CARMICHAEL)
3 - Atlanta (100-6488) (RM)
(1 - 100-6812) (STOKELY CARMICHAEL)
1 - San Juan
WAC/jms
(7)

100-446080-
1cc 92-942

NOT RECORDED

202 JUL 27 1967

7-27
JUL 24 1967

INT. SEC.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/22/01 BY SP-6 BJS/BCL/MSL



5010-108-01

JUL 31 1967

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-439190-1340

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : *PHS* *SW* *SW* Detroit (Your file 100-34122) DATE: 7/17/67FROM : Director, FBI (Bufile and Serial 100-446080)
Room No. *[scribble]* ☒ Post in file and
destroy 0-1
(For SOG use
only)SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUSRe Detroit airtel dated 7/6/67.☐ 1. Bufiles indicate this case is delinquent. Give specific reason for delinquency.☐ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/8/01 BY 39063 ETL/BCO/AM☒ 2. DATE ☐ airtel ☒ letterhead memo ☐ submitted
☐ report
☐ letter ☐ 90-day progress letter ☒ will be submittedReporting employee LHM BY 7/24/67☐ 3. If valid reason exists for not submitting report at this time, state reason specifically and when report will be submitted☐ 4. Status of ☐ Appeal ☐ Inquiry ☐ Investigation ☐ Prosecution
☐ airtel ☐ letterhead memo
☐ 5. Submit ☐ report
☐ letter ☐ 90-day progress letter by _____
(Date)

(Place reply hereon and return to Bureau. Note receipt and acknowledgment on top serial in case file.)

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Wick
1 - Mr. Sullivan

Mr. W. C. Sullivan

7/17/67

C. D. Brennan

1 - Mr. Bland
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
1 - [redacted]

b7C

**STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
STOKELY CARMICHAEL**

Due to the interest of the President in the activities of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and its former chairman, Stokely Carmichael, we have prepared a summary setting forth current activity in this matter. A copy of the summary is attached for ready reference.

It was previously reported that Carmichael had reservations to travel from New York, New York, on 7/14/67 to Moscow, Soviet Union, arriving 7/15/67. This travel was to be via London, England.

On 7/14/67 Carmichael departed New York City for London, England, accompanied by [redacted]

b7C

However, Carmichael's reservations to travel on to Moscow were canceled. [redacted] did not have reservations to Moscow.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the enclosed memorandum to Mrs. Mildred Stegall at the White House; Mr. William Welsh, Administrative Assistant to the Vice President; Honorable Dean Rusk, Secretary of State; Director, Central Intelligence Agency; Attorney General; Deputy Attorney General; Assistant Attorneys General Doar, Yeagley, and Vinson; Secret Service, and the military intelligence agencies be approved.

100-439190

Enclosure

TJD:scr

(8)

1 - Bufile 100-446080

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/28/01 BY 39063 EFW BCL/AMW

100-446080-
NOT RECORDED
87 JUL 21 1967

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-429190-1322

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Wick
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Bland
1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan
1 - [redacted] b7C

July 13, 1967

**STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
STOKELY CARMICHAEL**

There is set forth below a summary of current activity of the former chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, Stokely Carmichael.

It was previously reported that Stokely Carmichael had reservations to fly from New York, New York, on July 14, 1967, to Moscow, Soviet Union, arriving July 15, 1967, via London, England.

On July 14, 1967, Stokely Carmichael departed John F. Kennedy International Airport, New York City, for London, England. He was accompanied by [redacted]

However, [redacted] his reservations from London to Moscow were canceled. [redacted] did not have reservations to Moscow.

100-439190

1 - Bufile 100-446080 - ✓

TJD:scr (20)

XEROX COPIES BEING SENT TO MRS. MILDRED STEGALL, THE WHITE HOUSE; MR. WILLIAM WELSH, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT TO THE VICE PRESIDENT; HONORABLE DEAN RUSK, THE SECRETARY OF STATE; DIRECTOR, CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY; ATTORNEY GENERAL; DEPUTY ATTORNEY GENERAL; ASSISTANT ATTORNEYS GENERAL YEAGLEY, DOAR, AND VINSON; SECRET SERVICE; AND THE MILITARY INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES.

NOTE:

See memorandum C. D. Brennan to Mr. W. C. Sullivan dated 7/17/67, same captioned, prepared by TJD:scr.

EXCLUDED YELLOW

53 JUL 28 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/8/01 BY [signature]

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-446080-1332

Date of Mail 7-27-67

Has been removed and placed in the Special File Room of Records Branch.

See File 66-2554-7530 for authority.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/8/01 BY 39063 E/W/Bclamm

Subject JUNE MAIL Stokely Carmichael

Removed By 65 AUG 1 - 1967

File Number 100-446080-2

Permanent Serial Charge Out

REG 57

ST-100

2-1
August 1, 1967
dyfa



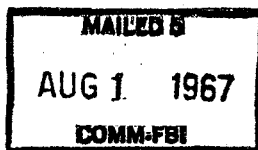
b7C

Dear [redacted]

Your letter of July 27th, with enclosure, has been received.

With respect to your inquiry concerning Stokely Carmichael, the FBI is strictly an investigative agency of the Federal Government and, as such, does not determine whether prosecution will be undertaken in any situation. Such decisions concerning violations of Federal law are within the province of the United States Department of Justice.

I can assure you, however, the FBI is aware of the activities of this individual and any information obtained which might indicate a violation of Federal law over which this Bureau has investigative jurisdiction will be furnished to the United States Department of Justice for prosecutive consideration.



Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

NOTE: Bufiles reflect [redacted] wrote to the Director commenting favorably upon the Director and the Bureau. The Director's letter of 9/30/66 acknowledged his communication. The enclosure forwarded is a copy of an article concerning Stokely Carmichael which appeared in the July 26th issue of the "Daily Mail" published in Anderson, South Carolina.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/20/01 BY SP6 BCB/MLL/BA/AMW

b7C

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

JRP:acp

(3)

55 AUG 8 1967

MAIL ROOM

TELETYPE UNIT

b7C

July 27, 1967

(on
geel at)

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau Of Investigation
United States Department Of Justice
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Enclosed you will find news clipping from The Daily Mail, Anderson, S.C. and a report by The Associated Press in regard to, "CARMICHAEL SEES LONG, HOT SUMMER".

As reported from Havana Non-Communist newsmen were not allowed to approach Carmichael at the Havana airport.

Why does the United States allow or permit this man Carmichael; "a blasphemous and profane Communist revolutionary" to run free and apply war tactics of the guerrillas?

ST-100

Best regards,

b7C



57/100-446088411

16 AUG 2 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/21 BY 3983 E/W/BC/AMU

ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

CORRESPONDENCE

ack
JRP/arp
8/1/67
Na

NML

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/8/01 BY 3903 ELW BCD/amu
on this envelope

100-446080-411

DEATHS and FUNERALS

IN MEMORIAM

In Loving Memory Of
Our Husband and Son-in-law.
EZELL EDWARDS

Who passed away
July 26, 1965

A Precious one from us
has gone,
A voice we loved is stilled,
A place is vacant in our home,
Which never can be filled.

WIFE and
MOTHER-IN-LAW

Mrs. Freeman

ABBEVILLE — Mrs. Jennie Mae Nabors Freeman, 66, of 202 Wardlaw St., wife of Jesse J. Freeman, died Tuesday morning at a local hospital following an illness of several weeks.

She was a native of Greenwood County, a daughter of the late Drayton and Janie Nabors. She was a member of Greenville Presbyterian Church near Shoals Junction.

Survivors: husband; two daughters, Mrs. Billy G. Whitten and Mrs. William F. Smith, both of Abbeville; two sons, James Milton Freeman of Abbeville and J. B. Freeman of Waterloo; brother, Drayton Nabors of Ninety Six; four sisters, Mrs. Mamie Freeman of Abbeville, Mrs. Ola Smith, Mrs. Margaret Davis and Mrs. Lina Hall, all of Hodges.

Funeral services will be held today at 4 p. m. at Harris Funeral Home with the Revs. Kenneth Bedenbaugh and H. O. Teurifoy officiating. Burial will be in Mt. Pleasant Cemetery near Laurens.

Pallbearers: Thrashley Bowie, Paul Butler, J. R. Davis, George Smith, Jerry Nabors and Charley Smith.

Honorary escort: Ronnie Manning, S.J. Bunch, T.M. Crawford, Dr. A. G. Oliver, Maxie

James Sullivan

Funeral for James Alton Sullivan, 61, of Rt. 1, Fair Play, who was dead on arrival at Anderson Memorial Hospital Tuesday at 6:15 p. m., will be held Thursday at 4 p. m. in the Double Springs Baptist Church.

The Rev. Jack Ellenburg and the Rev. Preston Garrett will officiate and burial will follow in the adjoining cemetery.

Active pallbearers: Ray, Harold, Ben and Fred Sullivan, Max Gambrell and Fred Ledford.

Honorary pallbearers: Fred Durham, James McAdams, David Tribble, Pat Glenn, James Freeman, Ben Sorrow, Frank Creamer and James Bolt.

Mr. Sullivan was born in Franklin County, Ga., but had lived most of his life in Fair Play. He was a farmer and a member of Double Springs Baptist Church.

Survivors: widow, Mrs. Opel Stone Sullivan of the home; three sons, John and James Clayton Sullivan, both of Townville and Joe David Sullivan of Seneca; five daughters, Mrs. Ruth Cobb and Mrs. Lucille Freeman of Fair Play, Mrs. Frances Burns and Mrs. Rachel King of Townville and Mrs. Louise Roach of Westminster; 17 grandchildren; two brothers, Willie and Furman Sullivan, both of Fair Play; sister, Miss Autra Sullivan of Fair Play.

The body is at the residence. The McDougald Funeral Home is in charge of arrangements.

A. E. Cowan

Funeral for A. E. (Bud) Cowan, 85, who died Tuesday morning in an Anderson nursing home following an illness of several months, will be held at 4 p. m. Thursday in Mt. Bethel

S. C. DEATHS

Mrs. G. R. King, Summerton.
Mrs. F. L. Murphy, Liberty.
William O. Webber, Spartanburg.

Mrs. Eula Dixon, Winnsboro.
Mrs. Minnie Hopkins, Timmonsville.

Miss Culp, Chester.
Mrs. Lovelle, Dillon.
Miss Annie Coleman, Blair.
Mrs. Alva Heffner, Columbia.
Williams Infant, West Columbia.

T. L. Benson, Columbia.
J. C. Stone Sr., Columbia.
J. B. Hucks, Chester.
Mrs. Charlotte Wilds, Darlington.

E. A. Magbee Sr., Newberry.
Mrs. Harmon, Columbia.
Pfc. Driggers, North Charleston.

Mrs. Vera Lee, McColl.
A. F. Robertson Sr., West Columbia.

Mrs. J. R. Hilton, Dillon.
C. H. Vining, Columbia.
Levon Strickland, Charleston.
M. B. Gist, Sumter.
P. S. Hicks Sr., Sumter.
Joseph O. Kennedy, Manning.
Danny Carter, Lancaster.
Mrs. Spears, Lancaster.

655 Fire Calls Here Last Year

The Anderson Fire Department responded to 655 calls during the fiscal year ending June 30, of which 10 were false alarms, according to the annual report of Fire Chief Bailey Maddox to Anderson City Council.

Fire losses for the year were set at \$277,577. Property threatened by fires was valued at \$2,733,297.

Chief Maddox reported 12 calls were made outside the city limits, 11 for fires, and one a special

WAIM-WCAC AND WAIM-TV SET WALLACE INTERVIEW

A press conference with former Alabama Governor George Wallace, recorded on his visit to Greenville last week will be broadcast over radio stations WAIM and WCAC-FM Thursday afternoon at 2 o'clock.

The interview will be carried on WAIM-TV Thursday night at 6 o'clock.

Panelists with the governor include Harold Tribble, an Anderson native and now editor of the Asheville, N. C., Citizen; and Greenville newsmen Lee Kanipe, Dave Partridge and Wayne Freeman.

Carmichael Sees Long, Hot Summer

HAVANA (AP) — Stokely Carmichael says Negroes in American cities are going to wage a guerrilla "fight to the death," the Cuban news agency reported Tuesday as the U. S. Black Power leader arrived in Havana for a revolutionary conference.

The Prensa Latina agency quoted the fiery 26-year-old Negro as saying: "In Newark we applied war tactics of the guerrillas. We are preparing groups of urban guerrillas for our defense in the cities. The price of these rebellions is a high price that one must pay. This fight is not going to be a simple street meeting. It is going to be a fight to the death."

The Black Power leader came to Havana for the meeting of the Latin-American Organization of Solidarity opening July 31. U.S. racial problems are on the meeting's agenda.

Carmichael flew from London to Prague Monday and then to

Havana. Non-Communist newsmen were not allowed to approach him at the Havana airport.

In the Prensa Latina interview, which the agency said Carmichael gave in London, he said he decided to come to Cuba because of an April message attributed to the vanished Cuban guerrilla leader Ernesto Guevara. The message urged Latin-American revolutionaries to stir up more Vietnam-like situations.

Carmichael said Guevara inspired American Negroes and that Prime Minister Fidel Castro's visit to Harlem in 1960 was momentous "in the history of the fight of North American Negroes."

In the United States, the Alabama state Senate in a resolution asked that Carmichael be denied re-entry to the United States and called him "a blasphemous and profane Communist revolutionary."

- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan

Mr. Sullivan

8/4/67

1 - [redacted] b7C

C. D. Brennan

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Due to the interest of the President in the activities of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and its former chairman Stokely Carmichael and [redacted]

b7C [redacted] we have prepared a summary setting forth current and
b7D planned future activities in this matter. A copy of the summary is attached for ready reference.

Stokely Carmichael gave a four-hour press release in Havana, Cuba, on 8/1/67. American newsmen were not permitted to attend. Carmichael reportedly exhorted American Negroes to take arms and fight for their freedom "from New York to California, from Canada to Mexico." Carmichael also said American Negroes should seek vengeance against President Lyndon B. Johnson and other high Government officials.

A confidential source advised Carmichael's purpose for visiting Cuba is to learn how that country has and is planning riots and demonstrations in Central and South American countries. According to the source, after leaving Cuba, Carmichael plans to visit Central and South America. When he returns to the United States, he will attempt to utilize the riot and demonstration techniques which he learned in Cuba, Central and South America.

On [redacted] met with a Negro hoodlum, not further identified, in Harlem, New York City. According to a source, this hoodlum told [redacted] that the underworld in Harlem would not tolerate any racial trouble, such as riots and if he started anything, they would see that he would be killed.

On [redacted] visited with [redacted]
[redacted] The Nation of Islam is an all-Negro semireligious organization which advocates a doctrine of violent hatred of the United States Government and the white race.

Encl.

PTB:des (7)

1 - Bufile 100-446080 (Carmichael)

CONTINUED - OVER

100-446080-
NOV 1967
AUG 9 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/8/01 BY 39863 EML/SC/AMW

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-439190-1361

C. D. Brennan to Sullivan Memorandum
Re: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

b7C

b7D

[] intends to travel to Atlanta, Georgia, today,
8/4/67.

b7C

b7D

[] arrived in Tokyo, Japan, 7/28/67. He
is attending the 13th World Conference Against Atomic and
Hydrogen Bombs. He has been []

[] The Conference is being held in Tokyo and
is scheduled to run from 7/31/67 through 8/6/67.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the enclosed memorandum to Mrs. Mildred
Stegall at the White House; Mr. William Welsh, Administrative
Assistant to the Vice President; Honorable Dean Rusk;
Secretary of State; Honorable Robert S. McNamara, Secretary
of Defense; Attorney General; Assistant Attorneys General
Doar, Yeagley, and Vinson; Secret Service and the military
intelligence agencies be approved.

8/2/67

airtel

1 -

b7C

To: SAC, Atlanta (Encl. - 3)
LEGAT, London (Encl. - 2)

From: Director, FBI

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISC.

Enclosed for Atlanta and London is a copy of a letter from Assistant Attorney General J. Walter Yeagley dated 7/29/67 which is self-explanatory.

Pursuant to Assistant Attorney General Yeagley's request, LEGAT, London, through established sources, endeavor to obtain a verbatim copy of Carmichael's interview by Michael Arkus in London, England. You should also determine what person or persons would be available for its introduction into evidence.

Also, enclosed for the information of Atlanta and London is a copy of the article in the 7/26/67 issue of "The Washington Post and Times Herald" by Michael Arkus.

Atlanta, through sources, should endeavor to determine all information concerning Carmichael's purpose of traveling abroad and particularly to Cuba.

In view of the tense racial situation in this country, all leads must be handled expeditiously and submitted in a form suitable for dissemination.

SI-109

REC 20

100-446080-41

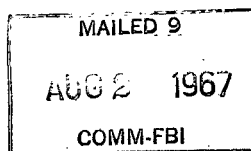
1 - Foreign Liaison Unit (Route through for review)

PTB:des (7)

AUG 3 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/13/81 BY 39063 EWL/BOD/amy

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Wick _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____



397

51 AUG 9 1967

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Airtel to Atlanta and London
Re: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Atlanta's attention is specifically invited to the Department's request that a continuing investigation of Carmichael's activities be initiated upon his return to the United States.

Atlanta, as office of origin, must vigorously pursue this matter through the development of informants to insure we have complete coverage of Carmichael's activities.

CONFIDENTIAL

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Bland
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
1 - [redacted] b7C

August 4, 1967

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

There is set forth below a summary of current and planned future activities of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, its former chairman Stokely Carmichael, and [redacted] b7C

Activities of Stokely Carmichael

It was previously reported that Stokely Carmichael arrived in Havana, Cuba, on July 26, 1967, as an official guest of the Cuban Government. Carmichael has been attending the Latin-American Solidarity Organization conference which began July 31, 1967, in Havana.

According to a press release, Carmichael, on August 1, 1967, gave a four-hour press conference in Havana, which precluded representatives of the United States news media. Based on information reported by Latin and European newsmen, Carmichael reportedly made the following remarks:

"Forty per cent of the troops in Vietnam are Negro, and some good may come of it because when they come back they will be trained to kill in the streets."

Carmichael also said Abraham Lincoln was "a white racist" and exhorted American Negroes to take arms to fight for their freedom "from New York to California, from Canada to Mexico."

Carmichael added American Negroes should seek vengeance against President Lyndon B. Johnson, Secretary of State Dean Rusk and Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara. He said Negroes want to "settle the score" and "we will kill first and we will aim for the head."

Carmichael was quoted by Havana radio as saying American Negroes "will have enough arms of all kinds to continue the fight for liberation."

CONFIDENTIAL

~~100-438180~~

1 - Bufile 100-446080

GROUP 1

PTB:des
(19)

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

SEE NOTE PAGE FOUR

54 AUG 14 1967

CONFIDENTIAL YELLOW

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-446080-1361

CLASSIFIED BY 39063 EFW/Bee/Amc
ON 3/13/01

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

b7C A confidential source has advised that []
Central Chapter of Congress of Racial Equality, a highly
b7D militant civil rights organization, stated Carmichael's
purpose for visiting Cuba is to learn how that country has and
is planning riots and demonstrations in Central and South
American countries. [] stated that according to the "grape-
vine," after leaving Cuba, Carmichael will go to Central and
South America to study how the planning for riots and demon-
strations has been implemented in those countries.

b7C According to the source, [] said that after
b7D Carmichael has completed his trip, he intends to return to
the United States where he will attempt to utilize the riot
and demonstration techniques which he learned in Cuba, Central
and South America in organizing riots and demonstrations. He
will attempt in different parts of the United States to
utilize guerrilla warfare as used by the Cubans.

b7C Activities of []
b7D

b7C It was previously reported that [] arrived in
b7D New York City from Washington, D. C., on July 30, 1967.

b7C A confidential source advised that on []
[] met with a leading Negro hoodlum, who was not further
identified, in the Harlem, New York City, area. This
meeting was []
b7D associate of []
The reason for the meeting was that [] wanted to secure
the permission of this hoodlum to cause racial trouble in
the Harlem area.

b7C [] according to the source, was advised by
b7D this hoodlum that the underworld of Harlem would not
tolerate any racial trouble, such as riots, and that if he
started anything, they would see that he would be killed.

The source stated []
[] mentioned
that they must get rid of Mayor Richard J. Daley, Chicago,
Illinois, and get him out of office. It was the source's
b7C opinion that [] intended to cause trouble in Chicago
b7D to discredit Daley.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONFIDENTIAL

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

The source stated that when [redacted]

b7C

b7D

The Revolutionary Action Movement is an all-Negro, Marxist-Leninist oriented organization which follows the Chinese communist line and advocates achieving Negro rights by violence, if necessary.

On [redacted] spent the day in New York City with [redacted]

b7C

b7D

The Nation of Islam is an all-Negro semireligious organization which advocates a doctrine of violent hatred of the United States Government and the white race.

Again on [redacted] visited with [redacted] and in the evening had dinner at his residence in [redacted]

b7C

b7D

[redacted] plans to travel to Atlanta, Georgia, today, August 4, 1967. From Atlanta, he plans to go to Bogalusa, Louisiana, at a future date, which is not known.

b7C

b7D

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
MEMBER TRAVELS TO JAPAN

It was previously reported that [redacted]

[redacted] had been invited to participate in a meeting of an international United Nations subcommittee scheduled to convene at Tokyo, Japan, on July 26, 1967.

b7C

b7D

A confidential source [redacted] advised the United Nations did not hold any meeting in Tokyo on July 26, 1967. However, this source did advise that [redacted] arrived in Japan on July 28, 1967.

b7D

CONFIDENTIAL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

b7C On July 30, 1967, [] held a press conference,
b7D stating he had come to Japan at the invitation of the Japan
Council for Prohibition of Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs to
attend its 13th World Conference Against Atom and Hydrogen
Bombs. He has been elected a member of the Conference's
presiding committee.

According to the source, this Conference is
scheduled from July 31, 1967, through August 6, 1967, at
which time it will split into two groups, one going to
Hiroshima, Japan, and the other to Nagasaki, Japan, to
continue the Conference in those cities.

XEROX COPIES BEING SENT TO MRS. MILDRED STEGALL, THE WHITE
HOUSE; MR. WILLIAM WELSH, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT TO THE
VICE PRESIDENT; HONORABLE DEAN RUSK, THE SECRETARY OF STATE;
HONORABLE ROBERT S. MCNAMARA, THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE;
ATTORNEY GENERAL; DEPUTY ATTORNEY GENERAL; ASSISTANT ATTORNEYS
GENERAL YEAGLEY, DOAR AND VINSON; SECRET SERVICE; AND THE
MILITARY INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES.

NOTE:

See memorandum C.D. Brennan to Mr. Sullivan
dated 8/4/67, same caption, prepared by PTB:des.

Classified "Confidential" since it contains information
from informants whose disclosure could affect our national
defense.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

EX-102

August 1, 1967

REC 5

100-446080-413

Honorable Larry Winn, Jr.
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C. 20515

My dear Congressman:

b7C

b7C

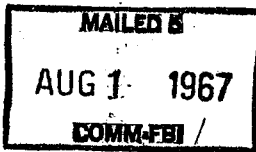
I have received your communication of July 28th together with the letters from [redacted] and [redacted]

With respect to your constituents' inquiries concerning Stokely Carmichael, you may wish to advise them that the FBI is strictly an investigative agency of the Federal Government and, as such, does not determine whether prosecution will be undertaken in any situation. Such decisions concerning violations of Federal law are within the province of the United States Department of Justice.

b7C

They may be assured, however, the FBI is aware of the activities of this individual and any information obtained which might indicate a violation of Federal law over which this Bureau has investigative jurisdiction will be furnished to the United States Department of Justice for prosecutive consideration.

Your enclosures are being returned as you requested.



Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

Enclosures (2)

NOTE: Bufiles contain no record of [redacted] or [redacted]
Congressman Winn is a freshman Congressman who was elected 11-8-66. On 2-2-67 the Congressman expressed to SA [redacted]

b7C

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

JBT:rlf (5)

55 AUG 8 1967 MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-446080-413

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

Washington, D.C.

July 28 1967

**Congressional Liaison
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C.**

Sir:

The attached communication
is sent for your consideration.
Please investigate the statements
contained therein and forward me
the necessary information for re-
ply, returning the enclosed corre-
spondence with your answer.

Yours truly,

Larry Winn Jr.
Larry Winn Jr. M. C.

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Wick	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/31/81 BY SP2/BJH/cab/mw

EXP. PROC.
36 JUL 31 1967

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-106670

EX-102

REC 5

100-446080-413

8-3
JUL 31 1967

CORRESPONDENCE

XEROX
AUG 4 1967

2 ENCLOSURE

ack 8-1-67
p/jmf

nmf

b7C

July 26, 1967

JUL 28 1967

Hon. Larry Winn, Jr.
United States Representative.
House Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Winn:

The violence in our cities these past few days, should bring the Congress to it's feet.

Recently the Topeka Capitol published a list of the ten most wanted criminals by the F.B.I. But Stokley Carmichael was not on that list. How, can a man like Carmichael get a passport to spread his hate around the world?

Martin Luther King's statement over TV yesterday " He was sorry for the riots" yes his "Long hot summer speech" from Chicago helped to start it all.

It's about time for Congress to start to work.

Sincerely yours.

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/13/01 BY 39063 EWB/SCB/mul

AUG 4 1967

XEROX

100-446080-413
ENCLOSURE

JUL 28 1967

[Redacted]

b7C

July 26, 1967

Congressman Larry Winn
House Office Building
Washington, D.C.

Dear Congressman Winn:

What is Congress going to do about this Stokeley
Carmichael and his ilk who are openly preaching treason
and causing anarchy in cities such as Newark and Detroit?
If there are no laws to take care of his kind, then Congress
had better pass some and pass them fast or there is not
going to be any United States for either black or white.

Is Carmichael going to be permitted to return to
the United States after his brazen attendance at the
communist meeting in Cuba? If he is permitted to return,
then all I can say is, we are asking for terrible trouble.

Respectfully,

[Redacted]

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/3/94 BY 39063 EWS/Scelmer

ENCLOSURE

100-446000-413

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

DATE: 7/25/67

FROM : SAC, TAMPA (100-1103) (P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS

Re Bureau airtel Albany 6/7/67 and Jacksonville letter Tampa 6/27/67 (IO).

Enclosed for the Bureau is one reel of recording tape which is the original taped audio portion of subject's speech made at Daytona Beach, Florida on 4/18/67. This recording was furnished by [REDACTED] (PROTECT),

[REDACTED] stated that [REDACTED] was [REDACTED] at Daytona and that the entire speech of subject was not recorded but only significant portions thereof.

The enclosed recording is being furnished for whatever use the Bureau desires and it is requested that it be returned to Tampa when no longer of use to the Bureau for return to [REDACTED]

- 2 - Bureau (Enc. 1) (RM)
1 - Atlanta (Info) (RM)
1 - Jacksonville (Info) (RM)
1 - Tampa
LEB:lm
(5)

REC 5

ST-109

100-446080-414

AUG 3
JUL 26 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/3/01 BY 39023 EML/bockman

54 AUG 8 1967

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : The Director

DATE: 7/27/67

FROM : N. P. Callahan

SUBJECT: The Congressional Record

Page H9507. Congressman Rogers, (D) Florida, stated yesterday I urged the Attorney General to take action through the FBI and Justice Department for the arrest of Stokely Carmichael immediately upon his return to the United States from Cuba. I have been advised that Carmichael's reentry cannot be legally barred. - - - Carmichael has identified himself as one of those who would destroy the United States. We cannot accept his statements on any other basis. Our laws are designed to take care of Carmichael's ilk and the American people will demand that these laws be fully enforced."

Page H9566. Congressman Nichols, (D) Alabama, placed in the Record a resolution passed by the legislature of the State of Alabama recommending that Stokely Carmichael be denied readmittance to this country

as an undesirable alien or on any other available grounds that will prevent his return. The resolution states "Whereas Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in a recent report to a Congressional Committee on some of Carmichael's activities stated that Carmichael in espousing his Black Power movement had been in frequent contact with Max Stanford, Field Chairman of the Revolutionary Action Movement, - - - ;"

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/13/01 BY 39863 E/W/BA/AMW

EX-102

REC 11

100-446000-415

371

NOT RECORDED

191 AUG 4 1967

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for 7/27/67 was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

55 AUG 11 1967

Original filed in: 66-1731-3118

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

DATE: 7/31/67

FROM: SAC, SEATTLE (100-28676) (C)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS

Re Bureau airtel to Albany, dated 6/7/67.

In accordance with the referenced airtel, enclosed herewith to the Bureau are the original and one xerox copy each of two taped speeches made by STOKELY CARMICHAEL in the Seattle area. The Seattle Office is maintaining a taped copy of the original tapes. The taped copies were obtained as follows: A speech made at Garfield High School, Seattle, 5/19/67, was obtained on 6/9/67 from [redacted]

[redacted] another taped speech made 5/19/67 at University of Washington was obtained from [redacted] on 6/16/67.

The above tapes were difficult for the stenographer to read and considerable time and effort was spent in a review of these tapes in an effort to maintain accuracy.

A copy of a tape was also received from [redacted]

This tape was received by SA [redacted] on 6/23/67. It is a copy of a tape made concerning a speech made by CARMICHAEL at Central Washington State Teacher's College, Ellensburg, Washington on 5/21/67. This tape is even more difficult to interpret and after a review of the typed copy there appears to be no evidentiary material and the tape is mostly illegible. Unless advised on the contrary by the Bureau, a copy of this tape will not be forwarded.

- ② - Bureau (Enc. 4)
1 - Seattle
LKS:lmd
(3)

ENCLOSURE
ENC. BEHIND FILE
REC 10

100-446080-416

14 AUG 3 1967

37/1cc of each taped speech (2 enc)
to ISO of Dept atty
8/9/67.

EX-113

b7C

BW/ci
1cc ext + 1cc of Enc. 922 vto
AUG 15 1967 BWW

1 Xerox of speech to
NACCD 2/12/68.
RHH/le

INT. SEC.



SE 100-28676

[redacted] stated that the audience at Garfield High School on 5/19/67 consisted of high school students and the normal public as the meeting was open to anyone who wished to attend. He said that the speech given at the University of Washington was given before University of Washington students only. He could not furnish any particular identity of individuals who attended either session.

b7C

b7D

ENCLOSURE

100-446080-416

STOCKELY CARMICHAEL at GARFIELD HIGH SCHOOL
May 19, 1967 - Seattle, Washington

(Good Evening, It's good to be here.

You know what usually happens is that in the newspapers they call us racists and anti-whites and say we hate white folk and all that irrelevant nonsense, and they do that because they use white people as the measuring stick. But I want you to look clear before you and you notice that in all their beautiful liberal press media, there isn't one black man. So when the honkeys talk tomorrow about violence and anti-white and hating white people, tell them they ought to have a black man reporting it because they don't understand because we are talking to black folk anyhow.

Tonight we want to do several things. We want to talk about some of the basic assumptions from which the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) moves and then move into an area of pragmatics and what in fact black people will have to do if we are going to survive in this country and live as human beings. The first thing we want to talk about is the theory of self condemnation, and we want to move on and talk about denying one one's freedom as opposed to giving one one's freedom and we want to talk about the importance of definition and the need for black people to define themselves as they see fit in this society and to have those definitions recognized by our press's white society. And we want to talk about violence because it is going to be important, because I don't know why everybody is so scared about it and they are going to draft you all and send you all to Vietnam, I guess you are going to go over there and make love to the Vietnamese. Then we want to talk about

100-446080-416

the lies that this country has told about black people to make us ashamed of ourselves and want to move on and talk about developing a concept of people which we desperately need in this country today and we want to instill among our people, particularly among the young in our generation, the will to fight back when messed over by anybody.

We want to talk about self condemnation. Self condemnation is impossible. No body can condemn themselves or no people can condemn themselves. If they do they have to punish themselves. If I did something wrong and I admitted that I did it wrong then I have to punish myself, but if I can keep that in line so I can rationalize away my guilt then I never feel guilty. Let me give you some examples:

The Nazis who were brought to trial after Hitler was, after the Hitler regime was brought down, they said, the ones who allowed themselves to live, they said that they killed Jews but the Jews weren't human beings, they were inferior so they didn't really commit a crime or they said they didn't know what was going on in Germany at the time that Hitler was killing all the Jews or they say what most white Americans are saying today we were just following law and order. If they said they rationalized away their guilt they just served their sentences and waited until they got out. But now the ones who admitted that they killed human beings had to commit suicide. You've got to understand that. For us in this country a clear example of that would be in Neshoba County in Philadelphia, Mississippi. A honkey by the name of Rainey (sp) decides with 18 other honkeys to kill three people. Now the entire county of Neshoba

cannot indict Rainey because they elected him to do just what he was doing, to kill anybody who troubled with the status quo. If they indicted him then all of them would be guilty and they can't do that, they cannot admit that they are guilty and in SNCC we say that white America, the total community, cannot condemn herself for the acts of brutality and beastiality that she has heaped upon us as a race, black people, It's impossible for her to do it. She must rationalize away her guilt. She must blame us or blame everybody else but herself because if she were to blame herself, she would have to commit suicide. MY brother LEROY JONES reminds me that wouldn't be a bad idea.

Now we want to move from there into the concept of denying one one's freedom, and this is very, very important because white people have assumed that they are gods, that they can give somebody their freedom, and so if they don't like the way you act they won't give you your freedom. But now what you have to get crystal clear in your minds is that no-body gives anybody their freedom, people can only deny somebody their freedom. This is very important. We are all born free. We are enslaved by the institutions of racism that white America produces. Our job is to stop America from being racist, not to give us our freedom, so in reality our fight is to civilize white America. Now then if you take that to its logical conclusion you would say that any civil rights bill that was passed in this country would have eased the struggle for black people but it helped civilized white America. Let me give you an example:

I'm black, I know that I'm black. I know that I am a human being and I know that with that comes certain dignities that all human beings have. One of those is that I am able to enter a public place.. But now there are some dumb hunkeys who don't know that so that every time I try to enter a store the hunkey gets in my way, shoots at me, bombs my church, kills my children or beats me up because he doesn't know that I'm a human being so the white folk in Washington, D. C., got to write a Civil Rights Bill to tell this hunkey, when I come, get out of my way. So that what they have done is they have civilized this hunkey because I'm the same man I was, I still go into the store. The only trouble is that he is not forced to recognize my humanity. That is very important. It is the same thing that is true about the voting rights act. We're black, we know we should be able to vote, but everytime we try to vote some hunkey stops us, so they got to pass a civil rights bill to stop them from denying us our rights. They don't give us anything. You've got to get that clear in your mind.

Now then we want to talk about definitions because they are very, very important. You see White Western Society and you should use the word Western Society never Western Civilization, because they don't know nothing about it. White Western Society has been able to define everybody and they just define them and put them in places, and when they define, they can't get out those definitions and people just stay there. Let me give you some examples so you can understand better:

100 - 446080 - 416

You watch the red man and the white man on TV fighting each other. If the red man is winning then the white man calls for the calvery and here come the calvery, and they are riding very white and very proper, and when they get up to where the battle is they all get out their guns and they systematically shoot all the red men, you know, kill them dead. They get back on their horses and they ride back to the fort, and at the fort there is a white woman standing there, and she says, "What happened?", and there is always this Lieutenant who says, "We had a victory, we killed all the Indians". This is very good. Now the next time when the reverse happens, when the red man beats the hell out of the white man and there is one of them left dragging on the horse and she says, "What happened?" "Those dirty Indians, they massacred us." There was a feeling in there that a massacre is not as good as a victory. A victory is much better. She say 84 red people who all there lives are going to fight and they are never going to have a victory. Here is Sittin Bull, the greatest strategist you have in the world, he has won all these wars, but he ain't never going to win a victory, he's always going to win a massacre. And a massacre is dirty. You've got to understand that in your mind. You see that on television all the time, even today about the Vietnam war. Do you ever hear, "Those dirty, filthy, rotten, Communist, rebels, they threw a Molotov cocktail and killed civilians"? And then the other guy comes back and says, "That the same time our good GI boys have been bombing the hell out of North Vietnam." Or even better would be a group

of students at Nashville decide to take care of some hunkey cops because they are picking on them, and its Fish Students Riot and in Fort Lauderdale hunkeys go and throw bottles and beers at policemen, they are going to say College Students go on a spree. So the white people have been defining us all our lives and we have been forced to react to those definitions and see they call us negroes, so I guess you all came from negro lands. You have allowed white people to name you. When we were in Puerto Rico a couple of months ago we were speaking in spanish, I looked through the dictionary to find a word for negro in Puerto Rican. There is no such word. The closest word is negro, it means black. In french there is no word for negro. In german there is no word for negro. In Swahili there is no word for negro. You wouldn't want me to leave out Swahili, it's what's happening. So that they have defined that, and with the word negro comes dumb, stupid, apathetic, love water melon, and got good rhythm. But now they do something even more insidious with definitions. Let me give you an example, so then we can get into black power and the definitions of black power.

Now you remember, especially from my generation when this whole thing broke out with integration, and we used to sit glued to the TV set, you know and our black leader would get up and say "We want to integrate" and in our minds we knew the cat was talking about good schools, good houses, good jobs, and a good way of life. That was in the minds of all black people, but some dumb hunkeys going to jump up and say "You want to marry my daughter, don't you?" And then instead of our black leaders being aggressive and saying later for you hunkey, at that time

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they would react to the hunkey, see they would let him define their own term, integration and he would say "Uh Uh we don't want to be your brother, we want to be your brother". And they just go to sweaten and puffin and "we don't want to sleep in your bedroom, we just want to live next door to you". And so they were doing what ever the hunkey who defined their term, and they were reacting to his definition. They don't pull that junk with us in SNCC because we tell them right out when they come with that nonsense about marrying their daughter, your=daughter, your sister, your mama, we tell them. We tell them crystal clear the white woman is not the queen of the world she's not the virgin Mary, she can be made like any other woman. Let's move over to something important, so that we will not be caught in a bind about reaction to their definitions and the same thing happens. We say black power, and some hunkey going to jump up and say "Oh you mean violence" and he wants us to say "Oh no boss man, we don't mean violence". Later for the hunkey, it's our term, we know what it means. Later for them. Black power is the coming together of black people to fight for their liberation by any means necessary. Now we want to talk about violence. Because I understand that some of your so called negro leaders have been saying that we violence. I won't deny it, yea I'm violent, somebody touch me I'll break their arm. But the problem isn't one of violence see, the problem is one of hitting back white people when they hit you, that's the real problem, because we've never done that all of our lives. They have been able to walk over us, bomb our churches, beat us up, shoot into our houses, lynch us, and do everything they wanted to do and we

would just sit there and whisper about it behind closed door. It's a new day today. But what really upsets me is these people who talk about violence and not concerned about black people because there is more violence in our neighborhood on Friday and Saturday night then there is anyplace else. We cut and we shoot each other more than we touch anybody in the world and don't nobody talk out against that violence. And the reason they don't do it is because they don't give a damn about us, they are only concerned about white folks. If they were against violence they would be preaching non violence in the black community because that's where we need it most. We need it there. We need it to learn to love and respect each other and stop cutting and shooting each other but they don't care about us. The only time you hear these preachers talk about non violence is when a hunk hits you and you're getting ready to take care of business. Then you see them on television. The only rule they have is to comdemn their own people or we don't believe in violence those vagabonds throwing rocks and bottles, oh yes, we believe in the war in Vietnam, we think our boys should go over there and shoot, but we don't believe in violence at all, what is that junk. They're going to put you in a uniform and send you 8,000 miles to shoot a man who ain't never called you a nigger, get out of here. And you get cats like Lyndon Bains Johnson get up on TV and say "Ma fellow Americans every night before I go to sleep, I ask myself what have I done to preserve peace for this country". And here he is talking about preserving peace and dropping bombs all over Hanoi, bomb, bomb, bomb, bomb, bomb. And then he get up

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before national TV and he says violence never accomplishes anything. Well if the hunkey believes that then tell him to use non violence in Vietnam. What they are saying is violence is OK against everybody except the white man, that's what they are saying, and you ought not to get fooled by it, you ought to understand that in the world ~~there~~ exists, especially in this country, a victim and executioner relationship. We are the victims and white people are the executioners, and they have kept ~~us~~ ~~is~~ down by force and by violence and that if we're violent, it's just that we have learned well from our teachers. They have bombed our churches, they have shot ~~us~~ in the streets, they have lynched us, they have ~~cattle~~ prodded us, they have thrown lye over us, they have dragged our children out in the night, we have been the recipients of violence for 400 years. We have just learned well how to use it today. Don't you ever condemn people for using violence, and those black Preachers get up, you tell them to get the guts to condemn white folks for the violence they heap on us. If they can't do that, if they can't condemn the white folks, tell them to keep their mouth shut. So don't you get caught up in no discussion about violence, we're just making it crystal clear to the hunkey today that if you try to shoot us, we're going to kill them, so God get the noose. Now if he doesn't want to get shot, tell them to stay home because they leave their beds and their wives at 3:00 in the morning and come to our community and going to work out their frustrations by shooting into our community. If they got frustrations, tell them to go see a psychiatrist. So you've got to understand that

one in your mind and don't get carried away with that nonsense about riots, you ought to understand, you ought to be proud of your black brothers in Nashville, you ought to be proud, because what happened was on Friday night two hunkey policemen go walk into the middle of the neighborhood, and go startin to beat upon a black brother, and when the others brothers told them they didn't have to, they go and turn on them, but they forgot it's a new day. See they didn't recognize that this generation is saying if you wear a sheet at night or a badge in the day, if you put your filthy white hands on our beautiful black skin we're going to TCB. So you just dismiss that nonsense about violence when they tell you about violence, you tell them yea we dig your non violence in Vietnam. We've dug your non violence in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. You tell them we've dug it, yea. We ain't going to forget the Congo baby, we dig it there too. We dug the tried violence in Cuba, but Castro took care of them. Now we want to talk then pragmatically about how these things affect our lives as black people? What white America has done in order to rationalize away guilt for what she has done to us is that she's told a number of lies about us that she believes. Now that's expected. Hitler said if you tell a lie long enough and hard enough, everybody will think it's the truth and white America has done that. But what is pathetic and what is bad, is that some black people believe those lies about themselves. And so what we have to do tonight is begin to clarify those lies for ourselves. (You all don't mind if I take off my jacket do you?) (Us draw heat you know). Now the first lie that white America told about us is that we are a lazy people. Are

you hep to tat. And here goes some of us down the street. "Uh, Uh we're just lazy, we, we just like white folk, they're always working hard and trying to get somewhere but we're so lazy". You got to get it in your mind, We're not lazy, we're hard workin, white people are lazy. Look here, they were so lazy they came to Africa to steal us to do their work for them. We're not lazy, we are the hardest working people in this country, we are. The trouble is that we are the lowest paid, and the most oppressed and the most exploited people in this country. We're not lazy. If you ride up and down the delta in the south today, you'll see black people chopping and picking cotton for \$2.00 per day, while white folks sit on the porch, drink scotch, and talk about us. We're not a lazy people its our mothers who take care of their own family and then go across town to take care of Miss Ann's family. So that you should get that out of your mind. We're not lazy we are hard working industrious people, always have been. Our sweat builds this country.

Now the next lie she tells is what she tells our kids in school. If you work hard you will succeed. Now you all know that's a lot of junk. Because if that were true, black people would own this country, lock, stock and barrel. It's not a question of hard working, it is a question of he who has power and he who has control. That's all, that's all it's about, because we are the people who really build this country. We are the domestics, we are the share croppers, we are the fruit pickers, we are the janitors, we are the elevator men, we are the garbage

men, we are the hardest working people in the country. If it were true that you have to work hard to succeed, then the contrary of that would be true. That people who didn't work hard would be poor, and Bobby Kennedy would be the poorest Hunkey in this country. So then we must begin to get it crystal clear in our minds, it is simply a question of he who has power and we don't have that, we've got everything else but that and the white man ain't got nothing but that. We got love, we got non violence, we got morality, we got christianity, we got rhythm, we got everything you need, but we ain't got power. The hunkeys don't have love, can't spell non violence, they don't know what religion is all about, you know they ain't got rhythm, but (unintelligible). But they have power, that's what they have, power over our lives, so we got to get it clear the thing we need is power.

The next lie they tell us is this thing about education. You go to school and get a degree, you're going to make it. All of our college students, when they get out of college, with a college degree, make less money than a hunkey with a high school degree. Not only that, the education system that they teach us is riddled with racism, filled with racism. We can't see ourselves projected anywhere, they show us as a stupid people to let us keep thinking we're stupid, they start out with their elementary books about Tom, Dick and Jane. Tom is white, Dick is white, Jane is white, even their dog Spot is white. And the only time we see ourselves is Little Black Sambo on the last page eaten water melon. But not only is it

riddled with out right racism it is riddled with subtle racism and the history books just lie, lie. And they have to lie because white people have got to lie because white people have to lie to themselves, they cannot tell the truth about themselves. And what happens is they fill our minds with all those lies and have us accept them as truths. Let me give you an example of one that's very hard but you don't dig it.

If I said to you that MR. Quami Enkruma, (who is a brilliant black man, he is out of sight, he should be your hero, don't let them white folk fool you, he's out of sight). Now if I said to you that Mr. Quam (you wouldn't know about him because he is the leader in Africa, or was until the CIA overthrew him) Now if I said to you that Mr. Quami Enkruma discovered England in 1961, you'd laugh, but if that was the first time that that black man had set foot on England and if we as black people did not recognize the existence of non black people, he would have discovered England. If I said to you that Christopher Columbus discovered America in 1492 you say that's right, if you were my teacher you would give me an A, all right, now dig. Here comes this hunkey from Europe, steps foot on this country, there are red people here but they don't exist so he discovers it. And this has been the history of white society. They have never recognized anybody who is non white, so nothing happens until they come and find you. But now you've got to dig this thing about Columbus real deep because you hate telling you that he discovered America and he was a dumb hunkey, I mean he was stupid, he died thinking he was in India. That's how dumb he was. And because he was stupid he titled the red man Indians and to this day they have the name because some dumb Hunkey thought he was

in India. So you've got to understand that. That's how riddled with racism it is that you can't even recognize it. They don't even recognize how racist it is to say that Christopher Columbus discovered America and they never will admit it. They can't, They can't. Not only that if you wrote the rehistory of this country we would say that this country is a nation of thieves. It started off by stealing the country from the red men and committing genocide against him. Not only did it steal the country from the red man, it wasn't satisfied, it turned around and it stole us from Africa. You've got to understand that this country has been a nation of thieves, and is moving to become a nation of murders in Vietnam and we've got to stop this. Because we have to save our humanity. Let white America do as she will, but as black people we will save our humanity. This is very, very important. They start our kids off with the Roman Empire, with the Greek Empire, they never teach you about Africa, they make you ashamed of Africa. You ask kids, where are you from, I'm from Seattle, where is your grandmother from, from Kansas, and where is your great grandmother from, from Texas, and where your great great grandmother from mmmmmmmmmmm. SHE IS FROM AFRICA!!!!!! But you don't know anything about Africa because you have let white people define Africans as savages. You let them define them for you and you don't want to be a savage. You want to be white. You want to be so white that you don't want to be part of your brothers in Africa, you want to be so white that you'll go to the movies to watch Tarzan. You want to be so white that you sit up on that movie seat and yell for Tarzan to beat up your black brother, that's how white you want to be. You should recognize what they are doing to you. Here you

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are jumping up there, identifying with a white man, when he is dumb, he is dumb, he can't even speak, all he says is (Tarzan's war hoop). And your over there identifying with this white man because what they're telling you is here comes a hunkey from Europe, and because he's so smart and so intelligent and we're black and stupid he comes over to Africa and he knows the jungle better than us and we've been living there all of our lives. And when ever we get into trouble with the elephants we got to go to the great white father to talk to the elephants for us. Ain't that (something). What you have to recognize is what they have done is brain washed us. When you see Tarzan on TV you yell for your black brothers to come together and beat the hell out of that white man. But see that has been calculated by white America, that we will never find out about ourselves, because a people without its roots or people without its history is like a tree without its roots and we've been floating for 400 years. Disgustin. They didn't tell you that the first University in the world was the University of Timbuktu in Africa did they? They couldn't tell you that because you would begin to identify with Africa and feel proud with other black people. They tell you about the Roman Empire conquering the world. Did they tell you that Hannibal, a black man caught the (something) and beat the living day lights out of the Romans. That's right, Hannibal did it. And when they get ready to put Hannibal in the movies they put a hunkey like Victor Mateur playing Hannibal. Because they don't want you to know that Hannibal was black, but I'm here to tell you that he was a full black man. And clear up the alps and went into Italy and smashed the Romans, you

ever see those Italian hunkeys running around here with dark complexion and brown eyes. Hannibal did that. The next time some Italian hunkey call you a nigger, tell him get away from my face, I'm your daddy. But they can't afford to tell you about the things that black people did because you would identify with them. They tell you about Napoléon Bonapart, did they tell you the little black man who was a slave named Tousad, in Haiti, beat him up and sent him back to France crying like a baby. They leave that out of your history books because they want you to be ashamed and when Napoleon got back to France his wife was Pregnant for a Pygmy. And when Napoleon looked at his wife he asked her what happens when the baby was born black, she said the little man was staring at me, and he said he must have had an awful penetrating stare, my dear. But they won't give you that in the history books, they give you white heroes to identify with, they mesmerize our minds, they give you George Washington, he's supposed to be a hero, here is a man who had you enslaved, sold a black woman for a barrel of molasses, and he's supposed to be my hero? Later for him. They can't tell you about Ned Turners and the Denmark Bessies can they. They can't tell you about them because they were fighters who beat up all kinds of white folk who were trying to make them slaves, that's why they won't tell because they want you to keep on being slaves, they want to define your very actions, it ain't going to happen today. All of those things in the schools are calculated to make us ashamed of ourselves. The most insidious things they could have done to us is to make us believe as a people that we are ugly. The criteria for beauty in this society is set

by white folk, in the books you read, in the television programs you see, the movies, the magazines, the newspaper. If she is beautiful she's got thin nose, thin lips, skinny hair and white skin, and that's beauty. And they have made you believe that beauty so much that our women run around here bathing in (something) from morning til night. They have got us believing that so that our young men go out and 'conk' their hair so they can have straight hair to look beautiful. I hope you can take the truth, because they have mesmerized our women's minds so that they process their hair every Friday night. And the rest of them get their \$50.00 and buy wigs. We have to as a people, gather strength to stand up on our feet and say our noses are broad, our lips are thick, our hair is nappy, we are black and beautiful. So that we don't have to be any longer ashamed of our selves and make our children think that they are ashamed so our parents won't tell us don't drink coffee because it makes you black. Bite in your lips because it's too thick. And I was surprised when I was at college to find a young man who wore a nose clip on his nose every night, but that's how they have messed up our minds. They have messed it up so much that every time you get ready to pick somebody who is beautiful, you'd pick somebody who is light, bright and damned near white. And our mother's keep telling us when you marry somebody make sure there hair is straight because I want to be (blank). That's how much they have messed up our minds, we are ashamed of ourselves and of our color of our skin. If you want to start a fight, call somebody black. YOU ARE BLACK AND BEAUTIFUL, STOP BEING ASHAMED OF WHAT YOU ARE!!!!

Once we stop being ashamed, we can move on because we can then begin to develop a concept of people hood. Are we so ashamed of each other, yea I'm going to (something), we'll stand here and here she come, she going to stand next to us. We're so Clanish won't go stand anywhere else, we always got to be together. We're so ashamed, we don't even want to see each other in a group. We are so ashamed of ourselves that we walk down the street and see a hunkey cop beating up one of us and know the hunkey cop is beating him up because he's black and keep walking right on by. We are so ashamed of ourselves that we watch our brothers and sisters get put out of their houses, put their furnitures on the street and we wait till night time to go and steal what we want.

We are so ashamed of ourselves that we're raping, plundering and murdering each other. That's how much ashamed we are. We have to build a concept of people hood where we recognize that we are all the same people, the same brothers and sisters so that we can move to the strength to tell them when you touch one of us you got to touch all of us. And when we can begin to move to that position, ain't none of them going to mess with any of us. But the reason is they know that they can come into our communities, beat us up, take our women, and we won't do nothing because we don't even want to associate with them. You better wake up, the rest of your brothers and sisters are coming together, They're not letting them come in there and pick on one anymore. That's what we've got to do. If they

touch one they got to touch all. That is the only way we are going to survive as a people. You've got to understand that. Now I'm going to point out something to the older folk who get upset about this thing called law and order. They say well the trouble with that nigger and SNCC is they're going around there and they're stirring up trouble and breaking law and order and they talk so bad and so mean. Let me tell you. All the harsh words that we say in SNCC, we can never begin to match the treatment that white America has heaped upon us and continues to heap upon us. We can call them hunkeys until they turn red, we ain't even begun to match what they have done to us, so don't you get disturbed about the words. It's about time somebody spoke up. But you see our older folk talk about law and order because they don't recognize that you can have law and order and have injustice. This country has law and order, it don't have justice for black people. This land has the most efficient system of law and order, he couldn't spell justice. So what we are saying to them is that you may have law and order, but if you ain't got justice you ain't going to have no law and order. We tell them like Jesus Christ told them, I've come to bring the sword not the shield. I have come to turn son against father, mother against daughter, nation against nation, for where there is injustice there shall be no peace. And wherever the hunkeys are heaping injustices upon us in every city, we are going to tear it up. If they want peace in their country, they had better learn how to administer justice, if they don't know how we will teach them how. So you just explain to them law and order without justice ain't nothing but facism. Understand that, because we have to understand that these folks ain't playing

with us. You see a lot of folk out there thinking they're playing. You remember Noah, he told the place, come on, everybody better get in this ark, you all come on and build this ark, the man's going to rain on you all for forty days and forty nights. UnUn we ain't going, the man's good to us, he ain't going to rain on, un un, I know the man, I worked for him all my life. He give me his old clothes, he's good to me. Noah went on and built the ark, and he rained on them for forty days and forty nights. And don't you all forget Moses, he told all them Uncle Toms you all better come on and leave this Pharo. Un Un this Pharo's good to me, Un Un he's good to me, yes sir, he pat me on the head, I could speak to him any time I wanted to speak to him. I go through his back door and have tea and cookies with him. And Moses said you all better come on with me through this Red Sea, because this Pharo is a mean man. Un Un, you're just a trouble maker, Pharo, You're just a trouble maker Moses, Pharo ain't done nothing to us, and Moses just went on through the Red Sea, he left them behind. When we walk on through today, we're leaving a whole lot of Uncle Toms behind. We have to begin to instill in our young people the right and the will to fight back. We don't have it. Did you ever see our young kids, ask them what their name is, mumble mumble mumble. What's your name? Mumble, mumble, mumble. You shouldn't laugh, it's very serious. You ask a white boy what his name is. MY NAME IS RICHARD!! We are so ashamed of ourselves that kids won't even hold their heads up high. They learn to bow down before white folks by the time they are nine years old and out there those people call themselves Christians. Did they forget the first commandment. Thou shalt have no other Gods before me.

They have taught us to bow down before white folk as if they were god and white people believe they are god. And that has been the fault of black folk because we lettthem believe they were God, we let them play god, but they don't understand when we tell them that play period is over and they better come on home. They think that everybody was put on this earth to benefit them and they use us against each other. Now I want to say two things before I sit down, I want to develop this concept to fight back and then I want to talk about Vietnam.

Now see, the only people that our children can identify with in school, in a school like this, is George Washington Carver and Booker T. Washington. Booker T. Washington was a super Tom and George Washington Carver was an ignorant Super Tom. Now the reason they teach our kids about Booker T. Washington was because he used his mouth to do two things. Eat and to say yea sir. And they want our kids to do the same thing, but I guess the reason they teach us about George Washington Carver, is because if white folk didn't have him they would eat Jelly Sandwiches for the rest of their lives. He was so stupid that every peanut butter factory in this country today is owned by white folk and he invented over one hundred uses for the peanut, and white folk got it all. He was so nice to them, did you see him? He used to go around and teach them, how to use the peanut and wouldn't come to his own people because we were too dumb and stupid and wern't cultured enough. Before I name our heroes for you I want to talk about this thing called culture. Cause the hunkeys are still the finest today. Did you ever hear them?

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They are culturally deprived children. Are you up to that, and here you send you kids to school and they write in a paper "The cultural dep~~ro~~vation of the black race" Ain't that some junk? They say that we are culturally deprived. You all better let them in because they are going to charge me with inciting a riot. They wouldn't let us have the gymnasium and they are going to charge us with inciting to riot. Now let me tell you. Don't you ever let anybody say you are culturally deprived. Because what white folk are talking about is that they don't recognize our culture until they legitimatize it. Here they were teaching you in schools way down upon the Swannee River and My Old Kentucky Home was written by Stephen Foster. Ain't that some junk. They're going to tell you some hunkey wrote music like that about us and for us. He stole it, that's all he did. How could he know how to write it. The trouble is that they steal our music from us and then give it back and call it culture. Here come the Beatles singing our music they can't even harmonize and they are going to talk about (unintelligible). Here they come taking our kids to school talking about Music Appreciation. They teach them Bach, Grigaldi, Ragmonakov and all those others. And they say now lets bring it down to Modern Music and they play Gerschwin and they say and now we want to talk about Jazz. Kids here's the man who has led Jazz in America more than any other man. Benny Goodman. Brothers and Sisters. Do you know that Benny Goodman cannot carry the empty trumpet case of Miles Davis. They say we are culturally deprived. Culture is anything man made. If they say we are culturally deprived, they are denying our very existence. Don't let them do this to you. We've got

culture, we've got Dr. W. E. B. DuBois. We've got County Coolin, we've got ~~Larry~~ Roy Jones, we've got Mahalia Jackson we've got (unintelligible). We've got the Stable Singers, we've got the mighty clouds of joy, we've got James Brown, we've got (unintelligible). And to put the icing on the cake we've got Rev. C. L. Franklin and his soulful daughter, Aretha Franklin. Sock it to me, Sock it to me, etc... The problem is that our culture is not legitimized. They have made us ashamed of it. Forget it. They have never had any culture, they have always stolen ours. That's a fact. The blues ain't theirs. Common be serious. We might let them get away with Bach, Beethoven was black, they won't even tell you that in school. He was a Spanish Moor, black as you and I. But they don't tell us that. It's calculated. I'ts calculated. We need for our kids, when they go to our school, to learn a number of things. They need to learn about Africa. It should be included in their curriculum. We don't want them teaching our kids German, they should teach them Swahili. You should learn Swahili so you can talk to your African brothers and the white man won't know what you are talking about. We need to know who our heroes are. Our books must have Frederick Douglas, they must have Denmark Bessie, they must have Nat Turner, they must have Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, they must have Richard Wright, they must have J. A. Rodgers, they must have Lerone Bennett, they must have County Collon, they must have Lané Lock, they must have Leroy George, and when you get the Judge, tell them you want to know about Malcom X. But you don't know anything about Malcom X, what do you know except what the hunkeys tell you. He preached hatred, he hated white folks, and white folk, right in the paper, they put black people

on the last page on a special sheet, call you niggers and describe you every time you rape somebody and they got the nerve to tell you that one of your own hates white folk. And you believe them. You ought to get your copy of Malcom X Speaks or the Autobiography of Malcom X and read it yourself. And then when you read it you will stand up when you hear his name called. But you ought to know that. The history is that white people never let any black man who is speaking for you speak to you they always castrate, they always lynch him, they always kill him or today they kick him out of congress. You ought to know that anything they are against you should automatically be for. That's how come we knew black power was so good, we said the word and the whole white world came out against it, and we said that's it, we got it, black power. Now finally, about the war in Vietnam. Oh before we do that black people also have to learn how to support their movement. They give money to religion but we don't give money to our movements. So we will pass the collection plate during this and you should give some money to support what you believe in. You can't have nobody else pay for the Music they are going to call the tune. If you want to call the tune you've got to pay for the Music. Oh yes, somebody reminded me to use Paul Robeson, I apologize for leaving him out, a great black man. MARCUS GARVEY, got to do it, got to do it. We know all the rest, we don't want to talk about the Senators from Massachusetts. Bomb Hanoi. We have more bombs in Hanoi. Look how white we are. Don't call me a negro, call me a man first. Have you ever heard somebody Jewish

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get up and say changed my name, don't call me Goldberg, call me Smith because they're ashamed of their name, they're ashamed of their heritage. Have you ever heard a black man get up and say don't call me black, I'm a man. For me American first. That's what we want to talk about. American First. Because that has been the ~~dilemma~~ of the black man in this country. We have always tried to be Americans first and black people all the way down the end, and that's why we're catching hell, the way we are catching it today. You ask anybody in this country what they are and they say Polish American, Jewish American, etc. Hey what are you little boy? American Negro. Wants to be American first because he is so ashamed of himself. The very first man to die for the war of independence in this country was a black man named Christus Addis. The very first man. He was a fool. He died for white folk country while the rest of us black brothers were enslaved in this country. He should have been fighting white folk instead of dying for white folk but that has been the history of black people. We've always been dying for white folk. In the American Revolutionary War, they wouldn't let us fight because we were black and stupid and ignorant. Oh but we wanted to be Americans, brothers and sister, we wanted to be American so bad that we got out in our bare feet and tramped up and down the Eastern Shores of this country, training with wooden rifles, begging white folk to let us fight, and finally they came and they said good you can fight. And they had us fight, and we went out and fought the Indians in the war for independence like fools we should have teamed up with the Indians. But that was alright, we fought and we won the war.

Our blood was shed and they gave us a purple heart and patted us on the head and said that's a good nigger. The rest of our brothers was still in slavery, but we were fighting because we were good Americans. We wanted to prove to America how good we was to her. The Mexican - American War came and they were yelling about remember the Alamo. They never told you the Alamo was on Mexican territory but that's ok we went out there and we begged to fight. Here we were again fighting non white people, dying for the white man. The war wasn't even over and we were still in slavery. Then came the civil war. Our great white father, Abraham Lincoln was supposed to free us. Started the war in 1861 and didn't sign the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863 because the south was beating the living day lights out of the north and wouldn't even let us fight in the Civil War. He said we wern't fitting to fight. And Frederick Douglas, a great black man had to go to him and urge him to let us fight. And when the south was still winning he let us fight, but in segregated units. Said Mr. Lincoln, we wern't fitting to fight next to white men. Oh but we wanted to prove to America how good we were so we went out and fought in the Civil War. Then came World War I and they were drafting white people and they wouldn't draft us and we were ashamed. Oh draft us we cried. Please draft us. The NAACP begged them to draft us. Our forfathers ran to the draft table, we are good Americans, let us fight and they sent us over to Europe to make the world safe for democracy and we couldn't even spell the word democracy. That was in World War I. We didn't even come back. We didn't have a chance to take our uniforms off after World War I when they hung an entire platoon in Texas with our uniforms on our backs. Oh but we wern't, Oh not

us. We got to prove what good Americans we are so here come World War II and we're going to fight we are going to prove how good we are. Let us fight on the front lines. Let us stop this war. We must fight, we are good Americans, let us take Pork Chop Hill.. Let us fight in Poland to stop Hitler and our fathers gave their lives in Poland to stop Hitler from running over the Poles and in 1966 a Polish hunkey in Cigero will throw a rock at us and tell us get out of this neighborhood. Oh, but not us, we were good Americans, we were going to fight. And you ought to read MR. Langston Youths, Will Fight for Freedom, the History of the NAACP. He tells you in Texas there was a prison camp and black Americans soldiers who were going to Europe to fight for this country were bringing home Nazi Prisoners and they put them on a train in New York and when they get to Washington, D. C., the white Nazi who were enemies of this country sat in the front of the train and the niggers had to sit in the back. Oh but we wanted to prove what good Americans we are. May I remind you that in World War II we fought in segregated units. Oh but that wasn't enough, we wanted to be good Americans, so Mr. A. Philip Randolph in 1947 and 1948 mounts a campaign to integrate the troops and Truman get white enough and he integrates the troops and here comes our chance Korea, at last our chance to fight with our white brothers. Oh we must stop Communism at any price was the cry and it was our blood that paid the price. It was our blood that stopped Communism at any price. And our uncles came back to this country with one leg and one arm, only to walk into a store and have some foreigner slam the door in

his face and say get out my store, nigger. But we wanted to prove what good Americans we were in the Vietnamese war, let America prove something to us. We will not fight in their war. How could you let them destroy your humanity. How could you let them put you in a uniform and go fight people who have never done anything to you. How could you? When are we going to get the strength to tell this country we will not let her destroy us. You see that hunkey MacNamara on television. He ain't nothing but racist standing up there talking about Yes we're going to draft 30% of the negros in the Army. This is where they can have equal opportunities. Yes, Yes it's true that they're only 10% of the population but this is a better chance for them. When that Hunkey talk about drafting about drafting 30% of black people he is talking about Black Urban Removal. Nothing else. You have got to understand that that war on Vietnam is calculated to get rid of us. 35% of the people who die in Vietnam are us, by their figures. So you know what the true figures really are. You are to stand up like the greatest, the prettiest Muhammad Ali, and you are to tell them we are not going to fight your war. You get up on your feet and tell them that war is for the birds. Lynden Bird, Lady Bird and Lucy Bird. You tell them we are no longer going to kill people just because a hunkey says kill. You tell them when we decide to kill we will decide who we are going to kill. You have to recognize what they are doing. Dr. Martin Luther King was a great leader of his people until he came out against the war in Vietnam. Then all of a sudden he's not fitting to lead us anymore because the hunkey still think they are picking our leaders for us today. You stand back behind Dr. Martin Luther King, 100%

behind him. And you tell them that on the question of Vietnam he is nice to them on how we really feel about it. So you tell them they better be happy with Dr. King. Because when some of us get going we know who we are going to kill. So you tell them they better be happy Dr. King is as nice as he is about that war in Vietnam. OUR BLOOD HAS BEEN SPILLED INSIDE OUT FOR THIS COUNTRY, AND ALL WE GOT TO SHOW FOR IT IS SOME HUNKEY CALLING US NIGGER, RAT AND WRECHED AND SLUM, ALL OVER THE MOST POWERFUL COUNTRY IN THE WORLD!!! OUR GUTS AND BLOOD HAVE BEEN SPILLED FOR THIS COUNTRY AND WE GO TO THE WORST SCHOOLS CAN PRODUCE. We who have spilled our guts and blood for this country. Our Guts and our blood have been spilled for this country. It's time we spill them for our people. Thank You.

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL AT THE
UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

May 19, 1967

Seattle, Washington

Why don't you all read an article with the depth of the Massachusetts Quarterly Review entitled Towards Black Liberation (unintelligible) paper and then we could have some discussion afterwards. I understand that the press has not been doing too good a job covering the activities of SNCC. I don't think they will be able to cover the lecture today because it is on an intellectual level. But since you are college students I know you'll be able to deal with the lecture. I'm sorry that Professor Hunt had to take so much time reaffirming free speech, I just assumed it was a natural thing, they taught it to me in school. One of the most pointed illustrations of the need for black power as a positive and redemptive force in a society degenerating into a form of totalitarianism is to be made by examining the history of distortion that the concept has received in the national media of publicity. This debate as in everything else that affects our lives black people are dependent on and at the discretion of forces and institutions within the white society which have little interest in representing us honestly. Our experience with the National Press has been that where they have managed to escape the most vicious special interests in "Get whity" sensationalism and race war mongering, individual reporters and commentators have been conditioned by the developing racism of the society to the point where they are incapable even of objective observations and reporting of racial incidents much less the analysis of ideas.

But this limitation of visions and deception is an inevitable consequence of the dictatorship of definition, interpretations and consciousness along with the censorship of history that the society has inflicted upon black people and consequently upon itself. Our concern for black power addresses itself directly to this problem. The necessity for black people to reclaim our history and our identity from the cultural terrorism and depravation of self justifying while guilt. To do this we shall have to struggle for the right to create our own terms through which to define our selves and our relationship to the society and to have these terms recognized. This is the first necessity of a free people and the first right that any oppressor must suspend. Now we feel very strongly about that in SNCC, the right to define, the (unintelligible) philosophers feel that it is very important, the ability for man to define himself, (?) for example, on the first page of the Rebel tells us that when the slaves stop accepting the definition of slave imposed upon him by his master, then and only then does he begin to create a life for himself. That's very important, we see examples of that all the time. The trouble with the world today is that white western society as opposed to western civilization which has been a misnomer, white western society has named and defined everyone, and the people are trapped by those definitions. Let me give an example. We watch the television (idiot box) and we have the red man and the white man, and they are engaged in a battle, the white man is losing and he calls for the calvary and the calvary comes out and they

are riding very white and very proper and they get off their horses and they load their guns and they systematically shoot all the red men. They kill them all and then they ride back to the fort and there is a white woman standing at the door and she said, "what happened?" And they answered, "we had a victory, we killed all the Indians". And everyone applauds. Now when the reverse happens, when the red man beat up the white man and there is one man left hanging over a horse and she says, "what happened?" and he says, "those dirty Indians came and massacred us." You've got to understand that in your mind. What they are saying is that a massacre is less honorable than a victory so that the red man will never be able to match the white man, he will always have a massacre and I guess maybe they have something to that, because in a victory you shoot people to death and in a massacre you cut them to death, and I guess if we're going to die we'd rather be shot than cut. That's also very prevalent today on television in the news. I don't know if you ever watch the editorial twins of America, Huntley and Brinkley, but if you ever watch them, particularly when they talk about the war in Vietnam, one usually says those dirty, filthy communist Viet Cong Rebels, disgusting people, threw a molotov cocktail today and wounded 17 of our civilians. Then the other guy comes on and says, "In the mean time our good GIs have been bombing the hell out of the North Vietnam. And the implication is that it is bad to throw molotov cocktails but it is ok if you bomb. The white fathers of American racism knew this instinctively it seems, as it is indicated by the continuous record of the distortion and the omission in their dealings with the red and black men. That is

also very clear with this cat called Christopher Columbus who discovered America even though there were people here when he got there. But because white Western society had the power to define, they had defined the red man as an Indian and they did that because Columbus was stupid, he died thinking he was in India, that's how dumb he was and he called red people Indians and because of that they're stuck with the name Indians and he didn't even know that he was in the United States of America. In the same way the Southerner apologises, for her Jim Crow society have so muddled, obscured and misrepresented the records of the reconstruction period until it is almost impossible to tell what really happened during that period. Their contemporary counter-parts are busy doing the same thing with the history of the civil rights movement.

Just one word about the gentlemen of the press. They ~~are~~ usually have names that they give to us like racists, reverse racists, and anti-whites and I have yet to see one black man among them when they come to report about SNCC. In 1964 for example, the National Democratic Party, lead by L. B. Johnson and boy wonder H. H. Humphreys. In SNCC we call them Batman and Robin because they run a (unintelligible) Government. In the black community H. H. Humphrey stands for Handkerchief Head Humphrey. Handkerchief Head is someone who is more (?) than an Uncle Tom, he's an unconditional yes man. I don't know if you dug Lynden when he delivered his State of the Johnson message to the Union back in January or February, but if you were able to dig him, while he was speaking the cameras

were splashed on the back of Handkerchief Head and he was just (giggle, giggle) a just a himmen and a hawen. But anyway these two cats cynically undermine the efforts of Mississippi's black population to achieve some degree of political representation. We're speaking now of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party challenge which took place in 1964, Atlantic City, at the National Democratic Party Convention. Yet (unintelligible) the events of that convention (unintelligible) one sees only that version fabricated by the press agents of the Democratic Party. A year later the house of representatives in an even more vulgar display of political racism made a mockery of the political rights of Mississippi's black when it failed to unseat the Mississippi delegation to the house which had been elected through a process which had systematically excluded over 450,000 voting age blacks, almost one half of the total electorates of that state. Yet that same house two years later was able to unseat Mr. Powell because he did the same thing that they did but with more style. Whenever this event is mentioned in (unintelligible) it is in terms which leaves one with the rather curious impression that somehow the oppressed black people of Mississippi are at fault. But confronting the Congress with the situation in which they had no alternative but to endorse Mississippi's racial political practices. I mention these two examples, because having been directly involved in them I can see very clearly the discrepancies between what has happened and the versions that are finding their way into general acceptance as a kind of popular mythology. Thus, the victimization of black people takes place in two phases. First it occurs in facts

and deeds and then and this is equally sinister, it occurs in the recordings of those facts and deeds. The black power program and concepts which is being articulated by the Student Non Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), the Congress of Racial Equality and the hosts of community organizations in the ghettos of the north and the south has not escaped this process. The white press has been busy articulating their own analysis, their own interpretations, and criticisms of their own creations and we were very disturbed about that and all we said were two simple words, black power, and the white world came down against us and I couldn't figure out why, we hadn't even been given a chance to define it, but I was reading Mr. George Bernard Shaw a couple of weeks after and he has a phrase which I think is quite apropos for the press. This phrase is "All criticism is in fact an autobiography". For example while the press is giving wide and sensational dissertations to attacks made by figures in the civil rights movement, foremost among which are Mr. Roy Wilkins of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and his counter part, Mr. Whitney Young of the National Urban League and to the hysterical rantings about black racism made by the political (?) that now serves as a Vice President. It has generally failed to give accounts of the reasonable and productive dialogue which is taking place in the black community and in certain important areas in the white religions and in the intellectual communities of this country. A national committee of influential black church men affiliated with the National Council of Churches despite their obvious respectability and responsibility had to resort to paid advertisements to articulate their positions while anyone

shouting the historical yappings of black racisms got ample space. Thus the American people have gotten at best a superficial and misleading account of the very terms and tenure of this debate. I wish to quote from a statement made by the National Committee of Churchmen which I expect the majority of Americans would not have seen. It appeared in the New York Times, last years July 31. The churchmen had to pay to get their views articulate in the three quarter section advertisement. I wanted to read this quite at length because I wanted to let you know that inside the black community there are some intelligent black people other than the ones you always see who are ignorant and usually denouncing black power, their only fame to claim. I wish to quote. "We, an informed group of negro churchmen in America are deeply disturbed about the crisis brought upon our country by historic distortions of important human realities in the controversy about black power. What we see shining through the variety of rhetoric is not anything new, but the same old problem of power and race which has faced our beloved country since 1619. The conscience of black men is corrupted because having no power to implement the demand of conscience, the concern for justice in the absence of justice becomes a chaotic self surrender. Powerlessness breeds a race of beggers. We are faced now with the situation where powerless conscience meets conscienceless power". I wish to repeat that phrase because I feel that it is axiomatic to race relations in this country today. We are faced now with a situation where powerless conscience meets conscienceless power threatening the very foundations of our nation. We deplore the overt violence of

riots but we feel it is more important to focus on the real sources of these eruptions. These sources may be imbedded inside the Ghetto but their basic cause lies in the silent and covert violence which white middle class Americans inflict upon the victims of the inner city. In short the failure of American leaders to use American power to create equal opportunities in life as well as law, this is the real problem and not the angry cry of black power. Without the capacity to participate with power, that is to have some organized political and economic strength to really influence people with whom one interacts, integration is not meaningful. American has asked its negro citizens to fight for opportunity as individuals whereas at certain points in our history what we have needed most has been opportunity for the whole group, not just for selected and approved negroes. We must not apologize for the existence of this form of group power for we have been oppressed as a group and not as individuals. We will not find our way out of that oppression until we and American accept the need for negro Americans as well as the Jews, Italians, Poles and White Anglo Saxon Protestants among others to have and to wield group power. Traditionally for each new ethnic group the route to social and political integration in to America's pluristic society has been through the organization of their own institutions with which to represent their communal needs within the largest society. Simply stated, this is what the advocates of black power are talking about. This flagrant outcry, particularly from the liberal communities that has been evoked by this proposal can only be understood by examining the historic relationship between black people and the white power

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structure in this country. Blacks are defined by two forces. Our blackness and our powerlessness. There have been traditionally two communities in America. The white community which is controlled and defines the forum that all institutions within the society would take. And the black community, which has been excluded from the participation in the power decisions that shaped the society and have traditionally been dependent upon and subservient to the white community. This has not been accidental. The history of every institution of this society indicates the major concern in the order and structuring of the society has been the maintaining of the black community in its condition of dependence and oppression. This has not been on the level of individual acts of racism between individual whites against individual blacks but as total acts by the white community against the black community. This fact cannot be too strongly emphasized but racist assumptions of white superiority have been so deeply engrained in the structure of this society that it infuses its entire functioning and is so much a part of the national subconscious that it is taken for granted and is frequently not even recognized. Let me give an example of the difference between individual racism and what we in SNCC call institutionalized racism and the societies response to both.

When unidentified white terrorists bomb a black church and kill five black children, that is an act of individual racism widely deplored by most segments of the society, both white and black. But when in that same city, Birmingham, Alabama, not five but 500 black babies die each year because of lack of proper

food, shelter and medical facilities and thousands more black people are destroyed and maimed physically, emotionally and educationally because of conditions of poverty and deprivation in the Ghetto, that is a function of institutionalized racism. But the society pretends either that it doesn't know of the situation or it is incapable of doing anything meaningful about it. And this resistance to doing anything meaningful about conditions in the Ghetto comes from the fact that the Ghetto is itself a product of a combination of forces and special interests inside the white community, and the groups who have access to the resources and power to change that situation, benefit politically, economically from the very Ghetto. It is more than a figure of speech to say then that the black community in America is the victim of white imperialism and colonial exploitations. This is in practical, economic and political terms true. For those of you who take philosophy it is called a truism. There are over 20,000,000 black people, comprising 10% of this nation. For the most part we live in well defined areas of the country in the shanty towns and rural black bug areas of the south, and increasingly in the slums of northern and western industrial cities. If one goes into any black community, whether it be Jackson, Mississippi; Los Angeles, California or Boston, Massachusetts, one will find that the same combination of political, economic and social forces are at work. The people in the black communities do not control the resources of that community, its political decisions, its law enforcement, its housing standards, even the physical

ownership of the land, houses and stores lie outside that community. It is white power that makes the laws. It is violent white power in the form of armed white cops that enforces those laws with guns and night sticks. The vast majority of black people in this country live in these communities and must endure these conditions of oppression because and only because we are black and powerless. I do not suppose there is any point when the men who control the power and resources of this country ever sat down and designed these black (unintelligible) and formerly articulated the terms of their colonial and dependent status as was done for example by the (unintelligible) government of South Africa which this country supports, yet one cannot distinguish between one Ghetto and another. As one moves from city to city it is as though some malignant racist planning unit has done precisely this, designed each one from the same master blueprint, and in deed if the Ghetto had been formally and deliberately planned instead of growing spontaneously and inevitably from the racist functioning of the various institutions that combine to make the society it would be somehow less frightening. The situation would be less frightening if these Ghettos were the result of design and conspiracy one could understand their similarity as being artificial and consciously imposed rather than the result of identical patterns of white racism which repeat themselves in cities as distant as Boston is to Watts. Without bothering to list the historic factors which contribute to this pattern, economic exploitation, political impotence, discrimination of employment and education, one can see that to correct this pattern will require far reaching changes in the power

relationships and the in-grown social patterns within the society. The question is, of course, what kind of changes are necessary and how is it possible to bring them about.

In recent years the answer to these questions which have been given by most articulate groups of black people and their white allies, the liberals of all stripes have been in terms of something called integration.

According to the advocates of integration, social justice will be accomplished by, and I quote, "integrating the negro into the mainstream institutions of the societies for which he has been traditionally excluded". It is very significant that each time I've heard this formulation, it has been in terms of the negro, the individual negro, rather than in terms of the entire black community. This concept of integration had to be based on the assumption that there was nothing of value in the black community and that little of value could be created among black people. For the thing to do was to syphon off the acceptable black into the surrounding middle class white community. Thus the goals of the movement to integration was simply to loosen up the restrictions barring the entry of black into the white community. Goals around which the struggle took place, such as public accommodations, open housing, job opportunities on the executive level, are quite simply middle class goals articulated by a tiny group of black people who have middle class aspirations. Now I do believe that the press had quite a bit to do with that again because they were interpreting once again a movement for us in the early 1960s. You know you would see them on television and they would say black people have been marching in Selma,

Alabama today, Jim Clark has ridden over them with horses, he has beaten them up, he's (unintelligible), he's shot at them, he's whipped them, but still they are marching to integrate and on the next day they would say black people from the north have come to join their brothers in the south. They are marching in the streets again, Jim Clark has beaten them, rode his horses on them, saddle (unintelligible) them, horse whipped them, taken them to jail, but they are still marching to integrate. So I decided to carry that out to its logical conclusion. It appeared to me that what they were saying was that I left the north to go to Alabama to sit next to Jim Clark's daughter, sister or his mama. Obviously I never went there to sit next to Mr. Clark's daughter, sister, or his mama. I went to Alabama to render that hunky impotent over my life and there is a big difference. The difference is in the first you are fighting to sit next to Jim Clark so somehow you are going to civilize him. I don't think that it is possible. The other is and the most correct position is that you are fighting against white supremacy and that is where the fights have always been. Nobody wants to sit next to Jim Clark, he's uncivilized. But what people want to do is to render the white supremacists powerless. That is very important and I understand why the news reporters couldn't say that because for them to say that they would have to admit that in the land of the home and the gree and the brave and all that other garbage there existed some white men who were white supremacists who had power and they used their power against black people whenever they felt like it but it should be crystal clear in your minds to day that black

people weren't fighting to sit next to anybody who was fighting against white supremacy because the concept of the forum was really bad you know, we've become Joe black, (Unintelligible). Such a limited class (unintelligible) was reflected not only in the programs and goals of the civil rights movement but in its tactics and organization. It is very significant that the two oldest and most respectable civil rights organizations have constitutrönn (when I become five fifths I'll be able to say the whole word). Anyway they have these things which specifically prohibit partisan political activities. (Complete sentence unintelligible) But this is perfectly understandable in terms of the strategy and goals of the older organizations. But the civil rights movement serves a role as a kind of liason between the powerful white community and the dependent black community. The dependent status of the black community apparently was unimportant since if the movement was successful it was going to belnd into the white community anyway. We made no pretense of organizing and developing institutions of community power in the black community but in appealing to the conscience of white institutions of power. The posture of the civil rights movement was that of the dependent, the suppliant. The theory was that without attempting to create any organized base of political strength itself the civil rights movement could by forming coalitions with various liberal pressure organizations in the white community liberal reform clubs, labor unions, church groups, progressive civic organizations and at times one or other of the major political parties influence national legislation and national social patterns. I believe we have all seen limitations

of this approach. We have repeatedly seen that political alliances based on appeal to conscience and decency are chancy things. Simply because institutions and political organizations have no consciences outside their own special interest. The political and social rights of black people have been and always will be negotiable and expendable the moment they conflict with the interest of our so called allies. If we do not learn from history the philosopher (?) reminds us then we are doomed to repeat it and this is precisely the lesson that black people must learn from the reconstruction period. In the south they come into being a party called the Populist Party. One of its major spokesmen was Tom Watson. Mr. Watson was running for office in a county in Georgia which had forty percent black people of voting age. In order for him to win the position he needed the black votes. So Mr. Watson like some liberal people who will need the black vote in 1972 to become President, went around Georgia articulating a liberal philosophy. Said Mr. Watson, "Poor black and poor white should come together and they should vote because they are fleeced and oppressed by rich white. Black people believed Mr. Watson and joined the Populist Party and organized as an independent force. That was a decision made by a white man, Mr. Watson. No blacks were asked about that decision. When Mr. Watson tried to make this party National, to bring it out of the south, he started to coalesce with the farmers in the west. His party was too weak to take on the Industrial East. When he tried to coalesce to the economic interests of the Farmers in the west

conflicted with the economic interest of the blacks. Mr. Watson became a vicious racist leading lynch mobs himself and driving black people out of the party. Just because black people had not organized themselves independently first Mr. Watson could make two major decisions affecting our lives and we could not even threaten any of those decisions. Today that is not going to happen again. We will first organize ourselves independently, if people become racist at least we can disrupt. Thus, at this point in the struggle blacks have no assurance save a kind of idiot optimism and faith in a society whose history is one of racism but if it is to become necessary even the painfully limited gains thrown to a civil rights movement by the congress will not be revoked as soon as a shift in political sentiment should occur. The major limitation of this approach was that it tended to maintain the traditional dependence of black and of the movement. We depended upon the good will and support of various groups within the white community whose interests were not always compatible with ours. To the extent that we depended upon their good will and support we were vulnerable to their influence and domination. Also the program that evolved out of this coalition was really limited and inadequate in the long term and one which affected only a small selected group of black people. Its goal was to make the white community accessible to qualified black people and presumably each year a few more black people armed with their passports, a couple of university degrees would escape into white middle class

America, adopt the attitudes and life styles of their group and one day the Harlems and the Watts would stand empty, a tribute to the success of integration. This is simply neither realistic nor is it particularly desirable. You can integrate the communities but you assimilate individuals. Even if such a program was possible its results would be not to develop the black community as a functional and honorable segment of the total society with its own cultural identity, life patterns and institutions but to abolish it. The final solution to race problems in this country, Karl Marx reminds us that the working class is the first class of people that ever wished to abolish themselves. If one were to listen very closely to some of our moderate negro leaders, you would think that the black people were the first people that wished to abolish themselves. The fact is that what must be abolished is not the black community but the dependent colonial status that has been inflicted upon it. The racial and cultural personality of the black community must be preserved and the community must win its liberation while preserving its cultural integrity. This is the essential difference between integration as it is currently practiced and the concept of black power. And what has the movement for integration accomplished to date, that the black person graduating from MIT with a doctorate will have better job opportunities available to him than to Lynda Bird Johnson. But the rate of unemployment in the black community is steadily increasing, while that in the white community decreases. More educated black people hold executive jobs in major corporations and federal agencies than ever before but the gap between white income and black income has almost doubled in the last 20 years. More suburban

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housing is available to black people if they can stand the rocks, but housing conditions in the Ghetto are still declining. While the infant mortality rates of New York City is at its lowest rate ever in the city's history the mortality rate of blacks in Harlem is steadily climbing. There has been an organized national resistance to the Supreme Court order to integrate the schools. Less than 6% of black children in the south attend so called integrated schools and 94% of our youth are still left in segregated schools which are increasingly decrepit, over crowded, under staffed, inadequately outfitted and under funded. It is time we turn our attention to the 94% of our youth. This explains why the rate of school drop outs is increasing among black teenagers who then express their bitterness, hopelessness and alienation by the only means they have through immitating this society, via violence. As long as people in the Ghettos of our large cities feel that we are the victims of the misuse of white power without any way to have our needs represented and these are frequently simple needs, we will continue to have rebellions. These are not the products of black power. But the absence of any organization capable of giving the community the power, the black power that it needs to deal with its problems. SNCC proposes that it is now time for the black liberation movement to stop pandering to the fears and anxieties of white middle class America in an attempt to earn its goodwill and to return to the Ghettos to organize these communities to control themselves. This organization must be attempted in northern and southern urban areas as well as in the rural black belt areas of the south. The chief

antagonists to this organization is in the south. The overly racists democratic party and in the north the equally racist and just as corrupt big city machines. The standard argument presented against independent political organization is that you are only 10%. I cannot see the relevance of this observation since no one is talking about taking over the country, God knows we wouldn't know what to do with this monster, but taking control over our very own communities. The fact is that the black population 10% or not, is very strategically placed ironically because of segregation. What is also true is that blacks have never been able to utilize the full voting potential of our numbers. Where we could vote, the case has always been that the white political machine stacks and gerrymanders the political sub division in the black community so that true voting strength is never reflected in political power. Would anyone for example looking at the distribution of political power in Manhattan ever think that black people represented 60% of the population there. Just as often the effective political organization in black communities is absorbed by tokenism and patronage, the time honored practice of giving certain offices to selected negroes. The machine does create a little machine which is subordinate and responsive to it in the black communities, the so called black political leaders are really vote deliverers more responsible to the white machine and the white power structure than to the community they allegedly represent, thus the white community is able to substitute patronage control for what Mr. Powell called audacious black power in the black community. This is precisely what Lynden Bains Johnson tried to do even before the voting rights act of 1965 was passed.

The National Democrats made it clear, crystal clear that the measure was intended to register Democrats, not black people. The President and top officials of the Democratic party called in almost 100 selected black leaders from the deep south. Nothing was said about changing the policies of the racist state parties. Nothing was said about repudiating such leadership figures as Eastlund and Ross Barnett in Mississippi or George and Lurleen Wallace in Alabama, but in SNCC we don't say anything about her because we have come to find out that the Governor of Alabama is a mother, and we are for motherhood. What was simply said, and I quote, was "Go home and organize your people into the local Democratic Party, then we will see about poverty money and appointments, mah fellow Americans". We must organize black community power to end these abuses and to give the black community a chance to have its needs expressed. A leadership which is truly responsible not to the white press and the white power structure, but to the community will be developed. Such leadership will recognize that its power lies in the unified and collective strength of the black community. This will make it difficult for the white leadership group to conduct its dialogue with individuals in terms of patronage and prestige and would force them to talk to the community representatives in terms of real black power. The single aspect then of the black power program that has encountered most criticism is this concept of independent political organization. This is presented as third partyism which has never worked or it would grow into black nationalism and black isolationism which leads to reverse racism. If such a program is developed it will not have

the effect of isolating the black community but the reverse. When the black community is able to control local offices and negotiate with other groups from a position of organized strength, the possibility of meaningful political alliances on specific issues will be increased. That is a rule of politics and there is no reason why it should not operate here. The only difference is that we will have the power to define the terms of these alliances. The revolution in Agricultural Technology in the south is displacing the rural black community into northern-western urban areas. Both Washington, D. C., and Newark, New Jersey have black majorities. One third of Philadelphia's population of two million people is already black. The inner city in most major urban areas is already predominately black, and with the white rush to suburbia blacks will in the next two decades, control the heart of our great cities. These areas can become either concentration camps with a bitter population whose only power is the power to destroy, or organized powerful communities, able to make constructive contributions to the total society. Without the power, the black power, to control our lives in our communities without effective political institutions through which to relate to the total society our communities will exist in a constant state of insurrection. This is a choice that white America will have to make. Thank you.

100-446080-416

8/3/67

airtel

1 - b7C

To: SAC, Tampa

From: Director, FBI

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISC.

Reurlet dated 7/25/67, with enclosure.

The enclosure, one reel of recording tape of Carmichael's speech made at Daytona Beach, Florida, on 4/18/67, is being returned as an enclosure to this airtel.

You should immediately review this recording tape and submit a verbatim transcript of the recording in a letterhead memorandum form suitable for dissemination pursuant to instructions set out in Bureau airtel to all offices dated 5/26/67.

Encl.

NOTE:

Assistant Attorney General Yeagley has previously requested, where available, verbatim transcripts of speeches by Stokely Carmichael. Tampa submitted a reel recording of a speech by Carmichael which is being returned to Tampa for a verbatim transcript in accordance with previous instructions sent to all offices by airtel dated 5/26/67.

PTB:des (4)

REC-19

EX-113

19 AUG 3 1967

MAILED 11

AUG 2 1967

COMM-FBI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/13/01 BY 39003 KJW/BC/AMW

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

307 CD3/14
53 AUG 4 1967
MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT ☐

F B I

Date: 7-28-67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, JACKSONVILLE(P)

SUBJECT: PROPOSED VISIT OF
STOKELY CARMICHAEL AND
[REDACTED] TO ^{b7C}
JACKSONVILLE, FLORIDA
8-9-67
RACIAL MATTERS

Re Jacksonville airtel to Bureau 7-20-67 captioned
STOKELY CARMICHAEL IS - Miscellaneous.

Enclosed herewith are eleven copies of a letterhead
memorandum concerning CARMICHAEL's reported plans to speak in
Jacksonville, Florida, on August 9, 1967. Also enclosed are
two copies of FD-376.

One copy of the letterhead memorandum is being
furnished to MI, Secret Service, and USA, Jacksonville. Local
authorities are cognizant of the information contained in the
enclosed letterhead memorandum.

This matter will be closely followed and the Bureau
will be kept advised.

- ③ - Bureau (Enc. 13)
7 - Jacksonville
2 - 157-NEW
1 - 100-87
1 - 157-74
1 - 80-234
1 - 80-347
1 - 157-823

WJ:plm
(10)

ENCLOSURE

REC 22

AGENCY: ACSI, [REDACTED], OSI; SEC. SER:

[REDACTED]: ISD, CRD, RAO

DATE FORW: [REDACTED]

HOW FORW: b7C

BY: [REDACTED]

AUG 1 1967

100-446080-418
RIS
AT 464M 9229RD

Approved: [REDACTED]

54 AUG 10 1967

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

UNREC COPY AND COPY OF ENCL FILED IN 105-168197



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Director
United States Secret Service
Department of the Treasury
Washington, D. C. 20220

Dear Sir:

The information furnished herewith concerns an individual who is believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning Presidential protection, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

1. ☐ Has attempted or threatened bodily harm to any government official or employee, including foreign government officials residing in or planning an imminent visit to the U. S., because of his official status.
2. ☐ Has attempted or threatened to redress a grievance against any public official by other than legal means.
3. ☐ Because of background is potentially dangerous; or has been identified as member or participant in communist movement; or has been under active investigation as member of other group or organization inimical to U. S.
4. ☐ U. S. citizens or residents who defect from the U. S. to countries in the Soviet or Chinese Communist blocs and return.
5. ☒ Subversives, ultrarightists, racists and fascists who meet one or more of the following criteria:
 - (a) ☐ Evidence of emotional instability (including unstable residence and employment record) or irrational or suicidal behavior;
 - (b) ☐ Expressions of strong or violent anti-U. S. sentiment;
 - (c) ☒ Prior acts (including arrests or convictions) or conduct or statements indicating a propensity for violence and antipathy toward good order and government.
6. ☐ Individuals involved in illegal bombing or illegal bomb-making.

Photograph ☐ has been furnished ☐ enclosed ☐ is not available
☐ may be available through _____

Very truly yours,

J. Edgar Hoover
John Edgar Hoover
Director

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/3/81 BY 3902 E/W Beckman

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s))
U. S. Secret Service, Jacksonville

Enclosure(s)

(Upon removal of classified enclosures, if any, this transmittal form
becomes UNCLASSIFIED.)



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Post Office 1869
Jacksonville, Florida 33201
July 28, 1967

b7C
PROPOSED VISIT OF
STOKELY CARMICHAEL AND
[REDACTED] TO
JACKSONVILLE, FLORIDA
AUGUST 9, 1967

On July 19, 1967, Levy Wilcox, President,
Jacksonville Chapter, Southern Christian Leadership Conference,
(SCLC) held a press conference in Jacksonville, Florida, and
advised local news media that Stokely Carmichael, ex-Chairman
of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) has
accepted an invitation to speak in Jacksonville, Florida, on
August 9, 1967. He advised that Carmichael will be
accompanied by H. Rap Brown, current Chairman SNCC and
probably several other representatives of SNCC.

The Florida Star, weekly Negro newspaper,
Jacksonville, Florida, dated July 22, 1967, carried headlines
"Stokely Carmichael Coming to Jax." The article is quoted
as follows:

"Black Power" Advocate Due in Jacksonville.

"Violence shy citizens stirred somewhat uneasily this
week when it announced last Wednesday that "Black Power"
advocate Stokeley Carmichael is coming to Jacksonville, to
deliver an address.

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY SOUTHERN

It isn't that Stokely's name is synonymous with
riots or violence. One of his co-workers, Moses Davis,
President of the Jacksonville Christian Leadership Conference
(SCLC) pointed out there have been riots in Tampa and Newark
and Stokeley was not there. However, none can forget that
violence broke out in Nashville, Tenn., Atlanta and
Prattville, Ala., when the Black Power advocate and his
sidekick H. Rap Brown appeared on the scene.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/3/01 BY 39803 MJB/BCE/AMW

100-446080-418
ENCLOSURE

COPIES DESTROYED

333 FEB 24 1971

b7C

PROPOSED VISIT OF STOKELY CARMICHAEL AND
[REDACTED] TO JACKSONVILLE, FLORIDA, AUGUST 9, 1967

"Both of them will appear at Trinity Baptist Church, Jefferson and Duval Streets, on August 9 at 9 p.m.

FLA. "Moses Davis and SCLC executive secretary, Levy M. Wilcox said Carmichael and Brown are coming for a rally in connection with campaign to improve local conditions.

"Davis stated that Mayor Hans Tanzler has been requested to provide approximately 300 jobs for the remainder of the summer for ghetto young men and women.

"He said, in a recent survey of the ghetto communities, "we have found the most urgent and foremost subject is trying to get a job to provide spending money for school clothes for the coming school year. Most of these kids parents cannot afford these things on their salary."

b7C

b7D

[REDACTED] Duval County Sheriff's Office, Jacksonville, advised on July 24, 1967, that he had been in telephonic contact with [REDACTED] concerning his proposed visit to Jacksonville. According to [REDACTED] confirmed that he planned to speak in Jacksonville on August 9, 1967. [REDACTED] reportedly advised [REDACTED] that he could not speak for Stokely Carmichael as he was not familiar with Carmichael's plans and did not know whether or not he would speak in Jacksonville on August 9.

b7C

b7D

[REDACTED] advised on July 27, 1967, that he is not certain that Carmichael and [REDACTED] will appear in Jacksonville on August 9, 1967. He said he had not received any information that they would not appear, however, their commitments have to be evaluated from day to day according to the pressing demands of the moment.

b7C

b7D

[REDACTED] furnished a memographed leaflet distributed by the Jacksonville Chapter of the SCLC concerning Carmichael and [REDACTED]. The leaflet is quoted as follows:

b7C

PROPOSED VISIT OF STOKELY CARMICHAEL AND
[REDACTED] TO JACKSONVILLE, FLORIDA, AUGUST 9, 1967

THE GHETTO VOICE

BLACK POWER
H. RAP BROWN
CHAIRMAN _____ SNCC

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
EX-CHAIRMAN _____ SNCC

BLACK-POWER--ADVOCATE-STOKELY CARMICHAEL
BETTER KNOWN AS " MR. BLACK POWER HIMSELF "
AND

HIS SUCCESSOR, MR. H. RAP BROWN, WILL SPEAK IN THIS CITY (JACKSONVILLE), "THATS WHAT I SAID," YOU READ IT RIGHT BROTHER, STOKELY CARMICHAEL AND H. RAP BROWN, BOTH MEMBERS OF THE STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE WILL BE HERE IN JACKSONVILLE ON AUGUST THE 9TH. CARMICHAEL AND BROWN WILL SPEAK AT 9 P.M. AT TRINITY BAPTIST CHURCH. THE CHURCH IS LOCATED AT DUVAL AND JEFFERSON STREET.

IF YOU REMEMBER, IT WAS MR. BLACK POWER HIMSELF, "STOKELY CARMICHAEL, WHO STATED THESE WORDS, "ANY TIME THEY GIVE A BLACK MAN A GUN AND TELL HIM TO SHOOT HIS ENEMY AND HE DON'T SHOOT LURLEEN WALLACE, AND GEORGE WALLACE AND LITTLE JUNIOR WALLACE, HE'S A FOOL! "LURLEEN WALLACE, IS YOUR ENEMY, HER HUSBAND, GEORGE WALLACE IS YOUR ENEMY"

MR. RAP BROWN, WHO WILL BE WITH MR. CARMICHAEL ON AUGUST 9TH. HAD THESE WORDS TO SAY, "GUN BATTLES ACROSS THE NATION, BETWEEN LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICERS AND BLACK PEOPLE IS THE RESULT OF A DELIBERATE AND PROVOCATIVE VIOLENCE OF THE PART OF THE POLICE, ALONG WITH THEIR BROTHERS IN THE KU KLUX KLAN!

BOTH RAP BROWN AND STOKELY CARMICHAEL HAD THIS TO SAY ABOUT THE WAR IN VIETNAM. "HELL NO! I AIN'T GOING!

"YOU DON'T WANT TO MISS THIS," YOU HAVE HEARD WHAT THE WHITE PRESS HAD TO SAY, NOW YOU HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO HEAR FOR YOURSELF, "DON'T MISS IT. IF IT'S THE TRUTH YOU WANT TO HEAR--THAN COME.

b7C

PROPOSED VISIT OF STOKELY CARMICHAEL AND



TO JACKSONVILLE, FLORIDA, AUGUST 9, 1967

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUL 28 1967

WESTERN UNION

BIA014 634P EDT JUL 28 67 (19)CTA522

CT CLB353 PD. CLEVELAND OHIO 28 540P EDT

J. EDGAR HOOVER

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/19/01 BY 39063 EWB/AM

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION WASHDC

I HAVE JUST ISSUED THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT IN CLEVELAND I SUBMIT
TO YOU FOR YOUR IMMEDIATE AND CAREFUL CONSIDERATION I AM TELEGRAPHING
PRESIDENT JOHNSON AND THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE REQUESTING
THAT AT THE MOMENT STOKLEY CARMICHAEL SETS FOOT ON AMERICAN
SOIL HE IMMEDIATELY BE APPREHENDED, CHARGED WITH TREASON AND
HELD

WITHOUT BOND. IT IS REPR EHEN SIBLE TO ME AND TO EVERY LOYAL
AMERICAN OF EVERY RACE, CREED AND COLOR THAT THIS CHARACTER
CAN OPENLY ADVOCATE FROM CASTRO'S HAVANA -- THE COMMUNIST HASTION

IN THIS HEMISPHERE -- REBELLION IN OUR COUNTRY I AM SHOCKED, AUG 3 1967
AND DISMAYED THAT

AND IS NOW USING THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

SHOCKING STATEMENTS. ONLY LAST NIGHT IN A

MR. DELOACH FOR THE DIRECTOR

COPY MADE FOR MR. TOLSON

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

CHURCH FARE HE TOLD HIS AUDIANCE WE SHOULD DO MORE SHOOTING
AND LESS LOOTING STOKLEY CARMICHAEL'S STATEMENTS ARE EVEN
WORSE. THESE TWO REVOLUTIONARIES SHOULD NOT BE GIVEN THE FREEDOM
OF THIS NATION TO ADVOCATE ITS OVERTHROW THEY SHOULD BOTH BE
LOCKED UP PERMANENTLY. RESPECTFULLY

CONGRESSMAN



b7C

(02).

RECEIVED 8/2/67
11:40 AM *ph*

700 31 3 OF 14.25

URGENT DIA
SEC. 7

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 7/28/67

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/7/10 BY 39063 EWL/BCO/AMW

b7C

By letter dated 3/22/55 he requested that the FBI join the Department of Defense in making an appraisal of the entire weapons storage problem. He was advised that the FBI had no jurisdiction over the matter of security and storage of Government-owned weapons.

A letter was sent to [redacted] over the Director's signature in December, 1966 on the occasion of the [redacted] being hospitalized for an operation. Cordial relations have been maintained with [redacted]

b7C

no ack
necessary-
informative
only CDB

TJS:ts

54 AUG 10 1967

File
WES/20

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Bishop
1 - Mr. Gale

8/4/67

Airtel

**To: SACs, Atlanta
Chicago
Cincinnati
Houston
Jackson**

Los Angeles
Richmond
Seattle
Tampa
WFO

1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Bland
1 - [REDACTED]
1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan
1 - [REDACTED]
1 - [REDACTED]
1 - [REDACTED]

PERSONAL ATTENTION

From: Director, FBI (100-446080)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS;
SEDITION

Referral/Direct

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/19/01 BY 39863 ELL

MAILED 5
AUG 4 1967
COMM-FBI

Referral/Direct

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Wick _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

TJD:jav
(31) Op

51 AUG 10 1967

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Airtel to SAC, Atlanta, et al
RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
100-446080

These instructions apply even though a transcript has been previously furnished Atlanta and the Bureau. It is not necessary to forward the transcript again, but all information concerning source of transcript, availability for testimony of the person who recorded the speech, chain of evidence, and answers to the above questions must be furnished.

Refer to the Manual of Instructions, Volume 3, Section 88, regarding sedition, for instructions. Refer to Agents Handbook, Part 1, page 71, regarding preparation of prosecutive summary reports. This investigation must be thorough and penetrating.

Atlanta, as office of origin, will immediately prepare a prosecutive summary report to include all of the above. This report must reach the Bureau by August 14, 1967, without fail. Each other office must cover its leads and furnish results to the Bureau and Atlanta no later than August 9, 1967, in a form suitable for dissemination. Each Special Agent in Charge will be held strictly accountable for meeting these deadlines. Assign sufficient manpower to insure the deadlines are met and set out leads by teletype, if necessary.

Since this investigation will include contacts with members of the press and will be of public interest, persons contacted should be advised the investigation is being conducted at the request of the Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Internal Security Division of the Department of Justice.

NOTE:

See memorandum C.D. Brennan to W.C. Sullivan, dated 8/4/67 captioned as above, as prepared by TJD:jav.

F B I

Date: 7/28/67

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: LEGAT, LONDON (105-2989) (RUC)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISC.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/11/01 BY 3106 BFW/Bcd/amu

ReBucab 7/26/67 received by Legat, London 3:30 PM,
7/27/67.

The State Department information mentioned in re
cable indicating that _____ was based on information gained from the
press, who anticipated, accurately in this instance, that such
a report would be prepared.

Also enclosed are three copies of a newspaper article
appearing in the "London Times" of 7/28/67 indicating that Mr.
JENKINS, the British Home Secretary, has assured the House of
Commons that subject will not be permitted to return to England.

- 3 - Bureau (Enc. 7)
1 - Liaison (direct)
1 - London

ACM:vw
(5)

ENCLOSURE

REC 18

100-446080-421

Criminal Div. (7/1/67)

14 JUL 31 1967

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

M

Per _____

9/18/01
CLASSIFIED BY 3033 EFW/Bcd/amu
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 6

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/11/01 BY 3106 BFW/Bcd/amu

Bishop
R/S 8/4/67
PTB:lee

397

cc to London to article 922 9610
INT. SEC.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

British ban on Stokely Carmichael

BY A STAFF REPORTER

Mr. Stokely Carmichael, aged 26, the militant American Negro leader and advocate of black power, who recently visited Britain will not be permitted to return.

Mr. Jenkins, Home Secretary, gave the Commons this assurance yesterday.

In a written reply he said: "Having considered a report on this man's recent activities I have decided that his presence here is not conducive to the public good. He has now left, and I do not propose to allow him to reenter the country."

The ban on Mr. Carmichael comes after complaints that his speeches were virulently anti-white and called for racial violence.

Mr. Carmichael left Britain unexpectedly on Tuesday, after cancelling a speech at Reading.

Report on United States

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

"The Times"
London, England

Date: 7/28/1967
Edition:
Author:
Editor:
Title: 15-Misc
Stokely Carmichael
Character:
or Bufile
Classification: 100 - 446080
Submitting Office: London
☐ Being Investigated

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/1/01 BY SP023 E/LBC/AMW

100-446080-421

ENCLOSURE

August 3, 1967

REC-59

EX-102 Honorable Carl T. Curtis
United States Senate
Washington, D. C. 20510

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/19/81 BY 3003 EWL/PCP/AMW

My dear Senator:

Your letter of July 31st and its enclosure have been received, and I want to thank you for your kind regards.

In response to your inquiries and those of

[redacted] Stokely Carmichael was born on June 29, 1941, at Trinidad, West Indies, and is a citizen of the United States by derivation. He is, therefore, not subject to exclusion from the United States as an alien. In addition, the FBI is strictly an investigative agency of the Federal Government and, as such, does not determine whether prosecution will be undertaken in any situation. Such decisions concerning violations of Federal law are within the province of the United States Department of Justice.

You may be assured, however, the FBI is aware of the activities of this individual and any information obtained which might indicate a violation of Federal law over which this Bureau has investigative jurisdiction will be furnished to the United States Department of Justice for prosecutive consideration.

MAILED 5

AUG 3 1967

COMM-FBI

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

NOTE: Cordial relations maintained with Senator Curtis. Bufiles contain no record of [redacted] Enclosure was an article from an unknown newspaper noting that Stokely Carmichael was planning to go to Cuba.

b7C
Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

BGH:mjb

(5)

b7C

55AU

111967

MAIL ROOM

TELETYPE UNIT

1724

CARL T. CURTIS
NEBRASKA

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C.

July 31, 1967

COMMITTEES:
FINANCE
GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS
RULES AND ADMINISTRATION
AERONAUTICAL AND SPACE SCIENCES
JOINT ATOMIC ENERGY

Mr. Tolson ✓
Mr. DeLoach ✓
Mr. Mohr ✓
Mr. Bishop ✓
Mr. Casper ✓
Mr. Callahan ✓
Mr. Conrad ✓
Mr. Felt ✓
Mr. Gale ✓
Mr. Rosen ✓
Mr. Sullivan ✓
Mr. Tavel ✓
Mr. Trotter ✓
Tele. Room ✓
Miss Holmes ✓
Miss Gandy ✓

Honorable J. Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

b7c

I have received the following letter and the enclosed
clipping from [redacted]

"Is our Government going to allow Stokely
Carmichael to ever land again on U. S. soil?

"He should be shot for organizing all these
insurrections.

"What are you doing to see that the organizers
are stopped?"

I would appreciate having any comments you care to make
concerning Mr. Carmichael's activities in connection with
the riots which have broken out throughout the country and
the steps which will be taken to punish those individuals
who have incited these riots.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Carl T. Curtis

CARL T. CURTIS, USS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/14/01 BY 39063 BWW/BCL/AMW

CTC/rmg
Enc.

EX-102

REC-59

100-446080-422

11 AUG 1967

CORRESPONDENCE

1-ENCLOSURE

ack
8-3-67
BCH-myo

EXP. PROC.

36 AUG 1 1967

Stokely Going To Cuba Parley

MIAMI, Fla. (AP) —Stokely Carmichael, American Black Power advocate, plans to attend next week's Havana conference aimed at brewing revolutions, the Cuban radio said today.

Carmichael confirmed in London his plans to attend the conference as an observer, said a broadcast monitored in Miami.

"We are going to be reunited with you in Havana because we think the Cuban victory is our victory and the courage of the Cuban people inspires our fight," the radio quoted Carmichael as saying.

Leftists and revolutionaries from throughout Latin America have begun arriving in Communist Cuba for the conference sponsored by the Latin-American Solidarity Organization — OLAS — an outspoken anti-United States body.

Carmichael left Britain Monday for Prague amid reports he was on his way to North Vietnam. For more than a week in Britain, Carmichael spoke at meetings in the sections of London where most Negroes live.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/14/01 BY 39063 E/W/ocdmmw

REC-59

100-446080-422
ENCLOSURE

REC-23

August 2, 1967

106-446080-423

Honorable Armistead I. Selden, Jr.
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C. 20515

My dear Congressman:

Your letter of July 29th and its enclosure have been received and I want to thank you for your kind regards.

In response to your request, Stokely Carmichael was born on June 29, 1941, at Trinidad, West Indies, and is a citizen of the United States by derivation. He is, therefore, not subject to exclusion from the United States as an alien. In addition, the FBI is strictly an investigative agency of the Federal Government and, as such, does not determine whether prosecution will be undertaken in any situation. Such decisions concerning violations of Federal law are within the province of the United States Department of Justice.

You may be assured, however, the FBI is aware of the activities of this individual and any information obtained which might indicate a violation of Federal law over which this Bureau has investigative jurisdiction will be furnished to the United States Department of Justice for prosecutive consideration.

MAILED 5
AUG 2 1967
COMM-FBI

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/14/01 BY 39063 EIW/BCE/AMW

NOTE: Cordial correspondence maintained with Congressman Selden. Bufiles contain no record of [redacted] b7C

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

BGH:clc
(4)

55 AUG 11 1967

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

b7C

4726

ARMISTEAD I. SELDEN, JR.
5TH DISTRICT, ALABAMA

HOME ADDRESS:
GREENSBORO, ALABAMA

ALABAMA OFFICE ADDRESS:
FEDERAL BUILDING
TUSCALOOSA, ALABAMA

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives

Washington, D.C.

July 29, 1967

FOR
SUE
CHAIRMAN, IN
STAT
WASH
2352 RAYB

Mr. Tolson ✓
Mr. DeLoach ✓
Mr. Mohr ✓
Mr. Bishop ✓
Mr. Casper ✓
Mr. Callahan ✓
Mr. Conrad ✓
Mr. Felt ✓
Mr. Gale ✓
Mr. Rosen ✓
Mr. Sullivan ✓
Mr. Tavel ✓
Mr. Trotter ✓
Tele. Room ✓
Miss Holmes ✓
Miss Gandy ✓

Hon. J. Edgar Hoover
Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I am enclosing a copy of a telegram which contains a resolution that was adopted by the Alabama State Legislature regarding Stokely Carmichael. It will be appreciated if you will give me the benefit of your comments on the information contained therein.

Thank you, and my best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Armistead I. Selden, Jr.
Armistead I. Selden, Jr.

AIS/tgf

Enclosure

ENCLOSURE

REC-23

100 446080-423

AUG 7
16 JUL 31 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/14/01 BY 29063 BAW/BAMW

CORRESPONDENCE

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message
unless its deferred char-
acter is indicated by the
prop. symbol.

WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

R. W. MCFALL
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LT = International
Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

BUE170 (28)NSA429

NS MYYO24 MYZ2 MYZ2 PD MONTGOMERY ALA 26 NPT

1967 JUL 26 PM 7 48

HON ARMISTEAD I SELDEN, JR, MC

THE RAYBURN BLDG WASHDC

THE FOLLOWING RESOLUTION WAS PASSED UNANIMOUSLY BY THE ALABAMA
SENATE AND I BELIEVE IS DESERVING OF YOUR ATTENTION AND ACTION.
WE WILL APPRECIATE YOUR THOUGHTS IN THIS CONNECTION:

SJR60

BY

b7C

WHEREAS STOKELY CARMICHAEL, THE VIOLENT AND INFLAMMATORY
LEADER OF THE BLACK POWER MOVEMENT AND FORMER HEAD OF THE STUDENT
NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE, HAS TRAVELED FREELY THROUGHOUT
THIS COUNTRY ADVOCATING AND INITIATING RIOTS, REBELLIONS AND
THE OVERTHROW OF LAW AND ORDER; AND

SF1201(R2-65)

WHEREAS THIS HATE MONGER'S VISITS TO VARIOUS CITIES OF
THE NATION HAVE LED IN EVERY INSTANCE TO RIOTS AND VIOLENCE
ACCOMPANIED IN MANY INSTANCES BY BURNING, LOOTING AND BLOODSHED.
IN RESIGNING FROM SNCC, CARMICHAEL ANNOUNCED THAT HE WOULD
SPEND THE SUMMER ORGANIZING "BLACK RESISTANCE" TO THE WAR IN
VIETNAM. ON MAY 16, HE TOLD A SCREAMING CROWD OF NEGROES IN
WASHINGTON, "THERE IS NO NEED TO GO TO VIETNAM AND SHOOT SOMEBODY
WHO A HONKY SAYS IS YOUR ENEMY. WE'RE GOING TO SHOOT THE COPS
WHO ARE SHOOTING OUR BLACK BROTHERS IN THE BACK IN THIS COUNTRY.
THAT'S WHERE WE ARE GOING." IN THIS SAME SPEECH, RECORDED BY
RADIO AND TELECAST THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY, HE CALLED PRESIDENT
JOHNSON A "BUFFOON" AND A "HONKY" AND SAID "THE HONKY IS LYING'
ABOUT VIETNAM.", AND

SF1201(R2-65)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/19/01 BY 3906 BEW/ocbmu

ENCLOSURE

100-446080-423

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

R. W. MCFALL
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

WHEREAS CARMICHAEL HAS PURPOSEFULLY AND SYSTEMATICALLY SET OUT TO UNDERMINE THE RESPECT OF HIS LISTENERS FOR THE ESTABLISHED HEROES OF THIS COUNTRY. HE CALLS CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS "A DUMB HONKY"; GEORGE WASHINGTON "A DUMB HONKY WHO HAS SLEAVES"; SAND ABRAHAM LINCOLN "ANOTHER DUMB HONKY." HE URGES NEGROES TO RIOT AND ADMITTEDLY TERMS THESE RIOTS AS "REBELLIONS." HE TELLS HIS FOLLOWERS THAT THE BLACK MAN DOES NOT NEED TO APOLOGIZE FOR THESE REBELLIONS AND, "IF A HONKY TRIES TO SHOOT YOU, KILL HIM BEFORE GOD GETS THE NEWS." CARMICHAEL'S INFLUENCE WITH HIS PEOPLE IS NOT TO BE UNDERSTIMATED WHEN HE SETS A MOB CHANTING ENDLESSLY AGAINST THE VIETNNAM WAR WITH, "HELL, NO. WE WONT GO."; AND

SF1201(R2-65)

WHEREAS MR. J. EDGAR HOOVER, DIRECTOR OF THE FEDERAL

BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION IN A RECENT REPORT TO A CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE ON SOME OF CARMICHAEL'S ACTIVITIES STATED THAT CARMICHAEL IN ESPOUSING HIS BLACK POWER MOVEMENT HAD BEEN IN FREQUENT CONTACT WITH MAX STANFORD, FIELD CHAIRMAN OF THE REVOLUTIONARY ACTION MOVEMENT (RAM), A HIGHLY SECRET ALL-NEGRO, MARXIST-LENINIST, CHINESE-COMMUNIST-ORIENTED ORGANIZATION WHICH ADVOCATES GUERILLA WARFARE TO OBTAIN ITS GOALS, AND THAT THIS ORGANIZATION HAS AIDED AND GUIDED STANFORD IN FORMING A BLACK PANTHER PARTY IN NEW YORK CITY AS WELL AS IN OTHER AREAS OF THE UNITED STATES; AND

WHEREAS IT HAS BEEN LEARNED THAT CARMICHAEL, WHO IS NOT A NATIVE OF THIS COUNTRY AND WHOSE STRANGE INFLUENCE IS CREEPING OUT IN UNESPLAINED AREAS, IS NOW OUT OF THIS COUNTRY AND HAS

SF1201(R2-65)

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

R. W. MCFALL
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

GONE TO CZECHOSLOVAKIA. HE HAS STATED HIS INTENTION OF GOING TO HANOI AND NORTH VIETNAM AND IT WAS TODAY REPORTED BY RADIO THAT HE WILL ATTEND A "REVOLUTION SCHOOL" IN CUBA NEXT WEEK" NOW THEREFORE

BE IT RESOLVED BY THE LEGISLATURE OF ALABAMA, BOTH HOUSES THEREOF CONCURRING THAT THE BLASPHEMOUS AND PROFANE, COMMUNIST REVOLUTIONARY, STOKEY CARMICHAEL, SBE DENIED READMITTANCE TO THIS COUNTRY AS AN UNDESIRABLE AILLEN OR ON ANY OTHER AVAILABLE GROUNDS THAT WILL PREVENT HIS RETURN TO VILIFY AND OVERTHROW THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

RESOLVED FURTHER THAT A COPY OF THIS RESOLUTION BE SENT TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, TO THE CONGRESS, TO
SF1201(R2-65)

THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT AND TO THE OFFICE OF IMMIGRATION WITH THERES ECTFUL BUT URGENT REQUEST THAT CONCERTE ACTION BE TAKEN TO DENY STOKELY CARMICHAEL REENTRANCE TO THIS COUNTRY.
RESPECTFULLY

[Redacted Signature Box]

b7C

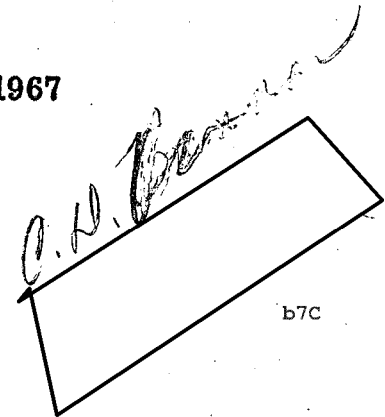
August 3, 1967

REC 5

100-446080-424



b7C



b7C

Dear [Redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/14/01 BY 39063 EWL/BCL/ANL

Your letter of July 26th and its enclosure have been received.

In response to your inquiry, Stokely Carmichael was born on June 29, 1941, at Trinidad, West Indies and a citizen of the United States by derivation. He is, therefore, not subject to exclusion from the United States as an alien. In addition, the FBI is strictly an investigative agency of the Federal Government and, as such, does not determine whether prosecution will be undertaken in any situation. Such decisions concerning violations of Federal law are within the province of the United States Department of Justice.

You may be assured, however, the FBI is aware of the activities of this individual and any information obtained which might indicate a violation of Federal law over which this Bureau has investigative jurisdiction will be furnished to the United States Department of Justice for prosecutive consideration.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

NOTE: Prior correspondence maintained with [Redacted] Last outgoing dated 1/23/67. Enclosure was a newspaper article commenting upon Carmichael's statements to the Cuban News Agency.

BGH:lmf (3)

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

AUG 10 1967

TELETYPE UNIT

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Bishop	✓
Mr. Casper	✓
Mr. Callahan	✓
Mr. Conrad	✓
Mr. Felt	✓
Mr. Gale	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Miss Holmes	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

7/26/67

Mr. Hoover:

Note the enclosed. Why do you not stop this Son of a bitch from Cuba. He is the one that is behind all these uprisings in this wonderful country of ours.

I question if he has a passport. Why do not the government put these riots in your hands you have done such a wonderful job over a period of years I am inclined to think you would shoot a few hundred of these bastards before the riot got out of hands.

Stokely Carmichael

Respectfully

[Redacted Signature Box]

b7C

E
JUL 31 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/14/01 BY 39013 EMB/BD/AMW

*made
ack
12/23/67*

ENCLOSURE

REC 5

100-446080-424

AUG 7
JUL 31 1967

[Redacted Box]

b7C

CORRESPONDENCE

Stokely Says Negroes Plan Fight to Death

HAVANA (AP) — Stokely Carmichael was quoted by the Cuban news agency Prensa Latina Tuesday as saying American Negroes are organizing urban guerrillas for "a fight to the death."

The U.S. Black Power advocate arrived in Havana to attend a conference of the revolution-bent Latin American Organization of Solidarity, opening July 31.

Wearing a black jacket and white shirt open at the collar, Carmichael stepped off a Cuban Airline plane from Prague, Czechoslovakia, and was taken to a private room at the airport, where Western newsmen were unable to talk with him.

He was met by Capt. Osmany Cienfuegos, secretary-general of the leftist Tricontinental Congress and a member of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist party. Carmichael was booked at the Hotel Habana Libre.

Carmichael flew Monday from Britain to Prague.

Though he was screened from Western correspondents at the Havana airport, Prensa Latina quoted him as saying in a London interview that racial disorders in New Jersey and Michigan were virtual rebellions.

According to the agency's account:

"In Newark we applied war tactics of the guerrillas," he said. "We are preparing groups of urban guerrillas for our defense in the cities. The price of these rebellions is a high price that one must pay. This fight is not going to be a simple street meeting. It is going to be a fight to the death."

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 3/14/01 BY SP4034W/Bd/Amv

ENCLOSURE

100-446680-424

*Copy 4030
Carmichael's Letter*

August 2, 1967

EX-108

REC-31

100-426000-425

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/14/81 BY SP103 E/W/BCE/AMW

b7C

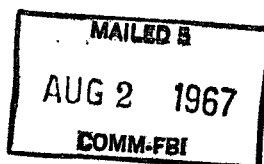
Dear [redacted]

The letter of July 27th, with enclosures, from you and your husband has been received, and I want to thank you for your favorable comments and kind sentiments.

In response to your inquiry, I am sending material reflecting some of my views regarding rioting in this Nation. I can assure you this Bureau is well aware of its responsibilities and it will make every effort to continue to discharge its duties with the same high degree of thoroughness and dispatch which have characterized our investigations in the past.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover



Enclosures (2)

Director's Testimony 2/16/67 Re Communist Influence in Racial Matters
LEB Intro, 6/67

NOTE: Bufiles contain no record of correspondents, [redacted]
Enclosures were articles from the "Oregonian" dated 7/27/67 concerning
Stokely Carmichael and [redacted] both of whom are well known to
the Bureau. Correspondents are not listed in the telephone directory so
as to verify last name.

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

BGH:cle (3)

AUG 9 1967

196-196

MAIL ROOM

TELETYPE UNIT

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 105-168197-

TRUE COPY

b7C

July 27, 1967

Honorable J. Edgar Hoover
Director FBI
Washington, D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11/10/01 BY 3008 GUB/BC/AMU

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Am sending an article clipped from todays "Oregonian" on this "Black Power" leader. I am seriously wondering how such people are allowed to run loose all over this great country of ours inciting riots and inflaming people to lawless acts and anarchy. Isn't there any way under the American system by which he and others like him could be stopped from evil road so they could not cause more harm and destruction in America? Mr. Hoover-We have great regard and affection for you and for the invaluable services you have rendered to rid America of lawlessness in the 50 years in the FBI and we want you to know that we are with you 100 per cent in your war against crime in whatever form it may appear, and we pray God to give you wisdom strength and courage to continue onward as before as long as you deem it possible. *Ab*

Yours very truly,

b7C

EX-108

REC-31

100-446000-425

11 AUG 8 1967

ITC
8-1-67
ack
8-2-67
BC/H
(1 enclosure detached + filed with copy)

M-8

UNREC COPY AND COPY OF ENCL FILED IN 105-168197-



b7C



AIR

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Director F.B.I.
Washington, D.C.

1 DIRECTOR

Ozawa
JUL 31 '81

July 27, 1967

986215

Honorable J. Edgar Hoover
Director FBI
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover

am sending an article
clipped from today's "Oregonian"
on this "Black Power" leader.
I am seriously wondering
how such people are allowed to
run loose all over this great
country of ours inciting riots
and inflaming people to lawless
acts and anarchy, doesn't there
any way under the American
system by which he and others
like him could be stopped from

CORRESPONDENCE

ITC
8-1-67
myc

ENCLOSURE
2-2-67
BCH/clc

and

their
~~this~~ evil road so they could
not cause more harm and
destruction in America?

Mr. Hoover - We have great
regard and affection for you
and for the invaluable
services you have rendered
to rid America of lawlessness
in the 50 years in the FBI
and we want you to know
that we are with you
100 per cent in your war
against crime in whatever
form it may appear. and
we pray God to give you
wisdom strength and courage
to continue onward as before
as long as you deem it possible.
Yours very truly,



100-446080-425

Toward Racial Violence In U.S.

Staff Sgt. Cornel Parker, 28, a Negro from Norfolk, Va., stationed with an Army advisory team near Da Nang, said: "Sooner or later, this thing would have happened like everybody else." Parker said black power is "justified." "You have been looked over for this many years. We have been working and fighting for America just he asked."

Jr. Negro unit time d not ent or e peo

It is each of Vietnam ted with ation that e years

all leave for es in 11 days 12 months in

am, said he, throught

black power is necessary if we are to control our own eco

Black Power Leader Vows 'Fight To Death'

HAVANA (AP) — Stokely Carmichael says Negroes in American cities are going to wage a guerrilla "fight to the death," the Cuban news agency reported Tuesday as the U.S. Black Power leader arrived in Havana for a revolutionary conference.

The Prensa Latina agency quoted the fiery 26-year-old Negro as saying: "In Newark we applied war tactics of the guerrillas. We are preparing groups of urban guerrillas for our defense in the cities. The price of these rebellions is a high price that one must pay. This fight is not going to be a simple street meeting. It is going to be a fight to the death."

The Black Power leader came to Havana for the meeting of the Latin American Organization of Solidarity opening July 31. U.S. racial problems are on the meeting's agenda.

Carmichael flew from London to Prague Monday and then to Havana. Non-Communist newsmen were not allowed to approach him at the Havana airport.

Revolutions Urged

In the Prensa Latina interview, which the agency said Carmichael gave in London, he said he decided to come to Cuba because of an April message attributed to the vanished Cuban guerrilla leader Ernesto "Che" Guevara. The message urged Latin-American revolutionaries to stir up more Vietnam-like situations.

Carmichael said Guevara inspired American Negroes and that Prime Minister Fidel Castro's visit to Harlem in 1960 was momentous "in the history of the fight of Northland."



STOKELY CARMICHAEL

American Negroes."

In the United States, the Alabama state Senate in a resolution asked that Carmichael be denied re-entry to the United States and called him "a blasphemous and profane Communist revolutionary."

The resolution, sponsored by the legislature's lone Republican, Sen. Leland Childs of Jefferson county, charged that Carmichael has gone through the country "advocating and initiating riots, rebellions and the overthrow of law and order."

Carmichael has apparently gone to Cuba without the U.S. passport authorization normally required for such travel.

A State Department spokesman in Washington said that to the best of his knowledge Carmichael's passport has not been validated for a visit to the Communist Caribbean is-

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

AUG 4 1967

FBI WASH DC

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

FBI CHICAGO

507PM DEFERRED 8-4-67 RMF

TO DIRECTOR /100-446080/ ATLANTA /100-6812/

FROM CHICAGO /157-1297/ /P/

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/14/01 BY 89063 EW/BCE/ML

STOKELY CARMICHAEL. IS-M. 00: ATLANTA.

ON AUGUST FOUR INSTANT, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] CHICAGO PD, ADVISED PD SOURCES STATE STOKELY CARMICHAEL IS
EXPECTED TO RETURN TO CHICAGO AUGUST ELEVENTH NEXT FOR A THREE DAY
SPEAKING ENGAGEMENT. DEACONS OF DEFENSE AND JUSTICE, INC. /DDJ/,
CHICAGO MILITANT CIVIL RIGHTS GROUP ADVOCATING ARMED NEGRO SELF-
DEFENSE, MAKING PREPARATIONS TO GUARD HIM. NO FURTHER DETAILS KNOWN.

MILITARY, SECRET SERVICE, USA ADVISED.

ADMINISTRATIVE: CHICAGO FOLLOWING, SOURCES ASSIGNED, LHM FOLLOWS.
AM COPY TO NEW ORLEANS RE DDJ.

LEAD: ATLANTA, IMMEDIATELY FURNISH ANY INFO RECEIVED INDICATING
TRAVEL TO CHICAGO BY CARMICHAEL.

END

BAP

FBI WASH DC

P

Included REC-63 100-446080-426

W.H. [unclear]
8/5/67

EX-115

9 AUG 8 1967

5-RJ

57 AUG 11 1967
2 XEROX

August 7, 1967

REC-69

100-446080-427

b7C

C.D. Brennan

b7C

Dear [redacted]

Your letter of August 1st has been received.

Regarding the question of Stokely Carmichael, who was born on June 29, 1941, at Trinidad, West Indies, and is a citizen of the United States by derivation. He is, therefore, not subject to exclusion from the United States as an alien. In addition, the FBI is strictly an investigative agency of the Federal Government and, as such, does not determine whether prosecution will be undertaken in any situation. Such decisions concerning violations of Federal law are within the province of the United States Department of Justice.

I can assure you, however, the FBI is aware of the activities of this individual and any information obtained which might indicate a violation of Federal law over which this Bureau has investigative jurisdiction will be furnished to the United States Department of Justice for prosecutive consideration.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/14/01 BY 39063 aub/bam

NOTE: Bufiles contain no record of correspondent.

JRP:mlb (3)

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

MAIL ROOM [] TELETYPE UNIT []

b7C

August 1, 1967

TELEPHONE

b7C

b7C

The Honorable J. Edgar Hoover
Director of the F.B.I.
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Hoover:

As an American citizen, I would like to express to you my feeling
and the feelings of many others who I have talked to regarding Stokely
Carmichael.

We trust that you will do everything in your power to make sure that
this man who has committed treason will not be allowed to re-enter
the country.

Trust your department is watching this matter very closely.

Sincerely yours,

b7C

GDK:cp

cc:

b7C

REC-69

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/14/01 BY 30063 EFW/BC/AMW

AUG 8 1967

CORRESPONDENCE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. J.A. Sizoo

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Wick _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *wcy*

DATE: 7-29-67

FROM : J. A. Sizoo *@*

1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan

1 - [redacted] b7C

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS

Good
On 7-29-67 [redacted]

[redacted] telephonically advised that she

[redacted] On the evening of 7-28- [redacted] b7C
a telephone call from telephone number, area code [redacted]
to an [redacted] at [redacted] telephone number, area code [redacted]

[redacted] advised that in [redacted]

b7C
[redacted] The [redacted] telephone number was answered by
a person stating [redacted] whereupon the [redacted]
caller stated, "Is that you Stokely." [redacted] stated that
[redacted] Because of this she feels
that Stokely Carmichael is hiding in [redacted] under
the assumed name of [redacted]

b7C
b7D
She requested that her name be kept confidential
because of [redacted]

ACTION:

None. For information.

DMW:mh (5)
dmw

EX-105

REC-41

430
100-446080-430

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/6/0 BY 39063 B/W/Be/Amw

11 AUG 8 1967

59 AUG 11 1967

5-11

F B I

Date: 8/2/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM : SAC, CINCINNATI (100-14158) (P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - SNCC

b7C

For information of Bureau and Atlanta, [redacted] who resides in [redacted] advised that he overheard two unknown male Negroes during the early morning hours of 7/29/67 talking on the sidewalk immediately adjacent to his bedroom window. [redacted] could not hear much of their conversation but the gist of it was that subject CARMICHAEL had gone to Cuba to procure arms and ammunition from CASTRO and that the arms would be brought to the U.S. in a submarine and transferred to yachts at a harbor near the New England States.

b7C

[redacted] UACB,
no further action by Cincinnati.

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/16/01 BY 39063 E/w/Bcelamw

- 1d.
3 - Bureau (RM) -
2 - Atlanta (100-6812) (RM)
2 - Cincinnati
(1 - 100-14158)
(1 - 66-2956)

TBE:mjw
(7)

EX-102

REC-41

100-446080-431

AUG 4 1967

cc Bishop

371

INT. SEC.

62 AUG 14 1967
Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

August 4, 1967

REC 33 ST-103

100-446080-432

b7C

b7C

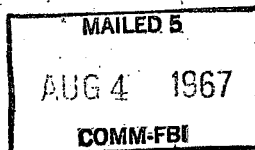
Dear [redacted]

Your telegram of August 2nd has been received.

In response to your request, Stokely Carmichael was born on June 29, 1941, at Trinidad, West Indies, and is a citizen of the United States by derivation. He is, therefore, not subject to exclusion from the United States as an alien. In addition, the FBI is strictly an investigative agency of the Federal Government and, as such, does not determine whether prosecution will be undertaken in any situation. Such decisions concerning violations of Federal law are within the province of the United States Department of Justice.

You may be assured, however, the FBI is aware of the activities of this individual and any information obtained which might indicate a violation of Federal law over which this Bureau has investigative jurisdiction will be furnished to the United States Department of Justice for prosecutive consideration.

Sincerely yours,



J. Edgar Hoover

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/16/01 BY 3903 BNL/BCE/AMW

NOTE: Correspondent is not identifiable in Bufiles.

BGH:mjb
(3)

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

56 AUG 14 1967

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

4

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

AUG 2 1967

WESTERN UNION

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Bishop	✓
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

BIA020 905P EDT AUG 2 67 (22)NSA387

NS MLA121 NL PD AR MCALLEN TEX 2

J EDGAR HOOVER

DIRECTOR FBI WASHDC

WHAT DO YOU INTEND TO DO ABOUT ACTIONS AND STATEMENTS OF STOKLEY

CARMICHAEL. URGE SWIFT AND STRONG ACTION TO CURB SUCH THINGS. *Ab*

PLEASE REPLY

[REDACTED]

b7C

(10).

78501

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/16/01 BY 39063 EIU/SCD/AMW

REC 33

1003 3 52 PM '67
446080-432

4 AUG 8 1967

nml
COPIES DESTROYED

333 FEB 24 1971

MR. DELOACH FOR THE DIRECTOR

cc-Mr Bishop

1818

F B I

Date: 7/27/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-68783) (RUC)

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS

OO: Atlanta

Transmitted herewith for the Bureau is an original and ten copies of a letterhead memorandum (LHM) concerning future travel plans of CARMICHAEL. Two copies of the LHM are being furnished to Atlanta since they are office of origin in this case.

The enclosed LHM is classified CONFIDENTIAL because information furnished by source could reasonably result in identification of a confidential source of continuing value and compromise future effectiveness thereof.

b2
b7D

The source utilized in LHM is [REDACTED]

ENCLOSURE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/19/01 BY 38063 EWB/bcf/mw

3 - Bureau (Encl. 11) (AM-REGISTERED)
2 - Atlanta (Encl. 2) (100-6812) (AM-REGISTERED)
2 - Los Angeles
JWW:gcw

(7)

REC- 60

100-446080-433

AGENCY: ACSI, OSI; SEC. SER:

DATE FORW: [REDACTED] 8/2/67 b2

HOW FORW: b7C

BY:

ICC AT 444 922 FTD

AUG 2 1967

Approved: _____

Sent _____ M

Special Agent in Charge

55 AUG 11 1967

130



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Los Angeles, California
July 27, 1967

Title	STOKELY CARMICHAEL
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY-MISCELLANEOUS
Reference	Los Angeles memorandum, dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

AUG 7 1967

TELETYPE

FBI WASH DC

FBI CHICAGO

636PM URGENT 8-7-67 RMF

TO DIRECTOR /100-446080/ ATLANTA CHARLOTTE
FROM CHICAGO /157-1297/ /P/

Mr. Tolson_____
Mr. DeLoach_____
Mr. Mohr_____
Mr. Bishop_____
Mr. Casper_____
Mr. Callahan_____
Mr. Conrad_____
Mr. Felt_____
Mr. Gale_____
Mr. Rosen_____
Mr. Sullivan_____
Mr. Tavel_____
Mr. Trotter_____
Tele. Room_____
Miss Holmes_____
Miss Gandy_____

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION, OO: ATLANTA.

Referral/Direct

RE BUREAU AIRTEL TO SAC, CHICAGO, ET AL, DATED AUGUST FOUR LAST.

REC 67

100-446080-434

INVESTIGATION DETERMINED TWO

IN

AUDIENCE AT WAUKEGAN WHO ARE AS FOLLOWS:

END PAGE ONE

EX-115

AUG 3 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/19/01 BY 39603 ELL/BCL/AMM

MR. DELOACH FOR THE DIRECTOR

55 AUG 11 1967

b7C

P

A

GE THREE

CHARLOTTE IS TO LOCATE AND INTERVIEW ABOVE AND SHOULD RECORD INTERVIEW ON FD THREE ZERO TWO OR IN SIGNED STATEMENT AND FURNISH PERTINENT INFO TO THE BUREAU AND ATLANTA IN INSERT FORM FOR INCLUSION IN PROSECUTIVE SUMMARY REPORT SO BUDED OF AUGUST NINE NEXT MAY BE MET FOR AUXILIARY OFFICES. ATLANTA HAS BUDED OF AUGUST FOURTEEN NEXT TO SUBMIT PROSECUTIVE SUMMARY REPORT.

b7C

BUREAU HAS ADVISED EACH SAC WILL BE HELD STRICTLY ACCOUNTABLE FOR MEETING THESE DEADLINES. ASSIGN SUFFICIENT MANPOWER TO ASSURE DEADLINES ARE MET AND SET OUT LEADS BY TELETYPE IF NECESSARY TO ASSURE DEADLINES ARE MET.

END

BGM

FBI WASH DC

P

CC- MR. SULLIVAN

ns

CODE

CABLEGRAM

VIA TELETYPE

1044 AM 113e
AUG 4 1967

ENCIPHERED

URGENT

TO ALL LEGAL ATTACHES

FROM DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS;
SEDITION.

THE DEPARTMENT ADVISED SUBJECT, FORMER NATIONAL CHAIRMAN OF THE STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE, MAY BE IN VIOLATION OF TITLE EIGHTEEN, U. S. CODE, SECTION TWO THREE EIGHT EIGHT, SEDITION.

CARMICHAEL PRESENTLY IN CUBA ATTENDING LATIN-AMERICAN
SOLIDARITY ORGANIZATION CONFERENCE AS A GUEST OF THE CUBAN
GOVERNMENT. REPORTS HAVE BEEN RECEIVED CARMICHAEL ON LEAVING
CUBA, MAY GO TO MOSCOW, VARIOUS LATIN-AMERICAN COUNTRIES, AND
HANOI.

REC 3 100-446080-435
FV-115

ALL LEGAL ATTACHES SHOULD BE ALERT FOR INFORMATION CON-

**CERNING SUBJECT'S ACTIVITIES AND TRAVEL AND SHOULD ADVISE THE
BUREAU BY MOST EXPEDITIOUS MEANS NECESSARY OF ANY INFORMATION**

RECEIVED. ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 3/19/01 BY 29103 Ew/BCE/Amnu

✓ - Foreign Liaison Unit (Route through for review)

TJD:mh/cst
(4)

NOTE :

Send by teletype to Legat, Ottawa. Memorandum
C. D. Brennan to Mr. W. C. Sullivan, same date and caption,
noted this cablegram would be sent.

59 AUG 11 1967

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☒

REC 49

EX 101

100-446080-436

August 8, 1967



b7C

Dear

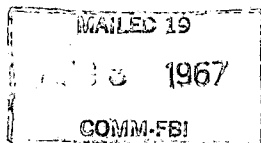
Your letter of August 3rd and enclosures have been received.

In response to your communication, the FBI is strictly an investigative agency of the Federal Government and, as such, does not determine whether prosecution will be undertaken in any situation. Such decisions concerning violations of Federal law are within the province of the United States Department of Justice.

You may be assured, however, the FBI is aware of the activities of the individual to whom you referred and any information obtained which might indicate a violation of Federal law over which we have investigative jurisdiction is being furnished to the United States Department of Justice for prosecutive consideration.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/19/01 BY 39603 Bw/occl/mus del

DCL:mew (3)

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

33/mew

56 AUG 17 1967

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

TRUE COPY

Aug 3rd 1967

b7C

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover: —

You will find enclosed two clippings from the August 2nd
Virginia papers.

Having served [] years as []

b7C

[] I feel it is my duty to resent any human U. S. citizen getting by
with such conduct as Stokely Carmichael seems to enjoy. —

Yours truly concerned friend

b7C

b7C

per 21Pbook

REC 49

EX 101

ENCLOSURE

100-446080-436

14 AUG 9 1967

1 TC: 8/8/67
new
Ack: 8/8/67
DCH:mcw
NML

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/9/01 BY 39063 E/W/Balamm

Aug 3rd 1967

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:—

You will find enclosed
two clippings from the August 2nd
Virginia papers—

Having served [] years as

b7C

I feel it is my duty to resent
any human U.S. citizen getting by
with such conduct as Stokely
Carmichael seems to enjoy—

Yours truly concerned friend

b7C

2- ENCLOSURE

REC'D-COMM 8 10 08 67
ITC: 8/8/67

msw
Ach: 8/8/67
Dec: msw
NML

CORRESPONDENCE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/19/01 BY 39063 ELW/BOLANNU

Richmond Times Dispatch

Aug 2

NEWS ANALYSIS



Carmichael's Cuban Role Disservice to U. S. Negro

By James Reston

HAVANA — Stokely Carmichael is playing a miserable game down here. He is not only condemning his own country abroad, but he is misleading Fidel Castro and the other revolutionary Communists from Latin America about the condition and power of the Negroes in America.

The facts are fairly plain. His black power policy has not gained popular support among the Negro community in the United States. He has lost his base as head of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. He has come here from Communist Europe without a legal passport to take part in a viciously anti-U.S. meeting of the most revolutionary fragments of the Latin-American Communist parties, and he is strutting around Havana as a symbol of the American Negroes, most of whom have rejected his leadership.

He is clearly operating now, not only outside the legal framework of the U.S. government, but outside the structure of the Negro protest movement in the United States as well. Even the official Communist newspapers in Havana are confused about him. One of them referred to him, not as an advocate of racial separation and black power, but as a leader of the integrationist movement in the United States. One of his aides remarked: "They obviously haven't got Stokely's message."

CARMICHAEL IS TOO intelligent and cynical not to know what he is doing. He has given up on trying to persuade the Negroes at home to follow his black power thesis, and, either consciously or unconsciously, is making an alliance with the radical revolutionary Communists in Latin America. He is using them, and they, in turn, are using him, probably to the detriment of both the American Negroes and the militant Latin-American Communists.

Carmichael does not even pretend that he is trying to make an objective case for his argument. At least he is apparently not willing to submit it to questioning. He called a news conference here in Havana Tuesday, and excluded everybody from the United States. He had two lists for the news conference, not only those invited, but those excluded, and even the representative of the U.S. Communist party press was not allowed to attend.

Nevertheless, Castro seems very pleased with Stokely's adventure. He has not only introduced Carmichael publicly to half a million Cubans and the entire Havana diplomatic

corps as "one of the most distinguished pro-civil rights leaders in the United States," but has taken him off on a two-day tour of Eastern Cuba alone.

EVEN CASTRO'S MOST sympathetic supporters in the diplomatic corps think the dramatic liaison between Stokely and Fidel is very odd. It obviously does not help the Negro struggle in the United States to have Castro identifying it as one "front" in the Communist war against "U.S. imperialism." And it does not help Castro to follow the Carmichael thesis that "in the event of serious trouble between the United States and Cuba, the American Negroes will oppose their own government."

Yet that is the impression that is being given here by Carmichael's visit to Havana, and Castro's emphasis on the significance of Stokely's presence here. The Cuban government has gathered here for a meeting of the Organization of Latin American Solidarity, an astonishing collection of Communist revolutionaries who are more militant than most of the established Communist parties of the hemisphere. The theme of the conference is that the way to frustrate and defeat American imperialism is to have a number of armed revolts against the established governments, including especially the U.S. government, and the Negro revolt in the United States is included in those revolts, with the support of Carmichael.

He is quite blunt about it. He told this reporter the other day in Santiago de Cuba: "If the United States gets into serious trouble with Cuba, the white boys are going to fight it out alone. And the rest of us will be fighting against any U.S.-Cuban battle at home."

CASTRO MAY NOT believe Stokely, but he is obviously using him, and this is highly ironical. For whatever else Cuba is, it is not a racist state. There is probably less antiracial and antireligious feeling here than in any other nation in the hemisphere. Carmichael, with his policy of racial separatism and black power, could not be further from Castro's policy of total racial integration. But Stokely is here, representing little more than himself, and Castro is playing him up as if he had the support of the entire Negro community in the United States. It is a squalid business, which hurts everybody concerned: Carmichael especially, Castro, the revolutionary movement in the hemisphere, and particularly, and sadly, the American Negro.

© New York Times Service

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 3/9/01 BY 29063 GML/ace/bmd

ENCLOSURE 100-446080-436

Daily Progress, Charlotte, N.C. 8/2

Aug 2nd

Wednesday Afternoon, August

Carmichael Issues Call For Uprisings

By FENTON WHEELER

HAVANA (AP) — Black Power advocate Stokely Carmichael called yesterday for Negro guerrilla uprisings in U.S. cities and made threats against President Johnson, British Prime Minister Harold Wilson and other high U.S. officials.

Declaring that Black Power advocates "are moving into urban guerrilla warfare in the United States," the militant Negro agitator told a three-hour news conference:

"We have no alternative but to use aggressive armed violence in order to own the land; houses and stores inside our communities, and to control the politics of those communities."

U.S. newsmen were barred from the news conference, but Carmichael's remarks were quoted by Havana Radio, George Ware of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and Felix Greene, a British subject reporting for the San Francisco Chronicle.

Carmichael declared that Negro guerrillas "must develop a consciousness so that when people who are struggling get killed, the retaliation will be against the leaders of the West."

"Let us develop a consciousness that when they touch one guerrilla, Lyndon Johnson, Dean Rusk, Robert McNamara and Harold Wilson must pay the price," he said. "We are not waiting for them to kill us. We will move to kill them first—or rather, we are working towards that goal."

He presumably included Wilson because the Home Office last week banned him from Britain.

"One good thing about the Vietnam war is that the United States has taught us how to kill," Carmichael declared later. "Our brothers returning from Vietnam are going to use that training well in the cities of the United States."

Asked about the role of white people in the Negro struggle, Carmichael replied: "the only whites we can use in our struggle are those who are ready to pick up guns with us to destroy the capitalist system."

Asked about the possibility that he might be assassinated, Carmichael said the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency has international license to kill and if the CIA continues to assassinate fighters and guerrillas, vengeance must be taken against Western leaders.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/19/01 BY 390632 W/BAH/mw

ENCLOSURE

100-446080-436

F B I

Date: 7/26/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Wick	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, NEW ORLEANS (100-17362)

SUBJECT: STOKLEY CARMICHAEL
IS-C

b7C

Enclosed for the Bureau are four (4) copies of a letterhead memorandum regarding captioned matter.

Information concerned in enclosed LHM being furnished to Bureau in form suitable for dissemination for whatever action Bureau may deem necessary.

No dissemination being made locally.

Indices re _____

b7C

b7C

UACB, New Orleans conducting no additional investigation re this matter.

ENCLOSURE

3 - BUREAU (ENCS. 4)
2 - NEW ORLEANS
MB/dbb
(5)

EX-115

REC-23

AGENCY: ACSI, ONI, OSI; SEC. SER:

Crim. Div. _____ State _____

Att. _____ RAO _____

HOW FORW: b7C

BY: _____

IC AT 11:45 PM 7/26/67

E. C. WICK

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/19/01 BY 890639W/BALAMW

53 Approved: 4/19/67

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New Orleans, Louisiana

July 26, 1967

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

STOKLEY CARMICHAEL

b7C

On July 26, 1967, [redacted]

b7C

[redacted] furnished the following information:

fur-

b7D

A short time ago [redacted]

[redacted] two citizens band radios (transceivers), a Metrotek charger, serial number [redacted] Metrotek Electronics, Inc., and a Courier #23, serial number unknown, e.c.i. Electronics Communications, Inc. He stated recently [redacted] received a long distance telephone call and also several individuals, names unknown, [redacted] for technical assistance and spare parts for the above described radios. The individuals furnished information that the radios have been forwarded to [redacted]

b7C

b7D

[redacted] stated that [redacted] is making arrangements [redacted] an additional radio and more spare parts. [redacted] advised that [redacted] the above information to the FBI in view of the fact that during recent visit of Stokley Carmichael to Baton Rouge, Louisiana, Carmichael stayed at the [redacted] for several days. He noted that Carmichael is presently supposed to be in Cuba and that a competent radio technician could use the above described radios to transmit and receive information from Cuba to Jamaica.

b7C

b7D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/19/01 BY 39063 E/W/BCE/AMW

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

1*

ENCLOSURE

100-446000-437

[redacted] is not identifiable in Bufiles, nor is it possible to identify her in the [redacted] telephone directory. Therefore, this correspondence is not being acknowledged.

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 3/19/01 BY 39663 E/w/bcc/annw

XEROX
AUG 9 1990

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

b7C

August 4, 1967

J. Edgar Hoover
FBI Director
Justice Department
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Enclosed is a clipping blaming rioting on the two agitators, Stokely Carmichael and [redacted] b7C

Your claim according to this article that there is no evidence of a masterminding conspiracy and then add that some outside agitators were involved. We do not believe this is not a conspiracy.

The American public and tax payers are mighty fed up with the way the Justice Department is handling these Black Power leaders and their followers. No white person could get by with such antics. Why then the negro?

We, the public, aren't afraid if you justifiably exercise punishment toward these obvious pro-communists. Deport them. You owe it to the American people who obey and respect the laws of this country. It is the Government's responsibility.

Act now while it's time. Show the commies we mean business.

According to our newspaper, the Black Power movement is planning a revolution to separate the country between White and Black. Give these Jungle characters something to remember. Thank you.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/19/01 BY SP6LZELW/BODAMW

A law abiding citizen,

b7C

REC 10

EX 101

62 AUG 14 1967

XEROX

AUG 9 1967

14 AUG 1967

CORRESPONDENCE

REC COPY AND COPY OF ENCL. FILED IN 40 AUG 7 1967

2 SNCC Leaders Blamed In Rioting

Carmichael, Brown Speeches Acted As Spark, Police Claim

By Associated Press

WASHINGTON—Three police officials yesterday laid race riots in their communities to inflammatory speeches by Stokely Carmichael and H. Rap Brown.

Police Chief Jacob W. Scott of Cincinnati told the Senate Judiciary committee that rock-throwing, fire-bombing violence erupted in the streets after Carmichael urged Cincinnati Negroes to fight the police and burn the city.

That was April 29, he said, and now after four months of sporadic outbreaks "we're undergoing a guerrilla type operation, with kids operating from cars."

Police Capt. John A. Sorace of Nashville, Tenn., said a riot there on April 8 was caused by Carmichael, Brown and "other functionaries of the Student Non-violent Co-ordinating committee."

Sorace said the trouble began after SNCC held its week-long annual meeting in Nashville. He said Carmichael had given speeches in the area for three days prior to the trouble, and SNCC leaders from all parts of the country were in the city.

Police Chief Brice Kinnamon put the blame for a July 24 riot in Cambridge, Md., squarely on Brown, who succeeded Carmichael recently as chairman of SNCC. Kinnamon said a "highly inflammatory speech" by Brown "was the sole reason for our riot."

"The street was full of guns seconds after the speech," Kinnamon said. "It was a well organized and well planned affair."

As the senate hearings opened, the House Committee on Un-American Activities voted to launch a full investigation of the role of subversive groups in racial rioting.

Chairman Edwin E. Willis (D-La) said a report by investigators "clearly indicates certain subversive elements have been involved in some of these riots and in the creation of racial unrest generally."

Both Shott and Kinnamon contended there was racial harmony in their communities until the arrival of Black Power

advocates Carmichael and Brown.

He said 95 per cent of Cincinnati's Negroes are "heart-sick over these riots" and feel their opportunities have been diminished by the violence.

The city's riot toll was one death, 70 injuries, 405 arrests and nearly \$3 million in fire damage.

Carmichael is in Havana as a guest of Fidel Castro. Brown is free on bond pending an extradition hearing on charges of inciting a riot and being an accessory to arson in Cambridge. The senate committee plans to hear further from Sorace today and then from Police Detective William Millard of Newark, N.J., Police Commissioner Mark H. Tuohy Jr., of Rochester, N.Y., and Police Chief John B. Layton of Washington D.C.

As other congressional groups marshaled forces for investigations and hearings into the violent series of racial outbreaks, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover said there is no evidence of a masterminding conspiracy behind the disorders.

But David Ginsburg, executive director of the President's new 11-member commission on civil disorders, said Hoover did indicate at a commission meeting Tuesday "some outside agitators were involved."

Staff investigators for the House Committee on Un-American Activities pointed the blame at such groups as SNCC the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM) and a militant Negro rights group called ACT.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/14/07 BY 3003 EWL/EC/MS

100-446080-438

ENCLOSURE

Tolson _____
 DeLoach _____
 Mohr _____
 Bishop _____
 Casper _____
 Callahan _____
 Conrad _____
 Felt _____
 Gale _____
 Rosen _____
 Sullivan _____
 Tavel _____
 Trotter _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holmes _____
 Gandy _____

DECODED COPY

☐ AIRGRAM ☒ CABLEGRAM ☐ RADIO ☐ TELETYPE

STATE 09

URGENT 8-7-67

TO DIRECTOR

FROM LEGAT MEXICO CITY NO. 448

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS - SEDITION.

A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE [] ADVISED ON AUGUST 7 INSTANT
 THAT [] HAD BEEN ALERTED TO THE POS-
 SIBILITY THAT STOKELY CARMICHAEL MIGHT ARRIVE IN MEXICO ON HIS
 RETURN FROM CUBA. IN SUCH AN EVENT, []
 ARE TO PREVENT CARMICHAEL FROM ENTERING MEXICO AND TO INSURE THAT
 HE RETURNS TO CUBA ON THE NEXT AVAILABLE FLIGHT.

b7C

b7D

ADMINISTRATIVE:

REBUREAU CABLE AUGUST 4 LAST. CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE [] IS

b7C

b7D

PROTECT []

CLASSIFIED CONFIDENTIAL TO

REC-19

LEAD: AT MEXICO CITY.

WILL FOLLOW WITH SOURCES ANY POSSIBLE ATTEMPT BY SUBJECT TO
 RETURN TO UNITED STATES VIA MEXICO. NO LHM BEING SUBMITTED.

EMBASSY AWARE OF FOREGOING DATA.

b7C

51 AUG 16 1967

RECEIVED: 8:34 PM MSE

3RD CC: MR. BRENNAN

F B I

Date: 8/7/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
 FROM: SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-68783)
 RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
 IS - MISCELLANEOUS;
 SEDITION

Re: Bureau airtel to Los Angeles, 8/4/67, and
 Los Angeles telephone call to San Francisco, 8/7/67.

Transmitted herewith for information and appropriate
 action by the San Francisco Division, are two copies of
 Bureau airtel dated 8/4/67, concerning captioned subject.
 Particular reference is made to page two of Item #6 which
 concerns a speech on the part of CARMICHAEL at Berkeley,
 California on 10/29/66.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 3/19/81 BY SP9063EAW/BCE/AMW

- 1-922 940
- ③ - Bureau (AM-REGISTERED)
 - 2 - San Francisco (AM-REGISTERED) (Encl. 2)
 - 1 - Atlanta (AM-REGISTERED) (Info.)
 - 1 - Los Angeles
- JST:gcw
 (7)

REC 16

EX-115

AUG 8 1967

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

Tolson _____
 DeLoach _____
 Mohr _____
 Bishop _____
 Casper _____
 Callahan _____
 Conrad _____
 Felt _____
 Gale _____
 Rosen _____
 Sullivan _____
 Tavel _____
 Trotter _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holmes _____
 Gandy _____

DECODED COPY

☐ AIRGRAM ☒ CABLEGRAM ☐ RADIO ☐ TELETYPE

STATE 13

URGENT 8-8-67

TO DIRECTOR

FROM LEGAT LONDON NO. 97

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS MISC.

REBULET AUGUST 2 LAST INSTRUCTING LONDON OBTAIN

VERBATIM COPY OF SUBJECT'S INTERVIEW BY [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

CONTENTS [REDACTED] ARTICLE JULY 26 LAST ISSUE WASHINGTON
 POST AND TIMES HERALD INTERPRETS SUBJECT PROBABLY
 INTERVIEWED BY "PRENSA LATINA." [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] UACB [REDACTED] NOT BEING CONTACTED. Cuba

RECEIVED: 2:12 PM ELR

AUG 9 1967

56 AUG 15 1967

BRD CC: MR. BRENNAN

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 3/19/01 BY SP8063 GWT/CEH/mw5-2

FBI

Date: 8/4/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (100-6812) (P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - M

ReBuairtel 8/2/67, with enclosure, to Atlanta.

Enclosed for Jackson, Minneapolis, San Antonio and San Francisco are one copy each of referenced airtel with enclosure.

Receiving offices are requested to handle investigation in accordance with instructions contained in Bureau airtel 8/2/67, with enclosure to Atlanta.

LEADS:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/19/01 BY 37063 B/W/BCE/AMW

JACKSON

(Re LHM submitted by Jackson, 6/6/67, captioned "COMINFIL, SNCC, IS - C and STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS - M" which is a transcript of a speech made by CARMICHAEL at

- 3 - Bureau (RM)
 - 2 - Jackson (Enc. 2) (RM)
 - 2 - Minneapolis (100-13781) (Enc. 2) (RM)
 - 2 - San Antonio (100-10300) (Enc. 2) (RM)
 - 2 - San Francisco (157-721) (Enc. 2) (RM)
 - 2 - Atlanta
- EUC:met
(13)

REC 13

AUG 8 1967

ST-106

INFO SEC.

53 AUG 17 1967

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

AT 100-6812

Tougaloo College, Tougaloo, Miss., 4/11/67.) Contact

[redacted] to determine if the tape for this speech is now available and if so if he has been able to ascertain the identity of [redacted] making it available.

b7C

b7D

MINNEAPOLIS

(Re LHM dated 6/20/67, captioned "STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS - M" which is the transcript of a speech given by CARMICHAEL at the University of Minneapolis on 5/15/67) Contact [redacted] and determine if this tape is available in accordance with Bureau instructions.

b7D

SAN ANTONIO

(Re LHM dated 7/12/67, captioned "STOKELY CARMICHAEL", which is the transcript of a speech given by CARMICHAEL at the University of Texas. on 4/14/67.) Contact [redacted]

b7C

[redacted] Austin, Texas, to determine if this tape is available in accordance with Bureau instructions.

b7D

SAN FRANCISCO

(Re LHM dated 7/13/67, which is a speech given by CARMICHAEL at the University of California, Berkeley, Calif., 10/29/66.) Contact [redacted] and ascertain if this tape is available, in accordance with Bureau instructions.

b7C

b7D

ATLANTA

AT ATLANTA, GA.

Contact appropriate police officers and news media representatives to ascertain if there are in possession of any information which could be made available in accordance with Bureau instructions as contained in Buairtel dated 8/2/67.

4
(F) CUBAN CLANDESTINE OPERATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES --
Recent information in the press discloses that Stokely Carmichael,
foremost "Black Power" advocate of violence, has been in Cuba as an
official guest of the Castro government attending the Latin-American
Solidarity Organization (LASO) conference. Since the avowed purpose
of the LASO is to plan ways and means to overthrow U. S. "imperialism"
in Latin America by revolutionary violence, Carmichael's presence at
the conference takes on added significance and could presage Castro's
clandestine involvement in the current racial strife in the U. S.

Accordingly, all offices be most alert to any indication of
such involvement on the part of Castro agents or sympathizers or any
indication that support, direction or influence of current or future
racial violence in the U. S. is emanating from Havana.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover

Director

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/19/01 BY 39063 EWB/BCE/AME

100-446080-
NOT RECORDED

141 AUG 11 1967

8/1/67

SAC LETTER 67-43

- 9 -

55 AUG 11 1967

ORIGINAL FILED IN 66-04-3516

August 7, 1967

REC 48

100-446080-444

b7C

Honorable Frank Horton
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C. 20515

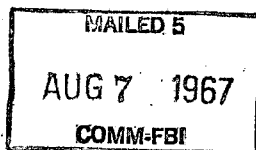
My dear Congressman:

Thank you for your letter of August 3rd.

In response to your request, Stokely Carmichael was born on June 29, 1941, at Trinidad, West Indies, and is a citizen of the United States by derivation. He is, therefore, not subject to exclusion from the United States as an alien. In addition, the FBI is strictly an investigative agency of the Federal Government and, as such, does not determine whether prosecution will be undertaken in any situation. Such decisions concerning violations of Federal law are within the province of the United States Department of Justice.

You may be assured, however, the FBI is aware of the activities of this individual and any information obtained which might indicate a violation of Federal law over which this Bureau has investigative jurisdiction will be furnished to the United States Department of Justice for prosecutive consideration.

Sincerely yours,



J. Edgar Hoover
REC D MCK
FBI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/9/01 BY 3903 EWL/BCL/MLW
#97228

NOTE: Bufiles indicate prior cordial correspondence with Congressman Horton. He is on the mailing list to receive FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin.

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

BGH:cat (5)

62 AUG 14 1967

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

b7C

4724

FRANK HORTON
36TH DISTRICT OF NEW YORK

COMMITTEES:
GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
SMALL BUSINESS

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

1220 LONGWORTH HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
(202) 225-4916

DISTRICT OFFICE:
107 FEDERAL BUILDING
ROCHESTER, NEW YORK 14611
(716) 546-4900

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Bishop	✓
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

August 3
1967

Hon. J. Edgar Hoover
Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C.

Dear Director Hoover:

At your very earliest convenience, please inform me of Mr. Stokely Carmichael's current citizenship status. Additionally, I would like to know whether or not he will be allowed to return to this country and whether or not the Justice Department presently plans to prosecute him for violating the Cuban travel ban imposed by the State Department.

I will very much appreciate your early attention to this inquiry.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely,

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/19/01 BY 3906 ETL/BCE/AMW

Frank Horton
Frank Horton

FH/cr

EX-102

REC 48

100-446080-444

2 AUG 4 1967

INT. SEC.

ALL 8-9-67
B9N: cat
me

EXP. PROC.

34 AUG 4 1967

40

ATTENTION

The following documents appearing in FBI files have been reviewed under the provisions of The Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) (Title 5, United States Code, Section 552); Privacy Act of 1974 (PA) (Title 5, United States Code, Section 552a); and/or Litigation.

☐ FOIA/PA☐ Litigation☐ Executive Order Applied

Requester: _____

Subject: _____

Computer or Case Identification Number: _____

Title of Case: _____ Section _____

* File _____

Serials Reviewed: _____

Release Location: *File _____ Section _____

This file section has been scanned into the FOIPA Document Processing System (FDPS) prior to National Security Classification review. Please see the documents located in the FDPS for current classification action, if warranted. Direct inquiries about the FDPS to RIDS Service Request Unit, 202

File Number: 100-42-446080 b2 Section 12Serial(s) Reviewed: All

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: 983317

File Number: _____ Section _____

Serial(s) Reviewed: _____

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: _____

File Number: _____ Section _____

Serial(s) Reviewed: _____

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: _____

THIS FORM IS TO BE MAINTAINED AS THE TOP SERIAL OF THE FILE, BUT NOT SERIALIZED.

ATTENTION

DO NOT REMOVE FROM FILE

VIA TELETYPE
AUG 7 1967
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

7:55PM URGENT 8-7-67 THW/RAK
TO DIRECTOR WASHINGTON FILED AND NEW YORK
NEW YORK VIA WASHINGTON
FROM ATLANTA

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-M.

b2

b7D

REMYTEL AUGUST SIX LAST.

[REDACTED] ADVISED ATLANTA OFFICE AUGUST SEVEN

THAT SNCC MEMBERS IN ATLANTA ARE APPREHENSIVE ABOUT CARMICHAEL AT
ARE THEORIZING HE MAY BE CONNECTED WITH CIA. THEY DO NOT UNDERSTAND
WHY CUBA WOULD STAMP CARMICHAELS PASS PORT "RETURN TO USA", UNLESS
CUBA WANTED TO RENEW DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH UNITED STATES.

RECEIVED: 8:10PM RAK

TWO COPIES TO WFO

RELAYED TO NY

EX-108
REC-21

100-446080-445

18 AUG 9 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/21/94 BY 39063 EMB/CLM

#917228

51 AUG 16 1967

5 R

F B I

Date: 8/3/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-43910)

FROM : SAC, New Orleans (100-16890)

SUBJECT: COMINFIL - STUDENT
NONVIOLENT COORDINATING
COMMITTEE (SNCC)
IS - C
(OO: Atlanta)
Bufile 100-439190

STOKLEY CARMICHAEL
IS - M
(OO: Atlanta)
Bufile 100-446080

Re Jackson airtel and Letterhead Memorandum
dated 6/20/67 captioned as above.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies, for
Atlanta two copies, Jackson two copies, and Houston two
copies of a Letterhead Memorandum captioned as above.

4-Bureau 2-(100-439190) (Enc. 11) (RM)
2-(100-446080) (STOKLEY CARMICHAEL)
4-Atlanta 2-(100-6488) (SNCC) (Enc. 2) (RM)
2-(100-68112) (STOKLEY CARMICHAEL)
2-Jackson (100-186) (Enc. 2) (RM)
2-Houston (Enc. 2) (RM)
3-New Orleans 2-(100-16890)
1-(100-17362)

SMC/caa
(15)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/23/01 BY 39063 L/W/BCE/AMW

CARBON COPY

100-446080-

ENCLOSURE

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

NOT RECORDED
98 AUG 21 1967

56 AUG 24 1967

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-439190-1403

NO 100-16890

Sources mentioned in the enclosed Letterhead
Memorandum are as follows:

[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted], New Orleans, Louisiana
(requested).

b2

b7C

b7D

[redacted] is [redacted]
[redacted] New Orleans, Louisiana.

b2

b7D

[redacted] is [redacted]
[redacted] is [redacted]
[redacted] New Orleans, Louisiana.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New Orleans, Louisiana

August 3, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION -
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING
COMMITTEE (SNCC)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Reference is made to a letterhead memorandum of the Jackson Office of the FBI dated June 20, 1967, captioned as above.

Confidential source [redacted] with whom insufficient contact has been had to determine reliability, but who is the

[redacted]
individuals, advised on June 28, 1967, that [redacted] is not acquainted with any individual known to [redacted] as [redacted]. [redacted] informed that [redacted] would make a discreet inquiry regarding such a person in other [redacted] in [redacted].

Confidential source [redacted] with whom insufficient contact has been had to determine reliability, but who is the

[redacted]
individual by the name of [redacted] who frequented a place known as the [redacted] in New Orleans around Mardi Gras time in 1967. This would have been during February, 1967. Confidential source [redacted] stated that he had not seen this person since the Mardi Gras season and is certain he is not in [redacted] at the present time. Confidential source [redacted] related that he could recall no pertinent information regarding [redacted] other than the fact that this person had claimed he was from some place in Texas.

Confidential source [redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on June 29, 1967, that he is not acquainted with any individual by the name of [redacted] of New Orleans.

b2

b7C

b7D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/23/01 BY 39023 CFW/BCE/AMW

ENCLOSURE

~~COMMUNIST INFILTRATION~~ 4
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING
COMMITTEE (SNCC)

b7C

b7D

b2

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Confidential source [redacted] who has furnished
reliable information in the past, advise on July 18, 1967.
that [redacted]

[redacted] area, however,
[redacted] has never met any individual by the name of [redacted]

Confidential source [redacted] mentioned above, also b7C
advised on July 18, 1967, that [redacted] made inquiries among
persons who frequent the [redacted] as well as other b7D
[redacted] in regards to a person named b2
[redacted] informed that this person was unknown among the
individuals that [redacted] had contacted.

b7C

b7D

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : The Director

DATE: 8-3-67

FROM : N. P. Callahan

SUBJECT: The Congressional Record

Page 319320. Senator Lausche, (D) Ohio, spoke concerning a letter he received from Mrs. Martha Cooper Judy regarding Stokely Carmichael. Mrs. Judy stated in the letter "I understand he is a Jamaican. Can you do anything about having his passport taken from him and keeping him out of the United States." Mr. Lausche stated "I concur completely in what Martha Cooper Judy said in her letter; however, I am deeply pained to believe that under the past policies of the Department of Justice and the Department of State no action will be taken against Stokely Carmichael. He also included an article from the Washington Star of July 28 entitled "Carmichael Asks Cubans To Join Negroes in Revolt."

Original filed in: 66-1731-3124

100-446080-

NOT RECORDED

176 AUG 16 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/21/01 BY 37063 ALW/BCL/AMW

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for 8-2-67 was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : The Director

DATE: 8-3-67

FROM : N. P. Callahan

SUBJECT: The Congressional Record

Page 510716. Senator Thurmond, (D) South Carolina, spoke concerning the activities of Stokely Carmichael and stated "He should and must be brought to the bar of justice the moment he returns to this country, if he returns at all. - - - This man and others who have infiltrated the civil rights movement are revolutionaries, pure and simple." Mr. Thurmond included an article from the Washington Post entitled "Carmichael Leads Cuban Communism" which was written by John M. Goshko.

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for 8-2-67 was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

(2)

Original Filed

VIA TELETYPE

AUG 1 1967

ENCIPHERED

NR 3 223 PM URGENT 8-4-67 MRK

TO DIRECTOR AND NEW YORK

NEW YORK VIA WASHINGTON (ENCODED)
FROM SAN JUAN (157-NEW) ²IP

RACIAL VIOLENCE, RACIAL MATTERS.

RE BUREAU TELETYPE JULY TWO SEVEN LAST.

STATED

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/23/01 BY 39063 ELW Bclamu

END PAGE ONE

MR. DELOACH FOR THE DIRECTOR

RELAYED TO

Xerox-2
62 AUG 22 1967

NOT RECORDED
180 AUG 16 1967

Mr. Tolson.....
Mr. DeLoach.....
Mr. Mohr.....
Mr. Bishop.....
Mr. Casper.....
Mr. Callahan.....
Mr. Conrad.....
Mr. Felt.....
Mr. Gale.....
Mr. Rosen.....
Mr. Sullivan.....
Mr. Tavel.....
Mr. Trotter.....
Tele. Room.....
Miss Holmes.....
Miss Gandy.....

ORIGINAL FILED IN 157-6-48-7

46080
RECORDED
16 1967

1967

Michael

PAGE TWO

[REDACTED]

SOURCE INFERRED [REDACTED] THAT THERE WILL
BE AN EFFORT TO COORDINATE THE AGITATION OF THE PUERTO RICANS
WITH THAT OF THE NEGROES IN NEW YORK.

b2

b7C

b7D

[REDACTED] ADVISED
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] THE MPIPR IS GOING TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE
RACIAL SITUATION, THE PLANS FOR WHICH ARE WELL UNDER WAY.

SOURCES HAVE NO ADDITIONAL INFORMATION CONCERNING
THIS MATTER. THEY DID NOT KNOW THE IDENTITIES OF INDIVIDUALS
INVOLVED, HAD NO KNOWLEDGE OF THE ACTUAL PLANS, ^{ET} METHODS OF
EFFECTING THE PLANS, OR SPECIFICS AS TO TIME OR PLACE OF AGITATION.

ANY ADDITIONAL INFORMATION CONCERNING THE ABOVE WILL BE
FORWARDED IMMEDIATELY.

^{MEMO}
AS ~~MEMO~~ SUITABLE FOR DISSEMINATION IS BEING SUBMITTED.

END

MAL R RELAY

FBI WASH DC

CC- MR. SULLIVAN

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : The Director
FROM : N. P. Callahan

DATE: 8-4-67

SUBJECT: The Congressional Record

Pages H9920-H9922. Congressman Rogers, (D) Florida, spoke concerning a telegram he sent to the Attorney General on July 26 asking the Justice Department to proceed to arrest Stokely Carmichael on his return from Cuba on grounds of sedition. He advised that eight days later he received "a rather fuzzy reply from the Assistant Attorney General informing me that the Department is alert to those activities which may pose a threat to the best interests of our Nation. Based on recent performances, I would question whether or not the Department is indeed alert to such situations and whether the Department plans to take action against Carmichael. - - - I think there is an overwhelming amount of evidence—indeed more than one would require to be alerted—which points out the need for action on the part of the Justice Department, both against Carmichael and Brown. It is not too late to exercise and display some leadership. I would hope that those in the Justice Department would respond to the alert."

Mr. Rogers pointed out that he had the Library of Congress research the law concerning sedition and how the courts have upheld them and placed this material in the Record "so that the Justice Department may better inform itself with this phase of the law and be better equipped to implement it when and if indeed Stokely Carmichael sets foot again on American soil."

Pages H9940-H9942. Congressman Downing, (D) Virginia, spoke concerning the riots and cited the activities of Stokely Carmichael and H. Rap Brown. He advised that he was drafting legislation to make it possible to prosecute persons for such activities. Congressman Kornegay, (D) North Carolina, commended Mr. Downing for his remarks and advised that he was introducing a concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 450) expressing the sense of the Congress that Stokely Carmichael should be prosecuted for sedition if he returns to the United States. A copy of this measure will be obtained.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/22/01 BY 3903aw/Bclamw

100-446080-

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above; the Congressional Record for _____ was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

NOT RECORDED
170 AUG 16 1967

67 AUG 25 1967

Original filed in: 66-1731-3122

Pages A3964-A3965. Congressman Pucinski, (D) Illinois, extended his remarks concerning the activities of Stokely Carmichael pointing out that for some time now he has been demanding that the Justice Department proceed to indict Carmichael for treason. He included press reports of statements made by Carmichael in Cuba and stated "which, in my judgment, clearly constitute succinct evidence to have him tried for treason."

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : J. F. Bland *JFB*

SUBJECT

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Bishop

DATE: August 7, 1967

1 - Mr. Bland
1 - Mr. Haynes
1 - Mr. Trainor
Dunn

Verdict
Tolson _____
DeLoach *✓* _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan *✓* _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

PURPOSE:

To set forth results of interview of [redacted]
[redacted] conducted by the Special Agent in Charge,
Cincinnati Office, on August 3, 1967.

b7C

BACKGROUND:

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

Enclosures *sent 8-7-67*
JJD:ekw/csh
(8)

SENT

CONTINUED - OVER

11 AUG 14 1967

ORIGINAL FILED IN 1-3393-28

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-21-01 BY 39063 Ely/oc/clm

ENCLOSURE

Memorandum to Mr W C Sullivan
RE: COMMENTS OF [REDACTED]

b7C

RECOMMENDATION:

b7C

Handled
If approved, the attached letter with an enclosed memorandum setting forth the comments of [REDACTED] will be furnished to Mrs. Mildred Stegall, the White House, Governor Otto Kerner Jr., Chairman, National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, the Attorney General, and the Deputy Attorney General.

WCS
OK
yes
OK

Tolson _____
 DeLoach _____
 Mohr _____
 Bishop _____
 Casper _____
 Callahan _____
 Conrad _____
 Felt _____
 Gale _____
 Rosen _____
 Sullivan _____
 Tavel _____
 Trotter _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holmes _____
 Gandy _____

338A

HUAC 8/2 WA

INSERT HUAC WASHINGTON 252A AFTER 2ND PGH XXX RIOTS."

THE EVIDENCE IS DERIVED FROM A CONFIDENTIAL STAFF INVESTIGATION THAT CITIES SEVERAL ORGANIZATIONS AS BEING ACTIVE IN MAJOR CITIES THAT EXPERIENCED RIOTS THIS SUMMER. SOME OF THE ORGANIZATIONS NAMED WERE THE STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC), THE PROGRESSIVE LABOR MOVEMENT, AND THE REVOLUTIONARY ACTION MOVEMENT.

A SOURCE SAID THE INVESTIGATORS STOPPED SHORT OF ATTRIBUTING THE RIOTS DIRECTLY TO SUCH ORGANIZATIONS.

INDIVIDUALS NAMED BY THE INVESTIGATORS AS "ACTIVE" IN SOME OF THE CITIES BEFORE, DURING, AND AFTER THE RIOTS INCLUDED STOKELY CARMICHAEL, FORMER HEAD OF SNCC.

THE CONFIDENTIAL REPORT WAS BASED ON VISITS BY INVESTIGATORS TO A NUMBER OF RACIALLY TROUBLED URBAN AREAS WHICH INCLUDED NEWARK, ... , CAMBRI

THE CONFIDENTIAL REPORT WAS BASED ON VISITS BY INVESTIGATORS TO A NUMBER OF RACIALLY TROUBLED URBAN AREAS WHICH INCLUDED NEWARK, N.J., CAMBRIDGE, MD., LOS ANGELES, CHICAGO, AND PHILADELPHIA.

PICKUP 3RD PGH: WILLIS INDICATED

TS1144PED

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 3/22/01 BY 39063 rtw/bcc/kmw

100-446080-

ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE
 WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

Mr. Sullivan

C. D. Brennan

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Bland
8/7/67
1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan
1 - Mr. B.A. Wells

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Due to the interest of the President in the activities of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and its leaders, we have prepared a summary setting forth current and planned future activities in this matter. A copy is attached for ready reference.

Carmichael, who is presently in Cuba as a guest of the Cuban Government to attend a conference sponsored by the Latin-American Solidarity Organization, telephonically contacted SNCC Headquarters on 8/6/67 and said that he would return to the United States between 8/10-13/67. SNCC officials are reportedly disgusted with his actions and statements in Cuba and may reprimand him. b7D

A source of the [redacted] has advised that Carmichael may go to Chicago on 8/11/67 for a three-day speaking engagement.

H. Rap Brown, current leader of SNCC, was a principal speaker at a rally in New York City on 8/6/67. Other speakers included a member of the Workers World Party, a communist splinter group, and a member of the Socialist Workers Party, which has been cited by the Attorney General. Brown referred to the President as "lynching Johnson." He described recent race riots as "dress rehearsals for revolution."

[redacted] may visit Jacksonville, Florida, on 8/9/67. b7C
An official of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has said that such a visit will increase racial tension and is contacting Negro leaders in an effort to maintain racial peace.

Encl.

100-439190

- ① - Bufile 100-446080 (Carmichael)
1 - Bufile 105-168197 [redacted]

BAW:des
(8)

CONTINUED - OVER

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/22/81 BY 39663 EMB/AMM

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-446080-11

100-446080-

NOT RECORDED

102 A 11 267

b7C

G.D. Brennan to Sullivan Memorandum
TO: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
100-89190

RECOMMENDATION:

That the enclosed memorandum to Mrs. Mildred Tegall at the White House; Mr. William Welsh, Administrative Assistant to the Vice President; Honorable Dean Rusk, Secretary of State; Honorable Robert S. McNamara, Secretary of Defense; Attorney General; Deputy Attorney General; Assistant Attorneys General Doar, Yeagley, and Vinson; Secret Service and the military intelligence agencies be approved.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Bland
1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan
1 - Mr. B.A. Wells

August 8, 1967

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

There is set forth below a summary of current and planned future activities of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, its former chairman Stokely Carmichael, and its current chairman H. Rap Brown.

Activities of Stokely Carmichael

It was previously reported that Carmichael has been in Cuba since July 26, 1967, as a guest of the Cuban Government. He has been attending a conference sponsored by the Latin-American Solidarity Organization where he has made numerous anti-United States statements.

According to a source [redacted]

b7D

[redacted] Carmichael is expected to return to Chicago on August 11, 1967, for a three-day speaking engagement. The Deacons of Defense and Justice, Inc., a militant civil rights group advocating armed Negro self-defense, is making preparations to guard Carmichael if he appears at Chicago. No further details concerning this engagement of Carmichael's have been received.

Carmichael telephonically contacted the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee Headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia, on August 6, 1967, and stated that he would return to the United States between August 10 and 13, 1967. Other Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee officials are reportedly disgusted with Carmichael's recent actions and statements in Cuba and are planning to call a meeting of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee Central Committee to discuss his actions and to possibly reprimand him.

b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
DATE YELLOW

RECEIVED BY 3963EW/klf
ON 3/22/01

H. Rap Brown was a principal speaker at a rally which was held at Saint Albans Plaza, Queens, New York, on August 6, 1967. This rally was sponsored by the National Legal Defense Fund for Sixteen African-Americans Accused,

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GROUP 1

100-439190

1 - Bufile 100-440069

BAW:des

(19)

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

SEE NOTE PAGE 3.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

in the Jacksonville Negro district in an effort to maintain racial peace. A Negro gang leader, who has considerable influence among young Negroes at Jacksonville, has advised [redacted] that he does not want Carmichael to visit Jacksonville and will do everything possible to maintain racial peace.

b7C

XEROX COPIES BEING SENT TO MRS. MILDRED STEGALL, THE WHITE HOUSE; MR. WILLIAM WELSH, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT TO THE VICE PRESIDENT; HONORABLE DEAN RUSK, THE SECRETARY OF STATE; HONORABLE ROBERT S. MCNAMARA, THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE; ATTORNEY GENERAL; DEPUTY ATTORNEY GENERAL; ASSISTANT ATTORNEYS GENERAL YEAGLEY, DOAR, AND VINSON; SECRET SERVICE; AND THE MILITARY INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES.

NOTE:

See memorandum C.D. Brennan to Mr. Sullivan dated 8/7/67, same caption, prepared by BAW:des.

Classified "~~Confidential~~" since it contains information from informants whose disclosure could affect our national defense.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (100-446080) DATE: August 9, 1967

FROM : Legal Attache, OTTAWA (100-1564) (C)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS-MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION
OO: ATLANTA

Reference: Butel to Ottawa - 8/5/67

Dissemination, as outlined below, was made on dates indicated
to foreign agencies listed.☐ _____ copies of☒ Pertinent information from rebutelName and Location of AgencyDate Furnished

8/8/67

b7D

3 - Bureau
(1 - Liaison Section)

1-OTT

MLI:jl
(4)ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/22/01 BY 3103 aw/Bcl/mnn

56 AUG 17 1967

100-446080-
NOT RECORDED
9 AUG 14 1967

INT. SEC.

Tolson	_____
DeLoach	_____
Mohr	_____
Bishop	_____
Casper	_____
Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
Felt	_____
Gale	_____
Rosen	_____
Sullivan	_____
Tavel	_____
Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

DECODED COPY

☐ AIRGRAM ☐ CABLEGRAM ☒ RADIO ☐ TELETYPE

R-64

DEFERRED 8-8-67

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080) AND CHICAGO (157-1297)
FROM ATLANTA (100-6812)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL. IS - M. 00: ATLANTA

RE CHICAGO TEL TO BUREAU AND ATLANTA DATED AUGUST 4 LAST
RELATIVE TO POSSIBILITY OF CARMICHAEL BEING IN CHICAGO
AUGUST 11 NEXT FOR THREE-DAY SPEAKING ENGAGEMENT.

[REDACTED] ADVISED [REDACTED] THAT CARMICHAEL IS DUE
TO RETURN TO THE UNITED STATES FROM CUBA BETWEEN AUGUST 10 AND
AUGUST 13 NEXT. INFORMANT KNOWS OF NO PLANS OF CARMICHAEL TO
BE IN CHICAGO. ATLANTA WILL ADVISE CHICAGO SHOULD ANY
POSITIVE INFORMATION BE RECEIVED THAT CARMICHAEL INTENDS TO
TRAVEL THERE.

REC 49

RECEIVED: 3:00 PM RNK

100-446080-446

EX-115

AUG 10 1967

RELAYED TO CHICAGO

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/22/01 BY 3908 EWL/bed/min

If the intelligence contained in the above message is to be disseminated outside the Bureau, it is suggested that it be suitably paraphrased in order to protect the Bureau's cryptographic systems.

16 1967

F B I

Date: 8/8/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - M;
SEDITION

ReBuairtels, 8/4 and 5/67.

Enclosed for Atlanta are nine copies each of
the following:

1. FD-302 covering interview with [redacted]
[redacted] Intelligence Division,
Metropolitan Police Dept. (MPD), Washington
D. C.
2. FD-302 covering interview with [redacted]
[redacted] Intelligence Division, MPD.
3. FD-302 covering interview with [redacted]
[redacted] Washington, D. C.

b7C

b7C

For the information of the Bureau, [redacted]
[redacted] were present during subject's speech on
5/16/67.

b7C

- 1-922 947
- ③ - Bureau
2 - Atlanta (100-6812) (Enc. 27) (RM)
1 - WFO

REC-40

EX 101

AUG 10 1967

JRP:pag
(6)

AIRTEL

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/22/01 BY 3902

Approved: [Signature]

Sent _____ M Per _____

62 AUG 16 1967

Special Agent in Charge

WFO 100-43503

[redacted] recorded CARMICHAEL's speech of 5/16/67, and the original tape is in custody of [redacted] Supervisor, [redacted] Washington, D. C.

b7C

[redacted] a resident of Baltimore, Md., does not return to duty at [redacted] Washington, D. C., until 10:30 a.m., 8/11/67. Baltimore requested to expeditiously locate and interview [redacted] by WFO teletype 8/8/67.

b7C

b7C

WFO has no informants available who are close enough to CARMICHAEL to testify as to his knowledge and intent.

All persons contacted by WFO were advised the investigation was being conducted at the request of the Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Internal Security Division, Department of Justice.

8/11/67

airtel

1 - Mr. B.A. Wells

~~SECRET~~

To: LEGAT, Tokyo

From: Director, FBI

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)
INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC

b1

Attempt to ascertain the identity of the individual sending this message to Carmichael. It is possible that this message came from [redacted], an official of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee who is the subject of your letter dated 8/1/67, captioned "Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, IS-SNCC."

1 - Foreign Liaison Unit (Route through for review)

NOTE:

Carmichael is presently in Cuba. We have no concrete information concerning his future travel plans or his contacts while in Cuba. It is necessary to determine his international contacts.

BAW:des
(5)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HERE IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

CLASSIFIED BY 3903 C/W/Re/Amw
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X

MAILED 22
AUG 11 1967
COMM-FBI

NOT RECORDED
46 AUG 15 1967

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

56 AUG 21 1967

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

~~SECRET~~

17 AUG 15 1967

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-446080-1392

OC 8-16
[Signature]

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED BY: [illegible]
ON: [illegible]

~~SECRET~~

8/11/67

AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-46818) (RUC)

CHANGED

SM - MISCELLANEOUS
(OO:ME)

b7C

The title has been "Changed" to reflect subject's full name as reflected in passport files. Previous correspondence under [REDACTED] SM - H."

b7C

ReWFOtel, 8/10/67.

Enclosed for the Bureau are ten copies of an LHM. Two copies each are enclosed for Atlanta and Memphis and one each for New York and Houston.

Passport files reviewed on 8/10/67, by IC [REDACTED]

b7C

- ③ - Bureau (ENC. 10)
- 2 - Atlanta (ENC. 2) (RM)
- 2 - Memphis (Enc. 2) (Info) (RM)
- 1 - New York (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)
- 1 - Houston (Enc. 1) (Info) (AM) (RM)
- 1 - WFO

CEG:cac/kah
(10)

AIRTEL

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/22/01 BY 3906ZEW/BCE/ANW

100 - 446080
NOT RECORDED
180 AUG 21 1967

331
ENCLOSURE
62 AUG 25 1967

ORIGINAL FILED IN
100 - 446080 - 3

WFO 100-46818

Investigation at National Airport on 8/9/67, was by
SA [] of the Richmond Office.

b7C

Subject's 1967 passport photo has been copied and will be furnished to Nashville and Atlanta by routing slip when processed.

Origin in this case has been carried as Atlanta. However, since [] listed his permanent address as Nashville, Memphis has been indicated as origin in this communication. If this not correct, Memphis should advise the Bureau and Atlanta.

b7C



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Washington, D.C. 20535
August 11, 1967



b7C

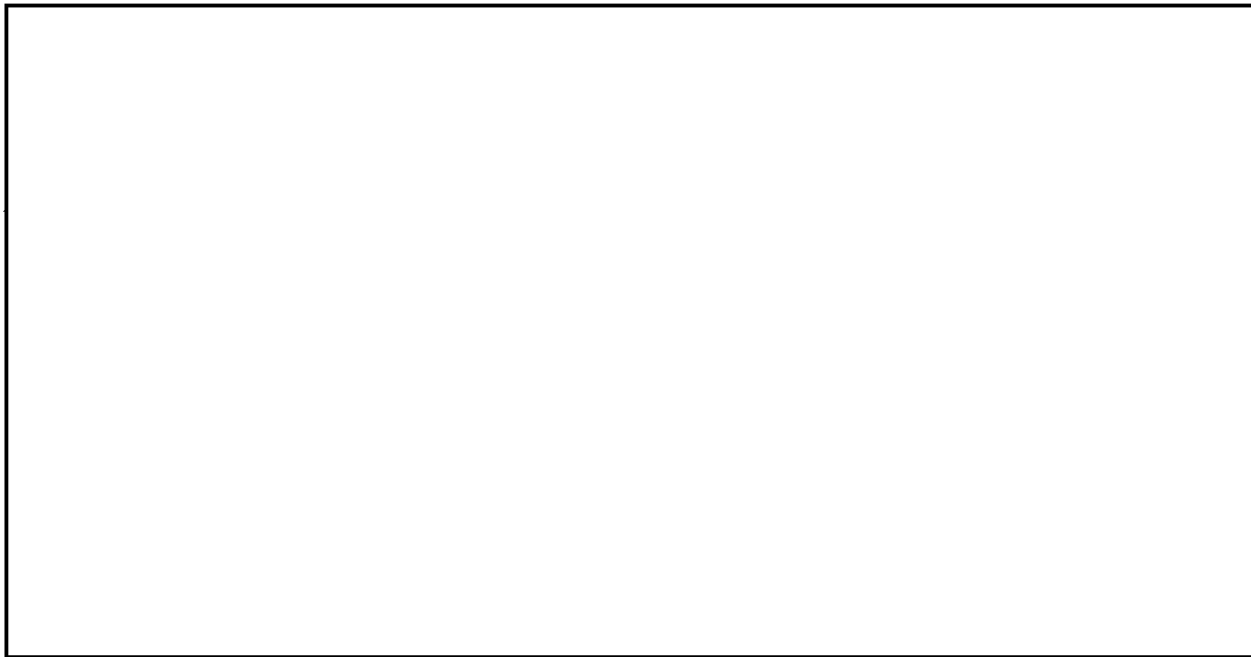
The files of the Passport Office, United States
Department of State (USDS), Washington, D.C. (WDC), reflect
that



b7C

The application for this passport was dated
June 11, 1967, at New York and contained the following
information:

b7C



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/24/08 BY 390639W BCK/mw

100-446080 -

b7C

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b7C

b7C

b7C

[REDACTED] at [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] John F. Kennedy International Airport, Queens,
New York, on July 14, 1967, made available information
that [REDACTED] left Kennedy Airport on July 14, 1967, on
Flight 104, with Stokely Carmichael, former national head
of the Student Non-Violent Coordination Committee (SNCC).

b7C

"The Evening Star," Washington D.C. newspaper,
August 2, 1967, page A-17, contained an article captioned
"Johnson, Aides Threatened by Carmichael." The article,
an Associated Press dispatch from Havana Cuba, said that
Stokely Carmichael, former head of the SNCC, called yesterday
(August 1, 1967) for Negro Guerrilla uprisings against
President Johnson, British Prime Minister Harold Wilson
and other high United States (US) officials. Declaring
that black power advocates "are moving into urban guerrilla
warfare in the United States," Carmichael said "We have no
alternative but to use aggressive armed violence in order
to own the land, houses and stores inside our communities
and to control the politics of those communities."

The article said that US reporters were barred
from the three hour news conference by Carmichael but
his remarks were quoted by Havana Radio. [REDACTED]

b7C

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] b7C

On August 9, 1967, a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) observed a man, later identified as [REDACTED] arrive at National Airport, WDC, from New York City at 11:00 a.m., on the same shuttle flight as [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] They appeared to be together. [REDACTED] left WDC at noon. Inquiry at American Airlines on August 10, 1967, reflected that the man who arrived on the same flight as [REDACTED] who identified himself as [REDACTED]

b7C

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] b7C

The files of the Nashville Police Department, Nashville, Tennessee, reflect that [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] b7C

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

F B I

Date: 8/4/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, MIAMI (100-15451) (RUC)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS

OO: Atlanta

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/23/01 BY 39063 EWS/STP

ReBuairtel to Albany, with copies to all offices,
dated 6/7/67.Enclosed for the Bureau are 9 copies of LHM con-
taining information from monitored broadcasts from Cuba
that were made in Miami.Two copies of this LHM are being furnished to
Atlanta, the office of origin.The source concealed is [redacted] who furnished
the information to SA [redacted] on 7/29/67, and to
SA [redacted] on 8/2/67.

Translation from the Spanish was made by [redacted]

EX-102

Copies of this memorandum are being disseminated
locally to the following agencies:NISO, Charleston, S. C., OSI, Robins AFB, Ga.,
and 111th M. I. Group, Orlando.

ENCLOSURE

- 3 - Bureau (Enc. 9) (RM)
- 2 - Atlanta (100-6812) (Enc. 2) (RM)
- 2 - Miami [redacted]

JJM:ed
(6)

AGENCY: ACSI, [redacted], OSI; SEC. SER:

alter: [redacted]; [redacted], CRD, RAO

DATE FORW: [redacted] 8/7/67

HOW FORW: [redacted]

BY: [redacted]

Approved: [redacted]

Sent

M

Per

Special Agent in Charge

57 AUG 16 1967

100-446080-448
ICC ATY-LHM 92440



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Miami, Florida
August 4, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No. MM 100-15451

Re: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS

b7D

A source on July 27, 1967, made available a published report of [redacted]

[redacted] This association, on a daily basis, monitors broadcasts from Cuba, and thereafter publishes a transcription of the more important news items. The published reports made available by the source contain information from broadcasts from Cuba that were monitored on July 25, 1967. The information obtained is as follows:

Radio Progreso

Stokely Carmichael confirmed in London that he will attend the First Conference of Latin American Solidarity Organization as an observer. In a message he said, "Your victory is our victory." He also said that the message of Che Guevara to the Tri-Continental has great significance "to us because in the United States we Afro-Americans are part of a third world."

Radio Habana Cuba

Stokely Carmichael reported the measures which his organization is taking to establish contacts with the movements of national liberation in Latin America. He said, "Puerto Rico is a colony outside the United States; we are a colony in the United States. For 400 years, we have existed inside the United States, and the results have been beatings and lynchings. To postpone a situation for 400 years is long enough. Our generation is tired."

Carmichael said that his first contacts with the Cuban Revolution occurred in Harlem in 1960, at the time of the first visit of Prime Minister Fidel Castro to the United Nations. "This event," said Carmichael, "marks a moment in the history of the U. S."

COPIES DESTROYED

333 FEB 24 1971

100-446080-448
ENCLOSURE

Re: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Negro fight, because the Negroes can never forget the visit of Fidel Castro, and they will never be able to turn against the Revolution."

In conclusion, Carmichael said that this time imperialism will try to assassinate him, but he is not afraid.

b7D

The source, on August 2, 1967, made available the published report of [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] which contained information from broadcasts from Cuba monitored on August 1, 1967. The information received is as follows:

Radio Progreso

At the opening session of the Conference of Latin American Solidarity Organization, Stokely Carmichael, U. S. Negro leader, expressed his complete approval of the appointment of Major Ernesto Guevara as Honorary Chairman of the Conference. "I approve of his politics 100%," he said.

Radio Habana Cuba

The U. S. Negro leader, Stokely Carmichael expressed his thanks to the newspaper "Granma" for having been appointed Honorary Delegate to the First Conference of Latin American Solidarity Organization. He said that he was very proud of the honor. "We accept the honor in the name of the North American Negroes, for we are waiting for the revolutionary movement for our liberation in the United States. Our fight," said Carmichael, "is the same which is being waged by the peoples of Latin America. That is why we should obtain unity between the peoples of Latin America and the Negro movement of the United States in our mutual fight against Yankee imperialism."

Radio Rebelde

Stokely Carmichael held a press conference at 11:15 A. M., August 1, 1967, in the Hotel Habana Libre

Re: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

which was attended by representatives of the national and foreign press accredited in Cuba. He began by thanking the delegates for appointing him Honorary Delegate to the Conference. He then said that the fight of the Negro people in the United States is the same fight which is being waged in other parts of the world against oppression, racism and imperialism. He said that Black Power is the getting together of the Negro population of the United States with the oppressed peoples of other countries in order to fight for their liberation, using whatever means might be necessary against the capitalist structure. "Our fights," he said, "are being carried on from New York to California and from Canada to Mexico."

He said that from August 18, 1965, about the time of the Negro fight at Watts, in California, the question of a non-violent fight in the movement for Negro liberation was shown to be a mistake, and that the "armed fight is the only way the U. S. Negro can fight," "Our fight," stressed Carmichael, "is advancing toward guerrilla warfare in the cities in the United States itself."

A journalist asked Carmichael what effect Senator Bob Kennedy's proposal about searching the civilian population for arms would have on the Negro movement in the United States. Carmichael answered energetically that the U. S. Negroes would have arms somehow, in order to continue their fight for liberation.

Concerning the solidarity of the U. S. Negroes with the Vietnamese fighters, Stokely Carmichael said that solidarity consists of the refusal of the Negroes to enlist as U. S. soldiers in order to go and attack the people in Vietnam.

The August 2, 1967 issue of the "Miami Herald" contained an article captioned "Stokely Unworried About His Passport". This article stated that Havana radio said Saturday "the black power spokesman, Stokely Carmichael, is unconcerned about the possibility of US action against him because of his unauthorized visit to Cuba.

Re: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

"The broadcast monitored in Miami said Carmichael, asked about a report that his passport might be lifted on his return to the U. S., replied:

'I am not interested in any measures taken against me.'

Cuba
"The radio said Carmichael is touring Oriente Province and met Friday at Punta Maisi with Labor Minister Jorge Risquet, a member of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party."

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Miami, Florida

August 4, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No. MM 100-15451

Title STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Character INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS

Reference is made to memorandum dated
and captioned as above, at
Miami.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.

F B I

Date: 8/8/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
 FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (100-10358)
 STOKELY CARMICHAEL
 IS - MISCELLANEOUS
 SEDITION

(OO:ATLANTA)

Re Chicago teletype to Bureau, Atlanta, and
 Charlotte 8/7/67.

Enclosed for the Bureau and Atlanta are ten
 copies each of FD 302s reflecting interviews of [redacted]

[redacted] and [redacted]
 Enclosed for Chicago is one copy each of above FD 302s.

ADMINISTRATIVE

[redacted] and [redacted] were advised that this investiga-
 tion was being conducted at the specific request of the
 Assistant United States Attorney General in charge of
 Internal Security Division of the Department of Justice.

- 1-922980 ENCLOSURE
 3-Bureau (100-446080) (Enc. 20) (RM) with 2 encl.
 2-Atlanta (Enc. 20) (RM)
 1-Chicago (157-1297) (Info) (Enc. 2) (RM)
 2-Charlotte (100-10358)

JGB:pgl
 (8)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 3/22/01 BY 3983 EMB/BAW

REC-61

100-446080-449

AUG 9 1967

EX 105

"ENCL. BEHIND FILE"

56 AUG 14 1967

Approved: _____
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

MINT 8/10/67

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date August 8, 1967

1

[redacted] United States Navy
 Serial Number [redacted] Field Medical Service
 School, Camp Lejeune, North Carolina, furnished the following
 information:

b7C

He and H [redacted] attended a speech
 given by STOKELY CARMICHAEL at Waukegan High School, Waukegan,
 Illinois, during May, 1967, while both were stationed at
 Great Lakes Naval Base, Illinois. The speech was attended
 by approximately two hundred to three hundred persons, approxi-
 mately 85 percent of which were of his race, Negro, and 15 percent
 of which were Caucasian. The speech given by CARMICHAEL was
 approximately forty-five minutes in duration and was part of
 a program lasting two to two and one-half hours consisting of
 awards given to prominent Negro leaders in Waukegan, a singing
 group, and other speeches.

b7C

The audience consisted mainly of mature persons
 with a few teenagers present. He recalled that appropriate
 portions of CARMICHAEL's speech were applauded and there
 was no booing or jeering at any time. There were no disturbances
 before the speech, during the speech, or following it.

Due to the time period which has elapsed from the
 time of the speech until the present, he cannot recall many
 specific statements made by CARMICHAEL. He recalls that the
 main theme of the speech was that Negro persons are as good
 as anyone and they should condone violence in order to obtain
 their rights if they cannot obtain them any other way.
 CARMICHAEL indicated that Negroes should stay at home and
 fight for their rights rather than go to Vietnam as a United
 States military man to fight. CARMICHAEL did not relate any
 specific method of evading the draft; he merely stated if
 drafted not to go. He does not recall any statements made
 by CARMICHAEL which would constitute obstruction of voluntary
 enlistments for military service or any statements which
 would constitute obstruction of recruiting for military
 service.

On 8/8/67 at Camp Lejeune, N. C. File # CE 100-10358

by SA [redacted] SR. and
 SA [redacted] B/pgl Date dictated 8/8/67

b7C

100-446080-449

It was his impression that the audience agreed with what CARMICHAEL said; however, after the speech, he overheard several persons indicating that they did not agree with everything CARMICHAEL said. He cannot recall any specific points of disagreement.

He does not recall if there were any statements such as, "Hell no, we won't go" during the speech. He recalled that a question and answer period followed the speech but cannot recall any questions asked. He does not recall any discussions by parts of the audience after the speech and was under the impression that immediately following the speech, CARMICHAEL was to travel to Chicago, Illinois, to deliver another speech.

He related that the Waukegan High School is approximately one mile from the Great Lakes Naval Station, Illinois.

b7C

[REDACTED] He does not know if any other military persons were present and stated that the high school auditorium where the speech was given was not filled to capacity.

CARMICHAEL's speech did not influence his outlook on his military obligation at all, and a couple of days after the speech, he did not give it any further thought.

It is his opinion that CARMICHAEL's speech consisted of a synopsis of the Negro problems in present day America and no undue emphasis was placed on any one particular area.

b7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 8/8/67

b7C

1

[redacted]
[redacted] Field Medical Service School, was interviewed at Camp Lejeune, North Carolina, and he furnished the following information:

[redacted] advised that he and his friend [redacted] who is also a sailor, were stationed at the Great Lakes Naval Station in Illinois, during May, 1967, and that on a Saturday evening during the middle of May, they were shopping for records in Waukegan, Illinois, when they noticed some white people looking at a hand-printed placard in the record store which advertised that STOKELY CARMICHAEL was to speak at the high school in Waukegan the following day, which was on a Sunday. [redacted] advised that they purchased tickets, price unrecalled, and went to hear CARMICHAEL speak. [redacted] related that he and [redacted] arrived early at approximately 3:00 p.m., and they approached a white policeman where the speech was to be given and they entered and sat in the second row in the high school auditorium. [redacted] advised that prior to their leaving the base they had checked with appropriate officials and no objections were interposed to their attendance at the speech.

b7C

[redacted] stated that he and [redacted] although he recognized others who were from the Great Lakes Naval Station who were wearing civilian clothes. He estimated that there were approximately 200 to 300 people in attendance, 95 per cent of which were Negroes [redacted] He estimated that the audience was generally composed of mature adults, with the exception of a few teenagers who shouted and clapped during CARMICHAEL's oration. [redacted] stated that in his opinion CARMICHAEL's speech covered the whole Negro situation on the domestic scene as well as the Negro involvement in the Armed Forces in Vietnam.

b7C

b7C

[redacted] advised that by this he meant CARMICHAEL alluded to the ~~Negro death rate as compared to the percentage of the Negroes~~

On 8/8/67 at Camp Lejeune, North Carolina File # Charlotte 100-10358

by SAs [redacted] DAM:jwr Date dictated 8/8/67

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

b7C

100-446080-449

in the United States. [] further related that he did not feel that CARMICHAEL emphasized Vietnam any more than he emphasized the domestic problems of the Negroes in Waukegan, Illinois. [] stated he could not remember CARMICHAEL's counseling in any way not to serve in the military service, but he did state Negroes should fight on the domestic scene for their rights, using force, if necessary to protect themselves.

b7C

[] stated CARMICHAEL's talk lasted approximately one hour and there was a brief question and answer period dealing with Vietnam in general, but he could not give any further detailed information as to the questions asked and the answers given, except that they were very similar to what were in several magazines at that time.

b7C

[] ~~advised that~~ were no discussion groups, as CARMICHAEL left immediately after the speech to go to Chicago, Illinois, where he was to give another speech on the same evening. [] further stated it (the speech) did not change his views on serving in the military in any way as he does not agree with CARMICHAEL in all respects. [] stated that due to the length of the time since he heard CARMICHAEL's speech, he cannot remember what his exact points of disagreement with CARMICHAEL were but that he did not agree with him in full. [] advised he did walk up to CARMICHAEL after the speech and shook his hand.

b7C

[] advised []

[] that he felt that some of the audience did not really understand what CARMICHAEL was saying but that he was in general enthusiastically applauded and well received during the speech.

b7C



F B I

Date:

8-8-67

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

AIR MAIL

REGISTERED MAIL

Via _____

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, HOUSTON (100-10598) -P-

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS;
SEDITIONRE: Bureau airtels to Atlanta, et al,
8/4-5/67.

b7D

On August 7, 1967, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Houston, Texas, made available tape recording of speech CARMICHAEL gave UH, 4-13-67. Tape is of good fidelity and includes, "We would advocate that people say the hell with the draft and go to jail", mentioned in letter from A. A. G. YEAGLEY, which letter was an enclosure to referenced Bureau letter 8-5-67.

Houston stenographers presently in progress making verbatim transcript of tape, having worked on it major portion of yesterday and today. Transcription of the tape is continuing and this matter being expedited.

Houston results of investigation will be submitted to Bureau and Atlanta, 8-9-67.

1-922 940
3-Bureau (AM, RM)
2-Atlanta (AM, RM)
2-Houston
CJP-md
(7)

EX-102
REC 48

1 AUG 9 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/68 BY 300103 [signature]

INT. SEC.

53 AUG 14 1967

Approved: _____

Sent _____

M

Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

FBI

Date: 8/8/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
 FROM : SAC, CINCINNATI (100-16858) (RUC)
 STOKELY CARMICHAEL
 IS - MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION
 (OO: Atlanta)

ReBuairtels to Atlanta dated 8/4/67 and 8/5/67;
 Cincinnati letter to Bureau dated 5/19/67, captioned
 "STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC), IS-SNCC,"
 Bureau airtel to Cincinnati dated 5/23/67 captioned "COMINFIL,
 STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC), IS-C,"
 and Cincinnati airtel to Bureau dated 5/29/67, same caption.

By Cincinnati airtel to the Bureau dated 5/29/67,
 copies of a LHM containing the verbatim transcript of
 CARMICHAEL's speech on 4/29/67, at Cincinnati, Ohio, were
 forwarded to both the Bureau and to Atlanta.

Enclosed herewith for the Atlanta Office are nine
 copies of an investigative insert and nine copies each of
 six FD 302's for inclusion in the prosecutive summary report.

It is pointed out that on 8/7/67, [redacted]
 [redacted] Cincinnati, Ohio, and [redacted]
 Florida, telephoned the Cincinnati FBI Office and advised
 that he was unwilling to permit the original tape recording
 of CARMICHAEL's speech on 4/29/67, at Cincinnati, Ohio, to
 be entered as possible evidence nor did he desire that his
 [redacted] Cincinnati, Ohio, or any other
 employee, testify for any purpose before any type of
 judicial proceeding in connection with this matter.

- 3 - Bureau (RM)
 2 - Atlanta (Enc. 63) (RM)
 1 - Cincinnati

CHM/jr
 (6)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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REC 48

8 AUG 9 1967

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

CI 100-16858

[redacted] also explained that he did not desire that [redacted] be recontacted since if it is disclosed to any unfriendly source that [redacted] or any [redacted] is cooperative with any law enforcement agency, reprisals could be made against his [redacted]

b7C

Cincinnati has no informants available who were close to CARMICHAEL and who could testify as to his knowledge and intent on April 29, 1967, nor does it have informants or other confidential sources who attended the 4/29/67 speech and whose identity could be disclosed.

Cincinnati believes that the best sources available in connection with the 4/29/67 speech at Cincinnati, Ohio, are the four Cincinnati police officers who are both available and willing to testify in this matter.

F B I

Date: 8/8/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
 FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (157-1297) (P)
 SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
 IS - MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION
 (OO: ATLANTA)

Re Bureau airtels to Atlanta and other offices dated 8/4 and 5/67, captioned as above and Chicago teletype to Bureau and Charlotte dated 8/7/67, captioned as above.

Enclosed for the Bureau is one copy each of 19 FD-302's and one photostatic copy of a photograph of the audience at 5/14/67 speech of STOKELY CARMICHAEL at Waukegan Township High School, Waukegan, Illinois.

Enclosed for Atlanta are four copies each of 19 FD-302's and four copies of photostatic copy of photograph mentioned above. The original photograph is retained in the bulky exhibit section of Chicago file.

Referenced Bureau airtels contained seven points to be determined in investigation. Point one concerned available transcript of CARMICHAEL's speech. No tape recording was made of CARMICHAEL's speech.

_____ and _____ attended speech. _____ took extensive notes, and _____ is included in _____ destroyed his notes.

attached FD-302 regarding _____

- 1-922 940 with _____
 ③ - Bureau (Encls. 20) (AMSD)
 4 - Atlanta (100-6812) (Encls. 80) (AMSD)
 3A - Chicago

DEH/vmg

(8)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 2/23/01 BY 3903 ELL/EC/AMW

AUG 10 1967

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
 Special Agent in Charge

CG 157-1297

[redacted] retained his notes which he could make available as

[redacted] Waukegan, Illinois, retained his notes, but would prefer not to testify; however, he will honor a subpoena. [redacted] destroyed his notes. He utilized these notes, plus [redacted] in preparing a transcription which was used in a letterhead memorandum prepared by the Chicago Office and submitted to the Bureau 5/15/67. This information was not recorded on an FD-302.

[redacted] Illinois State Police, Elgin, Illinois, prepared a report which is included in attached FD-302's, but he did not retain his notes.

Point four concerned the availability of witnesses to testify about the facts of this speech. The following witnesses are willing to testify for the Government:

b7C

[redacted]
Waukegan Police Department

[redacted]
Waukegan, Illinois

[redacted]
Waukegan Police Department

[redacted]
Waukegan Police Department

[redacted]
Waukegan Police Department

[redacted]
Waukegan Police Department

[redacted]
Waukegan Police Department

[redacted]
"Waukegan News-Sun"

[redacted]
Illinois State Police
Elgin, Illinois

b7C

CG 157-1297

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
NORTHBROOK, ILLINOIS

[REDACTED]
"Waukegan News-Sun"

[REDACTED]
"Chicago Tribune"

[REDACTED]
Waukegan, Illinois

[REDACTED]
Waukegan, Illinois

Willing to Testify If Subpoenaed

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
Waukegan, Illinois

Willing to Testify But in Sympathy With CARMICHAEL

[REDACTED]
Waukegan, Illinois

[REDACTED]
Chicago, Illinois

[REDACTED]
Waukegan, Illinois

Point five concerned the identity of military personnel in the audience. SA [REDACTED] of the Waukegan Resident Agency conducted the following investigation:

[REDACTED] A photograph taken by [REDACTED] on May 14, 1967, of the audience at the East Campus of Waukegan Township High School revealed [REDACTED]

On 8/7/67 [redacted] [redacted]
Hospital Corps School, U.S. Naval Hospital, Great Lakes,
Illinois, advised SA [redacted] that he has been at this
school for only the past month and he was unable to identify
the two sailors in this photograph. He suggested that the
photograph be exhibited to C [redacted] who was in
the Security Office at this School in May, 1967.

b7C

On 8/7/67, [redacted] [redacted] advised
that he recognized one of the two sailors in this picture and
after a review of photographs of recent classes which have
graduated, he determined that both men had been in [redacted] b7C
and the Company Commander of that company was [redacted]

b7C

On 8/7/67, [redacted] [redacted] b7C
advised that he recognized both men in this photograph as
having been in [redacted] and he identified the one man as
[redacted] and stated that the other man was either
[redacted] or Hospitalman [redacted]. He
stated that [redacted] presently assigned to the Naval
Medical Research Unit, at Great Lakes, should be able to identify
the second sailor.

On 8/7/67, [redacted] [redacted] Naval
Medical Research Unit, U.S. Naval Hospital, Great Lakes,
identified the two sailors in instant picture as [redacted]
and [redacted]

b7C

On 8/7/67 [redacted] advised that [redacted]
[redacted]

Referenced Chicago teletype was sent to the Charlotte
Office to locate and interview the two Navy men per Bureau
instructions.

b7C

Point seven concerned the identity of any informants
close to CARMICHAEL who could testify to his knowledge and
intentions. The Chicago Office has no informants that meet
this criteria.

CG 157-1297

The remaining points are covered in witnesses' statements in FD-302's attached.

F B I

Date: 8/8/67

PLAINTEXT

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE

URGENT

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR (100-446080) AND SACS ATLANTA (100-6812)
BALTIMORE

FROM: SAC WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS DASH M; SEDITION.

REBUAIRTELS AUGUST FOUR AND FIVE SIXTYSEVEN.

FOR INFO BALTIMORE, DEPARTMENT CONSIDERING PROSECUTIVE
ACTION AGAINST SUBJECT UNDER SEDITION STATUTE.

REGARDING SPEECH MADE BY SUBJECT ON MAY SIXTEEN, LAST
AT LINCOLN MEMORIAL CONGREGATIONAL TEMPLE, WASHINGTON, D.C.,
DEPARTMENT REQUESTED IDENTITY OF INDIVIDUAL WHO MADE RECORDING,
THE CIRCUMSTANCES UNDER WHICH IT WAS MADE, AND HIS WILLINGNESS
AND AVAILABILITY TO TESTIFY.

b7C

ACCORDING TO [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] WASHINGTON, D. C., SUBJECT'S SPEECH RECORDED

BY [REDACTED] WASHINGTON, D. C., WHO IS

OFF DUTY UNTIL AUGUST ELEVEN, NEXT. RESIDES [REDACTED]

12 AUG 10 1967

2 - Bureau
2 - Teletype Unit
2 - WFO

WWH:pag

(6)

Approved: [Signature]

Special Agent in Charge

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 3/23/01 BY 89023BWL/ace/amu

Sent

M

Per

AUG 16 1967

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)WFO 100-43503
PAGE TWO

BALTIMORE INTERVIEW REGARDING ABOVE, AND b7C
DETERMINE IF HE CAN TESTIFY AS TO COMPOSITION OF AUDIENCE,
INCLUDING WHETHER STUDENTS OR PERSONS OF DRAFT AGE. ASCERTAIN
PROPORTION OF NEGROES AND WHITES IN AUDIENCE. ALSO DETERMINE
AUDIENCE REACTION TO SPEECH, WHETHER APPROPRIATE PORTIONS
WERE APPLAUDED, CHEERED OR BOOED, AND IF THEY RESPONDED TO
STATEMENTS SUCH AS "HELL NO, WE WON'T GO." ALSO ASCERTAIN
IF THERE WAS A QUESTION AND ANSWER PERIOD AFTER SPEECH OR
DISCUSSIONS BY PARTS OF AUDIENCE AFTER SPEECH AT SITE
OR AWAY FROM IT.

ADVISE INVESTIGATION CONDUCTED AT REQUEST OF b7C
ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL IN CHARGE OF INTERNAL SECURITY,
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

RECORD INTERVIEW ON FD THREE ZERO TWO, OR IN SIGNED
STATEMENT, AND FURNISH TO ATLANTA FOR INCLUSION IN

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date: _____

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)**WFO 100-43503
PAGE THREE**

**PROSECUTIVE SUMMARY REPORT NO LATER THAN AUGUST NINE, NEXT.
ATLANTA SUMMARY REPORT TO REACH BUREAU BY AUGUST FOURTEEN,
NEXT.**

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

Tolson _____
 DeLoach _____
 Mohr _____
 Bishop _____
 Casper _____
 Callahan _____
 Conrad _____
 Felt _____
 Gale _____
 Rosen _____
 Sullivan _____
 Tavel _____
 Trotter _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holmes _____
 Gandy _____

DECODED COPY

☐ AIRGRAM ☐ CABLEGRAM ☐ RADIO ☒ TELETYPE

8:30 PM URGENT 8-8-67 SMZ

TO DIRECTOR & ATLANTA

FROM LOS ANGELES

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS - M; SEDITION.

RE BUREAU AIRTELS DATED AUGUST 4 AND 5, LAST.

REFERENCED BUREAU AIRTEL DATED AUGUST 4, LAST, INDICATES DEPARTMENT DESIRES TRANSCRIPT OF CARMICHAEL'S SPEECH MAY 27, LAST, LOS ANGELES.

[REDACTED] A CURRENT, [REDACTED] LOS ANGELES DIVISION, ON [REDACTED] ORALLY ADVISED CARMICHAEL WAS KEYNOTE SPEAKER AT CALIFORNIA BLACK CONFERENCE MAY 26, LAST AT JEFFERSON HIGH SCHOOL, 1319 EAST FORTY FIRST STREET, LOS ANGELES. WRITTEN REPORT WAS SUBMITTED BY [REDACTED]

LAST. SOURCE RECONTACTED [REDACTED] INSTANT, AND FD 302 OBTAINED WHICH WILL BE SUBMITTED TO ATLANTA BY AIRTEL.

SOURCE STATED CARMICHAEL INDICATED IT WAS TIME FOR REVOLUTION AND ORGANIZATION. TWO ORGANIZATIONS NEEDED TO OBTAIN NEGRO GOALS: POLITICAL ORGANIZATION FOR LEGAL

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 3/23/67 BY 39063 E14/ace/ann

AUG 16 1967

Tolson _____
 DeLoach _____
 Mohr _____
 Bishop _____
 Casper _____
 Callahan _____
 Conrad _____
 Felt _____
 Gale _____
 Rosen _____
 Sullivan _____
 Tavel _____
 Trotter _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holmes _____
 Gandy _____

DECODED COPY

☐ AIRGRAM ☐ CABLEGRAM ☐ RADIO ☒ TELETYPE

PAGE 2, FROM LOS ANGELES

STRUCTURE OF MOVEMENT; THE OTHER, AN UNDERGROUND GUERRILA BAND. NEGROES MUST CONTROL EDUCATION IN BLACK SCHOOLS AND TEACH LANGUAGES PECULIAR TO THEIR KIND. NEGROES NEED ECONOMIC PROGRAMS TO GUARANTEE SUPPORT FROM BUSINESSES OPERATING IN NEGRO COMMUNITIES IN FORM OF JOBS, ORGANIZATIONAL SUPPORT AND FIFTY PERCENT OF BUSINESS PROFITS.

CARMICHAEL CRITICIZED THE DRAFT, STATING "NEGROES MUST REFUSE TO SERVE IN THE MILITARY."

AUDIENCE COMPOSED OF ALL NEGROES, SEVENTY FIVE PER CENT UNDER THIRTY YEARS OF AGE, MANY BEING STUDENTS OF DRAFT AGE WHO GAVE CARMICHAEL ENTHUSIASTIC RESPONSE. NO WHITES, NO NEWS MEDIA PERMITTED IN CONFERENCE. SECURITY GUARDS SCREENED ALL PERSONS ENTERING CONFERENCE. NO TRANSCRIPT OF SPEECH AVAILABLE.

MITTED TO CONFERENCE.

b7D

RECEIVED: 11:44 PM HFL

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

AUG 9 1967

TELETYPE

FBI WASH DC

FBI NEW ORLS

11:29PM URGENT 8-8-67 CDC

TO DIRECTOR , SAN FRANCISCO, JACKSON AND ATLANTA
FROM NEW ORLEANS 100-16890
STOKLEY CARMICHAEL: IS - M, SEDITION.

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Bishop	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

RE JACKSON TELETYPE TO ATLANTA EIGHT EIGHT SIXTYSEVEN.
RE BUAIRES TO JACKSON ETAL INCLUDING SAN FRANCISCO AUGUST
FOUR AND FIVE LAST. RE JACKSON PHONE CALL TO NEW ORLEANS;
NEW ORLEANS CALL TO JACKSON AND NEW ORLEANS CALL TO SAN
FRANCISCO EIGHT EIGHT SIXTYSEVEN.

b7C

b7C

TODAY ADVISED:

b7C

SAYS HE IS READY AND WILLING TO TESTIFY ^{ST 102}

STATED TAPE PROVIDED TO [REDACTED] IS

b7C

FIRST COPY OF ORIGINAL TWO CASSETTES USED TO RECORD CAR-
MICHAEL'S SPEECH AT TOUGALOO COLLEGE, JACKSON, MISS., DURING
EVENING OF APRIL ELEVEN LAST.

RECALLED HE ARRIVED ON CAMPUS ABOUT SIX THIRTY PM
TO PREPARE TO COVER STOKLEY'S SPEECH SCHEDULED TO START AT

b7C

END PAGE ONE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/23/01 BY 390637W/bcl/mw

MR. DELOACH FOR THE DIRECTOR

AUG 16 1967

PAGE TWO

SEVEN THIRTY PM. TALK ACTUALLY BEGAN ABOUT SEVEN FORTY-FIVE PM AND LASTED SLIGHTLY OVER TWO HOURS.

BECAUSE [] HAD ONLY TWO CASSETTES OF TAPE (TWO HOURS OF RECORDING TIME) HE HAD TO ERASE A PART OF THE SECOND THIRTY MINUTE PORTION OF THE FIRST CASSETTE SO THAT HE COULD RECORD THE LAST PART OF THE CARMICHAEL SPEECH. HE SAID HE COULD IDENTIFY THE [] COPY POSITIVELY BECAUSE DURING THE SECOND THIRTY MINUTES THE ERASURE AND RERUN HE RECORDED DID NOT COMPLETELY ELIMINATE WHAT WAS ON THE TAPE AND DURING THE PAUSES IT CAN BE HEARD IN THE BACKGROUND.

b7C

HE STATED THAT BEFORE HE LEFT JACKSON HE LEFT HIS ORIGINAL TAPE IN CASSETTES AT [] AND THAT POSSIBLY [] MAY BE ABLE TO LOCATE THE ORIGINAL CASSETTES CONTAINING THE SPEECH. HE CLAIMS HE CAN IDENTIFY THE CASSETTES IF FOUND BY HIS HANDWRITING ON THEM.

b7C

[] NOTED THAT THERE ALSO WERE [] WHO OBTAINED VERY HIGH QUALITY COVERAGE BOTH VIDEO AND AUDIO OF CARMICHAEL'S SPEECH. THIS GROUP WAS AFFORDED SPECIAL PRIVILEGES OVER OTHERS OF ALL MEDIA BECAUSE THEY WERE SUPPOSEDLY DOING A

END PAGE TWO

b7C

b7C

PAGE THREE

DOCUMENTARY ON CARMICHAEL. THE ENGINEER OF THIS GROUP
WAS DESCRIBED AS HAVING [REDACTED]
TO MATCH. [REDACTED] SUGGESTED THIS TEAM AS POSSIBLE ADDI-
TIONAL SOURCE OF EVIDENCE.

b7C

b7C

b7C

OTHERS PRESENT WERE [REDACTED]

b7C

[REDACTED] AND NUMEROUS OTHER

b7C

MEDIA MEN FROM [REDACTED] ETAL.

CROWD DESCRIBED AS ABOUT FOUR HUNDRED, MOSTLY OF
DRAFT AGE EVENLY DIVIDED BETWEEN MALES AND FEMALES. CROWD
WAS PREDOMINANTLY NEGRO AND RESPONSE OF CROWD DESCRIBED AS
FANTASTICALLY ENTHUSIASTIC.

FOR INFO OF SAN FRANCISCO, BUREAU REQUESTED INVESTI-
GATION BE REPORTED IN FORM SUITABLE FOR DISSEMINATION AND
RECORD ON FD THREE ZERO TWO OR IN SIGNED STATEMENT; ADVISE
BACKGROUND INFO RE WITNESSES; SUBMIT FOUR COPIES OF ALL
EXHIBITS TO ATLANTA; ATLANTA DESIGNATED OFFICE OF ORIGIN FOR
PREPARATION SUMMARY PROSECUTIVE REPORT; FURNISH RESULTS OF
INVESTIGATION TO BUREAU AND ATLANTA NO LATER THAN AUGUST
NINE, NEXT, AND SAC RESPONSIBLE FOR INSURING DEADLINE IS
END PAGE THREE

PAGE FOUR

MET; ADVISE ALL PERSONS INVESTIGATION BEING CONDUCTED
AS REQUEST AAG IN CHARGE OF INTERNAL SECURITY DIVISION,
U.S.D.J.; NOT NECESSARY TO AGAIN FURNISH TRANSCRIPT.

b7C

b7C

JACKSON CONTACT [REDACTED] AND
ATTEMPT TO LOCATE ORIGINAL RECORDING IN THE TWO CASSETTES.
IF FOUR SEND THEM TO NEW ORLEANS WHERE [REDACTED] CAN
IDENTIFY THEM AS EVIDENCE.

b7C

SAN FRANCISCO CONTACT [REDACTED] IDENTIFY
[REDACTED] COVERING CARMICHAEL'S
TOUGALOO COLLEGE SPEECH AND ATTEMPT TO LOCATE AND IDENTIFY
BOTH VIDEO AND AUDIO RECORDINGS AND SECURE INTERVIEW
OF THOSE COVERING THE SPEECH.

FD THREE ZERO TWO'S FOLLOW.

END

DEL

FBI WASH DC

MR. SULLIVAN

FBI WASH DC

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

AUG 8 1967

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

FBI JKSN MISS

TELETYPE

3:51 PM URGENT 8-8-67 VCG

TO BUREAU, ATLANTA AND NEW ORLEANS

FROM JACKSON (100-123) 3P

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; IS-M SEDITION.

RE BUREAU AIRTELS TO JACKSON AUGUST FOUR AND FIVE, LAST
AND JACKSON CALL TO NEW ORLEANS THIS DATE.

FOR INFO NEW ORLEANS, BUREAU IN RE AIRTELS ADVISED
DEPARTMENT CONSIDERING PROCEEDING AGAINST SUBJECT FOR
VIOLATION T EIGHTEEN USC SEC. TWO THREE EIGHT EIGHT,
SEDITION; ACCORDINGLY DEPARTMENT REQUESTED ADDITIONAL
INVESTIGATION RE SELECTED SPEECHES MADE BY SUBJECT. ONE
OF PERTINENT SPEECHES WAS MADE BY SUBJECT EVENING
OF APRIL ELEVEN, LAST, TOUGALOO COLLEGE, JACKSON,
MISSISSIPPI; JACKSON PREVIOUSLY OBTAINED AND FORWARDED
ALMOST COMPLETE TRANSCRIPT OF THIS SPEECH AS PROVIDED

BY

END PAGE ONE

b7C

AUG 10 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/23/01 BY 35063 EFW/BC/AMW

AUG 16 1967

PAGE TWO

FROM TAPE RECORDING RECEIVED BY [REDACTED] FROM PREVIOUSLY
UNKNOWN SOURCE WHO ATTENDED SPEECH.

b7C

[REDACTED] ADVISED TODAY DETERMINED TAPE PROVIDED HIM
BY [REDACTED] [REDACTED] RESIDENCE -

b7C

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] SAID [REDACTED]

b7C

MADE TAPE HIMSELF WHILE ATTENDING ABOVE SPEECH AND EXPECTING
BUREAU AGENT TO CONTACT HIM TODAY RE MATTER.

DEPARTMENT HAS REQUESTED FOLLOWING RE TAPE RECORDING:

WHO MADE TAPE RECORDING; UNDER WHAT CIRCUMSTANCES WAS
IT MADE; PRSON MAKING TAPE WILLING AND AVAILABLE TO
TESTIFY; ATTEMPT TO OBTAIN ORIGINAL TAPE AS EVIDENCE
AND ESTABLISH CHAIN OF EVIDENCE; DETERMINE WITNESSES
TO MAKING OF THE RECORDING.

ADDITIONALLY, THE DEPARTMENT DESIRES TO KNOW NUMBER
OF PEOPLE ATTENDING SPEECH; NUMBER OF DRAFT AGE ATTENDING;
BREAKDOWN BY RACE; WHAT VOCAL RESPONSE TO SPEECH; ANY
END PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE

MILITARY ATTENDING IN UNIFORM OR OTHERWISE; ANY QUESTION AND ANSWER SESSION AFTER SPEECH; ANY GROUP DISCUSSIONS AFTER SPEECH; ANY WITNESSES CLOSE TO CARMICHAEL WHO CAN TESTIFY TO KNOWLEDGE AND INTENT OF CARMICHAEL.

BUREAU REQUESTED INVESTIGATION BE REPORTED IN FORM SUITABLE FOR DISSEMINATION AND RECORD ON FD THREE ZERO TWO OR IN SIGNED STATEMENT; ADVISE BACKGROUND INFO RE WITNESSES; SUBMIT FOUR COPIES OF ALL EXHIBITS TO ATLANTA; ATLANTA DESIGNATED OFFICE OF ORIGIN FOR PREPARATION SUMMARY PROSECUTIVE REPORT; FURNISH RESULTS OF INVESTIGATION TO BUREAU AND ATLANTA NO LATER THAN AUGUST NINE, NEXT, AND SAC RESPONSIBLE FOR INSURING DEADLINE IS MET; ADVISE ALL PERSONS INVESTIGATION BEING CONDUCTED AT REQUEST AAG IN CHARGE OF INTERNAL SECURITY DIVISION, U.S.D.J.; NOT NECESSARY TO AGAIN FURNISH TRANSCRIPT.

 FILE AND REPORT INTERVIEW OF

b7C

END

MXS

FBI WASH DC

TU

F B I

Date: 8/3/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, TAMPA (100-1103) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISC.
(OO:AT)

ReBuairtel August 3, 1967.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of an LHM which is self explanatory. Two copies of LHM enclosed for Atlanta, the office of origin.

The source mentioned in the LHM is

[redacted], who made available a recording tape to SA [redacted]
[redacted] has cooperated with the Tampa Office
in the past and has requested his identity be protected.

3 - Bureau (RM) (Encls. 11) ENCLOSURE
2 - Atlanta (RM) (Encls. 2)
2 - Tampa
LEB:cj
(7)

REC-44 100-446080-457
ST-104
AUG 7 1967

AGENCY: ACSI, ~~OSI~~, OSI; SEC SER: 4
 DATE FORW: 8/8/67
 HOW FORW: R/S
 BY: DAW/akf

Approved: [Signature] Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Tampa, Florida
August 3, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

b7C

A confidential source on [redacted] advised that [redacted] an employee of [redacted] Florida, had been responsible for coverage of Stokely Carmichael's speech made at Daytona Beach, Florida, on April 18, 1967. According to the source, Carmichael's speech had not been recorded in its entirety, but only pertinent statements made by Carmichael were recorded.

b7D

b7C

Portions of Carmichael's speech as recorded are as follows:

"I am black, I know that. I am a human being, I know that, and with a human being comes certain dignities such as the right to enter a public place. Now some hunkies don't know that. They don't know I am a human being, so that everytime I attempt to enter a public place, the hunkie gets in my way, shoots at me, beats me up, burns my church or does some uncivilized act, telling me that I cannot come in. So, the white folks in Washington, D.C. have to pass the Civil Rights Bill for this hunkie to tell him that when I come to his store, he should get out of my way.

"The whole white world will remind you that violence never accomplishes anything, and isn't it amazing for the leaders of this country to talk about violence never accomplishing anything when they are bombing Viet Nam. How can they possibly tell me that violence doesn't accomplish anything when

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/23/01 BY 390630W/bcelamw

COPIES DESTROYED
333 FEB 24 1971

ENCLOSURE

100-446080-457

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

they are in Viet Nam burning, shooting, killing and bombing. Either violence does or it does not. Or, are they saying to us that violence is o.k. if you use it on black people, red people and yellow people, but God forbid you should use it against white people. And so what we have to be very clear in our minds is not to get thrown off with those questions of violence, but since 1960 there are twenty-four murderers running around this country scot free because the areas in which they committed the murders the people are incapable of condemning them. It is very very important, that theory, because we then go one step further and we say that white America, the total community of white America, not individual whites, but the total community of white America, is incapable of condemning herself for the acts of brutality that she has heaped upon the black community starting with slavery all the way down to the present date. Were she to condemn herself, the entire community would have to commit suicide. My friend Leroy Jones reminds me that that wouldn't be such a bad idea.

"Here you are fighting for democracy, peace, freedom and equality and you don't even know anything about it. You got to wake up, you got to back and be with the greatest, Muhammad Ali, and tell them 'hell no, we ain't going', amen."

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This report and its contents are loaned to you by the FBI, and neither it nor its contents are to be distributed outside the agency to which loaned.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

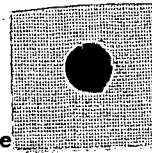
Tampa, Florida
August 3, 1967

Title STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Character

Reference Letterhead memorandum
dated and captioned as
above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.



Domestic Intelligence n

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 8/6/67

Stokely Carmichael, former national chairman of Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, a militant black nationalist group, has been attending a conference in Cuba where he has made anti-U.S. statements.

Attached information will be furnished White House, Attorney General and State Department.

EHM:skr

WCS

JK

A

Jensen

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 6/23/01 BY 39013 ETW/BCL/AMV

VIA TELETYPE

AUG 6 1967

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

3:20 PM URGENT 8-6-67 ARK/FBC

TO DIRECTOR, WFO, AND NEW YORK

WFO AND NEW YORK VIA WASHINGTON

FROM ATLANTA

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISCELLANEOUS

[REDACTED] WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION
IN PAST, ADVISED [REDACTED] INSTANT THAT STOKELY CARMICHAEL

HE ADVISED HE WOULD RETURN TO US BETWEEN AUGUST TEN AND THIRTEEN.

[REDACTED] STATED SNCC DISILLUSIONED WITH CARMICHAELS
RECENT ACTIONS IN CUBA, [REDACTED]

POSSIBLY REPRIMAND HIM FOR RECENT ACTIONS AND STATEMENTS.

ADMINISTRATIVE.

SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

ATLANTA FOLLOWING

CLOSELY.

RECEIVED: 3:27 PM FBC

REC-23

EX 101

TWO COPIES TO WFO

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/23/01 BY 39063 E/w/ce/amw

AUG 10 1967

RELAYED TO NY

62 AUG 14 1967

F B I

Date: 8/8/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via A I R T E L _____
(Priority)

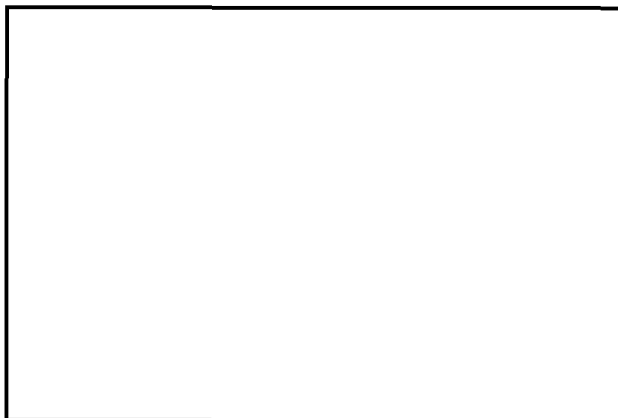
TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, RICHMOND (14-91)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION

Re Bureau airtels to Richmond, 8/4 & 5/67.

Enclosed herewith is one copy each of 12 FD-302's
recording interviews with the following:



b7C

Eight copies each of the above-identified FD-302's
have been furnished to the Atlanta Division with a list of
those witnesses who have furnished information of value.

1-922 9 + D with 12 encl.
③ - Bureau (Encl. 12)
1 - Richmond

WAS:ddm
(4)

100-446080-459
AUG 10 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/23/01 BY 39023 EKW/Bcelamw

INT. SEC.

Approved: _____

55 AUG 16 1967 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

Tolson _____
 DeLoach _____
 Mohr _____
 Bishop _____
 Casper _____
 Callahan _____
 Conrad _____
 Felt _____
 Gale _____
 Rosen _____
 Sullivan _____
 Tavel _____
 Trotter _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holmes _____
 Gandy _____

~~SECRET~~
 DECODED COPY

☐ AIRGRAM ☒ CABLEGRAM ☐ RADIO ☐ TELETYPE

STATE 04

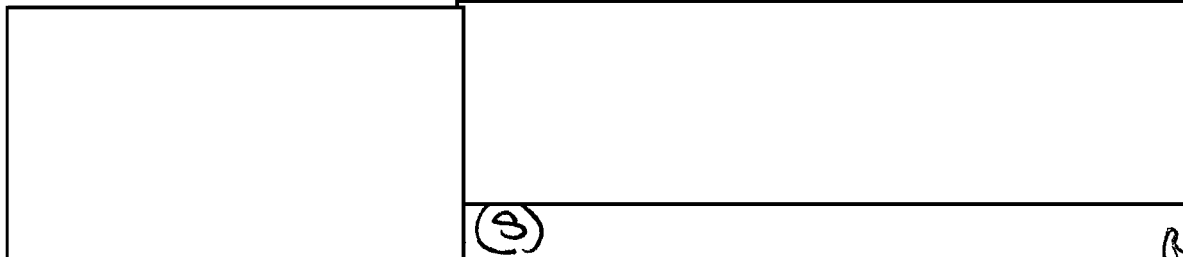
URGENT 8-9-67

TO DIRECTOR

FROM LEGAT PARIS NO. 128

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS- MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION.

REBUCAB AUGUST 4 LAST.



RECEIVED: 3:05 PM FJB

9/13/01
 CLASSIFIED BY 34063 EIW/BoelAmu
 DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 1
 Per OGA letter dated 9 Sept 01

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HERE IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
 WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

ST-106

REC-40

100-446080-460

AUG 11 1967

331 229
 AUG 16 1967

CC: Mr. Deakin

3RD CC: MR. BRENNAN

If the intelligence contained in the above message is to be disseminated outside the Bureau, it is suggested that it be suitably paraphrased in order to protect the Bureau's cryptographic systems.

~~SECRET~~

5-2

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

AUG 10 1967

TELETYPE *ncp*

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

FBI WASH DC

FBI SEATTLE

446PM DEFERRED 8-10-67 HGH

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080)

ATLANTA (100-6812)

FROM SEATTLE (100-28676) 1P

C. D. Brennan

W. P. [unclear] / [unclear]

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC.; SEDITION

RE ATLANTA TEL TODAY.

SEATTLE INCERT AND THREE ZERO TWOS SUBMITTED AUGUST EIGHT LAST. *R*
REVIEW OF FILE INDICATES TYPOGRAPHICAL ERROR ON THREE ZERO TWOS AND
FIRST PAGE OF TRANSCRIPT OF EACH TAPE WHERE DATE OF SPEECHES AT SEATTLE
IS LISTED AS MAY NINETEEN SIXTYSEVEN AND SHOULD BE APRIL NINETEEN
SIXTYSEVEN. CORRECTED COPIES SENT AIRMAIL THIS DATE. *REC-41 100-446080-2/61*

END

BGM

FBI WASH DC

P

1-922 9+D

AUG 11 1967

EX 105

5-T8

33/ [unclear]
55 AUG 16 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE *3/23/01* BY *39063 EIW/BCE/AMW*

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

AUG 10 1967

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

FBI WASH DC

FBI ATLANTA

613PM URGENT 8-10-67 JDW

TO DIRECTOR, LOS ANGELES, NEW ORLEANS, AND SEATTLE
FROM ATLANTA /100-6812/

STOKELY CARMICHAEL. SEDITION.

RE BUREAU AIRTELS AUGUST FOURTH AND FIFTH LAST RELATING TO
PROSECUTIVE SUMMARY REPORT, AND JACKSON TELETYPE TO NEW ORLEANS,
AUGUST EIGHTH LAST.

APPROPRIATE INSERTS AND FD THREE ZERO TWOS AS YET NOT RECEIVED
FROM NEW ORLEANS, BASED ON TELETYPE LEAD OF JACKSON TO NEW ORLEANS,
SEATTLE, WASH., REGARDING TWO SPEECHES MADE BY SUBJECT APRIL
NINETEENTH LAST AND LOS ANGELES REGARDING SPEECH MADE MAY TWENTYSIXTH
LAST.

NEW ORLEANS, SEATTLE AND LOS ANGELES SUTEL ATLANTA WHEN INSERTS
SUBMITTED FOR INCLUSION IN PROSECUTIVE REPORT AND IF NOT ALREADY
SUBMITTED, WHEN THEY WILL BE FORWARDED. P

END

BGM

FBI WASH DC

REC-41

14 AUG 11 1967

EX-115

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/23/01 BY 39063 EHS/bcd/amu

55 AUG 18 1967

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

FBI WASH DC

AUG 9 1967

TELETYPE

FBI WASH DC

FBI JKSN MISS

903PM URGENT 8/9/67 CWB

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080), ATLANTA (100-6812), AND NEW ORLEANS
(100-16890)

FROM JACKSON (100-123)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL. IS - M. SEDITION. OO: ATLANTA.

RENOTEL TO BUREAU, SAN FRANCISCO, JACKSON AND ATLANTA,
AUGUST EIGHT, LAST; JACKSON AIRTEL TO BUREAU, AUGUST EIGHT,
LAST; ATLANTA TEL TO BUREAU AND JACKSON, AUGUST NINE, LAST.

EXTENSIVE SEARCH BY [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] JACKSON, NEGATIVE TO DATE RE LOCATING ORIGINAL OF
[REDACTED] TAPE OF SUBJECT'S SPEECH, APRIL ELEVEN, LAST, AT
JACKSON; [REDACTED] BELIEVES TAPE POSSIBLY LOST, MISPLACED, OR
ERASED DURING RE-ARRANGEMENT OF [REDACTED] JACKSON
FORWARDING NEW ORLEANS VIA REGISTERED AIR MAIL, FIRST COPY OF
TAPE PREVIOUSLY GIVEN FBI BY [REDACTED] FOR AUG 11 1967.

POSITIVE IDENTIFICATION BY [REDACTED] ORIGINATOR OF COPY [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] ATLANTA, AND [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] JACKSON, INTERVIEWED TODAY AT JACKSON

END PAGE ONE

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

ned
B. W. [unclear] / 8/9/67
C. D. [unclear]

ch

b7C

b7D

b7C

b7C

62 AUG 18 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/3/81 BY 39863 Bw/Reelamw

5-T80

PAGE TWO

AND EACH STATE DID NOT MAKE FULL TEXT RECORDING OF CARMICHAEL'S
SPEECH; [REDACTED] FROM

SPEECH TAKEN BY [REDACTED] AND AVAILABLE FOR REVIEW THROUGH [REDACTED]

b7C

b7C

b7C

[REDACTED] AND [REDACTED] ESSENTIALLY SUBSTANTIATE PREVIOUSLY
PROVIDED DATA RE PREDOMINATELY NEGRO AUDIENCE, ATTENDANCE OF
NUMEROUS NEGRO MALE COLLEGE AGE STUDENTS AND ENTHUSIASTIC
SUPPORT BY AUDIENCE; STATE NO MILITARY OBSERVED IN AUDIENCE.

b7C

[REDACTED] WILLING AND AVAILABLE TO TESTIFY; [REDACTED] WILLING
TO TESTIFY SUBJECT TO EMPLOYER APPROVAL.

b7C

FD - THREE ZERO TWOS FOLLOW.

NEW ORLEANS, ON RECEIPT OF FIRST COPY OF TAPE RECORDING,
PRESENT TO [REDACTED] FOR POSITIVE IDENT AND THEN FORWARD
ATLANTA.

b7C

JACKSON, WILL RECONTACT [REDACTED] RE EFFORTS TO LOCATE
ORIGINAL TAPE TRANSCRIPT OF [REDACTED]
END.

b7C

NHH

FBI WASH DC

perox-1

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

AUG 9 1967

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

FBI WASH DC*

TELETYPE

FBI BALTO

811PM DEFERRED 8/9/67 KGW

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080), WFO (100-43503)

AND ATLANTA (100-6812)

FROM BALTIMORE (100-24220)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL. IS - M; SEDITION.

RE WFO TEL AUGUST EIGHT LAST.

ATTEMPTS TO CONTACT [REDACTED] UNSUCCESSFUL.

INVESTIGATION REFLECTS [REDACTED] IN ON HOLIDAY, WHEREABOUTS
UNKNOWN, AND IS EXPECTED TO RETURN TO BALTIMORE LATE
EVENING AUGUST TEN OR MORNING AUGUST ELEVEN.

BALTIMORE WILL CONTINUE ATTEMPTS TO CONTACT [REDACTED]

END

BAP

FBI WASH DC*

REC 26

AUG 11 1967

b7C

1-922 9+0

EX 105

5-880

331 92
TWO COPIES WFO
59 AUG 10 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/23/01 BY 39063 EN/BCL/AMW

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

AUG 9 1967

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

FBI WASH DC

FBI ATLANTA

1155 AM URGENT 8-9-67 BJB

TO DIRECTOR AND JACKSON

FROM ATLANTA 100-6812

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS - M.

RE NEW ORLEANS TEL AUGUST EIGHT LAST AND BU-AIRTELS
AUGUST FOUR AND VFE LAST.

[REDACTED] PRESENT AT SPEECH MADE BY
CARMICHAEL, TOUGALOO, MISS., APRIL ELEVEN LAST, PRESENTLY
ON ASSIGNMENT , FAYETTE, MISS., AND CAN BE REACHED AT DOWNTOWNER
MOTEL, THAT CITY.

JACKSON HANDLE CONTACT OF [REDACTED] AND REPORT IN ACCORDANCE
WITH BUREAU INSTRUCTIONS RELATING TO SUMMARY REPORT REGARDING
CARMICHAEL.

END

BJP

FBI WASH DC

TUP

REC-40

SI-106

AUG 10 1967

51 AUG 16 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/23/01 BY 39663 Ew Bcc lam w

August 10, 1967

REC-69

100-446080-466

101

Omaha, Nebraska 68124

Dear [redacted]

Your letter of August 6th, with enclosures, has been received.

My testimony on August 1, 1967, before the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders was at a closed session and the full text has not yet been released. Accordingly, I am unable to make any comment concerning it. I am sure that you will understand my position.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

NOTE: Correspondent is not identifiable in Bufiles. The enclosures forwarded are copies of newspaper articles which appeared in the "Omaha World Herald" and concern Stokely Carmichael and the recent outbreak of civil disorders.

JRP:acp (3)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/5/81 BY 39063 EMB/ada

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____



AUG 18 1967

AUG 22 1967

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

TRUE COPY

6 Aug 67

Mr J Edgar Hoover
FBI, Washington, DC

Dear Sir:

You have been quoted in newspapers and on TV recently as saying words to the effect that there is no indication of conspiracy or organization behind recent riots in our large cities.

I submit to you 3 articles with by lines from the local newspaper. These articles certainly give indication to me of planning conspiracy, and organization which, if not contributing to starting the riots, apparently contributed greatly to the total damage done.

As a citizen, I ask that you use these articles as a starting place to investigate the people & the organizations mentioned in the articles.

Further, the Mr Carmichael who went to Cuba by his own words as reported in various news media is a leader, planner, and inviter to riot.

Yours truly,

/s/

[Redacted Signature]

Omaha, Nebr. 68124

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/23/01 BY 3063 BAW/BCE/AMW

SRP

ITC
ack
SRP/ack
8/9/67
8/10/67

Mr J Edgar Hoover
FBI, Washington, DC

6 Aug 67

(yellow)

Dear Sir:

You have been quoted in newspapers and on TV recently as saying words to the effect that there is no indication of conspiracy or organization behind recent riots in our large cities.

I submit to you 3 articles with by lines from the local newspaper. These articles certainly give indication to me of planning, conspiracy, and organization which, if not contributing to starting the riots, apparently contributed greatly to the total damage done.

As a citizen, I ask that you use these articles as a starting place to investigate the people & the organizations mentioned in the articles.

Further, the Mr Carmichael who went to Cuba by his own words as reported in various news media is a leader, planner, and instigator of riot.

CORRESPONDENCE

3 ENCLOSURE

b7C

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/10/67 BY 59063 cll/bce/bmw

ITC
8/9/67

gsp/aep
8/10/67

REC-69

100-446080-466

14
AUG 8 1967

Snick—Castro's Arm in U.S. *Omaha World Herald 6 Aug 67*

By Rowland Evans and Robert Novak
Washington.

The sudden appearance of Stokely Carmichael in Havana, rubbing elbows with Fidel Castro and the hemisphere's Communist guerrilla leaders, is an inevitable development in the Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee's long evolution.

Sentimental white liberals who have consistently blinked away the worst about Snick now attribute Snick's alliance with Castro to deep disillusionment over Vietnam and civil rights. However, covert links between Snick and Havana stretch back at least to 1964.

The flamboyant Carmichael is merely the outward manifestation of the Snick-Cuban alliance. Principal responsibility for moving Snick violently to the left must go to two men who, unlike Carmichael, seldom appear on television or the front page.

One is James Forman, who today holds no formal office in Snick but is still believed to be its most important internal force. When Snick was spawned in the southern sit-in movement in February, 1960, by idealistic Negro college students, Forman was already a hardened radical and an associate of Negro terrorist Robert Williams (who fled to Cuba to escape Federal prosecution).

Even less familiar to the public is Jack Minnis, a white intellectual radical who, as an instructor at Tulane University in 1961, was a leader in pro-Castro activities in the New Orleans area.

With Forman in absolute control of the Snick apparatus, Minnis was named to its central committee and given command of its research operation. Despite Snick's current blacks-only policy, Minnis still wields backstage influence.

By the time of the Mississippi Summer Project in 1964, Snick's admiration for Castroism was apparent. Snick workers were distributing Castroite propaganda and

material printed in Cuba by exile Williams advocating guerrilla warfare by American Negroes and describing how Molotov cocktails could be used in American cities.

The clearest revelation of Snick's link with Havana did not come until 1966, when Snick leader Julian Bond was barred from his seat in the Georgia Legislature. His case was being ably handled by white lawyer Charles Morgan of the Atlanta office of the American Civil Liberties Union.

Suddenly a new face appeared: Victor Rabinowitz, a Manhattan lawyer with intimate Havana contacts. He was long associated with far left causes and a leader in the National Lawyers Guild and the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, organizations specializing in defending Communists.

Forman insisted that Rabinowitz supplant Morgan as Bond's attorney. In accordance with standard ACLU practice of deferring to other attorney's, Morgan stepped aside.

* * *
At about the same time, Snick's treasury—empty since the disaffection of white liberal contributors—suddenly began to fill again.

Although there is no documentary evidence to support the suspicion that the money came from Cuba, this belief makes sense. At precisely this time in 1966, Castro abandoned his Moscow-ordered policy of co-operating only with the regular Communist parties throughout the hemisphere. He declared he would support, with arms and money, any revolutionary movements. Snick would qualify for such help.

Nor has there been much doubt lately about Snick's revolutionary nature. After this year's Negro riots at Jackson (Miss.) State College, Mississippi Snick leaders met secretly to discuss plans for more effective "guerrilla warfare" in the future.

Effective or not, there is no longer any doubt that Snick today is Fidel Castro's arm in the United States.

100-446080-466

ENCLOSURE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/23/01 BY 3703 ECU/acepimw

How Revolutionaries Fanned Detroit Flames—

Agitators Used Twists of Fate, Human Weakness in Rioting

Following is the second of two articles by a noted Negro newspaper man and author.

By Louis E. Lomax

North American Newspaper Alliance.

Detroit, Mich. — Sunday dawn broke over a Detroit that was already beginning to belch flames. It was as if God himself was on the side of the organized revolutionaries. Everything worked; twists of fate and human weaknesses gave agitators every advantage.

Methodically breaking store windows, the revolutionaries urged the milling Negro people to loot and steal. But — and at least a dozen observers confirmed this — the professionals did no looting of their own. They are not thieves; they are men at war, revolutionaries bent on reducing the nation to ashes.

The looters unknowingly co-operated by having a happy time. The streets teemed with whites and Negroes who stole with abandon and glee. People came in cars from miles away and hauled off freezers, sofas, television sets and clothing.

Meanwhile, the Detroit police instituted a maneuver that called for them to move in on the looters. Chase them away, but not shoot. The result was a wild game during which the looters mocked the police for being stupid.

* * *

'Orders'

The police would move in on one set of looters; the looters would break and run across the street and enter yet another store. A store window a block away would crash and other looters would move in. The police would then take off down the streets, their lights blinking and sirens wailing. The first group of looters, openly laughing at the police, then resumed their stealing.

Why don't you guys stop

this thing?" Dr. James Boyce, a Negro professor at Wayne University, asked a policeman.

"We're following orders," the policeman replied.

Then the human element began to play into the hands of the revolutionaries.

A Negro woman on relief set fire to a furniture store because she felt she would never be able to pay the bill she owed there. Due to the interest rate, she was being forced to pay \$910.12 to satisfy an original debt of 285 dollars.

"Yes," she said. "I burned that damn Jew store down. That's one bill I will never have to pay. I made sure the office and all the records went up in flames first!"

Clifford Williams, a Negro, owned a combination drug and liquor store at Twelfth and Philadelphia. For more than a year civil rights organizations, notably the Congress of Racial Equality, had been urging Mr. Williams to cease his harsh treatment of Negroes.

"He told us all niggers steal," a CORE leader said. "He would make Negro customers stand in the middle of the store, their hands at their side while he waited on them. He said they would steal from his shelves. He also once drew a gun on some Negro women who complained about his attitude."

* * *

Picket Line

A month ago CORE put a picket line around Mr. Williams's store. Dewey Shanks, who is attached to the Mayor's Human Relations Committee, headed the picket line.

"Williams came out and told us we could march until our feet fell off," Mr. Shanks said. "If you niggers don't like the way I treat you, if you don't like my prices, then dammit go buy in Grosse Pointe!" he bellowed.

Mr. Williams's store was the first Negro store burned to the ground. The revolution-

aries did not do it. They didn't have to.

At a time when they ordinarily would have been headed for their pulpits a group of Negro ministers were closeted with Ray Girardin, Detroit's Police Commissioner. They urged the Commissioner to keep his men in check, that the looters not be fired upon.

Their reasoning was that once the police opened fire hundreds of Negroes would be killed. This, they contended, would start a major riot. They further contended that if left alone the looting would simply run its course and end. The Commissioner agreed.

They were all correct but for the fact that they did not know about the agitator element, hard at work stroking the uprising.

* * *

'Linwood Next'

The pattern spread to Detroit's East Side. Vignettes reveal what happened next:

A weary but happy arsonist approached a Negro school teacher on La Salle Street. "We have Twelfth Street in flames," he said. "Linwood is next."

A half hour later Linwood Boulevard was aflame.

A Negro woman approached a Negro doctor on Euclid and bragged that she was getting paid to set fires.

An elderly Negro man who lives on La Salle went to buy groceries on Linwood. He watched in horror as six Negroes set fire to a supermarket. He drove over to Lindy's

Market along Joy Road and had barely finished shopping when the same six men drove into the parking lot there. He fled home too quickly to see Lindy's Market go up in flames.

By late Sunday the uprising had spread to the fashionable, integrated Gold Coast near Seven Mile Road. Kenneth Mines, a distinguished Negro lawyer and his wife Shirley, a school teacher, shuddered with horror as a supermarket a block from their 50-thousand-dollar home burst into flames.

Mr. Mines stationed himself at his front door in hopes of hosing down the house lest it catch fire also. "Halt or I'll shoot", a state policeman shouted. And Kenneth Mines, one of the most brilliant and promising young Negro lawyer in America, eased back inside.

* * *

'Let Us Hide'

The Mines family, one of the few Negro families in the area, stayed indoors wondering if their white neighbors would seek revenge against them for what was happening. After two hours they emerged to discover that their white neighbors held them blameless.

Some 10 miles away, along Lamothe Street, a white neighbor pounded on the door of a Negro school teacher. "Please," the white man begged, "let us hide in your home!"

The Negro school teacher said "yes."

A few minutes later, another white neighbor, while listening to reports of the uprising, teacher's husband, an Episcopalian minister, rushed to the white home to give first aid.

Nor was that the wife of a Negro doctor watering her lawn late Sunday when a car bearing five Negro men drove up.

* * *

'Rich Next'

"You black middle-class bitch" one of the looters shouted. "You rich niggers next!"

The police cracked with reports that Negroes were making a mob in front of several middle-class Negro homes. The report is that these homes were marked for burning," a cop said.

The sun set Sunday on a Detroit of flames, hate, racial suspicion and mobbing of many young. And by noon, dedicated revolutionaries used their mission down the city, both physically.

It is clear that the revolutionaries who Detroit and won military mirage and gone. Everybody knows there; many say they were. Reports that some of them would prove their organizational. Nevertheless, the threat become reality. The dedicated revolutionaries have Detroit—bound for other

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100-446080-466

ENCLOSURE

Oma World Herald

5 Aug 67



Saturday Edition

OUR 102D YEAR—No. 271.

'The Fan Got Clogged'—

Detroit Proved A Fertile Field For Riot Seed

The author is one of America's foremost Negro newspaper men and broadcasters and author of "The Negro Revolt" and "The Reluctant African". This is the first of two articles.

By Louis E. Lomax

North American Newspaper Alliance.

Detroit, Mich.—Three days before the Detroit riots, that city's summer task force, a civilian riot-control group, was assigned to control and end a simulated riot. The explosion point was Twelfth and Clairmount, the corner where the riots erupted early the following Sunday.

**This
Article
Expresses
The Author's
Opinion**

The group attacked its assignment and failed—because it overlooked the fact that an organized group, largely from outside the Detroit area, had been operative in the city for more than a month.

And like the riot-control group, this second group had an assignment: burn and destroy.

This second group, a very real group, is highly organized and well trained and is not made up of thieves and arsonists in the ordinary sense of these words.

* * *

Leave Ashes

They are, instead, causers—revolutionaries committed to the conclusion that the power structure does not have the moral fiber to repent its socio-economic sins; that the only truly corrective measure is to leave the nation in ashes.

The principal United States cities have been chosen as the initial battleground simply because they afford the kind of co-operation by the innocent and uninformed that every such revolution needs.

"Operation Detroit" started several weeks ago when a small band of young Negro men fanned out in the ghetto posing as magazine salesmen. Once allowed in a home or an apartment, the "salesman" would say that he was from the South, that he had recently graduated from high school and was selling magazines in order to earn his college tuition.

The salesman offered the customer a wide range of Negro magazines. The price of the package was 18 dollars, of which 12 dollars was to be given the salesman, and six dollars to be sent to a legitimate magazine circulation service in New Jersey. The salesman represented the New Jersey company and provided the customers with a receipt along with a printed envelope to be used when the customer made his payment to the New Jersey firm.

* * *

Asked Questions

But the "sale" did not stop there. The salesman went on to sell black power.

"I thought I was helping a worthy Negro boy get to college," one of the subscribers said. "I really couldn't afford the subscription but I sacrificed to help one of my own kind. Then he started talking to me about black power. He asked me 'why the hell we let whitey, particularly the Jews, run the stores in our neighborhood.'"

"Then he started asking questions about the community; who was who; who had guns; who owed big bills at local stores and might be interested in seeing the building burn down. I told the fellow I didn't know all that information.

"He left. But he went to the house next door. I later learned he had done the same thing all along our block. I also learned that other salesmen had called on friends I have many blocks away."

* * *

Battle Plan Simple

Within a week the salesmen had produced such concern along Euclid that several responsible citizens—a neighborhood association—decided something should be done. The leaders of the group were immediately threatened by young Negro men they had never seen before. Honestly frightened, they remained silent until after the riots.

The battle plan was simple: Remain as obscure as possible until police-ghetto dy-

Turn to Page 2, Column 6 **OVER**

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100-446080-166

ENCLOSURE

Young Negroes Planted Riot Seeds

Continued from Page 1.

namics provided the proper setting for "the revolution."

The uprising all but occurred a month before when a Negro was shot and killed while allegedly protecting his wife from three white men bent on rape. But the needed trigger in the street did not appear. Two weeks later, a young Negro woman, an alleged prostitute, was killed by the police who said the woman had drawn a knife on them.

Again what the dynamics needed—milling angry Negroes—did not materialize. But early Sunday morning, July 23, the proper ingredients were mixed in the right proportions at Twelfth and Clairmount. Even then, the riot needed the "assistance" of the Detroit police.

Just before dawn the police raided a "blind pig," an after-hours joint neighborhood residents had been complaining about for six months. The police, however, had known about its existence for months. After all, 50 people at an all-night drinking and gambling party every night of the week without the knowledge of the policemen on the beat is stretching credulity a bit far.

The merry-makers and gamblers were given the usual searching and then herded into police cars. Then the dynamics began to congeal.

* * *

Negroes Congregated

Negroes were milling along Twelfth Street. They congregated at the corner of Clairmount to watch the raid and the arrests.

"They called us niggers!" a woman who was in the blind pig said.

"I heard them calling people niggers," a bystander reiterated. "And I shouted that we ought to tear up the hunky town. Then somebody threw a bottle through a window! And, baby" he laughed, "that's when the fun got clogged!"

What happened immediately after the first window was broken is common fare

in the poverty-ridden Negro areas of our cities. More windows were broken, people started looting.

"I was standing on the street when the looting started," a Negro professor at Wayne University, who also lives in the area, said. "It was a normal breaking and looting scene. They happen all the time. Then the people became aware of the fact that the police, following orders, were not interfering with the looters."

At this point the professionals moved in. Acting with precision, one squad moved along Twelfth Street with hammers and crowbars, smashing windows.

* * *

'Help Yourself, Baby'

"Come on baby, help yourself," they shouted to the milling and running Negroes along the street.

Another professional revolutionary squad raced along the street several blocks away, shouting: "Hey, man, the fuzz is letting the people take all they want. Get up to the corner of Clairmount."

"I split like hell to the corner," one looter said. "I got me a TV set."

The looter did not realize that he, like the others, was a pawn in the revolutionaries game. The professionals wanted hundreds of people running, yelling and looting near the corner of Twelfth and Clairmount. Add to that the nonaction by the police and you have a recipe for chaos and riots—perfect food for revolutionaries.

Within two hours, Twelfth Street was a human jungle. Dewey Shanks, who not only lives in the ghetto, but also is attached to the Mayor's Human Relations Committee under a poverty program grant, was at the corner. One of the agitators was hard at work smashing windows. He shouted to Mr. Shanks: "Hey baby, I haven't seen you since Newark!"

Dewey Shanks was not at Newark. The revolutionary had been.

Next: Agitators at work.

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F B I

Date 8/8/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, TAMPA (100-1103) (RUC)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
SEDITION
OO:ATLANTA

Re Bureau airtels 8/4/ and 8/5/67.

Enclosed herewith for Atlanta for inclusion in
a Prosecutive Summary Report are four copies of the
following FD-302's:(1) FD-302 containing results of interview
of [redacted] Pinellas County SO.(2) FD-302 containing results of interview
with [redacted] Pinellas County SO.(3) FD-302 containing results of interview with
[redacted] Pinellas County SO.(4) FD-302 containing results of interview and
signed statement furnished by [redacted]
Pinellas County SO. b7C(5) FD-302 containing results of interview and
signed statement furnished by [redacted]
[redacted] Pinellas County SO. REC-69(6) FD-302 containing receipt of three tape
cartridges from [redacted] mentioned above.(7) FD-302 containing results of interview
with [redacted] St. Petersburg PD.③ Bureau
2 Atlanta (Encls. 28)
1 Tampa

JEH:bp (6)

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/23/01 BY 57063 EWT/BCE

15 AUG 10 1967

56 AUG 18 1967

Approved _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

TP 100-1103

A verbatim transcript of the speech made by CARMICHAEL on April 18, 1967 at St. Petersburg, Florida and the question and answer forum held after the speech was furnished to the Bureau and Atlanta by airtel and LHM on 5/17/67.

The tapes of CARMICHAEL's speech which were made available by [redacted] will be maintained in Tampa file 100-1103-1A14. b7D

F B I

Date: 8/8/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, JACKSON (100-123) (RUC)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - M; SEDITION
OO: ATLANTA

ReBuairtels to Atlanta 8/4/67 and 8/5/67,
and Jackson tel to New Orleans, Atlanta and Bureau 8/8/67.

Enclosed for the Bureau are the original and ten copies of LHM reflecting investigation conducted regarding CARMICHAEL's speech at Tougaloo College, Jackson, Miss., on 4/11/67. Enclosed for Atlanta are nine copies each of eight FD 302s regarding investigation conducted at Jackson.

Leads are not being set out regarding national network personnel from Atlanta, Ga., who allegedly attended CARMICHAEL's speech at Jackson, as interviews at Jackson and lead for New Orleans should adequately cover Department's requests.

All persons contacted were advised that this investigation was being conducted at the request of the Assistant Attorney General in Charge of the Internal Security Division of the Department of Justice.

- 3 - Bureau (Enc. 11)
2 - Atlanta (Enc. 72)
1 - Jackson
TF/bdb

(6)

AGENCY: ACSE, ONI, OSI, SEC. SER.

DEPT: ISD, CRD, ~~INT~~, ~~UNCLAS~~

DATE FORW: 8/11/67

HOW FORW: ~~INT~~BY: ~~INT~~

Sent M Per

Approved: *RKm*

Special Agent in Charge

62 AUG 18 1967

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DATE 3/23/01 BY 5063 C/M

AUG 10 1967

INT. SEC.

JN 100-123

Jackson, in airtel to the Bureau dated 6/6/67, previously provided Bureau and Atlanta copies of the transcript of CARMICHAEL's speech at Jackson made from a copy of a tape recording received by [redacted]

b7C

[redacted]
[redacted] Jackson, Miss., 4/13/67, and provided

b7D

SA [redacted]



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Jackson, Mississippi

August 8, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY -
MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION

The following investigation was conducted by Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation at Jackson, Mississippi, regarding a speech made by Stokely Carmichael on the evening of April 11, 1967, in the main chapel of Tougaloo College, Jackson, Mississippi.

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/23/01 BY 69063 BIL/BEL/AMW

ENCLOSURE

100-446080-468

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 8/8/67

[redacted]
[redacted] b7C
Jackson, Mississippi, was contacted and advised the interviewing Agents' identities and the nature of the inquiry. He said that he recalls a speech made by STOKELY CARMICHAEL at Tougaloo College on the evening of April 11, 1967, however, stated he did not attend this speech. He said to his knowledge there were no law enforcement officials present in the audience on that occasion. He said he had made it known to several individuals that he was anxious to obtain a tape recording of the text of CARMICHAEL's speech on that occasion. He said subsequently on April 13, 1967, he was advised that a tape of the speech had been made by an unknown individual and dropped off at the MHSP Headquarters in Jackson. He said he had previously provided this tape to Special Agent [redacted] of the FBI, who had subsequently had a transcript made from the tape recording. b7C

[redacted] b7C
[redacted] said he had been unable to determine who had "dropped off" the tape recording at the Highway Patrol Headquarters, however, he would continue his efforts to identify this individual. He said he would immediately advise the FBI when he receives any information in this regard.

b7C

On 8/7/67 at Jackson, Mississippi File # Jackson 100-123
by SA [redacted] / TF:bdb Date dictated 8/8/67
SA [redacted]

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 8/8/67

[redacted]
[redacted],
Jackson, Mississippi, was contacted and advised the interviewing Agents' identities and the nature of the inquiry. He advised that he had determined that [redacted] New Orleans, Louisiana, had been the individual who had left a copy of a tape recording of STOKELY CARMICHAEL's speech on April 11, 1967, at the MHSP Headquarters. He said he had telephonically contacted [redacted] on this date at which time [redacted] indicated he still had the original tape recording and would be willing to discuss any matter in this regard with Special Agents of the FBI. [redacted] said [redacted] told him the tape recording had been made by [redacted] while attending CARMICHAEL's speech at Tougaloo College, Jackson, Mississippi, and was almost a complete verbatim transcript of the speech.

b7C

b7C

b7C

[redacted] said [redacted] could be contacted at the [redacted] or at his residence, [redacted] (phone number [redacted] said he would be willing to testify regarding anything he has related concerning [redacted] and the copy of a tape recording of STOKELY CARMICHAEL's speech on April 11, 1967, at Jackson, Mississippi, as provided to his office by [redacted]

b7C

On 8/8/67 at Jackson, Mississippi File # Jackson 100-123

by SA [redacted] bdb b7C Date dictated 8/8/67

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 8/8/67

b7C

b7C

B. APPROX

[redacted] Jackson, Mississippi, was contacted and advised of the nature of the inquiry and the identities of the interviewing Agents. 1957-37

He said he attended the speech by STOKELY CARMICHAEL on the evening of April 11, 1967, at Tougaloo College, Jackson, Mississippi. He said he arrived shortly after the speech started and stayed for the entire speech. He said he was at the speech which was held in the main chapel of this college from about 8:15 P.M. until 9:15 P.M. He said there were at least 300 people in attendance and approximately 90% were college-age Negro individuals of which about one-half were Negro men. He said there were approximately 25 to 30 white males and females in the crowd. He said he did not observe any individuals wearing military uniforms, however, noted that most of the male students at Tougaloo College are of draft age.

He said Tougaloo College does not have any Reserve Officers Training Corps (ROTC) program or related military programs.

He said CARMICHAEL's speech was very favorably received by the audience and the audience was very enthusiastic and responsive to the text of his speech.

He said CARMICHAEL consciously made use of emotive mediums to incite the audience to support the various points he was trying to make in his speech.

He said to his knowledge there was no question and answer session following the speech and he is not aware of any specific group discussions held following

On 8/7/67 at Jackson, Mississippi File # Jackson 100-123
by SA [redacted] /TF: bdb Date dictated 8/8/67
SA [redacted] b7C

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the speech for the purpose of discussing the text of the speech.

He said there were several white newsmen and television cameramen present during CARMICHAEL's speech.

He said at several points towards the latter part of STOKELY CARMICHAEL's speech the crowd frequently yelled "hell no, we won't go". He said he does recall that a few of the older Negro men and women in the crowd were upset that the younger Negroes in the crowd were giving CARMICHAEL so much favorable response.

b7C

D 8/8/67

b7C

[redacted] b7C
Jackson, Mississippi, was contacted and advised of the interviewing Agents' identities and the nature of the inquiry.

[redacted]
[redacted] He advised he resides at [redacted]
[redacted] Jackson, Mississippi, [redacted] b7C

b7C

[redacted]
He said he was in attendance at a speech given by STOKELY CARMICHAEL in the main chapel at Tougaloo College, Jackson, Mississippi, on April 11, 1967. He said also as reporters were [redacted] b7C
[redacted] Jackson, [redacted] Jackson, Mississippi, and television crews from the [redacted]
[redacted] Atlanta, Georgia. b7C

He said the crowds very enthusiastically and wildly supported CARMICHAEL during his speech and about three-quarters of the way through his speech, the crowd frequently yelled "hell no, we won't go".

He said the audience consisted of predominantly college-age Negro males. He said there were a few white males and females in the crowd and also numerous Negro females. He said he did not observe any individual in military uniform in the crowd nor did he know of anyone who was in the military who was in the crowd.

He said he does not know of anyone who might have made a tape recording of CARMICHAEL's speech and

On 8/7/67 at Jackson, Mississippi File # Jackson 100-123
by SA [redacted] TF:bdb Date dictated 8/8/67

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he added that he himself did not make such a recording.

He said he recalls there was a short question and answer period following CARMICHAEL's speech participated in by the audience. He said to his knowledge no newsmen asked any questions. He said he did not know of any group discussions held following CARMICHAEL's speech regarding the content of his speech.

[] said he heard CARMICHAEL's speech from beginning to end and it lasted approximately one hour.

[] provided a copy of his news story regarding his coverage of the speech which he said is very accurate and based on his notes. A copy is attached hereto. b7C

[] said he would be willing to testify and available to testify regarding any information he has herein provided.

B41JA

PMS PMS
BY JAMES BONNEY
ASSOCIATED PRESS WRITER

JACKSON, MISS. (AP)-- "HELL NO, WE AIN'T GOING" TO VIETNAM BECAME THE NEW RALLYING CALL FOR NEGROES TUESDAY NIGHT AS BLACK POWER ADVOCATE STOKELY CARMICHAEL URGED THEM TO GO TO JAIL RATHER THAN FIGHT.

MORE THAN 500 NEGROES AT TOUGALOO COLLEGE NORTH OF JACKSON TOOK UP THE CHANT DURING A SPEECH BY CARMICHAEL. THE STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN HAD TO QUIET THEM DOWN AFTER SEVERAL MINUTES TO CONTINUE HIS SPEECH.

"WHY SHOULD A NEGRO GO 8,000 MILES TO SHOOT A MAN THAT AIN'T NEVER CALLED HIM NIGGER," CARMICHAEL ASKED. "WE MUST TELL THEM, 'HELL NO, WE AIN'T GOING.'"

CARMICHAEL'S LIEUTENANTS DISTRIBUTED ORANGE BUMPER STICKERS BEARING THE SLOGAN WHILE HE SPOKE.

COMMENTING ON THE RACIAL STRIFE IN NASHVILLE, TENN., CARMICHAEL SAID "IT IS NOT A RIOT, IT IS A REBELLION. YOU OUGHT TO BE PROUD OF YOUR BLACK BROTHERS AT FISK. THE DAYS OF A HUNKIE COP RUNNING INTO OUR NEIGHBORHOOD, BEATING US UP AND RUNNING OUT ARE GONE. WE WANT TO INSTILL IN OUR PEOPLE THE RIGHT TO FIGHT BACK ON ANYBODY WHO MESSES WITH US."

CARMICHAEL SAID IF "WE ARE VIOLENT THE UNITED STATES TAUGHT US VERY WELL HOW TO BE VIOLENT."

WITH SWEAT DRIPPING FROM HIS FOREHEAD IN THE STUFFY COLLEGE CHAPEL, CARMICHAEL SMILED AND SAID IN "LOWNDES COUNTY, ALABAMA, TWO NEGRO CHURCHES BURNED AND A WEEK LATER A WHITE CHURCH WAS BURNED TO THE GROUND. WE WILL ALL WORSHIP INSIDE OR WE WILL ALL WORSHIP OUTSIDE..."

"AS LONG AS THERE IS INJUSTICE THERE IS GOINT TO BE NO PEACE," CARMICHAEL TOLD THE WILDLY CHEERING AUDIENCE.

HE BRANDED GEORGE WASHINGTON AS A "HUNKIE SLAVE-OWNER" AND SAID THE FIRST PRESIDENT "SOLD A BLACK WOMAN FOR A BARREL OF SYRUP...BUT THE ONLY THING THEY TELL YOU IN THE HISTORY BOOKS IS HOW GEORGE WASHINGTON CHOPPED DOWN A CHERRY TREE...NOW AIN'T THAT A JOKE."

HE SAID NEGROES HAD CONSISTENTLY BEEN GIVEN "A RAW DEAL" BY HISTORIANS.

CARMICHAEL WARNED WHITES "IF YOU DON'T WANT TROUBLE KEEP YOUR FILTHY WHITE HANDS OFF....IF YOU TOUCH US WITH YOUR HANDS WE ARE GOING TO BREAK YOUR BONES."

"SOCIETY IS GEARED AGAINST US," CARMICHAEL SAID. WHEN THEY ASK THAT QUESTION ABOUT MARRYING THE WHITE DAUGHTER WE IN SNCC ANSWER "WE NOT ONLY WANT TO MARRY YOUR DAUGHTER, BUT YOUR SISTER AND YOUR MOTHER...SHE'S NOT THE VIRGIN MARY, SHE'S LIKE ANY OOTHER WOMAN."

JEB MIDNIGHT 4-11-67 B AP NM

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 8/8/67

[redacted] was interviewed at his place of employment. [redacted] Jackson, Mississippi by Agents [redacted] who identified themselves as Agents of the FBI. [redacted] was advised of the nature of the inquiry. b7C

[redacted] furnished the following information: b7C

[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted] currently resides at [redacted]
Jackson, Mississippi and is currently [redacted]
[redacted] Jackson, Mississippi,
a position he has held for the past two years. b7C

On the evening of April 11, 1967 his assignment was to attend a meeting at which STOKELY CARMICHAEL was to be the principle speaker.

This meeting started at approximately 8 PM, was attended by approximately 800-900 persons.

[redacted] left the meeting at 9 PM before CARMICHAEL ended his talk due to the fact he had to make the 10 PM news report. b7C

Of the 800-900 persons present at this meeting 98 percent were Negro, there were more Negro males than females. The Negro males were of college and draft age.

CARMICHAEL'S speech was received very enthusiastically in that the group cheered wildly, stomped their feet and three fourths of the way through his speech the audience began to chant "Hell no, we ain't going"

On 8/7/67 at JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI File # Jackson 100-123
by SA [redacted] and HMR/jdh Date dictated 8/8/67

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He observed no persons present at this meeting in the uniform of the United States Armed Forces or did not know anyone present currently in the Armed Forces of the United States Government.

Due to the fact he left before CARMICHAEL concluded his speech he did not know if there was a question and answer period or any type group discussion concerning CARMICHAEL'S speech.

He taped CARMICHAEL'S speech, however, the following day he erased the tape in view of the fact he had no further use to reference any material concerning CARMICHAEL'S talk.

b7C

The following persons of the news media who were present were [redacted] a reporter, [redacted]

[redacted] a reporter, [redacted]

[redacted] a reporter with [redacted]

[redacted] Atlanta, Georgia. He recalled that [redacted]

[redacted] taped CARMICHAEL'S speech.

b7C

b7C

[redacted] stated that he is willing to testify to his attendance at the above meeting.

b7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 8/8/67

✓
[redacted] was interviewed at his residence, [redacted] Jackson, Mississippi, by Agents [redacted] who identified themselves as Special Agents of the FBI. [redacted] was advised of the nature of the inquiry.

b7C

[redacted] furnished the following information:

b7C

[redacted]
On the evening of April 11, 1967, he was assigned by the [redacted] to work as an [redacted] on [redacted] at Tougaloo Chapel, Tougaloo College, Tougaloo, Mississippi. This meeting started between 7:30 and 8:00 p.m., was attended by approximately 1500 persons, and ended at approximately 9:30 p.m.

b7C

b7C

The principle speaker at this meeting was STOKELY CARMICHAEL.

The audience consisted of 95 percent Negro, predominantly Negro male of college and draft age.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL's speech was very enthusiastically received and three fourths of the way through his talk the audience began to chant wildly "Hell no we ain't going".

On 8/7/67 at Jackson, Mississippi File # Jackson 100-123
by SA's [redacted] & [redacted] HMR/pdb Date dictated 8/8/67

b7C

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JN 100-123

He observed no persons at this meeting in the uniform of the United States Armed Forces nor did he know anyone present who was in the Armed Forces of the United States Government.

He could not remember if there was a question and answer period following CARMICHAEL's talk.

To his knowledge no type of group discussion nor seminar was held following CARMICHAEL's talk.

[redacted] further advised that there are no type Reserve Officers Training Corps (ROTC) training at Tougaloo College. b7C

[redacted] further advised that he is willing to testify concerning the above meeting. b7C

He further advised persons of the news media present at the above meeting were [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] b7C

[redacted] and [redacted] also of [redacted] and are located in Atlanta, Georgia.

b7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 8/8/67

[redacted] was interviewed at her place of employment. [redacted]

[redacted] Jackson, Mississippi, by SA's [redacted] b7C
[redacted] who identified themselves as Agents of the FBI. [redacted] was advised of the nature of the inquiry.

b7C

[redacted] furnished the following information:

b7C

On the evening of April 11, 1967, she attended a meeting which was held at the Tougaloo Chapel, Tougaloo College, Tougaloo, Mississippi in which STOKELY CARMICHAEL was the principle speaker. Her reason for attending this meeting was in connection with her employment.

The meeting started at approximately 8:00 p.m. and ended between 9:30 and 10:00 p.m. This meeting was attended by approximately 700 persons, predominantly Negro, 75 percent Negro males of college age, 15 percent Negro and white girls and 10 percent older persons which would include the faculty. Most of the persons present were of college age and of draft age.

The group received CARMICHAEL's speech very enthusiastically and three fourths of the way through his

On 8/7/67 at Jackson, Mississippi File # Jackson 100-123

by SA's [redacted] b7C
[redacted] HMR/pdb Date dictated 8/8/67

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speech began to chant "Hell no we ain't going". She observed no persons in the audience wearing the uniform of the United States Armed Forces and knew of no one in the audience in the services of the United States Armed Forces.

b7C

She did not make any type of tape recording and that the only person whom she observed making a tape recording was [redacted] Jackson, Mississippi.

She left immediately after CARMICHAEL's speech and could not state if there was any type question and answer period.

b7C

During her attendance at the above meeting she did not observe any type group discussion concerning CARMICHAEL'S talk. [redacted] persons of the press and television whom she observed present were [redacted] of the [redacted] NBC; [redacted] Jackson, Mississippi. She stated that all the television media were present which would include ABC, NBC and CBS.

b7C

She stated she is willing to testify to the above meeting.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 8/8/67

b7C

[redacted] was interviewed at his place of employment, [redacted] by Special Agents [redacted] who identified themselves as Agents of the FBI. [redacted] was advised of the nature of the inquiry.

b7C

JACKSON Miss
[redacted] furnished the following information:

b7C

[redacted]

b7C

On April 11, 1967, he attended a meeting which was held at the Tougaloo Chapel at Tougaloo College, Tougaloo, Mississippi, at which STOKELY CARMICHAEL was the principle speaker.

This meeting started at either 8:00 or 9:00 p.m., was attended by approximately 300 persons and ended around 10:30 p.m.

The group in attendance were 90 percent predominantly Negro, with approximately 50 percent male and 50 percent female all of college age. CARMICHAEL's speech was very enthusiastically received with cheering and stomping of feet and clapping of hands. Three fourths of the way through the speech the audience began to chant "Hell no we ain't going".

He observed no person present wearing a uniform of the U.S. Armed Forces nor did he know anyone in attendance

On 8/7/67 at Jackson, Mississippi File # Jackson 100-123
by SA's [redacted] & [redacted] HMR/pdb Date dictated 8/8/67

b7C

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JN 100-123

who was in the Armed Forces.

Following CARMICHAEL's speech there was a question and answer period of approximately 10 to 15 minutes in which the audience directed questions to CARMICHAEL.

Following the question and answer period there was no type of group discussion.

[] did not make any type tape recording of CARMICHAEL's speech.

b7C

No Reserve Officers Training Corps (ROTC) type training is at Tougaloo College.

[] advised that he is willing to testify to his attendance at the above meeting.

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

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F B I

Date: 8/8/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, SEATTLE (100-28676) (RUC)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION
OO: ATLANTA

Re Seattle airtels to Bureau, 4/30/67 and 7/31/67;
Bureau airtels to Atlanta, 8/4/67 and 8/5/67.

Being forwarded herewith to the Bureau are three (3) copies each of eight (8) FD-302's reflecting interviews with witnesses of speeches given by STOKELY CARMICHAEL in the Seattle, Washington, area on May 19, 1967. Also being forwarded to Atlanta are four (4) copies each of the same eight (8) FD-302's, and four (4) copies of two (2) tape recordings of CARMICHAEL's two speeches made at Seattle on 5/19/67, at the University of Washington at Garfield High School (previously furnished Bureau by Seattle airtel, 7/31/67). Also being forwarded to the Bureau are three (3) copies of an insert reflecting Seattle, Washington witnesses of CARMICHAEL's speeches and four (4) copies of these appendix pages for Atlanta.

Seattle airtel to Bureau, 7/31/67, forwarded a transcript of tapes made from the speeches of STOKELY CARMICHAEL in the Seattle, Washington, area at Garfield High School and University of Washington, 5/19/67.

The Statement, "Well'em Hell no, we aren't going" as set forth in referenced Seattle airtel, 4/30/67, was first reported by _____

b7C

b7D

1-922 950 with 100 each each
3 - Bureau (Encl. 27) (REG)

4 - Atlanta (Encl. 44) (REG)

1 - Seattle

LKS:cdv/cmh

(8)

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED
EX 105

REC 46 100-446080-468
14 AUG 11 1967

Approved: _____

Sent _____

M

Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

51 AUG 17 1967

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SE 100-28676

[redacted] and would not qualify as a competent witness. Upon recontact 8/7/67, [redacted] stated she did not personally hear CARMICHAEL make this statement and was not present at the speech at the University of Washington, but heard it from an unknown source who was at the University of Washington meeting. This statement was, however, also overheard by [redacted] whose FD-302 is enclosed with copies of FD-302's for the other witnesses, who attended either the speech of CARMICHAEL at Garfield High School or his speech at University of Washington. All of these witnesses stated that they are willing and available to testify. b7C b7D

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APPENDIX - WITNESSES

AT SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

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1. [REDACTED]

2. [REDACTED]

3. [REDACTED]

4. [REDACTED]

b7C

5. [REDACTED]

6. [REDACTED]

7. [REDACTED]

²
SE 100-28676
LKS/cdv

8.

b7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date **August 8, 1967** b7C

[redacted] Seattle, stated that she is a housewife and attended a speech given by STOKELY CARMICHAEL at Garfield High School, Seattle, on the evening of May 19, 1967. She stated that she left the meeting about 20 minutes before the end of CARMICHAEL's main speech as she was worried about getting out of a traffic jam. She now recalled that during the speech STOKELY CARMICHAEL made a statement such as "If somebody gives me a gun, I know who I would shoot". He had been referring to war in Vietnam and had stated that Negroes should not be shooting other persons of colored skin, in Vietnam, when they had a greater problem at home. Other than this remark, [redacted] could not recall any particular controversial remark made by CARMICHAEL. She estimated the audience at approximately 4,000 persons, mostly adults, and those of draft age in the audience about 15%. She also stated that the audience was approximately 60% Negro, and she did not hear any "chanting" to answers or remarks made by CARMICHAEL. She said that the closest military establishment to Garfield High School is approximately ten miles away. She did not see anyone in military uniform at this meeting.

[redacted] advised she would be willing to testify to this information. b7C

b7C

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DATE 9/23/01 BY 39063 EIU/BCE/AMU

On **8/8/67** at **Seattle, Washington** File # **SE 100-28676**

by **SA [redacted] cdv:bjl** Date dictated **8/8/67** b7C

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 8/8/67

b7C

[redacted] at [redacted] Seattle, Washington, stated that he made a tape recording of a speech made by STOKELY CARMICHAEL at Garfield High School, 400 - 23rd Avenue, Seattle, on the evening of May 19, 1967. He is maintaining the master copy or original tape of this speech as a matter of evidence. He said that he would be willing and available for testimony regarding this tape. [redacted] estimated the audience at more than 4,000 persons, and of this number, there were approximately 60 per cent Negroes, and no more than 15 per cent young men of draft age. He said he did not see a military uniform in the audience and does not know how many persons of the audience are in military service. He said the audience response was very warm, but he did not hear any "chanting" in response to remarks made by CARMICHAEL. He said that the nearest military base is approximately ten miles away and there is no ROTC program at Garfield High School. He added that a question and answer period was held at Garfield High School following the main address, and he does not recall any statements made by CARMICHAEL which would be construed as counseling or obstructing military recruiting or service.

b7C

[redacted] stated that CARMICHAEL delivered his speech on "Black Power and Negro Rights" in normal tone of voice and did not become overly excited. He spoke to all persons within sound of his voice and did not appear to use a text but may have referred to notes although they were not noticeable. CARMICHAEL was the main speaker of the evening.

b7C

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On 8/8/67 at Seattle, Washington File # SE 100-28676

b7C

by SA [redacted] cdv:cmh Date dictated 8/8/67

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date August 8, 1967

[redacted] University of Washington, Seattle, Washington, stated that he attended a speech given by STOKELY CARMICHAEL at the University of Washington, Seattle, on the afternoon of May 19, 1967. He said he did not hear any remarks by CARMICHAEL which would indicate counseling to avoid military duty or similiar statements. He estimated the audience at approximately 3,000 persons of which less than 5% were Negro. He believes that the audience was receptive to CARMICHAEL but did not "go all out in applause". He said there was a question and answer period after his speech but there was no large response to any answers given by CARMICHAEL, and he does not recall CARMICHAEL making a statement such as "Hell no, we won't go". He estimated that the majority of the males in the audience or three-fourths of the audience would be about draft age, but he did not see any military uniforms.

b7C

[redacted] advised he would be willing to testify to this information.

b7C

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On 8/8/67 at Seattle, Washington File # SE 100-28676

by Sa [redacted] /edv Date dictated 8/8/67

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date August 8, 1967

b7C

[redacted] University of Washington, Seattle, Washington, stated he attended the speech by STOKELY CARMICHAEL given on the afternoon of May 19, 1967, at the University of Washington. He said that he was in and out of the audience due to his security duties but did not hear any remarks by CARMICHAEL which he thought were controversial. He said the audience consisted of slightly more than 3,000 persons, of which 70 or more per cent were college students and of this 70% three fourths were males of draft age. He said he does not recall that many Negroes were present but there could have been a few. He said the audience response was average, and he did not hear any vocal response such as "chanting" by the audience. He said the college has three Reserve Officer Training programs and the nearest military installation is the Sand Point Naval Air Base, which is three miles from the University. He also stated that he did not see any military uniforms at this speech.

b7C

[redacted] related he would be willing to testify to this information.

b7C

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On 8/8/67 at Seattle, Washington File # SE 100-28676

by SA [redacted] /cdv Date dictated 8/8/67

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date August 8, 1967

b7C

Seattle [redacted] Seattle, Washington, advised he attended a speech of STOKELY CARMICHAEL given the evening of May 19, 1967, at Garfield High School, 400 23rd Avenue, Seattle. He said that he did not hear any comment made by CARMICHAEL which would indicate counseling of persons to refuse military duty or similiar remarks. He estimated the audience at about 4,000 or more persons with the majority of the audience being adults. He pointed out that the response of the audience was warm and cordial. He said that he did not notice any military uniforms in the audience, and he did not hear any "chanting" in response to CARMICHAEL's remarks.

b7C

[redacted] advised he would be willing to testify to this information.

b7C

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date August 8, 1967

b7C

[redacted] Seattle, Washington. He stated that he personally made a tape recording of the speech given by STOKELY CARMICHAEL on the afternoon of May 19, 1967, at the University of Washington. He said that as is the custom, the master tape was erased, but he did make a copy from it of the speech made by CARMICHAEL. He said that he has maintained this copy and made a copy from his copy for Agent [redacted] of the FBI. He said that he would be willing and available to testify to the copy that he maintains in his possession as being true and accurate copy of the tape he originally recorded as a "master tape" of CARMICHAEL's speech. b7C

[redacted] said that he recalls that during a question and answer period following CARMICHAEL's main speech an anonymous student asked a question about military service and CARMICHAEL's reply was "Hell no, we won't go". [redacted] does not recall any other particular remarks derogatory in nature by CARMICHAEL such as counseling against military service. He estimated the audience at about 3,000 with approximately 90% being college students. He said that of this 90%, there were approximately three-fourths male students of draft age. He said that he did not see any military personnel present in uniform and does not know how many of the students present are in the Reserve Officer Training Corps but believes that 50% of the males present are members of the Reserve Officer Training Corps. [redacted] said that the audience response appeared to be "warm" but not "exuberant". He said that there was no "chanting" by the audience of CARMICHAEL's remarks. b7C

[redacted] remarked that CARMICHAEL appeared to deliver his speech in a normal tone of voice and in a deliberate manner. He did not become overly excited, and he spoke generally to all persons within sound of his voice. He may have used notes in delivering his speech, but they were not apparent. He was the main speaker for the afternoon and his announced topic was Negro Rights and Black Power. b7C

[redacted] further related he had also made a tape of the question and answer period following CARMICHAEL's main address, however,

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On 8/8/67 at Seattle, Washington File # SE 100-28676

by SA [redacted] /cdv Date dictated 8/8/67 b7C

2

SE 100-28676

this tape has been erased. A separate copy of this portion of the tape was made before the tape was erased, however, he has been unable to locate the copy.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date August 8, 1967

b7C

[redacted] University of Washington, Seattle, Washington, informed that he attended a speech of STOKELY CARMICHAEL which was held on the afternoon of May 19, 1967, at the University of Washington. He stated that he did not hear any comment made by CARMICHAEL which would indicate willful counseling or refusal for duty in military service or effort to obstruct recruiting into military service or enlistment into military duty. He said that the audience consisted of about 3,000 persons made up of students of which three-fourths were male persons of draft age. He said that the number of Negroes in the audience was very small and he would approximate no more than 5% of the audience. He added that the audience were warm in their reception but at no time did they appear to be "exuberant".

b7C

[redacted] stated that there is a Reserve Officer Training program at the University which includes a training program for Air Force, Army, and Navy. He said that to the best of his knowledge, there was no one in the audience in uniform. He stated that there was a question and answer period after the main speech by CARMICHAEL, and it was difficult for anyone to hear all of the questions and answers. He said he did not hear any chanting to a question regarding the draft nor did he hear CARMICHAEL make an answer such as "Hell no, we won't go".

b7C

[redacted] advised he would be willing to testify to this information.

b7C

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On 8/8/67 at Seattle, Washington File # SE 100-28676

by SA [redacted] /cdv Date dictated 8/8/67

b7C

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date August 8, 1967

[redacted] who is [redacted] at

b7C

[redacted] Seattle, Washington, stated he attended the speech of STOKELY CARMICHAEL at Garfield High School on the evening of May 19, 1967, attended mostly by adults. He said the audience response was very warm and he would estimate the audience at about 4,000 persons. He said the audience consisted of very few persons of draft age. He does not recall any remarks being made by CARMICHAEL of a controversial nature which would be construed as counseling or obstruction to military service. He estimated that the number of draft age persons in the audience would be about 10%, and the number of Negroes in the audience would be 70%. He said there was no vocal response by the audience to CARMICHAEL's remarks and a question and answer period was held at the high school directly following his main address. He does not recall seeing any military personnel in uniform at the high school and does not know how many persons were there that might be in the military service.

[redacted] related he would be willing to testify to this information.

b7C

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DATE 3/23/01 BY 59063 E/w/rel/amlw

On 8/8/67 at Seattle, WashingtonFile # SE 100-28676

by

SA [redacted]

/cdv

Date dictated 8/8/67

b7C

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F B I

Date: 8/9/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: *WFW* SAC, HOUSTON (100-10598) (RUC)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS;
SEDITION

ReBUairtels 8/4,5/67.

Enclosed for the Bureau are two copies, and for Atlanta five copies, of results of investigation conducted at Houston, Texas, concerning the speech which STOKELY CARMICHAEL gave on 4/13/67 at the University of Houston (UH), Houston, Texas.

Enclosed results of investigation consist of the following:

1. A transcript of CARMICHAEL's said speech and attendant "Question and Answer" period; and
2. Results of interviews with the following individuals concerning their knowledge of said speech:



b7C

1-922 980 *www*

3 - Bureau (Enc. 2) (RM)

2 - Atlanta (100-68112) (Enc. 5) (RM)

2 - Houston

CJP:yk
(7)

EX-115

REC- 48

14 AUG 11 1967

56 AUG 10 1967

Approved: _____ Sent: _____ M Per: _____
Special Agent in Charge

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HO 100-10598

b7C



b7C

It is noted that [redacted] [redacted]
[redacted] advised that [redacted]
all of the [redacted]
present for CARMICHAEL's appearance at the UH on 4/13/67.
[redacted]
concerning this matter because [redacted] advised that
[redacted] capacity
in penetrating various meetings held at Houston, Texas, and
feels that his possible use as a witness would identify
[redacted] and compromise his future effectiveness.

b7C

b7D

b7C

The Houston Office has no informants close to CARMICHAEL who could testify as to CARMICHAEL's knowledge and intent.

The transcript of CARMICHAEL's speech and attendant "Question and Answer" period at UH on 4/13/67 was prepared by Houston Stenographers [redacted] and [redacted] from a taped recording of CARMICHAEL's speech made available on 8/7/67 by [redacted]

b7C

b7D

The taped recording was made by personnel of the [redacted]
[redacted]

HO 100-10598

b7C

As set forth in enclosed results of investigation,
the original tape recording of CARMICHAEL's speech was made
by [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] For the informa-
tion of the Bureau and Atlanta. at time of interview.

b7C

[REDACTED] advised that [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

HO 100-10598
AT 100-68112

The following investigation was conducted at
Houston, Texas:

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100-446080-471

ENCLOSURE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 8/8/67

[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted] Houston, Texas, made available a taped recording of a speech, and attendant "Question and Answer" period, given by STOKELY CARMICHAEL at Cullen Auditorium, University of Houston, Houston, Texas, during the evening of April 13, 1967. [redacted] advised that he had received the taped recording on August 7, 1967, from [redacted]

b7C

[redacted]
[redacted] advised [redacted] that the taped recording had been made by personnel of [redacted]
[redacted]

b7C

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DATE 3/23/01 BY 39063 EWL/BCE/AMW

On 8/7/67 at Houston, Texas File # HO 100-10598
AT 100-68112
by SA [redacted] rk Date dictated 8/7/67

b7C

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- 1 -

b7C

HO 100-10598

Stenographers of the Houston Office of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Houston, Texas, on August 7 and 8, 1967, made the following transcription from a taped recording of a speech, and attendant "Question and Answer" period, given by STOKELY CARMICHAEL at Cullen Auditorium, University of Houston, Houston, Texas, during the evening of April 13, 1967. The taped recording from which the transcription was made was made available by [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] on August 7, 1967. [REDACTED] advised that he received the taped recording on August 7, 1967, from [REDACTED]

b7C

b7D

[REDACTED] and that the recording had been made by personnel [REDACTED]

All questions asked of CARMICHAEL in the "Question and Answer" period immediately following his formal speech, were not distinctly audible on the tape recording. Therefore the following transcription does not include all questions apparently asked of CARMICHAEL; it does, however, include CARMICHAEL's answers.

b7C

TEX.

Before I begin I wanted to introduce our program director, Mr. CLEVELAND ~~SELLERS~~. Before I begin the lecture, I wanted you to note the people who are in front of me. They have become my self-appointed critics. If you would note they have pet phrases for me like racism, anti-white. I have yet to see one of them bring a black reporter to report when I am speaking. I guess black people are the only people who have a monopoly on racism. The talk tonight is an article which I wrote for the Massachusetts Quarterly Review. It deals with a number of things. It deals first theoretically with the concept of black power and it explains it programmatically. It attacks the concept of integration as it is currently practiced in this country and shows it as it is currently practiced in this country for nothing but the benevolence for white supremacy and an insidious subterfuge. It also attacks then the main exponents of the coalition theory notably Mr. BYRON WATSON (phonetic) and his fellow proponents of the coalition theory explaining that before coalitions are possible for black people in this country there are certain prerequisites that must be accomplished and then we deal with that and finally we point out very, very importantly the difference between individual racism and institutionalized racism and the reason why it is important for black people in this country to focus their attention on institutionalized racism rather than individual active racism. And then finally we note the

press will try to deal with what we have to say tonight. I don't think they'll be capable of doing that because the lecture is on an intellectual level.

One of the most pointed illustrations of the need for black power as a positive and redemptive force in a society degenerating into a society of totalitarianism is to be made by examining the history of distortion that the concept has received, in the national media of publicity. In this debate as in everything else that affects the lives of black people, black people are dependent on and at the discretion of forces and institutions within the white society which have little interest in representing us honestly. Our experience with the national press has been that where they've managed to escape ameritritious special interests in get-whitney sensationalism and race war mongering, individual reporters and commentators have been so conditioned by the developing racism of the society to the point where they're incapable even of objective observation and reporting of racial incidents much less the analysis of ideas. But this limitation of vision and perception is an inevitable consequence of the dictatorship of definitions, interpretations and consciousness along with the censorship of history that the society has inflicted upon black people and consequently upon itself. Our concern for black power addresses itself directly to this problem, the necessity for black people to reclaim our

history and our identity from the cultural terrorism and degradation of self-justifying white guilt. To do this we shall have to struggle for the right to create our own terms through which to define ourselves and our relationships and to have those terms recognized by society.

This is the first necessity of a free people and it is the first right that any oppressor must suspend. I really believe strongly in the need to fight to define oneself, the ~~existentialist~~ philosophers notably Camus and Sartre spend quite a bit of time on the need for definition. Camus states on the first page of the Rebel when the slaves start accepting the definitions imposed upon them by his master and then and only then does he begin to move into his own sphere and create a life for himself. Now for us that's very important, I guess oh well an example would be the red man and the cowboys in the movies or the television screen to see how definitions can define people. You ever watch them, the white man is losing the war with the red man and he sends for the cavalry and they come riding very white and very proper and they blow the charge and they get down off their horses and they line up with their guns and they shoot everybody, all the red men are dead, and they get back on their horses and they are very white and very proper ride to the fort and there's this white woman standing by the gate says "What happened?" and the lieutenant who's always yelling and dashing at a victory, "We killed all the Indians". Now

the next time when the reverse happens, when the red man beat up all the white men and kill them, one escapes and he's hanging over his horse and he makes it to the fort and the white woman says "What happened" and he says "These dirty Indians, they massacred us" and that's very important because you see what it means is that white society can define for Indians whether or not they have a victory and they will never have a victory because everyone knows that in victory you shoot people to death with guns. In a massacre, you put them to death and the connotation is that a victory is much more honorable than is a massacre as it must be because if we were going to die we would rather be shot to death than stabbed to death.

I think that now is the problem that the world is now rebelling against, the fact that white western society, note I say society as opposed to civilization, white western society has defined everybody. The red man has been called Indian because a stupid white man by the name of COLUMBUS thought he was in India and black people have been defined as Negroes. I guess somebody thought they were in Negroland. Now that also works very clearly even today and the concept of the two definitions is very important. LEWIS CARROLL deals with it very clearly in Alice in Wonderland. When he points out that those who can define are the masters of the world.

You watch today the editorial twins of America, HUNTLEY and BRINKLEY and they talk about the war in Vietnam,

and they start out by saying "Dirty Communists, filthy terrorists, rebels, Vietcongs threw molotov cocktails and wounded civilians today," and there is a flash and then you see HUNTLEY sitting in Washington very properly and he says "But in the meantime our good boys have been bombing the hell out of Vietnam," so that the need to define is practically precisely the fight that I think black people are waging in the country. We will define ourselves as we see fit and we will use the terms that will gather the momentum for our movement. White America will respect them. The white fathers of American racism knew this instinctively it seems as is indicated by the continuous record of the distortion and omission in their dealings with the red and black men.

In the same way that the southern apologist for the Jim Crow society have so obscured, muddled and misrepresented the reconstruction period until it is almost impossible to tell what really happened. Their contemporary counterparts are busy doing the same thing with the recent history of the civil rights movement.

In 1964, for example, the National Democratic Party led by L.B. Johnson and boy wonder H.H. HUMPHREY and then SNCC, we call them Batman and Robin because they have a cast government. Oh, incidentally in the black community, H.H. HUMPHREY is called Handkerchief Head Humphrey and the reason why he is called that is because Handkerchief Head is more obsequious than an Uncle Tom. It is sort of an

unconditional yes man. Did you, I don't know if you dug television in January when JOHNSON was delivering his State of Johnson message to the union. We call it the State of the Johnson message because we never seen anybody quote themselves three times from all the speeches they make in a major speech they're presenting but he did it.

Now if you noticed the speech if you were watching television in the background you could see HUBERT H. HUMPHREY. He has developed frog like features. When JOHNSON says jump, he says "How high, boy". Well, anyway, these two cats cynically undermine the efforts of the Mississippi's black population to achieve some degree of political representation. I'm speaking of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party challenge which took place in 1964 in Atlantic City at the ~~National~~ Democratic Party Convention. Yet whenever the events of that convention are recalled by the press one sees only that version fabricated by the press agents of the Democratic Party. A year later the House of Representatives in an even more vulgar display of political racism made a mockery of the political rights of Mississippi's blacks when it failed to unseat the Mississippi delegation to the House which had been elected through a process which systematically excluded over 450,000 voting age black people, almost one half of the total electorate of that state. Yet that same House of Representatives two years later was unable to unseat Mr. ADAM CLAYTON POWELL because he did the same things they did but with more style. While Congressman HAYES, you know, he's the hunkie who brought the charges against Mr. POWELL, well he

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went across Europe and spent more money on that trip and spent more money than Mr. POWELL did on all the trips to Bimini. He took his butler with him. At least ADAM POWELL took beautiful girls. Whenever this event is mentioned in print it is terms which leaves one with the rather curious impression that somehow the oppressed black people of Mississippi are at fault with confronting the Congress with the situation in which they had no alternative but to endorse the Mississippi racist political practices. For that then refers to the Congressional challenge brought by the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party in January, 1965. I mention these two examples because having been directly involved in them I can see very clearly the discrepancies between what happened and the versions that are finding their way into general acceptance as some kind of a popular mythology.

Thus the victimization of black people in this country take place in two phases, first in fact and deed, then and this is equally sinister, in the recording of those facts and deeds; the black power program in concept which is being articulated by the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, Congress of Racial Equality and a host of community organizations in the ghettos north and south has not escaped that process. The white press has been busy articulating their own analysis, their own interpretations and criticisms of their own creations. I was very disturbed about that because all

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we said were two simple words, black power, and everybody was saying what it meant and how bad it was and I was very worried why would they make all these criticisms and I was reading a book by Mr. GEORGE BERNARD SHAW and I came across a phrase which I can quote for the press which is quite apropos for the press. He says all criticism is in fact an autobiography. For example while the press had given wide and sensational dissemination to attacks made by people in the civil rights movement, foremost among which are Mr. ROY WILKINS of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and his counterpart, Mr. WHITNEY YOUNG of the National Urban League and to the hysterical ravings about black racism made by the political chameleon that now serves as Vice President it has generally failed to give accounts of the reason and productive dialogue which has taken place in the black community and in certain important areas in the white religious and in many intellectual communities.

A national committee of influential black churchmen affiliated with the National Council of Churches despite their obvious respectability and responsibility had to resort to paid advertisement to articulate their position while anyone shouting the hysterical yappings of black racism got ample space. Thus the American people profess a superficial and misleading account of the very terms and tenor of this debate. I wish to quote the advertisement which the men took out. It appeared in the New York Times, July 31 of last year. It was twelve pages and was taken out by 250 black churchmen around the country. I want to quote from this because I want

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you to understand that inside the black community there are some intelligent black creatures. You usually see the ones who are condemning black power. I quote and I want to quote it in length because I think it is a very important statement. We, an informal group of Negro church men in America are deeply disturbed about the crisis upon our country brought by historic distortions of important human realities in the controversy about black power. What we see shining through the variety of rhetoric anything new but the same old problem of power and race which has faced our beloved country since 1619. The conscience of black men is corrupted because having no power to implement the demands of conscience the concern for justice in the absence of justice becomes chaotic self-surrender. Consciouslessness creates a race of beggars. We are faced now with the situation where powerless conscience meets consciousless power. I would like to repeat that phrase because I believe acromatic to race relations within the country today. We are faced now with a situation where powerless conscience meets consciousless power, threatening the very foundation of our nation. We deplore the overt violence of riots but we feel it is more important to focus on the real sources of these eruptions. These sources may be bedded inside the ghettos but their basic cause lies within the silent and covert violence which white middle class America inflicts upon the victims of the inner city. In short, the failure of American leaders to use American power to create

equal opportunity in life as well as law, this is the real problem and not the anguished cry for black power. Without the capacity to participate with power, that is to have some organized and political and economic strength to really influence people with whom one interacts, integration is not meaningful. America has asked its Negro citizens to fight for opportunity as individuals, whereas at certain points within our history what we have needed most is opportunity for the whole group not just for selected and approved Negroes.

We must not apologize for the existence of this form of group power for we have been oppressed as a group and not as individuals. We will not find our way out of that oppression until both we and America accept the need for Negro Americans as well as for Jews, Italians, Poles and white Anglo Saxon protestants among others to have and to yield power. Traditionally for each new ethnic group the group route to political and social integration into America's pluralistic society has been through the organization of their own institutions with which to represent their communal needs with the larger society. Simply stated this is what the advocates of black power are saying. The strident outcries particularly from the liberal community that has been avowed by this proposal can only be understood by examining the historic relations between black and white power in this country.

Blacks are defined by two forces, our blackness and our powerlessness. There have been traditionally two communities in America, the white community which controls and defines the forms all institutions within the society will

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take and the black community which has been excluded from participation in the power decisions that shaped the society and have traditionally been dependent upon or subservient to the white community. This has not been accidental. That used to be baby we changed it. This has not been accidental.

The history of every institution of this society indicates that a major structuring of the society has been containing of the black community in its condition of oppression and dependence. This has not been on the level of individual acts of racism between individual whites and individual blacks, but as total acts by the white community against the black community. This fact cannot be too strongly emphasized that racist assumptions of white superiority have been so deeply ingrained in the structure of the society that it infuses the entire functioning of that society and is so much a part of the national subconsciousness that it is taken for granted and it is frequently not even recognized. Let me give an example of the difference between individual racism and what we in SNCC call institutionalized racism and the societies responsible to both. When unidentified hunkies bomb a black church and kill five black children that is an act of individual racism widely deplored by most segments of the society, both white and black. But when in that same city, Birmingham, Alabama, not five but five hundred black babies dies each year because of lack of proper food, shelter, and medical facilities and thousands more are destroyed and maimed physically, emotionally and intellectually because of conditions

of poverty and deprivation in the ghetto that is a function of institutionalized racism. But the society either pretends it doesn't know of this situation or is incapable of doing anything meaningful about it. And this resistance to doing anything meaningful in the ghetto comes from the fact that the ghetto is itself a combination of the forces and special interest inside the white community and the groups that have access to the resources and power to change that situation benefits politically and economically from the existence of that ghetto. It is more than a figure of speech to say then that the black community in America is the victim of white imperialism and colonial exploitation. This is impractical, economic and political terms true. For philosophy students it is a truism.

There are over 20 million black people comprising ten per cent of this nation we are told. I believe there are more. They for the most part live in well defined areas of the country from the shanty towns in the rural blackbelt areas of the south and increasingly in the slums of northern and western industrial cities. If one goes into any black community whether it be Jackson, Mississippi, Cambridge, Massachusetts or Houston, Texas, one will find the same combination political economic and social forces are at work. The people in the black community do not control the resources of that community. Its political decisions, its law enforcement, its housing standards, even the political ownership of the land, houses and

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stores lie outside that community. It is white power that makes the laws and it is violent white power in the form of armed white cops that enforce those laws with guns and nightsticks. The majority of black people in this country live in these captive communities and must endure these conditions of oppression only because we are black and powerless. I do not suppose that at any point the men who control the power and resources of this country ever sat down and designed these black enclaves and formally articulated the terms of their colonial and dependent status as was done for example by the Apartheid government of South Africa which this country supports. Yet one cannot distinguish between one ghetto and another. As one moves from city to city, it is as though some malignant racism planning unit had done precisely this, had designed each one from the same master blueprint. And indeed if the ghetto had been formally and deliberately planned instead of growing spontaneously and inevitably from the racism functions of the various institutions that combine to make this society it would be somehow less frightening. The situation would be somehow less frightening because if these ghettos were the result of design and conspiracy one could understand their similarity as being artificially and consciously imposed quality rather than the result of identical patterns of white racism which repeats itself in cities as distant as Boston is to Watts. Without bothering to list the historic

factors which contribute to this pattern, economic exploitation, political impotence, discrimination in employment and education, one can see that to correct this pattern will require far reaching changes in the basic power relationship in the ingrained social patterns within the society. The question is of course what kinds of changes are necessary and how is it possible to bring them about. In recent years, the answer to these questions which have been given by a most articulate group of black people and their white allies, the liberals of all stripes, has been in terms of something called integration.

According to the advocates of integration, social justice will be accomplished by and I quote integrating the Negro into the mainstream institutions of the society from which he has been traditionally excluded. It is very significant that each time I've heard this formulation it has been in terms of the Negro, the individual Negro rather than in terms of the entire black community. This concept of integration has to be based on the assumption that there was nothing of value in the black community and that little of value could be created among black people. So the thing to do was to siphon off the acceptable blacks into the surrounding white middle class community. Thus the goal of the movement for integration was only to loosen up the restrictions barring the entry of black people into the white community. Those around which the struggle took place such as public accommodations

open housing, job opportunities on the executive levels, are quite simply middle class goals, articulated by a tiny group of black people who have middle class aspirations. Now I do believe that the editorial twins really had something to do with this because in 1960 they were again interpreting our movement for us as they continue to do even today, but for example I would remember when I was in Alabama specifically I would look at television at 5:30 and here would be HUNTLEY and BRINKLEY and they'd say black people today were marching today in the streets of Selma, Alabama. They were beaten by Jim Clark, they were ridden over by his horses, they were shot at, they were driven down the road, they were prodded with cattle prods, but they were marching to integrate. Then the next day he would say black people in the north have come to join their black brothers in the south. They were again beaten by Jim Clark, ridden with his horses, whipped with his whips, prodded with cattle prods, beaten, stepped on, sent to jail, but they were still marching to integrate. Since I had a little philosophy, I thought I would take that to its logical extension. I said what he's telling me is that I left New York to come to Alabama to sit next to Jim Clark's daughter and his sister or his mama. Obviously that's not what I came to do. I left New York to come to Alabama to render a hunkie like Jim Clark impotent over my life, over my life. Now then there's a big difference because when you're fighting to integrate it means that you want to sit next to white people because they're so good and

so great so no matter what they do to you you'll keep fighting; you know, since we're very biblical, I usually take Job, but though they slay us, yet will we serve them. But now the other concept under which we were operating was that we were fighting against white supremacy, there is a big difference, there's a big difference. But I understand the editorial twins of America could never say that because then they would have to admit that the home of the free and the brave and all that other junk which was never true, that there existed some white people who were white supremacists and who were in power, so they had to say that we were fighting to sit next to them or to convert them.

I don't ever want to sit next to that hunkie, his mama, his sister, his daddy or ... Before I sit next to him, he has to be civilized. So I think you at least should get clear in your minds what things we're fighting for. They're fighting against oppression, not to sit next to anyone. This country is 90 per cent white. White people have the power, if they want integration they know where to come. They've always known where to come after sundown.

Such a limited class orientation was reflected not only in the programs and goals of our older civil rights movement but in its tactics and organizations. It is very significant that the two oldest and most respectable civil rights organizations have consti-- I'm sorry, I can only say three fifths of that word -- constitution. When I become five fifths, I'll be able to say the whole word. But, anyway,

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they have these things which specifically prohibits partisan political activities. The _____ ones did but changed that clause when it changed its orientation toward black power. But this is perfectly understandable in the strategy and goals of our older organizations. The civil rights movement --- goal as a kind of liaison, between the powerful white community and the dependent black community. The dependent status of the black community apparently was unimportant since if the movement were successful it was going to blend into the white community anyway. We made no pretence of recognizing and developing institutions of community power in the black community but we developed these institutions only to appeal to the conscience of white institutions of power. The posture of the civil rights movements was that of the dependent, the suppliate, the theory was that without organizing or attempting to organize any base of political strength itself the civil rights movement could, by forming coalitions with various of the liberal pressure organizations in the white community such as liberal reform clubs, labor unions, church groups, and progressive civic groups and at times one or other of the major political parties, influence national legislation and national social patterns. I think we've all seen the limitations of this approach.

We have repeatedly seen that political alliances based on appeals to conscience and decency are chancey things, simply because institutions and political organizations have no conscience outside their own special interests.

The political and social rights of black people have been and always will be dependable and negotiable the moment they conflict with the interests of our so called allies. If we do not learn from history, the philosopher Santayana reminds us then we are doomed to repeat it and this is precisely the lesson the black people must learn from the reconstruction period. There came into being what was known as the populist party which was called a coalition between blacks and for whites. One of the leading advocates of the movement was a Mr. TOM WATSON from Georgia. Mr. WATSON was running for a county position in which black people represented 40 per cent of the population. He recognized that in order for him to win that position he needed the black vote so he began like most of the liberal people in this country who will heed the black vote in 1972 when they run for President, began to articulate a philosophy of liberalism which said to black people that they should come and join his party. Now black people came and joined the populist party all around the south, from South Carolina to Louisiana. In Texas, you had the farmers alliances with the colored farmers alliances and the white farmers alliances. And what these black people did was to flock into the party unorganized and not independently organized so that the populist party always had the vote and we received some visible patronage. There were a couple of black people who were sent to some of the state legislatures. Now when Mr. WATSON wanted power in the country and decided to make his party a national party he

decided to stretch his party first to the west, to the farmers because he was too weak to fight the industrial east in the north. And when he decided to broaden his party to the west, the economic interest of the farmers conflicted with the economic interests of the black people. Mr. WATSON then turned around and became a racist himself, leading lynch mobs to drive black people out of his party. Now you should note that in two cases two major decisions were made without the participation of black people. The one was that they should come into the populist party, the second was that they be driven out by the populist party, and this decision was made by a white man, TOM WATSON, our great white father I am told and it is important because black people had not organized themselves independently first, they could be driven out without challenging the decision Mr. WATSON made. This time around when we form coalitions we're going to be independently organized so when people decide to become racists at least we can't disrupt.

Thus at this point in the struggle, blacks have no assurance, save a kind of idiot optimism and faith in a society whose history is one of racism, that if it were to become necessary even the painfully limited gains thrown to the civil rights movement by the Congress will not be revoked as soon as the shift in political sentiment should occur. The major limitation of this approach was that it tended to maintain the traditional dependence of blacks and of the movement.

We depended on the good will and support of various groups within the white community whose interests were not always compatible with ours to the extent that we depended upon their good will and their support vulnerable to their influence and domination. Also the program that evolved out of this coalition was really limited and inadequate in the long terms and one which affected only a small selected group of black people. It goes to make the white community accessible to qualified blacks and presumably each year a few more black people armed with their passports, a couple of university degrees, will escape into white middle class America, adopt the attitudes and life styles of their group and one day the Harlems and Watts would stand empty, a tribute to the success of integration.

This is simply neither realistic nor is it particularly desirable. You can integrate communities but you assimilate individuals. Even if such a program were possible, the result would not be to develop the black communities as a functional and honorable facility of the total society with its own cultural identity, life patterns and institutions but to abolish it, the final solution to the race problems in this country. KARL MARX tells us that the working class is the first class in history that ever wished to abolish itself. If one were to listen very closely to some of our moderate Negro leaders, he would think that black people were the first race that wished to abolish themselves. The fact is what must be abolished is not the black community but the dependent and colonial status that has been inflicted upon us; the racial

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and cultural personality of the black community must be preserved and the community must win its liberation while preserving its cultural integrity. This is the essential difference between integration and it is currently practiced in the concept of black power. And what has the movement for integration accomplished to date. That the black person graduating from M.I.T. with a doctorate will have a better job opportunities available to him than to LYNDIA BYRD JOHNSON. The rate of unemployment in the black community is steadily increasing while that in the white community decreases. More educated black people hold executive jobs in major corporations or federal agencies than ever before but the gap between white income and black income has almost doubled in the last 20 years. More suburban housing is available to black people if they can stand the rocks but housing conditions in the ghettos are steadily declining. While the infant mortality rates of New York City is at its lowest rate ever, in its city's history, the infant mortality rate is steadily climbing. There has been an organized national resistance to the Supreme Court's order to integrate the schools and the federal government has not acted to enforce that order. Less than six per cent of black children in the south attend so-called integrated schools and black schools which the vast majority of black children still attend are increasingly decrepit, overcrowded, understaffed, inadequately equipped and funded. It is time that we turn our attention to 94 per cent of our black youth in this country.

This explains then why the rate of school dropouts is increasing among black teenagers who then express their bitterness, hopelessness and alienation by the only means they have, through imitating this society via violence. As long as people are in the ghettos of our large cities, feel that we are the victims of misuse of white power without any way to have our needs represented, and these are frequently simple needs, we will continue to have rebellions. These are not the products of black power but of the absence of any organization capable of giving the community the power, the black power it needs to deal with those problems. SNCC proposes it is now time for the black liberation movement to stop pandering to the fears and anxieties of the white middle class in the attempt to earn its good will, and to return to the ghettos to organize these communities to control themselves. This organization must be attempted in the northern and southern urban areas as well as in the rural black belt areas of the south. The chief antagonist to this organization is in the South, the overtly racist Democratic Party who also has liberal friends in New York, and in the North the equally corrupt and just as racist big city machine. The standard argument presented against independent political organization is, but you are only 10%. I cannot see the

relevance of this observation since no one is talking about taking over the country. We wouldn't know what to do with this monster. But taking control of our own communities. The fact is that the black population, 10% or not, is very strategically placed because, ironically all segregation, what is also true is that blacks have never been able to utilize the power or voting potential of our members. Where we could vote the case has always been that the white political machine stacks and gerrymanders the political subdivision in the black neighborhood so the true voting strength is never reflected in the political strength. Would anyone looking at the distribution of the political power in Houston ever think that black represented 25% of the population here? This is often the effective political organization when black community is absorbed by tokenism and patronism, the time-honored practice of giving certain offices to selective Negroes. The machine thus creates a little machine which is subordinate and responsive to the inside the black community. These so-called Negro political leaders are really vote deliverers, more responsible to the white machine and the white power structure than to the community they allegedly represented. As a matter of fact their only act in speaking to the black community is condemning the black community. That is their full purpose. We call them

rebellion coolers. After every rebellion they bring them out, we don't believe in violence. We support the war in Vietnam but we don't believe in violence. They usually have to find them in their suburban housing to bring them out. Thus the white community is able to substitute patronage control for what Mr. Powell calls audacious black power in the black community. This is precisely what Johnson tried to do. Even before the Voting Rights Act of 1965 was passed, the national democrats made it clear that the measure was intended to register democrats, not black people. The President and top officials of the Democratic Party called in almost 100 selected Negro leaders from the Deep South. Nothing was said about changing the policies of the racist state parties. Nothing was said about repudiating such leadership figures as Eastman and Ross Barnett in Mississippi, or George and Lurleen Wallace in Alabama. Now we don't say anything mean about Lurleen Wallace because we have just come to find out that the Governor of Alabama is a mother and we are for motherhood. What was simply said, and I quote, was "Go home and organize your peoples into the Democratic Party then we will see about poverty money and appointments, my fellow Americans." We must organize black community power to end these abuses and to give the black community a chance to have its needs expressed. A leadership which is truly responsible, not to the

white press and the white power structure, but to the black community, will be developed. Such leadership will recognize that if power lies in the unified and collective strength of the black community, this will make it difficult for the white leadership group to conduct its dialog with individuals in terms of patronage and prestige and will force them to talk to the communities' representatives in terms of real black power. The single aspect then of the black power program that has encountered most criticism is this concept of independent political organization. This is presented as third partism, which has never worked, or a withdrawal into black nationalism and black isolationism leads to black racism. I tried logically to figure it out but it is totally invalid. If such a program is developed it will not have the effect of isolating the black community but the reverse. When the black community is able to control local offices and negotiate with other groups from a position of organized strength, the possibility of meaningful political alliances on specific issues will be increased. That is a rule of policy and there is no reason why it should not operate here. The only difference is that we will have the power to define the terms of these alliances. The next question usually is, can the ghetto in fact be organized. The answer is that the

organizations must be successful because there are no Bible alternatives, not towards poverty which was a deception limited to dealing with defects rather than causes and become simply another source of machine patronage and integration is meaningful only to small chosen class within the black community. The revolution in agricultural technology in the South is displacing the rule of black community into the northern and southern urban areas. Both Washington, D.C., and Newark, New Jersey, already have black majorities. One-third of Philadelphia's population of two million people is already black. The inner city in most major urban areas is already predominantly black and with the white rush to suburbia, black will, in the next two decades, control the heart of their great cities. These areas can become either concentration camps with a bitter population whose only power is the power to destroy, or organized and powerful communities able to make constructive contributions to the entire society without the power, the black power to control our lives and our communities. Without effective political institutions through which to relate to the total society, our communities will exist in a constant state of insurrection. This is a choice that white America will have to make.

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(At this point another individual apparently took the speakers podium to receive questions for Mr. Carmichael.)

We will now have a question and answer period. But first of all, I would like for Ronald ~~Brown~~ and Del ~~Boudreau~~ to meet me back stage after the show is over, please. ~~Y~~ ~~TEX~~ ~~AKA ADELL BODREAU~~

Also, outside in the lobby we have literature about SNCC and black power and Mr. Carmichael, possibly you would be interested in reading.

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And now we will have a question and answer session. You ask the questions and I will try to repeat them to him.

I think you misunderstood what I said. I said I wanted to assimilate individuals and maintain the cultural pattern. No, I said that you can integrate communities but you assimilate individuals. I am against the assimilation of individuals.

What are SNCC's specific plans for Houston?

We will organize black folks that take 25% of the political structure.

You want to know if Harlem is closed off? I'm sorry, I don't understand the question. What do you mean closed off? She has heard that Harlem has been closed off to VISTA, what was the other group you mentioned, young lady? Yes, and she went on to say what is VISTA's purpose there?

I don't know if it is closed off but I would be supposing _____ they will send a lot of white kids in their communities again.

The question was, what do we plan to do about country schools like Prairie View A&M College?

Well we are moving now on black college campuses to do a number of things. Number one, we want to radicalize black college campuses in this country. In order to do that we do a number of things. Number one is that we get rid of compulsory ROTC on all our college campuses. Secondly, we want to establish a basic student power where black students will have the right to invite anybody they want to invite to speak on their campuses. Thirdly, we want to rid the black schools in this country of the white dominations they have suffered under for so many years. We want Swahili incorporated the language. Not only at Prairie View but in all the high schools of this country. Black people need to know how to speak Swahili so they can talk to African brothers without outsiders listening in. We want to incorporate a concept of the eastern society with western society as opposed to the teaching of western civilization. And then finally we want to make those black colleges throw their attention to giving their skills and techniques to the black community. If we don't get that we gonna disrupt the schools.

The question is, you want him to repeat his views on integration as compared with Dr. King.

Dr. King did you say? I'm sorry, we never publicly attack any black man. We have been doing that too long.

I have just read an article to you _____ black liberation which I wrote which expresses a lot of programatic concepts of SNCC. You can pick it up outside. It appears in the Massachusetts Review, the last fall of 1966. You can read it. Dr. King has written three books you can read them, then you can make the analysis yourself.

The question is, what does Mr. Carmichael think of the recent TSU movement?

He was a long time coming.

The question is, does Stokely Carmichael think Muhammad Ali should go to Vietnam?

I want to tell you that Mr. Muhammad Ali is the greatest. And this is a book entitled "Vietnam Vietnam" by Mr. Felix Green. I know you don't often get a chance to read it but you should try and pick it up. I will read you two quotes from it because not only do I think that Mr. Muhammad Ali should not go, I don't think any man in his right mind should go. I want to read the quotes. Now we want to make it clear, we are against compulsory conscription, completely against it. We don't think anybody should be drafted. If a man wants to be a killer that's his right. He has the right

to be a killer, let him. If some people don't want, they have that right to, let them, let them. And now particularly against the war in Vietnam we want to read some quotes which were made by some people who run the country because we maintain that the war in Vietnam is not fought for freedom, democracy, equality and all that junk, and certainly as black people we should know that it is nothing but junk, though we have lived here under freedom, democracy, equality. This quote was made August 4, 1953, in Seattle, Washington, before the United States state governors. I quote. In 1953 we weren't fighting the war, the French were fighting it, we were just paying for 80% of it. The quote is, "Now let us assume that we lost Indochina, the tin and tungsten that we so greatly valued from that area would cease coming, so when the United States votes four hundred million dollars to help that war we are not voting a give-away program, we are voting for the cheapest way that we can to prevent the occurrence of something that would be of most terrible significance to the United States of America. Our security, our power and ability to get certain things we need from the riches of the Indochinese territory and from Southeast Asia." That quote was made by the President of the United States at that time, Dwight D. Eisenhower. Now we say Ike really was not too smart. And

certainly he was not one of the best spokesmen the country could find in Harlem because he spoke so well we used to call him the white Joe Lewis. Go ahead with that war and I'll be right home, mama. Now see that was August, 1953, we say the country changed, we always learn from our mistakes, so we would want to come up then to 1966, and we want to use somebody who is articulate, who is tall, impressive looking, blond hair, blue eyes, Henry Cabot Lodge. This is his quote. "Geographically Vietnam stands at the hub of a vast area of the world, Southeast Asia, an area with the population of 249,000,000 persons. He who holds, or has influence in Vietnam, can effect the future of the Philippines and Formosa to the east, Thailand and Burma with their huge rice surpluses to the west, and Malaysia and Indonesia with their rubber, ore and tin to the south. Vietnam thus does not exist in a geographical vacuum. There its large storehouses of wealth and population can be influenced and undermined." It is clear to us that's what the war in Vietnam is all about and they should go fight it, they should go fight it. And we are opposed to it then on two grounds, first on a Christian ground, and I certainly hate to talk about Christianity in this country because they are so hypocritical about Christianity. They are. White people taught us about the church and about

Jesus Christ, they want us to be Christians, and the cross was their symbol, and they had so much respect for it that just before they came to get us they used to burn it. Not only that, the Bible tells me that Jesus Christ had the head of a _____ lamb and white people don't even let us worship with them in their churches because they have a monopoly on Christ, I guess. So we really had to talk about Christianity in this country, but if people are Christians, Jesus Christ said, "It is more honorable to suffer than to inflict suffering." It is crystal clear to us that when one is called you have a choice, either you go to jail, you suffer, or you inflict suffering, you kill somebody 8,000 miles away. We would say it is much better to suffer. We would advocate that people say to hell with the draft and go to jail. And we would remind them that it is more honorable to sit in jail knowing that one is not a murderer than to be outside in the streets knowing that one has killed somebody and not sure why you have even killed them. So that certainly on those grounds it is crystal clear to me.

Now there are other grounds under which we are opposed to conscription and that is on a moral ground, that this country is so amoral that to talk about morality is another joke. But let us joke for a while, let us enter the theater of the absurd. You know how they joke about LBJ on

TV, "Every night before I go to bed I ask myself what have I done to preserve peace in this country," bombs away on Negro leaders. But even on a moralistic ground, we maintain in SNCC that the highest crime to commit against your fellow man is to kill him, to take his life. That must be an individual decision, it cannot be a mass decision. If you decide to kill, you ought to decide who you want to kill. And then particularly for Mr. Muhammad Ali because he is black, there are hosts of reasons why he ought not to even fight the hunkies' war. The first one is that he was born in Louisville, Kentucky. He is going over to Vietnam to fight for democracy. The school they sent him to, he can't even spell the word democracy. Here is Mr. Muhammad Ali who is going to go 8,000 miles to fight some Vietnamese and he ain't never called him nigger. But certainly Mr. Ali, as a brilliant and great and a proud black man knows the history of black people in this country. We have tried over and over again to prove to this country what good Americans we are, the very first man to be shot in this country for the war in independence was a black man named _____ Adams. He was a fool because he was fighting the white man's war while his brothers were enslaved in this country. He should have been helping his brothers beat the living daylights out of the slave masters. But be that as it

may, we wanted to prove to America what good Americans we were. So the few of us who were living in New England who were free got together and organized a battalion and begged the white folks to let us fight for the independence. We begged them and they wouldn't let us, and we drilled in our bare feet up and down the sand, and marched, and finally they came and saw us and what a good job you boys are doing, go ahead and fight the Indians, and like fools we got out there and fought the Indians, instead of teaming up with the Indians and taking care of _____. We wanted to prove to America what good Americans we were. While millions of us were enslaved we were fighting for the independence of this country, only to come back and find ourselves in slavery. Along came the war with Mexico and they were yelling to us "Remember the Alamo." They never told us the Alamo was on Mexican territory, did they? And here we were again flocking to fight because we wanted to prove what good Americans we were, again teaming up with other non-white people. Stupid, stupid, stupid. That was not enough, along came the Civil War. We wanted to fight for our liberation so we had to beg them to let us fight, they said we weren't fit to fight and they wouldn't let us fight until the South was winning and then Frederick Douglas went to see Abraham Lincoln, and he

said let them fight in segregated units, behind the lines and dig the ditches. We wanted to prove that we were good Americans, we would do anything. Along came World War I and they really started to draft people because compulsory conscription started in the country in the Civil War because the good white folks in the North were not about to fight, and World War I came along and they wouldn't draft us but we wouldn't hear of it, what do you mean not drafting us? Good Americans, yes, draft us, we must go. Yes, sir, and the NAACP in a crisis in its editorials attacked this country for not drafting black people, and here we were, they were drafting us and we were going across the seas to make the world safe for democracy. We couldn't even spell the word but we wanted to make the world safe for democracy. Well we came back, our uniforms were not even off our backs, when they hung an entire platoon right here in Texas, right after World War I.

But we were not satisfied, no sir, we wanted to prove what good Americans we were, we wanted to prove to this country how much we love it, so along comes World War II and we got to fight on the front lines, yes sir. We went to Poland, we gonna stop Hitler in Poland, and in 1966 some Polish hunkie gonna throw a rock in Cicero and tell us we don't belong in that community. We were going to prove what

Americans we were, we were going to die on the front lines, proving how good we were, and Mr. Langston News in his book documents, in "A Fight to Freedom", the history of the NAACP, that when black soldiers in Europe captured Nazi prisoners, enemies of this country, and were transporting them in this country, bringing them to a Texas prisoner camp, when they got in Washington, D.C., the Nazis, who were enemies of this country, were made to sit up front and the niggers who fought overseas were sent to the baggage car.

But we were not satisfied, we wanted to prove what good Americans we were, so in 1948, Mr. A. Philip Randolph led a fight to integrate the troops and Truman became white and liberal and integrated the troops, theoretically, because I must remind you that in World War II we fought in segregated units.

But along came the Korean War and we went out, communism must be stopped at any price, and it was usually black blood that paid that price. But that was O.K., our uncles got their legs shot off, got their arms shot off, and came back to this country, walked in a restaurant and had some hunkie slam the door in his face and say nigger get out.

In the Vietnam war, let Americans prove something to us, we are not going, we are not going. I urge all my black brothers to send letters to Mr. Muhammad Ali telling him that he is the greatest and we are behind him 100%, and that you get up and you say the war in Vietnam is for the birds, Linda Bird, Lady Bird, and Loonie Bird.

In case you didn't hear the man, that was a statement. His statement was a direct appraisal of the work of Hubert Humphrey and Lyndon Baines Johnson and other liberals.

My good man, you have fallen a victim of white western society to again think that you are the only one who can define, you cannot define progress for me. I will define progress for me. Either a country is racist or it is not racist. There is no in-between point. Either a man is a citizen or he is not a citizen, there is no such thing as second-class citizenship. So that maybe you can define for white people what they can do if they were black. I am black, I will define for me what I will do. Since you were suggesting what progress was for me, let me define what progress would be for the white race. You see, I am very disgusted, white people are always defining for me what progress should be. I would rather face a Ross Barnett than face a Humphrey. I would much rather face a Ross Barnett than to face a Humphrey

because I know where I'm at when I face Barnett. But now progress for the white race would be when white people can begin to civilize the white race. When they can go into the communities and convert the Ross Barnetts, convert the Eastlands, convert the Lester Maddoxes, convert the Talmadges, convert the Strom Thurmonds, convert the Russells, all the people that have the power in this country. That would be progress, so that you should define progress for yourself, I will tell you things ain't at all better, baby, considering that our sweat built this country.

The question was, everybody hear the question?

I didn't know the name of the paper was the "Forward Times", I thought it was the "Backward Times". The editorial deals with the fact that I am supposed to be a salesman of happiness. Obviously the man who wrote the editorial never heard me speak, I'm a salesman of manhood, there is a big difference. But now to the trouble in Nashville, I am told in this country that someone is innocent until proven guilty. I have not been proven guilty of inciting to riot in Nashville. The hunkie cops don't even have enough evidence to arrest me, but everyone is sure that I have incited to riot in Nashville, Tennessee. Why don't they arrest me if I have in fact incited to riot? It is because the hunkies can't

prove nothing. So that until I am found guilty of that crime you will say that I am innocent, so to waste my time defending it is to get caught up in idle prattle and self-serving intellectual _____. We have more important things to do. Then finally to the time which says that I am a rabble rouser. This country has law and order. Unfortunately it does not have justice. Hitler had the most efficient system of law and order, he didn't even know how to spell justice and that what we say is just what Jesus Christ said, I come to bring the poor not the _____. I have come to turn son against father, daughter against mother, nation against nation, for where there is injustice there shall be no peace, and if white America don't know how to give justice to black people, there is going to be no peace, we're going to tear it up. So as a rabble rouser I stand guilty and still there is oppression of black people, I will continue to rabble rouse until there is no breath left in my body.

Now the question is what is SNCC's views on white people helping the black power movement and why?

I don't think that white people can help the black power movement. They can help white people. I think that what we have come to find out is that the help of white people has cost us too much. We started off with the missionaries,

you know, white people came to help us. We had the land, they had the Bible. When they left they got the land and we still have the Bible. Now I think the need is for white people to organize inside the white community, the white community to know how to be civilized, that is how to recognize the humanity of black people, that is the job of so-called white liberals, if they have the guts to face the racism in their own community where it exists and work to eradicate it there. We don't need any help, we just need white people to get off our backs. We have been together for 400 years, you know, it has always been white society that's been messing with us. They have sold us from Africa and they were not even satisfied with that, they still keep messing with us right here. We built their country free, worked in slavery for them and they are still not satisfied, they still got to mess with us. We don't know what is wrong with them. We really don't. And maybe white liberals can help us by telling us what is wrong with them and help get them straight and everything will be all right. But on a political level, too, we think it is very, very important for white students to move into the poor white communities and start organizing them, if they are really concerned about building a movement because poor white communities are politically and economically disenfranchised and they should be organized but what is happening it is white activists like some sort of Pepsi

generation, they want to come alive where the action is. They run through the black community and the poor white community becomes more hostile because they see everybody running into the black community and there is a need for the black community to be organized to stop the oppression, economically and politically, so we urge white activists to move into white communities.

First, there is ideology that we must fight. It is a white ideology, that is the white ideology that white, people are civilized.

Let me tell you something, have you ever heard of the Nuremberg trials? Do you know what the Nuremberg judgment said? It said there is a higher law than the law of Government, there is a law of the individual conscience which tells him that which is right and wrong.

Oh, you're telling me what is right and wrong? That's been my trouble, I have been listening to what's been right for the last 100 years. You made me a slave, that was right. You made me work hard, that was right. What do you mean you gonna tell me what is right? I will tell myself what is right. My good man, numbers are a majority, never equal truth, remember that.

You don't give it to me, it belongs to me, you are denying it to me. No, no, there is a big difference. You don't give me anything, you stop denying me. Your trouble is that you are defining terms, white people won't give me my freedom, they got to stop enslaving me, there is a difference.

My good man, just because you're 75% does not mean that you are right. I will not let you make me a hired killer. If I don't do it I am willing to accept the consequences of my act. I said very clearly I would rather to go jail, recognizing that you have the power, a situation I don't like, but I recognize it. I'm willing to face the consequences of my act, I believe that is an honorable deed, don't you? I believe that black people in this country must fight to save their humanity. We cannot let white America destroy their humanity. If she feels that she must bomb, plunder, rape and murder the rest of the world, let her, let her. We will save our humanity.

The question is, since the white man isn't civilized and the black man is, how can we justify the situation that there are riots in places like Watts, how can you justify your destruction of places like Watts, that is your question.

A white man named Patrick Henry said, "Give me liberty or give me death." Black people are saying "we gonna get liberation under any means necessary." To destroy does

not mean that you are uncivilized. I think what black people are saying to white America is that we recognize your barbaric nature. We can't civilize you but we gonna stop you from being barbaric towards us. That means that in a place like Watts there ought not to be any hunkie cops in there. We ought to control the police force in Watts, completely, if we can't control it, there is gonna be no police force in Watts. So that you're absolutely wrong if you compare the results of say, the analogy and therefore the reasoning is the same. You can do the same thing for different reasons. They even recognize that a murder isn't just a murder, there is justifiable homicide, there is first degree murder, there is second degree murder. There are all sorts of reasons for murder. That is the fact that because you burn, it appears to me that those people are burning because they have no way to have their needs met, no way to have anyone listen to them, no way to get out of the oppression and exploitation that we have to suffer. Absolutely no way, none whatsoever. We have tried, we have listened, we have obeyed, and we have ended up with rats and roaches. And so what we are saying is crystal clear in our mind that if you won't stop being uncivilized, that is your business, but we will stop your uncivilized manner penetrating toward us.

We have time for just one more question.

No I never did, as it is currently practiced.

O.K. I will define integrating as the coming together, the melting of cultures. If you can have that, if it is a two-way stream, if you can have white kids.

If you have to mix, then white people can also come to the black community, can't they? White students can also come to black schools.

This man wants to know the Stokely Carmichael definition of non-violence.

A non-violent person is someone who is not aggressively violent, that is to say I am non-violent right now, you are non-violent right now. If you hit me, I'm gonna break your arm. I think the confusion stems from non-violence and pacifism. A pacifist is someone who does not retaliate under any circumstances. I am not now, nor have I ever been, nor ever will I be a pacifist. So that is clear that one is talking about self-defense. In SNCC we say very clearly if the white man tries to shoot you, kill him before God gets the news. So that if he doesn't want to die, he doesn't want his arm broken, let him stay in bed with his wife at three o'clock in the morning instead of haunting our churches and houses and little children. If he's got a sex

problem he ought to see a psychiatrist, don't work it out on us. Non-violent then will be the action of a man not being aggressively violent, unhampered, O.K.? I'm hampered, I'm the sweetest cat you know, you mess with me.

We would like to thank you for coming out tonight.

Ronald Brown and Adell Boudreau please meet me on stage immediately, please.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date August 8, 1967

b7C

[redacted] Houston, Texas, furnished the following information:

[redacted] Houston, Texas, who works under [redacted] made a tape recording of the speech given by STOKELY CARMICHAEL at the University of Houston during the evening of April 13, 1967. The recording consists of four reels of tape.

b7C

Since the recording was made it has been kept in the [redacted] In addition to himself, the original recording would have been accessible to [redacted] above, [redacted] of the [redacted] and [redacted] who is presently on vacation. [redacted] has never permitted the original recording to leave the [redacted] and he is reasonably certain that it has never left that [redacted] since the day when it was initially brought there by [redacted] after he had made the recording.

b7C

He said that on August 7, 1967, he made available to [redacted] a re-recording of the original recording made by [redacted] of CARMICHAEL's speech.

[redacted] said that he, himself, did not go to hear CARMICHAEL talk when the latter appeared at the University of Houston.

b7C

[redacted] advised he is the official custodian of the original recording and that in the event the recording is desired for court purposes, he is the person on whom the subpoena duces tecum should be served.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/23/01 BY 39063 E/W/ECG/AMW

On 8/7/67 at Houston, Texas File # HO 100-10598
AT 100-68112

by SA [redacted] /cbl Date dictated 8/7/67

b7C

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date August 8, 1967

[redacted] b7C
[redacted] Houston,
Texas, furnished the following information:

He resides at [redacted] b7C
Houston, Texas, home telephone number [redacted]

He made a tape recording of the speech given by STOKELY CARMICHAEL at the Cullen Auditorium, University of Houston, Houston, Texas, during the evening of April 13, 1967. The original tape recording of the speech consists of four reels of tapes and they were recorded at the speed of 7½ inches per second. After making the recording, he took all four reels of tape to the [redacted] b7C
[redacted] Houston, Texas, and the reels are presently under the custody of [redacted]
[redacted]

Both he and his co-worker [redacted] have, of course, had access to the recording. [redacted] has never loaned the reels to anyone, and to the best of his knowledge, they have never been allowed to be taken from the offices of the Audio Visual Department. b7C

Re-recordings of the original recording have been made by him and by [redacted]
The first of the re-recordings were made, either by him or by [redacted] within the first or second day after the original recording was made on April 13, 1967. The first re-recording was made at the speed of 3 3/4 inches per second and was reproduced on one reel of tape and the back side of the tape. It was that tape re-recording that [redacted] b7C
[redacted] received from [redacted]
[redacted] on August 7, 1967.

[redacted] said that on April 13, 1967, he made the original tape recording of CARMICHAEL's speech at the University of Houston, from a sound booth backstage from where CARMICHAEL delivered his speech. He said that he monitored the taping of the speech and, of course, could b7C

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/23/01 BY 39863 B/wk/ckm

On 8/7/67 at Houston, TexasFile # HO 100-10598
AT100-68112by SA [redacted] cbl [redacted] b7C Date dictated 8/7/67

HQ 100-10598

b7C

hear what CARMICHAEL said. He said that [redacted]
[redacted] Houston, Texas, also made
a tape of CARMICHAEL's speech and that [redacted] made the tape
[redacted]

b7C

He said that he, [redacted] was unable to see all of the audience, but that he would judge there were at least 800 or more people present. He said he would judge that half of the audience were of the Negro race and the remaining half of the white race. He said most of those present appeared to be between 18 years and 24 years of age.

b7C

He said that he recalls CARMICHAEL's saying that people should go to jail before going to fight in Vietnam, or words to that effect. He said he considered that the audience, by and large, received CARMICHAEL's speech well; they intermittently applauded CARMICHAEL's remarks. He said if those in attendance "booed" CARMICHAEL's remarks, it was very little.

[redacted] said that he knows of no printed text of CARMICHAEL's speech. He said that he recalled seeing no one attending the speech wearing any type military uniform, and he knew of no military personnel in attendance. He advised he knew of no discussions held by parts of the audience after the speech, at the site, or away from it.

b7C

[redacted] said he would be willing and available to testify as a witness in a court of law concerning his recording of, and observations concerning, the above speech given by CARMICHAEL.

b7C

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

b7C

Date August 8, 1967

[redacted]
[redacted] Houston, Texas,
furnished the following information:

b7C

He resides at [redacted]
Houston, Texas.

b7C

He did not attend the speech which STOKELY CARMICHAEL gave at Cullen Auditorium, University of Houston, Houston, Texas, during the evening of April 13, 1967.

The next school day after the evening of April 13, 1967, however, he made the first taped re-recording of the original four reels of tape recording which [redacted] had made of CARMICHAEL's speech on April 13, 1967. It was that initial re-recording that was given to [redacted] on August 7, 1967.

b7C

b7C

[redacted] said that from the first re-recording of the speech he has made several recordings for various individuals. The initial re-recording has been continually under the custody and control of him and [redacted] and other personnel of [redacted] until August 7, 1967, at which time it was turned over to [redacted]

b7C

With regard to the original tape recording, consisting of four reels of tape made by [redacted] of CARMICHAEL's speech, [redacted] said that he had never loaned them to anyone and to the best of his knowledge, neither of those four reels had ever left the offices of [redacted]

b7C

[redacted] advised that he would be willing to testify to the foregoing in a court of law.

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DATE 3/23/01 BY 39063 EWL/Reckman

On 8/7/67 at Houston, TexasFile# HO 100-10598
AT 100-68112by SA [redacted] cb1

b7C

Date dictated 8/7/67

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date August 8, 1967

[redacted]
[redacted] Houston, Texas, furnished the following information:

He resides at [redacted] Houston, Texas. b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee spoke at Cullen Auditorium, University of Houston, Houston, Texas, during the evening of April 13, 1967. CARMICHAEL's appearance at the University of Houston was sponsored by the Committee on Better Race Relations (COBRR). At that time, [redacted] b7C

Cullen Auditorium has a seating capacity of 1680. Therefore, the University of Houston issued 1680 tickets for the event. About 300 of the tickets were issued to the faculty and students at Texas Southern University, Houston; about 100 tickets were issued to the faculty and students at Rice University, Houston, Texas; and the remaining were issued to the faculty and students at the University of Houston. b7C

[redacted] attended the event. The auditorium was filled to capacity and additionally, there were from 300 to 500 people standing outside the auditorium listening to the speech. Most of those in attendance were students and were probably somewhere between 18 years and 24 years of age. He would estimate that approximately one-third of those in attendance were Negro, and the remaining white. He knew of no military personnel in attendance. b7C

He said that it was his impression that the majority of the audience appeared to be sympathetic to most of CARMICHAEL's remarks. He said it would be difficult for him to say just what the audience's reaction was to CARMICHAEL's remarks concerning his opposition to the Vietnam war, particularly when CARMICHAEL commented it was better to go to jail than Vietnam, or words to that effect.

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DATE 3/26/01 BY 37063 EWB/BC/and

On 8/7/67 at Houston, Texas

File # HO 100-10598
AT 100-68112

by SA [redacted] cbl b7C

Date dictated 8/7/67

HO 100-10598

[redacted]
Texas, and preparatory thereto had listened to a tape recording of CARMICHAEL's speech made by personnel of [redacted]

[redacted] Houston, Texas, pursuant to [redacted] request. He said that having had his memory thus refreshed, he is fairly well aware of the contents of the "Question and Answer Period" which CARMICHAEL held immediately following his speech. b7C

[redacted] said that he did not know of the existence of any printed text of CARMICHAEL's speech at the University of Houston. He said that had CARMICHAEL given out a printed text of his speech prior to giving the speech on April 13, 1967, a copy thereof would have logically been furnished to [redacted] b7C

[redacted] which office [redacted] heads. He said that once he learned CARMICHAEL would be speaking at the University of Houston, he requested [redacted]

[redacted] to have personnel of the [redacted] make arrangements to tape record the speech in its entirety.

[redacted] said he recalls that after CARMICHAEL finished his speech and question and answer period, that little clusters of groups stood around the auditorium engaged in discussions, but [redacted] did not recall the identities of such individuals nor know what they said. b7C

[redacted] said he would be willing to testify in a court of law concerning the foregoing information, provided his superior, the [redacted] interposed no objection to his doing so. b7C

b7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date August 8, 1967

[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted] Houston, Texas, furnished the following information:

[redacted] attended a speech given by STOKELY CARMICHAEL at Cullen Auditorium, University of Houston, Houston, Texas, during the evening of April 13, 1967.

He estimated that there were between 1700 and 1750 persons who listened to the speech from inside the auditorium and he said that in addition, loud speakers had been set-up so that persons who did not have seats could hear the speech outside the auditorium. He did not know how many persons listened to the speech from outside the building.

He said that the majority of those in attendance were between 18 years and 25 years of age. He estimated that not quite half of those in attendance were Negroes and the remaining were white.

[redacted] stated that he knew of no written text concerning CARMICHAEL's speech.

He said that on the morning of August 7, 1967, he had obtained a taped recording of CARMICHAEL's speech from [redacted]

[redacted] The tape was made by [redacted]
[redacted] He said he had listened to portions of the recording on August 7, 1967, and that his memory had been somewhat refreshed as to the statements made by CARMICHAEL.

[redacted] advised that he recalls that on the whole, the audience seemed to be favorably impressed with CARMICHAEL's speech, received it well, and intermittently applauded CARMICHAEL's remarks.

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/26/01 BY 39063ELW/BCE/AMW

On 8/7/67 at Houston, Texas

File # HO 100-10598
AT 100-68112

by SA [redacted] cbl

b7C

Date dictated 8/8/67

HO 100-10598

He said that he did not recall whether there were discussions by parts of the audience after the speech, at the site, and that he had no knowledge of there being any such discussions following the speech away from the site.

He said that the University of Houston has a Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC) program. He said that he is certain that there presently is, and as of April 13, 1967, there was, an Army branch of the ROTC at the university. However, he did not recall seeing anyone attending the speech in military uniform and he had no knowledge that any military personnel were actually in attendance.

He said that CARMICHAEL's appearance at the University of Houston was sponsored by the Committee on Better Race Relations (COBRR).

[redacted] said that the following individuals, to the best of his recollection, were present for CARMICHAEL's appearance at the University of Houston on April 13, 1967, but he does not know whether all of them heard CARMICHAEL's speech in its entirety: b7C

[redacted] Houston Police Department, Houston, Texas;

[redacted] Houston Police Department, Houston, Texas;

[redacted] Houston Police Department, Houston, Texas; b7C

[redacted] Harris County Sheriff's Office, Houston, Texas;

[redacted] Houston Police Department, Houston, Texas; b7C

[redacted] advised that he is willing and available to testify in a court of law concerning the above information. b7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date 8/9/67

[redacted]
[redacted] Houston, Texas, Police Department, advised he resides at [redacted] Texas, and has been an officer with the Houston Police Department for [redacted]

b7C

[redacted] stated he was present at the Cullen Auditorium, University of Houston, on the evening of April 13, 1967, and heard the speech made by STOKELY CARMICHAEL.

b7C

[redacted] observed the audience inside this auditorium filled the auditorium and there were approximately 150 to 200 persons on the outside of the auditorium who heard the speech over a loud speaker. He estimated this audience consisted of approximately 50 per cent males and 50 per cent females, with white persons outnumbering Negroes approximately three to one. The big majority of the persons present were of college age, ranging between eighteen and twentyfive years of age.

b7C

[redacted] advised the general tone of CARMICHAEL's speech was against the position of the United States Government in Vietnam and against the draft laws of the United States. He recalled CARMICHAEL made one or more statements in which he referred to the Vietnam war as being "a war for the birds." He also recalled a statement to the general effect that young people should not be drafted and should refuse to enter the military service. [redacted] noted the above two statements were met with cheers from part of the audience and he noted this cheering seemed to break out mainly from one particular area. He noted a number of individuals in the audience whom he was able to identify as members of

b7C

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 3/24/01 BY 39063 EWT/bcel/AmwOn 8/8/67 at Houston, TexasHO 100-10598
File # AT 100-68112by SAS [redacted]

and [redacted]

b7C

Date dictated 8/9/67

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conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency;

2

HO 100-10598
AT 100-68112

the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee who had been active in Houston in connection with various demonstrations. [redacted] noticed the audience applauded some of CARMICHAEL'S statements while they seemed to disapprove of others. [redacted] observed no one in the audience in a military uniform. b7C

[redacted] is available and willing to testify concerning the above information. b7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date 8/9/67

[redacted]
[redacted] Texas Police Department, advised he resides at [redacted] Houston, Texas, and has been a police officer at Houston for [redacted]

b7C

b7C

[redacted] was present at the University of Houston on the evening of April 13, 1967, and heard the speech and following remarks made by STOKELY CARMICHAEL. He observed the auditorium was full with a number of persons standing and he observed the audience was divided approximately half and half between males and females. He estimated the big majority of the audience consisted of younger people between the ages of eighteen and twentythree.

b7C

[redacted] also estimated the audience was approximately equally divided between Negroes and white persons.

[redacted] noted the general tone and tenor of CARMICHAEL's entire speech was "anti-United States and anti-military service." He was not able to recall exactly any specific statements dealing with young people entering the military service. He noted the audience appeared to follow the speaker's statements very intently and frequently responded to statements made by either cheering or by booing.

b7C

[redacted] observed several persons in the audience who had come to his attention in recent weeks in connection with various racial disturbances in the Houston area. He noted that [redacted] and [redacted] generally known as leaders of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee at Houston, were sitting near the front of the audience and cheered loudly. He also noted that [redacted] who was later arrested at Texas Southern University in connection with a racial

b7C

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DATE 3/2/01 BY SP063 BAW/BCL/AMW

On 8/8/67

at

Houston, Texas

File #

HO 100-10598
AT 100-68112

by

SAS

and

Date dictated 8/9/67

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b7C

2

HO 100-10398
AT 100-68112

riot in May, 1967, was present at the above speech. When CARMICHAEL finished speaking, [redacted] jumped upon the stage and immediately congratulated CARMICHAEL. [redacted] observed no one in the audience dressed in military uniform.

b7C

[redacted] is available and willing to testify to the above information.

b7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 8/8/67

[redacted] Harris County Sheriff's Office, advised he attended the speech of STOKELY CARMICHAEL at Cullen Auditorium, University of Houston, Houston, Texas, on the night of April 13, 1967. He advised he estimates approximately 1,700 persons heard the speech inside the auditorium, and approximately 100 persons heard the speech from the outside of the auditorium. b7C

[redacted] estimated the audience was comprised of fifty per cent male and fifty per cent female. Of these, forty per cent were white and sixty per cent were Negro. He stated the ages of the audience ranged from eighteen years to 35 years with the biggest age group being the eighteen to twenty-five years group. [redacted] advised he did not observe anyone in the audience wearing military uniforms of the United States. b7C

[redacted]

[redacted] stated he was unable to recall the exact text of the speech. [redacted]

[redacted] stated that he would be willing and available to testify concerning the above information in court of law if requested to do so. b7C

[redacted]

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b7C

On 8/7/67 at Houston, Texas File # HO 100-10598
AT 100-68112

by SA [redacted]
SA

WJS/bn

Date dictated 8/8/67

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date August 8, 1967

[redacted] b7C
Houston Police Department, Houston, Texas, furnished the following information:

[redacted] b7C
home mailing address is [redacted] Texas, b7C
home telephone number [redacted] Texas exchange.

During the evening of April 13, 1967, when STOKELY CARMICHAEL spoke at Cullen Auditorium, University of Houston, Houston, Texas [redacted] was on duty in connection with his [redacted]

outside area immediately in front of Cullen Auditorium. In preparing for CARMICHAEL's appearance, the university had calculated that more people would attend the event than Cullen Auditorium, whose seating capacity is 1680, could accommodate. With that contingency in mind, a loud-speaking system was set-up in front of Cullen Auditorium so those individuals who could not be seated inside the auditorium could hear CARMICHAEL's speech from outside the auditorium building.

During most of CARMICHAEL's speech, [redacted] was in the area immediately outside and in front of Cullen Auditorium. In that position, he was able to hear the speech over the loud-speaking system. At times he was inside the auditorium. Because of the passage of time which has occurred since the speech, [redacted] remembers only the general tenor and subject of CARMICHAEL's address. He recalled that during the latter part of the speech, or perhaps during the question and answer period following the speech, that CARMICHAEL made certain remarks in opposition to the United States Government's position with regard to the Vietnam war. He remembers that CARMICHAEL indicated one should go to jail before honoring the draft. [redacted] said that to [redacted] b7C

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DATE 3/26/01 BY 3903 GJW/zelamw

On 8/8/67 at Houston, TexasHO 100-10598
AT 100-68112by SA [redacted] /cbl

b7C

Date dictated 8/8/67

HO 100-10598
AT 100-68112

the best of his recollection, when CARMICHAEL made such statements, the audience reacted to them in a favorable manner and would applaud.

He said that taking the CARMICHAEL speech as a whole, the majority of the audience seemed to be sympathetic to it. He said that he does not recall CARMICHAEL being "booed" by anyone in attendance.

[] estimated that there were at least 1680 individuals seated inside the auditorium, and perhaps as many as 200 persons standing outside in front of the auditorium, during the time CARMICHAEL spoke. With regard to those inside the auditorium, he estimated that one-third of them were Negro and the remaining white; that perhaps one-fourth of those outside the front of the building were Negro and the rest white.

b7C

He said the majority of those in attendance appeared to be of college age; namely, between 18 years and 22 years of age. He recalled seeing no one there in military uniform and had no knowledge of any military personnel being in attendance.

He recalled that immediately following CARMICHAEL's speech, in front of the auditorium a group of individuals formed and apparently engaged in some type discussion, the nature of which was unknown to []. He knew of no discussions by parts of the audience which took place away from the site of CARMICHAEL's appearance.

b7C

He said that to the best of his knowledge, no incident of violence occurred in connection with CARMICHAEL's appearance at the university.

[] advised he would be willing and available to testify in a court of law concerning the above information.

b7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date August 8, 1967

b7C

b7C

[redacted] [redacted]
[redacted]
Houston, Houston, Texas, furnished the following information:

b7C

[redacted]
He said that he could furnish no information concerning STOKELY CARMICHAEL's appearance at the University of Houston in April, 1967.

The University of Houston has an ROTC program in which they offer both two-year programs and four-year programs for the United States Army. The university has no ROTC program for the United States Navy or for the United States Air Force.

As of May 11, 1967, the day of final review for the University of Houston ROTC, there were 283 university students enrolled in the ROTC program at that university.

There is no military installation adjacent to the University of Houston. The closest active military installation is Ellington Air Force Base, which is located approximately fifteen miles from Houston, Texas. However, there is a U. S. Army Reserve Training Center, Houston Sub-Sector Command, located on the Old Spanish Trail, Houston, Texas, some several miles from the University of Houston.

[redacted] stated he would be willing and available to testify in a court of law concerning the above.

b7C

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DATE 3/26/01 BY 3963 JWB/bcmw

On 8/8/67 at Houston, Texas File # HO 100-10598
AT 100-68112
by SA [redacted] cbl b7C Date dictated 8/8/67

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date August 8, 1967

b7C

[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted] University of Houston, Houston, Texas, furnished the following information:

b7C

[redacted]

He did not attend the speech given by STOKELY CARMICHAEL at the University of Houston on April 13, 1967, and he knows of no ROTC or other military personnel who did. He said that April 13, 1967, was the day when the ROTC at the University of Houston was federally inspected and that he seriously doubted that any personnel on the ROTC staff would have attended CARMICHAEL's speech, although it was, of course, possible that some ROTC students may have attended it.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

DATE 3/26/01 BY 39063 GWT/BCE/hmw

On 8/8/67 at Houston, Texas File # HO 100-10598
AT 100-68112

by SA [redacted] cbl Date dictated 8/8/67

b7C

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date August 8, 1967

b7C

[redacted] advised shb7C
has been [redacted]

[redacted] Houston, Texas, for the past 2½ years. She stated she was present when STOKELY CARMICHAEL spoke in Cullen Auditorium, University of Houston, Houston, Texas, on April 13, 1967. She advised she attended to [redacted]

b7C

[redacted] stated she estimated the audience at the speech to number approximately 1650, consisting of 50% males and 50% females of college age. She stated there were approximately 200 to 300 Negroes present. She advised she has no recollection of seeing anyone in a military uniform.

[redacted] stated CARMICHAEL spoke to what she could best describe as a sympathetic audience. She advised CARMICHAEL used a great deal of restraint in his speech in that he did not make any violent statements. She stated in the question and answer period after the speech, CARMICHAEL became somewhat more militant and antagonistic than when he was making his prepared speech. She advised the audience applauded CARMICHAEL's speech, and she does not recall he was booed at anytime during the speech. She stated there was no chanting by any of the audience.

b7C

[redacted] advised she is unable to recall any specific statements made by CARMICHAEL during the speech or question and answer period following the speech.

b7C

[redacted] advised she would be available as a witness in a court of law if needed.

APR 11 1968
32601 39063 EIW/BCE/AMW

On 8/8/67 at Houston, Texas File # HO 100-10598
AT 100-68112

by SA [redacted] and [redacted] b7C Date dictated 8/8/67

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 8/9/67

b7C

[redacted] advised [redacted] is employed as [redacted] for [redacted] b7C
[redacted] Houston, Texas.

[redacted] attended the speech of STOKELY CARMICHAEL on the evening of April 13, 1967, at the University of Houston [redacted]

[redacted] of portions of CARMICHAEL's speech. [redacted]

[redacted] was use [redacted] b7C
[redacted] stated the above
[redacted] would be retained permanently and would be available if it should be needed.

[redacted] observed the Cullen Auditorium was full on the above occasion. CARMICHAEL's speech was actually less radical than most people had expected. The general tone of the speech was anti-white and anti-Vietnam war. [redacted] could recall no specific statements concerning the Selective Service laws or recommendation concerning young people entering the military service. He reviewed the portions [redacted] and noted these portions of the speech contained nothing specific concerning the issue of military service. b7C

[redacted] stated the audience at the above speech consisted predominantly of young people of college age and was approximately equally divided between males and females. [redacted] observed a "good number of Negroes" in the audience but saw no one in a military uniform. b7C

[redacted] stated he is available and willing to testify to the information reported above. b7C

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DATE 3/30/80 BY 39063 EWB/BAH/mw

On 8/7/67 at Houston, Texas File # HO 100-10598
AT 100-68112

SAS [redacted] and [redacted] b7C
by [redacted] Date dictated 8/9/67

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 8/9/67

[redacted] Houston, Texas. advised he is [redacted] of [redacted] Houston, Texas.

b7C

[redacted] advised he was present at the University of Houston on the evening of April 13, 1967, and witnessed the speech made that evening by STOKELY CARMICHAEL. One of [redacted] assistants, [redacted]

b7C

[redacted] program on that date. [redacted] stated this film would be permanently filed and available if it should be needed.

b7C

[redacted] noted the auditorium was full on the above occasion and the audience consisted almost entirely of young people of the college age group. The majority of persons present appeared to be white although there was a large number of Negroes present. No military uniforms were observed in the audience.

b7C

[redacted] recalled CARMICHAEL's speech was generally in opposition to the United States involvement in the Vietnam war and that subject did not approve of Negroes serving in the military forces in Vietnam. He could recall no specific statements made by CARMICHAEL on those issues. [redacted] noted the reaction of the audience appeared to be mixed as there was some cheering at times and at other times the majority of the audience appeared to disapprove of what CARMICHAEL had said.

b7C

[redacted] is available and willing to testify concerning the above information.

b7C

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/26/01 BY B9023 Ew/BOC/AMW

On 8/7/67 at Houston, Texas File # HO 100-10598
AT 100-68112

by SAs [redacted] and [redacted] Date dictated 8/9/67

b7C

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F.B.I.

Date: 8/10/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Bishop	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
 FROM: SAC, SEATTLE (100-28676) (RUC)
 SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
 IS - MISCELLANEOUS
 SEDITION
 OO: ATLANTA

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 3/26/01 BY 29063EW/BCE/AMW

Re Seattle airtel, 8/8/67, and Atlanta and Seattle
 tels, 8/10/67.

Due to a typographical error date of CARMICHAEL's
 speeches at Seattle was reported as 5/19/67 in Seattle FD-302's
 and on the first page of each transcript of two tapes made of
 his speeches as submitted with referenced Seattle airtel,
 8/8/67. This date should be 4/19/67. Seattle reference in
 Seattle airtel, 8/8/67, should also read 4/20/67 instead of
 4/30/67.

Enclosed for the Bureau are three (3) copies each of
 8 corrected FD-302's reflecting interviews with witnesses of
 speeches given by CARMICHAEL in Seattle, Washington, on 4/19/67.
 Also enclosed for the Bureau are two (2) corrected copies each
 of the first page of two transcripts of speeches made by
 CARMICHAEL as furnished to the Bureau by Seattle airtel, 7/31/67.

Enclosed for Atlanta are four (4) copies each of 8
 corrected FD-302's and four (4) copies each of the corrected
 first page of two transcripts of CARMICHAEL's speeches as
 furnished Atlanta by Seattle airtel, 8/8/67.

Seattle copies corrected

ENCLOSURE

- 3 - Bureau (Encl. 28) (REG)
 2 - Atlanta (Encl. 40) (REG) (100-6812)
 2 - Seattle

AGK:cmh

56 AUG 18 1967

Approved: _____
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

REC 82 100-446080-472

EX-106

AUG 15 1967

5-780

(23) ENCLOSURES FOR BUREAU
to go with SEairtel, 8/10/67
described as follows:

3 copies each of 8 FD-302's
2 copies each of 2 transcripts

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION

BU 100-446080
SE 100-22676

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DATE 3/26/01 BY 39263 GWS/Bakamul

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100-446080-472

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date August 8, 1967

[redacted] Seattle,

stated that she is a housewife and attended a speech given by STOKELY CARMICHAEL at Garfield High School, Seattle, on the evening of April 19, 1967. She stated that she left the meeting about 20 minutes before the end of CARMICHAEL's main speech as she was worried about getting out of a traffic jam. She now recalled that during the speech STOKELY CARMICHAEL made a statement such as "If somebody gives me a gun, I know who I would shoot". He had been referring to war in Vietnam and had stated that Negroes should not be shooting other persons of colored skin, in Vietnam, when they had a greater problem at home. Other than this remark,

[redacted] could not recall any particular controversial remark made by CARMICHAEL. She estimated the audience at approximately 4,000 persons, mostly adults, and those of draft age in the audience about 15%. She also stated that the audience was approximately 60% Negro, and she did not hear any "chanting" to answers or remarks made by CARMICHAEL. She said that the closest military establishment to Garfield High School is approximately ten miles away. She did not see anyone in military uniform at this meeting.

[redacted] advised she would be willing to testify to this information.

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/26/84 BY 39063 B/W/Bce/Amul

On 8/8/67 at Seattle, Washington File # SE 100-28676

by SA [redacted] cdv:hjl Date dictated 8/8/67

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 8/8/67

[redacted] who is [redacted] Seattle, Washington, stated that he made a tape recording of a speech made by STOKELY CARMICHAEL at Garfield High School, 400 - 23rd Avenue, Seattle, on the evening of April 19, 1967. He is maintaining the master copy or original tape of this speech as a matter of evidence. He said that he would be willing and available for testimony regarding this tape. [redacted] estimated the audience at more than 4,000 persons, and of this number, there were approximately 60 per cent Negroes, and no more than 15 per cent young men of draft age. He said he did not see a military uniform in the audience and does not know how many persons of the audience are in military service. He said the audience response was very warm, but he did not hear any "chanting" in response to remarks made by CARMICHAEL. He said that the nearest military base is approximately ten miles away and there is no ROTC program at Garfield High School. He added that a question and answer period was held at Garfield High School following the main address, and he does not recall any statements made by CARMICHAEL which would be construed as counseling or obstructing military recruiting or service. b7C

[redacted] stated that CARMICHAEL delivered his speech on "Black Power and Negro Rights" in normal tone of voice and did not become overly excited. He spoke to all persons within sound of his voice and did not appear to use a text but may have referred to notes although they were not noticeable. CARMICHAEL was the main speaker of the evening. b7C

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DATE 3/26/01 BY 39063 E/W/see/amm

On 8/8/67 at Seattle, Washington File # SE 100-28676

b7C

by SA [redacted] cdv:cmh Date dictated 8/8/67

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date August 8, 1967

b7C

[redacted] University of Washington, Seattle, Washington, stated that he attended a speech given by STOKELY CARMICHAEL at the University of Washington, Seattle, on the afternoon of April 19, 1967. He said he did not hear any remarks by CARMICHAEL which would indicate counseling to avoid military duty or similiar statements. He estimated the audience at approximately 3,000 persons of which less than 5% were Negro. He believes that the audience was receptive to CARMICHAEL but did not "go all out in applause". He said there was a question and answer period after his speech but there was no large response to any answers given by CARMICHAEL, and he does not recall CARMICHAEL making a statement such as "Hell no, we won't go". He estimated that the majority of the males in the audience or three-fourths of the audience would be about draft age, but he did not see any military uniforms.

[redacted] advised he would be willing to testify to this information.

b7C

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DATE 3/21/01 BY 39023 Bw/Bce/Am

On 8/8/67 at Seattle, Washington File # SE 100-28676

by SA [redacted] /cdv Date dictated 8/8/67

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b7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date August 8, 1967

[redacted] b7C
[redacted] University of Washington, Seattle, Washington, stated he attended the speech by STOKELY CARMICHAEL given on the afternoon of April 19, 1967, at the University of Washington. He said that he was in and out of the audience due to his [redacted] b7C but did not hear any remarks by CARMICHAEL which he thought were controversial. He said the audience consisted of slightly more than 3,000 persons, of which 70 or more per cent were college students and of this 70% three fourths were males of draft age. He said he does not recall that many Negroes were present but there could have been a few. He said the audience response was average, and he did not hear any vocal response such as "chanting" by the audience. He said the college has three Reserve Officer Training programs and the nearest military installation is the Sand Point Naval Air Base, which is three miles from the University. He also stated that he did not see any military uniforms at this speech.

[redacted] related he would be willing to testify to this information.

b7C

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/26/01 BY 39063 E/w/Bce/Amw

On 8/8/67 at Seattle, Washington File # SE 100-28676
by SA [redacted] /cdv Date dictated 8/8/67 b7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date August 8, 1967

b7C

[redacted] [redacted] Seattle, Washington, advised he attended a speech of STOKELY CARMICHAEL given the evening of April 19, 1967, at Garfield High School, 400 23rd Avenue, Seattle. He said that he did not hear any comment made by CARMICHAEL which would indicate counseling of persons to refuse military duty or similiar remarks. He estimated the audience at about 4,000 or more persons with the majority of the audience being adults. He pointed out that the response of the audience was warm and cordial. He said that he did not notice any military uniforms in the audience, and he did not hear any "chanting" in response to CARMICHAEL's remarks. b7C

[redacted] advised he would be willing to testify to this information. b7C

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On 8/8/67 at Seattle, Washington File # SE 100-28676

by SA [redacted] /cdv Date dictated 8/8/67 b7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date August 8, 1967

b7C

[redacted]
[redacted] for [redacted]

[redacted] Seattle, Washington. He stated that he personally made a tape recording of the speech given by STOKELY CARMICHAEL on the afternoon of April 19, 1967, at the University of Washington. He said that as is the custom, the master tape was erased, but he did make a copy from it of the speech made by CARMICHAEL. He said that he has maintained this copy and made a copy from his copy for Agent [redacted] of the FBI. He said that he would be willing and available to testify to the copy that he maintains in his possession as being true and accurate copy of the tape he originally recorded as a "master tape" of CARMICHAEL's speech.

b7C

[redacted] said that he recalls that during a question and answer period following CARMICHAEL's main speech an anonymous student asked a question about military service and CARMICHAEL's reply was "Hell no, we won't go". [redacted] does not recall any other particular remarks derogatory in nature by CARMICHAEL such as counseling against military service. He estimated the audience at about 3,000 with approximately 90% being college students. He said that of this 90%, there were approximately three-fourths male students of draft age. He said that he did not see any military personnel present in uniform and does not know how many of the students present are in the Reserve Officer Training Corps but believes that 50% of the males present are members of the Reserve Officer Training Corps. [redacted] said that the audience response appeared to be "warm" but not "exuberant". He said that there was no "chanting" by the audience of CARMICHAEL's remarks.

b7C

[redacted] remarked that CARMICHAEL appeared to deliver his speech in a normal tone of voice and in a deliberate manner. He did not become overly excited, and he spoke generally to all persons within sound of his voice. He may have used notes in delivering his speech, but they were not apparent. He was the main speaker for the afternoon and his announced topic was Negro Rights and Black Power.

b7C

[redacted] further related he had also made a tape of the question and answer period following CARMICHAEL's main address, however,

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DATE 3/21/01 BY 39123 BIL/Beelanul

On 8/8/67 at Seattle, Washington File # SE 100-28676

by SA [redacted] /cdv Date dictated 8/8/67

2
SE 100-28676

this tape has been erased. A separate copy of this portion of the tape was made before the tape was erased, however, he has been unable to locate the copy.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date August 8, 19671

b7C

[redacted] Seattle, Washington, stated he attended the speech of STOKELY CARMICHAEL at Garfield High School on the evening of April 19, 1967, attended mostly by adults. He said the audience response was very warm and he would estimate the audience at about 4,000 persons. He said the audience consisted of very few persons of draft age. He does not recall any remarks being made by CARMICHAEL of a controversial nature which would be construed as counseling or obstruction to military service. He estimated that the number of draft age persons in the audience would be about 10%, and the number of Negroes in the audience would be 70%. He said there was no vocal response by the audience to CARMICHAEL's remarks and a question and answer period was held at the high school directly following his main address. He does not recall seeing any military personnel in uniform at the high school and does not know how many persons were there that might be in the military service.

[redacted] related he would be willing to testify to this information.

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/26/81 BY 39063 E/W/BZE/AMW

On 8/8/67 at Seattle, WashingtonFile # SE 100-28676

b7C

by SA [redacted]

/cdv

Date dictated 8/8/67

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date August 8, 1967

[redacted]
University of Washington, Seattle, Washington, informed that he attended a speech of STOKELY CARMICHAEL which was held on the afternoon of April 19, 1967, at the University of Washington. He stated that he did not hear any comment made by CARMICHAEL which would indicate willful counseling or refusal for duty in military service or effort to obstruct recruiting into military service or enlistment into military duty. He said that the audience consisted of about 3,000 persons made up of students of which three-fourths were male persons of draft age. He said that the number of Negroes in the audience was very small and he would approximate no more than 5% of the audience. He added that the audience were warm in their reception but at no time did they appear to be "exuberant".

b7C

[redacted] stated that there is a Reserve Officer Training program at the University which includes a training program for Air Force, Army, and Navy. He said that to the best of his knowledge, there was no one in the audience in uniform. He stated that there was a question and answer period after the main speech by CARMICHAEL, and it was difficult for anyone to hear all of the questions and answers. He said he did not hear any changing to a question regarding the draft nor did he hear CARMICHAEL make an answer such as "Hell no, we won't go".

b7C

[redacted] advised he would be willing to testify to this information.

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/20/01 BY 39063 EWL/BAW

On 8/8/67 at Seattle, Washington File # SE 100-28676

b7C

by SA [redacted] /cdv Date dictated 8/8/67

STOKELY CARMICHAEL AT THE
UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

April 10, 1967
Seattle, Washington

Why don't you all read an article with the depth of the Massachusetts Quarterly Review entitled Towards Black Liberation (unintelligible) paper and then we could have some discussion afterwards. I understand that the press has not been doing too good a job covering the activities of SNCC. I don't think they will be able to cover the lecture today because it is on an intellectual level. But since you are college students I know you'll be able to deal with the lecture. I'm sorry that Professor Hunt had to take so much time reaffirming free speech, I just assumed it was a natural thing, they taught it to me in school. One of the more pointed illustrations of the need for black power as a positive and redemptive force in a society degenerating into a form of totalitarianism is to be made by examining the history of distortion that the concept has received in the national media of publicity. This debate as in everything else that affects our lives black people are dependent on and at the discretion of forces and institutions within the white society which have little interest in representing us honestly. Our experience with the Nation Press has been that where they have managed to escape the most vicious special interests in "Get whity" sensationalism and race war mongering, individual reporters and commentators have been conditioned by the developing racism of the society to the point where they are incapable even of objective observations and reporting of racial incidents much less the analysis of ideas.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/20/83 BY 39012 EWL/BDMW
3/26/01

STOCKELY CARMICHAEL at GARFIELD HIGH SCHOOL

April 19, 1967, Seattle, Washington

Good Evening, It's good to be here.

You know what usually happens is that in the newspapers they call us racists and anti-whites and say we hate white folk and all that irrelevant nonsense, and they do that because they use white people as the measuring stick. But I want you to look clear before you and you notice that in all their beautiful liberal press media, there isn't one black man. So when the honkeys talk tomorrow about violence and anti-white and hating white people, tell them they ought to have a black man reporting it because they don't understand because we are talking to black folk anyhow.

Tonight we want to do several things. We want to talk about some of the basic assumptions from which the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) moves and then move into an area of pragmatics and what in fact black people will have to do if we are going to survive in this country and live as human beings. The first thing we want to talk about is the theory of self condemnation, and we want to move on and talk about denying one one's freedom as opposed to giving one one's freedom and we want to talk about the importance of definition and the need for black people to define themselves as they see fit in this society and to have those definitions recognized by our press's white society. And we want to talk about violence because it is going to be important, because I don't know why everybody is so scared about it and they are going to draft you all and send you all to Vietnam, I guess you are going to go over there and make love to the Vietnamese. Then we want to talk about

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DATE 3/2/00 BY 3918/03 Ely Balamu

F B I

Date: 8/9/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI
 FROM : SAC, New Orleans (100-16890) (P)
 SUBJECT: STOKLEY CARMICHAEL
 IS - M, SEDITION

b7C

Re New Orleans teletype to Director, San Francisco, Jackson and Atlanta, dated 8/8/67.

Enclosed herewith to the Bureau are three copies, four copies to Atlanta and one copy each for information purposes for Jackson and San Francisco of an FD-302 for the interview of _____

b7C

_____ a _____
 whose home address is _____

_____ and whose business address is c/o _____

Lead for investigation at Jackson and San Francisco was set out by separate communication.

b7C

ENCLOSURE 1-922 980 with 1 encl.

3-Bureau (Enc. 3)
 2-Atlanta (Enc. 4)
 1-San Francisco (Info) (Enc. 1)
 1-Jackson (100-123) (Info) (Enc. 1)
 2-New Orleans
 CJH/caa
 (9)

REC-40
 EX 101

100-446080-473

18 AUG 11 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 3/21/01 BY 39063 EML/Bclamm

INT. SEC.

Approved: _____

Sent _____ M Per _____

AUG 17 1967

Special Agent in Charge

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date 8/9/67

b7C

b7C

[redacted]
[redacted] Louisiana, was interviewed at his place of employment and he advised as follows:

[redacted]
[redacted] business
address care of [redacted]
New Orleans, Louisiana.

b7C

[redacted] stated that he is ready and willing to testify concerning information obtained by him and tape recorded during the speech of STOKLEY CARMICHAEL at Tougaloo during the evening of April 11, 1967 at Jackson, Mississippi.

b7C

[redacted] stated that the tape recording of the STOKLEY CARMICHAEL speech provided to [redacted] was the first copy or "dup", of his original recording, which was on two tape recording cassettes which he used to record CARMICHAEL'S speech at Tougaloo College, Jackson, Mississippi, on the evening of April 11, 1967.

b7C

b7C

[redacted] recalled that on April 11, 1967, he arrived on the Tougaloo College Campus at about 6:30 PM in order to have time to make preparations to cover STOKLEY CARMICHAEL'S speech which was scheduled to start at 7:30 PM. The CARMICHAEL talk, according to [redacted] actually began at about 7:45 PM and lasted for a period slightly over two hours.

b7C

Because [redacted] at the time only had two cassettes of tape (two hours of recording time) he was forced to erase a part of the second 30 minute portion of CARMICHAEL'S speech from the 1st cassette so that he would have sufficient tape to be able to record the last part of CARMICHAEL'S speech which he deemed to be more important or news-worthy.

b7C

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DATE 4/11/01 BY 3603 G.W. Bclan

On 8/8/67 at New Orleans, Louisiana File # NO 100-16890

by SA [redacted] & [redacted] Date dictated 8/9/67

b7C

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

COPIES DESTROYED

ENCLOSURE

333 FEB 24 1971

[redacted] stated that he could positively identify the [redacted] (FIRST) copy because during the second 30 minutes, the erasure and rerun, his tape recorder did not completely eliminate what was on the tape thus and during pauses in STOKLEY'S speech the partially erased recording can be heard in the background. b7C

[redacted] stated that he does not have the original cassettes or tape recordings of the CARMICHAEL speech and further commented that before he left Jackson, Mississippi after the speech he left the original recording of CARMICHAEL'S speech still in the cassettes in [redacted] b7C
[redacted] stated that possibly [redacted] may be able to locate the original tape cassettes containing the recording of the CARMICHAEL speech. [redacted] further claimed that he can identify the cassettes containing the original recording, if found, because they are identified by his hand writing on the cassettes.

With respect to the tape recording he furnished to [redacted] b7C
[redacted] recalled that as he was leaving the Tougaloo campus after the speech [redacted] approached him and asked for a copy of his tapes. [redacted] promised to make a copy of the CARMICHAEL speech on tape for [redacted] on the following morning. This copy was made for [redacted] by [redacted] in the presence of both [redacted] and [redacted] on the morning of April 12, 1967. [redacted] stated that the copy produced for [redacted] was recorded on regular role tape rather than on tape in cassettes and that this copy was very good and contained all the recording of the CARMICHAEL speech which he obtained.

[redacted] further recalled that at the CARMICHAEL speech there were also a television team and a radio recorder from [redacted] b7C
This group from [redacted] according to [redacted] obtained very high quality coverage of the entire speech by [redacted]

³
NO 100-16890

b7C

[redacted] according to [redacted]
[redacted] is described as having [redacted]
[redacted] as a
possible additional source of evidence.

b7C

[redacted] stated that among [redacted]
media present at the CARMICHAEL speech [redacted]

b7C

[redacted]

b7C

[redacted] and others whose names he does
not know or recall.

[redacted] described the crowd in attendance at
the CARMICHAEL speech as numbering about 400 persons, most
of whom were estimated to be of draft age and the spectators
were about evenly divided as to males and females. Those
in the crowd were predominantly Negro except for about 40
or 50 white persons which included news media personnel.
The audience response of the crowd in attendance at STOKLEY
CARMICHAEL'S speech was described by [redacted] as being
"fantastically enthusiastic".

b7C

[redacted] stated that if afforded an opportunity
to review the [redacted] copy or the original copy of his
tape recording of CARMICHAEL'S speech that he would be able
to testify in greater detail as to what took place during
the speech. [redacted] stated that subsequent to the recording
of the speech he had repeated pertinent quotations from
CARMICHAEL'S speech on several occasions and that he recalls
these pertinent news highlights even at this time. He
stated that rather than trying to quote from memory
exactly what CARMICHAEL said he would prefer to be able
to testify after having an opportunity to refresh his
memory from the tape recordings.

b7C

F B I

Date: 8/9/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-68783)(RUC)

RE : STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION

Re Bureau airtels to Atlanta 8/4 and 5/67 and Los Angeles teletype to Bureau, 8/8/67.

Transmitted herewith for the Bureau and Atlanta is one copy of informant report submitted by [redacted] on 5/29/67 concerning STOKELY CARMICHAEL's speech before the Black Power Conference on May 26, 1967 at Jefferson High School, 1319 East 41st Street, Los Angeles, California.

In addition to the attached information, [redacted] was interviewed by SA [redacted] on 8/8/67 at Los Angeles. Source indicated that CARMICHAEL in his speech at the Black Power Conference at Jefferson High School, 1319 East 41st Street, Los Angeles on 5/26/67 criticized U. S. foreign policy, President Johnson and the draft. CARMICHAEL stated in his speech that "Negroes must refuse to serve in the military".

1-9229+ [redacted] is unwilling to testify at this time.

- 3 - Bureau (Enc. 1) (RM)
2 - Atlanta (Enc. 1) (RM)
1 - Los Angeles
JWW:sch
(6)

REC-60

100-446080-474

8 AUG 12 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/26/01 BY 3906361W/BA/AMW

INT. SEC.

79 AUG 16 1967

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

1 enclosure to Bureau

LA 100-68783
BU 100-446080

on this
envelope

35101 BY 39063 G.W. B. celamw



100 446080-474

ENCLOSURE

VIA TELETYPE

AUG 9 1967

ENCIPHERED

326PM URGENT 8-9-67 VLT

TO DIRECTOR, ATLANTA AND NEW ORLEANS

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (14-215) -P

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; IS- M; SEDITION.

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

RE NEW ORLEANS TELETYPE TO BUREAU, AUGUST EIGHT, LAST.

[REDACTED] SAN FRANCISCO, ADVISED AUGUST NINE, INSTANT, THAT [REDACTED] IS RADIO STATION ONLY, NO TELEVISION CONNECTION WHATSOEVER. IT IS PRIMARILY A ROCK AND ROLL MUSIC STATION USING ONLY LOCAL AND NETWORK NEWS. [REDACTED] DID NOT HAVE EMPLOYEES AT SUBJECT'S SPEECH APRIL ELEVEN, LAST, NOR DID [REDACTED] HAVE THE SPEECH RECORDED.

[REDACTED] STATED [REDACTED] HAD NO INTEREST IN INSTANT SPEECH, DOES NOT KNOW OF ANY SAN FRANCISCO RADIO OR TELEVISION STATION WHO DID RECORD THE SPEECH, AND CANNOT IDENTIFY THE ENGINEER IN QUESTION FROM DESCRIPTION FURNISHED. NEW ORLEANS REQUESTED TO RECONTACT SOURCE FOR ANY FURTHER INFO TO IDENTIFY STATION.

OTHER OFFICES ~~CNXX~~ CONTACTED SEPARATELY

END

RM FBI WASH

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/26/01 BY 396163 BCB/annul

AUG 11 1967

57 AUG 18 1967

F B I

Date: 8/11/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - M; SEDITION

ReWFOairtel and teletype, 8/8/67.

Enclosed for Atlanta are nine copies of an
FD-302 covering interview with [redacted]
Washington, D. C.For the information of the Bureau, [redacted]
[redacted] reported on 8/8/67, [redacted] recorded
CARMICHAEL's speech at church and carried tape to
Studio.[redacted] reported speech actually recorded at
Studio using direct phone line from church, but that
he also recorded CARMICHAEL's speech at church for his
personal files and has maintained that tape in his
personal possession.ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/26/01 BY 39063 EWB/eklan

- 1-922 940
- 3 - Bureau
 - 2 - Atlanta (Enc 9) (AM - SPECIAL DELIVERY) (100-6812) (RM)
 - 1 - WFO

REC 54

JRP/mrb
(6)AIRTEL

AUG 15 1967

EX-105

5-18

Approved: [Signature]
Special Agent in Charge
AUG 18 1967
AUG 22 1967

Sent _____ M Per _____

FBI

Date: 8/15/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via _____
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (157-892) (RUC)

SUBJECT: RALLY TERRACE BALLROOM
NEWARK, NEW JERSEY, 5/26/67
RACIAL MATTERS
(OO:NY)

Re NY airtel to the Bureau, Atlanta, and Newark dated 4/27/67 and captioned, "RALLY TERRANCE BALLROOM, NEWARK, NEW JERSEY, 5/26/67" and Newark airtel to Bureau and Atlanta dated 5/11/67 and captioned, "'CHANGED", RALLY TERRACE BALLROOM, NEWARK, NEW JERSEY, 5/26/67".

7 - Bureau (RM)
(1 - 109-12-302) (POSSIBLE SUBVERSIVE AND/OR
COMMUNIST LINKS BETWEEN HARLEM
AND AFRICA)

(1 - 109-446080) (STOKELEY CARMICHAEL)

2 - Atlanta (RM)

(1 - [redacted] info)

(1 - 100-6812) (STOKELEY CARMICHAEL) (info)

3 - Newark (157-2101)

8 - New York (157-892)

(1 - 105-73061) (POSSIBLE SUBVERSIVE AND/OR COMMUNIST
LINKS BETWEEN HARLEM AND AFRICA)

(1 - 105- [redacted] FNU)

(1 - 100-153751) (STOKELEY CARMICHAEL)

(1 - [redacted])

(1 - [redacted])

(1 - [redacted])

PWJ:gam
(21)

CLASSIFIED BY 39063 E/W BODAMW

DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 1, 6

Approved: 771

Sent

M Per

Special Agent in Charge

56 AUG 25 1967

~~SECRET~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

ORIGINAL FILED IN

100-6-34-2194

NOT RECORDED
180 AUG 16 1967

NY 157-892

~~SECRET~~



b1



(S)

The affair held by advocates of "black power" in the Terrace Ballroom, Newark, New Jersey, on 5/26/67, was a great success. Between 20 and 30 African diplomatic personnel attached to the UN were in attendance at it. Also present were [redacted] and [redacted] STOKELEY CARMICHAEL was unable to attend due to other commitments. A display of karate, showing the disarming of men with guns, was presented by individuals connected with the "black power" in Newark, New Jersey. This affair was so successful financially that it is now planned as an annual affair with the profits going to the "black power" movement.

b7C

b7C

~~SECRET~~

Mr. Sullivan

C. D. Brennan

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Bishop
1 - Mr. Sullivan

8/14/67

1 - Mr. Bland
1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan
1 - Mr. B.A. Wells

stokely Carmichael
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Due to the interest of the President in the activities of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and its leaders, we have prepared a summary setting forth current and planned future activities in this matter. A copy is attached for ready reference.

b7C

b7D

Governor Claude Kirk, of Florida stated after H. Rap Brown, leader of SNCC, spoke at Jacksonville on 8/9/67 that Brown did not have sense enough to start a riot.

Brown spoke at a rally on 8/13/67 at Los Angeles, California. He made a mild speech and was received coolly by the audience.

Brown will reportedly be the principal speaker at a rally at Baton Rouge, Louisiana, on 8/19/67. It is also reported that he will speak at Cincinnati, Ohio, on the same date.

b7C

[redacted] a communist youth group, stated that SNCC is considering forming an underground paramilitary organization. A source, close to SNCC leaders, has advised that he knows of no plan for the formation of such a group *le(u)*

b7C

A Task Force for Black Development has been formed at Chicago, Illinois, to "empower black people with self-sufficiency." A spokesman for the group stated that attempts will be made to set up black power groups in major cities throughout the United States.

Encl.

100-439190

1 - Bufile 100-446080

1 - Bufile 105-168197

BAW:des

(8)

Classified by *SP1AG/KR* 100-446080
Declassify on: OADR 11-19-86 NOT RECORDED
202, 078

46 AUG 22 1967

CONTINUED - OVER

DECLASSIFIED BY *39063 CUB/Be/Amu*

ON *3/26/01*

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-439190-1789

C. D. Brennan to Sullivan Memorandum
Re: **STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE**
100-438100

RECOMMENDATION:

That the enclosed memorandum to Mrs. Mildred Stegall at the White House; Mr. William Welsh, Administrative Assistant to the Vice President; Honorable Dean Rusk, Secretary of State; Honorable Robert S. McNamara, Secretary of Defense; Honorable Richard Helms, Director, CIA; Attorney General; Deputy Attorney General; Assistant Attorneys General Yeagley, Doar, and Vinson; Secret Service; and the military intelligence agencies be approved.

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan
- 1 - Mr. B.A. Wells

100-446080- August 15, 1967

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

There is set forth below a summary of current and planned future activities of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and its leaders.

b7C

It was previously reported that H. Rap Brown, National Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, spoke at a rally at Jacksonville, Florida, on August 9, 1967. Florida Governor Claude Kirk, who was present at the rally, subsequently stated that Brown did not have sense enough to start a riot.

b7D

On August 13, 1967, Brown was the featured speaker at a rally sponsored by US at Los Angeles, California. US is a militant black nationalist group. Observers have advised that Brown made a mild speech and was received very coolly by the 400 individuals who attended the rally.

The Bogalusa Voters League, a civil rights group, Bogalusa, Louisiana, is sponsoring a march from Bogalusa to Baton Rouge, Louisiana. The marchers plan to arrive in Baton Rouge on August 19, 1967, where they plan to hold a rally on the campus of Southern University. Brown will be the principal speaker at the rally.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
GROUP 1

Classified by JPI-AG/UC
Declassify on: OADR 11-19-86
252,028

100-439190

1 - Bufile 100-446080 Excluded from automatic

1 - Bufile 105-163197 downgrading and
declassification

BAW:des
(20)

SEE NOTE PAGE 4.

EXCLUDED YELLOW

DECLASSIFIED BY SP6 BEN/Boelamw
ON 3/26/94

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-439190-10

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

The "Call and Post," a weekly newspaper at Cleveland, Ohio, carried an article on August 12, 1967, reporting that Brown will speak at Cincinnati, Ohio, on August 19, 1967, at a mass black power rally. The announcement of Brown's appearance was made by the chairman of the Cincinnati branch of Friends of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. He was quoted as stating, "Now is the time for action. The white man will not give you anything. We have to take it."

b7C

b7D

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee Activities

[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted] has stated that the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee is considering forming an underground organization dedicated to terrorist activities in the urban centers of the United States. According to [redacted] this plan has produced violent disagreements among the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee leaders. [redacted] is of the opinion that the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee may become a paramilitary underground organization. A source, who is close to [redacted] advised that [redacted] has mentioned this plan on many occasions; however, the source does not know whether [redacted] comments are based on fact or opinion. (e) (u)

b7C

b7D

Another source, who is close to Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee leaders, has advised that he knows of no plan for the formation of an underground organization for turning the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee into a paramilitary organization. (e) (u)

[redacted]
[redacted]
to Tanzania is to further Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee's aim of seeking recognition as an international organization and of affiliating itself with African organizations having international status. (e) (u)

b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Brooklyn Rally

The Brooklyn Chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality, a militant civil rights group, held a rally at Brooklyn, New York, on August 13, 1967, to support the members of the Revolutionary Action Movement who were arrested on June 21, 1967. Speakers include Max Mallory, [redacted] b7C

[redacted] and Paul Bonstelle, [redacted]

[redacted] It was announced at the rally that Julian Bond, a former national officer of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, will speak at a meeting to be held at Brooklyn, New York, on August 15, 1967. Bond, a member of the Georgia Legislature, was refused his seat in the Legislature due to statements he had made criticizing United States policy toward Vietnam. He subsequently obtained a court order directing that he be seated.

The Revolutionary Action Movement is an all-Negro, Marxist-Leninist oriented organization which follows the Chinese communist line and advocates achieving Negro rights by violence, if necessary.

Task Force for Black Development

Dr. Nathan Wright, Jr., who chaired the recent Newark, New Jersey, Black Power Conference, announced on August 13, 1967, that Hoyt Fuller, Editor of the "Negro Digest," and Gerald McWorter, former leader of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee at Chicago, will lead a "Task Force for Black Development." Wright criticized the Administration's Model Cities Program as "a product of paternal colonial minds." He said that middle-class Negroes must be put in charge of programs designed to improve ghetto conditions. He called black power a conservative force.

Wright said that the Chicago Task Force will find ways to "empower black people with self-sufficiency." The Task Force leaders will try to devise new roles for black professionals in the struggle for self-development. Wright also stated that attempts will be made to set up black power groups in major cities throughout the United States.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

XEROX COPIES BEING SENT TO MRS. MILDRED STEGALL, THE WHITE HOUSE; MR. WILLIAM WELSH, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT TO THE VICE PRESIDENT; HONORABLE DEAN RUSK, SECRETARY OF STATE; HONORABLE ROBERT S. MCNAMARA, SECRETARY OF DEFENSE; HONORABLE RICHARD HELMS, DIRECTOR, CIA; ATTORNEY GENERAL; DEPUTY ATTORNEY GENERAL; ASSISTANT ATTORNEYS GENERAL YEAGLEY, DOAR, AND VINSON; SECRET SERVICE; AND THE MILITARY INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES.

NOTE:

See memorandum C.D. Brennan to Mr. Sullivan, 8/14/67, same caption, prepared by BAW:des.

Classified "~~Confidential~~" since it contains information from informants whose disclosure could affect our national defense.

CONFIDENTIAL

Tolson ☒
 DeLoach ☒
 Mohr ☒
 Bishop ☒
 Casper ☒
 Callahan ☒
 Conrad ☒
 Felt ☒
 Gale ☒
 Rosen ☒
 Sullivan ☒
 Tavel ☒
 Trotter ☒
 Tele. Room ☒
 Holmes ☒
 Gandy ☒

Police Inform Hill Violence Followed Black Power Pleas

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 3/26/01 BY 31063E/W/PC/Amu

A8

By Richard Homan
 Washington Post Staff Writer

Police officials from three riot-rocked cities told the Senate Judiciary Committee yesterday that racial violence began immediately after visits by Black Power activists.

In the opening day of hearings on the House-passed anti-riot bill, law enforcement officers from Cincinnati, Nashville and Cambridge, Md., accused H. Rap Brown, national director of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, and others, of stirring smoldering racial tensions into flaming riots.

But several Committee members indicated clearly that they had misgivings about the bill, which passed the House last month by 347 to 70.

Sen. Sam J. Ervin Jr. (D-N.C.) said he doubted there could ever be a conviction under the bill as it is drafted. Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) called it a "fraud on the American people," because it may "present an appearance of action where there has in fact been only reaction; it may lull the Congress and the public into a sense of complacency about having done something to control riots when in fact we have done nothing."

The bill would make it a Federal crime to cross state lines with the purpose of inciting a riot.

"We are only fooling ourselves if we believe this bill will solve the basic problem facing our Nation," Sen. Edward V. Long (D-Mo.) said. And Sen. Philip A. Hart (D-Mich.) said that "this bill and 97 like it wouldn't have stopped what happened in Detroit."

Blames Agitators

Col. Jacob W. Shott, Chief of Police in Cincinnati, where a week of rioting in June followed a speech and presentation of 20 demands to the city by Brown, told the committee, "I don't think we'd have had any trouble if it weren't for these outside agitators."

Cincinnati had been considered "the place where it couldn't happen," Shott said. "But the problem is, what

do you do with a fellow that hits and runs? He's in town one night and out the next, hitting somewhere else. The average police department doesn't have the resources to travel around the country, keeping tabs on people. If we could get Mr. Hoover involved. . . ."

Trouble had been simmering in Cincinnati since April 29, Shott said, when Stokely Carmichael, former head of SNCC, spoke to a group of Negroes and "urged the people to fight police instead of each other," Shott said.

Came After Visits

Capt. John A. Sarace of the Nashville Police Department said a week of rioting there in April "came right after Carmichael, Brown and other SNCC functionaries" had visited Nashville.

Cambridge Police Chief Brice G. Kinnamon said he was "confident that the speech (by Brown) was the sole reason for our riots; not only did his speech cause it, he led these people" in a march on the white business district.



Associated Press
 JACOB W. SHOTT
 . . . testifies on riots

The Washington Post Times Herald A-8
 The Washington Daily News _____
 The Evening Star (Washington) _____
 The Sunday Star (Washington) _____
 Daily News (New York) _____
 Sunday News (New York) _____
 New York Post _____
 The New York Times _____
 The Sun (Baltimore) _____
 The Worker _____
 The New Leader _____
 The Wall Street Journal _____
 The National Observer _____
 People's World _____
 Date AUG 3 1967

Don't we
 disseminate
 material
 to Shott?
 I don't
 just what
 he is shooting
 about.

11 AUG 14 1967

11:51 AM - 8/3 - SAC

Soyers was so instructed

56 AUG 18 1967
 2-7-67

LETTERS, WHITE HOUSE, AG CHG KERNER, JR., 1-DEPUTY
 WITH ENCLOSURE AG

ORIGINAL FILED IN 1-3393

Committee Chairman James O. Eastland (D-Miss.) called the recent series of riots "a threat to the very stability of this Nation" and he promised that "these hearings will not be long drawn out."

The Committee would attempt to learn what kind of people have been participating in the riots, what weapons were used and where they came from and what sort of police action has been most effective, Eastland said.

Chief John B. Layton of the Metropolitan Washington Police Department and police officials from Plainfield, N.J.; Tampa, Newark and Rochester will testify today.

Senate Republican Leader Everett M. Dirksen of Illinois, said it was "rather imperative" that Detroit Mayor Jerome P. Cavanagh be called as a witness. He referred to remarks by Cavanagh saying Congress had failed to meet the needs of the cities.

Eastland said Cavanagh so far has refused to appear, but Hart defended Cavanagh, saying the mayor wants to testify but at the moment has matters of "a little more immediacy" to attend to.

F B I

Date: 8/3/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, HOUSTON (100-10598) (RUC)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS

Re: Houston airtel to the Bureau, 7/10/67.

Because of the poor fidelity of the original recording made by the Houston Police Department and resulting poor fidelity of the re-recording made on 7/7/67 of CARMICHAEL's speech at Texas Southern University made in April, 1967, Houston stenographers have been unable to make a successful transcription thereof.

[redacted] Texas State Department of Public Safety, Houston, Texas, advised on 7/10/67 that Department of Public Safety personnel had made no recording of CARMICHAEL's speeches at Houston, Texas. b7C

Therefore, and in view of investigation set forth in referenced airtel, no further investigation being conducted in this matter at this time. Houston, will, however, remain alert to any future speeches which CARMICHAEL may give at Houston, and in that event, will attempt to obtain transcriptions of same.

3 - Bureau (RM)(AM)
1 - Houston

CJP:mb
(4)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/26/81 BY 3033 EUB/ELM/AMU

INT. SEC.

57 AUG 23 1967

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

F B I

Date: 8-9-67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI(100-446080)

FROM: SAC, JACKSON(100-123)(P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - M
SEDITION
(OO: ATLANTA)Re Jackson tel to Bureau, Atlanta, New Orleans,
8-9-67.Enclosed for the Bureau are the original and ten
copies of LHM in captioned matter; enclosed for Atlanta are
nine copies of four FD-302s in captioned matter. b7CAll persons contacted were advised that this
investigation was being conducted at the request of the AAG
in charge of the Internal Security Division, USDJ.No lead is being set out to New York re ☐ vocal
and visual excerpts as this is being left to the discretion
of OO. It is noted that Departmental Attorneys may be interested
in reviewing this film in New York at a subsequent date.LEAD:JACKSONAGENCY: ACSI, GNI, OSI, SEC. SER.
DEPT: ISD, CRI, ~~WFO~~, Venson
DATE FORW: 8/14/67
HOW FORW: ~~W/S~~
BY: TJD/dk1 enc 922 910
2 enc 922 910
5 ENCLOSURE3-Bureau(Enc. 11)(RM)
2-Atlanta(100-6890)(Enc. 36)(RM)
2-Jackson

REC-40

100-446080-479

14 AUG 11 1967

TF:hke
(7)

1cc 922 910

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/24/01 BY 39063 ELL/BA/AMUApproved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

57 AUG 21 1967

JN 100-123

At Jackson, Mississippi

b7C

Will recontact [redacted]
Jackson, Mississippi, to determine if original of tape
recording made by [redacted] 4-11-67, is subsequently
found.

b7C



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Jackson, Mississippi

August 9, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - M
SEDITION

The following investigation was conducted by
Special Agents of the FBI, Jackson, Mississippi, regarding
the speech made by Stokely Carmichael on the evening of
April 11, 1967, in the Main Chapel of Tougaloo College,
Jackson, Mississippi:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/20/61 BY 390103 EIW/bcl/mw

100-446080-479
ENCLOSURE

COPIES DESTROYED

333 FEB 24 1971

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

b7C

Date 8-9-67

[redacted]
[redacted] Atlanta, Georgia, was contacted at [redacted]
[redacted] and advised of the [redacted] b7C
interviewing Agents' identities and of the nature of the inquiry.
[redacted]
[redacted]

He said on the evening of April 11, 1967, he attended^{b7C} a speech delivered by STOKELY CARMICHAEL in the Main Chapel of Tougaloo College, Jackson, Mississippi. He said he was there for the entire speech and it lasted from 8:30 p.m. until about 10:00 p.m. He estimated the crowd at 350 to 400 and said the crowd was predominately Negro. He said the make up of the crowd was about even, male and female, and the majority of them were college age students.

He said he did not observe anyone in military uniform in the audience or know of anyone in the audience to be in the military service.

He said the crowd was very responsive in support of CARMICHAEL's speech and on several occasions near the end of his speech frequently chanted "Hell no, we won't go".

He said there was possibly a question and answer session following the speech, however, he cannot specifically recall this. He said although the speech was very thought provoking he does not recall any seminars or related group meetings following the speech.

On 8-9-67 at Jackson, Mississippi File # Jackson 100-123

by SAs [redacted] TF/hke^{b7C} Date dictated 8-9-67

JN 100-123

He said he was accompanied at the speech by [redacted]
[redacted] and [redacted]
of Atlanta, Georgia.

b7C

b7C

He said he did not make a tape recording of the speech, however, he and his crew made vocal and visual film excerpts of the speech. He said these excerpts could be made available for review by contacting [redacted]
[redacted] of [redacted]
[redacted]

b7C

[redacted] said he would be willing and available to testify regarding what he had related subject to the approval of his employer.

b7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 8-9-67

[redacted] was interviewed by SA [redacted]
[redacted] who identified himself as a Special Agent of the
FBI [redacted] was advised of the nature of the inquiry.

furnished the following information:

Mississippi, is currently employed as [redacted] Jackson, Mississippi, a position he has held for the past six years

On the evening of April 11, 1967, in connection with his employment, he was assigned [REDACTED] to attend a meeting at Tougaloo College, Tougaloo, Mississippi, at which STOKELY CARMICHAEL was the principal speaker.

This meeting was held at the Tougaloo Chapel, Tougaloo, Mississippi, with several hundred persons present, eighty percent Negro, twenty percent white. All the Negro youths were of college and draft age. CARMICHAEL's speech was very enthusiastically received with the audience clapping chanting "Hell no, we ain't going".

He observed no question or answer period or any type of group discussion from the audience.

He observed no person wearing the uniform of the U. S. Armed Forces and did not know anyone in the audience currently in the Armed Forces of the U. S. Government.

He further advised that he taped CARMICHAEL's speech, however, due to the lapse of time he is unable to locate this specific tape and that in all probability, the tape has been erased.

On 8-9-67 at Jackson, Mississippi File # Jackson 100-123

by SA hke b7C Date dictated 8-9-67

JN 100-123

stated that he would be willing to testify if his testimony was absolutely necessary.

b7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 8-9-67

b7C

[redacted] was contacted on several occasions on this date in an effort to determine if he had been able to locate the original of a tape recording of a speech by STOKELY CARMICHAEL on April 11, 1967, at Tougaloo College, Jackson, Mississippi. This recording was supposedly made by [redacted] who is presently working with [redacted] Louisiana.

b7C

[redacted] on each occasion, advised his extensive efforts to locate this tape had been negative. He said the [redacted] has been re-arranged since the date the tape was first delivered and he believes that the tape was possibly lost, misplaced, or erased. He said he would continue his efforts to locate the tape, notify all his employees regarding the search for the tape and advise the FBI accordingly should it subsequently be found.

b7C

On 8-9-67 at Jackson, Mississippi File # Jackson 100-123
by SA [redacted] hke Date dictated 8-9-67

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 6-9-67

b7C

On this date [redacted]

[redacted] Jackson, Mississippi, provided SA [redacted] with a tape recording of a speech made by STOKELY CARMICHAEL at Tougaloo College, Jackson, Mississippi, on the evening of April 11, 1967. [redacted] advised that at this time he did not know who had delivered the tape recording to him, however, noted that he had previously advised several newsmen that he would be interested in receiving a tape recording of the speech if they could obtain one for him. He said he believes that the tape recording he was providing SA [redacted] was a copy made from an original actually taped by [redacted] at the speech.

b7C

b7C

On 5-31-67 at Jackson, Mississippi File # Jackson 100-123

by SA [redacted] hke Date dictated 6-5-67

b7C

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Wick _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

TO : MR. D. J. BRENNAN, JR.

DATE: August 8, 1967

FROM : W. O. CREGAR

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - SNCC

2-1
C.D. BRENNAN

[REDACTED]

b1

[REDACTED] (S)

RRB

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (S)

b1

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (S)

[REDACTED]

b1

L

[REDACTED] (S)

[REDACTED]

b1

[REDACTED] (S)

REC-48

101-446670-480

[REDACTED]

AUG 11 1967

b1

CONTINUED - OVER

WOC:hke
(4)

1-Mr. C.D. Brennan (Mr. B. A. Wells)
1-Liaison

56 AUG 2 1967

283

9/17/61
CLASSIFIED BY 39063 EHL/BCE/AMW
DECLASSIFIED BY 1
Declassify date 950411

8/11/67
WOC: hke

5-2

Memorandum from W. O. Cregar to Mr. D. J. Brennan
RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - SNCC

b1

ACTION:

The above is directed to the Internal Security
Section for their attention.

F B I

Date: 8/14/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
 FROM: SAC, BALTIMORE (100-24220)
 SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
 IS - M; SEDITION

Re WFO teletype, 8/8/67 and Baltimore teletype,
 8/9/67.

[redacted] telephonically
 contacted the Baltimore Office on 8/11/67 on his return
 from vacation. He advised he was leaving immediately for b7C
 WDC and would be available for interview in the A.M. of
 8/11/67.

WFO cognizant and will handle.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 5/14/81 BY 39063 ew/bck/mw

1-922 980 100-446080-481
 ③ - Bureau (REGISTERED MAIL)
 2 - WFO (REGISTERED MAIL) REC-14
 1 - Baltimore
 MEG:jtk
 (6)

8 AUG 15 1967

INT. SEC.

Approved: _____

52 AUG 18 1967

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

RA

REC 11

August 10, 1967

EX 101

100-446080-482

C. D. Brennan
B. J. [unclear]
F. [unclear]

[Redacted Address]

b7C

Pompano Beach, Florida 33062

Dear [Redacted Name]

I have received your letter of August 3rd, with enclosures.

In response to your inquiry, Stokely Carmichael was born on June 29, 1941, at Trinidad, West Indies, and derives his United States citizenship through the naturalization of his father. He is therefore, not subject to exclusion from the United States as an alien. In addition, the FBI is strictly an investigative agency of the Federal Government and, as such, does not determine whether prosecution will be undertaken in any situation. Such decisions concerning violations of Federal law are within the province of the United States Department of Justice.

You may be assured, however, the FBI is aware of the activities of the individuals you mentioned and any information obtained which might indicate a violation of Federal law over which this Bureau has investigative jurisdiction is furnished to the United States Department of Justice for prosecutive consideration.

Sincerely yours,

REC'D MICK

J. Edgar Hoover

AUG 10 11 30 AM '67

MAILED 5
AUG 10 1967
COMM-FBI

NOTE: Correspondent is not identifiable in Bufiles.

JBT:dlb
(3)

- Tolson
- DeLoach
- Mohr
- Bishop
- Casper
- Callahan
- Conrad
- Felt
- Gale
- Rosen
- Sullivan
- Tavel
- Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Holmes
- Gandy

AUG 21 1967

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

TRUE COPY



Florida - 33062

b7C

Dear Sir: -

Is there any way you can prevent Carmichael from re-entry into the U. S. ?

Who wants him? In my opinion and the opinion of many others he is far worse than Benedict Arnold.

He is so flagrantly anti-American he should be forbidden this great country of ours. Who pays his way? He does lots of globe-trotting so the Commies must be paying for it. He doesn't work. All he does is spew hate. Some one ought to cement his big mouth shut. Harsh words but he has asked for it and the state Dept & their ilk just want to slap his wrist & call him a bad boy!

If this country was headed by a man like you, Mr. Hoover, we wouldn't be in this awful mess we are in. We need men with guts which we definitely don't have -- Mac Namara - Shriver & you can name the others should go down to oblivion-

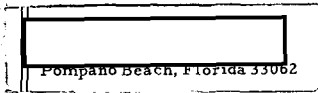
Excuse this harangue but I do hope the F.B.I. can rid this country of Carmichael & the other rabid hate-monger Brown. They certainly do not help the decent negroes to a better life.

Very sincerely

b7C

/s/

b7C



Pompano Beach, Florida 33062

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
F. B. I.

Washington, N.C.



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/19/01 BY 31063 Gw/Bachman

89

Mr. Tolson _____
 Mr. DeLoach _____
 Mr. Mohr _____
 Mr. Bishop _____
 Mr. Casper _____
 Mr. Callahan _____
 Mr. Conrad _____
 Mr. Felt _____
 Mr. Gale _____
 Mr. Rosen _____
 Mr. Sullivan _____
 Mr. Tavel _____
 Mr. Trotter _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Miss Holmes _____
 Miss Gandy _____

b7C

Florida - 33062

Dear Sir:-

Is there any way you can prevent Carmichael from re-entry into the U.S.?

Who wants him? In my opinion and the opinion of many others he is far worse than Benedict Arnold.

ack 8-8-67
 8-11-67
 JBT:dl

He is so flagrantly anti-American he should be forbidden this great country of ours. Who pays his way? He does lots of globe-trotting so the Commies must be paying for it. He doesn't work. All he does is spew hate. Someone ought to cement his big mouth shut.

EX-101: PRO

AUG 7 1967

33

4

REC 11 100-446080-482

EX 101

15 AUG 16 1967

ENCLOSURE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 5/14/01 BY 3906 SPW/BK/amy

CORRESPONDENCE

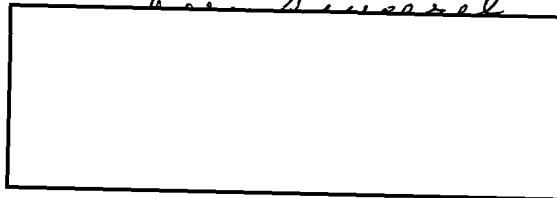
Shut. Thash words out he ~~has~~
asked for it and the State Dept &
their ilk just want to slap his
wound & call him a bad boy!

If this country was headed by
a man like you, Mr. Hoover, we would not
be in this awful mess we are in. We
need men with guts which we
definitely don't have - Mac Lamara -
Shriver & you can name the others
shoved so down to oblivion -

Excuse this Laranque but I
do hope the F.B.I. can rid this
country of Carmichael & the other
rabid hate-mongers Brown. They
certainly do not help the recent
regress to a better life.

b7C

~~has been removed~~



SUN-SENTINEL

Six Great News Services

AP

UPI

NEA

Reuters

Chicago Tribune

New York News

ers Company

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 2, 1967

Stokely Vows To Crush U.S.

SAN FRANCISCO. (AP) — Black Power advocates "are moving into urban guerrilla warfare in the United States," Stokely Carmichael said at a Havana news conference Tuesday.

"We have no alternative but to use aggressive armed violence in order to own the land, houses, and stores inside our communities, and to control the politics of those communities," Carmichael said.

Felix Greene, a Palo Alto, Calif., writer with British citizenship, reported Carmichael's statements in a telephoned dispatch to the San Francisco Chronicle.

Greene is covering the Congress of the Revolutionary Organization of Latin America in Havana.

Greene's dispatch reported that Carmichael declared the Black Power guerrillas "must develop a consciousness so that when people who are struggling get killed, the retaliation will be against the leaders of the West."

"Let us develop a consciousness that when they touch one guerrilla, Lyndon Johnson, Dean Rusk, Robert McNamara and Harold Wilson must pay the price," Carmichael said.

"We are not waiting for them to kill us. We will move to kill them first—or rather, we are working towards that goal."

Greene reported that Carmichael said that Black people in the United States will not pick up guns to fight the Vietnamese.

Carmichael later said:

"One good thing about the Vietnam war is that the United States has taught us how to kill.

"Our brothers returning from Vietnam are going to use that training well in the cities of the United States.

"The fighters of an imperialist country are cowards.

"They don't like to fight hand to hand. In Vietnam

when they find themselves fighting hand to hand, they call in bombers to drop napalm and high explosives.

"But in the United States they have to fight hand to hand.

"They cannot use napalm and bombs—and we will wipe them out."

Greene said Carmichael talked more than two hours to about 120 Latin American and European newsmen, answering questions.

Asked about the role of White people in the Negro struggle, Carmichael replied: "The only Whites we can use in our struggle are those who are ready to pick up guns with us to destroy the capitalist system."

Carmichael said, "Black Power is the joining of hands with the oppressed peoples outside the United States to smash the imperialist structure of the United States which oppresses us on the inside and you on the outside."

FIDEL CASTRO
... the host

CARMICHAEL
... the 'delegate'

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/14/01 BY 39063 EWB/Beclamu

100-446080-482

ENCLOSURE

No Riot Plot — Hoover

(Continued from Page 1-A)

a preliminary report set by President Johnson, but Hoover's report "impressed the fact that some of these things seem to start with little incidents."

"Little incidents" were blamed for the outbreak of rock-throwing by Negro youngsters in Washington, D.C. Monday night.

Helped by a sudden downpour, police in the capital succeeded in clearing the streets Tuesday morning and arrested 40 — 28 were charged but most were released later on \$25 bond.

Police Chief John Layton told a news conference that the incident was nothing more than a spontaneous outburst by juveniles but "we are certainly alert to anything like this happening again."

Commissioners agreed also with the summation of Abe

Lincoln, a Negro anti-poverty worker who said: "This was just a bunch of kids who've been listening to too much rabble-rousing this past week."

In Congress part of the blame for giving the "rabble-rousing" so much publicity was laid at the feet of the news media.

House Democratic Whip Hale Boggs said he is amazed that so much time has been turned over to "agitators like (H. Rap) Brown and (Stokely) Carmichael."

Rep. Ed Edmonson, D-Okla., called on the newspapers to "exercise a more responsible role in helping maintain law and order than many have been."

In his speech, Boggs said: "Rather than beat our breasts so, we should look to answers to the problems that confront us."

"I suggest that we stop this business about who killed Cock Robin. While poverty doesn't justify riots—God knows it doesn't—this doesn't mean we can blind ourselves to these problems."

The House heard a succession of angry speeches about the rioting and complaints against Vice-President Humphrey's statement that Congress had been inexcusably slow to enact legislation.

Rep. Charles Jonas, D-N.C., accused the vice-president of "frantic efforts to find a scapegoat."

Meanwhile Rep. James Quillen, R-Tenn., told the House Rules Committee that passage of other civil right bills was a major cause of the rioting because it raised false hopes and thus deepened the resultant despair and frustration.

Rep. Emanuel Celler, D-

N.Y., replied that he hoped Congress, supported by White citizens, would have the moral courage to persevere in the cause of racial equality in spite of the riots.

However, the violence brought a warning that White reaction could "mean disaster to our social structure," from 22 prominent Americans, including New York Mayor John Lindsay and banker David Rockefeller.

In Detroit, federal troops were being pulled out as Gov. Romney lifted nearly all of that city's emergency restrictions.

He abolished the curfew and said residents may assemble freely once again. Restrictions on the sale of gasoline were removed but he continued indefinitely bans on the sale of weapons and explosives.

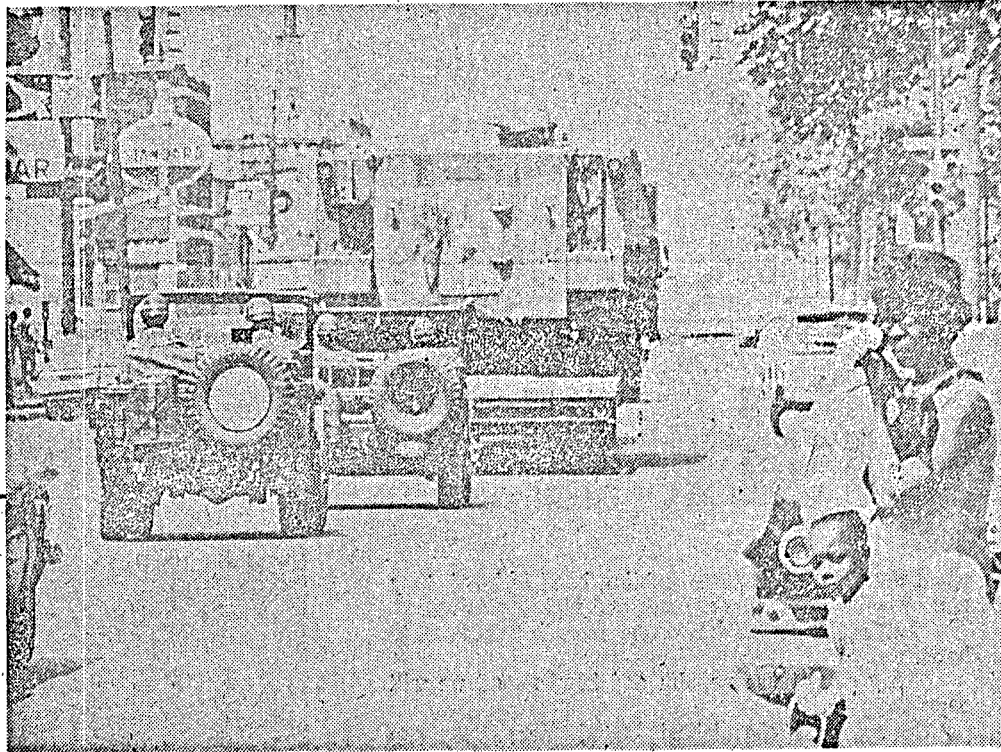
Meanwhile the commission which investigated the Watts riots of 1965 warned that that outbreak could be "only a curtain-raiser for what could blow up in the future."

The commission report said that no amount of money, training or effort would raise the Negro to the point he seeks "unless he himself shoulders a full share of the responsibility for his own well-being."

They listed the following findings in the Watts outbreak:

- "No reliable evidence of established plans for the rioting."

- The arrest of Negro Marquette Frye on a drunk driving charge was a "tinder-igniting incident" but the handling of the arrest by highway patrolmen was not criticized.



(AP Wirephoto)

NATIONAL GUARDSMEN WITHDRAW AFTER BLOODY DETROIT RIOTS
... a woman heads for funeral for girl killed in the rampage

F B I

Date: 8/11/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, MIAMI (100-15451) (RUC)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS
OO: Atlanta

Re Bureau airtel to Albany, with copies to all offices, dated 6/7/67.

Enclosed for the Bureau are nine copies of a LHM containing information regarding the captioned subject that appeared in the Cuban newspaper "Granma." Two copies of this memorandum are being furnished to Atlanta, the office of origin.

Copies of this memorandum are being disseminated locally to the following agencies:

NISO, Charleston, South Carolina;
OSI, Robins Air Force Base, Georgia;
111th MI Group, Orlando, Florida.

- ③ - Bureau (Enc. 2) (RM)
- 2 - Atlanta (100-6812) (Enc. 2) (RM)
- 2 - Miami (1 - 100-15451)
- (1 - [redacted])

JJM:s1
(7)

AGENCY: ACSI, OSI, SEC. SER.

DATE FORW: 8/16/67

HOW FORW: R/S

BY: BAW/jak

AUG 14 1967

INT. SEC.

Approved: [Signature]

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

922 90D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/1/01 BY 3963 EAC/BJM

EX-105

REC 32

b2

b7D

100-446080-482

7SD - Davitt, Cum. Carl Belcher

1 cc of airtel
1 Yarn of LHM

MM 100-15451

Source concealed is [redacted] who furnished
the information to SA [redacted] 8/7/67.

b2

b7C

Translation from the Spanish, where required,
was made by [redacted]

b7C



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-15451

Miami, Florida
August 11, 1967

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS

A source, on August 7, 1967, made available the August 2, 1967 issue of "Granma." Contained therein were the following news articles:

MESSAGE FROM STOKELY CARMICHAEL

The following message was read over Radio Habana Cuba by U.S. Negro leader, STOKELY CARMICHAEL:

"Havana, Cuba
August 1, 1967

"To Our Comrades in the Armed Struggle Against
Imperialism and Racism:

"We of the Black Liberation Movement of the U.S. want all of you to know wherever you are that we are your comrades. We are no longer going to allow our enemies to make us fight against you, as they have done in the past. We will not fight in Vietnam, Santo Domingo or anywhere else in the world. Our fight will be inside the U.S. While we are fighting to destroy Imperialism from the inside, we know you will be fighting from the outside. We are dedicated with our very lives to destroy imperialism as you have proven time and time again that you have dedicated your lives. We look forward to the day which will be very soon, when we will overthrow decadent governments and will start the real Revolution of building a society based on humanity rather than a society based on

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/14/01 BY 39063 EIW/ocel/amw

100-446080-483
ENCLOSURE

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

exploitation. Our struggle is the same. Our love for humanity will make us continue to fight.

"STOKELY CARMICHAEL
SNCC"

CARMICHAEL SENDS MESSAGE TO
GUERRILLA LEADER CHE GUEVARA

"You are an inspiration to the fighters
for liberation throughout the world."

Negro leader STOKELY CARMICHAEL from the United States personally read a message of greetings to veteran guerilla leader, ERNESTO ~~CHE~~ GUEVARA, wherever he may be, over Radio Habana Cuba.

The message read as follows:

"My Comrade and Friend CHE:

"The Afro-Americans in the United States feel a great admiration for you. We anxiously await your writings in order to read them, digest them and plan our tactics on the basis of them.

"We want you to know, wherever you may be, that you are an inspiration, not only to the Negroes in the United States, but also to the liberation struggles around the world. Please keep on fighting, for your fighting inspires us. Do not despair, Comrade.

"WE SHALL WIN."

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

CARMICHAEL also addressed a message to the liberation movements throughout the world.

"Granma" is published daily as the official organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.



*In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.*

**UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**

**Miami, Florida
August 11, 1967**

Title STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Character INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS

**Reference Memorandum dated and captioned
 as above, at Miami, Florida**

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

F B I

Date: 8/4/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (100-6812)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - M

b2 ReBuairtel 8/2/67.

b7D Enclosed are 10 copies of an LHM containing information received on [redacted]. This LHM has been classified "CONFIDENTIAL" inasmuch as a limited number of

on between [redacted]
and [redacted]

which would place the identity of the source in jeopardy should the information become known to unauthorized individuals.

Atlanta has alerted sources as to the necessity of determining as much detail as is possible relative to CARMICHAEL's trip to Cuba and other foreign travel, and as such information is developed, it will be immediately forwarded to the Bureau in form suitable for dissemination.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/5/01 BY 39023 GUB/Reel/ML

ENCLOSURE REC

- 3 - Bureau (Enc. 10) (RM)
3 - Atlanta (2 - 100-6812)
(1 - [redacted])

EUC:met
(6)

b2
b7D 8 AUG 8 1967

INT SEC

AGENCY: ACSI, [redacted], OSI; SEC. SER:

DATE FORW: [redacted] 8/4/67

HOW FORW:

BY:

100-446080-484
Sent M Per

Approved:

56 AUG 22 1967

Special Agent in Charge



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Atlanta, Georgia
August 4, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - M

On [redacted] a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that [redacted]

b7C

b7D

MEMBER

U.S.A.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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ON 10/4/01

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ENCLOSURE

100-446080-484

CONFIDENTIAL

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

As regards to Carmichael's appearance at the International Congress for the Dialectics of Liberation, the following is set forth: (C)

An article appearing in "The American", London, England, of July 21, 1967, describes the Congress as a gathering of several leading intellectuals of the western world who are attempting to demystify human violence in all its forms. (C)

An article appearing in the "Evening Standard", London, England, July 24, 1967, making reference to Carmichael's appearance at the Congress, Carmichael has been quoted as saying, "It is time to let the whites know we are going to take over. If they don't like it, we will stamp them out -- using violence and any other means necessary." (C)

An article appearing in "The Evening News", London, July 24, 1967, reflected that Carmichael left England suddenly July 24, 1967, on an Air India flight for Prague to make a connection with a plane bound for Hanoi, the North Vietnamese capital. (C)

An article appearing in the "Daily Express", London, July 25, 1967, quotes Carmichael at the Congress as having said, "If the British do not adopt our principles, I would burn down their homes and factories." (C)

An article appearing in "The Washington Post Times Herald" of July 26, 1967, written by Michael Arkus, reflects that Carmichael arrived in Cuba by air from Prague as an observer to the Latin American Solidarity Organization's conference of revolutionary forces in Havana. Carmichael was welcomed at the Havana Airport by Captain Osmany Cienfuegos, President of the Cuban Communist Party's Tri-Continental Revolutionary Organization. The article continues that shortly before Carmichael's arrival, the Cuban news agency, Prensa Latina, published an interview with him in London in which he was quoted as saying: (C)

"In Newark (New Jersey, where rioting was going on) we are applying the tactics of guerrilla warfare. We are preparing groups of urban guerrillas for our defense in the cities. This struggle is not going to be a

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

mere street meeting. It is going to be a struggle to the death." (C)

He likened the racial disturbances in the United States to "real rebellions" and said the Cuban revolution was an inspiration to United States Negroes. (C)

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3*

CONFIDENTIAL

F B I

Date: 8/7/67

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (157-1297) (P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS

OO: Atlanta

Re Chicago teletype to Director, 8/4/67,
captioned as above.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of an
LHM dated and captioned as above. A copy of the LHM
is being furnished USA and U. S. Secret Service, Chicago,
and Region I, 113th MI Group, Evanston, Illinois.

Chicago source mentioned in LHM is
(PROB).

b2

b7D

Chicago following; Bureau will be advised of
any pertinent developments.

LEADATLANTA

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 6/5/01 BY 390639WJ Beclaw

+917228

AT ATLANTA, GEORGIA. Furnish any information
received from sources indicating travel to Chicago by
STOKELY CARMICHAEL.

- 3 - Bureau (Enc. 11) (RM) ENCLOSURE REC 32
- 2 - Atlanta (Enc. 2) (100-6812) (RM) EX 101
- 4 - Chicago
- 1 - 100-40342 (SNCC)
- 1 - (RM)
- 1 - 157-413 (RM)

DEH:mr
(9)

AGENCY: ACSI, ONI, OSI, SEC. SER.,
INT. SEC., CRD, RAO, STATE

DATE FORW: 8/16/67

HOW FORW: 11/5

BY: BAW/pal

16 AUG 9 1967

b7C

INT. SEC.

Approved: 57 AUG 21 1967

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CG 157-1297

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Chicago, Illinois

August 7, 1967
33
34

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS

b7C

On August 4, 1967, [redacted]

[redacted] Chicago Police Department, Chicago, Illinois, advised that police department sources stated that Stokely Carmichael is expected to return to Chicago on August 11, 1967, for a three-day speaking engagement. The Deacons of Defense and Justice, Incorporated (DDJ), a Chicago militant Civil Rights group that advocates armed Negro defense, is making preparations to guard Carmichael.

On August 5, 1967, a confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that [redacted]

[redacted] of Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), was conferring with individuals in the Chicago area that advocate black power concepts concerning the possibility of attempting to get Stokely Carmichael and H. Rap Brown, past and present National Chairmen of SNCC respectively, to appear in Chicago on August 27, 1967, for a black power conference. Source had no further details concerning this matter.

A copy of this memorandum is being furnished to United States Attorney and United States Secret Service, Chicago, and Region I, 113th MI Group, Evanston, Illinois.

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/5/01 BY 39063 GJW/BCE/AMW
#917228

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333 FEB 24 1971

100-446080-485
ENCLOSURE

DEACONS OF DEFENSE AND JUSTICE, INC.,
Aka. Deacons for Defense and Justice, Inc.

The Articles of Incorporation of the Deacons of Defense and Justice (DDJ) as on file with the Secretary of State for the State of Louisiana, reflect that the Deacons of Defense and Justice, Inc., is a Louisiana corporation domiciled at Jonesboro, Louisiana. The location and business office address of its registered office shall be Amos Service Station (rear), Beach Spring Road, Drawer B., Jonesboro, Louisiana.

"This corporation is organized for the following purposes and to carry on the following purposes:

"To instruct, train, teach and educate Citizens of the United States and especially minority groups in the fundamental principles of the republican form of government and our democratic way of life; to instruct, teach, train and educate said persons in the provisions of the constitution and laws of the United States and the State of Louisiana, as well as the constitution and laws of any other state wherein this corporation may operate; to instruct, teach, train and educate said persons in the use, value, and purpose of the ballot and the right to vote; to instruct, teach, train and educate said persons as to the duties and responsibilities of good citizenship relative to the obligation and duties of the community to the citizen; to further instruct, teach, train and educate said persons in the value of economic security and in the effective use of their spending power; to inspire in said persons a sense of responsibility and to develop leadership. This corporation has for its further purpose, and is dedicated to, the defense of the civil rights, property rights and personal rights of said people and will defend said rights by any and all honorable and legal means to the end that justice may be obtained. This corporation may establish chapters and conduct its business at any place in this State and elsewhere as permitted by law."

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOI/PA
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET
FOI/PA# 1407783-0

Total Deleted Page(s) = 93

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Page 342 ~ Duplicate - 449;
Page 343 ~ Duplicate - 449;
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Page 377 ~ Referral/Direct;
Page 379 ~ b7C;
Page 380 ~ b7C;
Page 381 ~ b1; b7C; b7D;
Page 402 ~ Referral/Direct;
Page 403 ~ Referral/Direct;
Page 419 ~ Referral/Direct;
Page 425 ~ Referral/Direct;

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ATTENTION

The following documents appearing in FBI files have been reviewed under the provisions of The Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) (Title 5, United States Code, Section 552); Privacy Act of 1974 (PA) (Title 5, United States Code, Section 552a); and/or Litigation.

☐ FOIA/PA☐ Litigation☐ Executive Order Applied

Requester: _____

Subject: _____

Computer or Case Identification Number: _____

Title of Case: _____ Section _____

* File _____

Serials Reviewed: _____

Release Location: *File _____ Section _____

This file section has been scanned into the FOIPA Document Processing System (FDPS) prior to National Security Classification review. Please see the documents located in the FDPS for current classification action, if warranted. Direct inquiries about the FDPS to RIDS Service Request Unit, 202-324-3773.

File Number: 100-HQ-446080 Section 13Serial(s) Reviewed: All

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: 983317

File Number: _____ Section _____

Serial(s) Reviewed: _____

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: _____

File Number: _____ Section _____

Serial(s) Reviewed: _____

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: _____

THIS FORM IS TO BE MAINTAINED AS THE TOP SERIAL OF THE FILE, BUT NOT SERIALIZED.

ATTENTION

DO NOT REMOVE FROM FILE

F B I

Date: **7/24/67**Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via **AIRTEL** _____
(Priority)**TO: Director, FBI (100-446080)****FROM: SAC, Detroit (100-34122)****STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS
(OO: Atlanta)**

Re Bureau airtels to all offices dated 5/26/67 and 6/7/67, captioned as above.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 11 copies and for Atlanta two copies of an LHM relating to a transcript from a tape of STOKELY CARMICHAEL's speech made 5/17/67 at Grand Rapids, Michigan.

The tape was made available by the Michigan State Police, East Lansing, Michigan.

In the event future recordings of CARMICHAEL's speeches become available they will be submitted promptly to the Bureau.

The enclosed LHM is classified confidential in view of the confidential nature under which the speech was typed and in compliance with the request of the Michigan State Police.

ENCLOSURE

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11/4/01 BY 39063 ETW/301/AMW

- 3 - Bureau (Enc. 11) (RM)
- 2 - Atlanta (100-6812) (Enc. 2) (RM)
- 2 - Detroit

JEK/cc
(7)

AGENCY: AC SI, OSI, SEC SER,

DEPT: ISD, CRD, VINEAR

DATE FORW: 8/4/67

HOW FORW: R/S

BY: RTR/det

AUG 2 1967

INT. SEC.**56 AUG 21 1967**

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Detroit, Michigan
July 24, 1967

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: Stokely Carmichael

On June 29, 1967, a State investigative agency made available a transcript made from a tape recording of Stokely Carmichael's speech, made at the Fountain Street Church, Grand Rapids, Michigan, on May 17, 1967.

This transcript is as follows: (Blank spaces noted in this memorandum appear since portions of the tape were not audible.)

~~OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE~~
"Good evening, a, it's a pleasure to be in Grand Rapids, Michigan, Before I begin I wanna introduce somebody else. You'll be seeing a lot more SNCC people a this year, I hope that you'll be seeing less, and less of me, I wanna get back to the field, do some real ~~organizin'~~ ^{APPROX 1964} so you'll be seein' our new chairman, Mr. Rap Brown, and if you think I'm bad, you should check him out, and he's only 23. We have with, tonight, a, with me is a former program secretary, Mr. Cleve Sellers, who also is goin' back to the field to do some ~~hard-organizin'~~ ^{OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE}. Cleve is from Denmark, South Carolina, ^{DC} we were good friends in school together. Howard University, and a, we didn't like it, we tried to change it, we did some good work there. They got a homecoming queen, but a natural this year. I wanted please to speak because last week, a, Sam thought that he owned Cleve so he said, 'Boy, come on over here', and Cleve said, 'Hell no, I ain't goin'. And on Friday he'll probably be goin' to jail. That's awright, that's awright, we got a lot of brothers in jail and we need to organize 'em. Cause they been doin' business with the wrong people, we train 'em and get 'em a political ideology and we sure enough have a force in the country. So before I spoke I wanted you to listen to Mr. Cleveland Sellers.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~ENCLOSURE~~

100-446080-486

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GROUP 1
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DECLASSIFIED BY 310635W/Bclm
ON 6/14/01

Re: Stokely Carmichael

CONFIDENTIAL

"Well, I'm back to the field also, and, to begin with, aw, there sure are a whole lot a lights up here, but to begin with I would like to, to repeat a little slogan that we kinda created, the six, me with the other sixteen members of the organization who have said hell no, we're not going, and it is:

"Clean my cell, I'll be there soon, it is better feared than dear.

"So, I am trying to get other people to, like join in, so that when we go there we can go with a big bang instead of just one by one. Now, come on now, I gotta have more support than that cause.

CONFIDENTIAL

Re: Stokely Carmichael

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"This Friday I will be indicted and will probably go to jail, but, I would like to have people understand why I take this stand, and if you remember, or if you've been reading lately, just within the past two weeks, past week, there has been two, there have been two brothers, in Mississippi and Texas who have been shot in the back, by policemen, one died tomorrow. Now I think that black people will have to see their fight to liberation as being a fight within this country and that we have to begin to move to understand that we have no fight in Viet Nam. My enemy is not the Vietnamese, it's the Jim Clarks, the Wallaces, the Maddox, those are the people. The question I keep askin' myself is why must I have to die to prove a, why must I have to die in Viet Nam to prove my patriotism. I think that by going into the rule South and beginning to organize my brothers and sisters so that they can become liberated is proving to them who I am concerned with, my patriotism. I'd like to read to you a quote so you will understand some of the things that are in the back of my mind about the war and why it's being fought, because it's not being fought for freedom, equality and democracy. Back in 1953, August 4, President Eisenhower said, "Now let us assume that we've lost Indo China, the tin and tungsten that we've so greatly valued from that area would cease coming. So when the United States votes \$400,000,000.00 to help that war, we are not voting a give-away program. We are voting for the cheapest way that we can to prevent the occurrence of something that would be of the most terrible significance to the United States of America, our security, our power and ability to get certain things we need from the riches of the Indo China territories and from Southeast Asia." Now some people might say that that was, that was old, that was a long time ago, 1953, but let me move on to February 28th, nineteen hundred and sixty five, an Ambassador, a, ex-Ambassador to South Viet Nam, Henry Cabot Lodge, made a statement that followed the same trend that President Eisenhower's statement followed.

"Geographically, Viet Nam stands at the hub of a vast area of the world, Southeast Asia. An area with the population of two hundred and forty nine million persons. He who holds or has influence in Viet Nam can affect the future of the Philippines and Formosa to the east, Thailand, Burma, with their huge rice surpluses to the west and Malasia and Indonesia with their rubber, ore and tin to the south. Viet Nam thus, does not exist in a geographical vacuum. From its large storehouses of wealth and population can be influenced and undermined. It is obvious to me that the war in Viet Nam is

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: Stokely Carmichael

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

being fought in the, in the interest of industrialists, in the interest of the capitalist and in the interest of those who pressed us; therefore I cannot see myself participating in a war to press myself. Thank you. -Now Stokely Carmichael.

"We have, a, sixteen other people in our organization who'd refuse to go to the draft, the United States Government has tried to break up our organization by drafting them, but, a, as fast as they draft 'em we get new people who want to join, plus we got a whole lot a sisters who are out of sight. Well, I wanna talk tonight about a couple of things and to move from concepts into reality, cause I think that what is happening in this country is that white America is about to commit genocide against black people in this country, one way or the other, and that we have to talk about our survival in this country, especially in this day and age, because I don't think they're playing with us anymore, they're really goin' for broke. We want to talk about self condemnation as a theory, we want to move into the, to differentiate between the concepts of giving one one's freedom and denying one one's liberation. We want to talk about the importance of definitions and we want to talk about violence, and then we want to move pragmatically to see how those theories apply to black people in this country, talk pragmatically about the lies this country has told about black people, shame that is psychologically made is felt for ourselves, and our people, move on to talk about the need for developing a concept with people who are in this country and finally to instilling within all our people and especially our young, the will to fight back when touched on by anybody. I'm only wearing these shades cause the lights are in my eyes and I get tired and if I asked 'em to put 'em out they'd say I put the press out. I wish they would put 'em out. All they're doin' really is gathering information, they're gettin' ready to bring some charges against me. And one is as black in the body of black people in this country, especially within SNCC, baby, we're gonna tell it like it is and move to TCU. The only way they can stop us is to kill us and these days we take 'em with us when we go. We want to talk about self-condemnation now. It is impossible for someone to condemn themselves because if they condemn themselves, they have to punish themselves. Very important concept, um, now we have to understand that, and it's impossible for a nation to condemn theirself, impossible. Let me give you some examples. I really wish you'd take those lights out cause then I could see the folk, you know. Give it to the editorial twins of America tomorrow, Huntley and Brinkley. I'm talking about the editorial twins of America, Huntley

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: Stokely Carmichael

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

and Brinkley, you know. Do you ever dig on TV how they judge the whole world and black people with just a flick of the finger. Les says today they were on TV and they did something I did last night and Huntley said, "It is interesting to note that only with the exception of Britain is this young man free to run around except the United States." It is interesting to note that the United States is the world oppressor of black people, and that would be with the inclusion of Britain and France.

"Do you want the lights out?"

Carmichael: "I would like 'em out, I really would. I'm sorry gentlemen of the press, we're gonna have to have the lights out so the man can see. I mean I asked you nicely, I could just take 'em out myself. Hey, before you start to run, why don't you just put 'em out. I'd like the lights out, I don't know what the debate is. Hey, we didn't come to talk to the press, when we do we have a press conference."

"Now about self-condemnation. Let us give some examples. After World War II the United States, a, formed the Nuremburg trials with a lot of the white western societies and they began to bring Nazis to trial. Now the Nazis who were allowed, who committed suicide are the ones, who when they were brought to trial, admitted that they killed human beings. See after they admitted they killed human beings then they had to commit suicide. The ones who didn't commit suicide, the ones who allowed themselves to live, were the ones who said, and they were rationalizing away their guilt, "I didn't know what was happening in Germany at that time." Listen to the arguments because they sound very, every, every, very familiar. I didn't know what was happening, I didn't know things were so bad or they said, "Well, yeah we killed Jews, but they were, they were not human beings, they were subhuman, so there's nothing wrong with that." And then finally, what they said most sophisticatedly and what most Americans are saying today, "We were just following law and order." Now the ones who said that were able to live, they didn't condemn themselves. A more immediate example for us would be in Shubert County, Mississippi, that's Philadelphia, Mississippi in 1964. A hunkey by the name of Raney, along with 18 other of his friends, decided to kill three human beings because they were troubling the status quo. Now the entire county in Shubert County, Mississippi, in 1964, cannot indict Sheriff Raney for murder. They can't indict him for murder because he's doing what they really want him to do. They elected him to do that. If niggers get smart

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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you kill 'em, period. So they can't indict him, cause if they indicted him, they would themselves be guilty. It's very very important to understand because we can turn inflict, but white America cannot condemn himself for all the brutality and that she's heaped upon black people as a total community. If she were to do that, a, my brother Leroy Jones reminds me, she'd have to commit suicide, and that might not be a bad idea. So that's very important, so what it means then is that black people cannot subjugate themselves to the mercy of white America hoping that someday she will admit all the wrong doings that she's done and somehow grant us our liberation. And that's very very important. A great black man by the name of Frederick Douglas recognized that in the 1870s when he wrote, "He who wants his liberation must strike his own blow."

"Now that moves into the second theory we want to talk about the difference between giving somebody their freedom and denying somebody their liberation. That's very very important, it's perhaps the most important concept we ought to deal with. In, a, the past the Civil Rights Movement has gone on the assumption that white people could give black people their freedom. That is not true. No man can give any man his freedom. All men are born free. What happens after they are born free is that they are enslaved by other people. Now black people are born free in this country, they are enslaved by white people. So that white people can't give us anything they've got to stop enslaving us, they've got to stop denying us our liberation, in other words, they've got to become civilized.

"And now if you agree with that we can move on and give some clear examples, if you agree with that then the logical extension would be that any civil rights bill passed in this country, while it might have eased the struggle for black people, it really helped civilize white people and, in fact, the civil rights bill was for white people, not for us. Let me give you an example. I am black, I know that I am a human being, you know, now, some, some hunkies don't know that, see. They don't. Now I know that with a human being comes certain dignity that I'm supposed to have. One of them is that I can enter any public place. So I try to enter a public place, a hunky gets in my way, he shoots at me, beats me up or carries me off to jail if I try to get in a store, so the white folk in D. C. got to write a civil rights bill

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for this hunky, tell 'em when I come to the store, get out of my way. So that I am totally unchanged by the process, I'm the same person, the only person that's changed is this hunky, he's not, that's right, that's right. He is first to recognize my humanity. That's the only difference. It's the same thing with the voting rights bill. I know that I can vote. Everytime I try to vote a hunky shoots me. That's right. So they've got to pass a civil rights bill for the hunky, tell 'em when I come to vote, get out of my way. And so finally you've gotten on the stand of concept because they're talkin' about this open occupancy nonsense and they make it sound like if we should push forth. Now we know we can live any place we want to live, everytime we try, hunkies go to actin' like savages, throwin' rocks and bottles. So then what they have to do is to pass a civil rights bill to tell hunkies when we move anyplace we want to move, don't go to actin' and showin' your color. So that if you really understand that, you would really recognize that the black power fighting this country is a fight to civilize white America because she is uncivilized.

"Now then we want to move into the concept of definitions because they're very important. White western society, and notice I say white western society, never western civilization cause that's a misnomer, as a matter of fact, it's a lie, lie. White western society has been able to define everybody and everything and because she's had the power to define everybody and everything, she has been able to prescribe their actions. That's very very important. If you got to understand, let me give you some examples. Television, the red man and the white man are fighting, right. The white man beats up the red man. What happens, what happened? We beat up and we killed all the Indians, we had a victory, right? The red man beats up the white man, what happened? Those dirty Indians massacred us. And you've got to understand that concept because what they're saying is that a victory is honorable, and a massacre is not, a massacre is dirty, so the poor red man would be always fightin', but he'll never win a victory, he'll always get a massacre. I guess the difference is that in a victory you're shot to death and in a massacre you're cut to death, and if you're gonna die, we'd rather be shot to death. You can see that today, if you ever dig the editorial twins of America, Huntley and Brinkley, so that then today Viet Cong, dirty, rebel, filthy Communist forces, threw Molotov cocktails and wounded 17 civilians, and as a flash he says, "In the meantime, our good GI boys have been bombing the hell out of North Viet Nam. And that has to do with

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definitions cause they're defining it, so these poor people are fighting for their country, a dirty Communist, you know, and they define us as Negroes and that means you're lazy, stupid, apathetic, eat watermelon and . . . Then there are the first fright of anybody or any people is to define themselves as they see fit, define the struggle as what they call it and to have those definitions recognized by the oppressor, and that's a big fight in the country, cause what they did in the past was they had us react to their definitions. Let me give you an example. You remember in 1954, Dr. King would get up and say, "We want to integrate." In the minds of our black people Dr. King was talking about good schools, good houses, good jobs and a good way of life, and that's what all black people knew, but not some hunky; he'd jump up and say, you wanna marry my daughter, don't ya? And so what would happen is that you would have the black man now getting scared of their term, integration and they would start reactin' to him. He'd say, oh, we don't wanna marry your daughter, or we don't wanna be your brother-in-law, we just wanna be your brother. We don't wanna sleep in your bedroom, we wanna sleep in the house next to ya, and all that junk, you know. What they allowed white people to do was to define their terms and to have them react to the definitions of white people's terms. They don't do that in SNCC. They ask us, you know what we tell 'em, your daughter, your sister, your mama. The white woman is not the queen of the world, she's not the Virgin Mary. She can be made like any other woman, let's move on to something important, so that we will never allow them to define our terms and have us react to 'em, that's what they try to do with black power. We say black power and they say, oh, you mean violence don't you? And they want us to say, uh, uh, boss man, oh we don't mean violence, no sir. We say black power, we will define it, you will shut your mouth and listen to the definition of it, period. Black power is the coming together of black people to fight for their liberation by any means necessary, period. And that's very important cause we must be able to define ourselves as we see fit because they have been defining us and we have been accepting the definitions of them, of us. We should say we're black people, beautiful; strong, intelligent and aggressive. We want to move and then to talk about violence, because I'm really upset. When I see a black man on television talking about violence, cause we the most violent people in this country. We cut and shoot each other more than we do anything on Friday and Saturday night . . . "But don't anybody in the country talk about the violence of black people to black people cause they don't care about black

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people, they don't care. The only time they talk about violence is when some brother moves to get rid of some hunky cop who can ride his back all his life, then they talk about violence, then they talk about violence. And that's very very important cause you've got to understand that, they try to put us in the trick bag. Humphrey gonna get up there and talk about violence gonna get nobody nowhere and he's bombin' the hell out of North Viet Nam. Who he kiddin'? Who's he kiddin'? Who's he kiddin'? They're talkin' about violence don't do us any good and the time we reach 18 they put a uniform on us and send us out to Viet Nam to kill people and they, oh, violence don't, what they're saying is that violence is okay against everybody except the white man. And what really annoys me about these black people who, after every rebellion, and not a riot, a rebellion, jumps up and says, aw, they shouldn't do that, they bad, they this, they that, is that they're using them to condemn their old people and that's the only power they have, the power to condemn black people, that's all, that's all. They do not have the power to condemn white people cause you never hear 'em speak out about police brutality. You never hear 'em speak out about white landlords who've been charging us high prices. They never talk about white merchants who charge us high prices for rotten meat. They never talk about it. Never talk about it. Half the time they livin' out in the suburbs and they only know somethin' goin' on when some brother moves to take care a natural business and then they open their mouths cause what they're saying is that, it's okay, you all shut and cut each other, but don't touch that white man. That's what they taught, cause if they cared about non-violence, if they cared about it, they would be preachin' non-violence in the black community cause we need it desperately in the black community, we need to love and respect each other. If they cared about non-violence they would be practicing it in Viet Nam, but it's not a question of violence, it's a question of black people moving for their liberation and every time we move they try to stop us and they use so-called leaders to stop us. So I just throw that junk out the window about violence. The most violent man in the black community is a white cop. He has the license to kill and the power to do it scott free, so it's not a question of violence. The real question is who is controlling the violence, that is the question. If I shot 30 yellow men with slanted eyes I would get a badge if I were in Viet Nam. If I shot 30 white men who called me nigger in this country I would get the electric chair. It's just a question of power. He who has power

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to make his acts legitimate and we don't have none. And that's why we where we at. Cause if we had the power we would make our acts legitimate, and you've got to understand that, cause that's what they're gonna do as we move this summer. Have you ever noticed them, they had that Fort Lauderdale thing, with kids throwin' bottles and bricks at policemen. The headlines, College Kids go on a Spree. A brother throws a rock, Negroes Riot. So that we ought to incorporate those concepts and I just say I'm not goin' to discuss violence, it happens to be a way of life of man, the question is who uses it, who controls it, I'm gonna fight to be able to control my violence to decide who I'm gonna kill. I'm not gonna let nobody tell me who I should kill. It's very important cause I'm not goin' to Vietnam I'm not goin' to Vietnam and I shoot nobody cause Lyndon Johnson tell me to go shoot 'em. The Vietnamese ain't never called me nigger. I know who I'm gonna shoot. Now then, if we can accept those four basic self-condemnation, the difference between giving one one's freedom and denying one one's liberation, the importance of definitions in the world today and violence we can end movement to how they been pragmatically applied to us as a people to oppress and suppress us. Now what white America's had to do like Nazi Germany is to lie about what she did, so what she does is that everything that happens to black people she blames us because she can't blame herself. Just like the Nazis blame the Jews. They said, well, they deserve to be killed, you know they were filthy and they were sloppy and they were trying to take over our economy and, you know, so they, and they had to believe those lies cause you got to believe 'em once you build 'em up. Now white America has told a lot of lies about us and she's got to believe 'em, cause if she ever stops she'll commit suicide. Now that doesn't bother me. What bothers me is that those lies have been so calculated that some black people believe them and that's what we wanna talk about. That's what we wanna talk about. We wanna be able to clear the minds of black people who believe the lies the white America told about us about themselves. The biggest lie the white America has told about us is that we are lazy. That's right, and you have some black people runnin' around here, oh, we so lazy, oh, we so lazy. If we were like white folk, hard workin', we'd make it, but not us, we lazy. That's a lot a junk. White people lazy. Look here, they so lazy they went to Africa to steal us to do their work for them. That's how lazy they are. It's not a question of being lazy. We are the hardest working people in this country. Our sweat built this country scott free. Scott free. Scott free. It's not a

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question of whether you're lazy or not, it is the question of who has the power to control the resources in a given area; that's what counts. If it were true, then the real lazy people in this country would be people like Bobby Kennedy; he ain't never worked in his life. So that we ought to get that out of our minds and understand that we are a hard working people. But what is wrong with that and what is closely associated to that is the other lie they tell. If you work hard you will succeed. You know we believe that man. My mother used to tell me, yeah, we do man, my mother used to tell me, go ahead and work hard, you'll make it. You know my father believed that junk and he went ahead, that's a lot a junk man. Cause if that were true we would own this country lock, stock and barrel. We would own it because we are the hardest working people in this country. Our mothers take care of two houses every single day, ours and Miss Ams. We are the share croppers in Mississippi, from kin to kin. Can't see in the morning till can't see in the night. That's us, that's us. We are the porters and the elevator men in the North, we are the garbage men, we are the ditch diggers, we are the street cleaners, we are the maids. It is us, we are the hardest working and the lowest paid people in this country. So it is not a question, it is not a question of who works hard, it is a question of who controls. Cause if that were true Bobby Kennedy would be the poorest man in this country. So that you have to understand that in your mind because tied very closely with that is what they finally said to us, well if you wanna make it you gotta get an education and that was the biggest trick bag we ever fell into. No, we really believed that man. We started to send our children to college and schools and all that, you know, boom boom boom, and if we had any sense we just stopped and did, you know. If I come out of college with a college diploma and a white boy come out with a high school diploma, he get a higher paid job from the junk. From the junk. So that it's not a question of getting an education, cause we got too many doctors and masters working in the post office around this country. Now that again is not the question but what is really insidious about that is that they were telling us that junk so we could go to school so they could brain, I mean whitewash our minds. Yeah. And now that's what we wanna talk about because what says, and is a black revolutionary philosopher and he's out of sight. Look it, he's so deep that can't even begin to figure out what he's talkin' about. That's how deep he is. says that an educational system is nothing but the re-enforcement of values and institutions of a given society, period; and they just

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keep puttin' it in your mind, you never question, you just accept it. Let me show you what they've done to us. We sent our kids to school, they give 'em these books, Tom, Dick and Jane, little readers, you know. Tom is white, Dick is white, Jane is white, even their dog Spot is white. And here we come and we see ourselves on the back, little Black Sambo eatin' watermelon with So that's the very projection of the education that we were getting was slanted against us to accept white superiority without even questioning it. That's what they've done to us. They have degraded us to the point where we accept white superiority by definition and black inferiority by looking in the mirror. That's what they've done to us. And it works real real slow. They've not only done that, they have distorted and lied about history, lied about history. They have cut our roots from Africa because they know that a people without a history is like a tree without its roots. A tree without its roots. And that we have been floating for 400 years, it's time we got us a stable root, and become a big tree and spread out, all over. The first university in the world was the University of Timbuktu in Africa. In Africa. But they never print that in their books, because they would have to admit that black people were way ahead of them. What do you study in school, Greece, Rome. What do you know about Africa? They've cut it from you. Hannibal was a black man from Africa who crossed the Alps and beat up the Romans to death. They know

Hannibal in the books and when they put him in the movies they got a hunky named Victor Mature playin' the part, playin' the part. And the reason they do that is because they don't want to instill any feeling of pride in black people because their job is to dehumanize us to the level where we still remain productive, that is the worse thing you can do to any human being, you should a killed him in the first place. You should a killed him in the first place. They tell you about Greece and Rome, but they never tell you about Hannibal. A black man crossed the Alps and beat up their flourishing white empire. But if you had any sense you would know that Hannibal was black. Have you ever looked at these Italians with brown skins and dark eyes. Hannibal did that. If you ever have an Italian cop come up in your face and say somethin' to you, tell him, get out my face, I'm your daddy. But that's the way the education system was geared, to make us feel like we're nothing and they're doing it in this very day and age. Make us feel like we're nothing. They tell you about Napoleon Bonaparte. Did they tell you a little black man who was a slave from Haiti named beat him up and sent him back to France cryin'

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like a baby, cryin' like a baby.. Did you know that? And that when he got back to France his wife was pregnant for a Pigmy, we had 'em on both sides. But they don't do that because they must cut it out, but something else, they don't even recognize their racism, they don't. You know what is wrong with white education, they do not recognize the existence of anybody who is not white. Let me give you an example of that. You gotta understand that. If I said to you that Dr. , who's a brilliant black man and a beautiful black leader, don't believe that junk they tellin' you about, he's out of sight if the CIA would leave him alone. They got to get his so they got to mess with him. If I said to you that Dr. discovered England in 1964, you'd laugh in my face, but now that was the first time that that black man stepped foot on England and if we did not recognize the existence of non-black people, that's when he would have discovered it. But let me do it the other way. If I said to you Christopher Columbus discovered America in 1492, you would say yeah, that's right. When he got here, there were people already here. He didn't discover it. But what happened is that the white people did not recognize the existence of red people so they said, nothing happened until we came, until we came. And white people don't even understand that. If you tell 'em Columbus didn't discover America, they'd get upset. That's right, but that's the truth. You don't read about anything until white people discovered it. Nothing was happening until some hunky came along and said, I discovered you. There was all of Africa not doin' anything until a white man named Cecil Rhodes came along, named it Rhodesia, stole our gold and our diamonds and they said that it didn't happen until they came. That's because they always move with the assumption that they're superior and they don't even recognize it. Another example, the white man has felt that he is civilized and that his job to civilize everybody else, because everybody's a savage, dumb, stupid, ignorant, ain't got no religion and all that junk, you know, and he's God's gift to humanity, yeah, dig him. There, so that when they talk about Africa they talk about their same blue eyed, blond haired, fair boy Rudyard Kipling who said to the whites, go and pick up your skills and give it to your half pound friends, half native, half savage and half child and train 'em how to be good human beings cause we didn't know, see. We were in Africa, we were savages, that's what they called us, and you don't want to go along with Africa cause you think Africa is savages. You don't ever ask where the savage is, or what he does, cause if you did you'd recognize who the savages were. You would.

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A savage shoots, burns, kills and takes what he wants; check the United States out in Viet Nam and tell me so. Tell me so. So they came to Africa for, you know, we weren't what's happenin', they gonna tell us what to do. We were running around with our chests uncovered and our breasts were hangin' out, and they said, cover up yourself cause I'm excited. And we were, we were so stupid we thought it was for feedin' the young. And so obviously the filth must have been in somebody else's mind, not ours, cause we didn't even know. Believe that as it is. The worst thing they could have done was to say to us that they were going to christianize us. Now notice, they didn't say we were irreligious, oh, we had religions, we had different Gods, and they said that was not the right way, cause we were stupid, and we had to get the right way and the right way was one God, Jesus Christ, you know, and that's who we were supposed to listen to. And they brought the Bibles. Man, they came into Africa with Bibles and we had land and when the hunkies left they got the land and we still got the Bibles. Yes sir, they came in there and they told us to talk about Jesus and we kept our eyes up to the sky, lookin' to, and they robbed all the golden diamonds on the ground. So that if you really begin to relook at history you'd understand that the white man has been whitewashing everybody in the world, and the fight to day is for people to do their own thinking and recognize their own culture and not say that white people are good because they are white. What they've done is to force their culture on everybody around the world with their guns and their bombs. Their guns and their bombs. So that the type of education that we get in schools are geared to keep on looking up to the white man as the great father, and to leave us bonded, so it's, it's awright when our kids, you know, act the way they act, we should understand that, cause they don't understand what's happenin'. I mean the education system in this country is anti-black, anti-black. There are only two black people you can find in any history book in this country; Booker T. Washington, Super Tom and George Washington Carver, ignorant Super Tom, ignorant Super Tom. And they let us read about George, about Booker T. Washington cause they want us to be like him cause he uses his mouth to do two things, to eat and to say Hasso. And look, George Washington Carver was so stupid he invented the peanut and all the peanut butter factories today are owned by white folks. Oh, he loved 'em so much he gave them the patent. Yeah. And the reason I guess they let us read about him, cause if they didn't have him I guess

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white folk would be eatin' jelly sandwiches all their lives. They do not have in the history book, anything about Frederick Douglass, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, County Cullen, J. L. Rogers, Lerone Bennett, Leroy Jones and the history books today won't even mention brother Malcolm X. It is as if you did not exist. The Denmark are not there. The Mack Turners are not there. They have wiped out a whole race of fighters and given us nothin' but a bunch of Uncle Toms who bow and scrape and everytime white folks say jump, they, oh, hi, boss man. So that if you talk about moving for your true liberation you talk about controlling your school systems and giving your children education which make them know themselves, understand their problem and be willing to do what anybody else is willing to do. But because that education system is like that, we accept whatever is told. We accept white people as God and master and that nothing happens until they come along. And that's why the Civil Rights Movement was the way it was, cause they were expectin' the good will and sanction of white folk to freedom, and white folk oppressin' 'em. Ain't that a gas. Jim Clark is gonna wake up one day and free you. Yeah. Now what all those lies were meant to do was to make us ashamed of ourselves. That's very, very important, because they've been able to succeed in doin' that, and today it's our job to change it. They have made us ashamed of each other and ourselves, so that what we do is we try to imitate and be as white as we can, physically and mentally. Since we have never produced anything and since white folk tell us they produced everything, we try to be like 'em, and since they tell us only thing beautiful is white cause everytime you pick up a magazine, you look on television, beauty is somebody who has got a slender nose, thin lips, stringy hair and white skin. That's right, that's right, and that's what beauty is. You read in your books about Dick, you read in all the books they give you to read the novels about Babbitt and Smith, all them people are white. lookin' beautiful, and we don't have those features so we figure well if we don't have those features, we're ugly. Well, whenever we try to get a girl who's beautiful we find her light, bright and damn near white. Because we don't believe that we can be beautiful, and we must begin to get the strength today. Yes. to say that we are different. As black is different from white. our nose is broad, our lips are thick, our hair is nappy, we are black and beautiful. That means that our women can throw away their nap and jars. That means our young brothers

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can start gettin' their hair slicked down. I hope your happy cause that sounded like it is to everybody, and that means our women can start wearing wigs and gettin' their hair messed up. But we're so ashamed of our very features that we try to mess it up, I mean we really mess it up. Do you chicks who wear naturals can go outside and the wind and the rain can't do nothin' to their head. And do you minds are so messed up that our women pay \$30.00 a week to mess up their hair so the wind and the rain can mess it up? Can mess it up? And that we just have to begin to grow that strength, where we can say that, and where we can feel it. So we stop imitating and begin to create for ourselves. Then very closely tied with that is the concept of what we need to do in this country. We must begin to build a concept of peoplehood. We have to see ourselves as a people. We can no longer let them make us individuals. They do not oppress because we're individuals. They oppress us because we are black. You are a slave because you are black. You live in a ghetto because you are black. You get a bad education because you are black. You get a lousy job because you are black. It's not because you are an individual who don't have a good education, who can't speak good English and all that junk, cause by the time they see you comin', there goes that button. And they never even ask you, you know, what you got goin' for you. All they know is you are black. And because we're black, we gonna come together and use the power that we have as a group of people to break down this here oppression that they on us. That is the most important thing we can do. We must begin to see ourselves as a people. We must begin to see that when white people oppress one of us because he's black, the next day it's gonna be another one of us because we are also black. We've got to understand that. But because white society has made us ashamed of ourselves, we wanna run from each other. We walk down the streets and we will see a hunky cop hittin' a black brother up side the head and we know the hunky hittin' him cause he's black and we will turn our heads and keep on goin'. Keep on goin'. We will see some landlords squeeze blood out of a family across the street till they have nothing left to give and put 'em out on the streets, put their furniture out on the streets, cause they're black and we gonna go by there in the daytime to see what we can steal at night. We will watch each other beat up and not raise our voice because he is black, it's time to stop

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that, it's time to stop that. It's time to let them know that we are all black and when they touch one they got to touch all. That is gonna be our only salvation for survival in this country. That's what they beginnin' to recognize cause the brothers are lettin' 'em know across this country, touch one baby and we ready to go to war with all. With all. We're not gonna let you decide how you gonna kill us all. If you wanna kill us all then we all goin' together, all goin' together, all goin' together. We're not gonna let you syphon us 30 per cent in Viet Nam or let your hunky cops shoot the others, 30 per cent of young brothers, in the ghettos, uh, uh. Uh, uh, that was yesterday. That was yesterday. You touch one, you got to touch all. That's what we have to do. That will be our only salvation. That's the only deterrent, so that the white man will know that his days of free head whippin' are over. He come into our neighborhoods, beat us up, and we stand behind the door and whisper, did you hear what happened to cousin John? Policeman beat him up last night, shh. Yeah, awright, let 'em try it. That's over, completely over. Only as a group can we begin to move to take the power that we have, and that as long as we're able to do that we'll be able to syphon off people. That's why they have Negro leaders that they pick, for they pick 'em. Everybody out here hustlin' for themselves, instead of recognizing we got to hustle as a group. We always hustlin' and hustlin' off of each other. We don't even have the guts to hustle off the hunkies. Don't have the guts to hustle off the hunkies. Hustlin' off of each other. You on welfare, I'm on welfare and you tryin' to hustle me on my little welfare check. the white man givin' out the welfare checks and you won't even touch him and take him for all he got, you're gonna mess with me. And the reason you do that is because you know they not gonna do nothin' to you if you mess with me, but if you mess with him. So that means that we have to move to reverse that trend and build a concept in our community where we will not even begin to talk about crimes. The only crime we will talk about is crimes against black people, period. Period. We have to move to the position where we will not tolerate in our community crimes against black people and we have to understand the reason we must do that is because white people will punish you for everything except that, except that. If you cut your husband on Friday night, the judge let you out Monday morning \$10.00 fine. We know it, we know. You rob a black person, they ain't even gonna look for you. You can call 'em, you live in a ghetto and your house get robbed, you can call the cops till you

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turn white, they ain't comin'. They ain't comin'. They ain't comin'. And you shouldn't get caught up with questions about stealing. Cause if black people steal from white people, white people can't say nothin' about stealin'. They can't say nothin' about stealin' cause their history has been nothing but a nation of thieves. Nation of thieves. I laugh at them cause they really think they own the world and everybody in it. All you gotta do is check out examples. How can the white man judge the black man for stealing? The hunky stole me. Stole me. He's guilty before he even talks about it. Do you ever see 'em in their court rooms in the South. I have to laugh. A man gettin' me up there and if I say somethin' he says, I'll charge you for contempt of court. Who's gonna charge you for contempt of justice, you don't know nothin' about it? Don't know nothin' about it. Loot at a fair example, we have a beautiful black brother named Muhammad Ali who is out of sight, who is out of sight. Out of sight. Now here sit white folk with their ingrain races and not even recognizes how dumb and stupid they are, they gonna sit up there and say, well, of course, he won't go, we gonna take his title away, we gonna take it away. Like if they gave it to him. They just

They can't take his title away. The brothers have decided by gettin' in the ring and beatin' up every hunky and Uncle Tom they put up with here. If they want the title tell 'em to get in the ring with the brother and try and get it. But see they got the on us that we don't even think about it, that we get arguin' about should they take the title. You don't argue with that cause they can't do it, and there is no argument. See, that's what white people do all the time. They bring you in an argument of some technical garbage and you bother 'em and they even got no right saying nothing about it in the first place. That's what you gotta understand. They get up and they talk about you and I talk about black power, they ain't got nothin' to say about black power, I wouldn't even talk to 'em about it, period, you know, boon. I ain't got nothin' to say about white power, it's for them, you know, so that, that question isn't, I mean they, they're clearly a nation of thieves. Their, their conception, their birth of this country was thievery. They stole this country from the red man, committed genocide against 'em, and they call it taming the West. Taming the West. And they got the people livin' on reservations to this day, talkin' about it's good for them, they decided for everybody in the world what's good for everybody else. They said in this country, you not ready for democracy yet. We'll keep you in slavery another five years. Who are they? Who

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do they think they are? They don't own the world. And when somebody challenges them, they talk about dissent, dissent. Ain't nobody dissentin' with 'em, people talkin' about their liberation, they better get hip. Nobody dissentin' with 'em. I'm not even uncertain with Lyndon Johnson; as far as I'm concerned, he's a bafoon, he ain't got nothin' to say to me. Nothin' to say to me. I'm not the . There is no dissent in this country when it comes to black and white. Black people are talkin' about the Bible, that's not dissenting. That's not dissenting, cause when they talk about drafting 30 per cent of our brothers to go to Viet Nam, they talkin' about black urban removal, that ain't no dissent, that's the Bible, the Bible, the Bible, the Bible. But they introduced that question, everybody's thought about whether or not you should or should not dissent. That's not the issue, it's an issue of survival. White people cannot any longer define the terms under which they would enter the battle field. The people who they're fighting will define the terms under which they will enter the battle field. That's very important, cause once you do that you got a man whipped. That's why they can't win in Viet Nam. Never will, cause the Vietnamese decide when to fight. The Viet Cong. I see the trouble with black people is that we never define our terms, we always undefine it. If you wanna win your liberation go to school. Okay. So now that you went to school. If you wanna get freedom, be non-violent. Okay. Thank you. If you wanna get freedom go through the courts. Okay. And all the things they been tellin' us, we have been accepting without questioning. We will decide this day how we will get our liberation. We will decide. We will. We've got to understand those concepts because they're very, very important, cause what I'm sayin' is that the white man even deciding the arena in which I fight. That's why they can't even begin to understand SNCC. Cause they cannot any longer decide for us the arena in which we fight. So don't even let 'em decide for you, how you fight, cause that's what they do for the world. Can you see them sittin' up in the United Nations deciding whether or not South Africa should be free? Like if they own the world, they sittin' up there decidin' and they vote that they can't, they can't vote on it so South Africa should remain free. But blacks in South Africa should pick up guns and shoot the hell out of every hunky in there. Shoot them, that's how you do it. But if you say that you're violent, you violent. But did they ever tell you

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about when England was oppressin' them. They picked up guns and shoot England to death, didn't say a word about it. Didn't say a word about it. When they wanted democracy, they decided it was time for them to get democracy. When everybody else wants democracy, they decide when to give it to them, and you debatin' the question about a man can never debate the question about his liberation.. Either he is free or he is not free, either he dies fighting for his freedom and gets or he listens to his oppressor and he stays where he is. One quote, from a great black man who they don't teach you about, Frederick Douglass. He said, if a slave wants to remain a slave he should obey the laws of his master. That's deep, that's deep. Cause if we wanna get free we got to stop listenin' to the hunkies and listen to each other..

"Now then finally we wanna talk about fightin' back and about their other, the other issues they raise. Now whenever you talk about fightin' back in this country, the first thing the hunky gonna talk about is law and order. And everybody gonna get upset again and start discussin' law and order. You ain't discussing justice, you discussin' law and order. The white man put you in a trick bag again, again. This country has law and order, it does not have justice. It does not have justice. It is not a question of law and order, it is a question of justice versus injustice, that is all. Hitler had the most efficient system of law and order in 1941. He did not know how to spell justice unfortunately. Jim Clark has efficient law and order. George Wallace knows law and order. Ross Barnett and big-headed hunky Maddox know about law and order. Now they know about it, so when somebody moves to get some justice, they say you disruptin' law and order and everybody starts talkin' about law and order. The religious people we should have read the Bible, and if we'd read the Bible we would believe it, cause Jesus Christ answered that question a long time ago. He said, I have come to bring the sword, not the shield. I have come to turn son against father, daughter against mother, nation against nation, for where there is injustice, there shall be no peace. So when they raise the question of law and order, we not even concerned, we gonna tell 'em, baby, if you ain't got justice in your country we gonna burn it down to the ground. to the ground. Ain't no ifs, ands or buts, you can't have law and order unless you got justice. And that's what people are sayin' across this country today. And you arguin' about law and order. Later for law and order. People talkin' about justice, that's the fight. see the,

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he ain't comin' in on that argument, cause he know he wrong from the junk. He not even gonna talk about that, so he gonna get you confused about law and order, and you, well, yes, you right, we should have law and order. Yeah, it's true, you control all the law and the order in the country, and that's why we should listen to law and order. Don't forget brother Douglas, he who will be a slave, listens to his master. He who wants his liberation, strikes his blow, speaks his own peace. Remember that, very, very important. And that just leads to the final statement about fighting back. Ain't no need for anybody get upset about fightin' back anymore, cause it's already established. If a hunky lays his hand on one of us, before God get the news, he's dead. And don't them, let, don't let them pick your heroes. You let your heroes be the brothers and sisters in Nashville, Tennessee, who fought back. You let 'em be the brothers who fought back, who fought back, that's right. We've got to pick our heroes because they pick heroes for us and we listen to 'em and we'll be where we been for the last 400 years. We must pick our heroes. And don't let 'em tell you about those brothers actin' like savages shootin' back. Baby, for 400 years we been the recipients of violence in this country, in this country. For 400 years we been spat upon, lynched, burned, shoot, beat up and didn't anybody do anything about it. Didn't anybody say anything about it. And when some brothers move to take care of it, then other people are gonna jump up and say, you can't do that, there is another way. They haven't found another way in 400 years. They control the country, they control us, why can't they find another way. They're incapable of finding another way because they are trapped by their own racism, that you got to understand that, they are trapped by their own racism cause when the question is white and black, they got to side with whites. told me that, got to do it. They have to do it because white people can be intellectually committed to theories of equality, but emotionally, they are racists. They have to be if they lived in this country, we all have to be racists if we live in this country, cause that's the way the country is. It is with racism, not only nationally, but internationally. And that's why internationally it becomes so important for us to recognize. You watch and see, they drop bombs on who, Hiroshima, Nagasaki. Who do they napalm? Viet Nam. Who do they start all the fights with? The colored world, the colored world. What have they been doin'? And who do they use as a cannon fodder to fight their wars? Black people. We are being used to fight

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each other. If you got a question, we got a question and answer period, you can get it then. I take care of you in the question and answer period. So that's what we have to understand. We cannot be fighting other black people and non-white people around the world because they're being oppressed by the same people who are oppressing us. Cannot do it. You cannot send your son to Viet Nam to shoot those cats, they ain't done nothin' to you. They ain't done nothin' to you. And don't let 'em raise an irrelevant issue about Communist aggression, it's like law and order, tell 'em you wanna talk about racist aggression. That's what you wanna talk about. Let us see if they can come in on that issue, they not gonna come in cause they wrong from the junk. So they gonna talk about Communist aggression. Now what do you know about Communism? You don't even know what a Communist is. If one was sittin' next to you. You don't know it until somebody come along and say, my fellow Americans, he is a Communist, shoot him, and you say, why, he said he's a Communist, because he's a white man, so he must be right. Wouldn't it be funny if you got up and found out the man wasn't really a Communist? That maybe he was just fightin' to control the resources of his country? Just like we fightin' to control the resources of our communities? Did it ever dawn on you that you're bombing houses, churches, schools, and we need school and houses right in this country. We need to be building 'em, that 70 per cent of the tax money is made to build bombs and bombs, to continue to bomb and kill people and we need 70 per cent of the economy to be building schools and houses and gettin' decent jobs in this country. Until you wake up and question that, yours will not to be reason why, yours will be to do and die. So then, in conclusion, I think that we ought to make it clear, crystal clear, that for all my many black brothers and sisters who feel that somehow they will be immune to the , let me tell you that when one simple, slick-haired black boy throws a cocktail, the whole black community is in trouble. And you better understand that because in every area in this country where there have been a rebellion once it starts they lock off the entire black community, the entire black community. For you know we all look alike and they can't tell a, a rioter from anybody else. So that you have no choice. So we'd better start comin' together and prepare for our survival in this country, and then just, I can speak to the older generation about our generation. Now we sat and watched them make our great grandparents run. We sat and watched them make our grandparents run. We sat and watched them make our parents run and we are out of breath. We are not running.

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The quest: "The question is, do I believe that there are Communists in North Viet Nam. I really cared, they're not doin' nothin' to me. The right thing for the Viet Nam to pull out that will further their aggression of other countries. I'm worried about the aggression of this country. So the question is should we stop, to use your own words, taking over these other countries before the Communists take them over. Stop them from taking over. We should take them over before they do.

"You'll have to speak louder, he can't hear ya.

"Did everybody hear the question? Well, the question is in essence, what good is it gonna do us if an individual goes to jail; if you're not able to spread the movements? Is that the question in essence? Did I interpret it right? Well the first thing is that you have to make an individual decision, when you're called to go to Viet Nam. Either you're gonna fight or you're gonna go to jail. I mean . . . What's that? Awright, the young man interjected a third alternative which is running away. A, we say in SNCC that it's, it does become an individual choice. Number one, to kill a man is the highest crime that you can commit. That must be an individual decision, it cannot be a mass decision. You can't let a man tell you, go kill him cause he's tryin' to take over this country and we got to take it over cause we're God's gift to humanity. See, you can't let 'em tell you that. You have to decide why you gonna kill this man, and we just say that you should decide who you gonna kill and why you gonna kill him. There isn't a black person in this country, there isn't a white person in this country who's fighting in Viet Nam that can tell me why he's there except he's fightin' to stop Communism. That's all he can say. Ask him what a Communist is, what his doctors are, what his beliefs are, he'll tell you a Communist is somebody tryin' to take over the world. He ought to check out who the Communists really are. So answer your question then, it seems to me that you've gotten a decision, you know, We were just sayin'; first you say: yeah, I'll go to jail, better said than dead, you know. Put me in jail, I'd rather sit there than go out and kill somebody; not die, but kill somebody I don't know anything about. But dyin' ain't so bad. I think what is worse is to kill somebody without even knowin' why. That's what I think is really bad. That's what I think is really bad. . . . and they only be

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17 people in SNCC, BUT that isn't true, see, that movement is spreading around the country, around the country. At Morehouse College 70 brothers started off, it's now up to 100, sent back their draft cards. They told 'em, forget it, don't even send it to us, you know. In Harlem, you gotta group, you gotta group called black enraged women and you gotta a group of ugly young black men against the war. And they got a whole collection of people not goin'. In Boston, you have a group called afro-Americans against the war in Viet Nam. In Alabama, Lowndes County, Alabama, where Sweetan tried to take the , he said, hell, no, I ain't goin'. In Mississippi, they got three cats who just refuse to go and go clear across the country, the movement is goin', but the question those of us who are willing to start first must begin to articulate that philosophy to the rest of our brothers to give them strength, cause see they think if you don't go fight the war, you're coward, that's the other thing they whip you with, you know, you're a coward and you're un-American, they bring in those other issues which ain't got nothin' to do with murder. So you talking about murder and helping to commit genocide against some people so that some people who run this country can start moving into China, cause that's what it's all about. That's all it's about. And they can raise all them other questions about credibility gap, which is lying, you know, all those words they use, and they'll get caught up in those words. It's very simple; either you go kill or you don't go kill. I ain't gonna kill nobody until I decide who I'm gonna kill, then I'm gonna kill him.

"Miss Allen, Abelaine Allan.

"I hope he's doin' somethin' other than partyin'. He's my brother.

"Okay, the question is, as the young man says, he's the President of the first black fraternity in the city and that he comes under heavy criticism from other brothers who say that, excuse me, who say, who say that they shouldn't sit at a cafeteria by themselves, but that they should go out and sit with other people and integrate. Now that's been the trick bag that America has put us in. She said that we should integrate, but she said that we should integrate, black people should, that we should leave each

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other and go sit next to them, and what they're sayin' is that we ain't got nothin' goin' for ourselves, if we want somethin' we got to sit next to them. Why don't they come sit next to us? That has been the biggest trick bag we've been in in the last six years, talkin' about integration, and we didn't recognize we were talkin' about white superiority, cause you talk about a good school, you say well, I'm gonna send my child to a good school, and you talk about sendin' 'em to a white school. That's what you talk about. And you said bad schools were all black schools, you never even understood the trick they worked on you. They said in 1954, that segregation is unequal. It seems to me a black school is segregated, a white school is segregated, and both those schools are there for an equal, to correct the position you integrate both, you integrate both. But if you just integrate the white school then you sayin' the black school is unequal anyway, ain't gonna do nothin'. That's why they never sent any white people to our schools. And so you should never give the impression of sittin' next to white people, it's not a question of sittin' next to 'em, it's a question of stopping them from oppressin' us. Our schools can be just as good as their schools if we have the same amount of money to put in our schools as they put in their schools. That's why our schools

But then finally I just wanna work a logic thing that I do quite a bit and that's because people don't understand. See, what you say, what the people say when you sit by yourself is bad, they're sayin' that anything all black is bad. See. And, a, lemme do somethin'. You ever do logic? You got a major premise like, it, all girls born in Grand Rapids are beautiful. What? I am a girl born in Grand Rapids, therefore, I am beautiful. What? All boys born in Grand Rapids are strong. I am a boy born in Grand Rapids, therefore, I am strong. Now they say anything all black is bad. I am all black, therefore, see you, we haven't even worked that out, that when they were sayin' anything all black is bad, they were talkin' about us, cause we all black. See. What is bad isn't somethin' all black or all white, it is bad when you use force to keep another fellow out. That's when it's bad and that's what white folk been doin' all their lives, all their lives. And so what they did to us was to put that junk on us and here we were defending anything all black and we didn't even recognize we talkin' about our fraternities, our churches, our schools, our neighborhoods. So you don't go to no

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white school unless you one of the few, most of us go to all black schools. You know there ain't nothin' in your churches to worship Jesus with 'em so you can forget that. You know they not gonna let you in their fraternities, so that's not the issue. Forget them, forget them. We can sit and set up all we want, all we want 'em to do is get off our backs, period. Get off our backs. Now then the final thing is that they have to do that because they got to rationalize, I mean that's what they talked about Jim Clark. They said SNCC people come down to sit next to Jim Clark, I don't wanna sit next to that hunky. I don't wanna. He's a (obscene) he's uncivilized and he's crazy. I don't wanna sit next to him. I just wanna stop the power he's got over my life, that's all. I just don't want him to have power over my life so he can beat on me when he feels like it. I don't care who he sits with, who he goes to bed with or what he does, long as it ain't near me. Dig it? So that it was not a question of integration, it was a question of fighting against white supremacy, but they couldn't admit that because they'd have to admit that they were white supremacists. So they said, well, they're fighting to integrate. The people never even figured out what it meant, man. Here we walks down the street and these crackers beat you upside the head, hump you, beat you all over the head and you stand there and say, we love you, we waitin' to integrate with you. Not me, not me. uh, uh, I just want you out of my way so you don't bother me, that's all, what you do is your business, I will choose my friends. I don't let nobody hit me until they tired hittin' me and then they can become my friend. I don't need friends like that. I mean, that's what we have to understand, but they have to admit that.

"The question is you, that we pointed out the problems of oppression, now we must point out the solution. First, before you begin to find that solution, it was clear in our mind that we had to begin the process of dewhitewashing black people, because their thinking was completely incorrect, and you had to begin to articulate a philosophy to set a where you can do the type of organizing you deem necessary, not the type that white people says should be done. Now we've done that in the last year. The question now is to move to begin to call us that momentum to organize black people to come together. We do that in a number of ways. Number one is that we advocate you do that in terms of independent political parties, forget the Democratic and Republican party. They

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don't represent our interest, never did and never will, not as long as Humphrey is walkin' arm in arm with big headed Lester Maddox. They ain't representin' our interest. They're not representing our interest when Kennedy is in their party and so is Eastland, and that's the trick they been workin' on us all the time, cause the people who control it are real southern conquerors who hate us, they're the ones who control the party and we kept thinking that that's the party for us, so you begin to develop an independent political force, which can begin to split up the political arena in this country and begin to make you move. I'm not sayin' politics is the only way you gonna get it, I know better than that, you know, especially the electoral process in this country, because electoral process in this country works against us. They have the power to _____ in our very districts. Everytime we get a chance to get somebody to represent us inside this system, they cut it up. They cut it up. So even if they did allow it we wouldn't have the true voting strength that we're supposed to have. It would never be reflected in the political strength because they have the power to _____ man to the districts. Once you begin to move and create the climate where people can see there's a need for black people to take over the school systems and not talk about reverse racism because that's another issue that ain't got nothin' to do with what you talkin' about. And there's a need to create a climate where black people recognize that the only type of policemen in our communities will be policemen who live with us. You stop police brutality right there. Cause if the hunkies had to live in our communities, ooh, they'd be so nice. So if you just raise the issue of being able to control the issue of power, once you raise that issue the specifics are irrelevant. You should learn that from them, they tell you the people are your enemies, they're Communists, you never question, shootin' 'em and gettin' rid of 'em is no problem. Once you convince the enemy you should shoot 'em, everybody goes to kill 'em. Once you define, you are master. People who have the power to define are the masters of the world. You're fighting then for the minds of your people, that's what we been fighting for around the concept of black power. the minds of our people. Once you've got the minds of your people, organizing is very simple. Once a minister or preacher's got people to come to his church, they do anything he says, it's very important. So that's why you shouldn't get hung up on that. But those independent political things and those Paris structures to take over the real structures are gonna be important in the coming years.

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"Okay, the question is that recently in Detroit while I was there there was a call for united strike of workers for support of Mr. Adam Clayton Powell, what is my assessment of the failure of that strike? I don't think it was a failure cause I think we're beginning. And that when you begin you're small until you begin to gather momentum, and I think that's where we are. Those things that we're now trying are just new. Cause black people in this country were allowed to come together for only three things; white people only let us come together to sing, pray and to dance, that's all. That's a fact. If we came together for anything else, they'd beat us in two, you can see that now. In the ghettos of the cities, in fact every major city, if they see more than five black people together they break it up, cause they're just afraid of seeing, we're just beginning to do that. We're not beginning to come together to exercise power and it's something new with us because we've always been dealing with the irrelevant issues that white people raise up for us, love, non-violence, morality, religion, christianity and all that junk insteak of about talking about power, so it's the beginning. There will be at first slow beginnings, but as we gather strength, we'll be able to call less that force more and more. That's evidence from brother Malcolm. When he was speaking, few people listened to him, but after his death he's become something significant and more people are understanding him. And that's just the beginning. The same thing with black power. You, we said black power, Negroes want to lead the country. But after awhile they begin to understand the concept cause they were listenin' to white folk. White folk will tell 'em what black power is, you know. And they will listen, oh, yeah, that white man is right. Black power ain't for me. Smart Negroes knew anything the white man's against you should be for automatically. So I just think it's the beginning. It didn't do what people expected it to do, but it's a beginning.

"The question is what can the youth do if the older people in the generation don't decide to do anything. Lemme give you my favorite quote, from Frederick Douglas, he's my man, and now we've got the DuBois and brother Malcolm X and Truman, and a couple other great black people I'll tell ya about later. He said the world belongs to the youth, we fightin' for it, that's all. That's what we're doin'. That's what we're doin'.

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If you notice around the world today students and the youth are the ones who are leading the major revolutions for liberation. Finally just hit us, just hit us, you know our black colleges were about as dead as you can get until this year cause we worked with them and we ain't started yet. Next year we got a program that will not wait or we gonna work with the youth, you know, we gonna try and touch the older people, but even Plato says young men to war and old men to council. Please speak loudly please.

Which one did you pick?

"The guy way back there.

"On the top or on the bottom?

"On the bottom.

"On the bottom. I'm sorry brother, we got somebody on the bottom, we get to you next, okay? They're discriminatin' against the top, you'll be next. No, you'll be next. Give him an inch. give him an inch. Yes sir.

"Well, the question is that in order to to organizin', what can black men do to further the concept of black power? Awright, the first thing that we're gonna do is begin to set up the front organizations in our communities. One, because what's been happening around this country is that black men have been immasculated, when they just watch white men come in and take over the communities, so that we're gonna put a stop to that. There's no justice in our communities so we're gonna implement that, you know, with law and order. Now you do that in several ways. You can do it like the Deacons for Defense and you can do it with patrol cars, you know, to go around and watch the police, you know, when they don't do right. And you make sure we do right, cause if you wanna do right, all black men, you gotta have the do right all white men. The second thing is to begin to pull them together more and more closely. I think that's gonna mean a lot of problems for us just in terms of how we used to seeing ourselves as individuals, but as a people we must begin to fight

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back, but the most important thing is that we spread the word among the people who didn't come tonight. And that means that becomes your job. See, cause the only word they gonna get is what the hunkies put on TV or in the press and you know what they're gonna put. So that if you get those concepts tomorrow when you go to work, you should begin to talk to those cats, you know, pull 'em over to the house on Friday night, buy you a Malcolm X piece of the grass roots and let 'em listen to it, you know, that's right, that's right. Get you a Malcolm X speaks and the autobiography of Malcolm X and when you try it out at a birthday, instead of givin' it some junk, give her that, let her read it, that's right. Buy you some books by DuBois, by Leroy Jones, by Lerone Bennett, by J. A. Rogers and let them read that stuff, so they can begin to get the stuff they don't get in school and they can begin to view themselves differently, cause once you begin to view yourself differently, that's when you're on your way. The reason that we've been trapped is because psychologically the man has whipped a on us, and that we're breaking out of there and he can't control it, and once you do that, can nothin' stop ya.

"Oh yeah, the importance of black odds, see that's very very important. I'll tell you why, because that's one of the biggest, biggest things they worked on us, you know, they taught, and that's my favorite thing, man, cause I hate that. I used to go to art class, you know, in college, and they'd say, we're gonna talk about the great masterpieces of the world, and they bring out Van Gogh, you know, I say, yeah, wow, and they bring out Raphael, yeah, wow, and all those other cats, and, you know, they say, and now we're gonna look at primitive arts. And you know who they talkin' about. And then here they come with the African arts, you know, which was done way before these cats knew what was happening, see, now this is primitive art, which meant of course that it wasn't as good as white art, see and that, what was happenin' was that our people goin' to school tryin' to do good art, cause they didn't want to do primitive art. Definitions again if you can define, and the biggest thing they've done to us brother, is to tell us that we culturally deprived. You ever hear them hunkies talkin' that junk? There they are, talkin' this junk about we culturally deprived in classes and havin' our children do term papers on the cultural deprivation of the Negro race. Yeah. We got culture. We got more culture than they even

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know what to do with it, that they have never legitimatize our culture for less. They always steal it and have some white boy legitimatize it for us. See, yeah. When you were in the fifth grade they were talking about culture and they were singing "Way Down Upon the Swanee River", "My Old Kentucky Home", and they said Stephen Foster, a white man, wrote that for black folk. You know they lyin'; the hunkies stole the song. You know they stole the song. You want some music appreciation gem and they play, you know, they played that Beethoven, they wouldn't tell ya he was black, yeah, you know. he was a Spanish black, black, yeah. They don't tell ya he's black. They won't tell ya he's black and they say let's listen to modern music, you know, and they play, a, Gershwin, "The Flight of the Bumblebee" and they say, and now we come to what America has to do, it's jazz, and they come out with a hunky named Benny Goodman. Do you know that Benny Goodman cannot carry the empty trumpet case of Miles Davis? Did you know that, did you know that? Well, we just don't know that. See, we gotta wait until white people legitimatize our culture. Help from the Beatles, stealing ourselves, gettin' us back to us and they can't even organize, they can't even organize. And what they've done all the time is to imitate our stuff and give it back to us. That's the white boys singing groovy on a Sunday afternoon, they even got me fooled. Yeah, yeah, yeah. And that's that's; that's the trick they worked on us from the beginning. They started out by painting their faces black; what do they call those things that used to go around, minstrels, yeah. our very culture, givin' it back to us, will not let us. We have culture, and what the people who work in the arts have to do is to legitimatize the culture and give it back to us so we are proud of it, that's right. That's what they've got to do. So, the cultures we got. Dr. DuBois is ours, they don't recognize him, we recognize him. Dig you the souls of black folk, has got more culture than a little bit. County Cullen is ours. Read you the black Christ and see where he's at. They will not recognize him. Leroy Jones is blowin' some beautiful stuff; they will not recognize him. The Staple singers is ours, the mighty crowd of joys is ours, that's right. Mahalia Jackson is ours. The Impressions is ours. Ray Charles and James Brown comes from us, comes from us. And

And finally we got two generations of culture, the Reverend C. L. and his beautiful daughter, Aretha Franklin.

CONFIDENTIAL

Re: Stokely Carmichael

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So that anti-black people got to do is. All we have to do is to begin to legitimatize their native for their junk and they gonna tell you, ain't no difference. Have you ever heard Peggy Lee sing and listen to Aretha Franklin sing and tell me there ain't no difference? Or dig Eddie Fisher and Joe Tex, ooh. Look here, we're gonna have one more, just one more and we have to be out. And, a, why don't we get our brother right here? And, a, that's the only one.

"The question is that when we went to Michigan State it was free just so the black students could come and they didn't come, what do you do in a situation like that? Well, I think the most whitewashed individual in the black community is the college student, that's why we've been working hardest with him. And so what we're doing is that we have a plan. We're sending somebody to Michigan State next year who will enroll in the school, but their job is to organize the black brothers and sisters.

"Ladies and gentlemen, Stokeley Carmichael."

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Routing Slip
FD-4 (Rev. 6-14-66)

Date 7/28/67

To:

☒ Director

Bu. FILE 100-446080
London 105-6789

Att:

Title STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISC.

☐ SAC

☐ ASAC

☐ Supv.

☐ Agent

☐ SE

☐ IC

☐ CC

☐ Steno

☐ Clerk

☐ Rotor #:

ACTION DESIRED

☐ Acknowledge

☐ Assign Reassign

☐ Bring file

☐ Call me

☐ Correct

☐ Deadline

☐ Deadline passed

☐ Delinquent

☐ Discontinue

☐ Expedite

☐ File

☐ For information

☐ Handle

☐ Initial & return

☐ Leads need attention

☐ Return with explanation or notation as to action taken.

☐ Open Case

☐ Prepare lead cards

☐ Prepare tickler

☐ Recharge serials

☐ Return assignment card

☐ Return file

☐ Return serials

☐ Search and return

☐ See me

☐ Send Serials

to

☐ Submit new charge out

☐ Submit report by

☐ Type

Enclosing copy of an article appearing in "The Observer Review", London, 7/23/67, and 2 copies of an article appearing in "Peace News", London, 7/28/67.

SAC

J. T. Munn

100-446080-

See reverse side

Office

London

NOT RECORDED

3 AUG 22 1967

ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

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DATE 6/19/81 BY 89063 G W/Bce kmw

79 AUG 23 1967

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DATE 6/19/01 BY 3903BRL/ee/ama

on this envelope

100-4446080-

ENCLOSURE

Dialectics of Liberation

A little less mystified

By the end of last week it had become clear that there was a major "ideological" split among the participants at the international congress on *The Dialectics Of Liberation*.

On the one hand, we had the militant political activists, like Stokely Carmichael, John Gerassi, Paul Sweezy, and Ernest Mandel, who seek to ally themselves with "historical forces," who wish to hook up the radical movements in Western Europe and America with the violent revolutionaries in the Third World, and whose understanding of the clear and distinct outlines of decaying capitalism is pretty solidly Marxist in its orientation.

On the other hand, we had the much more existential or "dialectical" social psychologists and artists, like Ronald Laing, Allen Ginsberg, Gregory Bateson, and Paul Goodman, who are concerned with problems of consciousness, power corruption, excessive urbanisation, alienating technology, ecological balance, the liberatory potentialities of art, knowledge, education, contemplation, and in general with the perennial question of how people liberate themselves.

One man who seems to have something of a foot in both camps is Jules Henry, anthropologist, and author of *Culture Against Man*. Last Wednesday morning he delivered a very good lecture, titled "Social And Psychological Preparation For War." The first half dealt thoroughly with the grandiose, interlocking, monopolistic character of the American economy, making it crystal clear that the economic organisation of society within advanced industrial societies is incapable of rationally utilising the sur-

pluses which it creates, and that an embedded military establishment is the consequent necessity in order to maintain high levels of production.

The second half of his lecture was even more profound and original. It was painful to hear Dr Henry describe how millions of people are being psychologically "prepared" for the world charnelhouse: not so much because he had any "startling" findings to present, but because he has the true poet's vision of the meanness entailed, the madnesses involved in destroying the ability of men, women, and children to function properly and in rendering our poor earth lifeless. I felt that here was a man who really understood why we have become so indifferent. The dialectic, as Dr Henry well knows, is that nobody escapes unscathed: the innocent may be deluded and duped, but the guilty are debauched and deprived. I would not have missed this lecture for a pension.

Which is more than I can say for the lectures given by Gerassi and Sweezy. They perceive what the problems are, certainly, but I doubt that they have much to say to us in our modern conditions, as far as the possibilities for reconstruction are concerned. They do not stop to consider the dismal record of attempts to take control of institutions, and they somewhat conveniently forget that so many reformers in our century have been corrupted and done in by the demon of power, their visions twisted or discarded.

However, in one respect I think that these critics are absolutely correct: that the failure of revolutionary violence to emerge at the appropriate historical moment may in fact bring on the vast and embracing violence of fascism. This, of course, is one of Marx's deepest insights, and, given the social and cultural conditions of modern life in America, it is not too difficult to conceive of such an event taking place in the near future. But to me, that simply bespeaks the failure of the pacifist and anarchist movements to render that situation unnecessary or impossible.

It was left to Paul Goodman to really bring the audience to its feet on Tuesday morning. Goodman, who is a novelist, essayist, playwright, poet, psychotherapist, teacher, philosopher, and anarchist, had been prowling around for ten days, cutting in on speeches and seminars, criticising speakers, audience, and organisers of the congress, persisting in his libertarian pacifist and populist viewpoint, often against hostile listeners.

His speech on Tuesday morning was a beauty. He talked about the abuse of high technology, about compulsory miseducation, about the international alienated youth "movement" that transcends all national boundaries, about the psychology of being powerless, about anarchism both as a political philosophy and as a practical way of being-in-the-world, about ecological imbalance, overpopulation and overcrowding, the disastrous drift towards centralisation of power, our excessive and humanly damaging urbanisation, and about the true meaning of "professionalism." Speaking in a low-keyed tone, it was almost as if he was engaged in a running dialogue with his audience, except that he was anticipating questions and answering them as he went along.

I must admit to being biased where Goodman is concerned. For 40 years he has hewed to his own lonely line with massive commitment and integrity, and now, with more than 30 books behind him, all of them challenging and refreshing, he is at last getting some of the recognition that he so richly deserves. At any rate, he shook this congress up. Communication was back, with a vengeance.

Tuesday morning, with Goodman on the platform, was an example of what this congress has so far not been: a genuine educational experience.

Without avoiding any problematic areas or ducking the desperate gravity of our present situation, he managed to combine the Aristotelian freedom of curiosity, aimed at *theoria* as the highest happiness, with the medieval *libertas philosophandi*, with its emphasis on disputation and debate to let new air into an accepted world. The result, for one member of the audience at least, was a veritable therapy of the soul.

ROGER BARNARD

Above article
appeared in
"Peace News",
London, England
July, 28, 1967 issue

100-446080

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DATE 6/19/61 BY 39023 EW/BCE/ams



THE OBSERVER REVIEW

London, England

23 JULY 1967

Fit a **Britax**
Automatic
seat belt

17

STOKELY CARMICHAEL is a phenomenon. His slogan is Black Power. His colour is his country. He is openly at war with the society he lives in.

At 26, he is the man opponents of black militancy blame for inciting violence and causing riots. He is a man to hate and fear—and, for America's young, militant, and growing black nationalist movement, the man to follow.

He can quote Sartre and Camus. He has spent seven of his last eight birthdays in jail. He is 6 ft 1 in., laughs easily, has charm and physical grace, and can talk like a ghetto hustler, a black share-cropper, or a university intellectual. He has been all three.

He merges into any scene with the assurance of an outsider who has never felt he belonged anywhere. In his teens, while he was one of five black students at a select high school in New York, he was also 'war counsellor'—planning thefts—for an all-white gang.

He has not yet got his identity worked out: each audience finds it for him. He can look tormented by the fame that perhaps for seven-eighths of the time he doesn't want and still believes he can edge out of.

In seven years, Carmichael transformed the Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee (known as Snick) from pacifism to militancy. He is now in London, holding a series of meetings.

Like several other American Negro militants, Carmichael was born under British rule in the West Indies.

'I GUESS what I hate was that I wanted to be white. We used to have a game in Trinidad: you took a mango skin and threw it in the air. If it fell with the brown skin showing, it meant you would marry a brown-skinned girl. I kept throwing that mango in the air and hoping it'd come down with the white inside facing up, so I'd marry a white girl.'

Did he ever have a relationship with a white girl?

'Just once when I was at high school in New York. It was more platonic than sexual. It was a very, very important relationship for me. I wanted to ask the girl out but I was so afraid it would upset her morality

MAINSRING OF BLACK POWER

Colin McGlashan talks to

STOKELY
CARMICHAEL



dicted that he wouldn't live through the summer. How did he see his chances now of being killed like Malcolm X?

'That's the dilemma they face. They made a mistake with Malcolm and made him a martyr. They face the problem of killing me or putting me in jail. That's one of the reasons they didn't draft me.'

Meanwhile, he is never without bodyguards. In Mississippi or Watts they might carry guns beneath nationalist uniforms; in London his protection is unobtrusive. One man guarding him said: 'I don't want anybody to know my name. If he's going to die I'm going to die with him. They'll have to shoot both of us.'

Carmichael believes he can still edge out of his fame. 'People fix on individuals because it's easier than with a movement. But anyone in the organisation could do what I do. The name Stokely Carmichael was the invention of the white Press. I'll not live up to the rules they make for me.'

He says that the growing personal limelight was one reason he quit recently as Snick's chairman: 'I'm going to try to make my name irrelevant. I try and do that with black people all the time. My job is to take all the admiration and love other black people give me and try and spread it around amongst us.'

Carmichael's description of his political aims has changed in recent months. He used to define his advocacy of 'black power' as meaning simply that Negroes should hold office in Negro areas. Now he says: 'It means the coming together of black people to fight for their liberation—by any means necessary, to quote brother Malcolm.'

'We want control of the institutions of the communities where we live, and we want control of the land, and we want to stop the exploitation of non-white people around the world.'

He goes back this week to aim for Snick's most ambitious target: Washington, which has a Negro majority. Black men, he says, should run the cities where they're in a majority: 'There's nothing wrong with living in a black ghetto if you're free from oppression. It won't be apartheid, because we won't say white people can't come in.'

How did Britain fit into this pic-

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Photography by JOHN HODDER

Stokely Carmichael he wore the African robe (left) at a private evening meeting of West Indian leaders in North London last week.

She would meet me and I wouldn't know what to do.

Well, I tried to figure out what to say, what to talk about. We went on the subway together, that's when it really started, everyone looking at us. I think she was conscious of this, but acted as if she weren't. I was conscious of it and got hung up. I just kept stuttering. We went to a school dance. I remember the looks of my teachers: I was hitting the real target, the white woman.

Carmichael grew up with two sisters, three aunts and a grandmother at the top of 42 steps in the best house in Oxford Street, Port-of-Spain, Trinidad. His father, a carpenter, built it, then left to work in the United States. Carmichael did not see his parents from the time he was

two until he joined them in New York at 12.

The striking thing is that England and an English-style education made Carmichael and govern his thinking today; he gets really angry about it.

Aged 10, he was wearing the grey serge trousers, stiff white shirt and long stockings of Tranquillity Boys School. He says he once stood for four hours to wave a Union Jack at royalty, and meant it. He admits that he still has not forgiven himself. 'I'm angry because I was drugged by white supremacy and I didn't rebel. I'm mad because the people

I admired in the West Indies didn't rebel either: they forced it all down my throat.

At school we were made to memorise Kipling's 'White Man's Burden,' told we didn't exist until a white man called Sir Walter Raleigh discovered us, and we went to the movies and yelled for Tarzan to beat the hell out of Africa.

At meetings in Hackney, Notting Hill, Brixton and elsewhere last week Carmichael's bitter memories of a West Indian childhood reached and moved his audiences. 'If you ask a black child any place in the West Indies about the Nile Valley or Hannibal he doesn't know any thing about it, but he can get up and tell you who was king, who was queen, who was king.

He ignored a newspaper report of one of his London meetings—'BLACK POWER VIOLENCE CALL'—to stare for a full minute at photographs of Princess Margaret. 'They're still lining up for her: I don't see why.

'My father,' said Carmichael, 'was submissive, quiet and obedient: everything I'm not. He believed what the white man told him: if you work hard you will succeed. He died like he came into the world, poor and black. Well, work wasn't for me: if I wasn't in the movement I'd be a gangster.

My father did three jobs at a time: carpenter, then odd jobs, then drove a taxi at night. We only saw him on Sundays. He was very religious. I went to Sunday school and church until I was 15 and then I cut it loose.

Carmichael remembers his father being out of work for three weeks because he was too honest to bribe the union representative to find him a job. 'My mother went and hustled 50 dollars, then she invited the representative to the house and gave him the money and some expensive perfume. My father got a job, and said "that's what happens when you pray to God." My mother is a fighter: if she wanted something, she'd just take it.

He talked about his teenage years on the streets of Harlem and the Bronx: 'We stole cars, batteries, hub-caps, then we got together and started knocking off candy stores. I did the planning. I was pushing pot at 16: they wouldn't let you push cocaine until you were 21.

Apart from his upbringing, one of the main influences on him has been Malcolm X, the black nationalist leader assassinated in Harlem three years ago. Many of his speeches echo Malcolm X's thinking: on the need for black pride, for example. 'We must see ourselves as beautiful people. We keep thinking the only thing that is beautiful is white, a chick with long blonde hair. We've got to understand that we have thick

lips and flat noses and curly hair and we're black and beautiful. And we're not going to imitate the white man any more.

Carmichael calls Malcolm X 'my patron saint.' Malcolm's photograph hangs over the desk in his Atlanta, Georgia, headquarters, next to a poster of Snick's leaping black panther. 'Move on over or we'll move on over YOU.'

I admired his intelligence, his analytical mind, his forthrightness, and his willingness to begin to move to bring his people together. The thing most of us young grads got from Malcolm was that he spoke to his people: he stopped speaking to whites.

Yes, I've a lot of white friends, but I don't equate my friendships with white people on how they see

... I'm angry because I was drugged by white supremacy and I didn't rebel ...

the black political ideology. The trouble with white liberals, every time you sit down to talk with them they want to talk about race. It isn't the type of friend I want. I just want to sit down so we can dig Thelonus Monk or talk about Bach or Joyce.

What did he do if he was walking with a white girl and a white man called her a prostitute?

I guess I just keep walking. You'd just get into a long debate or a fight and I'm not sure it's worth fighting over.

How did that square with his ideas about not turning the other cheek?

I can't fight the individual battle, I'm fighting institutionalised racism. My job is not to allow the white man to define my attitudes.

He shrugged off discussion of the uses of violence.

The white man is talking about violence. Did he talk about violence

when he raped Africa? They say Black Power means violence. The white man has been violent to us for 400 years. If we are violent to him he deserves every bit.

It's totally irrelevant to talk about violence in a world like this. People die of hunger every day when there's food in the world: that's violence. The Indian Government is going to force people to be sterilised. That's worse than shooting a man to death, but nobody sees that as violent. The British Government thinks it's good.

They say I'm a rabble-rouser and inciting to riot because when I speak to a black audience I don't reason or intellectualise. There's no need: they know it instinctively and emotionally. For example, they know police brutality: with whites, you've got to get out the case reports.

What about the recent riots in Newark, New Jersey, when 23 people were killed?

We don't call them riots: they're rebellions. I've been involved in eight. They should use that killing as a political death. It should be a revenge so that white society should know it can't go on shooting people in the streets, but also a political act so the struggle goes on.

The death game is what they play to scare us: look, you lost 21, we only lost two, you'd better stop. Well, Snick is respected because if we say "burn, baby, burn!" we'll be the first people to strike a match. The closeness in Watts and Newark now is something 100 years couldn't bring about. Yes, I think I could shoot a white policeman in a black man's area because I don't think he's any business there. If a man's standing on your toe and you've petitioned, begged, pleaded, done every possible thing and he won't move, you've got to push him off.

You can have peace in the US for 400 years if every time a white man wants something he says "nigger do this" and the black man does it. That's peace. Yeah.

How did he see the future? Did he expect white counter-violence?

The US can't use an H-bomb against black people inside the US. If they surround the ghettos, we

will blow up every damn thing they build, we will blow our country to the ground if they mess with us.

Carmichael says he has been in jail 35 times, eight times for inciting to riot. He's been shot at eight times, too: 'never hit me, too, too fast!' But three years ago, a close friend was shot behind the wheel of Carmichael's car, he's let no one drive it since. He's been beaten up more times than he can remember, and rolls back his sleeve to show fresh scars he says came from a police pistol barrel a fortnight ago.

Earlier this year, Carmichael pre-

pared to see themselves as West Indians, part of the third world, not as British. West Indians here enjoy the luxuries they do at the expense of their brothers in the West Indies.

Guerrilla warfare in the Caribbean, he adds, would put pressure on Britain. He intends to go home to Trinidad next February, but sees Jamaica as a likelier first target.

At 26, and reluctantly, Stokely Carmichael is inheriting Malcolm X's throne: the world's chief symbol of black militancy. He still needs to grow into this role—as Malcolm X himself grew into it during his last year. Carmichael's tragedy and his people's may be that the world will give him neither the time nor the understanding he needs.

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GEORGE MELLY looks at TV	19	Briefing	18	Time Off	24
RONALD BRYDEN: Theatre	19	Chess	27	Whitehorn	23
PHILIP FRENCH: Cinema	20	Crosby	28	Wine List	24
		Fashion	23	Ximenes	27
		Films	20		
		Gardening	24		
		Hers	22, 23		
		Music	19		
		Pendennis	28		
		Records	18		

Today's programmes 18

Routing Slip
FD-4 (Rev. 6-14-66)

Date 8/7/67

To:

☒ Director

FILE Lon: 105-2989

Att.:

Title STOKELY CARMICHAEL
SM - MISC.

☐ SAC

☐ ASAC

☐ Supv.

☐ Agent

☐ SE

☐ IC

☐ CC

☐ Steno

☐ Clerk

☐ Rotor #:

ACTION DESIRED

☐ Acknowledge

☐ Assign Reassign

☐ Bring file

☐ Call me

☐ Correct

☐ Deadline

☐ Deadline passed

☐ Delinquent

☐ Discontinue

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☐ File

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☐ Handle

☐ Initial & return

☐ Leads need attention

☐ Return with explanation or notation as to action taken.

☐ Open Case

☐ Prepare lead cards

☐ Prepare tickler

☐ Recharge serial's

☐ Return assignment card

☐ Return file

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☐ Send Serials

to

☐ Submit new charge out

☐ Submit report by

☐ Type

Enclosed are 3 copies of a State Dept.
Airgram dated 7/26/67 re CARMICHAEL for
information of Bureau.

10922
3 ENCLOSURE

See reverse side

SAC

Office

London

100-446080-44
100-446080-44

NOT RECORDED

1 AUG 17 1967

FEB 15 1968

57 AUG 21 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1/19/01 BY 3983 BTW/bee/aml

F B I

Date: 8/12/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, MEMPHIS (100-4492) -P-

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
SM - C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/19/01 BY 3963 BTW/edw

For information Bureau and Atlanta [redacted]
(reliable) on [redacted] advised that he had on [redacted] been
in contact with [redacted]

[redacted] advised him that [redacted]
[redacted] SNCC leader had recently arrived in Nashville and
left either the morning of 8/11/67 or 8/10/67 and was to
return to Nashville 8/16/67.

[redacted] indicated that [redacted] had spent "three days
with CASTRO" which impressed him greatly.

[redacted] indicated that [redacted] said that CARMICHAEL
was giving consideration to staying in Cuba for a long
period of time and not immediately returning to the United
States.

Memphis will follow and keep Bureau advised of
any pertinent developments.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

- 3 - Bureau (RM) REC-47
4 - Atlanta (RM) EX-113
6 - Memphis
(2 - 100-4492)
(1 - 157-109 - SNCC)
(1 - [redacted])
(1 - 174-89)
(1 - 100-4240 [redacted])

LJO/vtp
(13)

8 AUG 15 1967

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INT SEC

50 AUG 22 1967

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

b7C
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b7C
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Reporting Office ATLANTA	Office of Origin ATLANTA	Date 8/12/67	Investigative Period 8/7 - 8/12/67
Title of Case STOKELY CARMICHAEL, aka C. Welcher		Report made by SA 	Typed By: :lcs
		Character of Case SEDITION	

Synopsis: **PROSECUTIVE SUMMARY REPORT**

EXP. PROC.

AUG 14 1967

33

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to: 1 - USA, Atlanta, Georgia (RM)

Report of: SA [REDACTED] Office: Atlanta, Georgia
Date: August 12, 1967

Field Office File #: 100-6812 Bureau File #:

Title: STOKELY CARMICHAEL, also known as
C. Welcher

Character: SEDITION

Synopsis: PROSECUTIVE SUMMARY

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I. NARRATIVE OF OFFENSE

STOKELY CARMICHAEL was born June 29, 1941, at Trinidad, British West Indies. By derivation through the naturalization of his parents, CARMICHAEL became a United States citizen on April 27, 1953, which citizenship was substantiated by Certificate of Citizenship Number A338082, which was issued to STOKELY CARMICHAEL on April 17, 1958. Subject's derivative citizenship is as a result of his father, ADOLPHUS S. CARMICHAEL, born February 1, 1913, Port of Spain, being naturalized in the Southern District of New York April 27, 1953.

CARMICHAEL received a Bachelor of Arts Degree in philosophy from Howard University, Washington, D.C., on June 5, 1964.

In May of 1966 CARMICHAEL, after several years of association with the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), was elected by the central committee of SNCC to become the National Chairman. He served in this capacity until May, 1967. During this period, CARMICHAEL was in a constant travel status throughout the United States; however, he has been known to utilize Apartment Number 1, 2222 Telhurst Street, SW, Atlanta, Georgia, as a residence.

The only alias known to have been utilized by CARMICHAEL occurred in September, 1966, when he was reported to have purchased an airline ticket in Alabama utilizing the name of C. WELCHER. He is not known to have ever served in the military armed forces of the United States; however, he is registered with the Local Draft Board in New York City, and by his own statements indicates he has a 4-F classification.

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Throughout a series of speeches delivered by CARMICHAEL as Chairman of SNCC and as a recognized proponent of "Black Power", he has generally set forth the origins and concepts of SNCC, theories of self condemnation; concept of denial of one's liberation, differences in law and order, and history of the Negro peoples. CARMICHAEL in his speeches, following a discussion of the above described items, generally concludes his talks by dwelling on the war in Viet Nam and his opposition to the draft. He further advised his audience that they should inform the white people in authority as it relates to military service and induction, "Hell no, we won't go." He has advocated in his speeches that, "There is no need to go 8,000 miles to kill Vietnamese; He ain't never killed any nigger . . .; We will not fight the war. The war is for the Birds. Lynda Bird and Lady Bird." He has further advocated that the Negro people should say, "To hell with the draft" and go to jail.

II. NAME OF DEFENDANT

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, also known as C. Welcher.

III. DATES WHEN AND PLACES WHERE
ALLEGED ACTS WERE COMMITTED

- A. University of California
Berkeley, California
October 29, 1966
- B. Mosque Auditorium
Richmond, Virginia
April 5, 1967
- C. Tougaloo College
Tougaloo, Mississippi
April 11, 1967
- D. University of Houston
Houston, Texas
April 13, 1967
- E. St. Petersburg, Florida
April 18, 1967
- F. University of Washington and
Garfield High School
Seattle, Washington
April 19, 1967
- G. Carmel Church
Cincinnati, Ohio
April 29, 1967

H. Waukegan Township High School
Waukegan, Illinois
May 14, 1967

I. Lincoln Memorial
Congregational Temple
Washington, D.C.
May 16, 1967

J. Los Angeles, California
May 26, 1967

IV. STATUTE OF LIMITATIONS

The Statute of Limitations will be a bar to prosecution in this matter five years after the date of the particular speech in question. Hence, prosecution will be barred in the above instances commencing October 29, 1971, and thereafter, five years following each subsequent date of speech.

V. PENDING PROSECUTIVE ACTION

To date there has been no prosecutive action of CARMICHAEL. Consideration is being given to the possible prosecution of subject for his possible violation of Section 2388 of Title 18, U. S. Code, the Sedition Statute. Consideration will be given prosecution in the event admissible evidence can be adduced to establish that he:

"1. Wilfully caused or attempted to cause insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny or refusal of duty, in the military or naval forces of the United States, or

2. Wilfully obstructed the recruiting (draft) service of the United States, or

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3. Wilfully obstructed the enlistment
service of the United States."

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VI. EVIDENCE RELATING TO STOKELY
CARMICHAEL'S COMMENTS AT
FOLLOWING LOCATED PLACES:

A. SPEECH OF STOKELY CARMICHAEL
AT UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA,
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA,
OCTOBER 29, 1966

No prepared text of the speech delivered by STOKELY CARMICHAEL was made available to the University of California, nor was it furnished members of the press. A taped transcription of the speech and the question and answer period that followed was made by [REDACTED] Oakland, California, and the original of the magnetic tape recording was furnished to [REDACTED] University of California, Berkeley, California.

[REDACTED] has advised he maintains this tape under lock and key in his personal custody and indicated he preferred to keep it this way until such time as he may be called upon to appear in a court proceeding.

There are no informants sufficiently close to CARMICHAEL who could attest as to CARMICHAEL's intent when delivering speech as was recorded.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 8/8/67

1

[redacted] University of California, Berkeley, California, advised that STOKELY CARMICHAEL, then National Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), was the featured speaker at a "Black Power Day" held in the Greek Theater, University of California, on October 29, 1966.

[redacted] stated that he requested through the Department of Grounds and Buildings, University of California, that arrangements be made to tape record the speeches and other proceedings during the entire "Black Power Day" at the Greek Theater. [redacted] stated that the Swanson Sound Company, Oakland, California, was employed to do the actual tape recording at the Greek Theater. [redacted] stated that he supervised the recording technician who placed his equipment immediately outside the south door of the Greek Theater stage. [redacted] stated that he observed the actual recording, which comprised 15 tapes recorded at 7-1/2 speed on one track, and that each of these tapes was personally taken by him and placed in his personal safe at the University of California Police Department on the evening of October 29, 1966.

[redacted] stated that these tapes have been under lock and key, and he has maintained personal control of the key and the tapes to date.

[redacted] states that these tape recordings include the speech by STOKELY CARMICHAEL on October 29, 1966.

[redacted] stated that he is willing to make available the original tape recordings of the CARMICHAEL speech for any court proceedings; however, he would prefer to maintain the original tapes in his personal custody until such time as an actual court proceeding is imminent.

[redacted] advised that he would be available and willing to testify at any court proceeding regarding the events at the Greek Theater on October 29, 1966, with particular attention to the STOKELY CARMICHAEL speech.

[redacted] stated that there were approximately 4,000 -

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5,000 persons in attendance during the time that CARMICHAEL spoke and he estimates that approximately 90% of this audience was caucasian and approximately 50% male, most of whom would be of college student age and, therefore, would in all probability be subject to the military draft.

[redacted] stated that he recalls that CARMICHAEL made a highly emotional speech in which he attacked the U. S. draft laws, officials of the U. S. Government, with particularly vitriolic comments regarding the President, the Secretary of State, and the Secretary of Defense.

[redacted] stated that CARMICHAEL's speech was well received by the audience and that on a number of occasions CARMICHAEL received applause and standing ovations, particularly when CARMICHAEL stated, "Hell no, we won't go" in regard to the draft, and [redacted] recalled no one booing CARMICHAEL during his speech.

[redacted] stated that he does not recall observing anyone in military uniform in attendance at the "Black Power Day" and concluded by stating that CARMICHAEL left almost immediately after the conclusion of his speech. No discussion groups were observed dealing specifically with the content of CARMICHAEL's speech.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 8/8/671

[redacted] University of California Police Department, advised that he was on duty at the Greek Theater, University of California, Berkeley, California, on October 29, 1966, at the time STOKELY CARMICHAEL made a speech to an audience of about 4,000 - 5,000 persons, who had gathered in Greek Theater to hear CARMICHAEL and to observe a "Black Power Day."

[redacted] stated that he observed that approximately 90-95% of the audience was caucasian and that about half of the audience was male college-age, presumably students at the University of California, Berkeley.

[redacted] stated that CARMICHAEL's speech was inflammatory toward the U. S. Government and officials, with a particularly vehement attack on the Selective Service System and the military draft. [redacted] stated he recalls that CARMICHAEL in effect urged the draft age young men in the audience to refuse military service in the United States Armed Forces.

[redacted] stated that he would be willing and available to testify in any court proceedings against CARMICHAEL in connection with his speech at the Greek Theater on October 29, 1966.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 8/8/671

[redacted] advised that he attended the "Black Power Day" at the Greek Theater, University of California, Berkeley, on October 29, 1966. He stated that he recalls CARMICHAEL's speech late in the evening of October 29, 1966, when approximately 5,000 persons had gathered in the Greek Theater. [redacted] stated he was surprised that most of the audience were caucasians and he estimated approximately 90% or more would be caucasian. He stated the majority of the audience appeared to be of college student age and he estimated at least 50 or 60% would be male, presumably draft age persons.

[redacted] stated that CARMICHAEL made a vitriolic attack on U. S. foreign policy, the military draft, the President, the Secretary of State, and the Secretary of Defense, and challenged his audience to defy the military draft and refuse to serve in the U. S. Armed Forces.

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Date 8/8/671

[redacted] Oakland
California, owner of [redacted]
Oakland, advised that on October 29, 1966, he recorded the
proceedings during a Black Power Day meeting held at the Greek
Theater, University of California, Berkeley, California. He
said he was employed to record this meeting by the Buildings
and Grounds Department of the University of California,
Berkeley, and his equipment was set up at the Greek Theater
from 9:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m., October 29, 1966.

[redacted] said he worked under the direct super-
vision of [redacted] University of California Police
Department, and recorded a speech made by STOKELY CARMICHAEL,
among other speeches and proceedings during the day. He said
this meeting was recorded on magnetic tape. the original of
which he immediately turned over to [redacted] as it
was removed from the recorder during the day. he said as far
as he knows [redacted] has the original tapes in his
possession.

[redacted] stated he has records reflecting his
activities on October 29, 1966, which he will gladly produce
and will also testify from his recollections, if and when he
is requested to do so by the Federal Government.

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by SA [redacted] jr/bbp Date dictated 8/8/67

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Date 8/8/671

[redacted]
Army ROTC Unit, University of California, Berkeley, California,
advised that as of the beginning of the Fall quarter, October 1,
1966, the Army ROTC Unit had 619 students registered.

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He stated this is a matter of record and can be
produced at any future date if necessary.

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Date 8/8/671

[redacted] Air Force ROTC Unit,
University of California, Berkeley, California, advised that
as of the beginning of the Fall quarter, October 1, 1966, the
Air Force ROTC Unit at the University of California, Berkeley,
had 51 students registered.

He stated this is a matter of record and can be
produced at any future date if necessary.

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Date 8/8/671

[redacted] U. S. Marine Corps, [redacted]
[redacted] Navy ROTC Unit, University of California, Berkeley,
California, advised that as of November 1, 1966, the Navy
ROTC Unit had 163 University of California students registered.

He stated this is a matter of record and can be
produced at any future date if necessary.

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B. SPEECH OF STOKELY CARMICHAEL
AT MOSQUE AUDITORIUM,
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA,
APRIL 5, 1967

No prepared text of the speech delivered by STOKELY CARMICHAEL April 5, 1967, in the Mosque Auditorium at Richmond, Virginia, was furnished to the press or other authorities. A taped recording of the speech and question and answer period is, however, available through [redacted]

[redacted] of [redacted] Richmond, Virginia. According to [redacted] this tape recording was furnished to him on August 7, 1967, by [redacted] who made the tape on April 5, 1967. According to [redacted] the tape she furnished to [redacted] has been in her possession from the time she recorded same, except for approximately one week when it was furnished to [redacted] of the Virginia Council on Human Relations. [redacted] advised that the tape has not been cut or edited in any fashion and includes the speech of STOKELY CARMICHAEL and the question and answer period that followed this speech.

There are no informants sufficiently close to CARMICHAEL who could testify as to his knowledge and intent in making the speech at Richmond, Virginia.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date August 8, 19671

[redacted] Richmond, Virginia Police Department, advised he was assigned to cover the scheduled speech by STOKELY CARMICHAEL, former National Chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, at the Mosque Auditorium on April 5, 1967.

[redacted] advised his duties required his presence outside the Mosque during the speech and he was unable to comment on the number in attendance, ratio in attendance as to race or any portion of the speech made by CARMICHAEL.

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On 8/7/67 at Richmond, Virginia File # Richmond 14-91

by SA [redacted] WAS/jeh Date dictated 8/8/67

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date August 8, 19671

[redacted] Richmond, Virginia Police Department, advised he was assigned to attend a speech scheduled for STOKELY CARMICHAEL, former National Chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, at the Mosque Auditorium, Richmond, Virginia, on April 5, 1967, and due to the nature of his duties, he had no opportunity to listen to any portion of this speech made by CARMICHAEL. [redacted] stated he would not be in a position to comment concerning reactions of the audience and his knowledge of what was said from the platform was obtained from a recording made by an officer of the Henrico County, Virginia Police Department, which he heard at a later date.

[redacted] stated it was his estimate that there were between 1,800 and 2,200 in attendance, which was predominantly white people and the age group was that of college students and no military uniforms were observed to enter the Mosque.

On 8/7/67 at Richmond, Virginia File # Richmond 14-91

by SA [redacted] WAS/jeh Date dictated 8/8/67

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date August 8, 19671

[redacted] Richmond, Virginia Police Department, advised he was assigned to attend a speech scheduled for STOKELY CARMICHAEL, former National Chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee at the Mosque Auditorium, Richmond, Virginia, on April 5, 1967. [redacted] advised his duties required his presence outside the Mosque and he had no opportunity to listen to any of the speech made by CARMICHAEL and could not comment on any remarks he reportedly made.

[redacted] advised he was unable to estimate the number in attendance but from his observation of those entering the Mosque, he would estimate the ratio to be approximately 75% Negroes. He said there were no military uniforms observed except members of the American Nazi Party who were picketing the Mosque on the outside.

[redacted] added that he observed no one discussing CARMICHAEL's comments at the conclusion of the speech and could furnish no information as to the reaction of those in attendance.

On 8/7/67 at Richmond, Virginia File # Richmond 14-91

by SA [redacted] WAS/jeh Date dictated 8/8/67

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date August 8, 19671

[redacted] Henrico County,
Virginia Police Department, telephonically furnished
the following information:

[redacted] stated he was at the
Mosque Auditorium, Richmond, Virginia, on April 5, 1967,
and he tape recorded a speech made by STOKELY CARMICHAEL,
former National Chairman of the Student Non-Violent
Coordinating Committee, on that date. He stated he
could not recall any particulars concerning the speech
and as far as he was concerned, he paid very little
attention to what he had to say. He stated he does
not recall the number of persons present other than
that the first floor of the Mosque was full and believes
most of the people there were Negroes. [redacted]

[redacted] stated after recording the speech, he turned
the tape over to his department where, as far as he
knows, the tape is presently stored.

[redacted] stated he can recall no
other facts concerning the speech but he would possibly
be able to furnish further information after returning
from vacation and listening to the tape. He stated he
would make the tape available if necessary.

On 8/7/67 at Richmond, Virginia File # Richmond 14-91

by SA [redacted] jeh Date dictated 8/8/67

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date August 8, 1967

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[redacted], Richmond,
Virginia Police Department, telephonically furnished
the following information:

[redacted] stated that on the evening of
April 5, 1967, he was present at the Mosque Auditorium,
Richmond, Virginia, from approximately 6:30 P.M. until
approximately 10:45 P.M., during a program at which
STOKELY CARMICHAEL spoke. He stated that he recorded
the proceedings from the beginning to the end of the
program. He stated the program consisted of an intro-
duction, a speech by CARMICHAEL and a question and
answer period.

[redacted] stated that he was presently on
vacation and the tape recording which he made of the
proceedings was at home and he would not be able to
furnish the tape until he returned from vacation on
August 13, 1967. He said he recalls CARMICHAEL
answering a question, "If you are inducted, would you
go?" [redacted] stated CARMICHAEL answered, "Hell no."
He stated he also recalls CARMICHAEL stating words to
the effect, "Don't join the Army and don't go to
Vietnam."

[redacted] stated that as he recalls, the
audience was primarily made up of persons in their
late teens to early 20's and was made up of approxi-
mately 50% white persons. The exact number of persons
in attendance he could not be sure of. He further
stated that as he recalls CARMICHAEL read from some
papers which appeared to be the size of typing papers,
whether they were a prepared text or notes he could
not say. He stated as far as he could recall, the
audience applauded CARMICHAEL's statement concerning,
"Hell no he would not be inducted."

[redacted] stated that he would be very willing
to furnish the tape recording he has of the program and
furnish any additional information he has after reviewing
the tape upon his return from vacation.

On 8/7/67 at Richmond, Virginia File # Richmond 14-91

by SA [redacted] jeh Date dictated 8/8/67

BH 14-91

DWH/jeh

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He stated as he recalled [redacted]
[redacted] of the Virginia
Counsel on Human Relations, was in the audience at
the time CARMICHAEL spoke. He stated that as he
recalled, other tapes were made of the speech and he
understood [redacted] of the Henrico County,
Virginia Police Department also recorded the speech.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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Date 8/8/67

[redacted]
[redacted] Virginia Union
University, 1500 North Lombardy Street, Richmond, Virginia,
upon interview furnished the following voluntary signed
statement:

"Richmond, Virginia
"August 8, 1967

"I, [redacted] hereby make this
free and voluntary statement to [redacted]
and [redacted] who have identified themselves
to me as Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of
Investigation.

"No force has been used against me, and no threats,
promises, or hopes of reward have been made to me in
order to induce me to make this statement.

"I realize that this statement may be used in
a court of law and I am willing to testify in a
court of law concerning my statement.

[redacted]

"On April 5, 1967 I was in attendance and also
on the Question Sorting Panel at the Mosque Auditorium,
Richmond, Virginia, on the occasion of the appearance
and speech of Stokely Carmichael of the Student Non-
Violent Coordinating Committee.

"After giving a speech of some 45 minutes to one
hour, the Question Sorting Panel posed a selected variety
of questions obtained in writing from the audience.

On 8/8/67 at Richmond, Virginia File # Richmond 14-91

by SA [redacted] /vw1 8/8/67

NH 14-91

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"One or more of these questions gave him an opportunity to view his opinions concerning the propriety of military service by American Negroes. Carmichael vehemently and plainly stated and advocated that American Negroes would be foolish to accept military service in the Armed Forces of the United States.

"He mentioned that the Viet Cong have never killed an American Negro child, or similar type sentiments as one of his justifications for this attitude. He made references to much work to be done to elevating the Negro from his centuries old mistreatment by the white man as another justification for his views.

"In any event, although I was personally prepared to expect such utterances from him, he did seem at least to me, to be willful in his pronouncements.

"I have read and understand the above statement of this and one other page, initialed the corrections, and it is entirely true as best I can recollect.

"/s/ [redacted]

"Witnesses:

"/s/ [redacted], Special Agent, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Richmond, Virginia, 8/8/67 2:25 p.m.

"/s/ [redacted], Special Agent, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Richmond, Virginia, 8/8/67, 2:25 p.m."

Additionally, [redacted] advised as follows:

[redacted]

On April 5, 1967 he [redacted]
[redacted] at the Mosque Auditorium on the occasion of the appearance and speech of STOKELY CARMICHAEL of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

[REDACTED]

The chief arranger for the CARMICHAEL speech was [REDACTED] of the All Saints Presbyterian Church, Richmond, Virginia, and although he did not know the number in attendance in the audience, [REDACTED] believed that [REDACTED] indicated there were approximately 1200 people assembled to hear CARMICHAEL speak.

As best [REDACTED] could recall, the audience was mixed equally racially, with a large number of college students and what he would judge to be approximately 30 to 40 percent of men and women under age 25.

[REDACTED] stated that he could not recall having seen anyone in the uniform of the United States Armed Forces, nor did he see anyone whom he knew or recognized as such a member of the Armed Forces, who was not in uniform.

[REDACTED] stated that the audience appeared to be factional in that the response to CARMICHAEL in his speech did not appear to be universally accepted by the whole audience at each interlude where applause was forthcoming.

He stated that there was intense applause from what appeared to be younger or older people at varying points in the speech, but not a completely universal acceptance of CARMICHAEL at all times.

Certain group of young people in the front portion of the audience seemed to be continuously in favor of CARMICHAEL's pronouncements, notwithstanding that [REDACTED] characterized as some of CARMICHAEL's "less balanced" statements.

It was [REDACTED] judgment that the greater bulk of the audience appeared to be moderate to liberal people in their general political view points, with possibly some few "radicals" or people of extreme opinions in the audience. [REDACTED] stated that the greater mass of people appeared to "sit on their hands" when CARMICHAEL made some of his more exorbitant charges against the white community of the country.

[] stated that he understood that there were approximately 5 to 8 "real followers" of CARMICHAEL, who were back stage at the Mosque prior to his speech and that possibly there were 3 to 4 times that many in the audience, without really knowing this to be a fact.

[] stated that he understood that after the appearance at the Mosque, CARMICHAEL and his intimate friends held a gathering afterwards which [] described as a "binge or brawl, at an unlocated place in Richmond.

[] stated that CARMICHAEL is a very articulate speaker, who speaks in terms of hyperbole or exaggeration for effect rather than for fact and emphasized that CARMICHAEL is not modest in his style of speech.

[] sensed that that CARMICHAEL has a keen sensitivity to his audience and they more or less control the flamboyance of his speech.

Based on [] information regarding previous speeches by CARMICHAEL and appearances elsewhere as his Richmond speech, it was [] opinion that CARMICHAEL's Richmond appearance was not one of his more outspoken appearances. It was his judgment that the audience of CARMICHAEL did not respond to his speech in the manner which he had hoped and supposed that they would.

[] could not specifically recall but he did believe that CARMICHAEL did not speak in an impromptu or extemporaneous manner but did resort to some kind of notes.

[] could not recall that any literature was passed out to the audience by CARMICHAEL before or after his speech or question and answer period.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

8/8/67

Date

-1-

[redacted]
Richmond, Virginia, was interviewed at her residence by
Special Agents [redacted] and [redacted]
who identified themselves to her as Special Agents of the
Federal Bureau of Investigation.

[redacted] advised that she was present at the
Mosque Auditorium on April 5, 1967, when STOKELY CARMICHAEL
made his speech and was [redacted]

She advised that she is [redacted]
[redacted] the organization
sponsoring the CARMICHAEL speech and that, as such, she was
[redacted]

[redacted] advised that STOKELY CARMICHAEL
spoke from a prepared speech, the text of which she understood
was an article he had written to be published in a periodical
journal. She did not know which journal, or if any printed
copy of the speech was made available to anyone in Richmond.
She stated there were at least three separate tape recordings
made of the speech, one by each of the local Negro radio
stations, and one by [redacted] a member of the
Richmond Chapter, VCHR.

She advised that there were approximately 1,400
people present, as most of the downstairs area of the Mosque
Auditorium was filled, while the balcony, for the most part,
was empty. Of the crowd, she estimated 60% were Negroes
and that the crowd was predominately middle-aged, with only
approximately 10% being students or draft-age individuals.

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She stated there were no individuals in military uniform present, to her knowledge. She advised that although STOKELY CARMICHAEL spoke from a prepared speech and, in fact, read most of the speech, he strayed from the prepared text on several occasions, most of the time making humorous remarks. She stated that at one time during the speech, STOKELY CARMICHAEL left the stage and that when he returned he stated there had been a bomb threat and that if anyone wanted to leave, he could do so.

A Negro man in the audience said, "STOKELY, we're with you." She stated this brought applause and that CARMICHAEL replied, "Now we know what its like to be in Hanoi." She stated that STOKELY CARMICHAEL imitated President JOHNSON and that this brought forth a lot of laughter from the crowd.

She stated that in the prepared text, STOKELY CARMICHAEL did not make any statement, "Hell no, we won't go." In addition, she advised that there was no booing from the audience and that the general response was warm although not overly enthusiastic.

She advised that following the speech there was a question and answer period with questions being handwritten by the audience and submitted to the members of the question screening panel who, in turn, asked STOKELY CARMICHAEL the questions.

She stated there was a question asked of CARMICHAEL whether he had said, "Hell no, we won't go." He replied in the affirmative, stating that Negroes should not serve in the armed forces as the United States Government was fighting a white man's war against white people. She stated that although STOKELY CARMICHAEL never counseled anyone in draft evasion, he did tell people present they should not serve.

[redacted] advised that to her knowledge, there were no group meetings or discussions with any individuals and CARMICHAEL, either before or after this speech of any type.

[redacted] said that she would be willing to testify to the above information in a court of law.

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[redacted]
 Richmond, Virginia, advised she is [redacted]

employed as [redacted]

[redacted] and is
 [redacted] Richmond, Virginia. She advised she has part-
 time employment as [redacted] for radio
 station [redacted] Richmond, Virginia.

[redacted] advised that in connection with her
 duties at the radio station, she was instructed by [redacted]
 [redacted] to attend the
 appearance and speech of STOKELY CARMICHAEL at the Mosque
 Auditorium, Richmond, Virginia, on the evening of April 5,
 1967, and record the speech on her tape recorder. She advised
 a Wollensack tape recorder was used, which is her own personal
 property, and the entire speech and question and answer session
 were recorded. She said the tape has been in her possession
 except for a period of one week when she loaned the tape to
 [redacted] Virginia Council on Human Relations (VCHR),
 who made a copy.

She advised the tape she made on that date has not
 been edited or cut in any way and that she turned this tape
 over to [redacted] Radio Station [redacted]
 on the evening of August 7, 1967, for availability to the
 Federal Bureau of Investigation.

[redacted] advised, in her estimation, there were
 approximately 3000 people in attendance at CARMICHAEL's speech
 and the audience was composed of about 50-50 white and Negro.
 She said most of those in attendance were college students
 from Richmond Professional Institute (RPI) and Union Theological
 Seminary, which included many male students subject to draft
 laws. She said it was her recollection there were two bus-
 loads of students from a nearby military academy and she
 recognized [redacted] Richmond,
 Virginia, who is a student at Virginia State College, Petersburg,
 Virginia, where he is a member of the Reserve Officers' Training
 Corps (ROTC), as being present.

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[] further advised that CARMICHAEL was introduced as the main speaker by JAMES CARPENTER, heretofore identified, and it was her opinion the speech was well received by the audience. She said the theme of his talk was devoted principally to the meaning of "Black Power" and except for the question and answer session which followed the speech, contained nothing rash or radical.

She said during the question and answer session, four members of a panel received and screened questions written on slips of paper obtained from members of the audience which CARMICHAEL proceeded to answer. She said questions dealing with draft laws were answered in a very strong and radical manner and it was her opinion that college students subject to draft laws got the impression that they should not comply with the draft laws. She said CARMICHAEL's statement concerning draft laws as, "Hell no, don't comply," would leave a lasting effect on college students. She said another comment by CARMICHAEL was to the effect that the Negro population in Richmond was in the majority and that Negroes should take what they want and not wait until it was given to them.

[] advised she did not desire to furnish a signed statement concerning the foregoing information, but would be willing to testify in a court of law.

[] further advised that the tape she made of CARMICHAEL's speech was used on two occasions by the radio station and was broadcast on the air, except that the portion covering the question and answer session was omitted on the broadcast because of the loose and radical statements and comments contained in this portion.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

8/8/67

Date

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[redacted] [redacted] [redacted]
[redacted] Richmond, Virginia, advised
he [redacted] and
made available a tape recording of the speech of STOKELY
CARMICHAEL in the Mosque Auditorium, Richmond, Virginia,
on April 5, 1967.

[redacted] advised this tape was made by [redacted]
[redacted] and that it was
placed in his custody on the evening of August 7, 1967.

[redacted] advised that [redacted] used her own equip-
ment to make this recording and it has been in her possession
since the day of the speech.

A transcription of the above-described tape was
prepared in the Richmond Office of the Federal Bureau of
Investigation and is attached hereto.

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On 8-8-67 at Richmond, Virginia File # Richmond 14-91
by SA [redacted] and
SA [redacted] WAS:ddm Date dictated 8-8-67

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency;
it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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Good Evening. It is good to be here in Richmond tonight. What we wanted to do was to read an article which I wrote, and appeared in the "Massachusetts Review", the last quarter of 1966. It theoretically explains "black power" in its concepts. It ends by giving the programmatic approach to the concept of "black power". In the embodiment of the article is an attack on integration as it is currently practiced in the country today and an explanation as to why, in SNCC, we view it is nothing more than the maintenance of white supremacy. There is also an attack on the (men who supposedly are call the) main exponents that we call the coalition theory, notably, of course, would be Mr. BAYARD RUSTIN, and an explanation as to how the coalition ought to come about in this country to form any sought of power base to bring about some internal changes, and we point out finally the important difference between individual acts of racism and institutionalized racism. Now I understand that the press has been giving wide attacks to our speaking here tonight. We hope that the press will be able to deal with this article. We don't think they are capable to doing so because its on an intellectual level. (Applause).

We begin: "One of the most pointed illustrations of the need for "black power" as a positive and redemptive force in a society degenerating into a form of totalitarianism is to be made by examining the history of distortion as the concept has received in the national media of publicity. In this debate, as in everything else that effects our lives, black people are dependent on and at the discretion of forces and institutions within the white society which have little interest in representing us honestly. Our experience with the national press has been that where they've managed to escape the meretricious special interests in "get whitey" senationalism and the race warmongering, individual reporters

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and commentators have been conditioned by the enveloping racism of the society to the point where they are incapable of even objective observation and reporting of racial incidents much less the analysis of ideas. With this limitation of vision and perception, it is an inevitable consequence of the dictatorships, of definitions, interpretations, and consciousness along with the censorship of history which the society has inflicted upon black people and, consequently, upon itself. Our concern for "black power" addresses itself directly to this problem, the necessity for black people to acquaint our history and our identity from the cultural terrorism and depredation of self-justifying white guilt. To do this, we shall have to struggle for a right to create our own terms through which to define ourselves and our relationship to the society and to have these terms recognized. This is the first necessity of a free people and the first right that any oppressor must suspend. Now I guess the example to us would be the cowboy and Indian pictures because in SNCC we feel very strongly about the right to define one's self. You know, you ever see them, they're having a war and white people are losing and they call for the Cavalry and they come and they ride, very white and very proper, and they shoot up all the Indians and they ride back to the fort and there's a white woman saying "What happened?". Says "Ah, we had a victory, we killed all the Indians." Then the next time when the reverse is true, when the red man kills them all and there's one man left on a horse and he staggers into the fort and the white woman says "What happened?" "Those dirty Indians, they massacred us all." That's very important because the connotation of a massacre is somehow less honorable than a victory and that should certainly be clear in our minds because (applause), and that should be clear in our minds because in a victory you shoot people to death, in a massacre you cut them to death. (laughter) I guess it's better to die of a gun blast than to die of knife wound or that's what white people would have you believe. That can be seen today. Do you ever watch the editorial twins of America, HUNTLEY and BRINKLEY? Well, what they do is, did you ever see them, they talk about Vietnam and they say, HUNTLEY's in Washington, says "Today dirty Viet Cong, Communist guerrilla band terrorist forces threw a Molotov cocktail and wounded 17 of our men and 14 civilians." Meanwhile we switch to BRINKLEY in New York. "In the meantime, our boys, sweet as they are,

have been bombing the hell out of North Vietnam." (applause) And that right to define is the most important right because I guess it's bad to throw Molotov cocktails at somebody that's in your country but it okay to bomb even if they are the aggressor and their own country 8,000 miles away from yours. The white fathers of American racism knew this instinctively it seems as indicated by their continuous record of the distortion and coalition in their dealings with the red and black man. In the same way with the southern (illegible) for the gentle society are so obscure, muddy, and misrepresented the record of that (illegible) until it is almost impossible to tell what really happened. Their contemporary counterparts, the press, are busy doing the same thing with the recent history of the Civil Rights movement. In 1964 for example, the National Democratic Party, led by L. B. JOHNSON and the "Boy Wonder" H. H. HUMPHREY, they call him the "Boy Wonder" because in SNCC we call them "Batman" and "Robin" because they run a very canny government. H. H. HUMPHREY for example in our neighborhood stands for "Handkerchief Head". A "Handkerchief Head" is someone whose more unctuous and obsequious than an "Uncle Tom". I don't know if you saw JOHNSON in February or January of this year on television when he delivered is State of the Johnson Message to the Union. We call it the State of the Johnson Message because he stood up there and quoted himself three times from speeches that he made. (laughter) Well, anyway if you noticed the speech while he was talking in the background "Handkerchief Head" was back there. (laughter and applause) He has developed frog-like tendencies. Every-time LYNDON says "Jump!" he says "How high, bossman?" Well anyway, these two cats cynically undermined the efforts of Mississippi's black population to achieve some degree of political representation. I'm speaking now of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party challenge September of 1964, Atlantic City. Yet, whenever the events of that convention are recalled by the press, one sees only that version fabricated by the press agents of the Democratic Party. A year later, the House of Representatives, with an even more vulgar display of political racism, made a mockery of the political rights of Mississippi's blacks when it failed to unseat the Mississippi delegation to the House, which had been elected through a process which had systematically excluded over

450,000 voting-age blacks, almost one half of the state's total electorates. And yet, that same House of Representatives, two years later, was unable to unseat Congressman ADAM CLAYTON POWELL because he did the same things they do but with more style. (applause) When this event is mentioned in print, it is in terms which leaves one with a rather curious impression that somehow the oppressed black people in Mississippi are at fault for confronting the Congress with a situation in which they had no alternatives but to endorse Mississippi's racist's political practices. I mentioned those two examples because having been directly involved in them I can see very clearly the discrepancies between what happened and the versions that are finding their way into general acceptance as a kind of popular mythology. Thus, the victimization of black people in this country takes place in two phases. First in fact and deed and then, and just as equally sinister, in the recording of those facts and deeds. The "black power" program and concept which is being articulated by the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and the Congress of Racial Equality and a host of community organizations in the ghettos of the north and south has not escaped that process. The white press has been busy articulating their own analysis, their own interpretations and criticisms of their own creations. I was very disturbed about that you know because all we said was "black power" and everybody came out against us. We must have done something bad, and the attacks just kept coming, and one night just about a couple of weeks after, I was reading BERNARD SHAW and I came across a phrase which I thought was quite apropos for the press. Mr. SHAW says that all criticism is in fact an autobiography. For example, while the press had given wide and sensational dissemination to attack made by figures in the Civil Rights movement foremost among which was Mr. ROY WILKINS of the NAACP and his counterpart Mr. WHITNEY YOUNG of the Urban League and to the hysterical rantings of our black racism made by the political chameleon that now serves as Vice President is generally feeled to to give accounts of the reasonable and productive dialogue which is taking place in the black community and certain important areas in the white religious and intellectual communities. A national committee of influential black churchmen affiliated with the National Council of Churches despite their obvious

respectibility and responsibility had to resort to paid advertisement to articulate their position while anyone shouting the hysterical yappings of black racism or black violence got ample space. Thus the American people have gotten at best a superficial and misleading account of the very terms and (illegible) of this debate. I wish to quote briefly from a statement which the black churchmen from the National Council of Churches had to resort to, they call themselves the National Committee of Negro Churchmen. They had to buy three-quarters of a space in the "New York Times" to advocate their feelings of black power. It appeared in "New York Times" last year July 31. I want to quote at length because I think it's very important document and that you'll be able to see that inside the black community there are some intelligent black preachers other than the ones we always see on T.V. I was just asked to notify you before you get excited that there's been two bomb threats. Now I'm going to stay her and deliver my speech (applause) but, in the light of public safety, if some people want to leave they should do that. In the meantime, I'm told the police is conducting a methodical search to uncover the bombs. So if there's anyone that wants to leave Let me quote, (applause). Now you know how the people of Hanoi feel. (laughter)(applause) I read the quotes:

"We, an informal group of Negro churchmen in America are deeply disturbed about the crises brought upon our country by the historic distortions of important human realities in the controversy about 'black power'. What we see shining through the variety of rhetoric is not anything new but the same old problem of power and race. which has faced our beloved country since 1619. The conscience of black men is corrupted because, having no power to implement the demands of conscience, the concern for justice in the absence of justice becomes a chaotic self-surrender. Powerlessness breeds a race of beggars, we are faced now with the situation where powerless conscience meets conscienceless power." I'd like to repeat that phrase because I believe it is axiomatic to race relations in this country today. "We are faced now with the situation.

where powerless conscience meets conscienceless power, threatening the very foundations of our nation. We deplore these very violent uprisings but we feel it is more important to focus on the real sources of the eruptions. These sources may be abetted inside the ghetto but their basic cause lies in the silent and covert violence which white, middle-class America inflicts upon the victims of the inner city. In short, the failure of American leaders to use American power to create equal opportunities in life as well as law, this is the real problem and not the anguish cry for 'black power'. Without the capacity to participate with power, that is to have some organized political strength to really influence people with whom one interacts, integration is not meaningful. America has asked its Negro citizens to fight opportunity as individuals whereas what has been needed at certain points in our history has been opportunity for the whole group not just for selected and approved Negroes. We must not apologize for the existence of this form of group power for we have been oppressed as a group and not as individuals. We will not find our way out of that oppression until both we and America accept the need for Negro Americans as well as for Jews, Italians, Poles, and white Anglo-Saxon Protestants among others to have and to wield group power."

Traditions for each new ethnic group throughout the social and political integration into America's ballistic society has been through the organization of their own institutions with which to represent their communities within the larger societies. Simply stated, this is what the "black power" advocates are talking about. The strident outcry, particularly from the liberal community, that has been evoked by this proposal can only be understood by examining the historic relationship between black people and white power in this country. Blacks are defined by two forces, our blackness and our powerlessness. There have been traditionally two communities in America, the white community, which controlled in the five (illegible) that all institutions within the society would take, and the black community, which has been excluded from participation in and the power decisions that shape the society that has traditionally been dependent upon and subservient to the white community. This has not been accidental. The history of every institution of the society

indicates that a major concern in the ordering and structuring of the society has been the maintaining of the black community in a condition of dependence and oppression. This has not been on the level of individual acts of discrimination between individual whites against individual blacks but as total acts by the white community against the black community. This fact cannot be too strongly emphasized. The racists' assumptions of white superiority have been so deeply engrained in the structure of this society that it enfuses its entire function and is so much a part of the national subconscious that it is taken for granted and is frequently not even recognized. Let me give an example of the difference between individual racism and institutionalized racism and the society's response to both. When unidentified white terrorists bombed a black church and killed five black children that is an act of individual racism, widely deplored by most segments of the society, both white and black. But when, in the same city, Birmingham, Alabama, not five but 500 black babies died each year because of lack of proper food, shelter, and medical facilities and thousands more black people are maimed physically, emotionally, and intellectually because of conditions of poverty inside the ghetto, that is an act of institutionalized racism. But the society either pretends it doesn't know of this situation or is incapable of doing anything meaningful about it and this resistance to doing anything meaningful about conditions in the ghetto comes from the fact that the ghettos is itself a product of the combination of forces that have access - a combination of forces and special interests inside the white community and that the groups that have access to the resources and power to change that situation benefit politically and economically from the existence of the ghetto. It is more than a figure of speech then to say that the black community of America is the victim of white imperialism and colonial exploitation. This is in practical, economic, and political terms truth, it is a truism for philosophy students. There are over 20 million black people, comprising 10% of this nation. For the most part, we live in well-defined areas of the country, in the shanty towns and rural black-belt areas of the south and increasingly in the slums of northern and western industrial cities. If one goes into any black community, whether it be Jackson, Mississippi, Harlem, New York, or Richmond, Virginia, one will find the same combination

of political, economic, and social forces are at work. The people in the black community do not control the resources of that community, its political decisions, its law enforcements, its housing standards, even the physical ownership of the land, houses and stores lie outside that community. It is white power that makes the laws and it is violent white power in the form of armed cops that enforces those laws with guns and night sticks. The vast majority of blacks in this country lived in these captive communities and must endure these conditions of oppression because and only because we are black and powerless. I do not suppose at any point the men who control the power and resources of this country ever sat down and designed these black (illegible) and formally articulated the terms of their colonial and dependent status as was done for example by the (illegible) government of South Africa which this country supports. Yet one cannot distinguish between one ghetto and another. As one moves from city to city it is as though some malignant, racist planning unit had done precisely this, designed each one from the same master blueprint and, in deed, if the ghetto had been formally and deliberately planned instead of ~~growing~~ spontaneously and inevitably from the racist functioning of the various institutions that combine to make this society, it would be somehow less frightening. The situation would be less frightening because if these ghettos were the result of desire and conspiracy, one could understand their similarity as being artificial and consciously imposed rather than the result of identical patterns of white racism which repeats themselves in cities as distant as Roxbury is to Watts. Without bothering to list the historic factors which contribute to this pattern, economic exploitation, political impotence, discrimination in employment and education, one can see that to correct this pattern would require far-reaching changes in the basic power relationship and the ingrained social patterns within the society. The question is, of course, what kinds of changes are necessary and how is it possible to bring them about. In recent years, the answer to these questions which has been given by most articulate group of black people and their white allies, the liberators of (illegible), has been in terms of something called integration. According to the advocates of integration, social justice will be accomplished by, and I quote, "integrating the Negro into the mainstream institutions of the society from which he has been traditionally excluded." It is very significant that each time I have heard this formulation, it has been in terms of "the" Negro, the individual Negro, rather than in terms of the entire black

community. This concept of integration had to be based upon the assumption that there was nothing of value in the black community and that little of value could be created among black people so the thing to do was to siphon off the acceptable Negroes into surrounding middle-class white communities. Thus to go with the movement for integration was simply to loosen up the restrictions barring entries of black people into the white community. Those around (illegible) to appraise, such as public accommodations, open housing, job opportunity on the executive level, are quite simply middle-class goals, articulated by a tiny group of Negroes who had middle-class aspirations. It is true that the student demonstrations in the 1960's, early 1960's, helped to mislead you. I think that was because it was not interpreting out movement, again the editorial twins of America were doing that. For example, I remember I used to watch HUNTLEY and BRINKLEY and they'd say "Black people today are marching in Alabama. JIM CLARK has ridden over them with horses. He has beat them up. He shot them down. He's run them, he's hit them with cattle cars, but, alas, they're still marching to integrate." The next day they'd say "They're joined by their black brothers from the north and the south. Again they're marching in the streets of Selma. JIM CLARK is beating them up; he's shooting them down; his posse is riding (illegible); he's hitting them with horses; he's jailing them; but they're still marching to integrate." I sat down and took it to its logical conclusion and what it said to me was that I left New York and went to Alabama to be able to sit next to JIM CLARK, his daughter, or his momma. (applause) Obviously, that's not what I meant to do. I didn't go to sit next to JIM CLARK, his daughter, or his momma. I don't even want to sit next to the "hunky". (applause) What we went to Alabama to do was to render a "hunky" (illegible). There's a big difference. There's a big difference, because in the editorialman's concept and in white America's concept we were fighting to integrate. In our concept, we were fighting to destroy white supremacy and there is a difference. (applause) But the country could not admit to itself that we were fighting against white supremacy because to do that they would have to admit that in the "home of the free and the brave" and all that other garbage (laughter) there existed some people who had power and who were white supremacists, so they said we were fighting to integrate.

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They just took it from Job, "Though they may slay us, yet we will serve them." (laughter)(applause) So that now you understand that we're fighting against white supremacy and the question of integration is totally irrelevant. But such a limited class orientation was reflected not only in the programs and goals of the Civil Rights movement but in its tactics and organizations. It is very significant that the two oldest and most respectable Civil Rights organizations have consti---, consti---, I'm sorry, I'll have to spell this word, I can only say three-fifths of it. C-O-N-S-T-I-T-U-T-I-O-N-S. (applause) When I become five fifths, I'll be able to say the holy words (laughter)(applause)

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You already have these things which prohibit partisan political activity. (Illegible) For this is perfectly understandable in terms of the stragedy and goals of our whole organization. The civil rights movement source was a kind of liaison between the powerful white community and the dependent black community. The dependent status of the black community apparently was unimportant, since, if the movement successful, it was goint to blend into the white community anyway. We made no pretense at organizing and developing institutions of community power in the black community, but would appeal to the conscience of white institutions of power, but possibly the civil rights movement was not of a dependent, the supplement. The theory was that upon attempting to lead any organized base of political strength itself, the civil rights movement could, by forming coalitions with liberals, pressure organizations, pressure groups, in the white community for and develop pressure groups to change the country. I think we have all seen the limitations of this approach. We have repeatedly seen that political alliances based upon appeal to conscience and decency are chancy things, simply because institutions and political organizations have no consciences outside their own special interests. But political and social rights of black people will be, and always will be, dependent upon the good will of white people and because we depended upon the good will we will dominate by them and we form coalitions all times with groups that did not have the same interests as we did. If we do not learn from history (illegible) reminders, then we're doomed to repeat it and that is precisely the lesson we must learn from the Reconstruction Period. During that period there was a white man by the name of Tom Watson, who formed then what was called the Populist Party, which advocated all white people and black people coming together. Now the decision for black people to vote in the Populist movement was a decision made by white people. The people who pushed the concept was a white man (illegible) Tom Watson, and black people did not form an independent group upon which they could rely. They ran arms

wide upon to the great white father, Tom Watson. And when Tom Watson got ready to expand his party on a National basis outside of the South, the economic interests of the farmers in the west conflicted with the economic interests of the black people of the South and Mr. Watson turned around and said, nigger get out, and because we depended on the good will of the white folks we had no choice but to get out. Today its different. We're going to be dependent upon ourselves. (applause). As soon as men they say get out we can at least disrupt before we get out. (laughter)(applause) The major limitations of the approach was that it tended to maintain the traditional dependence of black people and of the movement. We depended upon the good will and support of various groups which in the white community whose interests were not always compatible with ours. Also the program that evolved out of this coalition is really limited and (illegible) terms and one which effected only a small selected group of Negroes. Its goal was to make the white community successible to qualified Negroes and presume each year a few more black people on with their passport a couple of university degrees with escape into white middle class America (illegible) the attitudes and (illegible) of that group and one day the Harlam and the Watts will stand empty, a tribute to the success of integration. This is simply neither realistic nor is it particularly desiring (illegible). You can integrate communities but you (illegible) individuals. Even if such a program were possible its result would not be to develop the black community as a functional and honorable segment of the total society with its own cultural identity, life pattern and institutions, but to abolish it, the final solution to the race problem in this country. Karl Marx reminds us that the working class is the first class that ever wished to abolish themselves. If one were to listen very closely to some of our modern civil rights leaders who would think the black people were the first people who wished to abolish themselves. The fact is that what must be abolished is not the black community, but the dependent colonial status that has been afflicted upon it. The racial and cultural personality of the black community must be preserved and the community must win its liberation while preserving its cultural integrity. This is the essential difference between integration as it is currently practised and the concept of black power (illegible) tomorrow, we try it,

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and what has the movement for integration accomplished today. Is there a black person graduating from MIT with a doctorate degree who had better job opportunities available to him than Lynda Byrd Johnson, but the rate of unemployment in the black community is steadily increasing while that in the white community decreases. More educated black people hold executive jobs in major corporations and Federal agencies than ever before, but the (illegible) which means white income and black income has almost doubled in the last twenty years. More suburban housing is available to some black people if they can stand rocks and shotguns but housing conditions in the ghetto is on steady decline while the infant mortality rate of New York City is at its lowest rate ever in the city's history, the infant mortality of Harlam is steadily declining and while the country has its greatest focus on a handful of black children who attend integrated schools at a great price and let us not worry about the 96 percent of black children who still attend segregated schools. (applause) It is time that we turn out attention to the 96 percent of our children who attend segregated schools. If white people like integration they know where to come. They always know where to come. (applause) Maybe you can have night school. (laughter) You get integration then. (laughter) after sundown (laughter). This explains why the (illegible) school dropouts are increasing among black teenagers who then expressed their bitterness (illegible) and alienation by the only means they have, by imitating the society through rebellion. As long as people in the ghettos of our large cities feel they are victims of the misuse of black power, (illegible) any way to have our needs represented in these (illegible) needs we will continue to have rebellions. These are not the products of black power, but in the absence of any organization capable of giving the community the power, the black power, it needs to deal with this problem. (illegible) time for the black liberation movement to stop (illegible) their fears and anxieties of white middle class America in an attempt to earn his good will and return to the ghettos to organize these communities to control themselves, that would mean the Richmond, Virginia since you're 52 percent of the population, the city would be yours, lock, stock and barrel, if you went to power and not (illegible). (laughter) (applause).

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But this is all for love and morality white folks is still doubting (illegible) entire city they give you four show pieces if you bow your head and say yassir when the city should be yours. Anybody who is 52 percent would take it. (laughter). The police department would be lead by a black man and the health department would be a black man and the mayor of the city would be a black man and then white people could have total integration. (applause). These organizations must be attempted in northern and southern urban areas as well as in the rural areas of the south. The chief antagonist for this organization is in the South where your (illegible) racists democratic party and in the North the equally corrupt and just as racist big city machines. The standard argument presented against independent political organization is but you're only 10 percent. I cannot see the (illegible) observation since no one is talking about taking over the country, God knows we wouldn't know what to do with it (laughter), but taking console of our own communities, the fact is that the black population, 10 percent or not, is very strategically place because there are (illegible) segregation. What is also true is that black people have never been able to utilize the full voting potential of our numbers. Where we could vote, the case has always been the white political machine stacks and general manages the political subdivisions in black neighborhoods so the true voting strength is never reflected in political strength. Would anyone looking at the distribution of political power in Richmond, Virginia, ever think that black people represent over 50 percent of the population here? This is also the effective political organization in the black communities to absorb by tokenism and patronage, the time honored practise of giving certain practices certain offices to selected black people. (applause) The machine thus creates a little machine which is (illegible) and responsive to it in the black community. These so-called Negro political leaders are nothing more but mere bolt deliverys, more responsible to the white machine, the white power structure and the white press than to the community (illegible) (applause). I noticed in your paper two days ago a (illegible) from Danville, Virginia, who heads the state Warren Committee on Human Relations said that he didn't really agree with our tactics, he should ask that Uncle Tom where he was in 1963 when our heads were getting whooped in Danville, Virginia. (applause) We understand why he got

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upset because we were kids then and all the games that we made they came in and took over, today, we going to control the games that we make. (applause) Thus, the white community is able to substitute (illegible) control for audacious black power in the black community. This is precisely what Lyndon Baines Johnson tried to do even before the Voting Rights Pact of 1965 was passed. Next the Democratic Party made it crystal clear that the measure was intended to registered democrats, not black people. The President and top officials of the Democratic Party called in almost 100 selected Negro leaders from the Deep South. Nothing was said about changing the policies of the racist Democratic state parties, nothing was said about (illegible) such leadership figures as Eastman, and Ross Barnett in Mississippi or George and Lurleen Wallace in Alabama. We don't say anything about Mrs. Wallace because I've come to understand that the Governor of Alabama is a mother (applause). What was said by Johnson was an I quote, "go home and organize your local people into local Democratic parties, then we see about (illegible) .. (laughter). We must organize black community power to end these abuses and to give the black community to have its views expressed. (applause) Our leadership which is truly responsible not to the white press and the white power structure, but to the black community will be developed. Such leadership will recognize its power lying in the (illegible) and collective strength of the black community. This will make it difficult for white leadership group to conduct its dialogue with individuals in terms of patronage and prestige and will force them to talk to the community representatives in terms of real black power. The single aspect then of the black power (illegible) that is encountered in (illegible) is this concept of political organization. This is representatives and third parties which has never worked or (illegible) black Nationalism and isolation which yields to reverse (illegible) and black power. There is such a program as developed it will not hang the effective (illegible) of the black community, but will reverse. When the black community is able to control its local offices and negotiate the other groups from a position of organized strength, the possibility of need for political alliances on specific issues will be increase, that is the rule of politics.

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First question: Mr. CARMICHAEL is, "In theory, your claim for power is good, but tell us please (illegible).

Do you think your BENNY GOODMAN can play jazz? Do you have culture? Have you ever heard of JAMES BROWN? There is a cat whose got all the impressions that black people have who can externalize that eternal impression to the fact that anybody knows it -- even if you are LBJ, you've got to tap your feet -- Thats culture.

Do we have culture? Did Dr. W. E. B. Dubois; Did J. J. ROGERS. Do we have culture? Our problem is that this society has degraded to such a level black people are ashamed of it but by turning that around, we are going to embrace our culture from now on. Yes, you have culture. We dig RAY CHARLES. He is ours. (Applause)

Were you quoted correctly in the Associated Press which claimed that you said that Negroes are not bound by the laws of the United States?

If so, why?

FREDERICK DOUGLAS, a great black man once said, if the slave wants to continue to be a slave, he should obey the laws of his master. Black people have been excluded from making any major decisions concerning any laws; have been excluded from making any laws not bounded to obey them. Taxation without representation is what it might be called. We just say, to hell with the laws. We can't make them -- we don't obey them.

Mr. CARMICHAEL. With the emphasis on black power, is it in any possible sense worthwhile to pushing for the passage of Fair Housing Laws?

Well, I think thats a fight the right community must carry because they need to help civilize the right community. However, the black people should fight for open housing as we have always believed in it. (Laughter) (Applause). Show me

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a white man whose house was bombed but would be shoot up if he lived into a black community. I wish I could say the reverse were true. White people have to fight for fair housing because they have to learn to recognize the humanity of the people who have color.

Mr. CARMICHAEL. On what- what can I do to be saved?
(Laughter)

I guess you go to church if you're hoping to be saved. I would suggest you go to an integrated church if you can find one. I'm not a preacher - I'm not out to save souls - I'm out to get black power. You should see other people in the Civil Rights Movement -- they save souls. (Laughter) (Applause)

Do you think the program "Brotherhood Power" would be better than "Black Power"?

We don't form brotherhood? We've been looking for them for the last six years and all we've gotten is beatings and jail and we're still looking for them. We've all been looking to form brotherhood power. We've never found white people to form it with us. Where are they? (Applause).

I wish you could show me one white group in this country who is willing to call us the black people for all men.

What percentage of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee is students and what percentage is leaders?

All of this is students - student of racism and the like. (Applause). The average age is 23.

What do you think of the black man being drafted into the white man's army?

Tell them, "Hell No." (Applause).

I knew somebody would ask it. There are a lot of reasons why we say we don't believe in compulsory conscription. That's with anybody - black, white or red. But since our power is within the black community, we advocate a strong anti-draft program for other reasons. Judge it in terms of morality. I don't like to talk about morality in this country because it is so immoral.

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But, to kill a man is the highest crime that another man can commit -- to take another man's life. We feel very strongly that must be an individual decision. It cannot be a mass decision. It must be an individual decision. If we decide to kill -- then we must decide who to kill. Its a big difference -- no need for me to go 8,000 miles to kill a Vietnamese. He ain't never call me no Nigger. Well then, the moral the Christians (Laughter). Jesus Christ said it is more honorable to suffer than to conflict suffering. (Applause)

That's all right you see I understand that because you see Jesus Christ was not a Christian. He was a revolution. The people who came after him were Christians. They are the ones who messed up what he did. (Applause)

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Those who believe in CHRIST - then, when they are called to serve, since CHRIST said it is more honorable to suffer than to inflict suffering, they would rather go to jail than burn somebody's house and kill them. This is being Christian, but we know about Christianity. We know who we learned it from. So, on that level, we would certainly decide if we were Christians.

But the reason now why we are really hitting hard against the anti-draft program is because using the war in Viet Nam is crystal clear to us, that that war is not a war to save democracy, freedom and all that junk. We've heard that all our lives.

I want to read some quotes. This book is entitled, "Viet Name, Viet Nam," by Mr. FELIX GREEN. I want to read you two quotes. One of them was made in 1953. I want to tell you who said it, then I'll read you another one. One was made August 4, 1953, in Seattle, Washington, before the United States Governor's Assembly. We weren't fighting the war then. The French were fighting it for us. We were just giving them 80%. End of quote.

It is assumed that we lost Indo-China. The tin and tungsten that we so greatly value will cease coming from that area so that when the United States votes four hundred million dollars to help the war, we are not voting a give-away program. We are voting for the cheapest way that we can to prevent the occurrence of something that would be of the most terrible significance to the United States of America, our security, our power and the ability to get certain things we need from the riches of the Indo-Chinese territory and from Southeast Asia. The quote was made by the Great White Father of that period, DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER. But now we would say that DWIGHT wasn't really too smart (LAUGHTER)

As a matter of fact, he was really very dumb. He couldn't speak very well in our neighborhood. Because of his speaking ability, we used to call him the white JOE LOUIS. (LAUGHTER).

And, after all, it was 1953. Certainly, we can't be bounded by that; we know this country is good at changing and we say why, certainly, it would change by now. So we want to bring somebody who is intelligent, articulate, sophisticated, tall, blond hair, blue eyes - HENRY CABOT LODGE. Dig his statement.

Georgraphically, Viet Nam stands at the hub of a vast area of the world; Southeast Asia, an area with a population of 249 million persons. He who holds or has influence in Viet Nam can affect the future of the Philippines and Formose to the east finally and firmly, the huge rice surpluses to the west, and Asia and Indonesia. Viet Name, for us, does not exist in the the geographical vacuum. From its large storehouse, wealth and population can be influenced and undermined. That's what the war is all about. And that's why we're not about to fight that war. But as black people, especially, there a lot of reasons why we should not fight in that war.

The first man to be shot for the independence of this country was a black man by the name of CRISPUS ADDUX. What a fool! (LAUGHTER)(APPLAUSE). He was a runaway slave. He wanted to prove how American He was. So he was willing to get shot while his brothers were in slavery. That's how white he was. But that's OK. After Mr. ADDUX got shot, we weren't satisfied. We wanted to prove to white folks how American we were. While they had our brothers enslaved in the south, the brothers up north got took up north and trained themselfed, man. The "nunkys" wouldn't even let them fight in the war. They said we weren't fitten to fight and they got our men trained in their bare feet, up and down the street, and got their platoons together and they begged the white folks to let us fight, and finally the white folks said, OK, and had us fighting the Indians. Like fools. What we should have done was team up with the Indians and take care of the business (LAUGHTER)(APPLAUSE)

We weren't satisfied in that. We went out and fought anyway, on any conditions, to prove that we were good Americans. Along came the Civil War and the great white Father, ABRAHAM LINCOLN, who freed me after he started the war in 1861, and signed the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863, because the south was winning. When he freed slaves, they wanted to fight and he said we weren't fitten to fight. We couldn't even fight for our own liberation. Ah, but we wanted to prove we were good Americans. Yes Sir, so we went out again and we begged and FREDERICK DOUGLAS went out and pleaded, Please,

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Mr. President, let us fight... so, O.K., you'll can fight, and put us on the sidelines. Yes sir, fought our great leaders.

After that, along came World War I. We were going to fight to make the world safe for democracy, and they started drafting people in the north during the Civil War 'cause they wouldn't go; That's why ABRAHAM LINCOLN said we had to fight, 'cause white people weren't about to for black people. So, when World War I came along, they started drafting people; they wouldn't draft us, and we were disgusted. What you mean, you won't draft us? We're Americans. Let us help fight to save the world and make it safe for democracy. We marched down and demanded, man, and the NAACP started waging a war that we must be drafted. Yes sir, let us fight! And we didn't finish fighting to make the world safe for democracy when we put our foot on this shore. They hung us with our uniforms on; we were fighting to make the world safe for democracy. Oh but never let it be said we were satisfied. We were going to prove something to America. Yes, we were. Tsk. Tsk., World War II, up in front on Pork Chop Hill. Let us take it! Let us prove to you how strong we are! Yes sir, we went over in Poland and fought for Poland to stop HITLER from running over the Polish people. We were fighting on all the fronts. We wanted to prove what good American we were.

I might only add we were fighting in segregated units, but that's okay, we were fighting for democracy. Along came the Korean War - 1948. TRUMAN got white and integrated the troops. From the Korean War, there came a chance. Now everything was going to be all right. We were integrated. Yes suh, yes suh, we were on the front lines in Korea. We would hold the lines. We must hold the lines at any price and the price was black blood. Yes suh, we were going to prove to America how good we were, and uncles and cousins came back with one legs and one arms and have some "hunkies" slam the door in his face and call him a nigger. That's all right, we were going to prove we were good Americans, only this war America is going to prove something to us. We will not fight. APPLAUSE

But be that as it may that itself would not be so bad, but we know they are telling lies when they talk about spending white money, and white lies for the rights of colored people, you know they lying. You know they lying, because they haven't spent one penny on your life here in your country, so they aint' about to go 8,000 miles and fight for anybody's colored rights. They are fighting to dominate the world. America has destroyed everything the black people have had. We must save our own humanities. We will not let them be hired killers. We must not be their hired killers. We will save our necks. We will not fight in their war. If they want to fight the war, let them. The war is for the birds - LINDA BIRD, LADY BIRD, LUNEY BIRD. APPLAUSE

And finally we are told on TV every morning how the great White Father of this country my fellow Americans we are fighting for democracy, peace, freedom and equality. Democracy, peace, freedom and equality as the black man living in this country under democracy, freedom, peace, equality. I would not fight to give this to anybody. Couldn't do it. We will fight here. Then we will understand about democracy and then maybe we would be willing to defend democracy. You can't fight for what you don't know about. We don't know anything about democracy, freedom or justice. We have never seen it in the 400 years of life on this country. Until America can show us something about democracy, aint' no need to fight for it. Let them fight their own. APPLAUSE

And I might add that we have declared war on the black college campuses. We aim to rid them of compulsory ROTC. We are not going to make them train our youth to be killers. If they got some black people who want to be killers, let them go to West Point. A man goes to college to learn how to act civilized, not to learn how to march around. APPLAUSE

College is no place to train a man how to be a hired killer. I was told that I was going to college for civilization to be civilized, to learn how to live with other men, and when this country says that the only way you can live with other men is to have an Army with you. Obviously, they proved that by dropping their bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki as they get ready to kill the rest of the world.

The history of White America is that it has been a nation of peace. They started off by stealing this very country from the Indians and committing genocide against them because they couldn't civilize the Indians.

They weren't satisfied with stealing the country, they turned around and they stole us. LAUGHTER APPLAUSE

The country has been a nation of thieves and stands on the brink of being a nation of murderers in Viet Nam. We must not let them turn us into that. We must save our humanity. It is far better to be in jail knowing that you are not a murderer than to be outside, knowing that you have killed somebody without even knowing why. APPLAUSE

This country was the leading country that set the Nuremberg judgment. The country said that if they tried the Nazi prisoners, that there is a higher law than the law of government, and they are absolutely right. There are higher laws than their laws in government. There is my law. The law of my conscience which would not let me be anybody's hired killer. I will not kill because anybody tells me to. I will kill only when I deem it necessary. APPLAUSE

QUESTION: What is the effect of the Nation of Islam, the so-called black Muslims, on the black power movement?

Historically, it is clear that the Muslims were after the Gardner movement : (PH) one of the only movements in the country that was consistent in terms of black ideology. There has been no movement in the country that has been as consistent as the Muslims has been in terms of their black ideology, and I am sure a lot of their teachings have filtered into the black community, through all of the twists that they always have to go through just to get their point across.

So I imagine inside the black community there has been some sort of influence-definitely some influence.

QUESTION: Mr. CARMICHAEL - Are you a Communist? Have you ever been a Communist? Do you believe in the principles on which this country was founded?

I believe in the principles on which this country was founded. White people don't. They never have. They started off by saying all men are created equal and they made me a slave.

They never have believed in the garbage they have always taught us all our lives. They taught us about JESUS CHRIST and they segregated their churches so JESUS couldn't even get in.

APPLAUSE

As to the question of whether or not I am a Communist, that question is totally irrelevant. I don't even waste time answering it. Just try and deal with what I say. Don't cloud the issue. What I say is true. It is a fact that this country is racist. Don't tell me I'm Communist. They tell us the only people who help niggers is Communists. You keep that up and we all are going to be Communists.

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I'm not worried about Communist aggression. I'm worried about racist domination. That's what I'm fighting. If you're concerned about Communist taking over the world then you ought to clean up your back yard.

Question: "What is SNCC doing to develop and train black leadership in business and politics -- the things that actually run this country?"

We're right her every day in the midst of it -- we've developed the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party which challenged and rocked the very foundation of the political institutions of this country in 1964; we developed the Lowndes County Freedom Movement - Freedom Party in 1965; in 1966 we moving to develop independent political parties across the country. May we remind you it's the constant and consistent philosophy of independent politics in this country by SNCC that has been leading the country to begin to think the way it has been thinking.

This is from a Negro student at Virginia Union University: "If I do not comply with student rules, am thrown out, then drafted and refuse to go and then I am sent to jail, then what? Will SNCC support me or help me to make a living?"

You organize the brothers in jail.(laughter) There are no people in the world who, when we get ready to fight for the liberation place qualifications on their liberation. If I want to be free, can I be free if I do this? Nonsense. When you want to be free you go for it. It's just a question of being free. (applause) If you put all sorts of qualifications on it, you stay a slave the way you are now. Go to school; get your degree. When you get out you make your \$4,000.00 teaching at some segregated school but you gonna be surprised cause we teaching the black youth of this country and you won't even be able to teach them that nonsense you learning over there. (applause) I imagine JESUS CHRIST would have done a good job had he said, "I wonder if I start all this stuff whether or not they gonna crucify me?"

Well, opposition is pledged. You know we'll support you. We can't promise you you won't go to jail. If you're ready to go to jail, we are ready to work with you. Until you get to that point, work with somebody else.

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Mr. CARMICHAEL: As you know, this city was chosen the All American City. (Laughing).

I don't see what you are laughing about -- it is representative of the United States of America. As you know this City was chosen the All American City two weeks ago.

It is. I don't see what you are laughing about.

There are about 400 policemen on the force here and we would like to know why there are no Negro sergeants or lieutenants on the force? After it was declared in 1946 -- which was 21 years ago. We Negroes who have been on the force have more than 21 years. This is simple.

Black people just let white people do that. Black people are more than 52% of the population here. If you formed yourself an independent party -- consider it -- you're over the majority. Once you are over the majority, you don't form coalitions with anybody. They come to you!! While we have been so busy trying to love and have morality in our environments, they have been running our lives. Same story of the missionaries. They came to Africa. We had the land. They had the Bibles. They left. They still have the land. We still have the Bibles. Same old story. (APPLAUSE - LAUGHTER).

They tell us to look to GOD. We keep our eyes open. Same old story. (Applause).

Power is what moves this world. Everybody knows that P-O-W-E-R. We're the only people who don't got much and don't even think about it. If you're thinking about love with a Cadillac sitting with Baines Johnson, you must be out of your mind. If you are talking about love with Marlene Wallace, you must be crazy.

Become you become the missionary, you must be powerful enough to put the missionaries with the guns in there. If you want to save them. If you are concerned about yourself, you get some power. Ain't no reason why the Commissioner of Police should not be dropped. (Applause)

The reason is the power of this city is left in the hands of white people and black people are too scared to fight the power. Because they are wondering whether or not they are

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going to get shot. Of course, they don't ask that question when they go to Viet Nam. No sir. Put on their uniform and get ready to fight for their country -- don't even ask if they will get shot. But tell them to fight for some power.

-(illegible), you keep saying "black power" and white folk will get upset and you know how they are," (laughter).

I've been upset for 400 years and don't nobody give a damn about me. Nobody never said, "you might get upset". I see GEORGE WALLACE, most powerful senator in this country, get up and say, "Niggers this and Niggers that" I don't know of anybody who said "Well you know if you say that black people might get upset." You say "black power" and everybody say white people might get upset. Yeah, that's right. you shouldn't say it. Later I'm gonna say it. (illegible)(laughter) (applause) You can get the policemen if you want them, all you got to do is just organize yourself and take over police problems. You laugh. There isn't one major group in this country that went for power and didn't take over the police forces. Check under Irish. The Italians couldn't get the police forces so they set up a Mafia and took over all the city governments. (laughter) Any country that wants power has its police force. They call them the Army. That's all, that's what power's all about.

"Mr. Carmichael:

"What is your opinion of the accomplishments of Senator BROOK of Massachusetts?"

Well, we know that in SNCC the Republicans gained a seat in Massachusetts. (laughter)(applause) Anytime a man's gonna get up before camera and say "See me as a man, not as a Negro," he's sick. (laughter) Sick! (applause) He is as sick as Jewish people who change their names because they don't want to be Jewish. I am black. I have a heritage. I am proud of it. See me as a black man. (applause) If he wants to be seen as a colorless man, then he ought to join colorless people and move in their neighborhoods and live with them, he's already there anyway.

"Mr. Carmichael: You have referred to LBJ and "Hankierchief Head". What in your opinion has the Republican Party since ABRAHAM LINCOLN ever done for Negroes?"

They never done anything for us, even with ABRAHAM LINCOLN. (laughter)(applause) The only two people they ever had in their party of any caliber was SUMNER and STEVENS, CHARLES SUMNER and THADEUS STEVENS. They've never had anybody else of caliber. I denounce the Democratic Party most heavily because black people have come to take that party for granted and that party has always taken us for granted. We're not concerned about Republican Party, we know where they're at. See, once you know we have enemies it okay to see them. It's friends you got to worry about. Friends! Black people got so many friends. The Lord deliver us from our enemies, it's our friends we worried about. That's what we worried about. Everybody in this country's got a best friend in the Negro, and stabbing you in the back everytime you turn around. The Democratic Party is the most treacherous enemy the black people have in this country. (applause) See if you understood politics you will understand that cause you understand who runs the Democratic Party. It is run, in fact, by southerners, including LBJ. But the power is vested in the hands of the southerners: EASTLAND, THURMOND, (illegible), and all those cats, see, and here you sit up here and talk about you're a Democrat and you have some "hunky" like BOBBY KENNEDY smiling at you and advocating all this Biblical nonsense, when he goes in the back, he sits down with EASTLAND and those cats and they're the ones who make the policy and he comes back and talk out the side of his mouth. If that "hunky" was serious in what he was doing, either he would kick out EASTLAND or he would get out. But until he does that he's just jiving with our lives. That's why the Democratic Party is the most treacherous party, at least the Republicans tell you that. (laughter)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

8/8/67

Date _____

-1-

[redacted] was interviewed at [redacted]
[redacted] Richmond, Virginia,
and furnished the following signed statement:

"Richmond, Va.
Aug. 8, 1967

"I, [redacted] make the following
voluntary statement without threat or promise of
reward to [redacted] and [redacted]
who have identified themselves to me as Special Agents
of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. I have been
advised that this statement may be used as evidence in
a court of law.

[redacted]

"On April 5, 1967, I covered the appearance and
speech of Stokely Carmichael at the Mosque Auditorium,
Richmond, Va. It is my estimate that there about
1900 people in attendance and of this number, 300 were
white persons. The bulk of those in attendance were
in the age group of 25 to 50 years of age. I observed
three Negro men in U. S. Army uniform but I do not know
their names or duty stations.

"Stokely Carmichael was the main speaker and spoke
of about 45 minutes. During the speech a bomb threat
was received and Carmichael announced to the audience
that the threat had been received but he intended to
continue with his speech. Someone in the audience
called out "That is right. Well stay with you."
This was the only audience response to his speech
except an occasional applause. I would say that the
audience generally received Mr. Carmichael's comments
as favorable.

On 8/8/67 at Richmond, Virginia File # Richmond 14-91

by SA [redacted] and AS:ddm Date dictated 8/8/67

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it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

"After the speech, there was an intermission during which the audience was encouraged to write questions on slips of paper which the panel collected for use during a question and answer session which followed. One question concerning the military draft, Carmichael said, "Hell no, don't be drafted." This was followed by a question concerning violations under the draft laws and Carmichael said, "Keep fighting while in jail." It was my impression that Carmichael instructed those present not to comply with draft requirements. He stated the fight is here at home and not on foreign soil.

"I have read the above statement consisting of this and two other pages and it is the truth to the best of my recollection.

"/s/ [redacted]

"Witnessed:

"/s/ [redacted] SA FBI, 8/8/67

"/s/ [redacted] SA FBI, 8/8/67"

In addition to the above signed statement, [redacted] advised he requested [redacted] to record the speech made by STOKELY CARMICHAEL at the Mosque Auditorium on April 5, 1967, and was present with her at the time the recording was made. He said she has maintained the original tape in her possession since that date.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

8/8/67

Date

[redacted]
[redacted] Richmond, Virginia, was interviewed at [redacted]
[redacted] Richmond, Virginia, where she is employed
[redacted]

[redacted]
[redacted] She said she was invited to [redacted]
[redacted] during the appearance of STOKELY CARMICHAEL
at the Mosque Auditorium, Richmond, Virginia, on April 5, 1967.

She said other members of [redacted]
[redacted]

[redacted] stated it was her estimation that there were 1,500 people in attendance, of which approximately 300 were white, and the audience was predominantly students from surrounding schools. She said no military uniforms were observed except members of the American Nazi Party, who were picketing the entrance to the Mosque on this date. She said the speech made by CARMICHAEL was received favorably by the audience, and it appeared that everyone was in accord with him concerning his statements regarding black power.

[redacted] stated during the question and answer session, she could not truthfully state that CARMICHAEL had made any remarks which would encourage a male citizen subject to the draft laws to ignore the draft. She could recall nothing concerning CARMICHAEL's statement, "hell no, don't comply with the draft."

[redacted] pointed out that one question was presented by a white person which inquired, "what can I do to be saved?" She said CARMICHAEL's answer was "go to church - an integrated church."

On 8/8/67 at Richmond, Virginia File # Richmond 14-91

by SAs [redacted] ed 8/8/67

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RH 14-91

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During the question and answer session, she said the main objective stressed by CARMICHAEL was to convince the Negroes in Richmond, Virginia, they were in the majority by 52% and should run the Government, and that the black man should not fight the white man's war.

[] stated it was her opinion and believed this was shared by others in attendance that CARMICHAEL convinced the Negro that he should not be ashamed of his race, and that he gave the Negro a "lot of food for thought".

She said further that some of the statements made by CARMICHAEL might be considered radical, but it was her opinion that these views and statements were true.

[] stated she did not desire to furnish a signed statement, and that she would be willing to testify in a court of law providing her testimony did not damage STOKELY CARMICHAEL.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

8/8/67

Date _____

[redacted] Richmond, Virginia, advised that he attended the speech given by STOKELY CARMICHAEL at the Mosque of Richmond, Virginia, on April 5, 1967.

[redacted] advised that this speech was under the auspices of the Richmond Chapter of the Virginia Council on Human Relations (VCHL). [redacted] stated he could not recall if he was a member of the VCHL; however, he had been a member in the past.

[redacted] stated that he was [redacted] at the speech of CARMICHAEL, which [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] stated that he attends numerous speeches each week, and that since the speech by STOKELY CARMICHAEL at Richmond on April 5, 1967 took place several months ago, he was unable to recall specifically that which was said by CARMICHAEL, and he could only vaguely recall the contents of the speech.

[redacted] stated he could not recall CARMICHAEL inferring or making any specific statements counseling of refusal of military duty; statements which would constitute obstruction of voluntary enlistments for military service or statements which would constitute obstruction of recruiting for military service or the draft.

[redacted] advised that as well as he could recall, CARMICHAEL gave the speech extemporaneously, and that he did not have any text or notes, nor did CARMICHAEL provide anyone, to his knowledge, with any printed matter concerning the speech.

[redacted] advised that the Mosque of Richmond was at capacity when the speech was given by CARMICHAEL, and he would estimate from 1,500 to 2,000 individuals were present; however, he did not know the specific capacity of the Mosque of Richmond.

8/8/67

On SAS [redacted]

Richmond, Virginia

File # Richmond 14-91

[redacted] ULS/vlr

Date dictated 8/8/67

ME 14-91

2

[] advised that the audience was integrated; however, he had no idea the proportion of individuals of the Negro race or the white race.

[] stated he did not know if any members of the military were present in the audience, and he did not recall observing anyone wearing a military uniform.

[] stated that CARMICHAEL's speech was well received by the audience; that the audience applauded CARMICHAEL periodically and the audience was well behaved and reserved.

[] stated that no statements were made to CARMICHAEL by those in the audience.

[] stated he could not specifically recall who was on the panel at the speech of STOKELY CARMICHAEL on April 5, 1967 at the Mosque of Richmond; however, he was of the opinion that [] may have been one of the members of the panel.

[] stated he would not voluntarily be a witness for the U. S. Government in any criminal proceedings against CARMICHAEL due to the fact that he is a member of the [], and he did not desire to be a witness in any controversial case.

[] stated that he did not know if CARMICHAEL had any discussions with anyone after the speech at the Mosque on April 5, 1967, either at the Mosque or away from the Mosque.

[] stated that he did not desire to give a signed statement as to the occurrence at the speech by STOKELY CARMICHAEL on April 5, 1967 at the Mosque of Richmond due to the fact that his recollection of CARMICHAEL's speech was very vague at this time.

C. SPEECH OF STOKELY CARMICHAEL
AT TOUGALOO COLLEGE,
TOUGALOO, MISSISSIPPI,
APRIL 11, 1967

No prepared text of the speech delivered by STOKELY CARMICHAEL on April 11, 1967, at Tougaloo College was furnished to school authorities or members of the press. [redacted]

[redacted] Louisiana, [redacted] [redacted] advised he made a recording of CARMICHAEL's speech and that he had only two cassettes of tape and found it necessary to erase a part of the second 30 minute portion of the first cassette so that he could record the last part of CARMICHAEL's speech.

[redacted] advised that he made a copy of this tape transcript and furnished it to [redacted]

[redacted] Mississippi Highway Safety Patrol, Jackson, Mississippi. [redacted]

[redacted] further advised that he could positively identify the copy furnished [redacted] as during that portion of the tape erased for the purpose of recording CARMICHAEL's speech in entirety, he did not completely eliminate the first recording and in certain places CARMICHAEL can be heard in the background. [redacted] advised that he utilizes [redacted]

[redacted] He further advised the original of his tapes were left with [redacted] Mississippi. As of August 10, 1967, the original tape recording could not be located by [redacted]

There are no informants sufficiently close to CARMICHAEL in Jackson, Mississippi, who could testify as to his knowledge and intent when making the speech at Tougaloo, Mississippi.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 8/8/67

[redacted] was interviewed at his place of employment, [redacted] by Special Agents [redacted] and [redacted] who identified themselves as Agents of the FBI. [redacted] was advised of the nature of the inquiry.

[redacted] furnished the following information:

[redacted]

On April 11, 1967, he attended a meeting which was held at the Tougaloo Chapel at Tougaloo College, Tougaloo, Mississippi, at which STOKELY CARMICHAEL was the principle speaker.

This meeting started at either 8:00 or 9:00 p.m., was attended by approximately 300 persons and ended around 10:30 p.m.

The group in attendance were 90 percent predominantly Negro, with approximately 50 percent male and 50 percent female all of college age. CARMICHAEL's speech was very enthusiastically received with cheering and stomping of feet and clapping of hands. Three fourths of the way through the speech the audience began to chant "Hell no we ain't going".

He observed no person present wearing a uniform of the U.S. Armed Forces nor did he know anyone in attendance

On 8/7/67 at Jackson, Mississippi File # Jackson 100-123
by SA's [redacted] & [redacted] db Date dictated 8/8/67

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JN 100-123

who was in the Armed Forces.

Following CARMICHAEL's speech there was a question and answer period of approximately 10 to 15 minutes in which the audience directed questions to CARMICHAEL.

Following the question and answer period there was no type of group discussion.

[redacted] did not make any type tape recording of CARMICHAEL's speech. b7C

No Reserve Officers Training Corps (ROTC) type training is at Tougaloo College.

[redacted] advised that he is willing to testify to his attendance at the above meeting. b7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 8/8/67

[redacted] was interviewed at her place of employment, [redacted] Mississippi, by SA's [redacted] and [redacted] who identified themselves as Agents of the FBI. [redacted] was advised of the nature of the inquiry.

[redacted] furnished the following information:

[redacted]

On the evening of April 11, 1967, she attended a meeting which was held at the Tougaloo Chapel, Tougaloo College, Tougaloo, Mississippi in which STOKELY CARMICHAEL was the principle speaker. Her reason for attending this meeting was in connection with her employment.

The meeting started at approximately 8:00 p.m. and ended between 9:30 and 10:00 p.m. This meeting was attended by approximately 700 persons, predominantly Negro, 75 percent Negro males of college age, 15 percent Negro and white girls and 10 percent older persons which would include the faculty. Most of the persons present were of college age and of draft age.

The group received CARMICHAEL's speech very enthusiastically and three fourths of the way through his

On 8/7/67 at Jackson, Mississippi File # Jackson 100-123
by SA's [redacted] & [redacted] db Date dictated 8/8/67

JN 100-123

speech began to chant "Hell no we ain't going." She observed no persons in the audience wearing the uniform of the United States Armed Forces and knew of no one in the audience in the services of the United States Armed Forces.

She did not make any type of tape recording and that the only person whom she observed making a tape recording was [redacted] Jackson, Mississippi. b7C b7C

She left immediately after CARMICHAEL's speech and could not state if there was any type question and answer period.

During her attendance at the above meeting she did not observe any type group discussion concerning CARMICHAEL'S talk. Other persons of the press and television whom she observed present were [redacted] of the [redacted] Jackson, Mississippi. She stated that all the television media were present which would include ABC, NBC and CBS. b7C

She stated she is willing to testify to the above meeting. b7C

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 8/8/67

[redacted] was interviewed at his residence, [redacted] Mississippi, by Agents [redacted] and [redacted] who identified themselves as Special Agents of the FBI.

[redacted] was advised of the nature of the inquiry.

[redacted] furnished the following information:

On the evening of April 11, 1967, he was assigned by the [redacted] to work as an electrician on the television lights at Tougaloo Chapel, Tougaloo College, Tougaloo, Mississippi. This meeting started between 7:30 and 8:00 p.m., was attended by approximately 1500 persons, and ended at approximately 9:30 p.m.

The principle speaker at this meeting was STOKELY CARMICHAEL.

The audience consisted of 95 percent Negro, predominantly Negro male of college and draft age.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL's speech was very enthusiastically received and three fourths of the way through his talk the audience began to chant wildly "Hell no we ain't going".

On 8/7/67 at Jackson, Mississippi File # Jackson 100-123

by SA's [redacted] & [redacted] db Date dictated 8/8/67

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JN 100-123

He observed no persons at this meeting in the uniform of the United States Armed Forces nor did he know anyone present who was in the Armed Forces of the United States Government.

He could not remember if there was a question and answer period following CARMICHAEL's talk.

To his knowledge no type of group discussion nor seminar was held following CARMICHAEL's talk.

[redacted] further advised that there are no type Reserve Officers Training Corps (ROTC) training at Tougaloo College.

[redacted] further advised that he is willing to testify concerning the above meeting.

He further advised persons of the news media present at the above meeting were [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] also of [redacted] and are located in Atlanta, Georgia.

b7C

b7C

b7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 8/8/67

[redacted] was interviewed at his place of employment. [redacted] Mississippi by Agents [redacted] who identified themselves as Agents of the FBI. [redacted] was advised of the nature of the inquiry.

[redacted] furnished the following information:

[redacted]

On the evening of April 11, 1967 his assignment was to attend a meeting at which STOKELY CARMICHAEL was to be the principle speaker.

This meeting started at approximately 8 PM, was attended by approximately 800-900 persons.

[redacted] left the meeting at 9 PM before CARMICHAEL ended his talk due to the fact he had to make the 10 PM news report.

Of the 800-900 persons present at this meeting 98 percent were Negro, there were more Negro males than females. The Negro males were of college and draft age.

CARMICHAEL'S speech was received very enthusiastically in that the group cheered wildly, stomped their feet and three fourths of the way through his speech the audience began to chant "Hell no, we ain't going"

On 8/7/67 at JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI File # Jackson 100-123
by SA [redacted] and HMR/jdh Date dictated 8/8/67

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He observed no persons present at this meeting in the uniform of the United States Armed Forces or did not know anyone present currently in the Armed Forces of the United States Government.

Due to the fact he left before CARMICHAEL concluded his speech he did not know if there was a question and answer period or any type group discussion concerning CARMICHAEL'S speech.

He taped CARMICHAEL'S speech, however, the following day he erased the tape in view of the fact he had no further use to reference any material concerning CARMICHAEL'S talk.

The following persons of the news media who were present were [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Atlanta, Georgia. He recalled that [REDACTED] station WTIIX, New Orleans taped CARMICHAEL'S speech.

[REDACTED] stated that he is willing to testify to his attendance at the above meeting.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 8/8/67

[redacted]
[redacted]
Jackson, Mississippi, was contacted and advised of the interviewing Agents' identities and the nature of the inquiry.

[redacted] is a white male, born [redacted]
[redacted]

He said he was in attendance at a speech given by STOKELY CARMICHAEL in the main chapel at Tougaloo College, Jackson, Mississippi, on April 11, 1967. He said also as reporters were [redacted]
[redacted] Jackson [redacted] Jackson, Mississippi, and television crews from the American Broadcasting Company and National Broadcasting Company, Atlanta, Georgia.

He said the crowds very enthusiastically and wildly supported CARMICHAEL during his speech and about three-quarters of the way through his speech, the crowd frequently yelled "hell no, we won't go".

He said the audience consisted of predominantly college-age Negro males. He said there were a few white males and females in the crowd and also numerous Negro females. He said he did not observe any individual in military uniform in the crowd nor did he know of anyone who was in the military who was in the crowd.

He said he does not know of anyone who might have made a tape recording of CARMICHAEL's speech and

On 8/7/67 at Jackson, Mississippi File # Jackson 100-123
by SA [redacted] /TF:bdb Date dictated 8/8/67

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he added that he himself did not make such a recording.

He said he recalls there was a short question and answer period following CARMICHAEL's speech participated in by the audience. He said to his knowledge no newsmen asked any questions. He said he did not know of any group discussions held following CARMICHAEL's speech regarding the content of his speech.

[] said he heard CARMICHAEL's speech from beginning to end and it lasted approximately one hour.

[] provided a copy of his news story regarding his coverage of the speech which he said is very accurate and based on his notes. A copy is attached hereto.

[] said he would be willing to testify and available to testify regarding any information he has herein provided.

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B41JA

PMS PMS

BY [REDACTED]

ASSOCIATED PRESS WRITER

JACKSON, MISS. (AP)-- "HELL NO, WE AIN'T GOING" TO VIETNAM BECAME THE NEW RALLYING CALL FOR NEGROES TUESDAY NIGHT AS BLACK POWER ADVOCATE STOKELY CARMICHAEL URGED THEM TO GO TO JAIL RATHER THAN FIGHT.

MORE THAN 600 NEGROES AT TOUGALOO COLLEGE NORTH OF JACKSON TOOK UP THE CHANT DURING A SPEECH BY CARMICHAEL. THE STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN HAD TO QUIET THEM DOWN AFTER SEVERAL MINUTES TO CONTINUE HIS SPEECH.

"WHY SHOULD A NEGRO GO 8,000 MILES TO SHOOT A MAN THAT AIN'T NEVER CALLED HIM NIGGER," CARMICHAEL ASKED. "WE MUST TELL THEM, 'HELL NO, WE AIN'T GOING.'"

CARMICHAEL'S LIEUTENANTS DISTRIBUTED ORANGE BUMPER STICKERS BEARING THE SLOGAN WHILE HE SPOKE.

COMMENTING ON THE RACIAL STRIFE IN NASHVILLE, TENN., CARMICHAEL SAID "IT IS NOT A RIOT, IT IS A REBELLION. YOU OUGHT TO BE PROUD OF YOUR BLACK BROTHERS AT FISK. THE DAYS OF A HUNKIE COP RUNNING INTO OUR NEIGHBORHOOD, BEATING US UP AND RUNNING OUT ARE GONE. WE WANT TO INSTILL IN OUR PEOPLE THE RIGHT TO FIGHT BACK ON ANYBODY WHO MESSSES WITH US."

CARMICHAEL SAID IF "WE ARE VIOLENT THE UNITED STATES TAUGHT US VERY WELL HOW TO BE VIOLENT."

WITH SWEAT DRIPPING FROM HIS FOREHEAD IN THE STUFFY COLLEGE CHAPEL, CARMICHAEL SMILED AND SAID IN "LOWNDES COUNTY, ALABAMA, TWO NEGRO CHURCHES BURNED AND A WEEK LATER A WHITE CHURCH WAS BURNED TO THE GROUND. WE WILL ALL WORSHIP INSIDE OR WE WILL ALL WORSHIP OUTSIDE..."

"AS LONG AS THERE IS INJUSTICE THERE IS GOINT TO BE NO PEACE," CARMICHAEL TOLD THE WILDLY CHEERING AUDIENCE.

HE BRANDED GEORGE WASHINGTON AS A "HUNKIE SLAVE-OWNER" AND SAID THE FIRST PRESIDENT "SOLD A BLACK WOMAN FOR A BARREL OF SYRUP...BUT THE ONLY THING THEY TELL YOU IN THE HISTORY BOOKS IS HOW GEORGE WASHINGTON CHOPPED DOWN A CHERRY TREE...NOW AIN'T THAT A JOKE."

HE SAID NEGROES HAD CONSISTENTLY BEEN GIVEN "A RAW DEAL" BY HISTORIANS.

CARMICHAEL WARNED WHITES "IF YOU DON'T WANT TROUBLE KEEP YOUR FILTHY WHITE HANDS OFF....IF YOU TOUCH US WITH YOUR HANDS WE ARE GOING TO BREAK YOUR BONES."

"SOCIETY IS GEARED AGAINST US," CARMICHAEL SAID. WHEN THEY ASK THAT QUESTION ABOUT MARRYING THE WHITE DAUGHTER WE IN SNCC ANSWER "WE NOT ONLY WANT TO MARRY YOUR DAUGHTER, BUT YOUR SISTER AND YOUR MOTHER...SHE'S NOT THE VIRGIN MARY, SHE'S LIKE ANY OTHER WOMAN."

[REDACTED] MIDNIGHT 4-11-67 B AP NM

b7C

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 8/8/67

b7C

[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted] Jackson, Mississippi, was contacted and advised of the nature of the inquiry and the identities of the interviewing Agents.

He said he attended the speech by STOKELY CARMICHAEL on the evening of April 11, 1967, at Tougaloo College, Jackson, Mississippi. He said he arrived shortly after the speech started and stayed for the entire speech. He said he was at the speech which was held in the main chapel of this college from about 8:15 P.M. until 9:15 P.M. He said there were at least 300 people in attendance and approximately 90% were college-age Negro individuals of which about one-half were Negro men. He said there were approximately 25 to 30 white males and females in the crowd. He said he did not observe any individuals wearing military uniforms, however, noted that most of the male students at Tougaloo College are of draft age.

He said Tougaloo College does not have any Reserve Officers Training Corps (ROTC) program or related military programs.

He said CARMICHAEL's speech was very favorably received by the audience and the audience was very enthusiastic and responsive to the text of his speech.

He said CARMICHAEL consciously made use of emotive mediums to incite the audience to support the various points he was trying to make in his speech.

He said to his knowledge there was no question and answer session following the speech and he is not ~~aware of any specific group discussions held following~~

On 8/7/67 at Jackson, Mississippi File # Jackson 100-123
by SA [redacted] TF: bdb Date dictated 8/8/67

b7C

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JN 100-123

the speech for the purpose of discussing the text of the speech.

He said there were several white newsmen and television cameramen present during CARMICHAEL's speech.

He said at several points towards the latter part of STOKELY CARMICHAEL's speech the crowd frequently yelled "hell no, we won't go". He said he does recall that a few of the older Negro men and women in the crowd were upset that the younger Negroes in the crowd were giving CARMICHAEL so much favorable response.

[redacted] is a white male [redacted]
[redacted]

b7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 8/8/67

[redacted]
[redacted] Mississippi Highway Safety Patrol (MHSP), Jackson, Mississippi, was contacted and advised the interviewing Agents' identities and the nature of the inquiry. He said that he recalls a speech made by STOKELY CARMICHAEL at Tougaloo College on the evening of April 11, 1967, however, stated he did not attend this speech. He said to his knowledge there were no law enforcement officials present in the audience on that occasion. He said he had made it known to several individuals that he was anxious to obtain a tape recording of the text of CARMICHAEL's speech on that occasion. He said subsequently on April 13, 1967, he was advised that a tape of the speech had been made by an unknown individual and dropped off at the MHSP Headquarters in Jackson. He said he had previously provided this tape to Special Agent [redacted] of the FBI, who had subsequently had a transcript made from the tape recording.

[redacted] said he had been unable to determine who had "dropped off" the tape recording at the Highway Patrol Headquarters, however, he would continue his efforts to identify this individual. He said he would immediately advise the FBI when he receives any information in this regard.

On 8/7/67 at Jackson, Mississippi File # Jackson 100-123
by SA [redacted] TF:bdb Date dictated 8/8/67

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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Date 8/9/67

[redacted] [redacted]
[redacted] New Orleans, Louisiana, was interviewed at his place of employment and he advised as follows:

[redacted]

[redacted] stated that he is ready and willing to testify concerning information obtained by him and tape recorded during the speech of STOKLEY CARMICHAEL at Tougaloo during the evening of April 11, 1967 at Jackson, Mississippi.

[redacted] stated that the tape recording of the STOKLEY CARMICHAEL speech provided to [redacted] of the Mississippi State Police, was the first copy or "dupe", of his original recording, which was on two tape recording cassettes which he used to record CARMICHAEL'S speech at Tougaloo College, Jackson, Mississippi, on the evening of April 11, 1967.

[redacted] recalled that on April 11, 1967, he arrived on the Tougaloo College Campus at about 6:30 PM in order to have time to make preparations to cover STOKLEY CARMICHAEL'S speech which was scheduled to start at 7:30 PM. The CARMICHAEL talk, according to [redacted] actually began at about 7:45 PM and lasted for a period slightly over two hours.

Because [redacted] at the time only had two cassettes of tape (two hours of recording time) he was forced to erase a part of the second 30 minute portion of CARMICHAEL'S speech from the 1st cassette so that he would have sufficient tape to be able to record the last part of CARMICHAEL'S speech which he deemed to be more important or newsworthy.

On 8/8/67 at New Orleans, Louisiana File # NO 100-16890

by SA [redacted] Date dictated 8/9/67

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[redacted] stated that he could positively identify the [redacted] (FIRST) copy because during the second 30 minutes, the erasure and rerun, his tape recorder did not completely eliminate what was on the tape thus and during pauses in STOKLEY'S speech the partially erased recording can be heard in the background.

[redacted] stated that he does not have the original cassettes or tape recordings of the CARMICHAEL speech and further commented that before he left Jackson, Mississippi after the speech he left the original recordings of CARMICHAEL'S speech still in the cassettes in the [redacted] [redacted] stated that possibly radio station [redacted] manager [redacted] may be able to locate the original tape cassettes containing the recording of the CARMICHAEL speech. [redacted] further claimed that he can identify the cassettes containing the original recording, if found, because they are identified by his hand writing on the cassettes.

With respect to the tape recording he furnished to [redacted]

[redacted] recalled that as he was leaving the Fougalee campus after the speech [redacted] approached him and asked for a copy of his tapes. [redacted] promised to make a copy of the CARMICHAEL speech on tape for [redacted] on the following morning. This copy was made for [redacted] by [redacted] in the presence of both [redacted] on the morning of April 12, 1967. [redacted] stated that the copy produced for [redacted] was recorded on regular tape rather than on tape in cassettes and that this copy was very good and contained all the recording of the CARMICHAEL speech which he obtained.

[redacted] further recalled that at the CARMICHAEL speech there were also a television team and a radio reporter from [redacted] California. This group from station [redacted] according to [redacted] obtained

[redacted]

3
NO 100-16890

The engineer of the [] group, according to [] is described as having reddish blond hair with a beard to match. [] suggested this news media team was a possible additional source of evidence.

[] stated that among other of the news media present at the CARMICHAEL speech were [] Atlanta, Georgia; [] Reporter of a [] station; [] a [] (UPI) and numerous other news media employees from Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), National Broadcasting System (NBC), American Broadcasting System (ABC), and others whose names he does not know or recall.

[] described the crowd in attendance at the CARMICHAEL speech as numbering about 400 persons, most of whom were estimated to be of draft age and the spectators were about evenly divided as to males and females. Those in the crowd were predominantly Negro except for about 40 or 50 white persons which included news media personnel. The audience response of the crowd in attendance at STOKLEY CARMICHAEL'S speech was described by [] as being "fantastically enthusiastic".

[] stated that if afforded an opportunity to review the [] copy or the original copy of his tape recording of CARMICHAEL'S speech that he would be able to testify in greater detail as to what took place during the speech. [] stated that subsequent to the recording of the speech he had repeated pertinent quotations from CARMICHAEL'S speech on several occasions and that he recalls these pertinent news highlights even at this time. He stated that rather than trying to quote from memory exactly what CARMICHAEL said he would prefer to be able to testify after having an opportunity to refresh his memory from the tape recordings.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 8-9-67

[redacted] was interviewed by SA [redacted]
[redacted] who identified himself as a Special Agent of the
FBI [redacted] was advised of the nature of the inquiry.

[redacted] furnished the following information:

He is a white male currently resides at [redacted]
[redacted]

On the evening of April 11, 1967, in connection
with his employment, he was assigned with [redacted]
to attend a meeting at Tougaloo College, Tougaloo, Mississippi,
at which STOKELY CARMICHAEL was the principal speaker.

This meeting was held at the Tougaloo Chapel,
Tougaloo, Mississippi, with several hundred persons present,
eighty percent Negro, twenty percent white. All the Negro
youths were of college and draft age. CARMICHAEL's speech
was very enthusiastically received with the audience clapping
chanting "Hell no, we ain't going".

He observed no question or answer period or any
type of group discussion from the audience.

He observed no person wearing the uniform of the
U. S. A med Forces and did not know anyone in the audience
currently in the Armed Forces of the U. S. Government.

He further advised that he taped CARMICHAEL's
speech, however, due to the lapse of time he is unable to
locate this specific tape and that in all probability, the
tape has been erased.

On 8-9-67 at Jackson, Mississippi File # Jackson 100-123

by SA [redacted] hke Date dictated 8-9-67

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JN 100-123

stated that he would be willing to testify if his testimony was absolutely necessary.

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AT 100-6812

D. SPEECH OF STOKELY CARMICHAEL
AT THE UNIVERSITY OF HOUSTON,
HOUSTON, TEXAS,
APRIL 13, 1967

There was no prepared text of the speech made by CARMICHAEL furnished to school authorities or to members of the press. A transcript of the speech has been prepared from a magnetic tape recording which was obtained from [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Texas. It will be noted that [REDACTED] had the speech prepared by personnel of the [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] to wit [REDACTED] Four reels were utilized in making this tape recording, which were then taken from the auditorium to the [REDACTED]

and are currently in custody of [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] of [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised that he made a copy of CARMICHAEL's speech from the original recording which was furnished to [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] of the [REDACTED] advised that the original four reels of tape containing the speech delivered by STOKELY CARMICHAEL on April 13, 1967, have been in his custody ever since they were made and indicated that he is the person to be subpoenaed in the event these tapes are to be introduced in court proceedings.

The Houston Office has no informants sufficiently close to CARMICHAEL who could testify as to his knowledge and intent in delivering the speech.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 8/8/67

[redacted] [redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted] HOUSTON, Texas, made available a taped recording of a speech, and attendant "Question and Answer" period, given by STOKELY CARMICHAEL at Cullen Auditorium, University of Houston, Houston, Texas, during the evening of April 13, 1967. [redacted] advised that he had received the taped recording on August 7, 1967, from [redacted] [redacted]

[redacted] advised [redacted] that the taped recording had been made by personnel of the [redacted]
[redacted]

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On 8/7/67 at Houston, Texas File # HO 100-10598
AT 100-68112

by SA [redacted] yk Date dictated 8/7/67

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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AT 100-6812

E. SPEECH OF STOKELY CARMICHAEL
ON 22ND STREET AT FAIRFIELD
AVENUE, SOUTH,
SAINT PETERSBURG, FLORIDA,
APRIL 18, 1967

No prepared text was made available to members of the press by CARMICHAEL. A taped transcription is however available, which was prepared by [redacted] and [redacted]

[redacted] After having made this tape recording, custody of same has been had by [redacted] [redacted] Pinellas County Sheriff's Office, Clearwater, Florida. [redacted] made available this tape to the Tampa FBI Office for custody.

The Tampa Office has no informants sufficiently close to CARMICHAEL who could testify as to his knowledge and intent in making this speech at Saint Petersburg, Florida.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 8/8/67

1

[redacted] Pinellas County Sheriff's Office, Clearwater, Florida, furnished the following information:

On April 18, 1967, STOKELY CARMICHAEL made a speech in St. Petersburg, Florida. [redacted] advised that the following employees of the Pinellas County Sheriff's Office were assigned to cover the speech made by CARMICHAEL:

[redacted] advised that a tape was made of the speech and a question and answer forum which took place after the speech. [redacted] advised that [redacted] has possession of the tape and will be instructed to turn the tape over to the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

[redacted] stated that [redacted] and the three deputy sheriff's are willing and available to testify concerning information pertaining to the speech and the audience.

On 8/7/67 at Clearwater, Florida File # TP 100-1103
by SA [redacted] nd bp (JEH) Date dictated 8/8/67
SA

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 8/8/671

[redacted] Intelligence Unit, Pinellas County Sheriff's Office, Clearwater, Florida, furnished the following information:

On April 18, 1967, [redacted] headed a detail from the Pinellas County Sheriff's Office which covered a speech made by STOKELY CARMICHAEL on 22nd Street and Fairfield Avenue South, St. Petersburg, Florida.

The following members of the Intelligence Unit also covered the speech:

[redacted] advised that [redacted] carried portable tape recorders and recorded the speech made by CARMICHAEL as well as the question and answer period that followed. [redacted] took photographs during the affair. All of which are under his custody and control and have been since April 18, 1967.

[redacted] stated that he was under Grand Jury subpoena and would not be able to return to his office at the St. Petersburg - Clearwater Airport until the morning of August 8, 1967, at which time he would turn the tape recordings over to Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

[redacted] advised that he was willing and available to testify that there were approximately 600 persons present at the time that CARMICHAEL spoke on April 18, 1967. Of this group approximately 500 were Negroes and approximately 250 were of draft age. [redacted] does not recall seeing anyone in the uniform of the Armed Forces.

[redacted] advised that the audience was receptive although there were some hecklers in the audience.

On 8/7/67 at Clearwater, Florida File # TP 100-1103

by SA [redacted] and JEN:bp Date dictated 8/8/67

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 8/8/671

[redacted] Pinellas County Sheriff's Office, Clearwater, Florida, furnished the following information:

On April 18, 1967, [redacted] was one of the members of the Pinellas County Sheriff's Office assigned to cover a speech made by **STOKELY CARMICHAEL** at St. Petersburg, Florida. [redacted] handled photographic coverage during the speech. [redacted] advised that other members of the Pinellas County Sheriff's Office recorded the speech and [redacted] later assisted in the transcription of the tape.

[redacted] estimated that there were between 600 to 700 in the audience consisting of approximately 500 Negroes with the remaining being principally white students from Florida Presbyterian College, St. Petersburg, Florida.

[redacted] estimated that there were between 200 and 250 persons of draft age in the audience and he did not observe any members of the Armed Forces in uniform among the audience.

[redacted] advised that the audience reaction to **CARMICHAEL's** speech was mixed. There was a few hecklers in the audience and a small group applauded many of **CARMICHAEL's** statements. For the most part, the audience was orderly.

[redacted] advised that he was available and willing to testify to the matters related above.

On 8/7/67 at Clearwater, Florida File # TP 100-1103

SA [redacted]
SA [redacted]

d
JEN:bp

8/8/67

by _____ Date dictated _____

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 8/8/67

1

[redacted] was advised of the identities of SA [redacted] upon contact with him in the Pinellas County Sheriff's Office which is located in the St. Petersburg - Clearwater Airport. As a result of interview, [redacted] furnished the following set forth signed statement:

**"St. Petersburg-Clearwater Airport
August 8, 1967**

"I, [redacted] make the following free and voluntary statement to [redacted] who have identified themselves to me as Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. I have been advised that this statement may be used in a court of law.

[redacted]

"On April 18, 1967, in the course of my duties as a [redacted] I was assigned to cover a speech by Stokely Carmichael in St. Petersburg, Florida, and on such occasion I took and recorded one Norelco Tape Cartridge on Carmichael's speech. This Norelco Cartridge was placed in a plastic container which, however, bears Mercury C-60 Compact Cassette. This is the only tape cartridge I recorded. I had another tape recorder cartridge ready for use but it was not used and it is a Mercury C-60 Compact Cassette and it bears my printing which I marked at the time "ready - load No. 1".

"I took the tape cartridge with a portable

On 8/8/67 at St Petersburg-Clearwater Airport TP 100-1103

SA [redacted]
SA [redacted]

and
WAK:bp

8/8/67

by _____ Date dictated _____

Norelco battery powered recorder. I maintained one position at the time of the speech which was near the car from which Carmichael was on top of and from which he spoke. I turned this tape cartridge over to the custody and control of [redacted] I have been here at the Pinellas Sheriff's Office since April 18, 1967, and the tape cartridge has been in a locked filing cabinet.

"On August 8, 1967, I was present when [redacted] turned three tape cartridges over to Special Agents [redacted] and one of them had been marked and identified by me.

"I am in a position to testify that I estimate that there were in excess of 500 people present at the time Carmichael spoke on April 18, 1967. I estimate the vast majority of the persons there were young and of a college age group. I estimate there were about 80 percent negroes in the group and there were about 100 to 150 white boys and girls of college age. I did not notice anyone in the United States Services Uniform. The audience in my opinion was attentive but not overly responsive to Carmichael.

"I have read this statement of this page and it is true and correct.

"/s/ [redacted]

"Witnessed: "/s/ [redacted] SA, FBI, Tampa, Fla.
8/8/67
"/s/ [redacted] SA, FBI, Tampa, Fla.
8/8/67"

In addition to the above, Deputy MAY witnessed the "Evidence" tape placed on his cartridge case and

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placed his initials and date of August 8, 1967 on
such "Evidence" along with SA's [redacted]
initials.

[redacted] requested and was furnished a
copy of his signed statement.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 8/8/67

1

[redacted] was advised of the identities of Special Agents [redacted] upon contact with him in the Pinellas County Sheriff's Office which is located at the St. Petersburg-Clearwater Airport. As a result of interview, [redacted] furnished the following set forth signed statement:

"St. Petersburg-Clearwater Airport
August 8, 1967

"I, [redacted] make the following free and voluntary statement to [redacted] who have identified themselves to me as Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. I have been advised that this statement may be used in a court of law.

[redacted]

"On April 18, 1967, I was assigned in the course of my duties in the [redacted] of the Pinellas County Sheriff's Department to cover the speech and activities of Stokely Carmichael. I, therefore, on April 18, 1967, took one Morelco Tape Cartridge and recorded the speech Stokely Carmichael made on 22nd Street and Fairfield Avenue So., St. Petersburg, Florida. This is the only tape I took. I took it with a portable Morelco battery powered recorder. I maintained one position while recording which was near where Carmichael spoke. I turned this tape recorder over to the custody and control of

On 8/8/67 at St. Petersburg-Clearwater Airport TP 100-1103

by SA [redacted] and WAX:bp

Date dictated 8/8/67

[redacted] I have been at the Sheriff's Office at the airport since April 18, 1967, and the tape has been in a locked filing or supply cabinet since that time.

"On August 8, 1967, I was present when [redacted] turned three tape cartridges over to Special Agents [redacted] and one of the cartridges bears my handwriting, date of 4-18-67, and my initials.

"I am in a position to testify that I estimate there were approximately 650 to 700 people present at the time Stokely Carmichael spoke on April 18, 1967. I estimate that about 80 percent were negro and about twenty percent were white. I estimate there were approximately 150 to 200 of draft age. I did not observe any members of the Armed Forces present in uniform. I believe the audience was attentive. I recall there was some cheering, clapping, and shouts of black power and I recall in response to "Hell No, we won't go", the crowd cheered.

"I have read this statement of this page and it is true and correct.

"/s/ [redacted]

8-8-67

10:15 AM

"Witnessed:

"/s/ [redacted]

"/s/ [redacted]

SA, FBI, Tapa, Florida, 8/8/67

SA, FBI, Tampa, Florida, 8/8/67"

In addition to the above, [redacted] witnessed the "Evidence" tape placed on his cartridge case and placed his initials and date of August 8, 1967, on such "Evidence" along with SA's [redacted] and [redacted] initials.

[redacted] requested and was furnished a copy of his signed statement.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 8/8/67

[redacted] Pinellas County Sheriff's Office was contacted on the morning of August 8, 1967 at his office located at the St. Petersburg-Clearwater Airport by Special Agents [redacted] of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). At this time [redacted] turned over to SA's [redacted] three tape cartridges from his files in the presence of [redacted]. [redacted] initialed the three cartridges and inscribed the date, August 8, 1967 on each cartridge. In the presence of the above three individuals, SA's [redacted] initialed and dated the three cartridges. A receipt for these three cartridges was given to [redacted] by SA's [redacted] a copy of which has been made part of this file, which reads as follows:

" August 8, 1967

"RECEIPT FOR EVIDENCE

"Received from the Pinellas County Sheriff's Office, through [redacted] three (3) tape cartridges of Stokely Carmichael's investigation 4-18-67, reference Offense #85627.

"/s/ [redacted] Special Agent,
FBI, Tampa, Fla. 8/8/67

"/s/ [redacted] Special Agent,
FBI, Tampa, 8/8/67"

On 8/8/67 at St. Petersburg-Clearwater Airport TP 100-1103

by SA [redacted] and WAK:bp Date dictated 8/8/67

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 8/8/67

1

[redacted] [redacted]
[redacted] St. Petersburg Police Department, St. Petersburg, Florida, furnished the following information:

On April 18, 1967, [redacted] headed a detail which covered a speech made by **STOKELY CARMICHAEL** at 22nd Street and 7th Avenue, St. Petersburg, Florida. [redacted] advised that his detail worked in conjunction with a detail headed by [redacted] of the Pinellas County Sheriff's Office. [redacted] stated that the St. Petersburg Police Department did not make a recording of the **CARMICHAEL** speech and in view of the length of time that has transpired, he was not able to comment on the subject matter of the speech.

Concerning the audience, [redacted] indicated that he estimated that there were 500 to 600 in attendance. He estimated that there were at most 50 white persons in the audience, the rest being Negro. Most of the white persons in attendance were students from the Florida Presbyterian College, St. Petersburg, Florida.

[redacted] advised that the sound system used by **CARMICHAEL** was of poor quality and **CARMICHAEL** could only be heard by those who were close to the speaker's platform which was on top of an automobile.

[redacted] stated that the audience did not appear to be receptive to **CARMICHAEL**'s speech and **CARMICHAEL** received very little applause during and at the conclusion of the speech.

[redacted] advised that he would be unable to estimate at this time the number of men in the audience who would be of draft age.

[redacted] advised that the following members

On 8/7/67 at St. Petersburg, Florida File # TP 100-1103
by SA [redacted] and JRH:bp Date dictated 8/8/67

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of the St. Petersburg Police Department Intelligence Bureau
were members of the detail covering the speech:



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 advised that he is available
and willing to testify to the matters related above.

AT 100-6812

F. SPEECHES BY STOKELY CARMICHAEL
AT THE UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON,
SEATTLE, WASHINGTON,
APRIL 19, 1967,

AND
AT GARFIELD HIGH SCHOOL,
400 23RD AVENUE,
SEATTLE, WASHINGTON,
APRIL 19, 1967

No prepared texts of these speeches made by CARMICHAEL were furnished to school authorities or to members of the press. Tape transcriptions are, however, available. [redacted] recorded the speech delivered by CARMICHAEL at the University of Washington and made a copy of this original recording, which he has maintained in his personal possession. He can testify that this is a true and accurate copy of the tape. [redacted] recorded the speech delivered by CARMICHAEL at Garfield High School and has the original or master copy of this speech in his personal possession, which he has retained since the time of recording.

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The Seattle Office has no informants sufficiently close to CARMICHAEL who are aware of his knowledge and intent in making the above two speeches.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL AT THE
UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

April 19, 1967

Seattle, Washington

Why don't you all read an article with the depth of the Massachusetts Quarterly Review entitled Towards Black Liberation (unintelligible) paper and then we could have some discussion afterwards. I understand that the press has not been doing too good a job covering the activities of SNCC. I don't think they will be able to cover the lecture today because it is on an intellectual level. But since you are college students I know you'll be able to deal with the lecture. I'm sorry that Professor Hunt had to take so much time reaffirming free speech, I just assumed it was a natural thing, they taught it to me in school. One of the most pointed illustrations of the need for black power as a positive and redemptive force in a society degenerating into a form of totalitarianism is to be made by examining the history of distortion that the concept has received in the national media of publicity. This debate as in everything else that affects our lives black people are dependent on and at the discretion of forces and institutions within the white society which have little interest in representing us honestly. Our experience with the Nation Press has been that where they have managed to escape the most vicious special interests in "Get whity" sensationalism and race war mongering, individual reporters and commentators have been conditioned by the developing racism of the society to the point where they are incapable even of objective observations and reporting of racial incidents much less the analysis of ideas.

But this limitation of visions and deception is an inevitable consequence of the dictatorship of definition, interpretations and consciousness along with the censorship of history that the society has inflicted upon black people and consequently upon itself. Our concern for black power addresses itself directly to this problem. The necessity for black people to reclaim our history and our identity from the cultural terrorism and depravation of self justifying while guilt. To do this we shall have to struggle for the right to create our own terms through which to define our selves and our relationship to the society and to have these terms recognized. This is the first necessity of a free people and the first right that any oppressor must suspend. Now we feel very strongly about that in SNCC, the right to define, the (unintelligible) philosophers feel that it is very important, the ability for man to define himself, (?) for example, on the first page of the Rebel tells us that when the slaves stop accepting the definition of slave imposed upon him by his master, then and only then does he begin to create a life for himself. That's very important, we see examples of that all the time. The trouble with the world today is that white western society as opposed to western civilization which has been a misnomer, white western society has named and defined everyone, and the people are trapped by those definitions. Let me give an example. We watch the television (idiot box) and we have the red man and the white man, and they are engaged in a battle, the white man is losing and he calls for the calvary and the calvary comes out and they

are riding very white and very proper and they get off their horses and they load their guns and they systematically shoot all the red men. They kill them all and then they ride back to the fort and there is a white woman standing at the door and she said, "what happened?" And they answered, "we had a victory, we killed all the Indians". And everyone applauds. Now when the reverse happens, when the red man beat up the white man and there is one man left hanging over a horse and she says, "what happened?" and he says, "those dirty Indians came and massacred us." You've got to understand that in your mind. What they are saying is that a massacre is less honorable than a victory so that the red man will never be able to match the white man, he will always have a massacre and I guess maybe they have something to that, because in a victory you shoot people to death and in a massacre you cut them to death, and I guess if we're going to die we'd rather be shot than cut. That's also very prevalent today on television in the news. I don't know if you ever watch the editorial twins of America, Huntley and Brinkley, but if you ever watch them, particularly when they talk about the war in Vietnam, one usually says those dirty, filthy communist Viet Cong Rebels, disgusting people, threw a molotov cocktail today and wounded 17 of our civilians. Then the other guy comes on and says, "In the mean time our good GIs have been bombing the hell out of North Vietnam. And the implication is that it is bad to throw molotov cocktails but it is ok if you bomb. The white fathers of American racism knew this instinctively it seems, as it is indicated by the continuous record of the distortion and the omission in their dealings with the red and black men. That is

also very clear with this cat called Christopher Columbus who discovered America even though there were people here when he got there. But because white Western society had the power to define, they had defined the red man as an Indian and they did that because Columbus was stupid, he died thinking he was in India, that's how dumb he was and he called red people Indians and because of that they're stuck with the name Indians and he didn't even know that he was in the United States of America. In the same way the Southerner apologises, for her Jim Crow society have so muddled, obscured and misrepresented the records of the reconstruction period until it is almost impossible to tell what really happened during that period. Their contemporary counter-parts are busy doing the same thing with the history of the civil rights movement.

Just one word about the gentlemen of the press.

They usually have names that they give to us like racists, reverse racists, and anti-whites and I have yet to see one black man among them when they come to report about SNCC. In 1964 for example, the National Democratic Party, lead by L. B. Johnson and boy wonder H. H. Humphreys. In SNCC we call them Batman and Robin because they run a (unintelligible) Government. In the black community H. H. Humphrey stands for Handkerchief Head Humphrey. Handkerchief Head is someone who is more (?) than an Uncle Tom, he's an unconditional yes man. I don't know if you dug Lynden when he delivered his State of the Johnson message to the Union back in January or February, but if you were able to dig him, while he was speaking the cameras

were splashed on the back of Handkerchief Head and he was just (giggle, giggle) a just a himmen and a hawen. But anyway these two cats cynically undermine the efforts of Mississippi's black population to achieve some degree of political representation. We're speaking now of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party challenge which took place in 1964, Atlantic City, at the National Democratic Party Convention. Yet (unintelligible) the events of that convention (unintelligible) one sees only that version fabricated by the press agents of the Democratic Party. A year later the house of representatives in an even more vulgar display of political racism made a mockery of the political rights of Mississippi's black when it failed to unseat the Mississippi delegation to the house which had been elected through a process which had systematically excluded over 450,000 voting age blacks, almost one half of the total electorates of that state. Yet that same house two years later was able to unseat Mr. Powell because he did the same thing that they did but with more style. Whenever this event is mentioned in (unintelligible) it is in terms which leaves one with the rather curious impression that somehow the oppressed black people of Mississippi are at fault. But confronting the Congress with the situation in which they had no alternative but to endorse Mississippi's racial political practices. I mention these two examples, because having been directly involved in them I can see very clearly the discrepancies between what has happened and the versions that are finding their way into general acceptance as a kind of popular mythology. Thus, the victimization of black people takes place in two phases. First it occurs in facts

and deeds and then and this is equally sinister, it occurs in the recordings of those facts and deeds. The black power program and concepts which is being articulated by the Student Non Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), the Congress of Racial Equality and the hosts of community organizations in the ghettos of the north and the south has not escaped this process. The white press has been busy articulating their own analysis, their own interpretations, and criticisms of their own creations and we were very disturbed about that and all we said were two simple words, black power, and the white world came down against us and I couldn't figure out why, we hadn't even been given a chance to define it, but I was reading Mr. George Bernard Shaw a couple of weeks after and he has a phrase which I think is quite apropos for the press. This phrase is "All criticism is in fact an autobiography". For example while the press is giving wide and sensational dissertations to attacks made by figures in the civil rights movement, foremost among which are Mr. Roy Wilkins of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and his counter part, Mr. Whitney Young of the National Urban League and to the hysterical rantings about black racism made by the political (?) that now serves as a Vice President. It has generally failed to give accounts of the reasonable and productive dialogue which is taking place in the black community and in certain important areas in the white religions and in the intellectual communities of this country. A national committee of influential black church men affiliated with the National Council of Churches despite their obvious respectability and responsibility had to resort to paid advertisements to articulate their positions while anyone

shouting the historical yappings of black racisms got ample space. Thus the American people have gotten at best a superficial and misleading account of the very terms and tenure of this debate. I wish to quote from a statement made by the National Committee of Churchmen which I expect the majority of Americans would not have seen. It appeared in the New York Times, last years July 31. The churchmen had to pay to get their views articulate in the three quarter section advertisement. I wanted to read this quite at length because I wanted to let you know that inside the black community there are some intelligent black people other than the ones you always see who are ignorant and usually denouncing black power, their only fame to claim. I wish to quote. "We, an informed group of negro churchmen in America are deeply disturbed about the crisis brought upon our country by historic distortions of important human realities in the controversy about black power. What we see shining through the variety of rhetoric is not anything new, but the same old problem of power and race which has faced our beloved country since 1619. The conscience of black men is corrupted because having no power to implement the demand of conscience, the concern for justice in the absence of justice becomes a chaotic self surrender. Powerlessness breeds a race of beggers. We are faced now with the situation where powerless conscience meets conscienceless power". I wish to repeat that phrase because I feel that it is axiomatic to race relations in this country today. We are faced now with a situation where powerless conscience meets conscienceless power threatening the very foundations of our nation. We deplore the overt violence of

riots but we feel it is more important to focus on the real sources of these eruptions. These sources may be imbedded inside the Ghetto but their basic cause lies in the silent and covert violence which white middle class Americans inflict upon the victims of the inner city. In short the failure of American leaders to use American power to create equal opportunities in life as well as law, this is the real problem and not the angry cry of black power. Without the capacity to participate with power, that is to have some organized political and economic strength to really influence people with whom one interacts, integration is not meaningful. America has asked its negro citizens to fight for opportunity as individuals whereas at certain points in our history what we have needed most has been opportunity for the whole group, not just for selected and approved negroes. We must not apologize for the existence of this form of group power for we have been oppressed as a group and not as individuals. We will not find our way out of that oppression until we and America accept the need for negro Americans as well as the Jews, Italians, Poles and White Anglo Saxon Protestants among others to have and to wield group power. Traditionally for each new ethnic group the route to social and political integration in to America's pluristic society has been through the organization of their own institutions with which to represent their communal needs within the largest society. Simply stated, this is what the advocates of black power are talking about. This flagrant outcry, particularly from the liberal communities that has been evoked by this proposal can only be understood by examining the historic relationship between black people and the white power

structure in this country. Blacks are defined by two forces. Our blackness and our powerlessness. There have been traditionally two communities in America.. The white community which is controlled and defines the forum that all institutions within the society would take. And the black community, which has been excluded from the participation in the power decisions that shaped the society and have traditionally been dependent upon and subservient to the white community. This has not been accidental. The history of every institution of this society indicates the major concern in the order and structuring of the society has been the maintaining of the black community in its condition of dependence and oppression. This has not been on the level of individual acts of racism between individual whites against individual blacks but as total acts by the white community against the black community. This fact cannot be too strongly emphasized but racist assumptions of white superiority have been so deeply engrained in the structure of this society that it infuses its entire function and is so much a part of the national subconscious that it is taken for granted and is frequently not even recognized. Let me give an example of the difference between individual racism and what we in SNCC call institutionalized racism and the societies response to both.

When unidentified white terrorists bomb a black church and kill five black children, that is an act of individual racism widely deplored by most segments of the society, both white and black. But when in that same city, Birmingham, Alabama, not five but 500 black babies die each year because of lack of proper

food, shelter and medical facilities and thousands more black people are destroyed and maimed physically, emotionally and educationally because of conditions of poverty and deprivation in the Ghetto, that is a function of institutionalized racism. But the society pretends either that it doesn't know of the situation or it is incapable of doing anything meaningful about it. And this resistance to doing anything meaningful about conditions in the Ghetto comes from the fact that the Ghetto is itself a product of a combination of forces and special interests inside the white community, and the groups who have access to the resources and power to change that situation, benefit politically, economically from the very Ghetto. It is more than a figure of speech to say then that the black community in America is the victim of white imperialism and colonial exploitations. This is in practical, economic and political terms true. For those of you who take philosophy it is called a truism. There are over 20,000,000 black people, comprising 10% of this nation. For the most part we live in well defined areas of the country in the shanty towns and rural black bug areas of the south, and increasingly in the slums of northern and western industrial cities. If one goes into any black community, whether it be Jackson, Mississippi; Los Angeles, California or Boston, Massachusetts, one will find that the same combination of political, economic and social forces are at work. The people in the black communities do not control the resources of that community, its political decisions, its law enforcement, its housing standards, even the physical

ownership of the land, houses and stores lie outside that community. It is white power that makes the laws. It is violent white power in the form of armed white cops that enforces those laws with guns and night sticks. The vast majority of black people in this country live in these communities and must endure these conditions of oppression because and only because we are black and powerless. I do not suppose there is any point when the men who control the power and resources of this country ever sat down and designed these black (unintelligible) and formerly articulated the terms of their colonial and dependent status as was done for example by the (unintelligible) government of South Africa which this country supports, yet one cannot distinguish between one Ghetto and another. As one moves from city to city it is as though some malignant racist planning unit has done precisely this, designed each one from the same master blueprint, and in deed if the Ghetto had been formally and deliberately planned instead of growing spontaneously and inevitably from the racist functioning of the various institutions that combine to make the society it would be somehow less frightening. The situation would be less frightening if these Ghettos were the result of design and conspiracy one could understand their similarity as being artificial and consciously imposed rather than the result of identical patterns of white racism which repeat themselves in cities as distant as Boston is to Watts. Without bothering to list the historic factors which contribute to this pattern, economic exploitation, political impotence, discrimination of employment and education, one can see that to correct this pattern will require far reaching changes in the power

relationships and the in-grown social patterns within the society. The question is, of course, what kind of changes are necessary and how is it possible to bring them about.

In recent years the answer to these questions which have been given by most articulate groups of black people and their white allies, the liberals of all stripes have been in terms of something called integration.

According to the advocates of integration, social justice will be accomplished by, and I quote, "integrating the negro into the mainstream institutions of the societies for which he has been traditionally excluded". It is very significant that each time I've heard this formulation, it has been in terms of the negro, the individual negro, rather than in terms of the entire black community. This concept of integration had to be based on the assumption that there was nothing of value in the black community and that little of value could be created among black people. For the thing to do was to syphon off the acceptable black into the surrounding middle class white community. Thus the goals of the movement to integration was simply to loosen up the restrictions barring the entry of black into the white community. Goals around which the struggle took place, such as public accommodations, open housing, job opportunities on the executive level, are quite simply middle class goals articulated by a tiny group of black people who have middle class aspirations. Now I do believe that the press had quite a bit to do with that again because they were interpreting once again a movement for us in the early 1960s. You know you would see them on television and they would say black people have been marching in Selma,

Alabama today, Jim Clark has ridden over them with horses, he has beaten them up, he's (unintelligible), he's shot at them, he's whipped them, but still they are marching to integrate and on the next day they would say black people from the north have come to join their brothers in the south. They are marching in the streets again, Jim Clark has beaten them, rode his horses on them, saddle (unintelligible) them, horse whipped them, taken them to jail, but they are still marching to integrate. So I decided to carry that out to its logical conclusion. It appeared to me that what they were saying was that I left the north to go to Alabama to sit next to Jim Clark's daughter, sister or his mama. Obviously I never went there to sit next to Mr. Clark's daughter, sister, or his mama. I went to Alabama to render that hunky impotent over my life and there is a big difference. The difference is in the first you are fighting to sit next to Jim Clark so somehow you are going to civilize him. I don't think that it is possible. The other is and the most correct position is that you are fighting against white supremacy and that is where the fights have always been. Nobody wants to sit next to Jim Clark, he's uncivilized. But what people want to do is to render the white supremacists powerless. That is very important and I understand why the news reporters couldn't say that because for them to say that they would have to admit that in the land of the home and the gree and the brave and all that other garbage there existed some white men who were white supremacists who had power and they used their power against black people whenever they felt like it but it should be crystal clear in your minds to day that black

people weren't fighting to sit next to anybody who was fighting against white supremacy because the concept of the forum was really bad you know, we've become Joe black, (Unintelligible). Such a limited class (unintelligible) was reflected not only in the programs and goals of the civil rights movement but in its tactics and organization. It is very significant that the two oldest and most respectable civil rights organizations have constitutrons (when I become five fifths I'll be able to say the whole word). Anyway they have these things which specifically prohibit partisan political activities. (Complete sentence unintelligible) But this is perfectly understandable in terms of the strategy and goals of the older organizations. But the civil rights movement serves a role as a kind of liaison between the powerful white community and the dependent black community. The dependent status of the black community apparently was unimportant since if the movement was successful it was going to blend into the white community anyway. We made no pretense of organizing and developing institutions of community power in the black community but in appealing to the conscience of white institutions of power. The posture of the civil rights movement was that of the dependent, the suppliant. The theory was that without attempting to create any organized base of political strength itself the civil rights movement could by forming coalitions with various liberal pressure organizations in the white community liberal reform clubs, labor unions, church groups, progressive civic organizations and at times one or other of the major political parties influence national legislation and national social patterns. I believe we have all seen limitations

of this approach. We have repeatedly seen that political alliances based on appeal to conscience and decency are chancy things. Simply because institutions and political organizations have no consciences outside their own special interest. The political and social rights of black people have been and always will be negotiable and expendable the moment they conflict with the interest of our so called allies. If we do not learn from history the philosopher (?) reminds us then we are doomed to repeat it and this is precisely the lesson that black people must learn from the reconstruction period. In the south they come into being a party called the Populist Party. One of its major spokesmen was Tom Watson. Mr. Watson was running for office in a county in Georgia which had forty percent black people of voting age. In order for him to win the position he needed the black votes. So Mr. Watson like some liberal people who will need the black vote in 1972 to become President, went around Georgia articulating a liberal philosophy. Said Mr. Watson, "Poor black and poor white should come together and they should vote because they are fleeced and oppressed by rich white. Black people believed Mr. Watson and joined the Populist Party and organized as an independent force. That was a decision made by a white man, Mr. Watson. No blacks were asked about that decision. When Mr. Watson tried to make this party National, to bring it out of the south, he started to coalesce with the farmers in the west. His party was too weak to take on the Industrial East. When he tried to coalesce to the economic interests of the Farmers in the west

conflicted with the economic interest of the blacks. Mr. Watson became a vicious racist leading lynch mobs himself and driving black people out of the party. Just because black people had not organized themselves independently first Mr. Watson could make two major decisions affecting our lives and we could not even threaten any of those decisions. Today that is not going to happen again. We will first organize ourselves independently, if people become racist at least we can disrupt. Thus, at this point in the struggle blacks have no assurance save a kind of idiot optimism and faith in a society whose history is one of racism but if it is to become necessary even the painfully limited gains thrown to a civil rights movement by the congress will not be revoked as soon as a shift in political sentiment should occur. The major limitation of this approach was that it tended to maintain the traditional dependence of black and of the movement. We depended upon the good will and support of various groups within the white community whose interests were not always compatible with ours. To the extent that we depended upon their good will and support we were vulnerable to their influence and domination. Also the program that evolved out of this coalition was really limited and inadequate in the long term and one which affected only a small selected group of black people. Its goal was to make the white community accessible to qualified black people and presumably each year a few more black people armed with their passports, a couple of university degrees would escape into white middle class

America, adopt the attitudes and life styles of their group and one day the Harlems and the Watts would stand empty, a tribute to the success of integration. This is simply neither realistic nor is it particularly desirable. You can integrate the communities but you assimilate individuals. Even if such a program was possible its results would be not to develop the black community as a functional and honorable segment of the total society with its own cultural identity, life patterns and institutions but to abolish it. The final solution to race problems in this country. Karl Marx reminds us that the working class is the first class of people that ever wished to abolish themselves. If one were to listen very closely to some of our moderate negro leaders, you would think that the black people were the first people that wished to abolish themselves. The fact is that what must be abolished is not the black community but the dependent colonial status that has been inflicted upon it. The racial and cultural personality of the black community must be preserved and the community must win its liberation while preserving its cultural integrity. This is the essential difference between integration as it is currently practiced and the concept of black power. And what has the movement for integration accomplished to date, that the black person graduating from MIT with a doctorate will have better job opportunities available to him than to Lynda Bird Johnson. But the rate of unemployment in the black community is steadily increasing, while that in the white community decreases. More educated black people hold executive jobs in major corporations and federal agencies than ever before but the gap between white income and black income has almost doubled in the last 20 years. More suburban

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housing is available to black people if they can stand the rocks, but housing conditions in the Ghetto are still declining. While the infant mortality rates of New York City is at its lowest rate ever in the city's history the mortality rate of blacks in Harlem is steadily climbing. There has been an organized national resistance to the Supreme Court order to integrate the schools. Less than 6% of black children in the south attend so called integrated schools and 94% of our youth are still left in segregated schools which are increasingly decrepit, over crowded, under staffed, inadequately outfitted and under funded. It is time we turn our attention to the 94% of our youth. This explains why the rate of school drop outs is increasing among black teenagers who then express their bitterness, hopelessness and alienation by the only means they have through imitating this society, via violence. As long as people in the Ghettos of our large cities feel that we are the victims of the misuse of white power without any way to have our needs represented and these are frequently simple needs, we will continue to have rebellions. These are not the products of black power. But the absence of any organization capable of giving the community the power, the black power that it needs to deal with its problems. SNCC proposes that it is now time for the black liberation movement to stop pandering to the fears and anxieties of white middle class America in an attempt to earn its goodwill and to return to the Ghettos to organize these communities to control themselves. This organization must be attempted in northern and southern urban areas as well as in the rural black belt areas of the south. The chief

antagonists to this organization is in the south. The overly racists democratic party and in the north the equally racist and just as corrupt big city machines. The standard argument presented against independent political organization is that you are only 10%. I cannot see the relevance of this observation since no one is talking about taking over the country, God knows we wouldn't know what to do with this monster, but taking control over our very own communities. The fact is that the black population 10% or not, is very strategically placed ironically because of segregation. What is also true is that blacks have never been able to utilize the full voting potential of our numbers. Where we could vote, the case has always been that the white political machine stacks and gerrymanders the political sub division in the black community so that true voting strength is never reflected in political power. Would anyone for example looking at the distribution of political power in Manhattan ever think that black people represented 60% of the population there. Just as often the effective political organization in black communities is absorbed by tokenism and patronage, the time honored practice of giving certain offices to selected negroes. The machine does create a little machine which is subordinate and responsive to it in the black communities, the so called black political leaders are really vote deliverers more responsible to the white machine and the white power structure than to the community they allegedly represent, thus the white community is able to substitute patronage control for what Mr. Powell called audacious black power in the black community. This is precisely what Lyndon Bains Johnson tried to do even before the voting rights act of 1965 was passed.

The National Democrats made it clear, crystal clear that the measure was intended to register Democrats, not black people. The President and top officials of the Democratic party called in almost 100 selected black leaders from the deep south. Nothing was said about changing the policies of the racist state parties. Nothing was said about repudiating such leadership figures as Eastlund and Ross Barnett in Mississippi or George and Lurleen Wallace in Alabama, but in SNCC we don't say anything about her because we have come to find out that the Governor of Alabama is a mother, and we are for motherhood. What was simply said, and I quote, was "Go home and organize your people into the local Democratic Party, then we will see about poverty money and appointments, mah fellow Americans". We must organize black community power to end these abuses and to give the black community a chance to have its needs expressed. A leadership which is truly responsible not to the white press and the white power structure, but to the community will be developed. Such leadership will recognize that its power lies in the unified and collective strength of the black community. This will make it difficult for the white leadership group to conduct its dialogue with individuals in terms of patronage and prestige and would force them to talk to the community representatives in terms of real black power. The single aspect then of the black power program that has encountered most criticism is this concept of independent political organization. This is presented as third partyism which has never worked or it would grow into black nationalism and black isolationism which leads to reverse racism. If such a program is developed it will not have

the effect of isolating the black community but the reverse. When the black community is able to control local offices and negotiate with other groups from a position of organized strength, the possibility of meaningful political alliances on specific issues will be increased. That is a rule of politics and there is no reason why it should not operate here. The only difference is that we will have the power to define the terms of these alliances. The revolution in Agricultural Technology in the south is displacing the rural black community into northern-western urban areas. Both Washington, D. C., and Newark, New Jersey have black majorities. One third of Philadelphia's population of two million people is already black. The inner city in most major urban areas is already predominately black, and with the white rush to suburbia blacks will in the next two decades, control the heart of our great cities. These areas can become either concentration camps with a bitter population whose only power is the power to destroy, or organized powerful communities, able to make constructive contributions to the total society. Without the power, the black power, to control our lives in our communities without effective political institutions through which to relate to the total society our communities will exist in a constant state of insurrection. This is a choice that white America will have to make. Thank you.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date August 8, 1967

[redacted] Seattle, stated that she is a housewife and attended a speech given by STOKELY CARMICHAEL at Garfield High School, Seattle, on the evening of April 19, 1967. She stated that she left the meeting about 20 minutes before the end of CARMICHAEL's main speech as she was worried about getting out of a traffic jam. She now recalled that during the speech STOKELY CARMICHAEL made a statement such as "If somebody gives me a gun, I know who I would shoot". He had been referring to war in Vietnam and had stated that Negroes should not be shooting other persons of colored skin, in Vietnam, when they had a greater problem at home. Other than this remark, [redacted] could not recall any particular controversial remark made by CARMICHAEL. She estimated the audience at approximately 4,000 persons, mostly adults, and those of draft age in the audience about 15%. She also stated that the audience was approximately 30% Negro, and she did not hear any "chanting" to answers or remarks made by CARMICHAEL. She said that the closest military establishment to Garfield High School is approximately ten miles away. She did not see anyone in military uniform at this meeting.

[redacted] advised she would be willing to testify to this information.

On 8/8/67 at Seattle, Washington File# SE 100-28676

by SA [redacted] cdv:bjl Date dictated 8/8/67

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

8/8/67

Date

[redacted] at Seattle Public School System, Seattle, Washington, stated that he made a tape recording of a speech made by STOKELY CARMICHAEL at Garfield High School, 400 - 23rd Avenue, Seattle, on the evening of April 19, 1967. He is maintaining the master copy or original tape of this speech as a matter of evidence. He said that he would be willing and available for testimony regarding this tape. [redacted] estimated the audience at more than 4,000 persons, and of this number, there were approximately 60 per cent Negroes, and no more than 15 per cent young men of draft age. He said he did not see a military uniform in the audience and does not know how many persons of the audience are in military service. He said the audience response was very warm, but he did not hear any "chanting" in response to remarks made by CARMICHAEL. He said that the nearest military base is approximately ten miles away and there is no ROTC program at Garfield High School. He added that a question and answer period was held at Garfield High School following the main address, and he does not recall any statements made by CARMICHAEL which would be construed as counseling or obstructing military recruiting or service.

[redacted] stated that CARMICHAEL delivered his speech on "Black Power and Negro Rights" in normal tone of voice and did not become overly excited. He spoke to all persons within sound of his voice and did not appear to use a text but may have referred to notes although they were not noticeable. CARMICHAEL was the main speaker of the evening.

On 8/8/67 at Seattle, Washington File # SE 100-28676

by SA [redacted] /cdv:cmh Date dictated 8/8/67

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STOCKELY CARMICHAEL at GARFIELD HIGH SCHOOL
April 10, 1967, Seattle, Washington

Good Evening, It's good to be here.

You know what usually happens is that in the newspapers they call us racists and anti-whites and say we hate white folk and all that irrelevant nonsense, and they do that because they use white people as the measuring stick. But I want you to look clear before you and you notice that in all their beautiful liberal press media, there isn't one black man. So when the honkeys talk tomorrow about violence and anti-white and hating white people, tell them they ought to have a black man reporting it because they don't understand because we are talking to black folk anyhow.

Tonight we want to do several things. We want to talk about some of the basic assumptions from which the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) moves and then move into an area of pragmatics and what in fact black people will have to do if we are going to survive in this country and live as human beings. The first thing we want to talk about is the theory of self condemnation, and we want to move on and talk about denying one one's freedom as opposed to giving one one's freedom and we want to talk about the importance of definition and the need for black people to define themselves as they see fit in this society and to have those definitions recognized by our press's white society. And we want to talk about violence because it is going to be important, because I don't know why everybody is so scared about it and they are going to draft you all and send you all to Vietnam, I guess you are going to go over there and make love to the Vietnamese. Then we want to talk about

the lies that this country has told about black people to make us ashamed of ourselves and want to move on and talk about developing a concept of people which we desperately need in this country today and we want to instill among our people, particularly among the young in our generation, the will to fight back when messed over by anybody.

We want to talk about self condemnation. Self condemnation is impossible. No body can condemn themselves or no people can condemn themselves. If they do they have to punish themselves. If I did something wrong and I admitted that I did it wrong then I have to punish myself, but if I can keep that in line so I can rationalize away my guilt then I never feel guilty. Let me give you some examples:

The Nazis who were brought to trial after Hitler was, after the Hitler regime was brought down, they said, the ones who allowed themselves to live, they said that they killed Jews but the Jews weren't human beings, they were inferior so they didn't really commit a crime or they said they didn't know what was going on in Germany at the time that Hitler was killing all the Jews or they say what most white Americans are saying today we were just following law and order. If they said they rationalized away their guilt they just served their sentences and waited until they got out. But now the ones who admitted that they killed human beings had to commit suicide. You've got to understand that. For us in this country a clear example of that would be in Neshoba County in Philadelphia, Mississippi. A honkey by the name of Rainey (sp) decides with 18 other honkeys to kill three people. Now the entire county of Neshoba

cannot indict Rainey because they elected him to do just what he was doing, to kill anybody who troubled with the status quo. If they indicted him then all of them would be guilty and they can't do that, they cannot admit that they are guilty and in SNCC we say that white America, the total community, cannot condemn herself for the acts of brutality and beastiality that she has heaped upon us as a race, black people, It's impossible for her to do it. She must rationalize away her guilt. She must blame us or blame everybody else but herself because if she were to blame herself, she would have to commit suicide. MY brother LEROY JONES reminds me that wouldn't be a bad idea.

Now we want to move from there into the concept of denying one one's freedom, and this is very, very important because white people have assumed that they are gods, that they can give somebody their freedom, and so if they don't like the way you act they won't give you your freedom. But now what you have to get crystal clear in your minds is that no-body gives anybody their freedom, people can only deny somebody their freedom. This is very important. We are all born free. We are enslaved by the institutions of racism that white America produces. Our job is to stop America from being racist, not to give us our freedom, so in reality our fight is to civilize white America. Now then if you take that to its logical conclusion you would say that any civil rights bill that was passed in this country would have eased the struggle for black people but it helped civilized white America. Let me give you an example:

I'm black, I know that I'm black. I know that I am a human being and I know that with that comes certain dignities that all human beings have. One of those is that I am able to enter a public place.. But now there are some dumb hunkeys who don't know that so that every time I try to enter a store the hunkey gets in my way, shoots at me, bombs my church, kills my children or beats me up because he doesn't know that I'm a human being so the white folk in Washington, D. C., got to write a Civil Rights Bill to tell this hunkey, -when I come, get out of my way. So that what they have done is they have civilized this hunkey because I'm the same man I was, I still go into the store. The only trouble is that he is not forced to recognize my humanity. That is very important. It is the same thing that is true about the voting rights act. We're black, we know we should be able to vote, but everytime we try to vote some hunkey stops us, so they got to pass a civil rights bill to stop them from denying us our rights. They don't give us anything. You've got to get that clear in your mind.

Now then we want to talk about definitions because they are very, very important. You see White Western Society and you should use the word Western Society never Western Civilization, because they don't know nothing about it. White Western Society has been able to define everybody and they just define them and put them in places, and when they define, they can't get out those definitions and people just stay there. Let me give you some examples so you can understand better:

You watch the red man and the white man on TV fighting each other. If the red man is winning then the white man calls for the calvery and here come the calvery, and they are riding very white and very proper, and when they get up to where the battle is they all get out their guns and they systematically shoot all the red men, you know, kill them dead. They get back on their horses and they ride back to the fort, and at the fort there is a white woman standing there, and she says, "What happened?", and there is always this Lieutenant who says, "We had a victory, we killed all the Indians". This is very good. Now the next time when the reverse happens, when the red man beats the hell out of the white man and there is one of them left dragging on the horse and she says, "What happened?" "Those dirty Indians, they massacred us." There was a feeling in there that a massacre is not as good as a victory. A victory is much better. She say 34 red people who all there lives are going to fight and they are never going to have a victory. Here is Sittin Bull, the greatest strategist you have in the world, he has won all these wars, but he ain't never going to win a victory, he's always going to win a massacre. And a massacre is dirty. You've got to understand that in your mind. You see that on television all the time, even today about the Vietnam war. Do you ever hear, "Those dirty, filthy, rotten, Communist, rebels, they threw a Molotov cocktail and killed civilians"? And then the other guy comes back and says, "In the mean time our good GI boys have been bombing the hell out of North Vietnam." Or even better would be a group

of students at Nashville decide to take care of some hunkey cops because they are picking on them, and its Fish Students Riot and in Fort Lauderdale hunkeys go and throw bottles and beers at policemen, they are going to say College Students go on a spree. So the white people have been defining us all our lives and we have been forced to react to those definitions and see they call us negroes, so I guess you all came from negro land. You have allowed white people to name you. When we were in Puerto Rico a couple of months ago we were speaking in spanish, I looked through the dictionary to find a word for negro in Puerto Rican. There is no such word. The closest word is negro, it means black. In french there is no word for negro. In german there is no word for negro. In Swahili there is no word for negro. You wouldn't want me to leave out Swahili, it's what's happening. So that they have defined that, and with the word negro comes dumb, stupid, apathetic, love water melon, and got good rhythm. But now they do something even more insidious with definitions. Let me give you an example, so then we can get into black power and the definitions of black power.

Now you remember, especially from my generation when this whole thing broke out with integration, and we used to sit glued to the TV set, you know and our black leader would get up and say "We want to integrate" and in our minds we knew the cat was talking about good schools, good houses, good jobs, and a good way of life. That was in the minds of all black people, but some dumb hunkeys going to jump up and say "You want to marry my daughter, don't you?" And then instead of our black leaders being aggressive and saying later for you hunkey, at that time

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they would react to the hunkey, see they would let him define their own term, integration and he would say "Uh Uh we don't want to be your brother, we want to be your brother". And they just go to sweaten and puffin and "we don't want to sleep in your bedroom, we just want to live next door to you!" An so they were doing what ever the hunkey who defined their term, and they were reacting to his definition. They don't pull that junk with us in SNCC because we tell them right out when they come with that nonsense about marrying their daughter, your daughter, your sister, your mama, we tell them. We tell them crystal clear the white woman is not the queen of the world she's not the virgin Mary, she can be made like any other woman. Let's move over to something important, so that we will not be caught in a bind about reaction to their definitions and the same thing happens. We say black power, and some hunkey going to jump up and say "Oh you mean violence" and he wants us to say "Oh no boss man, we don't mean violence". Later for the hunkey, it's our term, we know what it means. Later for them. Black power is the coming together of black people to fight for their liberation by any means necessary. Now we want to talk about violence. Because I understand that some of your so called negro leaders have been saying that we violence. I won't deny it, yea I'm violent, somebody touch me I'll break their arm. But the problem isn't one of violence sec, the problem is one of hitting back white people when they hit you, that's the real problem, because we've never done that all of our lives. They have been able to walk over us, bomb our churches, beat us up, shoot into our houses, lynch us, and do everything they wanted to do and we

would just sit there and whisper about it behind closed door. It's a new day today. But what really upsets me is these people who talk about violence and not concerned about black people because there is more violence in our neighborhood on Friday and Saturday night then there is anyplace else. We cut and we shoot each other more than we touch anybody in the world and don't nobody talk out against that violence. And the reason they don't do it is because they don't give a damn about us, they are only concerned about white folks. If they were against violence they would be preaching non violence in the black community because that's where we need it most. We need it there. We need it to learn to love and respect each other and stop cutting and shooting each other but they don't care about us. The only time you hear these preachers talk about non violence is when a hunkie hits you and you're getting ready to take care of business. Then you see them on television. The only rule they have is to condemn their own people or we don't believe in violence those vagabonds throwing rocks and bottles, oh yes, we believe in the war in Vietnam, we think our boys should go over there and shoot, but we don't believe in violence at all, what is that junk. They're going to put you in a uniform and send you 8,000 miles to shoot a man who ain't never called you a nigger, get out of here. And you get cats like Lyndon Bains Johnson get up on TV and say "Ma fellow Americans every night before I go to sleep, I ask myself what have I done to preserve peace for this country". And here he is talking about preserving peace and dropping bombs all over Hanoi, bomb, bomb, bomb, bomb, bomb. And then he get up

before national TV and he says violence never accomplishes anything. Well if the hunkey believes that then tell him to use non violence in Vietnam. What they are saying is violence is OK against everybody except the white man, that's what they are saying, and you ought not to get fooled by it, you ought to understand that in the world there exists, especially in this country, a victim and executioner relationship. We are the victims and white people are the executioners, and they have kept us down by force and by violence and that if we're violent, it's just that we have learned well from our teachers. They have bombed our churches, they have shot us in the streets, they have lynched us, they have cattle prodded us, they have thrown lye over us, they have dragged our children out in the night, we have been the recipients of violence for 400 years. We have just learned well how to use it today. Don't you ever condemn people for using violence, and those black Preachers get up, you tell them to get the guts to condemn white folks for the violence they heap on us. If they can't do that, if they can't condemn the white folks, tell them to keep their mouth shut. So don't you get caught up in no discussion about violence, we're just making it crystal clear to the hunkey today that if you try to shoot us, we're going to kill them, so God get the noose. Now if he doesn't want to get shot, tell them to stay home because they leave their beds and their wives at 3:00 in the morning and come to our community and going to work out their frustrations by shooting into our community. If they got frustrations, tell them to go see a psychiatrist. So you've got to understand that

one in your mind and don't get carried away with that nonsense about riots, you ought to understand, you ought to be proud of your black brothers in Nashville, you ought to be proud, because what happened was on Friday night two hunkey policemen go walk into the middle of the neighborhood, and go startin to beat upon a black brother, and when the others brothers told them they didn't have to, they go and turn on them, but they forgot it's a new day. See they didn't recognize that this generation is saying if you wear a sheet at night or a badge in the day, if you put your filthy white hands on our beautiful black skin we're going to TCB. So you just dismiss that nonsense about violence when they tell you about violence, you tell them yea we dig your non violence in Vietnam. We've dug your non violence in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. You tell them we've dug it, yea. We ain't going to forget the Congo baby, we dig it there too. We dug the tried violence in Cuba, but Castro took care of them. Now we want to talk then pragmatically about how these things affect our lives as black people. What white America has done in order to rationalize away guilt for what she has done to us is that she's told a number of lies about us that she believes. Now that's expected. Hitler said if you tell a lie long enough and hard enough, everybody will think it's the truth and white America has done that. But what is pathetic and what is bad, is that some black people believe those lies about themselves. And so what we have to do tonight is begin to clarify those lies for ourselves: (You all don't mind if I take off my jacket do you?) (Us draw heat you know). Now the first lie that white America told about us is that we are a lazy people. Are

you hep to tat. And here goes some of us down the street. "Uh, Uh we're just lazy, we, we just like white folk, they're always working hard and trying to get somewhere but we're so lazy". You got to get it in your mind, We're not lazy, we're hard workin, white people are lazy. Look here, they were so lazy they came to Africa to steal us to do their work for them. We're not lazy, we are the hardest working people in this country, we are. The trouble is that we are the lowest paid, and the most oppressed and the most exploited people in this country. We're not lazy. If you ride up and down the delta in the south today, you'll see black people chopping and picking cotton for \$2.00 per day, while white folks sit on the porch, drink scotch, and talk about us. We're not a lazy people it's our mothers who take care of their own family and then go across town to take care of Miss Ann's family. So that you should get that out of your mind. We're not lazy we are hard working industrious people, always have been. Our sweat builds this country.

Now the next lie she tells is what she tells our kids in school. If you work hard you will succeed. Now you all know that's a lot of junk. Because if that were true, black people would own this country, lock, stock and barrel. It's not a question of hard working, it is a question of he who has power and he who has control. That's all, that's all it's about, because we are the people who really build this country. We are the domestics, we are the share croppers, we are the fruit pickers, we are the janitors, we are the elevator men, we are the garbage

men, we are the hardest working people in the country. If it were true that you have to work hard to succeed, then the contrary of that would be true. That people who didn't work hard would be poor, and Bobby Kennedy would be the poorest Hunkey in this country. So then we must begin to get it crystal clear in our minds, it is simply a question of he who has power and we don't have that, we've got everything else but that and the white man ain't got nothing but that. We got love, we got non violence, we got morality, we got christianity, we got rhythm, we got everything you need, but we ain't got power. The hunkeys don't have love, can't spell non violence, they don't know what religion is all about, you know they ain't got rhythm, but (unintelligible). But they have power, that's what they have, power over our lives, so we got to get it clear the thing we need is power.

The next lie they tell us is this thing about education. You go to school and get a degree, you're going to make it. All of our college students, when they get out of college, with a college degree, make less money than a hunkey with a high school degree. Not only that, the education system that they teach us is riddled with racism, filled with racism. We can't see ourselves projected anywhere, they show us as a stupid people to let us keep thinking we're stupid, they start out with their elementary books about Tom, Dick and Jane. Tom is white, Dick is white, Jane is white, even their dog Spot is white. And the only time we see ourselves is Little Black Sambo on the last page eaten water melon. But not only is it

riddled with out right racism it is riddled with subtle racism and the history books just lie, lie. And they have to lie because white people have got to lie because white people have to lie to themselves, they cannot tell the truth about themselves. And what happens is they fill our minds with all those lies and have us accept them as truths. Let me give you an example of one that's very hard but you don't dig it.

If I said to you that MR. Quami Enkruma, (who is a brilliant black man, he is out of sight, he should be your hero, don't let them white folk fool you, he's out of sight). Now if I said to you that Mr. Quam (you wouldn't know about him because he is the leader in Africa, or was until the CIA overthrew him) Now if I said to you that Mr. Quami Enkruma discovered England in 1961, you'd laugh, but if that was the first time that that black man had set foot on England and if we as black people did not recognize the existence of non black people, he would have discovered England. If I said to you that Christopher Columbus discovered America in 1492 you say that's right, if you were my teacher you would give me an A, all right, now dig. Here comes this hunkey from Europe, steps foot on this country, there are red people here but they don't exist so he discovers it. And this has been the history of white society. They have never recognized anybody who is non white, so nothing happens until they come and find you. But now you've got to dig this thing about Columbus real deep because you hate telling you that he discovered America and he was a dumb hunkey, I mean he was stupid, he died thinking he was in India. That's how dumb he was. And because he was stupid he titled the red man Indians and to this day they have the name because some dumb Hunkey thought he was

in India. So you've got to understand that. That's how riddled with racism it is that you can't even recognize it. They don't even recognize how racist it is to say that Christopher Columbus discovered America and they never will admit it. They can't, They can't. Not only that if you wrote the rehistory of this country we would say that this country is a nation of thieves. It started off by stealing the country from the red men and committing genocide against him. Not only did it steal the country from the red man, it wasn't satisfied, it turned around and it stole us from Africa. You've got to understand that this country has been a nation of thieves, and is moving to become a nation of murders in Vietnam and we've got to stop this. Because we have to save our humanity. Let white America do as she will, but as black people we will save our humanity. This is very, very important. They start our kids off with the Roman Empire, with the Greek Empire, they never teach you about Africa, they make you ashamed of Africa. You ask kids, where are you from, I'm from Seattle, where is your grandmother from, from Kansas, and where is your great grandmother from, from Texas, and where your great great grandmother from mmmmmmmmmmm. SHE IS FROM AFRICA!!!!!! But you don't know anything about Africa because you have let white people define Africans as savages. You let them define them for you and you don't want to be a savage. You want to be white. You want to be so white that you don't want to be part of your brothers in Africa, you want to be so white that you'll go to the movies to watch Tarzan. You want to be so white that you sit up on that movie seat and yell for Tarzan to beat up your black brother, that's how white you want to be. You should recognize what they are doing to you. Here you

are jumping up there, identifying with a white man, when he is dumb, he is dumb, he can't even speak, all he says is (Tarzan's war hoop). And your over there identifying with this white man because what they're telling you is here comes a hunkey from Europe, and because he's so smart and so intelligent and we're black and stupid he comes over to Africa and he knows the jungle better than us and we've been living there all of our lives. And when ever we get into trouble with the elephants we got to go to the great white father to talk to the elephants for us. Ain't that (something). What you have to recognize is what they have done is brain washed us. When you see Tarzan on TV you yell for your black brothers to come together and beat the hell out of that white man. But see that has been calculated by white America, that we will never find out about ourselves, because a people without its roots or people without its history is like a tree without its roots and we've been floating for 400 years. Digustin. They didn't tell you that the first University in the world was the University of Timbuktu in Africa did they? They couldn't tell you that because you would begin to identify with Africa and feel proud with other black people. They tell you about the Roman Empire conquering the world. Did they tell you that Hannibal, a black man caught the (something) and beat the living day lights out of the Romans. That's right, Hannibal did it. And when they get ready to put Hannibal in the movies they put a hunkey like Victor Mateur playing Hannibal. Because they don't want you to know that Hannibal was black, but I'm here to tell you that he was a full black man. And clear up the alps and went into Italy and smashed the Romans, you

ever see those Italian hunkeys running around here with dark complexion and brown eyes. Hannibal did that. The next time some Italian hunkey call you a nigger, tell him get away from my face, I'm your daddy. But they can't afford to tell you about the things that black people did because you would identify with them. They tell you about Napoleon Bonapart, did they tell you the little black man who was a slave named Tousad, in Haiti beat him up and sent him back to France crying like a baby. They leave that out of your history books because they want you to be ashamed and when Napoleon got back to France his wife was Pregnant for a Pygmy. And when Napoleon looked at his wife he asked her what happens when the baby was born black, she said the little man was staring at me, and he said he must have had an awful penetrating stare, my dear. But they won't give you that in the history books, they give you white heroes to identify with, they mesmerize our minds, they give you George Washington, he's supposed to be a hero, here is a man who had you enslaved, sold a black woman for a barrel of molasses, and he's supposed to be my hero? Later for him. They can't tell you about Ned Turners and the Denmark Bessies can they. They can't tell you about them because they were fighters who beat up all kinds of white folk who were trying to make them slaves, that's why they won't tell because they want you to keep on being slaves, they want to define your very actions, it ain't going to happen today. All of those things in the schools are calculated to make us ashamed of ourselves. The most insidious things they could have done to us is to make us believe as a people that we are ugly. The criteria for beauty in this society is set

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by white folk, in the books you read, in the television programs you see, the movies, the magazines, the newspaper. If she is beautiful she's got thin nose, thin lips, skinny hair and white skin, and that's beauty. And they have made you believe that beauty so much that our women run around here bathing in (something) from morning til night. They have got us believing that so that our young men go out and "conk" their hair so they can have straight hair to look beautiful. I hope you can take the truth, because they have mesmerized our women's minds so that they process their hair every Friday night. And the rest of them get their \$50.00 and buy wigs. We have to as a people, gather strength to stand up on our feet and say our noses are broad, our lips are thick, our hair is nappy, we are black and beautiful. So that we don't have to be any longer ashamed of our selves and make our children think that they are ashamed so our parents won't tell us don't drink coffee because it makes you black. Bite in your lips because it's too thick. And I was surprised when I was at college to find a young man who wore a nose clip on his nose every night, but that's how they have messed up our minds. They have messed it up so much that every time you get ready to pick somebody who is beautiful, you'd pick somebody who is light, bright and damned near white. And our mother's keep telling us when you marry somebody make sure there hair is straight because I want to be (blank). That's how much they have messed up our minds, we are ashamed of ourselves and of our color of our skin. If you want to start a fight, call somebody black. YOU ARE BLACK AND BEAUTIFUL, STOP BEING ASHAMED OF WHAT YOU ARE!!!! - 218 -

Once we stop being ashamed, we can move on because we can then begin to develop a concept of people hood. Are we so ashamed of each other, yea I'm going to (something), we'll stand here and here she come, she going to stand next to us. We're so Clanish won't go stand anywhere else, we always got to be together. We're so ashamed, we don't even want to see each other in a group. We are so ashamed of ourselves that we walk down the street and see a hunkey cop beating up one of us and know the hunkey cop is beating him up because he's black and keep walking right on by. We are so ashamed of ourselves that we watch our brothers and sisters get put out of their houses, put their furnitures on the street and we wait till night time to go and steal what we want.

We are so ashamed of ourselves that we're raping, plundering and murdering each other. That's how much ashamed we are. We have to build a concept of people hood where we recognize that we are all the same people, the same brothers and sisters so that we can move to the strength to tell them when you touch one of us you got to touch all of us. And when we can begin to move to that position, ain't none of them going to mess with any of us. But the reason is they know that they can come into our communities, beat us up, take our women, and we won't do nothing because we don't even want to associate with them. You better wake up, the rest of your brothers and sisters are coming together, they're not letting them come in there and pick on one anymore. That's what we've got to do. If they

touch one they got to touch all. That is the only way we are going to survive as a people. You've got to understand that. Now I'm going to point out something to the older folk who get upset about this thing called law and order. They say well the trouble with that nigger and SNCC is they're going around there and they're stirring up trouble and breaking law and order and they talk so bad and so menn. Let me tell you. All the harsh words that we say in SNCC, we can never begin to match the treatment that white America has heaped upon us and continues to heap upon us. We can call them hunkeys until they turn red, we ain't even begun to match what they have done to us, so don't you get disturbed about the words. It's about time somebody spoke up. But you see our older folk talk about law and order because they don't recognize that you can have law and order and have injustice. This country has law and order, it don't have justice for black people. This land has the most efficient system of law and order, he couldn't spell justice. So what we are saying to them is that you may have law and order, but if you ain't got justice you ain't going to have no law and order. We tell them like Jesus Christ told them, I've come to bring the sword not the shield. I have come to turn son against father, mother against daughter, nation against nation, for where there is injustice there shall be no peace. And wherever the hunkeys are heaping injustices upon us in every city, we are going to tear it up. If they want peace in their country, they had better learn how to administer justice, if they don't know how we will teach them how. So you just explain to them law and order without justice ain't nothing but facism. Understand that, because we have to understand that these folks ain't playing

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with us. You see a lot of folk out there thinking they're playing. You remember Noah, he told the place, come on, everybody better get in this ark, you all come on and build this ark, the man's going to rain on you all for forty days and forty nights. UnUn we ain't going, the man's good to us, he ain't going to rain on, un un, I know the man, I worked for him all my life. He give me his old clothes, he's good to me. Noah went on and built the ark, and he rained on them for forty days and forty nights. And don't you all forget Moses, he told all them Uncle Toms you all better come on and leave this Pharo. Un Un this Pharo's good to me, Un Un he's good to me, yes sir, he pat me on the head, I could speak to him any time I wanted to speak to him. I go through his back door and have tea and cookies with him. And Moses said you all better come on with me through this Red Sea, because this Pharo is a mean man. Un Un, you're just a trouble maker, Pharo, You're just a trouble maker Moses, Pharo ain't done nothing to us, and Moses just went on through the Red Sea, he left them behind. When we walk on through today, we're leaving a whole lot of Uncle Toms behind. We have to begin to instill in our young people the right and the will to fight back. We don't have it. Did you ever see our young kids, ask them what there name is, mumble mumble mumble. What's your name? Mumble, mumble, mumble. You shouldn't laugh, it's very serious. You ask a white boy what his name is. MY NAME IS RICHARD!! We are so ashamed of ourselves that kids won't even hold their heads up high. They learn to bow down before white folks by the time they are nine years old and out there those people call themselves Christians. Did they forget the first commandment. Thou shalt have no other Gods before me. - 221 -

They have taught us to bow down before white folk as if they were god and white people believe they are god. And that has been the fault of black folk because we let them believe they were God, we let them play god, but they don't understand when we tell them that play period is over and they better come on home. They think that everybody was put on this earth to benefit them and they use us against each other. Now I want to say two things before I sit down, I want to develop this concept to fight back and then I want to talk about Vietnam.

Now see, the only people that our children can identify with in school, in a school like this, is George Washington Carver and Booker T. Washington. Booker T. Washington was a super Tom and George Washington Carver was an ignorant Super Tom. Now the reason they teach our kids about Booker T. Washington was because he used his mouth to do two things. Eat and to say yea sir. And they want our kids to do the same thing, but I guess the reason they teach us about George Washington Carver, is because if white folk didn't have him they would eat Jelly Sandwiches for the rest of their lives. He was so stupid that every peanut butter factory in this country today is owned by white folk and he invented over one hundred uses for the peanut, and white folk got it all. He was so nice to them, did you see him? He used to go around and teach them, how to use the peanut and wouldn't come to his own people because we were too dumb and stupid and weren't cultured enough. Before I name our heroes for you I want to talk about this thing called culture. Cause the hunkeys are still the finest today. Did you ever hear them?

They are culturally deprived children. Are you up to that, and here you send you kids to school and they write in a paper "The cultural depovation of the black race!" Ain't that some junk? They say that we are culturally deprived. You all better let them in because they are going to charge me with inciting a riot. They wouldn't let us have the gymnasium and they are going to charge us with inciting to riot. Now let me tell you. Don't you ever let anybody say you are culturally deprived. Because what white folk are talking about is that they don't recognize our culture until they legitimatize it. Here they were teaching you in schools way down upon the Swannee River and My Old Kentucky Home was written by Stephen Foster. Ain't that some junk. They're going to tell you some hunkey wrote music like that about us and for us. He stole it, that's all he did. How could he know how to write it. The trouble is that they steal our music from us and then give it back and call it culture. Here come the Beatles singing our music they can't even harmonize and they are going to talk about (unintelligible). Here they come taking our kids to school talking about Music Appreciation. They teach them Bach, Grigaldi, Ragmonakov and all those others. And they say now lets bring it down to Modern Music and they play Gerschwin and they say and now we want to talk about Jazz. Kids here's the man who has led Jazz in America more than any other man. Benny Goodman. Brothers and Sisters. Do you know that Benny Goodman cannot carry the empty trumpet case of Miles Davis. They say we are culturally deprived. Culture is anything man made. If they say we are culturally deprived, they are denying our very existence. Don't let them do this to you. We've got

culture, we've got Dr. W. E. B. DuBois. We've got County Coolin, we've got Loby Jones, we've got Mahalia Jackson we've got (unintelligible). We've got the Stable Singers, we've got the mighty clouds of joy, we've got James Brown, we've got (unintelligible). And to put the icing on the cake we've got Rev. C. L. Franklin and his soulful daughter, Aretha Franklin. Sock it to me, Sock it to me, etc... The problem is that our culture is not legitimized. They have made us ashamed of it. Forget it. They have never had any culture, they have always stolen ours. That's a fact. The blues ain't theirs. Common be serious. We might let them get away with Bach, Beethoven was black, they won't even tell you that in school. He was a Spanish Moor, black as you and I. But they don't tell us that. It's calculated. It's calculated. We need for our kids, when they go to our school, to learn a number of things. They need to learn about Africa. It should be included in their curriculum. We don't want them teaching our kids German, they should teach them Swahili. You should learn Swahili so you can talk to your African brothers and the white man won't know what you are talking about. We need to know who our heroes are. Our books must have Frederick Douglas, they must have Denmark Bessie, they must have Nat Turner, they must have Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, they must have Richard Wright, they must have J. A. Rodgers they must have Lerone Bennett, they must have County Collon, they must have Lane Lock, they must have Leroy George, and when you get the Judge, tell them you want to know about Malcom X. But you don't know anything about Malcom X, what do you know except what the hunkeys tell you. He preached hatred, he hated white folks, and white folk, right in the paper, they put black people

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on the last page on a special sheet, call you niggers and describe you every time you rape somebody and they got the nerve to tell you that one of your own hates white folk. And you believe them. You ought to get your copy of Malcom X Speaks or the Autobiography of Malcom X and read it yourself. And then when you read it you will stand up when you hear his name called. But you ought to know that. The history is that white people never let any black man who is speaking for you speak to you they always castrate, they always lynch him, they always kill him or today they kick him out of congress. You ought to know that anything they are against you should automatically be for. That's how come we knew black power was so good, we said the word and the whole white world came out against it, and we said that's it, we got it, black power. Now finally, about the war in Vietnam. Oh before we do that black people also have to learn how to support their movement. They give money to religion but we don't give money to our movements. So we will pass the collection plate during this and you should give some money to support what you believe in. You can't have nobody else pay for the Music they are going to call the tune. If you want to call the tune you've got to pay for the Music. Oh yes, somebody reminded me to use Paul Robson, I apologize for leaving him out, a great black man. MARCUS GARVEY, got to do it, got to do it. We know all the rest, we don't want to talk about the Senators from Massachusetts. Bomb Hanoi. We have more bombs in Hanoi. Look how white we are. Don't call me a negro, call me a man first. Have you ever heard somebody Jewish.

get up and say change my name, don't call me Goldberg, call me Smith because they're ashamed of their name, they're ashamed of their heritage. Have you ever heard a black man get up and say don't call me black, I'm a man. For me American first. That's what we want to talk about. American First. Because that has been the dilemma of the black man in this country. We have always tried to be Americans first and black people all the way down the end, and that's why we're catching hell, the way we are catching it today. You ask anybody in this country what they are and they say Polish American, Jewish American, etc. Hey what are you little boy? American Negro. Wants to be American first because he is so ashamed of himself. The very first man to die for the war of independence in this country was a black man named Christus Addis. The very first man. He was a fool. He died for white folk country while the rest of us black brothers were enslaved in this country. He should have been fighting white folk instead of dying for white folk but that has been the history of black people. We've always been dying for white folk. In the American Revolutionary War, they wouldn't let us fight because we were black and stupid and ignorant. Oh but we wanted to be Americans, brothers and sister, we wanted to be American so bad that we got out in our bare feet and tramped up and down the Eastern Shores of this country, training with wooden rifles, begging white folk to let us fight, and finally they came and they said good you can fight. And they had us fight, and we went out and fought the Indians in the war for independence like fools we should have teamed up with the Indians. But that was alright, we fought and we won the war.

Our blood was shed and they gave us a purple heart and patted us on the head and said that's a good nigger. The rest of our brothers was still in slavery, but we were fighting because we were good Americans. We wanted to prove to America how good we was to her. The Mexican - American War came and they were yelling about remember the Alamo. They never told you the Alamo was on Mexican territory but that's ok we went out there and we begged to fight. Here we were again fighting non white people, dying for the white man. The war wasn't even over and we were still in slavery. Then came the civil war. Our great white father, Abraham Lincoln was supposed to free us. Started the war in 1861 and didn't sign the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863 because the south was beating the living day lights out of the north and wouldn't even let us fight in the Civil War. He said we wern't fitting to fight. And Frederick Douglas, a great black man had to go to him and urge him to let us fight. And when the south was still winning he let us fight, but in segregated units. Said Mr. Lincoln, we wern't fitting to fight next to white men. Oh but we wanted to prove to America how good we were so we went out and fought in the Civil War. Then came World War I and they were drafting white people and they wouldn't draft us and we were ashamed. Oh draft us we cried. Please draft us. The NAACP begged them to draft us. Our forfathers ran to the draft table, we are good Americans, let us fight and they sent us over to Europe to make the world safe for democracy and we couldn't even spell the word democracy. That was in World War I. We didn't even come back. We didn't have a chance to take our uniforms off after World War I when they hung an entire platoon in Texas with our uniforms on our backs. Oh but we wern't, Oh not

us. We got to prove what good Americans we are so here come World War II and we're going to fight we are going to prove how good we are. Let us fight on the front lines. Let us stop this war. We must fight, we are good Americans, let us take Pork Chop Hill.. Let us fight in Poland to stop Hitler and our fathers gave their lives in Poland to stop Hitler from running over the Poles and in 1966 a Polish hunkey in Cicero will throw a rock at us and tell us get out of this neighborhood. Oh, but not us, we were good Americans, we were going to fight. And you ought to read MR. Langston Youths, Will Fight for Freedom, the History of the NAACP. He tells you in Texas there was a prison camp and black Americans soldiers who were going to Europe to fight for this country were bringing home Nazi Prisoners and they put them on a train in New York and when they get to Washington, D. C., the white Nazi who were enemies of this country sat in the front of the train and the niggers had to sit in the back. Oh but we wanted to prove what good Americans we are. May I remind you that in World War II we fought in segregated units. Oh but that wasn't enough, we wanted to be good Americans, so Mr. A. Philip Randolph in 1947 and 1948 mounts a campaign to integrate the troops and Truman get white enough and he integrates the troops and here comes our chance Korea, at last our chance to fight with our white brothers. Oh we must stop Communism at any price was the cry and it was our blood that paid the price. It was our blood that stopped Communism at any price. And our uncles came back to this country with one leg and one arm, only to walk into a store and have some foreigner slam the door in

his face and say get out my store, nigger. But we wanted to prove what good Americans we were in the Vietnamese war, let America prove something to us. We will not fight in their war. How could you let them destroy your humanity. How could you let them put you in a uniform and go fight people who have never done anything to you. How could you? When are we going to get the strength to tell this country we will not let her destroy us. You see that hunkey MacNamara on television. He ain't nothing but racist standing up there talking about Yes we're going to draft 30% of the negros in the Army. This is where they can have equal opportunities. Yes, Yes it's true that they're only 10% of the population but this is a better chance for them. When that Hunkey talk about drafting about drafting 30% of black people he is talking about Black Urban Removal. Nothing else. You have got to understand that that war on Vietnam is calculated to get rid of us. 35% of the people who die in Vietnam are us, by their figures. So you know what the true figures really are. You are to stand up like the greatest, the prettiest Muhammad Ali, and you are to tell them we are not going to fight your war. You get up on your feet and tell them that war is for the birds. Lynden Bird, Lady Bird and Lucy Bird. You tell them we are no longer going to kill people just because a hunkey says kill. You tell them when we decide to kill we will decide who we are going to kill. You have to recognize what they are doing. Dr. Martin Luther King was a great leader of his people until he came out against the war in Vietnam. Then all of a sudden he's not fitting to lead us anymore because the hunkey still think they are picking our leaders for us today. You stand back behind Dr. Martin Luther King, 100%

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behind him. And you tell them that on the question of Vietnam he is nice to them on how we really feel about it. So you tell them they better be happy with Dr. King. Because when some of us get going we know who we are going to kill. So you tell them they better be happy Dr. King is as nice as he is about that war in Vietnam. OUR BLOOD HAS BEEN SPILLED INSIDE OUT FOR THIS COUNTRY, AND ALL WE GOT TO SHOW FOR IT IS SOME HUNKEY CALLING US NIGGER, RAT AND WRECHED AND SLUM, ALL OVER THE MOST POWERFUL COUNTRY IN THE WORLD!!! OUR GUTS AND BLOOD HAVE BEEN SPILLED FOR THIS COUNTRY AND WE GO TO THE WORST SCHOOLS CAN PRODUCE. We who have spilled our guts and blood for this country. Our Guts and our blood have been spilled for this country. It's time we spill them for our people. Thank You.

AT 100-6812

G. SPEECH BY STOKELY CARMICHAEL
AT CARMEL PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH,
3549 READING ROAD,
CINCINNATI, OHIO,
April 29, 1967

No prepared text is known to have been furnished to members of the press relating to the speech delivered by CARMICHAEL. [redacted]

[redacted] Cincinnati, Ohio, made a tape recording of CARMICHAEL's speech delivered on April 29, 1967. [redacted] no longer has possession of the transcription as he made it available to [redacted]

of [redacted] [redacted] is of the opinion this tape was furnished to the Cincinnati, Ohio Police Department. A copy of this speech was made available on a confidential basis to the Cincinnati Office. [redacted]

[redacted] Cincinnati, Ohio, on August 7, 1967, advised that he was unwilling to permit the original tape recording of CARMICHAEL's speech made by [redacted] an employee of his, to be entered as evidence in a judicial proceeding, as he is concerned if unfriendly sources become aware of their cooperation with law enforcement reprisals could be made against the radio station and network, and as well against the employees, which might result in personal injury and destruction of property.

The Cincinnati Office has no informants sufficiently close to CARMICHAEL who could testify as to CARMICHAEL's knowledge and intent in making his speech on April 29, 1967.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date August 8, 1967

1

[redacted] Cincinnati, Ohio, Police Department, residence [redacted] Cincinnati, Ohio, furnished the following information to [redacted] who identified himself as a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation:

[redacted] stated that on April 29, 1967, he attended the speech given by STOKELY CARMICHAEL at the Carmel Presbyterian Church, Reading Road, Cincinnati, Ohio, as an assignment given by the Cincinnati Police Department. [redacted] estimated there were approximately 1,000 persons who appeared at the church and the audience as a whole appeared to be a mature group with only about 200 persons who appeared to be in the younger category of students or those of draft age. [redacted] stated the audience was wholly Negro with the exception of approximately 50 persons of the white race.

[redacted] stated with regard to the acceptance of CARMICHAEL's speech by the audience, there only appeared to be sporadic enthusiasm or general acceptance by the more mature audience but the younger group of persons appeared to be more fervent in their enthusiasm and acclaim of CARMICHAEL. [redacted] stated that he recalled observing no one in military uniform and recognized no one in attendance in the audience who was in the military service but out of uniform and there was no question or answer period which followed after the completion of the speech.

[redacted] stated that following the speech, the overwhelming majority departed the church and dispersed within approximately 15 minutes but approximately 100 of the younger people did gather at the church exit on Lee Place where they remained to see CARMICHAEL depart from the church which occurred approximately 45 minutes later.

[redacted] advised that he was willing to testify

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by SA [redacted] /jr Date dictated 8/8/67

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concerning what he observed during the above speech.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date August 8, 1967I

[redacted] Cincinnati, Ohio, Police Department, residence [redacted] Cincinnati, Ohio, furnished the following information to [redacted] who identified himself as a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation:

[redacted] stated that he was in attendance at the Carmel Presbyterian Church on April 29, 1967, when STOKELY CARMICHAEL appeared for the purpose of making a speech. [redacted] stated that he was assigned by the Cincinnati Police Department to the area behind the podium which was occupied by approximately 300 persons and he, at no time, actually viewed the audience in the front of the church normally occupied by the congregation. [redacted] stated the approximately 300 persons who were in the area behind the podium was composed mostly of younger persons such as students and those of draft age and approximately one-third of them were more mature adults. [redacted] stated that of the group behind the podium, only approximately 20 persons were of the white race and the rest were Negro. [redacted] stated that the above group's reaction to CARMICHAEL's speech was, for the most part, with enthusiastic approval with even a more lively reaction to some of the phrases utilized by CARMICHAEL such as, "Hell no we won't go."

[redacted] stated that he observed no one in military uniform in the group seated behind the podium and recognized no one who was present and in the military service but out of uniform. [redacted] stated that there was no question and answer period conducted subsequent to the speech and he had no information to indicate that when the speech was completed, that any small groups went to other locations for the purpose of conducting meetings.

[redacted] stated the audience dispersed rather quickly following the speech by CARMICHAEL. [redacted] stated that he is willing to testify to what he had observed while present at the Carmel Presbyterian Church on April 29, 1967.

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by SA [redacted] /jr Date dictated 8/8/67

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date August 8, 1967

1

[redacted] Cincinnati Police Department, advised that his department was aware that STOKELY CARMICHAEL was scheduled to speak at the Carmel Presbyterian Church, 3549 Reading Road, Cincinnati, Ohio, on Saturday evening, April 29, 1967. He advised that the Carmel Presbyterian Church is located in the Avondale section of Cincinnati near the main arteries of Reading Road and Rockdale Avenue.

[redacted] said that he assigned Detective [redacted] Crime Bureau, Cincinnati Police Department, a Negro, to attend the meeting as an observer and for intelligence purposes only. He said that he also assigned [redacted]

[redacted] all of the Cincinnati Police Department and all of whom are Negroes, to attend the same meeting for the purpose of guarding the person of [redacted] pointed out that [redacted] is widely known in the Negro community of the Avondale section of Cincinnati. [redacted] advised that he did not instruct [redacted] or the other police officers to take notes or what they had heard or observed at the speech on April 29, 1967, since he believed that such note taking could possibly have created an incident which could embarrass the police department and the City of Cincinnati. He said that therefore, no written police reports were made by any of the police officers present at the CARMICHAEL speech of April 29, 1967.

[redacted] said that it was reported to him by one of his police officers who was present at CARMICHAEL's speech that [redacted] a representative of [redacted] Cincinnati, Ohio, was present at the speech of April 29, 1967, and openly recorded that speech without interference from any individual present. He said that [redacted] recording equipment was identified by the radio call letters [redacted]

On 8/7/67 at Cincinnati, Ohio File # CI 100-16858

by SA [redacted] /jr Date dictated 8/8/67

CI 100-16858

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said that he himself was not on duty on the evening of April 29, 1967, nor did he visit the Avondale section of Cincinnati for any purpose that evening.

b7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date August 8, 1967

1

[redacted] Cincinnati, Ohio, was interviewed at the Cincinnati Police Department. He advised that he has been a member of the Cincinnati Police Department for 17 years and has been a plainclothes officer for approximately 14 years.

On Saturday, April 29, 1967, at 8:00 PM, he was assigned as a plainclothes officer to duty at the Carmel Presbyterian Church, Reading Road, Cincinnati, Ohio, where STOKELY CARMICHAEL was to make a speech. With regard to his activities, he furnished the following information:

From the time he arrived at the area of the church, he spent most of his time in the crowd surrounding the church on the outside. He did not enter the church until approximately 30 minutes before STOKELY CARMICHAEL ended the speech, and therefore heard only about the last 30 minutes of CARMICHAEL's speech.

He estimated the crowd inside the church to be composed of about 90% Negro and 10% white. He stated he could not estimate the number of people present, however, the church was "packed" with many people standing. He stated that he did not see anyone in the crowd that he recognized as being a student or whom he knew to be of draft age, however, he did see many people in the crowd who would be of a proper age to be a student or subject to military draft.

During the portion of the speech that he heard, the audience was very receptive to the remarks made by CARMICHAEL. His remarks received good response by applause and there were no interruptions to CARMICHAEL's speech. He stated that he does not recall hearing CARMICHAEL make any statement such as "Hell no we won't go." He does not recall any inflammatory statements and since he made no written report to his department, he is unable to refresh his recollection on the remarks made by CARMICHAEL.

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by SA [redacted] /jr Date dictated 8/8/67

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He stated that he would be willing to testify regarding things he saw and heard at this meeting. He stated he does not believe he would be of much benefit as a witness because at the moment he does not recall many of the statements made and only recalls generalities concerning the text of the speech. He stated that he does not agree with the remarks he heard made by **STOKELY CARMICHAEL** at this speech.

He stated he saw no person at this meeting whom he knew to be a member of the military service. He saw no military uniforms at this meeting and did not see anyone whom he knows to be in the military service.

There was no question and answer period held at the church following the talk by **CARMICHAEL**. He stated that as soon as the speech was over, people stood around in small groups for a very short time and soon left the area. He did not note any groups which appeared to be in discussion at the speech and he has no knowledge of any groups of people who may have formed at other places following this speech. He stated his concern was more toward observing possible trouble spots and he did not enter into conversation with any of those present wherein he might have obtained a greater audience reaction to the speech.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date August 8, 19671

[redacted] Cincinnati, Ohio, Police Department, residing at [redacted] Cincinnati, furnished the following information to SA [redacted] who identified himself to [redacted] as a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation:

On April 29, 1967, he was assigned by the Police Department to attend the speech of STOKELY CARMICHAEL at the Carmel Presbyterian Church on Reading Road, Cincinnati. He said he sat in the second row center of the church in front of the speaker's platform. Elsewhere in the audience and also assigned from the Police Department were [redacted]. He related that CARMICHAEL spoke from about 8:00 PM until 10:00 PM.

The audience was composed of about 1250 persons with about 1100 being Negroes and the balance being White persons. In the audience were several hundred young persons who appeared to be of draft age but whose identities he did not know.

The audience appeared to be completely in favor of CARMICHAEL's comments, which was evidenced by applause. He recalled that CARMICHAEL's slogan of "Hell no, we won't go," was cheered mainly by the young persons present.

He is willing to testify about what he heard and saw at this meeting.

He did not see any persons in the uniform of the United States Armed Forces there, nor did he recognize anyone in attendance in civilian clothes who is a member of the Armed Forces.

CARMICHAEL did not have any question and answer period after the speech and [redacted] did not notice any gatherings for discussion after the speech at the site or elsewhere.

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by SA [redacted] /jr Date dictated 8/8/67

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 8/8/67

[redacted] Cincinnati, Ohio, furnished the following information to SAs [redacted] and [redacted] who identified themselves to [redacted] as Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, U.S. Department of Justice:

During the past two years he has been so employed at Cincinnati, Ohio.

On April 29, 1967, he attended the Carmel Presbyterian Church on Reading Road, Cincinnati, Ohio, where STOKELY CARMICHAEL was scheduled to give a talk. [redacted] was alone, having no one else with him.

He knew of no text being furnished by CARMICHAEL of the speech to any of the news media, and he, himself, received none.

He volunteered that he had made a tape recording of CARMICHAEL's speech, which runs about one hour and 45 minutes. He recorded this speech on an Ampex Tape Recorder, Model 601, which uses one-half inch tape, and was recorded at seven and one-half feet per second. He recorded two one-half hour reels on this machine, and the balance of the speech on a third reel, which was a Norelco Cartridge type machine. He then brought the tapes to [redacted] where he retained them in his own file cabinet. On the tapes, in his own handwriting, he wrote "CARMICHAEL's Speech" on Reel 1 and Reel 2. He did not mark the third reel, the Norelco Cartridge. Several weeks ago he gave the three reels of tape to [redacted] of [redacted] who is now [redacted] Tampa, Florida. He does not know what [redacted] did with these tapes, but he believes [redacted] may have given them to the Cincinnati Police Department. The three tapes he made contain all of the talk by CARMICHAEL, and may also contain the introduction of CARMICHAEL by someone else. Also, he stated that the tapes were never returned to him, and are not at [redacted]

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SAs [redacted]

by [redacted]

JWS:jms

Date dictated 8/7/67

He was sitting in the choir box behind the speaker and facing the audience, having run his lines to the tape recorder from the speaker's platform back to the choir box and his recorder. He said there were several other microphones on the speaker's platform, but none were identified as to the owner or operator; while his microphone was identified by the letters, [redacted] He has no knowledge of who may have made other recordings of CARMICHAEL's speech.

He said the audience was composed of about ten per cent white and about ninety per cent Negro, and the entire church was "packed." He would not venture a guess as to how many persons were there. He does not know of any person present who is a student or of draft age; however, quite a few were of the age group who could be students or of draft age.

He stated CARMICHAEL's entire speech was applauded, and none of his remarks received any unfavorable response. There were no interruptions by the audience, and almost all of his remarks were received with applause. He said he recalled that CARMICHAEL made the statement, "Hell no, we won't go," which received loud applause. He does not recall any other specific statements of a "slogan type" nature.

He knows of no one else who could testify to the text and wording of CARMICHAEL's speech, because he recognized only one other person present at the speech, who was [redacted]

[redacted] He stated he saw faces he had seen other places, but he could not furnish names of these individuals because he does not know their names.

He cannot state if there were or were not members of the Armed Forces present. He did not see anyone present in a military uniform.

There was no question and answer period at the church after the speech. He does not know if there was any discussion by parts of the audience after the speech, there or elsewhere, because he immediately left the scene and returned his equipment to the radio station.

AT 100-6812

H. SPEECH OF STOKELY CARMICHAEL
AT WAUKEGAN TOWNSHIP HIGH SCHOOL,
WAUKEGAN, ILLINOIS,
MAY 14, 1967

No tape recording was made of CARMICHAEL's speech and no prepared text was furnished to school authorities or members of the press. [redacted]

[redacted] and [redacted]
[redacted] attended this speech and took extensive notes used as the basis of news stories. [redacted] news article is set forth. Notes of [redacted] have been destroyed. [redacted] retained his notes, which could be made available as well as copies of the story he wrote. Two service personnel in the audience were identified and interviewed, results of which are attached.

The Chicago Office has no informants sufficiently close to CARMICHAEL who could testify to his knowledge and intent in making the speech on May 14, 1967.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 8/6/671.

[redacted]
Police Department, Waukegan, Illinois, advised as follows:

He was assigned with other policemen to duty at the Little Theater auditorium at the East Campus of Waukegan Township High School on May 14, 1967, when STOKELY CARMICHAEL spoke at the local "Ode to the Negro" program. His position was to the right of the stage by the east door. He recalled that when CARMICHAEL first began to speak, he made some remark to [redacted] who was on duty on the west door of the hall, but made no comment to him, although both officers are Negro.

CARMICHAEL made most of the usual statements that one sees in the press, but, in his opinion, he did not move anyone.

He recalled that CARMICHAEL advised the Negroes not to enter military service, and there were people there of draft age, but he does not know of anyone who did not enter the service when called. There was little reaction to his comments. The people there were mostly just interested in seeing him and they are the more educated people who would not be led by CARMICHAEL and thought he was "blowing off his mouth." [redacted] remembered the two sailors in uniform being present but knew nothing as to their source or their reaction.

He noted there was no question and answer period and that the audience left rather quietly and quickly after the program, although a number of women followed CARMICHAEL into the parking lot where he entered a car and was driven away.

On 8/6/67 at Waukegan, Illinois File # CG 157-1297
by SA [redacted] /MJD Date dictated 8/6/67

Date August 6, 1967

1

[redacted]
[redacted]
Waukegan, Illinois, who resides at [redacted]
[redacted] Waukegan, and who was interviewed at his residence, furnished the following information:

About two weeks prior to May 14, 1967, he learned that STOKELY CARMICHAEL was to give a speech at the Waukegan Township High School at the Little Theater of Waukegan Township High School. He decided that he would cover the speech as a newsman and he called a woman, who may have been [redacted] a representative of the Whittier School Mothers' Club in Waukegan, and asked her if he would be able to tape record CARMICHAEL's speech. She assured him that he would be able to do so. He was contacted by either [redacted] or [redacted] Waukegan Police Department, and was asked if he would supply the Police Department with a copy of his recording of the speech. He agreed that he would furnish the Police Department with a copy of this recording. On May 14, 1967, he arrived at the Little Theater at the East Campus of Waukegan Township High School at about 3:00 PM as he understood the speech was to commence at about 4:30 PM. He took his recording equipment onto the stage of this theater and set up his equipment. He patched into the loud speaker system. There was a small combo playing music for a considerable period of time while he was setting up his equipment and after he had been there about two hours he left from behind the stage and went to the hallway to smoke a cigarette. At about this time CARMICHAEL emerged from a nearby room at the end of the hall and he was surrounded by six Negro males, some of whom were carrying walkie-talkies.

He then started to walk up the steps to return to his recording equipment when one of the men who was with CARMICHAEL confronted him and asked where he was going. [redacted] replied that he was going up on the stage where he had recording equipment set up. This man said "no you're not". [redacted] then identified himself as a newsman from the local radio station and said that he had set up his recording equipment about two hours prior to this and that he had obtained permission from the woman in charge of this event to

On 8/5/67 at Waukegan, Illinois File # 157-1297
by SA [redacted] vmg Date Dictated 8/6/67

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CG 157-1297

tape record CARMICHAEL's speech. This man then said "nobody is taping Stokely's speech". [] again said that he had secured permission to record this speech and the man replied "I don't care". This man was very firm and definite when he talked to [] [] then asked if he could listen to the speech and the man answered "well I guess so". He asked if he could stand by his equipment back stage and the man indicated that it would all right. By this time CARMICHAEL and the remainder of his entourage were standing on the stage and the man who had been talking to [] said to STOKELY and the others in the group "watch this man". [] then walked over to where he had set up his equipment on a small table off to the side of the stage. The man who had been talking to [] then walked over to this table and said that he was not to turn on his tape recorder. One other man accompanying CARMICHAEL, who [] described as a bodyguard, then walked over to [] and said "don't turn that thing on". [] said "don't worry, I've been told". One of the other bodyguards who was carrying a walkie-talkie then walked behind the back-drop, in back of the podium where CARMICHAEL was to talk, and he watched the audience through a peep hole in this back-drop. Two other of the bodyguards also walked over to where [] had stationed himself next to his recording equipment and both told him that he was not to use this recorder and then told him to remove the tape from the recorder which [] did.

A man whom [] could not identify by name but who he said was a radio personality from Chicago then introduced CARMICHAEL and CARMICHAEL began his speech.

[] estimated that there were no more than 250 people in the audience when CARMICHAEL commenced his speech. He observed several young children of grammar school age accompanying adults in the audience, but he was unable to recall whether or not there were any young men of draft age in the audience.

He estimated that about 99% of the audience were Negroes.

Throughout the speech the response from the audience was enthusiastic and he never heard any jeers during the speech.

At one point during his speech and while CARMICHAEL was either talking about the Viet Nam war or about Selective Service, CARMICHAEL stated "Hell no, we won't go". This statement received a great deal of applause and cheers, such as "yea, yeh, right".

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[] made notes during his speech but was unable at this time to locate these notes. He had written down certain quotations made by CARMICHAEL during the speech, but was unable now to quote these statements exactly.

He saw no one in the audience garbed in military apparel and he saw no one in the audience whom he recognized as a member of the Armed Forces.

He remained back stage in the auditorium after the speech ended and knows that there was no question and answer period after CARMICHAEL's speech.

He was one of the last to leave this auditorium with members of the Waukegan Police Department and he did not see any group of people standing in the audience talking nor was there any group outside the building in the parking lot.

[] stated that in his opinion the overall effect of CARMICHAEL's speech was an "act of treason" and he cited these reasons for his statement:

CARMICHAEL said that "we" helped build this country and "we" can burn it down. CARMICHAEL encouraged Negroes not to answer a draft call and that Negroes would not fight in Viet Nam. He further said that Negroes do not have to respect white man's religion or laws and indicated that the Negro could disregard the white man's laws.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 8/6/67

1.

[redacted] Illinois, advised as follows:

On the occasion of STOKELY CARMICHAEL's speech "Ode to the Negro" program at the Little Theater auditorium at the East Campus of the Waukegan Township High School May 14, 1967, he was in charge of the police details in the area of the auditorium, both inside and out, whose job it was to maintain the peace and to protect CARMICHAEL.

CARMICHAEL arrived quite late and he and about 16 people immediately went into a room off the Little Theater where no police officers or reporters were admitted. In his speech he made several points, which were not recalled exactly, but the gist of these points were as follows:

Our sweat built this country and if we are not going to get some of the fruits, there will be no country at all.

If a policeman stops a colored person and there are other colored people around they should not let the policeman take him in. HANNIBAL was a Negro, but the white people will not teach the history of the Negro and will not put it in history books.

He tore into Mayor ROBERT SABONJIAN, saying that he was no different than Southern segregationists.

Where colored people are being treated unjustly in different towns, he advised the audience to either tear it down or turn it around.

He in general advised all not to comply with any orders to go to Viet Nam and he was critical of the Government's participation there but his specific words are not recalled.

The crowd dispersed quietly. They had reacted most enthusiastically to CARMICHAEL's criticism of Mayor SABONJIAN and to his criticism of policemen.

On 8/5/67 at Waukegan, Illinois File # CG 157-1297

by SA [redacted] Date dictated 8/6/67

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 8/6/67

1.

[redacted]
Waukegan, Illinois, advised as follows:

On May 14, 1967, he was assigned, with other members of the police department, to maintain the peace and in his case, in particular to protect STOKELY CARMICHAEL, who was making a speech that afternoon in the Little Theater of the East Campus of the Waukegan Township High School, in connection with a program by the Whittier School Mothers entitled "Ode to the Negro."

His position was in the southwest corner of the Little Theater by the door which leads to the lobby. He was about ten feet from the stage stairs and perhaps thirty feet from the podium. Directly across the hall from him were

[redacted]
Directly back from him at the center left door was [redacted]
[redacted] and seated in the rear was [redacted]

LOU HOUSE, a disk jockey from a Chicago radio station, introduced CARMICHAEL to the audience of about 225 persons. He said CARMICHAEL was his hero.

CARMICHAEL appeared dressed, as he recalled, in a mustard colored suit, yellow shirt, paisley tie, and matching handkerchief. His opening remarks were to the two Negro uniformed officers, [redacted] making some comment to the effect that their uniforms were the same as worn in Mississippi.

He then spoke on the theme "Ode to the Negro" and commented about the culture of the Negro. He said that while the white man claims the best music, BEETHOVEN was a Negro. HANNIBAL was a Negro who crossed the Alps on an elephant and went into Rome, then the "heart of the enemy's city." CARMICHAEL said this is why Italians are darker skinned people and "they are ours." He said in New York an Italian policeman pushed him and he replied "Don't push me cause you are mine."

On 8/5/67 at Waukegan, Illinois File # CG 157-1297

by SA [redacted] MJD Date dictated 8/6/67

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He said that JESUS CHRIST was a Negro and went on to outline accomplishments of the Negro. He then spoke of policemen and said as far as policemen go they would take care of honky BULL CONNOR, Governor WALLACE, and would also get that "honky mayor of yours," [redacted] said the latter had reference to ROBERT SABONJIAN, mayor of Waukegan, who was criticized by the Negroes after the August, 1966, racial disturbance in Waukegan.

He added "If any cop tries to arrest me I'm going to try the best I know how to kill him!"

CARMICHAEL then devoted some time to the discussion of black vs. white and said that it is time the white people realize that this country was built on black sweat and blood and if we don't get what we want we will burn these cities down.

The white woman is no longer queen and she can be made just like all the rest. He said, "When I look in that mirror I say I am beautiful. When I look at whites I say that they are ugly and the darker I get the more beautiful I am." Further, "I'm a man and my daddy didn't go tom catting around and didn't raise me to be other than a man." He admonished the audience to arm themselves and said that "we have guns just like they have." He spoke of some meetings he had attended in Alabama and spoke of the "equalizer bag" spreading his hands as though to indicate a sack, which would contain guns of rifle or shotgun barrel lengths. He admonished the crowd that "When you see your black brothers 'handled' it is your duty to fight!" This was also in reference to police.

He spoke of Viet Nam and of the American Government sending troops there. He said Viet Nam "is for the birds," LYNDIA BIRD, LADY BIRD, and those birds. He said that anyone that goes to Viet Nam is a murderer and more than fifty per cent of the casualties are Negro.

With respect to military service, he said "And I am going to tell you what I am going to do and I want you to do the same. When they send me my papers, I will write on there 'go to hell, I ain't going' and send it back to them."

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He concluded by speaking of his personal life, saying that he had been able to attend college and had not come from a poor family. His mother was proud of him, he said, the first time he was thrown in jail.

With respect to audience reaction to the speech, they were particularly enthusiastic, both white and black, with respect to his comment about Mayor SAROJIAN and with respect to his assertion that his Negro rights will be observed. The audience was quieter in answer to his admonitions to burn towns down and they did not respond greatly to his statements about Viet Nam and the military. He did get a standing ovation when he left.

[redacted] added he knew of no gatherings after this speech, that people seemed to move away quickly, and there were no incidents that night, except that he knew that CARMICHAEL and a few others had gone to the home of [redacted] for something to eat.

He pointed out that there were two uniformed members of the United States Navy seated in the second row on the left, whom he remembered particularly as having insignia of United States Naval hospital corpsmen and that he did not think they were local residents but that they must have come from the hospital corps school at the United States Naval Hospital at neighboring United States Naval Training Center, Great Lakes, Illinois.

[redacted] exhibited a photograph of the audience taken by [redacted] which he said encompasses most of the audience in the Little Theater, and pointed out the two sailors therein.

Date 8/6/671.

[redacted] [redacted]
Waukegan, Illinois, advised as follows:

He was assigned with one of the officers to maintain the peace in the Little Theater auditorium at the East Campus of the Waukegan Township High School on May 14, 1967, where STOKELY CARMICHAEL spoke on the occasion of a program "Ode to the Negro." He recalled the following:

At first there was a talent show and then CARMICHAEL came on stage. His first remark was directed toward him, [redacted] and he said "You look like an Alabama state trooper," and this made him, CARMICHAEL, nervous. This comment was found amusing by the audience, who all turned towards him.

CARMICHAEL then talked about Negro history. He then slandered certain races, for example using the term "honky" instead of saying "white man."

With regard to policemen, he advised the audience that if one should touch him he should break his arm.

About military service and Viet Nam, he used a slogan something like "We Won't Go," and was generally critical of the spending of money in Viet Nam.

He talked of starving children in Mississippi and hit on subjects which would arouse the sympathy of the audience.

[redacted] said he found the reaction of the audience to be largely one of curiosity rather than of support. So far as military service is concerned, he knows of no one who is not serving if called or ordered as a consequence of CARMICHAEL's speech and he thought that the Waukegan people were not in sympathy with CARMICHAEL's strong comments.

On 8/6/67 at Waukegan, Illinois File # CG 157-1297

by SA [redacted] MJD Date dictated 8/6/67

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 8/7/67

1.

[redacted] who resides at [redacted] Waukegan, Illinois, who was interviewed at his residence, furnished the following information:

He is a patrolman in the Detective Bureau of the [redacted] and on May 14, 1967, he was on a detail at the Little Theater of the East Campus of Waukegan Township High School. On this date STOKELY CARMICHAEL made a speech at this theater and he, [redacted] was stationed at the front of the auditorium near an exit at the southeast corner of the auditorium. He observed about 15 male Negroes who were working in the parking lot at this school and who were used as ushers inside the auditorium, and these ushers and parking lot attendants all wore buttons on their lapels which bore the words "black power." He recognized two of these youths, [redacted] both of whom are about 23 years of age.

He knew of no transcript or recording that was made of STOKELY CARMICHAEL's speech.

He observed about 30 young men in the age group of 18 to 25 in the audience and noted that there were three white youths in this age group who were seated near his station inside the Little Theater.

He estimated that there were about 250 people seated in the audience, of which about 99 per cent were Negro. The only white persons he recognized were Mr. and Mrs. [redacted]. He estimated that there were no more than ten white persons in the audience.

On 8/7/67 at Waukegan, Illinois File # CG 157-1297

by SA [redacted] /MJD Date dictated 8/7/67

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He heard no boos or jeers during CARMICHAEL's speech and on the other hand the audience cheered loudly during CARMICHAEL's speech and as the speech progressed the cheering became more enthusiastic.

At one point during the speech CARMICHAEL made the statement "Hell no we won't go," and loud cheers and foot stomping greeted this statement. At the same time CARMICHAEL stated that when a black person receives his draft notice he should write on the back "Hell no I won't go" and CARMICHAEL said to then mail this notice back.

He took no notes during this speech and cannot testify as to the text and wording of CARMICHAEL's speech. However, he recalled that CARMICHAEL said that if a white policeman tries to arrest a black person the policeman will have to arrest all black people.

He saw no one in the audience who was wearing the uniform of any branch of the military service and he saw no one in the audience who he recognized as being a member of any branch of the military service.

There was no question and answer period after the speech as CARMICHAEL and his entourage departed immediately after he concluded his speech. He departed from the auditorium at this time as his instructions were to accompany CARMICHAEL wherever he went until he left Waukegan. When CARMICHAEL departed from this auditorium he left the parking lot in a new yellow Mercury with about five other Negro males and this car took CARMICHAEL to the home of [redacted] at the corner of [redacted] in Waukegan, where CARMICHAEL stayed for about one-half hour.

He saw no group or groups of members of the audience discussing the speech in the auditorium nor did he see any groups in the parking lot after the speech discussing the speech, but he observed in the front yard of the [redacted] several small groups talking. He did not know what they were discussing. When CARMICHAEL left the [redacted] home he and five other men got in one car and five or six men got in a second car and these two cars then departed from Waukegan.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 8/7/67

1.

[redacted]
[redacted] Waukegan, Illinois, advised as follows:

He was part of a six-man police detail at the Little Theater, East Campus, Waukegan Township High School, on Sunday, May 14, 1967, when STOKELY CARMICHAEL appeared on a program sponsored by the Whittier School Mothers, called "Ode to the Negro." For the most part, he stationed himself at the southeast entryway along with policeman [redacted] was in civilian clothes, and for the most part listened to the proceedings. There was no particular trouble and no demonstration.

It had been understood prior to the meeting that [redacted] of [redacted] was going to tape CARMICHAEL's speech and make available the tape to the police department. It was not learned by [redacted] until the meeting was entirely finished that [redacted] had been prevented from taping CARMICHAEL's speech. Therefore, there is no known recording or transcript of CARMICHAEL's speech. Also, because he had anticipated that the speech would be entirely recorded, [redacted] kept only minimum notes of quotations from CARMICHAEL's one hour and fifteen minute extemporaneous talk.

The audience, which numbered between 250 and 270, was 95 per cent colored. There were not too many Negroes in the age group under 25 years; most of them were middle-aged Negroes, with the majority of them recognized as the type of individuals who had never caused any law enforcement problem. Among the young Negroes present were two sailors, in what appeared to be hospital corpsmen's uniforms. They came early, made no contact with anyone else, and appeared to be completely apart from the remainder of the audience. Most of the audience response to CARMICHAEL's speech was led by two or three middle-aged women,

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by SA [redacted] /krp Date dictated 8/8/67

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identities unknown to [] who sat in the front row and chanted "amen" in approval of various remarks by CARMICHAEL. Also, the group of "black power" advocates who accompanied CARMICHAEL to the theater and who scattered themselves about the rear of the audience, gave loud verbal approval to CARMICHAEL's remarks. The biggest response came to CARMICHAEL's remarks deriding the people down South, such as ex-Governor GEORGE WALLACE, JIM CLARK, and other political figures involved with the civil rights movement. CARMICHAEL made liberal use of the word "hunky" in referring to such people, and drew considerable applause when he referred to the local Waukegan mayor, ROBERT SABONJIAN, as a "hunky" mayor. b7C

Upon learning after the program that no recording of CARMICHAEL's speech had been made, [] jotted down, as near as he could remember, several remarks made by CARMICHAEL, which he, [] considered to be most inflammatory. He verified that among these remarks, which he recalled and which he had noted down immediately subsequent to CARMICHAEL's speech, were the following thoughts, not necessarily verbatim: b7C

If a white policeman is arresting one of your Negro brothers out on the street, it is your duty to help prevent the arrest.

If they take one of us, make them take us all.

Next time one of those policemen puts his white hands on my beautiful black body, I'm going to do everything in my power to kill him.

If you have to burn cities to the ground to get equality, then they must be burned.

Black power is a coming together of black people to fight for their liberation by any means possible.

Where there are injustices, we are going to turn these cities upside down.

War is for the birds -- LINDA BYRD and LADY BYRD.

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Our sweat built this country and our sweat keeps it going.

If we can't share in the fruits, then there isn't going to be a country.

We must tell the white man to move on over or we're going to move on over him.

If you get a summons to go to Vietnam, just sign it and say I'm not going, and send it back. No one from Vietnam ever called me a nigger.

There was no question-and-answer period after the speech. Immediately upon completing his speech, CARMICHAEL left to go to a gathering at the home of [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] It was observed that there was considerable picture-taking and discussion among the people who attended this reception.

When CARMICHAEL left the gathering at about 8:00 p.m., May 14, 1967, he was followed to Route 41, and south on Route 41, by [REDACTED] CARMICHAEL was observed riding in a 1966 Cadillac sedan, bearing 1967 Illinois license [REDACTED] registered to [REDACTED] Chicago. This car was followed by a 1963 black Buick, 1967 Illinois license [REDACTED] registered to [REDACTED] [REDACTED] Chicago.

[REDACTED] who has maintained a minimum number of notes, but who has a file on the preparations for CARMICHAEL's appearance, and the police coverage of the situation, would be a willing witness in any proceeding.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date August 7, 1967

[redacted]
[redacted] Waukegan, Illinois, who resides at [redacted]
[redacted], Illinois, advised as follows:

On Sunday, May 14, 1967, he was assigned to accompany [redacted] to cover the appearance of STOKLEY CARMICHAEL at the Little Theater, East Campus, Waukegan Township High School, scheduled for approximately 4:00 p.m. It was his duty to take pictures of the affair, and not to report or record what was said.

During most of the meeting, which was delayed more than an hour by CARMICHAEL's tardiness, he took up a position at the edge of the stage on the East side of the auditorium, where he was in a position to photograph both the audience and the speaker. After CARMICHAEL arrived with his entourage, and proceeded to a rear room for what [redacted] thought was a press conference, he attempted to go into the room to take a picture of CARMICHAEL. He was firmly told to stay out of the room, by some of CARMICHAEL's immediate associates.

While he was busy maneuvering for position, and therefore did not hear all that was said, he had a definite recollection that CARMICHAEL made a "volatile" speech, containing several "wild statements". As an example of the latter, [redacted] recalled a remark by CARMICHAEL that if "any police lay their hands on my pretty black skin, I'm going to kill him."

CARMICHAEL's speech met what [redacted] believed to be a subdued response. Although the audience cheered once in a while, it appeared to [redacted] that CARMICHAEL was talking to an "older

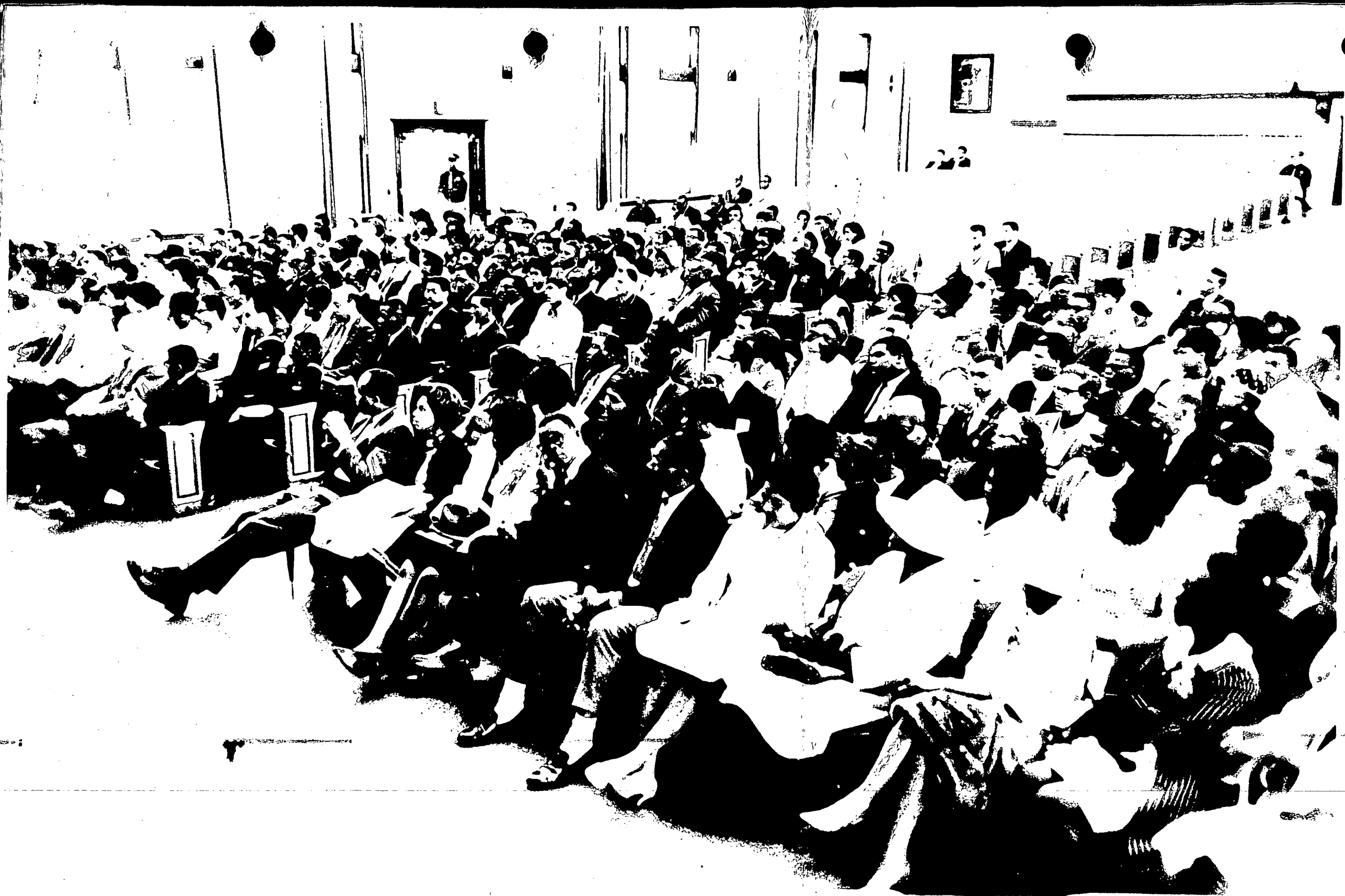
On 8/7/67 at Waukegan, Illinois File# CG 157-1297

by SA [redacted] ejh Date dictated 8/7/67

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crowd" then he was used to. There was no booing. In addition to numerous shots of CARMICHAEL, [] took five shots of the crowd, one of which he subsequently furnished to the Waukegan Police Department. On one of the crowd shots, copy of which [] made available, part of the crowd was standing up applauding. It was [] recollection that this all could have been at the very start of CARMICHAEL's speech or at the time of his initial appearance. He took an overall shot of the crowd from the back of the theater and three pictures of the crowd from the stage angle.

[] noted that negatives of all of his photographs of the affair, most of which are on 35 millimeter film, are retained in official newspaper files. He would be willing to present his photographs and recollections of the event, in any court proceeding, if so requested. [] concluded that there was one other photographer, name unknown, who also took pictures of the event. It was his belief that this individual represented one of the Chicago newspapers; however, he had no idea which one.



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date August 7, 1967

1

On August 5, 1967, [redacted] [redacted] Elgin, Illinois, made available a copy of a report he prepared dated May 31, 1967, concerning a speech by STOKELY CARMICHAEL on May 14, 1967, in Waukegan, Illinois, for the Whittier Mother Club which he attended. The report states as follows:

"The WHITTIER MOTHERS CLUB AND WAUKEGAN AREA FRIENDS OF SNICK (Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee) sponsored an ODE TO THE NEGRO program on May 14, 1967, and had as their guest speaker STOKELY CARMICHAEL.

"CARMICHAEL spent over an hour telling an audience of some 250 people, 4/5's negro, why they must band together under the BLACK POWER banner and thereby deal from a position of power.

"He told his enthusiastic listeners that when the draft board sends their sons an induction notice that they should return it with the following notation: 'Go to Hell!' He called the Viet Cong his yellow skinned brothers and said that the American negro, who he wants called AFRO*AMERICANS, should join with the VC and fight the white man.

"CARMICHAEL said that the white man is afraid that we want to marry his daughters. He followed this up by saying that a white mother, daughter or sister should not be put on a pedestal saying that "they are as easy to make" as anyone else.

"'If a white hunkie (Carmichael's name for any policeman) puts his hands on this beautiful black skin of mine, I'm going to do my best to kill him!' The crowd roared after this pronouncement. 'If you see a hunkie beating a poor colored man and you don't join in helping the colored man, you're a discredit to your race,' said Stokely. 'If a colored man throws a brick, you had better get behind him and help because when the police come, if you're colored, they are going to grab you anyway.' Another roar from the audience greeted this harangue. Up on their feet clapping.

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"He then told how the white people mislead the colored man. To illustrate his point he told how the small negro children are told to 'root' for Tarzan, when actually they should be pulling for the poor natives that Tarzan is waylaying. He said Tarzan talks to the animals of the jungle after living there only a short time. 'Who is he kidding,' said CARMICHAEL, 'our people have been there for years---they are the ones who should be talking to the animals.'

"This bit about the indians always losing the fights also bothered him. He said that when the white man wins it is a well deserved victory, but when the indian wins it is a terrible 'massacre.'

" 'If we are supposed to be the lazy people then how come the white people came over to Africa and brought us back to America to do their work for them?' He said his people should: 'Agitate, agitate, agitate.' According to CARMICHAEL, his friend DICK GREGORY, negro comedian and unsuccessful mayoral candidate for mayor of Chicago said: 'There is a black agitator in every washing machine because this gets things clean.' The crowd roared.

"His friends---the ones at Waukegan looked like the 'dead end kids', usually line the rear of the hall where he is speaking. They stand there and watch the crowd. Behind the stage curtains you could see eyes peering out into the audience looking for any possible threat of harm for what commentator LOU HOUSE calls--'my hero.'

"CARMICHAEL is well educated, very likeable, and a very forceful speaker. He made reference to Mayor Sabonjian and the Waukegan problem indicating a successful solution to this matter. Non-violence is the SNICK slogan but CARMICHAEL kept talking about violence. 'If violence is so bad,' said Carmichael, 'then how come LBJ keeps bombing North Vietnam?'

According to him, the white man keeps double talking and double dealing the black man. 'There is no doubt that he has a tremendous appeal to the colored people and that he has a way of identifying with them so that the richest and the poorest feel that he is talking directly to them as individuals. Whether they unite and respond to his appeal only the future will tell.'

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The crowd reacted enthusiastically, applauding loudly when CARMICHAEL commented on telling draft board to "go to hell!"

There was no question and answer period following the speech.

did not recall observing the audience discussing the speech in small groups inside or outside of the auditorium.

b7C

Date 8/7/67

[redacted] Illinois, telephone [redacted] employed by [redacted] Chicago, Illinois, advised he did attend a meeting at a school auditorium in Waukegan, Illinois on Mother's Day, May 14, 1967, at which STOKELY CARMICHAEL was the principal speaker. He attended church that morning and met [redacted] [redacted] commented STOKELY CARMICHAEL was appearing at the Waukegan High School that afternoon and asked if they would be interested in attending. All three agreed to go and consequently he picked up [redacted] that afternoon in time to arrive at the meeting at about 4:00 PM.

They took a tape recorder along intending to record the meeting, however, when they went to purchase the tickets, they were advised they would not be allowed to tape the meeting. At the door they were again advised they would not be allowed to tape the meeting and subsequently they were checked during the meeting to insure they were not making a recording. He personally did not take any notes, but [redacted] did take notes of portions of CARMICHAEL's speech. The only other person he recognized at the meeting was a reporter from a local radio station in Waukegan by the name of [redacted]

When they entered the auditorium, they were ushered to the front row as were all the other white people, a total of about 200 people, mostly from the news media. There were about 200 persons in attendance when they arrived, and he would estimate the group eventually numbered about 300, but the auditorium was not filled. Other than the 20 whites, the remainder of those in attendance were Negroes and most from their late teens to early 30's in age. He did not see anyone in military uniform and the group was a well dressed group with none of the "beat-nik" type in attendance. The master of ceremony was a Negro from Chicago named LOUIS HOUSE, as he recalled, and they presented basically a musical program while waiting for STOKELY CARMICHAEL to appear as the main speaker.

At about 5:00 PM, STOKELY CARMICHAEL appeared and went to the stage with about five other Negro males, who gave the appearance of being his guards. One of the five had what appeared to be a short-wave radio. Also at this time a group

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of Negroes apparently coming with CARMICHAEL from another meeting he had held that afternoon in Chicago entered and sat to the rear of the auditorium.

HOUSE gave a glowing introduction of CARMICHAEL saying CARMICHAEL was many years younger than he, but CARMICHAEL is a hero to HOUSE's son and a hero to HOUSE. CARMICHAEL then began his speech which was a well presented and polished speech and which was serious with a proper amount of humor injected at the appropriate time. His main theme was unity among the Negro people, and he said "If a black boy throws a brick through a window, you automatically are on his side". He also tried to explain "black power" and stated that they should not let anyone trip them up with words and semantics. He said "Don't be afraid of violence, we're a violent people. The trouble is we have been cutting and shooting each other". He chastised them for using their money for wigs and hair straighteners, saying JESUS made mention of having hair like a lamb's wool.

CARMICHAEL made reference to several white individuals by calling them "hunkies". He made reference to the Mayor of Waukegan, not in name, but said if the colored people were organized they would not have this "hunkie" mayor doing the things he is doing, but not specifically saying what these things were. He also used the word "hunkie" by saying "If a 'hunkie' lays his filthy white hands on my beautiful black skin, I'm going to do my best to kill him". He referred to the Negroes' enemies as the white cops.

CARMICHAEL also expressed opposition to the Viet Nam war. He claimed the United States was the oppressor and not only in Viet Nam, but they are the oppressor against the black people. He said "Why go fight the brown people there when our black people here are being oppressed".

CARMICHAEL said when a black man receives his draft notice he should write across the front of it "Hell, no, I won't go" and return the notice to the draft board.

[] stated the speech was very racist in nature and the crowd as a group were ahead of CARMICHAEL and at times would shout out "We're ready". Also when CARMICHAEL would make some of his statements a group in the back of the auditorium, believed by [] to be the group that arrived with STOKELY CARMICHAEL, would loudly stomp their feet and shout. [] was quite concerned; and they left as CARMICHAEL was receiving an ovation so they would be out of the area before the remainder of the group emerged from the auditorium.

From the meeting the three of them proceeded to [] home where they discussed some of the statements made by STOKELY CARMICHAEL. They also discussed the fact they could have made a recording if they had thought of it before hand by contacting a janitor [] knew at the school and hooking into the loud speaker system. They also discussed the number in attendance figuring there was a Negro population in the Waukegan area of about 8 to 12,000 and he only drew a crowd of less than 300, which was not a capacity crowd. They felt the low attendance was because the officials of Waukegan decided to disregard the speech and did not publicize the speech at all. [] also heard, strictly rumor and he does not know the source, the general colored population in Waukegan had agreed to ignore the meeting.

[] advised he would be willing to testify to any of the above should this matter be brought before a court of law.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date August 7, 1967

1

[redacted] age [redacted] of [redacted] Waukegan,
 telephone number [redacted]
 [redacted] advised as follows:

He and [redacted] were assigned on May 14, 1967, to cover that day the appearance of STOKELY CARMICHAEL, former president of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), at a program at the Little Theater, East Campus, Waukegan Township High School, sponsored by the local Whittier (grade) School Mothers. The program, called "Ode to the Negro," was supposed to start at 4:00 PM preceded by a press conference at the home of [redacted] President of the sponsoring group.

[redacted] and one other reporter for the [redacted] showed up at the press conference, but CARMICHAEL did not appear.

[redacted] then went to the auditorium, where he remained until well after CARMICHAEL's speech. [redacted] all during this period, roamed the premises, taking various photographs.

[redacted] did not make a transcription of CARMICHAEL's speech, and was not aware that anyone did so successfully. Although he had no advance notice, he learned afterward that [redacted] of [redacted] attempted to set up backstage to tape CARMICHAEL's speech, but was firmly told by CARMICHAEL followers not to do so.

[redacted] per his reporting custom, made personal notes, including both direct and indirect quotations, which he used in his news story, which he wrote that same night, prior to departing the following morning to cover the legislature in Springfield. He did not knowingly retain his original notes, but may possibly have them at his home, inasmuch as he remembers carrying them with him the following day on the plane to Springfield, rather than destroying them upon completion of the story.

Parts of his story were cut out, but what remained was left as he wrote it. Neither he nor the newspaper retained a copy of his original rough draft of the story.

On 8/5/67 at Waukegan, Illinois File # CG 157-1297

by SA [redacted] vmg Date dictated 8/6/67

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His best recollection of what was said and what happened is contained in the news story, written by him, which appeared in the May 15, 1967, issue of the "Waukegan News-Sun," on one of the inside pages. [redacted] made available the following copy of this story:

b7C

MAY 15 1967

Carmichael Sounds Black Power Theme

"Black Power" in the person of Stokely Carmichael rolled into Waukegan Sunday and rolled out again — without incident.

Carmichael came here at the behest of the Whittier School Mothers to speak as part of a pageant-type program entitled "Ode to the Negro."

Speaking before about 250 persons in the 723-seat Little Theater at East Campus, Carmichael told the group attending:

"Black power is the coming together of black people to fight for their liberation by any means possible."

The program was supposed to start at 4 p.m. and an instrumental group, Marvin Smith & Friends, entertained until well after 5 p.m. because many of the groups in the program failed to show up.

Carmichael rolled in shortly after 5 p.m. with an entourage of about 30 persons, all appropriately wearing "Black Power" badges and dressed in various types of clothing.

He was immediately closeted

in a rear room of the auditorium with his group.

When he began speaking, however, the followers entered the auditorium and spread themselves throughout the rear seats, in various sections of the room.

The reason soon became apparent, because as he spoke foot stomping and catcalling began.

He advocated that any colored boy receiving a summons to Vietnam — should not go.

"Just sign it and say 'I'm not going,'" he said, "and send it back."

"War is for the birds — Lynda Bird, Lady Bird. . ."

The former president of Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee told the group that most whites in America today don't want justice.

"The whites can give you nothing. All they can do is to stop denying us our freedom. The key to black power is saying get out of my way, because I have that right."

Carmichael lumped Mayor Robert Sabonjian in a class with southern white racists and said Waukegan was no better than any other town.

"Where there are injustices," he said, "we are going to turn these cities upside down."

"And if the whites don't want to get hurt, they can keep their filthy white hands off of our beautiful black skins."

Carmichael called the United States a "nation of thieves."

"They stole you from Africa. They stole this land from the Indians and then they killed them off," he said.

"Our sweat built this country," he said, "and our sweat keeps it going. If we can't share in the fruits then there isn't going to be a country."

"We must unite for our very



Stokely Carmichael

survival. And we must tell the white man to move on over, or we're going to move on over you."

Mrs. William Conner, president of the sponsoring group, said that Carmichael was "as much as I expected," but she didn't care to comment on the subjects discussed by Carmichael in his talk.

She said the adverse publicity in the past few days had a bad effect on the attendance at the function.

When Carmichael had finished speaking he was whisked away in an auto, closely followed by four Waukegan police detectives, serving as an escort out of town.

Although there were many police officers scattered throughout the area, no incidents occurred.

Mrs. Conner squelched a rumor that Carmichael's visit was paid for by his Black Power supporters in the area, even though they did man the doors.

"His fee wasn't really a fee but a contribution to the movement," she said. "I cannot tell you how much was paid but it came from the sale of tickets."

Dave Davis, news director of Radio Station WKRS was told in no uncertain terms that he couldn't tape the speech by a

group of Carmichael followers.

Davis had been set up behind the curtain and had permission to tape the show from Mrs. Conner.

She said later, however, that Carmichael had the last word on the taping and that word was No.

She also said that members of the John Birch Society, were in the audience with a tape recorder and that group was not allowed to run a tape either.

The audience, of about 250 persons, was over 95% Negro, with five to ten white persons. It was [] estimate that less than 10% were under the age of 25. About 20% were between 25 and 35 years of age, but the majority were what [] would term the "middle-class" Negro, about 40 years of age. He was unaware of any military personnel there. The ushers were about 20 young men, between the ages of 26 and 30, from the local area, whose identities [] did not know.

Speaking without notes or script, CARMICHAEL at times used the "pigeon English" of the "southern Negro" as contrasted to his use of the terms and tone of a college professor, in order to make his point, often a sarcastic reference to the white man.

The audience response to CARMICHAEL's remarks was led by the group or entourage which accompanied CARMICHAEL, and who spread themselves two or three to a section among the audience. They sported "Black Power" badges, both the red and black variety and the blue badge, and led the feet-stomping and cat-calling at such time as CARMICHAEL would make a derisive remark. Although [] considered some of CARMICHAEL's remarks, as quoted in his story, as being inflammatory in nature, it was his thought that CARMICHAEL would not have received much audience reaction had it not been for his "cheer-leaders" in the audience. Their clapping and hollering was, to some extent, contagious.

There was a question and answer period after the speech, but [] recalled that only a very few questions were asked. Also, there was to have been a press conference after the speech, but none was held. [] knew of no discussions by groups of the audience after the speech, either at the high school or away from it.

After reviewing his own news article on the speech, [] stated in conclusion that he could recall only two other things that CARMICHAEL said. One was a reference, humorous to [] to Hannibal and Jesus Christ as both having been colored. The other was a reference of ridicule to a colored policeman in the doorway. In connection with the latter, CARMICHAEL sarcastically remarked that for a minute, he "thought I was in Selma, Alabama".

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date 8/8/67

[redacted] advised upon recontact August 7, 1967, that he had been unable to find among his personal effects at his residence any notations whatsoever pertaining to STOKELY CARMICHAEL's speech, May 14, 1967, which he covered for his newspaper. He presumed that all his notations had been destroyed.

On 8/7/67 at Waukegan, Illinois File # CG 157-1297

by SA [redacted] mlb Date dictated 8/7/67

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date August 8, 1967On August 7, 1967

[redacted] Chicago, telephone number [redacted]
[redacted] residence [redacted] Illinois, telephone
number [redacted] advised he was assigned to cover the speech of
STOKELY CARMICHAEL on May 14, 1967, at Waukegan Township High
School, Waukegan, Illinois.

[redacted] made detailed notes of CARMICHAEL's speech which he believed are in his personal files at home. These notes were used to prepare two articles. The first article was a straight factual story of the speech and the second was a comparison of CARMICHAEL's principle comments and a response by a wounded Navy Viet Nam veteran. He will have to refer to his notes to determine the dates these articles appeared in the "Chicago Tribune" newspaper.

The audience was composed of approximately 310 people, 90 to 95% Negro, about half 20 to 30 years of age, well dressed and well behaved people. No uniformed military personnel were seen in the audience, although a fair percentage of the audience appeared to be of draft age. There were about 10 to 15 white people in the audience including newspaper people. He did not know anyone in the audience.

LOU HOUSE, Master of Ceremonies, began a music-comedy program about an hour before CARMICHAEL arrived. The audience remained relaxed and seemed to enjoy it, although the tempo of the music was such that after a while it grated and became unpleasant. CARMICHAEL arrived after an hour of this introduction with an entourage of 20 to 30 Negroes, sullen, sportily and some slovenly dressed. He joined LOU HOUSE on the stage and did a quick "soft shoe" dance, made a few comments, then retired to a back room with the majority of his entourage.

On 8/7/67 at Chicago, Illinois File # CG 157-1297

by SA [redacted] vmg Date dictated 8/8/67

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An hour later CARMICHAEL appeared on stage. His entourage took up positions behind the audience and several to the back of the stage. Several carried handy talkie radios.

CARMICHAEL began his speech by making a dramatic gesture toward a uniformed Negro policeman on duty at a front door commenting to the effect that "you know what we call this type of person, he wears the same kind of uniform as the cops in Mississippi." The audience, which had been joking with the colored officer previously, immediately reacted toward CARMICHAEL's comment. The uniformed officer did not reply.

comments: recalled CARMICHAEL making the following

"Turn your backs on this country which has no justice!"

"This is a nation of thieves, which is on the brink of becoming a nation of murderers!"

"If you don't believe it, ask in Viet Nam, Baby!"

"If you are asked to go into the Army, tell them to go to hell!"

"Now is the time to go to war right here!"

"If we can't get our justice, we'll burn this nation's cities to the ground!"

"Violence is not wrong, it's a question of who controls the violence."

"We are learning their (white) ways. For years they have burned our homes and raped our women."

CARMICHAEL referred to whites generally by the term "honky" or "honkies". He referred to LYNDON B. JOHNSON, GEORGE WALLACE, Mayor SABONJIAN and TARZAN by this term.

He commented to the effect that if you see a honky cop about to arrest a Negro, you should gang up on him and not allow him to make the arrest.

b7C

3

CG 157-1297

Prior to the speech, [] thought a relaxed easy atmosphere prevailed. Five minutes after he began speaking CARMICHAEL appeared to have the crowd's sympathy completely and the tension was noticeable.

It was [] impression that at the end of the speech if CARMICHAEL had desired a violent immediate reaction against white people or a demonstration, the majority of the audience would have followed his counsel.

After the speech [] noticed a small percentage of the audience gather in groups of half a dozen to a dozen and talk. He presumes it was comments about the speech. They appeared impressed with and in agreement with CARMICHAEL.

[] readily agreed to be a witness and testify, if necessary.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 8/8/67

[redacted]
Waukegan, advised as follows:

He is a former member of the [redacted]
[redacted] and has retained an interest in community affairs, particularly activities at the high school. On Mother's Day, May 14, 1967, purely out of curiosity, he alone went to East Campus Little Theatre, Waukegan Township High School, about 4:00 PM, to hear STOKELY CARMICHAEL.

He found an audience of about 200 persons, no more than a quarter of them white and the rest Negro. Among them was [redacted] a former local teacher, who now is teaching at [redacted] Illinois. Because he had to leave early to be home for Mother's Day dinner, he took a seat near the East exit. Some ushers wearing black power badges asked him to move to the center of the auditorium which he declined to do. He was aware that CARMICHAEL had actually arrived, although more than an hour late, but he decided he could not wait any longer and departed the premises before CARMICHAEL took the rostrum.

He was not aware of any military personnel in the audience, which was for the most part a middle-aged group. He recognized, in addition to [redacted] Negro, a local dentist, and [redacted] white, a local dentist.

He could suggest no one who may have made a transcription of CARMICHAEL's speech, or who attended any post-meeting discussion group.

On 8/7/67 at Waukegan, Illinois File # CG 157-1297

by SA [redacted] mlb Date dictated 8/7/67

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He took no notes during this speech and he would be unable to testify to the text and word of CARMICHAEL's speech.

He saw no one in this audience who was wearing the uniform of any branch of military service.

There was no question and answer period at the end of CARMICHAEL's speech.

He observed no discussions by any part of the audience after his speech in the auditorium or in the vicinity of this auditorium. He would not be anxious to testify as he is prejudiced somewhat in CARMICHAEL's favor. He does not however, agree with CARMICHAEL's separatist attitude nor does he agree with CARMICHAEL's attitude concerning violence. He agrees with the fact that CARMICHAEL exists as there has to be some thought or something to keep the civil rights movement ever present in the minds of the American people and CARMICHAEL accomplishes this.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 8/8/67

1

2

[redacted] Waukegan, Illinois,
[redacted] advised as follows:

[redacted]

Purely out of curiosity, and because of his interest in contemporary affairs, he on May 14, 1967, attended the speech of STOKELY CARMICHAEL, along with [redacted]

[redacted]

The four of them were ushered into seats of the second or third row on the left-hand side of the theater, and were not allowed to sit in the front row, which was apparently reserved for older people of the sponsoring group, the Whittier School Mothers. The ushers were local young men for the most part, wearing Black Power buttons and [redacted] as surprised to see among the audience a fellow [redacted]

[redacted]

The audience was made up of Negroes for the most part, with several apparent mixed marriage couples, and the audience was a somewhat middle-aged group. It did not appear to [redacted] to be the type of a young crowd with which CARMICHAEL was usually associated. CARMICHAEL was accompanied by twenty five or thirty young men, who were in the twenty to thirty age group. This group spread itself through the audience, particularly in the rear seats, and led the cheering at appropriate times.

[redacted] who made no notes or recording of the speech, expected CARMICHAEL's speech "to be militant, and it certainly was." By this he meant that CARMICHAEL's remarks were generally

On 8/8/67 at Waukegan, Illinois File # CG 157-1297

by SA [redacted] DLK - 276 - Date dictated 8/8/67

contrary to popular beliefs, and were presented in a defiant attitude.

CARMICHAEL began by trying to define "Black Power" but then appeared to talk in several unconnected directions, as if trying to give the people what they might want to hear. When he made various remarks about the war in Viet Nam, the audience did not seem to respond too well. Other than that, however, the audience, particularly CARMICHAEL's associates in the back, and a local group seated in the center of the theater, at times stood on their seats and cheered or stomped approval.

At one point, CARMICHAEL admonished the audience that if they got summons to go to Viet Nam to send them back "and tell them you're not going," and intimated that "there is going to be a war right here." CARMICHAEL then went on to tell the audience that the people in the area should get themselves ready for this struggle, because "when one city goes, they'll all go."

[redacted] looked upon this remark as a forewarning of the events of the past summer which have occurred since CARMICHAEL's Waukegan appearance.

[redacted] concluded that he was rather shocked to hear the militant attitude with which CARMICHAEL delivered his speech, but felt that neither he nor his three young associates were in any way influenced by CARMICHAEL's remarks.

[redacted] said he would be willing to testify as to his reactions as to CARMICHAEL's May 14, 1967, speech.

DATE August 6, 1967

1

[redacted]
[redacted] Waukegan, Illinois, who resides at
[redacted] Waukegan, and who was interviewed at his place
of business, furnished the following information:

He and two friends [redacted]

[redacted] went to
the Little Theater at the East Campus of Waukegan Township High
School late in the afternoon of May 14, 1967 to listen to a
speech to be given by STOKELY CARMICHAEL. One of his friends
had taken recording equipment with him to record this speech but
prior to the time that STOKELY CARMICHAEL commenced his speech
they determined that the microphone was faulty and therefore were
unable to record any part of the speech. He and his two friends
were escorted to the front row on the isle in this auditorium when
they arrived and after they had each paid \$2 admission price. He
observed in the audience about 50 young men in the age group of
about 18 to 25 years of age. He did not know any of these youths
by name and probably would not be able to identify them again.

He estimated that there were about 220 persons in the
audience, male and female, and of this group about seven were white.

He heard no boos or jeers during CARMICHAEL's speech
and said that the response to the speech was extremely enthusiastic.
At the end of his speech, CARMICHAEL received a standing ovation
and immediately, upon the conclusion of the speech, [redacted] and
his friends departed through a side door near where they had been
seated. This was at 6:22 PM.

At the time CARMICHAEL made the statement "Hell no,
we won't go", the young people in the audience cheered this state-
ment and the audience in general cheered enthusiastically. [redacted]
took notes during the speech and wrote down certain statements
made by CARMICHAEL. Those which he wrote down are set forth as
follows:

On 8/5/67 at Waukegan, Illinois File # 157-1297

by SA [redacted] vmg Date Dictated 8/6/67

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"The Voting Rights Bill is no good."

"Black power is coming together and there will be liberation by any means."

"You are oppressed because you are black."

"There are no lazy black people. White people came to Africa to get black people to do the work. Black people built this country."

"White people stole our culture and gave it back to us."

"This is a nation of thieves because the white man stole it from the red man."

"The white man protects property and not us."

"Don't get tricked into fighting in Viet Nam."

"Look around and see who your real enemy is."

"The Government should call it black urban removal."

"War is for the birds - Lady BIRD and LYNDIA BIRD."

"Give us justice or we will burn down the cities."

"I'd tear up this country before I'd work in it."

"It's better that the black die in Mississippi rather than in Viet Nam."

"Americans, hell, you're black. If you don't know this they will tell you."

"Who can control violence. The most violent men in the community are the white cops. They're legitimate."

"LBJ is a murderer. Cops are murderers."

"Black people have been the recipients of violence for four hundred years. Hit them back."

CG 157-1297

"We have been non-violent too long."

"Throw non-violence to JIM CLARK, GEORGE WALLACE and LESTER MADDOX."

"If a hunky (apparently referring to the white race) lays a hand on me, I'll kill him."

"We can't reason with a (word illegible) man like the hunky that is mayor of this town. Tell them to keep their filthy hands off our beautiful black skin."

He referred to FREDERICK DOUGLAS and to the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs and in connection with this, therefore, repeated "agitate, agitate, agitate."

He suggested to the audience that they read the works of LANGSTON HUGHES and HERBERT APTHEKER.

[redacted] explained that he has been on the [redacted]
[redacted] The
impression was that CARMICHAEL is well trained and well founded in Marxist beliefs.

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[redacted] will retain his notes, but he would prefer not to testify as a witness due to the pressure of business at the present time, because he does not want to have his home bombed and because of fear of recrimination against his only child, [redacted]
[redacted]

b7C

There were two young Negro males in the uniform of the U.S. Navy seated directly behind him. They were dressed in the Navy blue uniform and the rank on their sleeves indicated they were Seaman Apprentices. He saw no one else in military uniform and saw no one else in the audience who he knew to be in military service.

He does not know whether there was a question and answer period after the speech inasmuch as he and his friends departed during the standing ovation.

4

[] did not know whether there was any discussion by the audience after the speech inasmuch as he and his friends were the first to depart from the auditorium and from the parking lot.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 8/7/67

[redacted] Waukegan,
Illinois, advised as follows:

[redacted]

Because of her continuing interest in the social problems of the times, and acting entirely as an individual, she on Sunday, May 14, 1967, attended the meeting at East Campus Little Theater, Waukegan Township High School, to hear STOKLEY CARMICHAEL speak. She was one of a minority of 10 or 15 white persons among the audience of over 200 people, most of them from the middle aged, middle class Negro population.

CARMICHAEL, who spoke extemporaneously, was received with considerable enthusiasm by the audience, and she joined in the cheering after several of his remarks dealing with inequities accorded the Negro by white persons. She felt that he was a talented and a bitter young man, who dared to say things that needed to be said. She recalled a remark he made admonishing the white man to keep his "white hands off my beautiful black skin", but did not feel this remark was in any way inflammatory. She recalled that CARMICHAEL made reference to the draft, to the extent that he said no Negro should be anxious to answer a call to service; however, she did not recall that he in any way counseled his audience or members thereof to refuse to answer a call to service.

On 8/7/67 at Waukegan, Illinois File # CG 157-1297

by SA [redacted] ejh Date dictated 8/7/67

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She was unable to identify any military personnel among the audience, and knew of no one who may have made a transcription or notes of CARMICHAEL's speech. She did not participate in any post-speech discussion group or reception.

[redacted] concluded that, while she now felt that CARMICHAEL was somewhat of a menace, she did not feel that she could conscientiously testify in any proceedings involving him.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date August 8, 1967

1

On August 8, 1967, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised he attended a speech given by STOKELY CARMICHAEL at Waukegan Township High School, May 14, 1967, in Waukegan, Illinois. [REDACTED] stated he was raised in Waukegan. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] and was vitally interested in Negro civil rights affairs in that area. He was particularly interested in hearing CARMICHAEL [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] but as an individual interested in Negro history in the U.S. [REDACTED] said the Whittier School Mothers' Club represented the more responsible middle class section of the Negro community in the Waukegan area.

[REDACTED] was impressed that the atmosphere at the auditorium was not conducive to the type of program being presented. Waukegan police were stationed all over the auditorium. He felt Mayor SABONJIAN probably misunderstood the true nature of the meeting and required that the police attend in large numbers. The Mayor had been informed of the event by the Whittier School Mothers Club.

The audience numbered approximately 300 people, 90% Negro, the majority of which were between 20 and 30 years of age. There were about 25 white people in attendance. The Negroes in the audience represented the responsible elements of the Waukegan community, were well dressed and well behaved. Conspicuous by their absence were the Negro leaders of Waukegan, such as Ministers and leaders in moderate civil rights groups like the Urban League

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On 8/8/67 at Chicago, Illinois File # CG 157-1297
by SAs [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] Date Dictated 8/8/67
by [REDACTED] /vmg

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and National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Likewise there were very few, if any, beatniks or ghetto type Negroes in the audience.

[redacted] did not keep any notes regarding CARMICHAEL's speech. He recalled CARMICHAEL's main ideas were addressed to the Negro people to be their true selves and not to be imitators of the white race. The Negroes should define for themselves what is true beauty, real values and correct race pride. CARMICHAEL believed that the white people have never really tried to uplift, upgrade or understand the Negro race, but to degrade and use them for their own purposes. In this connection he believed that the white race had abused and raped their women.

CARMICHAEL regarded interracial relations as relatively unimportant to Negroes, although regarded highly by whites. He commented "white women are not queens, not virgins, they can be had by anyone."

CARMICHAEL compared middle class Negroes or "Uncle Toms" to Negroes with true race pride. CARMICHAEL stated that he knew Negroes who made him look like an "Uncle Tom".

CARMICHAEL equated the Viet Nam war situation to the violent nature of the white man. He counseled the Negro race to avoid entanglements in the white man's war and commented at one point "hell no, we aint gonna go".

Concerning race pride, CARMICHAEL counseled the group not to let the white man slap you, if he does to kill him. He commented that Black Power is defined as a coming together of black people to liberate themselves by whatever means is possible.

[redacted] thought the audience reaction was great regarding CARMICHAEL's comments on Negro pride, Negro beauty, interracial relationships and the degrading of the Negro race by the white man. He thought there was very little reaction to CARMICHAEL's comments on the Viet Nam situation.

After the speech [redacted] noticed that the majority of the older Negroes in the audience practically rushed the stage to shake CARMICHAEL's hand and compliment him and agree generally with his ideas. He did not recall if there was a question and

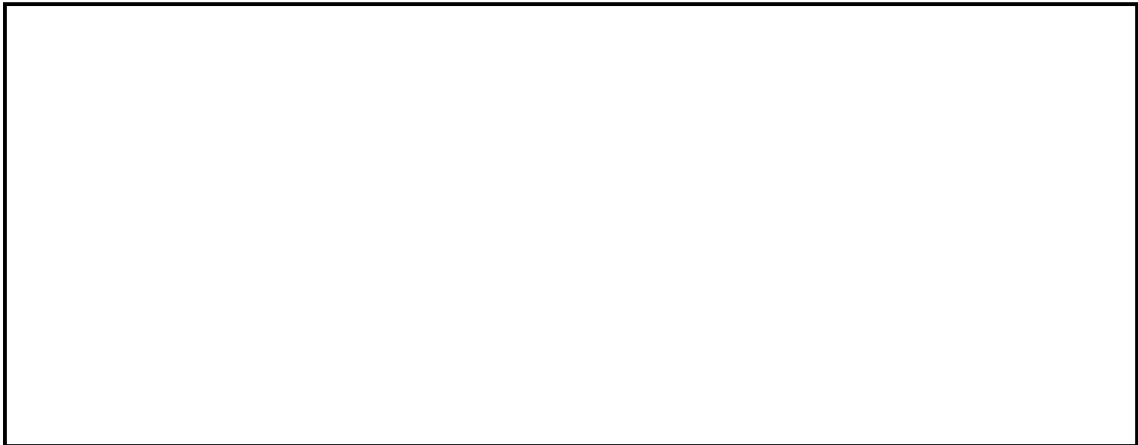
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answer period after the speech, but he does not think so. He recalled that people did seem to gather in groups outside the auditorium and probably were discussing comments. [redacted] immediately went to the home of [redacted]

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[redacted] Approximately 20 people, ten white, and ten Negroes, who had attended CARMICHAEL's speech, were there for a cocktain party. Those he recalled in attendance are:



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They generally agreed that CARMICHAEL made a favorable impression upon them which was quite different than the impression one gets from reading strictly newspaper articles and seeing short television shots of CARMICHAEL's speeches. They generally agreed that CARMICHAEL was relating true historical and everyday facts of the Negro existence which are generally not liked by the white race.

[redacted] did not believe that CARMICHAEL's speech tended to counsel or influence draft age young men to avoid military service or violently oppose military service.

b7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date 8/8/67

[redacted]
[redacted] Waukegan, who resides at [redacted]
Waukegan, who was interviewed at his office, furnished the following information:

He was notified by the Whittier School Mothers' Club, Waukegan, that there would be a program in the Little Theater of the East Campus of Waukegan Township High School on May 14, 1967, [redacted] He was aware that STOKELY CARMICHAEL would be the featured speaker on this program.

[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]

He remained in the auditorium at the high school on May 14, 1967, during STOKELY CARMICHAEL's speech but he was not aware that any recording or transcript of the speech was made.

He estimated that there was about 25 young males in the audience in the age group from about 18 to 25 years.

He estimated that there were about 300 people in the audience and observed about six white persons.

There were no boos or jeers during CARMICHAEL's speech and the audience cheered at certain high points of the speech and when they were expected to cheer.

With regard to the statement "Hell no, we won't go" he has read a great deal about STOKELY CARMICHAEL and quotations of CARMICHAEL and he has heard CARMICHAEL on TV and the comment "Hell no, we won't go" he knows has been attributed to CARMICHAEL and he is certain that he has heard him make this statement on TV. But he could not be certain that CARMICHAEL made this statement during his speech on May 14, 1967, at Waukegan.

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On 8/8/67 at Waukegan, Illinois File # CG 157-1297
by SA [redacted] lmv Date dictated 8/8/67

AT 100-6812

I. SPEECH OF STOKELY CARMICHAEL
AT LINCOLN MEMORIAL CONGREGATIONAL
TEMPLE,
WASHINGTON, D.C.,
MAY 16, 1967

No prepared text, but speech delivered by
CARMICHAEL is known to have been submitted to the
press or other authorities. A ~~taped transcription~~
of the speech was prepared by [redacted]

[redacted] Washington, D.C. which tape
is in the custody of [redacted]
[redacted] Washington, D.C., and
is available upon issuance of subpoena.

There are no informants in Washington, D.C.
who are sufficiently acquainted with STOKELY
CARMICHAEL to testify as to his knowledge and intent
in making the above speech.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date August 8, 1967

[redacted]
[redacted]
Washington, D. C., was advised he was not required to make any statement and that any statement he made could be used in court. He was also advised of his right to consult legal counsel.

He attended a meeting sponsored by the Washington Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam at the Lincoln Memorial Congregational Temple, 11th and R Streets, N.W., Washington, D. C., on the evening of May 16, 1967. There were at least 300 persons present with the majority being teen-agers or young adults; the audience was composed of about 60% Negroes and 40 % whites.

One of the speakers was STOKELY CARMICHAEL. Among other things, CARMICHAEL spoke about the involvement of the United States in Vietnam and the use of young people from this country in this matter. He advised that in order to resist this, "We" have to give our young brothers around this country the strength to say, "Hell no" to the draft. The impression was gained that CARMICHAEL advocated mobilizing high school students as a sort of draft movement in keeping with his opposition in Vietnam by the United States; that the high school students are to be the next group to be drafted.

CARMICHAEL said words to the effect that in building the resistance to the draft, one must think about the penalty involved, going to jail. He said "we" are going to jail for five years if necessary; that "we" represent 10% of the population and the jails cannot hold that many people.

The audience received CARMICHAEL's statements with enthusiasm and he was very well received. No dissenting statements or sounds were heard from the audience.

8/8/67 at Washington, D. C.

File # WFO 100-43503
AT 100-6812

SA [redacted]

hnb

Date dictated 8/8/67

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AT 100-6812
WFO 100-43503

2

No persons in military uniforms were observed, nor were any military personnel in civilian clothes known to be present.

No question and answer period followed CARMICHAEL's talk, and the audience did not participate in any discussion concerning it.

did not desire to furnish a signed statement. He said he is available and willing to testify in court or before a hearing.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date August 8, 1967

[redacted] Washington, D. C.,
was advised he was not required to make any statement and
that any statement he did make could be used in court.
He was also advised of his right to consult legal counsel.
[redacted] advised he was present during the speech
given by STOKELY CARMICHAEL on the evening of May 16, 1967,
at the Lincoln Memorial Congregational Temple, 11th and
R Streets, N.W., Washington, D. C.

According to [redacted] the Temple was
filled to capacity and approximately 90% of the audience
were young college students and youths in their teens.
He stated that about one-half the group consisted of
Negroes and one-half were whites.

[redacted] related that he could recall no
specific statements made by CARMICHAEL instructing those
present to willfully refuse to accept military service or
evade the draft. He related that a lot of things CARMICHAEL
said, such as referring to President JOHNSON as a "honky"
and ridiculing the police, made him angry as an American;
however, he realized this is considered freedom of speech
under the Constitution. [redacted] advised that he
can recall CARMICHAEL saying the negro people should
organize in the schools, in the jails, and in their
neighborhoods in order to liberate themselves and that
if they do any dying it should be in this regard on
American soil and not in Vietnam.

[redacted] advised that the audience's
reaction to CARMICHAEL's remarks was extremely favorable
and whenever he made some derogatory remark pertaining
to the President or law enforcement in general, the
audience was particularly vocal in its approval.

There were no recognizable military personnel in
the audience, and no question or answer period after the
speech. At the end of CARMICHAEL's talk, the Temple

On 8/8/67 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 100-43503
AM 100-5812

by SA [redacted] mrb Date dictated 8/8/67

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WFO 100-43503

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immediately emptied and there were no groups or parts of the audience observed afterwards gathering to discuss the speech.

did not see any need to furnish a signed statement. He is available and willing to testify in court or before a hearing.

b7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date August 8, 1967

[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted] N.W., Washington, D.C., reported that [redacted]
[redacted] was assigned as a part of
his regular employment to handle the [redacted] at a
meeting held on the night of May 16, 1967 at the Lincoln
Memorial Congregational Temple, 11th and R Streets, N.W.,
Washington, D.C.

[redacted] set up the equipment, and recorded the
speech of STOKELY CARMICHAEL on that night in its entirety.
Following the program [redacted] personally delivered the tape
recording of the speech to [redacted]
[redacted] Washington, D.C., where the news
people reviewed the tape and used excerpts on their news
programs.

The tape was then turned over to [redacted]
[redacted] at the same address
who still has the original tape in his custody.

[redacted] stated that a subpoena duces
tecum should be addressed [redacted]
[redacted]

On 8/8/67 at Washington, D.C. File # WFO 100-43503
AT 100-6812
by SA [redacted] p Date dictated 8/8/67

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AT 100-6812

J. SPEECH OF STOKELY CARMICHAEL
AT JEFFERSON HIGH SCHOOL,
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA,
MAY 26, 1967

There is no prepared text relating to the speech furnished to school authorities or to members of the press, neither is a recording of this speech available.

There are no informants in the Los Angeles Division sufficiently close to CARMICHAEL who could testify as to his knowledge and intent as it relates to this speech.

AT 100-6812

[redacted] on May 29, 1967, advised that STOKELY CARMICHAEL spoke at a Black Power Conference held at the Jefferson High School, 1319 East 41st Street, Los Angeles, California, on May 26, 1967.

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In substance it was reported that CARMICHAEL advised the following:

"It's no time to talk loud and shoot off at the mough. That tactic is used to awake people. The people at this meeting is awake already, and now is the time to talk business. He stated he is the organizer of SNCC, and H. Rap Brown is the chairman of SNCC. He spoke calm and serious. He said we must organize. It is no time to talk reformation, it s time to talk revolution. To organize we must have two organizations: a political organization to carry on the legal structure of the movement in the open and on paper, then the underground guerillas; both organizations working together and with due respect to each other.

"We must control education in our black schools, the P.T.A., the teachers. The Negro schools should be taught languages peculiar to their kind such as Chinese, also the languages spoken in South America and Swahili, and no Frence, German, and Russian etc. We need to be able to communicate with other oppressed nations. We must have a economic program to guarantee us support from the businesses operating in our community in the form of jobs,

AT 100-6812

organizational support_ etc_, demand that 50% of business profits be returned to the community in some of these forms. And if we can't get it. Then boycott, and police the boycott."

[redacted] further advised on August 8, 1967, regarding statements of CARMICHAEL made on May 26, 1967, that CARMICHAEL in his speech stated it was time for revolution and organization. He pointed out two organizations were needed to obtain Negro goals, which were a political organization and an underground guerilla band. Negroes need economic programs to guarantee support from businesses operating in Negro communities in the form of jobs, organizational support, and 50% of business profits. Informant advised that CARMICHAEL criticized the military draft and stated "Negroes must refuse to serve in the military."

Informant advised that the audience at this meeting was composed of all Negroes, 75% of whom were under 32 years of age, many being students of a draft age who gave CARMICHAEL his most enthusiastic response. No persons of white race or members of news media were permitted in this conference as security guards screened all persons entering the conference.

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AT 100-6812

VII. IDENTIFICATION RECORD

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

AUG 3 1967 9:8

Director.

The following FBI record, NUMBER 853 121 D, is furnished FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY.

CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
Police Department Jackson, Mississippi	Stokely Carmichael #20978	June 8, 1961	breach of peace	City Crt \$200 & 4 mo last 2 mo susp Co Crt Noli
Sheriff's Office Jackson, Mississippi	Stokely Carmichael #40	June 15, 1961	breach of the peace	Contendere \$200 & C das susp \$200 fine and 4 months with 60 days suspended
St Hwy Pat Jackson Miss	Stokely Carmichael	10-18-64	disobeying an officer & blocking roadway	unavailable per contr 3-22-67
PD Selma Ala	Stokely Carmichael #19951	1-26-65	unlawful assembly	\$100 & \$7 C & 60 das H1 Rel on Bond \$500 (Case believed to have been disposed of by Federal Court)
PD Atlanta Ga	Stokely Carmichael #242521	9-8-66	1) DC inciting to riot 2) DC dist	unavailable per contr 3-22-67
PD Selma Ala	Stokely Carmichael #11773	11-5-66	inciting to riot	\$100 & \$7 C & 60 das H1
PD Atlanta Ga	Stokely Carmichael #242521 Residence: 360 Nelson St Atlanta Ga	6-13-67	DC(failing to move on)	\$53 or 30 das

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Information shown on this Identification Record represents data furnished FBI by fingerprint contributors. Where final disposition is not shown or further explanation of charge is desired, communicate with agency contributing those fingerprints.

Notations indicated by * are NOT based on fingerprints in FBI files but are listed only as investigative leads as being possibly identical with subject of this record.

AT 100-6812

VIII. APPENDIX - WITNESSES

APPENDIX - WITNESSES

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

[redacted] [redacted]
[redacted] Berkeley, who has always been cooperative and has furnished reliable information, is willing and available to testify during any future trials in this matter. He was in attendance at the STOKELY CARMICHAEL speech, University of California, Berkeley, October 29, 1966, and under his direct supervision CARMICHAEL's speech was recorded.

[redacted] at [redacted]
[redacted] Berkeley. [redacted] was assigned by the Chief of Police to duty at the Greek Theater on October 29, 1966, and was present during the CARMICHAEL speech on that date. [redacted] is willing and available to testify in any future court proceedings. [redacted] has always cooperated with the FBI and has furnished reliable information in the past.

[redacted]
[redacted] was present at the Greek Theater during the STOKELY CARMICHAEL speech on October 29, 1966. He has been friendly and cooperative to the FBI for many years and has furnished reliable information in the past. He is available, but is unwilling to testify in connection with the speech of STOKELY CARMICHAEL on October 29, 1966, because of possible retaliatory measures.

[redacted]
[redacted] Oakland, California. Records and recollections concerning his recording of Black Power Day meeting, which included speech of STOKELY CARMICHAEL on October 29, 1966. He is willing and available to testify.

AT 100-6812

APPENDIX - WITNESSES

[redacted]
[redacted] Army ROTC Unit, University of California,
Berkeley. Records reflecting 619 Army ROTC students
as of October 1, 1966. He is willing and available
to testify.

[redacted] Air Force ROTC,
University of California, Berkeley, California.
Records reflecting 51 Air Force ROTC students as
of October 1, 1966. He is willing and available
to testify.

[redacted] U. S. Marine Corps,
[redacted] Navy ROTC, University of California,
Berkeley. Records reflecting 163 Navy ROTC students
as of November 1, 1966. He is willing and available
to testify.

APPENDIX - WITNESSES

RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

The following identified persons furnished information of value regarding speech made by CARMICHAEL at Richmond, Virginia:

[redacted] Richmond, Virginia, Police Department, is willing to testify as to approximate attendance.

[redacted] Richmond, Virginia, Police Department, is willing to testify and can furnish approximation of races in attendance.

[redacted] Henrico County, Virginia Police Department is willing to testify as a witness.

[redacted] Richmond, Virginia, Police Department, who heard portions of the speech and recorded proceedings is a willing witness.

[redacted]
[redacted] Virginia Union University, 1500 North Lombardy Street, Richmond, Virginia, [redacted]

[redacted]
[redacted] in conjunction with CARMICHAEL's appearance, has indicated a willingness to testify.

[redacted]
[redacted] Richmond, Virginia, [redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted] has indicated a willingness to testify.

APPENDIX - WITNESSES

[redacted]
[redacted] Richmond, Virginia, an [redacted]
[redacted] and part-time employee for [redacted]
[redacted] recorded speech of CARMICHAEL; however, she
has indicated a willingness to testify as to the
contents of this tape and her observations.

[redacted]
[redacted] Richmond,
Virginia, has indicated a willingness to testify in
court if necessary regarding tape transcription in
his possession.

[redacted]
[redacted]
Richmond, Virginia, attended speech made by CARMICHAEL
and was with [redacted] during time she recorded same.
[redacted] is a willing witness and is [redacted] years
of age.

[redacted]
[redacted] Richmond, Virginia, [redacted]
[redacted] Richmond, Virginia, [redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted] has indicated a willingness
to testify.

[redacted]
[redacted] Richmond, Virginia, indicated he would not
be a voluntary witness for the United States Government
as he is an active member of the [redacted]
and felt his appearance as a witness would be detrimental
to his continued functioning in this elected capacity.

AT 100-6812

APPENDIX - WITNESSES

JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI

[redacted]
[redacted] Jackson, Mississippi, [redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted] has indicated a willingness to testify.

[redacted] of [redacted]
[redacted]
Jackson, Mississippi, [redacted]
[redacted]
and she has indicated a willingness to testify.

[redacted]
[redacted] Jackson, Mississippi, a white male, [redacted]
[redacted]
and is employed as a [redacted]
[redacted] has indicated a willingness to testify.

[redacted]
[redacted] Jackson, Mississippi, [redacted]
[redacted]
has indicated a willingness to testify. [redacted] currently
resides at [redacted] Jackson, Mississippi,
and is [redacted]

[redacted]
Jackson, Mississippi, [redacted]
[redacted] and is employed as an
[redacted] is a white male and
has indicated a willingness to testify.

APPENDIX - WITNESSES

[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted] Jackson, Mississippi, is
in his [redacted] a white male, [redacted]
[redacted] No information received as to
[redacted] willingness to testify.

[redacted]
[redacted] to the [redacted]
[redacted] Jackson, Mississippi, is a willing witness
concerning tape recording made of CARMICHAEL's speech.

[redacted]
[redacted] home address [redacted]
[redacted] Louisiana, business
address care of [redacted]
[redacted] New Orleans, Louisiana. [redacted] is available
and a willing witness to testify concerning his recording
of this speech.

[redacted]
[redacted] Atlanta, Georgia, home residence
[redacted] Georgia. [redacted] is a white
male, age [redacted] having been born at [redacted]
[redacted] is available and
a willing witness to testify regarding the above speech,
provided his employer grants his approval.

[redacted]
[redacted] Jackson, Mississippi, [redacted]
[redacted] Jackson, Mississippi, which position he has served
for the past six years, is a white male, [redacted]
[redacted] and is available and a willing witness in
this matter if absolutely necessary.

AT 100-6812

APPENDIX - WITNESSES

[REDACTED] [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Jackson, Mississippi, appears to
be a willing witness available for testimony as evidenced
by his searching for the original tape recording in
this matter.

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AT 100-6812

APPENDIX - WITNESSES

HOUSTON, TEXAS

[redacted]
[redacted] University of Houston, 3801
Cullen Boulevard, Houston, Texas. [redacted] is willing
and available to testify in behalf of the government.

[redacted]
[redacted] University of Houston, Houston, Texas,
is the logical person to be subpoenaed for introduction
of original tape recording.

[redacted]
[redacted] Houston, Texas, Phone- [redacted]
is a willing witness concerning his recording of
the speech.

[redacted]
[redacted] University of Houston, Houston,
Texas, and resident of [redacted]
Houston, Texas, is a willing witness.

[redacted] Houston,
Texas, and [redacted] of the University
of Houston, has indicated he is a willing witness
unless his Supervisor, [redacted] of the University
of Houston, interposes an objection to his so appearing.

[redacted]
[redacted] Texas, and a member of the
[redacted] Houston, Texas,
[redacted] for [redacted] has indicated his
willingness to appear as a witness.

[redacted]
Houston, Texas, and a member of the [redacted]
[redacted]

APPENDIX - WITNESSES

has been a police officer for [redacted] and is available and willing to testify.

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[redacted]
[redacted] Houston, Texas, made a tape of the speech of CARMICHAEL, which is still in his custody, and he is willing and available to testify concerning this tape.

[redacted]
Texas, Phone [redacted] in [redacted] and a part-time employee of [redacted] is available and willing to testify in this matter.

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[redacted] U.S. Army, and [redacted] University of Houston, Texas, is available and willing to testify in this matter.

[redacted] U.S. Army, University of Houston, Houston, Texas, is available and a willing witness.

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[redacted]
Houston, Texas, and a [redacted] for 2½ years, is available and would appear as a witness if necessary.

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[redacted]
[redacted] of [redacted] Texas, is available and willing to testify in this matter.

b7C

[redacted] Houston, Texas, [redacted] Texas, is available and a willing witness.

b7C

AT 100-6812

APPENDIX - WITNESSES

SAINT PETERSBURG, FLORIDA

[redacted] Clear Water, Florida, has authorized the availability of members of his department to testify concerning this speech.

[redacted] Intelligence Unit, Pinellas County Sheriff's Office, Clear Water, Florida, is available and a willing witness in this matter.

[redacted] Pinellas County Sheriff's Office, Clear Water, Florida, is available and a willing witness.

[redacted]
[redacted] and an employee of the Sheriff's Department for 5 years, residing at [redacted]
[redacted] Clear Water, Florida, is available and a willing witness.

[redacted]
and a member of the Pinellas County Sheriff's Office, was born in [redacted] and has been an employee of the Sheriff's Office for 4 yeras. He is available and a willing witness.

[redacted] Intelligence Bureau, Saint Petersburg, Florida Police Department, is available and a willing witness in this matter.

1
SE 100-28676
LKS:cdv:bjl

APPENDIX - WITNESSES

AT SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

1. [redacted]
[redacted] is approximately [redacted] years of age and
is a [redacted] in the [redacted] the University of
Washington. He resides at [redacted] Seattle.

2. [redacted]
[redacted] at the University
of Washington and is about [redacted] years of age. He resides at
[redacted] Seattle.

3. [redacted]
[redacted] is about [redacted] and is a member of the
[redacted] of the Seattle Public School System. He
resides at [redacted]

4. [redacted]
[redacted] is [redacted] with [redacted]
[redacted] of the University of Washington and in his late
[redacted] He resides at [redacted] Seattle, Washington.

5. [redacted]
[redacted] is [redacted] years old and is a technician
for the [redacted] at the University of Washington.
He has been a technician for the past seven years and resides
at [redacted] Seattle, Washington.

6. [redacted]
[redacted] is in his [redacted] and is [redacted] at
Garfield High School where he has been for the past three years.
He resided at [redacted] Seattle, Washington.

7. [redacted]
[redacted] about [redacted] years of age and is a house-
wife who has been active in conservative politics in the Seattle
area. She resides at [redacted] Seattle, Washington.

2
SE 100-28676
LKS/cdv

8.

[redacted]
[redacted] is about [redacted] years of age and is
[redacted] the [redacted] for the Seattle Public
School System. He resides at [redacted]
Seattle, Washington.

All of the above witnesses are available
and willing to testify in this matter.

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AT 100-6812

APPENDIX - WITNESSES

CINCINNATI, OHIO

[redacted]
Cincinnati, Ohio Police Department, and resident of
[redacted] Cincinnati, Ohio, is available
and willing to testify in this matter.

[redacted]
[redacted] Cincinnati, Ohio, and [redacted] Cincinnati,
Ohio Police Department, is available and willing to
testify in this matter.

[redacted]
[redacted] Cincinnati, Ohio Police Department,
is available and a willing witness.

[redacted] Cincinnati,
Ohio, a [redacted] of the Cincinnati Police
Department for 14 years, is available and a willing
witness.

[redacted]
[redacted] Cincinnati, Ohio, Cincinnati Police
Department, is available and willing to testify
concerning this speech.

[redacted]
[redacted] Cincinnati,
Ohio.

[redacted] on August 7, 1967,
[redacted] Cincinnati, Ohio, advised
he was unwilling to permit the original tape of the
speech made by CARMICHAEL to be entered as possible
evidence in a judicial matter, and further desired that
his employee, [redacted] not be recontacted,
and neither would he permit [redacted] to appear
as a witness in a judicial proceeding. [redacted]

AT 100-6812

APPENDIX - WITNESSES

explained his reasons for this stand as concern
should any unfriendly sources become aware that
[redacted] or any other employee of [redacted]
[redacted] was cooperative with a law enforcement agency,
that reprisals might result in possible personal
injury and destruction of radio station and network
property.

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AT 100-6812

APPENDIX - WITNESSES

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Regarding the availability of witnesses to testify about the facts of this speech, the following witnesses are willing to testify for the Government:

[REDACTED]
Waukegan Police Department

[REDACTED]
Waukegan, Illinois

[REDACTED]
Waukegan Police Department

[REDACTED]
Waukegan Police Department

[REDACTED]
Waukegan Police Department

[REDACTED]
Waukegan Police Department

[REDACTED]
Waukegan Police Department

[REDACTED] [REDACTED]
"Waukegan News-Sun"

[REDACTED]
Illinois State Police
Elgin, Illinois

[REDACTED]
Publishing Company
Northbrook, Illinois

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b7C

AT 100-6812

APPENDIX - WITNESSES

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Waukegan, Illinois

[REDACTED]

Waukegan, Illinois

The following persons are willing to
testify if subpoenaed:

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Waukegan, Illinois

The following persons are willing to
testify, but are in sympathy with CARMICHAEL:

[REDACTED]

Waukegan, Illinois

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Chicago, Illinois

[REDACTED]

Waukegan, Illinois

[REDACTED]

First Platoon, Field Medical Services School, Camp
LeJeune, North Carolina, home address [REDACTED]
South, Minneapolis, Minnesota, is available as a willing
witness.

AT 100-6812

APPENDIX - WITNESSES

[redacted]
[redacted] First Platoon, Field Medical Services
School. Camp LeJeune. North Carolina. home address-
[redacted] and
on transfer to U.S. Navy Hospital, Philadelphia,
Pennsylvania, is available as a witness.

b7C

AT 100-6812

APPENDIX - WITNESSES

WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE

[redacted]
[redacted] Virginia, and a [redacted] with
Metropolitan Police Department, Washington, D.C.,
is available and willing to testify in court or
at a hearing.

[redacted]
Intelligence Division, Metropolitan Police
Department, Washington, D.C., is available and a
willing witness.

[redacted]
[redacted]
Washington, D.C. is available and willing to
testify in this matter.

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AT 100-6812

APPENDIX - WITNESSES

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

[redacted] is [redacted] a current live informant
of continuing value to the Los Angeles Division, who
is unavailable and unwilling to testify at this time.

b2
b7D



*In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.*

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Atlanta, Georgia
August 12, 1967

Title	STOKELY CARMICHAEL
Character	SEDITION
Reference	Re Atlanta report of SA dated and captioned as above.

b7C

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

8/14/67

AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM: LEGAT, TOKYO (105-4082)(RUC)
SUBJECT: JAPAN COMMITTEE FOR INVESTIGATION
OF WAR CRIMES IN VIETNAM (JCINCV)
IS - JAPAN

Ramylet 8/7/67.

Enclosed for the information of the Bureau are 5 copies of CAS Cable FJT-12979 and 2 copies of CAS Cable FJT-12981, containing information regarding the above captioned organization and its alleged invitation to STOKELY CARMICHAEL, former Chairman of SNCC, to attend its August Tokyo session.

Any additional information received regarding this matter will be promptly forwarded to the Bureau.

1 - Bureau (Enc. 7)
(1 - Foreign Liaison)
(1 - [redacted])
(1 - 100- [redacted]) (STOKELY CARMICHAEL)
(1 - 100- [redacted]) (SNCC)
4 - Tokyo
(1 - [redacted])
(1 - 105-14)(JCP)
(1 - 100-573)(SNCC)

RVP:ksh
(10)

100-446080-
NOT RECORDED
176 AUG 20 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/19/01 BY 39063 ELW/Bcl/mnd

54 AUG 25 1967

ORIGINAL FILED IN 105-156243-204

b7C

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Wick _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

TO : Mr. D. J. Brennan, Jr. *JMB*

DATE: 8/9/67

FROM : S. J. Papich *SJP*

~~SECRET~~

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - M

[REDACTED] (S)

[REDACTED] (S)

[REDACTED] (S)

ACTION:

The above information is being directed to the attention of the Internal Security Section and the Subversive Control Section.

- 1 - C. D. Brennan
- 1 - B. A. Wells
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Liaison
- 1 - Mr. Papich

SJP:rab
(6) *not*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

9/13/01
CLASSIFIED BY 39063 EWL/BCL/AMN
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X
Per OSA Letter Dated 9 Sept 01

REC 11

100-446080-491

EX 106

AUG 18 1967

~~SECRET~~

67 AUG 23 1967

VIA TELETYPE

AUG 15 1967

ENCIPHERED

R-55
URGENT 8-15-67

TO DIRECTOR NEW YORK WASHINGTON FIELD

NEW YORK VIA WASHINGTON

FROM ATLANTA

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-M, SEDITION.

A SOURCE WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST ADVISED ON AUGUST FOURTEEN LAST, THAT ATLANTA EMPLOYEES OF THE STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC) STATED ON AUGUST FOURTEEN LAST, THAT WHEN STOKELY CARMICHAEL LEAVES CUBA HE IS GOING TO VISIT EUROPE, AFRICA AND CANADA BEFORE RETURNING TO THE UNITED STATES AT NEW YORK. THE SOURCE DID NOT DETERMINE THE DATES THAT CARMICHAEL WOULD LEAVE CUBA OR ARRIVE IN THE UNITED STATES.

ADMINISTRATIVE

SOURCE IS [REDACTED] LOCAL AUTHORITIES, MILITARY INTELLIGENCE, US ATTORNEY, AND SECRET SERVICE, ATLANTA, ADVISED. P.

RECEIVED: 3:21 PM FJB

EX-113

100-446080-492

REC-24

AUG 17 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11/9/0 BY 39063 (int) Becland

57 AUG 21 1967
RELAYED TO

F B I

Date: 8/7/67

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM : SAC, MIAMI (100-15451) (RUC)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS
(OO: ATLANTA)

Re Bureau airtel to Albany, with copy
to all offices, dated 6/7/67.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 9 copies
of an LHM concerning information from monitored
broadcasts from Cuba made in Miami and from
Cuban publications. Three copies of this LHM
are being furnished to Atlanta, the office of
origin, as well as origin in the case entitled,
"COMINFIL; SNCC".

The source concealed is [redacted] who
furnished the information to SA [redacted]
on 8/1 and 8/3/67. (S)(u)

Translation from the Spanish was made
by [redacted]

Copies of this LHM are being disseminated
to the following agencies:

- ENCLOSURE
- ③ - Bureau (Enc. 9) (RM)
 - 3 - Atlanta (2 - 100-6812) (Enc. 3) (RM)
 - (1 - 100-6488)
 - 3 - Miami (1 - 100-15451)
 - (1 - 100-15068)
 - (1 - [redacted])

CLASSIFIED BY SP-1AG/EL
DECLASSIFY ON: OADR 3/16/87

JJM:klj
(9)

ISD - DAVITT, CRIM-CARL BEZCHER

AGENCY: ACSI, OSI, SEC. SER.

REPORT: JED, RAO, CTA, STATE

DATE FORW: 8/16/67

HOW FORW: 1/11/5

BY: BAW/dkt

INT. SEC.

62 AUG 22 1967

Approved: [Signature]

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

CONFIDENTIAL

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-446080-493

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b7D

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MM 100-15451

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NISO, Charleston, South Carolina
OSI, Robins Air Force Base, Ga.
111th M.I. Group, Orlando, Florida

The enclosed LHM indicates that CARMICHAEL is
accompanied by one [redacted]

[redacted] was described as a member of SNCC and
[redacted] were described as U.S. Negro leaders.

b7C

LEADS:

ATLANTA DIVISION

AT ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Will, if not already known, identify [redacted]
and [redacted]

b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Miami, Florida
August 7, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY -
MISCELLANEOUS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-16-87 BY SP-1AG/EW

CH#252028

b7D

A source, on [redacted] made available
a published report of the National Association of
Stenographers of Cuba (in exile). This Association,
on a daily basis, monitors broadcasts from Cuba, and
thereafter publishes a transcription of the more im-
portant news items. The published reports made avail-
able by the source contain information from broadcasts
from Cuba that were monitored on August 1-2, 1967. The
information obtained is as follows:

Radio Havana - Cuba

STOKELY CARMICHAEL read a message over
Radio Havana - Cuba which he had written to "CHE"
GUEVARA. He said that the Afro-Asians in the United
States feel a great admiration for "CHE". "We await
with eagerness your writings in order to read them,
digest them and to plan our strategy based on them,"
he said. "We want you to know," he continued, "where-
ever you are, you are an inspiration not only to the
Negroes in the United States, but to the fights for
liberation throughout the world."

ERNESTO "CHE" GUEVARA was the former
head of the National Institute of Agra-
rain Reform (INRA) of the Cuban Govern-
ment.

CMQ Radio (August 1, 1967)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL's press conference,
which could be called "historic" because of the im-
portant statements it contained, stressed the
decision of the Negro people of the United States
to respond with violence to the imperialist policy
of the United States Government.

100-446080-493

2
XEROX
AUG 18 1967

ENCLOSURE

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

CARMICHAEL, as well as his companions, [redacted]

[redacted] both of them also U.S. Negro leaders, answered the many questions put to them by the national and foreign journalists.

In answer to a question asked by a correspondent for the Italian daily, "L'Unita", concerning the beginning of the armed fight by the U.S. Negroes, CARMICHAEL said that the date could be set at about August 18, 1965, when the rebellion began in the Negro district of Watts, in Los Angeles, California. He said that after that date, it became clear to those Negroes who did not believe in violence that the only way was that of arms.

In regard to the fight going on in Vietnam, he said: "We U.S. Negroes will not take up arms to shoot the people of Vietnam; they have done nothing to us, they are our brothers in arms because they are fighting against the same imperialist structure as we are. Our answer to the armed forces in the United States is: we will not go and fight in Vietnam."

At the conference, the Negro leader was asked what importance he attributed to the message of "CHE" GUEVARA, especially to the slogan of creating, one, two, three and more Vietnams. CARMICHAEL answered that "CHE" is considered important because he is not an "armchair revolutionary" but a practical soldier. "We believe that his tactics are extraordinary and a good example is in his document to the Tri-Continental, which materialized in the recent chain reaction of the U.S. Negroes in the United States."

Radio Havana - Cuba (August 2, 1967)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL declared in Havana that the U.S. Negroes are planning guerrilla warfare in the cities because they have no other way to obtain their rights.

CARMICHAEL said that for 400 years, the Negro people of the United States had tried to coexist, without any results, but now, they have no other alternative than to take up arms for their liberation. During his press conference, he gave a brief explanation of the

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

meaning of the fight for Black Power: "It is the union of the Negroes in the United States to fight for their liberation; it is the union of the North American Negro population with the oppressed peoples of the rest of the world; it is the fight against capitalism and imperialism which oppresses us inside and you outside." He said that Major FIDEL CASTRO had been a source of inspiration to the Negroes of the United States for a long time because of his constant fight for the liberation of oppressed peoples.

Concerning his visit to Cuba, CARMICHAEL said that he had a great impression of the country and its people. He said that he had seen an army and for the first time, he did not feel afraid of it.

The source, on August 1, 1967, made available a copy of the July 26, 1967, issue of "El Mundo" which contained an article captioned "More Delegates Arrive For Olas". This article stated that STOKELY CARMICHAEL, well known Negro leader of the United States, and GEORGE WARO of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), are already in Cuba as guests to the Olas conference. Both received a greeting of welcome from Captain OSMANY CIENFUEGOS, President of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba. U.S.A
DUBA

The source, on August 3, 1967, made available the July 27, 1967, issue of "El Mundo". This issue carried the complete speech of Premier FIDEL CASTRO, made on July 26, 1967, at Santiago de Cuba, at the ceremony commemorating the 14th anniversary of the attack on the Moncada barracks. In his speech, CASTRO stated that many important guests were present at this commemoration. He referred to STOKELY CARMICHAEL by name and stated the following:

"Also present for the first time at this meeting, or at a meeting of this kind, is one of the most noted leaders for civil rights in the United States, STOKELY CARMICHAEL."

"El Mundo" is a daily afternoon newspaper published in Havana under the control and direction of the Cuban Government.

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

The source, on August 3, 1967, made available the July 28, 1967, issue of "Granma" which contained an article entitled "Carmichael Comments On Fidel's Speech". This article stated that STOKELY CARMICHAEL, described as the well known integrationist fighter from the United States, said that one of the things which impressed him most was "The very clear manner of explaining to the people the problems of the country", and he added that the First Secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba showed once more that he knows thoroughly the problems of the international situation. Referring to FIDEL's (CASTRO) statements about the integrationist fight of the Negro citizens of the United States, CARMICHAEL said that the analysis of the Negro problem in the United States made by the Cuban Prime Minister was very accurate, and it shows that FIDEL has perfect knowledge of the matter. "It is also very correct" specified CARMICHAEL, "that FIDEL understands the fight of the United States Negro citizens as a revolutionary fight which is part of the liberation movement of the peoples of the world."

"Granma" is published daily as the official organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Miami, Florida
August 7, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Title STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Character INTERNAL SECURITY -
Reference MISCELLANEOUS

Letterhead memorandum,
dated and captioned as
above, at Miami.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.

8/18/67

1 - Mr. Deakin

airtel

To: SAC, Detroit **REC 27**

From: Director, FBI(100-446080) - 494

STOKELY CARMICHAEL **EX 104**
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISC.
SEDITION

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/20/01 BY 302 EWR/CLM

For the information of Detroit, the Department has advised that it may proceed against Stokely Carmichael, former National Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, for violation of Title 18, United States Code, Section 2388, Sedition. A prosecutive summary report concerning ten of Carmichael's speeches has been furnished the Department.

MAILED 12
AUG 18 1967

The Department has now requested information concerning speeches by Stokely Carmichael and [redacted] in Grand Rapids, Michigan, on 5/17/67. Detroit refer to your airtel 7/24/67 enclosing a letterhead memorandum (LHM) containing a transcript of these speeches. The Department has requested the FBI secure the original tape recording, if possible, and determine the availability and willingness to testify of the person or persons who can authenticate this tape recording. If obtained, retain tape recording in your office as evidence.

Detroit should furnish results of this investigation by airtel and LHM to the Bureau, with an information copy for Atlanta, no later than 8/25/67. It is not necessary to resubmit the transcript itself. Record interviews on FD 302's and retain original.

Since this investigation may include contacts with members of the press and will be of public interest, persons contacted should be advised the investigation is being conducted at the request of the Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Internal Security Division of the Department of Justice.

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

1 - Atlanta

SEE NOTE PAGE 2.

TJD:des *des*
(5)

57 AUG 21 1967
MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Airtel to Detroit
Re: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
100-446080

NOTE:

By letter dated 8/16/67 from Assistant Attorney General J. Walter Yeagley, Internal Security Division, Department, requested the above additional investigation.

Memorandum

TO : Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation

DATE: August 16, 1967.

FROM: *JWY*
J. Walter Yeagley
Assistant Attorney General
Internal Security Division

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
SEDITION
SEDITIONOUS CONSPIRACY

Copy
By transmittal slip dated August 4, 1967, you furnished us a copy of speeches made by Stokely Carmichael and [redacted] at the Fountain Street Church in Grand Rapids, Michigan, on May 17, 1967.

In light of the fact that [redacted] remarks indicate the possibility of a conspiracy, it is requested that you secure the original tape recording, ascertain the circumstances under which it was made and determine the availability and willingness to testify of the witness who can authenticate it.

30

102
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/19/01 BY 390301W300/Amw

1-922 950

REC 27

16 AUG 17 1967

EX 104

100-446020-494
INT. SEC.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. Rosen *[Signature]*

DATE: August 12, 1967

FROM : C. Bolz *[Signature]*

1 - Mr. Rosen
1 - Mr. Malley
1 - Mr. McGowan
1 - Mr. Bolz
1 - Mr. Frankenfield
1 - Mr. Trainor

SUBJECT:

WILMINGTON, DELAWARE
INFORMATION CONCERNING

who did not further identify himself or furnish his address, called the Bureau at 10:45 a. m., 8-12-67, at which time he went into a lengthy incoherent discussion claiming that Negroes are being mistreated by white people and that the Negroes are being forced to fight the Vietnam war for the white people. He claimed that Negroes are being illegally killed and prosecuted in connection with riots throughout the country which are instigated by the white people. was unable to provide any specific facts to back up this statement.

continued by demanding that Stokely Carmichael be given protection upon his return to the United States in order that he would not be assassinated or prosecuted. He stated he had no specific facts to indicate there was a plan to assassinate Carmichael; however, he feels such action would be taken by the United States Government in view of recent statements made by Carmichael while in Cuba.

ACTION:

This is submitted for record purposes. is not identifiable in Bureau files.

WAF:erg *[Signature]*
(7)

EX-115

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 6/20/81 BY 31062 *[Signature]*

REC 30

100-446080-1195

3 AUG 22 1967

59 AUG 23 1967

SUB CONTROL

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen *[Signature]*
Sullivan *[Signature]*
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

b7C

b7C

b7C

b7C

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : The Director

DATE: 8 22 - 67

FROM : N. P. Callahan

SUBJECT: The Congressional Record

Pages H10863-H10864. Congressman Kuykendall, (R) - 13/28
Tennessee, spoke concerning certain attitudes assumed by large groups of young people. He stated "News stories carried in the press today report a move by the National Student Association to 'organize and support resistance to the draft' on campuses throughout the country. It is not too difficult to understand why college students are encouraged to take such a position in the face of the decision reached by the Attorney General and the Justice Department that mass defiance of the law is not illegal." He cited a statement by the Justice Department regarding certain activities of Stokely Carmichael. Mr. Kuykendall included an article from the Washington Post entitled "NSA Votes To Organize Resistance To The Draft" written by Richard Blumenthal.

Page H10868. Congresswoman Reid, (R) Illinois, commented on remarks she made before the House on August 8 in connection with the riots and the need for strict enforcement of all laws. She stated "At that same time, I quoted a letter which I had written to the Attorney General of the United States urging that he use his full authority to enforce Federal laws and calling to his

Original filed in: 66-1731-3132

100-446080-
NOT RECORDED
167 AUG 31 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/20/01 BY 39063 ERM/BCL/AMW

65 316
By the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for 8-21-67 was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.
50 SEP 1 1967

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : The Director

DATE:

FROM : N. P. Callahan

SUBJECT: The Congressional Record

attention the inflammatory statements made by Stokely Carmichael while attending the Communist-sponsored Latin American Solidarity Conference in Cuba - - - -. I have finally received a response from J. Walter Yeagley, Assistant Attorney General, Internal Security Division, Department of Justice. I doubt if you and the law-abiding, loyal citizens throughout our Nation, who share my concern will find this Justice Department report any more encouraging or satisfactory than I did when I read it—but I did think you would be interested in knowing the thinking of the Justice Department on matters of law enforcement and dealing with those who incite to riot, - - - -." She inserted the text of the letter in the Record.

Original Filed in:

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for _____ was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

- 2 -

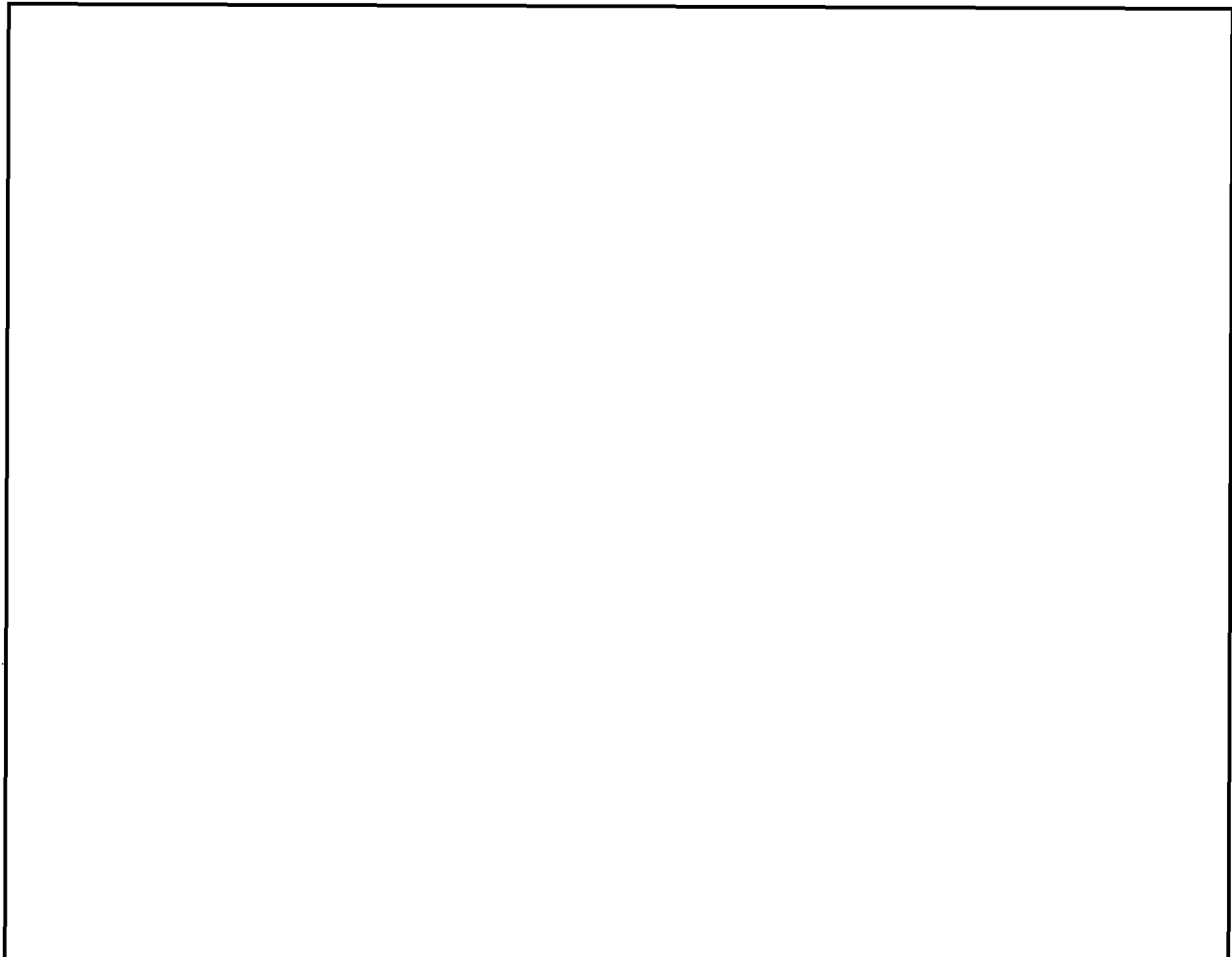
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. Brennan (C.D.)
- 1 - Mr. B.A. Wells

August 23, 1967

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

There is set forth below a summary of current and planned future activities of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and its leaders.

Activities of H. Rap Brown



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

100-439190

1 - Bufile 100-446080

1 - Bufile 105-103107

BAW:des (19)

GROUP 1

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

SEE NOTE PAGE 3.

DUPLICATE YELLOW

~~ENCLOSURE~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/29/04 BY 38463 BAW/BJC/CLM

b7C

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-439190

50 AUG 31 1967

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

b7C

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee Rally

The Chicago, Illinois, Chapter of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee is circulating a leaflet entitled "Help Get Ray Brown Out of Jail." The leaflet announces that a rally will be held on August 27, 1967, at Chicago to protest Brown's arrest and the arrest of George Washington Ware, National Campus Director of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. Ware was arrested at Nashville, Tennessee, on August 22, 1967, on a state charge of sedition. This charge arose from inflammatory statements which Ware made on August 21, 1967, at a "Liberation School" sponsored by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee at Nashville, Tennessee. Ware recently accompanied Stokely Carmichael, former leader of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, on a visit to Cuba.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

XEROX COPIES BEING SENT TO MRS. MILDRED STEGALL, THE WHITE HOUSE; MR. WILLIAM WELSH, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT TO THE VICE PRESIDENT; HONORABLE DEAN RUSK, SECRETARY OF STATE; HONORABLE ROBERT S. MCNAMARA, SECRETARY OF DEFENSE; HONORABLE RICHARD HELMS, DIRECTOR, CIA; ATTORNEY GENERAL; DEPUTY ATTORNEY GENERAL; ASSISTANT ATTORNEYS GENERAL YEAGLEY, DOAR, AND VINSON; SECRET SERVICE, AND THE MILITARY INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES.

NOTE:

See memorandum C.D. Brennan to Mr. Sullivan, 8/23/67, same caption, prepared by HAW:des.

Classified "~~Confidential~~" since it contains information from informants whose disclosure could affect our national defense.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Bishop
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Bland
1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan
1 - Mr. B.A. Wells

Mr. Sullivan

8/23/67

C. D. Brennan

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Due to the interest of the President in the activities of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and its leaders, we have prepared a summary setting forth current and planned future activities in this matter. A copy is attached for ready reference.

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/22/00 BY 38638 UC/Beckman

A rally will be held at Chicago, Illinois, on 8/27/67 to protest Brown's arrest and the arrest of George Washington Ware, National Campus Director of SNCC, who was arrested at Nashville, Tennessee, on 8/22/67 on a state charge of sedition.

Encl.
100-439190
1 - Bufile 100-446080
1 - 105-188197
BAW:des (9)

100-446080
NOT RECORDED
167 AUG 28 1967

CONTINUED - OVER

ORIGINAL FILED IN

C.D. Brennan to Sullivan

Re: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
100-439190

RECOMMENDATION:

That the enclosed memorandum to Mrs. Mildred Stegall at the White House; Mr. William Welsh, Administrative Assistant to the Vice President; Honorable Dean Rusk, Secretary of State; Honorable Robert S. McNamara, Secretary of Defense; Honorable Richard Helms, Director, CIA; Attorney General; Deputy Attorney General; Assistant Attorneys General Yeagley, Doar, and Vinson; Secret Service; and the military intelligence agencies be approved.

F B I

Date: 8/14/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, NEW ORLEANS (100-17362) P

SUBJECT: STOKLEY CARMICHAEL
IS - M, SEDITION

Re New Orleans letter to Atlanta, 8/12/67,
Jackson letter to New Orleans, 8/9/67, New Orleans
airtel to Director, 8/9/67, and New Orleans teletype
to Director, San Francisco and Atlanta, dated 8/3/67.

Enclosed herewith to the Bureau are three copies;
four copies to Atlanta and one copy each for information
purposes for Jackson and San Francisco of an FD-302 of

[redacted] whose home address is [redacted]
[redacted] La., and whose business
address is c/o [redacted]
New Orleans, La.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10/22/01 BY 39013 ERL/ACL/AMW

1-922 950 with 1 encl.

3-Bureau (Enc. 3) (RM)
2-Atlanta (Enc. 4) (RM)
1-San Francisco (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)
1-Jackson (100-123) (ENC. 1) (Info) (RM)
2-New Orleans
(1-- 100-16890)
(1-- 100-17362)
CJH/ac
(9)

REC-61

100-446080-497

AUG 17 1967

Approved: 73/

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

25 1967

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 8/14/67

[redacted] whose home address is [redacted] Louisiana, and whose business address is care of [redacted] New Orleans, Louisiana, identified one roll of audio recording tape as being a copy of a tape recording which he furnished to [redacted] Mississippi Highway Safety Patrol (MHSP).

[redacted] recalled that this is the tape that he re-recorded on [redacted] recorder on April 12, 1967, the day following CARMICHAEL'S speech at Tougaloo College, Jackson, Mississippi.

[redacted] further recalled that the [redacted] tape which was copied off of his original cassette was relayed from the speaker of his tape equipment to the microphone of [redacted] recorder. He mentioned that because of this there is possibly a spot in [redacted] tape where the voices of himself and [redacted] were recorded on the [redacted] tape.

[redacted] also furnished another copy of a portion of the STOKLEY CARMICHAEL speech which was made as a first copy from his original cassette by [redacted] WKRQ TV, at Mobile, Alabama. This partial recording was made on commercial equipment at a speed of 7½. [redacted] stated that the re-recording was done by a direct electrical connection and its quality is probably better than the recording made for [redacted] was made at a speed of 3 3/4.

[redacted] also identified the [redacted] copy of tape for possible use of evidence and he further explained that [redacted] made the copy from his original cassette at Mobile, Alabama. [redacted] noted that the [redacted] copy of the CARMICHAEL speech is only a partial copy but that the part recorded is the true reproduction of the original.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/2/01 BY 39063E JWB/39063E

On 8/11/67 at New Orleans, Louisiana File # NO 100-17362

by SA [redacted] /ac Date dictated 8/14/67

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

COPIES DESTROYED

332 FEB 24 1971

ENCLOSURE

100-446080-497

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

1-DeLoach 1-Rosen
1-Bishop 1-Sullivan

Tolson ☒
DeLoach ☒
Mohr ☐
Bishop ☐
Casper ☐
Callahan ☐
Conrad ☐
Felt ☐
Gale ☐
Rosen ☒
Sullivan ☒
Tavel ☐
Trotter ☐
Tele. Room ☐
Holmes ☐
Gandy ☐

TO : MR. TOLSON

DATE: 8/7/67

FROM : C. D. DE LOACH

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS;
SEDITION

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10/22/01 BY 39063 EWL/BAH

The Attorney General (AG) called at 5:00 p. m., 8/3/67, and stated that Assistant Attorney General Yeagley, Internal Security Division, was desperately trying to obtain speeches, radio and television tapes and news clips of statements made by Stokely Carmichael and H. Rap Brown. The AG added that he would also appreciate any newspapermen being interviewed who happened to be in Havana and who might have overheard statements made by Carmichael during his visit there. He stated that the Department was giving serious consideration to prosecuting Carmichael. He added that AAG Yeagley apparently had not received any information thus far from the FBI.

I told the AG that I thought he was in error concerning his latter statement but I would make a check and be back in touch with him. I did call the AG back within approximately thirty minutes and told him that we had sent and was sending on a daily basis all information received in connection with the above matter. I stated that Yeagley had personally called our Domestic Intelligence Division to ask for the same information and that he was promptly advised that the information had already been sent to him. I told the AG that we had later learned that considerable of this information had apparently been found by the Department in its records processing office rather than properly being forwarded to Yeagley by Department mail handlers.

The AG stated that he certainly hoped we would continue to send such information on a daily basis. He stated that Yeagley would appreciate receiving any information at all which would reflect violent or inflammatory statements on the part of Carmichael or Brown. He mentioned again the possibility of newsmen in Havana who might later be able to serve as witnesses in any forthcoming trial proceedings.

The Director has been advised of the above conversation with the AG.

CDD:amr

(5)

57 AUG 24 1967

REC-60

100-446080-498

CONTINUED.... OVER

18 AUG 21 1967

Memo, DeLoach to Mr. Tolson
Re: Stokely Carmichael

ACTION:

For record purposes.

News clippings should be carefully examined in order to determine the possibility of interviewing newspapermen who might be in a position to serve as a witness against Carmichael or Brown. It would be futile however to interview newsmen who are members of the Communist Party or who have strong procommunist leanings.

WJH

✓ *[Signature]*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan
- 1 - Mr. B.A. Wells

August 10, 1967

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

There is set forth below a summary of current and planned future activities of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, its former chairman, Stokely Carmichael, and its current chairman, H. Rap Brown.

Activities of H. Rap Brown

Classified by SP1AG/UC
Date 12.3.86



Activities of Stokely Carmichael

DECLASSIFIED BY 39063-EMJ/BJL/and
ON 1/22/01

Carmichael is reportedly still in Havana, Cuba, where, as previously reported, he is attending a conference sponsored by the Latin-American Solidarity Organization.

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee members in Atlanta, Georgia, are alleged to be suspicious of Carmichael due to his Cuban trip. Some members of the

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

100-439190

1 - Bufile 100-446080 - Excluded from automatic

SEE NOTE PAGE 2.

BAW:des (19)

downgrading and
declassification

56 AUG 29 1967

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee have theorized he may be connected with the Central Intelligence Agency as, according to these members, the Cuban Government has stamped Carmichael's passport, "Return to USA."

Boston Speech

The Student Mobilization Committee, Boston, Massachusetts, which was organized to protest the war in Vietnam, sponsored a meeting at Boston University on August 8, 1967. Bill Lee, Cambridge, Massachusetts, a member of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, made the principal speech. Lee said, "We're going to burn the whole country down and we'll burn down the whole of Washington." He claimed the United States is in Vietnam because President Johnson has rubber plantations there. He added, "We're going to pull that Johnson out of the White House and burn him too. The bag lady, Lady Bird, got Johnson his job 20 years ago with her money." Lee claimed the United States is in a state of revolution and that "It's an all-out war."

Harlem Riot

A source has advised a rumor is circulating among representatives of African countries at the United Nations, New York City, to the effect that leaders of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and other black power groups in the New York City area are embarrassed because they have been unable to initiate a riot in Harlem. These leaders feel they have lost prestige and jeopardized their leadership because riots have occurred in cities throughout the United States but not in Harlem. (S) (u)

XEROX COPIES ~~BEING~~ SENT TO MRS. MILDRED STEGALL, THE WHITE HOUSE; MR. WILLIAM WELSH, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT TO THE VICE PRESIDENT; HONORABLE DEAN RUSK, SECRETARY OF STATE; HONORABLE ROBERT S. MCNAMARA, SECRETARY OF DEFENSE; HONORABLE RICHARD HELMS, DIRECTOR, CIA; ATTORNEY GENERAL; DEPUTY ATTORNEY GENERAL; ASSISTANT ATTORNEYS GENERAL YEAGLEY, DOAR, AND VINSON; SECRET SERVICE; AND THE MILITARY INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES.

NOTE:

See memorandum C.D. Brennan to Mr. Sullivan, 8/9/67, same caption, prepared by BAW:des.

Classified "~~Confidential~~" since it contains information from informants whose disclosure could affect our national defense.

Mr. Sullivan

C. D. Brennan

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Bishop
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Bland
1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan
1 - Mr. B.A. Wells

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Due to the interest of the President in the activities of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and its leaders, we have prepared a summary setting forth current and planned future activities in this matter. A copy is attached for ready reference.

US, a black nationalist group, is sponsoring a Freedom Day Rally in Los Angeles, California, on 8/13/67. H. Rap Brown, leader of SNCC, will be the featured speaker.

Brown held an informal press conference at the United Nations Building, New York City, on 8/8/67. He stressed that Negro rights will be obtained by force if they cannot be obtained peacefully.

Stokely Carmichael, who is presently still in Cuba, is suspected of being a Central Intelligence Agency Agent by some members of SNCC in Atlanta, Georgia.

A SNCC member was a speaker at a meeting at Boston University, Boston, Massachusetts, on 8/8/67. He said Negroes would burn the whole country down and would pull President Johnson out of the White House and burn him too. He said the United States is in a state of revolution and it's an all-out war.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the enclosed memorandum to Mrs. Mildred Stegall at the White House; Mr. William Welsh, Administrative Assistant to the Vice President; Honorable Dean Rusk, Secretary of State; Honorable Robert S. McNamara, Secretary of Defense; Honorable Richard Helms, Director, CIA; Attorney General; Deputy Attorney General; Assistant Attorneys General Yeagley, Doar, and Vinson; Secret Service; and the military intelligence agencies be approved.

Encl.

100-439190

1 - Bufile 100-446080
BAW:des (8)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-25-86 BY SP1-AG/JC

100-446080-
NOT RECORDED
102 AUG 22 1967

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-439190-1408

F B I

Date: 8/11/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

TO: *JH* DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
 FROM: SAC, MINNEAPOLIS (100-13781) (P)
 SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
 IS - MISCELLANEOUS

Re Atlanta Airtel to Director, dated 8/4/67, and
 BUAIRTEL to Atlanta, dated 8/2/67.

Enclosed herewith are eleven copies of a LHM
 to the Bureau and two copies to Atlanta, the office of
 origin pertaining to the speech by CARMICHAEL at Minneapolis,
 Minnesota on 5/15/67. It might be noted that the copy of the
 tape furnished by to the Minneapolis Office is
 currently on file in the Minneapolis Office. *4*

Copies of the LHM are not being made available to
 local intelligence agencies at this time in view of the fact
 that the contents largely pertain to administrative matters and
 do not appear to be of any particular concern to these agencies.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 6/22/01 BY 3003 BULL/BC/AMW

EX-102

- ENCLOSURE*
 3 Bureau (Enc. 1) (RM)
 2 Atlanta (Enc. 2) (RM)
 1 Minneapolis

REC-57

100-446080-499

WPE:SR
 (6)

AGENCY: ACSI, ~~OSI~~, OSI; SEC. SER.
 DEPT: ISD, CRD, ~~OSI~~, *Johnson*

DATE FORW: 8/22/67
 HOW FORW: 19/5
 BY: BAW/dkt

AUG 17 1967

INT. SEC.

B.A. *1980*Approved: 371 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M

Per _____

57 AUG 25 1967



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Minneapolis, Minnesota

August 11, 1967

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Reference is made to Minneapolis memo, dated June 20, 1967, captioned as above setting forth a transcript of the speech of Stokely Carmichael at the University of Minnesota on May 15, 1967.

On August 10, 1967, [redacted]

[redacted] Minneapolis, Minnesota, advised that he set up the recording equipment for [redacted] and prepared the sound tape of the speech of Stokely Carmichael on the night of May 15, 1967 at the University of Minnesota. The original tape was no longer available inasmuch as some other employee had inadvertently erased the tape and the contents of Carmichael's speech. He explained that shortly after he prepared the tape he forwarded the original tape to the News Service at the University of Minnesota who had specifically requested to make a copy of his tape. After the tape had been returned to his office by the News Service at the University of Minnesota it was inadvertently erased. [redacted] is employed for [redacted]

[redacted] of [redacted] who in the past has been the individual to whom subpoenas have been directed for information within [redacted]

[redacted] Minneapolis, Minnesota, advised on August 11, 1967 that the tape which he previously made available to the Minneapolis Office of the FBI on June 13, 1967 was a copy of a tape which he had prepared through [redacted]

[redacted] He received the original sound tape from [redacted] through [redacted]

[redacted] Minneapolis, Minnesota.

After receiving a copy prepared by the Audiovisual Center from the original he returned the original tape to [redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/27/01 BY 38063 CJA/bcl/mw

COPIES DESTROYED

333 FEB 24 1971

100-446080-499

ENCLOSURE

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

[] who in turn returned the tape to []. A copy which [] had prepared for his own file is on file and available.

b7C
b7C

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Bishop
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Bland
1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan

August 18, 1967

1 - Mr. B.A. Wells

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

There is set forth below a summary of current and planned future activities of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and its leaders.

Activities of H. Rap Brown

DECLASSIFIED BY SP1 AG/JC
ON 11-25-86 252,028

H. Rap Brown, National Chairman, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, will be the principal speaker at a black power rally at Cincinnati, Ohio, on August 19, 1967.

Brown is scheduled to speak at Baton Rouge, Louisiana, on August 20, 1967. The Governor of Louisiana has announced that Brown will be arrested if he makes any statements that violate Louisiana laws. Brown stated in response to the Governor's statement that the Governor of Louisiana is "a fourth grade idiot." On August 17, 1967,

100-439190

1 - Bufile 100-446080

1 - Bufile 100-163197

BAW:des
(20)

CONFIDENTIAL

GROUP 1

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

SEE NOTE PAGE 2.

EXCLUDED YELLOW

55 AUG 29 1967

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-439190-1417

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Activities of Stokely Carmichael

Stokely Carmichael, the former National Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, announced while in Havana, Cuba, recently that he will try to change the name of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee to the Liberation Negro Movement. He was quoted as stating that the new name would give Negroes "a clearer conception that their struggle is not separated from the struggle of exploited peoples in Asia, Africa, and Latin America." Carmichael also stated, "In the United States there is no other way than revolution to end the structure which is so cruelly oppressing the Negro population."

The National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, the sponsors of which include representatives of the Communist Party, is sponsoring a rally at New York City on August 28 or 29, 1967. A spokesman for the Committee has announced that this rally will feature speeches by H. Rap Brown, Stokely Carmichael, and Floyd McKissick. McKissick is the leader of the Congress of Racial Equality, a militant civil rights group.

XEROX COPIES BEING SENT TO MRS. MILDRED STEGALL, THE WHITE HOUSE; MR. WILLIAM WELSH, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT TO THE VICE PRESIDENT; HONORABLE DEAN RUSK, SECRETARY OF STATE; HONORABLE ROBERT S. McNAMARA, SECRETARY OF DEFENSE; HONORABLE RICHARD HELMS, DIRECTOR, CIA; ATTORNEY GENERAL; DEPUTY ATTORNEY GENERAL; ASSISTANT ATTORNEYS GENERAL YEAGLEY, DOAR, AND VINSON; SECRET SERVICE; AND THE MILITARY INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES.

NOTE:

See memorandum C.D. Brennan to Mr. Sullivan, 8/18/67, prepared by BAW:des, same caption.

Classified "~~Confidential~~" since it contains information from informants whose disclosure could affect our national defense.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Mr. Sullivan

C. D. Brennan

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Bishop
1 - Mr. Sullivan

8/18/67

1 - Mr. Bland
1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan
1 - Mr. B.A. Wells

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Due to the interest of the President in the activities of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and its leaders, we have prepared a summary setting forth current and planned future activities in this matter. A copy is attached for ready reference.

H. Rap Brown, National Chairman of SNCC, will be the principal speaker at a black power rally in Cincinnati, Ohio, on 8/19/67. Dayton, Ohio

Brown will speak at Baton Rouge, Louisiana, on 8/20/67. The Governor of Louisiana has stated that he will be arrested if he makes any statements violating Louisiana laws.

Stokely Carmichael, former head of SNCC, will try to change the name of SNCC to the Liberation Negro Movement in order to show Negroes that their struggle is the same as that of "exploited peoples" in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

It has been announced that both Carmichael and Brown will speak at New York City on 8/28 or 29/67 at an antiwar rally.

Encl.

100-439190

1 - Bufile 100-446080

1 - Bufile 105-163197

100-446080

NOT RECORDED

145 AUG 24 1967

BAW:des

(8) ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED - OVER

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-25-86 BY SP1-AG/JC

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-446080

b7C

b7C

C.D. Brennan to Sullivan
Re: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
100-439190

RECOMMENDATION:

That the enclosed memorandum to Mrs. Mildred Stegall at the White House; Mr. William Welsh, Administrative Assistant to the Vice President; Honorable Dean Rusk, Secretary of State; Honorable Robert S. McNamara, Secretary of Defense; Honorable Richard Helms, Director, CIA; Attorney General; Deputy Attorney General; Assistant Attorneys General Yeagley, Doar, and Vinson; Secret Service; and the military intelligence agencies be approved.

REC'D
DOM INTELL DIV.

AUG 21 4 10 PM '67

REC'D
DOM INTELL DIV.

AUG 24 5 17 PM '67

AUG 25 1967

Handwritten: 8/24

Memorandum

TO : Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation

DATE: August 21, 1967.

FROM: J. Walter Yeagley
Assistant Attorney General
Internal Security Division

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

This is in reference to my memorandum of August 10, 1967, regarding the captioned subject.

We noted from your prosecutive summary dated August 12, 1967 that during the course of a speech which he gave at Jefferson High School in Los Angeles on May 26, 1967, Carmichael was reported to have made remarks critical of the draft and to have stated "Negroes must refuse to serve in the military."

It would be appreciated if you would ascertain whether or not a recording was made of this speech and if there is an available witness to authenticate it.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10/22/01 BY 3063 gwl/bce/mw

REC 51 100-446680-500

23
8 AUG 22 1967

EX 105

1-922 980

54 AUG 29 1967

INT. SEC.

EXP. PROC.
31 AUG 22 1967

40

airtel 8/23 TJO:rwf
10

8/23/67

Airtel

1 - Mr. T. J. Deakin

To: SACs, Atlanta (Enclosures - 2)
Los Angeles (Enclosures - 2)
Tampa (Enclosures - 2)
Seattle (Enclosures - 2)

From: Director, FBI (100-446080) - 501

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS EX 104
SEDITION

ReBuairtels 8/4/67 and 8/5/67 and prosecutive summary
report of SA [redacted] dated 8/12/67 at Atlanta.

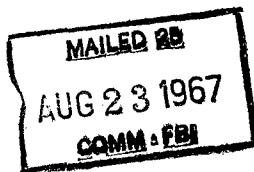
Enclosed for each office is one copy each of two
letters from the Department concerning captioned matter. Each
office should conduct the requested investigation and furnish
Atlanta appropriate inserts or FD-302s and Atlanta will prepare
a supplemental report in this matter. Handle expeditiously and
follow instructions set out in referenced airtels.

TJD:rwf
(10)

NOTE:

Department requested additional information concerning
three speeches made by Stokely Carmichael.

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
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Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
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Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/22/01 BY 3902 ew/bal/Amw

59 AUG 23 1967 TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Memorandum

TO : Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation

DATE: August 21, 1967.

FROM : *JW* J. Walter Yeagley
Assistant Attorney General
Internal Security Division

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

wp
8/20: wuf
We note from your prosecutive summary report dated August 12, 1967 that Carmichael's speech in St. Petersburg, Florida, on April 18, 1967, was delivered on a street corner and was attended by a crowd of approximately 600 people. It would be appreciated if you would determine who sponsored this speech and what publicity was given to it such as handbill flyers, or announcements. In this connection, we note that some students from Florida Presbyterian College attended the speech and we would be particularly interested in ascertaining what publicity was given to the speech on the campus of the university and if there are ROTC units at the college.

We would also appreciate being furnished a physical description of the locale of the speech and any information as to whether or not Carmichael was aware that his speech was being recorded.

airtel 8/23
It is also requested that the officers who accompanied of the St. Petersburg Police Department be interviewed along the lines requested in our memorandum of August 5, 1967. We also note that stated that because of a defective sound system he was of the opinion that only the individuals close to Carmichael could hear the speech. We would appreciate your ascertaining if the other officers are of the same opinion.

100
It is also requested that you ascertain the sponsorship and the nature of the publicity regarding the speech Carmichael made at Garfield High School in Seattle, Washington, on April 19, 1967.

EXP. PROC.
31 AUG 22 1967

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1-922940

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10/15/81 BY 39003 BW/BCK/mw

3 AUG 22 1967

100-446080-501

INT. SEC.

It does not appear whether [redacted] who recorded the speech, also recorded the question and answer session at its conclusion. In the event the session was recorded, it is requested that you furnish us a transcription.

We would also be interested in any information you may develop which would indicate whether or not Carmichael was aware that the speech was being recorded.

August 23, 1967

REC 57 100-446080-502

EX 104

[Redacted Address]

New York, New York 10024

Dear [Redacted Name]

Your letter of August 20th, with enclosure, has been received and I certainly want to thank you for your very favorable remarks concerning my administration of this Bureau. It is my hope that our future efforts will continue to merit your approval.

The interest which prompted you to write is very much appreciated, and I am glad to receive your comments.

It may be of interest to you to know that voluminous information regarding Stokely Carmichael has been furnished to the Department of Justice for its consideration.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

MAILED 19
AUG 23 1967
COMM - FBI

NOTE: Correspondent is not identifiable in Bufiles.

- Tolson _____
- DeLoach _____
- Mohr _____
- Bishop _____
- Casper _____
- Callahan _____
- Conrad _____
- Felt _____
- Gale _____
- Rosen _____
- Sullivan _____
- Tavel _____
- Trotter _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holmes _____
- Gandy _____

JBT:rlf (3)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/22/01 BY 39063 EWL/BAK/mld
#917228

55 SEP 8 1967

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

CHR
9/1

REC'D - ROSEN
FBI

RECEIVED
GENERAL INVESTIGATIVE
DIVISION 5710

AUG 23 8 49 AM '67

AUG 23 11 35 AM '67
REC'D-READING ROOM
FBI

AUG 23 5 48 PM '67

AUG 22 6 20 PM '67

SEP 6 4 02 PM '67

F.B.I.
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE
REC'D WICK

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RECEIVED-DIRECTOR
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AUG 23 11 56 AM '67

REC'D
DOM INTELL DIV.

SEP 1 1 52 PM '67
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AUG 23

REC'D - SULLIVAN
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SEP 6 4 56 PM '67

REC'D - SULLIVAN
FBI - JUSTICE

SEP 6 5 03 PM '67

REC'D
DOM INTELL DIV.

SEP 2

TRUE COPY

Honorable J Edgar Hoover:

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I first wish to state that I am a firm supporter of President Johnson's foreign policy - I have 2 sons serving in the Marines - one in Vietnam for 2 years. Secondly, I am grateful for the service you and your organization have rendered to our country.

I am enclosing an article printed in the N. Y. Post. August 18, 1967 - by Drew Pearson.

I think that such facts as Mr. Carmichael's resignation from SNCC and his demands for high fees to lecture certainly indicates that his motives are not altruistic. I think consideration should be given to publicize these facts. Such intelligence would tend to destroy his rapport with his followers who probably regard him in the light of a potential martyr. This might be more effective than prosecuting him - A procedure which would provoke a great deal of sympathy.

This is a suggestion. Sometimes, an effective procedure is overlooked. I hope it can help.

Yours truly

/s/

[Redacted Signature]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/21/01 BY 39063 PWT/BCE/mv

ENCLOSURE

EX 104

15 AUG 24 1967

b7C

1 TC ref 8-22-67
ack 8-23-67
JH/ref

Postmark showing
New York City
date of 8-20-67
machine stamp destroyed

89

T-23



NEW YORK 24, N. Y.

TRAFALGAR 7-0123

10024

b7C

Honorable J. Edgar Hoover:

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I first wish to state that I am a firm supporter of President Johnson's foreign policy - I have 2 sons serving in the Marines - one in Vietnam for 2 years. Secondly, I am grateful for the service you and your organization have rendered to our country.

I am enclosing an article printed in the N.Y. Post. August 18, 1967 - by Drew Pearson.

I think that such facts as Mr. Carmichael's resignation from SNCC and

CORRESPONDENCE

1 TC NY 822-67

ack 8-23-67

JBH/rlf

nmf

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/22/01 BY 39063 EN/BEL/AMW

NEW YORK 24, N. Y.

TRAFALGAR 7-0123

his demands for high fees to lecture certainly indicates that his motives are not altruistic. I think consideration should be given to publicize these facts. Such intelligence would tend to destroy his rapport with his followers who probably regard him in the light of a potential martyr. This might be more effective than prosecuting him - a procedure which would provoke a great deal of sympathy.

This is a suggestion. Sometimes, an effective procedure is overlooked. I hope it can help.

Yours truly

b7C

b7C

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Carmichael and SNCC

DREW PEARSON

(Today's column is by Drew Pearson's
associate, Jack Anderson.)

Washington.

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The board of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, meeting secretly in Atlanta, has voted to reprimand its former chief, Stokely Carmichael.

The FBI has learned from reliable sources that he may be heading for Hanoi and Peking. Then he may seek sanctuary in France instead of returning to face the music in the U.S.

The SNCC board, whose members have no aversion to fiery oratory, decided Carmichael had gone too far in calling for guerrilla warfare to overthrow the U.S. government. His incendiary speeches in Havana have alienated SNCC backers who are militant about black power but unwilling to support revolution. Result: The Carmichael publicity has hit SNCC hard in the pocketbook.

For that matter, SNCC already had lost most of its liberal white backing since excluding whites from its policy councils and switching its appeal from nonviolence to violence. The present SNCC chief, H. Rap Brown, is also an apostle of violence.

* * *

Two other SNCC activists, Julius Lester and George Ware, accompanied Carmichael to Havana. Lester was seen dressed in a Cuban army uniform, which may be grounds for revoking his American citizenship.

Meanwhile, the FBI is quietly building a case against both Carmichael and Brown. Every recorded speech and statement made by the two firebrands is being carefully studied. Their inflammatory statements are also being checked against audience reaction for evidence that the listeners were incited to commit violence.

The chief legal obstacle will be persuading the courts to admit recordings and transcripts as evidence. However, this can be overcome by producing witnesses to verify what was said. In any case, President Johnson is determined to crack down on Negro leaders who preach violence and

treason.

Note: The SNCC board became disenchanted with Carmichael when he gave up his \$4,500-a-year job as their head man to capitalize on his notoriety. He began demanding \$1,200 to \$1,800 for speeches, which he delivered at the rate of two or three a week. When the University of Minnesota raised only \$1,300 of a promised \$1,800, for example, Carmichael was furious.

* * *

This column has already suggested that Congress can finance the Vietnam war without hitting up the taxpayers for a 10 per cent increase simply by closing the tax loopholes.

Then the oil millionaires, who talk a lot about patriotism, can put their money where their mouths are. While others pay for the combat planes, the oilmen spend their tax benefits on private planes.

The biggest tax drainage comes from the 27½ per cent oil depletion allowance. The taxpayers are also partners in all dry holes but do not share in the gushers. Finally, they are obliged to pay rigged prices for the oil they consume.

Oil prices have been inflated by the Interior Dept.'s import program, which limits oil shipments into the country. Explained Interior Solicitor Frank J. Barry to a House appropriations subcommittee earlier this year: "Foreign crude can come in from the Middle East and land in San Francisco and be sold for 50 cents a barrel. . . . I understand domestic crude in the West is \$2.10 a barrel."

What happens to the \$1.60 difference? The happy oil importer pockets it.

Actually, the price difference ranges from \$1.20 to \$1.60 a barrel. Multiplied by some 900,000,000 barrels of imported oil, this amounts to a bonanza of close to \$1.5 billion a year.

The results of these abundant federal blessings can be seen, first of all, in the oil companies' tax returns. The top 22 refiners, with a gross profit of more than \$5.1 billion in 1964, paid only 4 per cent of their gross profit as U.S. income tax.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/22/01 BY 39063 EWB/BAW

100-446080-502

ENCLOSURE

ATTENTION

The following documents appearing in FBI files have been reviewed under the provisions of The Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) (Title 5, United States Code, Section 552); Privacy Act of 1974 (PA) (Title 5, United States Code, Section 552a); and/or Litigation.

☐ FOIA/PA☐ Litigation☐ Executive Order Applied

Requester: _____

Subject: _____

Computer or Case Identification Number: _____

Title of Case: _____ Section _____

* File _____

Serials Reviewed: _____

Release Location: *File _____ Section _____

This file section has been scanned into the FOIPA Document Processing System (FDPS) prior to National Security Classification review. Please see the documents located in the FDPS for current classification action, if warranted. Direct inquiries about the FDPS to RIDS Service Request Unit,

b2

File Number: 100-HQ-446080 Section 14Serial(s) Reviewed: 411

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: 983317

File Number: _____ Section _____

Serial(s) Reviewed: _____

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: _____

File Number: _____ Section _____

Serial(s) Reviewed: _____

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: _____

THIS FORM IS TO BE MAINTAINED AS THE TOP SERIAL OF THE FILE, BUT NOT SERIALIZED.

ATTENTION

DO NOT REMOVE FROM FILE

SECTION 14

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

DATE: 8/21/67

FROM : *me*
8/2 SAC, SAN ANTONIO (100-10300) (P*)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - M

b7C

Re Buairtel, 8/2/67, with enclosure to Atlanta
and Atlanta airtel to Bureau, 8/4/67.

On 8/15/67, contact was made with [redacted]

b7C

[redacted] and it was
determined that the tape recording of STOKELY CARMICHAEL's
speech given at the University of Texas on 4/14/67, is
available in the event it should be necessary for the FBI
to use it at some future date.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/25/01 BY 39063 EWT/Bcl/mw

917228

1- Atlanta by R/s 8/28

2-Bureau (RM)
2-SA
CPG: csh
(4)

REC 46

100-446080-503

EX 104

14 AUG 24 1967

INVEST

15 AUG 26 1967

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 8/19/67

b2 H. Rapp Brown stated at a press conference on 8/18/67 that Stokely Carmichael would arrive in Hanoi 8/18/67. For your information ☐ advised on 8/18/67 that communications intelligence indicated that Carmichael would be in Hanoi the same date. No dissemination of attached being made since it has been publicized.

SJS

WCS

FBI NEW YORK 5

427AM URGENT 8-19-67 WMS

TO DIRECTOR AND ATLANTA

ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION
FROM NEW YORK 100-153751

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-SNCC

VIA TELETYPE

AUG 19 1967

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson.....
Mr. DeLoach.....
Mr. Mohr.....
Mr. Bishop.....
Mr. Casper.....
Mr. Callahan.....
Mr. Conrad.....
Mr. Felt.....
Mr. Gale.....
Mr. Rosen.....
Mr. Sullivan.....
Mr. Tavel.....
Mr. Trotter.....
Tele. Room.....
Miss Holmes.....
Miss Gandy.....

b7c

H. RAPP BROWN ANNOUNCED AT A PRESS CONFERENCE WHICH WAS HELD AT THE CHURCH CENTER FOR THE UN, SEVEN SEVEN SEVEN UN PLAZA, ON EIGHT EIGHTEEN SIXTY SEVEN, THAT STOKELY CARMICHAEL WOULD ARRIVE IN HANOI, DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM ON EIGHT EIGHTEEN SIXTY SEVEN. ACCORDING TO BROWN, CARMICHAEL WAS A REPRESENTATIVE OF SNCC AND WAS THERE TO INVESTIGATE THE AGGRESSION BEING CARRIED OUT BY THE US AGAINST VIETNAM. BROWN ALSO MENTIONED THAT CARMICHAEL'S TRIPS TO ENGLAND AND CUBA RAISED UNDUE AMOUNT OF CRITICISM. BROWN STATED IT APPEARED AS IF NEGROES HAVE NO RIGHT TO TRAVEL.

ADMINISTRATIVE

NY TEL CAL TO BUREAU EIGHT NINETEEN SIXTY SEVEN.

AT THE PRESS CONFERENCE.

OBTAINED COPIES OF THE SPEECH

REC-59/ 00-446080-505

LHM FOLLOWS.

END

LRC FBI WASH DC

EX 101

3 AUG 23 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9-25-01 BY 39863 EUB/edamw

MR. DELOACH FOR THE DIRECTOR

COP FTR FOR NY 5
55 AUG 31 1967
CC- MR. SULLIVAN

VIA TELETYPE
AUG 21 1967
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

WA -4-

FBI NEW YORK URGENT 8-21-67 JAM

TO DIRECTOR AND ATLANTA

ATT: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM NEW YORK 100-15375 1P

STOKLEY CARMICHAEL; IS-M SEDITION

A SOURCE, WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE
PAST ADVISED INSTANT DATE THAT SUBJECT IS SCHEDULED TO APPEAR
IN COURT, UNKNOWN LOCATION IN ALABAMA, EIGHT TWENTYTHREE NEXT,
WITH [REDACTED] INTENDS TO USE SUBTERFUGE
SUCH AS ILLNESS TO OBTAIN POSTPONMENT OF CASE, IN VIEW FACT
SUBJECT NOT IN COUNTRY.

ABOVE IS BEING FURNISHED ATLANTA IN EVENT THEY POSSESS
INFORMATION REGARDING LOCAL CHARGES AGAINST SUBJECT IN ALABAMA
AND DESIRE TO CHANNEL ABOVE TO INTERESTED LOCAL AUTHORITIES.

ADMINISTRATIVE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 6/25/01 BY 39063 BTW/BCE/AMW

SOURCE IS [REDACTED] WHOSE IDENTITY IS KNOWN

TO BUREAU.

END

RM FBI WASH

EX 101

11 AUG 24 1967

55 AUG 31 1967
X 402-1

F B I

Date: 8/21/67

Transmit the following in

PLAIN TEXT

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

REGISTERED

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-153751)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - SNCCReNYteletype to Bureau and Atlanta,
8/19/67.Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 11
copies of LHM suitable for dissemination.

b2

b7C

b7D

The source furnishing information contained
herein is [redacted] who made this information available
to SA [redacted]Two copies of LHM are being furnished the
Atlanta Division inasmuch as they are Origin in captioned
matter.One copy each of this LHM is being furnished
locally to Secret Service, 108th MI Group, NISO, OSI
and USA, SDNY.

ENCLOSURE

REC- 59

- 3 - Bureau (Encls. 11) (RM)
2 - Atlanta (Encls. 2) (RM)
1 - New York

RMM:rmp
(6)

AGENCY: ACSI, OSI, SEC. SER.

DATE FORW: 8/24/67

HOW FORW:

BY:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10/25/01 BY 3903 BCL/MLM

100-446050-307

16 AUG 22 1967

b2

57 AUG 31 1967

Approved:

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

INT. SEC.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York

August 21, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Bureau File 100-446080

New York File 100-153751

Re: Stokely Carmichael

On August 18, 1967, a confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that H. Rapp Brown, National Chairman, Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee held a press conference, on August 18, 1967, at the Church Center For The United Nations, 777 United Nations Plaza, New York, New York.

During this Press Conference, Brown announced that Stokely Carmichael, Field Representative, Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee would arrive in Hanoi, Democratic Republic of Vietnam, on August 18, 1967. He related, Carmichael, acting as a representative of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee was there to investigate the aggression being carried out by the United States against Vietnam.

Brown further related, during this press conference, that previous trips made by Carmichael to England and Cuba have been the object of an undue amount of criticism, stating it appears as if Negroes have no right to travel.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

100-446080-507

ENCLOSURE

SAC, Atlanta

8/25/67

Director, FBI

b7C

1 - [REDACTED]

**STOKELY CARMICHAEL
SEDITION**

b7C

Rerep of SA [REDACTED] 8/12/67.

ng
The above-referenced prosecutive summary report is excellent and shows careful planning and ability on the part of SA [REDACTED] Assistant Attorney General J. Walter Yeagley has been highly complimentary concerning it.

b7C

It is suggested that you submit your recommendations for a letter of commendation for SA [REDACTED]

b7C

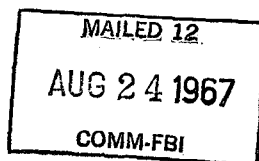
BAW:des
(4)

am
**ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/26/01 BY 3902 GWD/ROD/mw**

REC- 38 / 100 - 446080 - 508

EX-113

19 AUG 25 1967



Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
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Casper _____
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Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

193
7 AUG 29 1967

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : The Director

DATE: 8-1-67

FROM : N. P. Callahan

SUBJECT: The Congressional Record

Page 83305. Congressman Eelden, (D) Alabama, pointed out that the presence of Stokely Carmichael in Havana clearly establishes the ideological link between the organized violence taking place in our major American cities and Fidel Castro's plan to subvert and overthrow existing Latin American governments. - - - It is my belief, therefore, that any investigation conducted either by the special commission appointed by the President or a congressional committee should include consideration of evidence regarding the possibility that American nationals who are Castro-trained guerrillas and agents have been, and are even now, operating to foment and exploit riot situations in the cities of the United States. Congressman Nichols, (D) Alabama, concurred in the remarks made by Mr. Eelden and advised that people all over this country are concerned about the radicals who are traveling to Communist countries, consorting with the enemy, and then coming back home to create more strife and turmoil. Stokely Carmichael, - - - is the latest of these, and has really brought the problem to the attention of the American people. Mr. Nichols introduced H. R. 11043, a bill to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act to prohibit travel under a U. S. passport in violation of certain passport restrictions. A copy of this bill will be obtained.

Best Copy Available

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/3/01 BY 3103 E/W/bed/AMW

100-446080-
NOT RECORDED
184 AUG 31 1967

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for 7-31-67 was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau or subject matter files.

56 SEP 8 1967

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : The Director

DATE:

FROM : N. P. Callahan

SUBJECT: The Congressional Record

Page H8600-H8602. Congressman Minshall, (R) Ohio, stated "loyal Americans of every race, color, creed, and economic status are outraged by this Government's tolerance of agitators who roam the Nation advocating the violent overthrow of the United States." He included in the

Best Copy Available

Original filed in:

Record the text of a telegram he sent on July 28 to the President, the Attorney General and Mr. Hoover dealing with Stokely Carmichael and H. Rap Brown. The telegram states "These two hoodlums should not be given the freedom of this country to advocate its overthrow. They should both be locked up permanently." Mr. Minshall also included several newspaper articles with his remarks, including one from the Washington Star of July 30 entitled "Are The Riots Spontaneous or Planned?" This article questioned whether the riots were "planned, organized and directed by sinister forces embarked upon a policy of rule-or-ruin." It points out that the President passed this over lightly advising that the commission he established "will have access to facts gathered by the FBI and that J. Edgar Hoover's agency 'will continue to exercise its full authority to investigate these riots, in accordance with my standing instructions, and to continue to search for evidence of a conspiracy.' This is a somewhat ambiguous statement. As far as we know there has not been a full-scale investigation of the riots, and since the authority of the FBI is supposed to extend only to violations of federal law, what did the President mean when he said the agency will 'continue to exercise its full authority' to investigate the riots? Furthermore, the comment that the FBI will 'continue to search for evidence of conspiracy' implies that no such evidence has yet been found."

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : The Director

DATE:

FROM : N. P. Callahan

SUBJECT: The Congressional Record

Pages H0653-H0654. Congressman Fuqua, (D) Florida, spoke concerning the riots and advised that he supported the action calling for a congressional investigation. He stated "One thing that any investigation should take into very careful consideration is the method being used to finance the travels of men like Carmichael and Brown. - - - They seem to have little difficulty in gaining funds to travel from city to city, inciting violence and hatred." He went on to state "Riots are pure and simply uncontrolled force, and they must be met with greater force. - - - It is my opinion that we do not need new laws, rather we need to enforce the laws that are presently on the books. When rioting breaks out, we need to send in the police with such force as is necessary, and to immediately back them with the National Guard. We should not hesitate to use Federal troops."

Best Copy Available

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for _____ was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : The Director

DATE:

FROM : N. P. Callahan

SUBJECT: The Congressional Record

Original filed in:

S. 10465-S10469. Senator Dominick, (R) Colorado, with respect to some of the problems we face in Cuba, stated. Over the past weekend, a call was made from Cuba to North Americans, urging them to wage Vietnam-style wars in Detroit and New York. A clarion call to establish guerrilla groups in the United States and appeals to coordinate the Latin American revolutionary struggle with the struggle of American Negroes has been sounded. Black power advocate, Stokely Carmichael, has issued these appeals from Havana, where he is 'observing' the conference of Revolutionary Forces. He likened racial disturbances in the United States to 'real rebellions' and said the Cuban revolution was an inspiration. He included several newspaper articles concerning the Cuban situation in the Record.

Best Copy Available

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for _____ was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

4

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

- b7C

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

There is set forth below a summary of current and planned future activities of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and its leaders.

Activities of H. Ray Brown

~~Classified by~~ SP1AC/ME
Declassify on: OADR 11-21-86

H. Ray Brown, National Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, spoke in New York City on August 24, 1967, to an audience of 35 individuals.

Brown claimed that the "power structure" has opened 13 concentration camps for black people. He urged that everyone arm himself. On August 24, 1967, Brown was in contact with [redacted] after meeting Brown at the Representative's office. [redacted]

Representative, [redacted] after meeting Brown at the [redacted] accompanied Brown to the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee Headquarters in New York City. [redacted] It is noted that [redacted] a Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee official from Chicago, Illinois, is presently in Tanzania reportedly for the purpose of affiliating the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee with African organizations.

It was never taken for granted that

Michigan [redacted] to visit Detroit.
Chicago, Illinois, [redacted] Camden, New Jersey, and St. Louis,
Missouri, [redacted]

Brown flew from New York City to Detroit, Michigan, on August 27, 1967. At Detroit, Brown spoke at the Dexter Community Theater to an estimated crowd of 700 people. There were approximately 1500 individuals outside the theater during Brown's speech. Brown stated, "The honky is your enemy."

NOTICE

~~SECRET~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

100-440080 Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification
(10)

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ORIGINAL FILED IN

100-439190-104

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Referring to the recent Detroit riot, Brown told the crowd, "You did a good job here." He added that the Detroit riot will "look like a picnic after the black people unite to take their due." Brown accused the United States of trying to "wipe out" the Negro population through the war in Vietnam, birth control, starving Negro children, and an unfair system of justice.

After Brown's speech, Negroes hurled rocks and bottles at a car carrying two white newsmen; however, they escaped unharmed. Brown flew back to New York on the evening of August 27, 1967.

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee Rally

The Chicago Branch of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee sponsored a rally in Chicago, Illinois, on the afternoon of [redacted] to support [redacted]

[redacted] a Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee official who is presently being held in Nashville, Tennessee, [redacted] Attendance at the rally varied from 100 to 200 individuals. Speakers included Joyce Brown, leader of the Chicago Branch of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and Robert Lucas, leader of the Chicago Chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality, a civil rights group. The speakers asked for financial support for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee leaders. Brown told the audience they must not be "afraid to die" for the cause of the Negro.

Opposition to [redacted]

Recently, Stanley Levison [redacted] advisers to Martin Luther King, Jr., President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, a civil rights group, held a conference regarding future activities of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. [redacted] said that he felt [redacted] had been so won over by the Progressive Labor Party, a pro-Chinese Marxist-Leninist group, that he is not only useless but dangerous. Levison said that [redacted] actions are due either to immaturity or to the insecurity of a man whose organization "is crumbling beneath him."

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

A source advised in April, 1964, that Stanley Levison was a secret member of the Communist Party, USA, in July, 1963. In late 1963 and early 1964, he criticized the Communist Party for not being sufficiently militant in the civil rights struggle. Levison was described by certain Communist Party leaders as being to the "left" of the Communist Party in his position on civil rights. His differences with the Communist Party; however, are merely tactical, and he continues his ideological adherence to communism.

[REDACTED] member of the Labor Youth League which has been designated as subversive pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

b7C

XEROX COPIES BEING SENT TO MRS. MILDRED STEGALL, THE WHITE HOUSE; MR. WILLIAM WELSH, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT TO THE VICE PRESIDENT; HONORABLE DEAN RUSK, SECRETARY OF STATE; HONORABLE ROBERT S. MCNAMARA, SECRETARY OF DEFENSE; HONORABLE RICHARD HELMS, DIRECTOR, CIA; ATTORNEY GENERAL; DEPUTY ATTORNEY GENERAL; ASSISTANT ATTORNEYS GENERAL YEAGLEY, DOAR, AND VINSON; SECRET SERVICE; AND THE MILITARY INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES.

NOTE:

See memorandum C.D. Brennan to Mr. Sullivan, 8/28/67, same caption, prepared by BAW:des.

Classified "~~Secret~~" since it contains information from informants whose disclosure could affect our national defense. and would cause serious damage.

~~SECRET~~

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. Bland

Mr. Sullivan

8/28/67

- 1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan

1 - [REDACTED]

b7C

C. D. Brennan

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Stokely CARMICHAEL
Due to the interest of the President in the activities of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and its leaders, we have prepared a summary setting forth current and planned future activities in this matter. A copy is attached for ready reference.

H. Rap Brown, leader of SNCC, spoke to an audience of 35 individuals in New York City on 8/24/67. Brown claimed that the "power structure" has opened 13 concentration camps for black people and urged everyone to arm himself.

[REDACTED] traveled to Detroit, Michigan [REDACTED] and will visit Camden, New Jersey, Chicago, Illinois, [REDACTED] and St. Louis, Missouri, [REDACTED]

b7C

During his visit to Detroit on 8/27/67, Brown stated during a speech that the Detroit rioters did a good job. He accused the United States of trying to wipe out the Negro population. CHAC

b7C Chicago Chapter of SNCC sponsored a rally [REDACTED] to support [REDACTED] and another SNCC official who is presently [REDACTED] in Nashville, Tennessee. A SNCC leader told the crowd that they must not be afraid to die for the cause of the Negro.

b7C [REDACTED] to Martin Luther King, Jr., stated that [REDACTED] has been won over by the Progressive Labor Party, a pro-Chinese Marxist-Leninist group, and is not only useless but dangerous. Stanley Levison, another adviser to King, said that [REDACTED] actions are due to either immaturity or to insecurity. Levison was identified as a secret member of the Communist Party in 1963 and [REDACTED] member of the Labor Youth League which has been cited by the Attorney General.

Encl.

BAW:des (9)

- 1 - Bufile 100-446080
- ① - Bufile 105-163197

NOT RECORDED

87 SEP 7 1967

CONTINUED - OVER

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 10-15-88 BY SP-6 JTB/BJC/bmw

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-446080-1447

C. D. Brennan to Mr. Sullivan
Re: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

RECOMMENDATION:

That the enclosed memorandum to Mrs. Mildred Stegall at the White House; Mr. William Welsh, Administrative Assistant to the Vice President; Honorable Dean Rusk, Secretary of State; Honorable Robert S. McNamara, Secretary of Defense; Honorable Richard Helms, Director, CIA; Attorney General; Deputy Attorney General; Assistant Attorneys General Yeagley, Doar, and Vinson; Secret Service; and the military intelligence agencies be approved.

F B I

Date: 8/21/67

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____

(Priority)

b7C

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI [redacted]

b7C

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK [redacted] (P)

SUBJECT: [redacted] aka

b7C

IS - SNCC
(OO: ATLANTA)

ReNYteletype to Bureau and Atlanta, dated

8/19/67.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 13 copies of a LHM regarding the activity of captioned subject. Three copies are furnished Atlanta and two copies are being furnished for New Orleans for information.

b2

The source used in the LHM was [redacted]

b7D

The LHM is classified "~~CONFIDENTIAL~~" because it contains information, the unauthorized disclosure of which could reasonably result in the identification of the source utilized.

ORIGINAL FILED IN

ORIGINAL FILED IN

- 5 - Bureau (Enc. 13) (RM)
 (1 - 100-439190) (SNCC) (6)
 (1 - 100-) (STOKELY CARMICHAEL)
3 - Atlanta (100-7098) (Enc. 3) (INFO) (RM)
 (1 - 100-) (STOKELY CARMICHAEL)
2 - New Orleans (100-) (Enc. 2) (INFO) (RM)
1 - New York (100-15371) (STOKELY CARMICHAEL) (43)
1 - New York

NOT RECORDED

140 AUG 29 1967

REY/jaw
(13)

*Declassified by 4417
12-20-76*

Approved: _____

Sent _____

M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

56 SEP 6 1967

NY 100-160701

Copies of the LHM were furnished locally to the 108th MI Group, OSI, USA, SDNY, NISO, and Secret Service.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Bureau file 105-168197
New York 100-160701

New York, New York
August 21, 1967

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Hubert Geriod Brown, also
known as Rap Brown
Internal Security - Student
Non-Violent Coordinating Committee

On August 18, 1967, a confidential source, who
has furnished reliable information in the past, attended
a press conference held by the subject at the Church
Center for the United Nations, 777 United Nations
Plaza, New York, New York.

Attached is a Xerox copy of Brown's speech given
as a prepared mimeographed press release to the above
source at the conference.

This document contains neither recommendations
nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property
of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and
its contents are not to be distributed outside
your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~GROUP 1~~
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

ENCLOSURE

100-446080

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
100 Fifth Avenue, Room 803
New York, New York

August 18, 1967

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

We would like to announce that our representative, Mr. Stokely Carmichael, will arrive today in Hanoi, Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Mr. Carmichael is in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam to investigate and see for himself the savage aggression being carried out against that country by the United States. Previous investigators of our's who have visited the country have reported that the United States is experimenting with weapons there that would be effective in destroying black people in the ghetto, without damaging the property. Mr. Carmichael will see for himself the atrocities being perpetrated against the people of Vietnam, a people who are heroically defending their right to self-determination.

By this visit to Southeast Asia, Mr. Carmichael joins the list of other black leaders, such as Mr. Floyd McKissick and Mr. Whitney Young, Jr., who have visited this area, America's testing ground for how it will try to crush wars of national liberation around the world, including the one developing in this country. For, in Mr. Carmichael's own words, "We see that what happens in Vietnam affects our own struggle, and what we do affects the struggle of the Vietnamese people". At the present time our people are a colonized people within the United States. There are over 30 million of us in this country, 30 million black people who live in sharply defined areas in the rural black belt areas and shanty towns of the South, and in the ghettos of the northern and western industrial cities. In neither place do we control the resources of our communities. We do not control the land, the houses or the stores. These are all owned by whites who live outside our communities. These are very real colonies which exist as a result of the exploitation and racism which this country fosters at home and abroad.

Mr. Carmichael's recent visits to England and Cuba have stirred an undue amount of comment. Such negative comment from press and public officials alike

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

raises a fundamental question: Who in this country has the right to travel? Mr. Carmichael has been publicly denounced for his recent visit to Cuba. Does this criticism stem in reality from an assumption by whites that black people must travel only to places approved by whites, that black people must limit their conclusions to those based on information furnished by whites? If such incorrect and racist assumptions are in fact held by whites, they have serious problems which they themselves will have to solve. As long as imperialism is raping, plundering and murdering in Asia, Africa and Latin America, it is our responsibility to meet with anyone who is fighting against this. Imperialism is international. The United States thinks that it has the right to interfere in the affairs of any country in the world. We therefore reserve the right to meet with the leaders of those countries who are fighting against this intrusion and who, like us, are struggling to liberate their people.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
100 Fifth Avenue, Room 803
New York, New York

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

August 18, 1967

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

The United States has its days of celebrations such as the Fourth of July -- the white man's Independence Day -- and expects us to celebrate these national holidays, salute the white man's flag, and sing the white man's national anthem. This is as ridiculous as thinking that we will achieve our own independence under an economic and political system whose existence depends upon oppression, exploitation and the resultant degradation, poverty, and racism we have been subjected to. Our own struggle for independence did not begin on July 4, 1776. We were slaves before July 4th, on July 4th and after July 4th. That great document of democracy, the United States Constitution, defined us as three-fifths of a person. We remained slaves until August 18, 1965. That day marks the day the blacks of Watts picked up guns to fight for their freedom. Since that time armed struggle has taken place in practically every major city in the United States and we can add Newark, Detroit and Plainfield to the list of great events in the history of black people in North America.

For 400 years we had begged, pleaded, cried, marched and died for just a little taste of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness". The Watts Insurrection signalled the end of begging, crying, marching and dying. If we had to die, we realized that we should die in the act of killing and taking that which was our's. On August 18, 1965, blacks stopped moaning "we shall overcome" and started swinging to "Burn, Baby, Burn". That was our Declaration of Independence, and we signed it with molotov cocktails and rifles.

We are calling on all black people to celebrate this day, August 18th, and pay homage to the heroes and heroines of Watts, who signalled the beginning of this new day.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO :

DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 8/23/67

FROM :

LEGAT, TOKYO (14-1)(RUC)

SUBJECT:

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS - SEDITION

ReBucable 8/4/67.

Appropriate sources have been alerted for information concerning subject's activities and travel.

Upon receipt of pertinent information in this regard it will be promptly forwarded to the Bureau.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/25/01 BY 39063 EWL/SC/AMW

3 - Bureau
(1 - Foreign Liaison)
1 - Tokyo
RVP:kzh
(4)

REC-69

EX-113

100-446080-509

AUG 25 1967

56 AUG 30 1967



INT. SEC.

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL
WASHINGTON

J. WALTER YEAGLEY

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Bishop	✓
Mr. Casper	✓
Mr. Callahan	✓
Mr. Conrad	✓
Mr. Felt	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Miss Holmes	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

August 15, 1967

Honorable J. Edgar Hoover
Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

I want to acknowledge receipt of the Bureau's prosecutive summary in the captioned matter. I think the Bureau officials, supervisors and agents who are responsible for identifying so many potential witnesses and compiling so much material within the very short deadline set should all be commended for their special efforts and a job well done. I have called this to the attention of the Attorney General.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely,

J. Walter Yeagley
J. Walter Yeagley

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/25/01 BY 39068 BUL/STL

REC-19

100-446080-510

EX 106

3 AUG 28 1967

b7C

Place in
Personnel file
SA [redacted]
AT Office [redacted]
DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE
DIV.

SEP 7 1967

PERS. REC. UNIT

5-Br

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO :

Director, FBI

DATE: August 22, 1967

FROM :

Legat, Mexico City (105-6275) (P)

Attn: FBI LABORATORY

SUBJECT :

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS;
SEDITION

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

Enclosed are single copies of the following items:

PRENSA LATINA (PL) article 8-2-67, "Message
from Carmichael to Comandante 'Che' Guevara";

✓ PL article 8-3-67, "Press Conference with
Carmichael";

✓ PL article 8-5-67, "Exclusive - The War of
Guerrillas has Begun in the US. Our Struggle
Will be Long, Hard, and Fierce. Cuba Inspires
the Negroes of the USA" (an interview with
subject);

✓ PL article 8-7-67, "Meeting with Carmichael
in the 'Round House'";

✓ PL article 8-8-67, "Chronicle of Carmichael
in Havana";

b7C

✓ PL article 8-14-67, "Carmichael in the
Magazine 'Tricontinental'; 'You Must Stab
The Eye of The Octopus' (US)";

✓ PL article 8-18-67, "Message of Carmichael
to the Negroes of the US: Let's Fight for
Total Revolution";

SIEMPRE! article 8-23-67, "Carmichael, the
Black Power, Speaks to SIEMPRE!";

SUCESOS PARA TODOS article 8-26-67, "Why We
Negroes are Fighting" (interview with subject).

3 - Bureau (Enc. 9)
(1 - Liaison Section)

1 - Mexico City

RJG:esc

(4)

ENCLOSURE BEHIND FILE COPY AND SPECIMEN RETAINED IN LAB

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

REC-31 100-446080-511

15 AUG 25 1967

ENCLOSURE

INVEST SEC.

Copy sent AT 9/29/67

cc of each item sent to ASAC. yepky + Vernon by 9/10/67. cc of each item sent to PRA/ci 9/10/67

MEX 105-6275

The Bureau may wish to have these articles translated verbatim and furnish the translations to the domestic office of origin and interested offices.

The articles from the Cuban Government News Agency, Prensa Latina, were published in the Daily Bulletin of the PL branch in Mexico, DF.

SIEMPRE! is a pro-Cuban, anti-United States Spanish language magazine published weekly in Mexico, DF.

SUCESOS PARA TODOS is a pro-Cuban Spanish language magazine published weekly at Mexico, DF. MARIO MENENDEZ RODRIGUEZ, who interviewed subject, is the Director of the publication.

LEAD

MEXICO CITY

At Mexico, DF. Will be alert for the possibility subject may attempt to return to the United States via Mexico.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10/25/01 BY 39063 ewl/ace/arnw

TRANSLATION FROM SPANISH

From "Siempre!" (Always!) magazine, August 23, 1967 issue,
No. 739, pages 22, 23 and 70.

"Black Power" Carmichael
Speaks to "Siempre!"
and Announces the United
States Will Become
Another Vietnam With
Guerrillas Everywhere.

By Marta D. Solis

(This article is illustrated with two pictures:
one of Carmichael and the other of Carmichael with his
interviewer, Marta D. Solis, correspondent of "Siempre!" The
latter picture was taken in Havana, Cuba.)

Havana, (Cuba), August 3, 1967

His name is Stokely Carmichael. Race: human.
Citizen of the world. Negro. Full Negro. Full. No one
has more right than he to call himself a Negro.

When I saw him for the first time, I experienced
something like a brief shudder. It was on a movie screen.
He was agitating his people. He was calling on them to struggle.
He was calling them to "Black Power."

Five days ago, I saw him for the second time. He
was standing before me, life size, more than six feet tall.
Like a god from Nubia. Tersely handsome and smiling. His
smile is white, open and frank; always on the verge of becoming
hearty laughter. He is a man sure of himself. Sure of the
future of his people. A black panther is his symbol.

He was born in Trinidad. Until his eleventh year,
he lived in a Negro society where the police were Negroes
and also the judges and businessmen were Negroes, even though
the rulers were white (British).

100 - 446080 - 511

His father wanted to prove that a black man, good and hard-working, would succeed in winning for himself a worthy position in a white society. He killed himself with hard work and died at the age of 22. He used to work as a carpenter and a taxi driver at the same time. From the time she arrived in New York with her husband and children, his mother worked as a maid for a rich family.

"He has always said, ever since he was a little boy, that he would become a great man," said one of his aunts of Stokely Carmichael.

Black Power? "Black Power is the need to rescue our identity from history. We must rescue it from the cultural terrorism and the looting into which a white society has always plunged it in order to justify itself," Carmichael said on one occasion. When I asked the same question, he explained: "It is a uniting of the Negro people in order to wage battle for their liberation by any means. It is unity of the Negro people with all oppressed people outside the United States in order to struggle for a destruction of a capitalist structure that oppresses us in the interior and all under-developed peoples outside."

In a press conference which Carmichael held in Havana yesterday before more than 60 journalists from all over the world, less the United States and Great Britain (he did not let them in), the Negro leader answered a dozen or so questions about the struggle of the Negro people "not for integration with the whites, because the whites would dictate the laws and be in charge, but rather for the conquest of power." He said: "For 400 years, the Negroes have tried to coexist, but the results are nil. Gone is the time when our grievances were for nothing more than integration. Now, we have no alternative but to take up arms to accomplish our liberation."

"Is this a new policy of your organization?" he was asked. "We know, in fact, that you are the top leader of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)."

"We founded our organization in 1960. At the time, Martin Luther King was the central figure of the Negro movement. He is a pacifist. To speak of violence at that particular time would have been tantamount to committing treason. We accepted the name "Nonviolent" for tactical reasons. We did not believe in it. We have always told our comrades that the fulfillment of our destiny is an armed struggle. We had no other way to defend ourselves from the armed oppression which falls on us whenever we try to protest. Possibly, the turn

to violence was made in Watts, on August 18, 1965. Yes, after that, nonviolence was not (sic, possible a misprint) for intellectual discussions. Arms. This is the only road."

"However, how are you going to fight a guerrilla war inside the United States?"

"Urban guerrilla warfare."

"But they will make mincemeat out of you. They will bomb you. They will destroy you."

"Negroes live in the large cities of the United States. They live in the very heart of the cities. That is also where the nerve centers of American economy are located: their industries. Whenever the soldiers of the United States - who have no "guts," who are cowards - have to fight hand to hand, they say they are facing a guerrilla war. They throw bombs and napalm. But inside the United States, because of the conditions I have explained previously, they will have to fight us hand to hand. We will lick them. Do you think they will throw bombs to destroy us? No, because they would destroy their own cities; their own industries."

Carmichael answers his questions quick and easy. He jumps up from his seat and gestures. It's like a ping-pong ball bouncing over the table. He does not think about what he says. He says what he feels.

"He has always been like that," said an old Negro leader about him. "Whenever we felt that there were things to be said but were afraid to speak out, Stokely said them for us and said them in public. He is always one step ahead of our fears."

That's Carmichael's contribution. He broke the shackles of ancestral fear and made the Negroes speak of their aspiration to power; an aspiration which was always there, silent, in the conscience of every Negro, but unable to come out, to organize itself. We saw the consequences in Watts. In Detroit. In nearly all the territory of the United States.

However, can it be said that Black Power is uniting all Negroes in their final struggle? It does not look that way. There is still too much spontaneity in the racial explosion which rocks the territory of the United States from North to South and from East to West. Carmichael is the answer to the

Negroes' aspirations. He influences them with his courage. It is a kind of animal courage which makes him be the first in fights and arrests (more than 30 to this date) and takes him, in a crazy automobile race (he is a sportsman of the wheel) with his foot glued to the gas pedal, from place to place in the United States with a bunch of his closest friends and comrades stashed in his Ford microbus (sic).

They say that when he drives through a town he shakes a fist out of the car and shouts: "Black Power." Sometimes, mostly in Southern towns, he only gets a timid response from a Negro in blue denim overalls who looks around before he ventures it. However, in most cases, the doorways and sidewalks fill with Negroes who wave at his speedy passage.

There is no question that he is a free Negro. The contrast which he found between Trinidad and the United States, when he arrived in the latter country, caused a violent shock. The shock transformed him. He could have become a conformist, like a large number of American Negroes, but, in his island, he had known the freedom of living as a Negro, without being intimidated as a Negro or jailed as a Negro.

"However, your passport will be taken away because you came to Cuba. Are you not afraid of what may happen to you upon your return to the United States? Will they not kill you? A spokesman for the White House, MacClosky, threatened to cancel your passport..." "MacClosky is neither my father nor my mother. We have to ask no one to do what we feel like doing or to go where we want to go. To hell with MacClosky and the Department of State...the CIA is international. It has a license to kill. Its assassins are everywhere. We are developing a structure to fight it. It is very important for our people to know that when one of us is assassinated, the CIA did it. We must make them aware that whenever one of them touches a guerrilla fighter or a revolutionary, McNamara and the others will be punished. Our leader Malcolm X was assassinated by the CIA. They used Cuban counterrevolutionaries for the deed."

"However, you have to fight in Vietnam and, yet, you are against the war of aggression which the United States is waging in that country. Isn't that so?"

"In the United States, military service is compulsory. We are facing the prospect of either going to Vietnam or being tried in courts that will sentence us to five years in jail or deprive us of our "civil rights."

We prefer to spend five years in jail rather than to go to Vietnam. We shall not bear arms against the Vietnamese people. They did nothing to us. They did not discriminate against us. They do not deny us our schools or our houses.

"...Our enemy is the white United States. The Vietnamese are our brothers in the struggle. We are fighting the same structure. Our reply to the Armed Forces of the United States is: 'Hell, no, we won't go!'

"We are tired of being used by the United States," Carmichael went on to say. "We are always on the front line of war. In the Dominican Republic, the forces against the Dominican people were made up for the most part, of Negroes. In Vietnam, 40% of the fighting men are Negroes. Ah!...But we have learned something. The United States has taught us to kill. Our brothers who come back from Vietnam will use this training in the United States. They come back frustrated. They will find their liberation in their struggle against the power which sends us around as cannon fodder."

"Does, this liberation include the whites? How can coexistence with the whites be achieved?"

"We could not coexist with the whites under this system. Black Power is for the struggle of the Negroes. When the whites start to fight, we shall fight together. Not before.

"Integration cannot occur until all people are equal. Integration was always defined in the United States as the obligation of the Negro society to bow to the white society, never vice versa. On the other hand, the white society has always maintained a division of national minorities in the United States. We are trying to create a structure for minorities within the Black Power Movement. As a matter of fact, we have close bonds with the National Association of Mexican-American Farm Workers."

"It has been repeatedly said that Negroes want a territory exclusively for themselves. In other words, they want to create a Negro country within the United States."

Carmichael smiles..."The only condition under which we would be agreeable to the establishment of a Negro state would be if we had hydrogen bombs and the means to deliver them...and this would be very dangerous, don't you think so?"

Carmichael is a philosopher. As a child, he used to belong to a gang, like nearly all Negroes living in New York sections. He used to belong to a gang of white boys who stole automobile radios. "They were bandits," Carmichael said about his friends. "They were white bandits who taught me to steal."

When his father died, the idea died with him that a Negro can become somebody by his work alone. Carmichael began to study. He did a great deal of reading. He chose to attend Howard University (for Negroes), in Washington, D. C. Acceptance in this University is predicated upon a very strict exam. He passed it. He came in contact with organized Negro movements. He became famous during Meredith's "Great March" in Mississippi. There, he popularized Black Power. This march was a "walking seminar" on the concepts which Carmichael advocates, but which did not come out of his mind. They were born from the frustration of Negroes who paid an enormous price for the small conquests achieved. Others before him spoke of "Black Power" (for example, Adam C. Powell) but Carmichael was the man who gave depth to the concept and made an impact with the Negroes. He instilled new sensitivity into the Negro masses and is forcing them to express themselves, to speak of their rights and to claim them in the same way as they were denied them. This young, cheerful, dancing fellow, who walks like Sidney Poitier, speaks like Harry Belafonte and thinks like Malcolm X (as one of his friends once described him) is an intellectual - not because of the bombastic way in which he talks - a revolutionary intellectual who is in contact with his people and lives and thinks like his people.

"However," one of his closest co-workers, Elizabeth Suthenland told us, "he is capable of talking for five hours in a row about Albert Camus and his works. Like Camus, he thinks that the greatest hope goes hand in hand with the greatest danger."

This "magnificent barbarian," as he is called in the United States, is a man who terrorizes and exalts. He is a man who is trying to rescue for society the only real culture there is in the United States: Negro culture.

He says: "We do not have to wait for the Beatles to make our culture legitimate. We must not be ashamed of James Brown. Our intellectuals must come back to the Negro community and stop seeking to shine within the white community."

As a discoverer and mystic lover of Negro personality, by giving them Black Power, he has given the Negroes something which is his own.

"No more prayers. No more songs of freedom. No more dreams. We will get power."

This is the slogan of the mutinous crowds in the cities. They do not pray any longer in churches. They have started to shoot and this is very dangerous.

"We will start 50 Vietnams in the United States," Carmichael says. "When they have as many outside, what are they going to do?"

With all his bundle of love for his race and his people, this is Stokely Carmichael, a human being, a full Negro and the most controversial young man in the United States...

And as the Negro leaders say that their road to liberation is an armed struggle, what do the leaders of the other countries of the continent say?

CARMICHAEL, EL PODER NEGRO, HABLA A Siempre!



*y anuncia que
Estados Unidos
se convertirá
en un Vietnam
con guerrillas
en todos lados*



Marta D. Solís corresponsal de SIEMPRE!, con Carmichael, en La Habana.

La Habana, 3 de agosto de 1967.

Su nombre es Stokely Carmichael. Raza: Humana. Ciudadano del mundo. Negro. Negro entero. Completo. Nadie con más derecho a llamarse negro que él.

Cuando por primera vez lo vi sentí un pequeño escalofrío. Fue en una pantalla de cine. Agitaba a su gente. La llamaba a la lucha. La llamaba al Poder Negro.

Hace cinco días lo vi por segunda vez. Estaba ante mí de cuerpo entero, más de seis pies. Como un dios Nubio. Con una belleza tersa y una blanca sonrisa abierta y franca, siempre lista a convertirse en carcajada. Es un tipo seguro de sí mismo. Seguro del futuro de su gente. Una pantera negra es su símbolo.

Nació en Trinidad. Hasta los 11 años tuvo ante sí una sociedad negra donde los policías eran negros, y los jueces y los comerciantes también lo eran. Aunque los gobernantes eran blancos (ingleses).

Su padre siempre quiso demostrar que un hombre negro, bueno y trabajador, podría llegar a ocupar un puesto digno en la sociedad blanca. Se reventó trabajando y murió a los 22 años. Era carpintero y taxista al mismo tiempo. Su madre ha sido sirvienta de una familia rica, desde que llegó con su marido y sus hijos a Nueva York.

"El siempre precisó, desde pequeño, que sería un hombre grande", ha dicho de él una tía.

El Poder Negro. El poderío negro. "Es la necesidad de rescatar de la historia nuestra identidad. Rescatarla del terrorismo cultural y las depradaciones en que la sociedad blanca la ha hundido para justificarse" dijo una vez. "Es la reunión de la población negra para pelear por su liberación por cualquier medio —me dijo Carmichael cuando se lo pregunté—. Es la unión de la población negra con la gente oprimida fuera de Estados Unidos para luchar por destruir la estructura capitalista que nos oprime a nosotros en lo interior y a los pueblos subdesarrollados en lo exterior".

En una conferencia de prensa que Carmichael dio ayer en La Habana a más de 60 periodistas de todas partes del mundo —menos de Estados Unidos y Gran Bretaña, a los que no les permitió la entrada— el líder negro contestó a decenas de preguntas sobre la lucha del pueblo negro, "no por la integración con los blancos, en la que éstos dictarían las leyes y dirigirían, sino por la toma del poder. Por 400 años los negros han tratado de coexistir sin resultado alguno. Ya pasó la etapa en que nuestras reivindicaciones se reducían a la "integración" solamente. Ahora no tenemos otra alternativa que tomar las armas para llevar a cabo nuestra liberación".

¿Es esa una nueva política de su organización? Porque nosotros sabemos que usted es el máximo dirigente del Comité Coordinador de los Estudiantes No Violentos (SNCC) —se le preguntó.

"Nosotros creamos nuestra organización en 1960. Por esa época Martin Luther King era la figura central del movimiento negro. El es un pacifista. Hablar en ese momento de violencia hubiera sido casi como cometer una traición. Aceptamos el nombre no violento, por táctica. No creíamos en ella y siempre les dijimos a los compañeros que nuestro destino sólo estaba en la lucha armada. No teníamos otra manera de defendernos de la opresión armada que sobre nosotros recae siempre que protestamos. El giro hacia la violencia es posible que se diera por primera vez en Watts, el 18 de agosto de 1965. Ya después la no-violencia no era para discutirla intelectualmente. Las armas: es ese el único camino".

Pero, ¿cómo van ustedes a sostener una guerra de guerrillas en los propios Estados Unidos?

—"Guerrillas urbanas".

Pero los desbaratarán. Los bombardearán. Los destruirán.

"Los negros viven en Estados Unidos en las grandes ciudades. En el mismo corazón de éstas. Allí también está concentrado el nervio central de la economía norteamericana: sus industrias. Cuando los soldados de Estados Unidos que no tienen "gandinga", son cobardes, tienen que pelear cuerpo a cuerpo, dicen que tienen frente a sí una guerra de guerrillas. Entonces lanzan bombas y napalm. Pero dentro de Estados Unidos, por esas condiciones anteriores, tendrán que luchar con nosotros cuerpo a cuerpo. Los barreremos. Ustedes creen que ellos lanzarían bombas para destruirnos. No. Porque destruirían sus ciudades. Sus industrias".

Carmichael responde a las preguntas con rapidez. Se levanta como un rayo del asiento y gesticula. Es como una pelota de ping-pong que rebota en una mesa. No piensa lo que va a decir. Dice lo que siente.

"Siempre ha sido así. Ha dicho de él un viejo dirigente negro. Cuando uno pensaba que muchas cosas había que decirles, pero tenía miedo de soltarlas, Stokely, no sólo las decía para nosotros, sino que las decía en público. Siempre va más allá de nuestro miedo".

Y allí su mérito: ha roto las cadenas del miedo ancestral de los negros a hablar de su ansia de poder. Ansia que estaba allí, en la conciencia callada de cada negro, pero que no es sino hasta ahora que toma forma organizada. Las consecuencias las hemos visto en Watts. En Detroit. En casi todo el territorio norteamericano.

¿Sin embargo, puede decirse que el Poderío Negro une hoy a todos los negros para una lucha final? Parece que no. Aún hay mucho

de espontaneísmo en la explosión racial que va de norte a sur y de este a oeste del territorio de Estados Unidos. Carmichael responde a las ansias de los negros. Les influye con su valor. Esa especie de valor animal que lo mismo lo hace ser la vanguardia en las apaleaduras y encarcelamientos (más de 30 hasta la fecha), que lo lleva en una loca carrera automovilística (es él un deportista del volante), con el pie pegado al acelerador, de un lugar a otro de Estados Unidos, llevando en su Micro-bus Ford a sus más allegados compañeros. Dicen que cuando pasa por una población, saca su puño del auto y grita "Black Power". A veces recibe una tímida contestación —en algunas ciudades del sur sobre todo— de un negro con overol de mezclilla que antes de hacerlo mira a su alrededor. Pero la mayoría de las veces los corredores de las casas y las aceras se llenan de negros que saludan su paso veloz.

El ya es un negro libre. No cabe duda. El contraste que al llegar de Trinidad encontró en Estados Unidos, fue violento. Lo transformó. Pudo haber sido un conformista, como gran cantidad de negros norteamericanos, pero él conoció en su isla la libertad de vivir como negro y no ser apaleado por negro o encarcelado por negro.

Pero a usted le quitarán su pasaporte por haber venido a Cuba. ¿No teme lo que pueda pasarle cuando regrese? ¿No lo matarán? El vocero de la Casa Blanca, MacClosky, ha amenazado a despojarle de su pasaporte...

"MacClosky no es mi padre ni mi madre. No tenemos que pedirle permiso a nadie para hacer lo que nos dé la gana o ir a donde queramos. Al demonio con MacClosky y el Departamento de Estado... La CIA es internacional. Tiene licencia para matar. Sus asesinos están en todas partes. Nosotros estamos desarrollando una estructura para combatirla. Es muy importante que nuestra gente sepa que cuando alguno de nosotros es asesinado, ha sido la CIA. Debemos crear la conciencia de que cuando ellos toquen a un guerrillero, a un revolucionario, Mac Namara y los otros sean castigados. A nuestro guía Malcolm X lo asesinó la CIA. Utilizaron para ello a los contrarrevolucionarios cubanos".

Pero tienen que pelear en Vietnam y ustedes están en contra de la guerra de agresión que allí llevan a cabo los Estados Unidos, ¿no es así?

—"En Estados Unidos el Servicio Militar es obligatorio. Estamos ante la perspectiva de ir a Vietnam o enfrentarnos a un juicio que nos condenará a 5 años de cárcel o el retiro de nuestros "derechos civiles". Preferimos pasar cinco años en la cárcel antes que ir a Vietnam. No tomaremos las armas contra los vietnamitas. Ellos no nos han hecho nada. No nos discriminan. No nos niegan la escuela ni las casas.

Nuestro enemigo es los Estados Unidos blancos. Los vietnamitas son nuestros hermanos de lucha. Estamos luchando contra la misma estructura. Nuestra respuesta a las Fuerzas Armadas de Estados Unidos es: "CARAJOS, NO IREMOS".

"Ya estamos cansados de ser usados por Estados Unidos —continúa— siempre estamos en la primera línea de combate: en Santo Domingo las fuerzas contra el pueblo dominicano estaban compuestas en su mayoría por negros. En Vietnam el 40 por ciento de los combatientes también son negros. ¡Ah!... Pero hemos aprendido. Estados Unidos nos ha enseñado cómo matar. Nuestros hermanos que regresan de Vietnam van a usar ese entrenamiento dentro de Estados Unidos. Ellos vienen frustrados. Encontrarán su liberación en la lucha contra el poder que los manda siempre como carne de cañón".

¿Esa liberación incluye a los blancos? ¿Cómo se podría lograr la convivencia con los blancos?

—"No podríamos coexistir con los blancos en este sistema. El Poderío Negro se dirige a la lucha de los negros. Cuando los blancos empiecen a luchar, lucharemos juntos. Antes no.

"La integración no puede ocurrir hasta que las gentes no sean iguales. La integración fue siempre definida en Estados Unidos como la obligación de la sociedad negra de ir hacia la blanca, nunca al revés. Por otra parte, la sociedad blanca siempre ha tenido divididas a las minorías nacionales existentes en Estados Unidos. Tratamos de estructurar a las minorías dentro del Poderío Negro. Estamos vinculados a la Asociación Nacional de Trabajadores agrícolas de los mexicanos norteamericanos".

Se ha dicho muchas veces que los negros quieren un territorio solamente para ellos. Es decir, crear un país para negros, dentro de Estados Unidos...

Charmichael se sonríe... "La única condición en que podríamos estar de acuerdo en que se estableciera un Estado negro sería si tuviéramos bombas de hidrógeno y con qué tirarlas... Y eso sería muy peligroso, ¿no cree?"

Carmichael es un filósofo. De niño fue pandillero, como casi todo negro de los barrios de Nueva York. Era una pandilla de muchachos blancos que robaban radios de automóvil. "Eran unos bandidos —ha dicho de sus amigos—. Esos bandidos blancos me enseñaron a robar". Cuando su padre murió, murió en él la idea de que un negro, sólo con su trabajo, puede llegar a ser alguien. Empezó a estudiar. Leyó mucho. Optó por una plaza en la Universidad Howard de Washington (para negros). Sólo mediante un riguroso examen puede aspirarse a ingresar. Lo logró. Tomó contacto con los movimientos organizados de los negros. Se hizo famoso en la Gran Marcha Meredith por Mississippi. Allí popularizó el Poderío Negro. Fue esa marcha un "seminario andante" sobre el concepto (Sigue en la página 70)

PRO Y CONTRA...

(Viene de la página 14) portación masiva de las utilidades que en México obtienen las empresas norteamericanas.

Una mayor difusión podría demostrar, tal vez, que la tesis de que las inversiones extranjeras descapitalizan al país no puede defenderse con argumentos sólidos. Si calculamos el ahorro de divisas generado por estas inversiones a través del proceso de sustitución de importaciones, así como el aumento de la capacidad del país para generar bienes y servicios de exportación, es seguro que dicho ahorro de divisas sea varias veces superior al saldo negativo que en el renglón correspondiente de la balanza de pagos originan estas inversiones.

Cabe preguntarse, al final de esta charla cuales son las recomendaciones para lograr que la imagen correspondiente a los beneficios que tiene para México una inversión apegada a la ley y al espíritu de nuestras instituciones. Se requiere que el inversionista entienda que su capital no es sólo para ser multiplicado sino para cumplir una función social. Los mexicanos deben participar de las utilidades de cada negocio porque son los mexicanos los que las hacemos posible con nuestro trabajo y con nuestros recursos. El capital extranjero es complementario, pues nuestro desarrollo depende de nuestro propio esfuerzo. El gobierno mexicano, los hombres de empresa mexicanos, los trabajadores mexicanos y los productores mexicanos de materias primas y artículos para la industria, reconocemos el papel de las inversiones extranjeras cuando participan de nuestro desarrollo sin solicitar privilegios y ateniéndose a las leyes vigentes en la materia. Ningún capital extranjero se establecería si no hubiéramos creado en nuestro país las condiciones propicias. La imagen de la inversión extranjera se hará mejor y será más bien comprendida cuando cada inversionista de otro país acepte una adecuada participación de los nacionales en los negocios que establezcan en México. Es largo el camino y generosa la meta. Las utilidades logradas en México debe procurarse que se reinviertan en México. Cada inversionista extranjero debe entender que el mundo ha dejado atrás las épocas en que el empresario sólo buscaba el mayor provecho económico sin mirar a su alrededor y que hoy cumple un destino más trascendente. Cada inversionista extranjero es un representante de su país y su conducta contribuye al mejoramiento o la mengua de la amistad entre su pueblo y el nuestro. Cada inversionista debe unirse a la tarea de engrandecer a nuestra patria como si fuera un mexicano más. Sólo así estaremos trabajando para nuestro mutuo beneficio. Sólo de este modo cada mexicano tendrá de la inversión extranjera la imagen que corresponde a un factor de progreso. Y cada inversionista extranjero será considerado como un amigo que aporta su talento, su dinero y su esfuerzo en el trabajo que hemos emprendido.

(La Cámara Americana de Comercio invitó a Jacobo Zabludovsky a hablar sobre la imagen de la inversión extranjera en México. Los anteriores son algunos fragmentos de su conferencia pronunciada el 9 de agosto).

SI, VIETNAM...

(Viene de la página 15) de las zonas ocupadas por el gobierno de Saigón, sólo quedan unas mil. Los aldeanos han roto los muros de bambú con que quiso mantenerse aislados de todo contacto con los guerrilleros.

Los prisioneros vietcongs son torturados terriblemente para lección de los demás. Las víctimas pierden la vista o los órganos genitales a manos de estos verdugos. Los campos son arrasados con napalm y con productos químicos, para acabar con las personas, el ganado y los cultivos. La guerra química se practica como uno de los crímenes científicos de nuestra época.

Con todo eso, el gigante no puede. Poderoso, dañado, algo más, mucho más que un tigre de papel, pero David se le enfrenta y lo humilla. El general Westmoreland va a Washington y dice: "Necesito más soldados". Y Johnson le ha dicho: "Sí, más; más soldados y más impuestos al pueblo norteamericano". El mundo clama por el cese de los bombardeos a la República Democrática de Vietnam del Norte; pero los bombardeos no cesan. El pasado día 6 de agosto cayó en Vietnam del Norte el avión norteamericano número 2.148. Los cielos de Vietnam no son caminos para la gloria de los pilotos norteamericanos. Pero mientras caen asesinan, destrozan. Y un gigantón humillado, el piloto norteamericano teniente coronel Richard Allen Stratton, prisionero en Hanoi, dice agachando la cabeza: "Le pido al pueblo de la República Democrática de Vietnam que perdone los crímenes que he cometido contra él. Le pido que me perdone la vida y que continúe su tratamiento humano de mi persona".

No es mucho pedir a un pueblo que sabe darlo todo. ¿Sería mucho pedir que los revolucionarios, los demócratas, los antiimperialistas, los estrategas de todo orden, los personalistas de toda laya, no olviden a Vietnam, el verdadero gran héroe de nuestros días?

Y LA CONASUPO...

(Viene de la página 24) la planeación económica, que ahorrará a nuestro país grandes despilfarros en trabajo y en dinero. México ya no puede marchar sin un orden científico y técnico de las funciones del Estado y sin los órganos necesarios para esta tarea progresista y patriótica. Viernes 11 de agosto de 1967.

CUANDO EL PRESIDENTE...

(Viene de la página 34) siguieron las pautas correspondientes al tamaño que tenía el país hace todavía 15 años.

Y lo que habrá de transparentarse en el III Informe es que, al complicarse los procedimientos de gobierno por la ampliación de sus cometidos, el Estado convoca cada vez de manera más sistemática a los sectores privados de la economía mexicana para que compartan la responsabilidad de hacer progresar al país sobre bases de justicia y equidad social, aunque no se diga expresamente que son organismos particulares los que gobiernan, por invitación del Estado, la política de importaciones y que entre sus 46 comités consultivos de importación y los 28 grupos asesores que se han organizado durante los tres años de que el Presidente estará informado, despachan revisadas, más de 20,000 licencias de importación cada mes, que rigen nuestro comercio, protegen nuestra industria y evitan el abuso de los privilegios arancelarios.

Asimismo habrá de percibirse la incorporación, cada vez más masiva de los mexicanos a los campos de la actividad económica, acometiendo empresas que antes parecían inalcanzables al talento y al poder económico de nuestros compatriotas, como son las empresas de servicios: las que vienen estableciendo redes distribuidoras de gas en las poblaciones más importantes del país, en las que algunas veces aparece el Estado como empresario pero en otras figura el Estado como socio de particulares para explotar un negocio y brindar a la población un servicio.

Y, sin que el presidente lo diga li-

teralmente, en su Informe habrá de perfilarse, nitidamente, la configuración que el país va tomando bajo su dirección: una nación consciente de su tamaño segura de haber asumido el control de su propio desarrollo, dueña de su crédito interior y exterior, rica en experiencias cada vez más amplias donde buscar inspiración para lo venidero, y llena de certidumbre sobre lo correcto del camino que ha decidido seguir.

A través de la información de fondo primariamente destinada a ilustrar la opinión de los legisladores, y en esta ocasión más acentuadamente por tratarse de una nueva Legislatura, el país podrá mirarse como en un espejo, objetiva y saludablemente, y podrá comprender claramente hacia donde se le señalan los caminos que vienen desde un ayer laborioso y agobiador, pasan por un presente de esfuerzos concertados y se dirigen hacia un mañana de más limpidas perspectivas.

TARZAN MOTHER

(Viene de la página 53) Ion Claudet. Su primera película. Y nomás ganó el Oscar. No hizo el montón de películas porque siempre la reclamaba el teatro. Pero a ver, de cuantos la vieran, quién la ha olvidado en "Adiós a las Armas" (de Hemingway) junto a Gary Cooper y Adolphe Menjou.

Ya cincuentona, ocasionalmente actuó en película como "My Son John" y "Anastasia" donde le rindió escenas Ingrid Bergman. Y ya sexagenaria, Helen Hayes se proyectó todavía honorablemente por la televisión. En programa como Play of the Week con piezas clásicas de teatro universal.

De eso a "partenaire" de Tarzán hay enorme diferencia. Y duele. Porque fue una gloria de la escena viva y la filmica. Honra y prez del teatro como del cinema. Señora de gran exigencia entonces para escoger obras y películas. Y ahora coestelar con Chita! Que le robará escenas dase por seguro. No sólo cae Helen Hayes de la fama sino de la admiración que se le profesaba. (Y por favor: se agradecerá un buen remedio para los torzones al hígado).

LIBERTADOR?...

(Viene de la página 39) es que, cuando se trata del Mercado Común, mira en Europa una sociedad diversificada, compuesta de grupos culturales diferentes que participan en una administración común. Tal género de sociedad es el que existe tanto en Canadá como en los Estados Unidos ya que ambos tienen minorías culturales y técnicas. Viendo distinto en las dos playas del Atlántico, el general De Gaulle no ha hecho otra cosa que demostrar que es un nacionalista intransigente.

El "Algemeed Dagblad" de La Haya, no tiene empacho en decir que De Gaulle es un viejo, irritado y que en Canadá ha cometido un error de primera categoría, todo lo cual evidencia que ha comenzado a perder el sentido de la realidad, lo cual es muy peligroso en un hombre de Estado.

Por último la Agencia TASS de Moscú afirma que todo este escándalo entra, muy bien, en la línea de la política extranjera francesa. "Una de las características de esta política ha sido, siempre, la de impedir que los franceses pierdan su carácter nacional frente a las presiones políticas, diplomáticas y económicas de otras potencias extranjeras, en particular los Estados Unidos".

CARMICHAEL...

(Viene de la página 22) que Carmichael defiende, pero que no salió de su mente. Nació de la... de la frustración de los hombres negros que han pagado un enorme precio por las pequeñas conquistas obtenidas. Otros antes hablaron del poder negro (Adam C. Powell), pero fue Carmichael quien le dio

profundidad y logró impactar a los negros con la idea. El sensibilizó a las masas negras y las está obligando a expresarse y a hablar de sus derechos y a reclamarlos en la misma forma en que les han sido negados.

Este joven alegre, bailarín, de andar como el de Sidney Poitier, que habla como Harry Belafonte y piensa como Malcolm X (ha dicho uno de sus amigos), es a la vez un intelectual, no en la forma rimbombante de expresarse, sino un intelectual revolucionario, que está en contacto con su pueblo y vive y piensa para su pueblo.

"Sin embargo, nos decía una de sus más allegadas colaboradoras, Elizabeth Suthenland, es capaz de hablar durante cinco horas seguidas de Albert Camus y de su obra. Como Camus, piensa que la máxima esperanza va unida al máximo peligro".

Y este "Magnífico Bárbaro", como le dicen en Estados Unidos, que aterroriza y exalta, trata de rescatar para la sociedad la "única cultura que hay realmente en Estados Unidos: la negra. Porque no tenemos que esperar —dice— a que los Beatles vengan a legitimar nuestra cultura. No debemos avergonzarnos de un James Brown. Los intelectuales deben regresar a la comunidad negra, y dejar de buscar brillo dentro de la comunidad blanca".

El es un descubridor y enamorado místico de la personalidad negra. Ha hecho que los negros tengan en el Poder Negro algo muy suyo, propio. "Ya no más oraciones, no más canciones de libertad. No más sueños. Vamos a tomar el Poder". Y hoy esa es la consigna de los amotinados en todas las ciudades. Ya no rezan en las iglesias: han empezado a tirar tiros, y eso es muy peligroso.

"Les abriremos 50 Vietnam dentro de Estados Unidos —dice Carmichael. Y cuando tengan otros tantos fuera ¿qué van hacer?"

Y con todo su bagaje de amor a su raza, a su pueblo, es Stokely Carmichael, ser humano, completamente negro, el joven más polémico de Estados Unidos.

Y después de que los dirigentes negros alegan que en Estados Unidos el único camino de su liberación es la lucha armada... ¿qué dirán los dirigentes de los demás países del Continente?

SOLUCIONES

- 1.—Miguel Faraday. La medida es el faradio.
- 2.—Judo.
- 3.—Lo que cuelga.
- 4.—El apero.
- 5.—Tifoidea. El microbio se llama *salmonella typhosa*, pero comúnmente el diagnóstico de la tifoidea se hace por medio de la prueba de Widal.
- 6.—Reloj de velador.
- 7.—Cantante. Es Hugo Avendaño.
- 8.—Las velas de parafina o cera.

VERSOS EXTRAVAGANTES

Lola LAMERICA miel cual muchacha NARIZONA y de paSO-NO. RAZONA, pero sí JALA-PAREJO y tiene muCHA-PALABRA. Mas si SALE-MANIADA por su MAL-PESCA. DIZque peces cuando pudiera pes. CAR-PATOS. Y él la ALABAMAS y más pero no loGRA.NADA; su cereBRO goZA-MORAlmente, por lA. RABIA que le ASISTe y ASLanda, brinCA-PRISca; como a LEON suelTO-LE.DOMA, porque le soBRA SIlencio, ora quITA-LIAnas inCU. BAdas, ora ASA-Más tostadas, y SIN.DIALOGO fugaz deJA-Varios AGRAvantes. Mas con un TIRO-Lo mODERa y al CABO SUDA.Nomás.

ESCRIBIENDO CON DIBUJOS

Los dibujos representan: 1, cono; 2, fresa; 3, uno; 4, efe; 5, nota; 6, siete; 7, media; 8, dele; 9, red; 10, cero; 11, re; 12, hilo.

Haciendo los cambios indicados las palabras quedan así:

1, EL; CON; 2, FESAR; 3, UN D; 4, EFE; 5, CTO NO; 6, TE EXI; 7, ME DE; 8, L DEB; 9, ER D; 10, E COB; 11, REG; 12, IRLO.

TRANSLATION FROM SPANISH

From "Prensa Latina" (Latin Press), a daily bulletin of the Latin American News Agency, issue number 2698, August 8, 1967.

Item appearing on page 2.

Chronicle of Carmichael in Havana

By A. Olivares (Prensa Latina)

On June 23 of this year, an airplane of "Cubana de Aviacion" airline, coming from Prague, Czechoslovakia, landed at Jose Marti airport in Havana. A tall, young Negro stepped off and met with important personages of the Cuban Government who were waiting for him. He was Stokely Carmichael, age 26, a student and the leader of the movement known in the United States as "SNICK" (sic), a name which popularly designates the "Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee," operating within the so-called "Black Power" movement.

A few days later, a sensational press conference with Carmichael himself clarified that the word "nonviolent" was included in the name of the committee for practical reasons, whereas, in reality, its members are determined supporters of the use of violence "to liberate the Negro people of the United States." On the same occasion, Carmichael stated: "We, Negroes, have decided on an armed struggle which we will carry on on a major scale and in a coordinated fashion."

Those who saw this young Negro student arrive in Havana never thought for a moment that his presence among the Delegates accredited with the First Conference of the Latin American Organization for Solidarity (OLAS) would represent an addition to this conference of a country with 30 million Negroes, this country being formed by the segregated inhabitants of the United States.

On August 3, young Negro leader Rap Brown, only 23 years old and the President of SNICK stated in New York: "The Negroes will struggle together with the revolutionaries of Latin America. We are in contact with the peoples of Latin

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America, Vietnam, and Africa; with all oppressed peoples." Carmichael's arrival in Cuba occurred at the time thousands of his brothers of the same race were fighting the police and the armed forces of the United States.

This was the largest riot to take place in the United States since August, 1965, when so-called incidents occurred in the Watts District of Los Angeles which lasted ten days and claimed 36 lives (nearly all Negroes), injured 900 persons, caused 4,000 persons to be arrested, 209 buildings burned, 787 buildings damaged, and 4 million dollars of property losses.

The editor who is writing these few lines had an opportunity, exactly a week ago, to see the outbreak of a Negro riot in the most segregated section of New York. In his memory, he is still vividly impressed with the courage the Negroes displayed in their battle against the most modern equipment of the American white police. However, all indications are that that battle was only a skirmish, especially if one compares it with the revolts which broke out in the summer of this year in more than ten States of the Union.

Carmichael's presence in Cuba at the very same time the Negro struggle was being waged in the United States hardened, to an even greater extent, the racists of the Johnson Administration. A spokesman for the State Department announced sanctions against the colored leader because of his visit to Cuba without special authorization. Carmichael replied with a cheerful smile and an ironical phrase: "To hell with McCloskey! He is not my father who can choose my friends and stop me from traveling to where I please." Carmichael knows - and he said it in Havana - that in his country he can expect, not only judicial sanctions, but also attempts on his life, at practically every street corner, engineered either by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) or any of the many racist organizations which have multiplied in the United States and have announced their determination to assassinate him. He replies with pride: "I do not fear death. If it benefits my people, that's where my life is."

Those who think that Carmichael is a young humbug who is motivated by the vitality which seems to seethe in his lanky body are grossly mistaken. The young man, who studied philosophy and political sciences, is an authentic leader. This is what even the most austere commentators in the United States think of him. They have seen him only on television since he does not admit white newsmen from his country to the gatherings he attends.

Certain leftist white newsmen of his country claim that Carmichael has little generosity in his heart because

he gives no recognition to the support they and the whites who follow the same line give the Negro movements in general. On this subject, the Negro leader replies: "We are on our way toward winning control of our Afro-American communities, just as you, gentlemen, are on your way toward wresting the control of your countries of the entire Latin American continent from the hands of foreign imperialist powers. Therefore, there is only one road open in front of us. We must change America in such a way that the economy and political life of the countries are in the hands of the people. Our special concern is for our people, namely, the Afro-Americans. However, it is clear that a community based on common ownership of all resources cannot exist within the present capitalist framework. For the transformation to be total, the whites must see the struggle in which we, Negroes, are engaged as their own struggle. At the present time, this is not the case. Even when he is exploited, a white worker still believes that his best interests lie in the present social structure. Due to the racist nature of this country, we cannot work in white communities, but we have asked those whites who work together with us to go to their own communities to promote propaganda and organization. When the white workers fully realize their true condition, the possibility will exist of an alliance between them and us."

According to Carmichael, white workers, including those with the lowest wages, make no efforts to destroy the capitalist regime because they are merely interested in getting a little more of what the mighties have. The Negro leader says that the whites have contributed to avoiding a class struggle within the United States despite its economic expansion over the Third World and, especially, its exploitation of colored people within and without. Carmichael goes on to say: "American capitalists never curtailed their domestic profits to share them with the workers. Instead, they expanded internationally and cast the bones from their banquet to the American working class. This class enjoys the fruits of the labor of the workers of the Third World. The proletariat is in the Third World and bourgeoisie is the Western white society. The true potential revolutionaries in the United States are the Negro youth in the ghettos. Those who have caused the insurgence in the cities of the United States are the Afro-Americans and Latin communities where the riots of the last few days have taught us important lessons to carry on the struggle against the armed reaction of the Government in this phase of our uprisings."

According to Carmichael, the Negroes will carry on their fight alone and to the bitter end in the United States. They will seek, as their allies, the revolutionary peoples of Latin America and of the entire Third World. As far as he sees

it, there is no possible type of expression for peaceful protest. He repudiates Nobel Prize for Peace winner Martin Luther King and all the movements who try to improve the present situation of the Negroes by peaceful or "charitable" means. He and his people are convinced that the struggle must be aimed at the destruction of the capitalist and imperialist regime of the United States.

He conceives of this struggle only as an armed struggle: "It is clear that we have decided to face oppression with arms. We have to unite with those who, in the world, favor an armed struggle as the only way to solve our problems. For 400 years we have tried to live in various states in a form of peaceful coexistence and the result is a life under the most fascist regime in the world. Our only way out is either the destruction of this regime or to be destroyed by it. At any rate, we are going to fight with weapons in our hands for our revolution."

Carmichael defines this new phase of the armed struggle as follows: "We have been forced to use guerrilla warfare in the cities. We have no other alternative. This type of warfare holds out more advantages for us than for other peoples who are also battling for their liberation. The white armed forces and the police will not be able to use against us their powerful weapons because our guerrilla warfare will take place in urban centers and any massive attack against us cannot but have repercussions for the whites. For example, they will not be able to bomb us. In this new phase of our struggle, we can depend on those brothers of ours who have been trained to wage war against the heroic people of Vietnam. We do not resist when we are shipped over there, as it happened in the case of our exemplary champion Cassius Clay, because they still have the power in their hands. Repugnant as this may be to us, at least it gives us an advantage: our brothers learn to become efficient in the use of the weapons the whites employ to kill people with."

Carmichael speaks with self-assurance. He is agile in his replies and knows how to put a combative stress in his phrases. He recognizes Mao Tse-tung, Fidel Castro, and Che Guevara as his brothers. He recalls with emotion the visit that the Cuban Prime Minister paid to New York on the occasion of a debate in the United Nations. The Prime Minister stayed at the Hotel Therese in the heart of Harlem, the Negro section of New York. Carmichael says: "I believe we started to read Che Guevara's books on strategy back in 1965. We had been hearing about him since the time of the Cuban Revolution but could not find his works in translation and had difficulties in becoming acquainted with his thoughts. Since the translations appeared, he is an author read by the Negroes,

especially the young ones. And we feel that he is one of us."

"We all know that Che said that the struggle will be a long struggle. We are preparing for a long test of endurance. At first, many of us will die, but victory will be ours."

Prensa Latina

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TRABAJAN ACTIVAMENTE LAS CUATRO COMISIONES DE
LA OLAS... INICIAN ESTUDIOS REFERENTES AL PRO
YECTO DE RESOLUCION DE LA CONFERENCIA... SE A
PRUEBAN OTROS TRES PROYECTOS MAS... DOS COMI-
SIONES ENTRAN EN RECESO...

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Jefe de corresponsales: Edmundo Jordó Arzate.- Declara lícita su publicación, en lo tocante a la cultura y a la educación, según dictamen de la Secretaría de Educación Pública de fecha 12 de enero de 1962. Autorizada como correspondencia de 2a. clase por la Dirección General de Correos con fecha 23 de septiembre de 1963.

UNA CAMPAÑA MUY INTERESADA

La campaña neomaltusiana, tan impulsada por los neocolonialistas, presenta la curiosa faceta de que, a la par, se plantea que la población crece más aprisa que la producción de alimentos y se destaca que la producción alimentaria o se estanca o disminuye en los países subdesarrollados. Parece que no se hace más que dar vueltas a la noria o que, como las ardillas, a lo más se galopa para quedar en el mismo sitio ...

Y sin embargo, también al mismo tiempo, asistimos a la otra trágica realidad de que las "grandes potencias" capitalistas se esfuerzan al máximo por restringir la producción de alimentos, utilizando los conocidos "resortes" del mercado mundial (por ellos dominado), como es el caso de los convenios mundiales de varios productos, v.g., el café, el algodón, varios de los cereales, la carne, etc., sin olvidar el caso del azúcar donde, a través del precio en los mercados marginales, se hace lo imposible por "desalentar" la producción del dulce o, por lo menos, hacerla totalmente incosteable ... pero sólo para los pequeños subdesarrollados y exportadores.

¿Qué pensar de una campaña que pide se "planifique" (se limite o disminuya) la "producción" humana porque el hambre acecha y, simultáneamente, se exigen menores cosechas de productos alimenticios so capa de que "son excedentes"? ¿Excedentes de algodón y otras fibras, naturales o artificiales, e incontables millones van desnudos o visten andrajos y pasan frío? ¿Excedente el azúcar, y más del 40% de la humanidad atestigua neto subconsumo? ¿Excedentes el café y el té y cientos de millones no lo prueban y toman poco?

¿Excedentes, en fin, la carne, los cereales? Curiosamente, y esto lo destacan autoridades internacionales como la FAO, los países industriales incrementan de continuo su producción agropecuaria y no tropiezan con inconvenientes graves para su comercialización. Son los subdesarrollados los que se enfrentan a precios bajos (más bajos cada año, por lo general), a la falta de mercados o a los "mercados saturados".

El espectáculo de las reuniones internacionales "para apuntalar los precios de los productos básicos" de los países subdesarrollados", con su deprimente cantinela de las restricciones a esto y a aquello, mal se aviene con los consejos de "detener la explosión" demográfica. La experiencia, los hechos diarios, muestran que tan interesados consejos, órdenes y admonitorias se orientan siempre a beneficio de las potencias imperialistas y, lógica contrapartida, en detrimento, en primer lugar, de los pueblos que aquellas subdesarrollaron y pretenden mantener bajo su bota.

armas ocupadas, mapas explicativos y aspectos del trabajo realizado por los fotógrafos y periodistas. El acto, que fue transmitido por televisión a todo el país, terminó con la proposición, aprobada por aclamación, de uno de los 4 vicepresidentes de la OLAS, Rodney Arismendi de Uruguay, en la que se condena -- las agresiones del imperialismo yanqui contra la Revolución Cubana.

También con fotografías, el "Granma", informa del aterrizaje de un avión colombiano de pasajeros, en el aeropuerto "José Martí", secuestrado en vuelo por 4 ciudadanos colombianos y uno ecuatoriano, que pidieron asilo en Cuba. En la última página, el matutino ofrece varias fotografías y de-- claraciones de la tripulación y pasajeros del avión.

Una caricatura, que hace un juego de palabras, presenta a un soldado rebelde, fusil en mano, frente a 2 tripulantes de una balsa de goma con --- iniciales de la CIA, que le recibe diciéndole "OLAS".

EXPLOTA BOMBA EN CENTRICA PLAZA

BUENOS AIRES, Argentina, 7 de agosto (PRENSA LATINA).-- Esta madrugada la Plaza de los 2 Congresos, fué estremecida por una bomba de gran poder explosivo.

Minutos después del estallido se presentaron en el lugar miembros de la sección de Explosivos del Cuerpo de Bomberos y agentes de los cuerpos policíacos argentinos.

La bomba causó daños de alguna consideración en uno de los monumentos enclavados en la plaza.

CRONICA DE CARMICHAEL EN LA HABANA

POR A. OLIVARES. SERVICIO DE (P.L.)

El 23 de junio del año en curso, aterrizó en el aeropuerto José Martí, de La Habana, un avión de la empresa Cubana de Aviación procedente de Praga, del cual descendió un alto y espigado joven negro que era esperado por importantes personajes del gobierno de Cuba. Era Stokely Carmichael de 26 años, estudiante y líder del movimiento conocido en los Estados Unidos como "Snick", nombre que identifica popularmente al Comité Coordinador Estudiantil No-Violento "Sutudent" Non Violent Coordinating Comitee", incluido dentro del "Poder Negro".

Días después, en una sensacional conferencia de prensa, el propio Carmichael se encargaría de aclarar que la expresión "No-Violento" fué ---- incluida en el nombre del comité, por motivos tácticos, pero que en realidad sus integrantes son decididos partidarios de usar la violencia "para liberar al pueblo negro de los Estados Unidos". En esa misma ocasión, Carmichael expresó: "Los negros nos hemos decidido por la lucha armada, la que desarrollaremos en gran escala y en forma coordinada". Los que vieron llegar a La Habana a ese joven estudiante negro, jamás pensaron que su presencia entre los delegados acreditados ante la Primera Conferencia de la Organización Latinoamericana de Solidaridad (OLAS), representaría la suma a ella de un país de 30 millones de negros, formado por los habitantes segregados de los Estados Unidos.

El día 3 de agosto, el joven dirigente negro Rap Brown, de sólo 23 años, --- presidente del SNICK, declaró en Nueva York que "los negros lucharán junto a los revolucionarios de América Latina. Estamos en contacto con los pueblos latinoamericanos, de Vietnam y del Africa; con todos los pueblos oprimidos". La llegada de Carmichael a Cuba se registró en los instantes en que millares de sus hermanos de raza, luchaban contra la policía y las fuerzas armadas en los Estados Unidos.

En la mayor rebelión desatada en ese país desde agosto de 1965, fecha en que se desarrollaron los incidentes del distrito de Watts en Los Angeles, los que duraron 10 días con un balance de 36 muertos (casi todos negros), 900 heridos, 4 -- mil detenidos, 209 edificios quemados, 787 dañados y 4 millones de dólares en pérdidas materiales. El redactor que escribe estas líneas, había tenido oportunidad exactamente un año antes, de ver el estallido y desarrollo de una rebelión negra

en el barrio más segregado de Nueva York, y guarda como un recuerdo impresionante el valor con que luchaban los negros contra los más modernos medios materiales de la policía blanca norteamericana, pero todo indica que ellos representaron sólo una escaramuza, si se le compra con la rebelión del presente verano librada en más de 10 estados de la Unión.

La presencia de Carmichael en Cuba, en los precisos instantes en que se libraba la lucha negra en Estados Unidos, enardeció aún más a los rascistas y al gobierno de Johnson, el Vocero del Departamento de Estado norteamericano, anunció sanciones contra el líder de color por visitar Cuba sin autorización especial, a lo que él respondió con una alegre sonrisa y una frase irónica: "¡Al diablo! con Mc Closkey!! El no es mi padre para elegir a mis amigos y para impedirme viajar a donde desee". Carmichael sabe, y así lo dijo en La Habana, que en su país no sólo le esperan sanciones judiciales, también le aguarda en cada esquina un atentado contra su vida, preparado por la Agencia Central de Inteligencia (CIA), o cualquiera de las organizaciones racistas que se multiplican en los Estados Unidos, las que han anunciado su decisión de asesinarle. El responde con orgullo: "no le temo a la muerte. Si ella beneficia a mi pueblo, ahí está mi vida".

El que piense que Carmichael es un joven charlatán que había impulsado por la vitalidad que bulle en su espigada figura, se equivoca. El joven, con estudios de filosofía y ciencias políticas, es un auténtico líder. Así lo entienden los más severos comentaristas de los Estados Unidos que le han visto en la televisión, ya que el no acepta periodistas blancos de su país en las concentraciones donde participa.

Algunos periodistas blancos izquierdizantes de su país, insinúan que Carmichael es poco generoso porque no reconoce el apoyo que le dan ellos, y en general los blancos de esa misma línea, a los movimientos negros. El líder al respecto responde: "nosotros nos encaminamos hacia el control de nuestras comunidades afroamericanas, al igual que ustedes se encaminan a arrebatar el control de sus países de todo el continente latinoamericano de las manos de las potencias imperialistas extranjeras. Por tanto, sólo existe un camino abierto ante nosotros. Debemos cambiar a norteamérica de tal modo, que la economía y la política del país estén en manos del pueblo. Nuestra especial preocupación la constituye nuestro pueblo, formado por los afroamericanos. Pero está claro que una comunidad basada en la propiedad común de todos los recursos, no puede existir dentro del actual marco capitalista; para que la transformación total se lleve a efecto, los blancos deben ver la lucha en la que estamos empeñados como su propia lucha. Actualmente, no es así. Aun cuando el trabajador blanco es explotado, él considera que sus mejores intereses coinciden con la actual estructura social. Debido a la naturaleza racista de este país, no podemos trabajar en comunidades blancas, pero le hemos pedido a aquellos blancos que laboran junto a nosotros, que vayan a sus propias comunidades a impulsar la propaganda y la organización. Cuando los trabajadores blancos se percaten de su verdadera condición, entonces existirá la posibilidad de alianza entre ellos y nosotros".

Según Carmichael los trabajadores blancos, incluso aquellos de más bajos salarios, no se esfuerzan por destruir el régimen capitalista porque sólo les interesa recibir un poco más de lo mucho que tienen los poderosos. El líder dice que los blancos han contribuido a evitar la lucha de clase dentro de Estados Unidos con su expansión económica sobre el Tercer Mundo, y especialmente con su explotación de la gente de color dentro y fuera de su país. Carmichael agrega: "los capitalistas norteamericanos nunca disminuyeron sus ganancias domésticas para compartirlas con los trabajadores. En lugar de eso, se expandieron internacionalmente y tiraron los huesos de su banquete a la clase trabajadora norteamericana; esa clase disfruta de los rendimientos del trabajo de los obreros del Tercer Mundo. El proletariado está en el Tercer Mundo, y la burguesía es la sociedad blanca occidental; los verdaderos revolucionarios potenciales de los Estados Unidos, son las juventudes negras de los Ghettos, las que han desarrollado la insurgencia en las ciudades son las comunidades afroamericanas y latinas, donde las rebeliones pasadas han proporcionado importantes enseñanzas al luchar contra la reacción armada del gobierno ante nuestros levantamientos".

Carmichael anuncia que los negros pelearán solos y hasta el final en los Estados Unidos, y buscarán como aliados a los pueblos revolucionarios latinoamericanos y a todos los del Tercer Mundo. Para él ya no cabe ningún tipo de expresión de protesta pacífica. Repudia a Martin Luther King, Premio Nobel de La Paz y a todos los movimientos que intentan mejorar la situación actual de -

de los negros por la vía pacífica o "caritativa". El y su gente están convencidos que debe dirigirse la lucha hacia la destrucción del régimen capitalista e imperialista de los Estados Unidos.

Esa lucha la concibe solamente armada: "está claro que hemos decidido enfrentar a la opresión con las armas. Nosotros tenemos que unírnos a aquellos que en el mundo están en favor de la lucha armada como la única vía de solución para nuestros problemas. Durante 400 años hemos tratado de vivir dentro de estados bajo la forma de una coexistencia pacífica y el resultado ha sido una vida bajo el régimen más fascista del mundo. Nuestra salida es la de destruir este régimen, o ser destruidos en la lucha. De todas maneras, vamos a combatir con las armas por nuestra revolución"

Carmichael define la nueva fase de la lucha armada del siguiente modo: -- "Nos hemos visto forzados a emplear la guerra de guerrillas en la ciudad. No tenemos otra alternativa. Este tipo de lucha tiene para nosotros más ventajas que las que ofrece para otros pueblos, que también batallan por su liberación, las fuerzas armadas y policiales blancas no podrán usar contra nosotros armas poderosas, porque nuestra guerra de guerrillas será urbana y por lo tanto todo ataque masivo contra nosotros repercutirá sobre los blancos. Les será imposible tirarnos bombas, por ejemplo. En esta nueva fase de nuestra lucha, podremos contar con nuestros hermanos que han sido entrenados para participar en la lucha contra el heroico pueblo de Vietnam. Nosotros no resistimos a ser -- enviados allá, como ha ocurrido con nuestro ejemplar campeón Cassius Clay, -- pero ellos todavía tienen el poder, lo que si bien nos repugna, nos deja por lo menos una ventaja; nuestros hermanos dominan las armas que emplean los -- blancos para matar".

Carmichael habla con seguridad, responde ágilmente y pone un acento combativo en sus frases, reconoce a Mao Tse Tung, Fidel Castro y al Che Guevara como "a sus hermanos". Recuerda con emoción que cuando el primer ministro cubano fué a Nueva York con motivo del debate en las Naciones Unidas, se alojó en el hotel "Theresse" en pleno barrio negro de Harlem. Carmichael dice: --- "creo que empezamos a leer los libros estratégicos del Che Guevara en 1965. Habíamos oído hablar de él desde la revolución Cubana, pero por no encontrar traducidas sus obras teníamos dificultades para conocer su pensamiento; después de traducido es leído por los negros, especialmente por los jóvenes y -- llega a saber que es uno de los nuestros".

Todos sabemos que el Che ha dicho que la lucha será larga. Nos preparamos para una resistencia prolongada. Al principio moriremos muchos, pero la victoria será nuestra".

5 HELICOPTEROS CON TROPAS ABATIDOS

SAIGON, Vietnam, 7 de agosto (PRENSA LATINA).- Violentos combates se libraban hoy en el campamento de "Fuerzas Especiales" de Ton Le Chan, a unos 80 kilómetros al nordeste de esta ciudad, al tiempo que 5 helicópteros eran abatidos en los suburbios de Saigón, y un general de brigada norteamericano resultaba herido.

Los combates se iniciaron cuando unidades de las Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación sudvietnamitas, lanzaron un ataque con morteros contra el campamento de las "Fuerzas Especiales". El parte oficial dijo que los defensores sufrieron bajas "moderadas".

En los alrededores de Saigón, las FAL abrieron fuego contra helicópteros de transporte de tropa, en el momento en que éstos descendían en las márgenes del río para iniciar una operación represiva. Los disparos derribaron 5 aparatos.

Informaciones oficiales, dieron a conocer que un general de brigada que participaba en la operación, resultó herido. No se reveló el nombre del oficial.

COMENTAN EDITORIALMENTE CONSECUENCIAS DEL NUEVO TRATADO DEL CANAL

LA HABANA, Cuba, 7 de agosto (PRENSA LATINA).- Declaraciones a PRENSA LATINA hechas por el economista David Turner, sobre el nuevo contrato del Canal

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TRANSLATION FROM SPANISH

From "Prensa Latina" (Latin Press), a daily bulletin of the Latin American News Agency, No. 2697, August 7, 1967.

Item appearing on page 2.

A Meeting With Carmichael
in the "Round House"

London, England, July 30, "Prensa Latina". - The famous "Round House," a center for the dissemination of ideas in this world capital of eleven million inhabitants, was crammed with people on the occasion of the free debate on the "Dialectics of Liberation," which is sponsored by the promoters of the Convention here.

According to a statement made to Prensa Latina by English psychiatrist Joseph Becker, one of the sponsors of the event: "The meeting was called so that the people may have an opportunity to become informed about and, if they so wish, debate with the best-known personalities of North America and Europe." The Convention - under the auspices of the British Institute for Phenomenological Studies - is designed to bring together political leaders, scientific personalities and outstanding figures of the world of culture. Thus, it is possible to have on the same podium Negro leader Stokely Carmichael and such a controversial personality as United States poet Allen Ginsberg.

Other participants in the capacity of delegates are writer Paul Sweezy, Director of "Monthly Review," newsman John Gerassi, American publisher Paul Goodman and Belgian economist Ernest Mandel, as well as other personalities.

"Dialectics of Liberation," which started on the fifteenth of this month under the slogan: "Let Us Clarify Socially Imposed Lies," has had a number of well-received speakers, including Carmichael and Gerassi.

The Convention unanimously approved a resolution of solidarity with French essayist and revolutionary Regis Debray

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proposed to a plenary session by Paul Sweez (sic). The building, which is circular - hence, its name "Round House" - made for an ideal setting for Carmichael, Ginsberg, and British scientists Ronald Laing and Emmet Grogan for a spontaneous spectacular called "happening." Robin Blackburn, Director of "The New Left Review," who represented philosopher Bertrand Russell at the First Havana Tricontinental Conference, explained that the mechanics of a "happening" lies in that the promoters and the public, without previous arrangement, take successively to the floor on a desired theme. This is how - he pointed out - a polemic is generated and develops itself. Very early, a long line of people, mostly young "diggers," a British variation of the American "hippies," started to gather before the imposing brick building with a cone-shaped roof which used to be a workshop for repairing rolling stock of the London railroad.

The "diggers," a product of the so-called "beaten generation," attract increasingly more the attention of the passers-by because of their peculiar attire. They always wear cocked hats with strange dangling ornaments, faded shirts which are at least two sizes larger than they need, and tight-fitting trousers that end in the shape of an "A" (bell-bottomed trousers). The militant "digger" is always barefoot and his hair is extremely long. This description applies to both sexes alike.

This picturesque crowd, a living witness to the niggardliness of our time, is trying to channel it into the most difficult directions. As soon as a "digger" would rowdishly applaud a statement by Carmichael in favor of "Negro Power," another would interrupt the speaker on the podium to extoll the virtues of "heroic drugs." Nevertheless, the "happening," generally speaking, was mostly political. After a long and drawn-out discussion-debate in which Carmichael scathed Ginsberg's escapist prohibitions (sic) a young "digger" asked the ex-SNCC leader what kind of literature he recommended for American Negroes and revolutionaries at large. "I tell them to read Che Guevara, Malcolm and Mao Tse-tung," Carmichael replied.

Prensa Latina

BOLETIN DIARIO AGENCIA INFORMATIVA LATINOAMERICANA

No. 2697.- 7 de agosto de 1967.

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REUNION CON CARMICHAEL

EN LA "ROUND HOUSE"

LONDRES, Inglaterra, 30 de julio (PRENSA LATINA).-- El famoso "Round House", foro de difusión intelectual de esta capital -- de once millones de habitantes, se abarrotó de público durante -- el debate libre organizado por las autoridades del congreso "Dialéctica de la Liberación", que sesiona aquí.

El mítin --según dijo a PRENSA LATINA el psiquiatra inglés -- y organizador del evento, Joseph Becker-- "fué convocado para que el pueblo tuviera oportunidad, tanto de informarse, como de polemizar con las más conocidas personalidades de Norteamérica y Europa". El Congreso --auspiciado por el Instituto Británico de Estudios Fenomenológicos--, reúne a dirigentes políticos, personalidades científicas y destacadas figuras del mundo cultural. Así, -- es posible enlazar, en una misma tribuna, al líder negro Stockely Carmichael con figura tan controvertida como el poeta estadounidense Allen Ginsberg.

Participan, igualmente como delegados, el escritor Paul --- Sweezy, director de "Monthly Review", el periodista John Gerassi, Paul Goodman, editor norteamericano, el economista belga Ernest-Mandel, y otras personalidades.

Dialéctica de la Liberación, que comenzó sus trabajos el pasado día 15 bajo el lema de "clarificar las mentiras socialmente impuestas", ha contado con aplaudidas intervenciones, como las -- de Carmichael y Gerassi.

También se aprobó por unanimidad una resolución de solidaridad con el ensayista y revolucionario francés Régis Debray, sometida al plenario por iniciativa de Paul Sweezy. El edificio que -- por su forma circular se conoce aquí como la "Round House", sirvió de marco a Carmichael, Ginsberg y a los científicos británicos Ronald Laing y Emmet Grogan, para el espontáneo espectáculo denominado "Happening".

Robin Blackburn, director de "The New Left Review", representante del filósofo Bertrand Russell en la Primera Conferencia Tricontinental de La Habana, explicó que la mecánica del "Happening" consiste en que la presidencia y el público, sin previa -- organización, hagan sucesivamente uso de la palabra sobre el tema deseado. De este modo --señaló-- la polémica se genera y desarrolla. Desde temprano, una hilera de personas en su mayoría compuesta de jóvenes "diggers" --una variante británica de los "hippies" norteamericanos-- se agolpaban ante la mole de ladrillos -- que con su techo cónico sirviera en un tiempo de nave para la reparación de los ferrocarriles londinenses.

Los "diggers", una resultante de la llamada "beaten generation" (generación golpeada) comienzan por llamar la atención del viajero por su singular indumentaria. Bicornios con lentejuelas, camisas descoloridas y casi siempre 2 tallas más grandes de lo normal; ajustados pantalones que anchan en forma de "A" en sus -- extremidades; pies descalzos y larga cabellera, identifican al -- "digger" militante. La descripción vale para uno y otro sexo.

Esa pintoresca multitud, que vive la angustia de los tiempos, trate de canalizarla por lo más difíciles caminos. Tan pronto un "digger" aplaudía escandalosamente un pronunciamiento de Carmichael a favor del "Poder Negro", como otro, interrumpía al orador de turno para hacer la apología de las drogas heroicas. Sin embargo, el "happening" giró en líneas generales sobre un eje -- eminentemente político. Después de una prolongada discusión en que Carmichael vapuleó las prohibiciones escapistas de Ginsberg, un joven "digger" preguntó al exdirigente del SNCC qué literatura recomendaba a los negros norteamericanos, y a los revolucionarios en general. "Les digo que lean al Che Guevara, Malcolm y Mao Tse Tung, respondió Carmichael.

(P. L.)

TRANSLATION FROM SPANISH

From "Prensa Latina" (Latin Press), a daily bulletin of the Latin American News Agency, No. 2693, August 2, 1967.

Item appearing on page 10.

A Message From Carmichael
to "Comandante" Che Guevara

Havana, Cuba, August 1 (Prensa Latina). - American Negro Leader, Stokely Carmichael, sent today, in his own voice over the facilities of Radio Havana, Cuba, a message of greetings to indomitable guerrilla leader Ernesto Che Guevara, "wherever he may be," and, also, a message to all liberation movements in the world. We are happy to reprint the texts in their entirety, as follows:

"To my comrade and friend Che: The Afro-Americans in the United States experience a great admiration for you. We look forward to the publications of your writings, which we read and make our own in order to plan our tactics.

"We want you to know, wherever you may be, that you are an inspiration not only to the Negroes of the United States, but also to all liberation struggles throughout the world. Please keep up the fight, because your fight inspires us. Do not lose your spirit, comrade.

"We shall overcome. Stokely Carmichael."

To our comrades in the armed struggle against imperialism and racism, Stokely Carmichael said:

"We, members of the Movement for the Liberation of American Negroes, want you to know, wherever you may be, that we are your comrades. We will never allow our enemies to force us to fight against you, as it happened in the past.

"We will not fight in Vietnam, or in the Dominican Republic, or anywhere else in the world. Our battle shall be waged inside the United States.

"While we fight to destroy imperialism from within, we know that you also are fighting it from without.

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"We have dedicated our lives to the destruction of imperialism, just as you have demonstrated time and again that you have dedicated yours to the same goal. We are looking forward to the day - which will soon come - when decadent governments are overthrown and we can start the true revolution, that of constructing a society based upon humanity and not a society based upon exploitation.

"Our struggle is the same. Our love for mankind will keep us going in this struggle.

"Stokely Carmichael (SNCC)."

Prensa Latina

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No. 2693.- 2 de agosto de 1967.

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PRIMERA CONFERENCIA DE SOLIDARIDAD DE LOS PUEBLOS DE AMERICA LATINA... ORADORES DE LA SESION VESPERTINA: HENK HERREMBERG DE SURINAM; CLIVE PHILL DE TRINIDAD-TOBAGO; SHARIFK HANDAL DE EL SALVADOR; ALVARO MONTERO VEGA DE COSTA RICA; HEBERTO CASTILLO DE MEXICO...

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UNA AVENTURA EXTRAORDINARIA

Por Enrique GONZALEZ MANET

A mediados de 1948 cuatro hombres, desnudos, provocaron cintillos en la prensa mundial.

Llegaron a Manaos acompañados por cinco indios jamás vistos en esa zona del Brasil.

Acababan de cumplir una de las mas espectaculares misiones científicas de la era actual: recorrer doce mil kilómetros en piragua y tres mil a pie a través de territorios que no aparecen en los mapas, desentrañando así algunos de los enigmas que existían aun en torno a la geografía de la expedición, poeta, surrealista, combatiente clandestino, etnólogo y cineasta, su jefe cobró en poco tiempo fama mundial. Su libro y su película, "Hombres Llamados Salvajes", recorrieron el orbe y fueron traducidos a mas de una docena de idiomas.

Alain Gheerbrant, 46 años, figura atlética vivió dos años con la tribu de los "Guajiribos" y los "Piaroas", los primeros viviendo fuera de todo contacto y en estado absoluto de primitivismo. Descubrió que huyen de la civilización por temor al hombre blanco y que, lejos de desaparecer, mantienen intactas antiguas tradiciones que se pierden en el tiempo. Asistimos cuenta Gheerbrant, a ceremonias secretas de iniciación, en las que juega un importante papel el suplicio de las hormigas gigantes, cuya picadura es capaz de paralizar a un hombre 24 horas. En este ritual hay rasgos de ceremonias narradas por viajeros desde el siglo 18.

Lo mas importante, dice, es haber verificado que los indios bravos no lo son, sino que todo es cuestión de acercarse a ellos como seres humanos y someterse a sus leyes. Muchos intrusos y aventureros han muerto al querer penetrar en sus territorios. No obstante, el asedio los ha ido expulsando cada vez mas hacia lo peor y mas profundo de las selvas.

Alain, con su bondad innata y su sentido humanista de la ciencia, despertó la pasión de una hermosa india "piaroa" que lo buscó durante semanas por los afluentes del Orinoco. "Me pidió que la llevara a mi país, pero no pude hacerlo, porque hubiera quedado fuera de orden social en cualquier comunidad. Además, su concepción del mundo y de la vida no habría resistido el choque de la civilización".

Fue muy difícil reiniciar la vida en Francia. Después de una experiencia semejante algo queda cambiado para siempre. Dos meses le tomó el viaje de regreso hasta Boa Vista. Comieron seis veces en un mes, para entonces ya estaban habituados a lo peor. Su dieta durante dos años consistió habitualmente en carne de mono, tortuga, caimán, tapir, armadillo y pina. También comían frutas silvestres y casabe. Fue en esta zona donde halló una especie desconocida de oso hormiguero de dos metros de largo y grande como un buey. En su patria le esperaba el triunfo. Su libro llega, hoy al millón de ejemplares. Eso le abrió las puertas de otro gran éxito editorial. "El Congo Negro y Blanco". Expresa que ya conocía parte de América y deseaba esta vez reflejar la vida de una colonia "modelo", esa aventura literaria y etnográfica resulto un escándalo político.

Estados Unidos no se atrevió a publicar su libro, Inglaterra siguió el mismo camino, y se explica: en el predijo mucho de los terribles acontecimientos que son hoy del dominio de todo el mundo, desnudó la opresión y el maltrato de los indígenas por parte de los intereses mineros y señaló la obra de erradicación de las tradiciones y la cultura autóctona que llevan a cabo las empresas extranjeras.

"Con todo, el sistema de perturbación y dominio norteamericano en América es mucho peor, por su carácter indirecto. Son dictadores ausentistas que ejercen control a través de intermediarios nativos. Lo mas grave es que resulta muy difícil hacer comprender la acción del neocolonialismo destinado a despersonalizar a los pueblos". Me interesó venir a Cuba desde la caída de Batista y porque esta es la primera verdadera revolución, de América Latina, además, Cuba está geográficamente entre la tradición de América del Norte y de América del Sur y quería saber hasta donde han dejado su marca los Estados Unidos. (PL).

IMPOTENCIA POLICIACA PARA IMPEDIR CONGRESO UNIVERSITARIO

RIO DE JANEIRO, Brasil, 10. de agosto (PRENSA LATINA).- En absoluto fracaso han culminado todas las pesquisas de los cuerpos policíacos de Sao Paulo, y la Policía Federal, para determinar el lugar en que se efectuó la reunión preparatoria del XXIX Congreso de la Unión Nacional de Estudiantes (UNE).

Ese importante evento, se efectuará en Sao Paulo en las próximas horas. El Departamento de Orden Político y Social (DOPS), y otros cuerpos represivos, han detenido a numerosos estudiantes, en un esfuerzo por imposibilitar el Congreso de la ilegalizada UNE.

Mientras los agentes hacían sus investigaciones, los delegados al Congreso efectuaban una reunión preparatoria en un lugar de Sao Paulo, burlando así la vigilancia policíaca.

SICOSIS GUERRILLERA SUFRE EL EJERCITO BO LIVIANO



BUENOS AIRES, Argentina, 10. de agosto (PRENSA LATINA).- El enviado especial del matutino bonaerense "La Nación" en Bolivia, Justo Piernes, dice que las guerrilleras bolivianas realizan actividades que ponen en ridículo a las tropas del general René Barrientos.

Piernes dice que recientemente se escuchó en la selva, a las once de la noche, "el tableteo lejano de una ametralladora. Simultáneamente, comenzaron a encenderse y apagarse unas luces, que a lo lejos daban la impresión de vehículos avanzando entre la maraña boscosa". El comando militar añade el correspondiente alerta sobre estos movimientos, realizó una acción envolvente que se prolongó 3 horas. A las 2 de la madrugada, la tropa abrió fuego contra las luces y el tableteo de las ametralladoras, incluyendo lanzamiento de morteros".

"Cuando aclaró, se pudo ver que las extrañas luces eran linternas con interruptores colocadas por las guerrillas, y el tableteo de las ametralladoras salió de un grabador conectado con 5 amplificadores atados a las ramas de los árboles más altos".

Asimismo, Piernes dice que vió detener a un campesino de espesa barba, porque al ser interrogado por los soldados declaró que venía de La Habana.

Al respecto, señala que un jinete de larga barba que recorría un camino de la localidad de Trinidad, departamento de Beni, fue rodeado por soldados que le preguntaron de que lugar venía, a lo cual contestó: "vengo de La Habana...". "No necesitó más. Fue esposado y conducido al puesto militar más próximo".

"Tardó 3 días en aclarar su situación", comenta Piernes. El señor de la Barba, concluye, era el propietario de un establecimiento rural llamado precisamente "La Habana".

PROSIGUE LA BATALLA ENTRE GUERRILLEROS Y EJERCITO

LA PAZ, Bolivia, 10. de agosto (PRENSA LATINA).- A 4 asciende hasta ahora el número de muertos del ejército, en la encarnizada batalla que libran desde el pasado viernes tropas del gobierno y efectivos guerrilleros, en el sureste del país, según un comunicado del mando de las Fuerzas Armadas.

Añade que el ejército registra hasta el momento 4 heridos y que la acción prosigue "con intensidad" en un lugar que ubica en la zona de Quebrada Oscura del Cerro Durán y en las proximidades del río Rositas. Fuerzas de aviación han comenzado a bombardear esa zona, en lo que el comunicado describe como "núcleo central" de los guerrilleros.

Informaciones anteriores, provenientes de Santa Cruz, indicaron que la acción se libraba cerca de las inaccesibles quebradas conocidas como el filo, a más de 70 kilómetros al este de Valle Grande, en el departamento de Santa Cruz. El coronel Joaquín Zenteno Anaya, comandante de la Octava División con asiento en Santa Cruz, informó que sus fuerzas habían sufrido 3 muertos y 6 heridos. El escueto comunicado militar de hoy, no precisa si se trata de nuevas bajas gubernamentales, pero explica que hacia la zona continúan movilizándose refuerzos.

Añade que "el combate continúa, y por la rapidez de las acciones aun no se tienen detalles exactos de la operación".

NUEVA AMENAZA DE
BARRIENTOS CONTRA
DEBRAY

LONDRES, Inglaterra, 10. de agosto (PRENSA LATINA). - Nuevas amenazas contra la vida del periodista francés Regis Debray formuló el jefe del régimen militar boliviano, general René Barrientos, en declaraciones que publica el diario "The Times".

Al mismo tiempo, Barrientos amenazó al pueblo boliviano con incrementar la represión a través de "medidas sumamente severas, que podrán sorprender a muchos, para acabar con la acción desestabilizadora de los comunistas". Acerca del caso del intelectual Debray, Barrientos dijo que "el pueblo no aceptará un acto de clemencia después del veredicto del Consejo de Guerra que lo juzgará", -- según se anunció, a mediados de agosto.

En su comentario sobre las declaraciones del militar boliviano "The Times" afirma en que Debray puede ser condenado a 30 años de cárcel o a la pena de muerte, prescrita en la Constitución Boliviana. Recientemente, durante una conferencia de prensa en La Paz, Barrientos manifestó que su régimen "está haciendo esfuerzos para evitar que algunas personas" quieran hacerse justicia con sus propias manos". Esto fue interpretado por los observadores como un nuevo indicio de que los militares bolivianos no han abandonado la idea de acudir al expediente del "linchamiento" en el caso de Debray, para eliminar al joven y destacado periodista.

MENSAJE DE CARMICHAEL
AL CDTE "CHE" GUEVARA

LA HABANA, Cuba, 10. de agosto (PRENSA LATINA). - El dirigente negro norteamericano, Stokely Carmichael, dirigió hoy en su propia voz y por conducto de "Radio Habana Cuba", un mensaje de salutación, donde quiera que se encuentre, al aguerido comandante guerrillero, Ernesto Che Guevara, y a los movimientos de liberación del mundo, cuyo texto reproducimos a continuación íntegramente:

A mi camarada y amigo Che: los afroamericanos dentro de los Estados Unidos, sienten una gran admiración por usted. Nosotros esperamos ansiosamente sus escritos para leerlos, digerirlos y planear nuestras tácticas basadas en ellos.

Nosotros queremos que usted sepa, donde quiera que usted se encuentre, que usted es una inspiración, no solamente para los negros dentro de los Estados Unidos, sino para las luchas de liberación en todo el mundo. Por favor, manténganse combatiendo porque su lucha nos inspira. No desmaye, compañero.

"Venceremos" Stokely Carmichael".

A nuestros compañeros en la lucha armada contra el imperialismo y el racismo:

Nosotros, los integrantes del Movimiento por la Liberación de los Negros Norteamericanos, queremos que ustedes sepan, donde quiera que se encuentren, que nosotros somos sus compañeros. Jamás permitiremos que nuestros enemigos nos obliguen a combatir contra ustedes, como lo han hecho en el pasado.

Nosotros no combatiremos en Vietnam, ni en Santo Domingo, ni en ninguna parte del mundo. Nuestra lucha será dentro de los Estados Unidos.

Mientras nosotros combatimos para destruir al imperialismo desde dentro, sabemos que ustedes también estarán combatiéndolo desde fuera.

Hemos dedicado nuestras vidas a la destrucción del imperialismo, así como ustedes han demostrado una y otra vez que ustedes han dedicado las suyas. Esperamos el día que será muy pronto cuando derroquemos a los gobiernos decadentes y comencemos la verdadera revolución, la de construir una sociedad basada en la humanidad en vez de una sociedad basada en la explotación.

Nuestra lucha es la misma. Nuestro amor por la humanidad nos hará continuar en la lucha.

Stokely Carmichael (SNCC).

DIALOGO CON LA DELEGACION
ARGELINA EN LA OLAS

Especial para PRENSA LATINA

LA HABANA, Cuba, 10. de agosto (PRENSA LATINA). - Bouafra Moustaphá responsable de organizaciones de masas del Frente de Liberación Nacional de Argelia, preside la delegación observadora de su país a la Primera Conferencia de la OLAS, que acaba de inaugurarse en esta capital.

SIGUE...

TRANSLATION FROM SPANISH

From "Prensa Latina" (Latin Press), a daily bulletin of the Latin American News Agency, No. 2704, August 14, 1967.

Item appearing on page 3.

Carmichael in the Magazine "Tricontinental":
"You Must Stab the Eye of the Octopus." (US)

Havana, Cuba, August 13, (Prensa Latina). - "We have to unite in order to defeat the enemy, because we are not struggling against an isolated capitalist system; we are struggling against international capitalism," American Negro leader Stokely Carmichael states in an article titled: "The Third World, Our World," which appeared in the first issue of "Tricontinental" magazine. In this article, Carmichael calls for unity of all those who are exploited in the world as they struggle against their imperialist oppressors.

"Just like the imperialist powers of the world, which have internationalized their system," Carmichael points out, "we too must internationalize our system so that this struggle of ours becomes an international struggle."

The ex-president of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) also underscores the need for the Negro population of the United States to become convinced that their struggle is "the same as the struggle of the Third World," and they, therefore, cannot allow White America to make use of them to wage imperialist wars designed to continue keeping other nations in a state of subservience.

In reference to the concrete case of American imperialism, Carmichael defines it as "an enormous octopus whose tentacles spread all over the world and whose eye is in the United States." Cuba, according to the young Negro leader, has already cut off one of the tentacles. Vietnam has tied down another. However, the other tentacles are still free. Whenever a struggle breaks out, the United States puts out its other tentacles."

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While other peoples tie down the remaining tentacles of the United States, Carmichael says, "We, Afro-Americans, can stab the eye of the octopus." He goes on to say: "If we succeed in getting other peoples to fight the United States while we carry on our fight inside the country, it will be easier for us to defeat the octopus. As a matter of fact this is what has to be done, if we are going to defeat it at all."

"If we allow the United States to continue to wage one battle at a time," Carmichael concluded, "it can go on indefinitely. However, if it is forced to wage many battles at the same time, it is possible to defeat it almost immediately. This is why our alignment with the Third World is so very important!"

Roldán repite las palabras de Fulbright y agrega que "al parecer, la actual administración intenta descargar sus faltas en todos: políticos, negros, cubanos, norvietnamitas".

Finalmente, el comentarista de "EFE" se refiere al evento continental que se celebró en La Habana, en el que participaron representantes de los movimientos de liberación de América Latina. Sobre la conferencia de la OLAS, pone en boca de un "corresponsal amigo" las siguientes palabras: "no es que la OLAS quiera crear muchos Vietnam en Latinoamérica, son los Estados Unidos los que están viendo que, frente a los deseos de liberación de los pueblos sudamericanos, tendrán que crear nuevos Vietnam y hacer creer a la opinión mundial que ellos están allí para defender su libertad".

CARMICHAEL EN LA REVISTA "TRICONTINENTAL":
"HAY QUE APUÑALARLE EL OJO AL PULPO" (EE. UU.)

LA HABANA, Cuba, 13 de agosto (PRENSA LATINA).- "Tenemos que unirnos para derrotar al enemigo, porque no estamos luchando contra un capitalismo aislado: estamos luchando contra el capitalismo internacional", afirma el dirigente negro norteamericano Stokely Carmichael en un artículo titulado "El Tercer Mundo, Nuestro Mundo", aparecido en el primer número de la revista "Tricontinental" y en el cual aboga por la unión de los explotados del mundo en la lucha contra sus opresores imperialistas.

"Como las potencias imperialistas del mundo han internacionalizado su sistema, puntualiza Carmichael, nosotros también debemos internacionalizar el nuestro, a fin de que nuestra lucha sea una lucha internacional".

El expresidente del Comité Coordinador Estudiantil por Acciones, no Violentas (SNCC) subraya también la necesidad de que la población negra norteamericana llegue al convencimiento de que su lucha es "afín a la lucha del Tercer Mundo", y que por tanto, no podemos permitirle a la América Blanca que nos utilice para luchar en las guerras imperialistas, encaminadas a continuar subyugando a los pueblos".

Refiriéndose al caso concreto del imperialismo norteamericano, Carmichael lo define como "un enorme pulpo cuyos tentáculos se extienden por todo el mundo, y cuyo ojo se encuentra en Estados Unidos". Cuba, dice el joven líder negro, ya le ha cortado uno de sus tentáculos; Vietnam le ha atado otro; sin embargo, el resto de los tentáculos están sueltos. Y, cada vez que se inicia una lucha, los Estados Unidos estiran los otros tentáculos".

Mientras otros pueblos amarrarán los restantes tentáculos de Estados Unidos, señala Carmichael, los afro-americanos "podríamos apuñalarle el ojo al pulpo", y agrega: "si podemos lograr que los pueblos comiencen a luchar contra Estados Unidos, mientras nosotros luchamos dentro del país, nos sería más fácil derrotar al pulpo, y esto es lo que debemos hacer, si en realidad vamos a lograr derrotarlo".

"Si le permitimos a Estados Unidos que continúe librando una lucha, y luego otra, y después otra más, dice finalmente Carmichael, continuará así, indefinidamente; pero si se ve forzado a desarrollar varias luchas al mismo tiempo sería posible derrotarlo casi inmediatamente. En ello estriba, precisamente, la importancia de nuestra alineación con el Tercer Mundo".

FIDEL CASTRO HABLA A LOS JOVENES CAMPESINOS DE ISLA DE PINOS

NUEVA GERONA, Cuba, 13 de agosto (PRENSA LATINA).- El primer ministro Fidel Castro exhortó a la juventud a resolver los problemas que implica la creación de una sociedad comunista en Isla de Pinos, situada al sur de la provincia de La Habana.

El dirigente cubano hizo el resumen del acto inaugural de la presa "Vietnam Heroico", que coincidió ayer con el quinto aniversario de la creación del Instituto Nacional de Recursos Hidráulicos (INRH).

"¿Por qué no aspirar a convertir a esta región en la primera región comunista de Cuba? Propongámonos convertir también a esta región en un gran centro experimental social", expresó el premier cubano.

En otra parte de su discurso, señaló que le alegraba muchísimo ver terminada la presa "Vietnam Heroico" e indicó que "para todos nosotros, para buen número de cubanos, que de una manera o de otra, están participando en estos planes de Isla de Pinos, la terminación de estas obras es una cosa que nos llena de satisfacción y optimismo".

TRANSLATION FROM SPANISH

From "SUCESOS" (Events), a weekly (?) magazine published in Mexico, D. F., Mexico, August 26, 1967 issue, No. 1786. Article appearing on page 15 and ff.

Stokely Carmichael: Why
We, Negroes, Are Fighting.

An Interview
by Mario Menendez Rodriguez

Havana, Cuba, July and August 1967.

Those who have heard or read his speeches calling for equality and justice for the Negro race, victimized and humiliated in the United States for so many years, claim that Stokely Carmichael has signed his own death sentence, if death is to be understood as the physical disappearance of the individual. According to them, the young 26-year-old apostle who, in Michigan, Wisconsin, New Jersey, California, Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, Maryland, Florida, Louisiana, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Colorado, Providence (sic) and Washington, has created as many Vietnams inside the United States by shouting, at the top of his lungs, his inacceptance of the methods of those who are the leaders of a system corrupt down to its innermost core festering on a whole nation worthy of a better destiny ... according to them, this extraordinary Negro leader is living on "borrowed time."

Tall and thin, agile in his thoughts and in putting them into words, Carmichael was born on June 29, 1941, at Port of Spain, Trinidad, when that island of the Antilles was a British possession. Eleven years later, his family moved to the United States and, in the filthy and forgotten slums of New York, they lived under the most incredible conditions of hardship and deprivation. A restless young man concerned about the poverty imposed on his race by those who made the rules of a game in which the Negro is always the loser because he cannot play at it on an equal footing, Stokely was able to study philosophy, sociology and history at Howard University. In those years, he became acquainted with the methods and procedures of those who are his enemies.

Carmichael was arrested 35 times and found out how futile it is to abide by the rules of a game created by and for the survival of a certain system. He reached the conclusion that an armed struggle is the only road which is left for his oppressed brothers to win freedom for themselves in the United States and to live under circumstances of social justice.

Stokely, it can be said, was born in the very heart of an empire of slavery and envisions a world of freedom not only for himself, but, also for all those who are oppressed and today are looked upon as "the condemned of the earth."

When speaking of this young and extraordinary American leader of the Negro race, by association of ideas, one cannot help but become aware that one has at last known the true meaning of valor, boldness, honesty of convictions, political clarity and a firm determination to fight until victory, all of which are the "sine qua non" condition for the success of a liberation movement.

When he talks with a friend about general subjects, Stokely's voice is calm and poised. However, when the conversation turns to the slaughter of Negroes in the United States, his tone of voice rises to a shrill and sharp-edged pitch and the expression on his face reflects the hatred that fills his coffee-brown eyes and impels the gestures of his hands. He becomes restlessness personified, but a kind of restlessness which is held in check from the inside.

And he makes his point.

However, those who have not lived in the United States find it difficult to understand the true meaning of racial discrimination. We are in a position to talk about it, because we spent 9 years of our life in Louisiana. It is an indescribable hatred against the Negroes; a hatred which is handed down from one generation to the next of the "privileged" Caucasian race. It is a hatred which is reflected in the pronunciation itself of the English language. A colored man is correctly referred to as a "Negro." The term "nigger" is a term of disparagement, the disparagement of the American whites for those who were brought over from Africa as slaves. In the churches, in schools, in the public parks, on the buses and other means of transportation, in public establishments of any sort, if the Negro is allowed to enter at all, his place is in the back. Negroes are looked upon as inferior beings, almost as animals.

Yet, despite everything, Stokely keeps up his jovial

spirits in the conviction that victory will smile upon them in the long run...

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This remarkable young Negro leader came to Havana, Cuba, as an honor guest of the Latin American Solidarity Organization to represent the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

During his stay in Cuba, Stokely granted two interviews. One was a public interview, or rather, a nearly public interview, because he did not allow any American journalists and photographers. The other was an exclusive interview (sensational because of the statements he made and historical because it throws light on a leg of the journey which is still hard to see inside the United States). This exclusive interview was granted, in the presence of two more leaders of the Negro race, Julius Lester and George Ware, to the Director of Sucesos, a fact which honors us and for which we express our gratitude here as independent journalists.

The following is an outline of how the American leader thinks, acts and will continue to act.

QUESTION: What is the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee? When and why was it founded?

ANSWER: The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the organization for which I work, is made up of young American Negroes who decided to join forces in order to combat racial segregation and economic exploitation in the United States. It was established in 1960. The reason for which it was established is, in itself, a significant fact. The other organizations which allegedly defended the interests of the Negroes were not carrying on an effective kind of work. They were not really active. Most of them would take their problems to the Courts and we felt that nothing was to be achieved by taking a problem of injustice, for which a white person was responsible to the detriment of a Negro, to Courts of Law directed and controlled by white people. In other words, we were taking a problem of injustice to persons who were unjust. Nothing was to be solved that way. The only solution was and still is in the streets.

Now then, we adopted the terminology "nonviolent," because at the time the central figure in the struggle for the defense of the Negro race was no less than Martin Luther King and whoever

dared to resort to violence was considered as a traitor. Consequently, we decided that we would use the terminology "nonviolent." We knew, however, that our struggle would inevitably take to violence, but we decided to wait for the right time. This is why we accepted the name that was given to our group and began coordinating our activities from city to city, wherever we were able to hold nonviolent demonstrations.

One year later, we had come to the conclusion that these peaceful demonstrations were getting us nowhere and were not an adequate solution to our problems. This solution was called for us to organize the youth. We decided to go to work in the State where racial segregation is of an unsuspectable magnitude: Mississippi. There, we started to organize our people and to train them for the fight. And now we have progressed so much that it is our duty to stimulate our young people, our people in general, to carry on the fight.

QUESTION: What are the political, social and economic goals pursued by your organization?

ANSWER: Politically, we want the American Negroes to free themselves from oppression. We also want the peoples of the Third World to win their freedom, particularly the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. This is so because we are aware that our liberation depends on the liberation of those people and, vice versa, their liberation depends on our liberation. Therefore, we have to wage the same fight.

Politically speaking, I want to add that in the United States we pursue our right to control the communities in which we live. The fact of the matter is that today the communities in which we struggle against incredible poverty, these communities which are called "ghettos," are politically controlled by the whites. Tragic as it may sound, we constitute real colonies inside the United States, just like the majority of the Latin American countries. It is no secret, in fact, that those nations are controlled by the United States. In short, the countries of Latin America and the American Negro ghettos are a part of the colonial empire of the United States.

Economically, we want our people to be able to enjoy, or at least obtain all those things that are needed for a decent life without the need to struggle as painfully as we do today as the exploited victims of the political structure of American imperialism. We want to have power not only to control the resources inside our communities, but also to share these resources according to the needs of each community. We do not want to establish a Negro capitalist system. Quite the opposite is true. We want to destroy capitalism economically because it is a system which goes hand in hand with racism and

exploitation. It is no secret that wherever capitalism has survived, racism and exploitation have been its unfailing result. Consequently, it is our duty to destroy a capitalist system which enslaves us inside and, outside, enslaves the peoples of the Third World.

Socially, we want what most of mankind wants from life: happy, free and independent people; a people which is in a position to make the decisions that it considers right and in accordance with the interests of the majority; a people which takes part in all decisions and which is not ashamed of the color of its skin or its culture.

Psychologically, physically and morally, we want a people that experiences equality in all its essence; a people that rejects capitalism once and for all.

QUESTION: What are the relations between the Negroes of the North and the Negroes of the South of the United States? What are the relations in general among all the Negroes of the United States?

ANSWER: Most of the people - and this is fundamental for a better understanding of the Negro problem - emigrated from the South because, in this region, racial discrimination was more brutal. There was a belief that the people in the North did not pay attention to the color of the skin and that what mattered to them^{was} how a man worked. We were told: Opportunities are everywhere, right and left; good jobs are everywhere; all one has to do is work hard. And we lent our credence to these idiocies and, having believed them, packed our suitcases and went North. However, when we got there, we found that everything was the same. We learned our lesson, namely, that in the United States, we shall never be able to enjoy a decent life under a capitalist system. So, you will not be able to find a single Negro in the United States today who harbors any hope to win for himself a decent situation in the system that prevails in the United States.

As a consequence of this state of affairs, relations among American Negroes have become considerably closer. The Southern Negro no longer looks to the North as a road of escape. No, we, American Negroes, understand that in order to win our liberation we must join our hands as a single people. In this fashion, what we have in the United States today is a sentiment of solidarity among all the Negroes, wherever they may be. This means that today, when the whites touch a Negro, they know that they have to "touch" all the Negroes, like a single large family. And this is no mere figure of speech. The unity of American Negroes is quite evident. Every time a racist policeman shoots a Negro, he has to face a whole city and this

is true of many, many cities in the United States. The sentiment of solidarity is actual and real.

QUESTION: Certain people believe that American Negroes think of their struggle in terms of a racial conflict, namely, a conflict against the white race, and fail to interpret it as a class struggle. What is your opinion in this respect?

ANSWER: In connection with this question, I consider the following statement of great importance: Racism inside the United States is so strong that it is wellnigh impossible to get the white people to fight shoulder to shoulder with the Negroes. The majority of the poor white people and the members of the white working class who organize themselves in the United States do not struggle for a redistribution of the land. Their struggle is for more money. All they want is more money. They do not have the concept of what a redistribution of goods means, because the way they focus the problem is an economic way and not a social way. The fact of the matter is that the rural class of the United States has trained its sights and continues to train its sights on the countries of the Third World for the purpose of getting more income out of them, an income a minimal portion of which they share with the white working class of the United States. Let us understand this indisputable fact: The ruling class in America never cuts down on its profits. Quite the opposite is true. It raises them by pressing harder with its oppression of the underdeveloped peoples. It is easy to see from this state of affairs that the profits shared with the working class of the white race make this working class a part of the capitalist system, so that both ruling and working classes enjoy the money obtained with the blood of other peoples. Consequently, the working class of the white race is incapable of combating the capitalist system because, by accepting its money, it has become a part of the capitalist system.

Under the circumstances, it is difficult to develop a revolutionary conscience in the ranks of the working class of the white race. What we have is a group of white citizens fighting to hold on to their money. This is why we cannot find white people in the American working class who oppose the war in Vietnam. The truth of the matter is that they enjoy certain comforts because of the genocide that is going on there. If they opposed the war in Vietnam, they would attack the system and harm themselves.

Unfortunately, the whites do not realize that if the system were destroyed, a better one could be built. However, their fear of change is so great that they cling to the capitalist system to protect the balance sheet which is in their favor.

Today, the vanguard and the leadership of the struggle in the United States is made up of Negroes. And if this struggle has been interpreted as a conflict between Negroes and whites, this is due solely and exclusively to the fact that the white working class has closed ranks with the privileged group that oppresses the great majority out of a shameful fear of losing the little they have. We believe that the only way in which a revolutionary conscience can be developed in the working class of the white race is for the United States to begin to lose its profits; those profits which pour in from the Third World. Once this process begins, the United States will have to look in its own home for the means to maintain its relative well-being. Only then will the working class of the white race develop a revolutionary conscience. The leaders of the American capitalist system, once their sources of profits from the Third World dry up, will deny the white workers the portion of those profits they now share with them.

All of this means that Negroes are alone in their fight today. Of course, we would be happy if the white people of the working class were to join us in the struggle. However, whether they join us or not does not change the present situation. The fact is that we, Negroes, will fight until victory comes. Whenever the working class of the white race decides to join us in this fight, we will bid them welcome. In the meantime and until then, we will continue to be the vanguard.

It is not to be denied that the ruling class of the United States is aware of the Marxist concept that a class conflict is inevitable and will break out sooner or later. In order to avoid it or, at least, to put it off, they cling desperately to the profits they draw from the Third World in order to share them, in as little a portion as they can get away with, with the working class of the white race.

What the ruling class of the United States has managed to accomplish is a postponement of the inevitable class conflict. Today, the Third World has become the proletariat and the white society of the West has taken up the role of the bourgeoisie. Accordingly, when we mark the demarcation lines by color of the skin, we find that they are demarcation lines between classes, this being due to the way in which the white society of the West has "won over" the majority of its working class.

This is exactly what Europe did when the major imperialist powers of that continent shared Africa and Latin America with one another and avoided, inside their nations, the otherwise unavoidable class conflict. However, a postponement is no longer possible. The confrontation is here. On the other hand, I believe that the people outside the United States should

remember that - at variance with any other nation - we were the only people who were brought in from the outside and enslaved inside the continent which continues to exploit us today. Other nations were enslaved, but this happened inside their own countries, so that when they took up arms and fought, they were able to develop a nationalist concept as the rallying point around which to group. We, by contrast - let us repeat it - were brought into the United States and cannot develop a nationalist concept. Consequently, our concept has to be based upon the color of our skin because it was precisely because of this black color that the whites decided to make us slaves. In this sense, the color of our skin represents our nationality. The color of our skin is what made the white people roam Africa in order to bring the Negroes to the United States, uprooting them from all the countries of the continent, regardless of nationality or origin.

The case of Cuba is different. Here, the African has the concept of nationality because he was the victim of oppression and merciless exploitation by privileged groups side by side with the whites. The Negroes in this Caribbean island, especially beginning with the Revolution, feel they belong to the Cuban system. Even before the Revolution, they were called Afro-Cubans.

Unfortunately for us, this does not happen and cannot happen in the United States. For 400 years, we have been the victims of a brutal fascism and, with the exception of John Brown, no white man has ever come out in our defense. Many have talked and continue to talk, but none of them is willing to fight in order to destroy the system of which they are a part.

QUESTION: What do you think of other Negro organizations in the United States? For example, what do you think of the organization headed by Martin Luther King?

ANSWER: In public it is very important to present a united front. This is the reason why we give our support to the organizations that are struggling at this time on behalf of the American Negro. After managing to bring together a sizeable number of people, we will eliminate the other organizations. At the present time, in order not to divide those who struggle for the grievances of the Negro race, we support a united front. But the time will come in the near future when there will be no room for discussing "what" or "why" and we will eliminate everybody who raises hurdles on the road of the Negroes seeking their true liberation. The American Negroes who have joined us on the road to true liberation are many.

QUESTION: What relations are there between the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the Movement for the Independence of Puerto Rico? How do you see the interrelation which exists between the struggle of the Puerto Rican people for independence and the struggle of the Negroes in the United States? How do you see the struggle of the Negro people in the United States of America in terms of help for the Puerto Ricans and in terms of unity between the two organizations?

ANSWER: My brother Malcolm taught us that we must internationalize our struggle. And, in order to follow some of his teachings, we are beginning with Puerto Rico. The reasons are manifold. For example, Puerto Rico, in terms of geographic distance, is very near the United States and is, to the fullest extent of the word, a colony of the United States. On the other hand, a large number of people who live with us inside American ghettos are Puerto Rican.

It so happened, however, that we used to have fights with the Puerto Ricans and, instead of uniting in the struggle against a system which oppresses us, we played into the hands of the American leading class which saw to it that we would fight against one another while the white policemen stood on the sidelines and laughed at us. We decided, therefore, that one of the best means to bring about the beginning of a political awakening on the part of our people and to establish bonds with the Puerto Ricans was to come out with a statement in favor of the independence of Puerto Rico. This is how we brought about unity. The fact is that until a short while ago, when the police attacked the Puerto Ricans, we Negroes did nothing and, as a matter of fact, we were more likely to join the white policemen and not the Puerto Ricans - and the same thing happened vice versa - now, when this happens in New York, or Newark or Chicago, Negroes and Puerto Ricans join forces to fight the police.

In short, we have raised the level of political awareness, and now we join forces to discuss the methods which will most effectively help us fight the capitalist system which oppresses Negroes and Puerto Ricans alike.

The agreement we have with MPI (Movement for the Independence of Puerto Rico) is based upon the following points:

- 1) The Movement for the Independence of Puerto Rico and the Federation of University Students for Independence recognize the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) as a sister organization in the exemplary struggle which it carries

on for the liberation of the American Negro people and against the structure of the white power in the United States.

- 2) The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) recognizes the Movement for the Independence of Puerto Rico as the vanguard of the Puerto Rican people in their struggle for national liberation and the Federation of University Students for Independence as the organization representing the Puerto Rican student body in their struggle against imperialism and as the vanguard of the student movement in their country.
- 3) MPI and FUPI (Movement for the Independence of Puerto Rico and the Federation of University Students for the Independence of Puerto Rico) offer all their support to the American Negro people in their struggle to win political and economic power in their communities, a power which is defined as Black Power.
- 4) SNCC gives its support for the struggle of the people of Puerto Rico for their national independence.
- 5) SNCC and MPI and FUPI fully realize that they have common objectives (points of struggle). These points are: The struggle against the recruitment of young people for the Armed Forces of the United States, a defense of the cultural integrity of the two peoples, the winning back of their economic wealth, etc. For this reason, they mutually support each other with their resources and efforts in the common struggle.
- 6) SNCC and MPI and FUPI fully realize that the struggle of the Puerto Rican people and of the Negro people in the urban ghettos of the United States for political and economic control, for better dwellings, for adequate education and for better living conditions in general can be developed on a common basis and by means of joint actions.
- 7) SNCC and MPI and FUPI believe that the struggle against compulsory military service and American aggression against the Vietnamese people can be strengthened by joint activities of the named organizations.

- 8) SNCC offers its help to the Puerto Rican organizations of MPI and FUPI in their battle to win consideration by the United Nations of the colonial case of Puerto Rico before long.
- 9) MPI and FUPI offer their help in the efforts to give international prominence to the struggle against oppression of the American Negro people and to have it recognized not as a domestic problem of the United States, but as a question which is of direct concern to all of mankind.
- 10) The three organizations point out that while their struggles are strengthened by means of specific activities, such activities shall be carried out in an atmosphere of mutual respect and mutual agreement.

QUESTION: What type of struggle will be developed in the United States against imperialist policies? Do you believe that an armed struggle is the only struggle left for the American people to win the power of government? What is your opinion about opposing reactionary violence with revolutionary violence?

ANSWER: Let me make it very clear that the only solution possible is Negro revolution and that we are not interested in peaceful coexistence. An armed struggle is the only way not only for us, but also for all the oppressed peoples of the world.

The people who talk about peaceful coexistence today talk about a maintenance of the "status quo" because the only way whereby an imperialist system can be destroyed is by the use of force. Talk leads nowhere. This is very clear to us. I say that it is very clear because for 400 years, we, the majority of the African-Americans in the United States, have been talking and talking and nothing else. It has been forgotten that as long as we talk, we play into the hands of the imperialists who have invented the game of talk.

However, we have a new game now and this game is called guerrilla warfare. It is a kind of game the imperialists cannot play at. And when you want to win at a game, you need to establish the rules of the game. If the rules are established by another person, this person will always win. The imperialists have established the rules of the talking game and, therefore, when you sit down to talk with them, you cannot win. They always find a good reason why something cannot be done now or could not be done at the time it should have been done. They sound

very convincing. If you sit down to talk with them and try to reason with them according to their viewpoints and in the terms which are their own, how can you possibly win?

In the first place, they have no right to oppress the other peoples, so that speaking of oppression is idle and superfluous. They have no right to exploit anybody, so that talking about liberation from exploitation and oppression with those who practice exploitation and oppression is ridiculous. This is like a slave sitting down to speak with his master about his release. It does not make sense because the master has no intention to give him his release. What is left for the slave to do? The answer is easy: Let him rise in arms and let him kill the master if the master continues to refuse to stop his exploitation. This is the only solution.

Therefore, as far as we are concerned, it is all too clear: an armed struggle is the only road. The time for talking is over. We have talked and talked and talked and talked for too long. Now, we have to destroy the system by the use of force. Furthermore, reactionary violence can be legalized by the people who are in power. For example, if I killed a man because he is cross-eyed, this would bring about different reactions depending on whether I were to do it in the United States or in Vietnam. If I killed 30 cross-eyed men in Vietnam, I would get a medal because I would be in the Army. But if I killed 30 men or only one man in the United States, let us say in New York City, I would wind up on the electric chair as an assassin.

Thus, it is not a question of violence; it is a question of who can legalize violence. This is all. A policeman can shoot down anybody he wants to, for any reason and appear in a Court of Law and declare: "I did it while discharging my duties." So, they release him, but if a man kills a policeman, he lands in jail automatically.

Consequently, violence is not to be discussed. The discussion is about whether violence can be legalized or not. The oppressed people of the world must legalize violence in their own minds, as the means to solve their problem. Once violence is legalized, there are no questions to be asked or to be answered; the only question is where does one pick up whatever is needed to do the job.

The reactionaries hold on to power by means of their weapons, but legalize their violence and, with unheard-of cynicism, preach that violence is not the way to be adopted. Take away their weapons and their imperialist forces and you will see how many people listen to them. Take away their military bases in the Dominican Republic, Venezuela, Brazil, Chile and all of Latin America; take away the mighty weapons they have in those

places and you will see that nobody pays any attention to them. It is because of their mighty weaponry that the peoples are forced to listen to them. Therefore, the only thing that has to be done is to become accustomed to arms and to have the will power and steadfastness to continue the struggle. This is the right answer.

For example, I want you to take a look at those people who are pacifists and all those silly things connected with a pacifism. The United States, Great Britain, France and the USSR have developed atomic and hydrogen bombs. After developing them, they got together and said: "Let us put an end to nuclear tests. There will not be any more tests." Everybody believed them and swallowed the line that they were feeding the various peoples: "We do not want more bombs because the more peoples have bombs, the more violence is likely to break out."

However, what they were really doing was this: Since they had the bombs, they were stopping others from developing the same kind of power. In other words, they were not dealing with the rest of mankind on a basis of equality. If there were equality for everybody, everybody should have bombs.

Let us see an example of how the West uses violence to stop other people.

Israel has the atomic bomb, which it got from the United States. If there were equality, just like Israel which has the atomic bomb, Egypt should have the atomic bomb. If not, Israel can threaten to drop the bomb on Egypt and Egypt would become a victim of atomic blackmail. Everybody must have the atomic bomb. This is all too clear. Therefore, how can there be talk of putting an end to nuclear tests while not every country has developed the atomic bomb?

When all the nations of the world, from little Cuba to big China, have a hydrogen bomb, then you can say: "Let us ban all nuclear tests." Before this happens, it is absurd to talk about a ban.

Let's take another example: Cuba and the United States. The Americans can threaten Cuba because they have weapons which they can drop on the island. As a matter of fact, this example happened rather recently. It happened to the Soviets when the United States threatened to drop their bombs and the USSR withdrew its rockets.

The United States forced the USSR to withdraw its rockets. Once this happened, Cuba was left at the mercy of the United States except for one thing which, I believe, is what makes the difference in today's world: dignity and the will to fight until victory.

It is plain to see that the West has developed the best armaments and armament system which exists today. But something is left out, and this something is the fact that armaments will never defeat man's will to fight. This is exactly the situation in the world today. The oppressed people have the will power to fight and are fighting those who oppressed them.

Therefore, as Mao points out, it is a question of a struggle between arms and man's will power. We believe that arms will never win over the will power of man when he decides to fight.

Another good example is the case of Vietnam where the United States is employing every weapon in its arsenal and is incapable of defeating a small nation because this nation has the will to fight and is ready to fight to death in order not to let the United States enslave it.

When the United States talked about bombing and hurling rockets against Cuba, it said that that island of the Caribbean had no right to defend itself. It also said that Cuba had no reason to have rockets on its soil. And the rest of the world looked at Cuba, rather than at the United States, claiming that the United States had no right to commit aggression against Cuba (sic). By the same token, it has no reason to commit aggression against Vietnam. What is happening is that the Vietnamese people are waging not only a defensive war, but also a defensive propaganda. As a matter of fact, Vietnam has every right to hurl bombs against the United States and conduct the struggle on an equal footing. This would be true equality, but, instead of this, they are forced to wage a defensive war. This is also Cuba's position with respect to the rockets. They are waging a defensive war.

Debray's book, "Revolution in a Revolution," put it very well: A defensive war is not enough. The peoples of the Third World must wage more than a defensive war.

QUESTION: What do you think of guerrilla warfare in the American continent as a means to win your liberation? What do you think of this type of struggle by the colored people in rural areas and in the cities of the United States of America?

ANSWER: The imperialists become owners of everything by the use of force. For example, they exterminated the indigenous population of Cuba and took possession of the land. Consequently, the only way to achieve liberation is the use of force. And the only way to start using force is to wage a guerrilla warfare. Discussing whether a guerrilla warfare is good or bad is an idle proposition. A guerrilla warfare is the only way to put an end to exploitation and oppression. To discuss

whether it is the proper way is to play into the hands of the imperialists. In a war, nothing is good or bad. In a war, the only question that arises is whether or not you feel you need to attain your objective. This is what we, who belong to the world of the oppressed, must understand. There is no doubt: a guerrilla warfare is the only way. We shall not ask whether it is good or bad. We shall only ask the question that pertains to the tactics of when it is to be used. This is the only question that needs to concern us.

In the United States, we are moving toward a guerrilla warfare. We are going to wage an urban guerrilla warfare and we are going to win it because we have a weapon which the imperialists do not have. Their men have no will to fight. They have no desire to wage what they call a guerrilla warfare and, in reality, is a hand-to-hand fight. Look at them: Their men are cowards. White America is the most cowardly nation in the world. It can send a million men to Vietnam, but is incapable of killing the Vietnamese people because in a hand-to-hand fight, the Vietnamese people would kill the million men. This is what imperialism does. It claims that a guerrilla warfare is being conducted in Vietnam and the thought is instilled that a guerrilla warfare is something dirty, an unclean fight. Then, they claim that in order to win the guerrilla war, they will send many airplanes to throw bombs. Nobody asks: Isn't it more repugnant to send out a man on an airplane that can drop 50 or 60 bombs on defenseless women and children and use napalm to bomb and burn them to death? Don't you think that a hand-to-hand fight is something much more honorable? This is the question. The only problem is when to use it. An urban guerrilla warfare is the only way to win in the United States because they will not be able to use bombs against us since we are inside the country. They will have to fight with us hand to hand and we will win.

The counterpart of this will happen in the South, in that part of the country where we know the terrain and for years we have worked on the soil where the white man has exploited our sweat and has made us walk throughout the land. In reality, he did us a great favor. Now, we know the area and when we go into the mountains, we will win again; once again we will win our guerrilla warfare. This is the only way we can bring them down to their knees. This is the only way in which we can fight against their big cannons and their big bombs. This is the only road to follow because they have no guts.

QUESTION: What do you think of solidarity among all the countries that struggle for their liberation?

ANSWER: It is the only answer. I think that the thing we fail to understand, like we have failed to understand it in the past,

is that capitalism has become international and what we are struggling against is international capitalism. Therefore, in order to fight international capitalism, we must wage an international war. What happened in the past is that whenever a nation was fighting for its freedom, everybody wished it good luck, but nobody saw its fight as a part of its own fight. Even though they could see that certain countries were oppressing other countries, they could not grasp in their minds that the oppressors were common enemies. What we have done today is this: We have cleared up the situation in our minds. We see a common enemy. We are struggling against an international structure which enslaves us and the only way to defeat it is to internationalize our struggle. In this fashion, there will be an international power fighting another international power. This is the only way in which we can win. In fact, if we can do what Che recommends, namely, if we can create two, three, many Vietnams, will have them fighting on many fronts at the same time and they will not be able to win. When we conduct our struggle isolated, we let imperialism bear down with all its might on a single country and this country is lost. They will not be able to wage war on all of us at the same time. Even though we may not have the same ideas and may not subscribe to the same ideology, we have a common enemy: imperialism. And this is the one factor which will unite us more than anything else.

QUESTION: What do you think of the Organization for Solidarity of the Countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America? What does your organization expect from OSPAAAL(OSCAALA)?

ANSWER: Well, one of the things that we are doing now is to materialize our relations with these groups. The first thing we have to do is simply this: We, all fighters, must get together, sit down and exchange ideas. Once this is done, we can start moving together. We can plan our strategy and tactics for our liberation struggle together. However, the only way this is to be done is by internationalizing our struggle because the enemy has its own espionage systems: The CIA and all its intelligence agencies which are international and work in coordination with one another. This is how they can plot their murders and set up their coups d'etat against the governments which begin to fight for their liberation.

Once we have seized power - which we will - the question will be how to commence to develop an international system which has no room for capitalism. It must be a system in which we can trade with one another, based on our needs and on what each country has, rather than on efforts to control the world market where the prices of the merchandise are established according to

a law of profits and not according to the needs of mankind. The truth of the matter is that many of us, once we are in power, unless we have the will power and the intelligence of the leaders of Cuba, many of us, I repeat, will go the way of other countries where coups d'etat were staged and where the leaders wound up by accepting the bureaucratic structure which the imperialists imposed upon them. This is how we must start. Another thing on which we must make a start is an exchange of fighters between the peoples of Africa and Latin America struggling for their liberation. This is how we can bring about an international system of guerrilla fighters. For example, we start our true war in the United States; if people from other countries wish to come to the United States and help us in the fight, this will be most helpful and good. We want to do the same thing. We want to go and fight where they need us. This is what the capitalists do. Every time that one of their countries has a problem, they send aid to this country. This is clearly the case of Israel, a capitalist country supported by Western imperialism. When Israel had problems, they supported it. All capitalist countries supported Israel, including France. What we have to do is this: We have to recognize that when the struggle begins, we need to have the will and the desire to support the forces of liberation with our men, just like the capitalists have the will and the desire to use their guns, their money and their men.

QUESTION: What do you think of the Organization for Solidarity with Latin America? What does an organization like yours expect from OLAS (OSLA)?

ANSWER: This is the first OLAS conference and we are more than honored, happy and gratified to be here and to be a part of this conference for many, many reasons. The first reason is that Latin America is very close to us geographically. Latin America is one of the continents which is exploited by the United States. Many Latin Americans come to the United States, and this is the reason why we must begin to take action. Cuba is a part of Latin America and the United States wants to crush Cuba. Cuba is an inspiration, a hope, not only for the Negroes of the United States, but also for all the countries of Latin America; an inspiration and a hope to start the struggle, to start the fight. Thus, it is fitting that the Organization for Solidarity with Latin America should hold its meeting in Cuba and that we should come here to give evidence of our solidarity not only with words of mouth, but with our will and desire to lay down our life on the front line of the struggles that go on in Latin America.

We want to explain to the Latin American countries that our struggle is beginning. In Latin America, the only news they get is AP news or UPI news, which are part and parcel of the

imperialist communication control system. By the same token, we cannot get any news about the Latin American countries except through UPI and AP; once again, the imperialist control system is at work. Thus, they tell us that there are bandits, or groups of rebellious forces, or communists fighting in Venezuela, or in the streets of Guatemala or of the Dominican Republic or of Panama. It is only because of our political awareness that we know that these groups are struggling for their countries and are able to read between the lines and the propaganda what has really happened. This is the first time that we have the opportunity of meeting face to face with people who are really struggling for their liberation. This is the first time that their ideologies are explained to us so that we can see what common bases there are between their ideology and our ideology. Thus, we understand their struggle and explain ours to them. There is no need for imperialist propaganda to give us its interpretation of our struggles. This is the first thing. The second thing is that we must carry on our struggle united. This is being done by our presence. Third, we must start to do something to stop the Organization of American States and the simple fact that we are holding a conference here is already neutralizing the OAS. It will neutralize it and belittle its importance in the minds of our peoples. This is very important because by its control of propaganda, imperialism can win over the awareness (conscience) of our people; and one of the most important things today is the struggle which is being waged to win the minds of the people. Once this is achieved, we will doubtlessly be ready to struggle and to work out ways and means of mutual aid and support.

QUESTION: What do you have to say to such guerrilla leaders as Douglas Bravo in Venezuela, Fabio Vazquez and Marulanda in Colombia, Cesar Montes in Guatemala and the leaders of the Bolivian guerrillas?

ANSWER: We want to tell our brothers, our comrades, that even though they have no way to know it, there are many of us here who follow very closely and very attentively any news which concerns their struggle. We know that they are waging a victorious, brave and good fight and, even though we have no control over the communication system, we can tell them that they should never despair and never fear that their struggle is in vain or nobody knows about it. We know of it and we are with them. The day is not far when they will be able to come out in the open and we shall all be able, hand in hand, to build the world for which we are fighting. Our only message to them is: Do not lose hope and keep up the good fight because you are our inspiration and hope.

QUESTION: What do you think of the aggression on Vietnam?

ANSWER: I think that it is the most repugnant aggression of the present age. I think that it is hatred and cowardice on the part of the United States. I think that it is the dirtiest war ever launched and I think that the United States, faced with the will of the Vietnamese people, will lose this war.

QUESTION: What prompted you to come to Cuba?

ANSWER: When the Cuban Revolution started, I was a boy and was quite interested in it. My interest grew when the Cuban Prime Minister, Fidel Castro, came to the United States and lived in Harlem, with the Negroes. He stayed at the Hotel Teresa and this meant that our relation with Cuba became something real and actual. The Prime Minister of Cuba, unlike all other Prime Ministers who have ever come to the United States, went to live in the ghettos with us. We always felt we had to return Fidel Castro's visit to Cuba.

In the second place, we have always known that the Cuban Revolution is a good revolution. While many people in the United States were having misgivings about the Cuban Revolution, we never had any. We knew it was good. We came to Cuba in order to learn. In the few days we have spent here, we have learned things from the Cuban Revolution which we could never have learned from books, movies or any other media. I was able to be here, to live among free people and to understand and see how they are solving their problems. This is what we came for: We came here to learn and have learned a lot.

QUESTION: What do you think of Cuba's Prime Minister, Fidel Castro?

ANSWER: He is the greatest man I have ever known.

QUESTION: What do you think of Che Guevara and what he said about revolution in Latin America and throughout the world?

ANSWER: We agree with Che Guevara 150 per cent. Today, he is becoming one of the most read writers in the Negro United States. The Negroes are reading Che wherever you go. As a matter of fact, not only the Negroes, but everybody. One of the reasons for this, in my opinion, is the fact that Che is not a man who spoke of revolution, but a man who made it. He is a man who, after winning a revolutionary struggle for power in this country, left his wife and went to other countries to give his help to those who were initiating the struggle at the risk of his own life. A man like him is not to be found every day.

QUESTION: The struggle you are carrying on in the United States gives certain people the impression that you have signed your own death sentence. What do you think of this?

ANSWER: Brother Malcolm used to tell us that there are many kinds of deaths. I think that dehumanized people who fail to return a blow are dead people. This is what the West has been able to do with most of us. It has dehumanized us to the extent that we did not return the blows. Once you do that, you are alive and there are no bullets which can kill you. If you do not return a blow, you're dead and there is no money in the world that can bring you back to life. We are alive; we are alive the world over. We, oppressed people, are coming back to life because we are returning the blows, because we are struggling for our own humanity. When you're dead, when you fail to rebel, you are not struggling to live. You're dead. But we are alive and love life so much that we are willing to shed it. We are alive. Death cannot stop us.

SUCESOS

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Stokely

Carmichael

**POR QUÉ
LUCHAMOS
LOS NEGROS**





supongan el uso de la fuerza”.

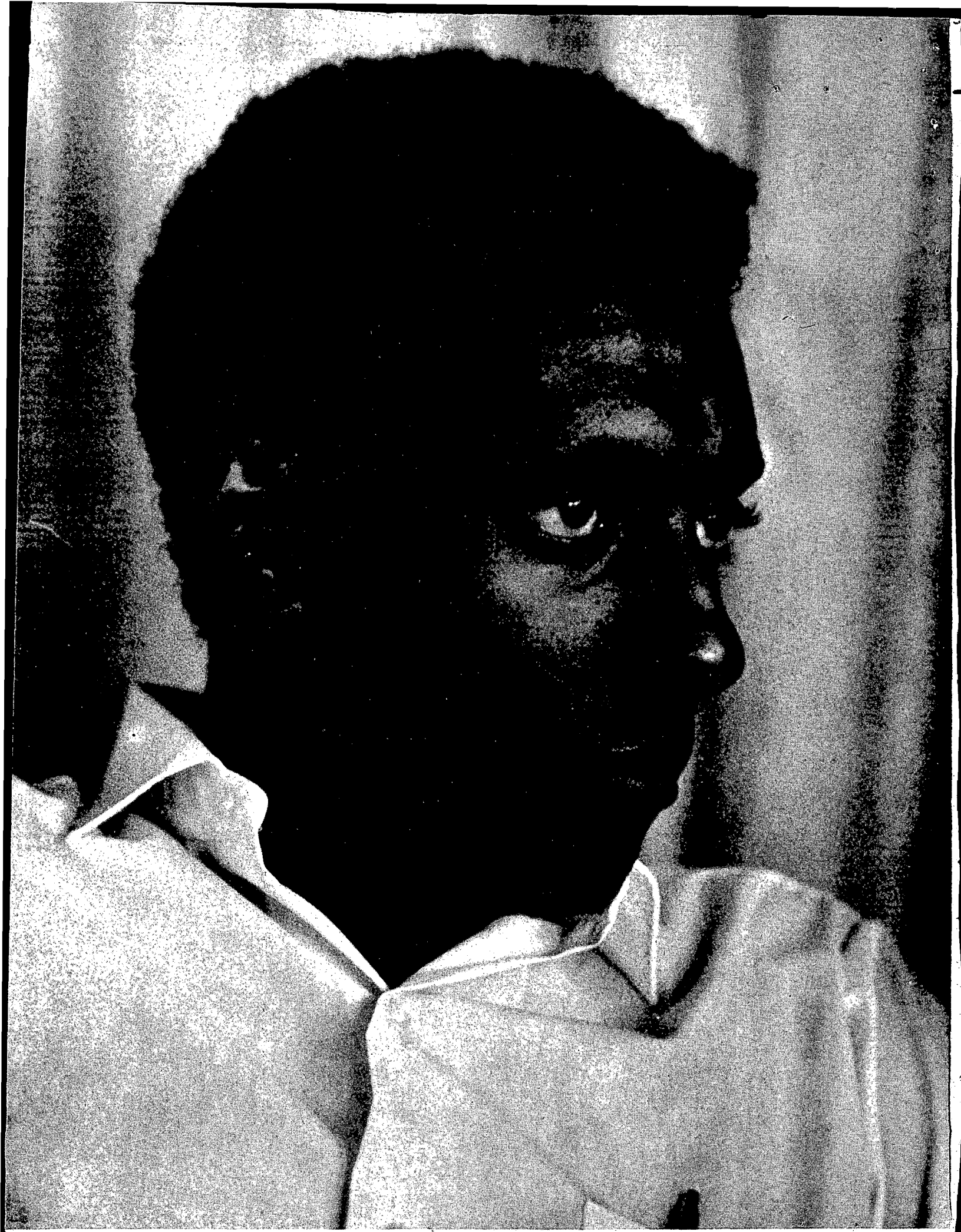
Hay en el párrafo e) del documento que comentamos expresiones que recuerdan inevitablemente la invasión de la República Dominicana por los *marines* y el torpe intento de “latinoamericanizarla” para cubrirla con la bandera de la OEA. Véase: “El territorio de un Estado es inviolable; no puede ser objeto, ni aun temporalmente, de ocupación militar u otras medidas de fuerza tomadas por otro Estado, directa o indirectamente, sea cual fuere el motivo”.

El motivo o el pretexto, diremos nosotros. En el caso de la Dominicana el pretexto aducido fue el de impedir que dos docenas de “comunistas” se apoderaran del gobierno de la isla. Y en el otro gran caso típico de agresión e intervención militar en territorio de otro Estado, el caso actual de Vietnam, el pretexto usado es el mismo: impedir un supuesto ataque de los vietnamitas del norte a los vietnamitas del sur, lo que complica el delito de agresión con el de intervención en los asuntos interiores del país asiático.

Hasta aquí el proyecto de declaración es terminante y no deja lugar a dudas. Las dudas las suscita el capítulo III del mismo documento al determinar que ninguna de las disposiciones de

los párrafos precedentes afectará al uso legítimo de la fuerza cuando se efectúe por el órgano competente de las Naciones Unidas, o por un organismo regional, o en ejercicio del derecho inmanente de legítima defensa individual o colectiva, de acuerdo con la Carta de las Naciones Unidas”.

En la América Latina el “organismo regional” sería la OEA, la tristemente célebre Organización de Estados Americanos, en cuyo seno los Estados Unidos ejercen un dominio basado en su control sobre la inmensa mayoría de los gobiernos centro y suramericanos. Y aunque el último párrafo del mismo artículo establece que el uso de la fuerza por organismos regionales, salvo el caso de legítima defensa, “requiere autorización expresa del Consejo de Seguridad” (de la ONU), queda abierta la puerta a las interpretaciones que de la legítima defensa quiera dar la OEA, es decir, el organismo regional al que cada día se conoce más como “ministerio de Colonias” de los Estados Unidos. Y por la misma puerta vendría a colarse, como el instrumento adecuado para la acción militar de la OEA, la famosa Fuerza Interamericana de Paz que desde hace tiempo viene haciendo antesala en las oficinas de Washington.



Stokely Carmichael

POR QUE LUCHAMOS LOS NEGROS

Mario MENENDEZ RODRIGUEZ,
Fotos de PRENSA LATINA

LA HABANA, Cuba, julio y agosto de 1967.—Quienes han escuchado o leído sus discursos en pos de la igualdad y la justicia para la raza negra, vejada y humillada por tantos años en los Estados Unidos de Norteamérica, aseguran que Stokely Carmichael ha firmado su sentencia de muerte, si por muerte se entiende la desaparición física del individuo. Según ellos, el joven apóstol de 26 años de edad que en Michigan, Wisconsin, Nueva Jersey, California, Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, Maryland, Florida, Louisiana, Oregon, Pensilvania, Colorado, Providence y Washington ha creado otros tantos Vietnames dentro de los Estados Unidos, gritando a voz en cuello su inconformidad con los procedimientos de quienes encabezan un sistema corrupto desde las entrañas, que hace su víctima a toda una nación digna de mejor suerte, el extraordinario líder negro vive "tiempo prestado".

Alto y delgado, ágil de pensamiento y de palabra, Carmichael nació el 29 de junio de 1941, en Port of Spain, Trinidad, cuando esta isla de las Antillas era una posesión británica. Once años después su familia se trasladó a los Estados Unidos y en los sucios y olvidados arrabales de Nueva York vivió dentro de un cuadro en el que predominaban la angustia y las privaciones más increíbles. Joven inquieto y preocupado por la miseria impuesta a su raza por aquellos que crearon las leyes de un juego en el que el negro, el oprimido, siempre pierde porque jamás participa en igualdad de circunstancias, Stokely pudo estudiar filosofía, sociología e historia en la Universidad de Howard, y en esos años aprendió a conocer mejor los procedimientos de los que son sus enemigos.

Arrestado en 35 ocasiones, Carmichael se ha percatado de lo inútil que es someterse a las reglas de un juego creadas por y para garantizar la supervivencia de un sistema. Y ha llegado a la convicción de que la lucha armada es el único camino que queda a sus oprimidos hermanos para obtener la libertad en los Estados Unidos y para vivir en un régimen de justicia social.

De Stokely podríamos decir que nació en el seno del imperio de la esclavitud y hoy anhela un mundo de libertad no sólo para él sino para todos los oprimidos,

para los que actualmente se consideran "los condenados de la tierra".

Cuando se habla de este joven y extraordinario dirigente norteamericano de la raza negra, por una asociación de ideas se siente y conoce el verdadero significado de la valentía y la audacia, la honradez en las convicciones, la claridad política y la firme decisión de luchar hasta vencer que son condición *sine qua non* para el éxito de un movimiento de liberación.

La voz de Stokely es pausada cuando charla con el amigo sobre temas generales. Sin embargo, cuando la conversación gira en torno a la matanza de negros en los Estados Unidos ese tono es interrumpido en forma muy marcada por el cambio agudo y cortante que sufre su voz, y el odio se refleja en su expresión, en los ojos grandes color café y en los movimientos de las manos. Todo en él es inquietud, pero con un freno interior.

Y se explica.

Sin embargo, para quienes no han vivido en los Estados Unidos es difícil comprender el verdadero significado de la discriminación racial. De eso podemos hablar, porque durante nueve años vivimos en Louisiana. Se trata de un odio indescriptible hacia los negros que se transmite, por generaciones, la "privilegiada" raza caucásica. Un odio que se refleja en la pro-

SENSACIONAL E HISTORICA ENTREVISTA EXCLUSIVA CONCEDE A SUCEOS EL MAXIMO DIRIGENTE DE LOS NEGROS NORTEAMERICANOS

nunciación misma del idioma inglés, en la manera de referirse al hombre de color: **negro** (nigrou) es el término correcto; **nigger**, el desprecio del blanco norteamericano hacia quienes fueron traídos del Africa como esclavos. En las iglesias, en las escuelas, en los parques, en los autobuses y en otros medios de transporte, en los baños públicos, en todas partes, si se permite la entrada al negro su lugar es siempre el rincón de atrás. Se les considera seres inferiores, casi animales.

Y, a pesar de todo, Stokely conserva su espíritu jovial, convencido de que en fin de cuentas la victoria le sonreirá...

* * *

El notable y joven dirigente negro vino a La Habana como invitado de honor de la Organización Latinoamericana de Solidaridad (OLAS), en representación del Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

Durante su estancia en Cuba, Stokely concedió dos entrevistas. Una fue pública o casi pública, porque no permitió la entrada a los periodistas y fotógrafos norteamericanos. Y la otra fue una entrevista exclusiva (sensacional por lo que afirma, e histórica porque descubre una etapa que hasta ahora es difícil concebir dentro de los Estados Unidos) que, en presencia de otros dos dirigentes de la raza negra, Julius Lester y George Ware, concedió al director de SUCEOS, hecho que nos honra y que le agradecemos como periodistas independientes.

He aquí cómo piensa, actúa y actuará el líder norteamericano:

—¿Qué es el Comité Coordinador Estudiantil por la No Violencia? ¿Cuándo y por qué se fundó?

—El Comité Coordinador Estudiantil por la No Violencia, organización para la cual trabajo, está integrado por jóvenes negros norteamericanos que decidieron agruparse para combatir la segregación racial y la explotación económica en los Estados Unidos. Fue fundado en 1960 y el porqué del mismo es un hecho significativo: las otras organizaciones que supuestamente defendían los intereses de los negros no realizaban un trabajo eficaz, no participaban de manera activa. La mayoría llevaban sus problemas a los tribunales y nosotros pensamos que nada podía lograrse si un problema de injusticia del cual era responsable un blanco y en el que resultaba perjudicado un negro era llevado a tribunales dirigidos y controlados por blancos. Es decir, llevábamos un problema de injusticia a personas que eran injustas. Por tanto, no podía resolverse nada. La única solución estaba y está en las calles.

Ahora bien, nosotros utilizamos el término **no violencia**, porque quien en aquella época era la figura central de la lucha en defensa de la raza negra era nada menos que Martin Luther King, y quien recurría a la violencia era considerado como un traidor. Por consiguiente, resolvimos utilizar el término **no violencia**. Sin embargo, sabíamos que nuestra lucha desembocaría en la violencia, que sólo había que esperar el momento oportuno. Así es que aceptamos el nombre de la agrupación y coordinamos las actividades de ciudad en ciudad, dondequiera que podíamos realizar demostraciones no violentas.

Empero, un año después llegamos a la conclusión de que esas demostraciones pacíficas no constituían la respuesta adecuada para resolver nuestros problemas; había que organizar a la gente joven. Y nos trasladamos al estado donde la segregación racial adquiere dimensiones insospechables: Mississippi. Allí comenzamos a organizar a nuestra gente, a adiestrarla para la lucha. Y ahora nos encontramos en el punto en que es un deber estimular a nuestros jóvenes, a nuestra gente, a pelear.

—¿Qué fines políticos, sociales y económicos persigue su organización?

—Políticamente, queremos que los negros norteamericanos se liberen de la opresión. Anhelamos también que los pueblos del Tercer Mundo obtengan su libertad; particularmente los pueblos de Asia, Africa y América Latina. Porque estamos concientes de que nuestra liberación depende de la liberación de esos pueblos y, viceversa, su liberación depende de la nuestra. Por tanto, tenemos que llevar a cabo la misma lucha.

Políticamente, quiero decir qué dentro de los Estados Unidos perseguimos el derecho a ejercer un control sobre las comunidades en que vivimos. Porque hoy día esas comunidades dentro de las que nos debatimos en medio de una increíble miseria, esas comunidades denominadas **ghettos**, están políticamente controladas por los blancos. Concretamente, en un sentido real y trágico, formamos colonias dentro de los Estados Unidos, como lo son también la mayoría de los países latinoamericanos. Porque no es ningún secreto que estas naciones son controladas por los Estados Unidos. En síntesis, tanto los países de Hispanoamérica como los **ghettos** negros norteamericanos forman parte del imperio colonial de los Estados Unidos.

Económicamente, quisiéramos que nuestro pueblo pudiera disfrutar, obtener todas aquellas cosas que se necesitan para vivir dentro de un marco de decencia y decoro, sin tener que luchar tan duramente como sucede hoy en día, porque son explotados, son víctimas de la estructura política del imperialismo norteamericano. Queremos tener el poder no sólo para controlar los recursos dentro de nuestras comunidades, sino para dividir esos recursos en la medida que sean necesitados por cada una de las comunidades. No queremos establecer un sistema capitalista negro; todo lo contrario, queremos destruir económicamente al capitalismo, porque este sistema siempre va de la mano con el racismo y la explotación. No es ningún secreto que dondequiera que el capitalismo ha perdurado esas dos características han sido su secuela segura. Por consiguiente, tenemos la obligación de destruir al sistema capitalista que nos esclaviza en el interior y que en el exterior esclaviza a los pueblos del Tercer Mundo.

Socialmente, queremos lo que la mayoría de la gente ambiciona en la vida: un pueblo feliz, libre e independiente; un pueblo que pueda tomar las decisiones que considere correctas y de acuerdo con los intereses de las mayorías: un pueblo que participe en todas las decisiones y que nunca se sienta avergonzado por el color de su piel o por su cultura.

Sicológica, física y moralmente queremos un pueblo

que sienta la igualdad en toda su esencia; que rechace al capitalismo de manera definitiva.

—¿Qué relaciones existen entre los negros del norte y el sur, especialmente, y en general todos los Estados Unidos de Norteamérica?

—La mayoría de la gente, y esto es fundamental para que se entienda mejor el problema de los negros, emigró del sur porque en esta región la discriminación racial era más brutal y se decía que la gente del norte no se preocupaba por el color de la piel, que lo que importaba era sólo el trabajo. Se nos decía: "Las oportunidades se presentan a diestra y siniestra; los buenos empleos los hay por doquier; sólo se necesita trabajar duro". Y creímos esa tontería, y porque la creímos hicimos nuestras maletas y nos dirigimos hacia el norte. Pero cuando llegamos nos percatamos de que todo era igual. La lección que aprendimos fue la siguiente: en los Estados Unidos, bajo el sistema capitalista, jamás podremos disfrutar de una vida decente. De tal manera que hoy día usted no encuentra a ningún negro que abrigue la esperanza de una situación decorosa dentro del sistema que impera actualmente en los Estados Unidos.

Como consecuencia de lo anterior, las relaciones entre los negros norteamericanos se han estrechado notablemente. Porque el del sur ya no mira hacia el norte como una vía de escape; no, ahora todos los negros norteamericanos comprendemos que para obtener nuestra liberación debemos unir nuestras manos como un solo pueblo. De esta manera lo que en la actualidad existe en los Estados Unidos es un sentimiento de solidaridad entre todos los negros, en dondequiera que se encuentran. Y esto significa que cuando los blancos tocan hoy día a un negro saben que tienen que tocarlos a todos, a una gran familia; y esto no es sólo un decir, porque la unidad de los negros norteamericanos es muy evidente. Cada vez que un policía racista dispara con-

tra uno de nosotros se ve obligado a enfrentarse a toda una ciudad; es más, el caso ya no se concreta a una ciudad, sino a varias, a muchas ciudades de los Estados Unidos. El sentimiento de solidaridad es real.

—Algunas personas estiman que los negros norteamericanos sólo piensan en su lucha como un conflicto racial, es decir, contra la raza blanca, en vez de interpretarla como una lucha de clases. ¿Qué opina usted al respecto?

—Con relación a esta pregunta, considero de importancia la siguiente afirmación: es tan fuerte el racismo dentro de los Estados Unidos que es casi imposible conseguir que los blancos luchen hombro a hombro con los negros. Porque la mayoría de los blancos pobres o los integrantes de la clase trabajadora blanca, cuando se organizan en los Estados Unidos, no luchan por la redistribución de la tierra; su lucha es por más dinero, todo lo que quieren es más dinero. Y es que no tienen un concepto de lo que es la distribución de los bienes, porque su enfoque es de índole económica y no social. Lo que sucede es que la clase gobernante de los Estados Unidos ha enfocado y enfoca la mirada hacia los países del Tercer Mundo con el objeto de obtener mayores ingresos, ingresos que en parte mínima comparten con la clase trabajadora blanca de los Estados Unidos. Entendamos un hecho indiscutible: la clase gobernante norteamericana nunca reduce sus ganancias; todo lo contrario, las aumenta a costa de la opresión a que somete a los pueblos subdesarrollados. De donde se deduce que una vez que comparte sus ganancias con la clase trabajadora de la raza blanca, ésta se convierte en parte del sistema capitalista y ambas disfrutan de los dineros obtenidos con la sangre de otros pueblos. Por consiguiente, la clase trabajadora de la raza blanca es incapaz de combatir al sistema capitalista, porque se ha convertido en parte del mismo al aceptar el dinero comprometedor.

Stokely Carmichael con el director de SUCESOS durante la entrevista en el cuarto 2008 del Hotel Habana Libre.





Afirma que la lucha armada es la única salida que tiene el hombre "de color" para obtener su liberación en los Estados Unidos

Han surgido Vietnames dentro de los Estados Unidos

podría desarrollarse una conciencia revolucionaria en el seno de la clase trabajadora de la raza blanca sería cuando los Estados Unidos comiencen a perder sus ganancias, ganancias que obtienen de todo el Tercer Mundo. Porque una vez que se inicie este proceso tendrá que buscar en su propia casa los medios para mantener su bienestar relativo. Entonces, sólo entonces la clase trabajadora de la raza blanca desarrollará una conciencia revolucionaria, porque los dirigentes del sistema capitalista norteamericano, una vez reducidas sus fuentes de ingresos provenientes del Tercer Mundo, dejarán de compartir lo que antes compartían con los trabajadores blancos.

Esto significa que hoy día sólo luchan los negros. Claro está: nos gustaría que a esta lucha se uniera la clase trabajadora de la raza blanca. Si participa o no es cuestión que no altera la situación actual. Porque nosotros, los negros, lucharemos hasta vencer. Y cuando la clase trabajadora de la raza blanca decida unirse a esta lucha le daremos la bienvenida; mientras tanto y hasta entonces, continuaremos a la vanguardia.

No puede negarse que la clase gobernante de los Estados Unidos reconoce el concepto de Marx sobre el inevitable conflicto de clases que tarde o temprano habrá de producirse. A fin de evitarlo, de posponerlo, se aferra desesperadamente a las ganancias que le proporciona el Tercer Mundo, para compartirlas en grado mínimo con la clase trabajadora de la raza blanca.

Lo que ha logrado la clase dirigente de los Estados Unidos es posponer el inevitable conflicto de clases. Hoy día el Tercer Mundo se ha convertido en el proletariado, y la sociedad blanca de Occidente ha asumido el papel de la burguesía. De manera que cuando trazamos líneas a lo largo de las líneas del color de la piel, son también líneas de clase, por la forma en que la sociedad blanca occidental se ha "ganado" a la mayoría de su clase trabajadora.

Eso es precisamente lo que Europa hizo cuando en su seno las naciones imperialistas se repartieron África y América Latina, evitando dentro de sus naciones el inevitable conflicto de clases.

Sin embargo, eso ya no puede posponerse, porque la confrontación está aquí. Por otra parte, considero que la gente fuera de los Estados Unidos debe recordar que, a diferencia de cualquier otro pueblo, nosotros fuimos la única gente traída del exterior y esclavizada dentro del continente por los que actualmente nos explotan. Otros pueblos fueron esclavos en sus propios países, de tal manera que cuando pelearon pudieron desarrollar un concepto nacionalista como punto de unión para agruparse. Nosotros, repetimos, fuimos traídos a los Estados Unidos y no podemos desarrollar un concepto nacionalista. Por consiguiente, nuestro concepto tiene que girar en torno al color de nuestra piel, porque fue precisamente debido a este color negro que los blancos decidieron convertirnos en esclavos. En

Resulta, pues, difícil desarrollar una conciencia revolucionaria en las filas de la clase trabajadora de raza blanca. Lo que tenemos, por tanto, es un grupo de ciudadanos blancos que luchan por proteger su dinero. A eso se debe también que no podamos encontrar gente blanca de la clase trabajadora norteamericana que se oponga a la guerra en Vietnam, porque es debido a este genocidio que disfrutaban de ciertas comodidades. Si se oponen a la guerra en Vietnam atacarían al sistema y se perjudicarían a sí mismos.

Por desgracia, los blancos no se dan cuenta de que si destruyen ese sistema podrían construir uno mejor. Sin embargo, es tanto el miedo que tienen que se aferran al sistema capitalista para proteger el saldo actual que los favorece.

En la actualidad son los negros los que integran la vanguardia y dirigen la lucha en los Estados Unidos. Y si ha sido interpretada esta lucha como un conflicto entre negros y blancos, ello se debe única y exclusivamente a que la clase trabajadora blanca se ha solidificado con el grupo privilegiado que oprime a las mayorías, por el vergonzoso temor a perder lo poco que tiene. Nosotros estimamos que la única forma en que

cierto sentido, el color de nuestra piel representa nuestra nacionalidad. Porque lo que hizo el hombre blanco fue diseminar, África, traer negros a los Estados Unidos, regarlos por todos los países del continente, sin nacionalidad alguna.

El caso de Cuba es distinto, porque aquí el africano tiene un concepto de nacionalidad, ya que, al lado del blanco, fue víctima de la opresión y la explotación inmisericorde de los grupos privilegiados. El negro en la isla del Caribe, especialmente a partir de la Revolución, se siente parte del sistema cubano, y ya antes se le llamaba afrocubano.

Infortunadamente para nosotros, eso no ocurre ni puede ocurrir dentro de los Estados Unidos. Porque durante 400 años hemos sido las víctimas de un fascismo brutal y, con excepción de John Brown, ningún hombre blanco ha salido en nuestra defensa. Muchos han hablado y hablan, pero ninguno está dispuesto a pelear para destruir el sistema del cual forman parte.

—¿Qué piensa usted de otras organizaciones de negros en los Estados Unidos, como la dirigida por Martin Luther King?

—Públicamente es muy importante presentar un frente unido, y a eso se debe el hecho de que apoyemos a las organizaciones que en este momento luchan por el negro norteamericano. Cuando en nuestro concepto hayamos logrado agrupar a un número considerable de gente, eliminaremos a las otras organizaciones. Actualmente, a fin de no dividir a quienes participan en la lucha por la reivindicación de la raza negra, apoyamos el frente unido. Pero llegará el momento, muy pronto, en que no se tendrá por qué o qué discutir y simplemente eliminaremos a todos aquellos que ponen obstáculos en el camino de los negros para obtener la verdadera liberación. Por ahora muchos negros norteamericanos se han incorporado al camino de la verdadera liberación.

—¿Qué relaciones existen entre el Comité Coordinador Estudiantil por la No Violencia y el Movimiento Pro Independencia de Puerto Rico? ¿Cómo ve usted la interrelación existente entre la lucha del pueblo puertorriqueño por la independencia y la lucha de los negros en los Estados Unidos? ¿Cómo ve usted la lucha del pueblo negro en los Estados Unidos de América, como una ayuda para los puertorriqueños, y la unidad entre las dos organizaciones?

—Mi hermano Malcolm nos enseñó que debemos internacionalizar nuestra lucha. Y, para seguir algunas de sus enseñanzas, comenzamos por Puerto Rico. Los motivos son múltiples; por ejemplo, en términos de distancia geográfica, está muy cerca de los Estados Unidos y es, en todo el sentido de la palabra, una colonia de los Estados Unidos. Por otra parte, un gran número de personas que viven con nosotros dentro de los ghettos norteamericanos son puertorriqueños.

Pero sucedía que nosotros peleábamos contra los puertorriqueños y, en vez de unirnos para combatir a un sistema que nos oprime, la clase dirigente norteamericana hacía que peleásemos los unos con los otros, mientras los policías blancos nos contemplaban y se reían. Consideramos, entonces, que uno de los medios para comenzar a despertar la conciencia política de nuestro pueblo y establecer lazos con los puertorriqueños era pronunciarnos externamente a favor de la independencia de Puerto Rico. Y hemos logrado la unión. Porque si bien hasta hace poco, cuando la policía atacaba a los puertorriqueños los negros no hacíamos nada y en rea-

lidad era más factible que nos uniéramos a los gendarmes blancos y no a los boricuas —lo mismo ocurría en el caso contrario—, ahora, cuando esto ocurre en Nueva York, en Newark o en Chicago los negros y los puertorriqueños corren juntos para combatir a la policía.

En síntesis: hemos elevado la conciencia política y ahora nos reunimos para discutir los métodos más eficientes para combatir al sistema capitalista que oprime tanto a los negros como a los puertorriqueños.

El acuerdo que tenemos con el MPI está basado en los siguientes puntos:

1.—El Movimiento Pro Independencia de Puerto Rico y la Federación de Universitarios Pro Independencia reconocen al Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) como una organización hermana en la ejemplar lucha que viene desarrollando por la liberación del pueblo negro norteamericano y contra la estructura del poder blanco de los Estados Unidos.

2.—El Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) reconoce al Movimiento Pro Independencia de Puerto Rico como la vanguardia de la lucha del pueblo puertorriqueño por su liberación nacional, y a la Federación de Universitarios Pro Independencia como la organización representativa del estudiantado puertorriqueño en lucha contra el imperialismo, y vanguardia del estudiantado de su patria.

3.—El MPI y la FUPI ofrecen todo su apoyo al pueblo negro norteamericano en su lucha por obtener el poder político y económico en sus comunidades, expresado como la lucha por el poder negro.

4.—El SNCC afirma su apoyo a la lucha del pueblo de Puerto Rico por su independencia nacional.

5.—El SNCC y el MPI y la FUPI entienden que tienen puntos de lucha comunes, como son la lucha contra el reclutamiento de las juventudes de sus pueblos para el ejército de los Estados Unidos, la defensa de la integridad cultural de ambos pueblos, el rescate del patrimonio económico, y otros; y, por lo tanto, se ofrecen mutuamente sus recursos y esfuerzos en la lucha común.

6.—El SNCC y el MPI y la FUPI entienden que la lucha del pueblo puertorriqueño y del pueblo negro de los ghettos urbanos de los Estados Unidos por el control político y económico, por mejores viviendas, por una educación adecuada y por mejores condiciones de vida en general, puede llevarse a cabo sobre bases comunes y mediante acciones conjuntas.

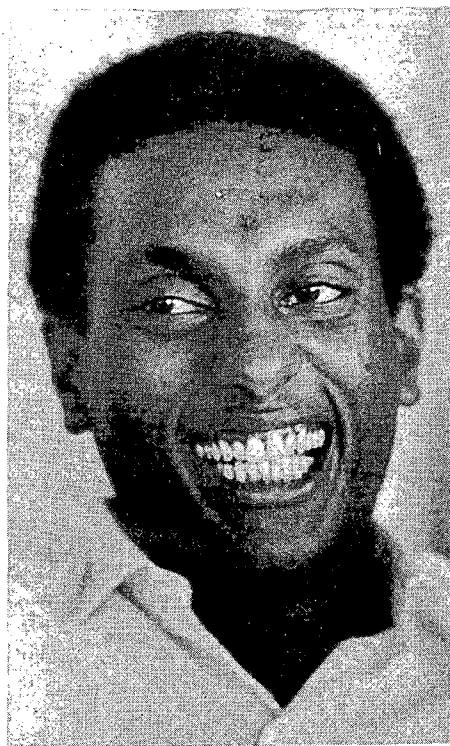
7.—El SNCC y el PMI y la FUPI consideran que la lucha contra el servicio militar obligatorio y contra la agresión norteamericana al pueblo de Vietnam puede fortalecerse mediante actividades conjuntas de estas organizaciones.

8.—El SNCC ofrece su ayuda a las organizaciones puertorriqueñas MPI y FUPI en su batalla por conseguir que el caso colonial de Puerto Rico sea considerado por las Naciones Unidas en breve.

9.—El MPI y la FUPI ofrecen su ayuda para que la opresión del pueblo negro norteamericano adquiera prominencia internacional y se le reconozca no como un problema interno de los Estados Unidos, sino como cuestión que concierne directamente a toda la humanidad.

10.—Las organizaciones señalan que al fortalecer sus luchas mediante actividades específicas, las mismas se llevarán a cabo mediante el mutuo respeto y el mutuo acuerdo.

—¿Qué tipo de lucha se desarrollará en los Estados Unidos contra la política imperialista? ¿Cree usted que la lucha armada es la única que le queda al pueblo nortea-



Negros y puertorriqueños se unen para combatir a quienes los opri- men y humillan

americano para obtener el gobierno? ¿Cuál es su opinión acerca de oponer la violencia revolucionaria a la violencia reaccionaria?

—Permítame informarle de manera muy clara que la única solución es la revolución negra, y que no nos interesa la coexistencia pacífica. La lucha armada es la única forma no solamente para nosotros, sino para todos los pueblos oprimidos del mundo.

Las personas que hoy hablan de coexistencia pacífica están hablando de mantener el **status quo**, porque la única manera de destruir un sistema imperialista es por la fuerza, ya que hablando no se logra nada. Esta medida representa algo que es muy claro para nosotros. Y digo que es claro, muy especialmente, porque durante 400 años la mayoría de los afonorteamericanos, dentro de los Estados Unidos, han estado hablando, hablando y nada más. Y es que se ha olvidado que cuando se habla se está haciendo el juego a los imperialistas, que inventaron el juego de hablar.

Sin embargo, ahora tenemos un nuevo juego que se llama guerra de guerrillas. Es un juego en el cual los imperialistas no pueden participar. Y si usted quiere ganar un juego tiene que establecer las reglas. Si otra persona es la que establece las reglas, ésta siempre gana. Los imperialistas han dejado establecidas las reglas de lo que hablan; por tanto, cuando usted se sienta a hablar con ellos no es posible que pueda ganar. Porque siempre encuentran un motivo por el cual no pueden hacer esto ahora, o por el cual no pueden hacerlo entonces, y parecen muy juiciosos. Y si usted se sienta con ellos y trata de razonar, según sus puntos de vista, en sus propios términos, ¿cómo se puede ganar?

En primer lugar, no tienen derecho a oprimir a los pueblos, de modo que no hay necesidad de hablar de

opresión. No tienen ningún derecho para explotar a nadie. De modo que comenzar a hablar de liberarse de la explotación y la opresión con quienes son responsables de las mismas, resulta ridículo. Esto resulta algo así como si un esclavo se sentara a hablar con su amo acerca de cuándo ha de ponerlo en libertad. Esto es algo que no tiene sentido, porque el amo no tiene ningún deseo de ofrecerle la libertad. ¿Qué es lo que el esclavo tiene que hacer? Es bien fácil contestar: que se levante y que mate al amo, en caso de que el amo se niegue a cesar en su explotación. Esta es la única solución.

Por tanto, resulta sumamente claro en cuanto a nosotros se refiere: la lucha armada es el único camino. No queda tiempo para hablar. Hemos hablado y hablado, hablado y hablado durante demasiado tiempo. Tenemos que destruir el sistema por la fuerza.

Además la violencia reaccionaria puede ser legalizada por la gente que está en el poder. Por ejemplo, si yo matara a un hombre que tuviera los ojos oblicuos y esto lo hiciera en los Estados Unidos o en Vietnam, existirían dos reacciones diferentes. Si yo matara a 30 hombres que tuvieran los ojos oblicuos y lo realizara en Vietnam, recibiría una medalla, ya que es seguro que estaría en el Ejército. Pero si matara a los 30 o matara a uno en los Estados Unidos, digamos en Nueva York, entonces iría a parar a la silla eléctrica por haber cometido un asesinato.

Así es que no se trata de un problema de violencia, no; es cuestión de quién puede legalizar la violencia. Eso es todo. Un policía puede disparar contra cualquiera y darle muerte al que quiera, por cualquier motivo, y comparecer ante un tribunal y declarar: "Lo hice cumpliendo con mi obligación". Y lo dejan en libertad. Pero una persona que le cause la muerte a un policía automáticamente va a parar a la cárcel.

Por consiguiente, la violencia no debe discutirse. Se

debe* tratar el hecho de si usted puede o no legalizarla. Y los pueblos oprimidos del mundo deben legalizar la violencia en sus propias mentes, como medio de resolver el problema. Una vez que hayan legalizado la violencia, entonces no hay qué preguntar o qué responder: se trata sólo de echar mano a lo que les pertenece.

De modo que los reaccionarios sólo se mantienen en el poder mediante las armas, pero legalizan su violencia y luego predicán con cinismo inaudito que la violencia no es la forma que debe adoptarse. Quíteles sus armas y sus fuerzas imperialistas y vamos a ver cuántas son las personas que los escuchan; quíteles las bases que tienen en Santo Domingo, Venezuela, el Brasil, Chile, en toda América Latina, y llévase los armamentos que tienen en esos lugares, y verá cómo nadie les presta atención. Pero es debido a sus armas que los pueblos se ven obligados a escucharlos. Y, por tanto, lo único que tiene que hacerse es acostumbrarse a las armas y tener la voluntad y la firmeza de lucha. Entonces, la respuesta es la correcta.

Por ejemplo, queremos que usted observe a las personas que son pacifistas y todas estas tonterías relacionadas con el pacifismo. Los Estados Unidos, la Gran Bretaña, Francia y la URSS han desarrollado las bombas atómicas y de hidrógeno. Después que las desarrollaron se reunieron y declararon: "Vamos a poner fin a las pruebas nucleares; no habrá más pruebas". Y todo el mundo se quedó ahí sentado y creyeron todas las tonterías, dado que le estaban diciendo a los pueblos: "No queremos que haya más bombas, y si son más los pueblos que tienen bombas esto se traducirá en violencia".

Pero lo que estaban haciendo, ya que eran ellos los que tenían las bombas, era impedir que otros pueblos pudieran desarrollar el mismo poderío. Por tanto, no trataban a los demás sobre una base de equidad. Si existiera la igualdad para todos, todos deberían tener la bomba.

Y así tenemos un ejemplo de cómo el Occidente utiliza la violencia para detener a otros pueblos.

Israel posee la bomba atómica, que le dieron los Estados Unidos. Si hubiera igualdad, como Israel tiene la bomba atómica Egipto necesita tener también la bomba atómica. De lo contrario, Israel puede amenazar con dejar caer la bomba contra Egipto y este país se convertiría en víctima del chantaje atómico. Todo el mundo debe tener la bomba atómica; esto es algo demasiado claro. Por tanto, no se puede hablar de poner fin a las pruebas nucleares mientras todos los países no hayan desarrollado la bomba.

Cuando todas las naciones del mundo, desde la pequeña Cuba hasta la gran China, tengan la bomba de hidrógeno, entonces usted podrá decir: "Todos vamos a poner fin a las pruebas nucleares"; antes, resulta absurdo hablar sobre el particular.

Otro ejemplo de esto serían Cuba y los Estados Unidos. Los norteamericanos pueden amenazar a Cuba, ya que cuentan con armas que pueden dejar caer en la isla. El ejemplo desde luego fue bastante reciente: le sucedió a los soviéticos cuando los Estados Unidos estuvieron amenazando con que iban a dejar caer bombas y la URSS dijo que los cohetes iban a ser retirados.

Los Estados Unidos obligaron a la URSS a retirar sus cohetes. Una vez que éstos fueron retirados, Cuba quedó a merced de los Estados Unidos, exceptuando un algo que creo es lo que ha constituido la diferencia en el mundo de hoy: la dignidad y la voluntad de luchar hasta vencer.

Se ve claramente que Occidente ha desarrollado el mejor sistema de armamentos que existe en la actualidad. Pero queda un algo, y ese algo consiste en que los armamentos jamás podrán derrotar la voluntad de los hombres para luchar. Esto es precisamente el mundo de hoy: los pueblos oprimidos tienen la voluntad de luchar y están luchando contra quienes los oprimen.

Por tanto, como señala Mao: se trata de una lucha de armamentos contra la voluntad de los hombres. Y nosotros creemos que los armamentos jamás podrán triunfar sobre la voluntad de los hombres para luchar:

Y buen ejemplo es el caso de Vietnam, donde los Estados Unidos descargan hoy todos sus armamentos y se ven imposibilitados de derrotar a una pequeña nación, debido a que ésta tiene la voluntad de combatir y está dispuesta a luchar hasta la muerte antes que permitir que los Estados Unidos la esclavicen. /

Cuando los Estados Unidos hablaron de bombardear y disparar cohetes contra Cuba, declararon que la isla del Caribe no tenía derecho a defenderse. También declararon que Cuba no tenía por qué tener ningún tipo de cohetes. Y el resto del mundo estuvo contemplando a Cuba más bien que a los Estados Unidos, debido a que esta nación no tenía por qué fomentar una agresión contra Cuba, exactamente igual que no tiene tampoco por qué hacerlo contra Vietnam. Y lo que sucede es que el pueblo vietnamita está librando no sólo una guerra defensiva, sino una propaganda defensiva. Porque tiene todo el derecho a dejar caer una bomba en los Estados Unidos e iniciar un bombardeo sobre ese país, igualándolos en términos de lucha. Esto sería una verdadera igualdad, pero, en vez de eso, se ven obligados a sostener una guerra defensiva. Y ésta era también la posición de Cuba respecto de los cohetes: Estaban luchando en una guerra defensiva.

Y lo que el pueblo ha comentado del libro de Debray, **Revolución en la revolución**, es que se debe comenzar a actuar más allá de una guerra defensiva, y que la próxima medida de los pueblos del Tercer Mundo es actuar más allá de una guerra defensiva.

—¿Qué piensa usted de la guerra de guerrillas en el continente americano como medio para obtener su liberación? ¿Qué piensa usted de este tipo de lucha para ser desarrollada por la gente de color en el campo y en las ciudades de los Estados Unidos de Norteamérica?

—Los imperialistas se apoderaron de todo por la fuerza. Por ejemplo, extinguieron a la población indígena de Cuba y se posesionaron de la tierra. Por consiguiente, la única forma de obtener la liberación es la fuerza. Y el único camino para dar inicio a la fuerza es comenzar desde luego la guerra de guerrillas, que nunca debe ser discutida en el sentido de si está bien o mal. Es el único camino para terminar con la explotación y la opresión. El iniciar una discusión sobre si es acertada, o lo contrario, es participar en el juego de los imperialistas. Cuando se está haciendo la guerra no hay nada que esté bien o que esté mal; se trata, simplemente, de que usted sienta la necesidad de lograr su objetivo. Y eso es lo que nosotros debemos comprender, aquellos de nosotros que estamos en el mundo de los oprimidos. No hay ninguna duda: la guerra de guerrillas es el único camino. No preguntaremos si está bien o está mal; sólo plantaremos la cuestión táctica de cuándo utilizarla. Esa es la única cuestión que nos debe preocupar.

Hacia la guerra de guerrillas nos estamos moviendo en los Estados Unidos. Vamos a desarrollar una guerrilla urbana y los vamos a vencer en ese terreno, porque hay algo que los imperialistas no tienen: sus hombres no tienen el deseo de combatir, no tienen el deseo de librar lo que ellos llaman guerra de guerrillas, que es en realidad un combate cuerpo a cuerpo. Vea: sus hombres son cobardes. La Norteamérica blanca es la nación más cobarde del mundo. Puede enviar un millón de hombres a Vietnam, pero no puede matar al pueblo vietnamita, y este pueblo, en combate cuerpo a cuerpo, los aniquilaría. Y lo que hace el imperialismo, es decir que en Vietnam se libra una guerra de guerrillas, y uno piensa que la guerra de guerrillas es sucia, que no es limpia. Entonces afirman que para vencer a la guerrilla se enviarán muchos



De izquierda a derecha: Los dirigentes negros George Ware, Julius Kister y Stokely Carmichael.

Carmichael subraya que para luchar contra el capitalismo internacional la solidaridad de los movimientos de liberación nacional debe ser efectiva y sin límite

aviones que lancen bombas. Nadie pregunta: ¿No es más repugnante enviar a un hombre en un avión que puede dejar caer 50 ó 60 bombas sobre mujeres y niños indefensos, o usar **napalm** y bombardearlos y quemarlos hasta la muerte? ¿No piensa usted que el combate cuerpo a cuerpo es mucho más honorable? Tal es la cuestión. Simplemente, cuándo es el momento de utilizarlo. La guerra de guerrillas urbana es el único medio por el cual venceremos en los Estados Unidos, porque ellos no pueden usar bombas contra nosotros, ya que nos encontramos dentro de su país. Ellos tendrán que luchar con nosotros en combate cuerpo a cuerpo, y nosotros los venceremos.

La contraparte de esto será en el sur, en la parte del país donde nosotros conocemos el terreno y por años hemos trabajado la tierra, donde el hombre blanco ha disfrutado de nuestro sudor, al hacernos caminar por toda la región. En realidad nos ha hecho un gran favor, porque hemos conocido la zona y cuando subamos a la montaña desde allí lo venceremos otra vez, en una guerra de guerrillas. La única forma en que podremos ponerlos de rodillas es mediante una guerra de guerrillas, que es la única en que ellos no pueden luchar con sus grandes cañones y sus grandes bombas. Y ése es el camino a seguir, porque ellos no tienen agallas.

—¿Qué piensa usted de la solidaridad entre todos los países que luchan por su liberación?

—Es la única respuesta. Pienso que lo que nosotros no comprendemos, lo que no hemos comprendido en el

pasado es que el capitalismo se ha convertido en internacional y estamos luchando contra el capitalismo internacional. Por tanto, para combatir al capitalismo internacional se debe emprender una lucha internacional. Lo que ha sucedido en el pasado, por ejemplo, es que si una nación estaba luchando todos le deseaban buena suerte pero nadie veía el hecho como parte de su misma lucha; aun cuando podían ver que los mismos países estaban oprimiendo a ese otro país, todavía no establecían en sus mentes que se trataba de un enemigo común. Lo que hemos hecho hoy es esclarecer esta situación en nuestras mentes. Nosotros vemos un enemigo común; luchamos contra una estructura internacional que nos esclaviza, y el único camino para derrotarla es internacionalizar nuestra lucha. En esta forma habrá un poder internacional combatiendo a otro poder internacional. Esta es la única manera de que podamos vencer, porque si hacemos lo que dice el **Che**, es decir, crear dos, tres, muchos Vietnams, los tendremos luchando en todos los frentes al mismo tiempo y no podrán ganar. Cuando nosotros aislamos la lucha, el imperialismo puede volcar todo su poderío sobre un país, y ese país está perdido.

Peró ellos no pueden combatirnos a todos al mismo tiempo. Así, aun cuando no tengamos las mismas ideas, la misma ideología, tenemos un enemigo común: el imperialismo. Y eso, más que ninguna otra cosa, es lo que nos unirá.

—¿Qué piensa usted de la Organización de Solidaridad de los Países de Asia, Africa y América Latina? ¿Qué espera una organización como la suya de la OSPAAL?

—Bien, una de las cosas es que estamos ahora empezando a concretar nuestras relaciones con esos grupos. La primera cosa que debemos hacer es simplemente reunirnos con todos los combatientes; sentarnos y conversar con ellos e intercambiar ideas. Entonces, una vez que hayamos hecho esto, podemos comenzar a movernos juntos, a planear juntos la estrategia y táctica a seguir en la lucha por nuestra liberación. Pero la única forma en que podremos hacer esto será cuando comencemos a in-



LA HABANA: STOKELY CARMICHAEL EN CONFERENCIA DE PRENSA.

ternacionalizar nuestra lucha, porque el enemigo tiene sus sistemas de espionaje de la CIA y todas sus agencias de inteligencia, que son internacionales y trabajan coordinadamente una con la otra. Así pueden asesinar y organizar golpes contra los gobiernos que comienzan a luchar por la liberación.

Una vez que hayamos tomado el poder —porque lo haremos—, la cuestión es comenzar a desarrollar un sistema internacional que no dé paso al capitalismo, en el que podamos comerciar unos con otros, basados en nuestras necesidades y en lo que cada país tenga, más bien que tratar de controlar el mercado mundial, donde se establecen precios para las mercancías de acuerdo con las ganancias y no con las necesidades de la humanidad. Porque descubriremos que cuando tomemos el poder, a menos que tengamos el espíritu, la voluntad y la inteligencia de los líderes de Cuba, muchos de nosotros terminaremos como todos los otros países que sufren golpes de Estado o donde la toma del poder terminó aceptando la estructura burocrática total que los imperialistas han impuesto en sus países y no estarán en condiciones de combatir. Así que debemos comenzar. La otra cosa que debemos empezar es el intercambio de luchadores con los pueblos de África y América Latina que están luchando por su liberación. Así podremos establecer un sistema internacional de guerra de guerrillas y, por ejemplo, cuando podamos empezar a pelear en los Estados Unidos la verdadera guerra, si la gente de otros países desea venir a los Estados Unidos y ayudarnos a luchar, eso estará bien y será bueno. Nosotros deseamos lo mismo, nosotros estaremos deseando ir y luchar, porque eso es lo que los capitalistas hacen. Cada vez que uno de sus países tiene problemas, envían ayuda a ese país. Eso está claro y pasó con Israel, país capitalista apoyado por el imperialismo occidental; cuando tuvo problemas, todos ellos lo apoyaron, incluso Francia. Lo que nosotros tenemos que hacer es reconocer que una vez que la lucha comienza hay que tener la voluntad de apoyar a las fuerzas de liberación con nuestros hombres, así como ellos tienen la voluntad

de apoyarse con sus cañones, su dinero y sus hombres.

—¿Qué piensa usted de la Organización de Solidaridad para América Latina? ¿Qué espera una organización como la suya de la OLAS?

—Esta es la primera conferencia de la OLAS y nosotros nos sentimos más que honrados, felices y complacidos de estar aquí y de poder ser parte de ella, por muchas, muchísimas razones. La primera es que América Latina está muy cerca de nosotros geográficamente. América Latina es uno de los continentes que los Estados Unidos explotan. Muchos latinoamericanos vienen a los Estados Unidos, así es que por todas esas razones y la cercanía de Latinoamérica es necesario que comencemos a actuar. Cuba es parte de Latinoamérica, y los Estados Unidos quieren verdaderamente aplastar a Cuba; y Cuba es una inspiración, una esperanza no sólo para los negros en los Estados Unidos sino para todos los países latinoamericanos, para comenzar a luchar, para comenzar a combatir. Así que es adecuado y propio que la OLAS se reúna en Cuba y que nosotros hayamos venido a demostrar nuestra solidaridad, no sólo con palabras sino con nuestra voluntad de dar nuestra vida en la línea de fuego de las luchas de América Latina.

Queremos explicar a los países de América Latina que nuestra lucha está comenzando, porque ahora la única información es la proveniente de la AP y de la UPI, que son parte del sistema de control de comunicaciones de los imperialistas; a la inversa, nosotros no podemos obtener ninguna noticia de los países latinoamericanos si no es a través de la UPI y la AP, y esto significa otra vez el sistema de control de los imperialistas. Así, lo que se nos informa es que hay bandidos, o que hay grupos de fuerzas rebeldes, o que los comunistas están luchando en Venezuela, o fuerzas rebeldes en las calles de Guatemala o Santo Domingo o Panamá. Y sólo mediante nuestra conciencia política de que esos grupos están luchando por sus países podemos leer entre las mentiras y la propaganda lo que ha sucedido. Es la primera vez que tenemos una oportunidad de encontrar a la gente que está realmente luchan-



do por su liberación y comenzar a explicarnos las ideologías, para ver si las bases comunes están en la ideología, y comprender su lucha y explicarles la nuestra, sin necesidad de que la propaganda imperialista dé la interpretación de nuestras luchas a unos y otros. Esta es la primera cosa; la segunda es que debemos llevar adelante juntos nuestras luchas; y eso se está haciendo simplemente con nuestra presencia. Y tercero, comenzar a contrarrestar a la OEA, y el simple hecho de que tengamos la conferencia aquí está haciéndolo ya; neutralizará a la OEA y comenzará a minimizar su importancia en la mente de nuestros pueblos, lo que es muy importante, ya que el control de la propaganda por el imperialismo puede ganar la conciencia de nuestro pueblo y una de las luchas más importantes hoy en día es la que se libra por ganar la conciencia del pueblo. Una vez que hayamos logrado esto no habrá duda de que estaremos preparados para luchar y para elaborar sistemas y caminos de ayuda y apoyo mutuo.

—¿Qué tiene usted que decirles a líderes guerrilleros como Douglas Bravo, de Venezuela; Fabio Vázquez y Marulanda, de Colombia; César Montes, de Guatemala; y los líderes de las guerrillas bolivianas?

—Queremos decir a nuestros hermanos, a nuestros camaradas, que aunque ellos puedan no saberlo hay muchos de nosotros aquí que seguimos muy de cerca y muy atentamente cualquier noticia sobre sus luchas. Sabemos que están sosteniendo una victoriosa, valiente y buena lucha; y pese a que no controlamos el sistema de comunicaciones, podemos decirles que no deben desesperar nunca, ni temer nunca que su lucha sea en vano o que nadie sepa de ella. Nosotros la conocemos y estamos con ellos. No está lejano el día en que puedan actuar libremente y juntos podamos, mano a mano, construir el mundo que estamos luchando por construir. Nuestro único mensaje para ellos es que no desespere y que mantengan alta la lucha, porque los tenemos como inspiración y esperanza.

—¿Qué piensa usted de la agresión a Vietnam?

—Pienso que es la agresión más repugnante en el mundo actual. Pienso que es odio y cobardía de parte de

los Estados Unidos. Pienso que es la guerra más sucia que haya sido hecha nunca, y por eso pienso que ante la voluntad del pueblo vietnamita los Estados Unidos perderán esa guerra.

—¿Qué le hizo venir a Cuba?

—Cuando la Revolución Cubana empezó, yo era un muchacho y estaba muy interesado en ella; mi interés fue creciendo por el hecho de que cuando el primer ministro de Cuba, Fidel Castro, fue a los Estados Unidos, vivió en Harlem, con los negros; él vino al hotel **Teresa**, y eso significó que nuestra relación con Cuba se convirtió en algo verdadero, en el sentido de que su primer ministro, en forma distinta a todos los primeros ministros que habían venido al país, fue a vivir en el **ghetto**, con nosotros, mientras estuvo en los Estados Unidos. Nosotros pensamos siempre que debíamos pagar a Cuba esa visita de Fidel Castro.

En segundo lugar, nosotros hemos sabido siempre que la Revolución Cubana es una buena revolución. Mientras mucha gente en los Estados Unidos ponía en tela de juicio a la Revolución Cubana, nosotros nunca lo hicimos; nosotros sabíamos que estaba bien. Nosotros vinimos a Cuba simplemente a aprender, y en los pocos días que hemos estado aquí lo que hemos aprendido de la Revolución Cubana no podríamos haberlo aprendido nunca en los libros, las películas o cualquier otro medio. He podido estar aquí, vivir entre gente libre y comprender y ver cómo están resolviendo sus problemas. Eso es lo que vinimos a hacer: vinimos a aprender y hemos aprendido bastante.

—¿Qué piensa del primer ministro de Cuba, Fidel Castro?

—Es el hombre más grande que he conocido.

—¿Qué piensa del Che Guevara y de lo que ha dicho sobre la revolución en América Latina y en todo el mundo?

—Estamos de acuerdo en un 150% con el **Che**, él se está convirtiendo en uno de los hombres más ampliamente leídos en los Estados Unidos negros, hoy en día. Los negros están leyendo al **Che** dondequiera que usted vaya; y no sólo eso: se lee al **Che** en todo el mundo. Una de las razones, pienso yo, es que el **Che** es un hombre que no ha hablado de la revolución, sino que la ha hecho. Es un hombre que aun después de haber ganado una lucha revolucionaria por el poder, en este país, dejó a su esposa y fue a otros países para ayudar a iniciar la lucha, con riesgo de su propia vida. No encontramos un hombre así cada día.

—La lucha que usted está librando en los Estados Unidos da a cierta gente la impresión de que usted ha firmado su sentencia de muerte. ¿Qué piensa usted al respecto?

—El hermano Malcolm solía decirnos que hay varias clases de muerte. Yo pienso que la gente deshumanizada que no devuelve el golpe es una gente muerta. Eso es lo que el occidente ha podido hacer con la mayoría de nosotros. Nos ha deshumanizado hasta el punto de que ni siquiera devolveríamos los golpes. Una vez que usted comienza a hacerlo, usted está vivo, usted está vivo y las balas no lo matarán. Si usted no devuelve el golpe, usted está muerto y todo el dinero del mundo no puede devolverle la vida. Hoy nosotros estamos vivos, estamos vivos en todo el mundo; todos los pueblos oprimidos están volviendo a la vida porque están devolviendo los golpes, están luchando por la humanidad. Cuando usted está muerto, cuando usted no se rebela, usted no está luchando para vivir: usted está ya muerto. Pero nosotros estamos vivos, y amamos tanto la vida que estamos dispuestos a perderla. Estamos vivos. La muerte no puede detenernos.

TRANSLATION FROM SPANISH

From "Prensa Latina," ("Latin Press"), a daily bulletin of the Latin American News Agency, No. 2707, August 18, 1967.

Item appearing on page 14

A Message of Carmichael to the Negroes of the U. S.:
"Let Us Fight For Total Revolution."

Havana, Cuba, August 17 ("Prensa Latina"). On August 18, second anniversary of the imperialist slaughter of the population in the Negro ghetto in the American city of Watts, Afro-American leader, Stokely Carmichael sent a message to the fraternal peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America during a program put on the air weekly by OSPAAAL in English, French and Spanish over the facilities of Radio Havana, Cuba.

Carmichael's message reads: "Comrades of the Third World of Asia, Africa and Latin America: I want you to know that the Afro-Americans in the United States are struggling for their liberation and that this struggle is not a struggle of a reformist movement which seeks to be a part of the United States. It is a struggle in a total revolution by which we propose to change the imperialist, capitalist and racist structure of the United States which oppresses you from without and us from within.

"We want you to know," said Carmichael, "that the news which the imperialist press disseminates to you to the effect that the racial disturbances are racial riots in the United States is false. They are rebellious insurrections by a people that has been oppressed by a system with which it tried to peacefully coexist for 400 years without any success whatsoever. We have no alternative but to take up arms and struggle for our total liberation and a total revolution in the United States.

"We want you to know that our struggle is not a struggle for peace, law and order. Our struggle is a struggle for justice, equality and the redistribution of wealth in the United States.

"We want you to know that our struggle is not a struggle to be a part of the United States which exploits Latin America, which exploits Asia, which exploits the Caribbean area, which exploits Africa. Our struggle is a struggle to put an end to this exploitation because we are a part of the peoples of the Third World. We are Africans. That is where we were taken away from. We were kidnapped, stolen from Africa and for this reason we cannot be a part of the United States which rapes the African continent. We cannot accept money from a country that pillages Africa, that steals from those of our own flesh, our own blood. If they think that their own flesh and blood are important, we feel the same way about our own flesh and blood whether in Africa or anywhere our African brothers are exploited; in South America, in the Caribbean, in Latin America and in Asia where the struggling nations are waging the very same battle we are waging because it is a battle against the same enemy.

"We want you to know, brothers, that in the future we will not fight in any racist and imperialist wars of the United States. We are shaping a revolutionary awareness in our people, especially in the youth. We will not fight in the uniform of the armed forces of the United States. We are already refusing to fight in Vietnam and we are refusing to fight in Vietnam because we are creating a Negro resistance movement by which our people begin to understand that the people of Vietnam are not our enemies, but rather, the opposite is true. They are our friends. They are doing no harm to us; they are not inflicting any punishment on us; they are not disturbing us in any way, manner or form. There is no reason for us to fight the Vietnamese people and, for this reason, we are not going to fight in that dirty war.

"We are not going to fight in that dirty war. And we are not going to fight in their continuous aggressions against the Dominican Republic, Venezuela, Brazil, Africa, Malaya, Aden; we are not going to be the accomplices of this aggression. Whenever a riot breaks out in the main cities of the United States, we want you to know that it means that a new blow is being dealt the imperialists who oppress you. Every time we struggle in the cities, we strike a blow in the name of Nkrumah, who was overthrown by the CIA. Every time we strike a blow, we strike it in the name of Sukarno and the million people assassinated

in Indonesia. Every time we stage a riot in a major city, we strike a blow at the Bay of Pigs invasion. Every time that we riot in a major city, we strike a blow against the imperialists who occupy Puerto Rico and turn it into a play thing for their pleasure. Every time we riot, we strike a blow in the name of the people of Malaya, of the people of Aden, of the people of Tanzania, of the people of Mozambique.

We want you to know that August 18, 1965, is a date which we all in the United States carry in our hearts. It is the date of the Watts riot. It was on that date that the Afro-Americans of the United States decided that it was no longer possible to try to coexist, but that the only solution was a Negro revolution. It was the date on which we decided that arms are the only reply. It was on that date that we decided that we had had enough sweet talk because while talking, our people continued to suffer. The time for talks is over, we cannot continue to withstand the sufferings of our people.

"We want you to know, brothers and sisters of the whole world, that our struggle is your struggle. From now on, the men whom the United States has trained in Vietnam, Negroes whom they have taught to kill another nonwhite people, are returning to their homes and have no intention of killing you. In our next battle, we will be struggling in Portuguese Guinea with such brothers and comrades of ours as Amilcar Cabral, against the Portuguese. In our next battle we will be struggling in Tanzania against the forces of oppression, In our next battle, we will be struggling in Zimbabwe (sic) against Great Britain and the United States. In our next battle, we will be struggling in the Congo. In our next battle, we will be struggling in Brazil against the structures which oppress the Brazilian people. In our next battle, we will be struggling in Colombia, New York, Detroit, Newark, Watts, Chicago, Cleveland, Washington, Baltimore...

That is where we shall be fighting. Our struggle will be the same. All our struggles need to be coordinated. Our peoples have been oppressed for centuries. The time has come for us to join forces and to place ourselves in the sun again, where we belong, so that we may again be a proud happy and free people. This is the task ahead of us. Brothers: we are ready to begin today to destroy, from within, the structures that have oppressed all of us and we hope that you begin from without, to destroy them also.

Let us march forward, We will win.

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MENSAJE DE CARMICHAEL A LOS NEGROS EN EE.UU.: LUCHEMOS POR REVOLUCION TOTAL

LA HABANA, Cuba. 17 de agosto. (PRENSA LATINA). Con motivo de cumplirse el 18 de agosto el segundo aniversario de la matanza imperialista contra la población del ghetto negro de la ciudad norteamericana de Watts, el líder afronorteamericano Stokely Carmichael envió a través del programa que semanalmente transmite la OSPAAAL, en inglés, francés y español, - por las frecuencias de Radio Habana Cuba, un mensaje a los hermanos pueblos de Arica, Asia y América Latina.

El mensaje de Carmichael dice textualmente: "Compañeros del Tercer Mundo, de Asia, África y América Latina: Quiero que sepan que los afro-norteamericanos dentro de los Estados Unidos están luchando por su liberación, y que esa lucha no es una lucha de un movimiento reformista que pretenda ser parte de los Estados Unidos. Es una lucha de revolución total, - en la que nos proponemos cambiar la estructura imperialista, capitalista y racista de los Estados Unidos que los oprime a ustedes afuera y a nosotros adentro.

"Queremos que sepan --dijo Carmichael-- que las noticias diseminadas entre ustedes por la prensa imperialista en el sentido de que los disturbios en los Estados Unidos son disturbios raciales o motines raciales, son falsas; son rebeliones, insurrecciones de un pueblo que ha sido oprimido por un sistema, que ha tratado de coexistir pacíficamente dentro de ese sistema durante 400 años, sin lograr éxito alguno. No tenemos otra alternativa que empuñar las armas y luchar por nuestra liberación total y una revolución total en los Estados Unidos.

"Queremos que sepan que nuestra lucha no es una lucha por la paz, por la ley o el orden. Nuestra lucha es la lucha por la justicia, igualdad y la redistribución de la riqueza dentro de los Estados Unidos.

"Queremos que sepan que nuestra lucha no es una lucha por ser una parte de los Estados Unidos, que explota a la América Latina, que explota a Asia, que explota la zona del Caribe, que explota a África. Nuestra lucha es una lucha por liquidar esa explotación, porque somos parte de los pueblos del Tercer Mundo. Somos africanos, de allí fuimos sacados. Fuimos secuestrados y robados de África, y por tanto no podemos ser parte de los Estados Unidos, que viola al continente africano. No podemos aceptar dinero de un país que saquea a África, que roba a nuestra propia carne, a nuestra propia sangre, y si para ellos son importantes su propia carne y sangre, -- también lo son para nosotros, ya sea en África o donde quiera que exploten a nuestros hermanos africanos, o en América del Sur, o en el Caribe, o en América Latina o en Asia, donde los pueblos que luchan están librando la misma batalla que nosotros libramos, porque es contra el mismo enemigo.

"Queremos que sepan, hermanos, que en el futuro no vamos a pelear en ninguna de las guerras racistas e imperialistas de los Estados Unidos. Estamos conformando una conciencia revolucionaria en nuestro pueblo, especialmente entre los jóvenes. No lucharemos con el uniforme de las fuerzas armadas de los Estados Unidos. Ya nos estamos negando a luchar en Vietnam, y nos estamos negando a luchar en Vietnam porque estamos creando un movimiento negro de resistencia, mediante el cual nuestro pueblo comienza a comprender -- que el pueblo de Vietnam no es nuestro enemigo; sino todo lo contrario, es nuestro amigo; no nos hace daño, no nos castiga, no nos molesta en forma alguna. No existe razón alguna para luchar contra el pueblo vietnamita, y por tanto, no vamos a pelear en esa guerra sucia.

"No vamos a pelear en esa guerra sucia. Y no vamos a pelear porque van a continuar agrediendo a Santo Domingo, Venezuela, Brasil, a África, Malaya, Adén, y no vamos a ser cómplices de esa agresión. Cada vez que se produce una rebelión en las principales ciudades de los Estados Unidos, queremos que sepan que significa un nuevo golpe a los imperialistas que los oprimen a ustedes. Cada vez que luchamos en las ciudades, damos un golpe en nombre de Nkrumah, derrocado por la CIA; cada vez que damos un golpe lo damos en nombre de Sukarno y el millón de personas asesinadas en Indonesia; cada vez que nos rebelamos en una gran ciudad, damos un golpe a la invasión en Playa Girón; cada vez que nos rebelamos en una gran ciudad, damos un golpe a los imperialistas que han ocupado y manejan a su antojo a Puerto Rico; cada vez que nos rebelamos, damos un golpe en nombre del pueblo de Malaya, del pueblo de Adén, del pueblo de Tanzania, del pueblo de Mozambique. SIGUE...

Queremos que sepan que el 18 de agosto de 1965, es una fecha que todos nosotros en los Estados Unidos llevamos en nuestros corazones. Es la fecha de la rebelión de Watts, ese fue el día en que los afroamericanos en los Estados Unidos decidieron que ya no era posible seguir tratando de coexistir, sino que la única solución es la revolución negra. Fue la fecha en que decidimos que las armas son la única respuesta. Fue la fecha en que decidimos que estaba bueno ya de palabras, porque mientras se hablaba, nuestra gente continuaba sufriendo. La época de la palabrería ha terminado. No podemos seguir soportando el sufrimiento de nuestro pueblo.

"Queremos que sepan, hermanos y hermanas de todo el mundo, que nuestra lucha es vuestra lucha. Desde hoy en adelante, los hombres que los Estados Unidos han entrenado en Vietnam, los negros a quienes han enseñado a matar a otro pueblo no blanco, están regresando a sus hogares y ya no los asesinarán a ustedes. Cuando luchemos otra vez, estaremos luchando en la Guinea Portuguesa con nuestros hermanos y compañeros como Amílcar Cabral, contra los portugueses. Cuando luchemos, estaremos luchando en Tanzania contra las fuerzas opresoras; cuando luchemos otra vez, estaremos luchando en Zimbabwe contra Gran Bretaña y los Estados Unidos; cuando luchemos otra vez, estaremos luchando en el Congo; cuando luchemos, estaremos luchando en Brasil contra las estructuras que oprimen al pueblo brasileño; cuando luchemos, estaremos luchando en Colombia, Nueva York, Detroit, Newark, Watts, Chicago, Cleveland, Washington, Baltimore...

Allí es donde lucharemos. Nuestra lucha será la misma. Nuestras luchas deben coordinarse. Nuestros pueblos han estado oprimidos durante siglos. Es hora de que nos juntemos y nos pongamos al sol nuevamente, donde pertenecemos, para que podamos ser pueblos orgullosos, felices y libres. Esa es la tarea que tenemos por delante. Hermanos: estamos listos para comenzar hoy a destruir desde dentro, las estructuras que nos han oprimido a todos, y esperamos que ustedes comiencen, desde fuera, a destruirlas también.

Marchemos adelante.
Venceremos.

PREPARAN ASESINATO DE DEBRAY; ROTH SERA TESTIGO EN EL JUICIO

LA PAZ, Bolivia. 17 de agosto (PRENSA LATINA). en víspera de iniciarse el Consejo de Guerra contra Regis Debray, elementos vinculados al régimen boliviano han reiniciado una campaña en favor de la implantación de la pena de muerte.

Al mismo tiempo "personas desconocidas" han comenzado a moverse en torno al Casino Militar de Camiri, donde se encuentran detenidos Debray, el argentino Ciro Roberto Bustos y 4 ciudadanos bolivianos, acusados de haber colaborado con las guerrillas. Los efectivos militares que custodian a los detenidos, fueron reforzados hoy sorpresivamente. Un alto oficial del ejército dijo que se había adoptado esa medida para evitar que alguien intentara lunchar a Debray y a sus compañeros.

Hace varias semanas, agentes del gobierno agredieron al abogado Walter Flores Torrico, quien fuera defensor de Debray, e intentaron penetrar en el campamento antiguerrillero de Camiri para asesinar al intelectual galo. Las autoridades militares mantienen a Debray bajo una absoluta incomunicación y sólo le permite salir de su celda durante una hora al día, en medio de una estrecha vigilancia.

Por otra parte, en información publicada por el diario católico "Presencia", el presidente del Consejo de Guerra, coronel Efraín Guachalla, expresó la posibilidad de que el fotógrafo inglés George A. Roth, quien se encuentra en libertad provisional, sea citado como testigo en el proceso militar contra el periodista galo.

DENIEGAN PROPUESTA DE KENNEDY REFERENTE A LA ALPRO

WASHINGTON, D.C. E.U. 17 de agosto (PRENSA LATINA). El Senado rechazó hoy una enmienda del senador Robert F. Kennedy, que aumentaba los fondos de la Alianza para el Progreso a 650 millones de dólares.

La partida propuesta por la Comisión de Relaciones Exteriores, es
SIGUE....

TRANSLATION FROM SPANISH

From "Prensa Latina" (Latin Press), a daily bulletin of the Latin American News Agency, issue No. 2696, August 5, 1967.

Item appearing on page 5.

Exclusive: The War of Guerrillas
Has Begun in the U. S.
Our Struggle Will Be Long, Hard
and Fierce.
Cuba Inspires the Negroes of the U.S.A.

Havana, Cuba - August 5 (Prensa Latina). - Stokely Carmichael, the American Negro leader who is attending, as an honorary delegate, the Havana Conference of the Latin American Organization for Solidarity (OLAS), was interviewed by Radio Havana, Cuba. Because of the importance of the concepts dealt with by the Afro-American "Black Power" leader, we give the full text of the interview, as follows:

QUESTION: In the last few days, the world has witnessed with extreme anxiety the grave racial disturbances which have occurred in several cities of the United States, especially Detroit, where violence reached an unprecedented degree of magnitude. According to an Associated Press dispatch, the Mayor of Detroit, Jerome Cavanagh, said that the Congress of the United States is partly responsible for these outbreaks of violence because a number of laws on educational improvement and the "war on poverty" program are still "bottled up" in the Capitol in Washington. The Mayor warned that if these problems are not solved with adequate speed, violence will once again break out in Detroit, or any other part of the United States, or throughout the territory of the Union, all at once and with unforeseeable consequences. Would you care to give us your opinion on this?

Carmichael: Well, I believe that the Mayor is an idiot if he believes that the problem of the Negro population of the United States can be solved within a capitalist society. The only

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solution is the destruction of the capitalist system, the destruction of American imperialism which entails racial discrimination and exploitation everywhere. Once this structure is destroyed, and only after it is done, can we speak in a realistic fashion about a solution of the problems of the Negro population in the United States. Until then, all that is said is like placing a bandage on a cancer. It will not solve the problem.

QUESTION: In these recent - as a matter of fact, we can call them current - disturbances in the United States, it is clearly visible that the Negroes have progressed to a superior form of struggle against the debasing methods of the police and of the reactionary and racist elements of the country. Could you explain what is the reason for this change?

Carmichael: It is clear that what we have decided to do, as the only means to oppose oppression, is to take up arms.

We have to unite with all those who, the world over, are in favor of an armed struggle as the only road to a solution of our problems.

For 400 years, we have tried to live in the United States under a form of peaceful coexistence and the result is that we have had to live under the most Fascist regime in the world.

Our only possible way out is either the destruction of this regime or our own destruction in trying to do it. Under all circumstances, we are going to fight with weapons in our hands to accomplish our liberation.

QUESTION: A phrase has been used quite frequently in the dispatches of the international news agencies lately. This phrase is used in conjunction with your movement and your liberation struggle. This phrase is "Black Power." Could you explain what Black Power is and what the meaning of Black Power is?

Carmichael: Black Power is unity of all the Negro population of the United States as a single people struggling for its liberation. It means that we, American Negroes, must begin to look upon the various liberation movements as our own cause. It means that we must join hands with all our comrades throughout the world to wage our fight against imperialism and destroy it once and for all, in order to build, all of us together, a new society, based on human principles and not exploitation.

QUESTION: In a recent press conference, you referred to the urban guerrilla organization as a new method of struggle of the American Negro population. Would you care to explain this idea?

Carmichael: We said that we were forced to use guerrilla warfare in the cities in order to accomplish our liberation. We have no other alternative.

QUESTION: There was, however, a very interesting question which you were asked at that press conference. This question deals with the military aspect of the matter. Specifically, you were asked to explain how it is possible that guerrilla warfare in the cities, which is extremely difficult in other countries, is considered by you as a method of warfare whose application is advantageous in the United States?

Carmichael: It is positive that we have no advantages over other peoples outside the United States. The method employed by the United States to fight guerrilla movements in other countries is the use of mighty weapons and a tremendous organization. However, this can be done only when all the people can be armed and fight with all the necessary means. Inside its own territory, the United States cannot employ its most powerful weapons against us. It cannot use hydrogen bombs, or just bombs, or napalm bombs against us because we live in its own entrails. If it were to use, for example, chemical weapons against a portion of its own people, namely, against us, the other portion would also be burned in the flames. In this fashion, the United States, having to face our guerrilla warfare, has to carry on a hand-to-hand fight. It will no longer be the might of weapons against the will of a few men. It will be the will power of a few men against other men. And we have the will power to fight because we fight for our liberation and they fight to oppress us. And those who fight for their liberation never give up. They cannot be conquered.

QUESTION: Do you listen to Radio Havana, Cuba, broadcasts in your country?

Carmichael: Yes, of course. Radio Havana is listened to throughout the country, in Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia. And if you have a good short-wave receiver, you can hear it in Washington, D.C.

QUESTION: Do you feel that Radio Havana, Cuba, has been able to help, to some extent, the struggle of American Negroes with its broadcasts?

Carmichael: Certainly. It has been a source of inspiration for all of us, because when we see that mighty imperialism hesitates before a risk and that Cuba, by contrast, not only dares to risk, but holds on to its position, we cannot help but feel inspired. And all of this is reflected in Radio Havana's broadcasts.

QUESTION: Can you tell us about your impressions at Gran Tierra, that is, the second major event you attended after your arrival in Cuba?

Carmichael: One of the things that impressed us the most is the fact that the Prime Minister takes time to go to a small village to meet the citizens and to confer with them, and that he speaks with them about things that his government is trying to do.

The fact that the Government of Cuba shows so much concern for the people is, by itself, a revolutionary fact and deserves all our admiration.

QUESTION: And what was your most outstanding impression at the celebration of the 14th anniversary of July 26 at Santiago, Cuba?

Carmichael: The fact that Fidel Castro is concerned about the education of the masses. In the second place, Fidel's conception that a revolution is more than a seizure of power, but an effort to reinstill in the people an awareness of the concepts which have been destroyed by Western societies. His efforts to destroy the concept of material interests which Western societies have imposed on the peoples represent an indication that he sees his revolution as a true revolution and this is, without a doubt, one of the best things that we can learn from the Cuban Revolution.

QUESTION: Can you tell us, Mr. Carmichael, why you came to Cuba and what was your opinion about the Cuban Revolution before and after your first experiences in our country?

Carmichael: The impression that we have always had in the United States about the Cuban Revolution is that it is good. The fact that the United States is against Cuba has been sufficient to convince us that Cuba is doing something good. Therefore, we did not come to Cuba to find out whether the Revolution is good; we came to find out things; to learn from the Cuban Revolution the things that can be useful to our people within the United States.

Since our arrival here, we have learned a tremendous amount of things that we could not possibly learn from books or movies, but only by coming here and touching them with our own hands.

QUESTION: Could you tell us, in line with your observations here, how you see the way of life of our Negro citizens in Cuba?

Carmichael: Indubitably, the Revolution has greatly helped the Afro-Cubans and the way in which they are developing themselves clearly indicates that there is no racism. The Afro-Cubans with whom we spoke are all for the Revolution. They all respect and admire the Cuban Revolution and all experience a great love for Fidel Castro.

QUESTION: When did you read for the first time any of the writings by Commander Guevara and what impression did you receive?

Carmichael: Well, I believe that we did not start to read Che's works until 1965. We heard about them as early as 1959 when the Revolution triumphed and, since that time, we have been following with interest everything that had to do with him; where he was, what he was doing, and what he was saying.

We could get a certain amount of information from some newspapers in the United States and some Cuban newspapers which were available in translation. However, we did not start to read his works until about 1965. It is very difficult to state the precise date because the entire Negro community of the United States reads Che and it seems to us that he has always been with us.

QUESTION: Do you wish to send a special message to your people in the United States, in your own name?

Carmichael: Our brothers and sisters know that the work that we have to do is going to be long and hard, as Che put it. They know that our struggle is going to be more than a street fight; that it is going to be a long and hard struggle. We are preparing ourselves right now for this test of endurance. At first, many of us will die, but we must not despair; we must continue to struggle, no matter how high a price we have to pay. Those of us who travel abroad are making efforts to strengthen our bonds with our comrades outside the United States. Our struggle will have world dimensions. We are within the United States. Our struggle is going to be the hardest and the fiercest, but we must prepare ourselves to wage it. Let us go and attend to our business, dear friends."

Prensa Latina

BOLETIN DIARIO AGENCIA INFORMATIVA LATINOAMERICANA

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Jefe de corresponsales: Edmundo Jordó Arzate.- Declara lícita su publicación, en lo tocante a la cultura y a la educación, según dictamen de la Secretaría de Educación
Pública de fecha 12 de enero de 1962. Autorizada como correspondencia de 2a. clase por la Dirección General de Correos con fecha 23 de septiembre de 1963.

ESTA GUERRA ES UNA VERGUENZA

Los nombres más populares y más representativos del mundo del espectáculo y de la cultura norteamericanas y británicas, ya se declararon en contra de la "sucia guerra" norteamericana en Vietnam. Esta toma de posición se pone en evidencia en las declaraciones que aparecieron en el "Times", como anuncios pagados, el 30 de marzo y el 2 de junio pasados, y por la lista de los firmantes.

La declaración de marzo, firmada por 334 ciudadanos británicos, se declaraba en favor de una solución pacífica, a partir de la liquidación de los bombardeos. Entre los firmantes había cinco Premios Nóbel, ochenta y siete parlamentarios, tres obispos y otras personalidades de la iglesia anglicana, metodista y judía. La declaración de junio (dirigida a los intelectuales británicos), inspirada en un neto rechazo de las justificaciones "patrióticas" de la intervención, estaba firmada por setenta artistas e intelectuales norteamericanos.

El texto es el siguiente:

"Nosotros, ciudadanos de los Estados Unidos, profundamente preocupados por la guerra en Viet Nam, deseamos expresar por escrito que no aceptamos el punto de vista oficial de nuestro gobierno y del vuestro, según el cual Hanoi cierra toda posibilidad de acuerdo. Por el contrario, existen pruebas considerables que fueron presentadas a nuestro gobierno, y que nunca obtuvieron respuesta, del hecho de que el escalonamiento de la guerra por parte de los Estados Unidos destruyó reiteradamente toda posibilidad de negociación.

"Nosotros les aseguramos que cualquier expresión de horror por esta guerra vergonzosa "una guerra que está destruyendo exactamente todos los valores que peretende defender" no debería ser considerada anti-norteamericana, sino más bien un apoyo para la América que queremos y de la cual estamos orgullosos".

He aquí algunos de los más renombrados artistas norteamericanos e ingleses, firmantes de las declaraciones:

Marlon Brando, Peter O'toole, Deborah Kerr, James Badwin, Harry Belafonte, Alexander Calder, Arthur Miller y Robert Lowell. (P.L.)

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EXCLUSIVO

LA GUERRA DE GUERRILLAS HA EMPEZADO EN EE. UU.
NUESTRA LUCHA SERA LARGA, DURA Y FEROS
CUBA INSPIRA A LOS NEGROS DE USA.

LA HABANA, Cuba, 4 de agosto (PRENSA LATINA).- Stokely Carmichael, dirigente negro norteamericano, que asiste como Delegado de Honor a la Conferencia de la Organización Latinoamericana de Solidaridad (OLAS) que se efectúa en esta capital, fue entrevistado por la emisora radio Habana Cuba. Por la importancia de los conceptos vertidos por el líder afroamericano del "poder negro", reproducimos a continuación el texto de la entrevista:

PREGUNTA: En estos días, el mundo se ha visto estremecido por los graves disturbios raciales que han tenido lugar en numerosas ciudades de Estados Unidos, especialmente en Detroit, donde la violencia ha alcanzado una magnitud sin precedentes. De acuerdo con un despacho de la AP., el alcalde de Detroit, Jerome Cavanagh, dijo que el Congreso de Estados Unidos tiene, en parte, la culpa de que se hayan producido estos estallidos de violencia, debido a que algunas leyes sobre mejoras educacionales y sobre el programa de "lucha contra la pobreza" se encuentran engavetadas en el Capitolio de Washington. Advirtió el alcalde que si estos problemas no eran resueltos con la debida rapidez, la violencia volvería a estallar en Detroit, o en cualquier parte de Estados Unidos, o en todo el territorio de la Unión, a la vez, y con imprevisibles consecuencias. ¿Quisiera usted expresar su opinión sobre esto?

Carmichael: bueno, yo creo que el alcalde es un idiota si cree que el problema de la población negra de Estados Unidos, puede resolverse dentro de una sociedad capitalista. La única solución es la destrucción del sistema capitalista, la destrucción del imperialismo norteamericano, que conlleva la discriminación racial y la explotación en todas partes. Una vez destruida esa estructura y solamente entonces, podremos hablar de una manera realista sobre la solución de los problemas de la población negra de Estados Unidos. Hasta entonces, todo lo que se diga es como poner un vendaje a un cáncer. No se resolverá el problema.

PREGUNTA: En estos recientes y, podemos decir actuales disturbios, en los Estados Unidos, se puede ver claramente que los negros han pasado a una forma superior de lucha contra los atropellos de la policía y de los elementos reaccionarios y racistas del país. ¿Podría explicar a que se debe ese cambio?

Carmichael: Esta claro que lo que nosotros hemos decidido hacer, como único medio de enfrentarnos a la opresión, es tomar las armas.

Nosotros tenemos que unirnos, a aquellos que en el mundo están en favor de la lucha armada, como la única vía de solución para nuestros problemas.

Durante 400 años hemos tratado de vivir dentro de Estados Unidos, bajo la forma de una coexistencia pacífica, y el resultado ha sido que hemos tenido que vivir bajo el régimen más facista del mundo.

Nuestra única salida posible es la de destruir ese régimen, o ser destruidos en la demanda. De todas maneras, vamos a combatir con las armas para alcanzar nuestra liberación.

PREGUNTA: Hay una frase que se ha venido usando con gran frecuencia en los despachos de las agencias internacionales de noticias, en todo cuanto se refiere a ustedes y a su lucha de liberación. Esa frase es: el "poder negro". ¿Podría usted explicar en qué consiste el Poder Negro y cual es la significación de ese movimiento?

Carmichael: El Poder Negro es la unión de toda la población negra de Estados Unidos, como un solo pueblo, para luchar por su liberación. Significa que los negros norteamericanos debemos comenzar a considerar los movimientos de liberación, como propia causa. Que debemos unir nuestras manos con las de nuestros camaradas de todo el mundo, para combatir contra el imperialismo y destruirlo de una vez, para construir juntos una nueva sociedad, basada en principios humanos y no en la explotación.

SIGUE...

PREGUNTA: En una reciente conferencia de prensa usted se refirió a la organización de guerrillas urbanas como un nuevo método de lucha por parte de la población negra norteamericana. ¿quisiera usted explicar esa idea?

Carmichael: Habíamos dicho que nosotros nos hemos visto forzados a emplear la guerra de guerrillas en la ciudad para conseguir nuestra liberación. No tenemos otra alternativa.

PREGUNTA: Pero es que hubo una pregunta muy interesante, que le fue formulada a usted en esa conferencia, y que tiene que ver con el aspecto propiamente militar de la cuestión. Es decir, se le pidió que explicara cómo es que la acción de guerrillas en la ciudad, que resulta muy difícil en otros países, es considerada por ustedes como de provechosa aplicación en Estados Unidos?

Carmichael: Es cierto que nosotros no tenemos más ventajas que otros pueblos fuera de Estados Unidos. La forma en que Estados Unidos combaten contra el movimiento guerrillero es mediante el uso de las armas más poderosas y una enorme organización, pero solo podrán hacerlo hasta el momento en que todo el pueblo puede armarse y combatir con todos los medios necesarios. Dentro de su propio territorio Estados Unidos no podrá emplear sus armas más poderosas contra nosotros. No puede usar la bomba de hidrógeno, la bomba o las bombas de napalm contra nosotros, porque vivimos dentro de sus propias entrañas.

Si alguna vez, por ejemplo, usa armas químicas contra una parte de su propio pueblo, que somos nosotros, la otra parte también resultaría envuelta en llamas. De modo que, cuando Estados Unidos se enfrenten a nuestra guerra de guerrillas, tendrá que ser en combate cuerpo a cuerpo. No será el poder de las armas contra la voluntad de unos hombres. Sino la voluntad de unos hombres contra otros hombres. Y nosotros tenemos la voluntad de combatir, porque nosotros combatimos por nuestra liberación y ellos combaten para oprimirnos. Y los que combaten por su liberación no se rinden jamás. No pueden ser conquistados.

PREGUNTA: ¿Escuchan ustedes las transmisiones de Radio Habana Cuba en su país?

Carmichael: Sí, cómo no. La Radio Habana Cuba es escuchada en todo el país, en Alabama, en Mississippi, en Louisiana, Texas, Carolina del Norte, Carolina del Sur y en Virginia. Y, si se dispone de un buen equipo receptor de onda corta, se puede escuchar en Washington.

PREGUNTA: ¿Cree usted que Radio Habana Cuba ha podido ayudar en algo a la lucha de los negros norteamericanos, con transmisiones?

Carmichael: Ciertamente que sí. Ha sido una fuente de inspiración para todos nosotros, porque, cuando vemos que el poderoso imperialismo vacila ante el riesgo, y en cambio Cuba no solo se arriesga, sino que mantiene su posición, no podemos por menos que sentirnos inspirados. Y todo esto se refleja en las transmisiones de Radio Habana Cuba.

PREGUNTA: ¿Puede hablarnos de sus impresiones en Gran Tierra, es decir, el segundo evento a que usted asistió después de su llegada a Cuba?

Carmichael: Una de las cosas que más nos impresionó fue como el Primer Ministro dedica su tiempo a ir a un pequeño pueblo, para encontrarse con los ciudadanos y conversar con ellos y hablarles de las cosas que su gobierno está tratando de hacer.

El hecho de que el gobierno de Cuba demuestre tanta preocupación por el pueblo en sí mismo, es revolucionario, y esto tiene toda nuestra admiración.

PREGUNTA: Y ¿cuál fue su impresión principal durante la celebración del décimo-cuarto aniversario del 26 de julio, en Santiago de Cuba?

SIGUE...

Carmichael: el hecho de que Fidel Castro se preocupa por la educación de las masas. Esto, más que ninguna otra cosa, nos ha impresionado. Lo segundo, es la concepción de Fidel, en el sentido de que la revolución no es solamente para la toma del poder, sino para reinculcar en la conciencia -- del pueblo los conceptos que han sido destruidos por la sociedad occidental; sus esfuerzos por destruir el concepto del interés material que la sociedad occidental ha impuesto a los pueblos. Eso es lo que él vé como una verdadera revolución y ésto es, sin duda, una de las mejores cosas que nosotros podemos aprender de la revolución Cubana.

PREGUNTA: Puede usted decirnos, señor Carmichael, porque -- vino a Cuba, y cual era su opinión sobre la Revolución Cubana -- antes y después de sus primeras experiencias en nuestro país?.

Carmichael: La impresión que siempre hemos tenido nosotros en Estados Unidos sobre la Revolución Cubana es que ésta es buena. El hecho de que -- Estados Unidos estén contra Cuba ha sido bastante para convencernos de que Cuba está haciendo algo bueno. Por tanto, nosotros no vinimos a Cuba para saber si la revolución es buena, vinimos para saber cosas, para aprender -- de la Revolución Cubana cosas que pueden ser útiles a nuestra gente dentro de Estados Unidos.

Desde que llegamos aquí, hemos aprendido una cantidad enorme de cosas -- que no podríamos haber aprendido en libros ni en películas, sino únicamente viniendo a palparlas nosotros mismos.

PREGUNTA: ¿Podría usted decirnos, de acuerdo con lo que ha podido observar aquí, como vé el modo de vida de los ciudadanos negros en Cuba?.

Carmichael: Indudablemente la revolución ha ayudado grandemente a los afro-cubanos y, la forma en que se desenvuelven, demuestra claramente que no hay racismo. Los afro-cubanos con quienes hemos hablado están todos con la revolución, todos respetan y admiran a la Revolución Cubana y todos -- sienten un gran amor por Fidel Castro.

PREGUNTA: ¿Cuándo leyó usted, por primera vez, algún material escrito por el Comandante Guevara y que impresión le produjo?.

Carmichael: Bueno, yo creo que nosotros no empezamos a leer al "Che" -- sino hasta 1965. Habíamos oído hablar de él desde 1959, cuando triunfó la revolución y, desde entonces, seguimos con interés todo lo que se refería a él, donde se encontraba, que estaba haciendo y que decía.

Podíamos leer alguna información en ciertos periódicos de Estados Unidos y algunos periódicos cubanos que eran traducidos. Pero, nosotros no empezamos a leer sus obras sino más o menos hasta 1965. Es difícil precisar la fecha, porque hoy toda la comunidad negra de Estados Unidos lee al "Che" y nos parece ahora que siempre ha estado con nosotros.

PREGUNTA: Desea usted enviar algún mensaje especial a su -- pueblo en Estados Unidos, en su nombre?.

Carmichael: Nuestros hermanos y hermanas saben que el trabajo que tenemos que hacer va a ser largo y va a ser duro, como ha dicho el "Che". Que -- nuestra lucha no va a ser simplemente una lucha en las calles, que va a ser una lucha larga y dura. Nosotros nos estamos preparando ahora para esa resistencia. Al principio, muchos de nosotros moriremos, pero no debemos deseperarnos, debemos continuar luchando, no importa el precio que tengamos que pagar. Aquellos de nosotros que nos encontramos fuera, estamos fortaleciendo los lazos con nuestros camaradas fuera de Estados Unidos. Nuestra lucha tendrá dimensiones mundiales. Nosotros estamos dentro de Estados Unidos. -- Nuestra lucha va a ser la más dura y feroz, pero debemos prepararnos para -- esa lucha. Vamos a ocuparnos de nuestro negocio, queridos".

TRANSLATION FROM SPANISH

From "Prensa Latina" (Latin Press), a daily bulletin of the Latin American News Agency, No. 2694, August 3, 1967.

Item appearing on Page 2.

Press Conference with Carmichael

Havana, Cuba, August 2 (Prensa Latina) - "We have no alternative but to take up arms to struggle for our liberation," American Negro leader Stokely Carmichael said heretoday. He is attending, as an observer, the First Conference of the Latin American Organization for Solidarity.

Carmichael made his statement at a press conference held on the 25th floor of the Hotel Havana Libre. The conference was also attended by Negro leaders George Ware and Julius Lester. In reply to questions by Cuban and foreign newsmen, Carmichael said that the Vietnamese are "brothers in the struggle against imperialism." He went on to say: "In reply to the question as to whether we shall take part in the war in Vietnam, the answer is: no, we will not go."

He also said: "As for our brothers who are fighting in Vietnam, the best thing about this is that they are getting training to fight in the streets of the United States later on."

Asked about what Negro millionaires in the United States may be thinking of them, he replied: "They are millionaires, what may they be thinking of?" According to the New York Times, there are 67 such millionaires.

He added: "We are fighting against them also. They have to be destroyed."

On the subject of Kennedy's suggestion for the establishment of controls over the arms the population at large may be allowed to have, Carmichael replied: "We shall always be able to get our weapons."

100-446080-511

In reply to a question by the correspondent of Italy's "Unita," Carmichael stated that they had to accept the idea of a peaceful struggle propounded by Dr. Martin Luther King when the organization was established. "However," he said, "we did not believe in nonviolence. So, we started to organize our people according to the concept that an armed struggle was inevitable."

As for "Negro Power" and what it means, he explained: "It stands for unity of the Negro population with the oppressed population which struggles to destroy the capitalist structure which exploits us from within and you, Latin Americans, from without."

In reply to a question as to the influence on the Negro movement of the thinkings of Lincoln and Malcolm X, he stated: "I wish to say that Lincoln was a white racist to the fullest extent of the words. There is no indication that he did or said anything to bring about the true liberation of the Negro population. He is said to have complained on one occasion that, in order to win the war, he had had to set the slaves free."

As for Malcolm X, Carmichael added: "He is our spiritual guide. He was a great leader of Negroes in the United States."

Answering a question by the correspondent of Le Monde, he said that "Negro Power" is meant for the Negroes and that when the whites begin to fight, "We will fight together. This is their problem and they have to solve it" (sic).

While the press conference was in progress, Carmichael offered a short explanation of the revolt of the Negro population in the United States and went on to say: "Thus, you have it directly and not through UPI or AP. The battle is against imperialism, oppression and racism. It is a struggle against fascism."

Prensa Latina

BOLETIN DIARIO AGENCIA INFORMATIVA LATINOAMERICANA

No. 2694.- 3 de agosto de 1967.

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INFORMACION DE LA SESION PLENARIA DE LA OIAS... RESUMEN DE LOS DISCURSOS DE: --
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MARTINEZ, DE NICARAGUA; RODNEY ARISMENDI, DE URUGUAY; FLOYD BRITTON, DE PANAMA; RAFAEL ESTRADA VILLA, DE MEXICO...

5

Oficinas: Atenas Núm. 40 2o. Piso

• Teléfonos: 46-60-15 y 46-60-16

• México 6, D. F.

Jefe de correspondientes: Edmundo Jardó Arzate.- Declara lícita su publicación, en lo tocante a la cultura y a la educación, según dictamen de la Secretaría de Educación Pública de fecha 12 de enero de 1962. Autorizada como correspondencia de 2a. clase por la Dirección General de Correos con fecha 23 de septiembre de 1963.

RUEDA DE PRENSA
CON CARMICHAEL

LA HABANA, Cuba, 2 de agosto (PRENSA LATINA).- Nosotros no tenemos otra alternativa que tomar las armas para luchar por nuestra liberación "dijo hoy aquí el dirigente negro norteamericano Stockely Carmichael, quien asiste como delegado observador a la Primera Conferencia de la Organización Latinoamericana de Solidaridad.

Carmichael hizo la declaración en conferencia de prensa, celebrada en el piso 25 del hotel Habana Libre, en la que participaron los también dirigentes negros George Ware y Julius Lester. Respondiendo preguntas de periodistas cubanos y extranjeros, Carmichael dijo que los Vietnamitas eran hermanos en la lucha contra el imperialismo. Después agregó: para responder a la pregunta de si participaremos en la guerra en Vietnam, la respuesta es: no; no iremos.

También dijo: "en cuanto a los hermanos que luchan en Vietnam lo mejor que tiene eso, es que ellos están recibiendo en entrenamiento para combatir después en las calles de Estados Unidos.

Sobre lo que piensan los millonarios negros de Estados Unidos, respondió: "son millonarios ¿que van a pensar?. Según él, en New York Times son 67 los millonarios.

Contra ellos también luchamos, hay que destruirlos.

En relación con el pedido de Kennedy para controlar el armamento que debe tener la población, Carmichael respondió: siempre podremos obtener armas.

Al dar respuesta a una pregunta del corresponsal del Unita de Italia, afirmó que ellos tuvieron que aceptar las tesis de lucha pacífica, mantenidas por el doctor Martin Luther King al ser creada la organización, "pero no creíamos en la no violencia, de manera que comenzamos a organizar nuestra gente en base del concepto de que había que luchar con las armas".

En cuanto a qué es el poder negro, explicó que "es la unión de la población negra con la población oprimida, que lucha por destruir la estructura capitalista que nos explota a nosotros en lo interno y a ustedes (América Latina) en lo externo".

Preguntado sobre la influencia en el movimiento negro del pensamiento de Lincoln, y de Malcolm X., afirmó: "yo quiero decir que Lincoln era un racista blanco en el mejor sentido de la palabra; no hay indicios de que él propugnara la verdadera liberación de la población negra. Una vez dijo que se lamentaba de que, para ganar la guerra, haya tenido que darle la libertad a los esclavos.

En cuanto a Malcolm X. -agregó Carmichael- es nuestro guía espiritual, fue un gran líder de los negros de Estados Unidos.

También dijo, respondiendo una pregunta del corresponsal de Le Monde, que el poder negro se dirige hacia los negros y que cuando los blancos comiencen a luchar, lucharemos juntos; "eso es un problema de ellos y ellos son los que tienen que resolverlo".

En el curso de la conferencia de prensa, Carmichael hizo una breve explicación sobre la rebelión de la población negra en Estados Unidos y expresó: "así la podrán obtener directamente, y no a través de la UPI o la AP. La batalla es contra el imperialismo, la opresión y el racismo; es la lucha contra el fascismo"

Legat, London (100-2989)

8/28/67

Director, FBI (100-446080)

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

INTERNAL SECURITY - STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

1 -

Reurairtel 8/11/67, which reports that tape recordings of the subject's speeches in London may be put on sale.

Advise the Bureau of the price of these tapes.

1 - Foreign Liaison Unit (Route through for review)

BAW:igp
(5)

NOTE:

Carmichael, prior to his trip to Cuba, made speeches in London. He was subsequently banned from that country because of his inflammatory speeches.

EX-102

REC-43

100-446080-512

MAILED 25

AUG 28 1967

COMM - FBI

12 AUG 28 1967

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
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Casper _____
Callahan _____
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Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
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Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

66 SEP 22 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10/23/01 BY 3042 JH/BCE/HML

MAIL ROOM

TELETYPE UNIT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~1 -

Mr. J. Walter Yeagley
Assistant Attorney General

August 25, 1967

Director, FBI

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
SEDITION



b2

Your letter of July 29, 1967, made reference to an interview of Carmichael by Michael Arkus in London, England, and requested that this Bureau determine what person or persons would be available to introduce the text of the interview into evidence. This interview was published by the Cuban news agency, Prensa Latina.

b7C Per FBI

We have determined that correspondent in Havana, Cuba, and has not been in England for the past two years. Carmichael was probably interviewed in London the Prensa Latina representative in London who is well known to sources as pro-Cuban and a leftist. Unless advised to the contrary by you, we will not attempt to have interviewed.

There is also enclosed an account of an interview with Carmichael in Havana, Cuba, which was distributed by the Algerian Press Agency. This account was furnished to this Bureau by a representative of United Press 100-446080-513 International.

REC-44

AUG 25 1967

Enclosures (2)

BAW:des
(4)

EX-115

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GROUP 1

SEE NOTE PAGE 2.

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

DECLASSIFIED BY 39213
ON 6-27-00

MAILED 20

AUG 25 1967

COMM-FBI

ENCLOSURE
ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

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7 SEP 7 1967

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Mr. J. Walter Yeagley

NOTE:

b2

[REDACTED] Inasmuch as the Department is considering prosecuting Carmichael for sedition, it is felt that it would be interested in it. Yeagley requested that the Bureau obtain a copy of Carmichael's interview in England and determine who is available to introduce it into evidence. Legat, London, advised of the above information and recommended that [REDACTED] not be contacted.

b7C Per FBI

Classified "~~Confidential~~" to conform with the classification of incoming and because information in the attached comes from a source whose compromise would be detrimental to the United States.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Aug. 10

100-446080-513

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/27/01 BY 3903 E/W/edlamu

b7C

Dear

Here is that Carmichael text as distributed ~~my~~ by
the Algerian Press Agency. I'm assuming your inquirer can get it
translated into English easier than can we.

73

HRT

TRANSLATION FROM FRENCH

Translation of Algerian Press Agency's
Report on Stokely Carmichael's Press Conference
at the Latin American Solidarity Conference

Algeria, August 2 - Stokely Carmichael, Black Power advocate, addressed the Cuban and international press (the United States press was excluded at Carmichael's request) at the Havana Libre Hotel during the Latin American Solidarity Conference, at which he is an honored guest.

This press conference, the most complete ever given by the Black America leader, moving in its quality and force in regard to black Americans and people struggling throughout the world, was an epoch-making event in the history of free combat by the black people of the United States, who for 400 years have been subjected to the most brutal Fascism which the world has ever known.

Here is a summary of the most important statements made by Carmichael during the three-hour discussions and interviews with the newspapermen:

Middle East - Israel represents an enclave of imperialism in the Middle East and North Africa. If I am the owner of a house and someone seizes one of its rooms, then 20 years later asks me to discuss it, I will say to him: First I will take back my room and the discussion can come later.

It is true that the Jewish people suffered and lost six million people during the Second World War, but the Africans have been robbed throughout the world; they lost their lands and a hundred million people during the period of slavery. However, we shall not cry. We shall take back the land from the hands of those who have robbed us. Zionists must leave Israel.

The Arab peoples are gathering their strength and opposing imperialism. This is why the West found that it was (Translator's Note: Remainder of sentence is garbled). The problem will not be resolved until the Arabs control this land and the riches of the Middle East.

Vietnam - Our black youth, behind our hero Muhammad Ali, refuse to serve in the American imperialist army and to kill the people of Vietnam. These people do not force us to live in ghettos. They do not murder us in the streets. Our enemy is white America. The Vietnamese people are our brothers in the struggle because they fight against the same structure of oppression as we.

Black Power - Black Power means the gathering together of all the black people of the United States to fight with all means possible for liberation, alongside with the oppressed peoples living outside the United States, so as to destroy imperialism in the United States capitalist structure, which oppresses us from within and you from without.

The European Left - I do not see any truly revolutionary movements in Western Europe. There does not exist any in the subconscious (Translator's Note: Remainder of sentence is garbled). There exists in the European subconscious all the racism of the West.

The class struggle in Europe has been turned toward exploitation of the Third World. The European working class has shared in all the benefits of this exploitation and therefore can no longer protest against exploitation.

Armed Struggle - Only the gun can pull us out of this situation. Up to last year we were organized only to defend ourselves, since the white man had convinced us that violence was bad for our struggle, even though he was using it freely outside the United States. Now, our people employ passive violence. However, the line between defensive and offensive violence is a slight one. Once an individual has fired a gun to defend himself, he is capable of using it to attack. We are advancing toward guerilla violence in the American urban center.

The White Liberals - They are the enemies of the blacks because, on the one hand, they are rich and they profit from the American system, and on the other hand, because their commitment is only an intellectual one. The only whites who interest us are those willing to take up arms to destroy the structures of American capitalism.

Abraham Lincoln - He was nothing else but a white Southerner; a kind of modern Kennedy. The Civil War had an economic basis; it was not fought to liberate the slaves.

Malcolm X - He is our patron saint. He was killed by Cuban exiles; but the true assassin was the CIA.

"Che" Guevara - The theses of "Che" are very important to us, on the one hand, because he recognized that in order to fight against racism and exploitation we must internationalize our struggle and cultivate hatred in order to live; on the other hand, because part of the chain reactions in the United States are the direct result of the struggle in Latin America. With 50 Vietnams within the United States and 50 outside the United States, we shall kill imperialism.

The CIA - The CIA is international and is licensed to kill. It killed Ben Barka in Paris and Tuchios in Guatemala. It poisoned Richard Right in France, overthrew Nkrumah, and directs the counter-guerilla war in Latin America.

Everyone must know that it is the CIA which is responsible for all this. The Western leaders, Johnson, McNamara, and Rusk, must pay.

Violence takes various forms. It is important that the people be armed as in Cuba.

Our heroes are: Malcolm X, W. E. B. Dubois, Franz Fanon, "Che" Guevara, and Mao Tse-tung.

Carmichael also stated that the place for the Black America movement is at the side of the revolutionary struggle of the Third World against imperialism and capitalism.

ENTRANCE NO. 10000-001

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11-11-63

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les libéraux blancs : ils sont les ennemis des noirs car d'une part ils sont riches et profitent du système américain et d'autre part leur seul engagement est intellectuel. Les seuls blancs qui nous intéressent sont ceux qui sont prêts à prendre les armes pour détruire les structures du capitalisme américain.

Abraham Lincoln : rien d'autre qu'un sudiste blanc, une espèce de Kennedy moderne. La guerre civile avait une base d'intérêt économique, elle n'a pas été menée pour libérer les esclaves.

Malcolm X : notre saint patron, il a été tué par des exilés cubains, mais le vrai assassin a été la CIA. 11-513

Che Guevara : les thèses du Che sont très importantes pour nous d'une part parce qu'il reconnaît que pour lutter contre la riche et l'exploitation il faut internationaliser notre combat et qu'il faut cultiver la haine afin de vivre. D'autre part les négociations en chaîne aux États-Unis sont le résultat direct du combat en Amérique latine, avec cinquante vietnamiens à l'intérieur des États-Unis et cinquante à l'extérieur nous tuons l'impérialisme.

CIA : la CIA est internationale et est mandatée pour tuer. Elle a tué Mendi Uen Barka à Paris, Luclos au Guatemala, elle a empoisonné Richard Wright en France, a renversé Nkrumah, dirige la contre-guerrilla en Amérique latine.

Il faut que chacun sache que c'est la CIA qui en est responsable. Les dirigeants de l'Occident : Johnson, McNamara, Ruak doivent payer.

La violence prend des formes diverses, il est important que le peuple soit armé comme à Cuba.

Nos héros devaient dire que les héros sont : Malcolm X, W. E. B. Dubois, Frantz Fanon, Che Guevara et Mao Tse Tung. C'est avec cette pensée que Carmichael a déclaré que la place du mouvement noir américain est dorénavant au sein de la lutte révolutionnaire du tiers-monde contre l'impérialisme et le capitalisme.

Il est l'envoyé spécial de l'après à la révolution.

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55
591 703, 437 3.4.3 3 1973 [REDACTED]

Mon bien reçu demande de bouti sur tascombe
Pierre

Bon je vais le taper sur ruban.
Pierre

Alger 2 aout- ... Stokely Carmichael, le promoteur du concept noir
s'est adresse a la presse cubaine et internationale (la presse
nord americaine en etait exclue a sa propre demande)
xxxxxxx a l'hotel napana libre, en marge de la conference
latino-americaine de solidarite dont il est l'invite d'honneur.

cetxxx cette conference de presse, la plus complete jamais donnee
par le dirigeant noir americain, eouvante par la qualite et la
force des engagements pris envers le peuple noir americain et les
peuples en lutte a travers le monde fait datexxx fait date dans
l'histoire du combat libre par le peuple noir des etats-unis
qui vit depuis 400 ans sous le plus brutal fascisme plus 102130
ait connu.

voici liste note quelques unes des plus importantes declarations
faites par Carmichael au cours des trois heures de discussions
batons rompus avec les journalistes:

Moyen orient: Israel represente une enclave de l'imperialisme
du moyen orient et en Afrique du nord. si je suis propriétaire
d'une maison et que quelqu'un s'empare d'une de ses chambres, puis
vingt ans plus tard vient demander d'en discuter, je lui dis:
d'abord je reprends ma chambre, on discutera apres.

il est vrai que le peuple juif a souffert et 6 ou six millions
de morts dans la deuxieme guerre mondiale, mais les africains ont
ete violes partout dans le monde. ils ont perdu leurs terres et
cent millions de personnes a l'epoque de l'esclavage mais nous ne
reprendons pas, nous reprendrons la terre des mains de ceux qui

nous ont violes. les sionistes doivent quitter Israel.
la verite est que les peuples arabes se renfermaient et
s'opposaient a l'imperialisme. c'est pour moi l'occident trouvant
qu'il etait etait ptr. le probleme ne pourra
etre resolu tant que les arabes ne controlent pas cette terre et
les richesses du moyen orient.

100-1140980-213

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM : SAC, DALLAS (157-760) (RUC)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL aka
IS - MISCELLANEOUS

OO: ATLANTA

DATE: 8/25/67

b7C

Re Bureau airtel to Albany dated 6/7/67 and
Dallas airtel to Atlanta dated 7/24/67.

For the information of the Bureau and Atlanta, no information has been received indicating that the subject has or plans to travel to the Dallas Division for a speaking engagement. CARMICHAEL's activities will be followed closely through informant and public source material and if information is received indicating that he intends to visit Dallas, or any of the cities in this division, the instructions in the referenced Bureau airtel will be implemented. Until such information is received, Dallas will maintain this case in an RUC status.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/20/01 BY 39063 GJW/Bcl/mw

2- Bureau (RM)
2- Atlanta (100-6812) (RM)
1- Dallas
DJH/wvm
(5)

100-446080-515

REC- 14 3 AUG 29 1967

SEP 30 5 22 PM '67

DO NOT WRITE ON
REC'D

INVAID



55 SEP 7 1967 Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

F B I

Date: 8/25/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, DETROIT (100-34122)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS SEDITION

C.D. BRENNAN JR
8/28

Re Bureau airtel to Detroit, 8/18/67,
captioned as above.

Michigan, [redacted] advised the original tape recording
concerning speeches by STOKELY CARMICHAEL [redacted]

[redacted] at Grand Rapids, Michigan. [redacted] was
made by one [redacted]

at the Fountain Street Church, Grand Rapids, Michigan.

[redacted] advised they made a copy of these speeches
from the original tape furnished them by [redacted]

The transcript furnished by Detroit in the LHM dated
7/24/67, was from the copy of the tape made available by [redacted]

[redacted] Efforts are being made to locate and interview
[redacted] in accordance with instructions set out
in referenced airtel.

This matter is being followed closely by
Detroit and results of the contact with [redacted]
will be submitted to the Bureau immediately upon receipt.

1-922 980

3 - Bureau (RM)
1 - Atlanta (100-6812) (RM)
2 - Detroit
JEK/cmt
(6)

REC-40

EX-115

100-446080-516

15 AUG 29 1967

C. C. - Bishop

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/10/1 BY SP9D(BEW) Bclammw 5-T80

Approved: 1 1967
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/25/01 BY 3703 EMB/EC/AMU

25 August 1967
b7C
M. A. [redacted] L.C. [redacted]
b7C

Dear sir:

I just happen to read your article on [redacted] in your August 7 issue. I'm a american and I have the rights to voice my opinion about this article. If you decide to print this or throw it away, I really don't care, but it will have severed its purpose.

I'm speaking for atleast ten men besides myself. We are all solider, who have about two months left in the service before we get discharged. We are also experts in shoting our M14. When we come home, we want a place where we can live in peace, but since this goddamn niger has started to shot of his big mouth, hell has broke out in the states. We are in Europe, not in Viet-Nam, but if this [redacted] wants a fight, we'll be glad to teache him and his damn followers a lesson.

The lesson is simple: We plan to assassinate [redacted] we have GI's in the states, located near Washington D.C., who have seen th is niger and know where his headquarters is. If we ever come upon him, he is good as daed, just like saying, the president of the United States, is President Johnson! And for his pal, Stokely Carmichael, if he ever steps on the soil of the US again, he might as weel prepare for his own furnel! For we are sick adn of this niger shit of burning down America, if they don't come around! Let me ask them a question, Why is it always your areas and stores that are burned or looted? This doesn't get your subject arcross to t he government, it just worsten it.

And if they don't think whites, American, has the guts to fight, just wait til they start, we'll be among the whites who will shot til we die ourselves! If they ask for it, they'll receive what they ask for.

There is no way you can trace this letter, if you want to find out who wrote this letter. All we want to tell America, DCIs 4 1967 that two NIGER LEADERS ARE GOING TO DIE BY AMERICANS WHO'LL FIGHT FOR THEIR LAND! We hope you'll mention this in your magazine, but if not, very well, we'll still continue to carry out our plan.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/25/01 BY 3703 EMB/EC/AMU

Thanks for your help, for its much wanted.

100-446080-
NOT RECORDED
145 OCT 5 1967

Sincerely your,
Strangers of the NIGERS!

530C1101987

10/3/67 PTE/alel

ORIGINAL FILED IN 105-168197-353

F B I

Date:

8/26/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

BHS
One

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080) b7C

FROM: SAC, DETROIT (100-34122)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS SEDITION

CD
100

2

Re Detroit airtel to Bureau, 8/25/67,
captioned as above.

Investigation at the Fountain Street Church,
Grand Rapids, Michigan, [redacted] to locate and interview
[redacted] determined that this individual
is presently [redacted] with location
unknown. Information was developed that [redacted] is to
return to Grand Rapids probably [redacted] Detroit
will contact [redacted] upon return to Grand Rapids and
immediately furnish the Bureau with the results of this
contact.

1-922 94D

3 - Bureau (RM)
1 - Atlanta (100-6812) (RM)
2 - Detroit
JEK/cmt
(6)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/27/01 BY 39063 [redacted]

EX-103

REC-23

9 AUG 28 1967

C. C. Bishop
39K

INT. SEC.

Approved: **59 SEP 3 1967** Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 8/25/67

FROM : SAC, NORFOLK (100-6026)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
SM - SNCC
BUFILE: 100-446080

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
IS - C
BUFILE: 100-439190

OO: ATLANTA

[redacted] an individual who identified himself
as [redacted]
(home telephone [redacted], presented himself at the Newport
News Resident Agency and advised that [redacted]

[redacted] Hampton Institute, a predominantly
Negro institution of higher learning at Hampton, Virginia.
He stated that [redacted] who was also
[redacted] which he described as one of
[redacted] on the campus of
Hampton Institute.

[redacted] advised SA [redacted] that he
wished to furnish to the FBI information within his possession
concerning STOKELY CARMICHAEL, with particular reference
to his coming to Hampton Institute during May, 1967. He
stated that he had information concerning the people who
were instrumental in bringing CARMICHAEL to the campus
and that he felt that it might be of assistance to the FBI
in their overall investigations. No questions were asked
of [redacted] and all information furnished was
furnished spontaneously by him.

[redacted] stated that he learned first that plans
were being made at Hampton Institute by student organizations
to invite STOKELY CARMICHAEL during the fall of 1966.
At that time, a student named [redacted]

[redacted] who has no known connections with

- 4- Bureau (RM) (2- 100-446080-CARMICHAEL, 2- 100-439190-SNCC)
2- Albany (RM)
2- Atlanta (100-6812) (RM)
1- Boston (info) (RM)
2- Denver (RM)
3- Norfolk (2- 100-6026,
1- 100-Dead, CARMICHAEL)
1- Richmond (info) (RM)
- 1-Newark (info) (RM)
1- Detroit (info) (RM)
1- Milwaukee (info) (RM)
1- Minneapolis (info) (RM)
2- New York (RM)

U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-15-93 BY 9803 [redacted]
#252,029

LT TO NORFOLK
ST LOUIS 9/8/67 PTB/dra
TO ALBANY (INFO) ATLANTA
INFO BY R/S

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN



5010-108-01

NF 100-6026

the Students for Democratic Action or the Students for Democratic Society, [redacted] he was a member of the committee which was to invite CARMICHAEL to the campus. Approximately six weeks later [redacted] that CARMICHAEL wanted a fee of \$700 to make the appearance. During March, 1967, [redacted] that CARMICHAEL was definitely coming to the campus and that the \$700 fee was "being arranged". [redacted] noted in this connection that the sponsor of the appearance by CARMICHAEL was the History Club at Hampton Institute with which [redacted] is familiar and which has no such asset as \$700 in its treasury.

b7C

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[redacted] stated that he had been invited to meet [redacted] SNCC staff members whom he could describe only as Negro males, between 23-24 years old, one of whom he thought might have been named [redacted] but that he did not take advantage of the invitation. He stated that [redacted] individuals were prominent in the committee to invite CARMICHAEL, one of whom was [redacted] a graduate of [redacted] who is presently attending [redacted] and who now resides in [redacted] at that time was [redacted]

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U. I. R. N. A.

[redacted] for the visit. [redacted]

[redacted] in this regard.

HAMPTON INSTITUTE, HAMPTON, VA.

[redacted] also desired to furnish information about the demonstration by ROTC Students which occurred shortly after CARMICHAEL's speech. As background, he stated that in February, 1965, the contract governing ROTC at Hampton Institute and making the first two years mandatory was [redacted]

b7C

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[redacted] He found during the spring of 1967, that the problem of whether or not to have a four year ROTC program was being reexamined. At that time, [redacted] other students advised [redacted] Hampton Institute wanted to get rid of ROTC and that the demonstrations were therefore being downplayed. At a faculty meeting during May, 1967, which was called with hour's notice to consider whether or not the first two years of ROTC was to be compulsory an advisory opinion was sought from the faculty from the Dean with the prior announcement that the Dean and president were going to the Board of Trustees to seek permission to drop the program no matter what the faculty did. The

6/2/67

faculty therefore voted to recommend dropping the program.

b7D

[redacted] noted that this particular faculty meeting and the problem concerned grew out of CARMICHAEL'S speech as did the other demonstrations on the campus at that time.

*HAMPTON, VA.
D.C.*

[redacted] residing next to [redacted] and whom [redacted] described as a thorough racist, and individual extraordinarily hostile to the Caucasian race and reportedly [redacted]

[redacted] was believed by [redacted] to be the liaison individual between STOKELY CARMICHAEL and members of the student body and administration who were responsible for inviting him. He based this belief on the fact that [redacted]

b7C

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[redacted] without invitation and spoke at length about STOKELY CARMICHAEL and the arrangements for inviting him, emphasizing [redacted] involvement in setting it up through the president's office, Hampton Institute. [redacted] claimed during this conversation to have told [redacted] exactly how to go about arranging to invite CARMICHAEL. He stated that he had not seen [redacted] since this time.

[redacted] stated that he had become concerned over STOKELY CARMICHAEL'S activities because of his own present affiliation with Hampton Institute. He felt that CARMICHAEL was not involved in civil rights in any matter whatsoever, and that his impression at Hampton Institute had been that the people who went to listen to and support CHARMICHAEL were of the middle and not the lower class. He commented in this regard that [redacted] drives [redacted] and that all Hampton Institute demonstrators present at STOKELY CARMICHAEL'S speech appeared to be exceptionally well dressed.

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[redacted] noted that between [redacted] he had [redacted] because

b7D

of that school's involvement in [redacted] In addition, he stated that he had had some contact at [redacted] and while at [redacted] approximately [redacted] years ago. He stated he felt his background was well a matter of record with the Federal Government and could be readily checked.

NF 100-6026

b7D

[redacted] furnished names of the following former faculty members at Hampton Institute who might conceivably furnish background concerning the campus.

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b7C

b7D

b7C

b7D

[redacted] stated that all the above individuals with the exception of [redacted] were reliable individuals but that [redacted] were high strung and exceptionally intelligent. All individuals are Caucasians

b7D

The Norfolk Division intends to consider requesting Bureau authority to recontact [redacted] in this matter upon receipt of background information from addressee offices.

REQUEST OF THE BUREAU

INFORMANT. Colorado N.Y.
The Bureau is requested to check indices concerning

b7D

[redacted]
presently employed as [redacted]

[redacted] noting that he has

NF 100-6026

advised that he is [redacted] and that he was issued [redacted]

b7D

For information of Bureau and other offices, [redacted]

[redacted] an established source, previously advised that CARMICHAEL's appearance on the campus of Hampton Institute was part of a program to invite controversial speakers representing conflicting points of view to address the student body at Hampton Institute. For this reason, students connected with CARMICHAEL's appearance are not necessarily presumed to be members of SNCC.

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LEADS

ALBANY, DENVER, NEW YORK, AND ATLANTA

Albany, Denver, and New York are requested to furnish Norfolk any background information in their files, noting that [redacted] has stated that he has been associated with [redacted] in those three areas during his career and that he has had contact with the FBI in the Albany Division and has had [redacted] within the Denver Division. (This request for background information pertains to [redacted])

b7D

The Atlanta Division is requested to check indices and advise whether or not any references contained therein concerning [redacted] particularly with reference to STOKELY CARMICHAEL or SNCC. Atlanta is also requested to check indices for [redacted] for any reference.

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BOSTON, DETROIT, MILWAUKEE, MINNEAPOLIS, RICHMOND, AND NEWARK (INFO.)

Copies furnished Boston, Detroit, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, and Richmond in view of [redacted] mention of former Hampton Institute faculty members presently working in these areas. No reply requested unless these offices are able to furnish background information concerning individuals noted in this communication. In addition, Boston note [redacted] allegedly presently within that division. Boston should check indices in event any pertinent info. contained therein re [redacted] Copy furnished Newark for information in event Newark in possession of any information of pertinence re [redacted] allegedly from [redacted] New Jersey.

b7C
b7D

F B I

Date: 8/26/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, TAMPA (100-1103) P

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC.
SEDITION

ReBuairtel 8/23/67

In view of possible racial disturbance St. Petersburg, Fla., members of Intelligence Unit, St. Petersburg PD unable to be interviewed until late afternoon 8/29/67.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/27/01 BY 30063 EUB/BEK/mw

1-922980

3 - Bureau (100-446080) RM

1 - Atlanta (100-6812) RM

1 - Tampa

JEH:ad

(5)

ST-108

REC-41

100-446080-519
15 AUG 29 1967

C. C. Bishop

Approved: DM

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

F B I

Date: 8/25/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, SEATTLE (100-28676) (RUC)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION

b7C

b7D

Re Bureau airtel, 8/23/67.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1/27/01 BY 2103 EWL/BO/AMW

Enclosed herewith for the Atlanta Division are fifteen (15) copies of FD-302 interview with [redacted] for inclusion in a supplemental report requested by referenced Bureau airtel. Three (3) copies of this FD-302 are being enclosed for information of the Bureau.

The Bureau and Atlanta have been previously advised that [redacted] Both [redacted] and her husband have been active in legitimate civil rights activities in the [redacted] area and neither have been reportedly involved with subversive groups to date.

b7C

- 3 ENCLOSURE
- 3 - Bureau (Encl. 3) (REG)
 - 2 - Atlanta (Encl. 15) (REG)
 - 1 - Seattle
- WHW:cmh
(6)

C. C. - Bishop

15 AUG 29 1967

b7C

SEP 6 1967

54 SEP 8 1967

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

PERS. ADD. UNIT

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 8/25/67

[redacted]
[redacted] who resides at [redacted]
[redacted] recalled that the appearance
of STOKELY CARMICHAEL at [redacted]
[redacted] had been arranged by [redacted] who had
identified herself as [redacted] "Student Non-violent
Coordinating Committee" (SNCC). He stated that a letter
dated [redacted] signed by [redacted]
SNCC, had been directed to [redacted]

b7C

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requesting rental of the [redacted] auditorium
for the evening of [redacted] for a speech by CARMICHAEL.
This letter indicated that CARMICHAEL's appearance was
being sponsored by the SNCC membership in [redacted]

According to [redacted] a letter was directed
to [redacted] dated [redacted] over the signature of
[redacted]

informing her that permission for the use of the auditorium
at [redacted] for CARMICHAEL's speech was being
withheld. Following this exchange of letters, there was
considerable coverage in [redacted] newspapers of legal action
brought against [redacted] by the American
Civil Liberties Union, on behalf of [redacted] Chapter of
SNCC, which ended in [redacted] Superior Court decision
forcing the School Board to make the auditorium available
for the CARMICHAEL Speech.

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[redacted] recalled that he made a recording of
CARMICHAEL's speech and the question and answer session
that followed, however, he said that the question and
answer portion of his recording was garbled and of such
poor quality that it was impossible to understand it. He
further recalled that CARMICHAEL was well aware that his
speech and comments were being recorded, and CARMICHAEL's
attention had been directed to the recording instruments
by someone in the vicinity.

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/27/01 BY 39063 EML/EC/AMW

100-446080-520

b7D

On 8/24/67 at [redacted] File # [redacted] 100-28676

by SA [redacted] cmh Date dictated 8/24/67

b7C

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency;
it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

COPIES DESTROYED

333 FEB 24 1971

ENCLOSURE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : The Director

DATE: 8-8-67

FROM : N. P. Callahan

SUBJECT: The Congressional Record

(8) Pages H10042-H10043. Congressman Fulton, (D) Tennessee, placed in the Record an article from the August 3 Washington Daily News entitled "Justice Department Ready—Carmichael May Face Arrest" written by Thomas Talburt and an editorial from the Nashville Banner of August 2 entitled "For Infamies Compounded—No Place for Wrist-Tap in Carmichael Case." The Daily News article pointed out that spokesmen for the Department would neither confirm nor deny that Attorney General Clark has decided to arrest Carmichael. The article stated "They would only say, as they have in the past, that Mr. Carmichael's activities are being investigated. The Secret Service and FBI offered even less official information." Mr. Fulton advised that H. Rap Brown made similar remarks calling for violence and if an arrest order can be drawn for Carmichael then Brown should also be held accountable for his statements advocating violence.

(10) Page S10969. The Senate received a joint resolution passed by the Legislature of the State of Alabama recommending that Stokely Carmichael be denied readmittance to this country as an undesirable alien. The resolution states "Whereas Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in a recent report to a congressional committee on some of Carmichael's activities stated that Carmichael in espousing his black power movement had been in frequent contact with Max Stanford, field chairman of the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM), a highly secret all-Negro Marxist-Leninist, Chinese-Communist-oriented organization - - - ;"

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12/1/01 BY 39263 ELW/BCE/AMW

100-446080-

NOT RECORDED

135 AUG 29 1967

364
In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for 8-7-67 was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

RECEIVED 1007

Original filed in: 66-1731-3130

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : The Director

DATE:

8-9-67

FROM : N. P. Callahan

SUBJECT: The Congressional Record

*for
at*

(13) Pages A3999-A4000. Congressman Michel, (R) Illinois, extended his remarks to include an editorial from the Chicago Tribune of August 5 entitled "If It Isn't Sedition, What Is It?" This editorial comments on activities of Stokely Carmichael and states "Congressmen said that Americans are 'disturbed and angry' at the timidity and inertia of the attorney general, Ramsey Clark. All the administration has talked of doing is revoking Carmichael's passport. Congress should insist on criminal prosecution, for what we face here is a summons to revolution."

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/27/01 BY 39063 EWL/BCE/AMW

100-446080-
NOT RECORDED
133 OCT 12 1967

Original filed in: 66-1731-3158

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for 8-8-67 was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

53 OCT 16 1967

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : The Director

DATE: 8-16-67

FROM : N. P. Callahan

SUBJECT: The Congressional Record

Page H10527. Congressman Rogers, (D) Florida, spoke concerning the activities of Stokely Carmichael pointing out that Castro has put Carmichael on a pedestal as his arm of subversion in the United States. He stated There can be little doubt that if and when Carmichael returns to the United States that he will be carrying out the orders of Castro. And Castro, of course, is carrying out orders from his Communist masters. If we allow this to happen--if we let Carmichael spread and preach Castro's doctrine--we will have allowed Castro to establish his first beachhead in the United States. Mr. Rogers advised that he had called for the arrest of Carmichael when he returns from Cuba on grounds of sedition. He went on to state I am disappointed that the Justice Department has not made clear its intentions. In fact, its quoted spokesmen have offered mild concern at whether any action could be taken even though Carmichael called for violence aimed at the President.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE100-446080-
NOT RECORDED

87 SEP 8 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10/27/01 BY 3903 EMB/BC/AMW

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for 8-16-67 was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

ORIGINAL FILED IN 6-17-71

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : WSTave / WST/RC

DATE: 8-30-67

FROM : L.E. Short LES/RC

SUBJECT:

Stokely Carmichael

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02/01 BY 3902ew/RC/AMW

The attached see information has been received in the Records Branch, appropriately initialed, and indicated for file. By use of instant transmittal memorandum, all necessary recording and indexing will be accomplished. It is to be noted this form is for internal use only within the Records Branch, principally by the Routing Unit where bulky material not accompanied by memorandum is usually received.

The enclosure, if bulky and not usually filed with other papers in file, may be detached but this action should be clearly noted under the word "Enclosure."

Enc. D

ENCLOSURE

48
"ENCL. BEHIND FILE"

79 SEP 6 - 1967

REC-44

EX 106

NOT RECORDED

14 AUG 30 1967

b7C

August 29, 1967

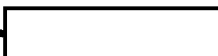
EX 101 REC-4

100-446080-522



b7C

Dear



b7C

Your letter was received on August 24th.

With respect to your comments, it may be of interest to you to know that voluminous information relating to individuals such as Stokely Carmichael  has been furnished to the Department of Justice for its consideration.

b7C

I can assure you the FBI is aware of its responsibilities, and we will continue to discharge our duties with the highest degree of thoroughness and dispatch.

Sincerely yours,
J. Edgar Hoover

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/27/01 BY 3906 EFW/BCE/AMW

b7C

NOTE: Bufiles contain no information identifiable with 

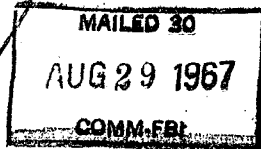
DEC-D B12H03

FBI

AUG 31 2 12 PM '67

HRH:cao
(3)

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____



54 SEP 6 1967

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Mr. Tolson_____
 Mr. DeLoach_____
 Mr. Mohr_____
 Mr. Bishop_____
 Mr. Casper_____
 Mr. Callahan_____
 Mr. Conrad_____
 Mr. Felt_____
 Mr. Gale_____
 Mr. Rosen_____
 Mr. Sullivan_____
 Mr. Tavel_____
 Mr. Trotter_____
 Tele. Room_____
 Miss Holmes_____
 Miss Gandy_____

August 4 - 1967

The Justice Department

For God's sake when are you going to do something about Stokely Carmichael? Are you waiting for another President to be murdered?

To see that thing and [redacted] plus McKissik spewing venom on over T. V. is something out of a nightmare.

b7C

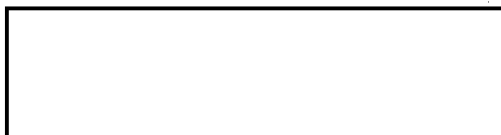
b7D

I have also known that anyone even hinted at doing anything against our President was rushed to either jail or a mental hospital. What is wrong with Washington?

You better get busy Mr. Hoover--while you have time

b7C

b7D



COPY:jo

ITC 29
 act: 8-28-67
 HR/Himelh/dls/caw
 name

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 6/27/01 BY 391063 EIW/ace/and

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

August 4 - 1967

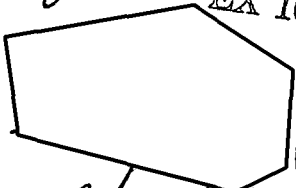
The Justice Department
 For God's sake when
 are you going to do
 something about ^{storky} ~~storky~~
 Carmichael? Are you
 waiting for another
 President to be murdered?

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 6/19/01 BY 3063 SML/bcl/m

EXP. PROC.
 36 AUG 24 1967
 40

To see that thing
 and [redacted]

EX 101 REC-4 100-446000-522



plus McRissik
 AUG 24 1967

spewing rumors ~~about~~
 is something

CORRESPONDENCE

1 TC 29
 and 8-28-67
 HPH:mml
 mml
 /cm

b7C
 b7D

II DIRECTOR

b7D

b7C

out of a night mare. I have also known that
any one even hunted as
down any thing against
our President or pushed
to either side or a mental
highly. What is wrong
with Washington?
You better get busy
you have time

8/5/67

b7C

airtel

1 - [REDACTED]

0-7 TO ALL offices Listed below
Cond mK/10/26/67

b7C

CONTACTED [REDACTED]
NOT TO BE CONSOLIDATED
WITH 25-539590;
DO NOT OPEN A 14 file
(Sedition); Cond mK/10/25/67

To: SACs, Atlanta (Enclosure)
Chicago (Enclosure)
Cincinnati (Enclosure)
Houston (Enclosure)
Jackson (Enclosure)
Los Angeles (Enclosure)
Richmond (Enclosure)
San Francisco (Enclosures - 2)
Seattle (Enclosure)
Tampa (Enclosure)
WFO (Enclosure)

From: Director, FBI

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
SEDITION

ReBuairtel 8/4/67, one copy of which is enclosed for
San Francisco.

Enclosed for each recipient office is a copy of a
self-explanatory letter from AAG Yeagley which confirms the
information contained in referenced airtel.

Recipient offices are instructed to comply with the
requests contained in this letter and with the instructions
contained in referenced airtel regarding the investigation of
Carmichael and the submission of pertinent information to
Atlanta for inclusion in a prosecutive summary report.

Interviews with potential witnesses should be recorded
on Form FD-302 or in a signed statement and wherever possible
pertinent information should be furnished to Atlanta in insert
form for inclusion in the prosecutive summary report. Insure

CWT:skr
(24)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/27/01 BY 390638W/acek

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Wick _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

53 AUG 10 1967

Airtel to SAC, Atlanta
RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

that appropriate background information including information regarding the willingness and availability of witnesses to testify is furnished to Atlanta regarding each potential witness for inclusion in the witness appendix section of the report. Original recordings of interviews with potential witnesses should be retained by the office conducting the interviews. Auxiliary offices should furnish to Atlanta four copies of all exhibits to be included in the exhibits section of the prosecutive summary report and Atlanta should submit three copies of the prosecutive summary report and three sets of exhibits to the Bureau.

It is imperative that sufficient manpower be assigned to this investigation to insure that the deadline is met without fail.

NOTE:

Department has indicated that their desires of prosecuting Stokely Carmichael under the Sedition Statute and have requested us to develop witnesses who can testify to recent statements made by Carmichael in public appearances. Previous instructions have been sent to the field. We are furnishing a copy of the Department's request to the field for their additional guidance.

F B I

Date: 8/8/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
 FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (14-215)
 RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
 SEDITION

Re Buairtel 8/5/67.

Enclosed for Atlanta are the original stencil copies of FD-302s in captioned matter. Two Xerox copies of the FD-302s are being enclosed to the Bureau and two copies are being maintained in the San Francisco Office.

The San Francisco Office has in its possession a tape recording copy of the original tape recording maintained

[Redacted]

- 1-9229+0 with 1 cc each encl
- ③ - Bureau (Enc. 18) (AM-RM)
 - 2 - Atlanta (Enc. 18) (AM-RM)
 - 1 - San Francisco

JGC/jr
 (6)

REC 45

25-539590-24
100-446080-522X1

EX 101

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 12/10/01 BY 3903 BIL/BCL/AMW

AUG 10 1967

INT. SEC.

Approved: CB/jr

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

AUG 15 1967

18 ENCLOSURES TO BUREAU
with SF airtel 8/8/67
2 Xerox copies pertinent
data & FD-302s

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
SEDITION

SF 14-215

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10/27/01 BY 39042 EML/BCL/AMW

*on this
envelope*

ENCLOSURE

100-446080-52241

SPEECH OF STOKELY CARMICHAEL
AT UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA,
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA,
OCTOBER 29, 1966

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02/10/01 BY 39613EW/bce/amu

100-446080-522X1
~~25-539590-30~~

Date 8/8/67

b7C

b7D

[redacted] advised that STOKELY CARMICHAEL, then National Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), was the featured speaker at a "Black Power Day" held in the Greek Theater, University of California, on October 29, 1966.

[redacted] stated that he requested through [redacted]

[redacted] that arrangements be made to tape record the speeches and other proceedings during the entire "Black Power Day" at the Greek Theater. [redacted] stated that [redacted]

[redacted] to do the actual tape recording at the Greek Theater. [redacted] stated that he supervised the recording technician who placed his equipment immediately outside the south door of the Greek Theater stage.

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[redacted] stated that he observed the actual recording, which comprised 15 tapes recorded at 7-1/2 speed on one track, and that each of these tapes was personally taken by [redacted]

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[redacted] states that these tape recordings include the speech by STOKELY CARMICHAEL on October 29, 1966.

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[redacted] stated that he is willing to make available the original tape recordings of the CARMICHAEL speech for any court proceedings; however, he would prefer to maintain the original tapes in his personal custody until such time as an actual court proceeding is imminent.

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[redacted] advised that he would be available and willing to testify at any court proceeding regarding the events at the Greek Theater on October 29, 1966, with particular attention to the STOKELY CARMICHAEL speech.

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[redacted] stated that there were approximately 4,000 -

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 4/27/01 BY 39063 Bw/Bcelamm

On 8/8/67 at Berkeley, California File # SF 14-215

by SA [redacted] - jr Date dictated 8/8/67

b7C

100-446080-522X1

25-539590-30

SF 14-215

DEJ/jr

2.

5,000 persons in attendance during the time that CARMICHAEL spoke and he estimates that approximately 90% of this audience was caucasian and approximately 50% male, most of whom would be of college student age and, therefore, would in all probability be subject to the military draft.

[] stated that he recalls that CARMICHAEL made a highly emotional speech in which he attacked the U. S. draft laws, officials of the U. S. Government, with particularly vitriolic comments regarding the President, the Secretary of State, and the Secretary of Defense.

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[] stated that CARMICHAEL's speech was well received by the audience and that on a number of occasions CARMICHAEL received applause and standing ovations, particularly when CARMICHAEL stated, "Hell no, we won't go" in regard to the draft, and [] recalled no one booing CARMICHAEL during his speech.

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[] stated that he does not recall observing anyone in military uniform in attendance at the "Black Power Day" and concluded by stating that CARMICHAEL left almost immediately after the conclusion of his speech. No discussion groups were observed dealing specifically with the content of CARMICHAEL's speech.

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/27/01 BY 302 dws/colamw

100-446080-522X1
25-539590-30

Date 8/8/671.

[redacted]
[redacted] advised that he was [redacted] at the Greek Theater, University of California, Berkeley, California, on October 29, 1966, at the time STOKELY CARMICHAEL made a speech to an audience of about 4,000 - 5,000 persons, who had gathered in Greek Theater to hear CARMICHAEL and to observe a "Black Power Day."

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[redacted] stated that he observed that approximately 90-95% of the audience was caucasian and that about half of the audience was male college-age, presumably students at the University of California, Berkeley.

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[redacted] stated that CARMICHAEL's speech was inflammatory toward the U. S. Government and officials, with a particularly vehement attack on the Selective Service System and the military draft. [redacted] stated he recalls that CARMICHAEL in effect urged the draft age young men in the audience to refuse military service in the United States Armed Forces.

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[redacted] stated that he would be willing and available to testify in any court proceedings against CARMICHAEL in connection with his speech at the Greek Theater on October 29, 1966.

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b7D

On 8/8/67 at Berkeley, California File # SI 14-215

by SA [redacted] - jr ^{b7C} Date dictated 8/8/67

8/8/67

Date

1.

[redacted] advised that he attended the "Black Power Day" at the Greek Theater, University of California, Berkeley, on October 29, 1966. He stated that he recalls CARMICHAEL's speech late in the evening of October 29, 1966, when approximately 5,000 persons had gathered in the Greek Theater. [redacted] stated he was surprised that most of the audience were caucasians and he estimated approximately 90% or more would be caucasian. He stated the majority of the audience appeared to be of college student age and he estimated at least 50 or 60% would be male, presumably draft age persons.

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[redacted] stated that CARMICHAEL made a vitriolic attack on U. S. foreign policy, the military draft, the President, the Secretary of State, and the Secretary of Defense, and challenged his audience to defy the military draft and refuse to serve in the U. S. Armed Forces.

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 6/27/01 BY SP063 E/W Bedamu

SF 11-215

On 8/8/67 at Berkeley, California File #
by SA [redacted] - jr b7C Date dictated 8/8/67

100-446080-522X1
25-539590-30

Date 8/8/67

1.

[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted] advised that on October 29, 1966, [redacted] the
proceedings during a Black Power Day meeting held at the Greek
Theater, University of California, Berkeley, California. [redacted]
[redacted] this meeting [redacted]
[redacted] of the University of California,
Berkeley, [redacted] at the Greek Theater
[redacted] October 29, 1966.

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[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted] a speech made by STOKELY CARMICHAEL,
among other speeches and proceedings during the day. He said
this meeting was recorded on magnetic tape, the original of
which [redacted] as it
was removed from the recorder during the day. He said as far
as he knows [redacted] has the original tapes in his
possession.

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[redacted] stated he has records reflecting his
activities on October 29, 1966, which he will gladly produce
and will also testify from his recollections, if and when he
is requested to do so by the Federal Government.

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b7D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 6/27/01 BY 39063 EWB/BC/AMW

On 8/8/67 at [redacted] File # SF 14-215
by SA [redacted] - jr ^{b7C} Date dictated 8/8/67

100-446080-522X1
25-539590-30

Date 8/8/671.

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[redacted]
[redacted] University of California, Berkeley, California,
advised that as of the beginning of the Fall quarter, October 1,
1966, the Army ROTC Unit had 619 students registered.

He stated this is a matter of record and can be
produced at any future date if necessary.

On 8/8/67 at Berkeley, California File # ST 14-215
by SA [redacted] ^{b7C} - jr Date dictated 8/8/67

Date 8/8/671.

[REDACTED]

University of California, Berkeley, California, advised that as of the beginning of the Fall quarter, October 1, 1966, the Air Force ROTC Unit at the University of California, Berkeley, had 51 students registered.

b7C

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He stated this is a matter of record and can be produced at any future date if necessary.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 10/27/01 BY 39063 ETW/BO/AMW

On 8/8/67 at Berkeley, California File # SF 14-215

by SA [REDACTED] - jr Date dictated 8/8/67

b7C

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

100-446080-522X125-539590-30

Date 8/8/671.

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[redacted]
[redacted] University of California, Berkeley,
California, advised that as of November 1, 1966, the Navy
ROTC Unit had 163 University of California students registered.

He stated this is a matter of record and can be
produced at any future date if necessary.

On 8/8/67 at Berkeley, California File # SF 14-215
by SA [redacted] - jr b7C Date dictated 8/8/67

APPENDIX - WITNESSES

[redacted]
[redacted] Berkeley, who has always been cooperative and has furnished reliable information, is willing and available to testify during any future trials in this matter. He was in attendance at the STOKELY CARMICHAEL speech, University of California, Berkeley, October 29, 1966, and under his direct supervision CARMICHAEL's speech was recorded.

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[redacted]
[redacted] Berkeley. [redacted] was assigned by [redacted] to duty at the Greek Theater on October 29, 1966, and was present during the CARMICHAEL speech on that date. [redacted] is willing and available to testify in any future court proceedings. [redacted] has always cooperated with the FBI and has furnished reliable information in the past.

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[redacted]
[redacted] was present at the Greek Theater during the STOKELY CARMICHAEL speech on October 29, 1966. He has been friendly and cooperative to the FBI for many years and has furnished reliable information in the past. He is available, but is unwilling to testify in connection with the speech of STOKELY CARMICHAEL on October 29, 1966, because of possible retaliatory measures.

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[redacted]
[redacted] University of California, Berkeley. Records reflecting 619 Army ROTC students as of October 1, 1966. He is willing and available to testify.

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[redacted]
[redacted] University of California, Berkeley. Records reflecting 163 Navy ROTC students as of November 1, 1966. He is willing and available to testify.

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[redacted] University of California, Berkeley, California. Records reflecting 51 Air Force ROTC students as of October 1, 1966. He is willing and available to testify.

b7C
b7D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01/01/01 BY 39063 BWW/KC/Amw

100-446080-522X1
25-539590-30

APPENDIX - WITNESSES

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Records and recollections concerning his recording of Black Power Day meeting, which included speech of STOKELY CARMICHAEL on October 29, 1966. He is willing and available to testify.

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FBI

Date: 8/24/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (100-6812) (P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - SNCCEnclosed for the Bureau are 8 copies of an LHM
suitable for dissemination.The source furnishing information contained herein
is [redacted] who furnished the information to SA [redacted]

b7C

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/10/01 BY 39063 ewh/bcl/mw

C. C. Bishop

ENCLOSURE

REC 39

ST-125

100-446080-523

- ③ - Bureau (Enc. 8) (RM)
2 - Atlanta
EUC:met
(5)

b7C

18 AUG 28 1967

AGENCY: ACSI, OSI, SEC. SER.
DATE FORW: 8/30/67
HOW FORW: [redacted]
BY: [redacted]

b2

SEC.

1 cc of airtel
2 Xerox copies LHM
922 94D

Approved: [signature]

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Atlanta, Georgia

August 24, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Reference is made to memorandum dated August 21, 1967, prepared at New York, New York, indicating that Stokely Carmichael, Field Representative of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), would arrive in Hanoi, Democratic of Republic of Vietnam, on August 18, 1967.

On August 21, 1967, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that Carmichael has returned to Cuba after his visit to Hanoi and will remain there for an indefinite period.

The source said that during Carmichael's stay in Cuba he will be writing a book, the title of which is not known to the source, which he hopes to have published in December, 1967.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/27/01 BY 39863 BUL/BCE/AMW

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

1*

100-446080-523
ENCLOSURE

F B I

Date: 8/25/67

~~SECRET~~Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, MIAMI (105-15451) (RUC)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISC.

OO: Atlanta

DECLASSIFIED BY 39063 ELL/BO/AMW REC-38
ON 6/21/01ReBuairtel to Albany, with copies to all offices,
dated 6/7/67.Enclosed for the Bureau are ten (10) copies of
a letterhead memorandum, containing remarks attributed to
captioned subject.Four copies of the letterhead memorandum are
being furnished Atlanta, the office of origin in both
this and the SNCC investigation.Copies of the letterhead memorandum are being
furnished to 111th M. I. Group, Orlando, Florida, NISO,
Charleston, S. C., and OSI, Robins AFB, Georgia.

- 4 - Bureau (Encs. 10) (RM)
(1 - 100-439190) (SNCC)
- 4 - Atlanta (100-6812) (Enc. 4) (RM)
(1 - 100-6488) (SNCC)
(1 - 100-)
- 3 - Miami
(1 - 100-15068) (SNCC)
(1 -)

JJM:jhk
(11)

AGENCY: ACSI, OSI; SEC. SER.

DATE FORW: 8/30/67

HOW FORW: 1415

BY: PTB/dkt

~~SECRET~~

REC-38

15 AUG 28 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.Approved: FAT. LMS

Sent _____

M

Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

Classified by SP-1 A6/RUE
Declassify on: OADR 12/18/86
0820288

UNREC COPY AND COPY OF

MM, 105-15451

~~SECRET~~

The source concealed is [redacted] who furnished the information to SA [redacted]

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Translation from the Spanish, where required, was made by [redacted]

b7C

~~SECRET~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Miami, Florida
August 25, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 105-15451

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY -
MISCELLANEOUS

A source on August 21, 1967, advised that Radio Havana, Cuba made the following broadcast on August 14, 1967:

Stokely Carmichael, the American Negro leader who attended the OLAS Conference in Havana as a special guest, stated in Havana that revolution is the most appropriate means to put an end to the cruel exploitation of the Negro population in the U. S. In an interview with Prensa Latina, Carmichael repeated the determination of the Afro-Americans to fight for their rights throughout the nation. This battle will be hard and difficult, but there is no other way, according to Carmichael.

He said that the Negro American is fully convinced that the policy of peaceful coexistence with their exploiters will never bring positive results. Carmichael stated that upon his return to the U. S., he will recommend a change in the name of his organization, the Student Coordinating Committee for Nonviolent Action, to the Negro Liberation Movement. He explained that the new name of the movement will influence the minds of Afro-Americans toward a concept of battle for total emancipation, since they will realize it is linked with the battle to liberate the exploited nations in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Finally, according to Carmichael, the strong opposition of young Negroes to fighting in Vietnam or participating in any other imperialist war will continue.

The source on August 9, 1967, made available the August 3, 1967, issue of "Granma," self-described as the official organ of the Communist Party of Cuba, which

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12/18/86 BY SP-1A/JS

ENCLOSURE

105-15451-524

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

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contained an article captioned:
This article stated as follows:

"It is in the act of the armed fight that a people obtains its humanity."

Says the well-known composer of protest songs and Afro-American political leader.

After being in Cuba a few days, the noted U. S. composer and interpreter of protest songs and outstanding fighter for the liberation of the Afro-American people regrets only that he is one and indivisible. He has come to Cuba to take part in the Protest Song Contest which is sponsored by the "Casa de Las Americas," but at the same time he is participating as a leader of SNCC (Student Coordinating Committee for Non-violent Action), in the OLAS Conference as a guest. According to his own confession, [redacted] has never wanted to multiply himself as he does at this moment, so that he can participate in the OLAS debates and in the discussions of the Protest Song Contest.

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Meanwhile, between a quick trip to Varadero to join the singers and attending the meetings of OLAS, [redacted] answers the questions which we submit to him. Concerning the fight for the liberation of the Afro-American people, he thinks that "the most recent events in Detroit and Newark have been very positive because the Negro people are responding. They have taken up arms against the police and the army and refused to be intimidated any longer. This is a necessary stage in the fight because a people which wants freedom does not ask but must fight, as we are now fighting."

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Concerning the ways and purposes of SNCC, of which [redacted] is one of [redacted] he says, "We believe that the only means of obtaining real liberation is through armed fighting. It is in the act of the armed fight that a people obtains its humanity. The goal

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL

which we seek is the destruction of capitalism, and once this has been obtained, we shall be able to begin to build a humanistic society."

We asked him: Do you find any identification between the fact that the OLAS Conference is being held at the same time as the Protest Song Contest?

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"Yes," added [] "protest songs are very, very important in the struggle of any people. And holding both conferences at the same time is a recognition of this fact."

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Concerning the protest song in the United States and its true scope as a fighting weapon for the liberation of the Afro-American people or against the war in Vietnam, [] says: "The protest song is not as strong in the United States as it was before. At the beginning of our struggle, there were quite a lot of protest songs. What has happened is that in the process of the fight for liberation, the Afro-Americans feel that they do not have much time to sing because they are very busy fighting. In a future stage of the fight, the protest songs will again become important. What has happened is that the commercial music in the Afro-American community has become more protesting in nature. Singers such as [] have made recordings of protest songs which have been very successful in the Afro-American community, and these protest songs are not only about our fight for liberation, but also about the fight for the liberation of the people of Vietnam."

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Concerning his impressions of Cuba, [] says: "Before coming to Cuba, I knew that it was going to be a place which I was going to like, and I have not been disappointed. As a matter of fact, I found more than I expected. And I believe that the spirit of the Cuban people is something which cannot be imagined, but one has to come to this country to see it. The celebration of July 26 in Santiago de Cuba was particularly inspiring. And I like Cuba so much that I hope to return many more times!"

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

And to the last question put to [] to what do you attribute the growing development of awareness in the Afro-American people, he said:

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"To three things. The first is probably the war in Vietnam, for the Afro-American people know, without it being necessary to tell them so, that it is ridiculous for the United States to speak of fighting for the freedom of Vietnam when we do not have freedom in the United States itself. I believe that the war in Vietnam has made it possible for the Afro-American people to see that the United States can be defeated. We see that Vietnam is a small country, but it is defeating the United States. At the present time, the United States has a half million men in Vietnam and it is still losing the war. We also have a great admiration for the Viet Cong, for we see in them what a united people can do, for a united people cannot be defeated even by the most modern weapons.

"We greatly admire the Viet Cong and they are an inspiration to us. I believe that the second factor is Stokely Carmichael and the Black Power. Before the Black Power, the Afro-Americans did not realize what the true nature of their fight was. They deceived us by saying that love and brotherhood were most important, but love and brotherhood can do nothing when a man points a revolver at you and your hands are empty. Now we understand, after the philosophy of the Black Power has been expressed, that there is nothing without Power, that only after one has Power can he begin to talk of love and brotherhood, and also that with the realization of Power, one stops asking and begins to take, and that one takes what rightfully belongs to him. A man with Power will not give it up nor will he share it. That Power will have to be taken away from him, and one's own Power will thus be assured.

"And I believe that the third factor is understanding that we are not alone, that we really have friends throughout the world, that we are

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

indeed fighting against the same enemy, which is, of course, United States imperialism. Therefore, we are shoulder to shoulder with the Vietnamese people, with the fighters for freedom in Africa and with those who are fighting for their liberation in Latin America. No, we are not alone."

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Miami, Florida
August 25, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 105-15451

Title STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Character INTERNAL SECURITY

Reference Memorandum, dated and captioned
 as above, at Miami, Florida

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : The Director

DATE: 8/18/67

FROM : N. P. Callahan

SUBJECT: The Congressional Record

Pages S11763-S11766. The Senate received a concurrent resolution adopted by the Legislature of the State of Florida requesting the Federal Government to cancel the passport of Stokely Carmichael. This resolution states "Whereas Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director of Federal Bureau of Investigation, in a regional report of a Congressional Committee on some of Carmichael's activities, stated that Carmichael is exposing his black power movement has been in frequent contact with Max Stanford, field chairman of the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM), a highly secret all-Negro, Marxist, Leninist, Chinese Communist-oriented organization - - -

100-446080-

NOT RECORDED

176 SEP 8 1967

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10/20/01 BY 60322 EFW/ace/amu

SEP 8

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for 8/17/67 was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

59 SEP 13 1967

Original filed in: 66-1731-3138

F B I

Date: 8/16/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

b7C

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, MIAMI (100-15451) (RUC)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISC.

OO: Atlanta

ReBuairtel to Albany, with copies to all offices,
dated 6/7/67.

Enclosed for the Bureau are nine (9) copies of
a letterhead memorandum containing information concerning
captioned subject that appeared in a Miami Spanish language
newspaper and in Cuban publications. Two copies of the
letterhead memorandum are being furnished to Atlanta,
the office of origin.

Copies of the letterhead memorandum are being
disseminated to 111th M.I. Group, Orlando, Florida;
NISO, Charleston, S. C., and OSI, Robins AFB, Georgia.

The source concealed is [redacted], who furnished
the information to SA [redacted] on various dates
in August, 1967.

- 3 - Bureau (Encs. 9) (RM)
2 - Atlanta (100-6812) (Encs. 2) (RM)
2 - Miami
(1 - [redacted])

b2

b7D

JJM:jhk

cc gantel (7)

1 Xerox of LHM
922 9412

AGENCY:

ACSI,

OSI;

SEC. SER.

DATE FORW:

HOW FORW:

BY:

BAW/jhk

REC 46

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Special Agent in Charge

66 SEP 13 1967

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DATE 10/11/01 BY 2000 CC EMB/BAW/AM

MM 100-15451

Translation from the Spanish, where required,
was made by

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For the information of the Atlanta office,
several of the newspaper articles quoted herein contained
photographs of STOKELY CARMICHAEL and other members of the
SNCC who accompanied him to Cuba.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Miami, Florida
April 16, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-15451

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY -
MISCELLANEOUS

The August 11, 1967, issue of "Diario Las Americas," a Spanish language newspaper published in Miami, Florida, contained an article entitled: "Carmichael Invited to Chile." This article stated that Stokely Carmichael, revolutionary United States Negro, was invited to visit Chile by the socialist Senator Carlos Altamirano, who was heading his Party's delegation to the Latin American Solidarity Organization (LASO) Conference in Havana. Carmichael's visit to Chile was suspended, however, until the Government grants him the necessary visa. *Cuba*

The August 13, 1967, issue of "Diario Las Americas" contained an article entitled: "Carmichael Left for USSR." This article stated that Stokely Carmichael, leader of "Black Power," apparently left for Moscow, accompanied by Julius Lester, a member of the Directive Committee of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). *U.S.S.R.*

A source on August 7, 1967, made available the August 2, 1967, issue of "El Mundo," a daily newspaper published in Havana under the direction and control of the Cuban Government, which contained the following article: *11*

"STOKELY CARMICHAEL GRANTS A PRESS INTERVIEW

"We U. S. Negroes have submitted to a Fascist regime of oppression for 400 years, and after many attempts to obtain our human rights, we have found that there is only one way to liberation: armed fighting, which is already taking place in many of our cities," said Negro leader Stokely Carmichael to more than 100 Cuban and foreign journalists. The young leader said that he was sorry that he could not

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL

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"speak Spanish. An interpreter took a seat next to him. Julius Lester and George Ware, leaders of the Student Committee for Nonviolent Action, who accompanied him, also answered questions asked by the journalists. *U.S.S.R.*

"In answer to a question about the meaning of Black Power, he said: 'This means the Negro people join the oppressed peoples outside the United States in order to fight for their rights and against the capitalist and imperialist structure inside the country.' He said that in 1960, they had lined up with Martin Luther King in a peaceful struggle, even though they did not believe in it. He said that his movement will not join the white workers of the western world until these workers take up arms and fight along with them for the redistribution of the wealth and a complete change in structure. The whites have been trying to convince the Negroes that violence is not the proper way. *Cochran*

"As for the existence of Negro millionaires in the United States, he said that there are only 67 and that these Negroes were not with them. He said that Malcolm X and other Negroes, as well as Fidel Castro and Che are sources of inspiration to his movement.

"As for Negro intellectuals, he said that they did not have much faith in the intellectuals who write many books. An intellectual must also be a revolutionary, like Fidel, who is capable of talking to the people about their problems.

"Concerning the possibility of having his passport revoked, he said: 'McClosky is neither my father nor my mother. Since I was 15 years old, I have not been asking my parents for permission to go anywhere. I go wherever I want. Let McClosky and the State Department go to the devil. If they kill me, let everyone know that it was the CIA. It was the CIA who killed Ben Barka, who poisoned Richard Wright in Paris, who killed Turcios Lima. But this has not stopped the fight of the oppressed. If they kill me, the fight will not stop either.'

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

The source on August 9, 1967, made available the August 3, 1967, issue of "Granma," self-described as the official organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, which contained the following article:

**"WE HAVE NO ALTERNATIVE BUT TO TAKE UP ARMS, SAID
STOKELY CARMICHAEL**

**"WE ARE FIGHTING AGAINST THE SYSTEM WHICH PRODUCES
ECONOMIC INSECURITY**

"Havana, August 2 (Prensa Latina)

"The U. S. Negro leader, Stokely Carmichael, said that the fight which the Negro people are carrying on in the United States 'is the same battle which is going on outside the United States against imperialism, oppression and racism.'

"In the course of a press conference, Carmichael also said that we United States Negroes 'have no alternative but to take up arms in order to bring about our liberation.'

"He said that for 400 years the Negro population of the United States has lived under the most brutal Fascism which the world has ever known. 'It has tried,' he said, 'to coexist peacefully within the United States, but without any positive results.'

"In explaining the tactics which the Negro citizens are using, Carmichael said that 'we are moving toward guerrilla warfare in the cities of the United States, where we have no other way but to use offensive violence in order to be able to own land, houses and stores in our communities and to control politics in those communities.'

"He explained that the Black Power consists of obtaining the monolithic union of the Negro population in order 'to fight for their liberation by whatever means may be necessary, along with the oppressed people outside of the Negro population of the United States, and by fighting to destroy the imperialist and capitalist structure of the United States which oppresses us inside the country and others on the outside.'

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

"In answer to a question about the coordination of the fight of the Negro masses in the United States with that which is being waged by the exploited people in other parts of the world, Carmichael said that his presence in Cuba 'indicates that we are coordinating that fight.'

"WE WILL NOT TAKE UP ARMS TO SHOOT
AT THE PEOPLE OF VIETNAM

"Later, the ex-president of the Student Coordinating Committee for Nonviolent Action (SNCC) said that the young Negroes of the United States have become aware that it is preferable to spend five years in prison 'rather than serve in an imperialist army, and to serve as cannon fodder for the interests of that imperialist nation.' 'We will not take up arms to shoot at the people of Vietnam. They have done nothing to us. They have never discriminated against us, forced us to live in ghettos, made us work for low salaries, nor killed us in the streets,' emphasized Carmichael.

"He continued: 'The people of Vietnam are our brothers in arms, because they are fighting against the same structure which oppresses us. Our answer to the armed forces of the United States is "to the devil, we are not going."' He added that for a long time 'we have been used by the United States to carry on these imperialist and racist wars, and we have always been in the front lines. As you know, in Santo Domingo the forces which were used to destroy the forces of the people fighting for their liberation were Negroes.'

"'In Vietnam, the front line troops are Negroes. As for Vietnam, there is one positive thing: the United States has taught us how to kill.'

"'Our brothers, who are returning from Vietnam,' he said, 'are going to make good use of that training in the cities of the United States.'

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

"IN ORDER TO DESTROY US, THEY HAVE
TO DESTROY THEIR ECONOMY"

"In another part of the conference, Carmichael said that in the United States cities 'the Negroes are in the majority,' and the big industrial centers are also located there. Therefore, he said that 'in order to destroy us, they have to destroy their cities, to destroy the chief means of the United States economy.'

"After stating that the imperialist defenders 'are cowards,' he said that 'they cannot fight hand to hand, man to man.' 'When there is a man to man fight, they call it guerrilla fighting, and they tell their people that guerrilla fighting is a new kind of fighting, and then they try to make it appear that it is dirty fighting, bad fighting and in order to answer that type of fight, they use napalm bombs.'

"He said that in the United States, they are obliged to 'fight us man to man, but we sweep them away.'

"Then he stated that in the present structure of the United States 'we cannot coexist, that is to say, we have to create new structures in our own communities.'

"WE ARE FIGHTING AGAINST
THE SYSTEM WHICH PRODUCES
ECONOMIC INSTABILITY"

"He then spoke of the whites in the United States who call themselves 'liberals' and then said that 'those liberals are enemies of the Negro struggle for these reasons: because they are generally rich, and, therefore, receive benefits from the prevailing system. They are economically secure.'

"Therefore, those liberals are fighting to maintain the system in the United States, since they get benefits from it, and we are fighting to destroy that system, because it produces economic insecurity for us. Besides, those liberals have an intellectual compromise with the theory of

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

"equality, but they do not have an emotional reaction to the question of equality. When the liberals see the violence which the whites use against the Negroes, they shake their heads and feel pained, instead of feeling violent and indignant. However, when I see a white racist policeman kill one of my Negro brothers, I want to kill him."

"WE ACCEPT THE WHITES WHO TAKE
UP ARMS ALONG WITH US

"Carmichael considered that the only whites which could be accepted in the Negro movement 'are those which are ready to take up arms with us, in order to destroy the capitalist structure of the United States. All the rest is just so many words, and we have been listening to that kind of talk for 400 years.'

"He added that there are about 67 Negro millionaires in the United States, and since they want to preserve their millions, 'they, too, must be destroyed.'

"When he was asked about the integration of the national minorities within the framework of the fight for Black Power and the work which is being done in that sense, Carmichael said:

"In the first place, I should like to say that integration cannot even occur until the source is eliminated. In the United States, integration is always defined as the Negro population moving toward the white communities, never the white communities moving toward the Negroes. This reflects the inborn racism in the society, because what they have been saying was that the Negroes have nothing to contribute and that the idea was that we should become whites. This has become a criterion for integration and I shall give you an example: in Puerto Rico which is a colony of the United States, where English is the language which has been studied for three years, the students are punished for speaking Spanish. They are forced to think that there is something wrong with the way they have been speaking. This is the reflection of the feeling of

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"'racial superiority in the white western society.

"'Until we have the power to control our lives,' he continued, 'integration has no meaning. It is really a subterfuge for white supremacy.'

"'As for the other minority groups in the United States, the white society has always kept them divided. Again I shall use the Puerto Rican population in the United States as an example. In the cities, the white people made the Negroes fight against the Puerto Ricans and vice versa. We have already seen the results of this in New York and in Chicago--the Puerto Ricans and the Negroes are fighting together against the police.'

"Carmichael and the other leaders of SNCC who have accompanied him on his visit to Cuba, Julius Lester and George Ware, then explained the attitude of Negro clergyman Martin Luther King on the recent racial outbursts in Detroit and other U. S. cities. They said that Luther King does not favor violence, and in his statements a few days ago, he said that 'he understood why there had been violence, but he also said that he could not support violence. However, what Dr. Luther King did not say is that he was in agreement with Lyndon B. Johnson about sending troops to Detroit. It is as clear as water that when he says that, he is against the Negro population.'

The article then stated that Carmichael had then spoken about the importance of Che Guevara, saying that Guevara does not just talk, he is a man of action.

Carmichael said that when SNCC was created in 1960, to speak of violence was treason. Luther King was in control at that time. After the rebellion of Watts, the question of nonviolence was brushed aside. It was clear that arms was the only way.

The article continued that Carmichael said that Malcolm X, who was killed in 1964, is a model and a guide for the Negroes of the United States. He spoke for the Negro masses and he fought for them. Abraham Lincoln was a white

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

racist in the best sense of the word. Lincoln fought only for economic reasons. He really did not care about the freedom of the slaves. If he could have won the war without freeing them, he would have done so.

The article continued that Carmichael had said that Fidel Castro is a great leader and an inspiration. Carmichael understands why the United States does not want people to visit Cuba, for they would see how many lies about the Cubans are told in the United States.

The above source on August 8, 1967, made available the August 4, 1967, issue of "Bohemia," a magazine published in Cuba under the control and direction of the Cuban Government. This magazine contained an article reflecting an interview of Stokely Carmichael entitled: "It Is Necessary to Create Problems for the Imperialists Wherever They May Be, Stokely Carmichael." In the article, Carmichael reportedly made the following comments on various matters:

"BLACK POWER

"A great deal is being said in the United States about Black Power," he said. "We can sum it up by saying that it is the union of Negroes fighting for their freedom. We support the need of union with the other peoples of the Third World. In the United States there is a lack of revolutionary conscience among the whites. If they develop it, we are ready to join hands and our efforts with them. If not, we shall continue fighting anyway. We want to develop our own culture. If you want to convert a man into a slave, destroy his culture and give him the culture of the ruling power. That is why we have great appreciation of the Cuban nationality. The Cubans love Fidel because he is the symbol of what they want. If we had any love for the culture of the ruling and exploiting class, we would have love for Lyndon B. Johnson. Then, we would be fighting in behalf of the imperialists and against ourselves. That is why we are developing love for our culture of African origin, love for our leaders."

"Analyzing the recent events which have taken place

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"in the different cities of the United States, which left behind and are leaving behind a large number of Negro victims produced by Yankee police and military oppression, Carmichael said:

"'When a fight begins, it is logical for some battles to be lost. The price which is paid for a revolution is never a very high price. We have the best example in the number of Cuban martyrs. If they could see Cuba today, they would be very happy to give their lives over again in order to preserve these conquests. Our struggle now is for developing the revolutionary consciousness of the Negro people in the United States.

"'Of course,' he added, 'we have differences with some Negro leaders, but we do not debate publicly. We are more interested in having people see union rather than any division or fragmentation. After there is sufficient strength and sufficient union, it will be possible to set aside the weak or timorous people.'

"FIDEL CASTRO

"'I talked to Fidel for three days and those days have been the most educational, the most interesting and the most instructive of my whole public life. I am very honored and pleased with his friendship,' he stressed.

"PROBLEMS FOR THE IMPERIALISTS

"'It is necessary to create problems for the imperialists, wherever they may be,' stated the young Negro leader. 'The fight against imperialism is worldwide. If there are oppressed people, they are the peoples of the Third World, and if they are fighting against oppression, it is necessary to support them resolutely.

"'My grandfather helped to build the Panama Canal, and at that time they vaccinated only the whites against yellow fever. That is why my grandfather died from that disease. The Canal was built with the blood and sweat of the Negroes and the Latin

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

"'Americans. That is why I believe I am right when I say that the Canal belongs to the Panamanians.'

"PERSONAL DANGERS

"'My prospects with the authorities for returning to the United States do not interest me. I came to Cuba because it is a duty as a revolutionary. I cannot respect the United States laws because they are unjust. What are they going to do? Put me in prison? I have been in prison 35 times. I am an organizer. No matter where I am, I will organize the fight. If I am in Cuba, I shall organize the fight from Cuba; if I am in Vietnam, I shall fight against the imperialists in Vietnam; if I am in Africa, I shall also fight there.'

"OLAS

"'I believe,' he emphasized, 'that the OLAS Conference is actually the most important conference in the world. It is the beginning of the union of the oppressed peoples of Latin America, the union of the masses, which close ranks and embrace in order to march together to save humanity.'

The article stated that other not less important figures came to Cuba with Stokely Carmichael in the rebellious effort of millions of United States Negroes, headed by the youth in their classrooms, to obtain their self-determination as human beings. They are:

George Ware, 21 years of age, member of the Central Committee of the SNCC. He directs the Campus Program. Ware got a degree in chemistry from Tuskegee, a university for Negroes in Alabama.

Julius Lester, of the Central Committee of the SNCC, director of photography for the organization. Writer, guitar player and singer. He was invited to the Protest Song Festival. He is studying at Fisk University, Tennessee.

Elizabeth Sutherland, Information Officer for the SNCC. Writer. She published a book on Cuba, published by the "Dial Press" of New York. She also published "Letters from

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Mississippi." She visited Cuba in 1960 and in 1961.

This source on August 9, 1967, made available the August 5, 1967, issue of "El Mundo," which carried an article entitled: "Decision of Negroes in the U. S. to Take Up Arms." This article contained an interview with Stokely Carmichael wherein he expressed the following views on various matters:

"Question: Recently, the world has been shaken by serious racial disturbances which have taken place in a number of cities of the United States, especially in Detroit, where the violence has reached an unprecedented size. According to an AP dispatch, the Mayor of Detroit, Jerome Cavanagh, told the Congress of the United States that part of the blame for this is due to the fact that some laws on educational improvements and on the 'Fight against poverty' are pigeonholed in the Capitol in Washington.

"The Mayor warned that if these problems are not corrected right away, violence will again break out in Detroit or in some other part of the United States or throughout the nation simultaneously, and that the consequences will be unpredictable. What is your opinion about this?

"Carmichael: Well, I believe that the Mayor is an idiot if he believes that the problem of the Negro population of the United States can be resolved within a capitalist society. The only solution is the destruction of the capitalist system, the destruction of U. S. imperialism, which brings with it racial discrimination and exploitation everywhere. Once that structure is destroyed, and only then, can we speak of a solution for the problems of the United States Negro population in a realistic manner. Until that time, everything that is said is like putting a bandage on a cancer. The problem is not taken care of.

"Question: In these recent, and we can say, present disturbances in the United States, it can be clearly seen that the Negroes have adopted a superior form of fighting against the abuses by the police and

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"the reactionary and racist elements in the country. Can you explain to what this change is due?

"Carmichael: It is clear that what we have decided to do is to take up arms as the only means for facing oppression. We must unite with the others in the world who favor armed fighting as the solution for our problems. For 400 years, we have tried to live in the United States under a form of peaceful coexistence, and as a result, we have had to live under the most fascist regime in the world. The only possible solution for us is to destroy that regime or to be destroyed in the attempt. At any rate, we are going to fight with arms in order to obtain our liberation.

"Question: There is a phrase which has been used very frequently in the dispatches from international news agencies in referring to you and to your fight for liberation. That phrase is 'Black Power.' Could you explain what Black Power consists of and what the significance of that movement is?

"Carmichael: Black Power is the union of all the Negro population of the United States as a single people in order to fight for their liberation. It means that we United States Negroes must begin to look upon the liberation movements throughout the world as our own cause. That we must join hands with our comrades throughout the world in order to fight imperialism and to destroy it once and for all, in order to build together a new society based on humane principles and not on exploitation.

"Question: In a recent press conference you referred to the organization of city guerrillas as a new method of fighting on the part of the United States Negro population. Would you explain that idea?

"Carmichael: We said that we found ourselves forced to use guerrilla warfare in the city in order to obtain our liberation. We have no other alternative.

"Question: But there was a very interesting question which was asked you at that conference, and which has

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"to do with the military aspect itself of the question. That is to say, you were asked to explain how it is that guerrilla action in the city, which is so difficult in other countries, is considered advantageous in the United States.

"Carmichael: It is true that for this we have more advantages than other peoples outside the United States. The way in which the United States fights against the guerrilla movement is by using its most powerful weapons during the period of organization, in other words, until the moment when all the people can arm themselves and fight with all the necessary means. On its own territory, the United States cannot use its most powerful weapons against us. It cannot use the hydrogen bomb, the atom bomb, the napalm bombs against us because we live within its very entrails.

"If, for example, it should some time use its chemical weapons against a part of its people, which we are, the other part would also be enveloped in flames. Therefore, when the United States faces our guerrilla warfare, it will have to fight man to man.

"It will not be the power of weapons against the will of a few men. But the will of a few men against that of other men. And we have the will to fight, because we are fighting for our liberation and they are fighting in order to oppress us. And those who are fighting for their liberation can never surrender. They cannot be conquered.

"Question: There is a question which we should like to ask you in regard to our broadcasting station. Do you listen to the broadcasts by Radio Habana Cuba in your country?

"Carmichael: Why, of course. Radio Habana Cuba is heard throughout the South...in Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, North Carolina, South Carolina and Virginia.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

"And if one has a good short-wave receiver, it can be heard in Washington..."

"Question: Do you believe that Radio Habana Cuba has been able to aid the fight of the United States Negroes in any way with its broadcasts?"

"Carmichael: It certainly has. It has been a source of inspiration to all of us, because when we see that powerful imperialism is vacillating in the face of risk, and on the other hand, that Cuba not only takes a risk but maintains its position, we cannot help but feel inspired. And all this is reflected in the broadcasts of Radio Habana Cuba."

"Question: Can you speak to us of your impressions in Gran Tierra, that is to say, the second event which you attended after your arrival in Cuba?"

"Carmichael: One of the things which impressed us most was the way that the Prime Minister devotes his time to going to a small town to meet its citizens, to converse with them, and to talk to them of the things which his government is trying to do."

"The fact that the Government of Cuba shows so much concern for the people is, in itself, revolutionary, and this has our admiration."

"Question: What was your main impression during the celebration of the 14th anniversary of the 26th of July in Santiago de Cuba?"

"Carmichael: The fact that Fidel Castro is concerned about the education of the masses. This impressed us more than anything else. And the second thing is Fidel's concept that the Revolution is not only for the taking of power, but for restoring in the minds of the people the concepts which have been destroyed by western society; his efforts to destroy the concept of material interest which western society has imposed on the peoples. That is what he considers a true revolution, and this is, without a doubt, one of the best things which we can learn from the Cuban Revolution."

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

"Question: Can you tell us, Mr. Carmichael, why you came to Cuba, and what was your opinion of the Cuban Revolution before and after your first experiences in our country?

"Carmichael: The impression which we have always had in the United States about the Cuban Revolution is that it is good. The fact that the United States is against Cuba is enough to convince us that Cuba is doing something good.

"Therefore, we did not come to Cuba to find out whether the Revolution is good. We came to find out things, to learn things about the Cuban Revolution which can be useful to our people in the United States. And since we have come here, we have learned a tremendous quantity of things, which we could not have learned from books or movies, but only by coming to experience them ourselves.

"Question: From what you have been able to observe here, could you tell us what you think about the way of life of the Negro citizens of Cuba?

"Carmichael: There is no doubt that the Revolution has helped the Afro-Cubans greatly, and the way that they are living clearly shows that there is no racism. The Afro-Cubans with whom we have spoken are all for the Revolution; they all respect and admire the Cuban Revolution and they all feel a great love for Fidel Castro.

"Question: When you read some material written by Major Guevara for the first time, what impression did it produce on you?

"Carmichael: Well, I believe that we did not begin to read Che until 1965. We had heard him spoken of since 1959, at the triumph of the Revolution, and since that time, we had followed with interest everything connected with him, where he was, what he was doing, what he said. We could read some information in certain newspapers of the United States and in certain Cuban newspapers which were translated. But we did not begin to read his works until about

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

"1965. It is difficult to give the exact date because today the Negro community in the United States is all reading Che and it seems to us that he has always been with us.

"Question: Do you wish to send any special message to your people in the United States in your name?

"Carmichael: We brothers and sisters know that the work which we have to do is going to be long and hard, as Che said. That our fight is not going to be simply fighting in the streets, that it is going to be a long hard struggle.

"We are preparing for that resistance now. At first, many of us will die, but we must not despair, we must continue fighting, regardless of the price we have to pay. Those of us who are outside are strengthening ties with our comrades outside the United States. Our fight will have world dimensions. We are inside the United States. Our fight is going to be the hardest and most fierce, but we must prepare ourselves for that fight. We are going to go about our business, my dear ones."

The above source on August 11, 1967, made available the August 9, 1967, issue of "Granma," which contained an article entitled: "Ware Forbidden Entry in London." This article stated that Stokely Carmichael had stated that British authorities had forbidden George Ware, Activities Director of the SNCC, to enter London. Ware arrived at the British capital from Cuba and he was immediately sent to the United States. After the departure of the Afro-American leader from London, the Home Office (British Ministry of the Interior) announced that Carmichael could not return to England "for the good of public safety."

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Miami, Florida
August 16, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No. 100-15451

Title STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Character INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS

Reference Memorandum, dated and captioned
as above, at Miami, Florida.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

F B I

Date: 8/29/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-68783)

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/27/01 BY 3903 EWB/CE/AMW

b7C

Re: Prosecutive Summary Report of SA [redacted]
[redacted] dated 8/12/67 at Atlanta, and Buairtel dated 8/23/67,
Los Angeles teletype to Bureau dated 8/8/67, and Los Angeles
airtel to Bureau dated 8/9/67.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL spoke at a Black Power Conference
at the Jefferson High School, 1319 East 41st Street, Los
Angeles, California on 5/26/67.

There is no prepared text relating to the speech
furnished to school authorities or to members of the press.
Neither is a recording of this speech available.

There are no informants in the Los Angeles Division
sufficiently close to CARMICHAEL who could testify as to his
knowledge and intent as it relates to his speech.

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[redacted] a current, live informant of continuing
value to the Los Angeles Division, who is unavailable and
unwilling to testify at this time, advised [redacted] that

3 - Bureau (RM) (AIR MAIL)
2 - Atlanta (100-6812) (AM-REGISTERED)
1 - Los Angeles
JWW:gcw
(6)

REC-64

EX 101

15 AUG 31 1967

C. C. - Bishop

Approved: [signature]

Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

57 SEP 11 1967

LA 100-68783

no persons of white race or members of the news media were permitted in this conference, as security guards screened and searched persons entering the conference.

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All of the above information including written report by [redacted] concerning this speech was set forth in referenced Prosecutive Summary report.

FBI

Date: 9/2/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, TAMPA (100-1103) (RUC)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION
(OO:AT)ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/10 BY 39063 EWL/BCE/bmwRe Bureau airtel, dated 8/23/67, and Tampa airtel
to Bureau, dated 8/26/67.Enclosed herewith for Atlanta, for inclusion in a
supplemental report, are four copies of the following FD-302s:

1. FD 302 containing results of interview of [redacted]

[redacted] Florida;

2. FD 302 containing results of interview of [redacted]

[redacted] Florida;

3. FD 302 containing results of interview of [redacted]

4. FD 302 containing results of interview of [redacted]

5. FD 302 containing results of interview of [redacted]

6. FD 302 containing results of interview of [redacted]

- 3 - Bureau (RM)
2 - Atlanta (Enc. 56) (100-6812) (RM)
1 - Tampa

JEH:lp

(6)

Approved: [Signature]

C. C. Bishop, Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M.

Per _____

INT. SEC.

TP 100-1103

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7. FD 302 containing results of interview of [redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]

8. FD 302 containing results of physical observation
of locale of speech.

Also enclosed as exhibits are the following:

1. 4 copies of statements issued by [redacted]
[redacted] Furnished by
[redacted] to SAs [redacted]
[redacted]

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2. 4 copies of April 21, 1967, issued of The Trident,
Vol. 7, No. 25. See FD 302 containing results of interview of
[redacted]

b7C
b7D

3. 4 copies of photograph taken of [redacted]
[redacted] prior to covering
speech by CARMICHAEL. [redacted] supra, identified [redacted]
in photo as left to right: [redacted]
[redacted] Negative being maintained by Tampa Office.

b7C
b7D

4. 4 copies each of 3 photographs taken by [redacted]
[redacted]
during CARMICHAEL speech. The photographs were made available
by [redacted]

It is felt that these photographs would be of interest to the
Department in answer to their question concerning the locale
of STOKELY CARMICHAEL speech. The negatives of the photographs
are being maintained by [redacted]
[redacted]

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
(100-439190)

DATE: 9-6-67

b7C

FROM : SAC, ATLANTA (100-6812)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
SM - SNCC
BUFILE 100-446080

COMINFIL
SNCC
IS - C
BUFILE 100-439190

Re Norfolk letter to Bureau dated 8-25-67
requesting background information contained in the files
of the Atlanta office on [REDACTED]

b7D

The indices of the Atlanta Office are negative
concerning this individual and no information is available
indicating that he is associated with STOKELY CARMICHAEL
or SNCC.

In addition to the above, the Atlanta indices
contain no identifiable information relative to:

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-18-86 BY SP1-AG-JC
252-028

4- Bureau (RM)
4- Norfolk (100-6026) (RM)
1- Atlanta
EUC/pgv
(9)

REC-44

11 SEP 8 1967

54 SEP 15 1967

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

F B I

Date: 9/5/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080) b7C

FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (100-6812) (P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - M
SEDITION

ReBuairtel 8/23/67 and Tampa airtel 8/26/67.

Tampa requested to expedite submission of requested information so that supplemental non-prosecutive summary may be prepared in accordance with Bureau instructions.

1 cc 940 922 E-113

③ - Bureau (RM)
2 - Tampa (100-1103) (RM)
1 - Atlanta
EUC:met
(6)

REC 71

8 SEP 7 1967

C. C. - Bishop

INT/SEC.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-2-10 BY 39063 GIL/Beckman

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

9-6-67

airtel

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Bishop
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
1 - Mr. Cox
1 - [redacted]

b7C Per FBI

To: SACs, Boston (Enclosure)
Los Angeles (Enclosure)
Milwaukee (Enclosure)
New York (Enclosure)
San Francisco (Enclosure)
WFO (Enclosure)
Miami (Enclosure)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/18/01 BY 39063 EIW/Bcd/Amis

From: Director, FBI

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS;
SEDITION

Attached as enclosure is a copy of a letter from
Mr. J. Walter Yeagley, Assistant Attorney General, Internal
Security Division of the Department, which is self-explanatory.

Miami should contact [redacted]

b2

b7C Per FBI

The Department has also furnished a list of [redacted]
[redacted] who were reportedly in Havana, Cuba, during
Carmichael's stay there. Information concerning some of these
[redacted] is set out below. Recipient offices should review
their files and submit recommendations as to whether or not
[redacted] residing in their respective territories should
be interviewed concerning captioned matter

b7C Per FBI

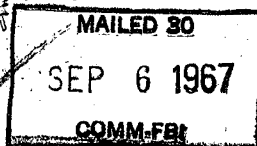
REC 29 00-446080-533
SEP 7 1967

[redacted] New York City, born [redacted]
[redacted] New York, occasionally travels to Cuba on
assignment. In 1957, the State Department expressed concern
over a newspaper article [redacted] which mentioned names of

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

261 - Atlanta (Enclosure)

PTB:mh (22)



SEE NOTE PAGE THREE

57 SEP 12 1967
MAIL ROOM [] TELETYPE UNIT []

Airtel to SACs, Boston, et al.
RE: **STOKELY CARMICHAEL**

b7C American communists in Mexico; [] reportedly received most of his data from [] In [] reportedly was in Guatemala and wrote articles favorable to [] [] is a leftist liberal who has criticized the United States.

b7C [] Los Angeles, California. Based on available information, no derogatory information was located in Bureau files concerning []

b7C [] In 1965, he was granted a visa to travel to Cuba to witness the departure of Cuban citizens to the United States.

b7C [] In this capacity he previously visited Cuba in 1964. In 1948, he was the subject of a Special Inquiry Investigation [] which was favorable.

b2 [] of New York City. He published a book as a result of a seven-day interview of [] He and his wife have cooperated with [] on a limited basis in the past.

b7C [] New York City. He resides at [] He traveled to Cuba with his wife, [] recently.

b7C and is a [] He resides at [] and may be related to [] In requesting a visa for travel to Cuba, [] declared he was working on a term paper concerning the role of the student in the Cuban revolution and wanted to consult with student representatives in Cuba.

b7C [] and has recently traveled to Cuba [] He was born []

Airtel to SACs, Boston, et al.
RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

[redacted]
[redacted] of Sacramento, Modesto and Fresno,
California. Members of [redacted] have been
cooperative with the Bureau in the past.

b7C

[redacted]
[redacted] are all affiliated with
[redacted] San Francisco, California. They
reportedly traveled to Cuba with [redacted] also of
[redacted] on Cuban life under a contract
with [redacted] in New York City.
San Francisco is not being requested to submit recommendations
concerning [redacted] in view of his subversive activities in the
past; however, San Francisco should submit recommendations
concerning the other individuals connected with [redacted]

b7C

All leads must be handled expeditiously and the
results submitted promptly to the Bureau.

NOTE:

See memorandum C. D. Brennan to W. C. Sullivan,
dated 9-5-67, same caption, prepared by PTB:mh.

9/8/67

b7C

1 -

airtel

To: SAC, Atlanta

From: Director, FBI (100-446080)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISC.
SEDITION

ReBuairtel 8/23/67, requesting your office to prepare a supplemental prosecutive report in this matter.

The Department has requested this supplemental report by 9/12/67 in order that a prompt decision may be made as to whether or not sedition charges should be brought against Carmichael.

Atlanta should make every effort to comply with the Department's request.

PTB:des
(4)

REC- 25

6/27/61 39103614564mm

12 SEP 11 1967

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

F B I

Date: 8/25/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: LEGAT, PARIS (100-2683) (P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS;
SEDITION

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 6/21/61 BY 39063EW/pe/amu

Remycab to Bureau 8/9/67.

Referral/Direct

4 - Bureau
(1 - Liaison Section)
1 - Paris
VVK:eim
(5)

AIRTEL

C. C. Bishop

Approved: *[Signature]*

Sent _____

M

Per _____

INT SEC.

55 SEP 14 1967

Special Agent in Charge

PAR 100-2683

Referral/Direct



In the event any pertinent information is received from our sources, the Bureau and interested offices will be immediately advised.

Hanoi Boosted By Carmichael

Pledges Support Of U.S. Negroes

TOKYO (UPI) — U.S. black power militant Stokely Carmichael pledged the support of American Negroes for Communist North Vietnam in the Vietnam war, Hanoi Radio reported today.

In a broadcast monitored in Tokyo, Hanoi said Carmichael gave his pledge of support on behalf of American Negroes in a "recent" meeting in North Vietnam with Ton Quang Phiet. Phiet is chairman of North Vietnam's Asian-African solidarity committee.

Carmichael, who earlier this month attended the Cuban-sponsored Latin American Solidarity Organization conference in Havana as a guest of Cuban Premier Fidel Castro, was reported by the broadcast to be in Hanoi.

The broadcast said Phiet told Carmichael North Vietnam supported the "valiant struggle being waged by black people in the U.S. for freedom and equality."

Phiet told Carmichael Hanoi offered its "resolute support" for American Negroes, the broadcast said.

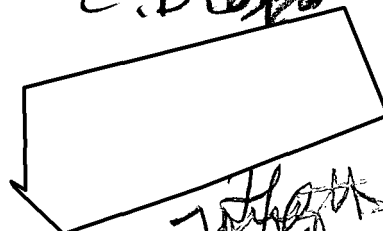
Hanoi Radio yesterday announced for the first time that Carmichael was in the North Vietnamese capital.

While he was in Havana, the U.S. State Department announced it would revoke Carmichael's passport upon his return to America for traveling to the Communist Cuban capital in defiance of a ban.

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

b7C

C. D. [Signature]



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10/28/01 BY SP103 GML/BOL/AMW

The Washington Post _____
Times Herald _____
The Washington Daily News _____
The Evening Star (Washington) _____
The Sunday Star (Washington) _____
Daily News (New York) _____
Sunday News (New York) _____
New York Post _____
The New York Times _____
The Sun (Baltimore) _____
The Worker _____
The New Leader _____
The Wall Street Journal _____
The National Observer _____
People's World _____

Date **AUG 30 1967**

100-446080-A-

NOT RECORDED
123 SEP 12 1967

File [Signature]

57 SEP 19 1967

F B I

Date: 9/8/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-68783)(RUC)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY -
MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION

REC 39

Re Bureau airtel dated 9/6/67.

mm

CAIT

b7C The Indices of the Los Angeles Division indicate that [redacted] is a correspondent for the "Los Angeles Times", the largest daily newspaper serving the Los Angeles area. No derogatory information located in the files of the Los Angeles Office concerning [redacted]

b7C In view of the fact that no derogatory information has been developed concerning [redacted] it is recommended that [redacted] be interviewed concerning captioned matter.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-3-79 BY SP-1 GSK/CLH

EX-102

REC 39

Comp # 71,752

100-446080-537

C. C. - Bishop

19 SEP 11 1967

(3) - Bureau REGISTERED
1 - Los Angeles
JWW:mfg
(4)

INT/SEC

54 SEP 18 1967

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

~~SECRET~~

Mr. R. D. Cotter

9/11/67

b7C

J. F. Wacks

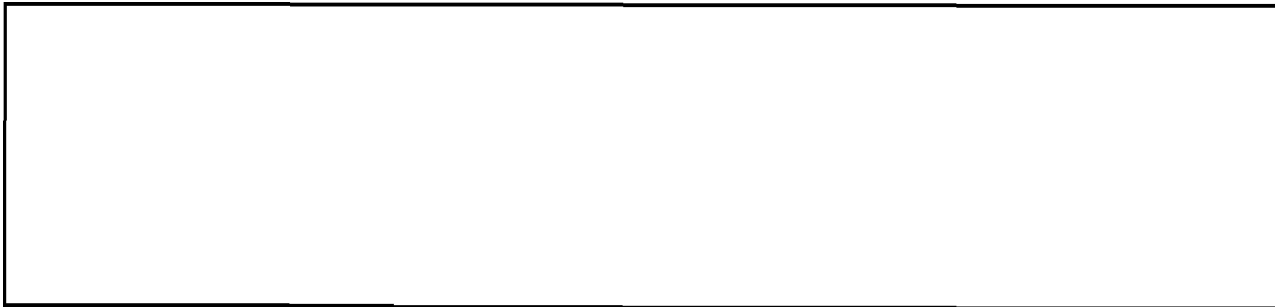
1 - Mr. Cotter

1 - [REDACTED]

1 - Mr. Wacks

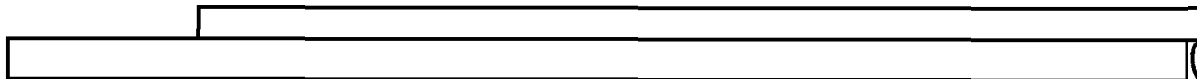
CHINESE COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN
U. S. RACIAL MATTERS
IS - CH

b1



ACTION:

b1



105-158698

① - 100-446080 (Carmichael)

JFW:djf
(5)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

100-446080 -
NOT RECORDED

141 SEP 13 1967

6/2/01
CLASSIFIED BY 39063 EWS/Rehmv
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X

~~SECRET~~

70 SEP 10 1967

ORIGINAL FILED IN 105-158698-6

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

FBI WASH DC

FBI SEATTLE

839PM DEFERRED 9/11/67 JKN

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080)

FROM SEATTLE (100-28676) 1PG

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS - MISC., SEDITION.

RE BUTELCALL TODAY.

TAPES OF SUBJECT'S SPEECH SENT AMSD REGISTERED EIGHT ELEVEN PM
INSTANT.

END

WRD

FBI WASH DC

P

REC 5

100-446080-538

SEP 12 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10/2/01 BY 3903 EWB/AMW

55 SEP 1967

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1 - Mr. Bishop
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Cox
1 - Mr. Brennan (C.D.)
1 - [redacted]

b7C

September 8, 1967

100-446080

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

There is set forth below a summary of current and planned future activities of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and its leaders.

Activities of H. Rap Brown

Classified by G-1 JC
Declassify on: OADR 11-25-26
252,028

It was previously reported that a group of militant Negroes left the National Conference for New Politics in Chicago, Illinois, and held the Black Power Convention. On September 3, 1967, H. Rap Brown, National Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, spoke before the Convention. Brown called for those present to arm themselves against white people and contended that Negroes in the United States are engaged in a rebellion. He said that the riots in Detroit, Michigan, show that Negroes are "staying together" and are not "snitching" on other Negroes. He urged that Negroes refuse to go to Vietnam.

On the evening of September 3, 1967, Brown spoke to approximately 250 Negroes who had formed the Black Caucus Group of the National Conference for New Politics. Brown said that Goldwater lost the presidential election by being honest and that President Johnson won it by being a liar. He discussed the Newark, New Jersey, riot and claimed that when the National Guard discovered Negroes had automatic weapons, it refused to move into the riot area. According to Brown, this proved that guns will win. He said America is presently burning down Vietnam and because of this, a "little bit of America" may be burned down. Brown told the audience that word had gone out from the FBI that Negro policemen are to be disarmed whenever riots occur.

100-439190

D - Bufile 100-446080

1 - Bufile 105-168197

BAW:des (18)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~GROUP 1~~

~~Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

SEE NOTE PAGE 3.

DUPLICATE YELLOW

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

79 SEP 13 1967

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-439190-1454

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Havana Radio broadcasted an interview of Brown on August 31, 1967. Brown said that Negro soldiers now fighting in Vietnam will become "guerrilla fighters" in all major cities of the United States when they return home. He predicted rebellions in every United States city with a major Negro population. He called America the principal oppressor of freedom throughout the world and said that "its imperialist Government threatens the world with the blackmail of war."

b7C

The city of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, has obtained an injunction against Brown forbidding him to make any public speeches in the city.

Activities of Stokely Carmichael

Carmichael, the former leader of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, was recently in Hanoi, North Vietnam. Hanoi Radio reported that Carmichael met with North Vietnam leaders and told them that American Negroes and North Vietnam have the same common enemy, "United States imperialism." Carmichael stressed the determination of the Negroes in the United States to unite closely with the North Vietnamese people. He described the United States as "the greatest destroyer of humanity."

Press reports indicate that Carmichael arrived in Algiers, Algeria, from Hanoi on September 8, 1967. Carmichael reportedly will remain four or five days in Algiers and will call upon the President of Algeria during his visit. Upon his arrival in Algiers, Carmichael stated, "Revolution is the only solution for the American Negroes." He added that Africa is the "mother country" of all Afro-Americans.

Activities of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

It was previously reported that a Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee official, attended a meeting held by the Japan Council Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs in Tokyo, Japan, during August, 1967. The Council is controlled by the Japanese Communist Party. said there will be a series of world-wide (C)(u)

b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

b7C demonstrations against the war in Vietnam during the Fall of 1967. The first demonstration is to take place in New York City on October 20 or 21, 1967, and the last in Paris, France, on November 4, 1967. The New York City demonstration will be sponsored by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. [] asked an official of the Japanese Communist Party to support a demonstration in Tokyo between October 20 and November 4, 1967. The official was noncommittal, although he assured [] the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee had the support of the Party. (Squ)

Willie Ricks, an official of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, held a news conference in Chattanooga, Tennessee, on September 4, 1967. Ricks criticized the conditions under which Negroes live in Chattanooga and said that the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee plans to open a liberation school in that city. He also said that H. Rap Brown will visit Chattanooga. He said, "Blacks want victory by any means" and if Negroes do not get their freedom, "we're going to make sure the white man doesn't enjoy his freedom."

XEROX COPIES BEING SENT TO MRS. MILDRED STEGALL, THE WHITE HOUSE; MR. WILLIAM WELSH, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT TO THE VICE PRESIDENT; HONORABLE DEAN RUSK, SECRETARY OF STATE; HONORABLE ROBERT S. MCNAMARA, SECRETARY OF DEFENSE; HONORABLE RICHARD HELMS, DIRECTOR, CIA; ATTORNEY GENERAL; DEPUTY ATTORNEY GENERAL; ASSISTANT ATTORNEYS GENERAL YEAGLEY, DOAR, AND VINSON; SECRET SERVICE; AND THE MILITARY INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES.

NOTE:

See memorandum C. D. Brennan to Mr. Sullivan, 9/6/67, same caption, prepared by BAW:des.

Classified "~~Confidential~~" since it contains information from informants whose disclosure could affect our national defense.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Mr. Sullivan

C. D. Brennan

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Bishop
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Cox
9/6/67

1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan
1 - [redacted]

b7C

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Classified by **G1 JC**
Declassify on: **OADR 11-2886**
252,028

Due to the interest of the President in the activities of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and its leaders, we have prepared a summary setting forth current and planned future activities in this matter. A copy is attached for ready reference.

H. Rap Brown, leader of SNCC, spoke before the Black Power Convention and the Black Caucus Group in Chicago, Illinois, on 9/3/67. Brown said that Negroes are engaged in a rebellion and called upon the audience to arm themselves. He described President Johnson as a liar and said guns will win.

In an interview broadcast by Havana Radio on 8/31/67, Brown said that Negro soldiers now fighting in Vietnam will become guerrilla fighters when they return home. He called the United States the principal oppressor of freedom throughout the world.

Stokely Carmichael, former leader of SNCC, is presently in Hanoi, North Vietnam. Hanoi Radio reported that Carmichael stated that American Negroes and North Vietnam have the same common enemy, "United States imperialism."

[redacted] a SNCC official, was in Japan during August, 1967. He attempted to obtain the support of the Japanese Communist Party for a series of world-wide demonstrations against the war in Vietnam October through November 4, 1967.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the enclosed memorandum to Mrs. Mildred Stegall at the White House; Mr. William Welsh, Administrative Assistant to the Vice President; Honorable Dean Rusk, Secretary of State; Honorable Robert S. McNamara, Secretary of Defense; Honorable Richard Helms, Director, CIA; Attorney General; Deputy Attorney General; Assistant Attorneys General Yeagley, Doar, and Vinson; Secret Service; and the military intelligence agencies be approved.

Encl.

100-439190

1 - Bufile 100-446080
1 - Bufile 105-189197
BAW:des (9)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NOT RECORDED

46 SEP 12 1967

100-446080

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-439190-1457

DECLASSIFIED BY 3863 ERL/BCE/AMW
ON 7/1/06

C.D. Brennan to Sullivan

Re: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ADDENDUM: 9/8/67, BAW:des - DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

After typing the above, ~~press~~ reports indicate Carmichael arrived in Algeria on 9/6/67 ~~for a~~ stay of four or five days, and he will call on the President of Algeria.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SAC, Norfolk (100-6036)

9/8/67

b7C

Director, FBI

1 - [redacted]

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - NISC.

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)
INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC

ReNYlet dated 8/25/67.

Enclosed for your information are the following communications pertaining to [redacted] Albany letter to the Bureau dated 10/31/66 and St. Louis letter to the Bureau dated 8/8/66.

For the information of St. Louis, [redacted]

[redacted] has voluntarily furnished information to the Norfolk Office concerning Stokely Carmichael and SNCC activities at Hampton Institute.

St. Louis should check their indices and furnish Norfolk any pertinent information pertaining to [redacted]

Enclosures (2)

2 - St. Louis
1 - Albany

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

PTB:des
(8)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-15-93 BY 9803 RDD/ste
#252,028

19 SEP 11 1967

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

MAILED 11

SEP 8 1967

COMM-FBI

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Atlanta, Georgia
September 8, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

SUBJECT: *D*
STOKELY CARMICHAEL

REFERENCE: Report dated November 4, 1966, at Atlanta,
Georgia

Referenced communication contained subject's residence and/or employment address. A recent change has been determined and is being set forth below (change only specified):

Residence: temporarily out of the country

Employment:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10/28/01 BY 39063 EIW/BCE/Amw

R
FD-122 DETACHED

100-446080

NOT RECORDED

1 SEP 12 1967

SEP 15 2 30 PM '67

RECEIVED
REC'D

INT. SEC.

59 SEP 15 1967

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

FBI

Date: 8/30/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, MIAMI (100-15451) (RUC)

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
SM - SNCC
(OO - Atlanta)

Re Bureau airtel to Albany, with copies to all offices, dated 6/7/67.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 10 copies of an LHM containing remarks attributed to the captioned subject. Four copies of this LHM are being furnished Atlanta, the office of origin in both this and the SNCC investigations.

Copies of this LHM are being furnished to 111th M.I. Group, Orlando, Florida, NISO, Charleston, S.C., and OSI, Robins AFB, Georgia.

- 4 - Bureau (Enc. - 10) (RM)
(1 - 100-439190) (SNCC)
- 4 - Atlanta (Enc. - 4) (RM)
(2 - 100-6812)
(2 - 100-6488) (SNCC)
- 3 - Miami
(1 - 100-15451)
(1 - 100-15068) (SNCC)
(1 - [redacted])

JJM:jkj
(11)

Classified by SP4AGC
Declassify on: OADR 1-18-86
1252028

DECLASSIFIED BY 39063 [redacted]
ON 6/28/01

REC 54

9 SEP 2 1967

b7C

AGENCY: ACSI, OSI, SEC. SER.
DEPT: [redacted], CRD, RAO, STATE
DATE FORW: 9/8/67
HOW FORW: [redacted]
BY: [redacted]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

66 SEP 18 1967

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

106-439190
b7C
b7C
UNREC COPY AND CMA, OF

MM 105-15451

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b2

b7C

b7D

The source concealed is [redacted] who furnished the information to SAs [redacted]

[redacted] (S) (u)

Translation from the Spanish, where required, was made by Miami translator [redacted]

b7C

2.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Miami, Florida
August 30, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 105-15451

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
SECURITY MATTER -
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING
COMMITTEE

A source, on August 21, 1967, made available the August 17, 1967, issue of "El Mundo", which contained an article entitled "Meeting Tomorrow to Support Negroes in U.S." This article stated that a mass meeting would be held August 18, 1967, to support the battles of the Negro in the U.S. The closing speech would be made by First Secretary of the Union of Young Communists, JAIME CROMBET. The meeting was scheduled for the anniversary of the Watts riot in Los Angeles, California.

"El Mundo" is a daily afternoon newspaper published in Havana, Cuba, under the control and direction of the Cuban Government.

The source, on August 25, 1967, advised that "Radio Progreso", Havana, Cuba, in their broadcast of August 19, 1967, had mentioned STOKELY CARMICHAEL. A summary of this broadcast is as follows:

Thousands of people congregated last night on the esplanade at Linea and Malecon to commemorate the second anniversary of the Watts rebellion in Los Angeles. The closing speaker at the meeting was JAIME CROMBET, First Secretary of the Union of Young Communists, who stated that the American Negro movement is now on the offensive. CROMBET stated that Cuba supports the battle of the Negroes against a common enemy.

Another speaker was ELIDA ACOSTA, speaking for the Cuban Committee to Support Vietnam.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED 252028
DATE 11-18-86 BY SP1 AGJTC

100-446080-541
ENCLOSURE

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

CROMBET urged all Negroes in the U.S. to intensify their fight for their rights and oppose sending their sons to serve as cannon fodder in Vietnam. He also urged the revolutionaries all over the world to demand respect for the life of STOKELY CARMICHAEL, upon his return to the U.S., and denounced unhealthy conditions prevailing in American Negro ghettos.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL sent a message stating that the Afro-Americans within the U.S. are fighting for liberation, and to change the imperialist structure in the U.S. which oppresses these people. He states that in the future the Negroes will take no part in the racist, imperialist wars of the U.S. CARMICHAEL stated that the riot in Watts, on August 18, 1965, was the day on which the Afro-Americans in the U.S. decided that coexistence does not serve their purpose; the only solution is a Negro revolution. CARMICHAEL feels that the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America should work together against the imperialists.

The source, on August 25, 1967, made available the August 18, 1967, issue of "Granma", which contained an article entitled "Message from CARMICHAEL." A summary of this article is as follows:

Afro-American leader STOKELY CARMICHAEL sent a message for broadcasting over Radio Havana, to celebrate the second anniversary of the Watts riot. CARMICHAEL's message to the brother nations of Africa, Asia and Latin America states that the Afro-Americans within the U.S. are fighting for liberation, and this is not merely a reform movement within the U.S., it is a total revolution in which we plan to change the imperialist, capitalist and racist structure in the U.S. which oppresses both you and us.

We want you to know that these are not just race riots; they are rebellions, insurrections of a

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

people who have been oppressed by a system which has prevailed for over 400 years. Our only recourse is weapons and a battle for our liberation--total revolution in the U.S.

CARMICHAEL's message stated further we want you to know we are not fighting for peace or law and order; we are fighting for justice, equality and redistribution of wealth within the U.S. We are fighting to eliminate exploitation of Latin America, Asia and Africa by the U.S. We are part of the bloc of the Third World. We are Africans, and we cannot accept money from a country which has sacked Africa.

The message continued we want you to know that in the future, we will not fight in any of the racist and imperialist wars of the U.S. We will not wear the U.S. uniform. We are already refusing to fight in Vietnam, because we are creating a Negro resistance movement, through which our people are beginning to understand that the people of Vietnam are not our enemies, on the contrary, they are our friends. We will not be accomplices in aggression against Vietnam, Santo Domingo, Venezuela, Brazil, Africa, Malaya, or Aden.

Each time there is a riot in a U.S. city, we want you to know this means another blow against the imperialists who are oppressing you. Each time we fight in the cities, we strike a blow in the name of NKRUMAH, overthrown by the CIA; each time we strike a blow, we do it in the name of SUKARNO and a million people assassinated in Indonesia; each time we rebel, we strike a blow against the invasion at Playa Giron; we strike a blow against the imperialists who are occupying Puerto Rico.....etc.

The message further stated we want you to know that August 18, 1965, is the date on which the Afro-Americans in the U.S. decided that coexistence was impossible,

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

and the only solution is a Negro revolution. This is the date on which we decided that weapons are the only answer. Words are useless, because while we talk, our people continue to suffer.

Further, we want you to know, that our fight is your fight. We should coordinate our battles, our people have been oppressed for centuries. It is time to obtain a place in the sun, so that we can be happy, proud and free. This is the task ahead of us.

The message stated also that Brothers, we are ready to begin today to destroy from within the structures which have oppressed all of us, and we hope that you are ready to destroy them from without. Let us go forward to victory!

"Granma" is self described as the official organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba.

The source, on August 28, 1967, made available the August 21, 1967, issue of "Granma", which stated that the Chilean Minister of Interior, BERNARDO LEIGHTON, stated he would not give an entry visa to a Negro citizen who openly proposes "to kill all the whites in the U.S." STOKELY CARMICHAEL, representative of Black Power, was invited to Chile by Socialist Senator CARLOS ALTAMIRANO during the OLAS Congress in Havana, Cuba. *File*

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Miami, Florida
August 30, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 105-15451

Title STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Character SECURITY MATTER - STUDENT
NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
Reference letterhead memorandum, dated and
captioned as above, at Miami, Florida.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.

F B I

Date: 9/8/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

Via _____
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, DETROIT (100-34122)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS
(OO: ATLANTA)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/28/01 BY 57063 EWL/BCE/AMW

Re Bureau airtel to Detroit, 8/18/67, and
Detroit airtels to Bureau, 8/25, 8/26/67, captioned as
above.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies and
for Atlanta two copies of an LHM relating to captioned
matter.

Referenced Detroit airtels set out information
regarding the source of an original tape recording of
STOKELY CARMICHAEL's and CLEVELAND SELLER's speeches made
on 5/17/67, at the Fountain Street Church, Grand Rapids,
Michigan, of which a transcript was furnished to the Bureau.
Efforts to locate _____
tape recording of this transcript, have been unsuccessful.
However, on 9/5/67, an original tape recording made by
_____ was made available to the Detroit
Office of the FBI. The audio on this tape recording is
satisfactory and relatively clear. Detroit is maintaining
possession of this tape recording as evidence.

UACB, no transcription of this tape is
being submitted at this time inasmuch as it would be a
duplicate of the transcription previously furnished.

ENCLOSURE

- 3 - Bureau (Enc. 11) (RM)
 - 2 - Atlanta (100-6812) (Enc. 2) (RM)
 - 2 - Detroit
- JEK/cmt
(7)

C. C. = Bishop

Approved: _____

Sent _____ M Per _____

70 SEP 19 1967

Special Agent in Charge

DE 100-34122

It is to be noted that [redacted]

b7C

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[redacted] made the previously mentioned tape recording of CARMICHAEL's and SELIER's speeches. [redacted] is considered to be of a highly liberal nature and not above embarrassing any group or agency should he be so inclined. Therefore, no further attempt is being made to interview [redacted] at this time.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Detroit, Michigan

September 8, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Re: Stokely Carmichael

Attached hereto are the results of an interview
with [redacted]
[redacted] East Lansing, Michigan,
relating to a speech made by Stokely Carmichael on
May 17, 1967, at Grand Rapids, Michigan:

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DATE 10/28/01 BY 39063 Ew/Rce/amu

COPIES DESTROYED

337 FEB 24 1971

100-446080- 542
ENCLOSURE

September 8, 1967

Date

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[redacted] furnished
the original tape of a speech by STOKELY CARMICHAEL
at the Fountain Street Baptist Church, Grand Rapids,
Michigan, on May 17, 1967.

[redacted] advised he would be available
and willing to testify in the event the tape recording
made by him was subsequently entered as evidence in a
court of law.

b7C

b7D

On 9/5/67 at East Lansing, Michigan File # Detroit 100-34122

by IC [redacted] cmt - 2 - Date dictated 9/8/67

b7C

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

Re: Stokely Carmichael

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

FBI

Date: 9/11/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (100-6812) (P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
SEDITIONALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10/28/01 BY 39063EW/BCL/AMWEnclosed are 3 copies of report prepared in accordance
with Bureau airtel, 8/23/67.Referenced airtel enclosed a request from the Department
that it be ascertained whether or not a recording was made of
CARMICHAEL's speech in the Jefferson High School at Los Angeles
on 5/26/67, and if there is an available witness to authenticate
it.Los Angeles airtel 8/29/67 advised that all of the re-
quested information was set forth in prosecutive summary report
of SA [] dated 8/12/67 at Atlanta.Inasmuch as the report of SA [] (pages 300 and 322)
appears to be responsive to the Department's request in this
instance, no reference to this request is being made in the
enclosed supplemental prosecutive summary.

- 3 - Bureau (Enc. 3) (RM)
1 - Los Angeles (100-68783) (RM) (Info)
2 - Atlanta
EUC:met
(6)

EX-103

100-446080-543

REC-23

SEP 12 1967

AGENCY: ~~ACSI, ONI, OSI, SEC. SER.~~
Crim. Div. DEPT. OF JUSTICE, FBI
DATE FORW: 9/12/67
HOW FORW: R/S
BY: 3TB/a

INT. SEC.

C. C. Bishop

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Reporting Office ATLANTA	Office of Origin ATLANTA	Date 9/11/67	Investigative Period 8/24/67 - 9/8/67
Title of Case STOKELY CARMICHAEL, aka C. Welcher		Report SA 	Typed By: :met
		Character of Case SEDITION	

~~SECRET~~

~~*SUMMARY REPORT*~~

SUPPLEMENTAL PROSECUTIVE SUMMARY REPORT

REFERENCE:

b7C

Report of SA Atlanta, 8/12/67.

- P -

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01/29/00 BY 3906307W Bce/bmw

A*
(COVER PAGE)

EXP. PROC.
SEP 12 1967

Approved <i>[Signature]</i>	Special Agent in Charge	Do not write in spaces below	
Copies made: ③ - Bureau (100-446080) (RM) 1 - USA, Atlanta, Georgia 2 - Tampa (100-1103) (RM) 2 - Seattle (100-28676) (RM) 2 - Atlanta (100-6812)		100-446080-544	REC-23
		14 SEP 22 1967	EX-103

AGENCY: ~~AGENCY~~ **9/12/67**
DEPT: ~~DEPT~~ **RIS**
DATE: **9/12/67**
HOW: **PTB/ci**
BY: **1xmy RWT 922900**

SEP 13 2 55 PM '67

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REC.D

SEC.

57 SEP

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to: 1 - United States Attorney, Atlanta, Georgia
b7C

Report of: SA [REDACTED] **Office:** Atlanta, Georgia
Date: September 11, 1967

Field Office File #: 100-6812 **Bureau File #:** 100-446080

Title: STOKELY CARMICHAEL,
also known as
C. Welcher

Character: SEDITION

Synopsis: Supplemental Prosecutive Summary.

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I. NARRATIVE OF OFFENSE

STOKELY CARMICHAEL was born June 29, 1941, at Trinidad, British West Indies. By derivation through the naturalization of his parents, CARMICHAEL became a United States citizen on April 27, 1953, which citizenship was substantiated by Certificate of Citizenship Number A338082, which was issued to STOKELY CARMICHAEL on April 17, 1958. Subject's derivative citizenship is as a result of his father, ADOLPHUS S. CARMICHAEL, born February 1, 1913, Port of Spain, being naturalized in the Southern District of New York April 27, 1953.

CARMICHAEL received a Bachelor of Arts Degree in philosophy from Howard University, Washington, D.C., on June 5, 1964.

In May of 1966 CARMICHAEL, after several years of association with the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), was elected by the central committee of SNCC to become the National Chairman. He served in this capacity until May, 1967. During this period, CARMICHAEL was in a constant travel status throughout the United States; however, he has been known to utilize Apartment Number 1, 2222 Telhurst Street, SW, Atlanta, Georgia, as a residence.

The only alias known to have been utilized by CARMICHAEL occurred in September, 1966, when he was reported to have purchased an airline ticket in Alabama utilizing the name of C. WELCHER. He is not known to have ever served in the military armed forces of the United States; however, he is registered with the Local Draft Board in New York City, and by his own statements indicates he has a 4-F classification.

AT 100-6812

Throughout a series of speeches delivered by CARMICHAEL as Chairman of SNCC and as a recognized proponent of "Black Power", he has generally set forth the origins and concepts of SNCC, theories of self condemnation, concept of denial of one's liberation, differences in law and order, and history of the Negro peoples. CARMICHAEL in his speeches, following a discussion of the above described items, generally concludes his talks by dwelling on the war in Viet Nam and his opposition to the draft. He further advised his audience that they should inform the white people in authority as it relates to military service and induction, "Hell no, we won't go." He has advocated in his speeches that, "There is no need to go 8,000 miles to kill Vietnamese; He ain't never killed any nigger . . .; We will not fight the war. The war is for the Birds. Lynda Bird and Lady Bird." He has further advocated that the Negro people should say, "To hell with the draft" and go to jail.

II. NAME OF DEFENDANT

STOKELY CARMICHAEL - also known as C. Welcher.

III. DATES WHEN AND PLACES WHERE ALLEGED ACTS WERE COMMITTED

- A. St. Petersburg, Florida, April 18, 1967
- B. Garfield High School, Seattle, Washington, April 19, 1967

IV. STATUTE OF LIMITATIONS

The statute of limitations will be a bar to prosecution in this matter five years after the date of the particular speech in question. Hence, prosecution will be barred in the above instances commencing April 18, 1972, and thereafter five years following each subsequent date of speech.

V. PENDING PROSECUTIVE ACTION

To date there has been no prosecutive action of CARMICHAEL. Consideration is being given to the possible prosecution of the subject for his possible violation of Section 2388 of Title 18, United States Code, the Sedition Statute. Consideration will be given prosecution in the event admissible evidence can be adduced to establish that he:

- "1. Wilfully caused or attempted to cause insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny or refusal of duty, in the military or naval forces of the United States, or
- 2. Wilfully obstructed the recruiting (draft) service of the United States, or
- 3. Wilfully obstructed the enlistment service of the United States."

VI. EVIDENCE RELATING TO STOKELY CARMICHAEL'S
COMMENTS AT THE FOLLOWING LOCATED PLACES

A. St. Petersburg, Florida, April 18, 1967

b7C A speech given by CARMICHAEL at the above location was not sponsored by an organization or individual, but may have been prompted by CARMICHAEL's unsuccessful attempt to visit one [REDACTED] Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) chapter, [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

No publicity was given to the speech in the form of handbills, flyers or announcements. The local press and radio gave much publicity to CARMICHAEL's visit to St. Petersburg, and he spoke in the main street of the largest Negro area. The crowd was able to assemble by word of mouth.

No formal invitation was extended to CARMICHAEL to speak at Florida Presbyterian College; however, on April 16, 1967, the local press reporting on CARMICHAEL's speech at Daytona Beach, Florida, indicated he was going to visit St. Petersburg and speak at Presbyterian College. There are no ROTC units at this college. Photographs and physical description of the locale of the speech furnished. No effort was made to hide the fact that CARMICHAEL's speech was being recorded. Officers in attendance at meetings state that because of defective sound system it was difficult to hear CARMICHAEL's speech when in the outer fringes of the audience.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date 9/2/67

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[redacted] St. Petersburg, Florida, furnished the following information:

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b7D

On the morning of April 16, 1967, an article appeared in a St. Petersburg, Florida newspaper indicating that STOKELY CARMICHAEL, while speaking at Daytona Beach, Florida, had indicated that he was going to visit St. Petersburg and would speak at Florida Presbyterian College. [redacted]

[redacted] and learned that no formal or informal invitation had been extended to CARMICHAEL.

b7C

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Subsequently [redacted] numerous telephone calls from Trustees of the college, as well as parents of students, making inquiry concerning the newspaper article and many indicated that they would withdraw financial support to the college in the event that CARMICHAEL was invited to speak on the campus.

b7C

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[redacted] as a result of press and radio inquiry, [redacted] a statement indicating that an invitation had not been extended to CARMICHAEL to speak on the campus and that an invitation would not be extended.

This matter was then discussed with the attorneys representing the college and a decision was made to file a complaint for an injunction against CARMICHAEL, enjoining CARMICHAEL from appearing on the campus.

b7C

b7D

[redacted] a statement announcing that a complaint had been filed. The statement also set forth the position of the college in this matter. [redacted] made available a copy of the statements issued [redacted]

b7C

b7D

[redacted] advised that there are no ROTC Units at Florida Presbyterian College.

b7C

b7D

[redacted] advised that when CARMICHAEL did come to St. Petersburg on April 18, 1967, his activities were afforded

On 8/29/67 at St. Petersburg, Florida File # TP 100-1103

b7C

by SAs [redacted] JEH:lp Date dictated 8/31/67

b7C [redacted]
b7D continuous coverage by the press and radio. [redacted] stated that there was no advanced publicity given to CANNICHAEL's speech on the campus in the form of handbills or announcements, but all one had to do was listen to the radio to learn of the activities and whereabouts of CANNICHAEL in St. Petersburg.

b7C [redacted]
b7D [redacted] advised that some of the students from the college, as well as one or two faculty members, went to 22nd Street and Fairfield Avenue, St. Petersburg, Florida, on April 18, 1967, to hear CANNICHAEL speak.

b7C [redacted]
b7D [redacted] made available a copy of the April 21, 1967, issue of The Trident, Volume 7, Number 25, the weekly student publication of Florida Presbyterian College. [redacted] advised that this issue contains student comments concerning the position of the college concerning the extending of an invitation to have CANNICHAEL speak on the campus and student comment concerning the CANNICHAEL speech.

b7C [redacted]
b7D [redacted] advised that he is available and willing to testify to the matters related above.

[REDACTED]

b7D

"Contrary to what was reported in the press today (Sunday), Stokely Carmichael is not scheduled to appear on the Florida Presbyterian College campus this week.

"No formal or informal invitation has, to my knowledge, been extended to Carmichael -- nor will there be one.

"Based on his reported actions in Nashville last week where Carmichael was quoted as saying he was in town to "stir up trouble," and after consultation with the college community, it is my judgement that the Florida Presbyterian College campus will not be available for Carmichael to use as a base for incitement."

[REDACTED]

b7C

b7D

[REDACTED]

b7D

"Florida Presbyterian College has filed a complaint for injunction against Stokely Carmichael, enjoining Carmichael from appearing on the FPC campus.

"It is my opinion that Carmichael's presence on our campus would be an intrusion on the college community. After consultation with trustees, faculty, staff and students I have decided that the injunction was the proper way in which to confront Carmichael.

"The College's position is clear. No formal invitation was extended to Carmichael by anyone in authority. And, the College has stated that our campus will not be available for Carmichael to use as a base for incitement.

"Carmichael's past performance and intent are not, in my opinion, conducive to the academic community. Based on this, and our genuine concern for the welfare of the entire college community, we have requested the injunction to bar Carmichael from Florida Presbyterian College."

[REDACTED]

b7C

b7D

News Analysis: Stokley Carmichael

by Trident Staff Writers

It seems highly improbable that one man could have greatly affected a community composed of intellectuals, pseudo-intellectuals, Christians, pseudo-Christians, and pseudo Christian intellectuals without making his presence personally known on campus, but that's exactly what happened this week at FPC.

One man, Stokley Carmichael, indirectly was allowed to become the source of embarrassment, dissention, resentment and outright anger which gripped this campus like the plague. What did this college or any college or individual have to fear from Carmichael? Were we intimidated by veiled threats from those who support the goals of this institution with their checkbooks only? The issues raised by Stokley Carmichael go much deeper than the alleged safety of this student body. These issues reflect contradictions and confusion.

Stokley Carmichael, dub-

bed by the press as a racist and rabel rouser, is, by his own admission, an instrument of contention. His purpose in the civil rights movement is to create an attitude, an intellectual-emotional climate among one group of people conducive to a philosophy which transcends racial barriers. Carmichael speaks to and not for the Negro people, and he speaks in terms which can only be understood from the viewpoint of the American Negro today.

Chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, Carmichael preached Black Power at a street meeting at 22nd St. and Fairfield Avenue Tuesday night. "Black Power is the coming together of the Negro people to fight for their freedom by any means possible if necessary," Carmichael told the crowd including about 600 Negroes and a minority of 100 whites, predominately students from FPC.

Several Negroes amenated him with "Any means! Any means!" Several whites wanted (Continued on Page 3)



Reflections

by a black student

It is not often that a person gets to come face to face with his "Philosopher King," but I had such an opportunity last Tuesday. Stokley Carmichael, chairman of the Student Non-violent Co-ordinating Committee came to town.

I somehow feel that, as is usually the case on our beautiful bayfront campus, the controversy which Mr. Carmichael's visit to St. Petersburg aroused at FPC did not really deal with the issues at hand. Why quibble over whether the stand President Kadel took was right, or expedient or even Christian. Why should we sit over coffee in Morrison's and argue about whether an injunction should or should not have

(Continued on Page 2)

The Trident

Florida Presbyterian College

VOL. 7 - No. 25

THE TRIDENT

APRIL 21, 1967

Peace March Is Incident-Free

by Lindsay McFadyen

An estimated 200 demonstrators, including FPC students and faculty, marched peacefully down Central Avenue in protest of the Viet Nam war last Friday. Anticipated incidents failed to materialize.

Dr. Ted Solomon described public response to the march as "on the whole not totally unfavorable. There were a few derisive comments, but no violence whatsoever."

The march's visual coordinator Chuck Harwood

described public response as, "Excellent; there was very little taunting and jeering. They seemed very tolerant of what we were doing. Considering all the trouble anticipated the whole reaction was grand."

The peace marchers divided into three companies, two marching on the south sidewalk of Central Avenue and one on the north. The group on the northern side was joined by a group of marchers demonstrating in favor of the war.

The counter demonstration was formed by students from FPC and St. Petersburg Junior College. Spokesman for the group, Warren Anderson, an SPJC student, described the goal of the counter demonstration: "The aim is to make it clear that not all college students are opposed to the war. Some care about their rights."

He emphasized that the counter demonstration was organized by individuals (Continued on Page 2)

PEACE MARCH

(Continued from Page 1)

from FPC and SPJC and was not officially sanctioned by St. Petersburg Junior College.

FPC student Lynda Stevenson, marching in the counter protest group, said, "We believe that the people in Viet Nam deserve their freedom as well as us."

The counter marchers carried American and South Vietnamese flags.

Dr. Albert Howard Carter, spokesman for the peace marchers, said in a statement prepared for the press, "We are citizens. We are students, housewives, church and temple people, teachers — people, concerned people.

"We are walking from Central Plaza to the Bay to witness to our opposition to the war in Viet Nam.

"Some of us believe that all wars are morally wrong. Some of us believe that the war in Viet Nam is wrong, some because it is undeclared, some because it violates what we consider our obligations under the United Nations, some because it seems to interfere with Vietnamese self-determination, some because it retards social progress at home."

The peace marchers carried signs saying "End the War in Viet Nam," or simply, "Peace." Some carried large paper mache flowers.

Counter demonstrators' signs advocated support of government policy and American troops already in Viet Nam.

The peace march included a group of eight senior citizens, two of whom had come from Clearwater. One wore a sign saying "End the war in Viet Nam before we all end in" followed by a picture of a mushroom cloud.

Both the peace marchers and counter demonstrators seemed pleased at their response. Despite a relatively small initial group of 30 to 40 marchers, counter march spokesman Warren Ander-



their march as "overwhelming."

FPC professor Ted Soloman said that he was "Quite gratified by student turnouts. More turned out than anticipated." He expressed disappointment over lack of faculty participation.

The march ended at Water Front Park near the Municipal Pier. The peace marchers performed a skit illustrating their point of view. A "blind" knight, bearing a shield with red and white vertical stripes and topped by a wide horizontal blue bar, fought with a red dragon.

During the battle, the knight's unicorn and the dragon's baby dragon offspring become friends, scattering flowers over the bodies of knight and dragon after they had killed each other in battle.

The skit was performed before small bleachers flanked by signs supporting government policy. Most of the marchers sat on the ground or stood, peace marchers on one side and counter demonstrators on the other.

The counter demonstrators cheered some statements of the knight, apparently meant to symbolize American policy.

Dr. Soloman, who has also participated in peace marches in Chicago, said that the Chicago marches attracted a different type of people from the St. Petersburg march. He said that St. Petersburg had fewer beatniks while more adults would have been marching in Chicago.

Dr. Soloman added, "I'm quite proud of the students who organized and led the march. Faculty had very little to do with it."



REFLECTIONS

(Continued from Page 1)

been obtained. I personally feel that we should have, if possible, been allowed the opportunity of hearing Carmichael on our own campus, but since things were done in the manner in which they were done, President Kadel, being Kadel, took his usual stand. I think that the injunction was an egotistical overestimation of our own importance. Mr. Carmichael was working on a very tight schedule and there were many things which were more important to him than FPC, on the outskirts of town.

Would it not be more beneficial especially to those of us who were either curious or sincerely interested enough to go and hear him, to discuss and try to digest what we saw and heard. What is Black Power? Who is Stokely Carmichael? What are the methods behind his madness? Or is it really madness?

I spent the day, with some other FPC students, waiting at the home of Joseph Waller to see Stokely Carmichael. We were able to talk to people who have been involved in SNCC and the SCLC. I think that I can speak for the group

CARMICHAEL

(Continued from Page 1)

ed to add, "If necessary. If necessary." But it wasn't their show and they stood by and listened.

"If the hunkie touches you, break his right arm, or if you don't want to break his arm, then tell him to put it in his pocket!" His tactics are alarming, but that is his purpose — to startle the Negro community out of apathy and the feeling that all is futile.

The revival meeting Tuesday night was fairly quiet and without incident. Large portions of the Negroes did not respond to such statements as, "To hell with you Hunkies and your laws" while only a relatively small number cheered in full agreement.

One elderly Negro man who talked to the Trident said, "We may all be interested in this party here tonight but tomorrow morning we gotta get up and work for our living."

Nevertheless, Carmichael, who on stage maintains the poise of a highly polished professional performer, offers something for everyone. Two FPC students, Harry Horne and Dick Richard, talked with him extensively after the street meeting at the house of Joe Waller's brother. Waller is the SNCC leader arrested in December for taking the mural of Negro minstrels from St. Petersburg City Hall.

Dick Richard was particularly impressed when Carmichael expressed concern for "poor whites" and spoke of a projected SNCC program in "Poor Power

for lack of better words." Carmichael who can arouse crowds to mob violence, hates, not individual whites but "institutionalized oppression," particularly the economic and political structures. Speaking personally with him, the two students found him responsive, communicative, and "without any hostility whatsoever."

Carmichael's public image from speaking engagements to his major constituency does not exhaust his many faceted appeal. It was an educational experience to hear him speak at 22nd and Fairfield. It would have been doubly educational to hear him in Fox Hall also. Dealing with problems within the Negro Community, Carmichael runs the semantic gamut from objective philosophy to subjective emotionalism. He starts by speaking to his audience and within minutes becomes one with them. He doesn't offer the solutions, rather he tries to explain the problems and demythologize racial folklore and the history of the American Negro.

"What Stokely does is propagate a policy set by a committee," Moses Davies, executive secretary for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, commented to the Trident. "He's not independent and he does and says what he does because it's the only way he could survive against the public punishment he's been getting." Davies continued by saying that the goals of all the Negro civil rights groups were the same. "We all want every man to be able to live a life devoted to his indi-

vidual convictions. We want men to become self-thinkers, for it's the only way we can gain and maintain our self-respect. It's a distortion when someone puts black against white. There are problems of understanding in both communities and we feel that the blackmen should be allowed to work within their own without interference. We must change our own communities, for no matter how sincere the individual is, he can only work effectively within his own group."

One of the basic aims of the Black Power movement is to establish the self-respect of the individual Negro and then, once accomplished, teach the Negro to love within his own group. "This must be done," Davies said, "for trying to love everyone is a utopian view. Black

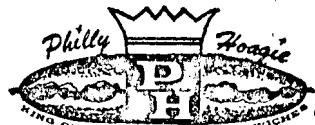
Power means to love one's self. Without self-respect an individual is incapable of loving anyone or anything."

In its final stages Negro leaders envision the Black Power movement as providing the Negro community with a force of individuals, armed with self-respect and mutual love and understanding, and dedicated to the equality of justice. "As it now stands," Davies said, "the law is there to be exploited for the personal gain of those who can afford 'justice'. Not only the Negro, but the poor white, too, are oppressed. We have laws . . . now we want justice."

The press has distorted Carmichael's statements. Taken out of context Carmichael is a radical; in context Carmichael is a polished huckster selling self-respect. In either case, he deserves to

(Continued on Page 4)

NATIONAL FRANCHISED



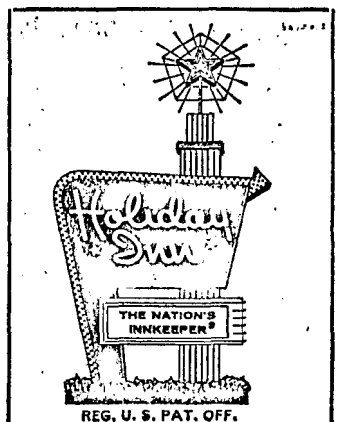
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WHEN YOU THINK OF
STEAKS



CARMICHAEL

(Continued from Page 3)

be heard for he has something to say. We have nothing to fear from the truth, if we can recognize the truth. Carmichael may or may not be speaking the truth, but he has a right to express his views and he does have an understanding of the current problems that cannot be gained through books or closed-circuit discussion. Only voices of fear or insecurity could say otherwise without choking on the words.

The issues concerning this institution and Carmichael were muddled by the lack of communication between students and administration. If the students who supported Carmichael's appearance on campus believed in their convictions why didn't they go through the front door in trying to set up the rally? Do these students feel that the administration is so closed minded that Carmichael would have been immediately ruled out? By trying to spirit Carmichael in the back door distrust and conjecture were the only possibilities left open for the administration's consideration. This community is purported to be built on mutual respect and responsibility, but this is a two-way street. The manner in which the entire situation was handled was one of irresponsible actions. Two trustees contacted Wednesday felt that the arrangement of a front door invitation would have

been warranted and successful.

Stokley Carmichael cannot say anything we have not already heard or thought or felt; is he to be feared or are we? The present generation seems to have set as its goal finding out just how far one's actions can be pushed without the individual having to take the responsibility for his actions. Eventually each of us will have to accept ultimate responsibility for our own actions and once this is realized some minimal criteria for the formulation of value judgments will be established.

The administration, on the other hand, must decide if it wants to keep the "little Princeton" philosophy it has been preaching. The reputation of a college has to be earned and not paid lip service. The practical consideration of the repercussions resulting from the recent peace march and the Carmichael incident are signs of growth in this community. For some these signs may be painful, but they are signs of an emerging climate that can either be quelled or nurtured by the administration.

The outcome of our college's official position is yet to be evaluated, but it was the only course of action open to the administration in light of the circumstances. This alone does not justify the stand taken, but it does provide an indication that irresponsible action will only lead to frustration.

—b.a. . . — m.h.

Letters To The Editor

Dear Margi:

I'm not trying to be a seething radical or a rabel rouser, but I was so shocked at an occurrence on campus last week I felt a driving urge to inform the delinquent parties at once. If you are a weak or timid soul, it would be in your best interest not to read any more of this letter. The statement to follow should be read only by the more rugged-hearted individuals among us. The April 14, 1967, edition of *Life Magazine* (in English) stayed in the periodical section of our library all day April 14th!!!! Not only was *Life* to be found, but several other rarely seen publications were in their labeled shelf spaces. This phenomenon certainly rattled my personal sense of security with the status quo, and untold numbers of others probably were as close to shock as myself. Perhaps this break in "academic community" regularity was due to an oversight on the part of the "periodical pilferers," or the "book blitzers," but I thought it would be in the best interest of vulnerable students to inform them that such phenomena can occur. Don't worry, gang, all is not lost; I have yet to see a library copy of *Look*.

Sincerely semi-shocked,

Jim Anderton

Dear Editor:

I have been suspended from FPC. I was not allowed to stay on campus long enough to even prepare my defense. I asked for a few more days (long enough for several letters to be sent in my behalf.) I was refused. I asked for at least one more day (long enough to make some necessary phone calls). I was refused. I was told to pack immediately and leave campus.

I had asked to appeal my case from the very beginning. I was told I must go thru the necessary channels. I talked to the WDJB, I talked to Dean Whitiker, I talked to President Kadel. I was referred from one to the other, until finally my appeal was refused. Why? I only wanted a retrial, with a faculty committee, where I could present my case.

I have never come across such absolute injustice and hypocrisy. If the administration of this college does not have the decency to allow a student to remain a student long enough to defend his or herself in a situation such as mine, I do not wish to attend. But because I do not want such a blot on my record when I apply to another school, I will fight their decision to the end and hope to return, if only briefly to FPC.

President Kadel told me "of course you are sorry now" and he's right, I am sorry, — sorry that a college with such a fine academic faculty and curriculum has to have that type of administrative power.

Signed,
An Offender

Vol. 7 - No. 25

The Trident

April 21, 1967

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ATTENTION SOPHOMORES AND JUNIORS

Find out what FPC's new Teacher Education Program may have to offer you. Dr. Bredenberg will outline the program Monday, April 24, 4:00 p.m., in H-101.

Students Support Kadel

We the undersigned, in light of recent developments, wish to express our admiration and support of the position taken by President William Kadel concerning the presence of Stokely Carmichael on campus. We feel that while it may have been desirable to hear Mr. Carmichael, the suddenness, volatility and lack of organization inherent in the situation necessitated the action taken by Dr. Kadel. As President of the College and representative of it to the community, we feel he had no alternative. We further feel that the opinions expressed by students who spoke at the rally, were not the opinions of the majority of the students of Florida Presbyterian College. It is unfortunate that these students did not explicitly state that the views presented were their own and not those of the students as a whole.

The petition was signed by 413 out of 780 students. Due to lack of space, we do not print them here.

Editor:

Once again, a portion of the administration has moved with blind and enraged swiftness in the completion of its appointed rounds. That a Christian College, founded on Christian ethics, supported by Christian moneys, can be so relentless in the execution of justice as to completely ignore fact and circumstance when dealing with one of its educational wards is beyond me. Tuesday a young lady was suspended from school. She was suspended due to an occurrence caused by a peculiarity in her medical history. She was told to remove herself from school, prove at her convenience that her case is a valid one, and then reapply after submitting her case to the administration, in hopes of finishing out this academic year. There are 34 days left in the school year. To expect a person to drop from school for a week or so and then attempt to finish is absurd. Why is it not possible to allow the defendant to remain in school, and while here (rather than in her home town — 250 miles away) prove her case? Why is it not possible to practice what we preach?

— unsigned

Marchers Give Thanks

REFLECTIONS

(Continued from Page 2)

in saying that we were all made to think about a lot of things. I learned a lot Tuesday that will stay with me long after what Kadel did has been forgotten. What did you learn?

— g.f.h.

incite

New submissions due

April 29, 1967.

We would sincerely like to thank those people who gave of their time, effort, concern and money for the successful completion of the Peace March. Without the aid of those people, it would have been absolutely impossible for such a demonstration of personal concern to have occurred.

Sincerely,

Harriette Grissom
John Richards
Chuc Harwood
Kitty Williams
Jimmy Nolan
Janice Forrester

Injunction Protested

Dear Editor:

We are rather distressed that our administration chose to state that Stokely Carmichael had not been nor was going to be invited to speak at the FPC campus. We feel that the right to dissent is basic to the college community's capacity to achieve objectivity and intellectual growth. Stokely Carmichael has made a definite impact on the American scene as a voice of dissent outside the mainstream of thought in both of our country's major issues; i.e., the civil rights movement and the war in Viet Nam. Currently, he is chairman of one of the country's leading and most widely recognized civil rights organizations, the Student Non-Violent Co - Ordinating Committee. We feel that his voice deserves to be heard and we recognize that the news media is not always reliable, particularly when reporting on controversial issues and persons. For instance, few of us know just what Mr. Carmichael really means when he talks about "black power."

As a precedent, the administration's policy concerning Mr. Carmichael's appearance on our campus could be damaging to the college. First, as individuals, we do not even know enough about his ideas to challenge them. We feel we have been deprived of an opportunity to obtain first-hand knowledge of a philosophy relevant to our times and even more important we have been deprived of the opportunity to intellectually challenge this philosophy with its originator. Secondly, for those who are concerned with the college's "image", we contend that this restriction should detract from our high standing in the academic community. Should we divorce ourselves from the company of distinguished colleges at which Mr. Carmichael has spoken, e.g.,

Harvard, Mount Holyoke, and others?

We have heard that the administration made a value judgment based primarily on the fear that Mr. Carmichael's appearance on the FPC campus might result in a serious disturbance. THIS IS UNREAL!!! Consider: 1) the difficulty and unlikelihood that a large number of people prone to rioting could be transported several miles to the FPC campus; 2) those people familiar with the St. Petersburg civil rights situation know that the majority of active civil rights supporters are somewhat sophisticated and not prone to violence; 3) there would be a large number of FPC students (also not prone to violence) in attendance; 4) there is a vast difference between the atmosphere on the FPC campus and places where riots have occurred; and 5) that Mr. Carmichael would have been an invited guest of FPC, whereas now he will have to carry his speech into the ghettos as a figure rejected by FPC.

If fear of material damage to the college is not the administration's sole reason for not issuing Mr. Carmichael an invitation to speak, then once again, the reason is probably that of the college losing support. We realize that the administration had to take a realistic approach to the problem, but nevertheless, this question remains in our minds: "To what extent can we violate our integrity in order to retain our support?"

51 out of 780 FPC students signed this letter. Due to a lack of space, their names are not included.

GOINGS ON ABOUT CAMPUS

SPANISH FIESTA

An underground cafe with candlelight lending the only softness to an atmosphere of lively song and dance — un meson espanol — this is the scene of the 1967 Spanish Club Fiesta.

All who enter Fox Hall at 8:00 p.m. tomorrow evening will step into an authentic meson surrounding, with the ballroom seeming to take on only 1/10 of its actual size.

Skit presentations, machete

and flamenco dances, group and individual songs, and a guitar and piano solo will combine with a fare of olives, tortillas, and other delicacies to produce an atmosphere that is unmistakably foreign, definitely Spanish.

The Fiesta has always been one of the most successful and colorful events of the year; Spanish Club members promise that tomorrow's Meson will be no exception.

Sgt. Musgrave's Dance

The cast has been selected and announced for the Theater Workshop's production of "Serjeant Musgrave's Dance." Characters for the play will include: as Sparky, Steve Leeper; as Hurst, Pat Wolfe; as Attercliffe, Robert Johnson; as Bludgeon, Jere Lykins; as Musgrave, Rick Gelinas; as the parson, Eric McCloskey; as Mrs. Hickcock, Ann Tiedeman; as Annie, Rothy Gregory; as the constable, Art Farkas; as the mayor, Don Buffaloe; as Slow Collier, Art Wilson as Pug; Collier, Keith White; as Walsh, Skip Wright; and as Dragoons, Carston Holthouser and Ed Wilson. Ed Wilson and Pat Wolfe are handling scenery. Costuming is in the hands of Jeannie Beattie, Marin Burch, and Kris Ludwigen. Mike Leach is in charge of lighting.

"Serjeant Musgrave's Dance" is "an unhistorical parable" by John Arden. The play is about a group of English soldiers ostensibly going on a trip to recruit more soldiers. The play has special

relevance at the moment at FPC, since the real truth is that the soldiers in the play are organizing a protest demonstration against the military. In effect, they reverse their gathering of patriotic response. Dramatic effect is achieved with the skeleton they display at the points along their march route. Sound interesting? See it in Dandy-McNair, April 28, 29, and 30, at 8:00 p.m. There is a one dollar admission charge for non-students.



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Interview With Vera Dean of Lat. Am. Inst.

by Lonni Ann Fredman

"Revolutionary Change," the theme of last week's Latin American Institute, is also very descriptive of the hectic schedules the conference participants had to follow in order to arrive at all the schools in the Associated Mid-Florida Colleges group in time. No schedule could have been tighter than that of Mrs. Vera Micheles Dean, who lectured here Wednesday afternoon on political and ideological change in Latin America. She had less than three days to make the circuit of the five colleges, and Julie Bell, Patty Papps and I had less than 90 minutes amidst the Interstate 4 rush hour traffic to whisk her from here to Florida Southern College. In driving Mrs. Dean to Lakeland, we had a chance to talk extensively with at least one of the specialists who were unable to remain at FPC for the duration of the conference.

Professor of International Development at New York University, Mrs. Dean also leads a seminar on economic development in India and Pakistan, is an accredited UN Correspondent to "India News & Feature Alliance," has traveled throughout the world, and has written many books on international affairs. Being familiar with her background and being away from the Latin American Conference, the three of us could now ask her about almost any other area in the world. We began with Mexico. (We were going to be in the panel discussion on the Mexican Revolution the following day for the Institute.) The following is an account of her main ideas and com-

ments on Mexico and the other nations we discussed:

Basic perhaps to the whole conference itself was an understanding of revolution, which, Mrs. Dean said, Americans have never really comprehended. Our Revolutionary War was not the profound social and economic upheaval which the British, French and Russians experienced. America has never undergone such a drastic change in the structure of its institutions and therefore finds it difficult to fully understand or appreciate the place of revolution in Latin America.

Perhaps the most sensitive aspect of foreign policy is foreign aid: America extends loans and grants to nations all over the world, often only to have it either fall into the hands of the rich or be otherwise misappropriated, or to have it reach those who malign the U.S. even while accepting the aid. In order to retain favor, the United States cannot be too blunt in its criticism of these countries. Mrs. Dean advocates the distribution of such funds through an international agency, such as the World Bank or the United Nations, that would be in a better position to criticize these governments than we are.

Another solution to the foreign aid problem might be to give it in a form other than money: a Brazilian exchange student I once talked to said that the Peace Corps was accomplishing much more than was the money the U.S. sent and which her government officials kept for themselves. Mrs. Dean replied that the Peace Corps cannot be evaluated in terms of economic progress — its scope is too small — but rather as a basis for human

contact between the peoples, especially the youth, of the various countries in which it is based.

Mrs. Dean was born in Russia and lived there for 16 years. She noted that just as Latin America is noted for the tremendous gap between the rich and the poor, Russia today suffers from a sizable gap between the young and the old. The large number of soldiers who lost their lives during the war accounts for this difference in generations.

We asked Mrs. Dean about India: Most Americans cannot understand why cows should be left to roam the streets while people starve. Mrs. Dean said that the cow problem is no longer a serious issue. Most cities have ordinances prohibiting the animals from being loose. Now all strays are picked up and brought to cow pounds, where owners have a time limit such as 24 hours to reclaim their animals. If she is not claimed, the cow's next place may be on the dinner table.

Throughout the conversation Mrs. Dean emphasized that the personal element is important in understanding international affairs. How would we as Americans like to have foreigners operating our industry and transportation? If we can project our personal feelings in such matters onto a national scale, we can then perhaps understand why the international scene is as it is today.

The time for talking with Mrs. Dean drew to a close all too soon. Though we did not gain any startling new insight into the international scene, I think our understanding of it was deepened.

As we drove up to the Ramada Inn in Lakeland, we asked Mrs. Dean what her plans were after finishing her lectures for the Institute. There was no need to wonder why she replied, "A long weekend of rest!"

Arnold and Jacobson to N. Y.

Bill Arnold and Carl Jacobson have been chosen to represent FPC's International Relations Club at the 1967 National Student Leadership Institute to be held June 10-17 at Sarah Lawrence College, Bronxville, New York. The Institute, sponsored by the Collegiate Council for the United Nations, attempts to familiarize the student with the various organizations and agencies of the United Nations.

The Program includes discussion groups on such topics as Communist China, Southeast Asia, human rights and disarmament. The students will also spend two days at the United Nations where they will attend lectures by Secretary General U Thant and U.S. Representative Arthur Goldberg. In addition, the students will have an opportunity to participate in informal discussions with the various delegates to the United Nations.

The International Relations Club wishes to thank the St. Petersburg United Nations Association for its continued financial support, thus making possible the attendance of two of our students at the Leadership Institute.

This space had been originally allotted for an article damning student apathy, but . . .

the end (or is it?)

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SPEAKING OF SPORTS

by Carl Jacobson

In a double header last Saturday and in a single Tuesday the FPC baseballers went 2-1 against St. Leo's Nine. The scoring was disastrous for the first games, 9-0 and 21-4, but in Tuesday's game FPC came back and took St. Leo 8-14. After racking up two runs on singles in the first two times at bat in Tuesday's game the FPC team went on to gain five in the third. In all it was a pretty tight inning, but the pitcher, Peratta, cracked up after realizing the position he had worked himself into. McDonald led off with a one bagger, followed by a bunt by Mike Myers. A wild throw to first by the pitcher put McDonald on third and he scored when Peratta threw a wild pitch. Green walked followed by a single by McLarty bringing in Myers. Singletary, hitting well for this game (3 for 4), singled and loaded the bags. Clemmons racked up a big K and Mike Watson walked to force in Green. Sterling Watson walked, bringing in McLarty and leadoff man McDonald up to bat. McDonald was hit by a pitch and Myers struck out to close the inning with 5 runs.

Box score for the game:

St. Leo	100	003	031	8	10	4
FPC	315	220	10x	14	10	3

Maciocio, Peratta (2), Crosby (4), Kelly (7), Robinson, Makoski (7) Karr, Myers. 2B Cambria, 3B McLarty.

FENCING

While the rest of the student body waited impatiently to "lay in" a couple of weeks ago, the FPC fencing team was gallantly defending the honor of the school in the seventh annual Sunshine Festival of States Foil Fencing Tournament. The FPC team hosted the event, which this year drew over forty fencers from all over Florida to compete for the coveted Festival Trophy.

Fencing for FPC were Brad Hestir, Steve Murray, Don Williams, Joe Williamson, Rufus Sessions, and Coach Bob Colwell. Claudia Cauthern fenced in the Women's Open. Williamson, Murray, Sessions, and Colwell fenced through their preliminary pools into the semi-finals, and at the end of this round Sessions and Colwell moved up to the finals. At the end of regular competition Colwell, Sessions, and Jose Sasek, the defending champion from the U. of Fla., had blazed to a three-way tie for first place. In the ensuing fence-off Sasek beat Colwell 5-2 and sneaked past Sessions 5-4 to take the crown. Colwell polished off Sessions 5-2 for second place, leaving Sessions with third.

In competition last weekend the team of Sessions, Williams, and Colwell captured top honors in a team epee meet with teams from Tampa, Dunedin, Jacksonville, and Florida State. The FPC team went undefeated in the tournament, handing Florida State

their only defeat in the final round. The second FPC team, consisting of Williamson, Murray, and Hestir, were just nosed out in the preliminary round, losing to both Dunedin and Jacksonville by a 5-4 margin.

The FPC fencers will see action again next week and the week after that in the three-weapon Division Championships. Epee and sabre will be fenced next week, with the foil championships the following week. Both tournaments will be hosted by Dunedin.

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SOCCER FINALS

Newton walked off with the Herbach cup last weekend with a big win over Freeman/Wilson 3-1. The three goals came out of the big feet of Capus, Tapp and Leeper. In the other game Alpha/Beta came out ahead of Knox 2-1. This puts the standings at Newton, Freeman/Wilson, Alpha/Beta and Knox. Following the Newton Freeman/Wilson game Kurt Herbach presented the trophy and a new soccer ball. The players are now practicing for a game against St. Pete Soccer Club.

SOFTBALL

Next Saturday and Sunday the softball finals will be played with the following schedule:

Saturday

1:30 Darwin vs. Wilson
3:00 Kennedy vs. Dante

Sunday

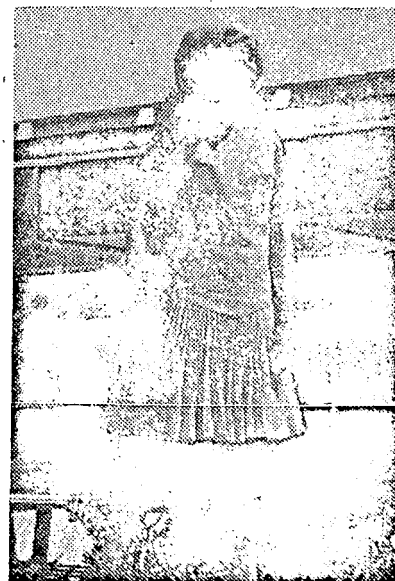
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Date 9/2/67

1

[redacted]
[redacted] Clearwater, Florida, furnished the following information:

b7C

b7D

[redacted] recorded the speech made by STOKELY CARMICHAEL, on April 18, 1967, with portable tape recorders. The recordings were made from positions near the car on top of which STOKELY CARMICHAEL made his speech.

b7C

b7D

[redacted] made available a photograph that was taken of [redacted] with the tape recorders, which photograph was taken prior to their going to St. Petersburg, Florida to record the speech. Also in the photograph is [redacted]

b7C

b7D

[redacted] advised that there was a Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) Chapter in St. Petersburg, consisting of at most four or five members. [redacted]

b7C

b7D

Prior to making his speech, CARMICHAEL attempted to visit [redacted]

[redacted] had indicated prior to CARMICHAEL's visit to St. Petersburg that CARMICHAEL would come to St. Petersburg and it was felt that CARMICHAEL came to St. Petersburg [redacted]

b7C

b7D

[redacted] advised that CARMICHAEL's speech was not sponsored by any organization and there was no publicity given to the speech in the form of handbills, flyers or announcements.

[redacted] advised that CARMICHAEL was able to gather approximately 600 people to hear him speak due to the fact that the press and radio in St. Petersburg gave much publicity to his visit. In addition, CARMICHAEL spoke in the main street in the largest Negro area of St. Petersburg and the crowd was able to assemble by word of mouth.

b7C

b7D

18

On 8/24/67 at Clearwater, Florida File # TP 100-1103

b7C

by SA [redacted] lp Date dictated 8/25/67

AT 100-6812

Photographs taken of [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
prior to their covering speech by CARMICHAEL. These
individuals were identified by [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Clear-
water, Florida, as left to right:



b7C

b7D

b7C

b7D

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 9/2/67

1

[redacted]
[redacted] furnished the following information:

b7C

b7D

[redacted] advised that there was no information available indicating that CARMICHAEL's speech in St. Petersburg on April 18, 1967, was sponsored by an individual or organization.

b7C

b7D

[redacted] advised that the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) had an organization in St. Petersburg, with at most [redacted] members. [redacted]

b7C

b7D

[redacted]
CARMICHAEL was in St. Petersburg on April 18, 1967. CARMICHAEL arrived in St. Petersburg at approximately 4:30 p.m., on April 18, 1967, and proceeded to the home of [redacted] CARMICHAEL, after a short visit with [redacted] then attempted to visit [redacted]

[redacted] Prior to speaking at approximately 8:30 p.m. on April 18, 1967, CARMICHAEL again visited the home of [redacted]

[redacted] stated that CARMICHAEL's visit to St. Petersburg was given close coverage by the local press and radio, but there was no publicity given to CARMICHAEL's speech in the form of handbills, flyers or announcements.

b7C

b7D

[redacted] advised that CARMICHAEL gave his speech atop a late 1950 automobile, which was parked on 22nd Street, between Fairfield Avenue and 7th Avenue, St. Petersburg, Florida. [redacted] advised that this is the central area of the largest Negro section in St. Petersburg, Florida. The principal building in this block is the Manhattan Package Bar. Across the street from the bar is the Snow Peak Drive-in, which is set back off the street, and which has a parking lot in front adjacent to the street.

b7C

b7D

21

On 8/29/67 at St. Petersburg, Florida File # TP 100-1103

SAs [redacted]

b7C

by [redacted]

JEH:lp

Date dictated 9/1/67

TP 100-1103

2

b7C

b7D

[redacted] made available three photographs which were taken by [redacted]

[redacted] The photographs were taken during CARMICHAEL's speech on April 18, 1967, and show the locale of the speech, as well as showing some of the audience.

[redacted] stated that [redacted] who made a recording of CARMICHAEL's speech, made no effort to hide the fact that they were recording the speech. [redacted] stood beside the car atop which the speech was made, and although CARMICHAEL made no direct comment indicating that he knew that the speech was being recorded, it should have been apparent to him that the speech was being recorded.

b7C

b7D

[redacted] advised that [redacted]
[redacted] the speech, is presently [redacted] and is not due to return
[redacted]

b7C

b7D

AT 100-6812

Photographs of the area of 22nd Street South,
St. Petersburg, Florida, between Fairfield Avenue and
Seventh Avenue, which were made available by [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

b7C

b7D

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date 9/2/67

The locale of CARMICHAEL's speech on April 18, 1967, was on 22nd Street South, at Fairfield Avenue, St. Petersburg, Florida. 22nd Street runs North and South in St. Petersburg. The 700 block of 22nd Street South is between Fairfield Avenue and 7th Avenue.

A physical observation of the area reflects that the West side of the street in this block contains the Snow Peak Drive-In. In front of the Drive-In is a parking area.

The East side of the street contains a two-story building. The major portion of the first floor houses the Manhattan Bar. Also on the first floor is a barber's shop and a candy store.

27

On 8/29/67 at St. Petersburg, Florida File # TP 100-1103

SAs [redacted] b7C
by [redacted] JEH:lp Date dictated 9/1/67

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date 9/2/67

[redacted]
[redacted] furnished the
following information:

b7C

b7D

[redacted] was a member
of [redacted]

b7C

b7D

speech made by STOKELY CARMICHAEL at 22nd Street, between Fairfield
Avenue and 7th Avenue, St. Petersburg, Florida. [redacted]

b7C

b7D

[redacted] advised that the area at which the speech was made
is the central area of the largest Negro section in St. Peters-
burg.

[redacted] estimated that there were be-
tween 500 to 600 in attendance at the speech. He estimated that
there were approximately 75 white persons in the audience, the
rest being Negro. [redacted] estimated that approxi-
mately one-third of the audience was of draft age, that is, between
the ages of 17 and 25.

b7C

b7D

[redacted] stated that during the speech,
he moved through the audience and determined that because of a
defective sound system, he found it was difficult to hear
CARMICHAEL's speech when he was in the outer extremities of the
audience. [redacted] stated that most of the persons in the
outer extremities did not appear to be listening to CARMICHAEL,
and were talking amongst themselves, which made it more diffi-
cult to hear CARMICHAEL.

b7C

b7D

[redacted] characterized most of the audience
as being curious, but not overly receptive to CARMICHAEL's
remarks. [redacted] advised that there was scattered
applause and laughter at CARMICHAEL's remarks.

b7C

b7D

[redacted] advised that [redacted]
[redacted] the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC),
in St. Petersburg, [redacted]

b7C

b7D

23

On 8/29/67 at St. Petersburg, Florida File # TP 100-1103

SAs [redacted]

b7C

by

JEH:lp

Date dictated 9/1/67

b7C

b7D

[redacted]
[redacted] that CARMICHAEL would come to St. Petersburg. Except for the statements made by [redacted] knew of no individual or organization that sponsored CARMICHAEL's visit and speech in St. Petersburg.

[redacted] advised that there was no publicity given to CARMICHAEL's speech in the form of handbills, flyers or announcements. [redacted] advised that the audience gathered through press and radio coverage and by word of mouth.

b7C

b7D

b7C

b7D

[redacted] advised that [redacted]
[redacted] taped the speech and to the best of his knowledge this was done in the open. [redacted] taping the speech [redacted] and stood near the speaker's platform, which was on top of an automobile.

b7C

b7D

[redacted] advised that he is available and willing to testify to the matters related above.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 9/2/67

[redacted]
[redacted] furnished the follow-
ing information:

b7C

b7D

[redacted]

b7C

b7D

b7C

b7D

[redacted] was a member of
[redacted]
speech made by STOKELY CARMICHAEL, at 22nd Street, between
Fairfield Avenue and 7th Avenue, St. Petersburg, Florida.

b7C

b7D

[redacted] to an area one block away
from the location at which the speech was made and as a result
he could not hear the speech, nor could he comment on the
crowd reaction.

b7C

b7D

[redacted] stated that he estimated the audience
as being approximately 500 persons, with the vast majority being
Negro. [redacted] did not observe anyone in the uniform of
the Armed Forces in the area in which the speech was made.

b7C

b7D

[redacted] advised that he could furnish no
information concerning sponsorship or publicity given to
CARMICHAEL's speech.

b7C

b7D

[redacted] advised that he is available and will-
ing to testify to the matters related above.

30

On 8/29/67 at St. Petersburg, Florida File # TP 100-1103

by SAs [redacted]

b7C

Date dictated 9/1/67

This document contains conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency;
it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

JEH:lp

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date 9/2/67

[redacted]
[redacted] furnished the
following information:

b7C

b7D

b7C

b7D

b7C

b7D

[redacted] was a member of [redacted]
[redacted] speech made by STOKELY CARMICHAEL at 22nd Street, between
Fairfield Avenue, and 7th Avenue, St. Petersburg, Florida.

b7C

b7D

[redacted] to an area, two blocks
away from the location at which the speech was made, and as a
result, he could not hear the speech, nor could he comment on
the makeup of the audience or the reaction of the audience to
the speech.

b7C

b7D

[redacted] stated that he did not observe any-
one in the uniform of the Armed Forces of the United States in
the area in which the speech was made.

b7C

b7D

[redacted] stated that he could furnish no
information concerning the sponsorship of the speech or publi-
city given to the speech.

b7C

b7D

[redacted] advised that he is available and
willing to testify to the matters related above.

31

On 8/29/67 at St. Petersburg, Florida File # 100-1103

by SAs [redacted] [redacted] JEH:lp Date dictated 9/1/67

b7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date 9/2/67

[redacted]
[redacted] furnished the following
information:

b7C

b7D

b7C

b7D

b7C

b7D

[redacted]
[redacted]
a speech made by STOKELY CARMICHAEL at 22nd Street, between
Fairfield Avenue, and 7th Avenue, St. Petersburg, Florida.

b7C

b7D

[redacted] an area one block away
from the location at which the speech was made, and as a
result, he could not hear the speech, nor could he comment on
the makeup of the audience or the reaction of the audience to
the speech.

b7C

b7D

[redacted] estimated that between 500-600
persons were in attendance at CARMICHAEL's speech, and the
majority remained during the speech.

b7C

b7D

[redacted] stated that he did not observe any-
one in the uniform of the Armed Forces of the United States in
the area in which the speech was made.

b7C

b7D

[redacted] stated that he could furnish no
information concerning the sponsorship of the speech or publi-
city given to the speech.

b7C

b7D

[redacted] advised that he is available and
willing to testify to the matters related above.

32

On 8/29/67 at St. Petersburg, Florida File # TP 100-1103

by SA [redacted]
SA [redacted]

b7C

JEH:lp

Date dictated 9/1/67

AT 100-6812

B. Garfield High School, 400 23rd Avenue,
Seattle, Washington, April 19, 1967

CARMICHAEL's appearance was sponsored by SNCC membership in Seattle. Local Seattle newspapers carried considerable coverage of legal action brought against the Seattle School Board by the American Civil Liberties Union on behalf of the Seattle Chapter of SNCC, which ended in a court decision forcing the school board to make the auditorium available for CARMICHAEL on April 19, 1967.

Recording made of speech and question-and-answer period that followed; however, question-and-answer portion of the recording is garbled and of such poor quality that it is impossible to understand it. CARMICHAEL was aware the speech was being recorded.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 8/25/67

[redacted]
[redacted] who resides at [redacted]

[redacted] recalled that the appearance of STOKELY CARMICHAEL at Garfield High School on April 19, 1967, [redacted] who had identified [redacted] "Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee" (SNCC). He stated that a letter dated March 9, 1967, signed by [redacted] SNCC, had been directed to [redacted]

[redacted] requesting rental of the Garfield High School auditorium for the evening of April 18, 1967, for a speech by CARMICHAEL. This letter indicated that CARMICHAEL's appearance was being sponsored by the SNCC membership in Seattle, Washington.

According to [redacted]

[redacted] over the signature of [redacted]

[redacted] informing [redacted] that permission for the use of the auditorium at Garfield High School for CARMICHAEL's speech was being withheld. Following this exchange of letters, there was considerable coverage in Seattle newspapers of legal action brought against the Seattle School Board by the American Civil Liberties Union, on behalf of the Seattle Chapter of SNCC, which ended in a King County Superior Court decision forcing the School Board to make the auditorium available for the CARMICHAEL Speech.

[redacted] recalled that he made a recording of CARMICHAEL's speech and the question and answer session that followed, however, he said that the question and answer portion of his recording was garbled and of such poor quality that it was impossible to understand it. He further recalled that CARMICHAEL was well aware that his speech and comments were being recorded, and CARMICHAEL's attention had been directed to the recording instruments by someone in the vicinity.

34

On 8/24/67 at Seattle, Washington File # SE 100-28676

by SA [redacted] cmh Date dictated 8/24/67

AT 100-6812

APPENDIX - WITNESSES

St. Petersburg, Florida

b7C

b7D

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] is available and a
willing witness.

b7C

b7D

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Clearwater,
Florida, is available and a willing witness in
this matter.

b7C

b7D

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] is available and a willing witness in this
matter.

b7C

b7D

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] is available and a willing witness.

b7C

b7D

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] and is available and
a willing witness.

b7C

b7D

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] is available and
a willing witness.

b7C

b7D

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] and is available and
a willing witness.

AT 100-6812

APPENDIX - WITNESSES

b7D

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b7C

b7D

[REDACTED] He resides at
[REDACTED] and is available
and a willing witness.

*

September 12, 1967

EX 104 REC 46100-446080-545



b7C

Dear 

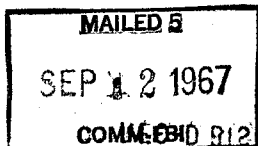
Your letter, with enclosure, was received on September 8th.

In response to your inquiry, the FBI is strictly an investigative agency of the Federal Government and, as such, does not determine whether prosecutive action will be undertaken in any situation. Such decisions concerning violations of Federal law are within the province of the United States Department of Justice.

For your information, voluminous data regarding Stokely Carmichael has been furnished to the Department of Justice for its consideration and you may wish to contact the Attorney General regarding the question of prosecution.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/29/01 BY 39063 EWL/AMW

NOTE: Correspondent is not identifiable in Bufiles.

JBT:jed
(3)

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____

55 SEP 20 1967

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Handwritten notes and signatures:
TEB/a
J
4716
SEP 11 1967
SEP 12 1967

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am. It must
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weapons de-
e technology is
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icies in design-
g nuclear war-

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Muna, wife of
is expecting to
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next two weeks.
ent said the Brit-
s would remain
g her husband's
Turkey. Hussein
earlier Tuesday.

ised on Wednesday.

—High-ranking officials of
the Soviet Union and seven

Stokely Due In Algiers

ALGIERS, Sept. 5 (Reuters).

—American Black Power advo-
cate Stokely Carmichael will
arrive here Thursday at the
invitation of the ruling Na-
tional Liberation Front, the Al-
gerian news agency announced
Tuesday.

Carmichael, former head of
the Student Non-Violent Co-
ordinating Committee, was last
reported in Hanoi on a "friend-
ship visit" to North Vietnam.

He previously was guest of
honor at the Latin-American
Solidarity Organization confer-
ence in Havana, Cuba.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10/29/01 BY 39063 Bw/BCE/ammw

ENCLOSURE

11-4-16080-545

F B I

Date: 9/11/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM : SAC, MILWAUKEE (100-15024)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS;
SEDITION

ReBuairtel 9/6/67.

Reairtel reflects [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] " has visited Cuba in 1964 and 1967
and may be in a position to furnish info concerning Subject.

Indices of Milwaukee Division reflect nothing which
would preclude interviewing [REDACTED] to obtain his observations;
therefore it is requested that Bureau authority be given to
interview [REDACTED] in conjunction with captioned matter.

- 3 - Bureau (AM, RM)
1 - Atlanta (AM, RM)
1 - Milwaukee
EGB:EAK
(5)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/29/01 BY SP6 BJS GMB/Balamu

REC 22 SEP 12 1967

INT. SEC.

C. C. - Bishop

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

55 SEP 26 1967

F B I

Date: 9/13/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION

ReBUairtel 9/6/67.

Files of WFO disclose [redacted] to be a
staff member of [redacted]
Sources have reported in the past occasional contacts
by [redacted]

These contacts were apparently in connection with his
[redacted] duties. No information located in files of
WFO which would appear to preclude his being interviewed
per se.

It is to be noted that Folk's City Directory,
1967 Edition, lists [redacted]

- ③ - Bureau
1 - Atlanta (100-6812) (Info) (RM)
1 - Boston (Info) (RM)
1 - New York (Info) (RM)
1 - WFO

WWH:fjt
(7)

AIRTEL

C. C. - Bishop

EX 101

9 SEP 15 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/11/01 BY 9003 EW/BCE/AMW

66 SEP 20 1967

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

WFO 100-43503

Bureau letter dated 5/12/59 entitled: "The Washington Post and Times Herald" stated no contact should be made with anyone connected with the above newspaper without prior Bureau authority. In view of this and of [] position, interview with [] not being recommended at this time.

b7C

Files of WFO disclose numerous references regarding JAMES RESTON, Washington, D.C. staff member of the New York Times. These references show he has been affiliated with the New York Times since 9/7/43 in various capacities. During this time, he has shown as having had numerous contacts with high government and diplomatic officials, many of whom were affiliated with Soviet-bloc or neutral nations. These contacts appeared to have been in connection with his duties as a journalist. No information located in files of WFO which would appear to preclude his being interviewed.

Polk's City Directory, 1967 Edition, Washington,

D.C., lists []

[] residence [] It

also lists [] same address and

[] same address. []

mentioned above probably identical with []

born [] mentioned in referenced Bureau airtel 9/6/67.

b7C

Files of WFO disclose no information which would appear to preclude interview with []

b7C

WFO recommends interview with JAMES RESTON []

[] concerning CARMICHAEL.

b7C

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (Bufile- 100-446080)

DATE: 9/8/67

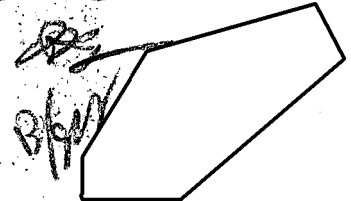
FROM : SAC,

ATLANTA, (100-6812)

SUBJECT:

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, aka.
IS - SNCC

Cards UTD
Cards Sent 00
9/19/67



Re:

☐ It is recommended that a Security Index Card be prepared on the above-captioned individual.

☒ The Security Index Card on the captioned individual should be changed as follows (specify change only):

Name			
Aliases			
☐ Native Born ☐ Naturalized ☐ Alien			
☐ Communist ☐ Socialist Workers Party ☐ Miscellaneous (specify) _____			
☐ Tab for Detcom	Date of birth	Place of birth	Race
			Sex ☐ Male ☐ Female
Business Address (show name of employing concern and address)			
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 7/11/67 BY 39063 EWL/BCH/AMW			
Key Facility Data			
Geographical Reference Number		Responsibility	
Interested Agencies			
Residence Address			
temporarily out of the country			

100-446080

REGISTERED MAIL

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - Atlanta
EUC/met
(3)

NOT RECORDED

1 SEP 12 1967

66 SEP 20 1967

SUB CONTROL

INT. SEC.
M. F. ROW

Tolson _____
 DeLoach _____
 Mohr _____
 Bishop _____
 Casper _____
 Callahan _____
 Conrad _____
 Felt _____
 Gale _____
 Rosen _____
 Sullivan _____
 Tavel _____
 Trotter _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holmes _____
 Gandy _____

DECODED COPY

☐ AIRGRAM ☒ CABLEGRAM ☒ RADIO ☐ TELETYPE

STATE 01

URGENT 9-12-67

TO DIRECTOR

FROM LEGAT HONG KONG NO. 78

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS;
 SEDITION.

BUREAU CABLE
 REDUCED AUGUST 4 LAST.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HERE IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
 WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

b7C Per FBI

b1

LEGAT WILL SUAIRTEL.

REC 7

CC- MR. SULLIVAN

RECEIVED: 5:00 AM (9-13-67) CRE

3RD CC MR. BRENNAN

MR. DELOACH FOR THE DIRECTOR

11 SEP 14 1967

55 SEP 20 1967

If the intelligence contained in the above message is to be disseminated outside the Bureau, it is suggested that it be suitably paraphrased in order to protect the Bureau's cryptographic systems.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: Sept. 14, 1967

FROM : SAC, Denver (100-9400) (RUC)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
SM - SNCC
Bufile 100-446080

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
IS - C
Bufile 100-439190

(Atlanta OO)

Re Norfolk letter to Bureau dated 8/25/67.

Denver files contain no information concerning

[Redacted]

U.S.A.

b7D

- 4 - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - Atlanta (100-6812) (RM)
- 2 - Denver
(1 - 100-8862)

EAS:mf
(8)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-15-93 BY 9803 RDD/pte
#252, 028

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-439190-

EX-105

REC-9

100-446080-549

SEP 18 1967

INDEXED



SEP 21 1967

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

1 - Mr. DeLoach
 1 - Mr. Bishop
 1 - Mr. Sullivan
 1 - Mr. Moore
 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
 September 13, 1967
 1 - [redacted]

b7c

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

There is set forth below a summary of current and planned future activities of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and its leaders.

Activities of [redacted]

b7c

It was previously reported that [redacted] of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, [redacted]

b7c

[redacted] has submitted an itinerary showing that he will be in Alexandria, Virginia, [redacted]

b7c

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, [redacted] Port Collins and Cincinnati, Ohio, [redacted] Los Angeles, Denver, Colorado, [redacted] Providence, Rhode Island, California, [redacted] New Haven, Connecticut, [redacted] Jackson, Mississippi, [redacted] Hamilton, New York, [redacted] Boston, Massachusetts, [redacted] and Tuskegee, Alabama, [redacted]

b7c

Henry Winston, National Chairman of the Communist Party, USA, has issued a statement charging that President Johnson's Administration is "leading the lynching mob"

Winston called on all democratic Americans to fight for [redacted] freedom. [redacted] is described as a "political frame-up" and as a policy of "naked repression against the ghetto rebellion of the poor."

100-439190
 1 - Bufile 100-446080 —

BAW:des
 (19)

DUPLICATE YELLOW

SEE NOTE PAGE 3.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 7/11/01 BY SP10/3 EMB/BCE/annnd

#917228

53 SEP 27 1967

F4b

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

On September 10, 1967, Brown spoke before 1,000 individuals at a Congress of Racial Equality, a civil rights group, rally in East St. Louis, Illinois. Brown declared America is committing genocide against its black people and urged that Negroes get guns for the "black revolution." He said black people are "going to have to fight" and it is going to be a "bloody fight." He claimed that in four years there will be a curfew and every Negro will have to be inside by 9 p.m. He repeated his claim that the United States is building concentration camps for Negroes.

Upon leaving the auditorium where the rally was held, Brown spoke briefly to a crowd outside the auditorium. He told them the "most successful riot was in Plainfield, New Jersey, where a white policeman was beaten and shot." Subsequent to Brown's speech, violence broke out in East St. Louis. Windows were broken and buildings were burned in the downtown district. One 18-year-old Negro was killed by a police officer after a high speed chase during which the Negro was driving a stolen car. Police arrested approximately 100 individuals as a result of the disturbances.

Activities of Stokely Carmichael

It was previously reported that Carmichael, former leader of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, arrived in Algiers, Algeria, on September 6, 1967. According to press reports, Carmichael plans to visit Syria after leaving Algeria. He has also indicated he will return to the United States upon the conclusion of his visit through the "Third World."

Carmichael was quoted by the press as stating that Negroes are in the majority in Washington, D.C., and could "seize the Pentagon at any time." He also stated, "Sixty-five per cent of the Washington population are Negroes and the Pentagon belongs to us. If we encircle it one day, the Pentagon will no longer be able to communicate with the outside." He expressed the hope that the communists will defeat the United States in Vietnam. Carmichael said "his movement" plans to seek the destruction of the United States capitalist system from within.

XEROX COPIES BEING SENT TO MRS. MILDRED STEGALL, THE WHITE HOUSE; MR. WILLIAM WELSH, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT TO THE VICE PRESIDENT; HONORABLE DEAN RUSK, SECRETARY OF STATE; HONORABLE ROBERT S. MCNAMARA, SECRETARY OF DEFENSE; HONORABLE RICHARD HELMS, DIRECTOR, CIA; ATTORNEY GENERAL; DEPUTY ATTORNEY GENERAL; ASSISTANT ATTORNEYS GENERAL YEAGLEY, DOAR, AND VINSON; SECRET SERVICE; AND THE MILITARY INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES.

NOTE:

See memorandum C.B. Brennan to Mr. Sullivan, 9/12/67, same caption, prepared by BAW:sr.

1 - Mr. C.D. DeLoach
1 - Mr. T.E. Bishop

Mr. W.C. Sullivan

9/12/67

C.D. Brennan

1 - Mr. W.C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. G.C. Moore
1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan
1 - [redacted]

b7C

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Due to the interest of the President in the activities of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and its leaders, we have prepared a summary setting forth current and planned future activities in this matter. A copy is attached for ready reference.

[redacted] of SNCC, [redacted]

b7C

[redacted] plans to travel to Alexandria, Virginia; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Cincinnati, Ohio; Fort Collins and Denver, Colorado; Los Angeles, California; Providence, Rhode Island; New Haven, Connecticut; Jackson, Mississippi; Hamilton, New York; Boston, Massachusetts; and Tuskegee, Alabama.

b7C

The Communist Party, USA, has issued a statement supporting [redacted] and charging the Administration of "leading the lynching mob" against him.

On 9/10/67 Brown spoke at East St. Louis, Illinois, at a rally sponsored by the Congress of Racial Equality, a civil rights group. Brown urged that Negroes get guns for the "black revolution" and said that Negroes are "going to have to fight." Subsequent to Brown's speech violence broke out at East St. Louis. Police arrested approximately 100 individuals as a result of the disturbances.

Stokely Carmichael, former leader of SNCC, arrived in Algiers, Algeria, on 9/6/67. He has indicated that he plans to visit Syria upon leaving Algeria. According to press reports, Carmichael said that Negroes are in the majority in Washington, D.C., and can seize the Pentagon at any time. He expressed a hope that the communists will defeat the United States in Vietnam.

Enclosure
100-439190
① - 100-446080
1 - 105-168197
BAW:skr (9)

100-446080-
NOT RECORDED

46 SEP 18 1967

CONTINUED - OVER

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11/10/01 BY 3846 BSA/BQ/AMM

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-439190

Memorandum to Mr. W.C. Sullivan
RE: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
100-439190

RECOMMENDATION:

That the enclosed memorandum to Mrs. Mildred Stegall at the White House; Mr. William Welsh, Administrative Assistant to the Vice President; Honorable Dean Rusk, Secretary of State; Honorable Robert S. McNamara, Secretary of Defense; Honorable Richard Helms, Director, CIA; Attorney General; Deputy Attorney General; Assistant Attorneys General Yeagley, Doar, and Vinson; Secret Service; and the military intelligence agencies be approved.

F B I

Date: 9/11/67

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via **AIRTEL** _____

(Priority)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-29-80 BY 212708/ab

b7C

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, MEMPHIS (100-4492) (P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS

Re Bureau airtel to Albany 5/26/67.

Referenced airtel requested speeches made by STOKELY CARMICHAEL, former Chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), when available, be furnished in LHM form for dissemination as requested by FRED M. VINSON, JR., Assistant Attorney General, Criminal Division, by letter dated 6/2/67.

Enclosed are 11 copies of LHM dated and captioned above, which is of CARMICHAEL's speech made at Tennessee A&I State University on 4/7/67.

Continual efforts are being made to obtain CARMICHAEL's speech at Fisk University, and when same is obtained, it will be forwarded by LHM as requested.

EX-102

REC-4 100-446080-550

Airtel ③-Bureau (Encs. 11) (RM)

Teletype 2-Memphis

A. M. WDM:wp
(5)

A. H. S. O.

Spec. Del.

Reg. Mail.

C. C. Bishop

AGENCY: ACSI, OSI, SEC. SER. SEP 15 1967

DEPT: ISD, CRD, P. Union

DATE FORW: 9/13/67

HOW FORW: NIS

BY: PTB/dk

Approved: **FED**

SEP 2 11 507

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Memphis, Tennessee
September 11, 1967

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

The following copy of a speech delivered by
Stokely Carmichael at Tennessee A and I State University
gymnasium, Nashville, Tennessee, on April 7, 1967, was
furnished by [REDACTED]

b7C

b7D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-29-2008 BY P2 TAP/88

COPIES DESTROYED

333 FEB 24 1971

100-446080-550
ENCLOSURE

XEROXED ORIGINAL RETAIN

OUR PEOPLE CAN NEVER MEET THE BRUTALITY THAT WHITE AMERICA HAS INFLICTED UPON BLACK PEOPLE, BUT WE ARE HOPING TO GO TO THE STAGE WHERE THEY WILL STOP THAT OPPRESSION AND IN ORDER TO DO THAT WE MUST WAKE UP OURSELVES TO WHAT WE HAVE TO DO.

NOW, WHILE THE STUDENT GOVERNMENT COUNCIL IS SITTING ON THE PLATFORM WITH ME, I WANT YOU TO KNOW THE REAL REASON WHY WE ARE HERE IS BECAUSE OF YOUR SIGNING ALL OF THESE PETITIONS....(APPLAUSE) AND WHAT YOU CAN DO WHEN YOU DECIDE TO COME TOGETHER AND STICK TOGETHER. 3,000 STRONG, NOBODY STOPS YOU ON YOUR OWN COLLEGE CAMPUS (APPLAUSE) AND WE ARE SURE IF YOU CAN DO THIS, THEN YOU CAN MOVE TO DO ANYTHING ELSE YOU WANT. ALL YOU GOT TO DO IS TO COME TOGETHER AND STICK TOGETHER AND TO DEMAND WHAT BELONGS TO YOU AND PERSEVERE YOUR DEMANDS. ONCE YOU DO THAT, THE ADMINISTRATION WILL LEGITIMIZE EVERYTHING YOU WANT THEM TO LEGITIMIZE.

ONE OF THE MAJOR ASSUMPTIONS FROM WHICH THE MOVE IN SNCC IS THE THEORY OF SELF-CONDEMNATION. WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT IT IS POSSIBLE FOR A MAN TO CONDEMN HIMSELF, REGARDLESS OF HIS COLOR. THE (UNINTELLIGIBLE) PHILOSOPHER, RAISED THE QUESTION OF SELF-CONDEMNATION AND THEY COME TO THE CONCLUSION, WELL THEY DON'T COME TO THE CONCLUSION, BUT WE COME TO THE CONCLUSION THAT IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO CONDEMN ONESELF. AN EXAMPLE FOR US, WHILE WE WERE YOUNG THERE WERE NAZIS WHO WERE KILLING JEWS. NOW AFTER THE WAR THEY HAD A NUMBER OF TRIALS AND THEY ARRESTED MANY OF THE NAZI PRISONERS. NOW, THE NAZIS WHO ALLOWED THEMSELVES TO LIVE, THAT IS THE ONES WHO DID NOT CONDEMN THEMSELVES, SAID THAT THEY DID NOT KILL HUMAN BEINGS, THEY KILLED JEWS AND JEWS WERE NOT HUMAN BEINGS OR THEY SAID THEY DIDN'T KNOW WHAT WAS HAPPENING IN THEIR COUNTRY AT THE TIME IT WAS HAPPENING. OR A MORE SOPHISTICATED NATURALIZATION WOULD BE THAT THEY WERE FOLLOWING LAW AND ORDER, SO THAT ONCE THEY SAID THAT, THEY DIDN'T CONDEMN THEMSELVES BECAUSE THEY DID NOTHING WRONG. THE NAZIS WHO CONDEMNED THEMSELVES WHO AWAKENED AND WHO SAID THAT THEY WERE COMMITTING MURDER HAD TO COMMIT SUICIDE. THEY HAD TO COMMIT SUICIDE. THAT IS TO SAY, THAT ONCE A MAN CONDEMN HIMSELF FOR WHAT HE HAS DONE, HE MUST XXXX/PUNISHMENT UPON HIMSELF AND IF YOU DON'T BELIEVE THAT MOST PEOPLE (UNINTELLIGIBLE) WE DON'T BELIEVE SELF-CONDEMNATION IS POSSIBLE. FOR US IN THE UNITED STATES A MORE RELEVANT EXAMPLE OR MORE IMMEDIATE EXAMPLE WOULD BE SHERIFF RAINEY OF MISSISSIPPI, HE WITH 18 OTHER ALLIES WHO KILLED THREE HUMAN BEINGS IN 1964 IN PHILADELPHIA, MISSISSIPPI. THE COUNTY OF MISSISSIPPI IS UNABLE TO INDICT THAT HONKEY FOR MURDER BECAUSE HE XXXXX HE HAD DONE JUST WHAT THEY HAVE WANTED HIM TO DO. HE WAS AN ELECTED OFFICIAL WHO WAS SUPPOSED TO MAINTAIN THE STATUS QUO AT ANY PRICE. SO IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE FOR THEM TO INDICT HIM, BECAUSE THEY WOULD HAVE TO CONDEMN THEMSELVES. AND WE KNOW THAT IT IS IMPOSSIBLE FOR WHITE AMERICA AS A TOTAL COMMUNITY TO CONDEMN THEMSELVES FOR THE ACT OF BRUTALITY THAT IS PERPETRATED AGAINST BLACK PEOPLE. WERE SHE TO DO THAT, THEN THE ENTIRE NATION WOULD HAVE TO COMMIT SUICIDE. THAT MIGHT NOT BE A BAD IDEA. THE REST OF THE WORLD MIGHT BE ABLE TO LIVE IN PEACE. SO MOVING FROM THAT ASSUMPTION WE CAN SAY THAT YOU CANNOT IMITATE WHITE AMERICA, YOU MUST BEGIN TO CREATE FOR YOURSELF. YOU MUST BEGIN TO CREATE FOR YOURSELF. YOU SHOULD HAVE HER STAND CONDEMNED FOR THE ACTS THAT YOU HAVE COMMITTED AGAINST US AND WE MUST NOW MOVE ON. OUR PROBLEM HAS BEEN THAT WE'VE ALWAYS USED WHITE PEOPLE AS A MEASURING STICK. WHENEVER YOU ASK SOMETHING IT IS IN RELATIONSHIP TO A WHITE PERSON AND WE ARE TO KNOCK THAT OUT OF OUR MINDS; THEY ARE NOT TO BE OUR MEASURING STICK ANY LONGER.

NOW WE WANT TO MOVE ON TO THE NEXT ASSUMPTION WHICH TALKS ABOUT GIVING SOMEONE'S FREEDOM. I THINK THAT'S A CONFUSED TERM THAT HAS BEEN PLACED IN OUR MINDS SO THAT WE ASSUME THAT SOMEONE CAN GIVE YOU YOUR FREEDOM. EVERY MAN IS BORN FREE. HE IS THEN ENSLAVED BY OTHER PEOPLE. FOR THOSE OTHER PEOPLE CAN'T GIVE THEM THEIR FREEDOM, THEY JUST DENY HIM HIS FREEDOM AND THAT THEIR JOB WHEN THAT MAN MOVES FOR HIS FREEDOM, HE IS TO STOP DENYING HIM HIS FREEDOM. THAT'S VERY IMPORTANT. THAT MEANS THAT WE ARE BEGGING WHITE PEOPLE FOR ANYTHING, WE ARE GOING TO MAKE THEM STOP DENYING US WHAT BELONGS TO US AND IT'S VERY, VERY IMPORTANT..(APPLAUSE) BECAUSE ONCE YOU UNDERSTAND THAT, YOU UNDERSTAND THAT THE MAN IS WRONG FROM THE JUMP FOR DENYING YOU HIS FREEDOM SO THE QUESTION ABOUT XXXXXXXX MEANS NEVERENTERS, THE REAL QUESTION IS WHETHER THE HONKEYS ARE GOING TO GET OFF YOUR BACK AND THAT'S WHERE THE QUESTION SHOULD STAY AT ALL TIMES. NEVER ON US. THEY MUST BE ON THE DEFENSIVE FOR WHAT THEY HAVE DONE TO US. WE SHOULD NEVER BE ON THE DEFENSIVE FOR TRYING TO LIVE LIKE HUMAN BEINGS. YOU MUST UNDERSTAND THAT CONCEPT IN YOUR MINDS. SO THAT YOU SHOULD UNDERSTAND THAT ALL THE BILLS; ALL THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILLS AND OTHER BILLS PASSED IN THIS COUNTRY WERE PASSED TO HELP WHITE PEOPLE; TO HELP CIVILIZED WHITE PEOPLE, NOT US. WE ALREADY KNOW WHERE WE'RE AT. LET ME GIVE YOU AN EXAMPLE. I AM BLACK. I KNOW THAT I'M A HUMAN BEING. I KNOW THAT I HAVE THE RIGHT TO GO INTO ANY PUBLIC PLACE THAT'S OPEN BECAUSE I AM AFFORDED THE DIGNITY OF OTHER HUMAN BEINGS. NOW SOME DUMB HONKEY IN NASHVILLE DOESN'T, THAT. HE DOESN'T KNOW THAT I'M A HUMAN BEING, SEE...(APPLAUSE) ..SO THAT EVERY TIME I TRY TO GO INTO A PUBLIC PLACE SOME HONKEY STANDS IN MY WAY AND TELLS ME I CAN'T COME IN BECAUSE I'M NOT A HUMAN BEING, SO THE WHITE FOLK IN WASHINGTON WRITES A BILL, NOT FOR ME, BUT FOR THIS HONKEY TELLING HIM TO RECOGNIZE MY HUMANITY SO THAT WHEN I COME TO THE STORE, HE HAS TO GET OUT OF MY WAY. IT WASN'T THERE FOR ME. I'M STILL THE SAME. THE HONKEY IS NOW CHANGED. HE'S ABLE TO RECOGNIZE MY HUMANITY. SEE, YOU'VE GOT TO STOP HIM FROM HIM DENYING ME OF MY FREEDOM. YOU'VE GOT TO UNDERSTAND THAT. THE SAME THING THEN WOULD BE TRUE OF THE VOTING

XEROXED ORIGINAL RETAIN

RIGHTS BILL. I KNOW I CAN VOTE, BUT EVERY TIME I TRY SOME DUMB HONKEY SHOOT, KILLS, ROBS, THROWS ME OFF THE LAND OR TRIES TO BURN MY FAMILY OUT. SO YOU'VE GOT TO PASS A BILL FOR THAT HONKEY TO SAY, WHEN SOMEBODY BLACK COMES TO VOTE, LEAVE HIM ALONE. SO I WANT YOU TO BEGIN TO UNDERSTAND THAT AND TO RECOGNIZE THE FIGHT FOR BLACK POWER IN THIS COUNTRY IS A FIGHT TO CIVILIZE THE BARBARIC COUNTRY, THE WHITE PEOPLE IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. THAT'S WHAT THE FIGHT IS ALL ABOUT. (APPLAUSE)

NOW THEN WE WANT TO MOVE ON TO A POINT AND WE WANT TO SHOW THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN INSTITUTIONAL RACISM AND INDIVIDUAL ACTS OF RACISM. I THINK THE COUNTRY CONFUSES THAT ALL OF THE TIME, AND THEY DO IT PURPOSELY SO THAT THEY CAN GET US CONFUSED. THEY KEEP TELLING US OF INDIVIDUALS RATHER THAN INSTITUTIONALIZED RACISM. LET ME GIVE YOU AN EXAMPLE OF BOTH OF THEM. IF SOME HONKEYS BOMB A CHURCH ON SUNDAY MORNING WHEN THEY THEMSELVES SHOULD BE GOING TO CHURCH, FOR THEY NEED IT, IF THEY BOMB A CHURCH ON SUNDAY MORNING AND THEY KILL 5 BLACK CHILDREN, THAT IS AN ACT OF INDIVIDUAL RACISM. THAT'S AN INDIVIDUAL ACT OF RACISM AND OF COURSE WHEN THAT HAPPENS EVERYBODY IN THE COUNTRY IS UP IN ARMS, BOTH BLACK AND WHITE. BUT NOW, IF IN THAT SAME CITY, BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA, NOT 5, BUT 500 BLACK BABIES DIED YEAR BECAUSE OF LACK OF PROPER FOOD, MEDICAL FACILITIES AND SHELTER AND A THOUSAND MORE BLACK PEOPLE ARE MAIMED PHYSICALLY, EDUCATIONALLY AND MENTALLY BECAUSE OF CONDITIONS OF POVERTY IN THAT CITY, THAT IS AN ACT OF INSTITUTIONALIZED RACISM AND THAT'S THE FIX WE ARE IN TODAY. INSTITUTIONALIZED RACISM, NOT INDIVIDUAL ACTS OF RACISM. SO WHITE LIBERALS WHO WANT TO TELL YOU ABOUT HOW GOOD THEY ARE..... YOU MUST. YOU HAVE TO. IT'S VERY VERY IMPORTANT BECAUSE WHAT IT MEANS IS THAT YOU'RE NOT GOING TO BE BOTHERED WITH THE HONKEY WHO'S BOMBING YOUR CHURCH, YOU'RE GOING FOR THE HONKEY WHO'S POWER IS KEEPING YOU IN THE GHETTO. THAT'S WHERE THE POWER IS AT IN THIS COUNTRY. THAT'S WHAT WE'VE GOT TO GO FOR IN THIS COUNTRY. NOT THE INDIVIDUALS WHO BOMB THE CHURCHES. THEY CAN BOMB IT BECAUSE OF INSTITUTIONALIZED RACISM. YOU'VE GOT TO UNDERSTAND THAT CONCEPT BECAUSE INSTITUTIONALIZED RACISM MANIFESTS ITSELF IN EVERY CITY IN THIS COUNTRY FROM ROCKSBURY TO WATTS AND THAT IS WHAT THE PEOPLE IN THE GHETTO ARE FIGHTING OVER, INSTITUTIONALIZED RACISM AND THAT LEAVES US TO UNDERSTAND THAT IF YOU'RE GOING TO FIGHT INSTITUTIONALIZED RACISM, THE REASON IT IS ABLE TO PERPETUATE ITSELF IS BECAUSE OF POWER. NOT LOVE. NOT MORALITY. NOT NON-VIOLENCE, BUT POWER. AND IF YOU'RE GOING TO CHECK IT, YOU NEED POWER TO COUNTERACT THE POWER THAT IS USED TO PERPETRATE AND CONTINUE AND PERPETUATE INSTITUTIONALIZED RACISM IN THIS COUNTRY. THAT'S BLACK POWER.

NOW WHAT THE COUNTRY IS TRYING TO DO IS PUT BLACK PEOPLE ON THE DEFENSIVE WHEN THEY MOVE FOR THEIR LIBERATION NOW BEFORE I WANT TO GET TO VIOLENCE, I WANT TO GET TO SOMETHING ABOUT DEFINITION. BECAUSE I THINK IT IS VERY, VERY IMPORTANT. IF YOU HAVE THE ABILITY TO DEFINE THEN YOU ARE THE MASTER OF THE WORLD. LET ME GIVE YOU A QUOTE TO BACK IT UP. I JUST FOUND THIS IN ONE OF THE BOOKS I WAS READING. IT COMES FROM "ALICE IN WONDERLAND" ONE OF MY FAVORITE BOOKS. I WANT TO READ YOU THE QUOTE. IT IS. BECAUSE IT IS ONE OF THE BEST POLITICAL SATIRES YOU CAN FIND IN THE COUNTRY. JUST AS "HUCKLEBERRY FINN" IS PROBABLY THE BEST BOOK IN THE COUNTRY EVER WRITTEN BY A WHITE MAN. IT WAS. YOU OUGHT TO READ THE SUBTILITY OF RACISM INSIDE THE BOOK. THERE'S A QUOTE IN THERE THAT I ALWAYS REMEMBER. HUCKLEBERRY FINN IS DRESSED UP AS TOM SAWYER AND HE GETS OFF THE BOAT AND HE GOES TO MEET THE WHITE LADY AND HE'S GOT TO MAKE UP A STORY, SO HE SAYS TO HER, "WELL, IT RAN AGROUND AND IT BLEW A CYLINDER." AND SO WHEN HE GETS THERE, HE SAYS, "IT BLEW A CYLINDER" AND SHE SAYS, "DID ANYBODY GET HURT?" HE SAID, "NO MAM A NEGRO GOT KILLED." AND SHE SAID, "GEE, I'M GLAD BECAUSE SOMETIME PEOPLE GET HURT." YOU OUGHT TO DIG HUCKLEBERRY FINN..... I WANT TO READ THE QUOTE FROM ALICE IN WONDERLAND. WHEN I USE THE WORD HUMPTY-DUMPTY SAID IN A RATHER SCORNFUL TONE IT MEANS JUST WHAT I TAKE IT TO MEAN. NEITHER MORE, NOR LESS. "THE QUESTION IS," SAID ALICE, "IS WHETHER YOU CAN MAKE WORDS MEAN SO MANY DIFFERENT THINGS." "THE QUESTION IS," SAID HUMPTY DUMPTY, "WHO IS TO BE MASTER. THAT IS ALL." AND THAT IS ABSOLUTELY CORRECT. LET ME GIVE YOU AN EXAMPLE. WHITE PEOPLE CAN DEFINE EVERYBODY. EVERYBODY. THEY HAVE DONE THAT ALL THEIR LIVES. AND BECAUSE THEY CAN DEFINE, THEY CAN ENTRAP YOU WITH THEIR DEFINITIONS. CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS CAME OVER HERE AND NAMED PEOPLE INDIANS, BECAUSE THE HONKEY THOUGHT HE WAS AN INDIAN. AND TO THIS VERY DAY, RED PEOPLE IN THIS COUNTRY ARE RUNNING AROUND WITH PEOPLE CALLING THEM INDIANS. AND THEY CAN'T EVEN WIN THE FIGHT BECAUSE IF THEY'RE NOT INDIAN, BECAUSE EVERYBODY SEES A COWBOY AND INDIAN MOVIE AND THEY CALL THEIR PRESIDENT, CHIEF.. AND YOU KNOW A CHIEF IS NEVER AS GOOD AS A PRESIDENT. EVERYBODY KNOWS THAT. HE'S JUST A TRIBAL CHIEF OF SAVAGES. THEY HAVE DEFINED EVERYBODY. THEY WENT TO AFRICA AND DEFINED BLACK PEOPLE AS SAVAGES. BLACK PEOPLE WHO HAD THE FIRST UNIVERSITY IN THE WORLD, THE UNIVERSITY OF TIMBUKTOO. THEY CALLED US SAVAGES. BLACK PEOPLE WHO NEVER SHOT AND KILLED AND RAPED AND PUT PEOPLE IN SLAVERY, THEY CALL US SAVAGES AND PUT US IN SLAVERY. YOU'VE GOT TO UNDERSTAND THAT. (APPLAUSE) BECAUSE OF THEIR POWER TO DEFINE, THEY HAVE CONVINCED YOU THAT THEY ARE WHAT CIVILIZATION IS AND THAT YOU SHOULD FIGHT TO REACH THEIR LEVEL OF CIVILIZATION BECAUSE THEY HAVE DEFINED CIVILIZATION AND WHAT IS CIVILIZATION? BEING ABLE TO DROP A BOMB ON NAGISAKI, HIROSHIMA OR BEING ABLE TO BOMB THE PEOPLE OF NORTH VIET NAM BECAUSE THEY DON'T BELIEVE IN DEMOCRACY, BUT WILL BOMB IT UNTIL THEY GET IT I GUESS.

SO THAT'S VERY IMPORTANT. LET ME GIVE YOU AN EXAMPLE. ON IT MESSES UP YOUR MIND. YOU WATCH THE COWBOY AND RED PEOPLE FIGHT ALL THE TIME ON T.V. HERE THEY COME. HERE COME THE WHITE PEOPLE FIGHTING VERY RIGHT AND VERY PROPER. THERE IS A FIGHT GOING ON. THEY BEAT UP ALL THE INDIANS. THEY KILL THEM ALL. THEY SHOOT THEM DOWN AND THE COLONEL LOOKS OVER AND SAYS VERY GOOD. WE'VE GOTTEN RID OF THE SAVAGES. LET'S RIDE BACK TO THE FORT. AND THEY ALL GET ON THEIR HORSES AND RIDE BACK TO THE FORT AND THERE'S A WHITE LADY STANDING THERE AND SAYS, WHAT HAPPENED? AND THEY SAY, WE HAD A VICTORY. WE KILLED ALL THE INDIANS AND EVERYBODY'S VERY HAPPY. THE NEXT TIME WHEN THE REVERSE HAPPENS AND THE RED PEOPLE BEAT THE HELL OUT OF THE HONKEYS, THERE'S ONE MAN LEFT ON THE HORSE AND HE COMES TO THE FORT AND THE WHITE WOMAN SAYS WHAT HAPPENED, WHAT HAPPENED. AND HE SAYS, THOSE DIRTY INDIANS. THEY MASSACRED US. (APPLAUSE). AND SO EVERYONE KNOWS IN THEIR MIND THAT A MASSACRE IS LESS HONORABLE THAN A VICTORY BECAUSE IN A VICTORY YOU SHOOT PEOPLE TO DEATH WITH GUNS. IN A MASSACRE YOU CUT THEM TO DEATH. WE ALL KNOW WE'D RATHER DIE FROM GUN WOUNDS THAN KNIFE WOUNDS ANYWAY. SO I GUESS THAT'S WHAT MAKES A VICTORY HONORABLE BUT THAT'S PART OF THE SCHEME OF DEFINING THINGS. THAT'S BEEN OUR PROBLEM. WE HAVE BEEN DEFINED. THAT'S RIGHT, BROTHER. YOU GOT IT. (APPLAUSE)

THIS NOW THAT'S BEEN PART OF OUR PROBLEM, PERHAPS OUR BIGGEST PROBLEM BECAUSE WE HAVE BEEN DEFINED BY WHITE PEOPLE. THEY HAVE DEFINED US AS NEGRO. NOBODY KNOWS WHERE THE WORD COMES FROM. SOME HONKEY THOUGHT IT UP AND GAVE IT TO US AND WE ARE STUCK WITH IT TO TODAY AND NEGROES ARE LAZY, STUPID, DUMB, APETHETIC, LIKE WATER-MELON AND LOVE TO DANCE. AND IN THE FIRST, TO RE-DEFINE OURSELVES THEY MUST ALWAYS PUT US ON THE DEFENSE. NOW I WANT TO GIVE YOU A FAIR EXAMPLE OF HOW THAT WORKS IN OUR EARLY CHILDHOOD WHILE WE WERE GROWING UP. WE REMEMBER THAT IN 1954 AND 55 WHEN BLACK PEOPLE WOULD GET ON T.V. AND SAY WE WANT TO INTEGRATE. IN THE MINDS OF BLACK PEOPLE WE KNEW FOR CERTAIN WHAT THE BLACK MAN WAS TALKING ABOUT. HE WAS TALKING ABOUT GOOD JOBS. GOOD SCHOOLS. GOOD HOUSING. GOOD NEIGHBORHOODS. THAT'S WHAT HE MEANT BY INTEGRATION. OH, BUT NO (APPLAUSE) NOW AFTER THE BLACK MAN WOULD SAY OUT LOUD..... AFTER THE BLACK MAN WOULD SAY HE WANTED TO INTEGRATE SOME DUMB HONKEY IS GOING TO JUMP UP AND SAY, YOU WANT TO MARRY MY DAUGHTER, DON'T YOU? AND INSTEAD OF THIS BLACK MAN FORGETTING ABOUT THIS HONKEY, HE GOES TO DEFENDING IT. NO. WE DON'T TO MARRY YOUR DAUGHTER. WE DON'T WANT TO BE YOUR BROTHER-IN-LAWS, WE JUST WANT TO BE YOUR BROTHER. WE DON'T WANT TO LIVE IN YOUR BEDROOM, WE WANT TO LIVE NEXT TO YOU, AND APOLOGIZING FOR THE VERY TERMS THAT YOU'VE INVENTED, LETTING A WHITE MAN DEFINE IT FOR US AND PUTTING HIM ON THE DEFENSIVE ABOUT THAT TERM. WHEN THEY ASK US THAT QUESTION AT SNCC, ABOUT WHETHER OR NOT WE WANT TO MARRY THEIR DAUGHTERS WE DON'T EVER GET ON THE DEFENSIVE. WE TELL THEM RIGHT TO THEIR FACE. YOUR DAUGHTER, YOUR SISTER, YOUR MAMAS THE WHITE WOMAN IS NOT THE QUEEN OF THE WORLD. SHE'S NOT THE VIRGIN MARY SHE CAN BE MADE LIKE ANY OTHER WOMAN SO LET'S MOVE ON (APPLAUSE) YOU'VE GOT TO UNDERSTAND THAT CONCEPT VERY, VERY THOROUGHLY IN YOUR MINDS. YOU MUST UNDERSTAND IT BECAUSE WHAT THAT MEANT IS THAT THEY WERE ABLE TO DEFINE OUR TERMS FOR US. THAT'S THE SAME THING THAT HAPPENS TODAY. WE SAY BLACK POWER AND SOME HONKEY IS GOING TO JUMP UP AND SAY, YOU MEAN VIOLENCE AND HE WANTS YOU TO SAY UH HUH WE DON'T MEAN VIOLENCE. NO USE FOR YOU HONKEY. I KNOW WHAT I MEAN (APPLAUSE) WE MUST BECOME MASTERS OF OUR OWN TERMS. WE CANNOT LET THEM DEFINE US ANY LONGER. WE ARE NOT SAVAGES. WE ARE NOT CULTURALLY DEPRIVED WE ARE NOT APETHETIC. WE ARE NOT LAZY. WE ARE NOT A BEAUTIFUL, BLACK, INTELLIGENT, AGGRESSIVE PEOPLE (APPLAUSE) AND UNTIL WE BEGIN TO DEFINE FOR OURSELVES, WE WILL ALWAYS BE ENSLAVED BY THE DEFINITION THAT THE HONKEY HAS IMPOSED UPON US. NOT ONLY THEIR DEFINITION BUT THEIR STANDARDS FOR SUCCESS. WE CAN NO LONGER FOLLOW THEIR STANDARDS FOR SUCCESS. IF THEY THINK THE ONLY WAY TO BE SUCCESSFUL IS TO BOMB THE WORLD LET THE HONKEYS BOMB IT. WE'LL STAY HERE AND WATCH THEM. LET THEM BOMB IT.

NOW WE COME TO THE LAST PART OF THIS AND THAT IS THE QUESTION OF VIOLENCE (APPLAUSE) WE WILL TAKE TIME OUT TO TALK ABOUT SUCCESS BUT WE ARE GOING TO DO THAT AT VANDERBILT. WE'LL TALK ABOUT WHITE PEOPLE AT WHITE SCHOOLS. WE GOT TOO MUCH TALKING ABOUT OURSELVES TO BE WORRIED WITH THEM. SO WE ARE GOING TO TALK ABOUT THE HONKEYS FROM THE BANNER TOMORROW. NOW THEN THE LAST THING WE WANT TO TALK ABOUT IS THE CONCEPT OF VIOLENCE AND WE WANT TO MOVE FROM OUR ASSUMPTION AND THEN MOVE INTO IT AS IT REALLY AND STRICTLY IS IN THE SOCIETY TODAY. RAISE THE QUESTION OF VICTIM AND EXECUTIONER. THEY SAY MOST SOCIETIES TODAY THERE EXISTS A RELATIONSHIP WHERE THERE ARE SOME PEOPLE ON TOP WHO HAVE BECOME SELF-IMPOSED EXECUTIONERS AND SOME PEOPLE ON BOTTOM WHO ARE VICTIMS. NOW SAYS THAT THE VICTIMS ARE THE AGITATORS FOR THE LIBERATION. THEY NEVER SAY THE TYPE OF FORM THEY SHOULD USE. THE REVOLUTIONARY, THE BRILLIANT BLACK PHILOSOPHER BY THE NAME OF SAYS THAT WHEN THEY BEGIN TO IMITATE THEY USE A NUMBER OF METHODS, A NUMBER OF MEANS. WHAT HAPPENS IS THAT THEY BEGIN TO EXAMINE THE METHODS AND THE MODES THAT THE EXECUTIONER HAS USED TO KEEP THEM A VICTIM AND WHAT THEY DO, IS THEY BEGIN TO IMITATE THAT METHOD. USUALLY, THAT IS VIOLENCE. THE EXECUTIONER MAINTAINS HIS POSITION BY FORCE AND VIOLENCE AND THEY SAY THE VICTIM THEN BEGINS TO USE THAT VIOLENCE WHICH THEY HAVE ACCEPTED FOR SO MANY YEARS AGAINST THE EXECUTIONER. AND THEY SAY WHEN THEY BEGIN TO DO THAT, IT HAS A NUMBER OF THINGS FOR THE VICTIM. ONE IS IT'S THERAPUTIC, BECAUSE FOR ONE, THE VICTIM CANNOT BELIEVE THAT HE IS EQUAL WITH THE EXECUTIONER BECAUSE HE CAN USE THE ONE THING THAT HAS BEEN TABOO AGAINST THE EXECUTIONER, THAT IS THE QUESTION OF VIOLENCE AND FOR HIMSELF THAT THE VICTIM SHOULD NEVER EVER APOLOGIZE FOR HIS USE OF VIOLENCE BECAUSE THAT'S WHAT THE EXECUTIONER HAS BEEN USING AGAINST HIM ALL HIS LIFE. ALL HIS LIFE. NOW THEN, WHAT HAPPENS IN THIS COUNTRY IS THAT BLACK PEOPLE BEGIN TO MOVE AND FORM, THEY USUALLY GOT TO APOLOGIZE TO SOME HONKEY FOR WHY THEY ARE MOVING FOR THEIR LIBERATION. ALL THE TIME. IN THE 1960'S WHEN YOU STARTED SIT INS HERE IN NASHVILLE,

THE HONKEYS WERE CALL YOU COMMUNISTS AND ALL OF THINGS AND INSTEAD OF YOU
YOU GET UP THERE AND APOLOGIZE WE'RE NOT COMMUNISTS. WE'RE GOOD
AMERICA. WE'RE NOT THIS. WE'RE NOT THAT. LATER FOR THE HONKEY. BE CONCERNED ABOUT THE
BLACK PEOPLE FOR A CHANGE. BE CONCERNED ABOUT BLACK PEOPLE FOR A CHANGE.(APPLAUSE)

NOW, TODAY THE BLACK PEOPLE MOVE AND THEY SAY THEY'RE VIOLENT, AND YOU GET UP THERE
AND SAY WE DON'T WANT TO BE VIOLENT. THERE ARE HONKEYS WHO HAVE BEEN LYNCHING, CUTTING,
SHOOTING, MURDERING, BURNING EVERYWHERE AROUND WORLD AND HE'S GOT THE GALL TO TALK ABOUT
NON-VIOLENCE. AIN'T THAT A BLUPE? (APPLAUSE) SO YOU HAVE GOT TO BEGIN TO UNDERSTAND THAT
CONCEPT OF VIOLENCE. NOW UNDERSTAND HOW THE CONCEPT OF VIOLENCE REALLY WORKS IN THIS
COUNTRY. THIS IS A VIOLENT COUNTRY. THIS IS A VIOLENT COUNTRY. NOT ONLY IN ITS FOREIGN
POLICIES, IN ITS VERY ENTERTAINMENT ITS VIOLENT. YOU CAN'T WATCH TELEVISION FOR 5 MINUTES
WITHOUT SEEING SOMEBODY SHOOTING, KILLING, FIGHTING AND MURDERING EACH OTHER FOR ANY 5
MINUTES ON ANY TELEVISION STATION. THIS IS A VIOLENT SOCIETY, NOT ONLY HAVE THEY MADE
WHITE PEOPLE VIOLENT, THEY ARE NOW MAKING US VIOLENT AND THEY HAVE THE NERVE TO TALK TO
US ABOUT NON-VIOLENCE. WHAT YOU OUGHT TO DO IS TO TELL 'EM. WHEN WE SEE BILL COSBY ON
TELEVISION GET SLAPPED BY SOME WHITE RUSSIAN AND HE COVERS UP HIS HEAD AND STARTS SINGING
"WE CAN OVERCOME" THEN WE GOING TO BE NON-VIOLENT.(APPLAUSE)
THEY TRAIN YOU TO BE HIRED KILLERS ON YOUR OWN COLLEGE CAMPUSES. THEY INSTITUTIONALIZE
VIOLENCE FOR YOU. EVERY THURSDAY THEY'VE GOT YOU SHINING SHOES, TRYING TO XXXXXXXX
PLAY SOLDIER FOR A DAY, HOW TO BE A KILLER, FIRING A RIFLE, BREAKING THEM DOWN, CLEANING
THEM UP.....THEY HAVE ON THE BLACK COLLEGE CAMPUSES ACROSS THIS
COUNTRY COMPULSORY ROTC. YOU DON'T HAVE A CHOICE. YOU GOT TO LEARN HOW TO KILL. YOU GET
1 CREDIT AND YOU SPEND 15 HOURS SHOOTING SOME RIFLE, BREAKING IT DOWN AND YOU TALK ABOUT YOU
CAME TO COLLEGE TO LEARN ABOUT CIVILIZATION. SURE. AND THE MINUTE YOU TALK ABOUT VIOLENCE
THE HONKEYS WILL GET UP AND TELL YOU, VIOLENCE DON'T GET ANYBODY ANYWHERE. YEAH, THAT'S
TRUE, BUT BE THAT AS IT MAY, THAT'S NOT SUFFICIENT. HE DRAFTS US 30% TO FIGHT XXXXXX HIS
FILTHY WAR IN VIET NAM. DRAFTS US 30%. IT'S THE HONKEY RACISTS LIKE LATIN AMERICA WHO
WILL STAND UP BEFORE TELEVISION AND SAY, "YES, WE ARE GOING TO DRAFT NEGROES, 30%, BECAUSE
WE BELIEVE IT'S THE ONLY PLACE THEY CAN GET A GOOD LIFE, EQUALITY AND FREEDOM, ON THE FRONT
LINES OF VIET NAM. YOU DON'T EVEN RECOGNIZE WHAT'S HAPPENING IN THIS COUNTRY. THEY REMIND
US ALL THE TIME THAT WE'RE 10% AND THEY'RE DRAFTING 30% THAT AIN'T NOTHING BUT BLACK URBAN
REMOVAL. YOU BETTER GET HIP. SO THAT WE CANNOT ALLOW OURSELVES TO BE SICK BY VIOLENCE.
YOU LEARNED IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL THAT PATRICK HENRY SAID "GIVE ME LIBERTY OR GIVE ME DEATH"
THE HONKEYS GOT READY TO OFF THE BRITISH, THEY DIDN'T RAISE NO QUESTION ABOUT VIOLENCE.
THEY JUST OFFED THEM. GOT NEGROES TO FIGHT THE INDIANS THEY WENT AHEAD AND TOOK CARE OF THE
WHITE FOLKS. DIDN'T ASK IF, AND OR BUT. WHY IS IT WHEN WE MOVE, THEY GOT TO ASK, IF, AND
OR BUT? FINALLY THEN, BEFORE WE OPEN UP FOR QUESTIONS WE WANTED TO TALK ABOUT THE WAR IN
VIET NAM. A LOT OF PEOPLE SAY THAT WE ARE UN-AMERICAN BECAUSE WE DON'T WANT TO GO FIGHT AN
ALL THAT NONSENSE. I'LL TELL YOU. YOU ARE UN-AMERICAN BECAUSE AMERICA WON'T LET YOU BE
AMERICANS. THAT'S WHY YOU'RE UN-AMERICAN. LET ME READ TO YOU SOME QUOTES ABOUT THE VIET
NAMESE WAR SO YOU CAN KNOW WHAT THIS COUNTRY IS FIGHTING FOR. THE TROUBLE IS THAT YOU ALL
ARE SO BRAINWASHED, IT'S SURPRISING. NOW LYNDEN BAINES JOHNSON. DIG HIM. GET UP ON TELE-
VISION AND SAY THAT "WE'RE SENDING OUR WHITE BOYS AND OUR WHITE MONEY OVER TO VIET NAM TO
FIGHT FOR THE RIGHTS OF COLORED PEOPLE. YOU KNOW HE LYING. YOU KNOW HES LYING. YOU'RE
BLACK AND YOU'RE LIVING HERE, HE DON'T SPEND A PENNY ON YOU. YOU OUGHT TO KNOW HES LYING
MAKING YOU THINK HE'S GOING TO GO 8,000 MILES TO FIGHT TO PROTECT SOME COLORED PEOPLE AND
HE WON'T EVEN LIFT A FINGER IN HIS OWN HOME STATE IN TEXAS TO HELP COLORED PEOPLE. YOU
OUGHT TO WAKE UP. BUT LET ME TELL YOU WHAT THE WAR IS ALL ABOUT. I WANT TO READ A QUOTE.
THE QUOTE WAS MADE AUGUST 4TH 1953 BEFORE THE UNITED STATES GOVERNORS ASSEMBLED IN SEATTLE,
WASHINGTON. I'M GONNA READ THE QUOTE AND THEN I'M GONNA TELL YOU WHO SAID IT. THE QUOTE
SAYS, NOW LET US ASSUME THAT WE LOST INDO CHINA, THE TIN AND THAT WE
GREATLY VALUED FROM THAT AREA WOULD KEEP COMING. BUT WHEN THE UNITED STATES VOTES FOUR
HUNDRED MILLION DOLLARS TO HELP THAT WAR WE ARE NOT VOTING A GIVE AWAY PROGRAM, WE ARE
VOTING FOR THE CHEAPEST WAY THAT WE CAN TO PREVENT THE OCCURANCE OF SOMETHING THAT WOULD BE
THE MOST TERRIBLE SIGNIFICANCE TO THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. OUR SECURITY. OUR POWER
AND THE ABILITY TO GET CERTAIN THINGS WE NEED FROM THE RICHES OF THE INDO CHINA TERRITORY
AND FROM SOUTHEAST ASIA. THE QUOTE WAS MADE BY THE GREAT WHITE FATHER, DWIGHT D. EISEN-
HOWER. BUT YOU CAN SAY, THAT WAS BACK IN 1953 AND EISENHOWER WASN'T VERY SMART, AS A MATTE
OF FACT, WHEN YOU GOT RIGHT DOWN TO IT, HE WAS A DUMB HONKEY. HE COULDN'T EVEN TALK.....
UNINTELLIGIBLEAND WE WOULD SAY, NOW AFTER ALL, THAT WAS 1953 THE COUNTRY HAS
CHANGED SINCE THEN. SO WE WANT TO READ ANOTHER QUOTE. A MORE RECENT QUOTE BY AN ARTICULAT
SOPHISTICATED, TALL, BLOND HEADED, BLUE EYED, HENRY CABOT LODGE. THIS IS MR. LODGE'S QUOTE
RIGHT HERE. "GEOGRAPHICALLY VIET NAM STANDS AT THE HUB OF A VAST AREA OF THE WORLD, SOUTH-
EAST ASIA. AN AREA WITH A POPULATION OF 249,000,000 PERSONS. HE WHO HOLDS, OR HAS IN-
FLUENCE IN VIET NAM CAN AFFECT THE FUTURE OF THE PHILIPPINES AND FORMOSA TO THE EAST, CHINA
AND BURMA WITH THEIR HUGE RICE SURPLUSES TO THE WEST AND MALASIA AND INDONESIA WITH THEIR
RUBBER, ORES AND TIN TO THE SOUTH. VIET NAM JUST DOES NOT EXIST IN A GEOGRAPHICAL VACUUM
FROM ITS LARGE STOREHOUSES OF WEALTH AND POPULATION CAN BE INFLUENCED AND UNDERMINED."
THAT'S WHAT THE WAR IS ALL ABOUT. AND THAT IS PRECISELY WHY YOU CANNOT LET THE HONKEYS
LEAD YOU TO FIGHT THEIR DIRTY WAR. TELL THEM. THE WAR IS FOR THE BIRDS. LINDA BIRD,
LOONEY BIRD AND ALL THEM OTHER BIRDS. ALL OF OUR LIVES THIS COUNTRY HAS USED US.....
.....BECAUSE THEY HAVE USED US AS SLAVES FROM 1865 ALL THIS
COUNTRY HAS DONE IS USE US TO FIGHT ALL THEIR WARS, TO SHED BLOODSHED TO MAKE THE WORLD
SAFE FOR DEMOCRACY AND WE CAN'T EVEN SPELL THE WORD IN THE SCHOOLS THAT THEY FORCE US TO
ATTEND. ALL OUR LIVES WE HAVE BEEN USED. IT IS TIME THAT WE STAND UP ON OUR FEET AND
REFUSE TO LET THEM USE US ANYMORE. IF THEY WANT TO KILL ALL THE PEOPLE IN THE WORLD, LET

THEY GOT THEMSELVES PICKING UP A GUN GOING TO SHOOT A VIET NAMESE AND THE MAN CAN'T NEVER CALLED YOU NIGGER. (APPLAUSE) THEN YOU ARE GOING 8,000 MILES TO FIGHT A VIET NAMESE. DO YOU DIG IT? AND YOU'RE FIGHTING COMMUNISM TO PROTECT DEMOCRACY AND YOU DON'T EVEN KNOW HOW DEMOCRACY WORKS IN YOUR OWN LITTLE NASHVILLE. YOU OUGHT TO WAKE UP TO WHAT THE WHITE MANS BEEN DOING TO YOU. ITS TIME YOU STAND ON YOUR OWN TWO FEET AND TELL THEM HELL NO AND DON'T BE AFRAID OF HIM. THAT'S BEEN OUR PROBLEM. WE THINK THAT HE IS GOD ALMIGHTY. WE HAVE LET THEM PLAY GOD FOR TOO LONG. THAT'S BEEN OUR PROBLEM. AND HES SO USED TO IT, HE STILL THINKS HES GOD. HE DON'T RECOGNIZE IT. WE'RE TELLING HIM THAT PLAY PERIOD IS OVER, HE'D BETTER COME ON HOME.

I WANT YOU TO KNOW THAT THE ROLE OF THE BLACK STUDENT BECOMES VERY DEEP IN THE SOCIETY TODAY. VERY DEEP, BECAUSE WHETHER I LIKE IT OR NOT, PEOPLE IN THE GHETTO LOOK UP TO YOU. I DON'T LIKE IT BECAUSE I DON'T THINK YOU OUGHT TO BE LOOKED UP TO. BUT THEY LOOK UP TO YOU THEY ARE HUNGRY AND THEY ARE YELLING FOR THE KNOWLEDGE THAT YOU CAN ACQUIRE WHILE YOU ARE HERE. THEY ARE HUNGRY AND THEY NEED THAT KNOWLEDGE TO BE ABLE TO FIGHT INSTITUTIONALIZED RACISM. YOU ARE BEING PROGRAMED AGAINST YOUR BLACK BROTHERS IN THE GHETTOS AND THE RURAL SOUTH IN SCHOOLS LIKE THESE. YOU ARE BEING PROGRAMED SO THAT ANYTIME A WHITE HONKEY CAN TELL YOU WHO TO INVITE TO YOUR SCHOOL AND YOU GOT TO GO SIGN 3,000 PAPERS TO GET SOMEBODY HERE. YOU ARE BEING PROGRAMED. YOU ARE BEING PROGRAMED SO THAT YOU DON'T KNOW ABOUT THE BLACK

BECAUSE THEY HAD NO IDEA OF THOSE MEN. YOU DON'T KNOW ABOUT THOSE MEN. YOU DON'T KNOW ABOUT DR. W. E. B. DUBOIS. YOU DON'T KNOW ABOUT MARCUS WALKER. YOU DON'T KNOW ABOUT RICHARD WRIGHT. YOU DON'T KNOW ABOUT J. A. ROGERS. YOU DON'T KNOW ABOUT

YOU DON'T KNOW ABOUT (UNINTELLIGIBLE BECAUSE OF APPLAUSE)

AND THE REASON YOU DON'T KNOW IS BECAUSE THEY DON'T WANT YOU TO KNOW. YOU DON'T KNOW ABOUT AFRICA BECAUSE THEY DON'T WANT YOU TO KNOW ABOUT IT AND YOU ARE ASHAMED OF IT. YOU AFRAID TO SAY THAT'S WHERE YOU CAME FROM. I TELL THEM. THAT'S WHERE YOU CAME FROM. AFRICA. AND YOU BLACK. AND YOU DON'T EVEN KNOW THAT THE ONE BLACK MAN THAT LIVED IN YOUR LIFE THAT STOOD 10 FEET TALL AND FOUGHT FOR YOU IS THE MAN WHO SHOULD BE IS MALCOLM X.....YOU DON'T KNOW ABOUT HIM BECAUSE YOU DON'T EVEN READ WHAT HE HAS TO SAY. YOU READ THE HONKEYS THAT WRITE IN THE BANNER FOR YOU. THAT'S WHY YOU DON'T KNOW NOTHING. YOUR MIND IS MESSED UP 'CAUSE YOU'RE READING WHITE FOLKS ALL OVER AGAIN IN THIS CENTURY, WHEN BLACK PEOPLE

IF YOU READ MALCOLM X'S SPEECH OR THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF MALCOLM X..... BECAUSE YOU'RE NOT ALLOWED TO READ IT AND YOU DON'T EVEN FIGHT IT. YOU'RE PROGRAMED AND YOU ENJOY BEING PROGRAMED. YOU DON'T EVEN FIGHT BACK. YOU'RE LIKE A WHO PAYS A FEE EVERY SEPTEMBER AND EVERY FEBRUARY GOES TO SCHOOL AND ENJOY WHAT YOU'RE GETTING AND THEN WALK OUT ON THE STREET TO TELL TO OTHER KIDS. YOU OUGHT TO WAKE UP AND FIGHT FOR THE RIGHTS OF BLACK PEOPLE. (APPLAUSE) YOU OUGHT TO WAKE UP AND UNDERSTAND THAT NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE HAS A POPULATION OF 40% BLACK PEOPLE. IT IS YOUR DUTY TO ORGANIZE THOSE PEOPLE TO TAKE OVER THIS CITY, LOCK STOCK AND BARREL. LOCK STOCK AND BARREL. YOU'RE AFRAID BECAUSE YOU DON'T KNOW WHAT POWER IS. IF THERE WAS ANY OTHER MINOR IN THIS CITY THAT REPRESENTED 40% OF THE POPULATION, THEY WOULD ORGANIZE THEMSELVES AND TAKE OVER THE CITY, BUT YOU DON'T DO IT BECAUSE YOU DON'T WANT THE POWER. YOU JUST WANT LO YOU WANT NON-VIOLENCE. YOU WANT MORALITY AND WHILE YOU GETTING THOSE THINGS, THE HONKEY IS RUNNING THE WORLD ON POWER AND TAKING IT FROM YOU. IT'S TIME THAT YOU WOKE UP. I GUES WE CAN ASK QUESTIONS NOW.. THANK YOU.

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

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ATTENTION

The following documents appearing in FBI files have been reviewed under the provisions of The Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) (Title 5, United States Code, Section 552); Privacy Act of 1974 (PA) (Title 5, United States Code, Section 552a); and/or Litigation.

☐ FOIA/PA☐ Litigation☐ Executive Order Applied

Requester: _____

Subject: _____

Computer or Case Identification Number: _____

Title of Case: _____ Section _____

* File _____

Serials Reviewed: _____

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File Number: 100-HQ-446080 b2 Section 22Serial(s) Reviewed: All

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: 983317

File Number: _____ Section _____

Serial(s) Reviewed: _____

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DATE: 8-2-05

ATTENTION

983317

LAST SERIAL: _____

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F B I

Date: 1/15/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS-MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION

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Enclosed herewith are 11 copies to the Bureau and two copies to Atlanta of an LHM suitable for dissemination.

Tape of interview of STOKELY CARMICHAEL, et al.
was reviewed by SAs [redacted] b7C

Local dissemination being made to Secret Service, AUSA and military intelligence agencies. WFO continuing to follow activities of subject.

ISD-Washington, Crim. Balcher
AGENCY: ACSI, OSI, SEC. SERV.
~~REC-100~~ CRD, RAO, Inter. Div. Info. Unit
HOW FORW: PIS
DATE FORW: 1/16/68
BY: PTB/jdk

C. C. Bishop

1-und. Det.
P-806

- ③ - Bureau (Enc. 1) ENCLOSURE
2 - Atlanta (Enc. 2) (RM)
1 - WFO

PHW:tjd
(6)

AIRTEL

54 FEB 2 1968

Approved: [Signature]
Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

RACIAL SECT.

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Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

SUMMARY:

Date January 15, 1968

Stokely Carmichael, Lester McKinnie and Courtland Cox of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee were guests on radio station WOL program "Speak Up" 11 p.m., 1/14/68, to 1 a.m., 1/15/68.

After interviewing above three, they answered questions telephoned in by radio audience. Most of the questions directed to Carmichael and most expressed agreement with what Carmichael is trying to do.

Significant points made by Carmichael:

(1) His purpose is to educate Negroes to identify themselves with Africans.

(2) If the Negro "just begins thinking for himself, he will know he has no business in Vietnam. He won't go."

(3) "We are going to take this city, there ain't no ifs, ands or buts about that."

(4) "The black man can not be concerned with America. He must be concerned with his people."

(5) He does not create rebellions; the system does.

(6) Negroes must unite and, in doing so, must recognize that "some of us will have to go...we must be willing to shed our blood."

Information in the attached is being directed to interested Divisions in the Department, as well as other interested agencies.

PTB:lmr

ya

ways



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D.C. 20535

January 15, 1968

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL

b7C

GUESTS ON Radio station WOL, Washington, D.C., on its
program "Speak Up", moderated by Dr. David Eaton, had as
its guests Stokely Carmichael, Lester McKinnie, Washington
Director of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
(SNCC), and Courtland Cox of SNCC. The program was on the
air from 11:00 p.m., Sunday evening, January 14, 1968 to
1:00 a.m., Monday morning, January 15, 1968.

b7C

Dr. Eaton began the program with a brief interview
of his guests, with emphasis on how they became involved
in the civil rights movement.

Carmichael stated that he became involved in the
fringes of CORE (Congress of Racial Equality) while attending
Bronx High School of Science in New York City, and following
his studies at Howard University, subsequently took part
in civil rights activities in Mississippi and the South.

Following interview of his guests, Dr. Eaton
turned the program into a telephone question and answer
session open to the radio listening audience.

Listeners principally directed their questions
to Carmichael, and for the most part, expressed their solidarity
with what Carmichael is attempting to do.

The following is a summary of the significant
points Carmichael made in answering questions relating to
his beliefs, policies and objectives:

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ENCLOSURE

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Historically, everywhere in the world where the "honkey" (white man) has gone, he has used the Indian, the Brown man, Asians, and Black people to further his own supremacy and maintain it in perpetuity.

In America, Black people have been brainwashed for 400 years and that many of the "brothers" are "messed up" in their thinking. It is his purpose and those in the movement to "unbrainwash" his brothers and educate them to identify themselves with Africans.

Educational institutions in this country are detrimental to the Black people and are maintained solely to serve the needs of the white community. Such institutions as Howard University, which is primarily a Black man's institution, simply imitate white institutions of learning. They do not teach African heritage and Black history. They fail in that they neither serve the needs nor the functions of the black community. He said Black people need to develop an African frame of reference, learn of its culture and skills for their own use. Black people must change their attitude and think only of what is good for "our" people.

Carmichael said that Black people are used to maintain the supremacy of the United States throughout the world. Black people must start acting in their own interest. This means they must begin to act against those who use them. If the Black man "just begins thinking for himself, he will know he has no business in Vietnam. He won't go."

Carmichael stated that the Vietnamese recognize that the Black man is being used. He illustrated how the French used Algerians in Vietnam. When captives were taken, the Vietnamese put the Algerians in separate cells from the French and reeducated them. This program resulted in the formation of the national liberation front in Algeria. As a result, Algeria became free.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Carmichael claimed his "brothers" must begin to rebuild a community feeling that has been broken down. "We" have to stop taking out our hatred on each other. "We are going to take this city, there ain't no ifs, ands or buts about that. When we get the city, we will have developed a feeling of community. So, whatever we use the city for, it will help the community, the masses of our people, not just a few people who are running for offices and are fighting each other." He stated that just getting to vote is not enough, that it is a white man's trick. He stated it is the white man's institutions they are fighting.

The white man realizes that "if the Black man gets together, there's going to be trouble." He stated, "The Black man cannot be concerned with America. He must be concerned with his people. To be concerned with Black people in this country is not to be concerned with America. It is to be the opposite of America. We are dealing with the institutions of America."

Carmichael praised Malcolm X and the Nation of Islam for being pioneers in teaching Black people self-respect and dignity. They were one of the first groups in "our time" to really organize "our" people.

Carmichael advanced the theory that the major duty of the Black community at this point is to end the oppression of the community and to resist that oppression.

Carmichael said he does not create rebellions. It is the system under which we live which creates riots. He stated he does not need any help from white people. All he needs he said is for the white man to "get up off our backs." He claimed it is hard to find a white man in the United States today who isn't a racist. "Why pass the Civil Rights Act if we were citizens?" "The time for talking is over, we got to move."

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Carmichael outlined the following program for Black people:

First, Black people are to be made to understand they are divided and must organize in all sections of the country to aid each other.

Secondly, Black people must move to take over institutions which they do not control. First should be the Police Departments, then Boards of Education, then Welfare Departments, in fact, all institutions which are manifestations of the white power structure.

Thirdly, Black people must take over the economics in their communities--the stores and businesses, both large and small.

Carmichael summed up by saying in part:

"We must get our people together to survive inside this hell hole. ...Individualism is a luxury Black people can no longer afford. Secondly, we must begin to recognize that in getting together, some of us will have to go. That is just a fact. We must be willing to shed our blood. Lastly, we have nothing to worry about. The Black man will survive. After all they have done to us, Black people will survive. We are winners."

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FBI

Date: 1/25/68

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
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Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

Transmit the following in _____
CODE (Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE URGENT (Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
SACS ATLANTA (100-6812)
BOSTON (157-437)
NEW YORK (100-153751)

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FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS - MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION.

REWFOTELETYPE JANUARY TWENTYFOUR PAST.

WFO SOURCE ADVISED INSTANT DATE [REDACTED]

b7D

[REDACTED] INDICATED CARMICHAEL WILL LEAVE WASHINGTON,

D.C. (WDC) THURSDAY EVENING OR FRIDAY MORNING FOR NYC. ON SATURDAY,
WILL TRAVEL FROM NYC TO BOSTON, RETURNING TO WDC LATE SUNDAY.

BOSTON REFER TO BUREAU AIRTEL TO ALL OFFICES DECEMBER TWENTYONE
LAST AND HANDLE IN ACCORDANCE WITH BUREAU INSTRUCTIONS. WFO CLOSELY
FOLLOWING AND WILL ADVISE OF ANY ADDITIONAL INFO DEVELOPED.

ADMINISTRATIVE.

SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

- 2 - Bureau
- 2 - Teletype Unit
- 2 - WFO

b2

b7D

WWH:dgp
(6)

TELETYPE

59 100-446080-1025
JAN 29 1968

Approved: [Signature]

55 FEB 2 1968 Special Agent in Charge

Sent

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Per

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Date: 1/25/68

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Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-153751) (P) b7C

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS-MISC; SEDITION

Re Columbia airtel to Bureau, 1/19/68.

Enclosed for the information of Washington Field
is a copy of the referenced airtel, which had not been desi-
gnated to WFO.

NY informants advise no information received
regarding possible trip to South Carolina by subject.

- 3- Bureau (Rm)
2- Washington Field (Encl.1)(Rm)
2- Columbia (Rm)
1- New York

BJW:cag
(9)

E. C. Bishop

REC-34

100-446080 1026

107

JAN 26 1968

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614 / ac 806 940
57 FEB 5 1968Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

VIA TELETYPE
JAN 26 1968
ENCIPHERED

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Mr. DeLoach_____
Mr. Mohr_____
Mr. Bishop_____
Mr. Casper_____
Mr. Callahan_____
Mr. Conrad_____
Mr. Felt_____
Mr. Gale_____
Mr. Rosen_____
Mr. Sullivan_____
Mr. Tavel_____
Mr. Trotter_____
Tele. Room_____
Miss Holmes_____
Miss Gandy_____

FBI NEW YORK 23

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DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

1138PM URGENT 1-26-68 WMS

TO DIRECTOR 100-446080 -ATLANTA BOSTON AND
WASHINGTON FIELD

WASHINGTON FIELD VIA WASHINGTON
FROM NEW YORK 100-153751

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC., SEDITION

REBTEL TO DIRECTOR AND NY TEL CALL TO WFO ONE TWENTY
SIX SIXTY EIGHT.

NY PORT AUTHORITY POLICE (NYPAP), ADVISED SUBJECT
WAS OBSERVED DEPARTING ONE TWENTY SIX SIXTY EIGHT ABOARD
EASTERN AIRLINES SHUTTLE FLIGHT FOR WASHINGTON, D.C.

IDENTIFICATION OF SUBJECT MADE BY NYPAP PATROLMAN WHO HAD
PREVIOUSLY OBSERVED SUBJECT. WFO ATTEMPT TO VERIFY AND
LOCATE SUBJECT.

END

EXR

FBI WASH DC R RELAY

TWO COPIES TO HQ

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EX-105

b7C

b7C

F47 JAN 1968
70 FEB 7 1968

XEROX

100-446080-1027

JAN 30 1968

advised 9: AM, 1-27-68

5-12

DIRECTOR, FBI [redacted]

1/16/68

b7C SAC, ATLANTA [redacted]

(C)

[redacted] aka.
SM - NOI
(OO: Atlanta)

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Remyairtel, 1/11/68.

It is noted that subject [redacted] the
Atlanta Office [redacted]
[redacted] Nation of Islam, 1225 Bankhead Highway, N.W., Atlanta,
Ga. [redacted]

b7C

Atlanta has recently received considerable information concerning subject's recent activities which indicates that consideration should be given to making an approach to subject through a third party, whom Atlanta proposes to develop as an informant for the specific purpose of making this approach. Atlanta requests that the Bureau furnish its observations and recommendations as to this course of action, based on the following information:

[redacted]
both are well acquainted with the subject, and it is from these [redacted] that this information has been received. [redacted] on interview during the recent past, furnished an account of his contacts with subject over the past year and a half [redacted]

b2

b7D

- ② - Bureau (RM)
 - 1 - Chicago (RM)
 - 2 - Atlanta
- AIM:met
(5)

100-446080-
NOT RECORDED
123 JAN 18 1968

57 FEB 6 1968

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-446080-11-251447-001

AT 100-6416

b7D



[redacted] who has furnished considerable
information regarding subject [redacted]

b2

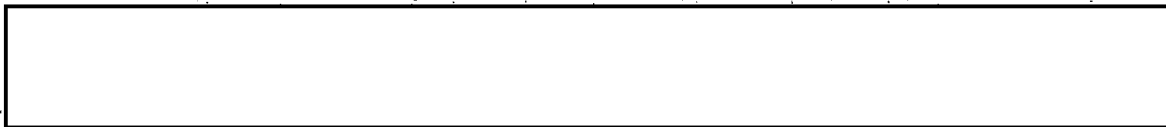
b7D



It is recognized by Atlanta that information obtained through a third party from subject would not have evidentiary value.

b2

b7D



b7C

Atlanta proposes consideration of the following techniques:

b7D

(1) Atlanta would locate a suitable Negro who could qualify as an informant [redacted] with a contract for furnishing information. This informant

AT 100-6416

b2

b7C

b7D

(2) A second method might be to have a Negro Bureau agent to make the approach, [REDACTED]

b7D

(3) Consideration might be given to using some high level informant who has already been developed in the New York Office, along with a dummy setup of addresses, etc., in New York City, letting the informant make initial contact in Atlanta and arranging for subject to furnish the information to a Post Office Box in New York.

It is recognized that any of the above methods would require very careful planning, and that they are subject to the possibility of being rejected at the time of the first contact. However, due to the position of subject at this particular time, it is felt that this technique might prove valuable to the Bureau.

No action will be taken by Atlanta pending receipt of the Bureau's recommendations concerning the above.

F B I

Date: 1/22/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS;
SEDITION

Transmitted herewith are 11 copies of an LHM captioned as above setting forth summary of radio program on radio station WOL, WDC, 7:30 to 8 p.m. 1/21/68, featuring STOKELY CARMICHAEL.

Local dissemination being made to Secretive Service, AUSA and military intelligence agencies.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

b7C

REC 39

100-446080-1028

JAN 30 1968

- ③ - Bureau (Enc. 11)
2 - Atlanta (100-6812) (RM)
1 - WFO

WWH:dgp
(6)

AIRTEL

AGENCY: ACSI, NTC, OSI, SEC. SERV.,
LEI: ASD, CHD, ~~WFO~~, Veterans, State,
HOW FORW: RJS
DATE FORW: 1/22/68
BY: [Signature]

1 cc of airtel

+ LHM 800 900

Approved: [Signature]
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

b2



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Washington, D. C. 20535
January 22, 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Radio station WOL, Washington, D.C., on a special recorded program, moderated by WOL News Director, Ron Pinkney, had as its special guests, Stokely Carmichael and Rufus "Catfish" Mayfield, former Chairman of Pride, Inc. The program was reportedly taped on January 17, 1968, at WOL Studios, 2000 P Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., and was broadcast from 7:30 p.m. to 8 p.m. on January 21, 1968.

Also appearing on the program were Robert Maynard of the "Washington Post," John Lewis, of "Afro-American," and Bernard Garnett of Johnson's Publications, which includes "Jet" and "Ebony" magazines, who acted as an interviewing panel of Carmichael and Mayfield.

Pinkney opened the program by introducing Carmichael and Mayfield. He stated Carmichael had previously appeared on WOL radio program "Speak Up" on January 14, 1968. He described Carmichael as former Chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and as a graduate of Howard University. He stated Carmichael had recently returned from what had been called "unauthorized trips to Cuba, Hanoi, Sweden and France." Upon returning to Washington, D.C., he was described as having started an organization called Black United Front. Mayfield, former Chairman of Pride, Inc., was described as having catapulted into the limelight during the Summer of 1967.

When the questioning began, Carmichael was asked if he would outline some of his plans for the Black United Front and for SNCC, in Washington, D.C. Carmichael replied that he was unable to do that at this time. Carmichael continued, when asked, why he picked Washington, D.C., as a target city to begin organizing, that there were a number of reasons.

COPIES DESTROYED

343 FEB 26 1971

ENCLOSURE

100-446080-1028

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

He stated Washington represents the clearest contradictions of black and white in the country, because black people are in the majority and all institutions of power in the city are run by whites, controlled by whites and for the benefit of whites. Continuing, he stated Washington is the Nation's Capitol and it seems it must begin to represent clearly in the minds of people around the world precisely what the country is about, its relationship to their internal colonies, black people inside the country, so that "we can speak up and develop strength with our brothers in the third world." He added, "they will not be brainwashed by the United States." He stated, for example, Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey just took a trip to Africa and his job was again to fool "our brothers in Africa and if the contradictions are hiding, my brothers in Africa will see through all that nonsense that the honkies are trying to put down."

He was asked if his Washington, D.C. activities were going to be a springboard for similar Black United Fronts in other United States cities. He replied no, that he thought there would be a coordinating effort around the country because today black people recognize the necessity for unity if they are going to survive, in what (Dr. Martin Luther King) called 'Babylon.'

Carmichael was asked if he saw a coinciding role for the organizing efforts with the proposed "camp-in" proposed for April, 1968, by Dr. King. Carmichael stated he had worked with King in the past and would continue to work with him because they are trying to find the solution "for our people to live a decent life as human beings."

In response to a question as to why he did not make public matters transpiring at his meetings being held, he stated because the means of communication are controlled by the whites and every movement "they had ever started, the honkies had always disrupted it and left them divided." He added it is important to note that "black people get together, white people begin to condemn their unity. Yet, white people can

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

get together without any problems and nobody in the black community ever questions their right to do so." As for example, George Wallace can have a meeting with Lyndon Johnson; James O. Eastland can have a meeting and set up a coalition with some other "honkey" and nobody in the black community questions them. He then asked the question why does the "honkey" think he has the right to say something about Negroes when they try to get together. What right does he have to condemn? In order to prevent further division, the "honkey" must be isolated as to what is going on.

He was asked if he included the "black press" and he indicated that he did not regard this as a significantly wrong voice in the community. He added if the white press can be controlled for awhile, then a black press can be built that becomes a real voice for the community.

Carmichael was asked if he thought his task of bringing the black people together would be difficult, especially the so-called militants and the moderates. He stated alot of Negroes are now brainwashed by the white man, commonly called moderates in the white press and it will take time to bring them into "our community" so that they will begin working for the benefit of the black community and not the white man. He stated he thinks it will take time but "our people" slowly will begin to see the light.

Carmichael in addition commented in response to questions as follows:

Negro parents have to take over the schools and begin to teach "our children what we wish to teach them." The education they have been getting has hindered them.

He reiterated his group would never publicly attack or oppose Dr. Martin Luther King.

Black power is not Carmichael's image, but the image of fifteen million black people in the United States. It is all the assemblance of the creativity and skills that black people have put together to "make us live like human beings."

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

He goes to church because black people are in the churches. It is a collective place where "our people" are.

He thinks the creative skills of the middle class Negroes working for the Government, such as at the White House or on Capitol Hill are a part of black power, however, what they create goes to serve the white man and cannot be considered part of black power. There are a lot of black traders in our community.

The white community started "their petty anti-nonsensical poverty program which was aimed at precisely what it has done in the community, split it. Factions are fighting over crumbs and this is precisely what the whites wanted. The whites have no intention of uniting the black community and any one who thinks they do is absolutely absurd.

Regarding travel outside the United States, Carmichael stated as far as he is concerned, a man is born free and that he will travel anywhere he wants to at any time. He will see whom ever he decides to see and that the United States does not control him.

Carmichael, in his closing statements, commented that as long as he is living and there is breath in his body, he is going to work to "bring our people together."

Rufus "Catfish" Mayfield, who did not participate very actively in the program, when questioned, stated he had been talking with Carmichael about establishing a Black United Front in Washington, D.C., and thinks one is needed. He added Carmichael is going to be good one way or another, he will either wake somebody up or scare somebody to death.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

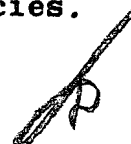
Date 1/27/68

The attached states Stokely Carmichael, former Chairman, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, a militant civil rights organization, was in Boston, Massachusetts 1/25/68. Carmichael attended meeting for purpose of establishing a united front encompassing all Negro organizations in Boston area. According to a confidential source, meeting was not successful. Carmichael not observed 1/26/68, and sources suggest he may have left the Boston area.

Information was subsequently received from the New York Port Authority Police that Carmichael was observed departing New York on 1/26/68 aboard an Eastern Airlines shuttle flight destined for Washington, D. C.

Pertinent data concerning Carmichael's trip to Boston to establish united front being included in summary racial development letter for dissemination to White House, Attorney General and other interested officials and agencies.

JWO:sss



ST
esa
FBI WASH DC*

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

JAN 26 1968

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Bishop	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

FBI BOSTON

10:05PM URGENT 1-26-68 RDS

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080), WFO & NEW YORK (100-153751)

FROM BOSTON (157-437) 2P

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS - M, SEDITION.

INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

REWFOTELS JAN. TWENTYFIVE LAST.

SUBJECT ARRIVED EASTERN AIRLINES FLIGHT SIX FOUR SIX, LOGAN
INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT, EAST BOSTON, MASS., AT NINE ZERO THREE PM.
JAN. TWENTYFIVE LAST.

SUBJECT MET BY UNIDENTIFIED GIRL AND PROCEEDED BY TAXI IN
HEAVY SNOWSTORM TO YMCA, ROXBURY, MASS.

POTENTIAL SECURITY INFORMANT

PSI ADVISED JAN. TWENTYSIX INSTANT CARMICHAEL ATTENDED MEETING
FOR PURPOSE OF SETTING UP UNITED FRONT IN BOSTON, MASS. THIS FRONT
CONTEMPLATES ENCOMPASSING REPRESENTATIVES FROM ALL NEGRO ORGANIZATIONS
IN BOSTON AREA. CARMICHAEL STRONGLY URGED SUPPORT OF THIS FRONT.

PSI STATED MEETING NOT SUCCESSFUL AS REPRESENTATIVES REFUSED TO
AGREE WITH ESTABLISHMENT OF FRONT AT THIS TIME. PSI STATES FURTHER
EFFORTS BEING MADE IN THIS DIRECTION BY CARMICHAEL AND SUPPORTERS OF
FRONT IDEA.

TAXI WHICH TOOK CARMICHAEL TO MEETING DELIVERED HIS BAGS TO

[REDACTED] HOME OF GIRL WHO MET HIM AT
AIRPORT. PRELIMINARY INQUIRY INDICATES SHE MAY BE UNIVERISTY OF
MASS. STUDENT AT BOSTON, MASS., BY NAME OF [REDACTED] INVESTIGATION
BEING CONDUCTED TO ESTABLISH POSITIVE IDENTIFICATION.

END PAGE ONE

TWO COPIES WFO

JAN 1968

XEROX

MR. DELOACH FOR THE DIRECTOR

b7C

b7C

b7D

PAGE TWO

BOSTON INDICES CONTAIN NO POSITIVE IDENTIFYING DATA.

NO PUBLIC APPEARANCE CONTEMPLATED BY CARMICHAEL ACCORDING TO
INFO RECEIVED BY PSI.

ALL LOGICAL BOSTON SOURCES AND INFORMANTS ADVISED OF CARMICHAEL'S
VISIT AND BOSTON PD AND ~~MSP~~ ^{MASSACHUSETTS STATE POLICE} AT AIRPORT ALERTED.

CARMICHAEL NOT OBSERVED INSTANT DATE BY ANY SOURCE AND PSI
SUGGESTS HE MAY HAVE LEFT BOSTON.

INQUIRIES CONTINUING. DETAILED AIRTEL AND ^{MEMO} ~~LHM~~ ^{LHM} FOLLOWS.

NY AND WFO ALERT SOURCES FOR POSSIBLE RETURN SUBJECT YOUR AREA.
AM COPY TO ATLANTA.

END

DEL R E L A Y WGO "F"

DEL

FBI WASH DC*

H

CC- MR. SULLIVAN

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

JAN 27 1968

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

FBI WASH DC*

ST
FBI BOSTON

11:51PM URGENT 1-27-68 RDS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080), NEW YORK (100-15375), ATLANTA (100-6812)
AND WFO

FROM BOSTON (157-437) 1P

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS - MISC., SEDITION.

RENYTEL ONE TWENTYSEVEN, SIXTYSEVEN.

BOSTON SOURCES AND LOCAL POLICE HAVE NO ADDITIONAL INFORMATION
CONCERNING CARMICHAEL'S CURRENT WHEREABOUTS. SOURCES ARE REMAINING
ALERT FOR FURTHER INFORMATION AND INVESTIGATION CONTINUING.

END

JMS

FBI WASH DC*

X

REC-59 100-446080-1030

JAN 30 1968

614
TWO COPIES WFO
JAN 28 1968

b7C

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 1-25-68

The attached reports that Stokely Carmichael, in addition to spending time at his residence and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee headquarters, visited an office building which contains offices of numerous attorneys. Source reports subject may possibly travel to New York and Boston this weekend.

We are continuing to disseminate all pertinent information concerning Carmichael's activities to the Internal Security Division of the Department and to other interested agencies.

WLS:mh

*ga**wes/mll*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHE

F B I

Date: 1/24/68

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Bishop	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

ST
Transmit the following in _____
TELETYPE
URGENT
Via _____
(Type in plaintext or code)
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI, NEW YORK, BOSTON
ATTN: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

b7C

FM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

INTERNAL SECURITY -
STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC.; SEDITION

RE WFOTEL 1/23/68

SUBJ'S TIME DURING MORNING AND AFTERNOON OF INSTANT DATE SPENT
AT RESIDENCE AND SNCC HEADQUARTERS, ONE TWO THREE FOUR U ST., NW.
DURING EVENING SUBJ VISITED ROOM ONE ZERO FIVE, CENTURY BUILDING,
FOUR ONE TWO FIFTH STREET, NW, WDC, A BUILDING OCCUPIED BY NUMEROUS
ATTORNEYS. SUBJ LAST OBSERVED LATE IN EVENING RIDING IN VOLKSWAGEN
BUS AFTER DEPARTING SNCC HEADQUARTERS. A SOURCE, WHO HAS FURNISHED
RELIABLE INFO IN THE PAST, ADVISED SOME DISCUSSION WAS HELD INSTANT
DATE AT SNCC HDQTS. ABOUT SUBJ POSSIBLY TRAVELING TO NEW YORK AND
BOSTON DURING THE COMING WEEKEND.

ADMINISTRATIVE

RE WFOTEL 1/23/68. SOURCE MENTIONED IN REFERENCED TEL IS

2-Bureau
2-Teletype
1-Atlanta (RM) (AM)
2-WFO
JTA:mmh
(7)

b2

b7D

XEROX
JAN 1968

REC-59

100-446080-1031

JAN 30 1968

b7C

Approved: JTA

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

FBI

Date: 1/24/68

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

Via AIRTEL _____

(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (157-1297) (P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL, aka
IS - MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION

b7C

b7C

_____ Human Relations Section,
Chicago PD, advised today, _____ Human
Relations Section, in a recent interview with _____

_____ STOKELY
CARMICHAEL, former National Director of SNCC, 1/17/68, and
CARMICHAEL agreed to come to Chicago and speak at a "town meeting"
to be held at the Senate Theater, 3152 W. Madison Street,
Chicago, on 2/1/68. _____

b7C

_____ of the
Senate Theater, advised on 1/24/68 she has no knowledge that
CARMICHAEL is scheduled to appear at this theater on 2/1/68.

- 3 - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - Newark (1 - 100-)
- 2 - New York
- 1 - WFO (100-43503)
- 2 - Atlanta (1 - 100-6812)
- 3 - Chicago (1 - 100-40342) (SNCC)

REC-52

100-446080-1032

JAN 25 1968

EX 106

b7C

Approved: _____

Sent _____

M

Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

FEB 2 1968

100 806 94D

RACIAL INT. SECT

0-7 to CG 1/26/68 Submit info by return
mail in 14 m. available for dissemination.

Bishop

C. C.

CG 157-1297

She stated the management was not renting the theater to anyone on that date as they are contracted to show 2 Spanish pictures on 2/1/68 on a percentage basis. She advised these are most profitable pictures which would have priority over any other rentals.

Recipient offices are requested to alert sources and immediately advise Chicago of any information indicative that CARMICHAEL or [] may be contemplating travel to Chicago.

b7C

F B I

Date: 1/24/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
 FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-721 / ~~14-215~~)
 RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
 IS - MISCELLANEOUS
 SEDITION

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

Re Buairtel 1/15/68.

No information came to the attention of the San Francisco Office indicating that CARMICHAEL has as yet visited that area. He is still scheduled to speak in Oakland 2/17/68.

In regard to Subject's appearance at the Oakland Auditorium, the following coverage is planned:

(1) [redacted] will be present at CARMICHAEL's arrival and during his speech.

(2) [redacted]

b2

b7D

(3) [redacted]

b7C

3 - Bureau (AM-RM)
 1 - Atlanta (AM-RM)
 1 - New York (AM-RM)
 1 - Washington Field (AM-RM)
 1 - San Francisco
 APC/jr
 (7)

EX-109

REC-24

JAN 26 1968

Approved: *[Signature]*

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M RACIAL INT. SECT.

SF 14-215
APC/jr

- (4) A local law enforcement agency probably will record this speech for their own purposes and the recording would be available to the Bureau.
- (5) If the speech is broadcast or televised the making of recordings will be considered or their availability will be determined.

The Intelligence Units of the San Francisco and Oakland Police Departments and the Alameda County District Attorney are very much interested in CARMICHAEL's appearance. Additional coverage will be afforded through racial informants and sources and news media.

UACB, coverage as outlined above will be arranged. When details have been worked out specific approval will be requested of the Bureau.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/JHF

FBI

1/25/68

Date:

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM: SAC, PHILADELPHIA (100-47630) -P-
SUBJECT: STOKEY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS;
SEDITION

b7C

ReWFO airtel 1/22/68.

The following investigation was conducted by SA [REDACTED]

b7C

On 1/25/68, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised he could locate no stolen report for Pennsylvania
license [REDACTED] or stolen report for Toyota Sedan, belonging
to [REDACTED]

b7C

[REDACTED] Solebury Township, Solebury, Pa.,
recontacted and advised he had still received no reports of
stolen vehicle from [REDACTED] and could furnish no
additional information in instant matter.

b7C

b7D

3-Bureau (100-446080) (RM)
2-Atlanta (100-6812) (RM)
2-WFO (100-43503) (RM)
2-Philadelphia (100-47630)
PFS;bjt

REC-24

JAN 26 1968

(9)

C. C. Bishop

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Approved: [Signature] Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

57 FEB 5 1968

PH 100-47630

b7C

b7D

b7C

b7D

In view of the above, Philadelphia will not interview
[redacted] unless specifically requested to do so.

LEAD

WFO

AT WASHINGTON, D.C.

b7C

Will conduct logical investigation to determine
association between [redacted]
[redacted] and subject STOKELY CARMICHAEL.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

1-26-68

Date

The attached reports that Stokely Carmichael, former Chairman of Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) departed by plane for Boston. Boston will cover activities while there.

Additional information received that prior to departure Carmichael spoke to students of two classes* at the invitation of their teachers. Pertinent information, including information concerning his travel to Boston, will be included in today's summary to the White House and interested agencies.

*Western High School,

JFM:WLS:mh

WCS
md
her

FBI

Date: 1/25/68 *et*

Transmit the following in

PLAIN TEXT

(Type in plaintext or code)

TELETYPE**URGENT**

Via

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Bishop	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

TO: DIRECTOR AND SACS BOSTON
NEW YORK

ATTN: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE
DIVISION

b7C

FROM: SAC WFO

Internal Security - Miscellaneous
STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS - M; SEDITION *2 - 11*

RE WFO TELS JANUARY TWENTYFOUR LAST AND TWENTY FIVE INSTANT.

WASHINGTON
SUBJECT SECURED TICKET NATIONAL AIRPORT, WDC UNDER NAME OF
V. WELCH. DEPARTED ALONE EASTERN AIRLINES FLIGHT SIX FOUR SIX,
SEVEN THIRTY FIVE P.M., JANUARY TWENTYFIVE INSTANT, SCHEDULED TO
ARRIVE LOGAN INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT, BOSTON NINE ZERO THREE P.M.,
SAME DATE. BOSTON COGNIZANT.

AIR MAIL COPY ATLANTA. P

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

b7C

REC-75

- (2) - Bureau
2 - Teletype Unit
1 - Atlanta (RM)(AM)
2 - WFO (100-43503)

JAN 29

100-446080-1035
JAN 30 1968

FFB:tab

(7)

XEROX

JAN 1968

Approved: *ADP/L*

Sent

M

Per

Special Agent in Charge

51 FEB 6 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

F B I

Date: 1/25/68

Transmit the following in CODE
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI, NEW YORK, BOSTON
ATTN: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC; SEDITION

RE WFOTELS JANUARY TWENTY FOUR AND JANUARY TWENTY FIVE INSTANT.

DURING MORNING INSTANT DATE SUBJECT VISITED WESTERN HIGH SCHOOL WDC. METROPOLITAN POLICE DEPARTMENT ADVISED SUBJECT AT INVITATION OF TWO TEACHERS OF ABOVE SCHOOL VISITED THEIR CLASSES INSTANT DATE AND SPOKE TO THE STUDENTS OF THESE TWO CLASSES. SUBJECT SPENT AFTERNOON AT SNCC HEADQUARTERS. IN EARLY EVENING HE PROCEEDED BY CAB TO WASHINGTON NATIONAL AIRPORT. DEPARTED ENROUTE BOSTON AT SEVEN THIRTY FIVE PM JANUARY TWENTY FIVE INSTANT ON EASTERN AIRLINE FLIGHT SIX FOUR SIX, TO ARRIVE NINE ZERO THREE PM SAME DATE.

ADMINISTRATIVE

RE WFOTELS JANUARY TWENTY FOUR LAST AND JANUARY TWENTY FIVE INSTANT. BOSTON AND NYO COGNIZANT OF SUBJECT'S DEPARTURE WDC AND TRAVEL TO BOSTON. AIRTEL COPY TO ATLANTA.

2-Bureau
2-Teletype
1-Atlanta (RM) (AM)
2-WFO
FFB:rmj
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JAN 1968

XEROX

150 DEPT ADV.
1/26/68 PDS

Approved: *[Signature]*

Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

F B I

Date: 1/28/68

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Transmit the following in CODE
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI, NEW YORK, ATLANTA, BOSTON, COLUMBIA
ATTN: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

b7C

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

Internal Security - Miscellaneous
STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC; SEDITION

RE WFOTEL 1/25/68

b7C SUBJECT ARRIVED WDC FOUR ZERO FIVE PM INSTANT VIA EASTERN

b7D AIRLINES SHUTTLE FLIGHT. HE PROCEEDED TO HIS RESIDENCE WHERE HE
DROPPED OFF SOME PERSONAL ITEMS AND THEN CONTINUED TO [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] WDC, WHERE HE SPENT THE REMAINDER
OF THE EVENING. A SOURCE WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION
IN THE PAST ADVISED THAT A PARTY IN CARMICHAEL'S HONOR WAS BEING
HELD AT THE ABOVE ADDRESS.

ADMINISTRATIVE

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SOURCE MENTIONED ABOVE IS [REDACTED]

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2-Bureau
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2-WFO

RNW;rmj
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REC-38

100-446080-1037

16 FEB 1 1968

54 FEB 6 1968

Approved: JRP/RNW
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____



UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY

WASHINGTON 20547

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

January 23, 1968

TO : The Honorable
J. Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D C 20535

ATTN b7C : [Redacted]
Liaison Section

FROM : Paul J. McNichol
Assistant Director (Security)

SUBJECT : STOKELEY CARMICHAEL
IOS - 10326

b7C

Enclosed is a copy of Field Message Number 18 dated December 15, 1967, from USIS Dar es Salaam to USIA Washington. The message concerns Stokeley Carmichael's visit to Tanzania, the views he expressed during his month long stay and the impact of his visit on the press and segments of the population.

The enclosure is furnished as a matter of interest to your Bureau.

Enclosure:

As stated

ENCLOSURE

JAN 31 1968

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CC 241132 BY R/c 1/29/68

Info to be incl. in next report on S.C.

RACIAL SEC.

EXP. PROC.

JAN 24 1968

157-8141-1

11-1-65
FIELD
MESSAGE

UNCLASSIFIED
CLASSIFICATION

U. S. INFORMATION SERVICE

FROM: USIS-Dar es Salaam

TO: USIA WASHINGTON

REF: ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-08-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

SUBJECT: Stokeley Carmichael in Tanzania
Backwash and Backlash

18
MESSAGE NO.

December 15, 1967
DATE

U. S. INFORMATION AGENCY

DEC 29 9 27 AM '67

RECEIVED: 10A/SC

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Stokeley Carmichael spent almost a month in Dar es Salaam, October 28th to November 26th. One looks for any specific evidence of his visit and finds that precious little did take root, yet in some ways Dar may never be the same.

He was lionized by the militants; he totally alienated the Freedom Fighters with whom he should have identified more than with any other segment of the Dar scene. He leaves the "imperialist" Standard still awed by the bravura of his performance, but the poor Nationalist suffers from a diarrhoea of ill-digested revolutionary flotsam and jetsam. It would seem that the only element not touched by the magic of his personality is the white power structure. He was certainly the most vivid personality to hit this comparative backwater in a long time, and his heart would beat faster if he knew how frequently he is still talked of, at smart Oyster Bay cocktails, in student beerhalls, and perhaps even in village "pombe" shops.

Line-Up at the Start

b2 [redacted] early - and as it turned out correctly - suggested he be paid no attention whatsoever by the Embassy. A few journalists tried egging Embassy spokesmen into a public debate but to no avail. Eventually, this seemed to pique even Stokeley himself.

b7C

b7C His travel and per diem were probably covered by the Cuban Embassy, [redacted] accompanying him to almost all appearances. He stayed at the Palm Beach Hotel, a second-class hotel with active beer garden, where he met all comers willingly. While the [redacted] was in town, they were good drinking partners. For some time the Government took no public position and the Post thought he might be getting into such hot water that he would be asked to shut up or leave.

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Then the President saw him, and the TANU Party openly served as organizer of his program.

Play-by-Play

The Post reconstructs the following loose sequence of events from press coverage or reliable gossip, to the best of its ability:

The day after his arrival, the Standard had a superbly characteristic front-page picture of him on a hotel bed, mouth very open, arms gesturing. The hair-raising stream-of-consciousness interview was the best coverage he got here. The British reporter, David Martin, still says it was the most fascinating interview he has ever conducted. And Stokeley apparently enjoyed it until told that the Standard is a tool of the imperialists. He never talked to the Standard again.

The Nationalist's interview was more humorless, conducted with the entire editorial staff in an awed circle around the prophet. This carried again Carmichael's slurs on the majority of African leaders who are pawns of the imperialists and his disdain for the "Freedom Fighter" who chases white broads down Dar's Independence Avenue. Uhuru and the other Swahili papers followed the Nationalist's line. As far as we know, Radio Tanzania covered Carmichael's moves but gave no time to airing of his controversial views.

The Standard gave a box to the front-page denunciation of Carmichael by the South African PAC. This release was also picked up by quite a few American papers, to judge by the clippings, but the denunciation alone gives no true picture of Carmichael in Dar.

The first public lecture was to a jammed lecture-hall at the University College, sponsored by the University Student's African Revolutionary Front, an organization born a few month earlier but with no apparent program until the saviour came along.

The second University appearance backfired. It was heralded as a memorial to Che Guevara. The faithful came in quantity. The Cuban diplomat went on first in Spanish. A deadly interpreter then read the same canned biography in English. Only when Carmichael took to his familiar soap-box at the close did the evening come to life.

His Kivukoni College talk is reported in detail as an enclosure, to give an example of his gospel. By this time, he had backed down a bit on the Liberation Front Organizations, suggesting he would have to study them further. Later, he had some praise for [redacted] and it is believed he was impressed by a private meeting with [redacted]

b7C

The Nationalist says Carmichael spent over two hours with President Nyerere. After it, Carmichael said they had had a very agreeable exchange of views. The President has said nothing.

Then came a series of talks to National Service Camps, the People's Defense Forces, and to organized TANU groups at Arnautoglu Hall, a Community Center on Dar's Central Park. It is not known if his English was understood.

About this time, he was interviewed by a Polish Radio/TV reporter who found a completely different Stokeley. For the Poles, there was no effort to identify with Africa, no castigation of the Freedom Fighters, no down with the white power structure. Instead Carmichael dwelt on U.S. Civil Rights Leaders' inability to align the Poles in the Northern suburbs. Even appeals to the clergy won no support. Here, Carmichael was an earnest, hurt, American Civil Rights activist, not a revolutionary.

By this time, Nationalist editorials and the Pressman's Commentary column were regurgitating chunks of Stokeley's dogma here and there, indicating some backwash.

He was gratified to learn that the CBS/TV coverage had by this time been used twice in the U.S., at good listening times.

Then Carmichael started talking of departure. He told one reporter he was homesick. In print, it sounded like a persecution complex. The Nationalist on the 25th said, "he was sure of being arrested by the white authorities in power in the United States when he goes home". To the many inquiries USIS received we replied that all we foresaw was a possible withdrawal of passport. No one believed us.

He spent a weekend in Zanzibar as guest of the Revolutionary Council, viewing the clove trees, harranguing one Afro-Shirazi Youth League rally. The Nationalist covered this but a Zanzibar Information Services press release sounded like just another lacklustre True Believer, admiring the economic and social progress.

Finally, the 27th's Nationalist banner-headlined across its back page "Carmichael Returnsto 'Hell'". Never was an actor more in need of a play. One can almost see the tears in the would-be martyr's eyes as he declaims while the curtain lowers, "Before I leave Tanzania, I wish to pass a special message to the people of this country -- particularly the youth -- and that is: THE REVOLUTION MUST CONTINUE."

No one knows just what revolution is to continue. He probably did have Nyerere on his list of colonial institutions

to topple but parrots now interpret him as urging patriotic devotion to Nyerere's self-reliance. Nyerere has still said nothing, nor has Babu..

USIS was grateful for the State Department's release, a week later, confirming that only revocation of the passport faced him on his return. The Standard boxed this on its front page. Both papers followed him to the Russell trial, and to his vicissitudes in Paris. Only the Nationalist carried his triumphant return to Harlem, with fans shouting "Mau-Mau" (spelt Mao-Mao in one place.) The adjectival "Mau-Mau" could not be more distasteful to an East African.

But the melody lingers on. December 15th's Pressman's Commentary is muddier than usual but tries to achieve a ringing close, in exposing the machinations of the imperialist press by saying it "did everything to discredit him (Stokeley), thinking he would be asked to leave Tanzania. They must be regretting for their futile campaign which ended in sheer smoke"

Final Score

Carmichael did give a shot in the arm to the young militants of the TANU Youth League, the press and on the campus. Now they are daring to be more outlandish in their own pronouncements and play to the gallery. But the enthusiastic applause which follows is less an endorsement of the ideas than an endorsement of freedom of speech.

By an odd quirk, his cause is probably now being hurt by local white ultra-liberals jumping on his bandwagon. The founder of Black Power had made it abundantly clear that he scorned the phony white liberals.

Before Carmichael (B.C.?) we would not have had a Viet Nam Teach-In. Now it has taken place, with two of the three speakers being from this lunatic fringe of the American community. One beard started his speech, "My country is the worst threat to peace in the world today. As Stokeley Carmichael says....." and then he was drowned in waves of applause and amiable guffaws.

The intellectual then went on to muddy up Carmichael's thought picking out some flaws in the Maoist thinking, questioning some of his statistics.

One resident American Negro suggests there was a positive aspect: Carmichael epitomized the well-known American know-how applied to social evolution - pragmatic, direct, original, non-bureaucratic, refreshing in its simplicity. This thrilled the Tanzanians who already respect the U.S. for its know-how

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ELD MSG. NO. 18

FROM USIS-Dar es Salaam

and gadgetry in other spheres.

Another theorist observes that only in America do they breed a race so strong, lungs so lusty, and thinking so free and unfettered.

Come to think of it, it was a smash hit and vastly superior to Peking's song and dance production of "The East is Red" which is now grinding to a halt in Tanzania. The Nationalist gave it a rave review but from the start, audiences departed midway through. No one noticed when the final two performances were cancelled. Stokeley was by all odds the better revolutionary. Long Live America!

USIS does admire him as a propagandist. He said, on parting, "I have learnt a great deal. I intend to use that which I have learnt to further help organize the 900 million Africans in the world today."

Assuming he learns more - and he has lots to learn about Africa - his views might conceivably soften to the point where he would make a good CAO.

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Enclosure: 1) Stokeley Carmichael Talk at
Kivukoni College

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PAGE 1 OF 8
ENCL. NO. k 1
ELD MSG. NO. 18
FROM Dar es Salaam

STOKELEY CARMICHAEL TALK AT KIVUKONI COLLEGE

Place:

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DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

Talk held in dining hall of Kivukoni, the TANU Party adult education college for potential leaders, across the bay from Dar es Salaam, afternoon of November 6, 1967.

Persons:

About 100 male and 8 female students of the College's "long" course of 9 months. There were about 10 whites in the audience, [redacted]

[redacted] (American Harvard volunteers) of the teaching staff, and three visitors. [redacted] accompanied Carmichael but did not participate. One American Negro contributed a bit though seemed not to follow Carmichael down-the-line. Among the students were at least 3 Southwest African refugees, one South African and one Rwandan. It became evident that a number of Dar FLN boys had also come, armed with questions because of Carmichael's previous criticism of their efforts. The reporting Officer and USIS Press Assistant talked with a number of students who were friendly and remembered our having accompanied [redacted] on a similar occasion a few months earlier.

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Discussion Summary:

Mr. Carmichael wore his blue jeans and a Tanzanian print sports shirt. He stood on a raised step, was relaxed throughout and frequently privately amused. To make points he ranged about, used his long arms and hands tellingly over the heads of the front row. The pat paragraphs came easily, without any cheap theatrics save an occasional shrug of the shoulders if a question were beneath answering. He overestimated the sophistication of the audience and some of his Americanisms were not understood, but then his erratic logic defies careful analysis anyway.

He had no difficulty dominating the hall whenever he chose, his cheekiness in stating obviously outlandish opinions winning the delighted support of all. They sobered in agreement at references to the traditional inferiority complexes of Africans or African-Americans. His blanket injunction to sweep out every white advisor and teacher in the country was received with gasps of admiration.

Carmichael divided the audience sharply when he attacked the local FLN groups, the non-Tanzanian Africans disgreeing with sophistication. The Tanzanians who were in the majority, were less experienced and articulate but obviously agreed with

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Carmichael. About halfway through the session, this division became an insoluble problem so Carmichael declined to be drawn out farther, stating modestly, for him, that he would have to study up a bit on the Freedom Fighters.

Transcribed Notes

(The following consolidate the notes of the two USIS spectators. The talk started on the theme of education but Carmichael quickly dropped that and opened it up for questions, most of which are not repeated since the answers reveal the nature of the questions.)

"Education" comes from the Latin ex and duco meaning to lead out. Education of us as Africans is supposed to lead us out of our problems, but in this sense, the imperialists' education in Africa is a failure. It does not unite us, the black men, We must throw out all Western concepts.

Our education and culture were disrupted by the imperialist white people. In turn, they imposed their education and culture on us with the sole purpose of demoralizing us and making us feel inferior. They want us to think and judge in terms of their standards. They want us to think everything Western is fine and good. You should forget all history written by white men. They wrote nothing but imperialistic praise of their achievements. We must study history and write it as it was. We must present the facts as they are.

You say Africa depends on Europe and America. You're crazy! They depend on Africa. They couldn't exist without the sweat and toil and the raw materials of us Africans.

There are 900,000,000 Africans, from Capetown to Nova Scotia. This is easy to figure; fifty million in the U.S., four hundred million in Africa; millions in Brazil; the West Indies have nothing but Africans; the majority in Nova Scotia are Africans.

Yeah, I know the whites say there are 22,000,000 African-Americans in the U.S. - or Negroes, as the white man puts it. This is obviously ridiculous when you look at the black population of Washington - 65% of the adults, 95% of school-age, and Harlem, Newark, Detroit, Cleveland, Chicago - all have more than 50% African. And all those big cities. And we know the South has more than a third Negro population. So it figures. We have the strength, and we're going to unite and use this strength to throw the white man out of our continent.

The U.S. can't live without Africa for one simple reason.

What's the dollar backed by? Gold! And the U.S. hasn't got one iota of gold! Here on our continent, there is always enough to eat. We have minerals, coal, copper, gold, manganese, diamonds and all those things that the U.S. needs for its industry. They look to Africa for exploitation so as to leave us poor. In other words, Europeans and Americans are dependent on Africa for their survival. Why, Britain has nothing on that stinking little island - not even enough to feed itself.

I'm an African-American. The man in the street like me back home describes himself as an African-American. I'm not an American because I can't benefit from those rights and privileges of an American, so how can I call myself one? But we'll see. If we are given our rights, we'll burn down the U.S. because that big nation was built by our sweat.

No, you don't get liberated through voting. It's all controlled by the whites. White domination in the U.S. hinders us from getting anywhere. All political, economic and social institutions are in the hands of the whites - even here in Africa. This is true of most of Africa today - the whites control the voting.

No, the African-American can't expect to get any support from the working classes in the U.K. or the U.S. because those workers have been bought by the crumbs the whites gave them from their plundering and raping of Africa and the rest of the Third World. The first job of the African-American in the U.S. is to destroy the white power structure from within. Africans can help Negroes destroy this white power structure. To do it, we need the help of the revolutionaries of the third world. If the third world cuts the U.S. tentacles which are spread around the globe, the U.S. economy will crumble. This is possible, if we are determined.

How much time will it take us to change the whole structure of the U.S.? Brother, I don't think in those terms. We'll give our lives. We may have to sacrifice a generation for the sake of the next generation. What is important is to start. We have started!

I don't believe in any organized front. Those who want to fight with me are in; those who don't are the enemy. Then when we've won, we'll fight those who don't agree with us ideologically. That's what Marx says. The foremost job is to get the Negroes to realize the political power that they have and it is out of this spirit that Negroes will be able to realize the importance of their unity. We've got to get all Afro-Americans unified for real political power. And if Negroes have arms, and training,

and leadership - which makes them so admired in the Viet Nam thing - we can tear apart the inner core of the entire U.S. administration right now!

Those Civil Rights marches had no effect whatsoever. All those people going up to Mister White to beg for rights they already had! Those rights already belonged to them. Why did they have to go and ask to have them given to them?

I'm not after rights. I'm after power. Black Power. And as Mao says, power is won out of the end of a gun. Oh, those marches for integration! No Black Man should fight for integration! We've got to get rid of those white liberals. Everytime we start an organization, about five of them move in and the first thing you know, they've taken it over. For a white man to join us, he's got to feel like us. That means, he has to know exploitation, and poverty, and hopelessness. Then he'll want to tear down the whole structure and race won't mean a thing.

They say we're racists, or racialists. They're the ones who are racialists. When they want to join us, they're thinking race - them and us - so they're the racists, not us. The marches did contribute to a revolutionary education, but that's all ... Martin Luther King is all washed up. We've wiped him out of the Black Community so he's had to move in to the Peace thing. I won't talk Peace.

(Asked about his criticisms in the Standard of Southern Africa liberation movements:) I didn't know the Standard was an instrument of the imperialists. I thought this being in Tanzania, it was for Tanzania and for the African. There's no reason for its existence in Tanzania today.

A Zimbabwe person - I never say 'Rhodesian' because what's Cecil Rhodes doing with a country named after him in Black Africa? - must fight from the inside, just like the Vietnamese or the Afro-Americans. (Loud cheers) The majority of the leaders of the Liberation Fronts in Tanzania are just living it up. I've been deceived by them. I find they're not doing a thing - they're traitors. I've seen your leaders - leaders of freedom fighters - in Paris and London, living in luxurious hotels, mixing with white people. They claim they're freedom fighters but how can you fight from outside? How can you feel the hardship facing the people who do real fighting in the bush while you're enjoying all the luxury available? They are traitors to their people. They are thieves of their people's faith.

I don't know the conditions in those countries? Oh, that's a grievous mistake. I've seen the fighting, in the U.S., and

in Viet Nam, where the Vietnamese are fighting World War III for the entire cowardly world! And I'll tell you. Everytime I kill a soldier, I take his gun. To kill an enemy, you gain a gun. OK. To kill three hundred, you get 300 guns. That's how you build your arsenal. It makes me laugh. I read today where some group claims 5,000 dead in three years. You know what that boils down to? A miserable three soldiers a day! So they should by now have 5,000 guns, yet they're only killing three soldiers a day!

Inside, those Zimbabweans can do a lot more for themselves, if only they are determined, just like the Vietnamese who can resist the whole weight of American armed forces, because they are determined!

Return to Africa? Okay, but before I come, we're going to burn the United States right down to the ground! It's a Big Power, you know that? And you think we'll just walk away and leave it? No, revenge is too sweet!

(In a very confused aside he rewrote the Civil War with the North losing and losing because of all those Blacks working and sweating and keeping the Confederacy on top until Lincoln had to issue that Emancipation Proclamation. But he didn't free the slaves - he said that's just white man's history.)

Yes (answering a white American's question), we have considered directed violence against institutions in the U S. which support South Africa. We've studied it. We've found the Chase Manhattan Bank is one of the biggest supporters of South Africa. Rockefeller is their Chairman. Then there's Firestone in Liberia and Ghana. Yes, we're considering directed violence against those institutions.

Q. Do you think the whites control Africa?

A. Yes, even in those so-called independent countries.

Q. You mean we should cut with the West entirely?

A. Yes.

Q. But what about those progressive countries that have practised true African socialism? Here, we've nationalized. Do you mean to say we've done nothing?

A. (Shrug)

Q. How do you define Black Power?

A. We want to control where we live, politically, socially, economically and militarily. You know what militarily means? The police! And you know where we live? The ghettos!

In the cities where we live, that's where the factories are. Well, the whites don't like it there, so they all move out to the suburbs. So we want to control the cities, and when we do, we'll raise the taxes sky-high and then we can at last begin to function!

And you know what technology is? It's just pushing buttons. It doesn't require any education. We can push those buttons just as well as they can.

- Q. Do you want the Power before changing the structure?
- A. (Obscure quote from Marx - something about pockets of socialism, seeds of communism) Sure, we're proud of those rebellions in Newark, Detroit, Cleveland. The only problem in Newark was that they starved us out by cutting off the food supplies, so it was over in five days. But that wasn't a problem in Detroit. It's just logistics. It'll be easy to work out next time.
- Q. Why do you say we have an inferiority complex?
- A. Look at you! You can't make a move without some white man around to tell you what to do! You've got to clean out all those whites. Why, there isn't an army in Africa that doesn't have some British, or Canadians or Americans running them.

Look at Ghana. It was a direct victim of white imperialism in the army. Dr. Nkrumah was a good socialist leader and he was working for total liberation of the whole of Africa. But unfortunately, he was still in the control of imperialists because his army was being advised by the imperialist experts.

Yes, you've got to get rid of all those advisors and technical consultants and teachers. They're the tentacles I was talking about, that America has all over the world.

- Q. Why are your people in Viet Nam?
- A. We aren't. African-Americans aren't volunteering. But you know that locked cycle of life in the US? They keep us poor and uneducated and lock us in the ghettos and then they come around with that crap about learn a trade and see the world and they get us in.

But the returnees, you know, even then they can't get any jobs. That's why Black Power is growing more and more. But there will always be some Tshombes in every society.

- Q. What's your opinion of the world Communist movement?
- A. Mao is correct. Fidel is correct. Ho is correct.

The U.S.S.R. has some claim to be on the right track, but Russia will become capitalist soon. It's on the revisionist road.

Way back in 1934 George Padmore went to Moscow, and he turned. And then W.E.B. DuBois toward the end, he turned. Moscow made three great failures - in Cuba, in Viet Nam, and in the Middle East. No, you can't depend on the Russians.

Q. So you prefer Communism?

A. (Shrug)

Q. Do you prefer Mao?

A. I like much of what I've read.

Q. What plans do you have to help liberate Africa?

A. We repeat, we're ready to fight any time, anywhere and to help you with the technological help you now get from the Whites.

Q. But how can we fight without the Europeans? What are the African weapons by tradition? Spears! And stones! We need the Europeans to teach us how to shoot. We want their know-how.

A. Yes, so did Dr. Nkrumah. And he paid dearly! (Respectful silence.)

Q. What do you think of intermarriage?

A. It's an individual decision. That's what I tell them. But they have to sleep with the person they marry. I do not! (guffaws)

Q. (From Miss Harris of U.K.) Look, we've both been exploited, but you're not being concrete enough. Why don't you.....

A. Look sister! You can climb out of your exploitation any old day you want, because you're white! I can't. We're faced with two things, exploitation and racism. That's all I know, and that's enough! You know, in the U.S. if you've got an ounce of Negro blood in you, brother, you're a nigger! Yes sir, that's a fact. There's a law on the books in the U.S. today, if you have one sixty-fourth Negro blood, you're a Negro! But we're all colors - every color of the rainbow, from all those nice whites sleeping with the slaves. But today, what I say is if you talk black, you cannot sleep white! (laughter)

Then came a long argument pro-and anti-Freedom Fighters. Carmichael let it run on, amused. One refugee held the floor for a quiet moment long enough to get on the record that everyone knew there were some good fighters in Dar es Salaam.

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FIELD MSG. NO. 18
FROM Dar-es-Salaam

Carmichael mentioned specifically Portuguese Guinea.

Finally, the wispy-bearded German volunteer who had introduced Carmichael asked him to summarize. He did, saying again African education was no good. Black Power could do much in the U.S. But black people throughout the world are exploited wherever they are, in the U.S., Africa or the West Indies. The African-Americans were ready to help the Africans.

A student recited a prepared speech of thanks which jarred because he thanked Carmichael for the inspiration he had given the African freedom fighters.

Carmichael still looked fresh as a daisy, and bemused. He had appeared earlier at the Mozambique Institute. On the ferry back to Dar, he just studied the stars. [] took him on to an appearance at a packed amphitheatre at the University in honor of Che Guevara.

b7C

CLASSIFICATION

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

DATE: 1/30/68

FROM : *[Signature]* SAC, MIAMI (100-15451) (P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

b7C

OO: Atlanta

Re Miami airtel and LHM, 12/15/67, as above.

b2 *[Redacted]* and would be willing and capable of testifying
b7D regarding its receipt without involving *[Redacted]* or
the Bureau.

Atlanta is requested to advise whether this
purported letter of subject's has been examined for
handwriting comparison and is of pertinence to this
investigation.

2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - Atlanta (100-6812) (RM)
1 - Miami
RLO:ed
(5)

100-446080-7039
REC-28

EX-105 15 FEB 1 1968

RACIAL *[Signature]* SECT.

cc 806 940 H
66 FEB 13 1968



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

F B I

Date: 1/24/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM: SAC, PHILADELPHIA (100-47360) (P)
SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION

FD-217

Handwritten: M...
J...
S...
b7C

Re Pittsburgh teletype 1/23/68 to Director.

b7C

On 1/24/68 [redacted] Bureau
of Motor Vehicles, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Harrisburg,
Pa., advised Pennsylvania registration [redacted] currently
listed to [redacted]
[redacted] for a volkswagen station wagon.

R

REC-20

EX 110

13 JAN 25 1968

446080-1040

- 3 - Bureau (RM)
2 - WFO (RM)
2 - Pittsburgh (RM)
1 - Philadelphia (100-47360)

cc 806 940

JRW/JBK

C. C. Bishop

RACIAL INT. SECT.

62 FEB 7 1968

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

1/31/68

airtel

1
1
1

b7C

To: SACs, Atlanta (100-6012)
New York (100-153751)
WFO (100-43503) (Enclosure)

From: Director, FBI (100-446080)

STONELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION
(BUFILE 2/22/68)

Re: Report dated 1/22/68 and airtel dated 1/24/68.

Atlanta submit FD-128 designating WFO as the new
office of origin in captioned matter.

Enclosed for the information of WFO is a copy of
Buairtel dated 12/22/67 to Atlanta and New York which sets
forth current Bureau instructions concerning the investigation
of Carmichael and the submission of reports pertaining to him.
In accordance with instructions in this airtel, WFO should
commence submitting 30 day reports on Carmichael. The next
report is due 2/22/68.

New York should immediately submit a report on
Carmichael as requested in referenced Buairtel of 12/22/67.

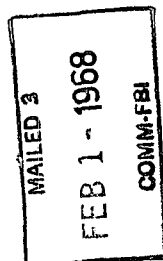
PTB:lmr
(10)

ST-113

NOTE: Atlanta in referenced airtel requested changing office
of origin from Atlanta to WFO. Atlanta advised it appears
Carmichael no longer considers Atlanta as his base of operation.
He has not visited Atlanta since returning to the United States
on 12/11/67. He has established residence in Washington, D. C.,
and is attempting to organize a Black United Front in Washington,
D. C. In view of the above, Atlanta is being instructed to sub-
mit FD-128 changing office of origin.

54 FEB 8 1968

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐



Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE NEW YORK	OFFICE OF ORIGIN ATLANTA	DATE Feb 1 1968	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 1/9 -23/68
TITLE OF CASE STOKELY CARMICHAEL aka b7C		REPORT MADE BY 	TYPED BY pem
		CHARACTER OF CASE IS - MISCELLANEOUS SEDITION b7C	

REFERENCES:

AT report dated 11/16/67; Bu let dated 12/22/67

-P-

ADMINISTRATIVE:

This report carries the subject as **ARMED AND DANGEROUS** inasmuch as Atlanta report dated 11/16/67 reflected in their synopsis that the subject was **ARMED AND DANGEROUS**.

5/2/83 SPI CLK/BGM
CA # 02-0603

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 1/14/83 BY SP2 TAP/JP

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED						ACQUIT- TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		
							PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐ YES ☐ NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS ☐ YES ☐ NO

APPROVED

COPIES MADE:

- 8-Bureau (100-446080) (RM)
 1-AUSA, SDNY, NYC (RM)
 1-Secret Service, NYC (RM)
 1-NISO, NYC (RM)
 3-108th MI Group, NYC (RM)
 1-OSI, NYC (RM)
 3-Atlanta (100-6812) (RM)
 2-New York (100-153751)
 1-Washington Field (100-43503) (Info) (RM)

Dissemination Record of Attached Report.

Agency **Yeakley, Wilson, Pollak, 2nd Lt. - SS. State**

Request Recd.

Date Fwd. **2/12/68**How Fwd. **RKS**By **PTX3/1/68****57 FEB 14 1968****NO DISSEMINATION****SPECIAL RESTRICTIONS APPLIED****SEE TOP SERIAL**

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

100-446080-1042	REC 39
FEB 2 1968	EX-102

RACIAL INT. SECT.
 ICC Rpt + Encl.
 806980

NY 100-153751

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ADMINISTRATIVE CONTINUED:

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[redacted] stated that he wished to furnish the information on a confidential basis and would only testify to the information set forth, if he was subpoenaed, placed under oath and asked direct questions as to what CARMICHAEL said.

b7C

[redacted] NYCPD, on 1/9/68, advised SA [redacted] that STOKELY CARMICHAEL has no arrest record in NYC.

A copy of this report is furnished to WFO for information purposes because the subject frequently visits that area.

A suitable photograph of this subject is available.

This report is stamped ~~Confidential~~ because it contains information reported by two live informants [redacted] the unauthorized disclosure of which might cause the informants' identities to become known and thus hinder the national defense.

INFORMANTS:

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

Instant report page 5

b2

100-153751-26

b7C

100-153751-593

b7D

100-153751-552

(COVER PAGE)

-B-

NY 100-153751

INFORMANTS CONTINUED:

Informants who could furnish no additional pertinent information are as follows:

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LEADS:

NEW YORK

AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK. Will continue to follow and report the activities of this subject.

(COVER PAGE)

-C*-

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1-US SECRET SERVICE, NYC (RM)
1-NISO, NYC (RM)
3-108th MI GROUP, NYC (RM)
1-OSI, NYC (RM)
1-AUSA, SDNY, NYC (RM)

Copy to:

b7C

Report of:

Date:

2/1/68

Office: New York, New York

Field Office File #: 100-153751

Bureau File #: 100-446080

Title:

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Character:

INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION

b7C

Synopsis:

STOKELY CARMICHAEL often stays at his family's residence located at [redacted] NY, while he is in NYC. In April, 1967, CARMICHAEL stated in speech "To hell with the laws of the US", "We're going to tear the cities up". In April, 1967, in NYC CARMICHAEL denounced the draft and stated "Hell, No! We Won't Go". In June, 1967, CARMICHAEL told Alabama crowd "Any time they touch one of us they got to touch all of us. Don't you ever get scared of no hunky (white person) in your life. If a hunky puts his hand on you, you try your best to kill him." In June, 1967, CARMICHAEL stated to Boston crowd "If hunky gets his store bombed out every Friday or Saturday, he's going to have to sell it to us". He also said the only way to stop "racist aggression" by police "is by armed resistance". CARMICHAEL urging to secure rights of colored people in Great Britain reportedly stated "If the British did not adopt our principle, I will burn down their homes and factories." He added "It is time to let the whites know we are going to take over. If they don't like it, we will stamp them out - using violence and any other means necessary". While in Cuba in

DECLASSIFIED BY SP-2 TAP/JP
ON 1/16/85

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~GROUP 1~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/20/83 BY SP1 CBJ/BBN
CA# 02-0603

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

NY 100-153751

SYNOPSIS CONTINUED:

in July, 1967, CARMICHAEL reportedly called on Negroes in Detroit and NY to wage a conflict like Vietnam. In August, 1967, while in Cuba, CARMICHAEL reportedly said that the American Negro was ready to destroy "Yankee imperialism" with urban guerrilla warfare in the US. At news conference he reportedly mentioned that President JOHNSON and Prime Minister WILSON might be assassinated to revenge the deaths of Negro leaders in the US race riots. "National Guardian" dated 8/12/67, reported that CARMICHAEL, visiting Cuba as a delegate to Organization of Latin-American Solidarity, declared on 8/2/67, that "it becomes more and more clear that we must develop revolutionary urban guerrilla warfare" to win black freedom. He told the delegates the black freedom movement has reached the stage where "we are ready to destroy from the inside as you are ready to destroy from the outside". The "National Guardian", 8/12/67, reported "Guns", CARMICHAEL told the press "are the only way...we are moving into open guerrilla warfare in the US. We have no alternative but to use aggressive violence in order to own the land, houses, and stores inside our own community and control the politics of those communities". He said in part "if they have 15 rebellions at the same time, they are unable to squash us...and if there are 50 Vietnams outside the US that equals the death of imperialism". "NY Times" dated 8/18/67, reported under Havana 8/17/67 dateline that CARMICHAEL called upon US Negroes today to take up arms for "total revolution". He urged the complete overthrow of the "imperialist, capitalist and racist structure of the US". In August, 1967, CARMICHAEL reportedly told a meeting in Hanoi, North Vietnam, "We are revolutionaries. We want to change the American regime. We will not be satisfied until we have accomplished this task". In September, 1967, while in Algiers, CARMICHAEL reportedly said "we don't only want to see the US stop bombing and put an end to its aggressive war, we want the Vietnamese to win the war and kick the US out". "National Guardian", 12/16/67, reported that while in Denmark

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SYNOPSIS CONTINUED:

CARMICHAEL engaged in off-the-cuff dialogue and stated in part "People won't fight; they won't fight unless you push - so, you push. You create disturbances, you keep pushing the system. You keep drawing up the contradictions until they have to hit back; once your enemy hits back, then your revolution starts"... "I think that if there's going to be a real revolution in the US, there's got to be a two-pronged attack. In an industrialized country, the heart of production is in the cities, not in agriculture. So to bring the economy to a halt, you've got to disrupt that system. And that first stage is the fight of people against property"... "The main work is to try and crush the forces of production in the cities. The US has felt it from the rebellions... They've had to cut aid all around the world". In December, 1967, in Paris, France, CARMICHAEL proclaimed "We say in a voice loud and strong: We do not want peace in Vietnam, we want the Vietnamese to defeat the USA and to support our feeling, we say that our blood is not too high a price to pay for our comrade in arms in Vietnam. We will support them in any way we can. Our movement is to move to disrupt the structure of the US and our blood will pay for that, and we think it is not too high a price to pay for humanity". "The war in Vietnam must be brought to the USA. If HO CHI MINH cannot sleep, LYNDON JOHNSON shall not sleep. The babies in Vietnam are in threat of their lives and the people in the US must be in threat of their lives. If fire is raging in Vietnam, then fire must rage in the US. And as long as the US oppresses black people inside the US and oppresses the Vietnamese in Vietnam, we have a common bond against a common enemy and we will fight". CARMICHAEL returned to the US in December, 1967, and in January, 1968, called a meeting of more than two dozen civil rights leaders in Washington, D. C. This meeting was billed as a unity affair to bring closer cooperation among civil rights leaders and groups. ARMED AND DANGEROUS

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NY 100-153751

DETAILS:

I. BACKGROUND

Residence

On January 12, 1968, [] advised that STOKELY CARMICHAEL often stays at his family's residence located at [] New York, while he is in New York City.

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II. ASSOCIATION WITH ELIJAH MUHAMMAD,
LEADER OF THE NATION OF ISLAM (NOI)
AND THE REVOLUTIONARY ACTION
MOVEMENT (RAM)

A characterization of ELIJAH MUHAMMAD appears in the characterization of the NOI which is contained in the appendix.

A characterization of RAM appears in the appendix.

The "New York Times" newspaper, dated July 29, 1966, on page 13, contained an article entitled "Carmichael Plans Black Unity Talks With Muslims". Under an Evanston, Illinois, July 28 dateline, this article in part went on to state that STOKELY CARMICHAEL, National Chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), said today that his organization would "join hands" with the Black Muslim leader, ELIJAH MUHAMMAD and with RAM. The purpose of the talks would be to define a common philosophy concerning the controversial phrase "black power". The article stated that RAM has been linked to the Castro Regime in Cuba. The young Negro leader said he had exchanged letters with Mr. MUHAMMAD and that they would meet later.

SNCC is a Militant Civil Rights Organization.

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On August 7, 1966, [] advised that STOKELY CARMICHAEL met with ELIJAH MUHAMMAD at MUHAMMAD's residence in Chicago, Illinois, on August 7, 1966. They discussed the concept "black power", but nothing specific was agreed upon. MUHAMMAD predicated any cooperation between he and CARMICHAEL would depend upon CARMICHAEL's becoming a member of the NOI. CARMICHAEL refused to do this and nothing positive came from this meeting.

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III. VARIOUS ACTIVITIES OF STOKELY CARMICHAEL IN THE UNITED STATES

The "New York Post" newspaper on page 40, dated April 5, 1967, contained an article entitled "Carmichael says to 'Hell With the Law'". Under a Birmingham, Alabama, April 5 deadline, this newspaper's article stated that CARMICHAEL said that Negroes are not bound to obey laws legislated by white people.

"To hell with the laws of the United States", he shouted during a talk at Miles College. He called for removal of the school's predominantly white faculty and criticized the students for not taking part in racial demonstrations.

"If you don't wake up man, your brothers in the ghettos are going to wake up with matches", he said.

A student asked what should be done when Negroes are mistreated.

"If a white man tries to walk over you, kill him" CARMICHAEL answered. "One match and you can retaliate. Burn, baby burn."

CARMICHAEL stated that as long as there is no peace for Negroes, SNCC will advocate peace for no one. "We're going to tear the cities up" he said.

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The "New York Post" newspaper, page eight, dated April 11, 1967, under dateline Nashville, Tennessee, April 11, contained information to the effect that the long hot summer came early to this city as the nation's first major Negro riot of the year erupted here. Much of Nashville's white community is placing the blame on STOKELY CARMICHAEL.

CARMICHAEL had been in and out of Nashville for the past two weeks speaking at local colleges. His visits came to a climax Saturday afternoon when he spoke at Vanderbilt University.

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] denounced the riot as "the design of STOKELY CARMICHAEL".

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"It is my conviction STOKELY CARMICHAEL should stay out of here and our community will be better off", [REDACTED] said.

"CARMICHAEL didn't have to be present in town when this (the riots) started. His bully boys were here and they knew what he wanted and my opinion is that he wanted this to happen."

On Friday, CARMICHAEL, in a speech, unsanctioned by Tennessee A & I State University, spoke to almost 4,000 Negroes on the campus.

"You ought to organize and take over the city, but you don't do it because you don't want power. You want love. You want morality. You ought to have a Black Police Commissioner. You even ought to have a Black Mayor. Dig it? That's black power" he said to a wild applause.

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Six hours before the outbreak of the riot on Saturday, CARMICHAEL stated in part to a predominantly white audience at Vanderbilt University:

"What we want is not to abolish the black community, but to abolish the colonial dependency on the white community. I am non-violent right now. If the white man tries to put his arm on me, I am going to break his arm. I am not now and never have been a pacifist. I will not bow my head and let someone beat me."

The April 18, 1967 edition of "The Worker" on pages one and seven and the April 23, 1967 edition of "The Worker" on page one contained information to the effect that the largest demonstration ever held in the United States surged like a river through midtown New York City Saturday afternoon as half a million people converged in New York City to demand an end to the Vietnam War. One of the speakers at this affair was STOKELY CARMICHAEL who denounced the draft. "Hell, No! We won't Go", CARMICHAEL cried out, and the marchers took up the cry.

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"The Worker" is an East coast Communist newspaper.

The following information was furnished by [redacted]
[redacted] of the Grand Rapids Michigan Police Department on May 17, 18, 1967.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL arrived at Kent County airport, Grand Rapids, Michigan, at 3:13 P.M. on May 17, 1967.

CARMICHAEL spoke at the Fountain Street Church in downtown Grand Rapids at 8 P.M., May 17, 1967, before an estimated crowd of 1,200 individuals of whom 60 per cent were Negro and 40 per cent white.

During his talk he mentioned that the only way the white man can stop us is to kill us and maybe we will take them with us. He said that only as a group could the black man succeed and that the black community should consider

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that if a "Hunky" (white man) touches one black man, he has touched the whole black community and an appropriate response should be made. He referred to President JOHNSON as a "buffoon" and criticized Vice-President HUMPHREY.

He commented that JESUS said "where there is injustice, there shall be no peace" and said in effect, if we do not get justice we will burn you down.

He praised the recent "rebellion" in Louisville, Kentucky, and at the Southern University of Texas. CARMICHAEL also indicated that his organization was sending a man to Michigan State University next year in order to organize the black people there.

The "New York Times" on page 31, dated June 14, 1967, contained an article entitled "Carmichael Quits Alabama Jail, Asks Black Power". This article reported that CARMICHAEL was released from jail in Prattville, Alabama, on June 13 and led Negroes in cries of "black power" as they marched to within a block of the white-domed State Capitol.

The march was held to protest what the demonstrators termed white mistreatment of Negroes in Prattville. After CARMICHAEL's arrest there Sunday on disorderly conduct charges, Negroes and police exchanged shots for about three hours.

CARMICHAEL told the crowd:

"Anytime they touch one of us they got to touch all of us. Don't you ever get scared of no hunky (white person) in your life. If a hunky puts his hand on you, you try your best to kill him."

The "New York Post" newspaper on page five, dated June 26, 1967, contained an article entitled "Take Control, Stokely Tells Boston Rally". This article reported that STOKELY CARMICHAEL led a march through the streets of Boston's

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heavily Negro Roxbury section yesterday and told Negroes they must take control of the land and stores in their area.

"If hunky gets his store bombed out every Friday or Saturday", CARMICHAEL said, "he's going to have to sell it to us."

He also told the crowd that the only way to stop "racist aggression" by police "is by armed resistance". He did not elaborate but said, "as long as injustice prevails, there will be no peace."

IV. ACTIVITIES, TRAVEL AND
STATEMENTS MADE BY STOKELY
CARMICHAEL WHILE OUTSIDE THE
UNITED STATES

A. Great Britain

The "New York Post" newspaper on page two, dated July 24, 1967, under an article captioned "Stokely Rapped in Britain" contained information to the effect that there are grounds for prosecuting or deporting American black power advocate STOKELY CARMICHAEL from Great Britain.

An editorial in the "Daily Sketch" newspaper said that CARMICHAEL, in a speaking visit here, was urging violence to secure the rights of colored people in Great Britain. It went on to cite the British Race Relations Act, which says it is an offense to make public speeches likely to stir up racial hatred. Then it quoted CARMICHAEL as saying "If the British did not adopt our principle, I will burn down their homes and factories".

The "Sketch" also quoted CARMICHAEL as saying here that "it is time to let the whites know we are going to take over. If they don't like it, we will stamp them out - using violence and any other means necessary."

"Are these not sufficient grounds for prosecution or deportation?", the newspaper asked.

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The "New York Daily News" page eight, dated July 25, 1967, contained information to the effect that CARMICHAEL left England on July 24, 1967, and flew to Czechoslovakia.

The "New York Times" newspaper on page ten, dated July 28, 1967, contained information to the effect that CARMICHAEL will not be permitted to enter Great Britain again. ROY JENKINS, the Home Secretary, stated he had decided that "his presence here is not conducive to the public good".

B. Cuba

The "New York Daily News" page 18, dated July 27, 1967, contained information to the effect that the United States State Department said on July 26, 1967, it would lift STOKELY CARMICHAEL's passport when the black power leader return from Cuba.

In Santiago, Cuba, in celebration of the July 26th Anniversary of his revolution, CASTRO hailed CARMICHAEL as one of the United States leading civil rights leaders and said the United States faces a "Negro rebellion". CARMICHAEL shared a place of honor with Communists from Latin America and Vietnam.

On November 7, 1967, [] advised that STOKELY CARMICHAEL was in Havana, Cuba, as a delegate to the Latin American Solidarity Organization (LASO) conference held during the summer of 1967. On the afternoon of July 26, 1967, [] observed FIDEL CASTRO, the Cuban leader, introduce CARMICHAEL to approximately one half million people who were gathered in Havana.

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[] further advised that CARMICHAEL, while at a pavilion containing Cuban and French art, on July 30, 1967, in Havana, Cuba, made the following statements:

"We will crush the United States"

"We got a score to even"

NY 100-153751

"They will be sorry they ever came to Africa and bothered us"

"We will replace our people in the rightful place where they belong"

During the appearance at the pavilion of CARMICHAEL, a Cuban shouted "Venceremos", meaning "We will win" to CARMICHAEL. CARMICHAEL responded "We shall overthrow". CARMICHAEL also stated "Revolution" to the Cuban who replied "That's right", "Revolution".

CARMICHAEL stated "Cuba represents to us an inspiration to continue to fight, the United States is where I live, but Africa is our motherland."

"Like Che says, it is not going to be a street fight - it is going to be long and hard."

CARMICHAEL in talking to another Cuban stated, "Give us arms".

The "New York Times" newspaper page ten, dated July 28, 1967, contained an article entitled "Carmichael urges a Vietnam in the United States". Under a Havana, July 27 dateline, it was pointed out that STOKELY CARMICHAEL called on Negroes in Detroit and New York today to wage a conflict like that in Vietnam.

CARMICHAEL reportedly told the Havana evening newspaper "Juventud Rebelde", "We must internationalize our struggle and if we are going to turn into reality the words of Che to create two, three and more Vietnams, we must recognize that Detroit and New York are also Vietnam."

He further stated that he did not care what the United States State Department did to him for visiting Cuba without permission. He called for the coordination of the

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Latin-American revolutionary struggle with the struggle of the American Negroes and stated that the way Premier CASTRO had stood up to the United States was "truly admirable".

He mentioned that Mr. CASTRO's expropriation of American land in Cuba at the beginning of the revolution had "impressed me extraordinarily".

The "New York Times" on page 19, dated August 3, 1967, contained an article entitled "Negroes Ready for War in the United States, Carmichael Says". Under a Havana, August 2 dateline, it was reported that STOKELY CARMICHAEL said today that the American Negro was ready to destroy "Yankee imperialism" with urban guerrilla warfare in the United States.

In a speech before the Organization of Latin American Solidarity, CARMICHAEL called for a revolution to make the whole western hemisphere one country.

CARMICHAEL was reported to have stated at a news conference yesterday that western leaders, including President JOHNSON and Prime Minister WILSON, might be assassinated to revenge the deaths of Negro leaders in the United States race riots.

The "New York Post" newspaper on page 31, dated August 3, 1967, contained a report "SNICK and Castro" by ROWLAND EVANS and ROBERT NOVAK. This article stated that the sudden appearance of STOKELY CARMICHAEL in Havana rubbing elbows with FIDEL CASTRO and the hemisphere's Communist guerrilla leaders is an inevitable development in the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee's long evolution. Covert links between "SNICK" and Havana stretched back to at least 1964. The flamboyant CARMICHAEL is merely the outward manifestation of the "SNICK" - Cuban alliance, not its cause. The principal responsibility for moving "SNICK" to the left must go to JAMES FORMAN and JACK MINNIS.

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FORMAN, believed to be "SNICK's" most important internal force was an associate of Negro terrorist ROBERT WILLIAMS (who fled to Cuba to escape Federal prosecution). u.s.

JACK MINNIS, white intellectual radical, was a leader in Pro-CASTRO activities in the New Orleans area, the article stated. L

By the time of the Mississippi Summer Project in 1964, "SNICK's" admiration for Castroism was apparent. "SNICK" workers were distributing Castroite propaganda and material printed in Cuba by exile ROBERT WILLIAMS advocating guerrilla warfare by American Negroes and describing how Molotov cocktails could be used in American cities. The clearest revelation of "SNICK's" link with Havana did not come until 1966, when "SNICK" leader JULIAN BOND was barred from his seat in the Georgia legislature. His case was ably handled by white lawyer CHARLES MORGAN. Suddenly a new face appeared: VICTOR RABINOWITZ, a New York lawyer, long associated with far left causes and a leader in organizations specializing in defending Communists. RABINOWITZ served as Legal Counsel in the United States for the Castro Government and had intimate contacts in Havana. FORMAN insisted that RABINOWITZ supplant MORGAN as BOND's attorney. MORGAN stepped aside. NY

At about the same time, "SNICK's" treasury - empty since the disaffection of white liberal contributors, suddenly began to fill again. It is believed by many close to "SNICK" that the new money came from Cuba. Although there is no documentary evidence to support this suspicion, it makes good sense. At precisely this time in 1966, CASTRO declared he would support with arms and money any revolutionary movement, Communist or not. In the United States, "SNICK" would qualify for such help.

Nor has there been much doubt lately concerning "SNICK's" revolutionary nature. After this year's Negro riots at Jackson, Mississippi State College, "SNICK" leaders met secretly to discuss plans for more effective "guerrilla warfare" in the future.

A characterization of ROBERT WILLIAMS is contained in the characterization of RAM which is contained in the appendix.

The "National Guardian" on page one, dated August 12, 1967, contained an article entitled "Guns Are The Only Way". According to this article, the struggle for Black Liberation in the United States says STOKELY CARMICHAEL, will be violent. CARMICHAEL, visiting Cuba as an honorary delegate to the Organization of Latin American Solidarity declared on August 2, 1967, that "it becomes more and more clear that we must develop revolutionary urban guerrilla warfare" to win black freedom. He told the delegates from Latin America, the black freedom movement has reached the stage where "we are ready to destroy from the inside as you are ready to destroy from the outside".

At a press conference a day earlier, CARMICHAEL reportedly went further than ever in calling for a revolution in the United States. Most observers at the conference of Latin American revolutionaries and leftists expressed amazed gratitude at his words and concern for the future of the young black leader when he returns to the United States.

"Guns", CARMICHAEL told the press, "are the only way...We are moving into open guerrilla warfare in the United States. We have no alternative but to use aggressive violence in order to own the land, houses and stores inside our own communities and control the politics of those communities."

Asked how "urban guerrillas" could succeed in the United States CARMICHAEL replied, "The fighters of an imperialistic country are cowards. They cannot fight hand to hand. Inside the United States they have to fight hand to hand. They cannot use napalm and bombs. If we are fighting in Detroit alone they could bring the entire Army and squash us there. But if they have 15 rebellions at the same time they are unable to squash us...And if there are 50 Vietnams outside the United States, that equals the death of imperialism."

NY 100-153751

Asked if whites are welcomed in the struggle, he stated "We welcome those who are willing to take guns with us. Everything else is talk. When whites begin to struggle, we will struggle together."

A characterization of the "National Guardian" appears in the appendix attached hereto.

b2

b7D On August 23, 1967, [] made available the August 13, 1967 issue of "Granma" published on a weekly basis in Havana, Cuba. Page two of this issue contained information that CARMICHAEL spoke over Radio Havana, Cuba, and sent a message to "our comrades in the armed struggle against imperialism and racism".

CARMICHAEL reportedly stated in part:

"We of the Black Liberation Movement of the United States want all of you to know wherever you are that we are your comrades. We are no longer going to allow our enemies to make us fight against you as they have done in the past. We will not fight in Vietnam, Santo Domingo or anywhere else in the world. Our fight will be inside the United States. While we are fighting to destroy imperialism from the inside, we know you will be fighting from the outside. We are dedicated with our very lives to destroy imperialism as you have proven time and time again that you have dedicated your lives. We look forward to the day, which will be very soon, when we will overthrow decadent Governments and will start the real revolution of building a society based on humanity rather than a society based on exploitation."

"We are moving toward urban guerrilla warfare within the United States since there is no other way to obtain our homes, our land and our rights. For 400 years the Negro population of the United States has tried to

NY 100-153751

coexist, but to no avail. We have no other alternative but to take up arms in order to obtain liberation."

A reporter asked if United States whites who called themselves liberals had joined the present Negro movement.

CARMICHAEL stated in part:

"Whites who call themselves liberals are enemies of the Negro struggle since in general they are rich people who derive benefits from the system. And we are fighting to destroy that system that oppresses us and brings about tragedy."

"The only whites who may join us are those who are ready to take up arms and fight the regime."

A foreign correspondent asked:

"What do the Negro millionaires think of all of this."

CARMICHAEL laughed and replied, "What could they think? After all, they are millionaires. There are 67 Negro millionaires who want to continue making profits. They too must be destroyed."

Explaining that 40 per cent of the United States front line troops are Negroes he added:

"The United States has taught us to kill. Upon their return, our brothers will put this teaching to good use in the cities."

The masthead of "Granma" reflects that it is self-described as the official organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (CP) of Cuba.

NY 100-153751

The "New York Times" page 17, dated August 18, 1967, contained an article entitled "Carmichael Asks Revolution in the United States". Under a Havana, August 17 dateline, this article reflected that STOKELY CARMICHAEL called upon United States Negroes today to take up arms for "total revolution". He urged a complete overthrow of the "imperialist, capitalist and racist structure of the United States."

The black power advocates' message was broadcast over Havana radio on the 2nd Anniversary of the Watts riot in Los Angeles.

In the radio message, Mr. CARMICHAEL stated:

"Comrades of the third world of Asia, Africa and Latin America, I want you to know that Afro-North Americans within the United States are fighting for their liberation. It is a struggle of total revolution in which we propose to change the imperialist, capitalist and racist structure of the United States which oppresses you outside and us within."

"We have no other alternative but to take up arms and struggle for our total liberation and total revolution in the United States. We were kidnapped and robbed from Africa and therefore we cannot be part of the United States which violates the African continent."

C. Hanoi, North Vietnam

The "New York Daily News" on page seven, dated August 21, 1967, reported that H. RAP BROWN, Chairman of SNCC, announced that CARMICHAEL, who recently visited FIDEL CASTRO in Cuba, had arrived in Hanoi, North Vietnam, "to see for himself the savage aggression" by the United States.

The "New York Times" on page 18, dated September 1, 1967, contained an article entitled "Carmichael Vow To Alter United States Regime Cited In Hanoi". Under a Havana, August 31

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dateline, it was reported that CARMICHAEL told a meeting here that he was a revolutionary who wanted to change the "American regime".

"We are not reformers, we are not proposing reforms", he was quoted as having said. "We do not wish to be a part of a Government of the United States of America or the American regime."

"We are revolutionaries. We want to change the American regime. We will not be satisfied until we have accomplished this task."

D. Algiers

The "New York Times" on page 36, dated September 6, 1967, reported that CARMICHAEL was expected to arrive in Algiers on September 7, 1967, as the official guest of Algeria's ruling political party. CARMICHAEL was then in North Vietnam.

The "National Guardian" newspaper, page eight, dated September 16, 1967, contained information to the effect that STOKELY CARMICHAEL arrived in Algiers after a visit to North Vietnam and Cuba. He was interviewed September 7, 1967, by a reporter for the Algerian Press Service (APS). A portion of that talk made available exclusively to the "National Guardian" in the United States is as follows:

(APS) What does your trip to Hanoi represent?

CARMICHAEL - "It signifies that the African-American will not only refuse to fight in the War in Vietnam but that he will move closer and join hands with his Vietnamese brothers. Unlike other Americans who are concerned about Vietnam, our opposition is that we don't only want to see the United States stop bombing and put an end to its aggressive

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war, we want the Vietnamese to win the war and kick the United States out."

E. Guinea

The "Muhammad Speaks" newspaper published weekly by MUHAMMAD's Mosque Number 2, Chicago, Illinois, Volume 7, Number 13, dated December 15, 1967, contained an article entitled "Stokely Carmichael in Paris Before Beginning Last Leg of Journey Home". This article reflected in part that CARMICHAEL had arrived in Paris on what was rumored to be the last leg of his trip.

In Guinea, the SNCC leader reportedly attended the Congress of the Guinean Democratic Party in Conakry. While there, he talked with African and World editor DOUGLAS ROGERS on the problems of black powerlessness in the white-controlled world.

In part he stated that Black Power was "the vanguard of the real revolutionary movement inside the United States. It means that we will fight to change the structure of the United States, to abolish the capitalist system inside the United States."

He added the warning that "it is in the interest of Africa and the entire third world to support that movement because a change in the structure of the United States will benefit all humanity."

"As I have said, we also fight to abolish capitalism and to bring about a socialist society. It is only under world socialism that humanity can exist in unity. When white people accept this, we shall be at peace with them."

"Muhammad Speaks" is the official newspaper of the NOI.

F. Scandanavian Countries

The "New York Times" page 22, dated November 30, 1967, contained information to the effect that CARMICHAEL arrived in Sweden November 27, 1967, and was scheduled to make a week's tour of Scandanavia before returning to the United States.

Denmark The "National Guardian" page one, dated December 16, 1967, contained information to the effect that STOKELY CARMICHAEL and CARL OGLESBY, former President of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) met in Copenhagen, Denmark, two weeks ago while attending sessions of the Russell International War Crimes Tribunal. CARMICHAEL, OGLESBY, *USA* JOHN RUFFETT, a special correspondent for the "Guardian", VERAA REGNA, correspondent for the Italian monthly *Italy* "Falcemartello", and some mutual friends met for several hours at Copenhagen's Baltic Hotel and engaged in a relaxed, off-the-cuff political dialogue.

In part, the discussion went as follows:

CARMICHAEL - "A simple example would be black power. People won't fight; they won't fight unless you push - so, you push. You create disturbances, you keep pushing the system. You keep drawing up the contradictions until they have to hit back; once your enemy hits back, then your revolution starts. If your enemy does not hit back, then you do not have a revolution. You never will, so you push the enemy and you keep pushing him with different people and you never let him know who all the people are that are pushing so when he hits, he has not only to strike out at the main people who are pushing, he's got to strike out at everybody else, us. That's what's happening in the United States. You create a rebellion. He doesn't know who started it. He blames the strike on the people who are out there talking about it, but in fact he's got to fight everybody in that community. Once he comes down and starts fighting everybody, you've got people on your side automatically."

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PEGNA - "One of the boys who came here as a witness told me that one very useful thing he learned in Vietnam when he was there was some of the guerrilla methods. And in his view, these methods can be applied in the United States cities. What do you think about this?"

CARMICHAEL .. "I think that if there is going to be a real revolution in the United States, there's got to be a two-pronged attack. In an industrialized country, the heart of production is in the cities, not in agriculture. So to bring the economy to a halt, you've got to disrupt that system. And that first stage is the fight of people against property. That's what you have in rebellions: people against property, rather than people against people, because you have to disrupt that economy. And while this is being done on the inside, if you have people on the outside also disrupting that economy, then that gives you breathing space to begin to talk people verses people war."

"The main work is to try and crush the forces of production in the cities. The United States has felt it from the rebellions...They've had to cut aid all around the world."

A characterization of the
SDS appears in the appendix.

G. Paris, France

The "New York Times" page two, dated December 7, 1967, contained information to the effect that STOKELY CARMICHAEL had been allowed to enter France on his arrival from Stockholm. Originally, he was halted as an undesirable at the custom's gate.

CARMICHAEL shouted to a cheering, stamping audience of more than 3,000 people at a six hour rally on December 6, 1967, "We don't want peace in Vietnam! We want the Vietnamese to defeat the United States of America."

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"Our aim is to disrupt the United States of America and we think our blood is not too high a price to pay", he said referring to his followers in the black power movement in America.

A portion of the CBS evening news with WALTER CRONKITE, Thursday, December 7, 1967, 7 P.M., is as follows:

REASONER - "For three months STOKELY CARMICHAEL has been traveling the world, preaching a violently anti-American sermon to audiences from Havana to Hanoi. Last night, he spoke and held a news conference at an anti-Vietnam rally in Paris."

CARMICHAEL - "This evening, and we want to, finally then we make our position crystal clear. We say in a voice loud and strong: We do not want peace in Vietnam, we want the Vietnamese to defeat the United States of America and to support our feeling we say that our blood is not too high a price to pay for our comrade in arms in Vietnam. We will support them in any way we can. Our movement is to move to disrupt the structure of the United States and our blood will pay for that, and we think it is not too high a price to pay for humanity. Thank you."

Reporter - "Mr. CARMICHAEL, you said you would shed your blood for the Vietnam cause. Now how and where and when do you intend to do this?"

CARMICHAEL - "In the United States of America. The war in Vietnam must be brought to the United States of America. If HO CHI MINH cannot sleep, LYNDON JOHNSON shall not sleep. The babies in Vietnam are in threat of their lives, and the people in the United States must be in threat of their lives. If fire is raging in Vietnam, then fire must rage in the United States. And as long as the United States oppresses black people inside the United States and oppresses the Vietnamese

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in Vietnam, we have a common bond against a common enemy and we will fight."

REASONER - "STOKELY CARMICHAEL speaking in Paris last night."

V. SUBJECT'S RETURN TO
THE UNITED STATES

The "New York Times" page 14, December 12, 1967, contained information to the effect that CARMICHAEL returned to the United States after a five month tour of four continents. He was met at John F. Kennedy Airport by scores of his followers and by United States Marshals who took away his passport for traveling in Communist countries without authorization. CARMICHAEL reportedly visited Tanzania, Egypt, Algiers, Sweden, Spain, Cuba, England, France, North Vietnam, Guinea and Czechoslovakia.

The "New York Post" newspaper page 26, January 9, 1968, contained an article entitled "Carmichael Making his D.C. Entrance". This article reflected in part that CARMICHAEL had called a meeting for tonight of more than two dozen civil rights leaders. Asked how long he would be in Washington, D.C., CARMICHAEL smiled and stated, "I'm here man, I'm here".

The meeting was billed as a "unity" affair designed to bring closer cooperation among civil rights leaders and groups.

VI. MISCELLANEOUS

On August 4, 1967, the "San Juan Star", an English language daily newspaper published in San Juan, Puerto Rico, carried an article captioned "Mari Bras, Carmichael Sign Pact".

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"The American Negroes and the Puerto Ricans have a combative alliance against oppression", JUAN MARI BRAS, President of the Puerto Rican Independence Movement said. "We are victims of the same exploitive structure in the United States."

"The pact", BRAS stated, "will be developed during the coming months to carry on the struggle for liberation of both peoples."

"Mari Bras also said the Puerto Rican Independence Movement identifies itself with action looking toward the liberation of the continent (western hemisphere)."

JUAN MARI BRAS is Secretary
General of the Movimiento
Pro-Independencia de Puerto
Rico (Puerto Rican Independence
Movement) (MPIPR).

A characterization of the
MPIPR is contained in the
appendix.

Other informants who are familiar with certain phases of activity in the racial field advised after viewing a photograph of the subject in January, 1967, that they could furnish no additional pertinent information concerning him.

b7C

APPENDIX

1.

MOVIMIENTO PRO-INDEPENDENCIA
DE PUERTO RICO (PUERTO RICAN
INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT) (MPIPR)

The MPIPR was organized in November, 1959, at Ponce, Puerto Rico, to work for the independence of Puerto Rico. It has an estimated membership of between 1,000 and 1,300 people with missions throughout the island of Puerto Rico, and in New York, New York; Chicago, Illinois; and Buffalo, New York.

At the time the MPIPR was organized it was indicated that it did not advocate violence but would accept members who did. JUAN MARI BRAS, the founder and dominant leaders of this organization, in a speech during March, 1964, threatened violence comparable to that in Algeria if Puerto Rico became a state within the United States. A source reported in 1966 that a leader of the MPIPR indicated that "the Revolution would soon begin" and another source advised that another official of this organization had attempted to obtain a number of automatic pistols.

Articles praising FIDEL CASTRO and the Cuban Government regularly appear in MPIPR publications. In 1961, the MPIPR adopted a resolution expressing 100 per cent approval of and solidarity with the Cuban revolution. It sent a delegation to the Tri-Continental Conference of African, Asian, and Latin American People, held in Havana, Cuba, during January, 1966, and it maintains a permanent delegate to the Secretariat located in Havana.

The press of Puerto Rico has reported that the MPIPR has held numerous demonstrations protesting compulsory military service for Puerto Ricans and United States policy in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic.

In December, 1966, the Governor of Puerto Rico signed into law a bill calling for a plebiscite on July 23, 1967, to determine the future political status of Puerto Rico. The press reported that this plebiscite has been denounced vociferously by the MPIPR as "an act of Yankee imperialism to maintain the colonial status of Puerto Rico". JUAN MARI BRAS stated that the MPIPR had asked the Cuban Government for "militant solidarity with our struggle, in all international forums to which Red Cuba has access".

APPENDIX

1.

"NATIONAL GUARDIAN"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., contains the following concerning the "National Guardian":

"National Guardian

- "1. 'established by the American Labor Party in 1947 as a "progressive" weekly * * *. Although it denies having any affiliation with the Communist Party, it has manifested itself from the beginning as a virtual official propaganda arm of Soviet Russia.' (Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, Trial by Treason: The National Committee to Secure Justice for the ROSENBERGS and MORTON SOBELL, August 25, 1956, p. 12.)"

NATION OF ISLAM, FORMERLY REFERRED
TO AS THE MUSLIM CULT OF ISLAM, ALSO
KNOWN AS MUHAMMAD'S TEMPLES OF ISLAM

In January, 1967, a source advised ELIJAH MUHAMMAD he described his organization on a nationwide basis as the "Nation of Islam" and "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

On May 5, 1967, a second source advised ELIJAH MUHAMMAD is the national leader of the Nation of Islam (NOI); Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 2, 5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, is the national headquarters of the NOI; and in mid-1960 MUHAMMAD and other NOI officials, when referring to MUHAMMAD's organization on a nationwide basis, commenced using either "Mosque" or "Temple" when mentioning one of "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

The NOI is an all-Negro organization which was originally organized in 1930 in Detroit, Michigan. MUHAMMAD claims to have been selected by ALLAH, the Supreme Being, to lead the so-called Negro race out of slavery in the wilderness of North America by establishing an independent black nation in the United States. Members following MUHAMMAD's teachings and his interpretation of the "Koran" believe there is no such thing as a Negro; the so-called Negroes are slaves of the white race, referred to as "white devils", in the United States; and the white race, because of its exploitation of the so-called Negroes, must and will be destroyed in the approaching "War of Armageddon."

In the past, officials and members of the NOI, including MUHAMMAD, have refused to register under the provisions of the Selective Service Acts and have declared that members owe no allegiance to the United States.

On May 5, 1958, the first source advised MUHAMMAD had, upon advice of legal counsel, tempered his personal statements and instructions to his ministers concerning the principles of his organization in order to avoid possible prosecution by the United States Government; however, he did not indicate any fundamental changes in the teachings of his organization.

APPENDIX2NATION OF ISLAM (CONTINUED)

On May 2, 1966, a third source advised MUHAMMAD had, in early July, 1958, decided to de-emphasize the religious aspects of the teachings of Islam and to stress the economic benefits to be derived by those Negroes who joined the NOI. This policy change, according to MUHAMMAD, would help him acquire additional followers and create more interest in his programs.

APPENDIX

1.

REVOLUTIONARY ACTION MOVEMENT

On November 3, 1964, a source made available a document entitled, "The Revolutionary Action Movement Manifesto", the document having been obtained by the source from an individual known to be a member of the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM).

This document stated, in part, that RAM was officially organized in the Winter of 1963 by Afro-Americans who support the revolutionary objectives of ROBERT F. WILLIAMS, then residing in Cuba, and his concept of organized violence to achieve the liberation of the Afro-American people in the United States. This Manifesto disclosed that RAM had oriented its program to one of education and political revolution and the organization of a "black" political party with revolutionary objectives, having recognized the need for a "black revolution" that could and would seize power. RAM philosophy is described in this document as one of revolutionary nationalism, that is, one involving the struggles of the non-white races of the world against exploitation and enslavement by the white capitalist and imperialist nations.

Regarding WILLIAMS, it should be noted that on August 28, 1961, a Federal warrant was issued at Charlotte, North Carolina, charging him with Unlawful Flight to Avoid Prosecution for the crime of kidnaping. Subsequent to the issuance of this warrant, WILLIAMS fled the United States to Cuba, where he published a monthly newsletter entitled, "The Crusader" from Havana. As of December, 1966, WILLIAMS was residing in Peking, China.

This source, in September, 1964, advised RAM is dedicated to the overthrow of the capitalist system in the United States, by violence, if necessary, and to its replacement by a socialistic system oriented toward the Chinese Communist interpretation of Marxism-Leninism. RAM is entirely non-white in membership, clandestine in nature, and owes its primary allegiance to the "Bandung World", that is, the non-white races of the world rather than to any national entity, as such.

NY 100-153751

APPENDIX

2.

REVOLUTIONARY ACTION MOVEMENT (CONTINUED)

On November 16, 1964, a second source advised he learned recently from a RAM member that the organization began in Detroit, Michigan, [REDACTED]

b7C

[REDACTED]

On May 12, 1967, a third source advised that the RAM still remains active; however, there is no formal headquarters, as such, for the RAM. The source advised that

b7C

[REDACTED]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-153751

APPENDIX

1.

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anti-Communist proviso was removed from the SDS Constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some Communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
New York, New York
February 1, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No. Bufile 100-446080
NYfile 100-153751

Title Stokely Carmichael

Character Internal Security - Miscellaneous
Sedition
Reference is made to report of Special
Agent [redacted] dated
b7C and captioned as above at New
York.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.

b2 [redacted] were in a position to furnish
reliable information.

b7D

37

F B I

Date: 1/29/68

Transmit the following in _____

PLAINTEXT

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE

URGENT

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445080)
 ATTN: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

b7C

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC; SEDITION

RE WFOTEL JANUARY TWENTY EIGHT INSTANT

CARMICHAEL REMAINED AT RESIDENCE DURING MORNING AND SPENT
 REMAINDER OF DAY AT SNCC HEADQUARTERS, ONE TWO THREE FOUR U ST.
 N.W., WDC.. LATE EVENING HE WAS OBSERVED RIDING IN PLYMOUTH
 VALIANT, WHICH DELIVERED HIM TO FLORIDA AVE. AND TWELFTH PLACE
 N.W., WDC, WHERE SUBJECT WAS LAST OBSERVED WALKING SOUTH ON
 TWELFTH PLACE.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

AIRMAIL COPY TO ATLANTA.

b7C

REC-68

100-446080-1043

FEB 1 1968

3-Bureau
 1-Atlanta (RM)(AM)
 1-WFO
 RCC:rmj
 (5)

XEROX
 JAN 1968

b7C

Approved: _____

FEB 7 1968

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

F B I

Date: 1/12/68

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTELREGISTERED MAIL

(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
 (Attn: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION)

b7C

FROM: SAC, BOSTON (157-437)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
 IS-MISCELLANEOUS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

Re New York airtel to Bureau, 12/29/67,
 enclosing photo of subject and two UNSUBS taken in NYC
 on 12/22/67.

Instant photo was displayed to various police
 and intelligence agencies and logical racial sources.
 The UNSUB passing through the gate could not be identified.
 The UNSUB [redacted] has been tentatively
 identified as [redacted]

b7C

On 1/9/68, [redacted] Intelligence
 Division, Boston, Mass. PD. advised that he believed
 UNSUB [redacted]

3-Bureau (Encs. 1) (RM)
 2-Atlanta (Enc.) (RM)
 1-Kansas City (Enc.) (Info) (RM)
 2-New York (100-153751) (Enc.) (RM)
 2-Boston [redacted]
 JFN:po'b
 (10)

ENCLOSURE
 ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

REC-13

22 JAN 15 1968

b7C

RACIAL
 INT. SEC.

Approved: [Signature]

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

57 FEB 9 1968

BS 157-437

b7C [] stated he has only seen [] and cannot positively identify UNSUB as [] but believes there is a very strong probability it is him.

On 1/9/68, [] stated he believes UNSUB []

b2 [] who was connected in some way with the SNCC. He does not
b7C recall the occasion of the meeting. When shown a picture of
b7D [] stated [] is the person he was thinking of. He feels sure UNSUB is []

Boston has never had occasion to investigate []
Information concerning him is found in Bosfile []
[] captioned, []
[]

She is believed to be on the SI of the New York Division.

b7C By letter dated 12/14/67, under caption of []
[] advised that the Kansas City PD had identified [] on the street in Kansas City in 12/67, []
[]

[] is described as follows:

Name:
Race:
Sex:
Born:
Height:
Weight:
Eyes:
Hair:

b7C

BS 157-437

LEAD

BOSTON

AT WORCESTER, MASS. Will display photo of b7C
CARMICHAEL and UNSUBS taken, 12/22/67, in NYC to any
reliable sources who are acquainted with [REDACTED]
in efforts to identify UNSUBS.

100-446080-1044

ENCLOSURE TO BUREAU
FROM BOSTON

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS-MISCELLANEOUS

1 photo of



Bufile

Bosfile

Bosairtel, 1/12/68

b7C

on this envelope

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

~~HEREIN~~ IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF
FBI

Date: 1/24/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

b7C

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (100-6812) (P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - M;
SEDITIONRe Atlanta reports on subject dated 11/16/67 and
1/22/68.

After CARMICHAEL's arrival in New York City in December, 1967, he traveled to Washington, D.C. Information concerning subject as reported in WFO LHM dated 1/10/68 reflects that when CARMICHAEL arrived in that City on 1/4/68 he established residence at Apartment 4, 2200 12th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. Fisur subsequently conducted in Washington reflects that CARMICHAEL uses this address as his residence.

Reference is also made to WFO LHM dated 1/19/68, captioned "BLACK UNITED FRONT" indicating that the subject is attempting to organize such an organization which in all probability will be based in Washington, it being noted that CARMICHAEL stated that by the fifteenth of January, 1968, every organization represented at a January 9, 1968, meeting that wanted to be included in the "Black United Front" must have mailed a prospectus and program about

- ③ - Bureau (RM)
2 - WFO (100-43503) (RM)
1 - New York (Info) (100-153751) (RM)
2 - Atlanta
EUC:met
(8)

REC-73

100-446080-1045

Bishop

EX 106

JAN 26 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.

51 FEB 9 1968

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

AT 100-6812

what it is doing to SNCC, 1234 U Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

Since CARMICHAEL's arrival in Washington, D.C., on 1/4/68, he has traveled to New York City on one occasion only, and that was for less than one day's duration.

Subject has not visited Atlanta since his return to the United States from his overseas trip, although an apparently important staff meeting of the Atlanta SNCC Office was held over the weekend of 1/20-22/68, obviously for the purpose of discussing the financial dilemma that SNCC finds itself in. It is believed if CARMICHAEL intended to continue to use Atlanta as his base of operations he would have shown an interest in the aforementioned meeting by having attended.

Inasmuch as CARMICHAEL has stated that he desires to bring together a coalition of the Negro organizations, most of which are based in or represented in the Washington area, it is felt that he will spend most of his time in that area.

In view of the above, the Bureau is requested to consider changing office of origin in this case from Atlanta to WFO.

2/1/68

Airtel

1 -
1 -
1 - Guidance Folder
1 -

b7C

To: SAC, Columbia (100-179)

From: Director, FBI ^{REC-73} 100-446080-1046

STOKELY CARMICHAEL EX 106
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION

Reurairtel dated 1/19/68.

W In order for the Bureau to fulfill its responsibility to keep interested agencies advised of current developments in the racial picture, it is necessary that information from the field be submitted in form suitable for dissemination. The information in referenced airtel should have been set forth in a letterhead memorandum. It is not necessary to wait for verification of information when your source had definite information that a meeting was scheduled. The conference alone is sufficient cause to submit a letterhead memorandum.

The caption, "Stokely Carmichael" is not pertinent in this case inasmuch as the entire communication relates to a conference known as "Citizens' Conference on Education in South Carolina." There was only one reference to the possibility of Stokely Carmichael attending the conference.

Submit a letterhead memorandum concerning the conference by return airtel. The letterhead memorandum should have a caption descriptive of the activity with a "Racial Matters" character.

CAP: bff
(7)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

MAILED 19
FEB 1 1968
COMM - FBI

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

MAIL ROOM ☒

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Airtel to SAC, Columbia
RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

NOTE:

By airtel dated 1/19/68 Columbia advised that a "Citizens' Conference on Education in South Carolina" was scheduled to be held at Frogmore, South Carolina, on 1/26-28/68 to discuss a wide range of issues involving the quality of education in several South Carolina counties. A source reported that Stokely Carmichael would attend the conference.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF FBI

Date: 1/19/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

b7C

FROM: SAC, COLUMBIA (100-179) - P-

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITIONS

Re Columbia airtels to Bureau, 1/2/68 and
1/17/68.

[redacted] Charleston Evening Post,
Charleston, S. C., on 1/19/68, made available a letter he
received on the letterhead of the American Friends Service
Committee, Inc. (AFSC), Southeastern Regional Office, 1818
South Main Street, High Point, N. C., dated 12/15/67. This
letter [redacted] S. C.
Community Relations Program, AFSC, Suite 704, Columbia Building,
Columbia, S. C. The letter was an invitation to attend a
meeting of Negro community leaders from the South Carolina
counties of Beaufort, Berkeley, Charleston, Colleton, and
Dorchester at the Penn Community Center in Frogmore, S. C.,
on the weekend of January 26-28, 1968.

- 3-Bureau (RM)
- 2-Atlanta (RM)
- 1-Charlotte (RM) (Info)
- 2-New York (100-153751) (RM)
- 2-Savannah (RM)
- 1-Columbia (100-179)

REC-73 100-446080-1046

EX 106

2-5
3 JAN 23 1968

(1-100-1196) (Charleston County Racial Situation)

- (1-(Beaufort County)
- (1-(Colleton County)
- (1-(Berkeley County)
- (1-(Dorchester County)

b7C

TJN:pe1
(20)

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

REC-73
Racial Sec

Airtel SAC Columbia
CAP: 1/21/68
2/1/68

I-DIV
3:20 PM 1/26/68
C. C. Bishop

CO 100-179

The letter said parents, teachers, and students would participate in the conference and that although the AFSC is providing some assistance to those sponsoring the conference, the actual planning of the program and its execution is the role of the community leaders themselves.

The letter said in part that the conference would not involve the traditional Negro leaders who allegedly are interested in a wide range of issues but would involve only those local citizens who have a great concern about the quality of education in their communities. The primary concern of the conference which is to be known as "Citizens' Conference on Education in South Carolina" is the quality of the education Negro children are receiving in both segregated and desegregated schools, strategy for more desegregation and also likely to be discussed would be the Negro communities' despair, bitterness, hope, anguish, and frustration, regarding the education of Negro children. At the conference there will be invited guests "Observers" who are the kind of people who invariably dominate conferences but at this conference these "Observers" will clearly understand that it is not appropriate for them to make speeches, to dominate discussion groups, or to try to assert their personal philosophy on the group. It will be presentable for these "Observers" to talk to the participants at coffee breaks, meals, in the evening, and they might be asked to share their experience, knowledge, and observation in discussion groups or with the conference as a whole.

The letter further stated that this invitation was being extended to a select group of journalists.

b7C

[redacted] received a letter dated 1/12/68 from [redacted] which was directed to "Invited News Media to the 'Citizens' Conference on Education in South Carolina" in which the invitation was withdrawn. The reason for the withdrawal was a concern that the presence of some representatives of the news media would unduly inhibit the conference participants from giving their frank and honest views on matters of importance to the conference.

CO 100-179

The names of ten individuals who were on the conference steering committee was furnished to [REDACTED]

b7C

b7C

b7D

New York and Atlanta are requested to attempt to verify the above information concerning CARMICHAEL'S attendance at this conference.

Copies being furnished the Savannah Division as people going to Frogmore, S. C. usually fly into the Savannah area.

Copy furnished for information of Charlotte as the Southeastern Regional Office of AFSC, Inc., is in High Point, N. C.

Letterhead memorandum is not being prepared at this time, but will be prepared when efforts to substantiate above have been made.

F B I

Date: 1/23/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - M
SEDITION

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

ReWFOairtel 1/22/68.

Enclosed herewith to the Bureau are 11 copies of an LHM setting forth a verbatim transcription of comments of STOKELY CARMICHAEL on a radio program broadcasted on Station WOL, Washington, D.C., on 1/21/68. Also one reel of tape containing the comments of CARMICHAEL is enclosed for the Bureau. Two copies of the LHM are furnished Atlanta.

The tape was prepared by SE [redacted] of b7C
FO, from the actual radio broadcast.

b7C

EX 106

REC 16

15 FEB 1 1968

Bureau (Encs. 12) RAMP
Atlanta (100-6812) (Encs. 2) (RM)
WFO

C. C. Bishop

AGENCY: ACSI, FBI, OSI, SEC. SERV.
DEPT: FBI, SEC. SERV.
HOW FORM: R/S
DATE FORM: 1/26/68
BY: [redacted]

b2

Sent

M Per

Agent in Charge



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Washington, D.C. 20535

January 23, 1968

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION

Radio Station WOL, Washington, D.C., on a special recorded program, moderated by WOL News Director, Ron Pinkney, had as its guests Stokely Carmichael and Rufus "Catfish" Mayfield, former Chairman of PRIDE, Inc. The program was reportedly taped on January 17, 1968, at WOL Studios, 2000 P Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., and was broadcasted from 7:30 p.m. to 8:00 p.m. on January 21, 1968.

Also on the program were Robert Maynard of the "Washington Post", John Lewis of Afro-American and Bernard Garnett of Johnson's Publications, which includes "Jet" and "Ebony", magazines, who acted as interviewing panel of Carmichael and Mayfield.

The following is a verbatim transcript of the comments of Carmichael and response to questions by the interviewing panel:

OPENING BY PINKNEY - "Mr. Carmichael is making his second trip to WOL in about a week; he appeared here last Sunday on WOL's Speak-Up. Mr. Carmichael recently returned from what has been called, "unauthorized trips to Cuba, Hanoi, Sweden and France" and here in Washington, he has started an organization called the Black United Front. He is former chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and graduate of Howard University."

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DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

COPIES DESTROYED

343 FEB 26 1971

100-446080-1047
ENCLOSURE

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

MR. MAYNARD (Q) - "Mr. Carmichael, would you be willing to outline some of your plans for the Black United Front and SNCC here in Washington?"

CARMICHAEL (A) - "No sir, I am unable to do that at this time."

MR. LEWIS (Q) - "Mr. Carmichael, when I saw you last winter, you indicated that you were going to be organizing in one of the major cities in this country; you came here recently to begin organizing in Washington. What made you pick Washington as a target city?"

CARMICHAEL (A) - "Well, there are a number of reasons; seems to me that Washington represents the clearest contradictions of black and white in this country, maybe because black people are a majority in this city and all of the institutions of power in the city are run by whites, controlled by whites and for benefits of whites. Washington is the nation's capitol; it seems to me it must begin to represent clearly in the minds of people around the world, precisely what this country is about, its relationship to the internal colonies, black people inside the country, so that we can hook up and develop strength with our brothers in the third world. So that they will not be brainwashed by the United States, for example, Humphrey just took a trip to Africa, his job was once again to fool our brothers in Africa and if in Washington, D.C. the contradictions are hiding my brothers in Africa will see through all that nonsense that the Honky's are trying to put down."

GARNETT (Q) - "Yes, is Washington then supposed to be a springboard for maybe moving out in other cities eventually with similar Black United Fronts?"

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

CARMICHAEL (A) - "No I think there will be a coordinated effort around the country today because black people recognize more and more the necessity for unity if we are going to survive in what Rev. King calls Babalon."

QUESTIONER

UNKNOWN (Q) - "Speaking of Rev. King, Mr. C., you might have noticed recently in the press the stories about his camp-in in Washington in the first week of April. Do you see a role in your organizing effort coinciding with his?"

CARMICHAEL (A) - "Dr. King is a black man, he is flesh of my flesh and blood of my blood. Dr. King is working for the betterment of the black man and anybody who is working for the betterment of the black man, our organization is more than happy to work with.....we have worked with brother King in the past and we will continue to work with brother King because we are all trying to find the solution for our people to live with a decent life as human beings."

QUESTIONER

UNKNOWN (Q) - "Mr. C. as organizer of the Black United Front here in Washington, D.C., so far nothing has come up of your meeting to the public newspapers, reporters, radio and T.V. reporters have tried in vain to just find out what you are doing. Why is it that you don't want to display what is happening in these meetings to the public that you feel that the average citizen would like to know just what is going on, especially the black citizens in the city?"

CARMICHAEL (A) - "Mr. Pinkney it is a fact that the average black man needs to know precisely what is going on in the city as with the Black United Front, unfortunately for the black man, the way that

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

CARMICHAEL

CONTINUED (A) - "we communicate is controlled by the white man and he never represents truly what we are trying to do, every movement that we start the Honkies have always disrupted it. Let us go back for example, when Black Power first came up; when Black Power first came up, every Honkey and his momma was interpreting it telling people what it meant so that they could divide black people and keep them apart. Now fortunately for us the Black Power Slogan was strong enough to go over that, so that the Honky has to develop new tricks, but everytime we say something he takes it and tries to keep us divided. In an attempt to stop that division, we must find new ways of communicating directly to our people what we are doing. In order to do that, we must isolate the Honky on what is going on, and since they control the press media, it means they have to be isolated. While we develop some way of getting it to our people."

MR. GARNETT - "Mr. Carmichael, I go back....."

CARMICHAEL - "We are brothers, just call me Stokely, O.K.?"

MR. GARNETT (Q) - "Oh, O.K. I would like to go back, something you said a few minutes ago, about the reason about the present time that nothing the Black United Front does behind closed doors is being told to the press, you mentioned that you don't want to take the chance of giving the white press something to distort, how does this relate to the black press, which is black controlled? Do you feel that some kind of distortion on this interpretation?"

CARMICHAEL (A) - "The only black control press we have in Washington is the Afro."

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

MR. GARNETT - "We have a () of another one."

CARMICHAEL - "Which is the Bureau in other words. . . .? Johnson's Publications."

MR. GARNETT (Q) - "Yes, these are two black controlled. . . . What qualms would you have, say talking to the.... even just to the Afro?"

CARMICHAEL (A) - "If you can begin to isolate the white press and keep everybody isolated for a while, then you can move in with the solid black press, you can begin to build that black press inside our community where it becomes a real voice for the community. That is a fact that the only black controlled paper in this country that focuses through the masses of black people in this country is Mohammed Speaks. Whether one agrees or disagrees with the ideology is irrelevant it is the only newspaper where the masses of black people can read the type of ideology where they are not afraid to say what they have to say to the black man in this country. And until we can build up other press agencies which are willing to do precisely that. So even though there are some black controlled agencies, they do not speak to the black man the way that they have to speak to the black man, they know it, I know it and we all know it. And we have to build up a black press which are going to speak to the needs of the black people and tell it like it is."

MR. PINKNEY (Q) - "Do you think that these publisher and editors could be persuaded in one way or another by you or the reporter to bring it down here to the..?"

CARMICHAEL (A) - "No, they have to be persuaded by the masses of our people and they will only be persuaded by the

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

CARMICHAEL

CONTINUED (A) - "by the masses of our people when the masses of our people begin to look for the stuff that should be said, when that stuff is not there, they stop buying those papers."

MR. PINKNEY (Q) - "Stokely, I would like to follow up that question about the black press. When you held the initial meeting of the Black United Front, as I understand it, you made arrangements to sell pictures to a daily paper at a high price. It was not that daily paper but another daily paper that broke the original story about the Black United Front, would serve to give the Black Unity meeting a kind of publicity that I understand that you do not want it to have. Why did you exclude the black media from the Black Unity meeting and then turn around and sell photographs to the white press?"

CARMICHAEL (A) - "We are trying to do two things. We are trying number one to begin to control all of the press that comes out, all of the news media that comes out of our community. We are incapable of doing that at this point, for example, the leaks in those stories that were not really leaks you see because most of all of the leaks were incorrect, but that there were reporters who do what you call speculative reporting, what they think is going on they write down so that they can have something to say but they.... no, no, there were no leaks because all of the information was incorrect, for example, the Post ran a story about the fifteen member of the (steering)??? committee and a lot of them were incorrect completely incorrect, a lot of people who they said were on that fifteen were not even on the steering committee and they left out a lot of other people, people who are unknown to the public, but people who were powerful

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

CARMICHAEL

CONTINUED (A) - "within their own section of the Washington area. So that those stories were incorrect. Now what we want to do is to begin to play those press against the other. I mean that is what the Honkies have been doing to us and now we are just going to organize and do the same thing, play them against each other. We want again to exclude the black press at this time until we begin to build up a strong communication where we can also begin to dictate to the black press what should be said. I mean that it is a fact that in many cases the black press takes its stories from AP and UPI about the black community and AP and UPI are Honky controlled, Honky written and here is a black press who comes back and takes these stories as they appear on the Honkies press and put it in the black press without giving an interpretation to the black community of what all those things are about, and when we begin to build stronger and stronger we can begin to force those black newspapers to come around because they are being held down too. We have more control over the black press than we do over the white press."

MR. PINKNEY (Q) - "Of course, but what is the reason for denying black papers entrance into the meeting and then selling photographs to a white paper at a price a black paper could not afford?"

CARMICHAEL (A) - "We would sell them to black papers, too. We contacted many of the publications in here and a lot of them said that they were not interested."

QUESTIONER

UNKNOWN (Q) - "I was at the beginning of the meeting when you made a short talk on you impressions of North Vietnam. I talked with some of the photographers there, I asked for photographs for my paper. Later I was told that these photographs were sold, were given at that point to a daily paper. A

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

UNKNOWN

CONTINUED (Q) - "few days ago the same photographer as I understand it, that sold the photographs to the daily paper through of SNCC and the Black United Front called up and offered the same photographs, six days later, to the paper that I represent."

CARMICHAEL (A) - "Now that was a misunderstanding. He was not offering the same photographs, he was offering other photographs. However, if we made an error, I apologize to you brother John, and I promise you that from now on the black press will have priority on these pictures."

MR. PINKNEY (Q) - "Stokely, how do you feel, do you feel that you have a task ahead of you? You are trying to bring together Black Unity in the city, do you feel that you have a task ahead of you swaying the moderates to your side or having the moderates go to the militants side? How do you feel about this?"

CARMICHAEL (A) - "My feeling is that we are a people wherever we are. We are a beautiful black people, now some of us are more black than others and there are a lot of us who are brainwashed, but all of us were brainwashed at one time, so that some of us who are no longer brainwashed must begin to help those who are brainwashed by the white man. Now they are brainwashed by the white man so our real enemy is not our brother, but the white man who has brainwashed our brother. So we are going to have to take time with our brothers who are what the white man call moderate and begin to bring them into our community so that they can begin to see and work for the benefit of our community and not for the white man. That means that it will be time but I think that slowly and slowly, our people will come along and begin to see the light."

: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

QUESTIONER

UNKNOWN (Q) - "Can you give us any idea why you are trying to get some sort of overhall organization that involves both the moderate and militants. I understand that this is caused a fair amount of difficulty for some of the so-called moderates and allegedly there are some (strains?) within the coalition. First of all, do you concede that there are such (strains?) and secondly, can you tell us something of the philosophy that went into the establishing of such a coalition here?"

CARMICHAEL (A) - "There are no (strings?) at all. It is important to note that where the black people get together, white people begin to condemn that unity. Yet white people get together, George Wallace can have a meeting with Lyndon Johnson; James O. Eastland can have a meeting and set up some sort of coalition with any other "Honkey" and nobody in the black community ever questions their right to come together and sit with whom they will please. Johnson has a meeting with Grymoko (ph), nobody in the black community says you can have a meeting with Grymoko, because he is a Communist, but they have a meeting, they set for hours, they talk about setting up a direct flight from Moscow to New York. Black people can't say anything about it. Why in the hell does the Honkey think he has the right to say something wabout when we get together. Who is he? What right does he have to condemn us if we get together? All of the people in this community are the flesh and my flesh and blood and my blood. And we have to live in this community. This is ours. When that white man comes into this community he doesn't see a moderate, a revolutionary, a radical, a conservative, he sees a black man! That's all he sees! And because of that, we have to come together. That is the philosophy for the Black

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

CARMICHAEL

CONTINUED (A) - "United Front, unless we unite we are not going to be saved. They are meeting 100 police chiefs - are meeting in March in this country. I have never known a black man to condemn the fact that 100 police chiefs are going to meet together and decide how to wipe our race. Yet when we meet together, they scream for holy hell that we should meet together. The only reason they scream is because they do not want Black Unity. Because they recognize that Black Unity is going to mess up their entire system and allow black people to live like human beings."

QUESTIONER

UNKNOWN (Q) - "Do you plan to go in with Dr. Martin Luther King and his civil disobedience plan on the first of April? The first week in April?"

CARMICHAEL (A) - "As we said before, Dr. King is flesh of our flesh and blood and blood. We have been talking and will continue to talk with Dr. King and we will work out all of these things when we get to that bridge we will cross it. I will say this we will never publicly attack or publicly oppose Dr. King. Never."

QUESTIONER

UNKNOWN (Q) - "Well, Stokely, some of my observations, I have noticed that one reason that people, I am not talking about our people now, still don't go with these black power or anything, or any of its connotations, is that they sort of see it as some hairy animal. I would like to ask you on thisdo you think that such things as your being seen going to church in public a few days ago here, that if more of this was seen that people would not see black power as some black immoral hippy movement or whatever they...? What do you think you could do about the black power image, in other words?"

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

CARMICHAEL (A) - "I don't think that people could see black power in terms of my image because black power is not my image. Black power is the image of 15 million black people in this country. My image is totallyy irrelevant to the image of black power and so that is what the white person done. The Honkeys have tried to make black power my image, but it can not be done. I mean black power to me is a (wreath of Franklin?), Black Power is () of impressions () moving on up. Black Power is James Brown dancing on stage. Black power is Jimmy Brown running a hundred yards. Black power is Mohammed Ali in the ring. Black power is a beautiful black scientist developing things, like Dr. Reed. I mean black power is all the assemblance of the creativity and the skills that black people have put together to make us live like human beings. I...the press doesn't know when I go to church, it is none of their business if I go to church. That's totallyy irrelevant to the image of black power. Everywhere I organize I go to church because black people are in the churches. It happens to be the one collective place that our people are. If one is organizing one must be where ones people are. I go to church. I went to the Howard theatre last night. That's none of their business of the press. And I will go again, when Smokey and the Robinsons are coming because that's black power. That's part of our culture and that's where our people are. I don't think my image is important."

QUESTIONER

UNKNOWN (Q) -

"How about the middle class Negro working in the government? The middle class Negro in the White House or Capitol Hill? Do you consider that black power?"

CARMICHAEL (A) - "I consider the creative skills of those black people a part of black power. I think of what

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

CARMICHAEL

CONTINUED (A) - "they produce, however, goes to serve as white society and therefore, cannot be considered part of black power."

MR. LEWIS (Q) - "Stokely, I would like to read something to you that appeared in the December 5th edition of the National Guardian. Now this was a conversation that you had in a hotel there with a representative of the Guardian and the representative of an Italian monthly newspaper. This is a quote from that article, "Before you create revolution you got to heighten contradictions. As long as there is hope, people are not going to fight. They won't fight unless you push. So push. You create disturbances. You keep pushing the system. You keep drawing off the contradictions until they have to get back." This is where I would like to ask you, Stokely, when you created the Black United Front, when you convene the conference, was part of your thinking to get the moderate leadership in this city to understand what happens when you keep pushing?"

CARMICHAEL (A) - "I think it is pretty clever brother John.... That is very sharp.....very sharp. It is crystal clear as a matter of fact..... That maybe some of the people who represent us do not really see clearly the contradictions.... and if you can get them more and more involved with the matters of our people then they can see the contradictions clearer, then they must decide. You see there is no doubt there are some black traitors in our community. There are an awful lot of black traitors in our community. But I think there are a lot of people who say things that traitors would say, are really genuinely confused. They think that they are doing the right thing. For example, many people felt

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

CARMICHAEL

CONTINUED (A) - "integration was the best way to solve the problems of the black people several years ago. They genuinely thought this was the solution until they...many of them have found out that this not the solution. Some of them still have not found out.... So that those people may be genuinely confused. They believed they are doing something to benefit the black man but in fact they are not. So that our job is to slowly begin to bring those people together and heighten the contradictions so they can see clearly. I mean it can be done very easy in the District of Columbia. The official figures by the Honkeys say that 93% of this community is black in the elementary schools. That means, according to their figures, 7% are white. You can't talk about integration in Washington, D.C. unless you talk about getting your children up at 6:00 a.m. and sending them to Virginia or to Maryland... Which we know is not going to happen. What we must be concerned with is how we conduct schools. Schools which are going to teach our children what we wish to teach them. That simply means we have to take over the schools. Our parents have to take over the schools and begin to teach the things that are necessary to be taught to our children. The education that they have been getting has been hindering them. That's correct. Our community is loaded with pimps, hustlers, preachers, an gangsters, gangs, prostitutes and people who work in factories. If I go to high school, that high school must either teach me how to be a good pimp, good hustler, a good gangster, a good preacher, a good factory worker, a good maid or a good whatever that come out of my community. It is not going to teach me how to be one of those things then it must teach me how to change my community so that it becomes

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

CARMICHAEL

CONTINUED (A) - "better. Our high schools are not getting near that problem. They don't even teach kids how to be good hustlers. And they don't teach them how to change the community so that people don't have to live as hustlers. Therefore, we have to junk the entire education program and our parents must be ready to take them over so that our children can be taught how to change our community."

QUESTIONER

UNKNOWN (Q) - "How do you compare the school system here in the years that you have been here, to that of other cities? Do you see any difference or is it worse?"

CARMICHAEL (A) - "It is the same for the black man. The question of community is not a question of geography. It is simply a question of color. Wherever you are, if you are black, you make up a community and therefore, you would suffer the same indignities no matter what part of the country you live in.... But for us, the question of community has never been geography, it has been a question of color. If you go to Africa today and you sit with black people, you feel at home. If you go to England or France and you see the white people there, you feel uncomfortable, but when you get and when you meet some other Africans you feel once again at home. Because for us the question of community has never been geography, it has always been the question of being with our people."

QUESTIONER

UNKNOWN (Q) - "Stokely, the first time I saw you here was in 1966, you were conducting a rally at 10th and U. One of the things that impressed me, that I never had read this anywhere before you mentioned that

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

UNKNOWN

CONTINUED (Q) - "you advised the people who were there at the rally, along with the black power thing, at least along with the black power thing as it is recorded politically and economically, etc. To also clean their neighborhoods and quit, I think your phrase was quoted something like ah... quit cutting your brothers on Friday and Saturday night and let's get together. What do you think it is that the other side is reporting more than this side?"

CARMICHAEL (A) - "Well, it is clear that the white press is not going to talk or to give any advertisement that is going to help bring the black community together. I mean every one knows that...they started off their petty anti-nonsensical poverty program which was aimed at doing precisely what it has done in the community, split it. You have now factions fighting over factions, the crumbs and that is precisely what they meant to do. They have no intention of uniting the black community and everyone who thinks they do is absolutely absurd. It is clear that whenever a poverty program moves within the masses of our people that program is always cut off and as long as they can keep the community divided, they will continue to function and to send that money in. Now the United States works on what we call the three M's: the missionary, the money and the Marines. That's how they have worked everywhere around the world when they went to conquer people. Now they sent the missionaries into our communities. We have sent them out with all of those little white kids. Now they are sending the money in and they are beginning to draw that out. After the money, come the Marines."

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

QUESTIONER

UNKNOWN (Q) - "Mr. Carmichael, when you...your trip abroad... the white media reported that you are going to Cuba, Hanoi and a few other places that you are planning or getting information on how to go at black guerilla warfare. How true is this? Or is this false?"

CARMICHAEL (A) - "Well, the first thing let us say Brother () is that the United States tries to tell me, a man who is born free, where I can go and where I can not go, that is absolutely absurd, I will go wherever I want to go, I will see whomever I want to see and I will talk with whomever I want to talk. So this nonsense about you're banned from going to Hanoi, you're banned from going to Cuba, you're banned from going to Egypt, you're banned from going to Algeria, you're banned from going to Syria doesn't effect me. It effects people whom the white people control, they don't control me. I will go where I want to go, when I want to go and how I want to go. And I will say what I want to say, when I want to say and where I want to say it. So I pay no attention what so ever to anything they say."

QUESTIONER

UNKNOWN (Q) - "One final question, we got about a minute. Are you going to make Washington your permanent residence?"

CARMICHAEL (A) - "It's going to be my home for a while, as long as they let me live. As long as I'm living and there's breath in my body, I'm going to work to bring our people together."

MR. PINKNEY

- "Stokely Carmichael we certainly want to thank you for being our guest on WOL. This has been a WOL Special presented by the News and Public Service Department, Stokely Carmichael in Washington."

"The preceding program was recorded Wednesday, January 17th at our studios."

100-446080-1047

4-88

BULKY ENCLOSURE

BIN #

49

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ENCLOSURE TO BUREAU (1)

BUEFILE 100-445080

WFOFILE 100-43503

WFO AIRTEL 1/23/68

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DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF



100-446080-1047
ENCLOSURE

File No. 100-43503
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(NAME OF CONTRIBUTOR)
(ADDRESS OF CONTRIBUTOR)
WDC
(CITY AND STATE)
By SE b7C
(NAME OF SPECIAL AGENT)

To Be Returned ☐ Yes ☒ No Receipt given ☐ Yes ☒ No

Description: TRANSCRIPT OF
TAPE OF BROADCAST OF
STOKELY CARMICHAEL STATION
WORK prepared by SE

b7C

on this envelope

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~~HEREIN~~ IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

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100 - 446080 - 1042

AMPLEX

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NOTICE

DOCUMENT CANNOT BE SCANNED

DESCRIPTION

Tape Reel

F B I

Date: 1/18/68

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Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM : SAC, BOSTON (157-437) (P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS- MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION
OO: ATLANTA

b7C

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of an LHM concerning CARMICHAELS' purpose in visiting Boston in December, 1967. Two copies are being sent Atlanta, which is OO.

The LHM is classified ~~confidential~~ since the sources identified below could possibly be identified by the information they furnished which could jeopardize their future activity.

b7C

b7D

3 - Bureau (Enc. 11) (RM)
2 - Atlanta (Enc. 2) (RM) (100-6812)
2 @ Boston
JFN/mo'k
(7)

b7C

REC 10 EX 101

ENCLOSURE

Inter. Div. Info. Unit 100-446080
ISD - Washington, Crim. Branch
AGENCY: ACSI, OSI, SEC. SERV.,
CRD, RAO, STATE, [redacted]

b7C

HOW FORM: P/SDATE FORM: 1/24/68BY: PTB/dkt

25 JAN 20 1968

b2

RACIAL INT. SECT.

INT. SEC.

Approved: [Signature]

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M.

Per _____

A/T to Boston 1/25/68 PJB/



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Boston, Massachusetts

January 18, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION

On January 15, 1968, a source who has furnished reliable information in the past advised that [redacted] whom source believes [redacted]

b7C

b7D

On January 16, 1968, a source who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that about forty Negroes, some representing Negro organizations and some individuals on their own, met in the YMCA hall, Roxbury, on the night of January 15, 1968.

[redacted] advised the group that when Stokely Carmichael was recently in Boston he had stated he was traveling to major cities to urge Negro organizations in these cities to meet together to form a United Front. When these are formed, each United Front should send representatives to meet together and form a National United Front. This would enable the Negroes to move in unity and act together with greater power.

b7C

b7D

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

100-446080-1048

ENCLOSURE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION

Source advised the proposal met with mixed sentiments and nothing was resolved. It was decided to meet again at the YMCA at some future date as yet undecided.

Source stated that [REDACTED]

b7C

b7D

Source felt that the general sentiment was in opposition to the plan.

A characterization of the Nation of Islam and Muhammad's Mosque of Islam #11 are attached.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX

1.

MUHAMMAD'S MOSQUE OF ISLAM #11
BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS
ALSO REFERRED TO AS THE
NATION OF ISLAM (NOI)

On March 18, 1954, a source stated that the Nation of Islam (NOI) had become active in Boston, Massachusetts, and knew it had held meetings as early as November of 1953.

On May 10, 1957, a second source stated that the Temple of Islam in Boston, Massachusetts, is known as Muhammad's Mosque of Islam #11 or Muhammad's Temple of Islam #11. It is located at 65 Intervale Street, in the Dorchester section of Boston, Massachusetts. It is the local branch of Muhammad's Temple of Islam, whose headquarters are in Chicago, Illinois.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATION OF ISLAM, Formerly Referred to as
THE MUSLIM CULT OF ISLAM, also known
as MUHAMMAD'S TEMPLES OF ISLAM

In January, 1957, a source advised Elijah Muhammad has described his organization on a nationwide basis as the "Nation of Islam" and "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

On May 5, 1967, a second source advised Elijah Muhammad is the national leader of the Nation of Islam (NOI); Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 2, 5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, is the national headquarters of the NOI; and in mid-1960 Muhammad and other NOI officials, when referring to Muhammad's organization on a nationwide basis, commenced using either "Mosque" or "Temple" when mentioning one of "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

The NOI is an all-Negro organization which was originally organized in 1930 in Detroit, Michigan. Muhammad claims to have been selected by Allah, the Supreme Being, to lead the so-called Negro race out of slavery in the wilderness of North America by establishing an independent black nation in the United States. Members following Muhammad's teachings and his interpretation of the "Koran" believe there is no such thing as a Negro; the so-called Negroes are slaves of the white race, referred to as "white devils," in the United States; and the white race, because of its exploitation of the so-called Negroes, must and will be destroyed in the approaching "War of Armageddon."

In the past, officials and members of the NOI, including Muhammad, have refused to register under the provisions of the Selective Service Acts and have declared that members owe no allegiance to the United States.

On May 5, 1958, the first source advised Muhammad had, upon advice of legal counsel, tempered his personal statements and instructions to his ministers concerning the principles of his organization in order to avoid possible prosecution by the United States Government; however, he did not indicate any fundamental changes in the teachings of his organization.

On May 2, 1966, a third source advised Muhammad had, in early July, 1958, decided to de-emphasize the religious aspects of the teachings of Islam and to stress the economic benefits to be derived by those Negroes who joined the NOI. This policy change, according to Muhammad, would help him acquire additional followers and create more interest in his programs.

Mr. Tolson _____
 Mr. DeLoach _____
 Mr. Mohr _____
 Mr. Bishop _____
 Mr. Casper _____
 Mr. Callahan _____
 Mr. Conrad _____
 Mr. Felt _____
 Mr. Gale _____
 Mr. Rosen _____
 Mr. Sullivan ✓ _____
 Mr. Tavel _____
 Mr. Trotter _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Miss Holmes _____
 Miss Gandy _____

VIA TELETYPE
 JAN 28 1968
 ENCIPHERED

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FBI NEW YORK -6-

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FBI NEW YORK

7 15PM URGENT 1-28168 JAS

b7C

TO DIRECTOR 100-446080, WASHINGTON FIELD 100-43503
 AND ATLANTA VIA DIRECTOR

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

FROM NEW YORK 100-153751

INTERNAL SECURITY
 STOKELY CARMICHAEL; *IS-* MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION
 RE NY PHONE CALL TO WFO THIS DATE.

NEW YORK OFFICE

AT THREE TEN PM THIS DATE SAS OF THE *NYO* OBSERVED
 CARMICHAEL BOARD EASTERN *5* SHUTTLE FLIGHT FROM NEW YORK
 TO WASHINGTON D.C. DUE TO ARRIVE AT WASHINGTON NATIONAL
 AIRPORT FOUR ZERO FIVE PM. HE TRAVELED UNDER NAME
 STOKLEY CARMICHAEL, ONE TWO THREE FOUR V OR U STREET,
 NORTHWEST, WASHINGTON D.C. SUBJECT WEARING SUNGLASSES
 AND THREE QUARTER LENGTH SUADE COAT, AND CARRIED A *100-446080-1149*
 LARGE POSTER.

EX 110 REC 3

3 FEB 6 1968

SUBJECT TRAVELLING IN SECOND SECTION OF PLANE,
 END

RAK R RELAY FBI WASH DC
 TWO COPIES TO WFO.

RELAYED TO

AT
PC
 XEROX
 7 JAN 9 1968

5-14

VIA TELETYPE
JAN 28 1968
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson_____
Mr. DeLoach_____
Mr. Mohr_____
Mr. Bishop_____
Mr. Casper_____
Mr. Callahan_____
Mr. Conrad_____
Mr. Felt_____
Mr. Gale_____
Mr. Rosen_____
Mr. Sullivan_____
Mr. Tavel_____
Mr. Trotter_____
Tele. Room_____
Miss Holmes_____
Miss Gandy_____

77.3 - 292 AM

MURGENT 1-28-68 MRD

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080) ATLANTA AND WFO
FROM NEW YORK (100-153751) 1P

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS - MISC; SEDITION.

b7C

b7C SOURCE, WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN
b7D HE PAST, ADVISED THAT STOKELY CARMICHAEL WAS SEEN AT

ON THE EVENING OF ONE TWENTY- SEVEN SIXTY-EIGHT.

ADMINISTRATIVE;

SOURCE REFERRED TO IS

b7C

b7D

END

QG

DHH FBI WASH DC

REC 3 100-446080-1550

EX 110

3 FEB 6 1968

TWO COPIES TO WFO

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DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

b7C

advised 9:15 am

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02/7, 1968

VIA TELETYPE

JAN 29 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson_____
Mr. DeLoach_____
Mr. Mohr_____
Mr. Bishop_____
Mr. Casper_____
Mr. Callahan_____
Mr. Conrad_____
Mr. Felt_____
Mr. Gale_____
Mr. Rosen_____
Mr. Sullivan_____
Mr. Tavel_____
Mr. Trotter_____
Tele. Room_____
Miss Holmes_____
Miss Gandy_____

WA -13-

X302PM URGENT 1-29-68 JAM

TO DIRECTOR 100-446080 ATLANTA AND WASHINGTON FIELD
ATT DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION
FROM NEW YORK 100-153751 1P

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; SECURITY MATTER-MISCELLANEOUS;
SEDITION

CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE, WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE
INFORMATION IN PAST. ADVISED INSTANT DATE, THAT SUBJECT
REPORTEDLY HAS

b7D

ADMINISTRATIVE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE MENTIONED HEREIN IS

b2

(PROBATIONARY). NEW YORK WILL

b7D

ATTEMPT TO VERIFY INFORMATION.

END

EX 110

REC-73

RNK FBI WASH DC

ELP FTO FOR #13 / rnk

12 FEB 6 1968

V

TWO COPIES TO WFO

XEROX

6 JAN 1968 1968

W. A. LT. 1/30/68

FBI

Date: 1/30/68

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (157-1297) (P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL, aka
IS - MISCELLANEOUS;
SEDITION

OO: ATLANTA

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

Re Chicago airtel to the Director dated 1/24/68
captioned as above.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of an LHM
dated and captioned as above. A copy of this memorandum
is being furnished the U.S. Attorney, U.S. Secret Service,
Chicago, and Region 1, 113th MI Group, Evanston, Illinois.
An information copy is being furnished the Atlanta, Newark, WFO
and New York Offices which received a copy of the referenced
airtel.

Chicago will follow this matter closely and submit
any pertinent details to the Bureau and interested offices.

- 3 - Bureau (Enc. 11) (RM) **ENCLOSURE**
- 1 - Atlanta (100-6812) (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)
- 1 - Newark (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)
- 1 - New York (100-15375) (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)
- 1 - WFO (100-43503) (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)
- 3 - Chicago
- (1 - 100-40342) (SNCC)

REC-19

b7C

DEH:jap
(10)

AGENCY: ACSI, WFO, OSI, SEC. SERV.,

DEPT: ISD, CRD, RAO

HOW FORW: R/S

DATE FORW: 2/2/68

BY: BTB

15 FEB 1 1968

b7C

66 FEB 8 1968

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Chicago, Illinois

January 30, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 157-1297

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

STOKELY CARMICHAEL --
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS;
SEDITION

On January 24, 1968, [redacted]
Human Relations Section, Chicago Police Department, Chicago,
Illinois, advised that [redacted] of the Human
Relations Section in a recent interview with [redacted]

b7C

[redacted]

[redacted] stated that [redacted] in the past
has reported information to Human Relations Section [redacted]

b7C

[redacted]

[redacted] stated the Human Relations
Section has been unable to verify [redacted] that
Carmichael will appear in Chicago on February 1, 1968.

This document contains neither recommendations nor con-
clusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is
loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be
distributed outside your agency.

COPIES DESTROYED
343 FEB 26 1971

100-446280-111
ENCLOSURE

b7C

On January 24, 1968, [redacted]
[redacted] of the Senate Theatre, advised they have no knowledge that Carmichael is scheduled to appear at this theatre on February 1, 1968. She stated that the management was not renting the theatre to any outside group on that date as they are contracted to show two Spanish pictures on February 1, 1968. She said that these Spanish pictures are contracted on such a favorable percentage basis and are the most profitable for the theatre and have priority over rentals of the theatre to outside individuals.

A copy of this memorandum is being furnished to the following agencies:

United States Attorney, Chicago, Illinois
United States Secret Service, Chicago, Illinois
Region 1, 113th MI Group, Evanston, Illinois.

Attached to this memorandum is a characterization of the Deacons of Defense and Justice, Incorporated, Chicago, Illinois.

The National Negro Rifle Association was incorporated on June 9, 1967, Secretary of States Office, Springfield, Illinois, as a perpetual and non-profit corporation for the purpose of helping youths over the age of 18 in the proper use of rifles and handguns. Also to train men and women of all ages to participate in drill teams, color guards and parades and to teach the laws relating to the use of guns.

DEACONS OF DEFENSE AND JUSTICE, INC.,
Aka. Deacons for Defense and Justice, Inc.

The Articles of Incorporation of the Deacons of Defense and Justice (DDJ) as on file with the Secretary of State for the State of Louisiana, reflect that the Deacons of Defense and Justice, Inc., is a Louisiana corporation domiciled at Jonesboro, Louisiana. The location and business office address of its registered office shall be Amos Service Station (rear), Beach Spring Road, Drawer B., Jonesboro, Louisiana.

"This corporation is organized for the following purposes and to carry on the following purposes:

"To instruct, train, teach, and educate Citizens of the United States and especially minority groups in the fundamental principles of the republican form of government and our democratic way of life; to instruct, teach, train and educate said persons in the provisions of the constitution and laws of the United States and the State of Louisiana, as well as the constitution and laws of any other state wherein this corporation may operate; to instruct, teach, train and educate said persons in the use, value, and purpose of the ballot and the right to vote; to instruct, teach, train and educate said persons as to the duties and responsibilities of good citizenship relative to the obligation and duties of the community to the citizen; to further instruct, teach, train and educate said persons in the value of economic security and in the effective use of their spending power; to inspire in said persons a sense of responsibility and to develop leadership. This corporation has for its further purpose, and is dedicated to, the defense of the civil rights, property rights and personal rights of said people and will defend said rights by any and all honorable and legal means to the end that justice may be obtained. This corporation may establish chapters and conduct its business at any place in this State and elsewhere as permitted by law."

F B I

Date: 1/30/68

Transmit the following in PLAINTEXT
(Type in plaintext or code)Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
ATTN: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC.; SEDITION

RE WFOTEL 1/29/68

b7C

SUBJ'S TIME DURING MORNING OF INSTANT DATE SPENT AT RESIDENCE AND SNCC HEADQUARTERS, ONE TWO THREE FOUR U ST., NW. DURING MID AFTERNOON, SUBJ VISITED THE SCHOOL OF LAW, HOWARD UNIVERSITY. AFTER SPENDING SHORT PERIOD OF TIME AT HIS RESIDENCE, SUBJ RETURNED TO SNCC SHORTLY AFTER FIVE PM, WHERE HE SPENT THE EVENING.

AIRMAIL COPY TO ATLANTA.

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

REC 3

EX 106

3 FEB 6 1968

3-Bureau
1-Atlanta (RM) (AM)
1-WFO

CWB:mmh
(5)

XEROX

JAN 1968

b7C

Approved: PP/CWB

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Bishop
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 1/24/68

b7C

FROM :

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

A write-up on unwatermarked bond has been prepared for possible referral by the Crime Records Division to a mass media contact. Its purpose is to show that Stokely Carmichael has not moderated his views, as has been widely suggested in the local press, but is actually following the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) plan for a black nationalist revolution.

This SNCC blueprint for action is set out in the 1/7/68 issue of "The Worker," Communist Party newspaper, which features a speech by James Forman, SNCC International Director, at the Western Regional Black Youth Conference in Los Angeles on 11/23/67.

Forman emphasized that the Negro communities must be made to realize their struggle is basically against United States "colonialism," that they must align themselves with "other oppressed people throughout the world," must increase their reliance on resistance, must form independent political organizations, link all militants into a confederation for protection against the FBI and Congressional committees, establish "inner city" newspapers, and keep their plans secret.

The attached memorandum shows that Carmichael, since his arrival in Washington, D. C., is endeavoring to start a unity movement, insists on secrecy, urged the formation of a black press, and identified his movement as being against "colonialism," all evidence that he is following the SNCC blueprint.

ENCLOSURE
Enclosure - 1

RMH:lmr
(8)

66 FEB 12 1968

REC-44

100-446080-1454

FEB 6 1968

CONTINUED - OVER

5-100-100000

b7C

Memorandum [redacted] to W. C. Sullivan
RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

As an example of exactly what Forman and Carmichael are talking about, the memorandum describes the Detroit "Inner City Voice" which Forman recommended as the model for other black nationalist newspapers. It is replete with calls for "rebellion," and includes specific information on the preparation of Molotov cocktails and other weapons for use by rioters.

A copy of the 1/7/68 issue of "The Worker" and the first four issues of "Inner City Voice" are being furnished separately to the Crime Records Division for its use.

It is believed that if this information is promptly and fully exploited by a news media contact it can do much to reduce the influence of Carmichael among moderate Negro leaders in Washington, D. C., and elsewhere, and could possibly do much to defeat his current efforts to organize a "Black United Front."

RECOMMENDATION:

If approved, this memorandum and attachment should be sent to the Crime Records Division for action in line with the above observations.

Since Stokely Carmichael's arrival in Washington, after a world-wide trip marked by constant vituperation against the United States and support of its enemies, his public statements, at least by comparison, have seemed moderate.

The press has made much of this ostensible change of heart since the date of his unity meeting with the leaders of the Washington Negro community.

Before the Negro community takes Stokely to its bosom it should be made aware of his over-all plans for action which it will be seen are simply those of the organization he represents (SNCC) and that his "soft sell" for unity is just one of the planks in its action platform for revolution. To understand this, a reading of the 1/7/68 issue of "The Worker," official organ of the Communist Party, is helpful.

James Forman, International Director of SNCC, addressed the Western Regional Black Youth Conference in Los Angeles on 11/23/67. His remarks are featured in "The Worker" issue mentioned above. Forman, speaking for SNCC, made the following points upon which he says the success of the black nationalist movement depends:

1. Marxian awareness that their struggle is against colonialism; that racism alone is not the heart of the problem.
2. Alliances with the "dispossessed" who are identified as people of African descent, Mexican-Americans and "many poor whites" as well as "other oppressed people throughout the world."
3. Increased reliance on resistance in the civil rights struggle.
4. Formation of independent political organizations to get mass participation by black people, without which the revolution cannot be accomplished.
5. Linking of all militants in some confederation for protection against the FBI, [] and Congressional investigation committees.
6. Establishment of new black nationalist "inner city" newspapers to carry the black nationalist message in view of the hostile attitude of the legitimate press.

b2

ENCLOSURE 100-446080-1054

7. Keeping plans secret, stopping loose talk, and eliminating spies because "You don't make a rebellion and describe it until it's all over."

Stokely Carmichael is currently endeavoring to organize a unity movement, insists on secrecy, has urged the formation of a black press, and identified his movement as being against "colonialism," all certainly evidence that he is following the same guidelines enumerated by James Forman and set out in "The Worker."

Forman's speech is reminiscent of a Communist Party directive in that much of it is devoted to an insistence that black nationalists know the true basis for their struggle ("colonialism").

Of more practical interest is Forman's insistence that "inner city" newspapers be established. He cites a particular paper as a model, the Detroit "Inner City News." Four editions of this paper have been issued, the first on October 20, 1967. Its masthead identifies it as "The Voice of Revolution" and its contents show that this is an accurate description. It is replete with calls for continued "rebellion" (rioting) and includes specific information on the preparation of Molotov cocktails and other weapons for use in riots.

If moderate Negro leaders take note of Forman's blueprint, and the interest of the Communist Party in it, they will see that if they buy Carmichael's proposition they are buying the SNCC blueprint for revolution, not a program of moderation.

A copy of pertinent pages from "The Worker" issue of 1/7/68 and one copy each of the first four issues of "Inner City Voice" are attached.

*Detached
see cover
memo
1/24/68*

VIA TELETYPE
JAN 23 1968
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

R-68

URGENT 1-23-68

TO DIRECTOR, WASHINGTON FIELD AND PHILADELPHIA
PHILADELPHIA VIA WASHINGTON
FROM PITTSBURGH

2 -
CMB

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION.

RE WFO TEL TO BUREAU, CHARLOTTE, AND PITTSBURGH, JANUARY
TWO THREE INSTANT.

FOR INFO PHILADELPHIA, RETEL DISCLOSED SUBJECT DEPARTED SNCC
HEADQUARTERS, ONE TWO THREE FOUR U STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C.,
AND ENTERED VW BUS BEARING PA. LICENSE [REDACTED]
JANUARY TWO TWO LAST.

PA. MOTOR VEHICLE REGISTRATION BULLETIN NUMBER TWO ZERO INDICATES
THIS LICENSE REGISTERED TO [REDACTED]

PITTSBURGH FILES

INDICATE [REDACTED]

DATED [REDACTED]

JANUARY ONE ZERO LAST INDICATES [REDACTED]

b7C

TWO COPIES TO WFO

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

RELAYED TO PH

XEROX
JAN 25 1968 FEB 8 1968

PAGE TWO

PHILADELPHIA AT HARRISBURG, PA. VERIFY REGISTRATION
OF PA. LICENSE [REDACTED]

PITTSBURGH WILL FURNISH BUREAU AND WFO RESULTS OF INDICES,
CREDIT, AND CRIMINAL CHECKS RE [REDACTED] BY AIRTEL, ON RECEIPT
VERIFICATION OF CURRENT LICENSE REGISTRATION. b7C

RECEIVED: 4:56PM RM

RECEIVED
JAN 10 1964
FBI - PHILADELPHIA

RECEIVED
JAN 10 1964
FBI - HARRISBURG

RECEIVED
JAN 10 1964
FBI - PITTSBURGH

1
1
1
1
1

Liaison

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

EX 106 REC-35

(RI) 100-446080-1056

Date: February 2, 1968

To:

b2

From: John Edgar Hoover, Director

Subject: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION

A confidential source of this Bureau made avail-
able

b7D

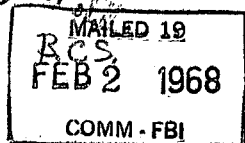
Appearing on pages 15 through 22 of this issue
is an article entitled, "The Third World - Our World," by
Stokely Carmichael. Enclosed is a copy of this article.

Mr. J. Walter Yeagley, Assistant Attorney General,
Internal Security Division of the Department of Justice,
advised by letter dated January 29, 1968, that some of the
statements appearing in the last paragraph in the left-hand
column on page 16 of the article have evidentiary value
tending to show Carmichael's motive and intent in his
attempts to obstruct the recruiting service of the United
States. Mr. Yeagley has requested the identity of an

- 2 - Atlanta (Enclosure)
- 2 - New York (Enclosure)
- 2 - WFO (Enclosure)
- 2 - Miami (Enclosure)

SEE NOTE FOR SACS, ATLANTA,
NEW YORK, WFO, AND MIAMI ON
PAGE TWO

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

PTB:llr
(16)

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

79 FEB 8 - 1968

b2

[REDACTED]

individual who can testify of his own personal knowledge that Carmichael wrote the aforementioned article, as well as all the details connected with such knowledge.

It would be appreciated if you could furnish any of the information which would comply with Mr. Yeagley's request.

Enclosure

1 - Mr. J. Walter Yeagley
Assistant Attorney General

NOTE FOR SACS, ATLANTA, NEW YORK, WFO, AND MIAMI:

Enclosed for recipient offices is a copy of the above referred to article by Carmichael. Atlanta, New York, and WFO should contact logical informants and contacts in SNCC and the black nationalist movement and Miami should contact informants and sources in the Cuban field in an effort to obtain the identity of a witness in this matter as requested by Mr. Yeagley. You should afford this lead priority attention. Results should be submitted to the Bureau in a form suitable for dissemination by February 21, 1968.

NOTE:

[REDACTED]

The above request from Yeagley is based on the information we previously furnished him as a result of our interview with [REDACTED]

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Memorandum

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHE

TO : Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation

DATE: January 29, 1961

FROM: J. Walter Yeagley
Assistant Attorney General
Internal Security Division

b7c

SUBJECT: Stokely Carmichael
Internal Security - Miscellaneous
Sedition

Mr. Nelson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

Reference is made to your memorandum of December 13, 1967, enclosing a copy of an article purportedly written by Stokely Carmichael which appeared in the July-August issue of the Tri Continental magazine. You stated that if we felt that the article had evidentiary value in connection with the sedition investigation of Carmichael you would, upon request, attempt to locate a witness who could possibly introduce the document into evidence in any legal proceedings.

We do feel that some of the statements appearing in the last paragraph in the left-hand column on page 18 of the article have evidentiary value tending to show Carmichael's motive and intent in his attempts to obstruct the recruiting service of the United States. We would therefore appreciate it if you could furnish us with the identity of an individual who can testify of his own personal knowledge that Carmichael wrote the aforementioned article. We would also like to know all the details connected with such knowledge.

~~EXP. PROC.~~

~~25 JAN 30 1968~~

Attaches *6* enclosures
to get a reply to our
inquiry! *2-1*
EX 106
REC-35 100-446080-1056
22 JAN 30 1968

~~RACIAL INT. SECT~~

b2

b2

1- J.W. Trotter / 100104
JAT
J-NY
J-WFO
J-MH

2/2/68
PTB:lln

[Redacted]

F B I

Date: 2/1/68

Transmit the following in CODE
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI(100-44580) AND BOSTON
ATTN: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

b7C

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC; SEDITION

RE WFOTEL JANUARY THIRTY ONE LAST.

SUBJECT DEPARTED RESIDENCE ELEVEN ZERO ONE AM, ENTERED
SNCC HEADQUARTERS. RETURNED TO RESIDENCE MID-AFTERNOON AND
ARRIVED BACK AT SNCC HEADQUARTERS EARLY EVENING WHERE HE
REMAINED INTO EVENING HOURS.

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

ADMINISTRATIVE

b2 FOR INFO BOSTON [REDACTED] AND MPD UNDERCOVER OPERATIVE
b7D ADVISED SUBJECT SPENT ENTIRE EVENING OF JANUARY THIRTY LAST AT
SNCC HEADQUARTERS, WDC AND THEREAFTER ATTENDED PARTY WDC.

AM COPY ATLANTA. P

2-Bureau
2-Teletype Unit
1-Atlanta (RM)(AM)
2-WFO

AAM:rmj
(7)

REC-35 100-446080-1057

EX 106

FEB 7 1968

XEROX
FEB 1968

55 FEB 1 1968

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

1/30/68

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

b7C

airtel

1 - [redacted]

To: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (157-1426) PERSONAL ATTENTION

From: Director, FBI (100-446080) - 1058

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION

EX-106

BLACK UNITED FRONT
RM (ORGANIZATION)

Reurairtel 1/25/68.

It appears you have made a very favorable start in taking a positive approach to effect coverage of Stokely Carmichael, SNCC, and the Black United Front in Washington, D. C.

Of particularly significance [redacted]

b7D

[redacted] You should continue to give close guidance and direction to this informant. Every effort should be made to develop additional informants [redacted]

Carmichael has a reputation of being an egotist. His arrival in Washington, D. C., has had a disruptive and divisive effect among the Negro leaders in the community. Such a situation presents potential for informant development, as well as counterintelligence activity. The screening of the mailing list of the Black United Front which you have already initiated should be productive in this regard.

Of prime importance is a need to develop the source of funds. Your monitoring of SNCC's account in Washington, D. C., should provide some of this information. SNCC has in the past opened numerous bank accounts. At one time they had nine accounts at Atlanta, Georgia. It is possible SNCC and/or

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

PTB:llr
(8)

664
Room

ways
len
st
pt

157-840/-
651
UNRECORDED COPY FILED

Airtel to SAC, WFO
RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
100-446080

Carmichael are maintaining other bank accounts in Washington, D. C., as well as being in possession of funds not maintained in a bank. As you are aware, recent information received from New York indicates SNCC may be receiving funds from Cuba. You should be alert to these possibilities and vigorously pursue all leads to develop complete knowledge regarding the source of funds.

It can be anticipated that with additional personnel assigned you will continue to show improvement in your coverage of captioned matters.

F B I

Date: 1/25/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHE

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS;
SEDITION
(WFO 100-43503)

BLACK UNITED FRONT
RM (ORGANIZATION)
(WFO 157-1426)

ReBuairtel to WFO, 1/15/68.

WFO is continually assessing the coverage being afforded CARMICHAEL and the Black United Front in Washington, D.C. (WDC), in order to develop penetrative knowledge regarding the activity, contacts, basic aims and objectives of both.

A new case has been opened on the Black United Front and the first report will reach the Bureau by 2/15/68.

b7D

Continuing efforts are being made to develop on-the-spot sources to immediately identify contacts made by CARMICHAEL and the purpose of these contacts when he enters an apartment or office building.

③ - Bureau
2 - WFO
(1-157-1426)

JRP:dgp
(5)

C. C. Bishop
XEROX

AIRTEL

FEB 7 1968

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

b7C

b7C

REC-35

EX 106

18 FEB 6 1968

157-840/-
157-651
ORIGINAL FILED IN 157-840/-

WFO 100-43503

In this regard, selected personnel, particularly Negro SAs, have been alerted to the possibility of being utilized to enter public buildings, meetings or functions when CARMICHAEL is present. Selected established sources have also been alerted to be on call for short notice assignments that would place them in a position to become acquainted with CARMICHAEL and in a position to volunteer to be of assistance to him and the organization.

b2

b7D

b7D

WFO has established lookouts on both SNCC Headquarters and on CARMICHAEL's residence to provide more discreet and more complete coverage of activity at these locations. Discreet photographic coverage is available at either location to assist in the identification of associates and contacts.

Close contact is being maintained with knowledgeable individuals in the Negro community who, although not associated with the Black United Front, are in a position to obtain information regarding that organization and CARMICHAEL, through their own sources and contacts. Notable among these individuals is

b7C

Arrangements have been made to contact

WFO has reassessed all informants and sources to identify those offering the best potential for penetrating CARMICHAEL's very small circle of close associates and confidants, and to gain acceptance at the closed meetings of the Black United Front. Specific assignments have been made to informants and sources.

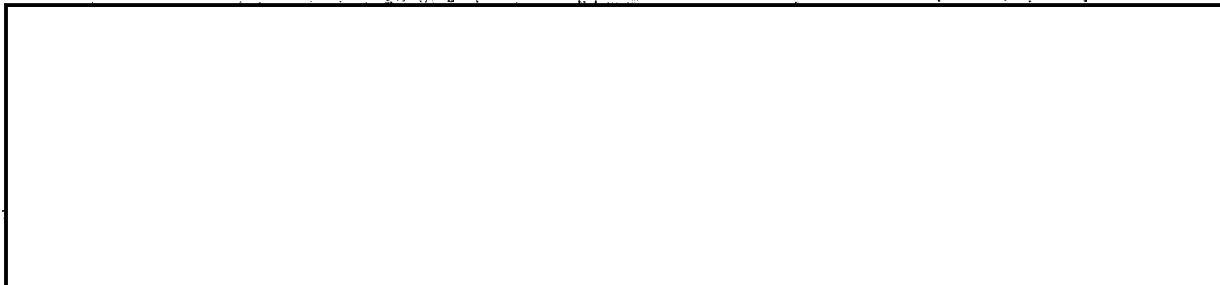
b2

b7D

WFO 100-43503

b7C

b7D



A new case has been opened on

b7C

Background information is being obtained and WFO will be alert to any weakness

CARMICHAEL.

A new PRI case has been opened on

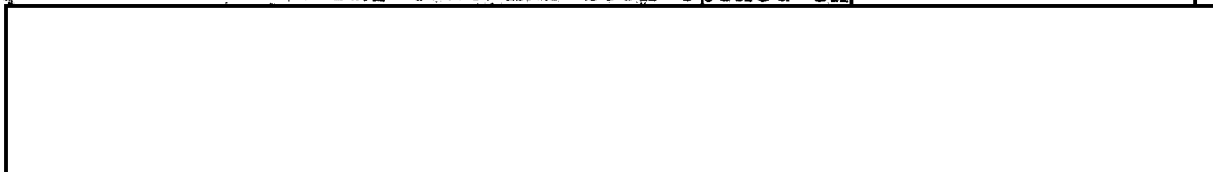
b7C



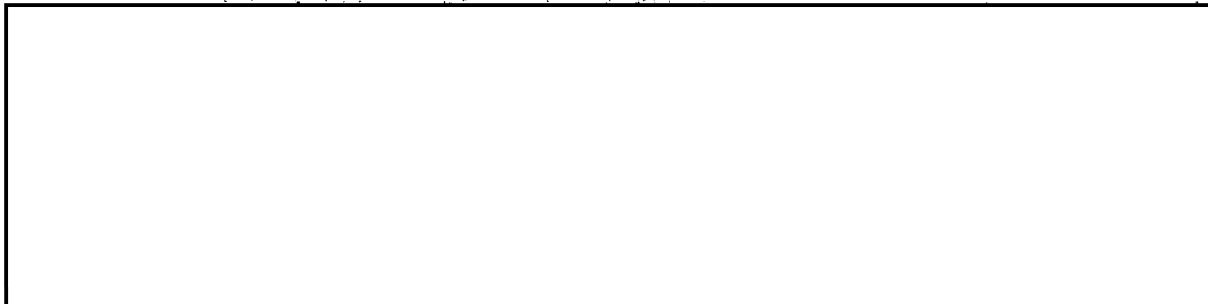
A new PRI case has been opened on

b2

b7C



b7C



WFO 100-43503

WFO is in possession of nearly all the names of individuals who attended [redacted] meeting of the Black United Front in WDC, and is also in possession of what is reported to be the mailing list of that organization. The informant potential of these individuals is being closely considered. [redacted]

b2

b7D

[redacted] These individuals are being closely screened to identify those with informant potential who could continue their affiliation with black organizations and enrich their association with CARMICHAEL.

b2

b7D

WFO will continue to daily re-evaluate the coverage being afforded CARMICHAEL and the Black United Front.

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

b7C

Date 2-1-68

We were previously advised that two Negro staff members of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders would interview Carmichael [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] We are to be furnished the results of this interview.

TDR:mh

prc
han

wes
myd

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

F B I

Date: 1/31/68

Transmit the following in _____ CODE
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via **TELETYPE** **URGENT** (Priority)

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Bishop	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445080), BALTIMORE (100-24220), BOSTON,
CINCINNATI
ATTN: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) P

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, *INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS* IS-MISC.; SEDITION

RE WFOTEL 1/30/68

b7C

SUBJ DEPARTED RESIDENCE ELEVEN FORTYFIVE AM THIS DATE AND WENT
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
TO SNCC HEADQUARTERS. IN AFTERNOON ENTERED NINETEEN SIXTYEIGHT

b7C

IMPALA CHEVROLET, TWO DOOR HARDTOP, DELAWARE LIC [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] WITH TWO OTHER NEGRO MALES. DROVE AROUND

SIGHTSEEING VICINITY CARTER BARRON RECREATION CENTER AND HOWARD
UNIVERSITY, LATER RETURNED TO SNCC HDQTS. DURING EVENING, SUBJ

AND FIVE OTHER NEGRO MALES DEPARTED SNCC HDQTS AND VIA AUTO VISITED

b7C

b7D

[REDACTED] ADVISED WOULD TELL WFO REASON

FOR MEETING. BU WILL BE ADVISED.

2-Bureau
2-Teletype
1-Atlanta (RM) (AM)
2-WFO

HGE:mmh
(7)

XEROX
FEB 1968

REC 55

b7C

12 FEB 6 1968

Approved: *JDR/HGE*

Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

PAGE TWO
WFO (100-43503)

A SOURCE, WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFO IN THE PAST, ADVISED THIS DATE GUARDED DISCUSSION HELD AROUND SNCC HDQTS. ABOUT SUBJ TRAVELING TO CINCINNATI ON FEB EIGHT NEXT. WFO FOLLOWING CLOSELY.

ADMINISTRATIVE

BALTIMORE ASCERTAIN TO WHOM ABOVE LICENSE REGISTERED. DEVELOP BACKGROUND, CHECK INDICES, CREDIT AND CRIMINAL. SOURCE MENTIONED ABOVE IS

b2

b7D

BOSTON ADVISED TELEPHONICALLY INSTANT, BS SOURCE OBSERVED INDIVIDUAL WHOM HE BELIEVED TO BE CARMICHAEL ON STREET IN FRONT OF CORE OFFICE IN BOSTON LATE EVENING OF JAN THIRTY-THIRTYONE. CHECK OF WFO SOURCES AND UNDERCOVER OPERATIVE MPD DISCLOSED NO INFO SUBJ VISITED BOSTON ABOVE TIME. BS ADVISE OF ANY ADDITIONAL INFO DEVELOPED THROUGH SOURCES.

AIRMAIL COPY TO ATLANTA.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 1/6/68

Attached indicates Stokely Carmichael who is presently in Washington, D. C., has been in touch with various Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) officials including [REDACTED] b7C

Carmichael's activities are being closely followed.

Westland

gcm

VHN:gmh

gcm

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

F B I

Date: 1/5/68

Transmit the following in _____

CODED

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE

URGENT

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Bishop	✓
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

TO: DIRECTOR, ATLANTA (100-6812), PHILADELPHIA
ATTN DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM: WASHINGTON FIELD (100-43503)

SUBJ: STOKELY CARMICHAEL; ~~IS~~ MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION

RE WFOTEL JANUARY FOUR LAST.

CARMICHAEL, [REDACTED] AND ANOTHER MALE DEPARTED

CHILI BOWL EARLY AM JANUARY FIVE AND DROVE [REDACTED]

RESIDENCE OF [REDACTED]

WHO IS KNOWN TO BUREAU. ABOUT NOON, CARMICHAEL,

WITH TWO FEMALES, DEPARTED APARTMENT BUILDING, TWELFTH AND W

STREETS, [REDACTED] AND WALKED TO

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
SNCC. LATER CARMICHAEL WITH MALE AND FEMALE VISITED SEVERAL

RESTAURANTS IN AREA, RETURNING TO SNCC. CARMICHAEL LEFT SNCC,

ENTERED WHITE TOYOTA, PENNSYLVANIA LICENSE [REDACTED]

CONTAINING OTHERS, AND DROVE TO [REDACTED]

CARMICHAEL WITH FEMALE AND TWO MALES ENTERED.

②-Bureau
2-Teletype
2-WFO
WWH:mmh
(6)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

XEROX

JAN 1968

b7C

REC 55

FEB 6 1968

55 FEB 1 1968
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

PAGE TWO
WFO (100-43503)

LATER SAME GROUP LEFT FAIRMONT ST. ADDRESS IN LATE MODEL DODGE
AND RETURNED TO SNCC. CARMICHAEL AND TWO MALES LEFT SNCC,
ENTERED DODGE DART BEARING D.C. LICENSE [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] WITH TWO FEMALES, ONE OF WHOM DRIVING. WENT TO [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] ADDRESS VISITED PREVIOUS EVENING.

ABOVE D.C. LICENSE REGISTERED TO [REDACTED] FAMILY THAT ADDRESS.

ABOVE DEPARTED SAME ADDRESS IN SAME CAR AND RETURNED TO SNCC.

AT ELEVEN TEN PM CARMICHAEL DEPARTED SNCC AND WALKED TO TWO TWO
ZERO ZERO TWELFTH ST., N.W., WHERE BELIEVED TO BE RESIDING.

Pa. / ade / Phia

PH ASCERTAIN TO WHOM PA LICENSE [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] PH CHECK INDICES, CREDIT AND CRIMINAL RE

SUBSCRIBER.

COVERAGE CONTINUING. P.

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

DATE: 12-09-2005

CLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3 (1) 12-09-2030

TO : Director, FBI (100-446080)

DATE: 1/25/68

FROM ~~WJ~~ Legat, Mexico City (105-6275⁹²⁴) (RUC)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS;
SEDITION

b7c

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

ENCLOSURES

Enclosed for the Bureau are ten copies of an LHM dated and captioned as above.

REFERENCE

Bureau airtel dated 1/11/68, Mexico City cable dated 1/15/68 and Bureau airtel dated 1/19/68.

SOURCES

Identity of Source

Location

b2

Instant LHM

b7C

b7D

(C)

1c

b1

CLASSIFICATION

Instant LHM is classified ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ as it contains information received from sources of continuing value, the unauthorized disclosure of which could affect the national defense.

One copy is being furnished New York as CBS News headquarters is in New York City.

- 4 - Bureau (Enc. 10)
(1 - Liaison Section)
(1 - New York, Info)

1 - Mexico City

RJG:imt

(5)

REC 55

~~SECRET~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

January 25, 1968

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF
ON 12-09-2005

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

This document contains neither
recommendations nor conclusions of
the FBI. It is the property of
the FBI and is loaned to your agency;
it and its contents are not to be
distributed outside your agency.

b2

b7C

On January 15, 1968, [REDACTED]

b7D

[REDACTED] was interviewed by [REDACTED] a confidential
source abroad, and furnished the following information:

[REDACTED] was informed that he was being interviewed
at the request of Mr. J. WALTER YEAGLEY, Assistant Attorney
General, Internal Security Division, U. S. Department of
Justice. [REDACTED]

b7C

b7D

at the time the subject was in Cuba for the First Conference
of the Latin American Solidarity Organization which was
held July 31 - August 10, 1967.

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] said he was unaware whether either of these men was
present during appearances of the subject. However, any

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] located in New York City. [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

b7C

b7D

I*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GROUP I

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and declassification

COPIES DESTROYED

343 FEB 26 1971

ENCLOSURE 100-446080-1061

FBI

Date: January 31, 1968Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via A I R T E L _____
(Priority)ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHE

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (157-2474)

SUBJECT: WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT (WSP)
(OO: WFO)

Re Chicago airtel dated 1/26/68, this caption.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 15 copies of a letterhead memorandum concerning captioned matter. Copies are being provided the below listed offices as indicated for information.

Chicago will continue to follow and pertinent information will be appropriately disseminated as received.

- ⑦ - Bureau (Enc. 15) (RM)
- (1 - 100-438794) (COMINFIL - SCLC)
 - ① - 100-446080) (STOKELY CARMICHAEL)
 - (1 - 100-439190) (COMINFIL - SNCC)
 - (1 - 100-106670) (MARTIN LUTHER KING)
- 5 - Atlanta (Enc. 5) (RM)
- (1 - 100-5586) (MARTIN LUTHER KING)
 - (1 - 100-5718) (COMINFIL - SCLC)
 - (1 - 100-6812) (STOKELY CARMICHAEL)
 - (1 - 100-6488) (COMINFIL - SNCC)
 - (1 - 157-2924) (WSP)
- 1 - New York (Enc. 1) (Info.) (RM)
- 6 - WFO (Enc. 6) (RM)
- (1 - 100-) (MARTIN LUTHER KING)
 - (1 - 100-) (STOKELY CARMICHAEL)
 - (1 - 100-) (COMINFIL - SCLC)
 - (1 - 100-) (COMINFIL - SNCC)
- 5 - Chicago
- (1 - 100-35356) (MARTIN LUTHER KING)
 - (1 - 105-16238) (SCLC)
 - (1 - 100-40342) (SNCC)
 - (1 - 157-1297) (STOKELY CARMICHAEL)

CARBON COPY

NOT RECORDED
128 FEB 7 1968

JCS:css

(24)

ENCLOSURE

Approved: _____

Sent _____

M

Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

66 FEB 13 1968

ORIGINAL FILED IN 157-2474-91



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Chicago, Illinois

January 31, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 157-2474

WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT
RACIAL MATTERS

Attached to this memorandum are copies of an article which appeared in the weekly edition of the "Chicago Defender," dated January 30, 1968, which relates to the captioned matter, its organization and individuals involved with it.

The "Chicago Defender" is a Negro oriented newspaper published on Chicago's south side whose readership is principally Negro.

The article is self-explanatory and is being provided for information.

Copies are being provided the following local agencies:

Secret Service
Chicago, Illinois

Office of the United States Attorney
Chicago, Illinois

Region I, 113th MI Group
Evanston, Illinois

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

ENCLOSURE

100-446080-

King, Stokely Join In Capital Camp-In

Agreement Between Two Leaders

By ETHEL L. PAYNE

Sengstacke Publications Correspondent

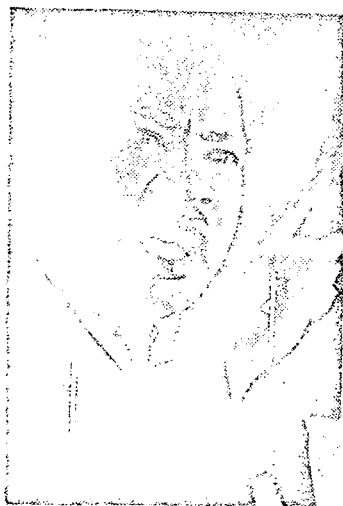
Stokely Carmichael is ready to join Martin Luther King in his planned April "poor peoples camp-in" for Washington if certain conditions are met, the Daily Defender learned yesterday.

One of these is an agreement to go all the way and not let himself be co-opted by grand promises as the militants believe King was in Selma. Carmichael wants a guarantee to escalate from non-violence to whatever direct action may be necessary to make congress and administration meet the demands to be presented a guaranteed annual income, greater expenditures for slum dwellers and crash education and training programs are part of the package.

Details of the program may be unveiled when King and his associates meet in Washington Feb. 6-7 for a board meeting of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. While two leaders have not met for any formal discussions, of their mutual aims, Carmichael

as the first step in wringing concessions from the power structure. The next move if it fails to act is more forceful methods, never stopping short of the ultimate goal.

On the other hand, Martin Luther King is totally dedicated to non-violence as a philosophy and a technique. His intention to employ civil disobedience in the spring campaign is about as radical as he will get; although it may well



DR. KING

has let it be known that he is available and does not want to upstage King.

Nevertheless, the Black Power's most publicized activist is quietly and effectively, according to the best information, organizing Washington. This is a part of the three-year plan of SNCC and Washington is a special target because of the focus on the nation's capital.

There are many differences between SNCC and SCLC, but the basic argument, which split the two organizations during the Selma march is over tactics and philosophy. Carmichael and other SNCC leaders see non-violence as a technique, not a philosophy. Which should be used only

invite some violent acts.

Stokely Carmichael is sincerely dedicated to Black Unity, or at least he projects this image. In an effort to win more grass roots support he has stopped his public rabble rousing and temporarily the sound of "honkey" and "uncle tom" has gone into the freezer.

In Washington, only his most trusted aides know of his complete movements. He changes his place of residence frequently; sometimes it's a hotel room or it may be friends or even the back of SNCC headquarters on You st., N.W. he never carries

a suitcase in changing places - his clothing is brought to him later by separate courier. The coalition of moderates, conservatives and radicals which he tried to put together a few weeks ago has cracked some and there have been fall-outs; but the lines of communication have not been shut down. Carmichael is talking to Sterling Tucker of the Urban League and Rev. Walter Fauntroy, the vice chairman of the Washington City Council and a close friend of Martin Luther King.

King's hope is desperately to bring SNCC activists back under the umbrella of non-violence which he calls the ultimate way to reach the conscience of America. At his Atlanta headquarters last week, swarms of young SNCC workers moved in and out of the place and were very much involved in the planning for the April Washington campaign. Mrs. Martin Luther King was hospitalized for emergency surgery and her husband has to cancel appointments because there was no one to look after the four children.

The scale for the April Camp-in is nowhere nearly as massive as the march on Washington. King does not have the money and the re-

sources that were available then. Bayard Rustin, the brilliant logician for the 1963 March has cautioned King against the spring campaign and the donors have trickled away; the worry here is that the militants may seize the King campaign and take over its direction. At nearby military bases, there are 7,000

troops who have been receiving special riot control training and the justice department is carefully monitoring the situation. Also very much concerned is the commission on civil disorders.

The military presence may be standing by, but the crowd will go forth to welcome the pilgrims with courtesy and to see that they are accorded all the hospitality the town can give.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

F B I

Date: 1/16/68

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
ATTENTION: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM: *KD* SAC, KANSAS CITY (100-12347) RUC

SUBJECT: *St* STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS-MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION

b7C

Reference Boston airtel 1/12/68 to Bureau, indicating a photograph of subject and two Unsubs was taken in New York City on 12/22/67; and that one of the two Unsubs might be

For the information of all recipients of instant airtel, it appears highly improbable if not impossible that one of said Unsubs could be identical with _____ based on the following information:

b7C

- ③ Bureau (RM)
2 Atlanta (RM)
3 Boston (RM)
(1 157-437)
(1 _____)
(1 _____)
3 New York (RM)
(2 100-153751)
(1 100-153411) *b7C*
4 Kansas City
(2 100-12347)
(1 _____)
(1 100-12292 COMINFIL CORE)

HKJ:jrt
(15)

C. C. Bishop

Approved: *1968*

1045 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

100-806920
REC 67

EX 106

16 FEB 6 1968

100-446080-1062

5-14



On 1/15/68

[redacted] Kansas City, Missouri, Police Department,
informed that [redacted] Kansas City, Missouri, Police
Department, had observed [redacted]

b7C [redacted]
understands that [redacted] area pretty
much throughout the holidays of Christmas, 1967 on through the
new year and subsequently. [redacted] understands that [redacted]

No further action is being taken in this matter without
specific requests for additional investigation from New York or
Boston.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

F B I

Date: 2/2/68

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

Transmit the following in _____

CODED

(Type in plaintext or code)

TELETYPE

URGENT

Via _____

(Priority)

ATTENTION:

DOMESTIC

INTELLIGENCE
DIVISION

TO: DIRECTOR AND SACS CINCINNATI
NEW YORK
SAN FRANCISCO

b7C

FROM: SAC WFO

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS - MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION.

RE WFO TELETYPE TO DIRECTOR AND CINCINNATI JANUARY
THIRTYONE LAST; AND NEW YORK TELETYPE FEBRUARY ONE LAST.

b7D WFO SOURCE ADVISED INSTANT DATE [REDACTED]

INDICATED CARMICHAEL WILL TRAVEL TO CINCINNATI ON FEBRUARY
EIGHT NEXT RETURNING TO WDC ON FEBRUARY NINE. CARMICHAEL WILL
TRAVEL TO SAN FRANCISCO ON FEBRUARY SIXTEEN NEXT. FOR INFO
NEW YORK OFFICE, THE SAN FRANCISCO OFFICE HAS ADVISED CARMICHAEL
EXPECTED IN OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA, TO FILL ENGAGEMENT ON FEBRUARY
SEVENTEEN NEXT.

REC-40

100-446080-1063

- (2) - Bureau (100-445080)
- 2 - Teletype Unit
- 1 - Atlanta (RM)(AM)
- 2 - WFO (100-43503)

b7C

WWH:tab
(7)

XEROX

FEB 1 1968

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

W. H. LT 2/5/68

FEB

advised 2/2/68
2/13/68
AAG, W. H. L. T.
informed of pertinent facts
2/12/68 /m

5-PR

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

PAGE TWO

CINCINNATI AND SAN FRANCISCO REFER TO BUREAU AIRTEL TO
ALL OFFICES DECEMBER TWENTYONE LAST AND HANDLE IN ACCORDANCE
WITH BUREAU INSTRUCTIONS. WFO FOLLOWING CLOSELY AND WILL
ADVISE OF ANY ADDITIONAL INFO DEVELOPED.

ADMINISTRATIVE

SOURCE IS [REDACTED]
TO ATLANTA. P

AIRMAIL COPY

b2

b7D

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____

TO : MR. W. C. SULLIVAN

DATE: January 31, 1968

FROM :

b7C

SUBJECT:

**STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION**

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

This afternoon, [redacted]

[redacted] National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (NACCD), advised that the Commission Staff has arranged an interview of Stokely Carmichael for 7:30 p.m. this evening.

b7C

b7C

Carmichael, in agreeing to this interview, insisted that it be conducted by Negro members of the Staff.

b7C

The interview will be broad in nature to get Carmichael's views on areas of over-all interest to the Commission. Carmichael will be accompanied by five or six others.

b7C

[redacted] advised that he will furnish the Bureau on a confidential basis [redacted]

b7D

Washington Field Office has been advised.

b7C

ACTION:

For information.

RHH:hke

(6)

1-Mr. DeLoach

1-Mr. Sullivan

1-

1-Liaison

1-

b7C

REC-23

12 FEB 7 1968

55 FEB 13 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

F B I

Date: 2/2/68

Transmit the following in _____

PLAINTEXT

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE

URGENT

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI, (100-445080)
(ATTN: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC; SEDITION

RE WFOTEL 2/1/68

SUBJECT WAS AT HIS RESIDENCE AM OF TODAY. HE REMAINED
THERE UNTIL APPROXIMATELY THREE FIFTEEN PM. A SOURCE WHO HAS
FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST ADVISED

b7C

b7D

SUBJECT LEFT HIS

RESIDENCE FOLLOWING THE SNCC MEETING AND PROCEEDED TO SNCC HQTS.

3 Bureau
1-Atlanta (RM)(AM)
1-WFO

JEK:rmj
(5)

EX 106

REC-19

8 FEB 7 1968

XEROX
FEB 1968

b7C

ack. 2/3/68

JM51200-

Approved: 70 FEB 13 1968
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)PAGE TWO
WFO 100-43503

SUBJECT LEFT SNCC SHORTLY AFTER SIX PM AND ACCORDING TO THE SOURCE HE WAS TO HAVE DINNER AT THE RESIDENCE OF A SNCC WORKER WHERE A SOCIAL FUND-RAISING PARTY WAS TO BE HELD DURING THE EVENING.

AIRMAIL COPY TO ATLANTA. P?

ADMINISTRATIVESOURCE IS

LHM FOLLOWS RE SNCC MEETING.

b2

b7D

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC/TAM/MLT/JHF

F B I

Date: 2/5/68

Transmit the following in CODE
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

TO: DIRECTOR, (100-446080), CINCINNATI,
ATTN: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

b7C

FM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHEL, IS-MISC; SEDITION
RE WFOTEL TWO FOUR SIXTYEIGHT.

SUBJECT OBSERVED ENTERING SNCC HEADQUARTERS AT ELEVEN
EIGHTEEN AM THIS DATE. IN AFTERNOON PROCEEDED BY CAB TO HEDIN
HOUSE MOTEL, TWENTY NINE ZERO FOUR NEWTON ST., NE. THEN RETURNED
SNCC HDQTS. LATER PROCEEDED TO HIS RESIDENCE. WFO SOURCE ADVISED
SUBJECT NOW EXPECTS TO DEPART FOR CINCINNATI ON FEB SEVEN NEXT,
WFO FOLLOWING CLOSELY.

ADMINISTRATIVE

WFO SOURCE IS [REDACTED] WHO IS ALSO
BEING CONTACTED TO ATTEMPT TO ASCERTAIN WHO SUBJECT VISITED AT
HEDIN HOUSE MOTEL.

AIRMAIL COPY TO ATLANTA.

- 2 - Bureau
- 2 - Teletype Unit
- 1 - Atlanta (RMAM)
- 2 - WFO

FFB:tkm
(7)

EX 106
REC-19

100-446080-1066

4 FEB 7 1968

b7C

54 FEB 13 1968

Approved: JDP/FFB
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

FBI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED.

DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60389 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

Date: 1/25/68

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____

(Priority)

b7C

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, PITTSBURGH (100-15615) RUC

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION

Re Washington Field tel to Bureau, Charlotte and Pittsburgh dated 1/23/68, and Pittsburgh tel to Director, WFO, and Philadelphia, dated 1/23/68.

Referenced Washington Field tel indicated that on 1/22/68, CARMICHAEL departed Student Non-Violent Coordinating (SNCC) Headquarters, and entered a Volkswagen Bus bearing Pennsylvania License [REDACTED]

b7C

Pennsylvania License [REDACTED]

Records of the Credit Bureau, Inc., Pittsburgh, reviewed on 1/24/68, by SE [REDACTED] contained a file concerning [REDACTED]

The record contained a previous address of [REDACTED] and indicated his previous employment [REDACTED]

b7C

- 3 - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - Washington Field (Enc. 1) (RM)
- 1 - Pittsburgh

LMC:mtl
(6)

C-40

100-446080-1067

JAN 27 1968

C.C. Bishop

cc 806 940

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Approved: [Signature] Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

All Pittsburgh WFO
 1/30/68 PTE/WW

PG 100-15615

b7C Records of the Credit Bureau, Inc., of Pittsburgh, were reviewed on 7/28/66, concerning [redacted] and indicated that at that time he had a [redacted]

[redacted] These records indicated that [redacted] had a satisfactory credit record.

Records of the Pittsburgh PD reviewed by SE [redacted] on 1/24/68, under record number [redacted] contained a record concerning [redacted]

[redacted]

b7C On January 24, 1968, [redacted] Pittsburgh PD, advised SA [redacted] that [redacted]

[redacted]

The files of the Pittsburgh Office contain the following information concerning [redacted]

"The Pittsburgh Press," a daily newspaper dated 12/24/64, contained an article which indicated that the Friends of the Council of Federated Organizations was raising funds to send a station wagon to Philadelphia, Miss., to replace the one that was burned when three civil rights workers were slain there. The article indicated that SAMUEL CARCIONE, a mathematics instructor at Mt. Mercy College, Pittsburgh, was one of the individuals who would drive the station wagon to Mississippi.

The Erie, Pa., "Morning News," dated 5/12/65, contains an article captioned "67 Students Defy Injunction, Arrested After 'Mill' Protest." This article indicates that pickets protesting the planned expansion of Hammermill Paper Company in Selma, Ala., ended their demonstration at the Hammermill Company on 5/11/65, after defiance of an injunction, obtained by the company to prevent interference

with anyone entering or leaving the plant, resulted in the arrest of more than 60 persons. This article indicated that SAM CARCIONE of Mt. Mercy was one of those named in the injunction obtained by the company.

The 6/8/65 issue of the "Pittsburgh Post Gazette," a daily newspaper, identified SAMUEL CARCIONE as one of the sit in group which staged a sit-in at the Allegheny County Court House, Pittsburgh, on 6/7/65, in protest of a county commissioner's refusal to apologize for his "young punk" remark. The 6/2/65 issue of the "Pittsburgh Post Gazette," contained an article reporting that one Reverend R. N. PRANGE, was a member of a delegation which confronted the Allegheny County Commissioners in Pittsburgh on 6/1/65. At this time PRANGE accused Commissioner WILLIAM D. MC CLELLAND of not having the Negro's interest at heart in the hiring of county employees. Commissioner MC CLELLAND reportedly stated to PRANGE, "I wish you didn't have that collar on. I'd tell you something. I heard young punks like you before."

The "Pittsburgh Press," of 8/12/65, identified CARCIONE as one of five pickets arrested on 8/11/65, in the Grant Building, Pittsburgh, at the offices of local 5, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, (IBEW), where they were protesting alleged hiring discrimination by the union against Negroes. They were arrested when they refused to leave the hallway after closing time outside the offices of the union. CARCIONE was fined \$10 and costs.

The "Pittsburgh Press," of 8/16/65, identified SAMUEL CARCIONE, 1023 Jancey Street, Pittsburgh, as one of 15 demonstrators arrested on 8/16/65, for preventing cement trucks from entering and leaving the Chatham Center construction site, Pittsburgh. The demonstrators were charged with disorderly conduct and fined \$10 and costs.

The 8/19/65 issue of the "Pittsburgh Press," contains an article titled "Eleven Pickets Arrested in Arena Rights Row." This article indicates that SAMUEL CARCIONE, 1023 Jancey Street, Pittsburgh, Pa., was one of eleven persons arrested on 8/18/65, by Pittsburgh Police on a charge of disorderly conduct during a demonstration at the Civic Arena, Pittsburgh. The article indicates the demonstration

was held to protest policies of local 5, IBEW. The arrest came when the demonstrators tried to storm the gate used by persons attending a Civic Light Opera production at the Civic Arena.

The "Pittsburgh Press," dated 12/11/65 contained an article which identified SAMUEL CARCIONE as chairman of the United Negro Protest Committee (UNPC), Political Action Committee.

For the information of Washington Field the UNPC is a civil rights organization in Pittsburgh, which has conducted demonstrations protesting hiring policies and lack of employment opportunities concerning Negroes in the Pittsburgh area.

The "Pittsburgh Press," dated 3/23/66, contained an article concerning a trial in criminal court, Pittsburgh, of eight individuals charged with inciting to riot on 8/18/65 at the Civic Arena, Pittsburgh, one of the defendants being SAMUEL CARCIONE, age 25, of 1023 Jancey Street, Pittsburgh. The article indicates that Inspector JOHN P. KELLY, Pittsburgh Police Department, on 3/23/66, testified that CARCIONE talked to seven of the defendants on the evening of 8/18/65 and urged them to storm the Civic Arena. Until then, according to KELLY, the defendants had been quietly picketing the show as a protest against the hiring policies of local 5, IBEW. KELLY testified that after the urging the eight defendants stormed the arena gate. KELLY was injured and hospitalized in the course of the incident.

The "Pittsburgh Press," dated 3/25/66, contained an article which indicated that at the same trial referred to above, JAMES MC COY, JR., General Chairman, UNPC, testified on 3/25/66 that the demonstrators went to the Civic Arena, Pittsburgh, "for the purpose of having some of them arrested." They were supposed to go to the arena entrance and stage a sit-in, instead, he testified, CARCIONE had them rush the entrance.

The "Pittsburgh Press," dated 3/26/66, reported that the defendants in the above trial were found guilty, but sentencing was deferred when the defense attorney indicated he would file a motion for a new trial.

The "Pittsburgh Press," dated 4/27/66, contains an article which indicated that the Gimbel Brothers Department Store, Pittsburgh, had on 4/26/66, asked for a preliminary injunction to stop picketing at its downtown store. Among those named in the injunction, according to this article was SAMUEL F. CARCIONE, 1023 Jancey Street, Pittsburgh. The article indicates that the store had been picketed since 4/7/66, in an attempt to obtain more jobs for Negroes at the store.

On 7/21/66, [redacted] Pittsburgh Police Department, advised SA [redacted] that in the near future a Civilian Alert Patrol would be organized by the UNPC. The patrol will consist of a vehicle with a sign thereon "Civilian Alert Patrol," the vehicle to contain two, three or four persons with cameras, radios, and tape recorders. It is intended that the patrol will monitor police radio frequencies and will proceed to situations of possible civil rights interest. It is intended for "on the spot" use in matters involving civil rights.

[redacted] advised that [redacted]

On 8/9/66 [redacted] (protect; location [redacted], advised that a recent model Volkswagen Microbus, red and light gray in color, was being utilized [redacted] for the Civilian Alert Patrol.

On 8/11/66, [redacted] Pittsburgh Police Department, advised SA [redacted] that [redacted] a personally owned 1962 or 1963 red and white Volkswagen Microbus bearing Pennsylvania License [redacted] which was equipped with a police radio monitor, and that this is the only vehicle known to be presently utilized as a Civilian Alert Patrol Vehicle. [redacted] advised that he had received information concerning

PG 100-15615

that the Civilian Alert Patrol was still in the organizing stage.

b7C

On 9/19/66, [redacted]

advised that [redacted]

b7D

to his knowledge there was no one presently active in the Civilian Alert Patrol in Pittsburgh. (location [redacted])

The 7/21/66 issue of "The Pittsburgh Catholic," a weekly newspaper of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Pittsburgh, contained an article entitled, "Does 'Black Power' Mean What They Think?" written by SAM CARCIONE. It was indicated that CARCIONE had taken part in the recent MEREDITH, Mississippi, Freedom March when he joined the march at Batesville, Miss. In his explanation of the term "Black Power" CARCIONE said in this article that "Black Power" means simply that black Americans shall organize politically in order to be able to elect officials who will enforce those laws which are already on the books, but which have never been enforced.

The "Pittsburgh Press," dated 9/19/66, contained an article which indicated that SAMUEL CARCIONE was fined \$250 and sentenced to three to 23 months in jail on charges of inciting to riot in connection with his arrest on 8/18/65, at the Civic Arena, Pittsburgh.

The "Pittsburgh Post-Gazette," dated 1/3/68, contains an article concerning the appeal to the Pennsylvania Supreme Court by SAMUEL CARCIONE of his conviction for rioting on 8/18/65 at the Civic Arena, Pittsburgh. This article indicates that CARCIONE is now a mathematics teacher at Howard University, Washington, D. C.

Records of the Allegheny County Register of Voters, County Office Building, Pittsburgh, reviewed on 9/19/66 by SA [redacted]

b7C

PG 100-15615

On 1/24/68 [redacted] Pittsburgh PD.
advised SA [redacted]

b7C

[redacted]
above. [redacted] advised that to his knowledge, [redacted]
was not acquainted with STOKER CARMICHAEL. He advised,
however, that he recalled that [redacted]

[redacted]
New York LHM dated 12/28/67 concerning CARMICHAEL,
no contact to WFO, indicates that [redacted]

b7C

[redacted] It is, therefore, considered possible that
[redacted] CARMICHAEL through their
mutual acquaintance with [redacted]

The following is a description of [redacted] as
obtained from Pittsburgh PD records:

Name
Race
Sex
DOB
POB
Height
Weight
Complexion
Eyes
Hair
Social Security #
Pittsburgh PD #
FBI #

b7C

Copy of photograph of [redacted] obtained from Pittsburgh
PD files, taken 8/19/65, is enclosed for Washington Field.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

FBI

Date: 2/3/68

Transmit the following in _____

PLAINTEXT

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE

URGENT

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
ATTN: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL IS-MISC; SEDITION

RE WFOTEL 2/2/68

SUBJECT FIRST OBSERVED AT RESIDENCE AT ONE FIFTY SEVEN
PM FEBUARY THREE INSTANT. LATER WENT TO SNCC HEADQUARTERS WHERE
HE REMAINED MOST OF AFTERNOON. LATER RETURNED TO RESIDENCE WITH
THREE OTHER MALES WHERE SPENT EVENING SERVING DRINKS.

AIRMAIL COPY TO ATLANTA. P

0-9 to Legat, Ottawa
2/6/68, for info
PTB/dak

3-Bureau
1-Atlanta (RM) (AM)
1-WFO

PHW:rmj
(5)

REC-73

EX 106

14 FEB 7 1968

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Bishop	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

b7C

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

Memorandum

DATE: 03-08-2006
CLASSIFIED BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(6) 03-08-2031

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

DATE: 1/23/68

FROM: LEGAT, PARIS (100-2683) (P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS;
SEDITION
(OO - AT)

Remyairtel to Bureau 12/18/67.

Enclosed are seven copies of an LHM dated and
captioned as above, classified "~~CONFIDENTIAL~~"

(S)

b1

(S)

b1

(S)

b1

(S)

- 4 - Bureau (Encs. - 7)
(1 - Liaison Section)
(1 - Atlanta, Info.)
1 - Paris
NWP:eim
(5)

~~SECRET~~

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

AGENCY: ACSI, AUC, OSI, SEC. SERV.,
DATE: 1/23/68, RAO

HOW FORM:
DATE FORM 2/1/68

BY:



REC-32

1069

~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 2/3/68

b7C

FROM : Mr. J. A. Sizoo

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

1 - Mr. Bishop
1 - Mr. J.A. Sizoo
1 - [redacted]
1 - [redacted]

SUBJECT: **STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS;
SEDITION**

DATE: 12-09-2005
CLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHE
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(6) 12-09-2030

On 2/2/68, [redacted] U.S.
Department of State, telephonically advised [redacted]
Domestic Intelligence Division, information had been received
that Stokely Carmichael, former Chairman, Student Nonviolent
Coordinating Committee (SNCC), a militant civil rights organi-
zation is scheduled to be in Canada 2/3-4/68 to speak at a rally
organized by Rassenblement pour Independance Nationale (RIN),
a Quebec separatist political organization. The Cuban Consul
in Montreal may also attend. According to Tully, Canadians
are not going to bar Stokely Carmichael from entering Canada.

Information received from our sources 2/2/68 also
indicates Carmichael may travel to Cincinnati, Ohio, 2/8/68,
and to the San Francisco, California, area 2/16/68.



In addition to the above, WFO has advised that its
coverage of Carmichael indicated that he attended, on 2/2/68,
a meeting of the local SNCC at which discussions were held on
the possible opening of a book store to sell Africa-type books,
ways and means of uniting black people, the holding of a Negro
history week in February, and ways to acquire funds.

JFM:chs/kw

(7)

CONTINUED - OVER

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan
RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

ACTION:

For information. We are closely following Carmichael's activities and pertinent information set forth above will be furnished to the White House, the Attorney General, and interested agencies.

wcs *✓* *ds* *nm*

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF
ON 12-09-2005

F B I

Date: 2/6/68

Transmit the following in

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(Type in plaintext or code)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

CLASSIFIED DECISIONS FINALIZED
BY DEPARTMENT REVIEW COMMITTEE (DRG)
DATE: 10-8-85 1678 RFP/ld

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (157-2474) (P)

SUBJECT: WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT (WSP)
RACIAL MATTER
(OO: WFO)8-8-84
Classified by 8972 TK/ld
Declassify on: OADR

Garrett/sec/King

Re Chicago airtel and LHM dated 2/2/68.

- 7 - Bureau (Enc. 15) (RM)
 (1 - 100-438794) (COMINFIL - SCLC)
 (1 - 100-446080) (STOKELY CARMICHAEL)
 (1 - 100-439190) (COMINFIL - SNCC) (1 - 100-106670)
 6 - Atlanta (Enc. 6) (RM) (MARTIN LUTHER KING)
 (1 - 100-5586) (MARTIN LUTHER KING)
 (1 - 100 5718) (COMINFIL - SCLC)
 (1 - 100-6812) (STOKELY CARMICHAEL)
 (1 - 100-6488) (COMINFIL - SNCC)
 (1 - 157-2924) (WSP)
 (1 - 157-) (HOSEA WILLIAMS)
 5 - New York (Enc. 5) (RM)
 (1 - 157-)
 (1 - 157-)
 (1 - 157-)
 (1 - 100-)
 8 - WFO (Enc. 7) (RM)
 (1 - 100-) (MARTIN LUTHER KING) (1 - 100-) (NATIONAL
 (1 - 100-) (STOKELY CARMICHAEL) WELFARE RIGHTS
 (1 - 100-) (COMINFIL - SNCC) ORGANIZATION)
 (1 - 100-) (COMINFIL - SCLC)
 5 - Chicago
 (1 - 100-35356) (MARTIN LUTHER KING)
 (1 - 105-16238) (COMINFIL - SCLC)
 (1 - 100-40342) (COMINFIL - SNCC)
 (1 - 157-1297) (STOKELY CARMICHAEL)

b7C

RAC/tfk
(31)

100-446080

NOT RECORDED
170 FEB 15 1968
CARBON COPY

ENCLOSURE

Approved: 55 FEB 27 1968 Agent in Charge

Sent

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ORIGINAL FILED IN 157-8428-154

CG 157-2474

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Enclosed for the Bureau are 15 copies of a LHM concerning captioned matter. Copies are being provided to the offices listed below as indicated for their files and information. Copies of the LHM are being furnished USA, Chicago, U.S. Secret Service, Chicago, and Region I, 113th MI Group, Evanston, Illinois.

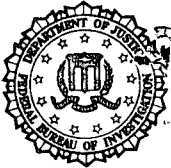
b2 The [] confidential source referred to in the
enclosed LHM is []

b7D The [] confidential source referred to is
[] (c)

The enclosed LHM is classified ~~confidential~~ since unauthorized disclosure of same could result in identification of confidential sources and jeopardize the future effectiveness thereof.

Chicago will continue to follow and pertinent information will be disseminated as received.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 157-2474

Chicago, Illinois
February 6, 1968

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF
ON 12-09-2005

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE~~

WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT
RACIAL MATTER

~~8-8-84
Classified by 8972 TLE
Declassify on: OADR~~

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised during the first part of February, 1968, that a conference was held [redacted] at the Americana Hotel, Seventh Street and 53rd Avenue,

b7D

[redacted]

[redacted] persons attended this conference and the following were recognized as present:

[redacted]

b7C Hosea Williams, SCLC, Atlanta, Georgia; and

b7D Stokely Carmichael, SNCC.

[redacted]

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~Group 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and declassification~~

100-446080

ENCLOSURE

CLASSIFIED DECISIONS FINALIZED
BY DEPARTMENT REVIEW COMMITTEE (DRC)
DATE: 10-8-85 1678 RFP/K

WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The discussion in this conference began with the subject of financing the WSP. Also discussed were the merits of having Martin Luther King make a speech during the WSP. Stokely Carmichael stated that he is in favor of the goals and aims of the WSP and that he would support this project wholeheartedly. However, he insisted that his organization, SNCC, and any other organization which would take part in this project, would keep their own identity separate from SCLC. This was agreed to by the representatives of SCLC.

During the above discussion, [REDACTED]

b7C

b7D

A copy of this communication is being provided to the following local agencies:

United States Attorney, Chicago, Illinois;

United States Secret Service, Chicago, Illinois; and

Region I, 113th Military Intelligence Group,
Evanston, Illinois.

b7C

b7D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Evans
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Mr. Holmes
Miss Gandy

2/7/68

BH
SD

2-2-101

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (157-8428)
FROM: SAC, WFO (157-1395) (P)

WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT
RACIAL MATTER
(OO:WFO)

b7C

Enclosed for the Bureau are eight copies and for
Atlanta, Chicago, and Richmond two copies each of an LHM dated
and captioned as above. The confidential informant mentioned
in LHM is [redacted] who furnished the information to SA [redacted]

b2

b7C

b7D

Enclosed LHM classified "~~Confidential~~" as it contains
information furnished by [redacted]

Information furnished by this
source, if disclosed, could possibly jeopardize the source's
future usefulness.

ENCLOSURE

- 3 - Bureau (Encs. 8)
- 2 - Atlanta (157-2924) (Encs. 2) (RM)
- 2 - Chicago (157-2474) (Encs. 2) (RM)
- 2 - Richmond (157-) (Encs. 2) (RM)
- 9 - WFO

- (1-100-42900) (SCLC)
- (1-100-40164) (KING)
- (1-100-43503) (CARMICHAEL)
- (1-157-1426) (BLACK UNITED FRONT)

b2

b7C

b7D

[redacted]

(18)

AIRTEL

C. Bishop

55 FEB 20 1968

100-446088-
NOT RECORDED
180 FEB 13 1968

FEB 13 1968

AGENCY: ACSEN, TOS, SEC, SER

DATE FORW: FEB 12 1968

HOW FORW: RS

BY: [signature]

b7C

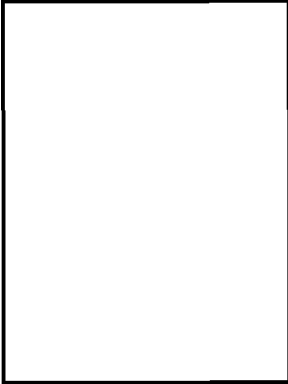
806 942

ORIGINAL FILED IN 157-8428

WFO 157-1395

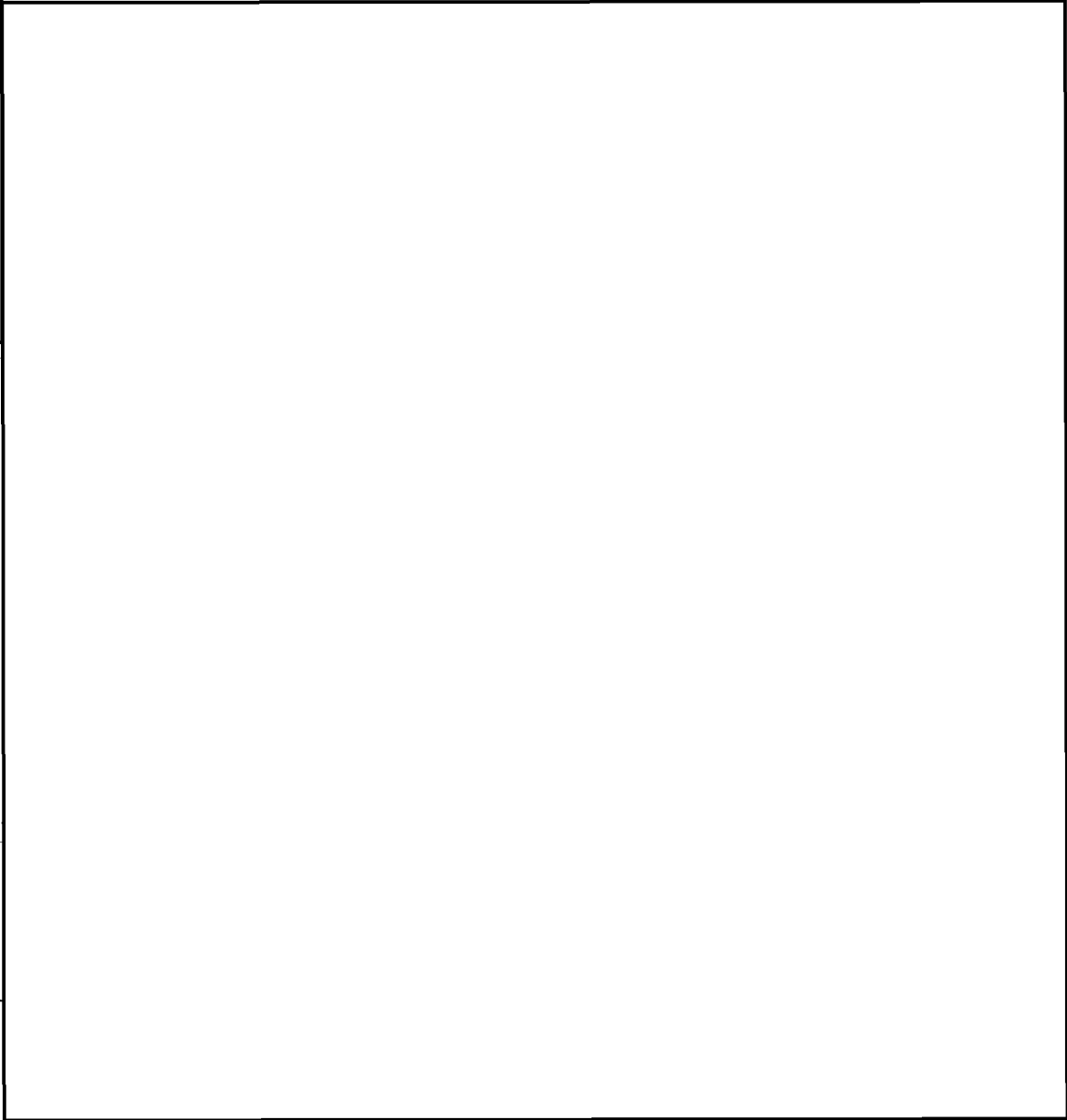
b2

In addition to those individuals mentioned in enclosed IHM as attending the meeting, [redacted] advised t^{b7D} following persons were also in attendance:



b7C

b7D



WFO 157-1395

b7C

b7D

Extreme care should be used in the dissemination of the above names as these identities were known to very few select persons at the meeting one of which was the source.

This matter will continue to be followed closely by WFO.



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C. 20535

February 7, 1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF
ON 12-09-2005

WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT
RACIAL MATTER

On February 6, 1968, a confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised he had attended a meeting at the Church of the Redeemer, 15th and Girard Streets, N.W., Washington, D. C. (WDC), during the evening of February 6, 1968.

The source stated the meeting was held in order for Doctor Martin Luther King, Jr., of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), and Stokely Carmichael, of the Black United Front (BUF) to discuss matters of mutual interest and the Washington Spring Project (WSP) planned for early April, 1968, by Doctor King and the SCLC.

The source stated that [REDACTED]

b7D

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~GROUP 1~~

~~Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

100-446080-
ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE

157-84211

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

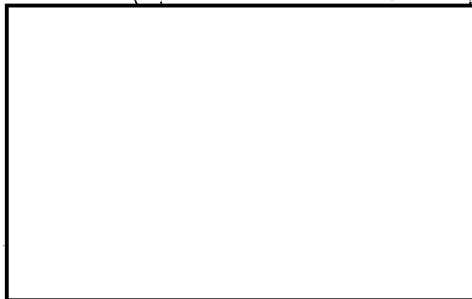
WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT
RACIAL MATTER

b7D



b7C

b7D



When the above meeting was ended the church was emptied and only those were allowed to re-enter who were personally known to two representatives of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) who stationed themselves at the entrance. In addition, admission was granted to a few who were vouched for or who were able to satisfactorily explain their reason for attending. Admission was denied to all representatives of the press and no tape recorders were allowed in the meeting.

The meeting was held in the main portion of the building and was attended by approximately two hundred persons. Of those in attendance, approximately one hundred and fifty were representatives of the BUF and SNCC while approximately fifty represented SCLC.

Stokely Carmichael  were in attendance, however, neither made any type of formal b7C speech or presentation.

b7D

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT
RACIAL MATTER

This meeting was presided over by King who restated what he had said in the meeting mentioned earlier. In addition, he said there were people in the audience who did not agree with the planned WSP and asked that these people not hinder the project even though they were not in agreement.

King reminisced about past demonstrations and projects of the SCLC and their effect.

Doctor King advised they expected approximately 3,000 persons to come to WDC for the WSP. They plan to camp on the Washington Monument or the Lincoln Memorial grounds. They fully expect to be asked to move and when this is done it will draw desired attention to themselves and their cause. No mention of militancy or civil disobedience was made and King indicated they would move their camp when asked to do so.

King indicated there would be similar demonstrations in other cities during the same period of time as the WSP. He did not identify these cities.

An announcement was made of a mass meeting of the SCLC at the Vermont Avenue Baptist Church, 1630 Vermont Avenue, N. W., WDC, on February 7, 1968.

The meeting ended at approximately 11:00 p.m.

This document contains neither
recommendations nor conclusions of
the FBI. It is the property of
the FBI and is loaned to your agency;
it and its contents are not to be
distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

F B I

Date: 1/27/68

Transmit the following in PCODE
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR (100-446080) AND
SACS, ATLANTA, BOSTON (157-437), COLUMBIA
AND NEW YORK (100-153751)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

FROM: STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS., SEDITION.

RE NEW YORK TELETYPE, JANUARY TWENTY SIX LAST.

INDIVIDUAL RESEMBLING CARMICHAEL REPORTEDLY DEPARTED NEW
YORK CITY VIA AIR TO WASHINGTON, D. C. EVENING JANUARY TWENTY
SIX LAST. IT IS NOTED BOSTON PREVIOUSLY ADVISED SUBJECT VISITED
BOSTON AREA JANUARY TWENTY FIVE LAST. WFO AND LOCAL POLICE
DEPARTMENT SOURCES HAVE RECEIVED NO INFORMATION THAT SUBJECT
HAS RETURNED TO WASHINGTON, D. C. WFO SOURCES CONTINUING TO
ASCERTAIN WHEREABOUTS OF SUBJECT. INFO PREVIOUSLY REPORTED
INDICATED POSSIBILITY THAT CARMICHAEL MIGHT MAKE A SURPRISE
VISIT AT A NEGRO EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE TO BE HELD JANUARY
TWENTY SIX - TWENTY EIGHT AT FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA.

- ② - Bureau
- 2 - Teletype Unit
- 2 - WFO

RCC:vjc

JAN 1968

XEROX

EX-113

b7C

16 FEB 7 1968

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via _____
(Priority)

WFO 100-43503
PAGE TWO

ALL OFFICES ALERT SOURCES AND ATTEMPT TO ASCERTAIN
WHEREABOUTS OF CARMICHAEL.

COLUMBIA ASCERTAIN IF SUBJECT VISITED ABOVE CONFERENCE.

WFO 100-43503-100

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

FBI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHP

Date: 1/29/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (100-10358) (RUC)
SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISC.; SEDITION

Re WFO teletype to Bureau 1/23/68; Charlotte teletype to Director 1/23/68.

On 1/26/68 [redacted] Merchant's Association, Kings Mountain, N. C., advised the name [redacted] had been listed in her files since 1/10/66. Files reflected he is [redacted]

[redacted] At time of last check on 11/10/66 he had a satisfactory credit rating.

[redacted] Kings Mountain PD. advised 1/26/68 his records were negative concerning [redacted] however. [redacted]

- ③ - Bureau (RM)
2 - WFO (RM)
1 - Charlotte
GHC:gjc
(6)

REC- 69

100-446080-1072

JAN 30 1968

C. C. Bishop

XEROX

Approved: [redacted]

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

RECORDED COPY FILED IN 105-

177386

RACIAL SECT

RACIAL SECT

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
CE 100-10358 (Priority)

[redacted] Cleveland County,
Kings Mountain, N. C., advised 1/26/68 he has no arrest re-
cord for [redacted] He stated [redacted]

b7C

[redacted] stated that [redacted]
[redacted], and is believed to be there now,
although [redacted] did not know his current address in that
city.

b7C

- 2 -

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : The Director

DATE: *FEB. 9, 1968*

FROM : N. P. Callahan

SUBJECT: The Congressional Record

Pages E635-E636. Senator Thurmond, (R) South Carolina, extended his remarks concerning the rising crime rate pointing out that the big reasons for this are lack of effective leadership and lack of decisive law enforcement. He stated "We have sufficient laws under which to prosecute members of our society who feel they are above the law such as Stokely Carmichael and Rap Brown, but the Justice Department refuses to prosecute them." He placed in the Record a resolution adopted by the City Council of the Isle of Palms, South Carolina, urging the Justice Department to see that justice is done regarding the flagrant violations of our law by Carmichael.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

Original filed in: 66-1731-223

100-446080

NOT RECORDED
145 FEB 19 1968

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for *Feb 8, 1968* was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

62 FEB 26 1968

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (Your file 100-153751) DATE: 2/8/68

FROM : Director, FBI (Bufile and Serial 100-446080)

☒ Post in file and
destroy 0-1
(For SOG use
only)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION

☐ 1. Bufiles indicate this case is delinquent. Give specific reason for delinquency.

☒ ReBUR airtel 1/5/68

☒ airtel ☐ letterhead memo ☐ submitted
☒ 2. DATE ☐ report ☐ letter ☐ 90-day progress letter ☒ will be submitted 2/15/68

Reporting employee 100-153751

☐ 3. If valid reason exists for not submitting report at this time, state reason specifically and when report will be submitted

☐ 4. Status of ☐ Appeal ☐ In ☐ Prosecution
☐ airtel ☐ letterhead ☐ Investigation
☐ 5. Submit ☐ report ☐ letter ☐ 90-day

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
FEB 11 1968	
FBI NEW YORK	

b7C

(Date)

(Place reply hereon and return to Bureau. Note receipt and acknowledgment on top serial in case file.)



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Atlanta, Georgia

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

February 8, 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

REFERENCE: REPORT DATED NOVEMBER 16, 1967, ATLANTA, GA.

Referenced communication contained subject's residence and/or employment address. A recent change has been determined and is being set forth below (change only specified):

Residence: 2200 Twelfth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Employment: 1234 U Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

1cc to SS by 145
2/19/68
PTB/dkt

FD-128 DETACHED

NOT RECORDED

15 FEB 13 1968

FEB 10 5 56 PM '68

REC'D

b7C

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHFTO : SAC, Memphis (Your file 100-4492) DATE: 2/7/68FROM : Director, FBI (Bufile and Serial 100-446080)~~Room No. 806-96D~~☒ Post in file and
destroy 0-1
(For SOG use
only)SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION☐ 1. Bufiles indicate this case is delinquent. Give specific reason for delinquency.☒ Re your letter dated 12/12/67 concerning the speech made
by CARMICHAEL at Fisk University during April 1967.☐ 2. DATE ☐ airtel ☐ letterhead memo ☐ submitted
☐ report ☐ letter ☐ 90-day progress letter ☐ will be submittedReporting employee b7C☒ 3. If valid reason exists for not submitting report at this time, state reason specifically and
when report will be submitted has tape of speech,*However, is unable to write same - will submit when available -*☒ 4. Status of ☐ Appeal ☐ Inquiry ☒ Investigation ☐ Prosecution
☐ airtel ☐ letterhead memo
☐ 5. Submit ☐ report ☐ letter ☐ 90-day progress letter

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
FEB 8 1968	
FBI - MEMPHIS	

(Place reply hereon and return to Bureau. Note receipt and acknowledgment on top serial in case file.)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

2/5/68

airtoi

b7C

1 - [REDACTED]
(Field Guidance Folder)
1 - [REDACTED]
(Field Guidance Folder)
1 - [REDACTED]

To: SACs, New York
WFO (157-1396)

From: Director, FBI (157-8423)

WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT
RACIAL MATTER

Recent information indicates Martin Luther King, Jr., President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, (SCLC), will be in Washington, D. C., February 6-7, 1968, to attend an SCLC board meeting and speak before a rally of the "Clergy and Laymen concerned about Vietnam." [REDACTED] has advised King will try to meet with Stokely Carmichael and perhaps [REDACTED] in an effort to obtain their support for King's Washington Spring Project (WSP). If he cannot obtain their support, he will attempt to gain their cooperation and promise not to interfere with WSP.

Recipient offices should make every effort to have an informant or source attend these meetings to determine what transpires. This information should be transmitted to the Bureau in the most expeditious means possible and in a form suitable for dissemination.

DNW:llr
(8)

100-446080-
NOT RECORDED

141 FEB 7 1968

3 FEB 6 1968

ENCLOSURE

b7C

Recent news indicates King, Carmichael, and [REDACTED] may meet regarding WSP. Outgoing instructs field to endeavor to obtain coverage of this vital meeting.

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

MAILED 20
FEB 5 1968

54 FEB 14 1968

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

157-8423-102
ORIGINAL FILED IN

Handwritten initials: "ma" and "ph"

Folsom

DeLoach

Mohr

Bishop

Casper

Callahan

Conrad

Felt

Gale

Rosen

Sullivan

Tavel

Trotter

Tele. Room

Holmes

Gandy

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

UPI-15

(BLACK POWER)

ATLANTA--DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING BEGINS HIS DRIVE TO ENLIST BLACK POWER MILITANTS IN HIS "MASSIVE CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE" CAMPAIGN NEXT WEEK IN A CONFERENCE PLANNED FOR WASHINGTON, D.C., WITH STOKELY CARMICHAEL.

THE MEETING IS TO BE HELD DURING OR AFTER THE ANNUAL MID-WINTER MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD OF KING'S SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE. (53-29-48, 335-8, 2-8, 159, 573-6, 238, 38-6.

AN EXACT DATE AND PLACE FOR THE KING-CARMICHAEL CONFERENCE HAS NOT BEEN SET, THE REV. BERNARD LAFAYETTE SAID YESTERDAY. HE IS FORMER FIELD SECRETARY FOR SNCC, NAMED LAST DECEMBER BY KING TO TAKE CHARGE OF THE WASHINGTON PROGRAM.

THE CAMPAIGN, WHICH KING TERMS "THE POOR PEOPLE'S CAMPAIGN," IS PLANNED TO BEGIN THE FIRST WEEK OF APRIL IN WASHINGTON.

KING PLANS TO ARRIVE IN WASHINGTON MONDAY FOR ANTI-VIETNAM WAR DEMONSTRATIONS.

2/2--GE929A

ENCLOSURE

WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

ENCLOSURE

FBI

Date: 2/2/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (157-2474) (P)

SUBJECT: WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT (WSP)
RM
(OO: WFO)

See Dir in King Main
file

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/10/89 BY 3042 PWT/1002

Garrett/King

Re Chicago airtel and LHM dated 1/31/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 15 copies of an LHM concerning captioned matter. Copies are being provided to the offices listed below as indicated, for their files and information.

- ⑦ - Bureau (Enc.15) (RM)
- (1 - 100-438794) (COMINFIL - SCLC)
 - ① - 100-446080) (STOKELY CARMICHAEL)
 - (1 - 100-439190) (COMINFIL - SNCC)
 - (1 - 100-106670) (MARTIN LUTHER KING)
- 5 - Atlanta (Enc.5) (RM)
- (1 - 100-5586) (MARTIN LUTHER KING)
 - (1 - 100-5718) (COMINFIL - SCLC)
 - (1 - 100-6812) (STOKELY CARMICHAEL)
 - (1 - 100-6488) (COMINFIL - SNCC)
 - (1 - 157-2924) (WSP)
- 1 - New York (Enc.1) (RM)
- 6 - WFO (Enc.6) (RM)
- (1 - 100-) (MARTIN LUTHER KING)
 - (1 - 100-) (STOKELY CARMICHAEL)
 - (1 - 100-) (COMINFIL - SCLC)
 - (1 - 100-) (COMINFIL - SNCC)
- 5 - Chicago
- (1 - 100-35356) (MARTIN LUTHER KING)
 - (1 - 105-16238) (COMINFIL - SCLC)
 - (1 - 100-40342) (COMINFIL - SNCC)
 - (1 - 157-1297) (STOKELY CARMICHAEL)

RAC/cjm
(24)

ENCLOSURE

100-446080

NOT RECORDED
184 FEB 14 1968

CARBON COPY

ORIGINAL FILED IN 157-8428

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

57 FEB 20 1968

CG 157-2474

b2 The confidential source referred to in enclosed
LHM is [REDACTED]

b7D The enclosed LHM is classified ~~confidential~~, since
unauthorized disclosure of same could result in identification
of confidential source and jeopardize the future effectiveness
thereof.

Chicago will continue to follow and pertinent
information will be disseminated as received.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Chicago, Illinois
February 2, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 157-2474

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED BY 3042 PATT/OW
ON 2/10/89

WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT (WSP)
RACIAL MATTER

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished the following information:

During the latter part of January, 1968, source advised Washington Spring Project (WSP) is scheduled to begin in Washington, D.C. on or before April 5, 1968. This date has been given as a deadline to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) workers in the Chicago area, for recruiting the required 200 participants and for obtaining the necessary funds for their transportation to Washington, D.C. [REDACTED]

b7C

b7D

Martin Luther King is scheduled to be in Chicago on Friday, February 2, 1968, to make an undetermined number of speeches in order to solicit support for the WSP. One of these speeches will be before the West Side Organization (WSO) in Chicago.

Very little recruiting of persons to participate in the WSP has been conducted in Chicago to date. The SCLC staff members assigned to this project believe that the recruiting of the 200 persons to travel to Washington, D.C. would best be delayed until after King's speeches on February 2, 1968. It is anticipated that most of the 200 persons would consist of welfare recipients who have received assistance from, or are connected with the WSO in Chicago.

A conference in New York City, New York, has been set up during the period from January 31, 1968, to February 3, 1968, between the SCLC staff members, Stokely Carmichael, [REDACTED]

b7C

b7D

[REDACTED] for the purpose of soliciting the cooperation and assistance of Carmichael [REDACTED] and the SNCC organization for the Washington Spring Project.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

100-446080 -
ENCLOSURE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Group 1

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and declassification

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT (WSP)

Copies of this communication are being provided
for the following local agencies:

United States Attorney, Chicago, Illinois;

United States Secret Service, Chicago, Illinois;

Region 1, 113th Military Intelligence Group,
Evanston, Illinois.

- 2* -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SAC, ATLANTA (100-6812)

1/30/68

SAC, CINCINNATI (100-16358) -RUC-

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION
(OO:Atlanta)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-09-2003 BY 60309 AUC/TAM/MLF/JHE

Re Louisville airtel to Bureau, 12/27/67,
with enclosure; and, WFO airtel to Bureau, 11/30/67,
with LHM.

A check of the current Cincinnati telephone
and Cincinnati city directories fail to disclose any
listing for an [redacted]

b7C

b7C

On January 22, 1968, [redacted]
Cincinnati Credit Bureau; [redacted]
[redacted] Name Index File, Cincinnati
Police Department; and, [redacted] Hamilton County
SO, advised SA [redacted] that a check of the
records of each of their respective agencies failed to
disclose any record identifiable with the individuals
mentioned above.

b7C

Indices of the Cincinnati Office are negative re-
garding these individuals, also.

- 2 - Atlanta
- 1 - Bureau (100-446030) (info)
- 1 - Louisville (100-4943) (info)
- 1 - WFO (100-43503) (info)
- 1 - Cincinnati

KRK:mlg
(6)

100-446030-
NOT RECORDED
13 FEB 2 1968

RECEIVED
FEB. SEC.

FEB 16 1968

~~SECRET~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

DATE: 12-09-2005
CLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(6) 12-09-2030

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (157-8141)

DATE: 1/29/68

FROM : LEGAT, BONN (157-56) (P*)

b7C

SUBJECT: FOREIGN INFLUENCES IN THE
BLACK NATIONALIST MOVEMENT
IN THE UNITED STATES

ReBulet 12/15/67.

b1

(S)

b1

(S)

b1

(S)

b1

(S)

3 - Bureau
(1 - Liaison)
1 - Bonn
GAV:il
(4)

REC 1
EX-100 FEB 5 1968
100-446080 -
NOT RECORDED
128 FEB 15 1968

CONFIDENTIAL
REC'D

70 FEB 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

~~SECRET~~

ORIGINAL FILED IN 157-8141-

SCNN 157-56

b1

(S)

(S)

b1

(S)

b1

Press reports of various demonstrations in West Berlin in which the SDS was active indicated that some banners and placards made reference to Black Power.

(S)

b1

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-12-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

Date of Mail June 23, 1968

Has been removed and placed in the Special File Room of Records Branch.

See File 66-2554-7530 for authority.

Subject JUNE MAIL Stokely Carmichael

9 8 FEB 20 1968

Removed By _____

File Number 100-446080-

Permanent Serial Charge Out

F332

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

b7C

TO : *JMM* Director, FBI (100-446080) DATE: *Jan 23, 1968*

FROM : SAC, New York (100-153751)

SUBJECT: *STOKELY CARMICHAEL*
Internal Security - Misc.
*Sedition*SOG ACTION:
(Records Branch)☐ Post and destroy
☒ FileALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-12-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

This case will be delinquent.

Date of Bureau deadline: *Jan 25, 1968*Reason for the delinquency: *Long report is now in Distateri -*Date the report or necessary communication will reach the Bureau: *2-5-68*AEC zone designation; e.g., OR, CH, etc.:
(This applies only to 116 cases.)☒ No administrative action necessary.

JJD

40

Rec *W. STC.*

FBI

Date: 2/9/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRMAIL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (157-5420)
 FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (157-2032)
 SUBJECT: WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT
 RACIAL MATTERS
 (OO:WFO)

b2

b7C

b7D

There are enclosed for the Bureau (11) eleven
 copies of an LHM containing info furnished by [REDACTED]
 on 2/8/68, which concerns meetings held between MARTIN
 LUTHER KING and SCLC representatives with black nationalist
 leaders [REDACTED] and STOKELY CARMICHAEL.

- 4- Bureau (Encls. 11) (RM)
 - (1- 100-106670) (M.L. KING)
- 3- Atlanta (157- (Encls. 3) (RM)
 - (1- 100-5586) (M.L. KING)
 - (1- 100-5718) (COMINFIL SCLC)
- 1- Philadelphia (Encl. 1) (INFO) (RM)
- 2- Washington Field (Encls. 2) (RM)
- 1- New York (100-111180) (STANLEY LEVISON) (#41)
- 1- New York [REDACTED]
- 2- New York (100-153731) (STOKELY CARMICHAEL) (#43)
- 1- New York (100-156667) (CLERGYMEN CONCERNED) (#42)
- 1- New York (100-136385) (M.L. KING) (#41)
- 1- New York (100-153735) (CIRM) (#41)
- 1- New York (100-149194) (COMINFIL SCLC) (#43)
- 1- New York

b7C

JFC:kb
 (15)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 12-12-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/SHF

AGENCY: ACST, AEC, CSI, SEC, SEAVI
 SCLC: YSD, CRD, RAO, [REDACTED] 10 FEB

ENCLOSURE

HOW FORN:
 DATE FORN:
 BY: [REDACTED]

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

NOT RECORDED
 180 FEB 15 1968

Approved: [Signature]
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

57 FEB 22 1968

ORIGINAL FILED IN 157-8428-153

NY 157-2052

The source used to characterize STANLEY LEVISON
is [REDACTED]

Three copies of this LHM are being sent to the
108th INTC Group, NYC, one copy each to the Naval Investigative
Service, OSI, USA, SDNY, all NYC, and one copy to the
USA, EDNY.

b2

b7D

This LHM is classified "~~Secret~~" because it contains
information from [REDACTED] a source engaged in furnishing
information about racial matters in the US and Communist
influence therein. It also is classified "~~Secret~~" because
it contains a concentration of info from [REDACTED] in
the characterization of STANLEY LEVISON.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~SECRET~~

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

New York, New York
February 9, 1968

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF
ON 12-12-2005

Washington Spring Project
Racial Matters

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, learned on February 8, 1968, that on that date [redacted]

[redacted]
was in contact with Stanley Levison. [redacted]
Levison that he had been in Philadelphia attending a meeting, that there are some very important things going on in Philadelphia, and that the situation there is the best situation "we" have going. However, the source was unable to ascertain clarifying information about the situation in Philadelphia [redacted]

b7C

b7D

The source continued that [redacted] advised Levison that the situation in Washington, D.C. was confused. He noted that they (SCLC representatives) held a couple of meetings [redacted]

b7C

b7D

[redacted]
[redacted] The following morning, according to [redacted] a picture of Stokely Carmichael appeared on the front page of the "Washington Post", captioned "Stokely Carmichael Discusses Washington Campaign with King" (Martin Luther King, President of the SCLC).

~~SECRET
Group 1
Excluded from
automatic downgrading
and declassification~~

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ENCLOSURE

100-446080

~~SECRET~~

Washington Spring Project

[redacted] related that the day following the church meeting they (SCLC officials) [redacted]

b7C

b7D

Levison commented that he had heard Stokely say this and [redacted] comment was that "this is what [redacted] said last night". [redacted] continued that Stokely is now "sweet as pie. He pulled a power play on us in Washington", but did not win anything because everybody was opposing him.

Levison commented that he could not see the SCLC letting ten persons who threaten violence take over from hundreds. He described it as a dangerous thing, a kind of black facism.

[redacted] in referring to the meeting, related that a person named [redacted] (phonetic), whom he described

b7C

b7D

[redacted] said that King became very upset after this private meeting and began berating him. He said he told King that what [redacted]

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Washington Spring Project

b7C

b7D

Levison commented that he agreed with Carmichael and disagreed with King on this point. He inquired as to why King was upset.

[] stated that King said the enemy was violence and began to preach on how violence begets violence.

Levison related that the key is that King states the enemy is violence which is not true. The enemy are the forces preventing them from getting rights and violence is one of the methods. He said that, therefore, they are trying to develop a counter technique to violence.

"The Worker", an East Coast Communist newspaper, in its issue dated February 11, 1968, page one, contains an article on the protest against United States involvement in the war in Vietnam in Washington, D.C. on February 5, 6, 1968, sponsored by the Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam. It states that King addressed the gathering of clergymen and laymen and told them that "it was imperative that the freedom and peace movements be joined. Describing the worsening economic conditions, he appealed to the religious leaders to join and support the demonstrations his organization has planned for Washington in April". The article also notes that King made it clear that the targets of the demonstrations would be the Vietnam war and Congress.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Washington Spring Project

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised in April, 1964, that Stanley Levison was a secret member of the Communist Party, United States of America (CP,USA), in July, 1963. In late 1963 and early 1964, he criticized the CP for not being sufficiently militant in the civil rights struggle. Levison was described by certain CP leaders as being to the "left" of the CP in this position on civil rights. His differences with the CP, however, are merely tactical and he continues his ideological adherence to Communism.

~~SECRET~~

F B I

Date: 2/2/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-12-2003 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-153751)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISC.;
SEDITION

b7C

ReNYtel to Bureau, 1/29/68.

On 2/1/68, [redacted] The
Saturday Evening Post, 641 Lexington Avenue, New York
City, advised SA [redacted] that approximately one
month ago, STOKELY CARMICHAEL and [redacted]
[redacted] discussed an article that would be written
by CARMICHAEL and be published by the Saturday Evening
Post concerning CARMICHAEL and his travel abroad. [redacted]
advised that the article was to have been written in the
first person by CARMICHAEL [redacted]

b7C

b7D

- ③ - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - Washington Field (RM)
- 2 - Atlanta (RM)
- 1 - New York (100-147963)
- 1 - New York (100-155090)
- 1 - [redacted]
- 1 - New York

BJW:egb
(12)

b2

b7D

cc 806 979

H. LT. 2/7/68

REC-32

C. C. - Bishop

FEB 3 1968

RAC [redacted] SEC.

b7C

100-446085-1073

Approved: [redacted]

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

NY 100-153751

[redacted] advised that he would contact NYO of
FBI if there is any further developments.

b7C

b7D

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

FEB 3 1968

PF

FBI WASH DC

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-12-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

FBI ATLANTA

1034 AM 2-3-68 URGENT LJA
TO DIRECTOR AND CINCINNATI
FROM ATLANTA 100-6812

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL. IS DASH MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION.

RE CINCINNATI TELETYPE FEB. TWO, LAST, INDICATING POSSIBLE
TRAVELS OF [REDACTED] AREA IN NEAR FUTURE. FOR
INFO OF CINCINNATI, ATLANTA OFFICE SNCC HAS BEEN WITHOUT TELEPHONE
SERVICE SINCE EARLY DEC., SIXTYSEVEN. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] BUT SOURCES UNABLE TO
FURNISH ANY ITINERARY FOR HIM.

b7C CINCINNATI MAKE APPROPRIATE ARRANGEMENTS TO SECURE VERBATUM
COPY OF ANY PUBLIC SPEECHES MADE BY [REDACTED] -P-

END

GJM

FBI WASH DC

EX-113

REC-40

100-446080-1074

3 FEB 18 1968

FEB 3 10 38 AM '68

FBI
REC'D - LIFE LINE UNIT

57 FEB 15 1968

b7C

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 2/2/68

The attached states Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) Headquarters, Atlanta, Georgia, is making effort to have Stokely Carmichael and/or

[redacted] a militant civil rights organization, travel to southern Ohio area in near future.

This information is being furnished to the White House, Attorney General, interested Divisions of the Department, and military agencies. Cincinnati is following this matter closely.

b7C

JFM:chs

wcs/m

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-12-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

wcs/p

DECODED COPY

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan ☒
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

☐ AIRGRAM ☐ CABLEGRAM ☐ RADIO ☒ TELETYPE

6:39 PM URGENT 2-2-68

TO DIRECTOR, ATLANTA, BALTIMORE, AND WASHINGTON FIELD VIA WASHINGTON
FROM CINCINNATI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-12-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

Internal Security
STOKELY CARMICHAEL ~~IS~~-MISCELLANEOUS SEDITION.

b7C

RE WFO TELETYPE TO BUREAU FEBRUARY 1 LAST.

ADVISED TODAY THAT

SNCC HEADQUARTERS ADVISED THAT

AND WAS SCHEDULED TO ARRIVE BY

TRAIN SUNDAY AFTERNOON, FEBRUARY 4, NEXT.

COPIES DESTROYED

343 MAR 18 1971

W.A.L.T. 2/17/68

b7C

TWO COPIES TO WFO

54 FEB 15 1968

XEROX

FEB 1968

REC-40

EX 101

3 FEB 8 1968

If the intelligence contained in the above message is to be disseminated outside the Bureau, it is suggested that it be suitably paraphrased in order to protect the Bureau's cryptographic systems.

Tolson _____
 DeLoach _____
 Mohr _____
 Bishop _____
 Casper _____
 Callahan _____
 Conrad _____
 Felt _____
 Gale _____
 Rosen _____
 Sullivan _____
 Tavel _____
 Trotter _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holmes _____
 Gandy _____

DECODED COPY

☐ AIRGRAM ☐ CABLEGRAM ☐ RADIO ☒ TELETYPE

PAGE TWO FROM CINCINNATI

b7C ACCORDING TO SNCC HEADQUARTERS CARMICHAEL AND/OR [REDACTED]

ATLANTA ADVISE IF [REDACTED] SCHEDULED TO VISIT SOUTHERN OHIO AREA.

WFO FURNISH ANY INFO RE VISIT BY STOKELY CARMICHAEL. AM COPY TO BOSTON.

RECEIVED: 7:01 PM RNK

2 CC WASHINGTON FIELD

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM : *JH* SAC, ATLANTA (100-6812) (P)

SUBJECT: *JH* STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - M;
SEDITION

DATE: 2/9/68

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-12-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHE

b7C

Re Miami letter to Director, 1/30/68, requesting Atlanta to advise whether the letter appearing in the 8/2/67 issue of "Granma" purportedly written by the subject had been subjected to examination for handwriting comparisons.

For the information of Miami, Atlanta furnished to the FBI Laboratory the photograph of Georgia operators license # 0-434616 for STOKELY CARMICHAEL and a pink folder bearing photograph and signature of STOKELY CARMICHAEL for comparisons with the signature appearing in the re 8/2/67 issued of "Granma."

On the date of 1/10/68, the Laboratory Report # D-552601, the Laboratory reported the results of the examination as follows:

"The CARMICHAEL signature in the letter reproduced in the issue of 'Granma' for 8/2/67, is not sufficiently legible for comparison purposes with specimen KCl. Furthermore, specimen KCl is not sufficient in quantity to show the normal variations in the signature of this individual."

Information has been included in a letter by Atlanta on STOKELY CARMICHAEL dated

REC 27

100-446080-1076

② - Bureau (RM)
2 - Miami (100-15451)(RM)
2 - Atlanta
EUC:caw
(6)

EX 107

12 FEB 12 1968



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

57 FEB 23 1968

RACE 14 SECT.

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

F B I

Date: 1/29/68

Transmit the following in _____

Via AIRTEL _____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, BOSTON (157-437) (RUC)

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION
(OO: Atlanta)

ReBostel 1/26/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are eleven copies of an LHM concerning a visit to Boston by STOKELY CARMICHAEL on 1/25/68. Copies are being furnished Atlanta, New York and WFO due to their interest in this case. Dissemination is being made locally to 108th MI Group, OSI, NISO and USA, Boston.

b7C

The LHM is classified "Confidential" since the information furnished by [redacted] whose identity is concealed, could logically result in the identification of a confidential informant of continuing value and jeopardize his future activity.

- ③ - Bureau (100-446080) (Encl. 1) ENCLOSURE
2 - Atlanta (Encl. 2) (RM)
2 - New York (Encl. 2) (RM)
2 - Washington Field (Encl. 2) (RM)
1 - Boston (157-437)

JFN:gm
(10)

cc Airtel + LHM
800 98D SEC 3

100-446080-1077

AGENCY: ACSI, OSI, SEC. SERV.,
DEPT: ISD, CRD, RAO

HOW FORW: B/S
DATE FORW: 2/2/68
BY: PTB/...

JAN 31 1968

RACIAL SECT.

70 FEB 16 1968

BS 157-437

b7C

The agents who are mentioned in LHM are SA [redacted]
[redacted] and SA [redacted]

b2

b7D

It is noted that CARMICHAEL arrived in Boston under blizzard conditions and that at times visibility was less than 15 to 20 feet and travel was extremely difficult. The surveillance of CARMICHAEL was a joint effort of the Boston Police Department and the Boston Office. Due to the distinct possibility that Boston agents might not reach the airport in time to meet CARMICHAEL's plane due to the weather conditions, the cooperation of the intelligence division of the Boston Police was sought and Officer [redacted] of that division assisted in the surveillance.

b7C

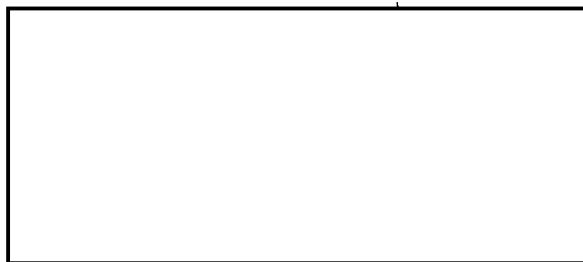
The young Negress who met CARMICHAEL and who has been identified as [redacted]

b7C

[redacted] has not been previously known by Boston. Investigation is being instituted on [redacted]

The panel truck mentioned in LHM is believed to have been used as a defensive surveillance by persons responsible for CARMICHAEL's presence in Boston. This truck was observed on two occasions but wet snow covering its registration number prevented identification of the truck.

The sources mentioned as being contacted from 1/25/68 through 1/28/68 are:



b2

b7C

b7D

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Boston, Massachusetts

January 29, 1968

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF
ON 12-12-2005

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

On January 25, 1968, a source, which has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that Stokely Carmichael had departed the National Airport, Alexandria, Virginia, aboard Eastern Airlines flight 646 at 7:35 p.m., on January 25, 1968. He was traveling under the name of V. Welch and was en route to Boston, Massachusetts.

b7C Flight 646, Eastern Airlines, arrived at Logan International Airport on time at 7:03 p.m., on January 25, 1968, although blizzard conditions prevailed. Carmichael was met by an unidentified young Negress, whom he kissed. Both entered an ITOA cab driven by a young male Negro. The cab had Massachusetts Registration Number [redacted]

The cab traveled to the YMCA, 401 Warren Street, Roxbury, where it stopped outside the main entrance. The unidentified girl entered the "Y" and returned with two male Negroes who appeared to converse for a minute or two with the occupant of the cab. The two men returned to the "Y" and the cab drove off up Townsend Street, Roxbury. As it crossed Walnut Avenue, a panel truck pulled out of Walnut Avenue and stopped in the intersection, blocking traffic on Townsend Street. This appeared to be a deliberate attempt to prevent surveillance of the cab in question. The truck blocked traffic until the cab had disappeared and then drove off.

b7C On January 25, 1968, [redacted] Independent Taxi Owners Association (ITOA), 223 Albany Street, Boston, Massachusetts, advised that ITOA cab with Massachusetts Registration [redacted] was in service and on the air but did not respond to his call. He stated the cab was owned by one [redacted] address unknown.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~GROUP 1~~

~~Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

COPIES DESTROYED
343 FEB 26 1971

100-446080-1077

ENCLOSURE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

b7C On January 25, 1968, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that a meeting was held at the YMCA, Warren Street, Roxbury, on that evening and was scheduled for 8:30 p.m. Due to the weather most everyone was late and people were still straggling in at 9:30 p.m. The meeting was the second of its kind and was sponsored [redacted] Representatives of Negro organizations had been invited to consider the idea of forming a United Front made up of representatives of Negro organizations for the purpose of consolidating the strength of individual organizations in one front, thus creating greater black power. The first meeting, held January 15, 1968, had ended without a decision being reached. The program had been placed before these groups as the suggestion of Stokely Carmichael.

At 10:00 p.m. Stokely Carmichael entered the meeting, was introduced and spoke for about ten minutes. He told the group that the plan would not cause any organization to lose its identity or purpose and he stressed the power which a United Front would give the black man.

Source advised that someone asked [redacted]

b7C

b7D

[redacted] A third meeting will be held and an effort made to have the idea sponsored by such non-militant organizations as National Association for Advancement of Colored People and the Urban League.

Carmichael left the YMCA about 10:30 p.m., according to this source.

The ITOA cab, which brought Carmichael to the YMCA from the airport, was observed about 11:00 p.m., driving through Roxbury followed by what is believed to be the same panel truck used to block off Townsend Street earlier in the evening.

-2-
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

On January 26, 1968, [redacted] Gould's
Auto Repair Service, 215 Talbot Avenue, Dorchester, Massachu-
setts, advised [redacted] One with Massa-
chusetts Registration [redacted]

b7C

[redacted]
[redacted] This shows continuous
operation in the Roxbury-Dorchester area of Boston and does
not show a trip to Logan Airport, East Boston.

b7C

8
66
2
At the airport [redacted] went into Eastern Airlines
and returned with a male Negro whom [redacted] had never met or
seen before. [redacted]

b7C

-3-

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

b7C

Sources familiar with racial matters in the Boston area, contacted on January 26 through 28, 1968, advised they had no knowledge of Carmichael's whereabouts or activities.

On January 28, 1968, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that Stokely Carmichael arrived in Washington, D.C. via an Eastern Airlines shuttle flight at 4:05 p.m. on that date.

On January 29, 1968, [redacted] Eastern Airlines, Boston, Massachusetts, advised Eastern does not operate a shuttle service from Boston to Washington, D.C. but only direct flights.

b7C

The Boston City Directory for 1968 shows the first floor apartment at [redacted]

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

-4*-

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-12-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

Date of Mail Feb. 9, 1968

Has been removed and placed in the Special File Room of Records Branch.

See File 66-2554-7530 for authority.

Subject JUNE MAIL Stokely Carmichael

Removed By 9 8 FEB 20 1968

File Number 100-446080-1078

Permanent Serial Charge Out

F332

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 2-5-68

Previous information indicated Stokely Carmichael, former Chairman of Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), was scheduled to spend weekend of February 3 - 4, in Canada; however, he stayed in Washington, D. C., where he spent majority of time at SNCC headquarters.

The attached reports that a press conference will be held 3 p.m. today at SNCC headquarters to refute a report Carmichael would work for and assist Martin Luther King in his demonstrations in Washington, D. C. SNCC plans to use press conference to attain publicity for Black United Front, a coalition of Negro civil rights leaders being organized by Carmichael.

Information in attached will be furnished White House, Attorney General and interested agencies.

PTB:mh

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-12-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-12-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

F B I

Date: 2/4/68

Transmit the following in _____

CODE

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE

URGENT

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445080)
ATTN: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC; SEDITION

RE WFOTEL [REDACTED]

SUBJECT OBSERVED AT RESIDENCE [REDACTED]

THIS DATE.

A SOURCE WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST

ADVISED THAT CARMICHAEL WAS TO ATTEND MEETING THREE PM THIS DATE

[REDACTED] WDC. MEETING
[REDACTED]
WAS FOR FUND RAISING FOR SNCC. THE SOURCE FURTHER ADVISED THAT
SNCC WILL HOLD A PRESS CONFERENCE FEB. FIVE NEXT AT SNCC HDQTS
ONE TWO THREE FOUR U ST., N.W., WDC TO REFUTE STATEMENT ON RADIO
FEB. TWO LAST THAT CARMICHAEL WOULD WORK FOR AND ASSIST MARTIN
LUTHER KING IN HIS DEMONSTRATION IN WDC. SNCC PLANS TO USE PRESS
CONFERENCE TO OBTAIN PUBLICITY FOR BLACK UNITED FRONT OF CARMICHAEL

* Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

3-Bureau
1-Atlanta (RM) (AM)
1-WFO

RNW:rmj
(5)

EX 110

REC-68

3 FEB 12 1968

Approved: [Signature]

Sent _____

M

Per _____

51 FEB 15 1968

Special Agent in Charge

F.B.I.

Date

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)PAGE TWO
WFO 100-43503

/ AND TO ASSERT THAT SNCC WILL NOT OPENLY ASSIST KING.

ADMINISTRATIVESOURCE MENTIONED IS

b2

AIRMAIL COPY TO ATLANTA. P

b7D

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

Tolson _____
 DeLoach _____
 Mohr _____
 Bishop _____
 Casper _____
 Callahan _____
 Conrad _____
 Felt _____
 Gale _____
 Rosen _____
 Sullivan _____
 Tavel _____
 Trotter _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holmes _____
 Gandy _____

byp

DECODED COPY

☐ AIRGRAM ☐ CABLEGRAM ☐ RADIO ☒ TELETYPE *west*

2:39 PM URGENT 2-7-68

TO DIRECTOR, ATLANTA, WASHINGTON FIELD, AND CINCINNATI
 FROM BOSTON

0
 STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISCELLANEOUS, SEDITION.

4
 RE CINCINNATI TEL FEBRUARY 6 LAST.

b7C NO RECORD BOSTON INDICES, IDENTIFICATION
 DIVISION, BOSTON PD AND BOSTON PD INTELLIGENCE UNIT.

RECEIVED: 2:42 PM MKP

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 12-12-2005 BY 60309 AJC TAM/MLT/JHF

EX 110

REC-68

100 - 446080 1085

3 FEB 12 1968

2CC WASHINGTON FIELD

4 FEB 15 1968

the intelligence contained in the above message is to be disseminated outside the Bureau, it is suggested that it be suitably
 paraphrased in order to protect the Bureau's cryptographic systems.

FBI

Date: 2/8/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-12-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

ReCiteletypes 2/6/ and 2/7/68.

[redacted] advised on 2/7/68, [redacted]

[redacted] Plans in Dayton not known to source.

[redacted] Means of transportation not known to source. [redacted] Washington Office of SNCC member meeting held at the residence of STOKELY CARMICHAEL, [redacted] was inquiring at WDC SNCC Office for telephone number of [redacted] as he planned calling them. [redacted]

b2

b7C

b7D

- 3 - Bureau
- 2 - Atlanta (100-6812) (RM)
- 1 - Boston (Info) (RM)
- 1 - Philadelphia (Info) (RM)
- 2 - WFO
- (1 [redacted])

REC-68

EX-105

WWH:las b7C
(9)

1 FEB 8 1968

AIRTEL

RACIAL M. SECT.

G. C. Bishop

Approved: [Signature]
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

70 FEB 11 1968

WFO 100-43503

[redacted]
[redacted] Reason for visit to Philadelphia
not known. Source could not state whether [redacted]

b7C

b7D

[redacted]
Indices WFO contain no identifiable information
regarding [redacted] WFO unable to verify [redacted]
[redacted]

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-12-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

F B I

Date: 2/6/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM: SAC, ALBANY (100-19800) (RUC) b7C
SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISC; SEDITION

Re New York airtel to Bureau, 1/23/68.

Enclosed is copy of following Motor Vehicle documents for New York Office:

1. New York State Operator license in name of

b7C

2. 1967 New York State registration and supporting documents for above individual.

Above license furnished to SE

b7C

by _____ NYS DMV,
Albany, NY, on 1/29/68. Registration furnished by _____
_____ on 1/31/68.

On 1/25/68, _____

_____ advised her records revealed New York State License

b7C

CC: ③-Bureau (RM)
2-New York (100-153751) (Enc. 4) (RM)
1-Albany
VHM:cjc
(6)

REC-68

100-446080-108

EX-105

5 FEB 8 1968

C. C. Bishop

cc 806 9+9

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-12-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

F B I

Date: 2/7/68

Transmit the following in PLAINTEXT
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

b7C

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-153751)
SUBJECT: ⁶STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS-MISC. SEDITION

A RēWFOairtel to Bu, 1/22/58.

Enclosed is a photograph of for WFO. b7C

A review of NYO indices reveal the following information:



has been submitted to the Bureau for consideration in being put on Rabble Rouser Index.

- 3- Bureau (RM)
2- Atlanta (RM)
2- Washington Field (RM) (Encl.)
1- New York (100-158222)
1- New York (100-147963)
1- New York

REC-68

FEB 8 1968

B.J.W:mb

(11)

Approved: *[Signature]*

Sent

M

Per

Special Agent in Charge

INT. SEC.
RACIAL INT. SEC.

A/T NY 2/12/68 PFB pda

100-446080-1083

806 940

F B I

Date: 1/24/68

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS;
SEDITIONALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-12-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHFReWFOairtel dated 1/12/68, with LHM setting forth
summary of subject's activities from 1/8-11/68.Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 11 copies of
an LHM suitable for dissemination setting forth a summary
of subject's activities from 1/11-22/68. Two copies each
are included for AT, BA and NY.Local dissemination being made to Secret Service,
AUSA and military intelligence agencies.Information contained in LHM was developed by
_____ and an undercover MPD source and by physical
surveillance.

- 3 - Bureau (Enc. 11)
- 2 - Atlanta (RM) (Enc. 2) (100-6812)
- 2 - Baltimore (RM) (Enc. 2) (100-24220)
- 2 - New York (RM) (Enc. 2) (100-153751)
- 1 - WFO

WWH:dgp
(10)

AIRTEL

AGENCY: ACSI, REG, OSI, SEC. SERV.

DEPT: ISD, CRD, RAO

HOW FORW: R/C

DATE FORW: 1/23/68

BY: JTB/jms

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

448839

REC COPY FILED IN 100-446080-1085



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C. 20535

January 24, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-12-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

The following pertinent activities of Stokely Carmichael for the period January 10 - 22, 1968, are as follows:

On Wednesday evening January 10, 1968 Carmichael

[redacted] with two male companions, traveled by automobile from Washington, D.C., to Baltimore, Maryland. They visited the Community Action Agency Neighborhood Center, 2013 Ashland Street, Baltimore, Maryland. Subsequently, Carmichael visited [redacted]

[redacted] A social gathering appeared to be taking place at this address. Carmichael, later the same evening, returned to Washington, D.C.

On Thursday, January 11, 1968, Carmichael was present at SNCC Headquarters during the day time and that evening, he attended a social function held at the Hollyday House, 2316 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., where approximately twenty persons were present.

On Friday, January 12, 1968, Carmichael spent the major portion of the day at SNCC Headquarters and during the evening attended a party with male and female friends.

On Saturday, January 13, 1968, Carmichael spent the day at SNCC Headquarters where he remained until the evening hours. During the period at SNCC, [redacted] b7C

104-446085-1085
ENCLOSURE

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Go NW
[redacted] visited SNCC Headquarters. After leaving SNCC, Carmichael visited the home of [redacted] *BC*

where he spent the remainder of the evening.

On Sunday, January 14, 1968, Carmichael, accompanied by two males and a female, visited the Metropolitan Baptist Church, 13th and R Streets, N.W., Washington, D.C., where they attended religious services. After the services, Carmichael visited SNCC Headquarters, where he remained into the afternoon. Carmichael and a female were observed to remove a box and envelopes from a vehicle and entered an apartment building at 1400 Fairmont Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. During the evening, Carmichael visited [redacted]

b7C
[redacted] Approximately ten individuals were observed to enter this address where a meeting of the Steering Committee of the Black United Front was held. The purpose of the meeting was an effort to set goals for the newly formed Black United Front organization. Shortly after 10 p.m., Carmichael departed the above meeting in order to appear on a radio program "Speak Up" on radio station WOL, Washington, D.C., beginning at 11 p.m. Carmichael's radio appearance, which lasted approximately two hours, was mainly devoted to questions asked by the radio listening audience by telephone. *BC*

On Monday, January 15, 1968, Carmichael spent the day at SNCC Headquarters and during the evening visited friends.

On Tuesday, January 16, 1968, Carmichael spent the day at SNCC Headquarters. The evening was spent with a female companion at his residence.

On Wednesday, January 17, 1968, Carmichael visited 2000 P Street, N.W., where radio station WOL has studios. Carmichael prepared a taped interview at WOL studios to be broadcast over WOL at 7:30 p.m. on January 21, 1968. During the afternoon, Carmichael visited the campus of Howard

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

University where he attended a program relating to architecture at the invitation of a student. During the evening, Carmichael, along with others, traveled to National Airport, Washington, D.C., where they saw a female off on a flight for New York City. Carmichael later returned to his residence.

b7C On Thursday, January 18, 1968, Carmichael, after visiting SNCC, visited 626 Third Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., where the Washington Urban League has an office. Newspaper publicity indicated that Carmichael visited [redacted] in order to discuss a reported reluctance on the part of the Urban League to affiliate with the Black United Front.

b7C On Friday, January 19, 1968, Carmichael was observed at National Airport, Washington, D.C., in the company of [redacted]. They departed National Airport and drove by limousine to Dulles Airport where Carmichael saw her off on a flight to San Francisco. He then returned to his residence. Subsequently, he visited SNCC Headquarters. In the early evening, he departed SNCC Headquarters with [redacted]

b7C [redacted] drove them to National Airport, Washington, D.C., where they boarded the 9 p.m. Eastern Airlines Shuttle to New York City. Upon arrival in New York City, they reportedly went to the home [redacted]

On Saturday, January 20, 1968, Carmichael departed New York City and returned to Washington, D.C., arriving at National Airport approximately 4:40 p.m. He visited 2112 New Hampshire Avenue, where a social was in process. Subsequently, he went to 5113 Georgia Avenue, N.E., where a social affair was in progress. Later, he went to 1421 Monroe Street, N.W., where a private party was held.

On Sunday, January 21, 1968, Carmichael, with two females and one male, visited Carolina Missionary Baptist Church, 777 Morton Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., where he attended a religious service. Later, he went with the above mentioned individuals to an apartment building at 2007 15th

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., where he spent the remainder of the day. Carmichael's taped interview was broadcast over WOL radio station at 7:30 p.m. The program concerned his activity and plans in Washington, D.C.

On Monday, January 22, 1968, Carmichael visited SNCC Headquarters. During the afternoon, [REDACTED] b7C

[REDACTED] b7C [REDACTED] Thereafter, they both went to the New Dunbar Hotel. During the evening, Carmichael attended a birthday party in honor of a female SNCC helper, at 328 H Street, N.E.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

FBI

Date: 2/5/68

Transmit the following in

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-12-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHE
983317

ReWFOat dated 1/5/68.

Enclosed herewith to the Bureau are 11 copies of an LHM setting forth a verbatim translation of comments of STOKELY CARMICHAEL on a radio program broadcasted on station WOL, Washington, D. C., on 1/14/68. Also two reels of tape containing the comments of CARMICHAEL are enclosed for the Bureau. Two copies of the LHM are furnished AT.

The tape was prepared by SE [redacted] and
SE [redacted] of WFO. It was translated by SE [redacted]
SE [redacted] and IC [redacted] all WFO

b7C

b7C

- 3 - Bureau (Enc. 13)
2 - Atlanta (100-6812) (Enc. 2) (RM)
1 - WFO

WWH:hs

(6)

AIRTEL

FEB 19 1968

Approved: [Signature]

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

President's Commission on Law Enforcement
AGENCY: ACSI, ITC, OSI, SEC. SERV.,
DEPT: [redacted]
HOW FORW: R/S
DATE FORW: 2/6/68
BY: PTB/hs

b2



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Washington, D.C. 20535

February 5, 1968

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION

Radio station WOL, Washington, D. C., on its program "Speak Up", moderated by Dr. David Eaton, had as its guests Stokely Carmichael, Lester McKinnie, Washington Director of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and Courtland Cox of SNCC. The program was on the air from 11:00 p.m., Sunday evening, January 14, 1968 to 1:00 a.m., Monday morning, January 15, 1968.

Dr. Eaton began the program with a brief interview of his guests, with emphasis on how they became acquainted with each other and how they became involved in the Civil Rights Movement. The questions and answers then began. The following is a verbatim transcript of the comments of Carmichael in response to questions asked him:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-12-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHE

983317

100-446040-1086

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

EATON: Listening audience the phone number is 462-8150. And tonight we're interviewing Mr. Stokely Carmichael, Mr. Lester McKinney and Mr. Cortland Cox. Let me throw this question to you, all of you have in common, being at Howard University and on this program we have had several of the Professors who have been kicked out of Howard and one of the student, student at law school. What was his name? Green I think and now he is at Yale. Let me ask you this question? What help if any, in formulating your opinions about life, what was some of your more positive impressions of Howard University? Or what is your critique, that's a better idea of Howard University. How would you answer that?

CARMICHAEL: Well, I think it is changing a little at Howard University, my biggest problem at Howard University is that it was trying too much imitate white society. I mean all of its criterion came all from white society. It was so caught up in imitating white society, it never took time to look at their own people, their own culture. I mean they just never really questioned things. They don't today, I mean they talk about education. It is crystal clear to me, education means being able to fit into your community. And Howard University is incapable of doing that, I mean the students who attend Howard University can't even mix who surround their very community. They got to have police dogs to fight what they call block boys, and that's just absurd to me, because that's the same people, same black people, flesh of the same flesh and blood of the same blood. And if Howard University couldn't prepare me to help live in that community or change that community, then that education was absolutely wasted. I think that more than anything else (garbled) with Howard, I mean I

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

I am not even going into the petty nonsense of the administration, they are trying to be so white and the petty nonsense of some faculty members. The whole institution just in its attempt to imitate lock-stock and barrel, white society and to make us white. I think what caused to rebel, cause were all first generation college, you know our parents didn't go to college, they didn't even finish high school. And if we didn't get scholarships, we wouldn't be able to go to college.

EATON: You got a good point, let me put it this way. You say, it is not only true of Howard, I don't think also, the whole educational system.

CARMICHAEL: Right.

EATON: But isn't it natural if the black man finds himself the minority, the largest minority in a seas of whiteness or the white majority. Is it not natural to have this type of imitation? What is your feeling about that?

CARMICHAEL: Man, I just want to pick up on that. I think that's a line the Honkies just use, you know telling us that we're not any relationship to Africa, man that's not true. First of all for black people the question of a community is not geography it is a question of color, that happens to be a fact, I mean you go in this country, wherever you go, if your black you're going to the same community, it doesn't make a difference where its located, if its in Washington, D. C., if its in Harlem, if its in Southside Chicago, if its in Watts in Los Angeles, wherever the brothers are thats naturally where you're going to be. And the same thing is true outside of the country, the same is true for example in the West Indies, the same thing is true in Africa. Well now the white folks got to say that nonsense because look what they've done to us. They have scattered us all over the Western

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

society because they felt like it. They came to Africa they took us, they dropped some of us in the West Indies, they dropped some of us in Cuba, they dropped some of us in Brazil, they dropped some of us in Columbia, in Peru, in Panama, in Santa Domingo, in Puerto Rico, in the United States, and they just scattered us as their will, I mean we're 900 million strong in the world today and if the black man ever recognized that he was 900 million strong in the world today and recognized that we're flesh of the same flesh and blood of the same blood because we are...

EATON: He'd probably faint.

CARMICHAEL: No, he wouldn't faint, the Honkie would faint. If the black man recognized that the Honkie would faint.

EATON: Okay, lets take a few calls, the number is 462-8150, and we're having a informal discussion here tonight with Mr. Stokely Carmichael, Mr. Lester McKinnie and Mr. Courtland Cox. If you care to join it they are willing to answer any questions that you put to them other than those they rule out of bounds and we decided that when we went on the air. Lets take a couple of calls, gentlemen. WOL speak-up please.

CALLER: Alright, well may I just say you have such lovely participants on there I would love to hear them talk much more to the community, you know, rather than asking so many questions at first. And I agree with these gentlemen. I just wish they could give us a better education, black people, I'm not concerned about what white people think about us. I think if we could do one of these things to more educate the black people that they are black and what they are, I would appreciate any comment anybody has about that. We're going to waste our time trying

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

to teach the white man that we're black and we're Africans we can forget it because its going to take too long.

EATON: OK. Thanks very much. Any of you care to react to that?

CARMICHAEL: Let me just pick up on that because I think a point that the lady I think the point that the sister made was very important. Because every time black people move in this country the first thing they decide is what is the white man going to say about this.

COX (?): You're right.

CARMICHAEL: Yeah. And we have to change our entire way of thinking. We must begin to say first our people, first our people, we are concerned with what is good for our people, and later for anybody else.

CALLER: Stokely at one of your meetings, you know, I was there and you said that ah...never knock your brother or never knock your brother's organization. There's another organization (around)....in the (), you know. But suppose your brother knocked you, you know, knowing its gonna hurt you, you know, what actions should he take behind that?

CARMICHAEL: OK, now understand this, we gotta understand this its very, very important. Look I'm gonna tell you something brother if we don't understand it all of us are gonna be wasted. Now dig, if a brother attacks another brother and the other brother's mind is messed up, his mind is messed up because the white man messed his mind up. Right?

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CALLER: True.

CARMICHAEL: So that means our primary enemy is the white man who has messed up our brothers mind. Our job is to begin to be as humble as we can with our own people, to try and bring them along to the point where we have reached because look a lot of people talking black now but remember when brother Malcolm was talking about black just think where we were.

CALLER: Yeah.

CARMICHAEL: And all of us have to grow to that point. And if people are not willing to help the brothers and sisters who are behind we're going to get wasted because they'll be able to divide us. We have to give our brothers all the slack in the world, I mean cut them a whole lot of slack to bring them along slowly. Use any methods necessary to bring them along except force. We must begin to...begin to use as a law that we do not use force on our own people, as a matter of fact when they insult us we just go to them and take the insults and just keep going slowly. I mean wherever our people are that's where we go and that's how we try and move against them so that we begin to unite everybody in our community, I mean everybody in our community got to be united, from kids six years old all the way up to the old folk we people say minds cannot be changed but that's not true, we got to work..... with them because unless we have a totally united community (isn't ?) going to be able to get us. But if we take our time with our brothers and when they make the mistakes we just go on after them, you know, like we all grow up in the church, remember Jesus Christ went after the one lost lamb, and that's who we got to go after, we got to go after our lost brothers whose minds are not straight,

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who are fighting us every time we say the word black, who are getting upset every time they hear Black Power, and take time out to un-brainwash what the Honkie did to them. Now it offers a challenge for us because the challenge is can we ...are we better and are we smarter with our own people than the white man? If the white man brainwashed our people can we un-brainwash our people and bring them home? And I think we're bad enough to do it. And that's what we have to do. And that's why we have to take time and don't get upset, you know, when brothers say things that we know they don't really mean because they don't know what they're talking about, and cut them all the slack in the world to bring them home. We got to bring our people home and you got to remember that every Negro is a potential black man. I job is to make black man.

CALLER: Why can't Stokely Carmichael tell us his real name: And who is paying him?

EATON: (to CARMICHAEL) The question is why can't you tell us your real name? And who is paying you?

CARMICHAEL: My real name is Stokely Carmichael and I'm paid by the Student Non-violent Co-ordinating Committee when I get paid.

EATON: (to caller) Alright, thanks very much.

EATON: WOL, speak-up, please.

CALLER: So mighty glad to see that Mr. Carmichael come speaking to the community because I feel the community needs to be educated, especially or even our so called upper class. We are all nothing but Negroes.

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Some of them there seems to be indifferent or (). What makes the white man mad is when we are united and solid unity and speaking the things that should be spoken. And I think this is a very good idea.

EATON: OK, thanks very much. There is one question that comes out of two or three of the listeners and I would like to throw open and also get the listeners reaction. Should the black man become involved, not only in the destiny of his own community but the destiny of America, and if so, why? (Cox answered - Carmichael continued the answer.)

CARMICHAEL: I mean you could carry it to the present date.

EATON: Mr. Carmichael.

CARMICHAEL: We do not want to get involved in a black united front but lets use that as an example. Now, we got together in D.C. We said, alright, we're living in a black community. We have different ideologies, you know, we have different organizations but we're all working for the benefit of the black man, why don't all of us get together, sit down and try and work out areas where we can work together and stop fighting each other. Now that seems to.....me to be what anybody would be happy to have done. But every white newspaper, every white television station, every white radio station in this city came out against such a move. They don't even want the black man to get together. Didn't any body say anything about what they're were going to do, all they said was we're calling a unity meeting, we discuss things by ourselves away from the press because we know what they do to everything we do, they always misinterpret and continue to mess up the minds of our people. And yet even something as simple as having a unity meeting among black people,

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and white people are trying to destroy it. The press is making all these stories about whats going on, who's fighting who and all that nonsense, and the reason they are doing this is because they don't want the black man to come together because they know if the black man comes together its all over for them.

EATON: OK. Lets take a few more calls. In other words what you are simple saying is that if the black man looks after his...own..best interests in becoming a better individual in terms of ownership of property, being responsible for the property he owns, developing businesses and sharing that this....by the very act of doing this will have meaningful consequences on the statue and the position of America.

CARMICHAEL:(?) Yeah, but not only that see....if the black man becomes....

EATON: In other words some basic changes will have to be made.

CARMICHAEL(?): Yeah, but look if the black man just began to think for himself then they couldn't control us anymore. For example if any serious black man started to think for himself he knows he has no business in Vietnam. He's not going to Vietnam, if the black man don't go to Vietnam then this country is messed up.

EATON: Right. Ok, lets take a few more calls and gear in on some of the areas that we've just discussed.

CALLER: I would like to ask my black brother, Carmichael, a couple of questions.

EATON: Ok, go ahead. He is listening.

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CALLER: When he was over in North Vietnam what did the leader over there think about our black brothers, boys over there fighting, our black brothers whom they are fighting with. What did they think and what did they say about them?

EATON: I think the question is, When you visited North Vietnam what did some of the leaders think about the black men in America?

CALLER: Fighting over there?

CARMICHAEL: I think that they recognize the black man is being used in that war. I think they recognize it very clearly. They recognize it for a number of reasons. Now before the United States moved in against Vietnam, the Vietnamese were fighting the French used to take the Algerians, Algeria is in North Africa, and they used to make the Algerians fight in Viet Nam against the Vietnamese. Now what the Vietnamese would do, when they captured an Algerian prisoner, they would take him and put him in a separate cell from a French prisoner and they would begin to talk to the Algerian prisoner and they would say, now look brother, why are you fighting us? This man in France has got your country up tight, you can't move out of the country, you can't own anything in the country. He owns everything and he makes you come and fight me and I haven't done anything to you. I haven't tried to take your country. I don't rape your women. I don't make them....prostitutes. So why are you fighting me? And they would begin to work a re-educational program on the Algerians. So what happened was that all the Algerians when they got out of jail from Vietnam, they formed the inner Left, the National Liberation Front. And they are the ones who carried on the long guerrilla warfare in Algeria against France.

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EATON: Thanks very much for your call.

CALLER: Can I ask one more?

CALLER: This is very important, Dave.

EATON: Ok, go ahead.

CALLER: Actually, I want to ask him, did he read this statement when he was over there, he would like to see United States get defeated?

EATON: Let me tell you, one ground rule we have established at the beginning, we don't want to get in one of these type of controversies, so I am not going to allow any question did he say or didn't he say. We won't get too much accomplished then, OK?

CALLER: OK.

EATON: We are trying to share thoughts, trying to find out who these people are, these three individuals. OK? Thanks very much. WOL, speak up please.

CALLER: I would like to ask Stokely who helped finance his trip abroad?

EATON: Mr. Carmichael, who helped finance your trip abroad?

CARMICHAEL: Different peoples.

EATON: Mr. Carmichael's response, did you hear?

CALLER: Different peoples.

EATON: WOL, speak up please. Your on the air.

CALLER: I would like to ask Stokely Carmichael and the

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rest of the men who are there why aren't they doing anything about the right of Negroes to vote in Washington, D. C.? Because I am pretty sure that the reason is because the majority....of the people in Washington are Negroes and eighty percent of the home population would be Negroes, and thats the reason we are not allowed to vote. I mean I agree with all these other things that are going on, you know, and I know (garbled) Negroes (garbled) D. ? C. should have the right to vote. So why aren't (?) we doing anything about this?

CARMICHAEL(?): OK. I think that COX is going to take that question. (Cox answered-Carmichael continued.)

CARMICHAEL: Yeh, but there's another follow up to that brother. Number one, you just don't wanna get the vote, just like that, see. Cause you get the vote then the man mess you up with that vote, see.

CALLER: Yeh, I agree brother.

CARMICHAEL: Yeh, what we want to do is to begin to rebuild a community feeling in our community which has been broken down by all of the forces that work against us, that are put on us from white society. Like, for example, now you walk on down 7th and T or you walk on down 14th and U, you see us out there fighting each other, cutting each other, shooting each other. We have to begin to address ourselves to problems where black people stop taking out their hatred on each other, where we begin to build a feeling of community where we'll hustle on each other. So that when we get the vote, cause we gonna take the city, I mean there aint no if, ands or butts about that, but when we get the city we will have developed a feeling of community. So that whatever we use the city for it will help the community, the masses of our people, not just a few people who are running

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for offices and fighting each other. And that's more important for us than the vote. The vote is a trick bag the white man put out here brother.

CALLER: Will I (garbled) saying, if we had the vote and (unintelligible) elect our school board, I mean, don't you think we could start educating Negro children like, you know, show them the part that Negroes, black Americans, did play in this country.

CARMICHAEL OK, dig brother, See, if you go elect somebody to the school board, they gonna function the way the school board functions now. It's not gonna work. You got to talk about changing the whole education system in this country. Now I'll tell you why. An education, see, it's supposed to prepare you to live in your community, right.

CALLER: The white community.

CARMICHAEL: Yeh, that's what it's doing now. It's preparing us to live in the white community, cause it doesn't speak to the problems of our community. Let's look at our community. Our community is full of rats, roaches, prostitutes, dope addicts, preachers, gamblers; it's also full of maids, it's full of gangs, it's full of young fellas out on the street fighting each other. Now if I go to school, see, if that's the community I live in, that school should teach me to be a good prostitute or a good dope addict or a good preacher or a good whatever in my community. If it can't teach me that, then it's got to teach me how to change my community. And the schools aren't doing any of these things man. It's teaching.....

EATON(?): Not where it's not teaching you how to live and it's not teaching you how to change.

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CARMICHAEL: Right. It's not teaching you how to live in our community, it's not teaching you how to change our community. What's it teachin us to do is to perpetuate the system that we live under and that's why electin a black man to the board is not going to begin to solve our problems. We have to talk about our parents takin over the schools, takin over the school boards, and dictating to schools the type of education that our children get. Cause that's the only solution to the problem brother.

EATON: OK, thanks very much for you call, we're moving on.

CALLER: Radicate (ph) among us, you know, among, I call myself an American now, of course I'm not, but since I'm here it's been a benefit, and I'm definitely Negro (----?), I don't hesitate to say it. And it just burns we up when another Negro or soul brother or black man (looks it??). I have so much of Indian in me, you know, it's an instinction (??), you know, you really get mad.

CARMICHAEL: Look here sister.

CALLER: You have to club these people into.....

CARMICHAEL: Look here sister, that's true, what you say it true. It's just our job to begin to help them. There's not need to get.....They're our people. They're flesh of our flesh and they're blood of our blood and we've got to help them, no matter how long it takes, no matter how tired we get we've got to keep goin. I mean, let's just remember again brother Malcolm X when he first started about black everybody said, man shutup, we don't want to hear that nonsense. He kept pushing. He kept plugging. He kept pushing along and he kept pluggin till a lot of us began to open our eyes and we have to do the same thing with our brothers and sisters. And we cannot afford to get hostile with them because

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when we get mad with them they gonna run to the white man and that's another one we lost. We got to be....

CALLER: (Interrupts) That's a good point and it really takes a lot of patience. You see (unintelligible).

CARMICHAEL: (Interrupts) The black man is the most patient man in the world. We been patient for 400 years. We can take patience with our own people if we took all that patience from the white man. (Woman caller was trying to talk at same time Stokely was.)

CALLER: Yes, I'd like to ask Stokely your doing all this talk about black power has he stopped to think just where will be get, once he get this black power, how many of our people own (?) any shares in the utilities here in the District? Have you stopped to think about that yet?

CARMICHAEL: I'm sorry ...

EATON: We didn't quite understand the latter part of your statement, would you repeat it?

CALLER: Of all these utilities here in the District has he stopped to think how many people, how many Negroes, own shares in this? If we were to get the black power, where do we go from there?

EATON: Right, the word that we are missing is utopia something, what was that word?

CALLER: The utilities here.

EATON: Utilities, right?

CALLER: That's right, the water, the electricity, all of these. Where we going from there, once we get the

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black power? How're we going to maintain it? Now you doin all this kickin (?) about black power, now how is he going to maintain once he gets the black power?

CARMICHAEL: See brother, you saying the white man is the only man who can maintain a water system and all that other utility stuff you talk about?

CALLER: No. (both talk) How you going to maintain it? How many Negroes in the District own any shares in anything?

CARMICHAEL: I don't think many of us own any shares in anything. Why don't we own it? That's a question you ought to ask yourself. Why don't we own shares in it?

CALLER: Why because we haven't (?) stopped (?) long (?) enough (?) to train this ignorant Negroes that really need the training. The only (Stokely interrupts).

CARMICHAEL: Brother, there are no ignorant black people, there are no ignorant black people.

CALLER: Have you stopped to think about all the black (?) of ourselves who haven't been (----?) that you really haven't....

EATON: (Interrupts) I think maybe that---let me interrupt and see if I can clarify this. Correct me if I'm wrong, but what you three gentlemen are talking about in terms of the black community and black people playing the major or proportionate share of the decision making process including in the black community. This is not negating, as I understand it, and association in terms of dialogue and

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communication with whites, I don't think we're talking, and correct me if I'm wrong, about some type of black enclave within America. Are we not talking about a type of real equality rather than the facade of equality in terms of communication and stature.

CARMICHAEL: I don't think that...

EATON: (Interrupts) I think that's what, you know, cause he assumes that white people won't be working and, you know.

CARMICHAEL: Yeh, but that is not the way we should go to the question. I mean, why is it that whenever we talk about our people we got to go back and talk about white people? Does it necessarily mean that, if you do things for black people, you have to step on white people? We're concerned with our people. We're not saying we don't step on white people. I mean but the...

(Someone says OK and Eaton said, that's what I wanted you to clarify)

Stokely continues with--No brother, no. See I don't waste my time talking about that. We're talkin about gettin black people together, organized, united, so we can have the power that was stolen from us by the white man. That's all we're talking about.

CALLER: What did you have stolen from ya?

CARMICHAEL: My life, he stole me from Africa, git to that.

CALLER: So you free to go back why don'tcha go back?

EATON: OK, rather than debate this one moot point, we're going to have to move on because we have five more minutes before the news break. OK,

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thanks very much.

CALLER: Yes, I would like to direct this call to Mr. Carmichael.

EATON: Go right ahead, he's listening.

CALLER: All right, I was thinking, I been thinking this (?) ever (?) since (?) the program came on the woman from the West Indies more or less, you know, kinda brought it home. Don't you find that women as a whole are more hard to understand, you know the problems. I think women are...well I think that this is where the big problem comes in at.....

EATON: OK. While he's.....

CALLER: Probably but, you know men, they and...they have more foresight they can look further into the future and the women just wants to argue all the time. And another thing that I'd like to know, what can women who is really interested in going to, you know, get our people together.

CARMICHAEL: I'm not sure that's true because I think that the person who has carried the bulk of the black race in certainly the centuries before, has been the black women. I mean that I just don't think that's true. I mean that it was my black mother who had to carry me when my father couldn't get a job and carry the five of us, you know, all five of us, so I just don't think that's true. I think that our young men ought to be thankful for our black mothers that they were able to survive through all the crap that they had to take from the white folks. I'm thankful for black women, I think that they are the most beautiful women on the earth, because they were

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.....able to survive through what no other race of people would have been able to survive through. They not only took care of white people's children they took care of their own children. They fed their own and they breast fed white people, they clean their own houses and clean white people's houses, they cook supper for their children and cook supper for white people's children and they were still able to give us a feelin of humanity through all of that nonsense. Be thankful for the black woman sister.

EATON: OK, thank you very much.

EATON: The thing that is puzzling me, I'd like to get your reactions on this, and this is a genuine puzzle I had. I can't see, and I'm speaking ---I'm trying to speak objectively, I can't see why persons in America, I don't care whether they're black, white or green, can't see the value and real contribution to this country that can be made if the black man becomes more solid more united in his efforts. And I really can't understand why people can't understand this. Can you speak to that? In other words, I know that the white community has traditionally attempted to fragmentize the black community and has succeeded, but looking at it as objectively as possible, I can't understand why people don't realize that by the black community coming closer together, having more genuine communication, have more real understanding of each other how that cannot be a more positive contribution to America. Can you enlighten me?

CARMICHAEL: Well I think David that it's just a known fact, the white man recognizes that if the black man gets together there's going to be trouble because the

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whole system of this country is based upon keepin the black man where he is. So if he gets together he's, it means, automatically, he's gonna upset the applecart. Cause the way the country is fitted now, the black man is programmed in every area of his life.

EATON: OK

CARMICHAEL: And with the program goin.....

EATON: Now I want you to challenge me, as I know you will, but here's what I'm saying. My fervent feeling is that if America is to be saved then the black man has to save her. That's my feeling. If America is to be saved, the black man has to save her. Now, speaking purely in a humanitarian way and trying to be objective, if the value system in America can be changed by the black man, being concerned with his blackness and accepting it and loving it, then ostensibly, oh that's a big word, then this would have in a final form a positive input to the whole American system.

CARMICHAEL: I got to do it brother. You my (.....) boy, you know, but we got to go.

CARMICHAEL: The black man cannot be concerned with America. He must be concerned with his people. To be concerned with black people in this country is not to be concerned with America. It is to be the opposite of America.

CALLER: I'd like to ask Mr. Carmichael a question in regards to his connection with the Nation (ph) of Islam (ph). I have been listening to him tonight and I've been keeping up with him for some time. I'm a student of

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the black revolution here in America and I noticed that many of the things he is saying and teachin was taught in the Nation of Islam, I believe, even before Mr. Carmichael was born, so I was wondering what connection, if any, he has with the Nation of Islam and, if no connection, what are his thoughts and views on the Nation of Islam here in America.

EATON: Mr. Carmichael, you got that?

CARMICHAEL: Yes I did. Brother, I'm not a member of the Nation of Islam, but I have the highest respect and regard for the Nation of Islam because I think that they were one of the first organized groups in our period, our lifetime, to begin to really organize our people and begin to teach them self respect and a dignity and to begin to uplift our (?) system (?), face of the whole confrontation with white society that they have to face. I have nothing but a great deal of respect for the Nation of Islam.

EATON: OK, thanks very much.

CALLER: I'd like to know, can you tell me exactly what happened on (?) thata Rufus Mayfield and that meeting?

EATON: I'm sorry but I don't know anything about that, does any of you gentlemen know? What meeting, I don't know what she's referring....

CALLER: Unity meeting, with Rufus Mayfield, when he was there exactly what happened?

CARMICHAEL: That was a.....

EATON: That was a no comment, I think wouldn't it?

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CARMICHAEL: Yes, no comment.

CALLER: I can't tell you how happy I am that I heard the program this evening because now that I hear these gentlemen especially Carmichael, at first hand. I can see that the white community has nothing to fear, just nothing at all. They want much better housing, they want better education, they want this and that and who are they going to get it from,....from the white community. You know it is too bad that Carmichael instead of going over to North Vietnam and getting his information over there, he should have taken a walk over to Chinatown, to see first hand how a non-white community is able to educate themselves, make themselves prosperous and live with peace and harmony with everyone around them. Now would they like to comment about that?

EATON: On what, anybody want to comment? I don't think about an answer forth coming.

CALLER: Well why not?

EATON: I said no one seems to want to comment.

CALLER: They're three articulate gentlemen.....

EATON: Nobody cares to comment.

CALLER:(something?) in their own defense.

CARMICHAEL: There is no defense. I mean what you mean in my own defense, what defense? I'm not defensive about anything.

CALLER:You know you three people have been played up as () in the newspapers.

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CARMICHAEL: As what?

CALLER: You've been played up as (olgies??), actually the three of you have no power, the newspapers have built you up, you are what the Chinese would call a Paper Tiger. You can form your fronts from now until dooms day and you'll never get anywhere because this is a white man's country, the white man had the dream, built the industries and employed the Negro, and until you do something on your own, which I doubt you ever will do, you'll never get anywhere.

CARMICHAEL: OK, now dig this.

CALLER: (if you are....)

EATON: OK, let him react to your quarry.

CARMICHAEL: Alright now dig this, Honkie, I'm going to tell you how you Honkies built this country. You came to America....

EATON: Let's take it in order now, let Mr. Carmichael speak and if you want to come back then after we leave you can call in again.

CARMICHAEL: Be cool, if you listen you might learn something. Now dig this, you came to the United States of America, the Indians were here, you landed on Plymouth Rock, the man took you in he showed you how to grow corn, he showed you how to live in this country and after he showed you all that you wiped him out. You went to South America.....

CALLER: Now let me tell you this.

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EATON: Listen he's got to finish.....

CARMICHAEL: You went to South America, the Indians showed you their gold, the Aztecs showed you their gold, their silver, their copper, you stole it, you wiped them out. You went to Africa, our brothers, our sisters took you in, you came in there we showed you the happy life we had, you took us, you put us in chains, you brought us here. You went to China, the chinese took you in, they showed you what they had in Asia, you went you stole what they had and you enslaved them, and you talk about what you did. All you've ever done is rotten through and through, you have stole, you have cheated, you have killed, you have murdered, you have plundered, you have raped. And you have the dastardly courage to sit there and talk about what you have built. You built off of the sweat of other people, and baby what you sow, that you shall reap.

CALLER: My question is directed to Stokely Carmichael or either one of the others.

EATON: OK, go right ahead.

CALLER: I want to ask about how is his new coalition group, Black Leaders, going to co-ordinate with the coming of Martin Luther King in April?

CARMICHAEL: Dr. King is flesh of our flesh, blood of our blood, he's our brother and we're working with every brother who is out there.

CALLER: I would like to answer the white man's quarry to the three guest you have. Remember this now, everything this country has built up () Negro blood. Back in the 1800s even the 1700s

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this whole country's economy was built on cotton, who picked that cotton? Who had the stamina and the ability to go out there and pick that cotton, while they were in chains, while being beaten and driven by slave masters? The Negro has done something in this country and the white man is trying to, right now, is trying to hide it under stones and rocks. And any Negro who tries to bring this up to his black bosses that the black man has built this country, his blood is in France, his blood is in Germany, his blood is in Japan, its everywhere, its in Korea, its strung in the Hawaii Islands, and this white man has the audacity to call up and say the Negro can't do anything for himself. Look at the city, man, who laid out the water pipes, I've never seen a white man in a ditch in this city, he stands over the ditches in this city and he tells the Negro what to do, who has the know how? Who laid out this great city of Washington" A black man. I mean a black man laid this city out. And a white man's going to call in and ask your three () did they want to answer it. Why can't they answer this man?

EATON: They did answer him, brother, but I think also that they preferred a man like you to call in and and talk to him. And thanks very much for calling.

CALLER: Thank you, brother.

CARMICHAEL: Keep on preaching, brother, we gonna get it up tight, we gonna get it because we gonna survive.

CALLER: I have a couple of statements I would like to make and I'd like to direct them at Mr. Carmichael. First of all I want to ask him if I'm correct in

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saying that it was a white man who got up off of the black man's neck, I know he bought us as slaves, but I want him to answer yes or no did the white man get up off the black man's neck or did he take his freedom?

EATON: The question is did the white man get off the black man's neck or did the black man take his freedom?

CARMICHAEL: The white man is still on his neck.

EATON: (to caller) Did you hear that response?

CALLER: No, I didn't hear it.

CARMICHAEL: The white man is still on our necks.

CALLER: OK, now I'm going to ask another question. Isn't it a fact that he can take a hundred dollars in his hand right now and go to Africa and buy his cousin from Africans right now?

CARMICHAEL: No that is not a fact.

CALLER: Well then why do the United Nations have twenty different countries on their agenda in trying to get them to consider...ah reconsider abolishing slavery in () right now.

CARMICHAEL: Oh, you see, you don't understand, the countries they are talking about are countries that are still controlled today by the white man. I mean, you have all of South Africa today, brother, where our brothers and sisters are enslaved by the white man, you've got Zimbabwe, you've got Angola, you've got Mozambique, you got South Africa, you've got South-west Africa, you got Portugese Guinea, all of those

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countries, brother, today are controlled by white men who walk around.....

CALLER: (Interrupting) I'm talking about the West Africa, in West Africa in fact...

CARMICHAEL: Like where?

CALLER: On the network here...whose that...one of the radio networks they had a documentary, a film documentary and you could write to the United Nations and get facts and figures, the fact is that in Africa the descendents, the children of the slaves who sold your mother, my mother, into slavery are still selling slaves, the white man do not have no control over them, its the understanding that the government, even the government of that particular part of Africa (has) been because of the fear of losing out (in some sort of an interest there).

EATON: (Interrupting) Alright let me ask you this question, this is Eaton, the moderator, since we are questing for truth here in all dimensions let me ask you this, do you know the countries in which you are talking about?

CALLER: I know its in West Africa. I can find out.

CALLER: I'd like to tell Mr. Carmichael how beautiful I think that his movement is. His actions are in this black movement in America, that I'm a young 21 year old Negro myself, follow and really believe in all his (band), and I have....I know all my friends feel the same way that I do when I....that if Mr. Carmichael wants this United States to be straight I think that by him being educated the way that he is that he know the proper way for us to do it and

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I say that I follow him and back him up all the way.

EATON: Mr. Carmichael

CARMICHAEL: Brother thank you, but don't follow me and back me up all the way, you just come on along up here beside of me because we got to do it together.

CALLER: Don't you feel that in the way that the Negroes are trying to prove their peace by riots and all are hurting them?

EATON: Who would like to get to that?

CARMICHAEL: Let me get the Honkie.

EATON: Right, Mr. Carmichael wants to.....

CARMICHAEL: Look here Honkie, what are you doing in Vietnam?

CALLER: Well, we're trying to help the Vietnamese.....

CARMICHAEL: You are rioting, you are burning down their houses, you are shooting their babies, you're bombing their hospitals, you're killing their children. Why are you rioting in Vietnam?

CALLER: I beg your pardon.

CARMICHAEL: Why are you rioting in Vietnam?

CALLER: Well we really feel that the Vietnam war is helping the United States in any way.

CALLER: Good evening, I want to say....I want to compliment Mr. Carmichael because I really think that he is doing a good job and what he said to a certain extent, that slavery is not completely over because Negroes today, this minute, are being

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exploited in this city, and I'm a living proof of it. I have two young men here now, that two weeks ago went out to find a job, and honest young men and they got this job and they..... salesmen, and they were told that they would get a certain amount over what they sold. Two weeks of labor they used their own time and car fare and they still have not got a cent you see but all this () and it really burns me up just to hear other people who don't know the inside of what's actually happening and.....

EATON: Thanks very much for your comments, WOL speak up.

CALLER: I'd like to ask brother CARMICHAEL what does he think personally about the way Rap Brown had people doing in the summer burning down their homes.

CARMICHAEL: Brother I don't think that my good brother and my leader and the chairman, Rap Brown, had anybody burning down their houses.

CALLER: Well in his speeches he had the black man out here burning.....in these riots their own houses instead of going out and burning up the white man's houses that should have been burned down.

CARMICHAEL: I don't think that Brother Rap had anybody burning down anybody's houses.

CALLER: Well why did the black man burn down his own house then?

CARMICHAEL: I don't think the black man burned down his own house. He don't own no house.

CALLER: I'll put it this way, the houses that he lived in why did he burn them down that puts him out on the street.

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CARMICHAEL: OK, look here buddy, do you ever read the Bible?

CALLER: Yes, I do.

CARMICHAEL: Then if you read the Bible then you know that the Bible says that fire is a purifier, it cleanses, it cleans, that when things have become so crummed up so that the only thing you can do is just cleanse it and fire is a cleansing agent sometimes.

EATON: You're really taking that out context, brother Stokely, now you know if we're going to get in- to scripture here tonight I want to go into Bibli- cal criticism.....

EATON: (to caller) Thank you very much for your call.

CARMICHAEL: The Bible does say that doesn't it brother.

EATON: Right, WOL speak up please.

CALLER: Mr. Carmichael.

EATON: Right, he's listening, go right ahead.

CALLER: I'm glad your here and I'd like to know something. Are you going to put some protection on yourself? Cause you know what happened to ---- you know, brother Malcolm(ph) ah Malcolm.

CARMICHAEL: Brother the Lord is with me at all times.

CALLER: Well I'm glad to hear that and I'm gonna keep fighting for my people all I can.

CARMICHAEL: You got to do it brother. Remember, our people are the most important thing to us. Our people first.

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CALLER: Mr. Carmichael?

CARMICHAEL: Yes sir.

CALLER: Did you see the game today?

CARMICHAEL: We was together brother. I didn't.....I had to miss it because we had a meeting (?). It (?) was together.

CALLER: Did you see Bob (?) Adderly (PH)? What did he do to the honky?

EATON: Thanks very much for your call, sir.

CALLER: Hello, I'd like to address this question to Carmichael, please.

EATON: Right, he's listening, go right ahead.

CALLER: The answer to his definition of a radical today. I hear, often hear, conflicting views about what a radical is. Could you define that term for me, please?

CARMICHAEL: I don't know brother, the only definition I can think of is the classical definition, radical comes from latin word which means root, that is to get to the root of the problem. But I'm not sure that a definition used today to describe a radical is really a radical.

CALLER: Yeh, but this is what I'm referring to, when you had the conference in New Jersey you said there were only two sides to the question, your either radical or your the Uncle Tom. Now you moved from the side of radical and by the definition in New Jersey you moved toward the Uncle Tom side.

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CARMICHAEL: I'm sorry brother, I wasn't.....

CALLER: Wait a minute, now hold it, hold it. I've read every manuscript that've been put out by you, I think you movin', I think the white man, as you know, is sort of usin' you now. Don't allow yourself to be used at this point, your doin' good my man, but keep it up. Don't be like Marion Barry he took Rufus Mayfield's job, which is very dirty lowdown, took his job from him.

EATON: OK, thanks very much for your comments. We gonna....

CALLER:I continue....

EATON: Right. We gonna try to move on, if you.....

CALLER: Wait a minute. You won't let me continue fact I'm tellin the truth.

CALLER: Let me rap (??) (or) rat (??). Let me rap (??).

EATON: Go ahead, rap (?).

CALLER: OK, I'll think of a very dirty--ah--what Marion Barry did. He took Rufus Mayfield's job. Just like in all revolutions middle class has already benefited from (?) the (?) lower class. Carmichael I hope you will keep these people in (?) line (?) and help the lower classes to progress, not the middle class.

EATON: Mr. Carmichael please respond to that one.

CARMICHAEL: Brother we got to understand what we're trying to do in this city. We're trying to organize everybody in our community from the man in the streets to the

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black bourgeoisie. That is the only way we're gonna survive as a people, when all of us are organized. Now we have to understand what we're working against. We're working against 400 years of brainwash, all of us suffer from brainwashin brother, all of us do. We're trying to help each other as we try to clear up our minds and get ourselves together. That means that as we go along there're gonna be people who're gonna make mistakes. I don't think, brother, that you should depend upon me to keep everybody in line. Your a black man, you should be out here with us fightin and tryin to strai...and keep it straight.

CALLER: I'm over here witcha, I'm witcha baby, all the way.

CARMICHAEL: Well, brother, if you with me, together we gonna do it.

CARMICHAEL(?): I know we gonna do it.

CALLER: If you keep people like, you happen to keep people like Marion Barry in their place and won't (?) try to use the lit.....I mean, exploit the little people like Rufus Mayfield. We shoulda joined on to the round up and marched to the Capitol and told Broyhill (??) to have seen that we gonna keep Rufus Mayfield and Marion Barry wasn't gonna git his job. I think it was a very low-down dirty thing we allowed him to do.

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CALLER: I'd like to ask him why he goes into an area and incites (?) a riot and leaves and people that he leaves are the Negro that he ahh.....the people that he gets together, they are without jobs?

CARMICHAEL: Well, they have to show me where I incited to riot and where I ran away and caused all the problems you say I caused.

EATON: Do you know of any instances where Mr. Carmichael has done this?

CALLER: Well, he went into Nashville, Tennessee.

EATON: Did they have a riot in Nashville?

CALLER: Yes they had a riot at Fisk University and Tennessee State University.

CARMICHAEL: And who started the riot, as you call it, brother?

EATON: He started it.

CARMICHAEL: He who?

CALLER: Stokely started it.

CARMICHAEL: Well, that's whose talking.

CALLER: He instigated the students at Fisk University and Tennessee State University.

CARMICHAEL: I did?

CALLER: Some of them were kicked out of school. Some of them had to go home and what not. I just wanted his comment on that.

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CARMICHAEL: Let me give you the comment but let me include to you some facts which you don't know anything about concerning the Nashville incident. Number one, the people who incited that rebellion as has been the case of all the rebellions in the major cities are the policemen..The policemen are the ones who create rebellion.

CALLER: I see.

CARMICHAEL: Brother, I can't create a rebellion. If you lived in a good house and you know, you livin a good life and I came and talked to you about gettin together to take care of business, what would you do?

CALLER: Probably tell you come in an have a coke.

CARMICHAEL: Of course (?). I don't create rebellions. It is the system under which we live that creates....

CALLER: All right (?)

CALLER: I would like to direct my questions to Mr. Carmichael.

EATON: He's listening, go right ahead.

CALLER: I'd like to know (?), do he know anything about the black political party called Slant (ph) and another party called Us (ph).

CARMICHAEL: ^{LOS ANGELES} Yes, ~~Slant~~ (ph) is headed by my good brother, Tommy (ph) ~~Laket~~ (ph), and ~~Us~~ is headed by another good brother, Ron Ceringa (ph), out in Los Angeles.

CALLER: And...Is there any way of gettin in touch with these people?

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CARMICHAEL: Yes, I'm afraid I don't have the address with me but I'm fairly sure you could get it if you just call information and ask for it in Los Angeles, Us and Slant.

CALLER: I see, all right, thank you very much.

CARMICHAEL: OK, brother. It's good that you get in contact with them, we need to contact other brothers who, you know, doin other things around the country so we can begin to move to get a national organization going so we can take care of business.

CALLER: I see, thanks a lot.

EATON: WOL, speak up please.

CALLER: Yes, Stokely, don't you think that possibly a fear of mine (?) that the ninety percent of the white community is going to be against people who ah, incidents, really I should say, of burning and of violent speech and of your use, a couple of times, of the word honky. They don't like that and they're going to react to it. Probably they're numerically more, all because you say, they're more powerful. So just by (?) chance, I think that your taking a chance on ruining yourself when you (garbled) the black community as a rule (?).step up and refuse to harbor people who say honky, well that's not too bad, but people who really thought burning down houses and other things like that. Doesn't seem right to me. Your going to alienate all this white community, I don't think you want that. I think you need their help.

CARMICHAEL: Well, I don't need any help. The people who need help in this country are white people. The white people need help in straightenin out themselves

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for what they have done to us. That's who needs help. I don't need any help. All I need is the white man to get off of our backs and we will go ahead. Now you talk about the ninety percent gettin upset just because we say honky, don't you think we should get upset for what they have done to us for 400 years.

CALLER: Yeh, but none of those people are still alive, that's why they don't want to pay you. It's very hard to find a white man whose willing to admit in the first place and, in the second place, it's very hard to find a white man who is alive and who owned slaves for some time, see. That's why he doesn't feel he owes you a debt.

CARMICHAEL: Is it hard to find a white man today whose a racist in the United States?

CALLER: Well, I don't think it's too terribly easy, I doubt that most white people are racist. I don't think they are.

CARMICHAEL: You don't think they are. Do you think the institutions.....

CALLER: I think the white people who passed the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and 1965 aren't racists.

CARMICHAEL: Why did they need to pass a Civil Rights Act if we were citizens?

CALLER: Got (?) to one of their problems.

CARMICHAEL: Of course, their problem, not mine.

CALLER: I'd like to speak to Stokely Carmichael. Stokely, I was listening to you a few minutes ago when you

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mentioned that interpretation about the Bible. I think that Jesus stressed that more because I read the Bible a couple of time myself and the interpretation of the Bible is strickly under the white man's influence. This all...., I believe this to be a part of the reason for the New Testament coming about, you know, and I'd like to ask some kind of way that I can get into contact with you, you know face to face because there are a lot things that I's like to ask you about.

CARMICHAEL: Well brother I'm usually right around the corner 1234 U Street at the SNCC office.

CALLER: 12 what?

CARMICHAEL: 1234 U Street, N.W.

CALLER: What time are you there usually?

CARMICHAEL: Well, I'm in and out because I'm doing a lot of work you know, but if you call the number is 387-7445, you know maybe we can get together but now in order for us to get together now you got to be doing something because we just can't.....

CALLER: I beg your pardon.

CARMICHAEL: 387-

CALLER: I'm talking about in order for us to get together.

CARMICHAEL: In order for us to get together you got to be doing something now because the time for talking is over. We got to move now in order to organize our people.

CALLER: Yes, well you see, I'm ready to make my move. I've been ready you know.

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CARMICHAEL: Beautiful, beautiful, then we can get together.

CALLER: I'd like to direct my question to Carmichael.

EATON: Go right ahead he's listening.

CALLER: I'd like to know---enough of this philosophical dissertation, as a black woman I'd like to know what is his program specifically advocate that black people do now that all other efforts have failed. I'd like to know what he really would like for us to do. Just what does he advocate specifically for the black man to do?

CARMICHAEL: Well, in the first place I don't think that all efforts have failed, sister. Number one, I think that the first thing we have to do as a people is to begin to understand how we have been divided. That's first and foremost. And that we must begin to organize all sections of our community to come together, to aid each other, that's first. Once we begin to do that then secondly we can move to take over those institutions which are inside our community which we do not control. We should start first with the police force. We don't control the police force, that's why there's so much police brutality. If we controlled the police force, there would be no police brutality. We have to move to control the Board of Educations in our community. We do not control them, that's why the schools are in such conditions. We have to move to control the Welfare Department. We do not control them, that's why our mothers on welfare get the treatment they get. We have to move to control all of the institutions inside our community which are manifestations of the white power structure. We have to control and own them. Then we also have to move to take over the ownership of all of the economic industries inside our communities from the local five and ten cent

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store all the way up to the big industrial complexes in Watts.

CALLER: Hello Americans to you Africans (garbled) teaching (?) in America. A man came on this show and he said that average----the American Negroes live better than any other black people in the world and I want to tell him that it is completely false. We people in Africa are free, we want those here to be free too. But if those among the American Negroes down here (?), they do not kid (?) themselves that there's freedom somewhere, they'll never get freedom here because they are being destroyed by the whites and they still think that Africa is jungles and (-----garbled-----). I think Stokely Carmichael should go out and teach his people that Africa is free, it is not as bad as some people say. And I think that wherever those Negroes in United States want to be free they should fight for it. This is the time to fight for it. They should go out and fight. Just (?) don't (?) sit down and talk.

CARMICHAEL: And brother there's only one thing I'd like to say and that is don't call us American Negroes because we're flesh of the same flesh and blood of the same blood. You my brother and I'd die in the streets of Philadelphia or Washington, D. C., just as quick as I'd die in the streets of Angola (ph), Mosambique (ph) or South Africa.

CALLER: Well, we are all the same. I agree with you but the colored man in United States say he is different. He say he is more civilized than those in Africa and, therefore (?), that's why I said American Negroes. But they think they are different, but (?) we are all the same.

CARMICHAEL: Your right brother and that's the brainwashing that

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the white man has whipped on us. That's the game (?) that he put on us but today we are beginning to recognize that we are all the same and no matter how many trips Humphrey takes to Africa to try and clean up, it ain't goin to work because today black people are coming together around the world..

CALLER: Yeh, we all the same but lets go out and teach other peoples, the other blacks, that we are the same. They do not understand. They don't know what they are about.

CARMICHAEL: It's true brother, it's going to take a long time but a lot of us are out here fighting and I want you, since you're from Africa, cause when every time you walk the streets don't be runnin near those white folk. You come on into the community and you walk down the streets, you just grab a brother. You say I'm from Africa, I'm your flesh and I'm your blood and you just keep on talking to him and we goin to get it on.

EATON: OK gentlemen, thank you very much, we have about five more minutes and I'd like, if you wish, to have a closing statement or something that you would like to say. Mr. Carmichael.

CARMICHAEL: Well, I just got the address for the brother who called in earlier for ask(?) for Slant (ph). I just got a card with the address on it. The address is 1673 East 108th Street, Los Angeles, California 90002. In closing I just think that, well, we have to recognize there are a number of things. The first is that we lost brother Malcolm (ph). Now we lost brother Malcolm not because of what he was doing but because of what he was saying. If we are going to move on today, we cannot allow

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the honkies to waste us for what we're saying. We must be wasted today, if we are going to be wasted, for what we're doing and what we must be doing is getting our people together to survive inside this hell hole. That's what we have to be doing. That must be our major concentration today, getting our people together. All of our people beginning to teach love, beginning to teach respect for each other. The love and respect that has been broken down, that's been trampled upon in our community for 400 years. Our concern must always be our people first. First our people, first our people, then and only then me and you. We must begin to recognize that individualism is a luxury that black people can no longer afford. Secondly, we must begin to recognize that in coming together many of us are going to have to go. That's just a fact of life, but we must be willing to shed our blood for our people. That is the only way we're going to come together to survive in this country, and, lastly, we don't have anything to worry about for a black man has survived, the black man will survive. After all they've done to us we still here, we will be around. You don't have to worry, black people will survive America, black people will survive America. And like Curtis (ph) Mayfield say --- Our blessed day has come, we don't care where you come from we just go moving up because we are winners.

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100-446080-1086

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISC; SEDITION
BUFILE 100-446080
WFfile 100-43503

RE WFO AIRTEL TO BUREAU 2/5/68.

ATTACHED ARE TWO TAPES OF REMARKS

OF CARMICHAEL ON RADIO STATION WOL, WDC

1/14/68.

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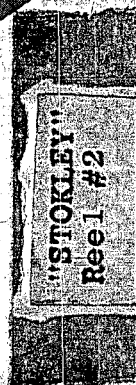
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Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (Bufile - 100-446080)

DATE: 2/8/68

FROM : SAC ATLANTA (100-6812)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL, aka.
IS-M; SEDITIONCards UTD
Cards Sent 00
2/20/68

The captioned individual has been the subject of a security investigation by this office. The Washington Field Division has verified the permanent presence of the subject in its division as residing and working at the addresses listed below. The Washington Field Division is being considered the new office of origin.

Residence Address

2200 Twelfth Street, N. W.

Washington, D. C.

Business Address, Name of Employing Concern and Address, Nature of Employment, and Union Affiliation, if any.

1234 U Street, N. W.

Washington, D. C.

Check the following applicable statements:

- ☒ This individual is the subject of a Security Index Card. (The Bureau is requested to make the appropriate changes in the Security Index at the Seat of Government. The Washington Field Division should affix the addresses indicated above and the appropriate case file number.)
- ☐ This subject is tabbed for Detcom.
- ☐ This subject was carried as a Key Figure or Top Functionary.
- ☒ Handwriting specimens have been furnished to the Bureau.
- ☐ A photograph has been furnished to the Bureau.
- ☒ A security flash notice has been placed with the Identification Division and a copy has been designated therefor.

The following pertinent items are being forwarded to the new Office of Origin with its copies of this letter:

- ☒ Security Index Cards
- ☒ Serials (specify) - **see attached**
- ☒ Photograph of subject (check appropriate item listed below)
- ☒ Negative and **two** copies of most recent or best likeness photograph.
- ☐ None available.
- ☐ Previously furnished.

XXX P

(2) Bureau (Reg.)

2 - WFO (100-43503)

2 - Atlanta

EUC/vsc

(6)

(Enc. 2)

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EX-105

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- 1) Boston airtel to Director, 12/29/67;
- 2) Boston letter to Director, 12/28/67;
- 3) New York airtel to Director, 12/14/67;
- 4) Atlanta airtel to Director, 12/18/67;
- 5) Memphis letter to Director, 12/13/67;
- 6) Seattle airtel to Director, 12/7/67;
- 7) Birmingham airtel to Director, 12/6/67;
- 8) Bureau airtel to Atlanta, 8/23/67;
- 9) Seattle airtel to Director, 9/27/67;
- 10) Atlanta report of SA 9/11/67;
- 11) Seattle airtel to Director, 10/30/67;
- 12) New York airtel to Director, 10/23/67;
- 13) Seattle airtel to Director, 10/13/67;
- 14) New York airtel to Director, 11/20/67;
- 15) Detroit airtel to Director, 11/17/67;
- 16) New York airtel to Director, 1/19/68;
- 17) Chicago airtel to Director, 1/19/68;
- 18) Kansas City airtel to Director, 1/16/68;
- 19) San Francisco airtel to Director, 1/16/68.

b7C

2/12/68

CODE

1 -

b7C

TELETYPE

URGENT

SENT BY CODED TELETYPE

TO SACS LOS ANGELES (100-68783)
SAN FRANCISCO (157-721)

FROM DIRECTOR FBI (100-446080)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS,
SEDITION.

RESFAIRTEL JANUARY TWENTY FOUR LAST AND LA TEL
FEBRUARY NINE LAST INDICATING CARMICHAEL WOULD SPEAK
AT OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA, FEBRUARY SEVENTEEN NEXT AND
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA, FEBRUARY EIGHTEEN NEXT.
REFERENCE IS MADE TO BUAIRTEL TO ALL OFFICES DATED
DECEMBER TWENTY ONE, NINETEEN SIXTY SEVEN, CONTAINING
INSTRUCTIONS CONCERNING THE COVERAGE OF CARMICHAEL'S
SPEECHES. SAN FRANCISCO AND LOS ANGELES SUTEL SPECIFIC
COVERAGE BEING PLANNED FOR CARMICHAEL'S SPEECHES. COPY
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VIA TELETYPE
FEB 12 1968
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MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

Teletype to SACs LOS ANGELES
SAN FRANCISCO

Re: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
100-446080

NOTE:

At the specific request of the Department, we are conducting a seditious investigation of Carmichael. The Department has requested that whenever possible in our investigation of Carmichael, Agents attend and mechanically record any public speeches or statements of Carmichael of which the Bureau may receive advance notice. Where such a situation is possible, we are in each instance specifically requesting clearance from the Attorney General to utilize personal recording devices. Detailed instructions were sent to all offices by airtel 12/21/67. In view of the time element San Francisco and Los Angeles being instructed to sutel arrangements being made for coverage of Carmichael's speeches.

FBI

Date: 2/8/68

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-12-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHE

Re Columbia airtel 1/31/68 entitled "Citizens
Conference on Education in South Carolina; RM."

b2
b7D [] advised on 2/6/68 STOKELY CARMICHAEL did
not personally attend meeting held at Frogmore, South Caro-
lina during period 1/26 - 28/68. Source stated during the
above time, CARMICHAEL was in Boston, New York City, and
Washington, D.C. Source advised that CARMICHAEL went to
Boston on January 25, 1968, and returned to Washington, D.C.
afternoon of 1/28/68 with a stopover in New York City.

For information Boston source advised CARMICHAEL
attended a meeting in Boston on 1/26/68 for purposes of
attempting to set up a Black United Front at that city.

A source of the New York Office reported CAR-
MICHAEL visited the New York office of SNCC on 1/27/68.

3 - Bureau
3 - Columbia

1 - (157-new (CITIZENS' CONFERENCE ON EDUCATION IN
SOUTH CAROLINA)

1 - WFO
WWH:bah
(8)

AIRTEL
Bishop

C. C.

EX-103

REC 67 100-446080-1089

FEB 13 1968

cc 806 940

J-14

Approved: *[Signature]*

51 FEB 20 1968

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

WFO 100-43503

On the morning of January 28, 1968 CARMICHAEL was seen by SAS of the New York Office driving family car. On afternoon of 1/28/68 SAS of WFO verified CARMICHAEL's arrival back in WDC.

F B I

Date: 2/1/68

Transmit the following in _____

PLAINTEXT

(Type in plaintext or code)

A I R T E L

Via _____

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

b7C

FROM: SAC, BOSTON (157-437) (RUC)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISC; SEDITIONALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-12-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHFRe Boston phone call to WFO, 1/31/68, and WFO
radiogram to Bureau, 2/1/68.

On 1/31/68, [redacted] advised that in late evening
or early morning of [redacted] he met STOKELY CARMICHAEL
with a young negro girl whom source knows as [redacted]
Source has seen CARMICHAEL on several occasions and has been
introduced to him on one occasion and had conversation with
him. The couple were just entering CORE Headquarters, Blue
Hill Ave., Roxbury, Mass. [redacted]

b2

b7C

b7D

Source observed three other persons at a table in the
rear but lighting was too poor to identify them. Source
is positive of his identification of CARMICHAEL and believes
he could not be mistaken. He cannot recall CARMICHAEL's
dress beyond fact it was casual type. His surprise at
seeing CARMICHAEL was predominant in his mind.

3 - Bureau (RM)
2 - WFO (RM)
1 - Atlanta (RM)
1 - Boston
JFN/mab
(7)

REC 67

100-446080-1090

C.C. - Bishop 101

b7C

FEB 3 1968

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

RACIAL MA SECT.

BS 157-437

It is noted that on CARMICHAEL's appearance in Boston 1/25/68 he was met at the airport by [redacted] (LNU). Source, [redacted]

[redacted] area nightly until about 2:00 a.m. He cannot place time any more exactly than previously set out.

b7C

b7D

Tolson _____
 DeLoach _____
 Mohr _____
 Bishop _____
 Casper _____
 Callahan _____
 Conrad _____
 Felt _____
 Gale _____
 Rosen _____
 Sullivan ☒ _____
 Tavel _____
 Trotter _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holmes _____
 Gandy _____

DECODED COPY

☐ AIRGRAM ☐ CABLEGRAM ☐ RADIO ☒ TELETYPE

2:35 AM URGENT 2-8-68 DHV

TO DIRECTOR, ATLANTA AND WASHINGTON FIELD

FROM CINCINNATI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 12-12-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION. OO: ATLANTA.

RE CI TEL FEBRUARY 6, LAST. CI TEL CALL TO WFO TODAY.

[REDACTED] ADVISED LATE TODAY [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] ABOUT THREE THIS

AFTERNOON. [REDACTED] TO CINCINNATI

ABOUT 6 PM BUT MEETING SCHEDULED IN CINCINNATI CALCELED
 SINCE "THE STAR" WOULD NOT ARRIVE IN CINCINNATI.

ABOUT 9:30 PM, [REDACTED]

TONIGHT [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] BELIEVED THIS PERSON TO BE

CARMICHAEL.

WFO BY RE TEL CALL INFORMED CARMICHAEL [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] EN ROUTE DAYTON, OHIO VIA TWA FLIGHT 442 ARRIVING

DAYTON 11:35 PM.

REC 67

100-446000-1091

2 CC: WASHINGTON FIELD

FEB 13 1968

W. H. LT 2/9/68

J. RA

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

DECODED COPY

☐ AIRGRAM ☐ CABLEGRAM ☐ RADIO ☒ TELETYPE

PAGE 2, FROM CINCINNATI

CARMICHAEL'S ARRIVAL DAYTON COVERED AND DISCREET
COVERAGE BEING AFFORDED.

BUREAU WILL BE KEPT ADVISED OF ACTIVITIES AND PERTINENT
DEVELOPMENTS THROUGH SUMMARY TELETYPES.

AIRMAIL COPY MEMPHIS.

RECEIVED: 2:46 AM LRC

F B I

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12-12-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF Date: 2/6/68

Transmit the following in CODE
(Type in plaintext or code)Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
ATTN: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)
STOKELY CARMICHAEL; ~~IS~~-MISC.; SEDITION
REWFOTEL TWO FIVE SIXTYEIGHT.

SUBJECT LEFT RESIDENCE NINE ZERO FIVE AM, WENT TO SNCC HDQTS, LATER DEPARTED SNCC, AFTER LUNCH WENT SHOPPING. IN MID AFTERNOON SUBJECT VISITED NEIGHBORHOOD DEVELOPMENT CENTER, SEVEN ZERO ZERO BLOCK, FIFTIETH ST., NE., THEN RETURNED TO SNCC. A SOURCE, WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST ADVISED THAT CARMICHAEL LEFT SNCC ABOUT SIX PM AND SUBSEQUENTLY ATTENDED THE CHURCH OF THE REDEEMER, FIFTEENTH AND GIRARD STS., NE, WHERE MARTIN LUTHER KING WAS MEETING WITH SCLC THAT EVENING. ACCORDING TO SOURCE CARMICHAEL AND APPROXIMATELY TWO HUNDRED PEOPLE WERE IN CHURCH BETWEEN NINE AND ELEVEN PM WHERE KING SPOKE. THEY HEARD TALK BY KING WHEREIN KING STATED HE WANTED TO HELP ALL POOR BLACK PEOPLE AND REQUESTED THOSE IN ATTENDANCE TO JOIN HIM AND TO, AT LEAST, NOT HINDER THE"

3 - Bureau
1 - Atlanta (RMAM)
1 - WFO
1 - TELETYPE
REO:tkm
(5) 1 XEROX

REC 67 100-446080-1092

FEB 13 1968

FEB 19 1968

W. A. 25 2/7/68

Approved: JDP/REO
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

PAGE TWO
WFO (100-43503)

WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT. ACCORDING TO SOURCE CARMICHAEL APPEARED TO HAVE LARGE FOLLOWING IN CROWD. CARMICHAEL COMMENTED AFTER KING SPOKE THAT ANY QUESTIONS OR IDEAS BROUGHT FORWARD SHOULD BE RESTRICTED TO TOPIC OF THE EVENING, THE WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT. SOURCE STATED CARMICHAEL APPEARED BORED THROUGHOUT EVENING. SOURCE STATED CARMICHAEL DEPARTED CHURCH ABOUT ELEVEN PM TO RETURN TO RESIDENCE. CARMICHAEL OBSERVED BY SAS IN VICINITY OF CHURCH AFTER ELEVEN PM WITH [REDACTED] AND OTHERS AND DEPARTED [REDACTED] CAR IN VICINITY OF RESIDENCE.

ADMINISTRATIVE

SOURCE IN [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] ADVISED THIS DATE HE HAD NO KNOWLEDGE OF [REDACTED] ATTENDING ANY MEETING WITH KING OR CARMICHAEL. SOURCE SAID POSSIBILITY KING AND CARMICHAEL MIGHT MEET AT UNDISCLOSED MEETING PLACE AT FOUR PM, FEBRUARY SEVEN, SIXTYEIGHT.

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

b7C

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

TO :

DATE: **January 3, 1968**

FROM : **S. J. Papich**

~~SECRET~~

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP (S) OF
DATE

SUBJECT: **STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTER**

b7C

b1

b1

*Case opened
in January 1968*

b7C

b1

ACTION:

5/19/84
Declassify on: OADR
comp 202517
per OGA ltr. dtd 5/1/84
para 1-4 classified

The above information is being directed to the
attention of the Racial Intelligence Section.

SJP:clb
(4)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

- 1 - [redacted]
- 1 - Liaison
- 1 - Mr. Papich

REC 49
EX-110

4465701093

2/3/1968 FEB 13 1968

XEROX

FEB 13 1968

55 FEB 24 1968

REASON FOR II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW 1-3-88

~~SECRET~~

F B I

Date: 2/5/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____ (Priority)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-12-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-153751)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS-MISCELLANEOUS SEDITION

Re NY teletype to Bureau 2/1/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of an LHM concerning a ring which allegedly helps GI's go AWOL in Europe. Copies are being furnished to Atlanta and WFO, due to their interest in this case. Dissemination is being made locally to 108th MI group, OSI, NISO.

The LHM is classified "~~CONFIDENTIAL~~" since the information furnished by [REDACTED] whose identity is concealed, could logically result in the identification of a confidential source of continuing value and jeopardize her future activity.

LHM is [redacted] The confidential source referred to in the

3-Bureau (Enc. 11) (RM)
2-Washington Field (Enc. 2) (RM)
2-Atlanta (Enc. 2) (RM)
1-New York

BJW:ek AGENCY: ACSI, ~~WFO~~, OSI, SEC. SERV. *100-244562* FEB 6 - 1958
(9) ~~WFO~~ T; ISD, CRD, RAO *and*

HOW FORW :

DATE FORW

BY:

Approved

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

0-7 to Legat, Bonn 2/8/68,
Carmichael scheduled
to speak at Oakland Calif
2/17/68. Submit any
pertinent info ^{to} ~~for~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~per~~ ^{per}
inform suitable for dissemination



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF
ON 12-12-2005

Stokely Carmichael

On February 1, 1968, a confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that he received the following information from [redacted]

b7C

b7D

A ring, which allegedly helps GI's go Absent Without Official Leave (AWOL) in Europe, is planning to slip Stokely Carmichael out of the United States and into West Berlin for a giant anti-Vietnam rally February 17 - 18, 1968. The source advised he received no additional information concerning the manner in which Carmichael will be "slipped" out of the United States. Source advised the outfit referred to above is known as the Sozialistischer Deutscher Studenten Bund (the German Socialist Student League), and this organization is commonly referred to by the initials SDS. According to the source, this organization

b7C

b7D

[redacted]
[redacted]
Allegedly 600 GI's have been transported into France by SDS for subsequent entry into other countries

Source further advised that [redacted]

b7C

b7D

[redacted], respectively, of SDS in the Frankfurt, Germany area, [redacted]
[redacted]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside

100 - 446080 - 1094

Tolson _____
 DeLoach _____
 Mohr _____
 Bishop _____
 Casper _____
 Callahan _____
 Conrad _____
 Felt _____
 Gale _____
 Rosen _____
 Sullivan ☒ _____
 Tavel _____
 Trotter _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holmes _____
 Gandy _____

DECODED COPY

☐ AIRGRAM ☐ CABLEGRAM ☐ RADIO ☒ TELETYPE

12:30 AM URGENT 2-7-68 RLH

TO DIRECTOR, ATLANTA, MEMPHIS AND WASHINGTON FIELD
 FROM CINCINNATI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 12-12-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; IS-MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION.

RE WFO TEL FEBRUARY 1 LAST AND INSTANT DATE, AND CI TEL
 FEBRUARY 2 LAST.

[REDACTED] TONIGHT ADVISED [REDACTED] IN
 TELEPHONIC CONTACT WITH [REDACTED] INSTANT DATE WHO STATED
 [REDACTED]
 [REDACTED] PROBABLY CALLING
 FROM ATLANTA.

[REDACTED] TOLD SOURCE [REDACTED] ON PHONE AND DID NOT SPECIFICALLY
 STATE, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] WHILE IN CINCINNATI WILL CONTACT [REDACTED]
 [REDACTED] IN

2 CC: WASHINGTON FIELD

XEROX
 FEB 1968

54 FEB 19 1968

INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

ICD - DEPT ADVISED 2/8/68 PM

If the intelligence contained in the above message is to be disseminated outside the Bureau, it is suggested that it be suitably paraphrased in order to protect the Bureau's cryptographic systems.

Tolson _____
 DeLoach _____
 Mohr _____
 Bishop _____
 Casper _____
 Callahan _____
 Conrad _____
 Felt _____
 Gale _____
 Rosen _____
 Sullivan _____
 Tavel _____
 Trotter _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holmes _____
 Gandy _____

DECODED COPY

☐ AIRGRAM ☐ CABLEGRAM ☐ RADIO ☒ TELETYPE

PAGE 2, FROM CINCINNATI

CINCINNATI SNCC. PURPOSE OF VISIT BY [REDACTED] UNKNOWN TO SOURCE.

b7D

[REDACTED]
 [REDACTED] SOURCE KNOWS [REDACTED] CARMICHAEL, [REDACTED]
 [REDACTED]

b7C

b7D

INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN HIGHLY ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ AND SHOULD BE SUITABLY PARAPHRASED IF DISSEMINATED, SINCE ONLY SOURCE, [REDACTED] KNOWN TO BE AWARE OF ALL ABOVE INFORMATION.

b7C

b7D

WFO ADVISE CINCINNATI WHEN CARMICHAEL DEPARTS WASHINGTON, D.C.

CINCINNATI WILL COVER ARRIVAL AND GIVE DISCREET COVERAGE SINCE IT IS BELIEVED [REDACTED] WILL FURNISH [REDACTED] INFORMATION RE CARMICHAEL'S VISIT.

b2

b7C

b7D

F B I

Date: 2/5/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan ✓
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS-MISCELLANEOUS;
SEDITION

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-12-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHE

Re WFO airtel dated 1/24/68, with LHM setting forth
summary of subject's activities from 1/11/68, to 1/22/68.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are eleven copies
of an LHM suitable for dissemination setting forth summary
of subject's activities from 1/23/68, to 2/3/68. Two copies
each are included for Atlanta, Boston, and New York.

Local dissemination made to Secret Service, AUSA
and military intelligence agencies.

Information contained in the LHM was developed by
physical surveillance and sources. [redacted] referred
to in the LHM is [redacted] as reported in Boston teletype
1/26/68; [redacted] mentioned is a source of the New
York Office as recorded in New York telephone call to WFO

1/27/68, by SA [redacted]
mentioned is [redacted] as furnished to SA [redacted]

- 2 - Bureau (Encs. 11) 100-446080-1096
- 2 - Atlanta (Encs. 2) (100-6812) (RM)
- 2 - Boston (157-437) (Encs. 2) (RM)
- 2 - New York (100-153751) (Encs. 2) (RM)
- 1 - WFO

AGENCY: ACSI, SEC, OSI, SEC. SERV.

BY: ISD, CRD, RAO

HOW FORW: R/S

DATE FORW: 2/7/68

BY: [redacted]

WWH:fet
(10)

C. C. Bishop

AIRTEL

Approved: [Signature]
Special Agent in Charge.

Sent _____ M Per _____

62 FEB 19 1968



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D.C. 20535

February 5, 1968

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

The following pertinent activities of Stokely Carmichael for the period January 23-February 3, 1968, were as follows:

On Tuesday and Wednesday, January 23-24, 1968, Carmichael spent the morning at his residence, 2200 12th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. (WDC). During the afternoons he went to the Headquarters of The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) 1234 U Street, N.W., WDC, where he remained into the evening.

EMPLOYED AS TEACHERS - WESTERN HIGH SCHOOL

On Thursday, January 25, 1968, Carmichael spent the morning at his residence. About noon he went to Western High School, WDC, where he met with two classes at the invitation of teachers, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] reportedly stated he invited Carmichael because his history class was about to begin the study of the Civil War and was also taking up the study of Negro history. In [REDACTED] class, Carmichael reportedly spoke about the difference "between street language and English taught in the schools". During the afternoon of January 25, 1968, Carmichael spent time at SNCC Headquarters and his residence. During the evening he traveled from National Airport, WDC, to Boston, Massachusetts, via Eastern Airlines, using the name V. Welch. Upon arrival in Boston he went to the YMCA in Roxbury.

b7C

b7C

- WESTERN HIGH SCHOOL

D.C.

COPIES DESTROYED
343 FEB 26 1971

100-446080-1696
ENCLOSURE

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

A source reported on January 26, 1968, that Carmichael attended a meeting for the purpose of setting up a Black United Front in Boston, which contemplated encompassing representatives from all Negro organizations in the area. Carmichael reportedly strongly urged a Black United Front be established there but representatives present refused to agree to it being established at this time.

b2 On Saturday, January 27, 1968, [redacted]
b7D [redacted] reported that Carmichael visited the New York Office of the SNCC on that date.

b7C On Sunday, January 28, 1968, in the morning Carmichael was seen driving [redacted] a 1967 Plymouth sedan, New York License [redacted] in New York City. That afternoon Carmichael returned to Washington, D.C., via Eastern Airlines from New York City. He went to SNCC Headquarters in Washington and then to his residence.

b2 [redacted] reported that Carmichael spent
b7C the evening of [redacted] at the residence of [redacted]
b7D [redacted] where a party was held for him. D.C.

On Monday, January 29, 1968, Carmichael spent the morning at his residence and later went to the Headquarters of SNCC where he spent most of the afternoon and evening.

On Tuesday, January 30, 1968, Carmichael spent the morning at his residence and later went to SNCC Headquarters. In the afternoon he visited the Law Building of Howard University, WDC. He returned to SNCC Headquarters where he spent the early part of the evening. Subsequently that evening he attended a party.

b7C On Wednesday, January 31, 1968, Carmichael spent the morning at his residence. About noon he went to SNCC Headquarters where he spent most of the afternoon. Carmichael spent the evening of January 31, 1968, at the residence of [redacted] WDC. D.C.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

On Thursday, February 1, 1968, Carmichael left his residence about 11:00 a.m., and went to SNCC Headquarters. He returned to his residence for a short time in the mid-afternoon. Later he returned to SNCC Headquarters where he remained into the evening hours.

b2
b7D
On Friday, February 2, 1968, according to the [redacted] Carmichael held a staff meeting at his residence of local SNCC office workers. The meeting was concerned with local SNCC problems and topics. Later in the afternoon Carmichael visited SNCC Headquarters. In the evening he attended a SNCC fund raising party.

On Saturday, February 3, 1968, Carmichael spent the morning at his residence. In the afternoon he visited SNCC Headquarters. He returned to his residence in the evening where a social gathering was held.

This document contains neither
recommendations nor conclusions of
the FBI. It is the property of
the FBI and is loaned to your agency;
it and its contents are not to be
distributed outside your agency.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-12-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

F B I

Date: 2/9/68

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Transmit the following in _____ **CODE** _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via **TELETYPE** **URGENT** _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, (100-446080), CINCINNATI
ATTN: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM: SAC, FWFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC: SEDITION

RE CITEL FEBRUARY NINE INSTANT.

SUBJECT ARRIVED WASHINGTON NATIONAL AIRPORT AT TWO PM
FRIDAY FEBRUARY NINE INSTANT WITH [REDACTED] PROCEEDED TO
WASHINGTON, D.C., SUBJECT GOING TO SNCC HDQTS, ONE TWO THREE FOUR
U STREET. SUBSEQUENTLY SUBJECT PROCEEDED TO THIRTEEN ZERO SEVEN
NEW JERSEY AVENUE NW AND SPENT ABOUT TWO AND ONE HALF HOURS THERE.
THIS ADDRESS HOUSES OFFICES OF UPO AND WASHINGTON URBAN LEAGUE
YOUTH DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM. SHORTLY AFTER EXITING THIS LOCATION AT
SIX PM SUBJECT WAS NOT FURTHER OBSERVED REMAINDER OF EVENING.
SOURCE ADVISED FEBRUARY NINE INSTANT THAT SUBJECT PLANS TO ATTEND
FUND RAISING AFFAIR OF NEW SCHOOL FOR AFRO AMERICAN THOUGHT SCHED-
ULED TO BE HELD FROM FOUR TO NINE PM SATURDAY FEBRUARY TEN NEXT AT
PITTS MOTOR MOTEL, WDC.

b7C

REC-27

100-446080-1097

- 2 - Bureau
2 - Teletype Unit
2 - WFO

EX 106

FEB 14 1968

OMS:tkm
(6) _____ XEROX

FEB 1968

b7C

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

5-14

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via _____
(Priority)

PAGE TWO
WFO (100-43503)

ADMINISTRATIVE

WFO SOURCE IS

[Redacted Box]

SOURCES

b2
b7D

ATTEMPTING TO DETERMINE PURPOSE OF VISIT TO ABOVE OFFICE BUILDING.

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date: 2/6/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

A I R T E L

REGISTERED MAIL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445080)
 FROM: SAC, BALTIMORE (100-24220) -RUC-
 SUBJECT: STOKLEY CARMICHAEL
 IS - MISC.;
 SEDITION

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 12-12-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

Re WFO teletype to Bureau dated 2/1/68.

The following investigation was conducted by IC [REDACTED]

Records of the Department of Motor Vehicles Division, Dover, Delaware, as reviewed on 2/2/68, revealed Delaware license 1-39581 is registered to National Car Rental System, Inc., Corporation Trust Company, 100 West 10th Street, Wilmington, Delaware, on 10/30/67. License expires on 3/31/68. Vehicle is described as a 1968 Chevrolet, two door, sport coupe, serial number 164878Y114178.

Records of the Credit Bureau of Wilmington, Inc., Wilmington, Delaware, reviewed on 2/2/68, failed to reflect any information concerning above rental agency.

On 2/5/68, [REDACTED] (protect identity by request),

Wilmington, Delaware, advised that aforementioned rental agency is a foreign (out of state) agency which is incorporated to transact business in the State of Delaware, but does not presently do so.

On 2/5/68, [REDACTED] Newark, Delaware, advised that [REDACTED] has the franchise for National Car Rental System, Inc., in the State of

EX 106

- ③ - Bureau (100-445080) (REGISTERED MAIL)
 2 - WFO (100-43503) (REGISTERED MAIL)
 1 - Baltimore

RAC:mao

(6)

Approved: [Signature]

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per

RACIAL INSECT

BA 100-24220

Delaware, but is not presently operating in Delaware. He advised this rental agency has licensed several cars in Delaware, but these cars have been sent to Washington, D.C. office of National Car Rental System for leasing. He further advised the main headquarters for National Car Rental System, Inc. is located in Minneapolis, Minnesota, phone number 612-929-0351.

LEADS:

WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE

AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

Contact office of National Car Rental System, Inc., Washington, D. C., to ascertain to whom captioned car leased during period 1/31/68 through 2/1/68.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-12-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

F B I

Date: 2/7/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (100-6812) (P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - M; SEDITION
(OO: WFO)

ReBuairtel 1/31/68 instructing Atlanta to submit
FD-128 designating WFO as the new office of origin in the
captioned matter.

An FD-128 is being submitted separately; however,
in order that all offices will be advised of the change in
origin on CARMICHAEL, a copy of this airtel is being desig-
nated to each office, with the exception of Honolulu.

In the future, any inquiry concerning CARMICHAEL's
proposed itinerary, travel plans, speaking engagements, or
other activities should be directed to the Washington Field
Office.

③ - Bureau
1 - Each Office (Except Honolulu)
2 - Atlanta
EUC:met
(60)

REC 27

EX 106

22 FEB 9 1968

~~INT. SEC.~~

54 FEB 21 1968

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

RACIAL INT. SECT.

F B I

Date: 2/11/68

Transmit the following in CODE
(Type in plaintext or code)Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
ATTN: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC; SEDITION
RE WFOTEL TWO TEN SIXTYEIGHT.

SUBJECT SPENT MORNING AND EARLY AFTERNOON AT RESIDENCE.

LATER WENT TO SNCC HDQTS FOR SEVERAL HOURS, RETURNING TO RESIDENCE
EARLY EVENING.

AIRMAIL COPY TO ATLANTA.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-12-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

b7C

REG 5
EX-105 100-446080-1100

FEB 14 1968

- 2 - Bureau
- 1 - Teletype Unit
- 1 - Atlanta (RMAM)
- 1 - WFO

HGE:tkm
(5)Approved: JDP/HGE
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

F B I

Date: 2/10/68

Transmit the following in CODE
(Type in plaintext or code)Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
ATTN: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC.: SEDITION
RE WFOTEL TWO NINE SIXTYEIGHT.

SUBJECT FIRST OBSERVED IN EARLY AFTERNOON ENTERING SNCC
HDQTS. LATER HE RETURNED TO HIS RESIDENCE. IN EVENING HE VISITED
PITTS MOTOR HOTEL WHERE ACCORDING TO SOURCE READ EULOGY TO LATE
NEGRO SINGER OTIS REDDING. SUBJECT SUBSEQUENTLY RETURNED TO HIS
RESIDENCE.

ADMINISTRATIVE

SOURCE MENTIONED IS TEL IS

b2
b7D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-12-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

b7C

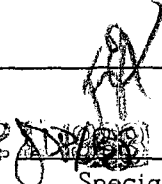
- ② - Bureau
1 - Teletype Unit
1 - WFO

RS:tkm
(4)

EX-105

9 FEB 14 1968

54 FEB 21 1968

Approved: 

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

DATE: 03-10-2006

CLASSIFIED BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DOG/bls

DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1) 03-10-2031

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Classification per OGA letter dated 03-13-2006

Memorandum

b7C

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

TO : [REDACTED]

DATE: January 26, 1968

FROM : S. J. Papich

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTER

- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - Liaison
- 1 - Mr. Papich

b7C

Reference is made to my memorandum dated
January 3, 1968, concerning the subject [REDACTED]

b1

b1

b1

b7C

b1

b1

SJP:clb

(4)

Classified by 5699/100/100

Declassify on: OADR

XEROX

FEB 15 1968

89 FEB 20 1968

CONTINUED - OVER

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

CLASS. & EXT. BY 50163/16P
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2.2
DATE OF REVIEW 1-26-88

~~SECRET~~

b7C

Memorandum S. J. Papich to [REDACTED]
RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

[REDACTED]	
[REDACTED]	(S) [REDACTED]

b1

ACTION:

The above information is being directed to the attention of the Racial Intelligence Section.

~~SECRET~~

VIA TELETYPE
FEB 9 1968
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson_____
Mr. DeLoach_____
Mr. Mohr_____
Mr. Bishop_____
Mr. Casper_____
Mr. Callahan_____
Mr. Conrad_____
Mr. Felt_____
Mr. Gale_____
Mr. Rosen_____
Mr. Sullivan_____
Mr. Tavel_____
Mr. Trotter_____
Tele. Room_____
Miss Holmes_____
Miss Gandy_____

800 PM URGENT 2-9-68 RLH/HWL
TO DIRECTOR, NEW YORK AND WASHINGTON FIELD CODE

b7C

NEW YORK VIA WASHINGTON
FROM CINCINNATI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-12-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHE

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; IS-MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION.

REMYTEL, FEBRUARY NINE INSTANT.

b7C

SUBJECT AS V. WELCHER AND [REDACTED] DEPARTED GREATER

CINCINNATI AIRPORT TWELVE FIFTY PM VIA AMERICAN AIRLINES FLIGHT
FOUR SEVEN SIX, SCHEDULED TO ARRIVE NATIONAL AIRPORT
WASHINGTON, D.C. ONE FORTYNINE PM. [REDACTED]

ADVISED THAT [REDACTED] DEPARTED CINCINNATI, OHIO APPROXIMATELY
TWO THIRTY AM TODAY EN ROUTE TO [REDACTED] IN
REGARD TO RACIAL DISTURBANCE THERE.

b7C

b7D

COLUMBIA ADVISED.

EX-113 REC 5/00-446080-1103

SUBJECT WHILE ABSENT FROM HOTEL FOR APPROXIMATELY TWO HOURS FEB 14 1968
EVENING OF FEBRUARY EIGHT, LAST, ATTENDED SPEECH OF JAMES
END PAGE ONE

TWO COPIES TO WFO

RELAYED TO

XEROX
FEB 14 1968
FEB 21 1968

b7C

PAGE TWO

FARMER, FORMER DIRECTOR CORE, BEFORE APPROXIMATELY FOUR HUNDRED PERSONS IN WESLEY METHODIST CHAPEL, CINCINNATI. SUBJECT WAS ACCOMPANIED BY ASSOCIATES PREVIOUSLY REPORTED. FROM APPROXIMATELY TWELVE MIDNIGHT TO ONE AM FEBRUARY NINE, INSTANT, SUBJECT SPOKE BEFORE INTERESTED METHODIST MINISTERS ATTENDING NATIONAL CONFERENCE AT CINCINNATI. THEME OF TALK FOLLOWED SAME COMMENTS PREVIOUSLY REPORTED, BUT ON MUCH HIGHER PLANE BECAUSE OF AUDIENCE INVOLVED. FOLLOWING SPEECH, DISCUSSIONS CONTINUED AT A PRIVATE PARTY IN HIS SUITE WITH THREE MINISTERS FROM THE CONVENTION AND LOCAL SNCC MEMBERS. THIS PARTY TERMINATED APPROXIMATELY THREE AM. DISCUSSIONS FOLLOW SIMILAR PATTERN MENTIONED PREVIOUSLY, ACCORDING TO [REDACTED]

b7C
b7D

BOTH SPEECH AND DISCUSSIONS AT PARTY COVERED.

LHM FOLLOWS.

AM COPIES SENT ATLANTA, COLUMBIA AND MEMPHIS.

END

RECEIVED: 8:18 PM HWL

b7C

[REDACTED] LHM is up to
date and info. No xerox sent.
to be included in LHM. /m
Summary note sent up including this.

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 2-8-68

Stokely Carmichael, former Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), has continued to spend considerable amount of his time at SNCC Washington, D. C., headquarters. The attached, however, reports that he and a SNCC worker departed last night for Dayton, Ohio, by plane. Cincinnati Office has since confirmed his arrival and will cover his activities.

b7C

Prior to his departure, Carmichael and [redacted] of SNCC, met with Martin Luther King. King is in town trying to further plans for a forthcoming demonstration here.

We are continuing to furnish the Internal Security Division of the Department pertinent information concerning subject's activities.

WLS:mh

*he**WLS/MLT**D*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-12-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-12-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

F B I

Date: 2/7/68

Transmit the following in CODE
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson ☒
Mr. DeLoach ☒
Mr. Mohr ☒
Mr. Bishop ☒
Mr. Casper ☒
Mr. Callahan ☒
Mr. Conrad ☒
Mr. Felt ☒
Mr. Gale ☒
Mr. Rosen ☒
Mr. Sullivan ☒
Mr. Tavel ☒
Mr. Trotter ☒
Tele. Room ☒
Miss Holmes ☒
Miss Gandy ☒

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445080); NEW YORK, AND CINCINNATI
ATTN: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)
STOKELY CARMICHAEL, ^{INTERNAL SECURITY-} IS-MISC; SEDITION

REWFOTEL TWO SIX SIXTYEIGHT AND WFO TELEPHONE CALL TO CI

THIS DATE.

SUBJECT LEFT HIS RESIDENCE IN MID-MORNING TODAY AND PROCEEDED TO SNCC HDQTS. HE REMAINED THERE FOR THE REST OF THE MORNING. AT APPROXIMATELY ONE THIRTY PM SUBJECT AND THREE UNIDENTIFIED NEGRO MALES PROCEEDED BY CAR TO THE FREE D.C. FARMERS MARKET, VICINITY OF FIFTH AND FLORIDA AVENUE NE A SHOPPING AREA WHERE THEY REMAINED BRIEFLY. SUBJECT THEN RETURNED TO SNCC HDQTS. AT TWELVE FIFTYFIVE PM TODAY [] ARRIVED WASHINGTON NATIONAL AIRPORT FROM NY VIA ^{EASTERN AIRLINES} EAL SHUTTLE. [] PROCEEDED TO SNCC WHERE HE JOINED SUBJECT. SUBJECT AND [] WERE TOGETHER AT SNCC FOR THE BALANCE OF THE AFTERNOON. AT SIX PM SUBJECT AND [] RETURNED TO SUBJECT'S RESIDENCE. A SOURCE WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE

- 2 - Bureau
- 2 - Teletype Unit
- 1 - Atlanta (RMAM)
- 2 - WFO

JEK:tkm
(7)

EX 104

REC 5

XEROX

FEB 1968

3 FEB 14 1968

Approved: JD/JEK
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)PAGE TWO
WFO (100-43503)

PAST ADVISED [] CARMICHAEL AND DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING WOULD
CONFER AT SIX THIRTY PM TODAY AT PITT'S MOTOR HOTEL, ONE FOUR FIVE
ONE BELMONT RD., NW. AT SIX TWENTY THREE PM [] AND SUBJECT
PROCEEDED TO THE MOTOR HOTEL. SUBSEQUENTLY DR. KING WAS OBSERVED TO
ENTER. AT EIGHT THIRTY PM SUBJECT AND [] DEPARTED FROM THE
MOTOR HOTEL. THEY SEPARATED AND SUBJECT RETURNED TO HIS RESIDENCE
WITH ANOTHER INDIVIDUAL TO PICK UP HIS BAG. SUBJECT AND HIS
COMPANION, WHO WAS DETERMINED TO BE []
THEN PROCEEDED TO THE AIRPORT. *STUDENT NON VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE* SUBJECT AND [] DEPARTED WDC AT
TRANS World AIRLINES NINE THIRTY PM VIA TWO FLIGHT FOUR FOUR TWO FOR DAYTON, OHIO. *DC*

ADMINISTRATIVE

AIRMAIL COPY TO ATLANTA.

SOURCE MENTIONED IS []

WFO INDICES DISCLOSE [] WAS INTERVIEWED BY THE

DEPT. OF STATE IN NINETEEN SIXTYSIX []

APPARENTLY IS A NATIVE OF NEW YORK BUT HE HAS BEEN IN WDC SINCE

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via _____
(Priority)

PAGE THREE

WFO (100-43503)

SUBJECT HAS BEEN HERE. HE HAS GIVEN HIS RESIDENCE AS

b7C

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

2/9/68

airtel

1 -

b7C

To: SACs, Seattle **REC-23**
WFO
EX 101

From: Director, FBI

100 - 446 080 1105

**STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION
BUDED: 2/19/68**

ReBuairtel dated January 30, 1967.

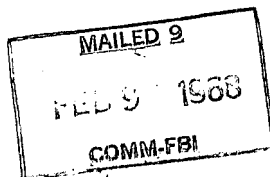
Enclosed for recipient offices is a copy of a letter from Assistant Attorney General J. Walter Yeagley dated February 7, 1968.

WFO and Seattle should each submit an LHM suitable for dissemination by 2/19/68 in compliance with Yeagley's request. The cover page of each LHM should list the names of any individuals who attended either of Stokely Carmichael's speeches but whose draft status has not yet been determined. All outstanding leads must receive priority attention and the results expeditiously submitted to the Bureau in a form suitable for dissemination. Of course, both offices, as previously instructed, should continue to be alert to the identity of additional individuals who were in attendance at the speeches given by Carmichael at Seattle, Washington, and Washington, D. C.

Enclosure

PTB:llr

(6)



Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

fr ph

54 FEB 21 1968

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Memorandum

TO : Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation

DATE:

February 7, 1968.

FROM : *JW*
J. Walter Yeagley
Assistant Attorney General
Internal Security Division

SUBJECT: *W.C. 2 -*
Stokely Carmichael
Sedition

Reference is made to prior correspondence in this matter in which you furnished us the names of draft-age individuals who had been reported as having attended the speeches given by Carmichael at Garfield High School, Seattle, Washington, on April 19, 1967, and at the Lincoln Memorial Congregational Temple at Washington, D.C., on May 16, 1967.

We would appreciate your advising us whether the various sources who reported the attendance of the draft-age individuals at both speeches know this of their own personal knowledge or whether they obtained this information by some other means.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-16-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

b7C

EX 101

REC-23

100 - 4460801105
14
4 FEB 8 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.

*note to SSG
2 WFO
2-9-68
PTB:116*

EXP. PROC.
66
9961 8 831
39

Tolson _____
 DeLoach _____
 Mohr _____
 Bishop _____
 Casper _____
 Callahan _____
 Conrad _____
 Felt _____
 Gale _____
 Rosen _____
 Sullivan _____
 Tavel _____
 Trotter _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holmes _____
 Gandy _____

DECODED COPY

☐ AIRGRAM ☐ CABLEGRAM ☐ RADIO ☒ TELETYPE

2:39 PM URGENT 2-6-68 MJV

TO DIRECTOR, ATLANTA, BOSTON, AND WASHINGTON FIELD
 FROM CINCINNATI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 12-16-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION.

REMYTEL TO BUREAU, FEBRUARY 2, LAST, AND WFO TELS TO
 BUREAU FEBRUARY 2 AND 6 LAST.

[REDACTED] ADVISED TODAY THAT [REDACTED]

NOW SCHEDULED TO ARRIVE TODAY FOR 8 P. M. MEETING AT [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] SNCC MEMBER,

WAS SCHEDULED TO [REDACTED] BUT [REDACTED] IS REPORTEDLY
 TO HAVE BEEN ARRESTED RECENTLY BY FEDERAL AGENTS (NOT FURTHER
 IDENTIFIED) IN WASHINGTON, D. C., AND IS CURRENTLY IN JAIL THERE.
 PRIOR TO ARREST, [REDACTED] WAS REPORTED TO HAVE BEEN IN PREVIOUS
 DIFFICULTY WITH BOSTON AUTHORITIES.

BOSTON AND WFO ATTEMPT TO IDENTIFY [REDACTED] AND FURNISH

200 WASHINGTON FIELD

22 FEB 13 1968

XEROX

FEB 1968

If the intelligence contained in the above message is to be disseminated outside the Bureau, it is suggested that it be suitably paraphrased in order to protect the Bureau's cryptographic systems.

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

DECODED COPY

☐ AIRGRAM ☐ CABLEGRAM ☐ RADIO ☒ TELETYPE

PAGE TWO FROM CINCINNATI

ANY DESCRIPTIVE DATA CONCERNING HIM.

ATLANTA ADVISE IF ☐ SCHEDULED TO VISIT DAYTON, OHIO.

b7C

RECEIVED: 2:57 PM MKP

F B I

Date: 2/10/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-16-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHE

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (100-6812) (P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS,
SEDITION

b7C

Re Los Angeles teletype to Bureau and Atlanta,
2/9/68.

Enclosed for WFO are two copies of referenced
Los Angeles teletype.

WFO is requested to keep Los Angeles advised of
CARMICHAEL's itinerary as requested in referenced teletype.

3-Bureau (RM)
2-WFO (Encs. 2) (RM)
1-Los Angeles (100-68783) (RM)
2-Atlanta
CSH:hjm
(8)

REC 10

EX-113

100-446080-1107
15 FEB 13 1968

C. C. Bishop

RECEIVED
FEB 13 1968Approved: FLP

Sent _____ M Per _____

51 FEB 20 1968

Special Agent in Charge

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-16-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 2/9/68

Information was previously received indicating Stokely Carmichael, former Chairman of Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, a militant civil rights organization, to appear 2/17/68, Oakland, California, under sponsorship of Black Panther Party for Self Defense, an extremely militant Negro organization. Carmichael returned to Washington, D.C., from Cincinnati, Ohio, 2/9/68.

The attached states Carmichael, and others, to speak in Los Angeles, California, 2/18/68.

This information was furnished to the Inter-Division Information Unit of the Department. Pertinent parts of the attached will be furnished to the White House, Attorney General, military, and appropriate agencies by memorandum.

JFM:chs

Wes/m

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

FEB 9 1968

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson ☒
Mr. DeLoach ☒
Mr. Mohr ☒
Mr. Bishop ☒
Mr. Casper ☒
Mr. Callahan ☒
Mr. Conrad ☒
Mr. Felt ☒
Mr. Gale ☒
Mr. Rosen ☒
Mr. Sullivan ☒
Mr. Tavel ☒
Mr. Trotter ☒
Tele. Room ☒
Miss Holmes ☒
Miss Gandy ☒

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-16-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHE

FBI WASH DC

FBI LOS ANG.

412PM URGENT 2-9-68 NJZ

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080) AND ATLANTA (100-6812)

FROM LOS ANGELES (100-68783)

INTERNAL SECURITY
STOKELY CARMICHAEL. ~~IS~~ - MISCELLANEOUS, SEDITION.

Los Angeles Police Department
[REDACTED] LAPD INTELLIGENCE, ADVISED THIS
DATE CARMICHAEL TO BE IN LOS ANGELES FEBRUARY EIGHTEEN
THROUGH TWENTY ONE, NEXT. CARMICHAEL FEATURED SPEAKER AT
MASS RALLY SPONSORED BY PEACE ACTION COUNCIL, A CLEARING
HOUSE FOR ANTI-VIETNAM WAR AND CIVIL RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS,
AND BLACK CONGRESS, AND ORGANIZATION REPRESENTING THE MAJORITY
OF THE BLACK NATIONALIST ORGANIZATIONS, AT LOS ANGELES
SPORTS ARENA, THREE PM TO SIX PM, FEBRUARY EIGHTEEN, NEXT.
OTHER SPEAKERS AT RALLY INCLUDE REIES LOPEZ TIJERINA, LEADER
OF ALIANZA FEDERAL DE MERCES (AFDM), WHICH IS PUBLICLY KNOWN
END PAGE ONE

Included in letter to White House
and Attorney General. Dated 2-12-68

55 FEB 2 1968

XEROX

FEB 1968

MR. DELOACH FOR THE DIRECTOR

12 FEB 16 1968

EX 106

REC-35

100-446080 1108

PAGE TWO

LA 100-68783

AS AN ORGANIZATION REPRESENTING LOCAL GRANT INTERESTS IN STATE OF NEW MEXICO, DEMANDING THE RETURN OF LAND IN NEW MEXICO TO DESCENDANTS OF ORIGINAL OWNERS; BETTY SHABAZZ, AKA BETTY LITTLE, WIDOW OF BLACK NATIONALIST MALXOLM X; RON KARENGA, FOUNDER AND CHAIRMAN OF LOS ANGELES BASED MILITANT BLACK NATIONALIST ORGANIZATION US; AND REVEREND THOMAS KILGORE, WEST COAST DIRECTOR OF SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE, A CIVIL RIGHTS ORGANIZATION DIRECTED BY REVEREND MARTIN LUTHER KING.

CARMICHAEL'S SCHEDULE INCLUDES SPEAKING ENGAGEMENT AT LOS ANGELES CITY COLLEGE, FEBRUARY NINETEEN, NEXT.

CARMICHAEL TO ARRIVE LOS ANGELES VIA FLIGHT FROM SAN FRANCISCO.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] ADVISED THIS DATE [REDACTED] LA SPORTS

ARENA, INDICATED CARMICHAEL TO SPEAK AT ARENA THREE PM TO SIX PM, FEBRUARY EIGHTEEN, NEXT. [REDACTED]

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE REPRESENTATIVE, MADE ARRANGEMENTS TO RENT ARENA FOR RALLY. SHE FURNISHED

END PAGE TWO

b7C

PAGE THREE

LA 100-68783

CHECK FOR FIFTEEN HUNDRED DOLLARS, DRAWN ON BANK OF FINANCE,
TWO SIX FIVE ONE SOUTH WESTERN AVENUE, LOS ANGELES. CHECK
SIGNED BY

b7C

BLACK ANTI-DRAFT UNION OF LOS ANGELES, AND ORGANIZATION
REPRESENTING NEGROES OPPOSED TO THE VIETNAM WAR AND THE DRAFT.

ADMINISTRATIVE

ITINERARY FOR CARMICHAEL WHILE IN LOS ANGELES SUBMITTED
IN SUBSEQUENT ^{MEMO} ~~LHM~~ *LOS ANGELES SHERIFF'S OFFICE* ~~LASO~~ AND LAPD INTELLIGENCE AWARE OF
CARMICHAEL'S VISIT AND WILL FOLLOW.

ARRANGEMENTS BEING MADE TO OBTAIN RECORDING OF
CARMICHAEL'S SPEECHES AT LOS ANGELES.

SAN FRANCISCO AND ATLANTA WILL ADVISE LOS ANGELES
CONCERNING ANY PERTINENT INFORMATION REGARDING CARMICHAEL'S
APPEARANCE AT LOS ANGELES.

SAN FRANCISCO ADVISED AM.

END

SVW

FBI WASH DC

CC MR. SULLIVAN

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

DATE: 2/16/68

FROM : SAC, SEATTLE (100-28676) (RUC)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-16-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION
OO: WFO

b7C

Re Bureau airtel to Seattle and WFO, 2/9/68.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are five (5) copies of an LHM relating to captioned subject. Three (3) copies of this LHM are designated for WFO.

As requested in referenced Bureau airtel, the Seattle Division will continue to remain alert to the identity of additional individuals who were in attendance at speeches given by CARMICHAEL at Seattle and Washington, D.C.

*1cc LHM to yagley attn: Paul Vincent
0-6 2/23/68 ref. yagley's letter 2/7/68.
DJB/c*

1cc LHM + LHM 806 946

ENCLOSURE

2 - Bureau (Encl. 5) (REG)
1 - WFO (Encl. 3) (REG)
1 - Seattle
WHW:cmh
(4)

REC-68

FEB 19 1968

EX 106

RACIAL INT. SECT.





UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Seattle, Washington

February 16, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

RE: SPEECH OF STOKELY CARMICHAEL
AT GARFIELD HIGH SCHOOL
SEATTLE, WASHINGTON
APRIL 19, 1967

Previous communications of similar heading and dated September 27, 1967, October 13, 1967, October 30, 1967, and December 7, 1967, set forth names of individuals of draft age who attended a speech given by STOKELY CARMICHAEL on April 19, 1967, at Garfield High School, Seattle, Washington.

[redacted] Seattle, Washington, who was reported in attendance by [redacted] [redacted] Seattle, was not actually observed at the speech by [redacted] but personally informed [redacted] of his attendance at CARMICHAEL's speech. b7C

[redacted] was not personally observed attending this speech by [redacted] Seattle Police Department, who is [redacted] [redacted] of the Seattle Police Department and attended this speech under [redacted] [redacted] and thereafter reported to [redacted] of activities in connection with CARMICHAEL's appearance. b7C

All of the other draft age individuals identified in previous correspondence were actually observed in attendance by the various sources identified in previous correspondence.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-16-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

COPIES DESTROYED

343 FEB 26 1971

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

100-446080-1109
ENCLOSURE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-16-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

F B I

Date: 2/12/68

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Transmit the following in _____ **CODE**
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via **TELETYPE** **URGENT** _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445080)
ATTN: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

b7C

FM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC; SEDITION

RE WFOTEL 2/11/68

SUBJ SPENT MORNING AND AFTERNOON AT RESIDENCE AND SNCC HDQTS.

IN EVENING WENT TO [REDACTED] WDC WHERE
PARTY APPEARED IN PROGRESS. SOURCE ADVISED MEETING OF BLACK UNITED
FRONT (BUF) DEFINITELY SCHEDULED FOR EVENING OF FEB THIRTEENTH
NEXT AT EIGHT PM AT NEW SCHOOL FOR AFRO-AMERICAN THOUGHT. WFO
FOLLOWING CLOSELY.

ADMINISTRATIVE

b7C

SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

COVERAGE BUF FEB

THIRTEENTH NEXT BEING PLANNED BY WFO. AIRMAIL COPY TO ATLANTA.

2-Bureau
1-Teletype
1-Atlanta (RM) (AM)
1-WFO

FFB:mmh
(5)

REC-34

EX-110

FEB 13 1968

Approved: JDP / FFB

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

Mr. Tolson _____
 Mr. DeLoach _____
 Mr. Mohr _____
 Mr. Bishop _____
 Mr. Casper _____
 Mr. Callahan _____
 Mr. Conrad _____
 Mr. Felt _____
 Mr. Gale _____
 Mr. Rosen _____
 Mr. Sullivan ☒ _____
 Mr. Tavel _____
 Mr. Trotter _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Miss Holmes _____
 Miss Gandy _____

AIRTEL

2/9/68

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
 IS - MISCELLANEOUS
 SEDITION

Enclosed herewith are eleven copies of an LHM for the Bureau regarding above captioned matter. Two copies each are furnished Newark and New York and three copies are furnished Atlanta,

The SAs observing [redacted] Washington, D. C. on 2/3/68 were [redacted]

b7C

11 ENCLOSURE

4-Bureau (Encs. 11)

(1- [redacted])

3-Atlanta (Encs. 3) (RM)

(1- [redacted])

2-Newark (Encs. 2) (RM)

(1- [redacted])

2-New York (Encs. 2) (RM)

(1- [redacted])

2-WFO

(1-100-40690)

WWH:bap
 (13)

AIRTEL

C. C. = Bishop

AGENCY: ACSI, NIC, OSI, SEC. SERV.,

DEPT: ISD, CRD, RAO-IDIC

HOW FORW: R/S

DATE FORW: 2/13/68

BY: [signature]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 5-21-79 BY TAP/bia

50 FEB 23 1968

REC-47
 EX-105

100-446080 1115 PM

12 FEB 16 1968

UNREC COPY AND COPY OF [redacted]



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

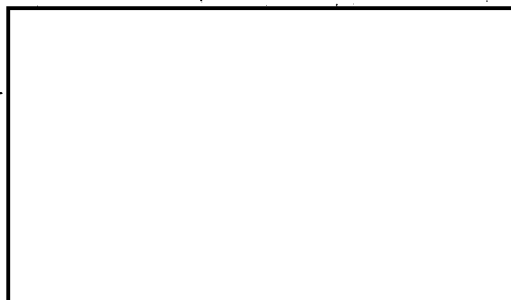
Washington, D. C.
February 9, 1968

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION

On February 3, 1968, Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) observed Stokely Carmichael depart the Washington office of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), 1234 U Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. at 8:38 p.m., accompanied by three other individuals, one of whom was described as follows:

Sex:
Race:
Age:
Height:

Weight:
Hair:
Features:



b7C

The above individual went with Carmichael to Carmichael's residence, 2200 12th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. He subsequently departed Carmichael's residence alone at 9:58 p.m. and via taxicab went to National Airport, Washington, D.C. where he purchased an Eastern Airlines ticket for Flight # 668, due to depart Washington, D. C. at 10:55 p.m. that date for La Guardia Airport, New York City.

In purchasing the ticket, he furnished the name

Special Agents of the FBI identified the

purchasing the ticket from a photograph as

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-31-79 BY TAP/bja

COPIES DESTROYED

343 FEB 26 1971

ENCLOSURE

100-446080 1111

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

An article appearing in the "Oberlin Review", Oberlin, Ohio, issue of April 24, 1962, by Stanley Ornstein, identified Tom Hayden, 22 years of age, as being a field secretary of the "Students for a Democratic Society" (SDS).

b7C On June 19, 1962, [redacted] Atlanta, Georgia, advised that [redacted] a former resident of Atlanta, Georgia and later a resident of New York City, was [redacted] of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and active with student "sit-in" movements in the South.

The SDS is characterized in the appendix.

"The Washington Post" a Washington, D.C. daily newspaper, in an article dated December 29, 1965, contained information relative to the travel of a group of three individuals to North Vietnam to obtain "first hand peace information on the peace views of North Vietnam's communist government and the Vietcong guerrillas....." The article noted that among the three men was Thomas Hayden, who was described as active in student and civil rights groups.

b7C The records of the United States Passport Office, United States Department of State, Washington, D. C. disclosed on December 29, 1967 that [redacted] had been issued a passport [redacted]

[redacted] In applying for the passport [redacted] stated he intended to visit [redacted] for a two week period to do some [redacted]

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anti-communist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

This document contains neither
recommendations nor conclusions of
the FBI. It is the property of
the FBI and is loaned to your agency;
it and its contents are not to be
distributed outside your agency.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-16-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

FBI

Date: 2/13/68

Transmit the following in _____

CODE

(Type in plaintext or code)

TELETYPE

URGENT

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445080)
ATTN: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC; SEDITION

RE WFOTEL 2/12/68

SUBJ AT RESIDENCE DURING AM INSTANT AND ARRIVED SNCC HDQTS.

LATER IN DAY. DEPARTED SNCC EARLY EVENING IN PEUGEOT BEARING VA.

LIC [REDACTED] PROCEEDED TO NEW SCHOOL
FOR AFRO-AMERICAN THOUGHT, TWO TWO ZERO EIGHT FOURTEENTH ST., NW,
WHERE HE REMAINED INTO LATE EVENING.

SOURCE, WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFO IN PAST, ADVISED SUBJ
TO ATTEND MEETING OF THE BLACK UNITED FRONT AT ABOVE MENTIONED/
SCHOOL EIGHT PM INSTANT. LHM FOLLOWS.

ADMINISTRATIVE

SOURCE MENTIONED IS [REDACTED]

RICHMOND:

WILL IDENTIFY OWNER OF PEUGEOT, VA LIC [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] AND ADVISE. AIRMAIL COPY ATLANTA AND RICHMOND

2-Bureau
1-Teletype
1-Atlanta (RM) (AM)
1-Richmond (RM) (AM)
1-WFO
JJO:mmh
(6)

REC 49

EX 101

100-446080-1112

5-124

51 FEB 23 1968 JJO
Approved: [Signature]
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-16-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHE

F B I

Date: 2/8/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (157-1297) (RUC)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL, aka
IS - MISCELLANEOUS;
SEDITION
(OO: ATLANTA)

b7C

Re Chicago airtel and LHM dated 1/30/68, captioned as above.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of a LHM dated and captioned as above. A copy of this memorandum is being furnished the USA, U.S. Secret Service, Chicago, and Region I, 113th MI Group, Evanston, Illinois. An information copy is being furnished the Atlanta, Newark, WFO, and New York offices which received a copy of the referenced airtel and LHM.

CARMICHAEL did not appear in Chicago as anticipated in referenced LHM, and there is no indication he is to travel to Chicago in the near future; therefore, this case is being RUC'd.

ENCLOSURE

ST-108

- 3 - Bureau (Enc. 11) (RM)
1 - Atlanta (100-6812) (Enc. 1) (RM) (Info)
1 - Newark (Enc. 1) (RM) (Info)
1 - WFO (100-43503) (Enc. 1) (RM) (Info)
1 - New York (100-15375) (Enc. 1) (RM) (Info)
3 - Chicago
(1 - 100-40342) (SNCC)
(1 - [redacted])

b7C

DEH/tfk
(10)

1cc of airtel &
LHM 806 PM

AGENCY: ACSI, FBI, OSI, SEC. SERV.

ISD, CRD, RAO, [redacted] Div. 2, Info. Unit

HOW FORW: [redacted]

DATE FORW: 2/14/68

BY: [redacted]

100-446080-1113
FEB 16 1968

Approved: [redacted]

Sent: _____

M

Per: _____

Special Agent in Charge



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Chicago, Illinois

February 8, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 157-1297

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-16-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

**STOKELY CARMICHAEL -
INTERNAL SECURITY -
MISCELLANEOUS;
SEDITION**

Reference is made to Chicago memorandum dated January 30, 1968, captioned as above.

On February 8, 1968, [redacted]

[redacted] Chicago Police Department, Chicago, Illinois, advised Stokely Carmichael, former National Director of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), did not come to Chicago and appear as a guest speaker on February 1, 1968, at the Senate Theater, 3152 West Madison Street, Chicago.

b7C

On February 8, 1968, [redacted]

[redacted] of the Senate Theater, advised that on February 1, 1968, their theater ran two Spanish speaking motion pictures and did not rent their premises to any outside organization.

b7C

A copy of this memorandum is being furnished to the following agencies:

United States Attorney, Chicago, Illinois;

United States Secret Service, Chicago, Illinois;

Region I, 113th MI Group, Evanston, Illinois.

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ENCLOSURE

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343 FEB 26 1971

100-446080

1113

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

2-9-68

Date _____

Information previously received that Stokely Carmichael, former Chairman of Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and other SNCC members were to meet in Dayton, Ohio, with

b7C
militant black nationalists in Dayton who have been active in that area. Carmichael is attempting to attain unity among various Negro groups in effort to establish Black Power.

Pertinent information in attached being included in today's White House summary.

TDR:mh

VIA TELETYPE

FEB 9 1968

ENCIPHERED

4:06 AM 2-9-68 URGENT WRH

TO DIRECTOR, ATLANTA, COLUMBIA, MEMPHIS, NEW YORK AND
WASHINGTON FIELD --CODE)

NEW YORK VIA WASHINGTON

FROM CINCINNATI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-16-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

b7C

Internal Security
STOKELY CARMICHAEL; IS-MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION.

Mr. Tolson ✓
Mr. DeLoach ✓
Mr. Mohr ✓
Mr. Bishop ✓
Mr. Casper ✓
Mr. Callahan ✓
Mr. Conrad ✓
Mr. Felt ✓
Mr. Gale ✓
Mr. Rosen ✓
Mr. Sullivan ✓
Mr. Tavel ✓
Mr. Trotter ✓
Tele. Room ✓
Miss Holmes ✓
Miss Gandy ✓

SOURCE, WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN PAST
ADVISED FEBRUARY EIGHT LAST, SUBJECT AND [REDACTED] ARRIVED
DAYTON, OHIO ABOUT ELEVEN THIRTY P.M. FEBRUARY SEVEN LAST AND
IMMEDIATELY WENT TO [REDACTED] DAYTON,
WHERE MEETING ABOUT RACIAL SITUATION IN DAYTON WAS IN PROGRESS,
WITH ABOUT TWENTY-EIGHT PERSONS PRESENT. MOST OF THOSE PRESENT
SURPRISED WHEN CARMICHAEL APPEARED. MEETING CONTINUED UNTIL
ABOUT TWO THIRTY A.M. FEBRUARY EIGHT LAST. DURING MEETING
[REDACTED] WHO WAS ALREADY PRESENT, CARMICHAEL AND [REDACTED]
GENERALLY DISCUSSED SNCC'S NEW POLICY, WHICH IS TO ATTAIN UNITY
AMONG ALL NEGRO GROUPS, WITH THE ULTIMATE GOAL OF BLACK POWER.
SNCC PRESENTLY TAKING SOFT LINE ON BLACK POWER IN ORDER TO BRING
ALL NEGROES INTO THEIR FOLD. CARMICHAEL SAID NEW APPROACH IS
THAT CONFERENCES AND SPEECHES ARE BEING DECREASED AND INSTEAD
THEY ARE GOING OUT AND WORKING DIRECTLY WITH THE PEOPLE.

55 FEB 23 1968
TWO COPIES TO HQ

XEROX
FEB 1968

RELAYED TO

W. H. LT 2/9/68

PAGE TWO FROM CINCINNATI

CARMICHAEL SAID THE REBELLION IS READY IN ITS FINAL PHASES ALL OVER THE WORLD AND THE ONLY ONES NOT READY ARE THE NEGROES IN THE UNITED STATES. VIETNAM AND KOREA ALREADY HAVE THEIR REBELLIONS AND OTHER ASIAN COUNTRIES, AFRICA AND SOUTH AMERICA ARE PREPARING FOR SAME. CARMICHAEL STATED AN ANALYSIS OF ALL THE RIOTS IN UNITED STATES DURING PAST FEW YEARS UNORGANIZED AND HAD NO REAL LEADERSHIP.

SUBJECT, [REDACTED] LEFT DAYTON ABOUT TWO THIRTY A.M. AND ARRIVED CINCINNATI ABOUT FOUR A.M. TRAVELED BY CAR. CHECKED INTO HOTEL SUITE OF THREE ROOMS AT SHERATON-GIBSON HOTEL, WHERE [REDACTED] REGISTERED SINCE FEBRUARY FIVE LAST. [REDACTED] CONNECTED WITH NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF NEGRO METHODIST MINISTERS, WHO ARE HOLDING THREE DAY CONVENTION, ENDING TODAY.

b7C

CARMICHAEL, [REDACTED] DID NOT LEAVE HOTEL ROOMS, DURING DAY. CARMICHAEL AND [REDACTED] OBSERVED AT DOOR OF ROOMS ABOUT SIX THIRTY P.M. AT EIGHT TWENTY-FIVE P.M., CARMICHAEL AND [REDACTED] LEFT HOTEL WITH [REDACTED] [REDACTED] SNCC, AND ANOTHER NEGRO MALE BELIEVED

b7C

PAGE THREE FROM CINCINNATI

TO BE [] CINCINNATI. DROVE AROUND CINCINNATI AND
RETURNED TO HOTEL ABOUT TEN THIRTY P. M.

b7C

ABOVE SOURCE ADVISED CARMICHAEL MENTIONED HE WOULD
ADDRESS [] MEETING OF GROUP OF MINISTERS ABOVE EVENING OF
[] AND WOULD LEAVE CINCINNATI EVENING FEBRUARY
EIGHT, RETURNING WASHINGTON, D. C. BUT NO RESERVATIONS KNOWN
AT THIS TIME. [] INDICATED HE WOULD BE RETURNING TO []
BUT WOULD RETURN DAYTON IN ABOUT TEN DAYS. [] INDICATED HE
WOULD RETURN [] PROBABLY THROUGH WASHINGTON, D.C.

b7C

ADMINISTRATIVE:

reach
RE CI TEL FEB. 8 LAST.

SOURCE ABOVE IS []

b2

COLUMBIA FURNISH ANY BACKGROUND DATA AVAILABLE RE []

b7C

b7D

END

RECEIVED: 4:32 AM LRC

Included in letter to White House
and Attorney General. Date 2-9-68
DAP: *gi*

VIA TELETYPE

FEB 14 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson.....
Mr. DeLoach.....
Mr. Mohr.....
Mr. Bishop.....
Mr. Casper.....
Mr. Callahan.....
Mr. Conrad.....
Mr. Felt.....
Mr. Gale.....
Mr. Rosen.....
Mr. Sullivan.....
Mr. Tavel.....
Mr. Trotter.....
Tele. Room.....
Miss Holmes.....
Miss Gandy.....

WA -4-

348PM URGENT 2-14-68 JAN

TO DIRECTOR WASHINGTON FIELD AND LOS ANGELES (PLAINTEXT)
ATT DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION
LOS ANGELES VIA WASHINGTON
FROM NEW YORK 100-153751 1P

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; INTERNAL SECURITY-MISCELLANEOUS,
SEDITION

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-16-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

A CHECK OF NEW YORK CITY TELEPHONE DIRECTORY
REVEALED THAT YU NINE ONE THREE ONE THREE TELEPHONE
NUMBER BELONGS TO STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING
COMMITTEE, ONE HUNDRED FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY.

NEW YORK OFFICE HAS NO INFORMATION REGARDING
UNKNOWN NEGROES GOING TO LOS ANGELES.

ADMINISTRATIVE

REFERENCE LOS ANGELES TELETYPE TO BUREAU, TWO
FOURTEEN SIXTYEIGHT.

END

W

HWL

R RELAY

FBI WASH DC

RELAYED TO

REC 49

100-446080-1115

4 FEB 16 1968

EX 10-10

FEB 14

FTB ACK MAY 4

50 FEB 20 1968

LA WFO

5-1A

~~SECRET~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

VIA TELETYPE

FEB 6 1968 *BMM*

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

we 4/5

OTT 02 10-43 AM JHC

DEFERRED 2-6-68

DATE: 12-16-2005
CLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(6) 12-16-2030

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080)

FROM LEGAT, OTTAWA (100-1564)

IP

STOKLEY CARMICHAEL, IS - MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION.

REBUTELPHONE CALL TWO TWO LAST.

b1

NOTE, HOWEVER, THAT NATIONAL

INDEPENDENCE RALLY (RIN) MEETING POSTPONED WEEK OR
TEN DAYS DUE TO INTERNAL DIFFICULTIES.

LEGAT WILL FOLLOW AND REPORT ANY INFORMATIN⁰ RECEIVED
RE SUBJECT'S VISIT TO CANADA, HIS CONTACTS, STATEMENTS, ETC.
OTTAWA SHOULD BE KEPT ADVISED OF ANY INFO DEVELOPED BY BUREAU
RE TRAVEL PLANS.

END

RNK

FBI WASH DC

EX-110

REC 22

100-446080-1114

FEB 16 1968

~~SECRET~~

51 FEB 23 1968

FEB 1968

CC: Liaison

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

DATE: 1/26/68

FROM LEGAT, PARIS (100-2683)(P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS;
SEDITION
(OO:AT)

Remylet, 1/23/68.

There is enclosed for information of the Bureau one copy of U.S. Department of State telegram dated 1/23/68 to the American Embassy, Paris. Copy also for Atlanta.

[redacted]
[redacted] who furnished this telegram, asked if this office was in possession of information requested in the telegram. The U.S. Department of State asked if the Embassy was in possession of information indicating the identity of French officials who examined CARMICHAEL's passport at the times of his arrival in and departure from Paris.

[redacted] was advised that this office is not in possession of this information.

We will follow and advise the Bureau.

- 4 - Bureau (Encl. 4)
(1 - Liaison Section)
(1 - Atlanta)(Info)
1 - Paris

ADDENDUM: Enclosed are two copies of Embassy reply to U.S. Department of State.

NWP:sch
(5)

REC-35 100-446080-1117

14 FEB 1968



TELEGRAM

Foreign Service of the
United States of America

INCOMING AMEMBASSY PARIS

ACTION: **CONGEN-2** **LIMITED OFFICIAL**

CONTROL: 1850

REC'D: 23 Jan 68

3:45 PM

AMB-1
MIN-1
POL-1
POLMIL
CSA-1
S/ATT
MINECON
FIN
CEP
COMAFF
LABATT
TRC
AGRIC

DE RUEHC 102946 0231441

ZNY CCCCC ZZH

R 231430Z JAN 68

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO RUFNCR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 2529

INFO RUDTCR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 0395.

RUDKLM/AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM 0395-

STATE GRNC

BT

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-16-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

USISF
PRESS

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE STATE 102946

DEFATT
NAAG
MLS

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

USOECO
RTAC
ST

1. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE CONSIDERING PROSECUTION STOKELY CARMICHAEL FOR USING PASSPORT TO TRAVEL OTHER COUNTRIES, INCLUDING SWEDEN, FRANCE AND TANZANIA, AFTER BEING ADVISED BY STATE DEPARTMENT THAT PASSPORT HAD BEEN REVOKED AND WAS RESTRICTED FOR DIRECT AND IMMEDIATE RETURN TO US.

2. JUSTICE ADVISES THAT IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION

ADMIN-1
PERS
CA
E & F
CS
COMM
SY
RFC
FBO

SERVICE HAS INFORMATION FROM FRENCH POLICE THAT CARMICHAEL EXHIBITED HIS PASSPORT TO BOTH AIRPORT POLICE AND AIRLINE PERSONNEL BEFORE BOARDING FLIGHT FROM PARIS TO US. JUSTICE HAS ASKED DEPARTMENT TO SUPPLY DETAILS AND CIRCUMSTANCES SURROUNDING CARMICHAEL'S USE OF PASSPORT AT AIRPORT. SPECIFICALLY JUSTICE REQUESTS: NAMES OF INDIVIDUALS TO WHOM PASSPORT EXHIBITED; WHETHER EXHIBITION WAS AT REQUEST OF FRENCH OFFICIALS PURSUANT TO RULE REQUIRING EXHIBITION; WHETHER INDIVIDUALS WHO SAW CARMICHAEL'S PASSPORT REMEMBER INCIDENT AND WHETHER ANY WRITTEN NOTATION WAS MADE CONCERNING THIS MATTER. JUSTICE WOULD ALSO BE PARTICULARLY INTERESTED TO LEARN WHETHER CARMICHAEL USED HIS PASSPORT UPON HIS ENTRY INTO PARIS.

CONGEN
VISAS
PPTS-1
SCS

UNESCO
NASA
NECP
FAA

3. EMBASSY IS REQUESTED (1) TO SUPPLY ALL INFORMATION EMBASSY NOW HAS RESPONSIVE TO THESE QUESTIONS WITHOUT CONSULTING HOST GOVERNMENT, AND (2) TO GIVE ITS OPINION WHETHER HOST GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE REQUESTED TO SUPPLY THE INFORMATION SOUGHT IF EMBASSY CANNOT SUPPLY ANSWERS FROM INFORMATION NOW AVAILABLE.

EF-25
PFA

10-0-446080
ENCLOSURE

b7C

TELEGRAM Foreign Service of the
United States of America
OUTGOING

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

Charge:

Classification

Control: 9556

Date: 25 Jan 1968
025/1757Z

ACTION: SECSTATE WASHINGTON 8998

~~9556~~ 9556

PARIS

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-16-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

REF: State 102946 & 7 STOKELY CARMICHAEL

1. Para 2 Deptel 102946, Embassy presently unable supply more details than previously submitted Embtel 7911 and Emb. SY report Carmichael's activities sent SY-F.O. Jan. 2, 1968.
2. Embassy assumes subject followed ordinary procedures at airport, including show of passport to police and airline personnel. (One unconfirmed report indicates French Airport Police had passport in their hands during hours Carmichael held overnight at airport and prior his admittance, allegedly "to check passport's validity.")

Revised by:

CCOW/GEN:PHCult/vy/nb

b7C

Approving Officer:

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

Classification

100-446080-44

TELEGRAM

Foreign Service of the
United States of America

OUTGOING

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

Charge:

Classification

Control: 9556

Page 2

Date:

3. Embassy believes GOF would probably provide most details of procedures followed at time of Carmichael's admittance on basis either formal or informal U.S. request. We doubt, however, GOF would furnish affidavits described in Deptel 102947.



b7C

Drafted by:

Approving Officer:

Concurrence:

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

Classification

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

FEB 18 1968

TELETYPE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-16-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	<i>W</i>
Mr. Sullivan	<i>W</i>
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

FBI WASH DC*

FBI SAN FRAN

306PM DEFERRED 2/18/68 LFH

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080), LOS ANGELES AND WASHINGTON FIELD
(WASHINGTON FIELD VIA DIRECTOR)
FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-721) 1P

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS - MISC, SEDITION.

RE BUPHONE CALL AND SAN FRANCISCO CALL TO LOS ANGELES THIS DATE.

SAN MATEO COUNTY SHERIFF OFFICE ADVISED THAT CARMICHAEL IN A
PARTY OF FOURTEEN LEFT SAN FRANCISCO INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT
AT ELEVEN FORTY-FIVE A.M. TODAY VIA UNITED AIR LINES ARRIVING IN LOS
ANGELES AT TWELVE FORTY P.M.

END

OTHER AGENCY OFFICE ADVISED

GJM

FBI WASH DC*

X

Relayed to

XEROX

REC 6

FEB 19 1968

FEB 19 1968

66 FEB 23 1968

100-446080-1118

J-1118

February 16, 1968

100-446080 -

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-16-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

b7C

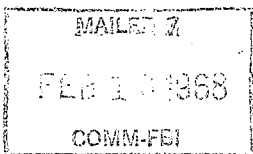
Dear [REDACTED]

Mr. Hoover received your letter of February 12th and asked me to advise you that he appreciates the interest which prompted you to furnish him your comments.

Sincerely yours,

Helen W. Gandy

Helen W. Gandy
Secretary



NOTE: Bufiles disclose prior correspondence with [REDACTED] By outgoing 12-11-67 his letter of 12-6-67 was acknowledged and he was informed the FBI does not determine whether prosecutive action will be undertaken in any situation. His letter of 12-6-67 set forth various comments concerning Stokely Carmichael. A copy of [REDACTED] 12-6-67 communication was forwarded to the Attorney General. In view of the tenor of [REDACTED] letter, it is believed this is an appropriate reply.

b7C

HRH:cat (3)

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

59 FEB 23 1968

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

REC'D IN 10:00

FEB 18 8 20 AM '68

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100 - 106670 - 32202

b7C

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

February 12, 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-16-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Re: Martin Luther King

Dear Mr. Hoover:

If our Communist infested government allows this power hungry, evil black devil, posing in a dirty black cloth of Christianity, to carry through his summer marches and sit-ins in Washington, D. C. then the President is the biggest jackass I've ever known.

This so-called minister is a bigot, rabble rouser, Communist bedfellow, and an anti-American screwball. He knows that the Negro must go to work and start at the bottom, just like I did. He knows that many Negroes are shifters and truly don't want to work. He knows that many Negroes are too unconcerned to stay in school and college. He knows that many Negroes are free-loaders and do not pay taxes, and that the Negro won't help his "soul" brothers and sisters. The Negro has done very little to help his neighbors or his country.

Guaranteed wages for Negroes is sickening. Did they help to pay the cost in taxes? Did they try to stay at a job? Did they look for or care to find a job? These free-loaders are only undermining our country and hurting those who truly need help and aid.

b7C

Martin Luther King, Stokely Carmichael, and [redacted] should be penalized before their plans of militant rebellion can overthrow our cherished Democracy. They are being financed, backed, and pushed by the Communist infiltrators from Russia and China.

I remain,

Very sincerely, 141 FEB 20 1968

b7C

EPJK/cae

Miss Gandy Reply
2-16-68

ORIGINAL FILED IN

NOT RECORDED

13 FEB 1968

CONFIDENTIAL

VIA TELETYPE
FEB 13 1968
ENCIPHERED

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-16-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

Mr. Tolson_____
Mr. DeLoach_____
Mr. Mohr_____
Mr. Bishop_____
Mr. Casper_____
Mr. Callahan_____
Mr. Conrad_____
Mr. Felt_____
Mr. Gale_____
Mr. Rosen_____
Mr. Sullivan_____
Mr. Tavel_____
Mr. Trotter_____
Tele. Room_____
Miss Holmes_____
Miss Gandy_____

WASH DC ---3---

10-02 PM DEFERRED 2-12-68 KH

TO DIRECTOR 100-446080 (PLAIN TEXT)
FROM LOS ANGELES 100-68783

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS - MISCELLANEOUS SEDITION.

REBUTEL FEBRUARY TWELVE INSTANT.

NUMEROUS LEAFLETS DISTRIBUTED THROUGHOUT LOS ANGELES
PAST SEVERAL DAYS ANNOUNCING MASS PUBLIC RALLY FEATURING
STOKELY CARMICHAEL, TO BE HELD LOS ANGELES SPORTS ARENA,
FEBRUARY EIGHTEEN NEXT.

TENTATIVE ARRANGEMENT MADE WITH MANAGEMENT, LOS ANGELES
SPORTS ARENA FOR AGENT TO MECHANICALLY RECORD CARMICHAEL'S
SPEECH. INFORMANTS AND SOURCES INSTRUCTED TO ATTEND RALLY.

ADDITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS CONCERNING RECORDING OF SPEECH
WILL BE FURNISHED BUREAU FEBRUARY THIRTEEN NEXT.

END

DHH

FBI WASH DC

REC 6

FEB 19 1968

ST-108

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-16-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

VIA TELETYPE
FEB 14 1968
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

WASH DC ---1---

10-16 PM DEFERRED 2-13-68 KH
TO DIRECTOR 100-446080 NEW YORK (CODE)
NEW YORK VIA WASHINGTON
FROM LOS ANGELES 100-68783

STOKELY CARMICHAEL. IS - MISCELLANEOUS-SEDITION.

[REDACTED] LAPD INTELLIGENCE, TODAY ADVISED CONFIDENTIAL
FEMALE INFORMANT STATED JAMES FORMAN LEFT LOS ANGELES ON OR
ABOUT FEBRUARY SIX, LAST BY UNKNOWN AIRLINE FOR NEW YORK,
FURNISHING ADDRESS [REDACTED]

POLICE

SOURCE TODAY ADVISED SHE IS FURNISHING ROOM TO TWO OUT OF
TOWN MALE NEGROES, ONE DESCRIBED SIX FOOT, SEVEN INCHES,
AND THE OTHER IS FIVE FEET ELEVEN INCHES, WHOSE TRUE IDENTITIES
UNKNOWN AND BELIEVED TO BE USING FICTITIOUS NAMES AND BELIEVED
IN LOS ANGELES AS ADVANCE MEN FOR CARMICHAEL. THEY CALLED

NEW YORK TODAY COLLECT, [REDACTED] WHICH FEB 19 1968

MAY BE [REDACTED] WHICH THEY ALLEGED IS

CONFIDENTIAL PHONE NUMBER [REDACTED] THEY STATED [REDACTED]

IS DISPLEASED WITH THEM APPARENTLY OVER REPORTS FORMAN GAVE

XEROX
FEB 1968 55 FEB 22 1968 1332

RELAYED TO

PAGE TWO

LA 100-68783

CONCERNING THEM AND THEY MAY BE INSTRUCTED RETURN NEW YORK
MONDAY, FEBRUARY NINETEEN. MEN MADE TOTAL FOUR COLLECT CALLS
IN ALL. POLICE SOURCE SAID MEN SCHEDULED BE IN LOS ANGELES
FOUR WEEKS AND HAVE BEEN HANGING AROUND HEADQUARTERS BLACK
CONGRESS, SEVEN TWO TWO EIGHT SOUTH BROADWAY. COLLECT CALLS
WERE MADE FROM LOS ANGELES PHONE SEVEN FIVE FOUR ONE THREE
SIX ONE.

NEW YORK REQUESTED SUTEL IF [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] PHONE NUMBER [REDACTED] AND IF

UNKNOWN NEGROES KNOWN TO NY DIVISION.

WFO ADVISED AM FOR INFORMATION.

END

R RELAY

DHH FBI WASH DC

SEP 10 10 45 AM '66

cc: *Trainer*

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-16-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

FBI

Date: 2/16/68

Transmit the following in _____

PLAINTEXT

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via _____

TELETYPE

URGENT

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080) AND SACS ALBUQUERQUE
DETROIT (100-34122)
LOS ANGELES (100-68783) AND
SAN FRANCISCO (157-721)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; IS - MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION
RE DETROIT AIRTEL FEBRUARY TWELVE LAST ENTITLED "MALCOLM X
MEMORIAL DAY, DETROIT, MICHIGAN, FEBRUARY TWENTYONE SIXTYEIGHT"
ADVISING INFO RECEIVED DETROIT PD CARMICHAEL TO APPEAR.

FOR INFO DETROIT, CARMICHAEL PRESENTLY IN SAN FRANCISCO
AND LATER SCHEDULED TO TRAVEL TO LOS ANGELES. NO INFO AVAIL-
ABLE WFO THAT CARMICHAEL SCHEDULED TO APPEAR IN DETROIT FEBRUARY
TWENTYONE NEXT. WFO SOURCE ADVISED INSTANT DATE CARMICHAEL
DROPPED COMMENT IN CONVERSATION PRIOR TO DEPARTURE THAT HE
MIGHT BE AWAY FROM WDC UNTIL END OF FEBRUARY, BUT TRAVEL PLANS
NOT KNOWN TO SOURCE. SAN FRANCISCO AND LOS ANGELES ARE REQUESTED

- ② - Bureau
- 2 - Teletype Unit
- 2 - WFO

REC-20

EX-105

XEROX

WWH:tab FEB 1968
(6)

CC - Train 3 FEB 20 1968

Approved: 55 FEB 1968

Sent _____

M _____

Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via _____

(Priority)

WFO 100-43503

PAGE TWO

TO BE ALERT FOR TRAVEL BEYOND THOSE AREAS AND TO NOTIFY
INTERESTED OFFICES TO COVER CARMICHAEL PER INSTRUCTIONS BUREAU
AIRTEL ALL OFFICES DECEMBER TWENTYONE LAST.

ADMINISTRATIVESOURCE IS

P

b2

b7D

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

The Attorney General

Director, FBI

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Miss Holmes

February 14, 1968

1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Bishop

1 -
1 -

b7C

Reference is made to my letter dated December 14, 1967, in which you were advised that wherever feasible attempts would be made to record any speeches that Carmichael might make following receipt of specific approval by you.

Information has been received that Carmichael is scheduled to speak February 17, 1968, at a rally sponsored by the Black Panther Party For Self-Defense, a militant black nationalist organization, at the Oakland Auditorium, Oakland, California. He is also scheduled to speak at a rally sponsored by the Peace Action Council, a clearinghouse for anti-Vietnam War and civil rights organizations, and the Black Congress, an organization representing the majority of black nationalist organizations, at the Los Angeles Sports Arena, Los Angeles, California, February 18, 1968.

The "Oakland Tribune," Oakland, California, newspaper will record the entire program at the Oakland Auditorium on February 17, 1968, and our San Francisco Office has been advised that this recording will be made available for evidentiary use. In view of this, the Bureau does not contemplate making a separate recording of the Oakland speech.

In connection with Carmichael's speech scheduled for February 18, 1968, at the Los Angeles Sports Arena,

100-446080

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

PTB:ekw
(11)

55 FEB 23 1968

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

The Attorney General

it has been ascertained that all functions at the Los Angeles Sports Arena are taped by Arena personnel. The management has advised that Special Agents of this Bureau may also mechanically tape with Bureau equipment Carmichael's speech on February 18, 1968, through the Arena microphones and lines.

These Special Agents will have lawful access to the Arena. The recording will be made from the Arena Recording Room and the speaker's platform is visible from this Room.

Authority is requested to record Carmichael's speech at the Los Angeles Sports Arena by Special Agents as set out above.

Since the rally at Los Angeles is scheduled for February 18, 1968, an expedite reply would be appreciated in order that plans for coverage may be formulated.

- 1 - The Deputy Attorney General
- 1 - Mr. J. Walter Yeagley
Assistant Attorney General

NOTE:

The Attorney General has previously requested that we attempt to mechanically record speeches by Carmichael wherever possible. We advised the Attorney General on 12/14/67 that attempts to do so would be made wherever feasible and in each instance we would specifically request clearance from the Attorney General.

In view of the extreme militancy of the Black Panther Party For Self-Defense and the possibility of violence, San Francisco does not recommend recording Carmichael's speech on 2/17/68 at Oakland Auditorium and as set out above arrangements have been made for the speech to be recorded by "Oakland Tribune."

Los Angeles Office advised they can effectively record Carmichael's speech on 2/18/68 with full security assured. Under these circumstances it is believed we should obtain a recording of Carmichael's speech.

VIA TELETYPE

FEB 13 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson.....
Mr. DeLoach.....
Mr. Mohr.....
Mr. Bishop.....
Mr. Casper.....
Mr. Callahan.....
Mr. Conrad.....
Mr. Felt.....
Mr. Gale.....
Mr. Rosen.....
Mr. Sullivan.....
Mr. Tavel.....
Mr. Trotter.....
Tele. Room.....
Miss Holmes.....
Miss Gandy.....

WA 01 4:00 PM SRH

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-16-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

DEFERRED 2-13-68 MS

TO DIRECTOR(100-446080) & WASH FIELD ...CODED...

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-721) 2P

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; INTERNAL SECURITY - MISC; SEDITION

REBUTEL FEBRUARY ONE TWO, LAST, TO LOS ANGELES AND SAN FRANCISCO.

FOLLOWING COVERAGE OF CARMICHAEL'S SPEECH ON FEBRUARY ONE SEVEN, NEXT, AT OAKLAND, CALIF., IS PLANNED.

OAKLAND TRIBUNE NEWSPAPER WILL RECORD ENTIRE PROGRAM AND WILL PRESERVE RECORDING FOR EVIDENTIARY USE BY BUREAU. OAKLAND TRIBUNE EXECUTIVES REQUEST THAT NO BUREAU PERSONNEL ACCOMPANY TRIBUNE EMPLOYEES DURING THE RECORDING IN ORDER TO BETTER GUARANTEE THE PERSONAL SAFETY OF TRIBUNE EMPLOYEES.

TWO BUREAU AGENTS UNARMED AND WITHOUT RECORDING EQUIPMENT WILL ATTEND PROGRAM. IT HAS BEEN ANNOUNCED AT MEETINGS OF
END PAGE ONE

XEROX

FEB 1968

TWO COPIES TO WFO

MR. DELOACH FOR THE DIRECTOR

PAGE TWO

BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF DEFENSE THAT ALL PERSONS ATTENDING WILL BE SUBJECT TO SEARCH. RECORDING BY AGENTS, OVERTLY OR COVERTLY, NOT RECOMMENDED BECAUSE OF NATURE OF SPONSORING GROUP, THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF DEFENSE.

INTELLIGENCE UNIT OF OAKLAND POLICE DEPARTMENT PLANS TO COVERTLY MAKE A RECORDING OF ENTIRE PROGRAM AND TO HAVE OFFICERS PRESENT.

AT LEAST TWO BUREAU INFORMANTS WILL BE PRESENT DURING PROGRAM, ONE WHITE, SCHEDULED TO BE THE OFFICIAL PHOTOGRAPHER.

SAN FRANCISCO HAS TWO NEGRO MALE CLERICAL EMPLOYEES AND TWO NEGRO FEMALE STENOGRAPHERS, BUT FEELS THEIR SERVICES NOT REQUIRED IN VIEW OF OTHER COVERAGE.

A RECORD WILL BE MADE OF ALL NEWS MEDIA KNOWN TO BE PRESENT AND TO MAKE RECORDINGS AT THE PROGRAM.

IN EVENT OF OTHER APPEARANCES OF CARMICHAEL IN THIS AREA SIMILAR COVERAGE WILL BE PLANNED, HOWEVER, SPECIFIC BUREAU APPROVAL WILL BE REQUESTED.

UACB, THESE PLANS WILL BE ADHERED TO.

END

~~KUE~~

~~FDEWJYU/53~~

MSE R RELAY

FBI WASH DC

CC MR SULLIVAN

VIA TELETYPE

FEB 14 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson_____
Mr. DeLoach_____
Mr. Mohr_____
Mr. Bishop_____
Mr. Casper_____
Mr. Callahan_____
Mr. Conrad_____
Mr. Felt_____
Mr. Gale_____
Mr. Rosen_____
Mr. Sullivan_____
Mr. Tavel_____
Mr. Trotter_____
Tele. Room_____
Miss Holmes_____
Miss Gandy_____

WASH DC ---3---

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-16-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHE

10-33 PM DEFERRED 2-13-68 KH
TO DIRECTOR 100-446080 (CODE)
FROM LOS ANGELES 100-68783

STOKLEY CARMICHAEL, INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS,
SEDITION.

RELATELS TO BUREAU FEBRUARY SEVEN AND TWELVE LAST.

[REDACTED] LA SPORTS ARENA, ADVISED

THIS DATE SPORTS ARENA'S BOARD OF GOVERNORS APPROVED
THIS PM USE OF ARENA FOR MASS RALLY SPONSORED
BY PEACE ACTION COUNCIL AND BLACK CONGRESS FEATURING STOKLEY
CARMICHAEL, FEBRUARY EIGHTEEN NEXT, IF SPONSORING ORGANI-
ZATIONS MEET REQUIREMENTS SET DOWN BY BOARD.

BOARD REQUIRES SPONSORS PAY RENTAL FEE FOUR THOUSAND
DOLLARS AND TEN THOUSAND DOLLARS PROPERTY DAMAGE INSURANCE
POLICY. FURNISH NAMES ALL SPONSORING ORGANIZATIONS AND
OFFICERS OF ORGANIZATIONS SPONSORING RALLY. CERTIFY WHICH
OFFICERS RESPONSIBLE FOR FINANCIAL ARRANGEMENTS.

[REDACTED] INDICATED ALL FUNCTIONS LA SPORTS ARENA

8 FEB 20 1968

EX 101

XEROX

FEB 1968

62

REC-28 1968

88

PAGE TWO

LA 100-68783

TAPED BY ARENA TECHNICIAN AND HAS PERMITTED BUREAU AGENTS TO MECHANICALLY TAPE WITH BUREAU EQUIPMENT, RALLY SPEAKERS FEBRUARY EIGHTEEN NEXT THROUGH ARENA MICROPHONES AND LINES. IN ADDITION, ARENA WILL FURNISH COPY OF THEIR RECORDING.

THE SPEAKERS PLATFORM LA ARENA IS VISABLE FROM RECORDING ROOM. SECURITY ASSURED BUREAU AGENTS AND ARENA TECHNICIAN ONLY PERSONNEL PERMITTED RECORDING ROOM.

END

DHH FBI WASH DC

REC'D 1 18 1968
TIL 1 18 1968

cc: *Tosima*


UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : The Director

DATE: Feb. 5, 1968

FROM : N. P. Callahan

SUBJECT: The Congressional Record

Page 2893. Senator Byrd, (D) West Virginia, placed in the Record an article from the Washington Post entitled "Carmichael Due To Meet King." The article advised that Stokely Carmichael and Martin Luther King would meet to consider combining forces for the civil disobedience pressure campaign on Congress planned for April. Mr. Byrd stated "I have felt all along, Mr. President, that the presence of Carmichael in Washington was an ill omen for the future. That King would consider joining forces with the man who advocates burning America down tells us something about the civil rights apostle of 'nonviolence,' too, I think."

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-16-2005 BY 60309 AUC/TAM/MLT/JHE

100-446080-
NOT RECORDED

120 FEB 27 1968

Original filed in
66-1731-3238

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for Feb. 2, 1968 was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau files for subject matter files.

54 MAR 4 1968

Tolson _____
 DeLoach _____
 Mohr _____
 Bishop _____
 Casper _____
 Callahan _____
 Conrad _____
 Felt _____
 Gale _____
 Rosen _____
 Sullivan ☒ _____
 Tavel _____
 Trotter _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holmes _____
 Gandy _____

DECODED COPY

☐ AIRGRAM ☐ CABLEGRAM ☒ RADIO ☐ TELETYPE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 12-16-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

R 33

URGENT 2-16-68

TO DIRECTOR AND WASHINGTON FIELD
 FROM LAS VEGAS

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS - M; SEDITION OO: WFO.

ON FEBRUARY 16 LAST A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE THIS OFFICE
 ADVISED HE WAS TOLD BY [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] THAT STOKELY CARMICHAEL IS COMING TO LAS
 VEGAS DURING THE WEEK OF FEBRUARY 18 - 24. NO FURTHER
 INFORMATION DEVELOPED, EXACT DATE NOT MENTIONED AND PURPOSE
 OF CARMICHAEL TRIP NOT DISCUSSED.

FOR INFORMATION, NEVADA CHAPTER NCCJ HOLDING ANNUAL
 AWARDS DINNER AT HACIENDA HOTEL ON FEBRUARY 21 NEXT. FORMER
 BOXING CHAMP ARCHIE MOORE IS TO BE THE MAIN SPEAKER. MOORE
 CONSIDERED UNCLE TOM BY MILITANT NEGROES. NO INDICATION
 CARMICHAEL WILL UTILIZE THIS AFFAIR.

2 CC WASHINGTON FIELD

51 FEB 26 1968

If the intelligence contained in the above message is to be disseminated outside the Bureau, it is suggested that it be suitably
 paraphrased in order to protect the Bureau's cryptographic systems.

REC 49
 EX 100-446080-1124
 FEB 20 1968

Tolson _____
 DeLoach _____
 Mohr _____
 Bishop _____
 Casper _____
 Callahan _____
 Conrad _____
 Felt _____
 Gale _____
 Rosen _____
 Sullivan _____
 Tavel _____
 Trotter _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holmes _____
 Gandy _____

DECODED COPY

☐ AIRGRAM ☐ CABLEGRAM ☒ RADIO ☐ TELETYPE

PAGE TWO FROM LAS VEGAS

WFO ADVISE CARMICHAEL'S ITINERARY AND TRAVEL PLANS
 FOR ABOVE MENTIONED WEEK. ADVISE LAS VEGAS. SUTEL.

RECEIVED: 1:54 PM FJB

FEB 12 1968

FEB 12 3 52 PM '68

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 2/17/68

Stokely Carmichael is currently on West Coast to speak before Black Nationalist groups.

Attached information has been furnished to the Inter-Division Information Unit and the Internal Security Division of the Department.

LWRO:er

J *wcc/1285* *Sw* *h*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-16-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

VIA TELETYPE

FEB 17 1968

ENCIPHERED

WASH DC --2--

11-28 PM DEFERRED 2-16-68 KH

TO DIRECTOR 100-446080 SAN FRANCISCO (ENCODE)

SAN FRANCISCO VIA WASHINGTON

FROM LOS ANGELES 100-68783

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

STOKELY CARMICHAEL. *INTERNAL Security* IS MISCELLANEOUS, SEDITION.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-16-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

b7C

b7C

DURING LATE EVENING FEBRUARY SIXTEEN INSTANT, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS (VFW) POST SEVEN

TWO EIGHT THREE, LANCASTER, CALIF., TELEPHONICALLY ADVISED

LANCASTER *Resident Agency* RA MEMBERS OF HIS POST DISTURBED BY RECENT

ACTIONS AND STATEMENTS OF SUBJECT CARMICHAEL. OTHER VFW

MEMBERS FROM NORTHERN LOS ANGELES COUNTY AREA INCLUDING

CITIES OF LANCASTER, PALMDALE, NEWHALL AND SAUGUS BANDING

TOGETHER TO DRIVE TO OAKLAND, CALIF. TONIGHT TO QUOTE

CONFRONT UNQUOTE CARMICHAEL WHEN HE MAKES PERSONAL

APPEARANCE IN BAY AREA PRIOR TO HIS COMING TO LOS ANGELES

FEBRUARY EIGHTEEN NEXT.

EX-110

REC-20

100-446080-1125

[REDACTED] WILL NOT TRAVEL TO OAKLAND. HE ESTIMATES

MAXIMUM OF SIXTY PERSONS WILL DRIVE TO OAKLAND FOR ABOVE

PURPOSE. [REDACTED]

3 FEB 20 1968

b7C

RELAYED TO

FEB 23 1968

FEB 1968

PAGE TWO

LA 100-68783

b7C

[REDACTED]

HE MADE NO MENTION OF ANY EXPECTED VIOLENCE FROM THIS
CONTINGENT OF VFW MEMBERS. COVERAGE CONTINUING. *memo* ~~LHM~~ FOLLOWS.

END

IT IS OK TO HOLD SAN FRANCISCO UNTIL CONTACT
(NEXT CONTACT MONDAY)

LRC R RELAY

FBI WASH DC

100-68783-1100

100-68783-1100

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Records Branch

, 19__

☐	Name Searching Unit - Room 6527	
☐	Service Unit - Room 6524	
☐	Forward to File Review	b7C
☒	Attention	
☒	Return to	6060
	Supervisor	Room Ext.

Type of References Requested:

☐	Regular Request (Analytical Search)
☐	All References (Subversive & Nonsubversive)
☐	Subversive References Only
☐	Nonsubversive References Only
☐	Main _____ References Only

Type of Search Requested:

☒	Restricted to Locality of <u>W. Indiana</u>
☐	Exact Name Only (On the Nose) <u>jam.</u>
☒	Buildup ☐ Variations

b7C

Subject

Birthdate & Place

Address

Localities

R#

Date

2-9

Searcher

Initials

anf

Prod.

FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

cancel

NI

b7C

NI

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-16-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

FBI

Date: 2/14/68

Transmit the following in

PLAINTEXT

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via **TELETYPE****URGENT**

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445080) *also*
 ATTN: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

b7C

FM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC; SEDITION

RE WFOTEL 2/13/68

SUBJ LEFT RESIDENCE TWELVE EIGHTEEN PM THIS DATE, AND PROCEEDED
 TO SNCC WHERE HE REMAINED UNTIL ATTENDING BLACK UNITED FRONT PRESS
 CONFERENCE AT NEW SCHOOL OF AFRO-AMERICAN THOUGHT, TWENTY TWO ZERO
 EIGHT FOURTEENTH ST., IN EARLY AFTERNOON. SUBJ RETURNED TO SNCC
 AFTER PRESS CONFERENCE WHERE HE REMAINED INTO THE EVENING.

AIRMAIL COPY TO ATLANTA.

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 12-16-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

X 101

peau
 Atlanta (RM) (AM)
 WFO

SD:mmh
 5)

REC-58 100-446080-1127

FEB 19 1968

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

DATE: 2/6/68

FROM: LEGAT, PARIS (100-2683)(P)

DATE: 12-16-2005
CLASSIFIED BY: 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3:3 (6) 12-16-2030

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS;
SEDITION
(OO:AT)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

Referral/Direct

Remylet, 1/26/68.

The Embassy has requested our assistance in obtaining the information desired by the United States Department of Justice.

if this information is available.

In the event information is obtained, it will be furnished by LHM to the Bureau and the Embassy.

- 4 - Bureau (Encl. 2)
(1 - Liaison Section)
(1 - Atlanta)(Info)
1 - Paris

NWP:sch
(5)

ENCLOSURE

b7C Per FBI

REC-23

100-446080-11521
14 FEB 18 1968

1 XEROX
Encl.

~~SECRET~~

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



FBI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-16-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

Date: 2/14/68

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via **AIRTEL** _____

(Priority)

ATTENTION: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, WFO

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS* MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION
(WFOfile 100-43503)

*INTERNAL Security

BLACK UNITED FRONT
RM*(ORGANIZATION)

(WFOfile 157-1426)

*RACIAL Matter

ReWFOtel, 2/14/68.

memo Enclosed for the Bureau are eleven copies of an
~~LHM~~ captioned "BLACK UNITED FRONT", regarding their press
conference on 2/14/68.

Local dissemination is being made to AUSA, Secret
Service, and interested military intelligence agencies.

b7C

SA observed the
activity on 2/14/68.

- ④ - Bureau (Enc. 11)
2 - WFO

RCC/JTA:tab
(6)

AIRTELAGENCY: ACSI, ~~SEC~~ OSI, SEC. SERV.

ISD, CRD, RAO

HOW FORW: R/SDATE FORW: 2/15/68BY: PTB/mb

18 FEB 21 1968

EX-113

SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR
ADD. DISSEMINATION.

51 FEB 26 1968

Approved: [Signature]
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

UNREC COPY AND COPY OF ENCL FILED IN 157-8471



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C. 20535

February 14, 1968

BLACK UNITED FRONT

On February 14, 1968, Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) observed that the Black United Front (BUF) held a press conference at the New School For Afro-American Thought, 2208 14th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. (WDC).

Attached is "MEMORANDUM NO. 8" of the BUF with attachments that were distributed at the above press conference.

The conference was opened at approximately 2:15 p.m., by Calvin Rolark who reviewed the organization of the BUF on the night of January 9, 1968. He said that on that night a seventeen member Board of Conveners (Steering Committee) was selected to draft the "Statement of Purpose" of the BUF that is set out in the attached memorandum. Rolark said that Stokely Carmichael was named Temporary Chairman of the Board of Conveners, and he listed the following as members of the Board:

Stokely Carmichael
Dr. Nathan Hare
Reverend David Eaton
Reverend Walter Fauntroy
Reverend Jefferson Rogers
Sterling Tucker
C. Sumner Stone
Marion Barry
Charles Jones
Herb Kelsey
Marshall Brown

REC-39

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

Federal

100-446080-112-7
ENCLOSURE

BLACK UNITED FRONT

Calvin Rolark
Roena Rand
Louise Barrow
Reverend Channing Phillips
Reese James
Douglas Jones

REC 39 X

Rolark then read the "Statement of Purpose", previously mentioned, without further comment on it. Reverend Channing Phillips then read the "Standards For Qualification" that is set out in the attached. Reverend Phillips did not comment further.

Reverend David Eaton then read the positions taken by the BUF on Dr. Martin Luther King and the Emergency Committee on the Transportation Crisis. These positions are set out in the attached.

Marion Barry stated that BUF further supports the "welfare mothers" in their opposition to Public Law 1492, and is setting up a committee to express their opposition to this recently enacted legislation. This committee will be headed by Etta Horne, a local welfare rights worker.

Calvin Rolark then pointed out that BUF is open to membership both as individuals and organizations, provided they qualify. He then read the "Procedure To Follow", as contained in the attached.

Rolark also pointed out that BUF will maintain a secretary at the New School For Afro-American Thought who will be available for anyone interested in joining. He said the next meeting of BUF would be held in mid-March, 1968, and concluded the press conference, 2:40 p.m. and opened a question and answer session.

Carmichael interrupted the first question directed to him with, "No comment", and, in fact, made no comment during the entire conference. Rolark explained that the conference had been called by BUF, but that Carmichael had not been selected as a speaker.

BLACK UNITED FRONT

A question was asked as to how BUF planned to actively participate in Dr. King's campaign. Rolark would only say that members of BUF would support him financially and morally, would provide housing, and would support him in any possible way.

In answer to a question as to whether BUF would be violent or non-violent several members responded saying in essence that no policy in this regard had been established, but noted that BUF supports Dr. King, an individual who has long advocated non-violence.

It was stated that Dr. King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) was not a member of BUF, but it was pointed out that key members of SCLC such as Reverends Rogers and Fauntroy were members.

One of the ministers said the BUF was born out of the death of the Negro. Rolark commented that we are living in a new era, on the eve of National Negro History Week, and the Negroes ultimate goal is self-determination.

It was stated that approximately 75 organizations are presently affiliated with BUF, and that requests have been received from 37 cities for information on how to organize BUFs in their own communities.

In answer to a question as to whether BUF would be active in politics, Rolark concluded the press conference by stating that BUF would become active in all aspects of community life.

This document contains neither
recommendations nor conclusions of
the FBI. It is the property of
the FBI and is loaned to your agency;
it and its contents are not to be
distributed outside your agency.

February 14, 1968

MEMORANDUM NO. 8

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-16-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

MEMORANDUM NO. 8

TO: News Media

FROM: Black United Front

SUBJECT: Meeting of the Black United Front held Tuesday,
February 13, 1968

The attached statements of information resulting
from the subject meeting are made available to the various
news media for release.

Attachments
as stated

B/C:ls

~~ENCLOSURE~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-16-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHE

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

The Black United Front is hereby established for the purpose of expanding the lines of communication between, and effecting togetherness among, all the Black people in the District of Columbia in order to obtain a rightful and proportionate share in the decision making councils of the District, and rightful and proportionate control of the economic institutions in the Black Community.

STANDARDS FOR QUALIFICATION

1. Any Black individual who has concern and interest in the Black community.
2. Any organization whose primary involvement is for the benefit of Black people, as outlined in the "Statement of Purpose", provided it has at least a 50% Black constituency and its representative in the Front is Black.

PROCEDURE TO FOLLOW

Any organization wishing to join the Black United Front must first petition the Board of Conveners. The Board will then make an assessment of the organization and recommend to the Body of the Front that it be accepted or rejected. If the Conveners recommend to the Body that the organization be accepted, by a majority vote the organization is admitted. Should the Conveners, however, recommend that the organization not be accepted, the organization can then petition directly to the Body of the Black United Front and be accepted by a 2/3 vote.

~~RECEIVED~~

February 13, 1968

The Black United Front takes a position on the following issues:

1. The Black United Front supports the issues that Dr. Martin Luther King speaks to in his campaign to better the condition of Black people.
2. The Black United Front supports the Emergency Committee on the Transportation Crisis in its efforts to stop the acquisition of land and property of people in the District of Columbia and supports their efforts to join citizens of other communities who are attempting to do likewise.

FBI WASH DC*

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

FEB 16 1968

TELETYPE

FBI SAN FRAN

1027AM URGENT 2/16/68

VLT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-16-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach ☒ _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan ☒ _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080) AND WASHINGTON FIELD (100-43503)
FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-721) 1P

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; IS - MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION.

REMYTEL THIS DATE.

SUBJECT'S PRESS CONFERENCE ALAMEDA COUNTY COURT HOUSE WILL BE
COVERED AND RECORDED BY AGENT PERSONNEL, NEWS MEDIA OFFICE CONTACT
AND WILL BE PHOTOGRAPHED BY ^{INFORMANT} PSI. IF HE APPEARS UNIVERSITY OF
CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY (UCB) CAMPUS AT TWELVE NOON RALLY AS HAS BEEN
VARIOUSLY REPORTED, UCB POLICE DEPARTMENT WILL RECORD, LATEST
INFORMATION FROM PSI IS THAT CARMICHAEL WILL NOT APPEAR ON CAMPUS.

END

DEL

FBI WASH DC*

DID NOT HOLD
PRESS CONF
SEE SAN FRAN T/T
2/16/68 7:25 PM

REC-23

REC-105

18 FEB 20 1968

FEB 1968

CC: MR. 4 ^{REMAN} FEB 27 1968

Relayed to WFO

MR. DELOACH FOR THE DIRECTOR

VIA TELETYPE

FEB 16 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

WASH DC --4--

5-22 PM URGENT 2-16-68 NJZ

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-16-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080) -ENCODE-
FROM LOS ANGELES (100-68783)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL. IS - MISCELLANEOUS, SEDITION.

RE LOS ANGELES TEL, FEBRUARY THIRTEEN, LAST,
BUREAU TELETYPES THIS DATE.

[REDACTED] LOS ANGELES SPORTS ARENA,
ADVISED THIS DATE [REDACTED] BLACK
CONGRESS (ORGANIZATION REPRESENTING MAJORITY OF BLACK
NATIONALIST ORGANIZATIONS IN LOS ANGELES) FURNISHED [REDACTED] FOUR
THOUSAND DOLLAR CHECK AND TEN THOUSAND DOLLAR INSURANCE BOND,
FOR RENT LOS ANGELES SPORTS ARENA, FEBRUARY EIGHTEEN, NEXT.
FINAL APPROVAL TO HOLD MASS RALLY FEATURING CARMICHAEL
GRANTED BY ARENA GOVERNING BOARD AFTER SPONSOR HAD COMPLIED
WITH ALL REQUIREMENTS SET BY BOARD THIS DATE.

END PAGE ONE

REC-23

EX-105

3 FEB 20 1968

XEROX
FEB 27 1968

PAGE TWO

LA 100-68783

ADMINISTRATIVE

LAPD AND LASO ARE AWARE AND WILL COVER. BUREAU AGENTS WILL
TAPE CARMICHAEL'S SPEECH AS SET FORTH IN REFERENCED LOS ANGELES
TELETYPE.

COVERAGE CONTINUING. LHM FOLLOWS.

END

EFH

FBI WASH DC

COMM-FBI

REC'D 9 34 AM '68

100-68783-25
JAN 14 1968
FBI - LOS ANGELES

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 2/16/68

Stokely Carmichael is scheduled to speak at a rally at Oakland, California, 2/17/68, sponsored by the Black Panther Party For Self Defense, a militant Black Nationalist organization. He is scheduled to appear in Los Angeles on 2/18/68.

[redacted] of Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee who recently attended a "cultural" conference in [redacted]

Coverage is being afforded the two appearances of Carmichael.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12-16-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHR

TDR:djf

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

FEB 16 1968

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Bishop	✓
Mr. Casper	✓
Mr. Callahan	✓
Mr. Conrad	✓
Mr. Felt	✓
Mr. Gale	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Miss Holmes	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

FBI SAN FRAN

1100AM 2-16-68 DEFERRED RTH

TO DIRECTOR, (100-446080), LOS ANGELES, (100-68783)

ALBUQUERQUE AND WFO (100-43503)

FROM SAC SAN FRANCISCO (157-721)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION

INTERNAL SECURITY

SUBJECT, [REDACTED]

ARRIVED AT [REDACTED]

SF INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT ABOARD UNITED AIRLINES FLIGHT FIVE SEVEN
AT APPROXIMATELY EIGHT TWENTY FIVE PM. THEY WERE MET BY A
GROUP OF SIX NEGROES. AFTER OBTAINING LUGGAGE ALL DEPARTED IN
A ONE NINE SIX EIGHT PLYMOUTH CAL LICNESE VOB SIX ONE SIX AND
AN OLDS- EIGHTY FIVE CAL LICENSE [REDACTED] THEY ARRIVED AT
AND ENTERED APARTMENT BUILDING LOCATED AT EIGHT FIVE ZERO OAK STREET,
SAN FRANCISCO WHERE ELDRIDGE CLEAVER RESIDES. ONE NINE SIX EIGHT
PLYMOUTH IS A RENTAL UNIT. REGISTRATION ON F- EIGHTY FIVE OLDS
BEING DETERMINED. AS OF ELEVEN THIRTY PM THE SUBJECT HAD NOT DEPARTED
EIGHT FIVE ZERO OAK. HE IS SCHEDULED TO GIVE A PRESS CONFERENCE AT
THE ALAMEDA COUNTY COURT HOUSE ON TWO/SIXTEEN/ SIXTY EIGHT AT ONE
P.M.

LBI

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER IS THE MINISTER OF INFORMATION OF THE BLACK
PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF DEFENSE, A MILITANT BLACK NATIONALIST
ORGANIZATION.

EX-105

REC-23

ADMIN: WFO TEL: TWO/FIFTEEN/SIXTY EIGHT

ALL OTHER OFFICES ADVISED SEPARATELY.

END

Relayed To

00 FEB 27 1968

FEB 1968

FEB 20 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-16-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHE

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

The files of this Bureau reveal the following travels of Carmichael from January 1, 1967, to the present time:

January 5	Cortland, New York
January 6	New York, New York
January 9	Atlanta, Georgia
January 10	Washington, D. C.
January 12	Chicago, Illinois
January 13	Chicago, Illinois, and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
January 15	Washington, D. C.
January 16	Baltimore, Maryland
January 18	Detroit, Michigan
January 19	Rochester, New York
January 22	Atlanta, Georgia
January 24	San Juan, Puerto Rico
January 25	San Juan, Puerto Rico
January 26	San Juan, Puerto Rico, and Mayaguez, Puerto Rico
January 27	New York, New York
January 29	San Francisco, California
February 2	Atlanta, Georgia, and Lowndes County, Alabama
February 4	West Point, Mississippi, and Atlanta, Georgia
February 6	Madison, Wisconsin, and Whitewater, Wisconsin
February 7	Windsor, Ontario, Canada
February 8	Detroit, Michigan
February 9	East Lansing, Michigan
February 11	Greenville, Mississippi
February 12	Greenville, Mississippi, Jackson, Mississippi, and Atlanta, Georgia
February 15	New York, New York, and Portland, Oregon
February 16	Portland, Oregon
February 17	Berkeley, California, and Long Beach, California
February 18	Los Angeles, California
February 22	New York, New York
February 24	Montreal, Quebec, Canada

REC 27/00 446080 1133

25 FEB 21 1968

100-446080

PJT:dla (8)
FEB 27 1968

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

February 26	New York, New York
February 27	Chicago, Illinois, and Elmhurst, Illinois
February 28	Chicago, Illinois, and Ithaca, New York
March 1	Ithaca, New York
March 2	Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
March 3	Latrobe, Pennsylvania, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and Atlanta, Georgia
March 4	Atlanta, Georgia
March 7	Atlanta, Georgia
March 9	Chicago, Illinois, and Milwaukee, Wisconsin
March 10	Bimini, The Bahamas
March 11	Bimini, The Bahamas
March 12	Lynchburg, Virginia
March 14	Easton, Pennsylvania
March 15	Syracuse, New York
March 16	Syracuse, New York, and New York, New York
March 17	Durham, North Carolina
March 21	Ettrick, Virginia, and Petersburg, Virginia
March 23	Nashville, Tennessee
March 25	Nashville, Tennessee
March 26	Nashville, Tennessee
March 27	Nashville, Tennessee
March 28	Nashville, Tennessee
March 30	New Orleans, Louisiana
March 31	Atlanta, Georgia, and Lowndes County, Alabama
April 2	St. Louis, Missouri, and East St. Louis, Illinois
April 4	Birmingham, Alabama
April 5	Birmingham, Alabama, and Richmond, Virginia
April 6	Nashville, Tennessee
April 7	Nashville, Tennessee
April 8	Nashville, Tennessee
April 9	Nashville, Tennessee, and Knoxville, Tennessee
April 10	New Orleans, Louisiana
April 11	Jackson, Mississippi, and Tougaloo, Mississippi

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

April 12	Tougaloo, Mississippi, and Jackson, Mississippi
April 13	Jackson, Mississippi, and Houston, Texas
April 14	Houston, Texas, and Austin, Texas
April 15	New York, New York
April 16	Tallahassee, Florida
April 17	Tallahassee, Florida, and Atlanta, Georgia
April 18	Atlanta, Georgia, Daytona Beach, Florida, and St. Petersburg, Florida
April 19	Tampa, Florida, Los Angeles, California and Seattle, Washington
April 20	Ellensburg, Washington
April 21	Ellensburg, Washington
April 22	Seattle, Washington, and Los Angeles, California
April 23	Los Angeles, California, and New York, New York
April 24	Hampton, Virginia
April 25	Selma, Alabama
April 29	Cincinnati, Ohio
May 1	Atlanta, Georgia
May 3	Atlanta, Georgia
May 14	Chicago, Illinois, and Waukegan, Illinois
May 15	Minneapolis, Minnesota, and St. Paul, Minnesota
May 16	Minneapolis, Minnesota, and Washington, D. C.
May 17	Grand Rapids, Michigan
May 18	Grand Rapids, Michigan, Chicago, Illinois, Jackson, Mississippi, and Baton Rouge, Louisiana
May 19	Baton Rouge, Louisiana, and Jackson, Mississippi
May 20	Baton Rouge, Louisiana, New Orleans Louisiana, and New York, New York
May 21	New York, New York, and Kings Point, Long Island, New York
May 23	Nashville, Tennessee
May 24	Atlanta, Georgia, and Los Angeles, California
May 25	San Francisco, California, and Berkeley, California

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

May 26	San Francisco, California, and Los Angeles, California
May 27	Los Angeles, California
May 28	Los Angeles, California, and Atlanta, Georgia
May 31	Atlanta, Georgia
June 2	Atlanta, Georgia
June 6	Jackson, Mississippi, and Tougaloo, Mississippi
June 7	Jackson, Mississippi
June 9	Atlanta, Georgia, and Selma, Alabama
June 11	Prattville, Alabama
June 12	Prattville, Alabama
June 13	Prattville, Alabama
June 14	Atlanta, Georgia
June 15	Atlanta, Georgia
June 17	Atlanta, Georgia
June 18	Atlanta, Georgia
June 19	Atlanta, Georgia
June 22	Atlanta, Georgia
June 24	Atlanta, Georgia
June 25	Boston, Massachusetts, and Roxbury, Massachusetts
June 27	Atlanta, Georgia
June 29	Atlanta, Georgia
July 2	Washington, D. C.
July 3	Washington, D. C.
July 4	Newport, Rhode Island
July 11	Atlanta, Georgia, and Washington, D. C.
July 12	Washington, D. C.
July 13	Washington, D. C., and New York, New York

On July 14, 1967, Carmichael left New York City for London, England, and was outside the United States until he returned to New York City on December 11, 1967.

b7C
This was prepared for dissemination to [redacted]
[redacted] National Advisory Commission on Civil
Disorders and delivered by Liaison 12/11/67, per their 12/5/67 request.

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This document contains neither
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distributed outside your agency.

~~SECRET~~

4-22 (Rev. 11-22-60)

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Records Branch

DATE: 12-16-2005

CLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1) 12-16-2030

, 19__

☐ Name Searching Unit - Room 6527

☐ Service Unit

b7C

☐ Forward to

☒ Attention

☒ Return to

Supervisor Room Ext.

Type of References Requested:

☐ Regular Request (Analytical Search)

☒ All References (Subversive & Nonsubversive)

☐ Subversive References Only

☐ Nonsubversive References Only

☐ Main _____ References Only

Type of Search Requested:

☐ Restricted to Locality of _____

☐ Exact Name Only (On the Nose)

☐ Buildup ☐ Variations

From 1-1-67 thru 7-31-67

Subject

Birthdate & Place

Address

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT

WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

Localities

R#

Date

12-7-67

Searcher Initials

Prod.

FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

✓ 9-45652

✓ 9-47129

✓ 25-539590

✓ 44-26288

✓ 44-33352

✓ 44-33381

✓ 44-33627

✓ 100-446080

✓ 174-426

✓ 100-439190-1420 ^{sum} 8-8-67

✓ 100-446080-2x ^{sum} 4-13-66

✓ 5 ^{sum} 8-12-66

✓ 108 ^{sum} 1-17-67

~~159-48258-54 7-22-66~~

~~14-5768-1~~

~~25-539590-7916~~

~~25-539590-7916-41, 42, 62,~~

~~25-539590-7916-RT-11~~

~~61-7-11-78~~

~~62-88214-3006 EPM 1106~~

~~SECRET~~

with ①

~~SECRET~~

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: _____

Supervisor _____ Room _____

R# _____ Date _____ Searcher Initial _____

Prod. _____

FILE NUMBERSERIAL*Stokely*

62-11166-62,

66,

78,

354,

385 p#6;

401,

611 CP#2

634

690 CP#77,

765 CP#1

779

818 CP#37

62-111534-9,

13

~~64-175-241-158~~~~64-472-55-106~~~~74-58-3~~~~74-616-11~~

100-3-69-11155

100-3-104-26-320 CP#1

100-28758-93

~~100-225892-908 p#22~~~~SECRET~~

100-225892-908 p#22

~~SECRET~~

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: _____

Supervisor _____ Room _____

R# _____ Date _____ Searcher Initial _____

Prod. _____

FILE NUMBERSERIAL*Slokey*100-229892-47-33⁴~~100-229892-47-33⁴~~100-340922-507^{PT 916}508^{PT 44}100-357847-142^{PT 22}~~100-361031-1000^{PT 4}~~~~1004^{PT 2}~~~~100-367985-38^{PT 8}~~~~100-411778-23~~100-426761-1626^{PT 7}100-430184-A ^{N.Y. TIMES} 5-2-67

100-432067-694

100-437041-1123

~~100-437041-1123^{PT 23}~~

100-438794-1475

1838^{PT 12}~~100-438794-1475^{PT 1}~~

✓ 100-439190-152

✓ 168

✓ 943

✓ 953

✓ 960

✓ 968 ^{unletter}~~SECRET~~

(3)

~~SECRET~~

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: _____

Supervisor _____ Room _____

R# _____ Date _____ Searcher Initial _____

Prod. _____

FILE NUMBERSERIAL

Slokey

✓ 100-43890-	969,
	1002
	1009,
	1011
	1015
	1020
	1024
	1029
	1032
	1039
	1040
	1045
	1054
	1062
	1068
	1069
	1078
	1079
	1099 P [#] 11, 12,
	16, 17, 19;
	1106
	1110
	1115 ④

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: _____

Supervisor _____ Room _____

R# _____ Date _____ Searcher Initial _____

Prod. _____

FILE NUMBERSERIAL*Stokely*

✓ 100-439190-1115

1133

1134

1144

1147

1154

1157

1160

1176

1194

1198

1209

1219

1227

1234

1281 P#1,

8-13, 15, 18, 20, 24,

1300

~~SECRET~~

1539

100-439854-31 P#16, 20

100-441164-45-64 P#18

100-441993-1

100-442014-50

written
(9)

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP

~~SECRET~~

Subj: _____

Supervisor _____ Room _____

R# _____ Date _____ Searcher Initial _____

Prod. _____

FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

Stokely

100-442235-145

100-442367-50 ^{pt 34}72 ^{pt 9}100-442529-2116 ^{pt 38}

2167,

2177,

2185

2220

2243 ^{pt 6}

2327

100-443166-21

100-443974-9

100-444426-8 ^{pt 35}

100-446189-9

100-446761-37 ^{pt 2}74 ^{pt 3}

100-446888-2

100-446955-2

~~100-447127-2 ^{pt 10}~~~~100-447187-3 ^{pt 2}~~~~SECRET~~*Walter*
⑥

~~SECRET~~

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: _____

Supervisor _____

Room _____

R# _____

Date _____

Searcher _____

Initial _____

Prod. _____

FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

Stokely

105-292-236

105-70374-4789

~~105-70374-4789~~~~105-70374-53 p. 9, 10~~~~105-70374-40~~~~105-70374-1329~~

105-138315-5161

105-138315-152 RN

105-138315-6184

105-138315-5823

~~105-138315-6200 p. 25~~~~105-138315-152 RN~~

105-156243-48

105-156243-540 incl. p. 2

105-156243-82

105-156243-99 p. 6, 8, 9

105-156243-124

105-156243-139, 157

105-156243-185

105-156243-A.p. 1

~~SECRET~~

105-156243-A-

The Times 5/3/67
NY Herald Tribune
Week Post 4-11-67~~105-156243-6~~*(7) written*

~~SECRET~~

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: _____

Supervisor _____ Room _____

R# _____ Date _____ Searcher Initial _____

Prod. _____

FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

Stoke

105-160871-4

~~105-162948-1~~

105-162948-1

~~105-162948-1~~

~~105-162948-1~~

105-166290-1

105-168197-5

105-169467-1

~~105-162948-1~~

~~SECRET~~

written
⑧

~~SECRET~~

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: _____

Supervisor _____ Room _____

R# _____ Date _____ Searcher Initial _____

Prod. _____

FILE NUMBERSERIAL~~Stokley~~~~157-6-6-548~~

157-6-8-2112 EP11

~~157-6-27-528~~~~157-6-24-532 EP1~~

157-6-26-1192

157-6-27-672 EP5

157-6-27-678 EP5

157-6-46-347 EP2

157-6-53-1014

~~157-6-24-1341~~

157-370-8-1646

P.115

~~1781-11-1923~~

Written

~~SECRET~~

(17)

~~SECRET~~

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: Stokely Carmichael

Supervisor _____ Room _____

R# _____ Date _____ Searcher Initial _____

Prod. _____

FILE NUMBERSERIAL157-6-928933841945157-6-2-21982201222922552262 Encl P#3~~157-6-2-2198~~~~157-6-2-2198~~157-6-8-21132116~~157-6-2-2198~~written~~SECRET~~

⑨

~~SECRET~~

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: Stobely Carmichael

Supervisor _____ Room _____

R# _____ Date _____ Searcher Initial _____

Prod. _____

FILE NUMBERSERIAL

<u>Stobely (var)</u>	
<u>157-6-9-4207</u>	
<u>157-6-10-863 Encl P#6</u>	
<u>907 Encl P#20</u>	
<u>157-6-11-784</u>	
<u>157-6-12-592</u>	
<u>157-6-13-111</u>	
<u>157-6-14-111</u>	
<u>157-6-15-111</u>	
<u>157-6-16-111</u>	
<u>157-6-17-111</u>	
<u>157-6-18-111</u>	
<u>157-6-19-111</u>	
<u>376</u>	
<u>382</u>	
<u>157-6-20-111</u>	
<u>157-6-21-111</u>	
<u>157-6-28-1140</u>	
<u>1141</u>	
<u>1168</u>	
<u>1184</u>	
<u>written</u>	
<u>SECRET</u>	<u>(10)</u>

~~SECRET~~

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: Stokely Carmichael

Supervisor _____

Room _____

R# _____

Date 12/7

Searcher _____

Initial DP

Prod. _____

FILE NUMBERSERIAL

157-6-33-4583	4583
157-6-33-4617	4617
157-6-33-4583	4583
	4617
157-6-34-1910	1910
	1946
	1956
	2014
157-6-35-2183	2183
157-6-37-2183	2183
157-6-39-1017	1017
	1017
	1022
	1022
	1031
	1031
157-6-42-1018	1018
157-6-42-1018	1018
	1030
	1076
157-6-53-1080	1080
157-6-53-1090	1090
157-6-53-1080	1080
SECRET	1090 (11) written

~~SECRET~~

4-22a (Rev. 11-17-59)

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: Stokely Carmichael

Supervisor _____ Room _____

R# _____ Date 12/7 Searcher Initial SP

Prod. _____

FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

157-6-~~1417~~

2378 ep 2

157-6-56-476 ep 2

157-6-61-1417

1457 ep 11

1489

1493

~~157-6-~~1417~~~~

~~157-6-~~1417~~~~

~~1457 ep 11~~

157-6-66-199

157-2466-187813

~~157-6836-13~~

~~17~~

~~157-1271-8~~

~~157-9267-6~~

157-26-1225

~~174-1-4-184~~

Wint

~~SECRET~~

(12)

~~SECRET~~

4-22 (Rev. 1-22-60)

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Records Branch

19

☐ Name Searching Unit - Room 6527
☐ Service Unit - Room 6524
☐ Forward to File Review
☐ Attention _____
☐ Return to _____
Supervisor Room Ext.

Type of References Requested:

☐ Regular Request (Analytical Search)
☐ All References (Subversive & Nonsubversive)
☐ Subversive References Only
☐ Nonsubversive References Only
☐ Main _____ References Only

Type of Search Requested:

☐ Restricted to Locality of _____
☐ Exact Name Only (On the Nose)
☐ Buildup ☐ Variations

Subject Stobley Carmichael
Birthdate & Place _____
Address _____

Localities _____

R# _____ Date _____ Searcher Initials _____

Prod. _____

FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

✓ 100-446080

b1

100-434328-26

(S)

✓ 100-439190-965

✓ 1064,

✓ 1094,

✓ 1129

100-442529-2112 P#13

100-446761-35X1

~~100-446774-2~~

100-446852-3

105-156243-56

74,

109

109-12-221-1825 P#6

~~109-12-221-1825 P#6~~

~~109-12-221-1825 P#6~~

~~109-12-221-1825 P#6~~

~~SECRET~~

Witten

~~SECRET~~

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: _____

Supervisor _____ Room _____

R# _____ Date _____ Searcher Initial _____

Prod. _____

FILE NUMBERSERIAL*Stoakly*~~7-15-74~~*Stoakly*~~7-15-74~~~~SECRET~~*written*

(14)

~~SECRET~~Federal Bureau of Investigation
Records Branch

, 19__

☐ Name Searching Unit - Room 6527
☐ Service Unit - Room 6524
☐ Forward to File
☐ Attention
☐ Return to

b7C

Supervisor Room Ext.

702 D

Type of References Requested:

- ☐ Regular Request (Analytical Search)
☒ All References (Subversive & Nonsubversive)
☐ Subversive References Only
☐ Nonsubversive References Only
☐ Main _____ References Only

Type of Search Requested:

- ☐ Restricted to Locality of _____
☐ Exact Name Only (On the Nose)
☐ Buildup ☐ Variations

all ref. Jan 1, 1967 - July 1967

Subject Stokley Carmichael
 Birthdate & Place _____
 Address _____

Localities _____

R# _____ Date 12-7-67 Searcher Initials S. 111

Prod. _____

FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

<u>Stokley</u>	
<u>25-330911-2-78</u>	
100-111534-1X	
100-3-36-111.3	
100-384660-803	
100-439190-1019	
100-439190-1050	
100-439190-1071	
100-439190-1111	
100-439190-1135 P2	
100-439190-1216	
100-439190-2077 P2	
<u>100-439190-1019</u>	
<u>100-439190-1050</u>	
<u>1071</u>	
<u>1111</u>	
<u>1135 P2</u>	
<u>1216</u>	
<u>2077 P2</u>	

~~SECRET~~

written 2, 3, 4, 13, 15, 69, 75

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: ~~SECRET~~

Supervisor _____

Room _____

Searcher _____

R# _____

Date _____

Initial _____

Prod. _____

FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

Stokley cont.

100-442529-2200

100-442684-34-111

P.58.93

100-439048-37.42

100-443853-1189

100-442879-9 P.31

100-445548-11 P.77

100-447415-1

✓ 105-439190-1204

105-53868-328 P.26

105-75715-573 P.35-37

~~105-75715-573 P.35-37~~~~105-123335-45~~

105-138315-4923 P.76

~~105-138315-4923 P.76~~

105-136243-188 P.2

~~105-136243-188 P.2~~

140-0-85499

~~157-6-4-2684~~

157-6-4-2684

~~157-6-4-2684~~~~157-6-4-2684~~*written*~~SECRET~~

(16)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

FEB 16 1968

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

FBI WASH DC*

FBI SAN FRAN

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-19-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

7:25 PM URGENT 2/16/68 DNW

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080) AND WASHINGTON FIELD (100-43503)
FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-721)

b7C

⁰ *INTERNAL SECURITY*
STOKELY CARMICHAEL; ~~IS~~ - MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION.

REMYTEL THIS DATE.

CARMICHAEL FAILED TO APPEAR FOR PREVIOUSLY ANNOUNCED NOON RALLY
THIS DATE AT SPROUL PLAZA, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY.

CARMICHAEL APPEARED IN COMPANY WITH MEMBERS OF BLACK PANTHER
PARTY FOR SELF DEFENSE (BPPSD) AT ALAMEDA COUNTY COURT HOUSE AT ONE
FORTY-FIVE P.M. TODAY. CARMICHAEL VISITED WITH HUEY P. NEWTON IN THE
ALAMEDA COUNTY JAIL. NEWTON PUBLICLY KNOWN AS MINISTER OF DEFENSE
FOR BPPSD. NEWTON IS AWAITING TRIAL ON CHARGE OF MURDER OF OAKLAND
POLICE OFFICER.

EX-103

REC 16

100-446080-1139

CARMICHAEL DECLINED TO HOLD A PRESS CONFERENCE WITH NEWS MEDIA
AT THE COURT HOUSE. CARMICHAEL DEPARTED FROM COURT HOUSE WITH BPPSD
COMPANIONS AT TWO FIFTEEN P.M.

16 FEB 21 1968

END PAGE ONE

XEROX 240

67 FEB 28 1968

Relayed to WFO

PAGE TWO

SF 157-721

WHILE AT COURT HOUSE BOBBY SEALE, CHAIRMAN OF BPPSD, ADDRESSED NEWS MEDIA AND ANNOUNCED THAT CARMICHAEL WOULD SPEAK AT OAKLAND MUNICIPAL AUDITORIUM ON FEBRUARY SEVENTEEN, NEXT, AT EIGHT P.M. FOR BENEFIT OF LEGAL DEFENSE OF HUEY NEWTON. SEALE STATED THAT CARMICHAEL WOULD NOT APPEAR AT CONTRA COSTA COLLEGE ON FEBRUARY SIXTEEN, INSTANT, AS HAD BEEN PREVIOUSLY ANNOUNCED. SEALE RESPONDED TO OTHER QUESTIONS CONCERNING FUTURE APPEARANCES OF CARMICHAEL BY STATING THAT ONLY MR. CARMICHAEL COULD ANSWER. CARMICHAEL IGNORED QUESTIONS.

INTELLIGENCE UNIT, OAKLAND POLICE DEPARTMENT, ADVISES THAT CARMICHAEL PRESENTLY VISITING AT RESIDENCE OF [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] WHO IN NINETEEN SIXTY-THREE
Cal

b7C

CARMICHAEL'S PLANS FOR BALANCE OF EVENING ARE AS YET UNKNOWN. ON NIGHT OF FEBRUARY FIFTEEN, LAST, CARMICHAEL STAYED AT RESIDENCE OF ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, EIGHT FIVE ZERO OAK STREET, SAN FRANCISCO. CLEAVER IS PUBLICLY KNOWN AS MINISTER OF INFORMATION OF BPPSD.

COVERAGE CONTINUES. CLOSE CONTACT MAINTAINED WITH SF AND OAKLAND PD AND SOURCES.

END

SVW

FBI WASH DC*

FBI

Date 2/19/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - M; SEDITION
(OO:WFO)

Concerning subject's trips to Boston 1/25-26/68 and Cincinnati 2/7-9/68, Boston and Cincinnati submit reports in addition to Letterhead memo showing activities while in those areas.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-19-2005 BY 60309 AUC/TAM/MLT/JHF

- 3 - Bureau
2 - Boston (157-437) (RM)
2 - Cincinnati (100-16858) (RM)
1 - WFO

WWH:bas
(8)

REC-34

EX-102

100-446080-1135

FEB 21 1968

AIRTEL

Bishop

ed: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-19-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

FBI

Date: 2/15/68

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

PLAINTEXT

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE URGENT

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR (100-446080) AND SACS LOS ANGELES (100-68783)
ALBUQUERQUE
SAN FRANCISCO (157-521)

b7C

FROM: SAC WFO (100-42503)

INTERNAL SECURITY
STOKELY CARMICHAEL; IS - MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION

SUBJECT SPENT MORNING THIS DATE AT RESIDENCE AND EARLY
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
AFTERNOON AT SNCC HEADQUARTERS. IN MID AFTERNOON, SUBJECT

WENT TO DULLES AIRPORT WHERE BOARDED UNITED AIRLINES FLIGHT
EASTERN STANDARD TIME
NUMBER FIFTYSEVEN DUE TO DEPART FIVE FORTYFIVE PM (EST) ENROUTE
TO SAN FRANCISCO, DUE TO ARRIVE SAN FRANCISCO EIGHT TWENTY PM
(PST) SAME DATE. SUBJECT TRAVELING WITH [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] AND ONE [REDACTED] BOTH
WASHINGTON, D.C.
OF WHOM JOINED HIM IN WDC. SUBJECT WEARING LIGHT BROWN THREE
QUARTER LENGTH SUEDE TOPCOAT, TURTLE NECK SHIRT AND SUN GLASSES.
NEBLETT IS NEGRO, MALE, LONG BUSHY HAIR, WEARING SUN GLASSES,

② - Bureau
2 - Teletype Unit
2 - WFO

REC-34

100-446080-1136

EX-100

FEB 21 1968

WWH:tab

(6)

XEROX

FEB 1968

57 FEB 27 1968

Approved: *ADP/for*
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)WFO 100-43503
PAGE TWO

SHORT KNEE LENGTH WHITE RAINCOAT AND BOOTS. ABOVE HAD SEVEN
PIECES OF LUGGAGE AND CARDBOARD BOXES OF UNKNOWN CONTENTS.
TICKETS FOR TRAVEL PREPAID BY E. CLEAVER, EIGHT FIVE ZERO OAK
STREET, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA, PHONE EIGHT SIX THREE DASH
SIX FOUR FIVE NINE.

^{INFORMATION}
FOR INFO ALBUQUERQUE SUBJECT PREVIOUSLY SCHEDULED TO
VISIT ALBUQUERQUE FEBRUARY TWENTYONE ¹⁹⁶⁸ NEXT AND MAY MAKE
APPEARANCE THERE.

ADMINISTRATIVE

COVER CARMICHAEL PURSUANT TO BUREAU AIRTEL TO ALL OFFICES
¹⁹⁶⁷
DECEMBER TWENTYONE LAST.

SAN FRANCISCO NOTIFIED TELEPHONICALLY. P

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 2/1/68

The attached states there is a group operating in Germany allegedly helping American soldiers to absent themselves without leave from the Armed Forces while in Europe. Allegedly, this group is planning to slip Stokely Carmichael, former Chairman, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, a militant civil rights organization, out of the United States into West Berlin for a giant anti-Vietnam rally 2/17-18/68. The reliability of the original source of this information has not been determined.

This information is being furnished to the White House, Attorney General, the military, and other interested agencies. We are furnishing this information to Legat, Bonn in order to corroborate this allegation.

JFM:chs

he *wes/ha*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-19-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

VIA TELETYPE
FEB 1 1968
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson ✓
Mr. DeLoach ✓
Mr. Mohr ✓
Mr. Bishop ✓
Mr. Casper ✓
Mr. Callahan ✓
Mr. Conrad ✓
Mr. Felt ✓
Mr. Gale ✓
Mr. Rosen ✓
Mr. Sullivan ✓
Mr. Tavel ✓
Mr. Trotter ✓
Tele. Room ✓
Miss Holmes ✓
Miss Gandy ✓

WA ----15----

FBI NEW YORK 5:40 PM URGENT 2-1-68 AWS

TO DIRECTOR AND WFO

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-19-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHE

b7C

ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM NEW YORK 100-153751

ST
INTERNAL SECURITY
STOKELY CARMICHAEL; IS-MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION.

ON TWO ONE SIXTY EIGHT, A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE, WHO
HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST, FURNISHED
THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION WHICH HE RECEIVED FROM A SOURCE
ABROAD WHOSE RELIABILITY HAS NOT BEEN DETERMINED BY THE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION. THERE IS A GROUP
OPERATING IN GERMANY WHICH ALLEGEDLY HELPS AMERICAN
SOLDIERS TO GO AWOL (ABSENT WITHOUT LEAVE) IN EUROPE. THIS
OUTFIT IS KNOWN AS THE SOZIALISTISCHER DEUTSCHER STUDENTEN
BUND (THE GERMAN SOCIALIST STUDENT LEAGUE) AND IS COMMONLY
REFERRED TO BY THE INITIALS " SDS ". THIS OUTFIT IS PLANNING
TO SLIP STOKELY CARMICHAEL OUT OF THE UNITED STATES AND INTO
WEST BERLIN FOR A GIANT ANTI-VIETNAM RALLY, TWO SEVENTEEN
DASH TWO EIGHTEEN SIXTY EIGHT.

END PAGE ONE

Included in letter to White House
and Attorney General. Dated 2-2-68
EX-102
REC-347
100-446080-1137
FEB 21 1968
5-14

XEROX

FEB 1968

TWO COPIES WFO FEB 2 7 1968

MR. DELOACH FOR THE DIRECTOR

PAGE TWO

SOURCE HAS NO ADDITIONAL INFORMATION CONCERNING THE MANNER IN WHICH CARMICHAEL WILL BE SLIPPED OUT OF THE UNITED STATES. THE SOURCE ABROAD ADVISED THAT THE SDS IS

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
ALLEGEDLY SIX HUNDRED GIS HAVE BEEN TRANSPORTED INTO FRANCE BY THE SDS FOR SUBSEQUENT ENTRY INTO OTHER COUNTRIES SUCH AS SWEDEN. THE SAME SOURCE ADVISED THAT [REDACTED]

b7C
b7D

[REDACTED] RESPECTIVELY,
OF SDS [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

ADMINISTRATIVE

[REDACTED] (PROTECT IDENTITY) [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

b7C
b7D

MEMO
LHM WILL FOLLOW AND DISSEMINATION WILL BE MADE TO
Military Intelligence
NISO, OSI AND MI AND SECRET SERVICE.
OFFICE OF SPECIAL INVESTIGATIONS
ATLANTA ADVISED BY RM.

END

**NAVAL INVESTIGATIVE SERVICE*

WA...EFH

FBI WASH DC

V TAP FTB 15 EFH

CC MR. SULLIVAN

WFO
CALLED:

M *Sullivan*
By *Time 6/11*

2/16/68

CODE

TELETYPE

URGENT

SENT BY CODED TELETYPE

TO SACS SAN FRANCISCO

LOS ANGELES **REG-57** EX 101

FROM DIRECTOR FBI (100-446080) — **11/58**

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, INTERNAL SECURITY — MISCELLANEOUS,

SEDITION.

RE SAN FRANCISCO AND LOS ANGELES TELETYPES, BOTH DATED
FEBRUARY THIRTEEN LAST.

BUREAU PERMISSION IS GRANTED FOR RECIPIENT OFFICES TO
HANDLE COVERAGE OF CARMICHAEL'S SPEECHES IN THEIR RESPECTIVE
TERRITORIES AS REQUESTED IN REFERENCED TELETYPES.

WFO

PTB:lmr (6)

NOTE: Stokely Carmichael scheduled to speak at public meeting, Oakland, California, 2/17/68, and at Los Angeles, California, 2/18/68. The Attorney General has requested we attempt to mechanically record speeches by Carmichael wherever possible. We advised the Attorney General on 12/14/67 that attempts to do so would be made wherever feasible and in each instance we would specifically request clearance from the Attorney General.

Carmichael is speaking at Oakland at rally sponsored by Black Panther Party for Self-Defense, an extreme militant black nationalist organization. San Francisco does not recommend recording Carmichael's speech and has made arrangements for speech to be recorded by

Los Angeles advised they can collectively record Carmichael's speech on 2/18/68 utilizing auditorium facilities where speech will be given. This information was relayed to the Attorney General and by letter, 2/15/68, Assistant Attorney General J. Walter Yeagley approved such coverage. Teletype being utilized in view of the time element.

b7D
Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

66 MAR 1 1968 TELETYPE UNIT ☒

VIA TELETYPE
FEB 16 1968
ENCIPHERED

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: February 15, 1968

FROM:

JW
J. Walter Yeagley, Assistant Attorney
General, Internal Security Division

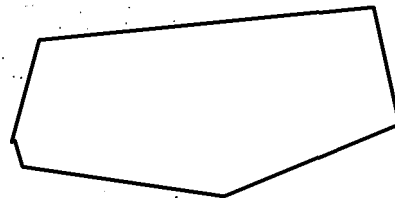
SUBJECT:

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION

This is in confirmation of my telephone call today to Mr. Sizoo in response to your memorandum to the Attorney General February 14 requesting a prompt reply concerning coverage of Carmichael in Los Angeles on February 18. Your request for such coverage is approved. It is my understanding that such authority is generally covered on page 4 of the statement by the Attorney General dated June 16, 1967, captioned Memorandum to the Heads of Executive Departments and Agencies.

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-19-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

b7C



REC-57

101

100-446080-1138

12 FEB 21 1968

~~SECRET~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

F B I

Date: 2/15/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via A I R T E L

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM: LEGAT, OTTAWA (100-1564) (RUC)
SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION
OO - Atlanta

DATE: 12-19-2005

CLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUG TAM/MLT/JHF

DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(6) 12-19-2030

Remvtel. 2/6/68.

(S)

b1

Enclosed is a clipping from the Toronto "Globe and Mail" for 2/15/68 setting out in more detail the nature of the internal dissension referred to above.

5 - Bureau (Enc-1) **ENCLOSURE**
1 - Liaison Direct
1 - Atlanta (100-6812)
1 - Ottawa
MLI/vmm
(6)

0-9 to Legat, Ottawa 2/21/68
SD: As per change
to WFO.

REC-35

100-446080-1139

18 FEB 19 1968

C. C. - Bureau

1cc to WFO 2/21/68
for info.
PTB/dlt

100 806910

~~RECIANT. SECT.~~~~SECRET~~Approved: *[Signature]*

Sent _____

M _____

Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-19-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Nine termed disguised Marxists, expulsion from RIN is demanded

by RONALD LEBEL

Globe and Mail Reporter

MONTREAL — Internecine quarrels in Quebec's separatist movement broke wide open yesterday, with one leader accusing nine of his colleagues of being disguised Marxists.

Reginald Chartrand, a director of the Rassemblement pour l'indépendance Nationale, publicly called for the expulsion of the RIN vice-president, Mrs. Andree Ferretti, and eight of her alleged "ultra-leftist" followers.

The former boxer charged in a statement that the nine leftists control the RIN national council and that they are sabotaging secret merger talks with Rene Levesque's new sovereignty movement.

At the same time, RIN leader Pierre Bourgault criticized Mr. Levesque's tactic of minimizing the economic risks inherent in pulling Quebec out of Confederation. He said these risks should be explained fully to French Canadians to overcome their fear of separatism.

About 15 RIN riding associations have come out recently for the expulsion of Mrs. Ferretti and for an early RIN alliance with the Levesque movement, which is growing much faster.

A showdown between the left-wing and pro-merger factions could come at a meeting of the RIN council here Saturday. Mr. Bourgault has threatened to call an emergency convention if the party executive refuses to grant him full authority to negotiate with Mr. Levesque.

Mrs. Ferretti has sent a circular letter to all RIN members saying the separatist movement should fight above all for a workers' revolution to crush the capitalist system in Quebec. She accuses Mr.

Levesque of abandoning socialist principles out of electoral opportunism.

Mr. Chartrand replied in his statement yesterday that Mrs. Ferretti and her eight followers in the RIN hierarchy should "go back to the Socialist Parey or the Communist Party."

He accused them of systematically blocking attempts of the past year to unite all separatist groups and of using the RIN to advocate an "international ideology" of social revolution.

The RIN was founded eight years ago and collected 128,000 ballots in the 1966 provincial election, or 5 per cent of the popular vote, without electing a single member.

But in recent months, the RIN has been eclipsed by the more moderate Levesque movement, which now claims 3,000 card-carrying members

and plans to found an independence party at a convention here April 20-21. The movement favors an economic union with Canada and British-style socialism.

Mr. Levesque's book, *Option Quebec*, has sold 60,000 copies since it was launched a month ago, setting a record as the fastest-selling book in Canadian history. An English translation and a Paris edition will be published this spring.

Mr. Levesque has been drawing crowds of 2,000 and 3,000 in recent weeks, while Mr. Bourgault recently cancelled several rallies and press conferences in Montreal. He drew 30 supporters at the RIN annual meeting in Bourassa riding this week.

RIN leaders in the Richelieu district east of Montreal have accused Mrs. Ferretti of turning the party into a vehicle for Marxist tendencies.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

GLOBE AND MAIL
Toronto, Ontario

Date: 2/15/68

Edition:

Author:

Editor:

Title:

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Character: IS-MISCELLANEOUS
or
SEDITION

Classification:

Submitting Office: OTTAWA

☒ Being Investigated

100-446080-

1139

ENCLOSURE

FBI WASH DC*

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

FEB 17 1968

BPM

FBI ALBUQUEEE

TELETYPE

1057AM URGENT 2-17-68 RON

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080), DETROIT (100-34122), LOS ANGELES
(100-68783), SAN FRANCISCO (157-721), AND WASHINGTON FIELD
(100-43503)

FROM ALBUQUERQUE (100-3100) 2P

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS - MISC., SEDITION.

RE WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE TELETYPE FEB SIXTEEN LAST.

SUBJECT ORIGINALLY SCHEDULED TO SPEAK AT UNIVERSITY OF NEW

MEXICO FEB TWENTYONE NEXT. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO, ALBUQUERQUE, ADVISED
CARMICHAEL HAS CANCELLED HIS SPEAKING ENGAGEMENT AND HAS SO
NOTIFIED UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO ASSOCIATED STUDENTS WHO WERE
SPONSORING SPEECH.

110

REC-75

100-446080-1140

ON FEB SIXTEEN LAST, [REDACTED] ADVISED

THAT [REDACTED] HAD STATED ON FEB THIRTEEN LAST THAT [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] WOULD SPEAK WITH STOKELY CARMICHAEL AND [REDACTED] AT
A MEETING REPORTEDLY ARRANGED BY THE BLACK CONGRESS TO BE HELD
ON FEB TWENTYTWO NEXT IN THE LOS ANGELES AREA. INFORMANT MADE
AVAILABLE AN ITINERARY OF [REDACTED] WHICH REFLECTED THAT HE
WAS TO APPEAR AT ELEVEN AM AT THE IMMACULATE HEART COLLEGE, LA

END PAGE ONE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-19-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHE

XEROX

FEB 1968

Delayed to
57 FEB 29 1968

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

WCS/MT

hbr

b7C

pre

b7C

FEB 21 1968

5-18

PAGE TWO

AREA, BUT INFORMANT DID NOT KNOW IF THIS APPEARANCE WAS THE ONE
WHEREIN HE WAS TO APPEAR WITH CARMICHAEL

b7C

OTHER OFFICES ADVISED.

END ELR

FBI WASH DC*

F B I

Date: 2/6/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

Mr. _____
 Mr. _____
 Mr. _____
 Mr. Casper
 Mr. Callahan
 Mr. Conrad
 Mr. Felt
 Mr. Gale
 Mr. Rosen
 Mr. Sullivan
 Mr. Tavel
 Mr. Trotter
 Tele. Room
 Miss Holmes
 Miss Gandy

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080) b7C

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
 IS - MISCELLANEOUS;
 SEDITION

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 12-19-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHE

ReWFOtel, 2/2/68. b7C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 10 copies of
 an LHM regarding the above captioned subject. Four copies
 are furnished Atlanta in view of investigative interest in
 this matter.

The source referred to in the LHM is b2 b7D

Source also advised that CARMICHAEL spends much of
 his time in the Washington Office of SNCC. During these
 periods he spends considerable time making and receiving
 telephone calls, working with incoming and outgoing correspond-
 ence and meeting with people who visit the SNCC Office. Source
 stated he recently obtained a telephone for his residence, the
 number of which he reported to be 332-0615. Source also
 reported that CARMICHAEL's residence is in an apartment on the

- 5 - Bureau (Enc. 10)
 4 - Atlanta (100-6812) (Enc. 4) (RM)
 2 - WFO
 (1 - 100-41626) (SNCC)

AGENCY: ACSI, ~~SEC~~, OSI, SEC. SERV.,DEPT: ~~DEPT. OF JUSTICE~~HOW FORW: R/SDATE FORW: 2/8/68BY: PTB/jmb

WWH:tab
 (11)

AIRTEL

C. C. E. BISHOP

Approved: [Signature]
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent 3 FEB 21 1968 Per _____

COPY OF ENCL FILED IN

448893

448891

REC 55

FEB 21 1968

MCT-30

WFO 100-43503

second floor of 2200 12th Street, N. W., WDC. [REDACTED]

b7D

[REDACTED] n

b7C

b7D

Possibility exists that the [REDACTED] mentioned in the attached LHM is identical with [REDACTED] of SNCC in Atlanta but is known to source as [REDACTED]

Contact is being maintained with the above source and pertinent information as developed will be reported.

WFO has cases under investigation on the persons mentioned in the LHM.

Atlanta requested to furnish current info available on [REDACTED]

b7C



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C. 20535

February 6, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-19-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS;
SEDITION

A confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past advised on February 1, 1968 that Stokely Carmichael had called a meeting of office staff members of the Washington Office of the Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee (SNCC) to be held [redacted]

[redacted] Carmichael announced the meeting was being held to discuss primarily SNCC fund raising programs and to set policy as to what part SNCC will play in the forthcoming Washington Spring Project of Reverend Martin Luther King.

The meeting was held at Carmichael's apartment, 2200 12th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. from approximately 11:00 a.m. until 1:45 p.m. [redacted]

Source learned the following persons were in attendance during the meeting:

Stokely Carmichael

[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]

Source advised that the meeting mentioned above was informal in nature and more or less was a discussion of various things affecting the Washington Office of SNCC.

2 XEROX
FEB 21 1968

100-446680-1141
ENCLOSURE

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Regarding raising funds for SNCC, source advised that they talked about the feasibility of opening a SNCC bookstore to sell SNCC literature and "African type" books. Discussion was also held as to profits expected, location of store, hours of operation and who would staff the store as sales people. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] No decision was raised about establishing the bookstore at this time according to the source.

The group also discussed ways of raising funds in connection with "Negro History Week" by selling literature of SNCC. They stressed efforts should be made to sell the recently published book of Stokely Carmichael, as well as a book about Malcolm X.

In addition to the above, the group noted that Stokely Carmichael had agreed to take part in a function being held on February 10, 1968 in honor of Otis Redding, being sponsored [REDACTED] at the New School for Afro-American Thought to raise funds. Discussion was also held that since Carmichael is appearing at the function and this fact is being widely advertised to draw a crowd, half of the profits should go to the Washington Office of SNCC. However, they noted that [REDACTED] was reportedly going to use the funds raised to establish a better location for the New School for Afro-American Thought and was adamant in not sharing the funds with SNCC.

Regarding the above mentioned event to take place, "The Washington Post", a Washington, D. C. daily newspaper, in an article dated February 1, 1968 reported a tribute would be paid on February 10, 1968 to the late composer, rhythm and blues singer, Otis Redding, who died recently in a plane crash. The article reported the program was being sponsored by the New School for Afro-American Thought and would be held from 4:00 to 9:00 p.m. at Pitt's Motor Hotel, 1451 Belmont Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. The article reported among the

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

participants of the program would be Stokely Carmichael, who would read a eulogy.

A discussion was held about the possibility of employing a full time female office worker in the local Washington Office of SNCC. They agreed that this would be a very worthwhile undertaking, but that they did not have the money available at the present time to pay for such an employee.

Regarding the matter of raising funds, the source learned that SNCC does not apparently have a lot of money or a big bank account. The source stated the SNCC Office in Washington is three months behind in paying its rent on the office premises located at 1234 U Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. On February 1, 1968, the SNCC Office received a notice to vacate the premises within eight days. However, this did not appear to disturb Carmichael to any extent. Source noted that Carmichael seems to have some money always available to him. However, source does not know how much money he has or the source of his funds. Source stated SNCC members usually do not appear to have much money, if any, but that on the contrary Carmichael seems to always have some money, even if a small amount.

During the meeting, source reported that Carmichael spoke about uniting the "black people" in the community. He stated that this must be done to relieve them of their economic oppression. He commented about the necessity of Negro people spending their money within the Negro community. He stated that further efforts should be made in behalf of the Black United Front to organize the Negro community. He did not mention, however, any specific future plans for the Black United Front or how any previously discussed plans of the Front would be implemented.

Carmichael also spoke of maintaining the security of information available to SNCC members and particularly the security of the Washington SNCC Office. He emphasized employees

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

should be aware of people who visit the SNCC Office and should also be wary of each other.

Carmichael mentioned regarding Reverend Martin Luther King's forthcoming Washington Spring Project, that SNCC will not openly support King's program. He noted a radio news program had carried a news story that date that when King began his project Carmichael and SNCC would work for King. According to the source, this news item disturbed Carmichael and SNCC members. [redacted] of the Washington Office of SNCC, soon after the broadcast telephoned the radio station involved with a denial that SNCC would work for King. Source learned that the group also held a discussion about having a SNCC sponsored news conference to counteract the statement about SNCC working for King and to promote publicity for the Black United Front. However, these plans apparently never materialized and as far as the source knows no such press conference was held.

Source continued that Carmichael later discussed how a person affiliated with SNCC can become a "staff member" of the organization. He stated an interested SNCC member in order to qualify as a staff member must have been in the organization for at least six months and have attended at least one national staff meeting, usually held in Atlanta. Carmichael stated persons now in the Washington, D. C. area affiliated with SNCC who qualified as staff members are as follows:

Stokely Carmichael

[redacted]

Carmichael stated the names of the SNCC Washington Office staff members are being reported to the National Office of SNCC in Atlanta, Georgia for information.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

F B I

Date: 2/20/68

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - M; SEDITIONALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-19-2005 BY 60309 AUC-TAM/MLT/JHF

Re Chicago airtel, 1/19/68.

Springfield expedite verifying draft status of
OHID

- ③ - Bureau
1 - Chicago (Info) (RM)
2 - Springfield (RM)
1 - WFO

WWH:bjr
(7)

C. C. Bishop

REG-31

100-446080-1142
FEB 26 1968

Approved: _____

57 MAR 4 1968 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

F B I

Date: 2/20/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS-M
SEDITION

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-19-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHE

ReNYat 12/27/67.

b7C [redacted] WDC, advised [redacted] attended a speech by STOKELY CARMICHAEL at Lincoln Memorial Congregational Temple, WDC, on 5/16/67.

LA and SF expedite attempts to verify draft status of [redacted] at time of speech. [redacted]

b7C [redacted] His home address listed as [redacted] Calif. Submit LHM showing predication under CARMICHAEL caption.

- 100-446080-1143
- SI 1031
- REC-31 100-446080-1143
- 3 - Bureau
- 2 - Los Angeles (100-68783) (RM) (AM)
- 2 - San Francisco (157-721) (RM) (AM)
- 1 - WFO

FEB 26 1968

WWH:hs
(8)

C.C. Bishop

AIRTEL

Approved: [Signature]
57 MAR 4 1968 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

~~SECRET~~

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

DATE: 03-24-2006
CLASSIFIED BY: 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/AAG
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1) 03-24-2031

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM : *[Signature]* SAC, MIAMI (100-15451) (RUC)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION
OO: WFO

DATE: 2/21/68

b7C

Re Bureau letter 2/2/68, requesting Miami to
contact sources in the Cuban field regarding the article
by CARMICHAEL in "Tri Continental."

Enclosed for the Bureau are 5 copies and for WFO
2 copies of a LHM reflecting Cuban sources could furnish no
information in this matter.

The following informants were contacted on the
dates indicated:

b2
b7D

(S) b1

b2
b7C
b7D

(S) b1

[Signature]
100-806-98D

100 to Yeagley by R/S
ATTENTION Paul-Vincent
Reinlet dated 1/29/68
P/B/mrb

100-446080-1144

1 FEB 23 1968

b2
b7D

RACIAL ~~RE~~ SECT.

~~SECRET~~



2 Bureau (Enc. 5) (RM)
2 WFO (Enc. 2) (RM)
1 Miami
RLO:pb
(5)

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

~~SECRET~~

MM 100-15451

Atlanta letter to Bureau 2/9/68, contained information from a Laboratory Report that the CARMICHAEL signature in the letter appearing in the 8/2/67, issue of "Granma" is not sufficiently legible for comparison purposes.

On 2/15/68, [] advised SA [] that he has not been able to locate any other individual who received this particular issue of "Granma." In view of the Laboratory Report that the CARMICHAEL signature is not sufficiently legible for comparison purposes, [] is discontinuing efforts in this regard, however, informant has been instructed to remain alert and immediately furnish any pertinent information regarding subject.

b2
b7C
b7D

Miami has no other leads outstanding.

- 2 -

~~SECRET~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Miami, Florida
February 21, 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-19-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

Re: **STOKELY CARMICHAEL**
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION

Confidential informants and sources in the Cuban field were contacted during February, 1968, regarding the article entitled "The Third World -- Our World" by STOKELY CARMICHAEL appearing in the July - August, 1967, issue of the magazine "Tri Continental."

None of those informants and sources contacted could furnish any information about this article or STOKELY CARMICHAEL being the author.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

COPIES DESTROYED
343 FEB 26 1971

100-446080-1144

- 1* -

ENCLOSURE



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Miami, Florida
February 21, 1968

Title	STOKELY CARMICHAEL
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS SEDITION
Reference	Memorandum at Miami, Florida, dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-19-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

F.B.I.

Date:

2/15/68

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

Via _____

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM: SAC, ALBUQUERQUE (100-3100) RUC
RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - M; SEDITION
OO: WFO

Albuquerque airtel to Bureau 1/11/68.

Subject was scheduled to have a speaking engagement at the University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, NM, 2/21/68.

b7C

University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, N.M., advised 2/14/68, that subject has notified the University of New Mexico Associated Students that he would not appear as scheduled.

3 - Bureau (RM)
1 - Atlanta (100-6812) (Info) (RM)
1 - Washington Field (RM)
1 - Albuquerque
JBB/jvp

(6)

EX-110

REC- 69 100 - 446080 - 1145

15 FEB 17 1968

RACIAL INT. SEC.

62 FEB 28 1968

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-19-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

F B I

Date: 2/20/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - M; SEDITION

b7C

ReBuairtel dated 2/9/68.

Enclosed herewith are eleven copies of LHM regarding
the above captioned matter.

The LHM is being classified "~~Confidential~~" since it
contains information from sensitive sources, the disclosure
of which could jeopardize their future effectiveness.

b2 [redacted] referred to in the LHM is [redacted]
b7C contacted by SA [redacted] on 5/17/67.
b7D

b2 [redacted] contacted by
b7C SA [redacted] on 5/17/67.
b7D

b2 [redacted]
b7C contacted by SA [redacted]
b7D

Leads are outstanding to verify the draft status
of the following:

- ③ - Bureau (Enc. 11)
1 - WFO

WWH:skt
(4)

AIRTEL

ENCLOSURE

REC-32

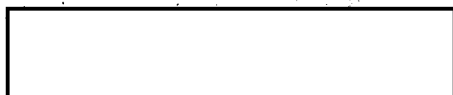
22 FEB 20 1968

Sent _____ M

Special Agent in Charge

RACIAL INT. SEC.

WF 100-43503



b7C

b7D

No address was developed for  or data regarding his draft status.

b7C

Draft status information was set forth regarding  in Memphis letter with LHM dated 1/15/68 entitled:  aka, SM - SNCC.

b7C

Draft status information regarding  being set forth by WFO.

b7C

Requests to expedite the above leads being set out separate communication.

WFO will remain alert for other individuals who attended the speech by CARMICHAEL on May 16, 1967, at Lincoln Memorial Congregational Temple.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D.C. 20535

February 20, 1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (S)

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHE
ON 12-19-2005

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION

Stokely Carmichael spoke on May 16, 1967, at the Lincoln Memorial Congregational Temple, 11th and R Streets, N.W., Washington, D.C. (WDC).

The following is a list of some of the persons reported to have been present during the speech:

b7C [redacted] WDC,
attended and stated from personal knowledge [redacted]
[redacted] of the Lincoln Memorial Congregational Temple,
was present and heard the speech.

b7C [redacted]
Metropolitan Police Department (MPD), WDC, was in attendance
and from personal knowledge recalls the following being present:

b7C [redacted]
[redacted] WDC, advised
he attended the above speech by Carmichael and was accompanied
by the following:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COPIES DESTROYED
343 FEB 26 1971

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

ENCLOSURE

100-446070-1146

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

[REDACTED]

b7C

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised from personal knowledge the following were in attendance during the speech by Carmichael:

[REDACTED]

b7C

b7D

b2

b7D

[REDACTED] advised from personal knowledge the following individuals were in attendance during the above speech:

[REDACTED]

b7C

b7D

b2

b7D

[REDACTED] with whom insufficient contact had been had to determine reliability advised he was not present during the speech of Carmichael but learned the following were in attendance:

[REDACTED]

b7C

b7D

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

F B I

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-19-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

Date: 2/13/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-68783)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS-MISCELLANEOUS, SEDITION

Re Los Angeles teletype to Bureau 2/9/68; Director's teletype to Los Angeles 2/12/68; and Los Angeles teletype to Bureau 2/12/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of attached letterhead memorandum (LHM) concerning CARMICHAEL's proposed itinerary in Los Angeles from 2/18/68 to 2/20/68. Three (3) copies of LHM are being furnished to Washington Field, office of origin, and two (2) copies each to San Francisco and Atlanta who have interest in this matter. Additional copies are being furnished to OSI, Norton Air Force Base; NISO, San Diego; Region II, U. S. Army, Pasadena; Secret Service; and U. S. Attorney, Los Angeles, due to the national interest in CARMICHAEL and his attempts to generate racial unrest and violence in the Negro community.

The following sources were utilized in LHM:

b2

b7C

b7D

(conceal due to position)

(conceal per request)

- 3 - Bureau (Enc. 1)
- 2 - Atlanta (Enc. 2) (RM)
- 2 - San Francisco (Enc. 2) (RM)
- 2 - Washington Field (Enc. 3) (RM)
- 1 - Los Angeles

ENCLOSURE

EC-52

100-446080-7747

FEB 15 1968

RACIAL SECT.

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

LA 100-68783

[REDACTED] b2

[REDACTED] b7D

On 12/12 and 13/68, [REDACTED] Los Angeles Sports Arena, indicated that final approval to hold mass rally at Los Angeles Sports Arena featuring STOKELY CARMICHAEL, has not been given final approval by Sports Arena Board (four) use of the auditorium. Arrangements have been made with [REDACTED] to secure recording of CARMICHAEL's speech if authority is granted for mass rally on 2/18/68.

b7C

The enclosed LHM is classified ~~confidential~~ because information furnished by [REDACTED] could reasonably result in the identification of a confidential source of continuing value and compromise future effectiveness thereof.

b2

b7D



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Los Angeles, California

February 13, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No:

CONFIDENTIAL

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY-MISCELLANEOUS, SEDITION

Sources utilized in this communication have furnished reliable information in the past. [redacted] indicated on February 9, 1968, that Stokely Carmichael, former Director of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), would be the featured speaker at a mass rally sponsored by the Peace Action Council, an organization that has identified itself as a clearing house for anti-Vietnam war and civil rights organizations and the Black Congress, an organization representing the majority of Black Nationalists, organization in Los Angeles, California, at the Los Angeles Sports Arena from 3:00 p.m. to 6:00 p.m. on February 18, 1968.

The speakers at this rally include the following:

Reies Lopez Tijerina

Publicly known as the leader of the Alianza Federal De Mercedes (AFDM), which is publicly known as an organization representing local Grant Interest in the State of New Mexico demanding the return of land in New Mexico to descendants of original owners

Betty Shabazz

Also known as Betty Little, the widow of Black Nationalist Malcom X, who was known as a Nation of Islam (NOI) (see appendix) minister

Ron Karenga

Publicly known as founder and chairman of Los Angeles based Black Nationalists Organization
US

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343 FEB 26 1971

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

ENCLOSURE

100-446020-1147

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Reverend Thomas Kilgore

Self-described as the West Coast Director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, a civil rights organization directed by Reverend Martin Luther King

b2

b7D

[] furnished additional information concerning Carmichael's itinerary while in Los Angeles.

February 19, 1968

Monday

10:00 a.m. to noon

Press conference at
Los Angeles Press Club

12:00 a.m. to 2:00 p.m.

Will visit Los Angeles
City College

4:00 p.m. to 6:00 p.m.

Will hold private meeting
in East Los Angeles

8:00 p.m. to 10:00 p.m.

Will hold a meeting with
Negro leaders in Watts
area of Los Angeles

February 20, 1968

Tuesday

10:00 a.m. to 12:00 p.m. Will tour South Los Angeles

12:00 p.m. to 2:00 p.m.

Will hold a meeting with
Negro ministers

5:00 p.m. to 7:00 p.m.

Will participate in a
meeting with Negro students

8:00 p.m. to 10:00 p.m.

Will be guest of honor at
cocktail party in West
Los Angeles

- 2 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Source further indicated that Carmichael is to arrive in Los Angeles by a flight from San Francisco and is scheduled to depart Los Angeles on February 21, 1968. Carmichael's destination after departing Los Angeles is not known at this time.

On February 9, 1968, [] indicated that a [] of Los Angeles Sports Arena, indicated to him that Stokely Carmichael will be the featured speaker at the arena from 3:00 p.m. to 6:00 p.m. February 18, 1968.

[] as being associated with the SNCC, contacted him and made arrangements to rent the arena for this rally.

[] a check in the amount of \$1,500.00 which was drawn on the Bank of Finance, 2651 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles. The check was signed by []

[] on February 12, 1968, identified [] as a member of the Black Panther Party of California.

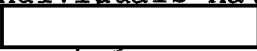
[] also known as [] self-described as [] for the Black Anti-Draft Union of Los Angeles, an organization representing Negroes opposed to the Vietnam war and the draft.

[] on February 12, 1968, furnished a brochure concerning mass rally at the Los Angeles Sports Arena on February 18, 1968, featuring Stokely Carmichael. The brochure

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

contained the following information: "Mass rally February 18, 1968, Los Angeles Sports Arena, Sunday 3:00 p.m. with the following speakers: Stokely Carmichael, Reies Tijerina, Betty Shabazz, Ron Karenga, and Bobby Seale, admission welfare tickets \$1.50, student tickets \$2.00, general admission \$3.00." All of the individuals have been identified above with the exception of  ✓

b7C

On February 12 and 13, 1968,  b7C
of Los Angeles Sports Arena, Los Angeles, California, advised that a mass rally has been scheduled for the arena at 3:00 p.m. February 18, 1968, featuring Stokely Carmichael. The organizations sponsoring this rally are the Peace Action Council and the Black Congress. The board which governs the Los Angeles Sports Arena has not furnished final approval for this rally due to the fact that the group has not raised sufficient funds in order to rent the auditorium. Even though sufficient funds have not been raised, there is reason to believe the board will permit the rally to be held as scheduled.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1

APPENDIX

NATION OF ISLAM, Formerly Referred to as
The Muslim Cult of Islam, also known
as Muhammad's Temples of Islam

In January 1957, a source advised Elijah Muhammad has described his organization on a nationwide basis as the "Nation of Islam" and "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

On May 5, 1967, a second source advised Elijah Muhammad is the national leader of the Nation of Islam (NOI); Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 2, 5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, is the national headquarters of the NOI; and in mid-1960 Muhammad and other NOI officials, when referring to Muhammad's organization on a nationwide basis, commenced using either "Mosque" or "Temple" when mentioning one of "Muhammad's Temples of Islam".

The NOI is an all-Negro organization which was originally organized in 1930 in Detroit, Michigan. Muhammad claims to have been selected by Allah, the Supreme Being, to lead the so-called Negro race out of slavery in the wilderness of North America by establishing an independent black nation in the United States. Members following Muhammad's teachings and his interpretation of the "Koran" believe there is no such thing as a Negro; the so-called Negroes are slaves of the white race, referred to as "white devils", in the United States; and the white race, because of its exploitation of the so-called Negroes, must and will be destroyed in the approaching "War of Armageddon."

In the past, officials and members of the NOI, including Muhammad, have refused to register under the provisions of the Selective Service Acts and have declared that members owe no allegiance to the United States.

On May 5, 1958, the first source advised Muhammad had, upon advice of legal counsel, tempered his personal statements and instructions to his ministers concerning the principles of his organization in order to avoid possible prosecution by the United States Government; however, he did not indicate any fundamental changes in the teachings of his organization.

APPENDIX CONTINUED

- 5 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

2

APPENDIX CONTINUED

NATION OF ISLAM, Formerly Referred to as
The Muslim Cult of Islam, also known
as Muhammad's Temples of Islam

On May 2, 1966, a third source advised Muhammad had, in early July, 1958, decided to de-emphasize the religious aspects of the teachings of Islam and to stress the economic benefits to be derived by those Negroes who joined the NOI. This policy change, according to Muhammad, would help him acquire additional followers and create more interest in his programs.

APPENDIX

- 6* -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

FEB 20 1968

BHM

TELETYPE

FBI WASH DC*

FBI CINCINTI

HOLD FOR TWO MGS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-19-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHE

3:59 PM URGENT 2/20/68 BLE

TO DIRECTOR, DETROIT, AND WFO
FROM CINCINNATI (100-16858) 1P

b7C

STOKLEY CARMICHAEL, SM; RM

WHO HAS FURNISHED

RELIABLE INFORMATION IN PAST, ADVISED HE PICKED UP INFORMATION
LAST NIGHT FROM [REDACTED] IN CINCINNATI, WHO ATTENDED
[REDACTED] TOLEDO, OHIO, FEB. EIGHTEEN, SIXTY-EIGHT,

WHERE SHE OBTAINED INFORMATION FROM [REDACTED] AT DETROIT.

INFORMATION IS THAT STOKLEY CARMICHAEL WAS IN DETROIT THIS PAST
WEEKEND AND THAT HE HAD PROMISED RIOTING WOULD START IN DETROIT
WEDNESDAY, FEB. TWENTY-ONE. SOURCE HAS NO FURTHER INFORMATION
AND DOES NOT EVALUATE THE ABOVE INFORMATION.

END

FBI WASH DC*

XEROX

REC-32

100-446080-1148

b7C

FEB 26 1968

FEB 1968
MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D 240
MAR 1 1968

ADVISED

Relayed to

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan ✓
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

CARMICHAEL IN CAMP.

7C 413

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (Bufile- 100-446080)

DATE: 2/8/68

FROM : SAC, ATLANTA (100-6812)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-19-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHE

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL, aka.
IS - M; SEDITION

b7C

RABBLE ROUSER INDEX

☐ New Subject ☒ Change ☐ Delete

Name		FBI Number																									
Aliases																											
Citizenship ☐ Native Born ☐ Naturalized ☐ Alien																											
Subject also on ☐ SI ☐ RI		Race																									
		Sex ☐ Male ☐ Female																									
Organizational Affiliation																											
<table border="0"><tr><td>☐ 01 ANP</td><td>☐ 07 KLAN</td><td>☐ 12 PLP</td><td>☒ 17 SNCC</td></tr><tr><td>☐ 02 AVN</td><td>☐ 08 LA</td><td>☐ 13 PRN</td><td>☐ 18 SWP</td></tr><tr><td>☐ 03 BNAT</td><td>☐ 09 MIN</td><td>☐ 14 RAM</td><td>☐ 19 WWP</td></tr><tr><td>☐ 04 BPP</td><td>☐ 10 NOI</td><td>☐ 15 SCLC</td><td>☐ 99 MISC</td></tr><tr><td>☐ 05 COM</td><td>☐ 11 NSRP</td><td>☐ 16 SDS</td><td>(Specify)</td></tr><tr><td>☐ 06 CORE</td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr></table>				☐ 01 ANP	☐ 07 KLAN	☐ 12 PLP	☒ 17 SNCC	☐ 02 AVN	☐ 08 LA	☐ 13 PRN	☐ 18 SWP	☐ 03 BNAT	☐ 09 MIN	☐ 14 RAM	☐ 19 WWP	☐ 04 BPP	☐ 10 NOI	☐ 15 SCLC	☐ 99 MISC	☐ 05 COM	☐ 11 NSRP	☐ 16 SDS	(Specify)	☐ 06 CORE			
☐ 01 ANP	☐ 07 KLAN	☐ 12 PLP	☒ 17 SNCC																								
☐ 02 AVN	☐ 08 LA	☐ 13 PRN	☐ 18 SWP																								
☐ 03 BNAT	☐ 09 MIN	☐ 14 RAM	☐ 19 WWP																								
☐ 04 BPP	☐ 10 NOI	☐ 15 SCLC	☐ 99 MISC																								
☐ 05 COM	☐ 11 NSRP	☐ 16 SDS	(Specify)																								
☐ 06 CORE																											
Date of Birth		Place of Birth																									
Position in Organization		Occupation, Business Address (Show Name of Employing Concern)																									
		Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee 1234 U Street, N. W. Washington, D. C.																									
Residence Address		2200 Twelfth Street, N. W. Washington, D. C.																									

REGISTERED MAIL

- 3 - Bureau
2 - WFO (100-43503)
2 - Atlanta (1 - 100-6812)
1 - 157-2704

EUC/vsc

APR 12 1968

FEB 15 1 20 PM '68

NOT RECORDED

3 FEB 12 1968

No action necessary
on this - info has been
requested to re-submit the
information in an #0397
which has
not been
done
previously
cc to
RACIAL INT. SEC.
SPECIAL AGENT

100-446080-

FBI

Date: 2/20/68

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - M; SEDITION

Re SF and LA tels 2/17/68 and 2/18/68.

In addition to submitting pertinent LHM regarding subject's activities, LA and SF requested to submit reports including data of evidentiary nature.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-19-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

REC 22

EX-105

- ③ - Bureau
- 2 - Los Angeles (100-68783) (RM)
- 2 - San Francisco (157-721) (RM)
- 1 - WFO

WWH:bjr
(8)

C.C. Bishop

FEB 23 1968

CC 806 910

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

70 FEB 23 1968

F B I

Date: 2/14/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

ATTN: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE
DIVISION

FROM: SAC, WFO

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS;
SEDITION
(WFOfile 100-43503)BLACK UNITED FRONT
RM (ORGANIZATION)
(WFOfile 157-1426)ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-19-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHE

b7C

ReWFOteletype 2/14/68, captioned as above.

Enclosed for the Bureau are ten copies of an LHM
captioned, "BLACK UNITED FRONT."

The source utilized in this LHM is [REDACTED]

b2

b7D

The LHM is being disseminated locally to AUSA,
Secret Service and interested military intelligence agencies.The LHM has been classified "~~Confidential~~" to protect
the identity of [REDACTED] a source of continuing value.

b2

b7D

4 - Bureau (Enc. 10)
2 - WFOJRP:dgp
(6)

AIRTEL

ENCLOSURE

100-446080
NOT RECORDED
103 FEB 23 1968FEB 21 1968
AGENCY: SAC, WFO, OSI, SEC. SERV.,
ALB. Y. O. C. I. A. S. F. D. I. U.
CON TO: [REDACTED]
DATE: [REDACTED]
BY: [REDACTED]offices notified
by R6 2-2-77
BT/llhApproved: [Signature]
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

66 MAR 1 1968

ORIGINAL FILED IN

157-8471-4



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Washington, D. C. 20535
February 14, 1968

BLACK UNITED FRONT

b7D A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, reported on February 14, 1968, that a [redacted] meeting of the Black United Front (BUF) was held on the night of [redacted] at the New School for Afro-American Thought, 2208 14th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. (WDC).

Invitations were extended to most of the individuals who were invited to attend the first meeting of the BUF on January 9, 1968. Approximately one hundred individuals were present, and all were checked at the door upon entering the building.

b7C b7D Stokely Carmichael called the meeting to order at approximately 8 p.m., [redacted] and introduced [redacted] to read the "Memorandum of Purpose" of the BUF that was prepared as a result of the January 14, 1968, meeting of the BUF Steering Committee. According to the source, the "Memorandum of Purpose" stated that the BUF was formed to expand the lines of communication between Black people, to obtain a proportionate share of representation in the government of the District of Columbia, and to obtain a proportionate share of economic control within the Black community.

According to the source, the memorandum sets out the standards for qualification for membership in the BUF, and the procedures to follow in making application for membership. It states that only all Black organizations working for the benefit of the Black community in general are

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

100-446080

~~GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification.~~

Declassified by
BTI/Alu
12-29-76

ENCLOSURE
ENCLOSURE

BLACK UNITED FRONT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

eligible for membership. Those eligible must furnish in writing the name of the organization, its officers, and a statement regarding the purpose and program of the organization. This application will then be referred to the Steering Committee, and will be voted upon by that group. This memorandum also points out that members of the BUF will conduct themselves in such a manner as to bring unity in the Black community.

The source advised that following the reading of the memorandum, [redacted] conducted a question and answer session regarding its contents. According to the source, reaction to the memorandum appeared to be favorable,

b7C

b7D

Stokely Carmichael then opened the meeting to discussion of future activities of the BUF, and the position to be taken by the BUF on community problems. The four topics for discussion were Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., welfare, re-zoning and freeways, and urban transportation. Following discussion of Dr. King's demonstration scheduled for April, 1968, in WDC, the group voted to extend their support to his efforts. The nature and degree of that support is to be decided by the Steering Committee at a later date.

According to the source, welfare was the most discussed topic of the evening. A Welfare Committee was established, [redacted]

b7C

b7D

[redacted] This committee will work on plans to express opposition to recently enacted legislation that will require mothers on welfare to take job training and to work, if at all possible, or lose their welfare payments. It was decided to hold a public protest against the bill which is scheduled to be signed by President Johnson in early April, 1968, but no decision was reached on the date or the nature of this protest. Representatives of all organizations present at the meeting on the night of February 13, 1968, were urged to go back to their own organizations and to seek support for opposition to this legislation.

Discussion regarding re-zoning, freeways and urban transportation centered on the theme that Negro homes and businesses are scheduled to be destroyed to make room for

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

BLACK UNITED FRONT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

freeways without Negroes having a voice in the location of those freeways. The BUF will work to obtain a stronger voice for the Negro in zoning and urban transportation matters.

Near the end of the meeting Carmichael announced that the next meeting of the BUF would be held on March 19, 1968. According to the source, the press was barred from this meeting, and Carmichael advised those present to have no comment to any inquiries regarding the meeting.

Carmichael also announced that a press conference would be held on February 14, 1968, and that a statement would be made regarding some of the items discussed during this meeting.

The general session adjourned at approximately 11:10 p.m. Brief meetings of the Steering Committee and the Welfare Committee were held following the general session.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-19-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

F B I

Date: 2/14/68

Transmit the following in _____

CODE

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE

URGENT

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
ATTN: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

b7C

FM: SAC, WFO (157-1426) (100-43503)

BLACK UNITED FRONT, RM *RACIAL MATTER*
STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC.; SEDITION
INTERNAL SECURITY

A SOURCE, WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFO IN THE PAST, ADVISED THIS DATE THAT A MEETING OF THE BLACK UNITED FRONT (BUF) WAS HELD AT THE NEW SCHOOL FOR AFRO-AMERICAN THOUGHT, TWO TWO ZERO EIGHT FOURTEENTH ST., NW, WDC, AT EIGHT PM THIS DATE.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL CALLED THE MEETING TO ORDER AT EIGHT PM. THE FIRST ORDER OF BUSINESS WAS A READING OF "MEMORANDUM OF PURPOSE" OF THE BUF. IN ESSENCE IT STATED THAT THE BUF WAS FORMED TO EXPAND THE LINES OF COMMUNICATION BETWEEN BLACK PEOPLE; TO OBTAIN A PROPORTIONATE SHARE OF THE REPRESENTATION IN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE CITY AND TO OBTAIN A PROPORTIONATE SHARE OF ECONOMIC CONTROL WITHIN THE BLACK COMMUNITY. OTHER TOPICS MENTIONED WERE THE STANDARDS FOR QUALIFICATION FOR THE FRONT; PROCEDURES TO FOLLOW TO BECOME A MEMBER OF THE BUF; AND THE POSITION OF THE FRONT AND THE CONDUCT OF THE MEMBERS.

2-Bureau
1-Teletype
2-WFO

Included in letter to White House
and Attorney General. Date 2/14/68

b7C

RW:mmh

HERON

FEB 1968

NOT RECORDED

172 FEB 23 1968

59 MAR 7 1968 JDC/RNW

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

ORIGINAL FILED IN 157-8471-2

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

PAGE TWO
WFO (157-1426) (100-43503)

A PERIOD OF QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CONCERNING THE MEMORANDUM FOLLOWED.

CARMICHAEL THEN OPENED THE MEETING TO DISCUSSION OF FUTURE ACTIVITIES AND POSITION OF THE BUF ON COMMUNITY PROBLEMS. THE GROUP VOTED TO SUPPORT MARTIN LUTHER KING BUT ONLY TO THE DEGREE THAT THE STEERING COMMITTEE SHOULD DECIDE. DISCUSSIONS WERE HELD CONCERNING WELFARE PROBLEMS; REZONING AND FREEWAYS; URBAN TRANSPORTATION.

b7C

A WELFARE COMMITTEE [REDACTED] WAS SET UP TO WORK ON PLANS TO OPPOSE THE RECENTLY PASSED BILL WHICH WOULD REQUIRE MOTHERS ON WELFARE TO WORK OR LOSE THEIR WELFARE PAYMENTS. IT WAS DECIDED TO HOLD PUBLIC PROTEST AGAINST THE BILL WHICH IS SCHEDULED TO BE SIGNED INTO LAW EARLY IN APRIL.

THE MEETING WAS ADJOURNED AT ABOUT ELEVEN TEN PM. THERE WERE APPROXIMATELY ONE HUNDRED PERSONS ATTENDING.

FOLLOWING THE GENERAL SESSION, SHORT MEETINGS OF THE STEERING COMMITTEE AND WELFARE COMMITTEE WERE HELD.

THE PRESS WAS BARRED FROM THE MEETING AND PERSONS ATTENDING WERE TO REPLY NO COMMENT TO ANY INQUIRIES. A PRESS CONFERENCE WILL BE CALLED FOR FEB FOURTEENTH SIXTY EIGHT AT WHICH SOME POINTS OF

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

PAGE THREE
WFO (157-1426) (100-43503)

THE MEETING WILL BE DISCUSSED. TIME AND PLACE NOT SET.

THE NEXT MEETING OF THE BUF IS SCHEDULED FOR MARCH NINETEEN
NEXT.

ADMINISTRATIVESOURCE MENTIONED IS

memo
LETTER TO FOLLOW

b2
b7D

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FEB 22 1968

TELETYPE

FBI WASH DC*

FBI CHARLT

454 PM URGENT 2-22-68 JLM

TO: DIRECTOR FBI (100-446080; WFO (100-43503); AND

ATLANTA (100-6812)

FROM: CHARLOTTE (100-10358) (P)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-19-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

STOKELY CARMICHAEL. IS - M; SEDITION.

OO: WFO.

RE COLUMBIA TELEPHONE CALL TO CHARLOTTE TODAY ADVISING
INFORMATION RECEIVED FROM SCLED, COLUMBIA, S.C., TO EFFECT
THAT SUBJECT WAS PASSENGER IN CAR, DRIVER OF WHICH WAS GIVEN
TICKET FOR SPEEDING, FAYETTEVILLE, N.C., PAST FEW DAYS.

[REDACTED] NCHP, FAYETTEVILLE, N.C., ADVISED
TODAY THAT NCHP [REDACTED] STOPPED ONE NINE SIX EIGHT
CADILLAC, EL DORADO, BEARING NEW YORK LICENSE LNW FOUR
EIGHT SEVEN, COLOR OF CAR UNKNOWN, ON HIGHWAY FOUR ZERO
ONE NEAR FAYETTEVILLE, N.C., FEBRUARY SEVENTEEN LAST FOR
SPEEDING.

END PAGE ONE

EX 101

NOT LIKELY CARMICHAEL
IN CALIF 2/17 HOWEVER
WFO IS CHECKING IT OUT
PTR

REC-42

100-446080-1150

9 FEB 26 1968

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

b7C

b7C

CE 100-10358

PAGE TWO

DRIVER OF CAR IDENTIFIED AS [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] CAR REGISTERED TO STOKELY

CARMICHAEL, AN OCCUPANT IN THE CAR WHO WAS RECOGNIZED BY

[REDACTED] CARMICHAEL DISPLAYED HIS REGISTRATION, BUT

SUBJECT'S ADDRESS NOT OBTAINED BY [REDACTED] ALSO IN CAR

WERE TWO NEGRO FEMALES AND ONE WHITE MALE. THEY FURNISHED
NO IDENTIFICATION. DRIVER POSTED ONE HUNDRED DOLLAR BOND
AND GROUP CONTINUED SOUTH ON FOUR ZERO ONE.

ABOVE SUBMITTED FOR INFORMATION.

COLUMBIA ADVISED BY TELEPHONE TODAY.

AIRMAIL COPIES TO COLUMBIA, NEW YORK, AND NEWARK.

END

MXS

FBI WASH DC*

X

b7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FEB 19 1968

TELETYPE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-19-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

Mr. Tolson.....
Mr. DeLoach.....
Mr. Mohr.....
Mr. Bishop.....
Mr. Casper.....
Mr. Callahan.....
Mr. Conrad.....
Mr. Felt.....
Mr. Gale.....
Mr. Rosen.....
Mr. Sullivan.....
Mr. Tavel.....
Mr. Trotter.....
Tele. Room.....
Miss Holmes.....
Miss Gandy.....

FBI WASH DC*

FBI PITTSBGH

b7C

1208 PM 2/19/68 URGENT RAN

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080) AND WASHINGTON FIELD.
FROM PITTSBURGH (100-15615)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; IS DASH M; SEDITION.

ON FEBRUARY NINETEEN, INSTANT, SOURCE ADVISED
SUBJECT SUPPOSEDLY WILL BE IN PITTSBURGH ON FEBRUARY TWENTY-
THREE, NEXT, TO MEET PRIVATELY WITH [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] PITTSBURGH.

WASHINGTON FIELD, ADVISED IF SUBJECT PLANS TRAVEL TO
PITTSBURGH.

P.

END

SAA

FBI WASH DC*

REC-42

EX 101

100 - 446080 - 1151

1 FEB 26 1968

FEB 12 15 35 AM '68

FBI FEB 13

REC-11 FEB 13 1968

FEB 19 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-19-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHE

F B I

Date: 2/19/68

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	☒
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Transmit the following in PLAINTEXT
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
SACS PITTSBURGH,
LAS VEGAS,
LOS ANGELES (100-68783)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS - M; SEDITION.

REPGTEL FEBRUARY NINETEEN INSTANT ADVISING SUBJECT SUPPOSEDLY
WILL BE IN PITTSBURGH ON FEBRUARY TWENTYTHREE NEXT.

RE LAS VEGAS RADIOGRAM FEBRUARY SIXTEEN LAST ADVISING INFO
RECEIVED FROM CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE SUBJECT TO BE IN LAS VEGAS WEEK
OF FEBRUARY EIGHTEEN -- TWENTYFOUR NEXT.

^{Pittsburgh and}
FOR INFO/LAS VEGAS SUBJECT DEPARTED WDC FEBRUARY FIFTEEN LAST
EN ROUTE SAN FRANCISCO. SUBJECT SPOKE IN SAN FRANCISCO ON FEBRUARY
SEVENTEEN LAST AND IN LOS ANGELES ON FEBRUARY EIGHTEEN LAST. SUBJECT
PRESENTLY IN LOS ANGELES. NO INFO AVAILABLE TO WFO THAT SUBJECT
^{Pittsburgh or}
SCHEDULED TO APPEAR IN LAS VEGAS. WFO SOURCE ADVISED SUBJECT
DROPPED COMMENT IN CONVERSATION PRIOR TO DEPARTURE THAT HE MIGHT
BE AWAY FROM WDC UNTIL END OF FEBRUARY, BUT TRAVEL PLANS NOT KNOWN
TO SOURCE.

- 2 - Bureau
- 2 - Teletype Unit
- 2 - WFO

WWH:bap/dgp
(6)

TELETYPE

Approved: *[Signature]*

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

EX 104
REC-42

100-446080-115

FEB 26 1968

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)PAGE TWO
WFO 100-43503

LOS ANGELES BE ALERT FOR TRAVEL OF SUBJECT AND NOTIFY
INTERESTED OFFICES TO COVER PER INSTRUCTIONS BUREAU AIRTEL
ALL OFFICES DECEMBER TWENTYONE LAST.

ADMINISTRATIVE

SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

P.

b2
b7D

FEB 13 9 50 AM '68 FEB 13 2 45 PM '68

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

F B I
REC'D TELETYPE UNIT

M

Per _____

BA
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FEB 22 1968

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

FBI WASH DC*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-19-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JEF

FBI SAN FRAN

512PM DEFERRED 2-22-68 RLO

TO DIRECTOR, FBI, (100-446080) AND WFO (100-43503)
FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-721)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS - MISC.; SEDITION.

REMYTEL THIS DATE.

SUBJECT MADE NO PUBLIC APPEARANCE TODAY BUT HAS BEEN
REPORTED BY OAKLAND PD TO BE AT MEETING DURING DAY OF
NEGROES INVITED BY LETTER AT DOWNE'S MEMORIAL METHODIST
CHURCH, EMERYVILLE, CALIF. IN OAKLAND AREA. SPONSORING
ORGANIZATION UNKNOWN.

SUBJECT'S ACTIVITIES WILL CONTINUE TO BE FOLLOWED
THROUGH SOURCES AND INFORMANTS.

END

ACK FOR TWO PLS

ELJ

FBI WASH DC*

X

EX 101

FEB 26 1968

62 MAR 1 1968

RELAYED TO

b7C

TRAINOR

WFO 100-43503

Information contained in the LHM was developed by ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
confidential sources and by physical surveillance.

The sources mentioned in the LHM are identified
as follows: ~~(U)~~

b2
b7C
b7D

[redacted] contacted by SA [redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]

~~(U)~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF
ON 12-19-2005

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Washington, D. C. 20535
February 16, 1968

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

The following pertinent activities of Stokely Carmichael for the period February 4, 1968-February 13, 1968, were as follows: ~~(U)~~

On Sunday, February 4, 1968, a confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised Stokely Carmichael, during the afternoon of that date, attended a fund raising meeting of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) held at a SNCC member's apartment in Washington, D. C. In the evening, he was at his residence, 2200 12th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. ~~(U)~~

On Monday, February 5, 1968, Carmichael spent the early morning at his residence. He later went to the Washington office of SNCC, 1234 U Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., where he spent part of the afternoon and evening. Later in the evening he returned to his residence. ~~(U)~~

On Tuesday, February 6, 1968, Carmichael, after spending the early morning hours at his residence, went to SNCC headquarters where he remained into the afternoon and early evening. Later in the evening he went to the Church of the Redeemer, 15th and Girard Streets, N. E., Washington, D. C. ~~(U)~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CLASS. & EXT. BY *2842/Pm/mac/Hic*
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW *2/12/88*

COPIES DESTROYED *DATE*
343 FEB 26 1971

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification.

100 - 446080 1157
ENCLOSURE

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The confidential source, mentioned previously, advised a meeting was held at the above church on the evening of February 6, 1968, in order that Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and Stokely Carmichael of the Black United Front (BUF) could discuss matters of mutual interest and the Washington Spring Project (WSP) being planned for April, 1968, by Dr. King and the SCLC. According to the source, various representatives of the SCLC and the BUF as well as SNCC participated in discussions about the Washington Spring Project during the evening. King reportedly gave a talk about the purpose of the Project and urged those in attendance to support it. King commented he knew some present did not approve of the Project and would not actively support it. However, he requested that at least they not hinder the success of the Project. Source stated no announcement was made that Carmichael, SNCC, or the BUF would actively support the Washington Spring Project. Carmichael did not make any type of formal speech or statement during the meeting. (U)

On Wednesday, February 7, 1968, Carmichael spent the morning at his residence and at the headquarters of SNCC. [redacted] arrived at the Washington Headquarters of the organization from New York City at about 1:40 p. m. [redacted] and Carmichael met at the Washington Office of the SNCC and later visited a nearby restaurant. Subsequently, they returned to the SNCC Office where they remained the rest of the afternoon. In the early evening [redacted] and Carmichael met with Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., at the Pitt's Motor Hotel, 1451 Belmont Road, N. W., Washington, D. C. (U)

The confidential source mentioned previously advised that during their meeting with King, [redacted] and Carmichael informed King that the SNCC and the BUF would not actively support the Washington Spring Project being sponsored by the SCLC. They informed him, however, that they nor their organizations would attempt to interfere with the Project in any way. (U)

After having attended the above meeting with King and [redacted] Carmichael returned to his residence where he was met by [redacted] another SNCC member. Carmichael and [redacted] went to National Airport, Washington, D. C., where they

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

departed at 9:30 p. m., on Trans-World Airlines, Flight Number 442, bound for Dayton, Ohio. In purchasing his ticket for travel to Dayton, Carmichael used the name "Mr. Webster." (U)

[redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that Carmichael and [redacted] arrived in Dayton, Ohio, about 11:30 p. m., on February 7, 1968, and went to the residence of [redacted] where a meeting about the racial situation in Dayton was in progress. Carmichael and [redacted] joined in the meeting upon arrival. During the course of the meeting, Carmichael, [redacted] another SNCC member, discussed a "new policy" of SNCC. They stated that SNCC is presently taking a softer line on "black power" in order to bring all Negroes into their fold. Carmichael stated that the new approach would include a decline of speeches and conferences on the part of SNCC. Instead SNCC members are now being assigned to go out and work directly with the people. Carmichael reportedly stated during the meeting that "the rebellion" is already in its final phases all over the world and the only people not ready are the Negroes in the United States. He stated that Vietnam and Korea already have rebellions under way as well as other Asian countries. In addition, Africa and South America are preparing for rebellions. (U)

Carmichael also stated that an analysis of all the riots in the United States during the past few years would reveal they were unorganized and had no real leadership. (U)

On Thursday, February 8, 1968, during the early morning hours, Carmichael and [redacted] accompanied by [redacted] traveled from Dayton to Cincinnati, Ohio. They checked into the Sheraton Gibson Hotel about 4:00 a. m., where they remained during the day. In the early part of the evening on that date, Carmichael and [redacted] along with several other SNCC members from the Cincinnati area, attended a speech by James Farmer, former Director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) held at the Wesley Methodist Chapel, Cincinnati, Ohio. Later the same evening Carmichael reportedly spoke before a group of clerics attending the Conference of Negro Methodist Ministers in convention at Cincinnati. (U)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

On Friday, February 9, 1968, Carmichael and [redacted] left Cincinnati via American Airlines Flight Number 476, at 12:50 p. m., for Washington, D. C. In returning to Washington, D. C., Carmichael traveled under name V. Welcher. Carmichael and [redacted] arrived at National Airport, Washington, D. C., at 2:00 p. m., on that date. (U)

Carmichael went to the Washington Headquarters of SNCC and later to his residence. (U)

On Saturday, February 10, 1968, Carmichael spent the morning at his residence and in the afternoon at SNCC Headquarters. In the evening he attended a party held at Pitt's Motor Hotel, 1451 Belmont Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., sponsored by the New School for Afro-American Thought in tribute to the late Otis Redding, Negro composer and blues singer, who died recently in an airplane accident. During the course of the evening Carmichael read an eulogy to Redding which had been prepared by [redacted] of the New School for Afro-American Thought. (U)

On Sunday, February 11, 1968, Carmichael spent the morning and early afternoon at his residence. Later he went to SNCC Headquarters where he remained for several hours. In the evening he returned to his residence. (U)

On Monday, February 12, 1968, Carmichael went to SNCC Headquarters in the morning and was there into the afternoon. In the evening he returned to his residence. (U)

On Tuesday, February 13, 1968, Carmichael spent the morning at his residence. In the afternoon, he went to Roosevelt High School, 13th and Upshur Streets, N. W., Washington, D. C., where he appeared before a student group. (U)

The "Washington Post," a Washington, D. C., daily newspaper, in an article dated February 14, 1968, stated Carmichael has discussed "Negro problems" with 600 students at Roosevelt High School the previous day. Carmichael had been invited to appear at the school by the Student Council, according to the article.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

The article reported Carmichael got off to a "rough start" with the students when he pronounced the name of their school incorrectly and they "razzed" him about it. Some students attempted to engage Carmichael in debate while others laughed and cheered. The article stated he tried to continue the discussion while students murmured among themselves and others put on their coats to leave. Carmichael asked, "Does the white student or the black student get the better education in Washington?" "You get the education you want to get," one youth snapped. Other students vied among themselves to ask questions while others giggled and Carmichael's voice was drown out in clatter. He raised his hands "beseechingly" and said, "We have got to get serious, because our people are at stake." The students moved restlessly in their seats and the murmuring resumed. At the end Carmichael said it had been, "a bad session with too many voices trying to get the floor at the same time."

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-19-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHE

FBI

Date: 2/20/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
(ATTN: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-153751)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION

b2

ReBulet to dated 2/2/68.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are eleven
(11) copies of an LHM, two copies each to WFO, Miami,
and Atlanta.

The sources referred to in the LHM, were contacted
during the month of February, with negative results:

b2

b7D

b7C

C. C. Bishop

3-Bureau (Encls. 11) (RM)
2-Miami (Encls. 2) (RM)
2-Atlanta (Encls. 2) (RM)
2-Washington Field (Encls. 2) (RM)
1-New York

BJW:bas
(11)

ENCLOSURE

EX-108

FEB 21 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT

Approved: *[Signature]*

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

100-446080-1155
1cc to J. Walter L. Grayley
(attention: Paul Vincent)
1/5 2/26/68
PTB/jab



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York

February 20, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-19-2005 BY 60369 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

Stokely Carmichael

b2

b7D

[redacted] in New York City, were contacted during month of February, 1968, with negative results in an effort to obtain the identity of any witnesses regarding an article entitled "The Third World - Our World", by Stokely Carmichael appearing in July - August, 1967, issue of the magazine "Tri-Continental", which is published by the Organization of Peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

1*

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343 FEB 26 1971.

100-446080-1155
ENCLOSURE

FBI

Date: 2/12/68

Transmit the following in _____

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via **AIRTEL AND FIELD OFFICES**

ADVISED BY ROUTING

SLIP(S) OF

(Priority)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

DECLASSIFIED BY SP1-AG-JC 10/11/81
ON 11-3-87

FROM: SAC, CINCINNATI (100-16858) -P-25202 & 217

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

Enclosed for the Bureau are original and ten copies of an LHM captioned as above. Copies to other offices are: 4 - Atlanta; 2 - Chicago; 1 - Memphis; 3 - New York; and, 6 - WFO. One copy each of LHM being disseminated locally to OSI, WPAFB, Ohio; 109th MI Group, Columbus, Ohio; NISO, Columbus, Ohio; and Secret Service, Cincinnati, Ohio.

- ③ - Bureau (Enc. 11) (RM)
- 4 - Atlanta (RM)
 - (1 - 100-6812) (Carmichael)
 - (1 - 100-6488) (SNCC)
 - (1 - [redacted])
 - (1 - [redacted])
- 2 - Chicago (RM)
 - (157-Black Nationalist Movement Cincinnati Division, IS - BN)
- 1 - Memphis (RM)
 - (157-[redacted])
- 3 - New York (RM)
 - (1 - 100-[redacted])
 - (1 - 100-RAM)
 - (1 - 100-SNCC)

(continued next page)

GPU:mld
(30)

ENCLOSURE

MAR 6 1968

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

AGENCY: ACSI, OSI, SEC. SERV., (FBI)

DEPT: [redacted] State IDIU

HOW FORW: [redacted]

DATE FORW: 3/20/68

BY: PTB/mk

9 FEB 16 1968

CLASS. & EXT. BY 2142/RM/ML/ML
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW 8/11/81

Fold Computer # 8/11/81

CI 100-16858

6 - WFO (RM)

- (1 - 100-41626) (SNCC)
- (1 - 100- [redacted] (Carmichael)
- (1 - [redacted])
- (1 - 100- [redacted])
- (1 - 157- [redacted] (Unified Black Front)
- (1 - 157- [redacted])

b7C

11 - Cincinnati

- (1 - 100-16858) (Carmichael)
- (1 - 100-14158) (SNCC)
- (1 - [redacted])
- (1 - [redacted])
- (1 - [redacted])
- (1 - 157-1682) (Black Nationalist Movement)
- (1 - 157-329) (DARE)
- (1 - 157-1330) (Afro-American Center)
- (1 - [redacted])
- (1 - 157-280) (Major Urban Areas)
- (1 - 66-2956)

b7C

Special Agents who observed STOKELY CARMICHAEL arrived Dayton, Ohio, 2/7/68, are Special Agents [redacted]

b7C

[redacted] mentioned in LHM
[redacted] who furnished this
information to SA [redacted] on
February 8 and 9, 1968.

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b7D

Although not indicated in LHM the general comments attributed to [redacted] were made in the presence of only source, [redacted] and at times possibly only one or two other individuals.

b7C

As set out in previous communications and telephone calls to WFO and the Bureau, source aware CARMICHAEL most likely coming to Dayton prior to his actual arrival. This information subsequently confirmed by WFO after Bureau Agents placed him on TWA Flight #442, en route Dayton, Ohio.

This information not set out as such in LHM since doing so would jeopardize source.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CI 100-16858

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

For information of the Bureau, source in process of identifying all those who attended meeting at the [] residence and cases will be opened on those who do not have a case file presently open. [] activities will be closely followed through sources while in Dayton, Ohio, and all pertinent developments will be immediately furnished to the Bureau. *ck*

b7C

This LHM being classified ~~Confidential~~ to protect source who is of continuing value and disclosure of same could jeopardize source.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

February 12, 1968

Director
United States Secret Service
Department of the Treasury
Washington, D. C. 20220

Dear Sir:

The information furnished herewith concerns an individual who is believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning Presidential protection, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

1. ☐ Has attempted or threatened bodily harm to any government official or employee, including foreign government officials residing in or planning an imminent visit to the U. S., because of his official status.
2. ☐ Has attempted or threatened to redress a grievance against any public official by other than legal means.
3. ☐ Because of background is potentially dangerous; or has been identified as member or participant in communist movement; or has been under active investigation as member of other group or organization inimical to U. S.
4. ☐ U. S. citizens or residents who defect from the U. S. to countries in the Soviet or Chinese Communist blocs and return.
5. ☒ Subversives, ultrarightists, racists and fascists who meet one or more of the following criteria:
 - (a) ☐ Evidence of emotional instability (including unstable residence and employment record) or irrational or suicidal behavior;
 - (b) ☐ Expressions of strong or violent anti-U. S. sentiment;
 - (c) ☐ Prior acts (including arrests or convictions) or conduct or statements indicating a propensity for violence and antipathy toward good order and government.
6. ☐ Individuals involved in illegal bombing or illegal bomb-making.

Photograph ☐ has been furnished ☐ enclosed ☐ is not available
☐ may be available through _____

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
John Edgar Hoover
Director

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s) 1
U. S. Secret Service , Cincinnati, Ohio (RM)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Enclosure(s)

(Upon removal of classified enclosures, if any, this transmittal form becomes UNCLASSIFIED.)



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF *Class/104*

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Cincinnati, Ohio
February 12, 1968

DATE *8/12/81*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

On February 7, 1968, Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (SAs of the FBI) observed at approximately 11:30 P.M., Stokely Carmichael and [redacted] arrive at Cox Municipal Airport, Dayton, Ohio, aboard TWA Jet Flight #442. This flight departed Washington International Airport, Washington, D.C., 9:30 P.M., with one stop in Columbus, Ohio. *ny* b7C

b7C Carmichael and [redacted] were met at the airport by [redacted] and others and from there drove directly to the residence of [redacted] Ohio.

b2
b7C
b7D [redacted] advised that [redacted] is a member of the central committee of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

[redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that Stokely Carmichael, on April 29, 1967, while in Cincinnati, Ohio, stated that [redacted] is the SNCC [redacted] Ohio, and [redacted] in Dayton during the summer of 1967.

member
5/7/81
CLASS. & EXT. BY [redacted]
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW [redacted]
For a Computer #1787
11/16

b2
b7C
b7D [redacted] advised that [redacted]

[redacted] a small, militant local civil rights group. Source described [redacted] of Black Nationalist groups to promote Negro rights.

DECLASSIFIED BY SP1AGJC
ON 4-3-87

252028

100-446080-115
ENCLOSURE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Source advised that [] is an employee
of []
[] Dayton, Ohio.
[]

b7C
b7D

[] a confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that prior to the arrival of Carmichael there were approximately twenty-eight persons at the [] residence holding a meeting ostensibly concerning the racial situation in Dayton, Ohio. When Carmichael arrived they were all surprised and elated since they were not aware he was coming to the meeting.

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[] a confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past, stated that included among these persons was [] who arrived in Dayton, Ohio, earlier in the day (February 7, 1968) and was being hosted by []

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Member Central Committee of Student Non Violent Coordinating Committee

[] advised that [] will be in Dayton, Ohio, for the next three to four months to organize a SNCC group. Dayton appears to be a SNCC priority city for the following reasons:

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b7D

1. The City of Dayton has a warrant outstanding for []

2. Dayton is centrally located, that is, close to Cleveland, Cincinnati and Columbus, Ohio. Also, Dayton is near two predominantly Negro colleges, referring to Central State University and Wilberforce University, both Wilberforce, Ohio.

b7C
b7D

3. Dayton has an Afro-American Center, 309 North Broadway, Dayton, Ohio, which has facilities and space to headquarter a SNCC chapter.

4. SNCC believes that because of three previous disturbances in Dayton, and the recent one at Central State University, Dayton appears to be ripe for SNCC recruiting.

5. [] have indicated that there are a number of people interested in joining SNCC in the Dayton, Ohio area.

b2
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[] advised that [] is a member
[] of SNCC.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

6. [] has a great admiration for Stokely Carmichael, and it appears he also admires her.

b7C
b7D

[] advised that Carmichael was originally scheduled to travel directly to Cincinnati from Washington, D.C., to speak before the National Negro Methodist Convention at the Sheraton Gibson Hotel, Cincinnati, Ohio, on February 8, 1968. However, it appears Carmichael decided to travel to Dayton, Ohio, to lend prestige to [] extended visit in Dayton and to visit [] (particularly [] who are his friends.

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[] a confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that Carmichael, [] generally discussed SNCC's new policy which is to attain unity among all Negro groups with the ultimate goal of Black Power. They indicated that SNCC is presently taking a soft line on Black Power in order to bring all Negroes into the fold. In Washington, D.C., this is called "Unified Black Front". They stated even "Uncle Toms" will be taken in and attempts will be made to convert them into SNCC followers. If they do not convert they will be treated and handled like traitors.

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b7D

Carmichael stated that on February 7, 1968, he was with [] of SNCC, and others in Washington, D.C., organizing the various groups.

b7C
b7D

[] advised that in each area, in order to unify the community they will organize and set up programs around the needed goals of that particular community. For example, the programs in Washington, D.C., are centered around community organizations, civil rights groups, and the unifying of all Negro organizations. In New York City the organizing is centered around the schools, PTA, Teachers Guild, and parents.

b2
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[] advised that Carmichael stated the voter registration drives in the South were not the way to make changes since the Negroes feel they do not have any power.

b2
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[] stated that included in this new approach is that conferences and speeches are being decreased and instead these SNCC workers are going out and working directly with the people. Also, SNCC is no longer going to issue press releases.

b2
b7D

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In connection with the above, it is noted that the "Dayton Daily News", a daily newspaper of general circulation in the Dayton, Ohio area, carried an article titled, "Carmichael Visits SNCC Here", on page two of the February 8, 1968, edition.



b7C



b7C

b2
b7D [redacted] advised that Carmichael mentioned they could not make meaningful changes without destroying the system of Government in the United States. Carmichael stated, "To attain equality in the system is not possible without destroying the system."

Carmichael stated, "True liberation cannot be accomplished without violence", and mentioned that the Negro must develop an army to win the revolution. Carmichael stated, "No matter what happens, we (Negroes) will survive."

b2
b7D [redacted] stated that Carmichael mentioned that the Negro people all over the United States are ready to fight, including Washington, D.C. He stated, "The black people do not cause the incident to spark the trouble, but are ready to fight if necessary."

Carmichael stated that they (presumably meaning SNCC) analyzed all the riots in the United States during the past few years, and determined that they were unorganized and had no real leadership. According to Carmichael, one group would be in meetings attempting reconciliation, with the power structure, while the other groups would be in the streets rioting. He said that in the future the disturbances would be better organized.

b2
b7D [redacted] advised that Carmichael stated that the revolution is ready in its final phases all over the world, and the only ones holding it up are the "niggers" in the United States. Vietnam and Korea already have their rebellions, and other Asian countries, Africa, and South America are also preparing for their rebellions. Eventually, this situation will lead to war between the white and black people.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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[] advised that Carmichael mentioned that [] is presently in Atlanta and will be going to Cuba in the near future. Carmichael did not elaborate any further concerning [] travel to Cuba.

Carmichael stated that the person who designed Washington, D.C., constructed it so as to be built in a circle of defense. He stated that they have "looked over" the armored vehicles in Washington, D.C. which will be utilized by the Police Department, and they determined that if oil was poured on asphalt streets the vehicles would slide and become immobile. He also mentioned that in the event of a riot in Washington, trenches could be dug in the Negro areas which would prevent the armored vehicles from flushing the rioters. He mentioned that Washington is solid with Black people and increasingly the people are becoming organized.

Carmichael also mentioned that they understood that in the event of a riot in Washington the United States Government could move 35,000 troops in immediately.

Carmichael stated that they were doing research on the approaches to and control of riots conducted by law enforcement, both local and Federal. The purpose of this is that during a riot this knowledge would be invaluable in order that appropriate action could be taken to combat action by law enforcement authorities.

[] a confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past advised that [] generally discussed guerrilla warfare. [] stated that maintaining secrecy among a militant group is extremely important and referred to the Algerian Rebellion and the fact that even the leaders knew only a few of their followers. He further stated that the RAM (Revolutionary Action Movement) always appears to get into trouble since they discuss their strategy and plans in open meetings.

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A characterization of the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM) is contained in the appendix attached hereto.

[] stated that if a police officer does something to your group (for example, a policeman assaults or kills a Black man), you should have a meeting with members of the community who will hold a trial and sentence this officer. If the officer is found guilty, a local militant group would carry out the sentence of eliminating the officer.

b7C
b7D

[] mentioned that the militants should carry a gun with a silencer and that it is better to shoot a police officer than be charged with carrying a concealed weapon.

b7C
b7D

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[] advised that [] emphasized that under no circumstances should a Negro militant allow a police officer to take a gun away from him. *Q*

b2
b7C
b7D

[] advised that [] stressed the fact that a secret militant security group is necessary since to carry on a rebellion trained soldiers are needed. *Q*

b2
b7C
b7D

[] advised that it appeared at times that Carmichael took a "back seat" to [] gives the impression of being smarter, more militant and aggressive than Carmichael. *Q*

b2
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b7D

During the evening Carmichael mentioned that he would be departing Cincinnati, Ohio, on the evening of February 8, 1968, for Washington, D.C. [] indicated he was going to New York, but possibly would be going to Washington, D.C. first. [] indicated he was going to Nashville, Tennessee, and would be back in Dayton, Ohio, during week of February 11-17, 1968. *Q*

b7C
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[] advised that Carmichael, [] departed Dayton, Ohio, 2:30 A.M., by car en route Cincinnati, Ohio. *Q*

b2
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b7D

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

A P P E N D I X

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

On September 24, 1963, [redacted]
[redacted] at the Bronx High School
[redacted] Bronx, New York, advised that there were
some individuals at the high school, who in recent
years seemed to be unusually devoted to "left wing"
activities. Included in this group was Stokely
Carmichael, a graduate of the Class of 1960. These
teachers also advised that Carmichael was a close
friend of [redacted]
[redacted] the CP, USA.

b7C

Carmichael's Immigration and Naturalization
Service record in Washington, D.C. reveals that he
was born June 29, 1941, in Trinidad, British West Indies,
and entered the United States at New York City on June 15,
1952. His father became a citizen of the United States on
April 27, 1953, and Certificate of Citizenship Number A338082
was issued to Stokely Carmichael on April 17, 1958, setting
forth that he became a citizen of the United States on April 27,
1953.

A letter issued by the Emergency Civil Liberties
Committee (ECLC), dated June, 1966, identifies Carmichael
as having been elected to the national Council of that
committee.

A characterization of the ECLC is included
in the appendix hereto.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

A P P E N D I X

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications", revised and published as of December 1, 1961, by the Committee on Un-American Activities, U. S. House of Representatives, documents the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee as follows:

"To defend the cases of Communist lawbreakers, fronts have been devised making special appeals in behalf of civil liberties and reaching out far beyond the confines of the Communist Party itself. Among these organizations are the ***Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. When the Communist Party itself is under fire, these fronts offer a bulwark of protection."

(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 91.)

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A P P E N D I X

REVOLUTIONARY ACTION MOVEMENT (RAM)

On November 3, 1964, a source made available a document entitled, "The Revolutionary Action Movement Manifesto," the document having been obtained by the source from an individual known to be a member of the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM).

This document stated, in part, that RAM was officially organized in the Winter of 1963 by Afro-Americans who support the revolutionary objectives of [] then residing in [] and his concept of organized violence to achieve the liberation of the Afro-American people in the United States. This Manifesto disclosed that RAM had oriented its program to one of education and political revolution and the organization of a "black" political party with revolutionary objectives, having recognized the need for a "black revolution" that could and would seize power. RAM philosophy is described in this document as one of revolutionary nationalism; that is, one involving the struggles of the non-white races of the world against exploitation and enslavement by the white capitalist and imperialist nations.

Regarding [] it should be noted that []

[] Subsequent to the issuance of this warrant, [] fled the United States to Cuba, where he published a monthly newsletter entitled "The Crusader" from Havana. As of December, 1966, []

This source, in September, 1964, advised RAM is dedicated to the overthrow of the capitalist system in the United States by violence, if necessary, and to its replacement by a socialistic system oriented toward the Chinese Communist interpretation of Marxism-Leninism. RAM is entirely non-white in membership, clandestine in nature, and owes its primary allegiance to the "Bandung World," that is, the non-white races of the world rather than to any national entity, as such.

On November 16, 1964, a second source advised he learned recently from a RAM member that the organization began in Detroit, Michigan, largely under the impetus of [] described as []

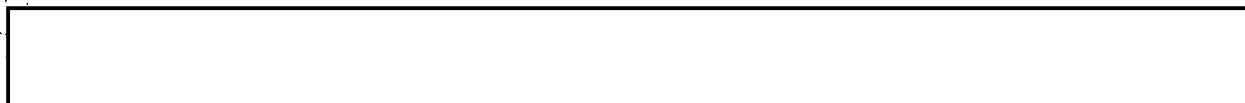
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

A P P E N D I X

REVOLUTIONARY ACTION MOVEMENT (Continued)

b7C



b7C

On May 12, 1967, a third source advised that the RAM still remains active; however, there is no formal headquarters, as such, for the RAM. The source advised that [redacted] of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, is considered the leader of RAM and if a RAM headquarters ever existed, it would most likely be where [redacted] resides.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

*In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.*

**Cincinnati, Ohio
February 12, 1968**

Title	STOKELY CARMICHAEL
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS SEDITION
Reference	Letterhead Memoranda, at Cincinnati, Ohio, dated and captioned as above.

**All sources (except any listed below) whose
identities are concealed in referenced communication have
furnished reliable information in the past.**

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11

2/26/68

PLAIN TEXT

TELETYPE

URGENT

b7C

R. J. BN
TO: DIRECTOR (MAIL) (100-446080)
ATLANTA

FROM: MEMPHIS (100-4492) 1P

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS - M; SEDITION. OO AT.

RE ATLANTA TEL FEBRUARY TWENTYFIVE, SIXTYEIGHT.

INFORMATION AVAILABLE MEMPHIS DIVISION INDICATES

STOKELY CARMICHAEL LAST KNOWN TO BE IN SAN FRANCISCO AREA ON
FEBRUARY TWENTYFIVE, SIXTYEIGHT, AND NOT KNOWN TO HAVE LEFT
SAN FRANCISCO IN A.M., FEBRUARY TWENTYSIX. ESTABLISHED SOURCES,
NASHVILLE, TENN., HAVE NO INFORMATION RE PRESENCE OF CARMICHAEL
AND IN NASHVILLE THIS DATE.

P. END.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-19-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

RGJ:BN

(2) *[Signature]*

1 - BUREAU (AM)

1157
FEB 27 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.

~~RECEIVED~~

240
57 MAY 4 - 1968

F B I

Date: 2/13/68

Transmit the following in

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

AIRMAIL

(Priority)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-19-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, COLUMBIA (157-4501) (P)

SUBJECT: CITIZENS' CONFERENCE ON EDUCATION
IN SOUTH CAROLINA
RM

Re Columbia airtel to Bureau, 1/31/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of an LHM suitable for dissemination captioned, "CITIZENS' CONFERENCE ON EDUCATION IN S. C.; PENN COMMUNITY CENTER, FROGMORE, S. C., 1/26-28/68."

(5)-Bureau (Enc. 5) (RM)
(2-100-446080 STOKELY CARMICHAEL)
2-Atlanta (Enc. 2) (RM)
1-Charlotte (Enc. 1) (RM)
2-New York (Enc. 2) (RM)
2-Savannah (Enc. 2) (RM)
2-WFO (Enc. 2) (RM)
14-Columbia
(2-100-179) (STOKELY CARMICHAEL)
(2-157-4501)
(1-157-PENN COMMUNITY CENTER)
(1- [REDACTED])
(1-100-1196) (CHARLESTON COUNTY RACIAL)
(1-BEAUFORT CO. RACIAL)
(1-157-1191) (COLLETON COUNTY RACIAL)
(1-BERKELEY COUNTY)
(1-DORCHESTER COUNTY)
(1- [REDACTED])
(1- [REDACTED])
(1-175-1)

100-446080

NOT RECORDED
149 FEB 28 1968

CARBON COPY

TJN:1mb

ENCLOSURE

(28)

54 MAR 5 1968

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

ORIGINAL FILED IN 131-8638-2

CO 157-4501

Copies furnished locally to Secret Service,
USA, and 111th MIG, all Columbia, S. C., NISO, Charleston,
S. C. and OSI, Langley AFB, Va.

The source is [REDACTED]
source of information, [REDACTED] The anonymous
source is not known and the clipping was received in
the mail.

b7C

b7D



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Columbia, South Carolina
February 13, 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-19-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

CITIZENS' CONFERENCE ON EDUCATION
IN SOUTH CAROLINA;
PENN COMMUNITY CENTER
FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA
JANUARY 26-28, 1968

Reference is made to the memorandum captioned
as above dated January 31, 1968, at Columbia, S. C.

On February 7, 1968, an individual who requested
his identity remain confidential advised he had learned
that [redacted] in the above conference
had said that STOKELY CARMICHAEL did not personally
attend the conference. [redacted]

b7C

[redacted] was in attendance according to
[redacted]

A anonymous source furnished the Charleston,
South Carolina Resident Agency of the FBI a news clipping
entitled, "Carolina Negroes Ask School Power", special to
the New York Times, date lined Frogmore, South Carolina,
January 28. This news article dealt with the conference
at Frogmore, South Carolina, January 26-28, 1968, and said
in part that WILLIAM SAUNDERS, Conference Chairman, said
that STOKELY CARMICHAEL, had been scheduled to speak,

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ENCLOSURE

100-446080-

~~ENCLOSURE~~

RE: CITIZENS' CONFERENCE ON EDUCATION IN SOUTH CAROLINA

but did not come because of a threat that he would be arrested. In a speech read by his press secretary, ETHEL MINOR, Carmichael called for "forging an alliance of all black people, regardless of the point of view" and said, "This is what you people here have to do."



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Columbia, South Carolina
February 13, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Title CITIZENS' CONFERENCE ON EDUCATION
 IN SOUTH CAROLINA;
 PENN COMMUNITY CENTER
 FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA
 JANUARY 26-28, 1968

Reference Columbia memorandum dated
 and captioned as above.
 captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

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Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

DECODED COPY

☐ AIRGRAM ☐ CABLEGRAM ☒ RADIO ☐ TELETYPE

R-25

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 12-19-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

URGENT 2-21-68

TO DIRECTOR AND WASHINGTON FIELD
FROM ATLANTA

b7C

STOKLEY CARMICHAEL, IS-M; SEDITION.

REPORTEDLY

ADVISED [REDACTED] ON FEBRUARY 20 LAST THAT POSSIBLY CARMICHAEL
WOULD BE IN ATLANTA ON SATURDAY FEBRUARY 24. [REDACTED] UNABLE TO
STATE DEFINITELY THAT CARMICHAEL WOULD COME OR GIVE ANY INDI-
CATION AS TO PURPOSE OF OR DURATION OF VISIT. FOREGOING BEING
FURNISHED WFO FOR POSSIBLE VERIFICATION THROUGH SOURCES AND ANY
ASSISTANCE IT MAY OFFER IN FOLLOWING ACTIVITIES OF SUBJECT.

RECEIVED: 1:25 PM MKP

REC-52
EX-110

100-446070 1158
18 FEB 28 1968

2CC WASHINGTON FIELD

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-19-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

F B I

Date: 2/23/68

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS;
SEDITION
(OO:WFO)

Re Baltimore teletype 1/11/68.

Baltimore requested to submit data developed
regarding subject's visit to Baltimore January 10, 1968,
in LHM form.

ST. 114

REC-31

100-446080-1159

FEB 29 1968

- 3 - Bureau
- 2 - Baltimore (RM)
- 1 - WFO

WWH:rrb
(6)

AIRTEL

C. Bishop

Approved: [Signature]
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

February 28, 1968

Airtel

1 -

b7C

To: SAC, WFO

From: Director, FBI

Subject: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION

ReWFOairtel dated 2-19-68 wherein it is reported that Special Agent, Washington Field Office, Office of Security, U. S. Department of State, advised all data he had about Carmichael had been furnished to the Passport Division of the Department of State and subsequently made available to the Department of Justice.

b7C

In view of the fact that the Department of State has primary jurisdiction concerning passport matters and information obtained by pertaining to Carmichael has been previously furnished to the Department, no additional inquiry is necessary concerning this matter.

b7C

PTB:ted (4) *ted*
NOTE:

At the specific request of the Department and with the Director's approval, we have been interviewing a number of news reporters who were in Cuba when Carmichael was there during July and August, 1967. Department of State Special Agent interviewed who was one of the above reporters. We also interviewed and furnished the Department the results of our interview. Inasmuch as stated that the results of his interview of has been furnished the Department, WFO is being advised no additional inquiry is necessary.

b7C

FILED 3

FEB 28 1968

COMM-FBI

16

1968

ROOM

TELETYPE UNIT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-20-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHE

F B I

Date: 2/19/68

Mr. Tolson_____
Mr. DeLoach_____
Mr. Mohr_____
Mr. Bishop_____
Mr. Casper_____
Mr. Callahan_____
Mr. Conrad_____
Mr. Felt_____
Mr. Gale_____
Mr. Rosen_____
Mr. Sullivan_____
Mr. Tavel_____
Mr. Trotter_____
Tele. Room_____
Miss Holmes_____
Miss Gandy_____

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - M; SEDITION

(OO:WFO)

ReWFOat 1/3/68.

[redacted] Special Agent, Washington Field Office, Office of Security, U.S. Dept. of State, WDC, advised 2/19/68, that he previously interviewed [redacted] about [redacted] and STOKELY CARMICHAEL concerning their travel to Cuba. He stated he interviewed her in connection with a Passport investigation conducted by the USDS. He advised he subsequently wrote a report and filed it with headquarters, Office of Security, USDS, WDC. He advised that all data about CARMICHAEL had been sent to the USDS and is now in care of [redacted] Passport, Visa Bureau, Office of Security Investigations, USDS, WDC.

[redacted] advised he understands info developed by USDS in the passport investigation about CARMICHAEL has been made available to the Dept. of Justice. He stated he has no independent info or data about CARMICHAEL not contained in the files of the Office of Security, USDS.

③ - Bureau
1 - WFO

WWH:hs
(4)

AIRTEL

op
App: [signature]

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

REC 26

4 FEB 28 1968

cc 806 989

- 5-12

WFO 100-43503

Bureau requested to ascertain if data developed about CARMICHAEL in the passport investigation previously obtained by the Dept.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-20-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHP

F B I

Date: 2/23/68

Transmit the following in PLAINTEXT
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE DEFERRED
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR AND SACS ATLANTA
LOS ANGELES AND
SAN FRANCISCO

FROM: SAC WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-M; SEDITION.

RE LOS ANGELES TELETYPE AND ATLANTA RADIOGRAM FEBRUARY
TWENTYONE LAST.

WFO SOURCES CONTACTED THIS DATE ADVISED THEY HAD RECEIVED
NO INFO THAT CARMICHAEL PLANNED TO BE IN ATLANTA ON FEBRUARY
TWENTYFOUR NEXT.

- ② - Bureau
- 2 - Teletype Unit
- 2 - WFO

WWH:tab
(6)

REC 26
EX-105

100-446080

10 FEB 28 1968

54 MAR 5 1968

Approved: WDP/Laz Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

FBI

Date: 2/23/68

PLAINTEXT

Transmit the following in

(Type in plaintext or code)

TELETYPE

URGENT

Via

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR AND SACS CHARLOTTE
COLUMBIA
NEW YORK AND
NEWARK

FROM: SAC WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; IS - M; SEDITION.

RE CHARLOTTE TELETYPE FEBRUARY TWENTYTWO LAST.

SUBJECT DEPARTED WDC ENROUTE SAN FRANCISCO FEBRUARY
FIFTEEN LAST AND AS OF FEBRUARY TWENTYTWO STILL ON WEST COAST.
NO INFO AVAILABLE WFO THAT SUBJECT OWNS A CAR. NEW YORK
DETERMINE REGISTRATION NEW YORK LICENSE
POSSIBILITY EXISTS OWNER OF AUTO MAY BE PERSON BY SAME SURNAME
AS SUBJECT.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-20-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

ADMINISTRATIVE

AIRMAIL COPY SENT TO ATLANTA.

- ② - Bureau
- 2 - Teletype Unit
- 1 - Atlanta (AM)
- 2 - WFO

WWH:tab
(7)

REC 26

EX-100-446080 1162

18 FEB 28 1968

J-pts

Approved: 54 MAR 6 1968

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

VIA TELETYPE

FEB 21 1968

ENCIPHERED

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-20-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/JHF

983317

WASH DC --1--

10-20AM URGENT 2-21-68 NJZ

TO DIRECTOR SAN FRANCISCO WFO ATLANTA CINCINNATI DETROIT

NEW YORK AND PITTSBURGH -ENCODE-

(WFO AND NEW YORK VIA WASHINGTON)

FROM LOS ANGELES (100-68783) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION.

CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE ADVISED THIS DATE CARMICHAEL
LEFT LOS ANGELES APPROXIMATELY NINE PM, FEBRUARY TWENTY,
LAST, EN ROUTE SAN FRANCISCO VIA UNKNOWN AIRLINES IN COMPANY
TWO NEGRO MALE "BLACK PANTHERS." CARMICHAEL TO SPEAK AT
UNKNOWN MEETING OAKLAND TODAY.

CARMICHAEL SCHEDULED DEPART SAN FRANCISCO UNKNOWN DATE
VIA AIR FOR ATLANTA, AND MAY RETURN LOS ANGELES IN MARCH TO
ATTEND "BLACK PANTHER" BANQUET.

SAN FRANCISCO VERIFY CARMICHAEL'S PRESENCE AND ATTEMPT
ASCERTAIN ITINERARY AND FURNISH FOR INFORMATION ATLANTA.

END PAGE ONE
TWO COPIES TO WFO

RELAYED TO

62 MAR 6 1968

XEROX

MR. DELOACH FOR THE DIRECTOR

18 FEB 28 1968

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

b7C

REC 2900-446000 1163

5-14

PAGE TWO

NOTIFY INTERESTED OFFICES TO COVER PER INSTRUCTIONS
BUREAU AIRTEL ALL OFFICES, DECEMBER TWENTY ONE, LAST.
ADMINISTRATIVE

IDENTITY OF CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

b7C

[REDACTED] WHO FURNISHED INFORMATION TO SA [REDACTED]

b7D

THREE AM, FEBRUARY TWENTY ONE, INSTANT.

END

MKP R-RELAY

FBI WASH EXX DC

7-11

NO WASH DC

11:11 AM
FEB 21 1968

FEB 21 8 33 AM '68

CC, MR. SULLIVAN

ATTENTION

The following documents appearing in FBI files have been reviewed under the provisions of The Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) (Title 5, United States Code, Section 552); Privacy Act of 1974 (PA) (Title 5, United States Code, Section 552a); and/or Litigation.

☐ FOIA/PA☐ Litigation☐ Executive Order Applied

Requester: _____

Subject: _____

Computer or Case Identification Number: _____

Title of Case: _____

Section _____

* File _____

Serials Reviewed: _____

Release Location: *File _____

Section _____

This file section has been scanned into the FOIPA Document Processing System (FDPS) prior to National Security Classification review. Please see the documents located in the FDPS for current classification action, if warranted. Direct inquiries about the FDPS to RIDS Service Request Unit, b2

File Number: _____

Section _____

Serial(s) Reviewed: _____

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: _____

File Number: _____

Section _____

Serial(s) Reviewed: _____

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: _____

File Number: _____

Section _____

Serial(s) Reviewed: _____

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: _____

THIS FORM IS TO BE MAINTAINED AS THE TOP SERIAL OF THE FILE, BUT NOT SERIALIZED.

SCANNED BY DocLab (RMD)

DATE: _____

8-2-05

ATTENTION

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-02-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

LAST SERIAL: _____

1200

DO NOT REMOVE FROM FILE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-02-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 2/22/68

Stokely Carmichael, former Chairman of Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, has been in California since 2/17/68 where he has made several speeches at rallies before predominantly black nationalist groups to obtain funds for the defense of Huey Newton. Newton has been indicted and is presently incarcerated for the murder of a policeman in the Oakland, California area. He is a leader of the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense, the most militant black nationalist party on the West coast.

Attached reports a speech by Carmichael at Merrit College in Oakland, during which he called for Negroes to take up guns.

Information in the attached was furnished to the Inter-Division Information Unit of the Department and to the Attorney General. Pertinent portions of this teletype will also be furnished to the White House, the military and appropriate agencies by memorandum.

FBG:tap

ha
1
P

WC 2/22/68

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FEB 22 1968

TELETYPE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-02-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Bishop	✓
Mr. Casper	✓
Mr. Callahan	✓
Mr. Conrad	✓
Mr. Felt	✓
Mr. Gale	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Miss Holmes	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

FBI WASH DC*

FBI SAN FRAN

12:14AM 2-22-68 DEFERRED KWL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080) AND SAC, WFO (100-43503)
FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-21)

INTERNAL SECURITY

STOKLEY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION.

REFERENCE

RE SAN FRANCISCO TELETYPE FEBRUARY TWENTY LAST.

STOKLEY CARMICHAEL APPEARED AT MERRITT COLLEGE, FIFTY SEVENTH AND GROVE STREETS, OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA, AT THREE FIFTY FIVE P.M. TO ADDRESS ALL DAY RALLY IN MEMORY OF DEATH OF MALCOM X SPONSORED BY BLACK STUDENTS UNION. ATTENDED BY APPROXIMATELY ONE THOUSAND COMPOSED NINETY SEVEN PERCENT NEGRO. ADMISSION TO SPEECH WAS ONLY AFTER PERSONAL SEARCH AT DOOR. ~~QUOTE~~

"DONATION" ~~END QUOTE~~ OF FIFTY CENTS WAS ALSO COLLECTED.

CARMICHAEL SPOKE FOR APPROXIMATELY TWENTY MINUTES FOLLOWED BY QUESTION AND ANSWER PERIOD. HE SPOKE OF GENOCIDE OF NEGRO RACE AND SAID ~~QUOTE~~ "WHITES AGAINST ALL PEOPLE OF COLOR" ~~END QUOTE~~. MAIN THEME WAS ~~QUOTE~~ "SURVIVAL OF AFRICANS DEPENDS UPON EACH OF US HAVING LOVE FOR OUR RACE" ~~END QUOTE~~. DURING QUESTION AND ANSWER PERIOD, CARMICHAEL STATED ~~QUOTE~~ "BRAINS ARE NOT ENOUGH, WE MUST TAKE UP GUNS" ~~END QUOTE~~.

END PAGE ONE

REC 26

EX-105

100-446080-1164
18 FEB 28 1968

W.H.LT 2/21/68

Relayed to

62 MAR 6 1968

PAGE TWO

CARMICHAEL APPEARED AGAIN AT MERRITT COLLEGE AT TEN PM AND SPOKE FOR THIRTY MUNUTES BEFORE A CROWD OF APPROXIMATELY ONE THOUSAND, APPROXIMATELY NINETY-FIVE PERCENT NEGRO. A "DONATION" OF ONE DOLLAR WAS COLLECTED UPON ENTERING AUDITORIUM AND AFTER HIS SPEECH CARMICHAEL PAUSED SO THAT A DONATION FOR THE DEFENSE OF HUEY P. NEWTON COULD BE COLLECTED. THE THEME OF CARMICHAEL'S SPEECH WAS THE SAME AS THAT DURING THE AFTERNOON ONE AND HE FOLLOWED THIS WITH A QUESTION AND ANSWER PERIOD.

THOSE ATTENDING THE EVENING SPEECH WERE NOT SEARCHED UPON ENTERING AUDITORIUM.

END

RCH

FBI WASH DC*

D CLRX

100-11-81

FD-44

FBI

Date: 2/14/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

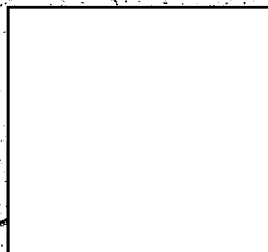
FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION

ReBulet, 2/2/68.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 11 copies of
and LHM regarding the above captioned matter. Two copies
are furnished Atlanta.

The sources contacted by WFO with negative results
are as follows:

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b7C

11 ENCLOSURE

- 3 - Bureau (Enc. 11)
- 2 - Atlanta (Enc. 2) (100-6812) (RM)
- 1 - WFO

WWH:jmg
(6)AIRTEL

REC 26

EX 106

FEB 29 1968

cc to J. Walter Yeagley
(letter: Paul Vincent) R/S
2/26/68, PTB/dkt

Q. Bishop

1cc of airtel + LHM
806 9 & D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-02-2006 BY 60308/AUC/TAM/BCG/bls

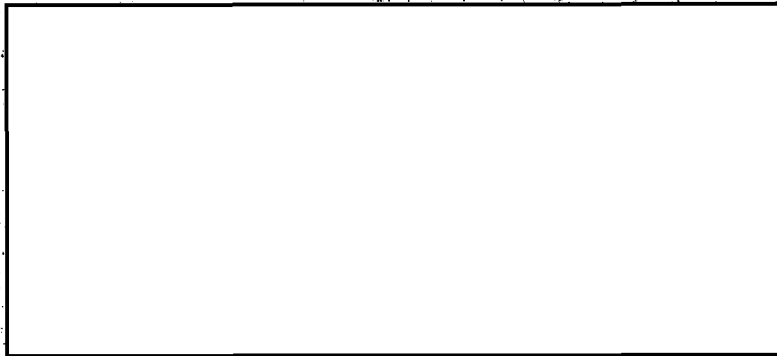
Approved: [Signature]
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

66 (Rev. 5-22)

WFO 100-43503

The following individuals were contacted, who advised they had no information regarding the Tri-Continental Magazine:



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b7C

[redacted] WDC, advised on 2/14/68, that the records of the library show Tri-Continental Magazine to be published in Havana, Cuba, by the Executive Secretariat of the Organization of Solidarity with the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. She stated that the Library has copies of the magazine available on loan to departments and agencies of the government upon request beginning with issues June, 1967. She stated that the September, 1967, issue also had an article written by STOKELY CARMICHAEL entitled: "The African Americans and the Third World."

If not already done, the Bureau may want to obtain copies of the above article for perusal by the Department.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D.C. 20535

February 14, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-02-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

The July-August, 1967, issue of the magazine "Tri Continental," published in Havana, Cuba, by the Organization of Peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, contained an article shown as written by Stokely Carmichael entitled: "The Third World - Our World."

Sources who are acquainted with some of the activities of Carmichael, upon being contacted advised they had no knowledge of the above mentioned article or information by whom it was written.

COPIES DESTROYED

343 FEB 24 1971

This document contains neither
recommendations nor conclusions of
the FBI. It is the property of
the FBI and is loaned to your agency;
it and its contents are not to be
distributed outside your agency.

100-446080-1165
- 1* -

ENCLOSURE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-02-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

FBI

Date: 2/27/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES (157-NEW)
RE : RUMOR OF RACIAL VIOLENCE,
SUMMER OF 1968 AT WASHINGTON, D. C.
RM- INFORMATION CONCERNING

Submitted herewith are eight copies of a LHM concerning the above-captioned matter for the information of the Bureau. Two extra copies are also being forwarded for inclusion in the Bureau files concerning STOKELY CARMICHAEL and the Washington Spring Project.

The source mentioned is identified as [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Close liaison is being maintained with this source for any further information in this regard, which if received, will be reported promptly.

No request is being made at this time to interview [REDACTED] to protect the identity of the source and also to avoid the possibility of any unfavorable publicity as [REDACTED] is presently a controversial figure in the Los Angeles area.

This LHM is being classified as "~~Confidential~~" because of the information furnished by the source, which if revealed could reasonably lead to her identification and compromise a source of continuing value.

- ④ - Bureau (Enc. 10) (RM)
① - STOKELY CARMICHAEL (100-446080))
① - ~~Washington Spring Project~~ (157-8428))
1 - Atlanta (Info) (157-2924) (Enc. 1) (RM)
1 - Washington Field (Info) (Enc. 1) (RM)
2 - Los Angeles

WMB:sch
(8)

NOT RECORDED

202 MAR 12 1968

100-446080-

ENCLOSURE

Approved: [Signature]
MAR 15 1968 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

b7C
b7Db7C
b7D

ORIGINAL FILED IN 157-8428-257

LA 157-NEW

LEADS

ATLANTA AND WASHINGTON FIELD (INFORMATION): Copies of this LHM are being forwarded to these offices as they have an interest in this matter.

LOS ANGELES

AT LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA: Will open a control file and follow for appropriate action.

Copies of the enclosed LHM are being disseminated to local military agencies, U. S. Attorney, and U. S. Secret Service, Los Angeles.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Los Angeles, California

February 27, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RUMOR OF RACIAL VIOLENCE
SUMMER OF 1968
WASHINGTON, D. C.
RM-INFORMATION CONCERNING

b7C
b7D
A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on February 25, 1968, that [redacted] allegedly attended a meeting of Mexican-Americans and Negroes in the Watts section of Los Angeles, California, on Monday evening, [redacted]. At this meeting, a discussion took place concerning potential racial violence and revolution in the United States according to [redacted]. It was indicated that this violence would be triggered when there is a march on Washington in the summer of 1968, which will be led by Stokely Carmichael of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

b7C
b7D
[redacted] stated the Black Muslims (see appendix) are "tied in" with the Communists and will work together to cause racial violence in this country which will start during the middle of the summer of 1968. He states, "I can give you the exact time", but he did not offer any further specific information in this regard.

b7C
b7D
[redacted] stated that Carmichael told him that he would give him, [redacted]

b7C
b7D
[redacted] made no further comments regarding the potential racial violence, but stated that United States troops should get out of Vietnam.

b7C
b7D
[redacted]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GROUP 1

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls
ON 03-02-2006

ENCLOSURE

100-44610-

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RUMOR OF RACIAL VIOLENCE
SUMMER OF 1968
WASHINGTON, D. C.
RM - INFORMATION CONCERNING

[REDACTED]

b7C
b7D

The source advised that [REDACTED] is employed as an
[REDACTED]
Los Angeles, California, and resides at [REDACTED]
Los Angeles, California. He is described as follows:

b7C
b7D

Name
Race
Sex
Age
Height
Weight
Build
Hair
Miscellaneous

[REDACTED]

b7C
b7D

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1

APPENDIX

NATION OF ISLAM, Formerly Referred to as
The Muslim Cult of Islam, also known
as Muhammad's Temples of Islam

In January 1957, a source advised Elijah Muhammad has described his organization on a nationwide basis as the "Nation of Islam" and "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

On May 5, 1967, a second source advised Elijah Muhammad is the national leader of the Nation of Islam (NOI); Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 2, 5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, is the national headquarters of the NOI; and in mid-1960 Muhammad and other NOI officials, when referring to Muhammad's organization on a nationwide basis, commenced using either "Mosque" or "Temple" when mentioning one of "Muhammad's Temples of Islam".

The NOI is an all-Negro organization which was originally organized in 1930 in Detroit, Michigan. Muhammad claims to have been selected by Allah, the Supreme Being, to lead the so-called Negro race out of slavery in the wilderness of North America by establishing an independent black nation in the United States. Members following Muhammad's teachings and his interpretation of the "Koran" believe there is no such thing as a Negro; the so-called Negroes are slaves of the white race, referred to as "white devils", in the United States; and the white race, because of its exploitation of the so-called Negroes, must and will be destroyed in the approaching "War of Armageddon."

In the past, officials and members of the NOI, including Muhammad, have refused to register under the provisions of the Selective Service Acts and have declared that members owe no allegiance to the United States.

On May 5, 1958, the first source advised Muhammad had, upon advice of legal counsel, tempered his personal statements and instructions to his ministers concerning the principles of his organization in order to avoid possible prosecution by the United States Government; however, he did not indicate any fundamental changes in the teachings of his organization.

APPENDIX CONTINUED

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX CONTINUED

NATION OF ISLAM, Formerly Referred to as
The Muslim Cult of Islam, also known
as Muhammad's Temples of Islam

On May 2, 1966, a third source advised Muhammad had, in early July, 1958, decided to de-emphasize the religious aspects of the teachings of Islam and to stress the economic benefits to be derived by those Negroes who joined the NOI. This policy change, according to Muhammad, would help him acquire additional followers and create more interest in his programs.

APPENDIX

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



*In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.*

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Los Angeles, California
February 27, 1968

Title RUMOR OF RACIAL VIOLENCE,
 SUMMER OF 1968
 WASHINGTON, D. C.

Character RM - INFORMATION CONCERNING

Reference Re LHM dated and captioned as
 above at Los Angeles, California.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

- 5 -

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-02-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

F B I

Date: 2/21/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (157-8471)

FROM: SAC, WFO (157-1426) (P)

BLACK UNITED FRONT
RM (ORGANIZATION)

b7C

b7C

Re WFO airtel dated 2/20/68 captioned [redacted]
[redacted] aka; SM - RAM."

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of an
LHM dated and captioned as above. The source mentioned in
the LHM is [redacted]

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b7D

[redacted] Washington, D. C., who was interviewed by
SAs [redacted] The identity
of [redacted] is being concealed inasmuch as he requested that
information furnished by him be maintained in the strictest
confidence.

As was pointed out in referenced airtel, [redacted]
was most cordial and cooperative throughout the interview

b7C

3-Bureau (Enc. 11)

4-WFO

(1 - 100-43503 - STOKELY CARMICHAEL)

(1 - [redacted])

(1 - [redacted])

b2

b7C

b7D

ALA:llw
(7)

ENCLOSURE

C. C. Bishop

AGENCY: ACSI, ONI, OSI; SEC. SER:
DATE FORW: 2/24/68
HOW FORW: RCU
BY: PTB/uc
100 AT 447 906970

54 MAR 19 1968

Approved: [Signature]
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-43503-11

and volunteered the information set forth in the LHM. He stated that he is most concerned about the activities of some of the Black Nationalist individuals and organizations in the United States and would furnish the FBI any information in his possession relating to such activities. He said it was his concern about STOKELY CARMICHAEL that caused him to become affiliated with [redacted]

[redacted] since he realizes the only way he can keep abreast of their activities is to at least purport to show he is a "militant" and interested in the movement. [redacted] said he wanted it clearly understood that even though he classifies himself as a militant, he does not subscribe to any activity wherein a single innocent individual might be injured and his only wish for the Negro is to improve his lot in society through economic and political endeavors.

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[redacted] was high in his praise of the FBI, particularly with reference to its penetration of the activities of the Communist Party and stated he wished the FBI could be as equally successful in penetrating the Black Nationalist movement. He realized this is a most difficult undertaking and must be handled with complete discretion. He was not in a position to suggest anyone in this area who might be in a position to furnish information about such activities and did not feel persons closely associated with CARMICHAEL could be trusted to an approach by the FBI.

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[redacted] while the interviewing Agents were in his home and ascertained that CARMICHAEL is not expected to return to Washington, D. C. until the end of February, 1968. It was not possible for him to ascertain CARMICHAEL's itinerary at that time but said he would endeavor to do so and would inform WFO as soon as he had obtained this information. He further advised he would advise WFO just as soon as he has determined the exact date of the Board of Conveners' meeting as well as the

b7C

b7D

exact date and place of the BUF general meeting scheduled for March 19, 1968. He said he will be happy to make information about these two meetings available to the FBI but suggested that he not be contacted immediately after the meetings are completed due to the fact some of the people linger after the meetings and it might cause him embarrassment.

[] said that at the present time he is completely accepted and trusted by members of BUF and he wants it to remain this way until he decides to cease his association with the organization. He said there is continuous talk at the meetings about the organization being infiltrated by [] and the FBI and there are joking remarks about the identity of the person who is working for the FBI and [] but so far he has heard of no one being specifically accused of this.

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"Memorandum No. 8" referred to in the LHM, is not being set out in this LHM inasmuch as it was furnished to the Bureau by airtel under this caption dated 2/14/68.

[] said he had, on that date, received a letter from ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, JR.. []

As [] understands it, POWELL had been invited by the Howard students to speak and he desired to do so on 3/1/68 since that is the time MARTIN LUTHER KING is to appear in Washington, D. C. []

b7C
b7D

b7C
b7D

WFO 157-1426

[REDACTED]

WFO what date POWELL expects to be in Washington, D. C.
[REDACTED] did say that although POWELL makes some militant statements at times, there has never been an instance where he can be accused of fomenting violence. He added "There has never been any trouble anywhere immediately after Adam has spoken."

b7C

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WFO, UACB, will continue to contact [REDACTED] in an effort to ascertain information relating to the activities of the BUF and at the same time evaluate his potential as a PRI. It appeared that he was most sincere in his statements made on this interview and that he sincerely has concern about some of the activities occurring in the Black community today. It is also believed he was sincere in his desire to be of assistance to the FBI.

b7C



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Washington, D. C. 20535
February 21, 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-02-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

BLACK UNITED FRONT
(BUF)

A source, with whom there has been insufficient contact to assess his reliability, on February 19, 1968 furnished Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation the following information regarding the BUF in the Washington, D. C. (WDC), area:

The BUF was formed in WDC on the evening of January 9, 1968 at the New School of Afro-American Thought (New School), 2208 14th Street, N. W., WDC. This meeting was called by Stokely Carmichael and was attended by some 100 persons. At the outset of this meeting Carmichael explained how BUF could attain its goals and in so doing compared such an organization in the United States with the accomplishments [REDACTED]

-b7C

[REDACTED] Source thought it highly unusual he would use these two men as examples in a meeting of this nature knowing both to represent communist ideologies. So far as the source was able to ascertain, this example went unnoticed by others attending the meeting and in view of this, the source thought it best that he not challenge Carmichael on his statements.

This meeting resulted in the naming of 17 individuals to serve on a Steering Committee, which was later to be referred to as the Board of Conveners. The purpose of this body was to draw up a statement of purpose of the BUF as well as the achievements it was to attempt to accomplish.

100
ENCLOSURE

BLACK UNITED FRONT (BUF)

on behalf of the Black people in the WDC area. Carmichael was named to serve as a termprary Chairman and as a member of the Board of Conveners, but with no more power or authority to act for the BUF than any other member.

The Board of Conveners held their first meeting at 2840 Knox Terrace, S. E., Washington, D. C., on January 14, 1968. During this meeting there was considerable discussion with regard to the program and policies of the BUF as it related to improving the lot of the Black man in the United States. While this discussion was in progress, a program was drafted called "Memorandum No. 8," which outlined the (1) Statement of Purpose, (2) Standards for Qualification, (for membership) and (3) Procedure to Follow (for membership). In addition, it outlined the BUF position with regard to Dr. Martin Luther King's Washington Spring Project and the Emergency Committee on the Transportation Crisis. These positions are that the BUF supports the issues that Dr. King speaks of in his campaign to better the conditions of Black people and of the Emergency Committee on the Transportation Crises to stop the acquisition of land and property in WDC. The issue of supporting "welfare mothers" in their opposition to Public Law 1492 was verbally agreed upon but was not made a part of the memorandum.

When these matters were agreed upon, some of those present wanted to draw up a press release with regard to the above. It was suggested a formal press conference would be more appropriate in order to obtain more coverage by the news media. When this was agreed upon, a discussion ensued as to who would be the spokesman to release the information in the memorandum. This developed into quite a controversy because several persons wanted to speak. During this controversy, Carmichael suggested that since people have a tendency to refer to the organization as the Stokely Carmichael BUF, he would prefer not to speak

at the press conference. The group informed Carmichael this was his decision to make, but it was pointed out to him that if he should respond to a question by a reporter, it could involve a controversial discussion between himself and the press, so the stand that he takes in the beginning is the stand he must follow throughout the press conference. Carmichael decided he would sit at the speaker's table, but would make no comment and would not answer any of the reporters' questions.

The BUF called a press conference in the New School for 2 PM on February 14, 1968. During this press conference, portions of the memorandum were read by several persons, after which there was a question and answer period. Carmichael was true to his word and refused to make any comment or answer any questions.

The source, in commenting upon the activities of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), said he is of the opinion Carmichael is not communicating his thoughts or plans to anyone, [redacted]

Source believes the SNCC followers are the most militant of any of the organizations affiliated with the BUF and this is due to Carmichael's influence in SNCC. Source pointed out that [redacted] is a moderate in his views and still believes in integration, which is not the case for most SNCC followers who believe in a Black community for the Black man. Source is not personally acquainted with most of the SNCC members in the NYC area and his only association with them is when they accompany Carmichael to the BUF meetings or when he bumps into them on the street.

BLACK UNITED FRONT (BUF)

With regard to Carmichael's trip abroad, source stated he is at a loss to understand how Carmichael could have made some of the comments he did about the United States, especially if he had observed some of the horrible conditions in the Socialist countries he visited. The source is of the opinion Carmichael only saw what the leaders of these countries wanted him to see. On one occasion the source observed Carmichael on television while he was abroad and got the definite impression Carmichael was not acting like himself and could have been under the influence of some drug.

Source conjectured that Carmichael's present sources of income are from royalties of his speeches which have been released and are being sold in Europe; his books; and his speaking engagements in the United States. In the latter instance, his expenses are paid for by the organization sponsoring his appearance which is the customary method of handling these matters. Source added Carmichael may be getting a few dollars from SECC, but if so it does not amount to much since the organization is practically bankrupt.

Source said Carmichael is now visiting the Watts area of Los Angeles, California, and will not return to the Washington, D. C., area until the "last of the month." He will return, however, in time for a BUF Board of Conveners meeting scheduled for the evening of either March 4 or 5, 1968. The next general meeting of the BUF is tentatively scheduled for March 19, 1968, but will not be confirmed until the Board of Conveners' meeting.

In evaluating the BUF, the source stated that up to this point it has taken a moderate view on most of the issues. He believes that they would be against any form of racial violence and desire to accomplish their aims through the election of Black candidates to public office

BLACK UNITED FRONT (BUF)

and economic betterment. The latter is to be obtained through ownership of business establishments and better jobs, particularly in the Black community. Source said he has consistently taken the position at BUF meetings that it is absurd to think of the Black man completely taking over a police or fire department in a large, metropolitan area because there just are not enough qualified Negroes at this time to do this. The same principle applies to the colleges and universities, due to the fact there are not enough qualified black professors in the scientific and technical fields.

This document contains neither
recommendations nor conclusions of
the FBI. It is the property of
the FBI and is loaned to your agency;
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distributed outside your agency.

CORRELATION SUMMARY

Main File No: 100-446080
 See also: 25-539590; 44-26288;
 44-27110; 44-30194;
 44-33352; 44-33381;
 44-33627; 174-426

Date: 2/29/68

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 02/29/68 BY 1045

Subject: Stokely Carmichael

Date Searched: 5/9/67

All logical variations of subject's name and aliases were searched and identical references were found as:

~~Stokely Carmichael~~
~~S. Carmichael~~
~~Stoakley Carmichael~~
~~Stoakly Carmichael~~
~~Stockely Carmichael~~
~~Stockley Carmichael~~
~~Stokeley Carmichael~~

~~Stoker Carmichael~~
~~Stokey Carmichael~~
~~Stokley Carmichael~~
~~Stokly Carmichael~~
~~Stokely Carmichael~~
~~Stokely Carmichael~~
~~C. Welcher~~

This is a summary of information obtained from a review of all "see" references to the subject in Bureau files under the names and aliases listed above. All references under the above names containing data identical with the subject have been included except any indicated at the end of this summary under the heading REFERENCES NOT INCLUDED IN THIS SUMMARY.

THIS SUMMARY HAS BEEN PREPARED FOR USE AT THE SEAT OF GOVERNMENT AND IS NOT SUITABLE FOR DISSEMINATION. IT IS DESIGNED TO FURNISH A SYNOPSIS OF THE INFORMATION SET OUT IN EACH REFERENCE, AND IN MANY CASES THE ORIGINAL SERIAL WILL CONTAIN THE INFORMATION IN MORE DETAIL.

Analyst

Coordinator

Approved

b7C

CMG:abp

1 ENCLOSURE
 ENCL BEHIND FILE-
 SEARCH SLIPS ONLY.

3/29/01
 CLASSIFIED BY 9008 EWB/Boehman
 DECLASSIFY ON: 25X
 # 981128

~~SECRET~~

54 MAR 5 1968

100-446080-1166
 15 FEB 29 1968
 CONSOLIDATION

ABBREVIATIONS

Add. info.....Additional information appearing in
this reference which pertains to
Stokely Carmichael can be found in
the main file or elsewhere in this
summary.

CORE.....Congress of Racial Equality

SNCC.....Student Non-Violent Coordinating
Committee

b7C

According to the Jackson, Miss., Police Department, one Stokely Carmichael, Jackson PD number 20978, [REDACTED] NY, was arrested* in Jackson and admitted picketing in Leesburg, Va., Washington, DC, Maryland and New York. (Dates not given)

100-442375-2
(17)

* 6/8/61

b7C

The following references in the file captioned "Freedom Ride, 1961; Illinois Central Railroad Train #2, New Orleans, La., to Jackson, Miss., 10:20 AM, 6/8/61," contain information relating to the arrest of Stokely Carmichael and other Freedom Riders on 6/8/61 in Jackson. On 7/19/61, Carmichael was released on \$500 cash bond and 9/20/61 was set as the date for his trial. On 9/18/61, Carmichael was sentenced to four months in jail. suspended and fined \$200 which amount was paid [REDACTED]

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

157-387-739
-981

(34)
(34)

(continued)

~~SECRET~~

(ccntinued)

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

157-387-1050 p.10
-1077
-1135 p.1-3
-1165

~~(34)~~
~~(46)~~
~~(34)~~
~~(34)~~

On 6/3/64, [redacted] was interviewed at the [redacted] and furnished information concerning his participation in civil rights activities. [redacted] stated that in January 1962, he met with [redacted] and Stokely Carmichael and [redacted] both members of SNCC, and offered his services to SNCC by obtaining lists [redacted] worked in [redacted] during the period of 1/5-20/62, at which time he was practically forced to leave town from pressure from the white element in [redacted]

b7C

b7C It was noted that [redacted] mental condition was unknown and information furnished by him had not been verified to any degree.

100-3-116-1744 p.3

~~(6)~~

b7C

By letter dated 3/22/62, the AG was furnished with a resume of information on the background of six individuals involved in the "sit-in" at the office of the AG (date not given) in protest of the arrests of [redacted]

The letter disclosed that one Stokely Carmichael was arrested in Jackson, Miss., in the Summer of 1961, in connection with integration activities. On 9/18/61, he entered a nolo contendere plea in Hinds County Court and was given a four-month suspended sentence and fined \$200. On 11/11/61, Carmichael was arrested in Baltimore, Md., during attempts to integrate Baltimore restaurants.

Copy of FBI Identification Record

b7C

[redacted] enclosed

44-19090-19

~~(3,36)~~

SI 100-440934-6 p.10

~~(43,48)~~ ("The Sun Star" 11/12/61)
(Add. info.)

SI 157-4-3-13 encl.p.3

~~(25)~~ (Baltimore City Police Department,
Baltimore, Md.)

~~SECRET~~

b1

b1

140-0-73800
(44)

b7C

On 7/28/63, [redacted] Jackson, Miss., advised a representative of the Civil Rights Section of the Department that [redacted] had been in Jackson, but planned to return to Greenwood, Miss., with Stokley Carmichael. (No further details.)

100-3-116-616
(41)

The "Worker" issue of 9/8/63, contained an article captioned "National Student Parley Stresses Equality Fight," datelined Bloomington, Ind., which set out the results of the annual Congress* of the National Student Association (100-346566). The article disclosed that the presence of Stokley Carmichael and other SNCC leaders (date not given), and SNCC's active participation in the proceedings changed the character of various phases of the Congress. (Details set out)

100-346566-A The "Worker" 9/8/63
(41)

*held on 8/18-28/63, Bloomington, Ind.

The following references in the file captioned "Second American Revolution" pertain to the conference on the current Negro movement in America sponsored by the students of Bryn Mawr and Haverford Colleges

(continued)

(continued)

~~SECRET~~
which was scheduled to be held on 2/7-9/64 at Haverford College, Haverford, Pa. Stokely Carmichael had been invited and was scheduled to participate in the 2/8/64 program in the seminar, "Violence, Non-Violence, Civil Disobedience I." (Background data set out)

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

157-1525-2 p.2
-15 encl.p.2,3
-18 p.2

(34)
(34)
(34)

b7C

On 7/12/64, Stokely Carmichael, 619 Howard Street, Greenwood, Miss., advised that on that date, [REDACTED] Greenwood, had reported to him that she had learned that several young white men were planning to bomb the SNCC (157-1787) office and had instructed the Greenwood city firemen not to respond to any calls.

On 7/12/64, the Greenwood Police Department and the Mississippi Highway Patrol, Greenwood, were furnished the above information.

157-1787- 3
(35)

Correlator's Note: According to serial 2, Carmichael furnished the above information to the Civil Rights Division of the Department which, in turn, requested the Bureau to interview Carmichael.

b7C

By letter dated 7/20/64, [REDACTED] [REDACTED] NYC, furnished his observations concerning the communist undertones in the civil rights movement in Mississippi. [REDACTED] disclosed that he had recently (date not given) read of the arrest of Stokely Carmichael for a traffic violation in Mississippi and identified Carmichael as a current friend of [REDACTED] who had been an open communist for the past five years.

173-0-29
(35)

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~
On 8/5/64, a group of Negroes, apparently led by Stokley Carmichael, were observed upon their arrival at the Tallahatchie County Courthouse, Sumner, Miss. Prior to their departure, Carmichael advised SAs that he and several other Mississippi Summer Project workers had accompanied the Negroes to the Courthouse for voter registration, but learned that registration was held at the principal county seat of Tallahatchie County at Charleston on that particular date. The group then proceeded to Charleston where they were registered without incident.

56-2343-99

~~(41)~~

Correlator's Note: According to serial 94, the Department requested the Bureau to observe the above registration attempt due to the dangerous conditions in that area.

b7C

On 8/25/64, Jackson Office advised that [redacted] Greenwood, Miss., who had been partially cooperative with the Jackson Office, had reported that Stokley Carmichael and others had departed Greenwood en route to Atlantic City, N.J. It was unknown to [redacted] whether or not the group planned any demonstrations in connection with the Democratic National Convention (100-442527).

100-442527-234

~~(43)~~

The Congressional Record for 9/29/64, pages A4953-A4954, set forth remarks concerning the voter registration program in Mississippi by Congressman Ryan (D) New York, and excerpts from an article published in the September 1964 issue of "Ebony" magazine entitled, "Crusade in Mississippi: Council of Federated Organizations Conducts Summer-Long Project." The article commented on suggestions made by Stokely Carmichael to visiting members of Congress regarding the situation in Mississippi. According to the article, Carmichael suggested that the Congressmen speak out against hopelessness; e.g., statements by FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover that there was no more lawlessness in the State of Mississippi than anywhere else in the country and the US Justice Department's needing more evidence of a breakdown of law and order in Mississippi before it would send in marshals. (Record item set out)

62-109384-83

~~(4)~~

~~SECRET~~
-6-

~~SECRET~~

The following references in the file captioned "Mississippi Summer Project" contain information concerning Stokeley Carmichael's participation in this program which was sponsored by the Council of Federated Organizations. Stokeley Carmichael of the Bronx, NY, was one of the volunteers who applied and was accepted to attend the Orientation Conference at the Western College for Women, Oxford, Ohio, on 6/15-20/64, for training in civil rights activities. Upon completion of training, Carmichael was assigned to Greenwood, Miss. Subsequent investigation disclosed that Carmichael and other individuals connected with the project were reportedly associated with Communist Front organizations in the past.

b7C

As of 12/3/64, Carmichael was included in the new leadership of the Mississippi Branch of SNCC. (Details regarding Carmichael's background, "left wing" interests, friendship with [redacted] and Jackson, Miss., arrest on 6/8/61, set out.)

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

157-1676-56 encl.p.9
-381 encl.p.2
-447
-679
-997 encl.p.27
-998 encl.
-1310 p.8
-1577

(39)
(39)
(35, 39)
(39)
(35)
(35, 39)
(39)
(39)

The following references in the file captioned "Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party" (MFDP) contain information concerning arrangements made by approximately 700 Negro Mississippi residents to travel to Washington, DC, during the period of 1/2-7/65, to exert pressure for congressional recognition of the MFDP representatives. Stokeley Carmichael was identified as being involved in organizing the demonstration. On 1/2/65, Carmichael attended a meeting in Washington, DC, at which plans for picketing activity at the Capital, FBI and other government agencies on 1/4/65 were discussed.

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

62-109555-33 p.2
-51
-60 encl.p.2

(41)
(4)
(36)

~~SECRET~~

Jackson airtel, dated 1/14/65, captioned "Council of Federated Organizations" (COFO) (62-109384) set forth information as set out in Bureau airtel, dated 1/11/65, captioned "CIRM," which related to the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP), an outgrowth of COFO. During the period of 1/2-7/65, hundreds of Mississippi Negro residents appeared at Washington, DC, to protest the Congressional seating of duly elected representatives from Mississippi. Stokely Carmichael assisted in organizing this demonstration which was referred to as "The Challenge." In addition to Carmichael's subversive background, it was noted that a subversive element existed within the MFDP.

62-109384-91 p.3

(4)

b7C

On 3/17/65, [redacted] who had previously advised of his intentions to travel to Alabama for the purpose of discussing the Negro civil rights movement with Governor Wallace, advised that he had accompanied a biracial group via plane to Selma, Ala., on 3/15/65, to attend the memorial service for Reverend James J. Reeb. [redacted] stated that on 3/15/65, while awaiting his flight to depart from Montgomery, he learned that a demonstration had taken place in Montgomery on that date, the details of which had been reported incorrectly by the press. [redacted] stated that Stokely Carmichael, SNCC, Montgomery, Ala., had witnessed the demonstration.

44-14106-290

(40)

SI 44-14106-258

(40)

b7C

b7D

[redacted]
(protect identity), [redacted] described the events of a meeting of the Southern Students Organizing Committee (100-442367) held at Old Gammon Theological Seminary, Atlanta, Ga., on 3/19-21/65. Stokely Carmichael, Field Secretary, SNCC, and a speaker at the conference, denounced American policies in Vietnam. Carmichael stated that it was immaterial to SNCC that a field worker was a communist and that the FBI could red bait all the SNCC field secretaries they wished because this, too, was unimportant. (Excerpts of address set out)

100-442367-19 p.4-6

(17)

The following references contain signed statements executed by Stokely Carmichael as the result of demonstrations at the locality indicated below. Carmichael indicated that he was arrested on the first occasion, although he did not carry a sign during the picketing. (Signed statements set out)

DATE	LOCALITY	REFERENCE	SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER
7/24/64	Greenwood, Miss.	44-24855-48 p.1-4,8	(3)
3/31/65	Selma, Ala.	44-14106-288	(3)

b2

b7C

b7D

On 7/27/65, [] reported that []
[] in Americus, Ga., advised Stokeley Carmichael that

[] had led a march
that night in Americus. (No further details)

56-2327-37
(36)

b2

b7C

b7D

By letter dated 11/23/65, Confidential Informant []
[] provided the details of an appearance by Stokely Carmichael
at Colgate University, Hamilton, NY, on 11/22/65, under the sponsorship
of the Student Senate and the University Church. Carmichael spoke of the
poor educational system and the harsh treatment of the Negroes in the
South, stating that local sheriffs such as [] (not identified)
are not stopped by J. Edgar Hoover.

b2

b7D

b2

b7D

[] furnished information concerning a proposed
protest demonstration which was scheduled to be held during the
appearance of Vice-President Hubert Humphrey at the University of
Chicago, Chicago, Ill., on 1/14/66. According to informant, the affair
was being organized by the Students for a Democratic Society and
Stokely Carmichael would be a featured speaker.

62-109119-1718
(4)

~~SECRET~~

The "Chicago Sun-Times" issue of 1/13/66, contained an article captioned "Gregory, Havighurst Head Political Action Parley" which announced the convention of the Committee for Independent Political Action (100-444877), scheduled to be held on 1/15/66 at McCormick Place, Chicago, Ill. According to the article, Stokely Carmichael would appear as a featured speaker.

100-444877-6
(19)

b2

b7D

On 12/12/66, [] who was familiar with the activities within SNCC at Atlanta, Ga., reported that since Stokely Carmichael was appointed as National Chairman of SNCC in April 1966, there had been a "weeding out" of Caucasians associated with SNCC.

105-158971-2
(24)

On 5/3/66, a mass meeting was held at the First Negro Baptist Church in Hayneville, Ala., for the purpose of nominating candidates for the 11/8/66 General Election. The meeting was called by the Lowndes County Freedom Organization which was commonly known as the Black Panther Party (157-4825) and headed by Stockley Carmichael. Carmichael stated the main purpose of the meeting was to prove that the Negroes in Lowndes County could be unified and vote as a block in the General Election. (Informant not given)

157-4825-6
(48)

Correlator's Note: Above information appears to be the results of a fisur.

b2

b7D

On 5/25/66, [] advised that during a radio broadcast (no further details), Stokely Carmichael stated that he felt that President Johnson intended to use the proposed 6/1-2/66 White House Conference on Civil Rights to direct attention from the war in Vietnam.

Add. info.

157-555-18
(35)

b2

b7C

b7D [] advised that, on 5/23/66, Stokely Carmichael [] discussed the scheduled Black March Against the White House Conference to be held on 6/1-2/66, in Washington, DC. [] allegedly stated that Carmichael and SNCC were in agreement with him in that they felt that the White House Conference would accomplish nothing.

Informant further reported that on 5/27/66, [] met with [] at NYC. [] indicated that he was pleased with Carmichael's policies and believed that SNCC would be more militant under Carmichael's leadership. b7C b7D

In September 1964, a source (not identified) advised that RAM was dedicated to the overthrow of the capitalistic system in the US which would be replaced by a socialistic system oriented toward the Chinese Communist interpretation of Marxism - Leninism.

100-357847-142 p.12,22

(37)

b2

b7C

b7D

[] reported on 6/23/66 that [] had accompanied Stokeley Carmichael to Detroit, Mich., in June 1966, to attend an Afro-American Conference.*

100-446771-3

(37)

SI 100-446771-1

(37)

SI 100-445395-6 p.7

(37)

SI 100-441758-119 p.11

(43)

*6/15/66

b7C

[] of the Memphis Police Department, Memphis, Tenn., advised that on 6/8/66, Martin Luther King, Stokely Carmichael, Floyd McKissick of CORE, [] visited the hospital room of [] According to [] King immediately took over and stated emphatically that [] would not leave the hospital and threatened the hospital administration with unfavorable publicity if they discharged []

(41)

~~all~~

~~SECRET~~
The "Herald-Examiner," a Los Angeles daily newspaper, issue of 6/10/66, set forth information concerning a newly formed group known as the National Conference for New Politics whose objective appeared to center on fund-raising campaigns for "New Left" candidates in the November 1966 elections. The article identified Stokly Carmichael as a sponsor of the new organization.

105-138315-3516 p.2

(47)

SI 62-110985-A "New York Times"
(4) 6/10/66

SI 62-110985-3

(4) ("New York Times" 6/10/66)

The following references in the file captioned "Memorial Motorcades for the Three Deceased Civil Rights Workers, Meridian and Philadelphia, Miss., 6/19-21/66" pertain to the activities of Stokely Carmichael and other civil rights leaders. Carmichael was scheduled to appear at a march on 6/21/66 and was present during the march on 6/24/66, which concluded with brief speeches by Carmichael and the other leaders.

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

44-33292-8
-11
-12

(3)
(41)
(3)

The "Detroit News" issue of 6/23/66, carried a column entitled "Town Talk" which contained an item captioned "New SNCC Head to Speak." The item disclosed that Stokely Carmichael would speak on SNCC's "new direction" on 6/24/66, at the Negro History Festival in Central United Church of Christ, 7625 Linwood, Detroit, Mich. According to the article, the program was sponsored by Forum 66 (105-154282), which was described as an independent group of young men and women "dedicated to furthering Negro history, art and culture."

105-154282-A "Detroit News" 6/23/66
(44)

"The Washington Post and Times Herald" issue of 6/29/66, contained an article datelined Atlanta, Ga., 6/28/66, captioned "King Says SNCC Tactic Sapped March." According to the article, Reverend Martin Luther King* stated that the radical preachments of "black power" by SNCC

*Subject of file 100-106670

(continued)

(continued)

blunted the effectiveness of the Mississippi Meredith March. During an interview, King stated that the evils of Mississippi or the urgent need for civil rights legislation were not emphasized in view of the fact that Stokely Carmichael chose the March as an arena for a debate over black power.

100-106670-A "The Washington Post and
(6) Times Herald" 6/29/66

b2

b7D

On 12/30/66, [] furnished a copy of a supplement to "Perspectives," No. 2, 1966, which was self-described as a publication of the World Council of Peace (100-361031). This supplement, entitled "Let us act together to bring peace to Vietnam," set forth an international appeal for unity in demanding a conclusion to the war in Vietnam, which was launched in July 1966. The appeal had been directed to a limited number of representative people for their support and had received a response from individuals in 73 countries, including Stokely Carmichael whose name appeared in the supplement.

Copy of Supplement enclosed
100-361031-1000 encl.p.4
(8)
SI 100-361031-1004 p.2
(8) (Legat, Bern)

The "Baltimore Sun" issue of 7/2/66, disclosed that on 7/1/66, during early sessions of the annual Convention of CORE (100-225892) held in Baltimore, Md., on 7/1-4/66, Lincoln O. Lynch, Associate National Director of CORE, announced a new speaker on the Convention agenda, Stokely Carmichael. The newspaper further reported that Carmichael, during his address, attacked white suburbia and the poverty program.

100-225892-841 encl.p.2
(7)

The following references appear in the file captioned "COMINFIL, Fort Hood Three Defense Committee" and contain information concerning the activities of this group which was organized to aid three ex-GIs imprisoned at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, for refusing orders sending them to Vietnam. The Committee's sponsors included Stokely Carmichael, who, according to an article in the "National Guardian" issue of 7/9/66, supported the three soldiers and indicated that the best thing black GIs

(continued)

(continued)

~~SECRET~~

in Vietnam could do was return home immediately.

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

100-446189-6

-7 p.7,9,10,18

-9 encl.p.6

(44)
(20)
(20)

b2

b7C

b7D

[redacted] advised that during the course of the Black Arts convention and Workshop held at 7625 Linwood, Detroit, Mich., on 6/24/66, [redacted] in the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM) (100-442684), stated that Stokely Carmichael was the leader of Black Power and the black man could only become a man through revolutionary practices.

b2

b7C

b7D

[redacted] reported that on 7/27/66, [redacted] had in his possession a document captioned [redacted] who stated that copies would be given "only to those in the know." The document indicated that the slogan "Black Power," initiated by Stokely Carmichael, had given impetus for a higher level of political action in the spontaneous rebellions against white racism.

Add. info.

100-442684-34-111 p.57,58,93

(19)

The "Chicago Sun-Times", issue of 7/29/66, carried an advertisement which announced that George Lincoln Rockwell and Stokely Carmichael would appear as guests on the "At Random" show, scheduled to be shown by CBS on the evening of 7/29-30/66. (No further details)

It was noted that Rockwell was the self-styled "Commander" of the American Nazi Party (105-70374).

105-70374-4627 p.13

(44)

The following references contain information concerning Stokely Carmichael's participation in the events of the combined Vietnam war protest and Hiroshima nuclear bombing commemoration scheduled to be held

(continued)

~~SECRET~~

(continued)

~~SECRET~~
on 8/6-9/66, his endorsement of the Black Power movement and his contact with Hardial Bains, former UBC*student, at Chicago, Ill. Carmichael was reportedly scheduled to address rallies at Washington, DC, Cleveland, Ohio, and Philadelphia, Pa., on 8/6/66, and invitations to Los Angeles, Cal., and Providence, RI, were being considered. Carmichael attended the Cleveland function and voiced opposition to US intervention in Vietnam and suggested the utilization of Black Power to solve the Nation's civil rights problem.

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

Third International Days of Protest; August 6-9, 1966

100-445949-14
-21
-42
-62
-113
-130
-160
-213
-226 encl.p.35
-250 encl.p.4

(20)
(20)
(20)
(20)
(20)
(20)
(20)
(20)
(20)
(20)

Bring The Troops Home Now Newsletter

100-445064-16 encl.p.13

(19)

Cominfil of the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee

100-445548-11 p.77

(43)

Demonstrations Protesting United States Intervention in Vietnam

105-138315-3590
-3703 p.11,16,17
-4923 p.76

(22)
(22)
(44)

*University of British Columbia

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[redacted] advised that on 7/22/66, Stokely Carmichael [redacted] addressed a group of 11 individuals, including [redacted] at a private residence in the Harlem section of NYC. During his speech, Carmichael asked for cooperation and a united front.

(continued)

~~SECRET~~ 15-

(continued)

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On 7/28/66 and 8/15/66, [] reported that [] had indicated recent contacts with Carmichael in connection with organizing a Black Panther Party in NYC.

Add. info.

105-132791-29 p.25,26,30,31
(22)
SI paragraph 2
100-442684-473
changed to
100-442684-34-93X
(19)

b7C

On 8/30/66, [] the United States Nationalist Party (USNP), NYC (105-33261), advised that he was disturbed over recent events in NYC and by statements by Stokely Carmichael and other Negroes concerning the use of "black power," force and violence to further their aims. [] stated that he could foresee a great tide of resentment from the white people and indicated that he would form a "white guard" if the present course of events continued.

105-33261-46
(21)

b7C

The following references in the file captioned "Southern Christian Leadership Conference" (SCLC), contain information concerning Stokely Carmichael. Carmichael advised [] that SNCC planned to issue a statement on 5/23/66 refusing SNCC participation and generally condemning a scheduled White House Conference on Civil Rights to be held on 6/1-2/66 at Washington, DC. The SCLC and SNCC planned to coordinate their respective positions for protection against the "power structure." However, on 6/7/66, Carmichael, Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., President of the SCLC, and other civil rights leaders met in Memphis, Tenn., to discuss plans to commence a march in Mississippi where [] A controversy developed that the march might possibly be taken over by Carmichael and the left wing elements of SNCC and CORE, resulting in a "black nationalist thing." During discussions among SCLC leaders in September 1966, concern was voiced over Carmichael's conduct. He was branded as being dangerous and insane and it was suggested that he be isolated.

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

100-438794-1432

(8)

(continued)

(continued)

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

100-438794-1475

-1571 encl.p.3
-1614 p.17,18,37,39-41
-1838 p.12,13

(8)
(8)
(8)
(8)

b7C

[redacted]
[redacted] Rochester, NY, advised the Buffalo Office
that one [redacted]

[redacted] on 9/2/66, demanded an immediate interview
and announced FIGHT's intention to place 600 Negroes on Kodak's
employment roles. During [redacted] contacts with Kodak, he
indicated that "FIGHT" would demonstrate unless his demands were met.
It was noted that Kodak had been advised confidentially that [redacted]
[redacted] had contacted Stokely Carmichael and obtained a commitment
from Carmichael to help the "FIGHT" attack on Kodak.

157-6345-2 p.2
(50)

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[redacted] advised that during the proceedings of the National
Conference of the Workers World Party (WWP) (100-430172) at NYC on
9/3-5/66, an address was made on 9/4/66, [redacted] stated
that Stokely Carmichael planned to visit Philadelphia, Pa., during the
following week where there was an indictment against him. [redacted]
indicated that if Carmichael was arrested in Philadelphia, organized
violence would break out in Philadelphia, Chicago, Baltimore and possibly
New York.

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Serial indicated that as of May 1965, [redacted] had been active
and influential in the WWP for approximately two years.

100-430172-549 encl.p.8
(8)

b7C

On 9/9/66, [redacted]
Lexington, Ky., advised that he had contacted Stokely Carmichael in
Atlanta, Ga., in an effort to determine whether Carmichael intended to

(continued)

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(continued)

visit Lexington, Ky., in connection with an open housing question. b7C
[redacted] was advised that Carmichael would not go to Lexington as he had not been invited.

100-446386-1X
(46)

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[redacted] under development as a PSI (protect identity), advised that on 9/9/66, a preliminary meeting to the National Leadership Conference, called by the Inter-University Committee for Debate on Foreign Policy (62-110039), was held in Toledo, Ohio. One of the issues selected for discussion during the National Conference was concerted action to show sympathy with Stokely Carmichael.

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[redacted] advised that during the session of the Conference held at Cleveland, Ohio, on 9/10/66, [redacted] of SNCC, asked for support for Carmichael who had recently been arrested in Atlanta, Ga., in connection with racial riots, for his courageous stand in his beliefs in spite of the constant abuse.

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[redacted] advised that during the 9/11/66 session of the Conference, Carmichael was recommended to be included in the National Steering Committee of the November 8th Ad Hoc Committee.

62-110039-318 encl.p.2,4,10
(4)

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[redacted] advised that on 9/13/66, the Youth Against War and Fascism (100-438904) held a picket demonstration in Times Square, NYC, to protest the arrest of Stokely Carmichael in Atlanta, Ga., and to urge the defense of SNCC "from racist attack."

On 9/13/66, SAs observed the above demonstration and noted signs bearing the slogan "Free Stokely Carmichael."

100-438904-124
(8)
SI 100-414928-23 p.8
(8)

The "New York Times" issue of 9/13/66, indicated that the Black Panther Party was an anti-integration group of articulate young

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militants whose members looked to Stokely Carmichael as their "elder statesman." The group derived its title from the black panther symbol of the Lowndes County Freedom Organization that Carmichael founded in Alabama in 1965.

100-447415-1 p.2
(44)

b7C

On 9/16/66, [redacted] Atlanta, Ga., Police Department, advised that [redacted] who claimed to be connected with the Harlem Citizens for Community Action, was in Atlanta and had contacted Atlanta City officials to request permission to visit Stokely Carmichael, whom [redacted] presumed to be still in jail. Carmichael, however, had been released on bond on 9/15/66, having been charged in connection with recent racial disturbances in Atlanta. According to [redacted] [redacted] had sent a message to Carmichael which indicated that a bus load of persons were coming from New York to Atlanta, the purpose of which was unknown.

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[redacted] advised that on 9/23/66, [redacted] discussed her views of the Negro conditions and riots in Cleveland, Ohio, and stated that she thought that Stokely Carmichael was a true Negro leader.

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[redacted] advised that during the course of a Progressive Labor Party (PLP) sponsored class in Marxism-Leninism, held on 9/29/66, at 22½ Thorton Court, Venice, Cal., [redacted] spoke with Stokely Carmichael by telephone. Following the conversation, [redacted] advised the group that Carmichael would come to Los Angeles during November 1966, to make an appearance for the Committee to Defend John Harris (100-446955). [redacted] of SNCC and described Carmichael as a socialist.

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On 4/20/65, a source (not identified) advised that the PLP, formerly known as the Progressive Labor Movement, held the establishment of a militant working class movement based on Marxism-Leninism as its ultimate objective.

100-446955-2 p.13

~~(21)~~

The following references in the file captioned "Nation of Islam" (NOI) pertain to Stokely Carmichael's association with the NOI during the period of July - October, 1966. On 7/11/66, it was reported that Elijah Muhammad, National leader of the NOI, directed that letters be sent to five civil rights leaders, including Carmichael, calling for a summit meeting for the purpose of obtaining a united approach to Negro problems. Carmichael was reportedly receptive to the proposal and was advocating a mutual tie with Muhammad. During the course of a SNCC meeting held on 7/28/66 in Chicago, Ill., Carmichael stated that the Muslims and SNCC should and would become better acquainted.

Muhammad and Carmichael met in Chicago on 8/7/66, and the results indicated that cooperation between the two would depend on Carmichael becoming a member of the NOI. Carmichael refused.

On 8/18 and 20/66, Carmichael met in Roxbury, Mass., with Minister Louis X, who later referred to Carmichael as "one of us." Carmichael later appeared as a guest speaker at a Muslim meeting in NYC.

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

25-330971-7771
-7858 p.1a,86-96
-7916 p.2

~~(2)~~
~~(3)~~
~~(3)~~

25-330971-2-70

~~(2)~~

25-330971-5-135 p.11

~~(2)~~

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[redacted] (protect identity). [redacted]
[redacted] furnished the [redacted] which emanated
from Philadelphia, Pa., and featured [redacted] a self-identified
Black Nationalist and [redacted] the organization "US" (157-5877).

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[redacted] attempted to discuss black power and frequently mentioned Stokely Carmichael in connection with this philosophy. (Details of conversation set out.)

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157-5877-3 encl.p.11-15,17,24
(35)

The "Ohio State Lantern," a student newspaper in circulation on the campus of Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, edition of 10/12/66, contained an article entitled "FSF* Creates Forum To Invite Speakers." The article disclosed that, at its first regular meeting of the Autumn Quarter, 1966, the FSF voted to form a new subcommittee, the Free Student Forum, with a purpose of considering the possibility of inviting controversial speakers such as Stokely Carmichael to the campus.

62-110105-90

(4)

SI 62-110105-87

(4) ("Ohio State Lantern," 6/30/66)

*Free Student Federation (62-110105)

The "Midland Reporter-Telegram," Midland, Texas, issue of 11/13/66, carried an article captioned "Big Jim Clark Denounces Integration, News Media" which set out a statement by Clark concerning his defeat in the campaign for re-election as Sheriff of Dallas County, Alabama. According to the article, Clark placed the blame of his defeat on Martin Luther King, Jr., and Stokely Carmichael who had arrived in Selma the previous month to assist in his (Clark's) defeat.

62-105526-16

(36)

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[redacted] (protect identity) advised that [redacted] Black Panther Party (BPP) meeting held [redacted] NYC, was attended by [redacted] and Stokely Carmichael. Carmichael was asked to assume leadership of the BPP in NYC and he reportedly stated that he would give thought to the invitation. Informant stated that an inner group within the BPP included Carmichael [redacted]

Add. info.

100-446888-2 p.8,11

(21)

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-21-

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[redacted] advised that the Nashville anti-war group known as the Nashville Committee for Alternatives to War in Vietnam (NCAWV) had been unsuccessful in attempts to secure Stokely Carmichael for speeches to be given in Nashville, Tenn., on 10/20/66. Informant had previously reported that the NCAWV was closely affiliated with the Southern Student Organizing Committee (100-442367).

100-442367-50 p.34

(17)

"The Washington Evening Star" issue of 10/25/66 contained an article captioned "Wilkins and the Mavericks" which set forth comments made by Roy Wilkins during a meeting of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) (61-3176) in Georgia (Date not given). Mr. Wilkins, in reference to the political dilemma facing Negro voters in choosing between two segregationists, Lester Maddox and Howard Callaway, stated that the blame must be placed on the ill-considered actions of the "mavericks" who advocated violence and separatism. Mr. Wilkins urged his listeners not to lose heart as the NAACP would endure through Maddox's administration. The article continued that Mr. Wilkins might have added that the NAACP would remain long after Stokely Carmichael, SNCC, CORE and the Black Panthers were gone and forgotten.

61-3176-A "The Washington Evening
(3) Star" 10/25/66

"The Washington Post and Times Herald," issue of 10/27/66, contained an article captioned "Revival of Blackness is Applauded at Howard University" which set forth results of a black power debate between Stokely Carmichael and Floyd McKissick of CORE (100-225892) held at Howard University, Washington, DC, on 10/26/66. According to the article, Carmichael commented on the war in Vietnam, the ROTC program at the University and the death of the civil rights movement.

In connection with the debate, [redacted] advised that Carmichael specifically mentioned Lowndes County, Alabama, which he stated was 80% Negro and that SNCC would attempt to obtain Negro power in that county's Government.

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100-225892-53-60 p.8-10

(7)

SI 94-1-7441-81 encl.p.1-3

(6)

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(protect identity), and dupe. infts.)

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[redacted] furnished information concerning a meeting of Charlotte Klavern #42, United Klans of America (157-370), Charlotte, N.C., on 10/28/66, at which 25 members were present and 3 new members were sworn in. Informant surmised from general comments made, that the increase in new membership in the Charlotte Klavern could be attributed, at least in part, to statements concerning black power made by Stokely Carmichael and other Negro leaders.

157-370-8-1646 p.105

(46)

In connection with a proposed "Black Power Day" (157-6492), scheduled for 10/29/66, at Berkeley, Cal., and sponsored by the Students for a Democratic Society, the "San Francisco Examiner," issue of 10/26/66, reported that Negro leaders in San Francisco had criticized the appearance of Stokely Carmichael. The newspaper indicated that a Negro San Francisco City supervisor had wired Carmichael to urge him not to appear since California had recently suffered serious social unrest.

Add. info. according to [redacted]
[redacted] (protect identity), [redacted]

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157-6492-1 encl.p.3-6

(35)

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[redacted] accompanied by [redacted] was present during an address delivered by Dr. Martin Luther King (100-106670) on 10/30/66, at the New Calvary Baptist Church, Norfolk, Va. During the course of a news conference following the speech, Dr. King reportedly stated that the Negroes were considerably worse off than they had been in the past and that the black power movement advocated by Stokely Carmichael was just part of a healthy debate within the Negro movement. Dr. King further stated that black power had not destroyed the civil rights movement in any way.

100-106670-2767

(36)

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[redacted] (protect identity) advised that Stokely Carmichael was a featured speaker at a meeting sponsored by the Black Student Union held at the Bayview Community Center, San Francisco, Cal., on 11/3/66. According to informant, [redacted] the San Francisco Chapter of CORE (100-225892), spoke of his interest in Black Power.

100-225892-47-32 p.6,12

(77)

b7C

[redacted] Greene County, Ala., advised on 11/4/66, that [redacted] both members of SNCC, were arrested [redacted] and confined in the Greene County Jail, Eutaw, Ala. [redacted] stated that [redacted] had been in telephonic contact with SNCC and requested that Stokely Carmichael come to Eutaw.

44-0-6606 encl.p.3
(40)

b7C

During the course of an anti-Vietnam war demonstration held at Dupont Circle, Washington, DC, on 11/5/66, [redacted] described [redacted] of Associated Community Teams (ACT), was observed by SAs as he delivered a protest speech. [redacted] stated that he disagreed with the tag of "black mercenaries" which Stokely Carmichael had placed on Negroes who fought in Vietnam. [redacted] stated that the Negro was in Vietnam because he was drafted.

105-138315-4277 p.88,89
(22)

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On 11/12/66, [redacted] (Bureau file [redacted]) upon his return from a two-month trip to [redacted] furnished the San Juan Office with personal observations relating to conditions and personalities there. According to [redacted] desired to identify itself with the American Negro and the Haitians believed that individuals such as Stokely Carmichael were the real leaders of the black man.

109-12-217-1382 p.20
(24)

b7C

On 11/7/66, [redacted] Bureau of Investigation, Office of District Attorney, County of Los Angeles, advised that the hearing in connection with the arrest of [redacted] (100-445298), for Criminal Syndicalism had been postponed until 11/29/66.

On 11/14/66, [redacted] advised that [redacted] [redacted] had had a recent disagreement with [redacted] local representative of SNCC, and it appeared that Stokely Carmichael might not speak on Harris' behalf while in Los Angeles.

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100-445298-11
(19)

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On 4/3/67, [] made available the December, 1966 issue of "Rights," distributed by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (ECLC) (100-384660). The publication contained the current listing of officers and National Council members of the ECLC, including Stokely Carmichael of Georgia, member of the National Council.

100-384660-803 p.6
(41)

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[] advised that during a meeting of the Tampa Mosque, Nation of Islam, held at 2108 Main Street, Tampa, Fla., on 12/11/66, the speaker (not identified) stated that Stokely Carmichael was right in his demand for black power, but that he had not been sent by Allah.

100-439367-13 p.5
(16)

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On 1/5/67, [] reported that they had attended a planning conference of the National Student Strike For Peace (100-446761), held 12/28-30/66, at the University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. Informants made available a list of sponsors of the conference which list included Stokely Carmichael, Chairman, SNCC.

100-446761-37 encl.p.2
(21)

The "Atlanta, Georgia, Constitution" on 5/24/66, disclosed that Stokely Carmichael advised newsmen at a conference in Atlanta, Ga., that if SNCC could not attain its aims through peaceful means, it might resort to violence. The article indicated that SNCC would concentrate on building the "Black Panther Party" and would support the political candidates it could control.

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[] advised that at the conclusion of a staff conference at White Bluff, Tenn., in the latter part of May 1966, the policy of SNCC was to remove members of the Caucasian race from positions of leadership as SNCC was no longer interested in integration, but sought political and economic backing for Negroes.

b7C

[] Baltimore, Maryland, Police Department, advised that on 1/16/67, Stokely Carmichael appeared at the Murphy Auditorium, Morgan State College, Baltimore, and the Metropolitan Methodist Church, Baltimore, the latter of which was sponsored by the Union for Jobs or Income Now (U-JOIN). During his

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(continued)

speeches, Carmichael voiced strong opposition to US policy in Vietnam and lashed out at those who accused him of creating violence wherever he went.

It was noted that U-JOIN was the Baltimore Community Group for the Students for a Democratic Society.

105-138315-5161 p.B,4,8,9
(22)

b7C

On 1/16/67, [redacted] Baltimore City Police Department, Baltimore, Md., advised the Baltimore Office of an anonymous telephone call concerning a bomb threat at Morgan State College, Baltimore, Md. According to [redacted] the caller, identified only as [redacted] stated that he had a bomb at Morgan State College and was "going to blow Stokely Carmichael to hell."

174-478-3
(46)

Correlator's Note: According to subject's main file, Carmichael's appearance at Morgan State College was held as scheduled without incident.

Bureau memo dated 1/16/67, set forth the results of a conference between the Director and Clarence J. Brown, Jr. (94-61603), Congressman, 7th District, Ohio (R.), on that date. On this occasion, Mr. Brown advised the Director of a communication which he had previously directed to the AG concerning possible seditious statements uttered by Stokely Carmichael and of the reply that, under the circumstances, Carmichael was protected by the First Amendment. The Director suggested the proposal of appropriate legislation to cover the irresponsible activities of Carmichael and his ilk, should the Congressman wish to pursue the matter with the AG.

94-61603-11
(6)

A letter, dated 1/20/67, directed to the Intelligence Division, Internal Revenue Service, Washington, DC, on the letterhead of Cas Walker's Cash Stores, P.O. Box 9090, Knoxville 20, Tenn., contained an

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b7C

inquiry from [] concerning the legality of the tax deductible donations to the Highlander Center* in Knoxville. [] indicated that, according to nation-wide news media, Stokely Carmichael received his training in violence and riots at the Highlander Center. [] advised that Carmichael had made a recent secret appearance at the [] Center at which time he advocated black power and bloodshed. [] added that Carmichael had participated in most of the riots in California, Mississippi, Alabama and Atlanta, Ga. (Penciled notation: Rec'd from [])

61-7511-318

(3)

*Highlander Education and Research Center (61-7511)

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b7D

[] advised that on 1/23/67, Stokely Carmichael addressed a conference of the MPI-NYM (Movimiento Pro-Independencia de Puerto Rico - New York Mission) which was held at Casa Puerto Rico, the meeting hall of the NYM located at 106 East 14th Street, NYC. Carmichael compared the struggle for independence in Puerto Rico with the struggle for liberation of black people and indicated that, through cooperation, both groups would be stronger.

Serial disclosed that the NYM was organized on 8/6/61 in NYC. The NYM supported the aims and principles of the MPIPR, which called for complete independence of Puerto Rico through propaganda and other peaceful means.

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105-159151-6 p5

(24)

SI 100-439854-31 p.16,20

(16) [] (add. info.)

b7C

The references set out hereafter pertain to the efforts exerted by the MPIPR (Movimiento Pro-Independencia de Puerto Rico) to sponsor a speaking engagement by Stokely Carmichael in Puerto Rico during September 1966. The invitation was declined, however, and the suggestion was made that James Farmer of CORE could appear in November 1966 as a replacement. In October 1966, SNCC advised that Carmichael would appear in January 1967 if MPIPR would absorb the expenses. Carmichael arrived in Puerto Rico on 1/24/67, and was greeted by [] and on 1/25/67, participated in a draft protest march with members of the MPIPR and FUPI (Federacion de Universitarios Pro-Independencia). Carmichael spoke on Puerto Rican independence,

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followed by Mari Bras who stated that the MPIPR in New York was ready to join with SNCC "when fighting the common enemy."

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

Movimiento Pro-Independencia de Puerto Rico

105-75715-521
-533
-573 p.35-37

(21)
(22)
(44)

[REDACTED]

105-292-206 p.12,15
-236 p.6-9

b7C

(21)
(21)

[REDACTED]

105-100560-40 p.5

(22)

[REDACTED]

105-87026-83 p.6,10

(44)

b7C

The following references in the file captioned "Conference on Black Power, 9/3-4/66, Washington, DC" pertain to the activities of Stokely Carmichael in connection with the Conference which was called by Congressman Adam Clayton Powell at Carmichael's request. On 9/2/66, it was learned that [REDACTED] of the Black Panther Party of Jersey City, NJ, who planned to attend the Conference, had recently participated in a press conference with Carmichael in connection with the formation of the Black Panther Party in Jersey City. Carmichael did not appear at the 9/3-4/66 sessions, but those in attendance voted to call a succeeding conference on 10/15-16/66 in Washington.

The Conference scheduled for 10/15/66 was postponed by Powell since there was some controversy over whether Carmichael should appear. A contemplated joint proclamation issued against Carmichael by other civil rights leaders was possibly a contributing factor to the postponement.

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Information was received that, as a result of a remark (not stated) by Powell on a nationwide newscast on 10/9/66, it appeared that Carmichael was attempting to advocate black power and incite riots wherever he went.

On 1/29/67, Carmichael read a prepared speech during the course of a Black Power Conference held at San Francisco, Cal., on 1/27-29/67.

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

62-111166-1	(not indexed)
-16	41
-31	41
-34	41
-62	41
-66 encl.p.6,7	41
-A "The Militant" 9/19/66	41

The following references pertain to CORE sponsored functions at which Stokely Carmichael appeared as a featured speaker. Carmichael's comments centered primarily on black power and the war in Vietnam.

DATE	LOCALITY	REFERENCE	SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER
8/5/66	Cleveland, Ohio	100-442879-9 p.31	(43)
8/5/66	Cleveland, Ohio	100-444426-8 p.35	(19)
1/27-29/67	San Francisco, Cal.	100-225892-47-33 p.4	(7)

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b7D On 2/1/67, [redacted] furnished a copy of a letter (date not given) written by [redacted] member of the National Committee, CP,USA, to [redacted] of the Youth Commission, Southern California District Communist Party (SCDCP). The letter set forth the results of the Chicago Conference* which called for the establishment of a Continuations Committee which would include one representative of each of the organizations represented on the Conference steering committee. The letter disclosed that Stokeley Carmichael of SNCC had been recruited

*National Student Strike for Peace (100-446761), 12/28-30/66, Chicago

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(continued)

to the Continuations Committee which planned to meet on 1/28/67 in NYC. The letter further disclosed that Stokely was assisting in the organization of a Black Students Conference Against the War which was scheduled to be held in Tuskegee, Ala., in late February 1967. (Contents of letter set out)

100-446613-5
changed to
100-446761-35X1
(37)

The following references appear in the file captioned "Cominfil of Students for a Democratic Society" (SDS) and contain information concerning Stokely Carmichael. Carmichael, who was graduated from the Bronx High School of Science, Bronx, NY, class of 1960, was described as being unusually devoted to "left-wing" activities. Carmichael was arrested in Jackson, Miss., on 6/8/61, with a group of Freedom Riders and participated in a sit-in at the Office of AG Robert Kennedy in March 1962.

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During the course of an SDS National Council meeting on 6/17/66, at the University of Michigan (U-M), Ann Arbor, Mich., a motion was made to adopt a letter to Stokely Carmichael from [redacted] of the SDS, [redacted] on SNCC. On 9/27/66, Carmichael appeared at the U-M under the auspices of the Office of Religious Affairs, U-M, and the U-M "Friends of SNCC" organization which was described as an action committee of the SDS, U-M Chapter.

During an SDS demonstration on 2/1/67, at Pennsylvania State University, University Park, Pa., a leaflet captioned "Ascension" was distributed. The leaflet contained a brief message by Carmichael and described him as a leader of the revolutionary forces in the civil rights movement.

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

100-439048-1575
changed to
100-439048-15-61 p.42
-94 p.1,58,62

(97)
(47)

100-439048-960
changed to
100-439048-34-37

(97)

(continued)

(continued)

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

100-439048-37-33 p.7
-42 encl.p.20,21A

(9)
(42)

b7C

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[redacted]
(protect identity), advised that while at the headquarters of the American Nazi Party (105-70374), Chicago, Ill., [redacted] he overheard [redacted] state that Stokely Carmichael was scheduled to appear in Whitewater, Wisc., and that [redacted] planned a disturbance.

On 1/30/67, [redacted]
[redacted] and wife of [redacted] (protect identity), advised that [redacted] were members of the American Nazi Party and frequently attended meetings of the Party in Chicago.

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The "Milwaukee Sentinel" issue of 1/24/67, contained a news item to announce a speaking engagement of Stokely Carmichael at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, on 2/5/67, sponsored by the Young Democrats. According to the article, Carmichael was also scheduled to address the Wisconsin State University-Whitewater, on 2/6/67, on the topic of "Black Power."

105-70374-4789 encl.p.2
(21)

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[redacted] advised that on 2/8/67, Stokely Carmichael spoke at a civil rights rally at Detroit, Mich., at which time he indicated his approval of and urged public participation in the nationwide general strike to protest the refusal of the US House of Representatives to seat Representative Adam Clayton Powell of NYC.

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On 2/9/67, [redacted] corroborated the above information.

It was noted that the proposed nationwide strike was sponsored by the United Strike Committee in Support of Powell (157-6836).

157-6836-13 encl.p.3
(35)
SI paragraph 1
157-6836-17 encl.p.1
(35)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The following references pertain to the activities of Stokely Carmichael in connection with the affairs of the Black Panther Party (BPP) in New York (BPPNY) and Los Angeles, Cal. (BPPLA). According to "Muhammad Speaks," weekly publication of Muhammad's Temple No. 2, Chicago, Ill., issue of 6/3/66, Carmichael received a telegram from US Congressman Adam Clayton Powell which read, "Let's put a panther in the U.S.A.'s tank." The article identified Carmichael as a native of NYC who was founder and director of the highly controversial Black Panther Political Party (Alabama), which used the black panther emblem as its symbol. During the course of a rally which was billed as a benefit for SNCC, held on 8/29/66 at NYC, Carmichael criticized the war in Vietnam and indicated that he had to face charges of transporting dynamite into Philadelphia, Pa.

Carmichael addressed a Black Leadership Conference in Los Angeles, Cal., on 2/18-19/67, which was sponsored by US, a local black nationalist group, to pay tribute to the slain black nationalist leader Malcolm X and to discuss the necessity for the BPPLA.

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

BPPNY

105-157435-1 encl.p.4,5
-7
-8 encl.p.1
-18 p.3,5,6

(24)
(24)
(24)
(24)

BPPLA

105-162924-1 encl.p.2-4

(24)

b7C

On 2/23/67, [REDACTED] NYC Police Department, advised that on 2/22/67, a Memorial March and Service was held in NYC in commemoration of the death of Malcolm X (100-399321). During the Memorial Service, Stokely Carmichael addressed a crowd of about two hundred individuals.

100-399321-442 encl.p.2
(41)

The references set out hereafter contain information concerning preparations for the International War Crimes Tribunal which was organized

(continued)

(continued)

b7C

~~SECRET~~

by the Bertrand Russell Foundation, London, England, and scheduled to be held in Paris, France, during November, 1966. Stokely Carmichael was selected by [redacted] and, during a preliminary session held in London on 11/13-15/66, was appointed as a member of the Tribunal which would try President Johnson, Secretary of State Dean Rusk [redacted] [redacted] for the American war crimes in Vietnam. Carmichael did not attend the preliminary session, but was represented by [redacted] member of SNCC. Carmichael later advised the Foundation that two members of SNCC had been selected to gather criminal evidence in North Vietnam and Southeast Asia and that both would be at the disposal of the Tribunal as of March 1967*.

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

International War Crimes Tribunal

105-156243-7

- 9
- 15X p.2, encl.p.3
- 21
- 29 p.2
- 46 encl.p.1
- 48 p.3
- 54 encl.p.2
- 56 encl.p.2
- 74 p.2,5
- 82
- 99 p.6,8,9
- 109 encl.p.1
- 124
- 139
- A "NY Herald Tribune" - "Washington Post" 4/11/67

(38)
(24)

Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation

105-157637-1 encl.p.8
-4

(38)
(24)

b7C

[redacted]

100-442014-50 p.5,6

b7C

(17)

*Following two postponements and a ban from French soil by [redacted] the Tribunal held sessions on 5/2-10/67 at Stockholm, Sweden, at which [redacted] again represented Carmichael, who was not present.

(continued)

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

(continued)

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

[REDACTED]
105-162948-1

b7C

(24)

[REDACTED]
105-160371-4

(24)

b7C

The following references pertain to investigations and/or hearings by Congressional Committees. Information set out in exhibit form revealed that Stokely Carmichael had pledged his support to the Fort Hood Three who had been arrested on 7/7/66 for refusing to fight in Vietnam. The exhibits appeared to be leaflets issued by the August 6-9 Committee. During testimony on 3/7/67, [REDACTED] stated that two recent trips by Carmichael to Puerto Rico were sponsored by two communist and Castro-allied organizations and the possibility existed that Carmichael was receiving funds directly from Havana.

COMMITTEE

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP
PAGE NUMBER

HCUA
Meese Exhibit # 19-A
and 19-B

61-7582-5899 encl.p.1149,
1150

(3)

b7C

SISS
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] at the US
Embassy in Cuba, 1958-1961

62-88217-3006 encl.p.1106,
1107

(4)

b2

b7C

b7D

[REDACTED] furnished the results of the National Executive Board conference, CP, USA, which was held at the Biltmore Hotel, NYC, on 3/10-13/67. During the course of a meeting on 3/12/67, [REDACTED] gave a report on the results of a meeting of the Youth Commission, held on the previous day, which related primarily to the hardships facing youth as a result of the war. [REDACTED] announced that Stokely Carmichael had proposed a Black Conference to discuss the refusal of Negro youth to register for the draft which, he added, "we must support."

100-3-69-11155 encl.p.8

(6)

~~SECRET~~

b7C

On 3/29/67, [redacted]
Louisville, Ky., furnished a document dated 3/25/67, which he had received by mail on the letterhead of the Student Mobilization Committee (SMC) (100-446761), 29 Park Row, NYC. The letter appealed for unity and funds for Vietnam Week - 4/8-15/67, and listed Stokely Carmichael as one of the sponsors of the SMC.

Above Document enclosed
100-446761-74 encl.p.3
(21)

b7C

b7D

On 3/27/67, [redacted] Confidential Source, [redacted]
[redacted] the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC) (100-442367), furnished SSOC documents which he had received on 3/25/67. One of the documents, [redacted]
[redacted] set forth a proposal to establish a library of tape recordings presenting the views of the SSOC which might be furnished to human relations groups and college radio stations in the South for a fee. Stokely Carmichael was one of the individuals suggested to be contacted in connection with preparing a tape for this project.

Above Document enclosed
100-442367-72 encl.p.9
(17)

b2

b7D

[redacted] advised that James Kennedy (105-123335) appeared at a function sponsored by the Honors Students Association at Brooks Memorial Union, Marquette University, Milwaukee, Wisc., on 4/5/67. Kennedy spoke on the new left movement and stated that Stokely Carmichael and Rev. Martin Luther King were involved in the movement. Kennedy described Carmichael as being a Marxist.

105-123335-45 encl.
(44)

The following references in the file captioned "Cominfil Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)" pertain to the activities of Stokely Carmichael, Chairman of SNCC at Howard University, Washington, DC, in November 1961; SNCC Executive Committee member as of 2/23/65; and Chairman of SNCC in May 1966. On 1/15/67, Carmichael announced that he would relinquish the SNCC chairmanship and possibly return to field organizing in the South.

(continued)

~~SECRET~~ 35-

In August 1966, Carmichael allegedly planned to blow up Stone Mountain near Atlanta with the use of explosives and had reportedly stated that SNCC would resort to violence to attain its goals. On 4/9/67, Nashville Police Department had in possession the personal briefcase of Stokely Carmichael which contained a loaded .38 caliber colt snub nose revolver.

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

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~~SECRET~~ -36-

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

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REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

157-6-8-1885	encl.p.2	(38)
157-6-9-3127	encl.p.17	(26)
-3251	encl.p.9,36	(26)
-4121	encl.p.11,12, Director's Notation	(26)
-4139		(26)
-4207		(26)
157-6-10-819	encl. p.5	(27)
157-6-13-264	encl.p.1,2	(27)
157-6-15-1543		(27)
-1566		(27)
-1610	encl.p.6	(27)
-1688		(27)
-1695	encl.p.4-8	(27)
-1720		(27)
-1723	encl.p.1-3	(27)
-1726		(27)
-1728		(27)
157-6-19-351	encl.p.7-10	(27)
157-6-24-528		(45)
157-6-26-1141	encl.p.7,11	(28)
-1145	encl.p.9,10,12	(28)
157-6-27-667	p.2;encl.p.1,2	(28)
157-6-28-1012	p.1-3 Director's Notation	(45)
-1014	encl.p.4,5	(45)
-1030	p.1-4	(45)
-1036		(38)
-1039	encl.p.1,2	(28)
-1045	encl.p.3	(28)
-1140		(28)
-1141		(28)
-1168	encl.	(28)
157-6-31-1188		(28)

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REFERENCE

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SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

157-6-31-1189	(28)
-1192 encl.p.5-7,9,10	(28)
-1202 encl.p.1,2,4-7	(28)
157-6-32-442	(29)
-444	(29)
-446	(29)
157-6-34-1746	(29)
-1752	(29)
-1770 encl.p.2	(29)
-1793	(29)
-1802 encl.p.1,3	(29)
-1910	(29)
157-6-37-1995 encl.p.6	(29)
-2048 encl.p.3,4	(29)
-2053	(29)
-2183	(29)
157-6-39-1017	(30)
-1019	(30)
-1021	(30)
157-6-41-1987	(30)
-2145	(30)
157-6-42-1018	(30)
-1030	(30, 50)
157-6-45-536 encl.p.5,7,8,10	(30)
157-6-46-347 encl.p.2	(45)
157-6-47-775	(30)
-960	(30)
-961	(30)
157-6-50-483	(30)
157-6-53-66	(31)
-702 encl.p.6	(31)
-982	(31)

(continued)

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(continued)

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

157-6-53-1014 encl.p.2

(45)

157-6-54-1373

(31)

-1387

(31)

-1394 encl.p.4-6

(45)

-1403

(31)

-1406

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-1409

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-1420 p.1,3

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-1428 p.2,3

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-1440

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-1442 encl.p.3

(31)

-1472

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-1475

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-1477

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-1504 encl.p.2,3

(32)

-1508

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-1512 encl.p.1

(32)

-1513 encl.p.1-5

(32)

-1522 p.2;encl.p.2,4

(32)

-1540

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-1550

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-1553 encl.p.5,7

(32)

-1569 encl.p.7

(32)

-2241

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157-6-61-1027

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-1108

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-1310 encl.p.2,3,5

(33)

-1318 encl.p.22

(33)

-1321

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-1381 p.2

(33, 51)

-1384

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-1401

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-1404

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-1417 encl.p.1

(33)

157-6-64-1365

(33)

-1443

(33)

-1478 encl.p.22,23

(33)

~~SECRET~~

On 4/10/67, [REDACTED] Milford, Conn., Police Department, advised that approximately eighty New England Committee For Non-Violent Action (100-426761) peace marchers arrived in Milford on 4/9/67. The literature distributed by the group included a pamphlet entitled "National Mass Mobilization To End The War In Vietnam Now!" which invited the reader to participate in a mass march and rally at UN Headquarters in New York and the UN birthplace in San Francisco, Cal., on 4/15/67. Stokely Carmichael was listed as a sponsor of this proposed demonstration.

Above pamphlet enclosed
100-426761-1626 encl.p.7
(8)

The following references in the file captioned "November 8 Mobilization Committee" set forth the results of the National Leadership Conference held at Cleveland, Ohio, on 9/10-11/66, at which proposals were made to include Stokely Carmichael as a member of the National Steering Committee of the November 8 Ad Hoc Committee and to support him in his courageous stand in his beliefs. Further results of the Conference included plans to organize a nationwide protest against the war in Vietnam to take place on 11/5-8/66.

In March, 1967, the "Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam" organized a demonstration to be held on 4/15/67, the conclusion of Vietnam Week, at NYC. Stokely Carmichael was listed as a sponsor of the affair and planned to lead a march from Central Park to the United Nations Plaza where a rally would be held. On 4/15/67, the march was held as scheduled and principal speakers were Carmichael, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and Dr. Benjamin Spock, noted child specialist. It was noted that the CP and other subversive elements gave full support to the demonstrations.

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

62-111181-1

-10 encl.p.4,11
-289 encl.p.8,20,28,32
-354 encl.p.1,3
-361 encl.p.1,3,4,16
-385 encl.p.6
-401 encl.p.5
-488 encl.p.1
-611 encl.p.2
-634

(not indexed)

(38)
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~~SECRET~~

On 4/18/67, a representative of the Chicago Police Department (CPD), Chicago, Ill., furnished information pertaining to a rally which was scheduled to be held on 4/19/67 at the Senate Theater, Chicago, to protest the shooting [redacted] by a CPD officer. In addition to an allegedly fictitious shooting incident, the CPD was concerned about rumors which were being circulated in the Negro community that Stokely Carmichael would be a guest speaker at the rally, presumably in order to attract a larger crowd.

However, on 4/19/67, the CPD advised that Carmichael departed Tampa, Fla., for Los Angeles, Cal., on that date.

On 4/18/67, St. Petersburg, Fla., PD advised that a most reliable source had stated that on 4/19/67, Carmichael would make two appearances in Seattle, Wash., and on 4/20/67, he planned to be in the Watts Section of Los Angeles, Cal.

157-6-9-4253
changed to
157-7271-8 encl.p.3
(26)

b7C
b7D

On 3/7/67, [redacted] (94-58128), Hartford, Conn., an established source of the Hartford Resident Agency, advised that a symposium on social change was scheduled to be held at the College on 4/21-22/67, and that Stokely Carmichael was expected to participate.

94-58128-5
(6)

Correlator's Note: According to serial 6 of this file, Carmichael was unable to attend the affair.

b7C

The following references in the file captioned "Communist Influence in Racial Matters" set forth data relating to the individuals associated with and functions attended by Stokely Carmichael during the period of 11/3/64 to 4/29/67. The references disclosed that Carmichael was present at conferences and demonstrations at Arkansas, California, Mississippi, New Jersey, NYC, Ohio and District of Columbia and that the individuals attending these affairs with known subversive backgrounds included [redacted]

[redacted] Carmichael was active in the affairs of SNCC, of which he assumed the national chairmanship in May 1966, and, on 6/7/66, assisted in the completion of the [redacted] which was infiltrated by the subversive element.

(continued)

~~SECRET~~

(continued)

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

100-442529-590 p.8
-656 p.1,2
-761 p.19
-1084 p.25
-1387 p.5
-1824 p.2,27,32
-1851
-1866 encl.p.1,2
-1867
-1884
-1903
-1925 p.1,6
-1939 p.3
-1944 p.57
-1956 p.10,12,41
-1968 p.1
-1981 encl.p.2
-1982 encl.p.5,6
-1987 p.1,3
-2025 p.35
-2026 p.6,14,17,40,41,43,45,48
-2077 p.2-4,13,15,69,70,74,75,
85,87,93
-2112 p.12,14,15
-2116 p.38,63
-2167
-2185 p.2
-2200

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b7D

[redacted] advised that during the course of the Black Unity and Leadership Conference held in San Diego, Cal., on 4/14-16/67, a leaflet announcing the forthcoming California Black Conference (62-111534) was distributed. The latter Conference was scheduled to be held on 5/26-28/67, at the Jefferson High School, Los Angeles, Cal., and the planned featured speakers included Stokley Carmichael. According to the leaflet, the topic of the Conference was "Survival of the Black People."

Above Leaflet enclosed
157-6-26-1192
changed to
62-111534-1X
(45)

~~SECRET~~

The following references on Stokely Carmichael located in files maintained in the Special File Room of the Records Branch, Files and Communications Division, were reviewed and found to be identical with the subject of this summary; however, the information contained therein has not been included:

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

100-439190-619
-682 (Director's Notation)

(9)
(10)

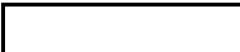
REFERENCES NOT INCLUDED IN THIS SUMMARY

See the search slip filed behind file for other references on this subject which contain the same information (SI) that is set out in the main file. Differences in source will be noted on the search slip.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *WCS*

FROM :  *Gene*

SUBJECT: 

INFORMATION CONCERNING
RACIAL MATTERS

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 2/28/68

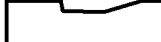
1 - Mr. Bishop

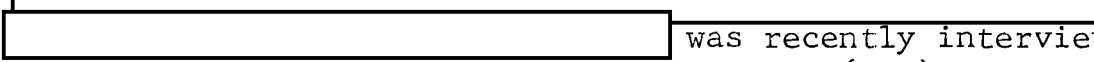
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1 - 

Tolson ☒
DeLoach ☒
Mohr ☒
Bishop ☒
Casper ☒
Callahan ☒
Conrad ☒
Felt ☒
Gale ☒
Rosen ☒
Sullivan ☒
Tavel ☒
Trotter ☒
Tele. Room ☒
Holmes ☒
Gandy ☒

b7C

In connection with another investigation, 

 was recently interviewed

by Agents of our Washington Field Office (WFO). During the interview,  stated he is most concerned about the activities of some of the black nationalist individuals and organizations in the United States and is willing to furnish the FBI any information in his possession relating to such activities. He said it was his concern about Stokely Carmichael that caused him to become affiliated with the Black United Front (BUF), recently formed by Carmichael in Washington, D. C. He stated he believes the only way he can keep abreast of their activities is to at least purport to show that he is a "militant" and interested in the BUF. However,  said he wanted it clearly understood that even though he classified himself as a militant, he does not subscribe to any activities wherein a single innocent individual might be injured and his only wish for the Negro is to improve his lot in society through economic and political endeavors.

 was high in his praise of the FBI, particularly with reference to its penetration of the activities of the Communist Party and stated he wished the FBI could be as equally successful in penetrating the black nationalist movement. He realized this is a most difficult undertaking and must be handled with complete discretion. He was not in a position to suggest anyone in this area who might be in a position to furnish information about such activities and did not feel persons closely associated with Carmichael could be trusted to an approach by the FBI.

PTB:lmr

62 MAR 19 1968

123-15837

CONTINUED - OVER

ORIGINAL FILED IN 123-15837-27

Memorandum [] to W. C. Sullivan
RE: []

b7C

b7C
b7D
Concerning Stokely Carmichael, [] conjectured that Carmichael's present sources of income are from royalties of his speeches which have been released and are being sold in Europe, his books and his speaking engagements in the United States. In the latter instance, his expenses are paid by the organization sponsoring his appearance which is the customary method of handling these matters. [] added Carmichael may be getting a few dollars from SNCC but, if so, it does not amount to much since the organization is practically bankrupt.

b7C
b7D
In evaluating the BUF, [] stated that up to this point, it has taken a moderate view on most of the issues. He believes that they would be against any form of racial violence and desire to accomplish their aims through the election of black candidates to public office and economic betterment.

b7C
b7D
[] also commented that he had been in correspondence with Adam Clayton Powell who is endeavoring to arrange a speaking engagement at Howard University on some weekday during the last week of March or first week of April, 1968. [] will notify WFO what day Powell expects to be in Washington, D. C., upon receipt of this information. [] stated that although Powell makes some militant statements at times there has never been an incidence where he can be accused of fomenting violence. He added, "There has never been any trouble anywhere immediately after Adam has spoken."

b7C
b7D
WFO will continue to contact [] in an effort to ascertain information relating to the activities of the BUF.

b7C
b7D
Pertinent information furnished by [] has been disseminated to the Department and appropriate Government agencies.

ACTION:

None. For information.

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

DATE: 2/27/68

FROM : SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - M; SEDITION
(OO:WFO)

b7C

Re WFO teletype 2/15/68.

For information, STOKELY CARMICHAEL departed his residence, 2200 12th. St., N.W., Washington, DC., on the morning of 1/30/68 and entered a yellow Chevrolet Impala bearing Delaware license 139581 occupied by two unidentified negro males. They drove to the headquarters of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), 1234 U Street N.W., Washington, D.C. CARMICHAEL later returned to his residence.

On the afternoon of 1/31/68, CARMICHAEL departed SNCC headquarters and entered the above described car containing other unidentified individuals. For several hours, they drove around the WDC area in the car rather aimlessly and as if sightseeing. About 4:15PM, the car dropped CARMICHAEL off at SNCC headquarters and departed the area.

A check of the records of the Department Of Motor Vehicles, State of Delaware, Dover, Delaware by the Baltimore office on 2/2/68 disclosed the above mentioned car registered to National Car Rental System, Inc., Wilmington, Delaware.

[redacted] National Car Rental System, 1200 K Street, N.W., Washington, DC, advised on 2/26/68 that she had ascertained the above car had been rented by ELDRIDGE SLEAVER at Dulles Airport, WDC, on 1/30/68 at 6:25AM.

- 2 - Bureau
2 - San Francisco (RM) (157-521)
1 - WFO
WWH:typ
(5)

EX-108

3 FEB 29 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT

54 MAR 12 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



WF 100-43503

[redacted] advised in renting the car CLEAVER furnished his business address as RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, 301 Broadway, San Francisco, California and his residence as 850 Oak Street, Apartment 11, San Francisco. He displayed California drivers license # G722292, due to expire 1969. He also displayed "some sort" of a press card for identification in securing the car. He returned the car at 5:21PM on 1/31/68 at Dulles Airport.

b7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FEB 19 1968

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Bishop	✓
Mr. Casper	✓
Mr. Callahan	✓
Mr. Conrad	✓
Mr. Felt	✓
Mr. Gale	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Miss Holmes	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

G

FBI WASH DC*

FBI LOS ANG.

1123 PM URGENT 2/18/68 VLB

TO: DIRECTOR (100-446080), WFO, NEW YORK AND SAN FRANCISCO
/WFO AND ~~NEW YORK~~ VIA WASHINGTON/

FROM: LOS ANGELES (100-68783) 5 P

INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS
STOKELY CARMICHAEL; ~~IS - MISC~~; SEDITION.

RE SF TEL THIS DATE AND BUTEL CAPTIONED [REDACTED]

THIS DATE.

BLACK CONGRESS SPONSORED PROGRAM FOR BENEFIT OF HUEY P. NEWTON
DEFENSE FUND HELD LOS ANGELES SPORTS ARENA BETWEEN FOUR TWENTY-FIVE
PM AND SEVEN FORTY PM THIS DATE, FEBRUARY EIGHTEEN. APPROXIMATELY
THREE THOUSAND FIVE HUNDRED PERSONS ATTENDED, TWELVE PERCENT OF WHOM
CAUCASIANS. STOKELY CARMICHAEL AT FIRST REFUSED TO PARTICIPATE
UNLESS ALL POLICE REMOVED FROM PREMISES. CARMICHAEL COMPROMISED
ALLOWING ONLY NEGRO POLICE TO REMAIN IN ARENA AND WHITE OFFICERS TO
REMAIN OUTSIDE ARENA. ALL PERSONS ENTERING ARENA WERE FRISKED BY
NEGROES WEARING BLACK BERETS WHO ALSO SERVED AS GUARDS.

END PAGE ONE

XEROX

REC-35

MAR 1 1968

XEROX

3-1
FEB 26 1968

*Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

ENCLOSURE

for notation

70 MAR 6 1968

Delayed to

70 MAR 6 1968

UNREC COPY FILED IN 105-168117

PAGE TWO

LA 100-68783

MASTER OF CEREMONIES WAS WALTER BREMOND, CHAIRMAN, BLACK CONGRESS, A COALITION OF MILITANT BLACK NATIONALIST ORGANIZATIONS LOS ANGELES. FIRST SPEAKER JAMES FORMAN OF STUDENT NON VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC) WHO STATED IF NEWTON FOUND GUILTY RETRIBUTION WOULD BE MADE ON WHITE COMMUNITY. HE STATED H. RAP BROWN HAD BEEN APPOINTED MINISTER OF JUSTICE, BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF DEFENSE (BPPSD). FORMAN SAID EVERY NEGRO SHOULD BE ARMED DUE TO EVENTUAL REVOLUTION OF BLACK PEOPLE.

REVEREND THOMAS KILGORE, WEST COAST REPRESENTATIVE, SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE, NEXT SPEAKER WHO SPOKE AGAINST VIETNAM WAR; THAT MAJORITY NEGRO SERVICE MEN WERE BEING KILLED; AND PETITION SHOULD BE SENT TO THE PRESIDENT TO END WAR IN VIETNAM.

BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, CHAIRMAN BPPSD, THEN SPOKE URGING ALL NEGRO FAMILIES TO HAVE SHOT GUNS IN HOMES IN ORDER TO "SHOOT PIG COPS". HE STATED BLACK POWER IS GUN AND FORCE WHICH WILL BE USED IN NEXT CIVIL WAR. HE LIKENED BLACK POWER TO THE FORCE USED IN DETROIT WHEN NEGROES DROVE OFF THE PARATROOPERS. HE SAID GUNS AND RIFLES ARE NECESSARY TO STOP POLICE BRUTALITY. THIS IS WHAT NEWTON DID IN OAKLAND WHEN HE SHOT A "PIG COP".

CRISTOBAL TIJERINA, BROTHER, REYES LOPEZ TIJERINA, LEADER, FEDERAL ALLIANCE OF LAND GRANTS, STATED BROWN AND BLACK PEOPLE MUST UNITE TO FIGHT THE WHITE OPPRESSORS WHO HAVE TAKEN THEIR RIGHTS AND LAND AWAY.

END PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE

LA 100-68783

FROM FIVE TWENTY SIX PM, TO FIVE FIFTY FIVE PM, CROWD ENTERTAINED BY SEVERAL DANCERS AND SINGERS FROM "US", A MILITANT BLACK NATIONALIST ORGANIZATION, LOS ANGELES.

REIES LOPEZ TIJERINA RELATED ENEMY OF MANKIND IS WHITE MAN IN THAT HE IS EVIL AND A LIAR AND DOES NOT KNOW JUSTICE. STATED NEXT TIME POLICE TRY TO ARREST HIM, "HE'LL SHOOT THEM LIKE DOGS". HE URGED BROWN AND BLACK MAN TO UNITE TO ACHIEVE THEIR RIGHTS AND THEIR LANDS. HE STATED IN ESSENCE THE END JUSTIFIED THE MEANS.

TIJERINA WAS FOLLOWED BY RONALD EVERETT MCKINLEY, MORE COMMONLY KNOWN ~~RON~~KARENGA, CHAIRMAN, BLACK NATIONALIST ORGANIZATION "US", WHO STATED WHITE MAN CORRUPT AND PRESIDENT JOHNSON MOST CORRUPT. HE CLAIMED ALL BLACKS ARE "NIGGERS" IN EYES OF WHITES. THE WHITES ARE OUR ENEMY, AND WE MUST ORGANIZE TO OVERCOME THEM. HE SAID NEGROES SHOULD ALLY WITH ANYONE WHO WILL HELP NEGROES ATTAIN THEIR GOALS. HE WAS ENCOURAGED TO SEE THAT VIETNAMESE ARE PUSHING "WHITEY" OUT OF VIETNAM. HE STATED THE BLACK CONGRESS REPRESENTED ALL BLACK NATIONALIST. HE CONCLUDED SPEECH BY STATING WHITE MAN IS "PAPER TIGER".

KARENGA FOLLOWED BY H. RAP BROWN WHO IDENTIFIED SELF AS NEW MINISTER OF JUSTICE, BPPSD. HE SAID DETROIT NOW CALLED "DESTROYT" (PHO); THAT WHITE PEOPLE WOULD HAVE YOU BELIEVE EVERYTHING BLACK IS BAD; EVERYONE IS BORN FREE, AND "WE MUST EXERCISE THIS RIGHT"; EVEN IF IT MEANS GOING AGAINST WHITE POWER STRUCTURE; POWER COMES FROM THE BARREL OF A GUN AND NEGROES MUST OBTAIN POWER AND GUNS; THAT

END PAGE THREE

PAGE FOUR

LA 100-68783

"LYNDON JOHNSON IS A TWO GUN OUTLAW FROM TEXAS"; THAT THERE WOULD BE NEGRO REVOLUTION IN THE UNITED STATES AND THAT'S NOT A "POLITICAL REVOLUTION". THE NEGROES BUILT THE COUNTRY AND WILL BURN IT DOWN; WHITE SUPREMACY IS SUPPORTED BY "RACIST PIG COPS"; PREDICTED BATTLE SIMILAR TO CIVIL WAR WITHIN NEXT FEW YEARS.

BROWN FOLLOWED BY STOKELY CARMICHAEL WHO INTRODUCED ONE ETHEL MINOR OF ATLANTA OFFICE, SNCC, WHO DID NOT SPEAK. CARMICHAEL STATED NO HONKIES WILL TELL ME WHERE OR WHEN I CAN OR CAN'T GO AND IF I WANT TO GO TO VIETNAM, CUBA, CHINA, I'LL GO; THAT WHITE PEOPLE HAVE COMMITTED GENOCIDE AGAINST INDIANS, ORIENTALS, NEGROES; WHITE MAN WIPED OUT INDIANS AFTER THEY TAUGHT HIM HOW TO SURVIVE; THEY PUT ORIENTALS- JAPANESE IN CONCENTRATION CAMPS AND ARE ATTEMPTING TO DO SAME TO NEGRO. HE TOLD AUDIENCE "DON'T GET EXCITED NOW, WE'RE GOING TO GET THEM"; WE DON'T CARE ABOUT THIS COUNTRY OR ANY OTHER GROUP, JUST OUR PEOPLE; WE ARE BLACK AFRICANS, NOT AMERICANS; OUR REAL ENEMY IS THE HONKIE; AMERICA WORKS ON THREE M'S: MISSIONARIES, FIRST, MONEY, SECOND, THEN THE MARINES; THE POVERTY PROGRAM IS A GIVE-AWAY PROGRAM TO STOP NEGRO REBELLION; IF WE DON'T GET OUR RIGHTS WE'LL BURN THE COUNTRY DOWN; STATED IF HUEY NEWTON CONVICTED, NEGROES MUST RETALIATE; THAT ALL BLACKS THROUGHOUT WORLD MUST UNITE SOCIALLY, ECONOMICALLY AND MILITARILY IN ORDER TO AVOID EXTERMINATION BY WHITES; DEMANDED THAT BLACKS WHO FURNISHED INFORMATION ON NEWLY FORMED NEGRO ORGANIZATIONS TO WHITE AUTHORITIES, SHOULD BE SHOT.

END PAGE FOUR

PAGE FIVE

LA 100-68783

ALL SPEAKERS WERE RECEIVED ENTHUSIASTICALLY AND WITH STANDING OVATIONS. CROWD OBSERVED TO BE BOISTEROUS, NOISEY BUT ORDERLY. PREDOMINATELY YOUNG NEGROES IN ATTENDANCE. NEGROES WEARING BLACK BERETS STATIONED THROUGHOUT SPORTS ARENA. NO INCIDENTS OF VIOLENCE REPORTED AND NO ARRESTS MADE. AT SEVEN FORTY PM FEBRUARY EIGHTEEN, RALLY CONCLUDED. FEATURED SPEAKERS THEN ADJOURNED TO BLACK CONGRESS HEADQUARTERS, SEVEN TWO TWO EIGHT SOUTH BROADWAY, LOS ANGELES, FOR SOCIAL AFFAIR.

[REDACTED] OBSERVED BY SPECIAL AGENT [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] LOCAL PRESS DENIED

ACCESS TO SPORTS ARENA PRESS ROOM, BUT SOME PRESS PRESENT ACCORDING TO [REDACTED] LAPD.

USE OF RECORDING DEVICES DENIED LOCAL PRESS. RECORDING OF ENTIRE PROGRAM MADE BY SPECIAL AGENT, LOS ANGELES OFFICE, PER BUREAU INSTRUCTION.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

CONFIDENTIAL INFORMANTS AND RACIAL LIAISON SOURCES, LOS ANGELES IN ATTENDANCE. REGION TWO U.S. ARMY COGNIZANT. AIRTEL AND ^{MEMO} ~~LHM~~ FOLLOWS. AIR MAIL COPIES TO CHICAGO, ALBUQUERQUE, ATLANTA, NEW ORLEANS, RICHMOND FOR INFORMATION AND COMPLETION OF FILES.

~~CORR... PG 1, LINE 3, LAST WD SHOULD BE "NEWTON".~~

END

HOLD PLS CH RCH

FBI WASH DC*

b7C

5-113a ((S-29-65))

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 2-19-68

Stokely Carmichael, H. Rap Brown and others spoke at a rally in Oakland, California, evening of 2-18-68. Information concerning a similar rally held last night in Los Angeles, California, set forth in the attached. This information was disseminated, as was information concerning the Oakland rally, by teletype to the White House, State, Central Intelligence Agency, Secret Service and the military. Copies are being furnished to the Attorney General and other Department officials.

We have instructed our New Orleans and Richmond Offices to advise appropriate Federal and state authorities regarding Brown's travel as requested by the Department.

WLS:mh

ha

D

WES/mh

also advise AG

PH

XEROX
MAR 1 1968
rtr

ENCLOSURE

100-446080-1168

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 2/20/68

Pertinent parts of the attached to be furnished to the White House, Attorney General, interested Divisions of the Department, military, and appropriate agencies, by memorandum. We concur with the recommendations of the San Francisco Office.

JFM:chs

Gen

WCS/m

D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 03-02-2006 BY 60309/ADC/TAM/DCG/bjs

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FBI WASH DC*

FEB 20 1968

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Bishop	✓
Mr. Casper	✓
Mr. Callahan	✓
Mr. Conrad	✓
Mr. Felt	✓
Mr. Gale	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Miss Holmes	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

FBI SAN FRAN

427 PM URGENT 2-20-68 TRB

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080) AND WASHINGTON FIELD
FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-721) 2P

b7C

INTERNAL SECURITY
STOKELY CARMICHEAL; IS - MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION.

b7C

RE BULET TO ALBANY, DECEMBER TWENTYONE, SIXTYSEVEN.

"THE BIRD'S WORD," NEWS SHEET MERRITT COLLEGE, OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA, TODAY STATES THAT CARMICHAEL TO SPEAK ON CAMPUS THREE P.M. AND NINE P.M., WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY TWENTYONE, NEXT, DURING MALCOLM X MEMORIAL DAY, WHICH IS SPONSORED BY THE SOUL STUDENTS ADVISORY COUNCIL AND THE "NORTHERN REGIONAL ALLIANCE OF BLACK STUDENTS UNIONS."

THESE APPEARANCES WILL BE COVERED BY [REDACTED]

Potential Security Informant

AN ESTABLISHED SOURCE OF THIS OFFICE. [REDACTED] WOULD NOT LIKE TO BE PLACED IN A POSITION WHERE SHE WOULD BE FORCED TO TESTIFY.

IT IS ANTICIPATED THAT REPRESENTATIVES OF THE "OAKLAND TRIBUNE" AND "BERKELEY GAZETTE" WILL COVER ONE OR BOTH APPEARANCES. WHITE SPECIAL AGENTS WILL ATTEND EACH APPEARANCE.

END PAGE ONE

FEB 1968

55 MAR 7 1968

Relayed to

REC-68

100-446080-1169

18 FEB 29 1968

PAGE TWO

BECAUSE THIS IS A STUDENT-SPONSORED AFFAIR, WILL BE HELD ON CAMPUS, AND MANY STUDENTS AT THIS SCHOOL ARE FAMILIAR WITH THE APPEARANCE OF SPECIAL AGENTS, IT IS FELT TO BE UNWISE THAT AGENTS ATTEMPT TO RECORD CARMICHEAL'S SPEECHES. HOWEVER, THE OAKLAND POLICE DEPARTMENT IS PLANNING TO SURREPTITIOUSLY RECORD THEM THROUGH PRIOR INSTALLATION OF NECESSARY EQUIPMENT.

CARMICHAEL NO DOUBT WILL HAVE IN HIS COMPANY THE SAME PEOPLE WHO MADE SURE LAST SATURDAY NIGHT THAT NO RECORDINGS WERE BEING MADE OF HIS SPEECH AT THE OAKLAND AUDITORIUM. AGENTS ATTENDING THAT AFFAIR WERE SEARCHED UPON ENTRANCE.

END

G

BGM

FBI WASH DC*

X

1968 OCT 10 10 14 AM '68

1968 OCT 10 10 14 AM '68

1968 OCT 10 10 14 AM '68

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-02-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 2/24/68

Information in attached indicates
Stokely Carmichael, former chairman of
Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee
(SNCC), is still on the West Coast;
however, he may return to New York City
to endeavor to raise \$100,000 bail for

[redacted] who is
presently in custody in New Orleans,
Louisiana, in lieu of \$100,000 bond.

Information is being furnished to
the Inter-Division Information Unit and
the Criminal Division of the Department.

WPD:bjb

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FEB 24 1968

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Bishop	✓
Mr. Casper	✓
Mr. Callahan	✓
Mr. Conrad	✓
Mr. Felt	✓
Mr. Gale	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Miss Holmes	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

FBI WASH DC*

FBI SAN FRAN
12:47

PM 2/24/68 DEFERRED JXR

TO: DIRECTOR (100-446080), CINCINNATI, NEW YORK, WASHINGTON FIELD
(100-43503)

FROM: SAN FRANCISCO (157-721)

b7C

K.
INTERNAL SECURITY
STOKELY CARMICHAEL; IS - MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION.

Re
REFERENCE MY TELETYPE
REMYTEL TO BUREAU AND WFO FEBRUARY TWENTYTWO, LAST, ON SUB-
JECT'S ACTIVITY IN SAN FRANCISCO AREA THAT DAY.

DURING A PEACE AND FREEDOM PARTY RALLY CIVIC CENTER PLAZA,
SAN FRANCISCO CITY HALL, TODAY, [REDACTED] CALIF.

[REDACTED] AND THE INDIVIDUAL WHO HAS PREVIOUSLY SUGGESTED THAT NEGRO
ATHLETES NOT PARTICIPATE IN THE SUMMER OLYMPICS, ANNOUNCED THAT
STOKELY CARMICHAEL HAS TO RETURN TO NEW YORK TO RAISE THE ONE HUN-
DRED THOUSAND DOLLAR CASH BAIL FOR [REDACTED] SINCE BONDSMAN WOULD
NOT GO BAIL FOR HIM. *100-446080-1170*

CARMICHAEL SUBSEQUENTLY OBSERVED IN OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA AND
AS LATE AS TEN THIRTY PM *PACIFIC STANDARD TIME* AT BENJAMIN FRANKLIN JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL
SAN FRANCISCO WHERE HE APPEARED AT ALL NEGRO AFFAIR SPONSORED BY
AFRO AMERICAN INSTITUTE, LOCAL NEGRO NATIONALIST ORGANIZATION.

END PAGE ONE.

XEROX

COPY SENT TO MR. TOLSON

57 MAR 8 - 1968
Relayed to WFO

PAGE TWO

SF 157-721

CARMICHAEL IS SCHEDULED FOR PRIVATE APPEARANCES IN AREA IMMEDIATELY SOUTH OF SAN FRANCISCO ON SATURDAY, FEBRUARY TWENTY FOUR.

SAN FRANCISCO WILL ATTEMPT TO LEARN OF CARMICHAEL'S DEPARTURE PLANS AND WILL ADVISE RECIPIENT OFFICES.

END.

JMS

FBI WASH DC*

TU CLRX

FEB 24 2 22 PM '68

VIA TELETYPE

FEB 26 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

b7C

WASHINGTON --06-- 6-20 PM RCM NEW YORK --01--

2-26-68 URGENT

PLAINTEXT

b7C

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080), WFO (100-43503), NEW YORK (100-153751),
FROM NEWARK (100-49533)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-M, SEDITION, OO-WFO

RECORDS DEPT. OF MOTOR VEHICLES, TRENTON, NJ, INDICATE NJ

REGISTRATION [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] TRENTON, NJ, FOR A SIXTY EIGHT CADILLAC,

GREEN AND BLACK, [REDACTED] NEWARK INDICES

CONTAIN NO INFO IDENTIFIABLE WITH THIS INDIVIDUAL.

ADMINISTRATIVE.

RE CHARLOTTE TELETYPE FEB. TWENTY SECOND LAST RE SUBJECT
PASSENGER IN CAR TICKETED FOR SPEEDING IN FAYETTEVILLE, NC.

END...EXR

FB-WASH-DC

NEW YORK...

REC-74
EX-110

100-446080-1171

22 FEB 29 1968

RELAYED TO
54 MAR 8 1968

FEB 1968

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

FEB 26 1968

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

FBI WASH DC*

FBI SAN FRAN

519PM DEERRED 2-26-68 MS

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080) ATLANTA, CINCINNATI, MEMPHIS & WASH FIELD
FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-721) 1P

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; IS - MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION

OAKLAND AND BERKELEY POLICE DEPARTMENT OFFICERS ADVISED THAT
STOKELY CARMICHAEL SEEN IN BERKELEY ON AFTERNOON OF FEBRUARY TWENTY-
SIX, INSTANT. ANY FURTHER INFORMATION REGARDING HIS PRESENCE
OR TRAVEL PLANS WILL BE FURNISHED.

END

BGM

FBI WASH DC*

X

b7C

REC-35

18 FEB-29 1968

MAR 6 1968

XEROX

FEB 968

RELAYED TO

F B I

Date: 2/26/68

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

Via _____

(Priority)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 4-10-87 BY SP-1 AG/JO

252028

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM : SAC, CINCINNATI (100-16858) (P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS -
SEDITION

b7C

Re WFO tels to Bureau, 2/8/68 and 2/10/68, Cincinnati tels to Bureau, 2/9/68, and Cincinnati airtel to Bureau, 2/12/68.

- 3 - Bureau (Enc. 11) (RM)
- 3 - Atlanta (Enc. 3) (RM)
- (1 - 100-6812) (CARMICHAEL)
- (1 - 100-6488) (SNCC)
- (1 - [redacted])
- 2 - Chicago (Enc. 2) (RM)
- (2 - 157- [redacted]) (BLACK NATIONALIST MOVEMENT, CINCINNATI DIVISION, IS - BN)
- 2 - Jackson (Enc. 2) (RM)
- (2 - 157- [redacted])
- 1 - Memphis (Enc. 1) (RM)
- (1 - 157- [redacted])
- 2 - New York (Enc. 2) (RM)
- (1 - 100- [redacted]) (SNCC)
- (1 - 100- [redacted])
- 4 - WFO (Enc. 4) (RM)
- (1 - 100-41626)
- (1 - 100- [redacted]) (CARMICHAEL)
- (1 - 100- [redacted])
- (1 - 157- [redacted])
- 8 - Cincinnati (2 - 100-16858)
- (1 - 100-14158) (SNCC)
- (1 - 157-1682) (BLACK NATIONALIST MOVEMENT)
- (1 - [redacted])
- (1 - 157-280) (MAJOR URBAN AREAS)
- (1 - [redacted])
- (1 - 157- [redacted])

REC-40

100-446080-1173

AGENCY: ACSI, SEC. OSI, SEC. SERV.,

REF: ISD, CRD, RAO, IDDC

HOW FORM: R/S

DATE FORM: 2/29/68

BY: [redacted]

4 FEB 27 1968

KRK:jkh
(25)

UNCL. INT. SEC.

57 MAR 11 1968

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

CI 100-16858

Enclosed for the Bureau are the original and ten copies of LHM, suitable for dissemination, setting forth summary of subject's activities while in the Cincinnati, Ohio, area on 2/8/68 and 2/9/68.

Also receiving copies of this LHM are the following offices:

Atlanta -	3 copies;
Chicago -	2 copies;
Jackson -	2 copies;
Memphis -	1 copy;
New York -	2 copies, and
WFO -	4 copies.

Also, one copy each of this LHM is being disseminated locally to U. S. Secret Service, 109th MI Group, OSI, and NISO, Cincinnati, Ohio.

[redacted]
[redacted] who furnished information to SAs [redacted]
[redacted] on the dates indicated.

[redacted] who furnished
information to SA [redacted] on 2/13/68.

The Special Agents who observed STOKELY CARMICHAEL and party leaving the Sheraton-Gibson Hotel at approximately 8:30 P.M. on 2/8/68, were SAs [redacted]

[redacted] SA [redacted] observed CARMICHAEL return to the Sheraton-Gibson Hotel at approximately 10:30 P.M. that same evening. The Special Agents who observed STOKELY CARMICHAEL and [redacted] leave the Sheraton-Gibson Hotel at approximately 12:25 were SAs [redacted]

[redacted] SA [redacted]
[redacted] observed CARMICHAEL and [redacted] board American Airlines Flight 476, which departed at 12:50 P.M., for Washington, D. C., as scheduled. The Special Agent who observed [redacted] leave the Sheraton-Gibson Hotel at approximately 3:30 A.M. on 2/9/68, was SA [redacted]

CI 100-16858

The information from [redacted]
Sheraton-Gibson Hotel, Cincinnati, regarding hotel registration, was furnished to SA [redacted]

b7C

For the information of the Bureau, [redacted]
[redacted] advised that he was among the group of SNCC members and friends of CARMICHAEL who accompanied him to the airport. He said while walking to board the plane, CARMICHAEL indicated plans were in preparation to hold a demonstration in Washington, D. C., from about 4/12-14/68. This demonstration was to be designated as BAD (Blacks Against the Draft), and alleged draft card burnings were to take place during this period. CARMICHAEL invited all of those present and requested that all local SNCC members come to Washington, D. C., during this period, and help in the demonstration. This was not set out in attached LHM because it might, due to the few people present, might compromise the informant. Informant advised he will follow up and attempt to obtain additional information regarding this demonstration.

b7C

b7D

This LHM is being classified "~~Confidential~~" since it contains information received from confidential sources of continuing value, the disclosure of which might tend to compromise their future effectiveness.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

Director
United States Secret Service
Department of the Treasury
Washington, D. C. 20220

Cincinnati, Ohio
February 23, 1968

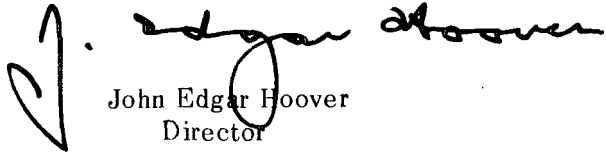
Dear Sir:

The information furnished herewith concerns an individual who is believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning Presidential protection, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

1. ☐ Has attempted or threatened bodily harm to any government official or employee, including foreign government officials residing in or planning an imminent visit to the U. S., because of his official status.
2. ☐ Has attempted or threatened to redress a grievance against any public official by other than legal means.
3. ☐ Because of background is potentially dangerous; or has been identified as member or participant in communist movement; or has been under active investigation as member of other group or organization inimical to U. S.
4. ☐ U. S. citizens or residents who defect from the U. S. to countries in the Soviet or Chinese Communist blocs and return.
5. ☒ Subversives, ultrarightists, racists and fascists who meet one or more of the following criteria:
 - (a) ☐ Evidence of emotional instability (including unstable residence and employment record) or irrational or suicidal behavior;
 - (b) ☐ Expressions of strong or violent anti-U. S. sentiment;
 - (c) ☐ Prior acts (including arrests or convictions) or conduct or statements indicating a propensity for violence and antipathy toward good order and government.
6. ☐ Individuals involved in illegal bombing or illegal bomb-making.

Photograph ☒ ^{being} ~~being~~ furnished ☐ enclosed ☐ is not available
☐ may be available through _____

Very truly yours,


John Edgar Hoover
Director

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s))
U. S. Secret Service (RM)

Enclosure(s)

(Upon removal of classified enclosures, if any, this transmittal form becomes UNCLASSIFIED.)



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Cincinnati, Ohio
February 26, 1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

DECLASSIFIED BY
ON.....

501 AG JC
4-15-87
252028

On February 8, 1968, [] a confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that Stokely Carmichael, accompanied by [] checked in at the Sheraton-Gibson Hotel, Cincinnati, Ohio, at about 4:00 A.M. on February 8, 1968. [] identified [] for the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). [] stated that Carmichael, [] were residing in Room [] with []

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b7D

[] said that Carmichael was in Cincinnati, Ohio, for the sole purpose of speaking before the National Conference of Negro Methodists, who were holding a three-day conference at the Sheraton-Gibson Hotel in Cincinnati.

b2
b7D

[] said that Carmichael remained in the hotel all day on February 8, 1968, attending various workshops of the National Conference of the Negro Methodists. []

[] related that in the early evening of February 8, 1968, Carmichael, accompanied by [] and several local SNCC members, went to the Wesley Methodist Chapel in Cincinnati, Ohio, to hear a speech by James Farmer, former Director of the Congress Of Racial Equality (CORE), and now a Professor at an Eastern college. Carmichael did not speak at the chapel, but remained there for several hours listening to other speakers and returned to the Sheraton-Gibson Hotel at about 10:30. From approximately 11:00 A.M. to 12:00 midnight, Carmichael spoke to approximately 250 Methodist Ministers who were attending the conference, as well as with local SNCC members. All of the ministers at the conference did not attend this speech, but only those that were interested. [] related that this was a closed speech in that no White persons were permitted to be present. After speaking for approximately one hour, Carmichael remained for about one-half hour or 45 minutes answering questions put to him by the ministers in []

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b7C
b7D

COPIES DESTROYED

343 FEB 26 1971

GROUP 1

Excluded from automatic downgrading
and declassification

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ENCLOSURE

100-446080-1173

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

attendance. The speech was held at the Roof Garden at the Sheraton-Gibson Hotel. After the speech, Carmichael returned to his suite for a private party.

[] stated that in attendance at this party were approximately four Negro ministers from the conference, as well as local SNCC members, the number of which was estimated at about 15. He said that there were several other people there whom he was not acquainted with, but [] stated there were about 35 persons in attendance. [] said that Carmichael's speech to the ministers was relatively tame and on a much higher plane than some of his previous talks. He said, in essence, that the Negro ministers should attempt to bring all Negroes together as a unit, and should concentrate more on the poor than on the middle class. In some of his discussions at the party, Carmichael related that when he got back to Washington, D. C., he and

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[] would try to organize and take over the school system there with the help of school officials, schoolteachers, and anyone else they can get to assist him, including pimps and prostitutes. Carmichael implied that this meeting with some school officials was going to be closed and/or secret, and it was hoped that through the cooperation of the Negro peoples in Washington, D. C., they could take over the schools and "run them their way."

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[] said that the party terminated at approximately 3:00 A.M.

On February 8, 1968, [] Sheraton-Gibson Hotel, Cincinnati, Ohio, advised that his records failed to disclose any registration under the names of Stokely Carmichael, []

He said Room [] is one room of a three-room suite, referred to by the hotel as the Presidential Suite. He said this room contains two bedrooms with twin beds in each and a living or sitting room. He said this room is registered to [] one of the Negro

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attending the National Negro Methodist Conference.

He said that the Presidential Suite consists of Rooms [] and it was furnished to the conference on a complimentary basis. The information by [] was furnished to a Special Agent of the FBI.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

At approximately 8:30 P.M. on February 8, 1968, Special Agents of the FBI observed Stokely Carmichael,

[redacted] leave the Sheraton-Gibson Hotel and drive off in a late model maroon Buick, bearing Ohio License Number [redacted] which is registered to one [redacted]

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[redacted] stated that [redacted] is not a SNCC member, but is a friend of [redacted]. Regarding [redacted] identified him as [redacted] [redacted] who is currently attending, or was attending, Tougaloo College in Mississippi, and is now believed to be a full-time SNCC representative.

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[redacted] remarked that Carmichael and his associates went directly to the Wesley Methodist Chapel and returned directly to the hotel after the talks were over.

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At approximately 10:30 P.M. on February 8, 1968, Stokely Carmichael and associates previously mentioned were observed at the Sheraton-Gibson Hotel, by Special Agents, FBI.

[redacted] a confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on February 9, 1968, that while Carmichael's party was in progress, Carmichael received a long distance telephone call from possibly Orangeburg, South Carolina, and was informed that there had been a disturbance there at a Negro college, and that several Negroes had been killed. [redacted]

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At approximately 2:30 A.M. on February 9, 1968, a Special Agent of the FBI observed [redacted] depart from the front entrance of the Sheraton-Gibson Hotel carrying two attache-type cases, and entering a taxicab.

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[redacted] a confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on February 9, 1968, that Carmichael was scheduled to depart with [redacted] via American Airlines Flight 476, at 12:50 P.M., February 9, 1968, for Washington, D.C., arriving at National Airport, Washington, D. C., at 2:00 P.M. on that date.

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RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

At 12:25 P.M. on February 9, 1968, Special Agents of the FBI advised that Carmichael, accompanied by [redacted] left the Sheraton-Gibson Hotel and proceeded to the Greater Cincinnati Airport at Erlanger, Kentucky. Special Agents of the FBI also observed that Carmichael's car was followed by another vehicle with [redacted] both local SNCC members. At 2:50 P.M., both Stokely Carmichael and [redacted] departed Greater Cincinnati Airport via American Airlines Flight 476.

b7C

The February 8, 1968 edition of the "Cincinnati Enquirer," a daily newspaper in general circulation in the Cincinnati, Ohio, area, contained an article captioned, "Negro Methodists Told To Stand Fast." This article indicated, in part, that some 300 Negro Methodist Ministers and laymen were here in Cincinnati for a three-day meeting to plan their role in the United Methodist Church.

The February 9, 1968 edition of the "Cincinnati Enquirer" contained an article captioned, "Carmichael Here At Church Meeting." This article reads as follows:

"Stokely Carmichael, militant Black Power advocate who ran into State Department troubles for tours behind the Iron Curtain, was in Cincinnati Thursday to speak to the National Conference of Negro Methodists at the Hotel Sheraton-Gibson. The public was not invited to the session.

"Carmichael was accompanied by George Ware, his principal aide, who was freed of sedition charges in Nashville, Tenn. last August. Ware visited Communist Cuba with Carmichael last fall."

The February 8, 1968 edition of the "Cincinnati Post and Times Star," a daily newspaper in general circulation in the Cincinnati, Ohio, area, contained an article captioned, "Carmichael Here For Talk." This article states as follows:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"Stokely Carmichael, former national president of SNCC and militant black power advocate, is in Cincinnati to speak at a workshop at the National Conference of Negro Methodists, now meeting at the Sheraton-Gibson.

"The Rev. James ~~Lawson~~, Memphis, Tenn., conference chairman, confirmed that Carmichael is in town, but would not say where he is staying.

"He says Carmichael will speak at a workshop entitled 'Black Churchmen-Black Revolution' tonight, but it will be closed to the press as are all other workshops of the conference.

"Rev. Mr. Lawson says Carmichael was brought here because the churchmen 'want to hear what he can tell them' and not for the publicity his appearance might arouse."

The February 9, 1968, Seven Star Final, edition of the "Cincinnati Post and Times Star" contained an article captioned, "Black Power Unanimously Approved." This article indicated that in a speech by James Farmer, former National Director of CORE, at the Wesley Chapel, before a group attending the National Conference of Negro Methodists, Farmer stated that the Negro "has got to stop being ashamed of being black and develop ethnic pride and identity." Farmer, according to this article, once considered a radical militant but now regarded as almost an elder statesman in the civil rights movement, is Director of Social Welfare at Lincoln University in Pennsylvania. The article states that during Farmer's speech, the "slight, stooped figure of Stokely Carmichael, former National President of SNCC, tiptoed quietly up to the front of the church and sat down. Carmichael, who coined the slogan 'Black Power' was not introduced. He refused to talk to newsmen after the meeting, but rode with friends back to the Sheraton-Gibson where he conducted a seminar for the church delegates on 'Black Churchmen-Black Revolution.'"

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RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

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The February 9, 1968 edition of the "Dayton Daily News," a daily newspaper in general circulation in Dayton, Ohio, contained an article by Emil Dansker, Daily News Staff Writer, captioned, "'Turn World Upside Down' --- Stokely." This article, which is datelined Cincinnati, refers to the talk made by Carmichael before the National Conference of Negro Methodists, on Thursday evening, February 8, 1968. This article reads as follows:

"A Bible-quoting Stokely Carmichael urged black Methodist ministers to 'turn the world upside down' in their efforts to help the poor in a talk before the National Conference of Negro Methodists Thursday night.

"Taking his text from Acts 17:6, Carmichael recalled for his audience of about 250 persons, the words, 'And when they found them not, they drew Jason and certain brethren unto the rulers of the city, crying these that have turned the world upside down are come hither also.'

"And citing also Jeremiah 1:10 --- 'See, I have this day set thee over the nations, and over the kingdoms, to root out and to pull down, and to destroy, and throw down, to build, and to plant' --- he told the clerics they are as chosen people in their mission to work among the poor as did Jesus.

"Black ministers basically should be dealing with poor people, Carmichael said, and should try to get away from the middle-class Negroes and quit appealing to him.

"'Your job,' he said, 'is to turn the world upside down.'

"To nearly every question following the hour-long talk, Carmichael replied, in effect, that if Jesus could direct his message work among the poor so can the church today.

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RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"How, asked one questioner, can the Methodist church combine the two factions represented on the one hand by the poor and on the other hand by a middle class reluctant to be directly involved in the civil right movement?

"Carmichael, a Methodist said, 'Jesus did it.'

"The former chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating committee received several rounds of applause, including a standing ovation, in a low-key talk scheduled as part of a new separatist movement between black and white Methodists.

"The talk officially was open only to registered delegates to the conference, but about 20 SNCC members attended as observers. They had been told not to participate in the question-and-answer session on grounds it might hinder a realistic exchange between Carmichael and regular delegates

"Carmichael and his aide, George Ware, were in Dayton earlier in the week. They refused to be interviewed by reporters, asserting conference officials had asked them not to seek publicity.

"'I don't have much to say,' said Ware, who declined comment as to when he expects to return to Dayton to set up activity on the city's West side. 'As a matter of fact, I don't have anything to say.'

"One source said the Dayton activity will include a combined effort with Negro Methodists."

The February 11, 1968 edition of the "Cincinnati Enquirer" contained an article captioned, "Go Help The Poor, Stokely Tells Pastors." This is another article concerning the speech made by Stokely Carmichael before the Negro Methodist Conference at the Sheraton-Gibson Hotel. This article reads as follows:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

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"Stokely Carmichael, black power advocate, told a group of Negro Methodist Ministers to go into the streets and help the poor.

"Carmichael made the statement to about 250 delegates last week in a closed session of the National Negro Methodist Conference at the Hotel Sheraton-Gibson. He told the ministers that the church should not be geared toward the middle class, but that its job was helping the poor.

"'You should do as Jesus did, go into the community, seek out the poor, preach to them, administer to them and bring them together as a unit. If the Negro minister fails to bring the poor Negroes together as a unit, then he is nothing more than a hustler in the community,' Carmichael said.

"The former Student Non-violent Co-ordinating Committee national chairman who has a Methodist background, said the church was the only agent within the Negro community which could bring about cohesiveness among the Negro people.

"He pointed out that the church can do this because dating back to slavery and after the slaves were freed, the Negro church was the one free agent in the Negro community controlled by them.

"Speaking to a quiet but tense audience, Carmichael began to generate emotions from the gathering as he told them that the church was the place where Negro culture was preserved.

"He said, 'When the black man was supposedly freed in this country, his culture began and was developed in the church. The rhythmic music forms which are so prevalent today in many other types of music other than spirituals, had their beginning in pews of the black churches. Ray Charles sings gospels. Aretha Franklin sings gospels, the late Sam Cooke sang gospels and brother James Brown had his beginning in the black church.'

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"Carmichael pointed out that evidence of this free expression is prevalent in the Negro churches today.

"The black man, today, sings, acts and talks like a black man when he is in his own church. We sing. We shout and we utter such common black man expressions as, amen, preach on, brother; uhun and yes, Lord," Carmichael said.

"The black power advocates said the white Methodist churches use hymns written by white song writers, such as John Wesley, 'But our black people want to hear 'Ezekel Saw the Wheel,' he said.

"Carmichael called for the Negro Methodist ministers to define black power. He told them not to accept the white man's definition of black power. 'Define it for yourself, see what it means to you and move on with it,' he said.

"He also said the black churches should take another look at Christianity and see if it really works for Negroes. He said Christianity was a white's man's religion and might not work for Negroes.

"This white man's religion shows Jesus Christ as a white man and this to a poor poverty-stricken black man represents an oppressor. How then can a black man really be taught to worship an oppressor?"

"Carmichael received a standing ovation as he closed by telling the ministers, 'Preach to them about black consciousness, instill pride in them, tell them black is beautiful and it's so beautiful to be black.'"

The February 10, 1968 edition of the "Cincinnati Post and Times Star" contained an article by James Adams captioned, "Leaders Fear Voice of Change Unheard by Society." This article contains comments, in part, of Reverend James Lawson, who chaired the National Conference of Negro Methodists meeting in Cincinnati. According to this article, Mr. Lawson had the following comment to make concerning Stokely Carmichael:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"Mr. Lawson says he has known Stokely Carmichael since 1960. Stokely is a Methodist.

"'Stokely has the basic compassion that is called for in the Christian faith' --- noticing my puzzled expression, he quickly added --- 'I know white America can't grasp that. _

"'Stokely doesn't really know where he is going himself. He is trying a means to revolutionize society.' Carmichael was brought to the conference here at the request of some of the more militant ministers. Others objected and threatened to leave in protest.

"'I feel we ought to listen to what he has to say --- even if we didn't agree,' Mr. Lawson says."

The February 9, 1968 edition of the "Cincinnati Post and Times Star" contained an article captioned, "Tense Peace Prevails in S. C. After 3 Students Die in Riot." This article, which was datelined Orangeburg, South Carolina, indicated that the South Carolina State College had suspended classes and urged students to stay in their dormitories today in the wake of a bloody battle between Highway Patrolmen and Negro students that claimed three lives and injured 36 persons. According to this article, among the injured, of whom two were listed as critical, was one Cleveland Sellers, an official of SNCC, who was arrested on a number of charges at a hospital emergency room and jail. This article quotes Sellers as stating, "Stokely (Carmichael) will probably come down if they incarcerate me." Sellers, according to this article, had told newsmen earlier that he had been in touch by telephone with Carmichael and H. Rap Brown, Head of SNCC. Sellers, who had been organizing a "Black Awareness Committee," on the campus, was charged with inciting to riot, destruction of property, arson, and assault and battery with intent to kill.

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b7D [] a confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on February 13, 1968, that Carmichael, on the evening of February 8, 1968, spoke before a group of approximately 200 Methodist ministers and

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

friends at a closed session at the Sheraton-Gibson Hotel. The ministers were a part of a group of Negro Methodist ministers attending a National Negro Methodist Conference there. He said Carmichael spoke from a prepared speech and it was directed more or less to the Negro ministers attending the conference. He said, in part, that the Negro should go into the streets and help the poor, and that the church should not associate itself with the middle class. During his talk, he made several references to sections of the Bible to illustrate his comments. He made no comment about the Negro Methodist separating from the White Methodist Church, and mentioned the difficulty the Negro ministers were having in getting into the policy-making process within the framework of the entire Methodist Church.

[redacted] a confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that Stokely Carmichael, who was accompanied by [redacted]

[redacted] was at the Wesley Methodist Church to hear a speech by James Farmer the evening of February 8, 1968. He said ministers from the National Negro Methodist Conference were in attendance, as well as approximately 15 local SNCC members, to hear Farmer's talk. [redacted] further advised that Farmer's speech, although scholarly, did not create the same enthusiasm as the speech made by Stokely Carmichael at the Sheraton-Gibson Hotel later that evening.

[redacted] stated that he was in attendance at Carmichael's speech, which was directed primarily to the ministers present, and was relatively tame in comparison to some of his other speeches. He said there was a question and answer period which followed Carmichael's speech, but no questions were put to him about his travels in Communist countries, but most of them pertained to the subject matter of Carmichael's speech.

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A P P E N D I X

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications, revised and published on December 1, 1961, to supercede the guide published on January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, U. S. House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., contains the following:

EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE (ECLC)

The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee is an organization with headquarters in New York, whose avowed purpose is to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities and discredit the FBI. The committee finds that the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, established in 1951, although representing itself as a non-Communist group, actually operates as a front for the Communist Party. It has repeatedly assisted, by means of funds and legal aid, Communists involved in Smith Act violations and similar legal proceedings. One of its chief activities has been and still is the dissemination of voluminous Communist propaganda material.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] In 1956, [REDACTED] was identified as a Communist Party member by a former FBI undercover agent within the Party. Summoned at that time to answer the allegation, his reply to all questions was, "I am answering no questions of this committee." This also became his stock reply to questions when he appeared during the Atlanta hearings. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b7C

Disputing the non-Communist claim of the organization, the committee finds that a number of other individuals connected with the ECLC also have been identified under oath as Communists.

(Committee on Un-American Activities, Annual Report for 1958, House Report 187, March 9, 1959, pp. 34 and 35.)

THIS IS LOANED TO YOU BY THE FBI
AND NEITHER IT NOR ITS CONTENTS ARE
TO BE DISTRIBUTED OUTSIDE THE AGENCY
TO WHICH LOANED.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-02-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/UCG/bas

FBI

Date: 2/19/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

b7C

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM: SAC, RICHMOND (100-10532) - RUC -
SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISC.; SEDITION
(OO: WFO)

REC-71

Re WFO teletype to Director, 2/13/68.

b7C

On 2/17/68, [redacted] Va.
DMV, Richmond, Va., advised SA [redacted] that
a review of her records reflect that a 1967 Va. License
[redacted] was issued to [redacted]
[redacted] Va., for a 1959 Peugeot stationwagon [redacted]

b7C

A review of the Richmond files reflects that
[redacted] was a victim in Richmond file [redacted]
[redacted] captioned. [redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]

PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS, CRA, 1964."

b7C

A review of that file reflects that [redacted]
was employed at [redacted]
[redacted] Alexandria, Va., and stated she was
a member of the Alexandria, Va. Chapter of CORE. She
was described as follows:

Sex
Race
Place of Birth
Date of Birth

ST 114

REC-71

25 FEB 22 1968

- ③ - Bureau (REGISTERED MAIL)
- 2 - WFO (REGISTERED MAIL) (100-43503)
- 1 - Atlanta (INFO) (100-6812) (REGISTERED MAIL)
- 1 - Richmond
- DWH:vsr
- (7)

100-806 940

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

59 MAR 11 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.

RH 100-10532

Height
Weight
Hair
Marital Status

b7C



Richmond file number [redacted] captioned,

[redacted]
[redacted]

b7C

[redacted] reflects that [redacted]

[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]

[redacted] was a complainant in
the file, having submitted a complaint to the Richmond
Office on 5/21/66 concerning alleged voting irregularities.

Date of Mail

2/24/68

Has been removed and placed in the Special File Room of Records Branch.

See File 66-2554-7530 for authority.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-02-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

Subject

JUNE MAIL

*Student Nonviolent
Coordinating Committee*

Removed By

99 MAR 8 1968

File Number

100-446080

JW

Permanent Serial Charge Out

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-161748) (RUC)

SUBJECT: b7C [redacted] aka
SM-SNCC
(OO:AT)

DATE: 2/26/68

Re report of SA [redacted] dated 1/15/68,
at Atlanta.

b7C SAS [redacted] who covered
the departure of ~~STOKEY~~ CARMICHAEL from JFK International
Airport, 12/11/67, identified the photograph of [redacted]
[redacted] submitted in referenced report as the individual they
observed on 12/11/67, driving the red Toyota sedan bearing
Alabama license [redacted] It was in this vehicle that ~~STOKEY~~
CARMICHAEL was driven away from the airport to [redacted]
[redacted] NYC, where the occupants of the vehicle entered an
apartment. The Agents, however, did not get a good view of
the driver of the vehicle until the car was driven away from
[redacted] Based on this observation, the driver of
the red Toyota was identified as [redacted]

b7C SAS [redacted]
observed the red Toyota again on 12/21/67, at which time it
was parked at [redacted] NYC. The Negro male who drove
the red Toyota on this occasion closely resembled the photograph
of [redacted] However, these Agents could not make
a positive identification since this individual was observed
in semi-darkness and from a distance.

- ② - Bureau (RM)
 - 2 - Atlanta (157-2119) (RM)
 - 2 - Birmingham (157-3205) (RM)
 - 1 - New York
- VJA:mfk
(7)

100-161748-10
NOT RECORDED
191 MAR 6 1968



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

56 MAR 7 - 1968

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-161748-10

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. Bishop

DATE: 2-26-68

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: [REDACTED]
ARLINGTON, VIRGINIA

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

b7C

b7C

On 2-20-68, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised Special Agent [REDACTED] they had received calls from captioned individual shortly after 11 a.m. on that date. In each instance, [REDACTED] expressed opposition to pending civil rights legislation and strongly criticized Negro leaders Martin Luther King, Stokely Carmichael and [REDACTED]. She declared "they" have three coffins ready for these individuals should they come to the Washington area to start trouble.

b7C

[REDACTED] apparently is identical with [REDACTED] [REDACTED] Arlington, Virginia, a chronic complainant. She is the subject of Bufile [REDACTED] which contains information indicating mental instability. Data concerning her previously has been furnished to Secret Service.

b7C

RECOMMENDATION:

That the enclosed letter be sent to the Richmond Office instructing that appropriate local authorities be advised.

Enclosure ~~sent~~ 2-27-68 ✓
1 - Mr. DeLoach - Enclosure
1 - Mr. Bishop - Enclosure
1 - Mr. Sullivan - Enclosure
1 - Mr. Rosen - Enclosure

DWB:nls (9)

100-146080-
NOT RECORDED
176 FEB 29 1968

ORIGINAL FILED IN

55 MAR 7 1968

FEB 26 1968
CORRESPONDENCE

F B I

Date: 2/27/68

Transmit the following in _____

PLAINTEXT

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

AIR MAIL

(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-721)(P)

SUBJECT: STOKLEY CARMICHAEL
IS - M; SEDITION
OO: WFO

Re WFO airtel to Director dated 2/20/68 with copies to Los Angeles and San Francisco.

San Francisco indices negative concerning [redacted]
[redacted] In absence of specific request, no investigation concerning [redacted] is being conducted in the San Francisco Division.WFO
WILL FURNISH
SAN FRAN. PERTINENT
SERIALS
FEB 3/13 - Bureau (RM)
2 - WFO (RM) (100-43503)
2 - San Francisco
PBN/dp
(7)

REC-31

EX-113

1 FEB 28 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-02-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bis

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Approved: _____

Sent _____

M

Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

57 MAR 7 - 1968

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

DATE: 3/1/68

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-721)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION

b7C

b7C

Re Washington Field airtel 2/20/68, concerning

[redacted]
Selective Service Headquarters, Sacramento,
advised that [redacted]
[redacted] has Local Draft Board 93, [redacted]
residing [redacted]
California.

b7C

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - Los Angeles (100-68783)(RM)
- 1 - Washington Field (100-43503)(RM)
- 1 - San Francisco

APC/jr
(6)

fig-

REC 67

100-446080-1176

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-02-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

10 MAR 4 1968

100 806 960

RACIAL INT. SEC.

cut
62 MAR 12 1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

DATE: 03-02-2006
CLASSIFIED BY: 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(6) 03-02-2031

DATE: 2/28/68

TO : Director, FBI (100-446080)

FROM : Legat, London (105-2989) (RUC)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISC. (SEDITION)

OO: Atlanta (100-6812)

ReBuairtel 1/5/68.

All efforts on the part of this office to obtain
the verbatim transcript and/or tape of the interview
conducted of subject [redacted]
[redacted] on 12/12/67 have not been effective. [redacted]

3 - Bureau
1 - Liaison (direct)
1 - London
LM:vw
(5)

REC-75

100 446080

1177

MAR 4 1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SECRET



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE NEW YORK	OFFICE OF ORIGIN WFO	DATE 3/1/68	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 1/23-2/29/68
TITLE OF CASE STOKELY CARMICHAEL		b7C	TYPED BY iah
		CHARACTER OF CASE IS-MISCELLANEOUS SEDITION	

REFERENCES

AT report dated 11/16/67.
 Bu letter dated 12/22/67.
 AT report dated 1/22/68.
 NY report dated 2/1/68.

b7C

-P-

ADMINISTRATIVE

This report carries the subject as ARMED AND DANGEROUS inasmuch as Atlanta report dated 11/16/67, reflected in their synopsis that the subject was ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED						ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN: PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐ YES ☐ NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS ☐ YES ☐ NO
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		

APPROVED	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW
COPIES MADE:	8-Bureau (100-446080) (RM) 1-AUSA, SDNY, NYC (RM) 1-Secret Service, NYC (RM) 1-NISO, NYC (RM) 3-108th MI Group, NYC (RM) 1-OSI, NYC (RM) 1-Atlanta (100-6812) (RM) 3-Washington Field (100-43503) (Info) (RM) 2-New York (100-153751)	100-446080-1178 REC-33 12 MAR 5 1968 ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 03-02-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/b2

Dissemination Record of Attached Report		Notations
Agency	Request Recd.	
ACSI, OSI, SEC. SERV.	ESD, CRD, CEM, IDIU, STATE	b2 RACIAL INT. SECT.
Date Fwd:	3/15/68	
How Fwd:	145	
By	PTB/dk	

59 MAR 20 1968

100-446080-1178
 806940

NY 100-153751

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source

[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted] concealed by
request.

b2
b7C
b7D

Informants who could furnish no additional pertinent information are as follows:

b2
b7D

[redacted]

LEADS

NEW YORK

AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK. Will continue to follow and report the activities of this subject.

-B*-

COVER PAGE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to: 1-U.S. Secret Service, NYC (RM)
1-NISO, NYC (RM)
3-108th MI Group, NYC (RM)
1-OSI, NYC (RM)
1-AUSA, SDNY, NYC (RM)

b7C

Report of: [REDACTED] Office: New York, New York

Date: March 1, 1968

Field Office File #: 100-153751 Bureau File #: 100-446080

Title: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY-MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION

Synopsis:

b7D

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

-P-

DETAILS:

On January 18, 1968, [REDACTED] made available a copy of [REDACTED]

b2

b7C

b7D

[REDACTED] A Special Agent of the New York Office [REDACTED] on January 18, 1968. [REDACTED] was made for the exclusive use of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and cannot be made public without the issuance of a subpoena duces tecum addressed to [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

The following is [REDACTED]

b7D

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls
ON 03-02-2006

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-153751

b7C

On February 1, 1968, [redacted]
[redacted] The Saturday Evening Post, 641 Lexington Avenue,
New York City, advised SA [redacted] that approximately
one month ago, STOKELY CARMICHAEL and JAMES FORMAN came to his
office and discussed an article that would be written by
CARMICHAEL and be published in the Saturday Evening Post
concerning CARMICHAEL and his travel abroad. [redacted] advised
that the article was to have been written in the first person
by CARMICHAEL with help from [redacted] advised the
agreed price for the article was \$7,500.00 payable to
JAMES FORMAN, of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.
[redacted] advised there were some technical difficulties and
that he has not heard from CARMICHAEL or FORMAN since, and
[redacted] stated that there would not be any article. [redacted]
advised he felt CARMICHAEL and FORMAN were trying to see
just how much money they could possibly get for such an
article.

- 14* -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE **2-28-68**

Date _____

Stokely Carmichael, former Chairman of Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) has been in California where he appeared at rallies held to raise funds for a Negro man charged with the murder of a policeman. Also appeared in support of militant Negro nationalists arrested on local charges, including conspiracy to commit murder.

Attached reports Carmichael is now in Atlanta, Georgia. We are continuing to furnish information concerning him to the Internal Security Division of the Department.

WLS:mh

*HR**WES/and*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-02-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

VIA TELETYPE

FEB 28 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Bishop	✓
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

153 AM URGENT 2-28-68 LWG

TO DIRECTOR, WASHINGTON FIELD, NEW YORK AND SAN FRANCISCO

NEW YORK VIA WASHINGTON

FROM ATLANTA

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-M; SEDITION. *Internal Security - Miscellaneous*

[REDACTED] ADVISES SUBJECT ARRIVED ATLANTA FEBRUARY TWENTYSEVEN LAST. MODE OF TRAVEL UNKNOWN. REPORTEDLY MAKING ARRANGEMENTS TO SPEAK AT MOREHOUSE COLLEGE AT ONE PM FEBRUARY TWENTY EIGHT. TEXT OF SPEECH NOT ANNOUNCED. PRESENT PLANS CALL FOR SUBJECT TO DEPART ATLANTA TWO THIRTY PM FEBRUARY TWENTY EIGHT FOR NEW YORK. IN EVENT OF SPEECH AT MOREHOUSE COLLEGE, ATLANTA WILL COVER THROUGH ESTABLISHED SOURCES. FUTURE ITINERARY AS DEVELOPED WILL BE FURNISHED INTERESTED OFFICES. SOURCE ADVISES SUBJECT VISITING KNOWN SNCC ASSOCIATES [REDACTED]

RECEIVED: 2:02 AM DHM

XEROX

FEB 1968

TWO COPIES TO WFO

Relayed to

REC.O DE COUCH

FEB 28

8 30 AM '68

b7C

REC-101

5 MAR 5 1968

100-446080-1179

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-02-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

F B I

Date: 2/29/68

Transmit the following in PLAINTEXT
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE URGENT (Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
ATTENTION: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC; SEDITION
RE WFOTEL TWO TWENTYNINE SIXTYEIGHT.

SUBJECT FIRST OBSERVED TO DEPART RESIDENCE TWO FIFTY TWO PM
THIS DATE WITH UNKNOWN FEMALE THAT ENTERED RESIDENCE WITH SUBJECT
LATE EVENING OF TWO TWENTY EIGHT LAST AND PROCEEDED TO SNCC HDQTS.
BOTH LATER RETURNED SUBJECT'S RESIDENCE IN LATE AFTERNOON. THEY
DEPARTED RESIDENCE EARLY EVENING AND BRIEFLY VISITED NEW SCHOOL
FOR AFRO-AMERICAN THOUGHT, TWENTY TWO ZERO EIGHT FOURTEENTH STREET
NW, WDC, WHERE SOCIAL APPEARED IN PROGRESS. BOTH LATER OBSERVED
TO VISIT NIGHT CLUB NEAR SUBJECT'S RESIDENCE.

ADMINISTRATIVE

AIRMAIL COPY TO ATLANTA.

EX-110

REC 36

100-446080-1180

MAR 5 1968

- 2 - Bureau
- 2 - Teletype Unit
- 1 - Atlanta (RM) (AM)
- 2 - WFO
- AAM:tkm
- (7)

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *WCS*

DATE: February 24, 1968

FROM : Mr. J. A. Sizoo

1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan

1 - Mr. J. A. Sizoo

1 - [redacted]

1 - Mr. J. C. Trainor

1 - [redacted]

1 - [redacted]

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION

b7C

At 9:06 p.m. Special Agent in Charge (SAC) Jensen, Memphis, contacted Duty Agent [redacted] furnishing the following information:

[redacted] (an SAC contact). had advised that he had just received a call from one [redacted] who stated that subject would be in Memphis on Monday, 2/26/68. The reason for subject's travel to Memphis was supposed to be in connection with the strike of Sanitation Workers. [redacted] had stated that he had furnished this information to the local police. Jensen requested any information as to Carmichael's current whereabouts or indications he planned to visit Memphis.

Jensen was contacted at 9:41 p.m. after contact with the San Francisco Office and was advised that subject was then in San Francisco giving a speech and had one other personal appearance scheduled for this evening in that city. He was also told that the Bureau has had varying reports that subject was supposed to travel to New York City to attempt to raise bond money for [redacted] may visit Atlanta over the weekend; and was scheduled to take part in a student black power convention in Ohio over the weekend. No positive information on hand indicating he was to travel to Memphis.

At this time, Jensen stated [redacted] has now been identified as one [redacted] a black power advocate supposedly from Chicago where he claims to be [redacted] of the National Black Liberation Front. [redacted] according to Jensen, is supposed to have claimed he would have some of his friends who were powerful in the black power groups come to help out in the situation in Memphis. Jensen requested any information available on [redacted] or his group.

No record in Bureau files identifiable with [redacted] or his group. Jensen so advised.

ACTION: None. For information.

ERH:rwf ()

EX 101

12 MAR 5 1968

54 MAR 24 1968

FBI WASH DC*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-02-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bis

FBI SAN FRAN

7:33AM 2-18-68 DEFERRED MXG

TO: DIRECTOR, ATLANTA, CHICAGO, LOS ANGELES, NEW YORK, WASHINGTON
FIELD OFFICE

FROM: SAN FRANCISCO(SF)(4)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL IS-MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION BUREAU FILE (100-446080)

SF FILE (157-721)

b7C

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

IS - SNCC; BUREAU FILE SF FILE

b7C

JAMES FORMAN IS - SNCC, BUREAU FILE (157-442) SF FILE (100-54893).

BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF DEFENSE, (BPPSD) RACIAL MATTERS - BPPSD; BUREAU
FILE (105-58841). SF FILE (100-58841)

b2

b7C

STUDENTS NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE RACIAL MATTERS - SNCC
BUREAU FILE (100-439190); SF FILE (100-50885).

BPPSD PROGRAM FOR BENEFIT OF HUEY P. NEWTON DEFENSE FUND WAS
HELD IN OAKLAND MUNICIPAL AUDITORIUM BETWEEN EIGHT O'CLOCK PM FEBRUARY
SEVENTEEN AND TWELVE THIRTY AM FEBRUARY EIGHTEEN. NEWTON, MINISTER OF
DEFENSE BPPSD IS INCARCERATED ALAMEDA CITY JAIL ON A MURDER CHARGE.

MASTER OF CEREMONIES WAS LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, MINISTER OF
INFORMATION OF BPPSD WHO ANNOUNCED THAT A MERGER OF BPPSD AND SNCC
HAD TAKEN PLACE.

END PAGE ONE FEB 1968

MR. BELCACH FOR THE DIRECTOR

NOT RECORDED
19 MAR 4 1968

59 MAR 1 1968

PAGE TO

JAMES FORMAN OF SNCC WAS INTRODUCED AS NEW MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS BPPSD, REFERED TO THE ASSASSINATION OF MALCON^m X AND DEMANDED THAT REPRISALS BE TAKEN FOR FUTURE ASSASSINATIONS OF ANY BLACK LEASERS. FORMAN DEMANDED AS REPRISAL OF HIS ASSASSINATION THE DESTRUCTION OF FIFTEEN WAR PLANTS, FIFTEEN POWER STATIONS, FIFTEEN POLICE STATIONS, AND DEATH OF FIFTY POLICE OFFICERS. FORMAN DEMANDED THE PRICE BE TRIPLED FOR THE ASSASSINATION OF STOKELY CARMICHAEL OR H. RAP BROWN. FORMAN STATED THAT THE SKY WOULD BE THE LIMIT IF HUEY NEWTON WAS EXECUTED.

** CHARLES R. GARRY, DEFENSE ATTORNEY FOR HUEY NEWTON INTRODUCED THE MOTHER OF NEWTON AND ASSERTED THAT NEWTON WOULD NOT BE FOUND GUILTY IF A PROPER JURY COULD BE SELECTED.

RON DELLUMS, BERKELEY CITY COUNCILMAN READ A RESOLUTION HE INTENDS TO INTRODUCE BEFORE THE BERKELEY CITY COUNCIL ON FEBRUARY TWENTY ASKING THAT NEGROES BE REQUIRED AS JURORS AT THE TRIAL OF HUEY P. NEWTON.

ROBERT AVAKIAN SPOKE AS A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PEACE AND FREEDOM PARTY. AVAKIAN EXPRESSED SYMPATHY WITH AND SUPPORT FOR NEGRO¹ REVOLUTION AGAINST OPRESSION IN THE UNITED STATES. AVAKIAN STATED THAT THE CAP¹TALIST, IMPERIALIST, RACIS¹ POWER STRUCTURE IN THIS COUNTRY MUST BE DESTROYED.

END PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE

CLEAVER AND AVAKIAN BOTH ANNOUNCED AND ENDORSED HUEY P. NEWTON AS THE BPPSD CANDIDATE FOR CONGRESS FROM THE SEVENTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA.

H. RAP BROWN WAS INTRODUCED AS A SUPRISE GUEST WHO HAD BEEN MADE MINISTER OF JUSTICE OF THE BPPSD. BROWN ASSERTED THAT BLACK WARFARE INSIDE THIS COUNTRY WOULD ANSWER THE PROBLEM OF NEGRO UNEMPLOYMENT.

BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, CHAIRMAN OF BPPSD URGED ALL NEGRO FAMILIES TO HAVE SHOT GUNS IN THEIR HOMES TO REMOVE AND NULLIFY THE OCCUPYING ARMY OF POLICE OFFICERS IN THE BLACK COMMUNITIES.

STOKLEY CARMICHAEL WAS NOMINATED BY CLEAVER AND UNANIMOUSLY ACCLAIMED BY A STANDING OVATION OF NEGROES PRESENT AS "PRIME MINISTER OF THE AFRO-AMERICA TO ALL AFRICANS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD".

STOKLEY CARMICHAEL URGED A UNITING OF ALL BLACKS IN ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD TO PRESERVE THE RACE FROM GENOCIDE AT THE HANDS OF THE "HONKYS" MEANING CAUCASIANS. CARMICHAEL ASSERTED THAT ALL BLACKS MUST UNITE SOCIALLY, ECONOMICALLY, AND MILITARILY IN ORDER TO AVOID EXTERMINATION BY WHITES. CARMICHAEL DEMANDED THAT BLACKS REFUSE TO COOPERATE WITH WHITE GOVERNMENT AUTHORITIES OR THEY WOULD BE "OFFED" MEANING EXECUTED.

ETHEL MINOR OF ATLANTA OFFICE OF SNCC WAS INTRODUCED BUT DID NOT SPEAK.

THE PROGRAM WAS ATTENDED BY APPROXIMATELY FOUR THOUSAND FIVE HUNDRED PEOPLE, TWO THIRDS OF WHOM WERE NEGROES. ALL SPEAKERS WERE GREETED BY WILDLY ENTHUSIASTIC APPLAUSE AND STANDING OVATIONS. NO INCIDENTS OF VIOLENCE HAVE BEEN REPORTED AND NO ARRESTS WERE MADE.

AS OF TWO O'CLOCK AM FEBRUARY EIGHTEEN, STOKELY CARMICHAEL AND
END PAGE THREE

PAGE FOUR

[REDACTED] IN COMPANY WITH MEMBERS OF BPPSD ATTENDED A SOCIAL
GATHERING WITH A PROGRAM OF ENTERTAINERS AT [REDACTED]

b7C

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
AT THREE O' CLOCK AM, FEBRUARY EIGHTEEN, A BUS LOAD OF FORTY
ONE NEGROES DEPARTED FROM OAKLAND ENROUTE LOS ANGELES TO ATTEND A
RALLY AT LOS ANGELES SPORTS ARENA ON THE AFTERNOON OF THIS DATE. THE
BUS BEARS THE NAME OF "GUITON" AND NUMBER FOUR TWO ZERO THREE WITH
CALIFORNIA LICENSE X TWO ONE ZERO ONE NINE.

ALL PERSONS ENTERING THE AUDITORIUM AREA WERE FRISKED FOR WEAPONS,
CAMERAS OR CONCEALED RECORDING DEVICES. PHOTOGRAPHERS FROM METRO-
POLITAN PRESS SERVICES AND ALL TELEVISION CHANNELS WERE EXCLUDED FROM
THE AUDITORIUM DURING THE PROGRAM. THE USE OF RECORDING DEVICES WAS
ALSO DENIED TO THESE NEWS MEDIA. A RECORDING OF THE ENTIRE PROGRAM
WAS MADE BY THE INTELLIGENCE UNIT OF THE OAKLAND POLICE DEPARTMENT.
COPIES WILL BE OBTAINED.

END

BGM

FBI WASH DC*

TU CX

CC-MR. SULLIVAN

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls
ON 03-02-2006

FBI

Date: 2/9/68

Transmit the following in

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

AIR MAIL

(Priority)

b7C

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

(U)

FROM : SAC, CINCINNATI

(P)

(U)

SUBJECT:

(U)

Re Cincinnati teletypes dated 2/8 and 9/68 and
Bureau telephone call to Cincinnati 2/9/68 regarding
"STOKELY CARMICHAEL; IS - MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION."

b2

b7D

PURPOSE

The purpose of this communication is to recommend
an additional [redacted] for the vital information
furnished by captioned informant on 2/7-8/68. (U)

The information is as follows:

STOKELY CARMICHAEL was reported to be coming to
Cincinnati, Ohio, on the evening of 2/7/68. We alerted our
sources and informants, and captioned informant advised
about 9:30 PM, 2/7/68, that he had learned a very important
person, referred to as "the star," was to arrive at the
airport in Dayton on the evening of 2/7/68. (U)

b7C

b7D

Captioned informant was requested by [redacted]

(U)

- 3 - BUREAU (RM)
2 - CINCINNATI

(1 - [redacted])
(1 - [redacted])

HJM:mak
(5)

NOT RECORDED

141 MAR 4

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b7C

b7D

FEB 19 1968

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP (S) OF
DATE 2-18-68

62 MAR 11 1968

Approved:

Special Agent in Charge

Class. & Ext. By SP7mac/119-18-81
Reason-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2
Date of Review 2-9-88

Sent

M

P

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RACIAL INT. SECT.

ORIGINAL FILED IN

b2

b7D

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

b7C

b7D

[REDACTED] where there was a meeting of about thirty people relative to the racial situation in [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Also present at the meeting were [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] SNCC, and several other prominent individuals connected with SNCC and the racial movement. (S) (U)

Informant stayed with the conference until [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

b7C

b7D

[REDACTED] which is across the street from the Cincinnati Office of the FBI. Agents of the Dayton RA had the package under surveillance during this time, and we were able to put CARMICHAEL in the Gibson, Room 518-522, at which time FBI Agents, Cincinnati Headquarters, took over the surveillance and established vantage points. (S) (U)

From the conference, [REDACTED] obtained very valuable and vital information which the Cincinnati Office believes is a new look with respect to CARMICHAEL, his activities, and SNCC. We say this because it appears now from the informant that CARMICHAEL has been somewhat subdued, did not want any publicity in Cincinnati or Dayton, and, as a matter of fact, sought secrecy in all of his operations. Some of his own people did not even know he was coming, and they were surprised when he arrived at the meeting. (S) (U)

b2

b7D

SNCC's new policy was discussed as follows:

To attain unity among all Negro groups, with the ultimate goal of black power. (See Cincinnati teletype 2/9/68.) SNCC is presently taking a soft line on black power in order to bring all Negroes into their fold. According to source, CARMICHAEL said a new approach would

(S) (U)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b2

b7D

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[redacted]

be that conferences and speeches would be decreased, and instead they are going out and work directly with the Negro people. CARMICHAEL said the rebellion is ready in its final phases all over the world, and the only ones not ready are the Negroes in the United States. Vietnam and Korea already have their rebellions, and other Asian countries, Africa, and South America are preparing for same. CARMICHAEL said an analysis of all the riots in the United States during the past few years indicated they were unorganized and had no real leadership. (S) (U)

OBSERVATION

The information furnished by [redacted] is extremely important and vital to our intelligence network in the racial field. It is information which could not have come from any other source except an informant who was "in the inner circle". This informant saved this Office valuable Agent hours of surveillance. [redacted]

b2

b7C

b7D

[redacted]

after which he took the time to furnish us with the full details of the conference. (S) (U)

As the Bureau knows, an informant of this nature is invaluable. As an incentive to continue the outstanding work he has done, we recommend an additional [redacted] [redacted] for this specific assignment. (S) (U)

b2

For the Bureau's information, he is a paid informant, and by letter dated 2/6/68 we requested that he be paid up to [redacted] for services commensurate to the value of information received and up to [redacted] actually incurred. (S) (U)

b2

For the Bureau's information, in order to insure that he is not a plant, we gave a specific assignment to (S) (U)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b2
b7D

[REDACTED]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[REDACTED]

who attended a conference in CARMICHAEL's room at the Sheraton-Gibson during the early morning hours of 2/9/68, and his report confirmed information previously furnished by [REDACTED] at Dayton. ~~(S)~~ (U)

b2
b7C
b7D

RECOMMENDATION:

In view of the outstanding performance of the informant and the vital and valuable nature of the information furnished, it is recommended by this Office that the Bureau authorize us to [REDACTED] for this specific operation. ~~(S)~~ (U)

b2
b7D

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Date of Mail Feb. 20, 1968

Has been removed and placed in the Special File Room of Records Branch.

See File 66-2554-7530 for authority.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-02-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

Subject JUNE MAIL Stateloy, Carmichael

Removed By 99 MAR 14 1968

File Number 100- 446080- 1182

Permanent Serial Charge Out

2/29/68

AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISC; SED
(OO:WFO)

ReWFOairtel to Bureau, dated 2/16/68, with LHM
setting forth summary of subject's activities from 2/4 to
13/68. No copies were furnished BS, LA, or SF.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 11 copies of
an LHM suitable for dissemination, setting forth summary of
subject's activities for 2/14-15/68. Two copies each are
furnished the offices listed in the copy count.

Local dissemination made to Secret Service, AUSA,
and Military Intelligence Agencies.

All receiving offices submit LHM suitable for
dissemination containing summary of subject's activities
while on visit to those areas, followed by reports containing
any evidentiary data developed.

- ENCLOSURE
- ③ - Bureau (Enc 1)
 - 2 - Atlanta (100-6812) (Enc 2) (RM)
 - 2 - Boston (157-437) (Enc 2) (RM)
 - 2 - Cincinnati (100-16858) (Enc 2) (RM)
 - 2 - Los Angeles (100-68783) (Enc 2) (AM) (RM)
 - 2 - San Francisco (157-721) (Enc 2) (AM) (RM)
 - 1 - WFO

WHL:psm
(14)

AIRTEL

C. C. - Bishop

AGENCY: ACSI, OSI, SEC. SERV.
ISD, CRD, EDIU

HOW FORM: R/S

DATE FORM: 3/5/68

BY: PTB

EX-110

REC 3

100-446080-1183

806 980

MAR - 1 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.

50 MAR 7 3 1968



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C. 20535

February 29, 1968

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

The following pertinent activities of Stokely Carmichael for February 14 and 15, 1968, were as follows.

On Wednesday, February 14, 1968, Carmichael left his residence, 2200 12th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. (WDC), and went to the headquarters of the Washington office of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), 1234 U Street, N.W., WDC. Later he attended a press conference called by the Black United Front (BUF), held at the New School for Afro-American Thought, 2208 14th Street, N.W., WDC. At the press conference a review was held for the press about the organizational setup of the BUF, a Statement of Purpose was read, and a discussion was held about various positions the organization would take on public issues. Carmichael was present during the press conference but made no statements. Members of the BUF present mentioned that Stokely Carmichael had been named the Chairman of the Board of Conveners (Steering Committee) of the BUF. After the press conference was over, Carmichael returned to SNCC Headquarters, where he remained into the evening hours.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-02-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bis

COPIES DESTROYED
343 FEB 26 1971

100-446080-1183
ENCLOSURE

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

On Thursday, February 15, 1968, Carmichael was at his residence during the morning, and later went to SNCC Headquarters. In the afternoon he went to Dulles Airport, where he boarded United Airlines, Flight Number 57, due to depart 5:45 p.m. en route to San Francisco, California.

This document contains neither
recommendations nor conclusions of
the FBI. It is the property of
the FBI and is loaned to your agency;
it and its contents are not to be
distributed outside your agency.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FEB 28 1968

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

FBI WASH DC*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-02-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

FBI SAN FRAN

10:10

PM DEFERRED 2/27/68 JXR

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080), AND WFO (100-43503)
FROM: SAN FRANCISCO (157-721)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS - MISC.; SEDITION.

RACIAL INFORMANT ADVISED TODAY THAT CARMICHAEL PLANNING TO STAY
IN SF AREA THROUGH MARCH SEVEN BECAUSE OF ARREST ON FEB. TWENTY-
FIVE OF [REDACTED] OF BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF-
DEFENSE BY BERKELEY PD. ACTIVITY WILL BE FOLLOWED THROUGH SOURCES
AND INFORMANTS.

END.

BGM

FBI WASH DC*

X

REC-21

EX-110

100-446080-1184

1 MAR 6 1968

MAR 2 1968

RELAYED TO

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC, Legat, London (Your file ²⁹⁸⁹ 105-2928) DATE: 3/4/68FROM : Director, FBI (Bufile and Serial 100-446080)
 ~~Report to Bureau 2/28/68~~
 ☒ Post in file and destroy 0-1 (For SOG use only)SUBJECT : STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITIONALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-02-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls☐ 1. Bufiles indicate this case is delinquent. Give specific reason for delinquency.☒ Re Legat, Paris letter dated 1/16/68.☒ 2. DATE ☐ airtel ☐ letterhead memo ☒ submitted
 ☒ letter ☐ 90-day progress letter ☒ will be submitted 2/28/68 RVC
 transcript and/or tape
 Reporting employee☐ 3. If valid reason exists for not submitting report at this time, state reason specifically and when report will be submitted☐ 4. Status of ☐ Appeal ☐ Inquiry ☐ Investigation ☐ Prosecution
 ☐ airtel ☐ letterhead memo
 ☒ 5. Submit ☐ report ☐ letter ☐ 90-day progress letter by

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAR 9 - 1968	
(Date)	
LEGAL ATTACHE - LONDON	

(Place reply hereon and return to Bureau. Note receipt and acknowledgment on top serial in case file.)

CODE

3/5/68

TELETYPE

URGENT

1 -
1 -

b7C

TO SACS, MOBILE
BIRMINGHAM

FROM DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS,
SEDITION

RE BIRMINGHAM TELETYPE, MARCH FOUR LAST, CAPTIONED QUOTE
SNCC, INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC UNQUOTE INDICATING CARMICHAEL WILL
DELIVER A SPEECH OPEN TO THE PUBLIC, STILLMAN COLLEGE, TUSCALOOSA,
ALABAMA, MARCH TWELVE NEXT, AND MOBILE TELETYPE, MARCH FOUR LAST,
INDICATING CARMICHAEL'S SCHEDULE TO SPEAK TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE,
TUSKEGEE, ALABAMA, MARCH ELEVEN NEXT. REBUAIRTEL TO ALL OFFICES
DATED DECEMBER TWENTY-ONE LAST CONTAINING INSTRUCTIONS CONCERNING
THE COVERAGE OF CARMICHAEL'S SPEECHES. BIRMINGHAM AND MOBILE
SUTEL SPECIFIC COVERAGE BEING PLANNED FOR CARMICHAEL'S SPEECHES.

COPY MAILED TO WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE.

WFO

PTB:lmr
(5)

VIA TELETYPE

6:26 PM SRW
MAR 5 1968

REC 3
EX 101

MAR 6 1968

NOTE: At the request of the Department, we are conducting a seditious investigation of Carmichael. The Department has requested that whenever possible in our investigation of Carmichael, Agents attend and mechanically record any public speeches or statements of Carmichael of which the Bureau may receive advance notice. Where such a situation is possible, we are in each instance specifically requesting clearance from the Attorney General to utilize personal recording devices. Detailed instructions were sent to all offices by airtel 12/21/67. In view of the time element Mobile and Birmingham being instructed to sutel arrangements being made for coverage of Carmichael's speeches.

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

MAR 13 1968
MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

~~SECRET~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

DATE: 03-02-2006
CLASSIFIED BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1,6) 03-02-2031

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI [redacted] (S)

DATE: 3/7/68

b7C

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK [redacted] (S)

SUBJECT: [redacted] (S)

ReBullets to NY, 1/18/68 and 2/16/68, and NYtel to
Bureau, 2/19/68. *op3*

b1

(S)

b1

(S)

b1

(S)

The NYO has reviewed file [redacted] (S) b1

b1

(S)

b1

(S)

2-Bureau (RM)
1-New York

MVD:dam (#311)
(3)

100-84660-
NOT RECORDED
191 MAR 20 1968

3 MAR 11 1968

~~SECRET~~

NAT. INT. SEC.

6 MAR 21 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

~~SECRET~~

b1

NY

(S)

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(S)

It is noted that STOKELY CARMICHAEL was not received favorably by the French Government on a recent visit to that country. A French newspaper might be reluctant to publish articles favorable to CARMICHAEL and others of his movement. Also, it is noted that much racial unrest is expected in the

- 3 -

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

NY (S)

b1

US during the coming summer

b1

(S)

(S)

b1

~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

DATE: 3/7/68

FROM : SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS
Sedition

Enclosed for the Bureau are 8 copies of an LHM concerning CARMICHAEL and the Metropolitan Police Department, Washington, D. C., (MPD, WDC).

The source utilized is [REDACTED]
13th Precinct, MPD.

b7C

The WFO is not aware if information such as set out in the enclosed LHM is disseminated to the Office of Program Evaluation and Development, Community Relations Service, Department of Justice. The WFO by airtel and LHM dated 11/30/67 to the Bureau under [REDACTED] character advised that [REDACTED] was employed as [REDACTED]

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had been reported as being active in the Washington Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam. In his application for Federal employment dated 1/6/66, [REDACTED] advised that he had been arrested on 17 occasions in various parts of the South. All of the arrests were on charges of violating state trespass laws in connection with racial demonstrations. [REDACTED] further reported [REDACTED] as one of those attending the organizing meeting of the Black United Front at 2208 14th Street, N. W. on the evening of 1/9/68.

The WFO and the MPD are maintaining liaison in this matter.

2 - Bureau (Encl. 8)
2 - WFO
(1-157-433)

ENCLOSURE EX-114

REC 13

10 MAR 8 1968

DEM: dab
(4)

1cc Let + LHM
806 98D NIC
AGENCY: ACSI, OSI, SEC. SERV.,
DEPT: ISD, CRD, DDZ

HOW FORW: R/S
DATE FORW: 3/19/68
BY: PTB/226

1 XEROX
806
98D

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RACIAL INT. SECT.



70 MAR 21 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C. 20535

March 7, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

A source who is in a position to supply reliable information, in February, 1968 advised that Stokely Carmichael, former National Chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, had recently indicated an interest in organizing the "soul brothers" in the Metropolitan Police Department, (MPD), Washington, D. C. Carmichael felt that in the event of trouble, these "soul brothers" would support him.

b7C The MPD is aware of the above matter, and on March 6, 1968 [redacted] MPD, advised that no additional information concerning Carmichael's interest had come to their attention.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

- 1* -

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-02-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

100-446080-1186
ENCLOSURE

~~SECRET~~

DATE: 03-27-2006
CLASSIFIED BY: 60309/AUC/TAM/DGG/DIS
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X.3.3(6) 03-27-2031

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

DATE: 2/29/68

FROM : LEGAT, PARIS (100-2683)(RUC)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS;
SEDITION
(OO:AT)

Remylet, 2/6/68.

As indicated in referenced letter, a request
was furnished to the [redacted] b1

[redacted] for
information along the lines requested by the Department
of Justice through the U.S. Department of State (USDS).
(S) [redacted] b1

(S) [redacted] (It is being left to
the discretion of the Bureau as to whether the Bureau
desires to furnish this to the Department of Justice or
allow that to be done by the USDS since the original
request was furnished by the Department of Justice to
USDS. A copy of the enclosure has been furnished to
the Consul General's office, American Embassy, Paris. b1

It is requested that the Bureau translate the
enclosure for the completion of Bureau files. b1

It appears from information in the enclosure
[redacted] b2

- 4 - Bureau (Encl.1)
(1 - Liaison Section)
(1 - Atlanta)(Info)
1 - Paris *WFO*

NWP:sch
(5) [redacted]



5010-108-02

COPY AND SPECIMENS RETAINED IN LAB
FOR LAB. ACTION AND REPORT

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

~~SECRET~~

REC 22

100-446080 1187

EXCH. INT. SECT.

FBI

Date: 1/26/68

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~CLASS. & EXT. BY 5180 KCB/CL
REASON-FOM II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW 2-26-82

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-68783)
(157-2091)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS, SEDITION
(LAfile 100-68783)
BLACK CONGRESS SPONSORED RALLY
FOR DEFENSE OF HUEY P. NEWTON
LOS ANGELES SPORTS ARENA
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA
2/18/68

DECLASSIFIED BY [redacted]
ON 5-17-85

Re Los Angeles airtel and Letterhead Memorandum (LHM), 2/13/68; Los Angeles teletypes 2/13/68, 2/16/68 and 2/18/68; Washington Field teletypes to Bureau 2/15/68 and 2/16/68; Bureau teletypes 2/16/68 and 2/18/68; and San Francisco teletypes to Bureau 2/18/68.

(15) - Bureau (Encls. 23) ~~ENCLOSURE~~

- 100-436190) (SNCC) (Encls. 2)
- 100-58841) (Black Panther Party) (Encls. 2)
- Albuquerque (Encls. 2) (RM)
- Atlanta (100-6812) (Encls. 4) (RM)
- Chicago (Encls. 2) (RM)
- New Orleans (Encls. 2) (100-17568) (RM)
- New York (100-153751) (Encls. 4) (RM)
- Richmond (157-2135) (Encls. 2) (RM)
- San Francisco (157-721) (Encls. 2) (RM)
- Washington Field (100-43503) (Encls. 4) (RM)
- Los Angeles
 - (1 - 100-63822) (1 - 157-1409)
 - (1 - 100-68783) (1 - 157-2091)
 - (1 - 100-70038)
 - (1 - 105-3394) JWW/dlp
 - (2 - 100-65037) (38)

REC-68

FEB 28 1968

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

M

Per _____

AGENCY: ACIS, NIC, OSI, SEC. SERV.
DEPT: [redacted]
BY: [redacted]HOW FORM: [redacted]
DATE FORM: [redacted]
BY: [redacted]

70 MAR 14 1968

RACIAL/INT. SEC.

UNREC COPY

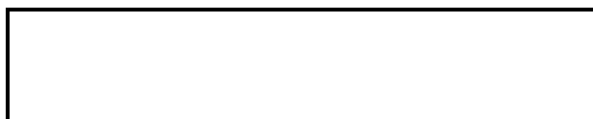
100-439180
100-58841 - San Francisco100-439180
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100-58841 - San Francisco100-439180
100-58841 - San Francisco

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Enclosed for the Bureau are 23 copies of attached LHM concerning Black Congress Sponsored Rally for the Defense of HUEY P. NEWTON, Los Angeles Sports Arena, Los Angeles, California, 2/18/68, featuring STOKELY CARMICHAEL. u

Enclosed for Atlanta, New York and Washington Field are four (4) copies of LHM and for Albuquerque, Chicago, New Orleans, Richmond, and San Francisco are two (2) copies each, because of their interest in this matter. Additional copies are being furnished to OSI, Norton Air Force Base; NISO, San Diego, California; Region II, United States Army, Pasadena, California; Secret Service and U. S. Attorney, Los Angeles due to the national interest in CARMICHAEL and his attempts to generate racial unrest and violence in the Negro community. u

The following sources were utilized in the LHM: u

SourceIdentity of Source

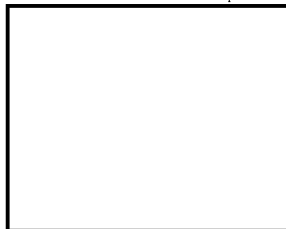
(Conceal per position)



(Conceal per request) u



(Conceal per request)



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LA 100-68783

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[redacted] was the Special Agent of the FBI who was present and observed activities at the Black Congress sponsored rally for the defense of HUEY P. NEWTON, Los Angeles Sports Arena, Los Angeles, on 2/18/68, featuring STOKELY CARMICHAEL. SA [redacted] attended and mechanically reported all speeches and statements made at the rally in view of Bureau instructions. This recording includes speeches made by STOKELY CARMICHAEL, [redacted] JAMES FORMAN, and other black nationalists. A verbatim transcript is being prepared and will be furnished to the Bureau in subsequent communications. u

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[redacted] was observed by SA [redacted] and citizen [redacted] Los Angeles, California. u

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The enclosed LHM is classified ~~confidential~~ because information furnished by [redacted] could reasonably result in the identification of - confidential sources of continuing value and compromise future effectiveness thereof. x u

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Los Angeles, California
February 26, 1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS, SEDITION
BLACK CONGRESS SPONSORED RALLY
FOR DEFENSE OF HUEY P. NEWTON
LOS ANGELES SPORTS ARENA
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA
FEBRUARY 18, 1968

Sources utilized in this communication have
furnished reliable information in the past.

On February 14, 1968, [redacted] Los
Angeles Sports Arena, Los Angeles, California, advised that
[redacted] of the Black Congress, a coalition
of militant black nationalist organizations in Los Angeles,
California, has been able to meet all requirements set by the
arena's Board of Governors and [redacted] has furnished \$4,000
and a \$10,000 insurance bond for the rent of the arena. The
board has granted final permission for this rally for the
defense of Huey P. Newton, featuring Stokely Carmichael at
the arena from 3:00 p.m. to 6:00 p.m., February 18, 1968.

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/17/82 BY SP3 RJH/KE

DECLASSIFIED BY 6845
ON 7-29-77 [signature]

(APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF *declassification*
DATE 8-3-77 [signature])

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Group I
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

COPIES DESTROYED
343 FEB 26 1971.

ENCLOSURE

100-446080-1188

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY
MISCELLANEOUS, SEDITION
BLACK CONGRESS SPONSORED RALLY
FOR DEFENSE OF HUEY P. NEWTON
LOS ANGELES SPORTS ARENA
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA
FEBRUARY 18, 1968

Huey P. Newton was publically known as the Minister of Defense for the Black Panther Party for Self Defense (BPPSD), in Oakland, California. The BPPSD was described as a political organization to combat "police brutality", to unite militant black youths in order to determine the destiny of the black community, and to educate black people in African history. Newton is confined presently in City Jail for shooting a policeman.

On February 18, 1968, [] advised that Stokely Carmichael, [] and James Forman, executive members of the Student Non Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), a black nationalist organization and several black nationalist leaders from Oakland, California are presently en route to Los Angeles, California, on United Airlines Flight 511, which departed San Francisco, California, at 11:45 a.m. and will arrive Los Angeles at 12:40 p.m.

On February 18, 1968, a Special Agent of the FBI was present and observed the activities held at the captioned rally at the Los Angeles Sports Arena, where approximately 3,300 people were in attendance with 12% of them being Caucasian. Prior to the start of the rally, which was scheduled for 3:00 p.m., Stokely Carmichael refused to participate in the program unless all police were removed from the premises. A compromise was reached between the management of the arena and Carmichael, who permitted only Negro police officers to remain in the arena while all white officers were instructed to remain outside.

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY -
MISCELLANEOUS, SEDITION
BLACK CONGRESS SPONSORED RALLY
FOR DEFENSE OF HUEY P. NEWTON
LOS ANGELES SPORTS ARENA
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA
FEBRUARY 18, 1968

Upon entering the arena, it was noted that all persons attempting to enter were frisked by Negro males, wearing black berets, who served as Security guards. At 4:22 p.m. Master of Ceremonies for the mass rally, Walter Bremond, Chairman of the Black Congress, made the opening remarks, welcoming everyone to this mass rally for the defense of Huey P. Newton which is being sponsored by the Black Congress and featuring Stokely Carmichael, H. Rap Brown, and other Negro leaders.

The first speaker was James Forman, a representative of SNCC who spoke from 4:30 p.m. to 4:46 p.m. warning the white power structure, if Newton was found guilty, retribution would be made against them. He indicated that H. Rap Brown had recently been appointed Minister of Justice for the BPPSD in that SNCC and the BPPSD had recently consolidated. He encouraged all Negroes to arm themselves due to the eventual revolution of the black people.

The second speaker was introduced as Thomas Kilgore, West Coast representative of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), a civil rights organization, headed by the Reverend Martin Luther King. He voiced his disapproval of the war in Vietnam and was shocked to see the majority of servicemen killed in Vietnam were Negroes. At the conclusion of his five minute presentation, he requested that a petition be initiated and sent to President Johnson to end the war in Vietnam.

The next speaker was Bobby George Seale, Chairman of the BPPSD, who spoke from 4:45 p.m. to 5:19 p.m. He urged all Negro families to obtain shotguns and to keep them in their homes and have them handy to "shoot pig cops" when they come to your door. He defined black power as guns and force, which will eventually be utilized in the next American

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY --
MISCELLANEOUS, SEDITION
BLACK CONGRESS SPONSORED RALLY
FOR DEFENSE OF HUEY P. NEWTON
LOS ANGELES SPORTS ARENA
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA
FEBRUARY 18, 1968

civil war. He likened black power to the force seen in Detroit when Negroes with guns, determination and unity drove out the United States paratroopers. Guns and rifles are necessary to stop white oppression and police brutality. He eulogized Huey Newton because he did this in Oakland, California, when he shot a "pig cop".

The fourth speaker was Cristobal Tijerina, brother of Reies Lopez Tijerina, leader of the Alianza Federal De Mercedes (AFDM), which is publically known as an organization representing local grant interest in the State of New Mexico to decendants of original owners. He indicated that it was mandatory that brown and black people unite to fight the white oppressors who have taken away their rights and their lands.

At 5:26 p.m. for approximately 30 minutes, the audience was entertained by several dancers and singers from "US", a militant black nationalist organization based in Los Angeles, California.

At 5:56 p.m., Reies Lopez Tijerina related that the only enemy of all mankind is the white man in that he is evil and a liar and does not know justice. He insisted that the next time that a police officer attempts to arrest him, "He'll shoot them like dogs." He urged brown and black men to unite and organize together to achieve their rights. His philosophy in essence was the end justifies the means and any amount of force necessary to attain his goals is justified.

At 6:12 p.m., Tijerina was followed by Ronie McKinley Everett, more commonly known as Ron Karenga, Chairman of "US", who related that all white men are corrupt, but President Johnson is the most corrupt. He claimed that all blacks

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY -
MISCELLANEOUS, SEDITION
BLACK CONGRESS SPONSORED RALLY
FOR DEFENSE OF HUEY P. NEWTON
LOS ANGELES SPORTS ARENA
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA
FEBRUARY 18, 1968

are "niggers" in the eyes of the whites. The whites are the black man's enemy and they must be overcome if black men are to survive. Negroes should align themselves with organizations or any group that will assist Negroes to attain their goals. He was greatly encouraged to see that the true Vietnamese were slowly pushing "whitey" out of Vietnam. He related that the Black Congress of Los Angeles represents all black nationalists. He concluded his presentation at 6:23 p.m. by stating that all black men should remember that the white man is a "paper tiger".

At 6:25 p.m. a collection was taken for Huey Newton's defense fund when young Negro males dressed in black berets and black leather jackets passed buckets through the audience.

H. Rap Brown identified himself as the new Minister of Justice for the BPPSD spoke from 6:32 p.m. to 6:49 p.m. He began his presentation by saying that Negroes should remember that Detroit is now called "Destroyt". He related that whites believe everything black is bad and everything white is good. All people are born free and "we must exercise this right", even if it means going against the white power structure. He said power comes from the barrels of shotguns and Negroes must obtain more guns in order to obtain more power. He said that "Lyndon Johnson is a two-gun outlaw from Texas." He predicted a Negro revolution in the United States and that "it would not be a political revolution." Negroes built this country up and the Negroes will burn it down." He predicted that there would be a battle in the United States between whites and blacks and it will be similar to a civil war which will occur within the next few years.

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY -
MISCELLANEOUS, SEDITION
BLACK CONGRESS SPONSORED RALLY
FOR DEFENSE OF HUEY P. NEWTON
LOS ANGELES SPORTS ARENA
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA
FEBRUARY 18, 1968

The last and featured speaker of the rally was Stokely Carmichael, who was received with more enthusiasm than the other Negro leaders. He introduced a Negro female, one Ethel Minor, who he indicated was with the Atlantic Office of SNCC prior to his opening remarks. He spoke from 6:55 p.m. to 7:40 p.m. concerning his remarks to the fact that blacks have to learn to hate the white man, because whites hate blacks more than blacks hate whites. The black man's major enemy is the white man. He related "that no honkies will tell me where or when I can or cannot go" and if he desired to go to Vietnam, China, Cuba or any place else he'll go. The whites have committed genocide against the Indians, Orientals, and Negroes. The whites alienated the Indians after they taught them to survive in their country, and they put the Orientals-Japanese in concentration camps and are attempting to do the same to the Negroes. At one point in the meeting when the audience became enthusiastic over his remarks, he stated, "Don't get excited now, we're going to get them." "The black man does not care about this country or any other group, but just our people because we are black Africans not Americans." American policy is based on the three M's: missionaries first, then money second, and then U. S. Marines. The poverty program of the Federal Government is a give-away program to stop the Negro rebellion. The government is just paying us to not start a revolution but it won't work. If we don't get our rights, we'll burn this country down.

He related that if Huey Newton is convicted, the Negroes will retaliate throughout this country. All Negroes must unite socially, economically, and militarily in order to avoid extermination at the hands of the whites. He demanded the blacks who furnish information concerning Negroes or Negro organizations to the white power structure be killed.

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY -
MISCELLANEOUS, SEDITION
BLACK CONGRESS SPONSORED RALLY
FOR DEFENSE OF HUEY P. NEWTON
LOS ANGELES SPORTS ARENA
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA
FEBRUARY 18, 1968

All speakers were received enthusiastically and given standing ovations. The crowd was very boisterous, noisy, but they were orderly. No representatives from the news media were observed in the arena during the rally.

Security and order was maintained by Negro males dressed in black berets and black leather jackets. There were no incidents or violence and no arrests were made by local authorities.

After the meeting had terminated, it was announced that the featured speakers would be journeying to the Black Congress Headquarters at 7228 South Broadway, Los Angeles, for a cocktail party.

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[redacted] on February 18 and 19, 1968, indicated that the local press who attempted to enter the arena during captioned rally with cameras and recorders were denied access to the arena, but it was known that one or two members of the press gained admittance to the arena.

Featured speakers and black nationalists leaders held a cocktail party at Black Congress Headquarters, 7228 South Broadway, Los Angeles until 3:00 a.m., February 19, 1968.

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On February 19, 1968, [redacted] indicated that the Los Angeles Sports Arena was rented by the Black Congress and the rent and insurance bond was paid for by four checks, which were presented to Los Angeles Sports Arena representatives by Walter Bremond, Chairman of the Black Congress. The first check was for \$1500 which was drawn on the Bank of Finance, 2651 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles, [redacted]
[redacted]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY -
MISCELLANEOUS, SEDITION
BLACK CONGRESS SPONSORED RALLY
FOR DEFENSE OF HUEY P. NEWTON
LOS ANGELES SPORTS ARENA
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA
FEBRUARY 18, 1968

[redacted] also known as [redacted]
[redacted] is self-described as [redacted]
for the Black Anti-Draft Union of Los
Angeles, an organization representing
Negroes opposed to the Vietnam war and
the draft.

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The second check, payable to Los Angeles County
Commission, was for \$2,000, drawn on the Lincoln Savings and
Loan Association and was signed [redacted]

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b2 [redacted] indicated that [redacted]
b7C was a member of the Michigan District of
b7D the Communist Party (CP) in the State of
Michigan as of March 1959.

A check for \$10,000 was furnished to the Los Angeles
Sports Arena manager as a \$10,000 insurance bond which was
drawn on the First Security Bank at Wilshire and Crenshaw
Branch and signed by [redacted]

b7C
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b2 [redacted] on November 29, 1967, advised
b7C that [redacted] was a member of
b7D the 23rd Central District Club of the
Southern California District Communist
Party in 1966.

The fourth check was for \$1,000, drawn on the
Security First National Bank at Fifth and Bixel, Los Angeles,
and was signed by [redacted]

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[redacted] indicated that an undetermined amount
would be subtracted from the \$10,000 in order to pay for excessive
time utilized by the Black Congress, which had scheduled the
rally from 3:00 p.m. to 6:00 p.m., February 18, 1968, but the
rally terminated at 7:40 p.m. The Black Congress indicated
that it had lost money on the rally, because there were only
3,300 people in attendance.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FROM: SAC, LOS ANGELES
INTERNAL SECURITY -
MISCELLANEOUS, SEDITION
BLACK CONGRESS SPONSORED RALLY
FOR DEFENSE OF HUEY P. NEWTON
LOS ANGELES SPORTS ARENA
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA
FEBRUARY 18, 1968

On February 19, 1968, [] indicated she attended the mass rally sponsored by the Black Congress to support the Huey Newton fund at the Los Angeles Sports Arena on February 18, 1968. She indicated she had been frisked by Negro males wearing black berets and black leather jackets at the entrance of the arena. She furnished information substantiating the information which was previously furnished above concerning activities at the rally. [] indicated, prior to entering the arena, she noticed a single engine plane flying low over the Sports Arena, towing a banner which read as follows: "Carmichael -- You Can Spew Your Menom In Cuba -- Not Here."

b2
b7D

An article appearing in the "Register", an Orange County newspaper printed in Santa Ana, California, on February 19, 1968, entitled "Hate Whites, Negroes Urged," furnished information concerning the rally sponsored by the Black Congress in the Los Angeles Sports Arena on February 18, 1968. The article related that Stokely Carmichael, H. Rap Brown, and James Forman were featured speakers and called for unity among blacks to prevent what they termed "genocide by whites." It stated that Carmichael urged his audience of 3000 "to ignore Federal anti-poverty programs, because they were intended to stop revolution." Carmichael also urged blacks to learn to hate whites. He said that whites hate blacks more than blacks hate whites."

It was noted that there was a minimum of news media coverage of the captioned rally and there has been limited reporting of the activities at this rally in Los Angeles newspapers.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

F B I

Date: 3/5/68

Transmit the following in _____

PLAINTEXT

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via **TELETYPE****URGENT**

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
ATTN: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

b7C

FM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC; SEDITION

SUBJECT SPENT DAY AND EARLY EVENING ALTERNATELY BETWEEN
HIS RESIDENCE AND SNCC HDQTS., WDC. LATER RETURNED IN EVEN-
ING TO HIS HOME.

b7C

3-Bureau
1-WFO

FFB:mmh
(4)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-02-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

REC-35

EX-105

4 MAR 7 1968

54 MAR 14 1968

Approved: JDP/FFB
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

Tolson _____
 DeLoach _____
 Mohr _____
 Bishop _____
 Casper _____
 Callahan _____
 Conrad _____
 Felt _____
 Gale _____
 Rosen _____
 Sullivan ☒ _____
 Tavel _____
 Trotter _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holmes _____
 Gandy _____

DECODED COPY

☐ AIRGRAM ☐ CABLEGRAM ☐ RADIO ☒ TELETYPE

2:30 PM URGENT 2-25-68 JWE

TO DIRECTOR, WASHINGTON FIELD AND MEMPHIS
 FROM ATLANTA

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS -M; SEDITION.

b7C

b7D

SOURCE, WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN PAST,
 ADVISES SUBJECT AND [REDACTED] SNCC FUNCTIONARY,
 REPORTEDLY IN NASHVILLE, TENN. AT THE PRESENT TIME. PURPOSE
 OF VISIT THERE UNKNOWN AND BELIEVED TO BE PROCEEDING TO ATLANTA,
 GA. VIA AUTO FEBRUARY 26 NEXT.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

b2

SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

b7D

MEMPHIS AT NASHVILLE, ATTEMPT TO VERIFY SUBJECTS PRESENCE
 THAT CITY AND ASCERTAIN PROPOSED ITINERARY.

REC- 59

RECEIVED: 2:37 PM MSE

EX-110

100-446080-1190

MAR 6 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 03-02-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/b1s

TWO COPIES WFO

54 MAR 12 1968

F B I

Date: 3/4/68

Transmit the following in CODED
(Type in plaintext or code)Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080), AND SAC, NEW YORK
ATTN: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC.; SEDITION

Re WFOTEL THREE THREE SIXTY EIGHT.

SUBJECT FIRST OBSERVED ENTERING HIS RESIDENCE AT FOUR FIFTY
TWO PM THIS DATE. LATER WENT TO SNCC HDQTS. IN THE EVENING HE
WENT TO [REDACTED] WDC.

A SOURCE ADVISED EVENING OF THREE FOUR INSTANT, A BLACK
UNITED FRONT BOARD OF CONVEENORS MEETING WAS SCHEDULED TO BE HELD
AT [REDACTED] WDC, THAT EVENING,
BUT DUE TO AN APPARENT MIX UP IN DATES ONLY A FEW MEMBERS INCLUDING
CARMICHAEL APPEARED AND MEETING CANCELLED.

SOURCE STATED CARMICHAEL TRAVELLING TO NYC THREE EIGHT NEXT.
PURPOSE OF TRIP AND LENGTH OF STAY UNKNOWN. EFFORTS BEING MADE TO
DEVELOP ADDITIONAL INFORMATION RE TRAVEL PLANS OF CARMICHAEL TO NYC.
NYO WILL BE ADVISED.

2 - Bureau
2 - Teletype Unit
2 - WFO

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-02-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/PCG/bls

CWB:tkm
(6)

REC-35

100-446080-1191

EX-105

3 MAR 7 1968

Approved: [Signature]
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via _____

(Priority)

PAGE TWO
WFO 100-43503

ADMINISTRATIVE:

WFO SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

AT WHOSE HOME

b7C

b7D

THE MEETING WAS SCHEDULED TO HAVE BEEN HELD.

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date: 3/4/68

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION
(OO:WFO)

b7C CARMICHAEL observed riding in red Volkswagen, 1967
Pennsylvania license [redacted] on 3/3/68, accompanied by other
unidentified individuals.

PH expeditiously ascertain to whom above license
registered and develop background information through established
sources.

b7C
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-02-2006 BY 68309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bis

3-Bureau
2-Philadelphia (RM)
1-WFO

WWH:cjb C. C. Bishop
(62)

AIRTEL

54 MAR 4 1968

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

REC-35

EX-105

MAR 7 1968

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 2-29-68

The attached reports on the activities in Atlanta, Georgia, of Stokely Carmichael, former Chairman of Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). His arrival in Washington, D. C., was verified. After dropping his traveling companion off at National Airport, he proceeded to SNCC Washington headquarters and then to his residence.

Information concerning his activities is being furnished to the Internal Security Division of the Department.

WLS:mh
WCS/mll
han

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FEB 28 1968

TELETYPE

FBI WASH DC*

FBI ATLANTA

11:00PM URGENT 2/28/68 LBN

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080), WFO (100-43503), NEW YORK

(100-153751) AND BOSTON (157-437) (MAIL)

b7C

FROM ATLANTA (100-6812)

INTERNAL SECURITY - Miscellaneous
STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS - M; SEDITION.

RE ATLANTA TEL FEBRUARY TWENTYEIGHT INSTANT REFLECTING
SUBJECT'S PRESENCE IN ATLANTA. SOURCE ADVISES SUBJECT SPENT
NIGHT OF FEBRUARY TWENTYSEVEN AT RESIDENCE OF [REDACTED]

b7C

PHYSICAL SURVEILLANCE

~~FIGUR~~ OF SUBJECT BY ATLANTA PD FEBRUARY TWENTYEIGHT
REFLECTS CONTACT WITH KNOWN SNCC ASSOCIATES AND SPEECH BEFORE
APPROXIMATELY TWO THOUSAND STUDENTS IN GYMNASIUM OF MOREHOUSE
COLLEGE. SPEECH DESCRIBED AS "MILD" AND TAPED BY APD. APD
ADVISED SUBJECT DEPARTED ATLANTA FOUR FIFTY PM INSTANT DATE
VIA DELTA ONE ZERO SIX FOR DULLES AIRPORT. SUBJECT TRAVELING
UNDER NAME OF [REDACTED] AND WITH COMPANION [REDACTED] WHO
IS TICKETED TO WDC ON DELTA AND THEN ON NORTHEAST THREE ON
SIX Y TO BOSTON. UPON TRANSCRIPTION OF SPEECH GIVEN BY
SUBJECT, COPIES WILL BE FORWARDED INTERESTED OFFICES.

b7C

END.

SVW RELAYED TO WFO

FBI WASH DC 100-446080

FEB 1968

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Bishop	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

2 -
3 -

REC-43

100-446080

44-6080-1193

MAR 5 1968

b7C

100-446080
APR 2/19/68

F B I

Date: 2/15/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
(ATT: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-153751)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS-MISC; SEDITION

ReButel to NY, 12/28/67; NYtel to Bu, Atlanta, Pittsburgh, Boston, 12/22/67; Pittsburgh teletype to Bu, NY, Boston, and Atlanta, 12/23/67; Boston teletype to Bu, and NY, dated 12/22/67; NYairtel to Bu, 12/29/67; Pittsburgh airtel to Bu, 1/5/68; Boston airtel to Bu, 1/12/68, and Kansas City airtel to Bu, 1/16/68.

On 1/4/68, [redacted] both of whom are acquainted with [redacted] advised that none of the individuals in photograph were identical with [redacted]

On 1/5/68, [redacted] who is also well acquainted with [redacted] advised that none of the individuals in the photograph is [redacted]

All of the foregoing individuals advised that none of the persons in the photograph, other than subject, is known to any of them.

The following investigation was conducted by Boston Division:

EX-114

3-Bureau
1-New York

BJW:cas
(5)

FEB 16 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.

51 MAR 15 1968

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-448607

NY 100-153751

Photograph of subject and two unknown subjects taken on 12/22/67, at NYC, was displayed to various police and intelligence agencies and logical racial sources. One of the unknown subject in the photograph was tentatively identified as [redacted] reportedly [redacted] of SNCC. b7C

The following investigation was conducted by Kansas City Division:

Investigation revealed that [redacted] was observed at Kansas City, Kansas on 12/21 - 12/22/67, and therefore it was improbable that [redacted] was in NYC, on 12/22/67, when photograph of subject and two unidentified subjects was taken. b7C

NYO indices re [redacted] negative and no information has been furnished to indicate that [redacted] was in the 1968 maroon Chevrolet bearing Rhode Island License [redacted] which was observed at [redacted] NY, on 12/22/67, with two unidentified Negro males. b7C

February 28, 1968

Airtel

1 -
1 -

b7C

To: SAC, WFO

From: Director, FBI

Subject: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION
(BUDED 3-15-68)

According to a UPI press release dated February 20, 1968, Stokely Carmichael is now conducting a secret school for black militants in Washington, D. C. It is reported in the release that, according to reliable informants, Carmichael is operating in Washington a school for black militants from about a dozen cities. The location of the school and its curriculum are secret but it is not anything so sensational as a "school for sabotage."

It is also reported that Carmichael is said to be teaching some 50 militants how to organize the black community in each ghetto to obtain key positions of leadership so they can call signals if and when there is a riot or other incident. The militants are then to go home and conduct similar schools in their own communities.

You should immediately institute an extensive, vigorous investigation to determine whether or not there is any validity to the above press release. Submit preliminary results of your investigation in a form suitable for dissemination by 3-15-68.

PTB:ted (5)ted

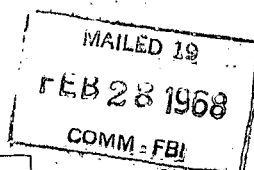
NOTE:

Information has been received that Stokely Carmichael and members of SNCC have been gathering information concerning efforts by law enforcement to prevent riots in the U. S. and particularly in WDC. It is also known that Carmichael has formed a Black United Front which is a coalition of moderate and liberal Negroes in the community. He is also endeavoring to establish similar fronts in other cities, however, no information has been previously received concerning Carmichael holding a school for black militants in WDC.

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

ENCLOSURE

55 MAR 13 1968



MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

100-446080-1195
MAR 5 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-02-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

b7C

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

302A HFR

MILITANTS 2/20 NX

(PICTURES)

ADV FOR AMS TUES FEB 27 OR THEREAFTER

2ND OF FOUR

THE ANGRY MEN IN THE GHETTO

BY JACK V. FOX

UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL

THE KINGPIN OF VIOLENT NEGROES IN AMERICA IS STOKELY
CARMICHAEL. HE IS NOW CONDUCTING A SECRET SCHOOL FOR BLACK
MILITANTS IN WASHINGTON.

CARMICHAEL TOLD NEWSMEN IN PARIS LAST AUTUMN HE HOPED FOR
A U.S. DEFEAT IN VIETNAM. NOT WITHDRAWAL. DEFEAT.

CARMICHAEL WAS ON HIS WAY BACK FROM VISITS TO CUBA
AND NORTH VIETNAM.

HE HELD A PRESS CONFERENCE AT THE "LATIN AMERICAN SOLIDARITY
CONFERENCE" AT THE HAVANA LIBRE HOTEL (THE OLD HAVANA HILTON).
AT CARMICHAEL'S REQUEST, AMERICAN NEWSMEN WERE BARRED BUT THE
ALGERIAN PRESS AGENCY REPORTED HIS COMMENT ON THE RACIAL
PICTURE IN THE UNITED STATES.

"ONLY THE GUN CAN PULL US OUT OF THIS SITUATION," CARMICHAEL
SAID.

"UP TO LAST YEAR WE WERE ORGANIZED ONLY TO DEFEND OURSELVES,
SINCE THE WHITE MAN HAD CONVINCED US THAT VIOLENCE WAS BAD
FOR OUR STRUGGLE EVEN THOUGH HE WAS USING IT FREELY OUTSIDE THE
UNITED STATES.

"NOW OUR PEOPLE EMPLOY PASSIVE VIOLENCE. HOWEVER, THE LINE
BETWEEN DEFENSIVE AND OFFENSIVE VIOLENCE IS A SLIGHT ONE.
ONCE AN INDIVIDUAL HAS FIRED A GUN TO DEFEND HIMSELF, HE IS
CAPABLE OF USING IT TO ATTACK. WE ARE ADVANCING TOWARD
GUERRILLA VIOLENCE IN THE AMERICAN URBAN CENTER."

BARRY GOLDWATER SAYS CARMICHAEL SHOULD BE TRIED FOR TREASON.
IF FOUND GUILTY, HE SHOULD BE SENTENCED AS A TRAITOR.

ACCORDING TO RELIABLE INFORMANTS, CARMICHAEL IS OPERATING
IN WASHINGTON A SCHOOL FOR BLACK MILITANTS FROM ABOUT A DOZEN
CITIES. THE LOCATION OF THE SCHOOL AND ITS CURRICULUM ARE
SECRET BUT IT IS NOT ANYTHING SO SENSATIONAL AS A "SCHOOL FOR
SABOTAGE."

100-446080-195

ENCLOSURE

WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

CARMICHAEL IS SAID TO BE TEACHING SOME 50 MILITANTS HOW TO ORGANIZE THE BLACK COMMUNITY IN EACH GHETTO. TO OBTAIN KEY POSITIONS OF LEADERSHIP SO THEY CAN CALL SIGNALS IF AND WHEN THERE IS A RIOT OR OTHER INCIDENT. THE MILITANTS ARE THEN TO GO HOME AND CONDUCT SIMILAR SCHOOLS IN THEIR OWN COMMUNITIES.

THIS MONTH, CARMICHAEL HELD TWO PRIVATE MEETINGS WITH DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING. CARMICHAEL IS REPORTED TO HAVE PROMISED KING NOT TO TRY TO TAKE OVER, OR INJECT VIOLENCE INTO, KING'S "MOBILIZATION OF POOR PEOPLE" WHICH IS SUPPOSED TO BEGIN IN THE CAPITAL IN EARLY APRIL.

WHY DOESN'T THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE PROSECUTE CARMICHAEL?

"WE FEEL WE DO NOT HAVE ENOUGH EVIDENCE TO WARRANT PROSECUTION OF MR. CARMICHAEL ON ANY FEDERAL CHARGE," A SPOKESMAN TOLD UPI. "WE WILL TRY TO MATCH PROSECUTIONS WITH ANY VIOLATIONS WE DO FIND. BUT THE DEPARTMENT WILL NOT INSTITUTE A PROSECUTION UNLESS IT HAS CONCLUSIVE EVIDENCE."

HIGH ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS FEAR PROSECUTION WHICH FAILED TO PRODUCE IRONCLAD EVIDENCE AND SECURE A CONVICTION WOULD MAKE A MARTYR OF CARMICHAEL AND FIRE UP THE BLACK COMMUNITY WORSE THAN EVER. LEGAL OFFICIALS POINT OUT THAT COURTS TRADITIONALLY HAVE BEEN LOATHE TO CONVICT ANY MAN OF SEDITION JUST FOR SHOOTING OFF HIS MOUTH.

~~CARMICHAEL IS A NATIVE OF TRINIDAD~~
MOREMT11PES

100-446080-1195

ENCLOSURE

Tolson _____
 DeLoach _____
 Mohr _____
 Bishop _____
 Casper _____
 Callahan _____
 Conrad _____
 Felt _____
 Gale _____
 Rosen _____
 Sullivan _____
 Tavel _____
 Trotter _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holmes _____
 Gandy _____

304A HFR

MILITANTS 2/20 NX

1ST ADD MILITANTS (ADV FOR AMS TUES FEB 27 OR THEREAFTER) 302A XXX
 HIS MOUTH.

CARMICHAEL IS A NATIVE OF TRINIDAD, A HANDSOME WEST INDIAN WHO CAN BE CHARMING OF MANNER. NOW 27, HE CAME TO NEW YORK IN 1952 AND BECAME AN OUTSTANDING STUDENT AMONG 50 NEGROES AT THE BRONX HIGH SCHOOL OF SCIENCE, MIXING AMIABLY WITH WHITES. HE WENT ON TO GRADUATE FROM HOWARD UNIVERSITY WITH A DEGREE IN PHILOSOPHY.

HE PARTICIPATED IN A SIT-IN IN VIRGINIA IN 1960 AND QUICKLY BECAME INVOLVED IN THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT. BY 1966, HE HAD BECOME CHAIRMAN OF THE STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE. ORIGINATED IN 1960 AT THE URGING OF KING, SNCC HAD SWUNG FAR FROM THE TEACHINGS OF ITS PATRON.

AFTER THE KILLING OF MALCOLM X, THE BLACK MUSLIM WHOSE AUTOBIOGRAPHY IS VIRTUALLY A BIBLE TO MILITANTS, CARMICHAEL REPLACED HIM AS SOMETHING OF A NATIONAL FIGURE FOR EXTREMISTS. HE HAS BEEN JAILED, BRIEFLY AND ON VARIOUS LOCAL CHARGES, 27 TIMES. TODAY HE IS THE IDOL AND IS QUOTED BY MANY OF THE ANGRY MEN IN THE GHETTOS.

ONE OF THOSE HE ATTRACTED WAS H. RAP BROWN. A SIX-FOOT, THREE-INCH NATIVE OF BATON ROUGE, LA. AT SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY WHERE HE MAJORED IN SOCIOLOGY HE WAS HUBERT GEROLD BROWN. HE WAS DROPPED FROM THE SCHOOL IN HIS SENIOR YEAR FOR FAILURE TO ATTEND CLASSES.

LAST MAY HE SUCCEEDED CARMICHAEL AS CHAIRMAN OF SNCC. CARMICHAEL SAID AT THE TIME: "PEOPLE WILL BE GLAD TO HAVE ME BACK WHEN THEY HEAR HIM--HE'S A BAD MAN."

BROWN FULFILLED HIS BUILDUP. AT HIS FIRST PRESS CONFERENCE HE ATTACKED LYNDON JOHNSON AS A "MAD DOG." "VIOLENCE IS AS AMERICAN AS CHERRY PIE," HE SAID.

- 3 -

100-476080-1195

ENCLOSURE

A FEW NIGHTS LATER AT A GATHERING OF 1,000 NEGROES IN A WASHINGTON CHURCH, BROWN SAID:

"GET YOU SOME GUNS AND BURN THIS TOWN DOWN IF IT DOESN'T COME AROUND. DON'T LOVE THE WHITE MAN TO DEATH. SHOOT HIM TO DEATH."

"THE AMERICAN CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT IS DEAD. IT IS GOING TO BE REPLACED WITH SOMETHING ELSE. THE PEOPLE OF AMERICA WILL HAVE TO WAIT AND SEE."

A FEW MONTHS LATER HE WAS CHARGED WITH INCITING TO RIOT AND ARSON IN CAMBRIDGE, MD. THE TRIAL IS PENDING. IN AUGUST HE WAS RELEASED ON \$15,000 BAIL IN NEW YORK AFTER BEING CHARGED WITH CARRYING A LOADED .30-CALIBER CARBINE ON A PLANE TO NEW ORLEANS AND BACK. IN JANUARY HE GRAPPLED WITH A NEW YORK POLICEMAN OUTSIDE THE CUBAN UNITED NATIONS MISSION AND FACES TRIAL FOR INTERFERING WITH AN OFFICER'S PERFORMANCE OF DUTY.

LAST TUESDAY, HE WAS ARRESTED AGAIN--THIS TIME FOR MAKING AN UNAUTHORIZED TRIP TO CALIFORNIA WHILE UNDER COURT ORDER TO STAY IN NEW YORK. HE HAD GONE TO LOS ANGELES TO APPEAR AT A BLACK POWER RALLY WITH CARMICHAEL.

THERE ARE MANY RESPONSIBLE PEOPLE WHO FEEL THE CARMICHAELS AND BROWNS HAVE BEEN BUILT INTO BOGEYMEN, ALARMING AND INFLAMING BOTH THE NEGRO AND WHITE COMMUNITIES, BY THE MASS MEDIA REPORTING OF THEIR ACTIONS AND PARTICULARLY THEIR WORDS.

IF IT WERE ONLY A HANDFUL, IT MIGHT BE WELL TO LET THEM SHRIVEL IN OBSCURITY. BUT THERE ARE DOZENS LIKE THEM, AS BAD OR WORSE, SPOUTING OFF IN THE NEGRO NEIGHBORHOODS OF MOST BIG CITIES.

IN CHICAGO, THE ANGRIEST MAN IN THE BLACK SLUMS IS RUSSELL MEEK, 34, CHAIRMAN OF THE AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY COMMITTEE AND THE BLACK IMPEACHMENT COMMITTEE. MEEK HAS A GOATEE AND MUSTACHE, USUALLY DRESSES IN AFRO-STYLED GARB WITH BEADS AND BRACELETS. HE PARTICIPATED IN THE OPEN HOUSING MARCH INTO THE WHITE SUBURB OF CICERO IN SEPTEMBER, 1966, IN WHICH SIX PERSONS WERE SERIOUSLY INJURED AND MORE THAN 30 ARRESTED.

MEEK BUYS ONE HOUR OF RADIO TIME FROM A CHICAGO FM STATION AND BROADCASTS FROM HIS LIVING ROOM SUNDAY NIGHTS AT 10 P.M.

"I TEACH BLACKS TO LOVE BLACKS AND TO HATE INJUSTICE, OPPRESSION AND THE PEOPLE WHO CREATE THIS--WHITE PEOPLE, OF COURSE," HE SAYS.

HE WARNS WHITES: "THE DIE IS CAST, YOU SHALL PAY FOR THE PAST."

"NO MORE NEGRO GENERATIONS WILL GROW UP UNDER THE SAME CONDITIONS AS THIS ONE HAS, THIS I SWEAR," MEEK DECLARES. "I DON'T ADVOCATE RIOTS. I ADVOCATE REVOLUTION."

HIS TYPE OF REVOLUTION CALLS FOR ISOLATION OF NEGRO NEIGHBORHOODS--ANYPLACE WHERE NEGROES ARE IN A MAJORITY--FROM WHITE COMMUNITIES. ONCE IN CONTROL, THE BLACKS SHOULD LIVE IN COOPERATIVES AND SHARE RESPONSIBILITIES AND INCOME.

"INTEGRATION IS IMPOSSIBLE," HE SAYS:

IN LOS ANGELES, THERE IS RON KARENGA, 25, WITH A MASTER'S DEGREE IN POLITICAL SCIENCE (AFRICAN STUDIES) FROM UCLA. HE IS FOUNDER OF AN ORGANIZATION KNOWN SIMPLY AS US, A GROUP WHICH STRESSES THE AFRICAN HERITAGE OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO. ITS MEMBERS WEAR AFRICAN DRESS, HAVE THEIR OWN HOLIDAYS, CONDUCT MARRIAGE CEREMONIES AND OBSERVE "UHURU DAY" ON AUG. 11 TO COMMEMORATE THE WATTS RIOT.

"BECAUSE WE ARE REVOLUTIONARIES, WE ARE CONCERNED WITH WHAT IS EXPEDIENT, NOT WITH WHAT IS MORAL. WE ARE A PEACEFUL PEOPLE HISTORICALLY. BUT WHAT WE ARE CONCERNED WITH IS OUR OPPOSITION AND THE QUESTION IS HOW WE RESPOND AND HOW WE DEFEND OURSELVES.

"THE OLD CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERS TALKED ABOUT MORALITY. WE TALK ABOUT POWER. THIS FRIGHTENS WHITE PEOPLE BECAUSE IT HAS NEVER BEEN DISCUSSED BEFORE."

(NEXT: FLOYD MCKISSICK'S SEPARATIST PLAN)
ADV FOR AMS TUES FEB 27 OR THEREAFTER
MT1121PES

100-446080-1195

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-02-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

F B I

Date: 2/28/68

Transmit the following in _____

PLAINTEXT

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE

URGENT

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI AND SAC ATLANTA
ATTN: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC; SEDITION

CARMICHAEL TRAVELING UNDER NAME OF A. KUTTATI, ARRIVED

DULLES AIRPORT ON DELTA FLIGHT ONE ZERO SIX AT SIX TWENTY FOUR
PM. FEBRUARY TWENTY EIGHT INSTANT FROM ATLANTA. SUBJECT ACCOMPANIED
BY ONE [REDACTED] MET BY [REDACTED] AND PROCEEDED TO
WASHINGTON NATIONAL AIRPORT WHERE [REDACTED] BOARDED EASTERN FLIGHT
SIX FOUR SIX, DEPARTING SEVEN THIRTY FIVE, FEBRUARY TWENTY EIGHT
INSTANT FOR BOSTON. SUBJECT AND [REDACTED] CONTINUED TO SNCC,
WASHINGTON D.C. AND THEN RESIDENCE. SUBJECT LATER ATTENDED A MOVIE.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

COPY TO BOSTON BY AIR MAIL.

[REDACTED] BELIEVED

IDENTICAL WITH [REDACTED] MENTIONED IN WFO TELETYPE FEBRUARY
FIFTEEN LAST.

2-Bureau
2-Teletype
1-Boston (AM) (RM)
2-WFO

(7)

XEROX

FEB 1968

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

100-446080-1196

1 MAR 5 1968

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 3/5/68

The Department has requested that, where feasible, the Bureau record any public speeches Stokely Carmichael may make through the cooperation of news media and, if practical, through the utilization of Special Agents. Information in the attached indicates Carmichael scheduled to speak Stillman College, a Negro school, 3/12/68, and that coverage of speech will be effected by Agents and a recording of the speech will be made by a racial informant (probationary), who will be able to do this without suspicion [redacted]

b7D

PTB:chs

[Handwritten signature]
[Handwritten initials]

[Handwritten: WCS/ma]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-02-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

DECODED COPY

☐ AIRGRAM ☐ CABLEGRAM ☐ RADIO ☒ TELETYPE

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

3:11 PM URGENT 3-5-68 JGA

b7C

TO DIRECTOR, ATLANTA, AND WASHINGTON FIELD
FROM BIRMINGHAM

INTERNAL SECURITY
STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC, SEDITION, BIRMINGHAM FILE 157-2546.

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC) IS-SNCC,
BIRMINGHAM FILE 157-2425.

RE BUREAU AIRTEL TO ALBANY, DECEMBER 21 LAST, AND BIRMINGHAM
TEL TO BUREAU MARCH 4 LAST.

PER DEPARTMENT AND BUREAU INSTRUCTIONS SET OUT IN RE AIRTEL,
NECESSARY PREPARATIONS HAVE BEEN MADE TO MECHANICALLY RECORD
CARMICHAEL'S SPEECH MARCH 12 NEXT, AT STILLMAN COLLEGE GYM.
SPECIAL AGENTS WILL BE PRESENT AT GYM AND AFFORD SPEECH LIVE
COVERAGE, INASMUCH AS THE AUDIENCE AT THESE SPEECHES ARE USUALLY
MIXED, BOTH NEGRO AND WHITE PERSONS. (SPEECH OPEN TO PUBLIC AND
BUAGENTS WILL BE LAWFULLY ON THE PREMISES). ARRANGEMENTS HAVE
BEEN MADE WITH [REDACTED] TO PLACE MICROPHONE

2 CC WASHINGTON FIELD

b7C

b7D

REC-103

100-446080-1197

3 MAR 8 1968

If the intelligence contained in the above message is to be disseminated outside the Bureau, it is suggested that it be suitably paraphrased in order to protect the Bureau's cryptographic systems.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/21/81 BY SP-106/100
2/9/93 #8854228

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-439190-

Tolson _____
 DeLoach _____
 Mohr _____
 Bishop _____
 Casper _____
 Callahan _____
 Conrad _____
 Felt _____
 Gale _____
 Rosen _____
 Sullivan _____
 Tavel _____
 Trotter _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holmes _____
 Gandy _____

DECODED COPY

☐ AIRGRAM ☐ CABLEGRAM ☐ RADIO ☒ TELETYPE

PAGE TWO FROM BIRMINGHAM

ON PODIUM. [REDACTED] WHO IS
 CURRENTLY UNDER DEVELOPMENT AS A GHETTO INFORMANT THIS DIVISION.
 HIS EQUIPMENT WILL BE PLACED WITH SEVERAL OTHER NEWS AGENCIES
 RECORDING EQUIPMENT. [REDACTED] NORMALLY ATTENDS ALL SUCH SPEECHES
 AND CAN MOVE FREELY WITHOUT CALLING ATTENTION TO HIMSELF.

[REDACTED] HAS AN EXCELLENT REPUTATION WITH LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES
 IN BIRMINGHAM FOR HIS DISCRETION AND TRUSTWORTHINESS, AND BIRMING-
 HAM FEELS UTILIZATION OF [REDACTED] CAN BE USED EFFECTIVELY FOR
 THE BEST INTEREST OF THE BUREAU WITHOUT EMBARRASSMENT.

BIRMINGHAM WILL FOLLOW AND ADVISE.

RECEIVED: 4:26 PM RNK

XEROX

MAR 1968

If the intelligence contained in the above message is to be disseminated outside the Bureau, it is suggested that it be suitably paraphrased in order to protect the Bureau's cryptographic systems.

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

DECODED COPY

☐ AIRGRAM ☐ CABLEGRAM ☐ RADIO ☒ TELETYPE

4:26 PM URGENT 3-6-68 AAH
TO DIRECTOR AND BIRMINGHAM
FROM MOBILE

b7C

INTERNAL SECURITY
STOKELY CARMICHAEL, 48-MISCELLANEOUS-SEDITION.

RE BUREAU RADIOGRAM TO MOBILE MARCH 5 LAST.

MOBILE MAKING ARRANGEMENTS TO COVER SUBJECT'S SPEECH AT
TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE MARCH 11 NEXT WITH
ALSO ATTEMPTING TO HAVE ESTABLISHED SOURCE RECORD SPEECH.

MOBILE RECOMMENDS AGAINST LIVE AGENT COVERAGE AT TUSKEGEE
INSTITUTE INASMUCH AS LESS THAN ONE PERCENT OF THOSE IN ATTEN-
DANCE AT PAST FUNCTIONS HAVE BEEN WHITE INDIVIDUALS. THERE IS
A GENERAL ATTITUDE OF SUSPICION AND HOSTILITY TOWARD WHITE
INDIVIDUALS ON THE CAMPUS AS EVIDENCED BY THE EGG THROWING
INCIDENT AT STATE DEPARTMENT REPRESENTATIVES WHO RECENTLY APPEAR-
ED ON THE TUSKEGEE CAMPUS.

MOBILE WILL, THROUGH THE CAMPUS POLICE AND TUSKEGEE POLICE
DEPARTMENT, DETERMINE SUBJECTS MODE OF TRAVEL AND TIME OF
DEPARTURE FROM TUSKEGEE TO TUSCALOOSA, ALABAMA.

XEROX

MAR 1968

REC-103

100-446080-1198

5-14

MAR 8 1968

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

DECODED COPY

☐ AIRGRAM ☐ CABLEGRAM ☐ RADIO ☒ TELETYPE

PAGE TWO FROM MOBILE

BIRMINGHAM WILL BE ADVISED OF ALL PERTINENT DEVELOPMENTS.
NEW YORK AND WFO ADVISED.

RECEIVED: 5:37 PM MKP

b7C

cc [redacted]

VIA TELETYPE

MAR 4 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson_____
Mr. DeLoach_____
Mr. Mohr_____
Mr. Bishop_____
Mr. Casper_____
Mr. Callahan_____
Mr. Conrad_____
Mr. Felt_____
Mr. Gale_____
Mr. Rosen_____
Mr. Sullivan_____
Mr. Tavel_____
Mr. Trotter_____
Tele. Room_____
Miss Holmes_____
Miss Gandy_____

WASHINGTON --01-- 955 PM BAG

URGENT 3-4-68

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080) AND WFO PLAINTEXT

ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE

FROM NEWARK (100-49533)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, SM - SNCC, OO - WFO.

ON THREE FOUR INSTANT

[REDACTED] CAMDEN, NJPD, ADVISED AN INFORMANT OF CAMDEN PD STATED HE OVERHEARD TWO MEMBERS OF THE BLACK POWER UNITY MOVEMENT (BPUM), A NEWLY FORMED RACIST ORGANIZATION IN CAMDEN, NJ, STATE THAT STOKELY CARMICHAEL IS SCHEDULED TO SPEAK AT CONVENTION HALL IN CAMDEN, NJ, ON THREE SIX NEXT. [REDACTED] ADVISED NO RECORD FOR RENTAL OF CONVENTION HALL IN CAMDEN HAS BEEN RECEIVED AS OF THIS TIME.

WFO WILL ATTEMPT TO ASCERTAIN SCHEDULED ITINERARY OF CARMICHAEL AND ADVISE NEWARK.

NEWARK, AT CAMDEN, NJ, WILL ALERT SOURCES TO ASCERTAIN IF CARMICHAEL WILL SPEAK IN CAMDEN. WILL MAINTAIN CLOSE LIAISON WITH CAMDEN, NJPD.

END

HWL R RELAY 10 23 AM '68

FBI WASH DC

FAL FTB BACK 10 K, 1

XEROX

RELAYED TO

MAR 1968

REC-103

100-446080-1199

MAR 8 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-02-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-02-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

FBI

Date: 3/4/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, WFO (175-25)(RUC)

Threats Against President JOHNSON
(OO:SF)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Re SF teletype to Bureau dated 2/27/68. Bureau
teletype to SF dated 2/28/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are original and four
copies of an LHM and two copies of FD 376 regarding cap-
tioned subject.

Enclosed for the information of San Francisco
is one copy of LHM.

WFO indices negative re

Investigation reflected in the enclosed LHM was
conducted by SA _____

No Further investigation in this matter will be
conducted by WFO UACB.

- 1 - Bureau (Enc. 7)
2 - San Francisco (175-0) (Enc. 1) (Am)
1 - WFO

JTS:bah

C. C. Bishop

ENCLOSURE

AIRTEL

NOT RECORDED

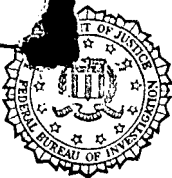
150 MAR 22 1968

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

59 MAR 26 1968

ORIGINAL FILED IN 62-109078-3152



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

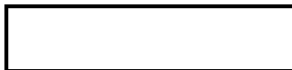
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Washington, D.C. 20535

March 4, 1968

b7C



b7C

b7D

The San Francisco office of the ^{INFORMANT} Federal Bureau of Investigation advised that on February 27, 1968, [redacted]

[redacted] California, furnished the following information.

b7C

b7D

Since December, 1967, [redacted] has become acquainted with [redacted] whom he describes as [redacted]

[redacted] denounced all liberals and particularly Negro leaders. [redacted]

[redacted] offered to furnish [redacted]

[redacted] not described but believed to be [redacted]

which was not revealed, [redacted]

[redacted] stated that [redacted] included the names of Senator Robert Kennedy and [redacted] other persons, all of whom he believes to be negro including [redacted] Stockley Carmichael, and Martin Luther King.

b7C

b7D

In conversations during January or February, 1968,

ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE

~~62-169098~~
100-446080-

3152

b7C

[redacted]

[redacted] was extremely critical of President Johnson and made the general statement that the President would be shot but stated no specific method or time. [redacted] gained the impression that [redacted] statement regarding the President may have had some connection [redacted]

b7C

b7D

[redacted] stated that [redacted] had made no mention of any organization in which he is active, such as the Ku Klux Klan or the Minutemen.

b7C

b7D

[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted] California, and has apparently been in the [redacted] California area since November or December, 1967. [redacted] resides in [redacted] area, name and location unknown.

b7C

b7D

On February 28, 1968, the following persons were contacted and advised of the facts of this matter. All persons contacted advised that they would take appropriate action within the jurisdiction of their organization.

2/28/68 4:52 pm

[redacted]

Intelligence Division Metropolitan Police Department, WDC

b7C

2/28/68 5:15 pm

[redacted]

Intelligence Division Secret Service

2/28/68 5:26 pm

[redacted]

Executive Officer Capitol Police Department, WDC

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

FBI

Date: 3/5/68

Transmit the following in **PLAINTEXT**
(Type in plaintext or code)Via **TELETYPE URGENT**
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO : DIRECTOR AND SACS NEWARK, NEW YORK AND PHILADELPHIA

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS - M; SEDITION.

RENEWARK TELETYPES TO WFO MARCH FOUR LAST.

SOURCES ADVISE OF NO INFORMATION CARMICHAEL PLANS
TO SPEAK IN CAMDEN, NEW JERSEY, MARCH SIX NEXT. CARMICHAEL
PRESENTLY IN WASHINGTON, D. C. FOR INFORMATION NEWARK
AND PHILADELPHIA [REDACTED] HAS ADVISED THAT SUBJECT
PLANNED TO BE IN NEW YORK CITY ON MARCH EIGHT NEXT.

REC-66/100-446080 1200

MAR 7 1968

- 2 - Bureau
- 2 - Teletype Unit
- 2 - WFO

WWH:pgp
(6)ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-02-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/blsApproved: *[Signature]*

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

ATTENTION

The following documents appearing in FBI files have been reviewed under the provisions of The Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) (Title 5, United States Code, Section 552); Privacy Act of 1974 (PA) (Title 5, United States Code, Section 552a); and/or Litigation.

☐ FOIA/PA☐ Litigation☐ Executive Order Applied

Requester: _____

Subject: _____

Computer or Case Identification Number: _____

Title of Case: _____ Section _____

* File _____

Serials Reviewed: _____

Release Location: *File _____ Section _____

This file section has been scanned into the FOIPA Document Processing System (FDPS) prior to National Security Classification review. Please see the documents located in the FDPS for current classification action, if warranted. Direct inquiries about the FDPS to RIDS Service Request Unit. b2

File Number: 100-HQ-446080 Section 25Serial(s) Reviewed: All

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: 983317

File Number: _____ Section _____

Serial(s) Reviewed: _____

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: _____

File Number: _____ Section _____

Serial(s) Reviewed: _____

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: _____

THIS FORM IS TO BE MAINTAINED AS THE TOP SERIAL OF THE FILE, BUT NOT SERIALIZED.

SCANNED BY DocLab (RMD)

DATE: 8-2-05LAST SERIAL: 1263

ATTENTION

DO NOT REMOVE FROM FILE

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-27-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

DECODED COPY

☐ AIRGRAM ☐ CABLEGRAM ☐ RADIO ☒ TELETYPE

1000 PM URGENT 3-5-68 GDM

TO DIRECTOR MOBILE AND WASHINGTON
FROM BIRMINGHAM

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 03-27-2006 BY

60308/AUC/TAM/DCG/

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS,
SEDITION.

RE BIRMINGHAM TELETYPE TO BUREAU AND BUREAU TELETYPE
TO BIRMINGHAM AND MOBILE INSTANT DATE.

BIRMINGHAM WILL AFFORD LIVE AGENT COVERAGE OF
CARMICHAEL'S SPEECH AT STILLMAN COLLEGE. R-PROB-GHETTO
WILL APPROPRIATE MECHANICALLY RECORD SPEECH AS SET OUT
IN RE BIRMINGHAM TELETYPE. ALL RACIAL AND GHETTO INFORMANTS
BEING ALERTED RE CARMICHAEL'S APPEARANCE. ALL PERSONAL
CONTACTS MADE BY CARMICHAEL WILL BE REPORTED. LIASION
BEING MAINTAINED WITH ALL LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES.

WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE REQUESTED TO ADVISE MOBILE AND
BIRMINGHAM WHEN CARMICHAEL DEPARTS FOR ALABAMA.

MOBILE WILL ADVISE BIRMINGHAM WHEN CARMICHAEL DEPARTS
TUSKEGEE, ALABAMA AND MANNER OF TRAVEL TO BIRMINGHAM DIVISION.

RECEIVED: 11:25 PM RAK

51 MAR 15 1968
WFO

REC-66

MAR 7 1968



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DATE 03-27-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/PLS

Department of State

TELEGRAM

cc

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE 842

PAGE 01 STATE 123100

53
ORIGIN L 03

b2

INFO EUR 15, JUS 02, PPT 02, SCS 04, SCA 02, INR 07, [REDACTED] 00, FBI 01

RSC 01, /037 R

DRAFTED BY: [REDACTED]
APPROVED BY: [REDACTED]

b7C

b7C

R 011645Z MAR 68
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY PARIS 3448

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE STATE 123100

Stokely
0

AWAITING RESPONSE DEPTTEL 108922 RE CARMICHAEL. [REDACTED]

b7C

100-446080

NOT RECORDED

5 MAR 4 1968

*Rec'd
T. J. [unclear]*

62 MAR 13 1968

Rel

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

*KAC
INT. SEC.*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-27-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls
FBI

Date: 3/9/68

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE

URGENT

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080) AND SAC, BIRMINGHAM
SAC, MOBILE
SAC, NEW ORLEANS
SAC, NEW YORK

b7C

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS - MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION
CARMICHAEL DID NOT DEPART WASHINGTON, D.C., AS
SCHEDULED ON MARCH NINE, NINETEEN SIXTY-EIGHT, VIA DELTA
AIRLINES. HE ATTEMPTED TO CASH IN PRE-PAID TICKETS, HOW-
EVER, WAS UNABLE TO ESTABLISH IDENTITY BECAUSE OF NAME ON
TICKETS. CARMICHAEL INQUIRING ABOUT FLIGHTS ON MARCH TEN
NINETEEN SIXTY-EIGHT.

REC-43

100-446080-1202

22 MAR 11 1968

2 - Bureau
2 - Teletype Unit
XEROX 2 - WFO

MAR 1968

RFR RFR:bah
(6)

CC

b7C

TELETYPE

MAR 11 1968

Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

Date: 3/4/68

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, MOBILE (100-1858) (P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION
(OO: WFO)

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are eleven (11) copies of a letterhead memorandum entitled, "STOKELY CARMICHAEL, SCHEDULED APPEARANCE TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, TUSKEGEE, ALABAMA, MARCH 11, 1968." Also enclosed for Atlanta, New York, and WFO are two (2) copies each of this letterhead memorandum.

The confidential source utilized in the LHM is

Copies of this LHM have been disseminated to local intelligence agencies, USA, Montgomery, Ala., and the U. S. Secret Service, Birmingham, Ala.

3-Bureau (Encs 11) (RM)
2-Atlanta (100-6812) (Encs 2) (RM)
2-New York (100-153751) (Encs 2) (RM)
2-WFO (100-43503) (Encs 2) (RM)
5-Mobile
 (2-100-1858)
 (1-100-1693)
 (1-157-55)
 (1-157-2078)

REC-43

REC- 43

MAR 6 1968

CBC: kws
(14)

AGENCY: ~~ACSI~~, ~~OSI~~, ~~SEC~~. SER: _____

~~DE:~~ ISD. CDD, RAO FUTA

DATE FORW: ~~3/8/68~~

HOW FORW :

~~BY 8~~

RACIAL INT. SECT.

ICL AT4 LHM 806 972

Approved:

Sent

N

Per

Special Agent in Charge



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

3/4/68

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No. MO 100-1858

Director
United States Secret Service
Department of the Treasury
Washington, D. C. 20220

Dear Sir:

The information furnished herewith concerns an individual who is believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning Presidential protection, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

1. ☐ Has attempted, or threatened bodily harm to any government official or employee, including foreign government officials residing in or planning an imminent visit to the U. S., because of his official status.
2. ☐ Has attempted or threatened to redress a grievance against any public official by other than legal means.
3. ☐ Because of background is potentially dangerous; or has been identified as member or participant in communist movement; or has been under active investigation as member of other group or organization inimical to U. S.
4. ☐ U. S. citizens or residents who defect from the U. S. to countries in the Soviet or Chinese Communist blocs and return.
5. ☒ Subversives, ultrarightists, racists and fascists who meet one or more of the following criteria:
 - (a) ☐ Evidence of emotional instability (including unstable residence and employment record) or irrational or suicidal behavior;
 - (b) ☐ Expressions of strong or violent anti-U. S. sentiment;
 - (c) ☒ Prior acts (including arrests or convictions) or conduct or statements indicating a propensity for violence and antipathy toward good order and government.
6. ☐ Individuals involved in illegal bombing or illegal bomb-making.

Photograph ☐ has been furnished ☐ enclosed ☐ is not available
☐ may be available through _____

Very truly yours,

J. Edgar Hoover
John Edgar Hoover
Director

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s))
U. S. Secret Service, Birmingham

- 2 -

Enclosure(s) 1 (RM) (Upon removal of classified enclosures, if any, this transmittal form becomes UNCLASSIFIED.)



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. MO 100-1858

Mobile, Alabama
March 4, 1968

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
SCHEDULED APPEARANCE
TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
TUSKEGEE, ALABAMA
MARCH 11, 1968

b7C
b7D

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on March 4, 1968, that Stokely Carmichael is scheduled to speak at Logan Hall, Tuskegee Institute, March 11, 1968, following a presentation of a play entitled "Back to Black." This play is being presented [redacted] a reported Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) worker from Atlanta, Georgia. The invitation to Carmichael was made by the Student Government of Tuskegee Institute without faculty approval. *PLP*

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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DATE 03-27-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

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1*

104-47622-1203
ENCLOSURE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 03-28-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCC/bls

FBI

Date: 3/7/68

PLAINTEXT

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
ATTN: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC; SEDITION

RE WFOTEL 3/6/68

SUBJ LEFT HIS RESIDENCE AT APPROXIMATELY ELEVEN AM TODAY. HE PROCEEDED TO A NEARBY COCKTAIL LOUNGE WHERE HE JOINED AN UNIDENTIFIED NEGRO FEMALE. UPON LEAVING THE COCKTAIL LOUNGE SUBJ AND HIS COMPANION WALKED AROUND THE IMMEDIATE NEIGHBORHOOD SIGHTSEEING. THEY THEN WENT TO SNCC HDQTS., ONE TWO THREE FOUR U STREET, NW, AND REMAINED UNTIL MID-AFTERNOON WHEN SUBJ ESCORTED MENTIONED COMPANION TO VICINITY OF [REDACTED] SUBJ THEN RETURNED TO SNCC. HE REMAINED THERE UNTIL EARLY EVENING EXCEPT FOR BREIF PERIOD WHEN HE RETURNED HOME.

A SOURCE, WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFO IN THE PAST, ADVISED THAT AT SEVEN PM INSTANT A BLACK UNITED FRONT (BUF) BOARD OF CONVENERS MEETING WAS HELD IN THE LINCOLN MEMORIAL CONGREGATIONAL

3-Bureau
1-Atlanta (RM) (AM)
2-WFO (100-41626, SNCC)

JEK:mmh
(6)

REC-43

100-446080-1204

b7C

12 MAR 11 1968

INTER DEPT. AGENCY
ADV. 3/8/68 9 AM
PTB

PAUL VINCENT
REC'D
3/8/68 9 AM

TRAINOR

Approved: JAP/JEK

Sent

M

Per

Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)PAGE TWO
WFO 100-43503

TEMPLE, ELEVENTH AND R STS., NW. TEN BUF MEMBERS WERE PRESENT. STOKELY CARMICHAEL ATTENDED THE MEETING. SOURCE STATED THE DISCUSSION CENTERED AROUND THREE MAIN ISSUES: ONE, MEMBERSHIP, TWO, ORGANIZATIONAL PROCEDURE AND, THREE, MEETING PLACES. REGARDING MEMBERSHIP, THE DISCUSSION PRIMARILY CONCERNED WHETHER A MEMBERSHIP FEE SHOULD BE CHARGED. IT WAS DECIDED OVER CARMICHAEL'S OBJECTION THAT AN ORGANIZATION SHOULD PAY TEN DOLLARS AND ONE OR TWO DOLLARS FEE FOR INDIVIDUALS. CARMICHAEL FELT AN ORGANIZATION SHOULD NOT HAVE TO PAY A FEE. NOTHING WAS SETTLED REGARDING ORGANIZATIONAL PROCEDURE. THE DISCUSSION REGARDING THIS CONCERNED WHETHER THE BUF IS ACTUALLY AN ORGANIZATION TYPE OF A GROUP OR WHETHER IT IS A MASS MOVEMENT. THE MEETING THEN DECIDED THEY NEEDED LARGER SPACE FOR FUTURE ORGANIZATIONAL MEETINGS. IT WAS AGREED THE NEXT BUF MEETING ON MARCH NINETEENTH NEXT WOULD BE HELD AT THE LINCOLN MEMORIAL CONGREGATIONAL TEMPLE.

ACCORDING TO THE SOURCE A SNCC MEETING WAS HELD IN ANOTHER PORTION OF THE SAME TEMPLE FOLLOWING THE BUF MEETING. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] A SNCC AFFILIATE FROM ATLANTA, ADDRESSED THE MEETING.

LCM *DIC*

b7C
b7DApproved: _____
Special Agent in ChargeSent _____ M Per _____
2

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)PAGE THREE
WFO 100-43503b7C
b7D

[REDACTED] WHOM THE SOURCE REGARDED AS AN UNIMPRESSIVE SPEAKER,
URGED SUPPORT AND SYMPATHY FROM THOSE PRESENT FOR [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] AND NEWTON FROM OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA. HE MAINTAINED THEY ALL
HAVE BEEN JAILED FOR FIGHTING FOR THE RIGHTS OF BLACK PEOPLE.

ADMINISTRATIVE

LHM FOLLOWS

SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

b7C
b7D

ATLANTA COPY AIRMAIL

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

VIA TELETYPE
MAR 7 1968
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

MWASHINGTON---02

6-05V PM URGENT 3-7-68 JON

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080) AND WASHINGTON FIELD (100-43503)

WFO VIA WASHINGTON --PLAINTEXT--

FROM NEWARK (100-49533)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL IS - MISC., SEDITION OO-WFO.

RE NK TEL THREE FOUR LAST, AND WFO TEL, THREE FIVE LAST.

CAMDEN, NJ, PD, ADVISED THIS DATE CARMICHAEL DID NOT APPEAR IN CAMDEN ON MARCH SIX LAST. CONTINUED CLOSE LIAISON WITH CAMDEN, PD, IN VIEW OF CARMICHAEL'S SCHEDULED APPEARANCE, NYC, MARCH EIGHT NEXT. NO INFO DEVELOPED CARMICHAEL PLANNING TO STOP CAMDEN, NJ, ON THAT DATE.

NEWARK SOURCE IS ALERTED AND LIAISON BEING MAINTAINED.

END

WA...RM R RELAY

FBI WASH DC

REC-43 100-446080-1205

22 MAR 11 1968

RELAYED TO WFO
62 MAR 14 1968

100-446080-1205

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-28-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

File 544

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-28-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls
FBI

Date: 3/5/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-44-6080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS-MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION
(OO:WFO)

Re Richmond airtel 2/19/68.

SAS observed late model white Chevrolet Corvair,
bearing Virginia License [redacted] parked near [redacted]
[redacted] Washington, D.C., evening of
[redacted] where meeting of Black United Front (BUF) Steering
Committee meeting stated to be held. CARMICHAEL reported
to be in attendance. Meeting not actually held due to
misunderstanding on part of some members as to when meeting
was to take place.

It is to be noted Virginia License [redacted]
checked on 2/17/68 by Richmond at the Department of
Motor Vehicles listed car to [redacted]
[redacted] Virginia, for a 1959 Peugeot
Station Wagon. [redacted] reportedly separated from husband.

- (3) - Bureau
2 - Richmond (100-10532) (RM)
1 - WFO

WWH:fjc
(6)

C. C. Bishop

AIRTEL

REC 18

EX-114

MAR 11 1968

100-446080-1206

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M _____

Per _____

WFO 100-43503

b7C

Richmond requested to recheck Department of Motor Vehicles Records for new registration for License number [redacted] regarding late model white Corvair. Attempt to ascertain identity of person using car in Washington, D.C., in contact with CARMICHAEL.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-28-2006 BY
60288
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

FBI WASH DC

MAR 4 1968 bjp

TELETYPE

FBI MOBILE

3:26 PM URGENT 3/4/68 TEB

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080), ATLANTA (100-6812),
NEW YORK (100-153751) AND WFO (100-43503).

FROM MOBILE (100-1858) 2P

b7C

INTERNAL SECURITY
STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS - MISCELLANEOUS. SEDITION. OO: WFO.

[REDACTED] (PROTECT IDENTITY),
[REDACTED]

TODAY CONFIRMED REPORT THAT STOKELY CARMICHAEL SCHEDULED
TO SPEAK AT LOGAN HALL, TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, MARCH ELEVEN
NEXT FOLLOWING PRESENTATION OF PLAY ENTITLED, "BACK TO
BLACK." THIS PLAY BEING PRESENTED [REDACTED] REPORTED
~~STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE~~
~~SNCC WORKER~~ FROM ATLANTA, GA. INVITATION TO CARMICHAEL
WAS MADE BY STUDENT GOVERNMENT, TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, WITHOUT
FACULTY APPROVAL.

b7C
b7D

EX-105

REC 18

100-446080-1207

IN VIEW OF RECENT INDICATIONS OF STUDENT UNREST ON

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE CAMPUS THIS MATTER WILL BE FOLLOWED
CLOSELY WITH ESTABLISHED SOURCES. LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES
TUSKEGEE, ALA., DEPT. OF PUBLIC SAFETY, INTELLIGENCE

END PAGE ONE

20 MAR 10 1968
XEROX

MAR 1968

PAGE TWO

SOURCES AND USA, MONTGOMERY, BEING ADVISED.

ATLANTA, NEW YORK AND WFO, THROUGH RELIABLE SOURCES
ENDEAVOR TO CONFIRM PLANS OF STOKELY CARMICHAEL TO APPEAR
AT TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, MARCH ELEVEN NEXT AND FURNISH BUREAU
AND MOBILE WITH AVAILABLE DETAILS OF TRAVEL PLANS AND
PURPOSE OF APPEARANCE.

memo
LHM FOLLOWS. P.

END

JMS

FBI WASH DC

P

APR 11 1968

Date of Mail

Feb. 28, 1968

Has been removed and placed in the Special File Room of Records Branch.

See File 66-2554-7530 for authority.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-28-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

Subject

JUNE MAIL

Stokely Carmichael

Removed By

99 MAR 15 1968

File Number

100-446080-1208

Permanent Serial Charge Out

F 282

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF Reel
DATE 3-19-68

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ Date 3/5/68

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTELAIR MAIL REGISTERED

(Priority)

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF Class Key
DATE 4-26-68

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-68783)
(157-2091)SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS-MISCELLANEOUS, SEDITION

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

BLACK CONGRESS SPONSORED RALLY FOR
DEFENSE OF HUEY P. NEWTON,
LOS ANGELES SPORTS ARENA,
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA
2/18/68
RM

b7C

DECLASSIFIED BY 5809/pt
ON 5/12/02

Re Los Angeles airtels and letterhead memorandums
dated 2/13/68, and 2/26/68.

b7C

13 - Bureau (Enc. 21) (RM)

b7C

- (2 - [redacted] (Enc. 2)
- (2 - 100-443566) (JAMES FORMAN) (Enc. 2)
- (2 - [redacted] (Enc. 2)
- (2 - 100-439190) (SNCC) (Enc. 2)
- 2 - Albuquerque (Enc. 2) (RM)
- 2 - Atlanta (100-6812) (Enc. 2) (RM)
- 2 - Chicago (Enc. 2) (RM)
- 2 - New Orleans (Enc. 2) (100-17568) (RM)
- 2 - New York (Enc. 2) (100-153751) (Enc. 2)
- 2 - Richmond (157-2135) (Enc. 2) (RM)
- 2 - San Francisco (157-721) (Enc. 2) (RM)
- 2 - Washington Field (100-43503) (Enc. 2) (RM)
- 7 - Los Angeles
 - (1 - 100-63822)
 - (1 - 100-68783)
 - (1 - 100-70038)
 - (1 - 100-70038)
 - (1 - 105-23394)
 - (1 - 100-65037)
 - (1 - 157-1409)
 - (1 - 157-2091)

C. C. Bishop

JWW:mmm

HOW FORW: RA
DATE FORW: 3/10/68
BY: 17-12-1

11 MAR 8 1968

DEPT: 100-446080

RACIAL INT. SECT.
Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

ENCLOSURE

Sent _____

Per _____

FILED

COPY AND COPY

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/22/86 BY SP-1 AG/ML

REC 29

100-446080-1209

LA 100-68783

LA 157-2091

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Enclosed for the Bureau are 21 copies of attached letterhead memorandum (LHM), concerning Black Congress sponsored rally for the defense of HUEY P. NEWTON, Los Angeles Sports Arena, Los Angeles, California, 2/18/68, featuring STOKELY CARMICHAEL and CARMICHAEL's activities while in Los Angeles. Enclosed for Atlanta, Albuquerque, Chicago, New Orleans, New York, Richmond, San Francisco and Washington Field are two copies each of LHM, because of their interest in this matter.

LHM. The following sources were utilized in attached

Sources

Identity of sources

b2
b7C
b7D

Special Agent of the FBI [redacted] who was present and observed activities of captioned rally mechanically recorded all speeches and statements made at the rally in view of Bureau instructions. A verbatim transcript has been incorporated in attached LHM. b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LA 100-68783
LA 157-2091

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The enclosed LHM is classified ~~confidential~~ because information furnished by confidential sources could reasonably result in their identification and impair their future effectiveness.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

b7C

Los Angeles, California
March 5, 1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY-MISCELLANEOUS, SEDITION
BLACK CONGRESS SPONSORED RALLY FOR
DEFENSE OF HUEY P. NEWTON,
LOS ANGELES SPORTS ARENA
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA
FEBRUARY 18, 1968

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF
DATE 4-12-88

Sources utilized in this communication have
furnished reliable information in the past.

Huey P. Newton is publicly known as the Minister
of Defense for the Black Panther Party For Self Defense
(BPPSD) in Oakland, California. The BPPSD is described
as a political organization to combat "police brutality"
united militant black youths in order to determine the
destiny of the black community, and to educate black people
in African history. Newton is confined presently in
the Alameda City Jail for shooting a policeman.

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF
DATE 5-15-82

b2
b7D

indicated they were present and observed the activities held
at the Black Congress sponsored rally for the defense of
Huey P. Newton at the Los Angeles Sports Arena, Los Angeles
California, on February 18, 1968. They all indicated there

CLASSIFIED AND EXTENDED
REASON FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION 4-12-88

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF
DATE 8-31-77

DECLASSIFIED BY 6855
ON 8-31-77

DECLASSIFIED BY 6855
ON 5-17-82

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-22-86 BY SP-106/RSJ

ENCLOSURE

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

100-446080-1209

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY-MISCELLANEOUS, SEDITION
BLACK CONGRESS SPONSORED RALLY FOR
DEFENSE OF HUEY P. NEWTON,
LOS ANGELES SPORTS ARENA
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA
FEBRUARY 18, 1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

were approximately 3,500 people who were in attendance with approximately ten percent of the audience being Caucasians. Upon entering the Sports Arena, they were frisked by Negro males, wearing black berets, who acted as security guards for the rally. The rally, which was scheduled from 3:00 to 6:00 PM, did not begin until approximately 4:30 PM. The master of ceremonies was Walter Bremond, Chairman of the Black Congress, a coalition of militant black nationalist organizations. Speakers for the rally included James Forman, a representative of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), a militant black nationalist organization, Thomas Kilgore, West Coast representative of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), a civil rights organization headed by the Reverend Martin Luther King, Bobby George Seale, Chairman of the BPPSD, Cristobal Tijerina and Reies Lopez Tijerina. (U)

Reies Lopez Tijerina is the leader of the Alianza Federal De Mercedes (AFDM), which is publicly known as an organization representing local grant interest in the state of New Mexico to descendants of original owners.

Also included as speakers in the rally were Ronie McKinley Everett, also known as Ron Karenga, Chairman of US, a militant black nationalist group based in Los Angeles, California, H. Rap Brown, Minister of Justice for the BPPSD and Chairman of SNCC, and Stokely Carmichael, a militant black nationalist, the former Chairman of SNCC.

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY-MISCELLANEOUS, SEDITION
BLACK CONGRESS SPONSORED RALLY FOR
DEFENSE OF HUEY P. NEWTON
LOS ANGELES SPORTS ARENA
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA
FEBRUARY 18, 1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

A Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, who was present and observed the activities of captioned rally, obtained the following verbatim transcription of speeches and statements made during the rally.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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JAMES FOREMAN:

(applause). What goes before us lies the open grave. Like men will face the cowardly _____. We're fighting back. (applause)

Brothers and sisters, our role here today is to welcome all our guests to the platform; come on up brother, come on up, all of them. Here's Bro. CARMICHAEL, Bro. RAP BROWN, come on baby, come on, come on, come on (applause). We got Bro. BOBBY SEALE, the chairman of the Black Panther Party, give him a hand, Bro. RAP BROWN, all right, all right, give them all a hand (applause). Bro. BROWN, Bro. SEALE, Bro. CARMICHAEL, let's give them a big hand again. (applause) All right, one more round of applause before we sit down.

Now, yesterday, February 17th, was HUEY NEWTON's birthday and there was a gigantic celebration up in Oakland, California. Bro. BOBBY SEALE, the chairman of the Black Panther Party, has a new way of saying happy birthday to HUEY which he probably will ask you to do when he comes; he's coming up to speak to us next. In addition to that tremendous information titulated by Bro. STOKELY CARMICHAEL who has been around through all capitals of the world, revolutionary capitals, that is, let's give him a hand. (applause) He has come back to tell us about

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many of the observations that he's made spirited in the philosophy and the dynamism which is driving him in the new phase of black liberation in 1968. In addition to that Bro. RAP BROWN is here; you know he's been a representative of us in Manhattan and nine boroughs of New York. He's out here on some legal consultation but he's _____. Let's give Bro. BROWN a hand. (applause)

Last night was the first time that Bro. BROWN left outside of the confines of Manhattan and these nine counties in some months. But he still has the same old fire and he's going to talk to us today, Bro. RAP BROWN, (applause) all right.

Now we should certainly understand that celebrating HUEY's birthday must not be stopped on February 17th, but must begin on February the 18th, 19th, 20th, 21st, and on and on and on, because Bro. NEWTON is in jail and he's in jail for us. He's not in jail for himself, he's in jail for us. (applause) And he's in jail for us because he believes that there should be no more occupation of the black community by a foreign racist gestapo cops and that's why he's in jail, do you understand? (applause) We must never forget that message. We must never forget the message that Bro. NEWTON has tried to articulate and for which he is in jail and for which he will not die and for which he will be set free; he will be set free. (applause)

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Now, there are several things which I could go ahead on and try to rap to you but that would be beyond the scope of my ability, my intelligence, when we have all the star-studded program here. What I want to do, brothers and sisters, is just to say something that I've been saying around the country because it's important, because you see the reason that this meeting is late and we must understand that people in this audience must understand the reason that this meeting was late. We contracted for this auditorium, you'll remember it was less than one week ago and less than a week and a half ago and there were a whole lot of delays. One of the delays was that we had to put up say \$4,000 instead of the ordinary \$1,500. In addition to that they say we have to put up \$10,000 security bond because the niggers who come here won't know how to act and we going to tear up the place, you dig it, see, that's what they say. (applause) All right. So now we said now listen, we said Bro. CARMICHAEL's been around and were going to have this rally not only to let him say this but also to support Bro. TIJERINA who's in jail in Mexico, but the main thing we want to get the message over in Southern California about what was happening to Bro. HUEY so we said OK man we will put up the \$10,000, I know you didn't think we could dig it, but we had it so here's your \$10,000. (applause) Now, after we got the \$10,000 and the \$4,000, then they pulled a whole

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new trick today, they called out the Army and the Army ain't but six blocks away from here and you got to understand that so be careful going home (laughter) I'm telling you what I know. Four blocks from here is the National Guard. Inside the arena they wanted to have cops walking all around so that the brothers could get mad with them and somebody would start something and then they would bring in the National Guard and bring in the Army and we would all be sitting up here you see in a little isolated van and they'd try to mow us down, and don't believe it baby, this is as good an extermination camp as any of them right in here, you understand? (applause) All right. So we say we ain't going to make the Los Angeles Sports Arena on February 18, concentration camp number 2, where we all peacefully walk to the gas chambers, you understand. So we've been up there, we told the police we didn't want any police walking on the inside of these arenas inside the audience, that the brothers here could protect us, the Black Panther Party and the brothers from _____ could provide all the security that we needed, and we didn't need them inside here. (applause) So that's the reason the brothers were late we said now all right look here, this is the finest example of young black leadership that we have, BOBBY SEALE, HUEY NEWTON, not brother HUEY NEWTON, RAP BROWN, STOKELY CARMICHAEL, you all stay out there til we get

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this down straight, cause we don't want them pig cops coming in here and mowing down our folks on February the 18th, you dig it? So now after we got that straight then the brothers came on in so let's give them another great big applause for coming in. (applause)

Now that leads up to the message brothers, that we've been talking around this country cause it's very important that we say it time and time and time again, cause one of the ways the man tries to destroy the liberation movement is to say we will pluck off some leaders, if we pluck off some leaders, assassinate some leaders then folks will get confused they will be stray, but we know by your presence that the mass of the black people will never go astray, will never go astray, and will always carry forth with the struggle, (applause) but, and I'm saying this and I understand the National Guard is six blocks away and the Army is four, whatever it is, vice versa, and they got them cops out there, here's what we have to do, baby, we have to say that if you keep on, not this, you know Bro. CARMICHAEL's gotten a lot of threats, Bro. BROWN's gotten a lot of threats, I know about that, Bro. SEALE's gotten a lot of threats, Bro. NEWTON is already in jail, Bro. KARENGA gets a lot of threats, he's going to be here, I hope he's here now, if he's going to come on in. Well, anyway, he's coming on in, and he's gotten a

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lot of threats, I know about Bro. JOE, so what we have decided is that we have a grand strategy in 1968, we ain't going to reveal all of it, but we're going to reveal one aspect of the new strategy. We admit that 1967 was a year of high tide of resistance, so we say that the way that we are going, one of the ways, not the only way, is to say publicly and publicly, and publicly and publicly that we have a mutual defense pact and if you assassinate any of these black leaders you must be prepared for instant and protractive retribution. (applause) Now it is not enough just to say instant and protractive retribution because some brother may be picking up a wine bottle and cutting somebody, is that the kind of retribution, that ain't the retribution we are talking about. We are talking about selective, directive, protractive retribution on police stations, on fire stations, on power plants, on war factories, you dig it baby? That's what we are talking about, all over this country, all over this country. (applause) Now, in addition to that we are talking about protractive and instant retribution on some of these Southern governors, especially on these brothers have been struggling with all their lives on some of these mass, some of them out here in the far West, you dig it? Some of them out here, out in Watts I know, all right, we talking about protractive retribution especially on these white gestapo cops that occupy

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our community, that's what we are talking about. (applause)

So that being the case, that being the case you understand that we've been giving out figures and what have you in terms of individuals but we won't do that today. That being the case let me just introduce the next speaker by telling you something that has also happened which is a part of the strategy. You may have heard, say, of the merge of SNCC and the Black Panther Party for Self Defense; well, the merge is not the correct word because neither organization has given up its name, but what we have established and what we are working to establish throughout the West Coast and throughout the country is two new concepts: operational unity that will lead to a brotherhood of black people, you dig it? That's what we are talking about. (applause) Now we feel that this operational unity is important because baby the man has all of these little things which your brothers are going to run down to you. Riot tanks, _____ guns, all the stuff that's every night on television, so we got to have a new form of strategy and one of those new forms of strategy is to try to consolidate groups that are moving in the same direction with the same political perspective, etc. Now the Black Panther Party for Self Defense is an organization that has recruited and has trained and disciplined many of the brothers whom we call the "field niggers", us, all of us, the "field niggers" now come on,

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come on, I know, come on, get with it (applause) get with it. There ain't no claps. What do we mean when we say the "field niggers?" We talking about the niggers that got out of jail, niggers that are winos and junkies and _____ got a new lease on life, we going to fight the main enemy, baby, the U. S. Government and all its _____, you dig it? So the brothers have done that. This is not a middle class movement, the cats have got a whole lot of brothers off the streets and they are moving together and those are the cats that's going to lead this revolution and don't let nobody fool you baby; it will not be those of us who are half way between the house and the field. You dig it? No, not us. It will be the field niggers baby and so therefore we feel that we and SNCC who have been trying to develop this around the country Black National Party with the Panthers assembled must unite with these brothers. So its an operational unity that will help to save many people, will help us to forward the greatest struggle, you will hear more about that; last nite they drafted me as the minister of foreign affairs in addition to my other duties; another new title, more work, dig it? They also drafted Bro. RAP BROWN as minister of justice, an appropriate title, how about that, minister of justice. (applause)

All right brother, I'm going to let you speak, brother. And now, brother say I'm talking too long, going to take up the

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whole program, I don't mean to do that, but all I am here to say brothers is that it is absolutely essential that we have a gut reaction that only can come from brotherhood, gut reaction to brothers like CLEVELAND SELLARS who is down in Orangeberg, gut reaction to Bro. MAX STANFORD who is still in jail in Queens, you dig it, gut reaction to many other brothers across this country that are in jail and I think that today we are showing these kinds of reactions and emotions toward each other and we will be able to not only unite say SNCC, the Black Panther Party for Self Defense, but we will be able to get a whole lot of other groups across this country to form this operational unity, keep their own identity but establish a brotherhood of black people and that's what we want. So lets give all these brothers a big hand for being out here. (applause) All right, Bro. WALTER BREMOND, come on brother, where are you, what's happening now, where's Bro. WALTER? I give to you now the chairman and M.C. of the meeting, Bro. WALTER BREMOND. Thank you very much. (applause)

WALTER BREMOND: _____ black people so lets give Bro. JAMES a hand. (applause)

It's indeed my pleasure to introduce the next speaker to you. Here's a cat thats got a lot of sun, he's got a lot of heart and he's committed to the liberation of men. Some folks say

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he ain't a militant, but we know where he is. When the Black Youth Conference was looking for a place, you know, with _____, we went to a cat by the name of Rev. TOM KILGORE, so I would like to introduce to you Rev. TOM KILGORE, pastor of Second Baptist Church, let's give him a hand. (applause)

REV. TOM KILGORE: Ladies and gentlemen, in the halls of this arena there are peace petitions. In Vietnam thousands of people are dying uselessly and all too many of them are black people from the United States of America. (applause) who are dying for a country in which they are not free. (applause) I come to you as a representative of the church - that militant phase of the church that has never compromised and that has believed in peace and freedom for all people. I know there are grave doubts, I know many of you have written the church off, but I am one in the church that hasn't written anybody off that's still willing to work for freedom and especially to see that black people in America live with dignity and honor. (applause) I pastor a church that's considered a prestigious church, but I know that my job as a prophet is to stand on the firing line and to help and work where the basic things of life are at stake and I come this evening to bring my greetings and especially to say let every one of us sign this peace petition. Let every one of us say and keep saying that we ought to be out of Vietnam and back

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here clearing up conditions in the United States of America.
(applause) I greet you and I want to tell you, maybe some of you haven't been close to the church for a long time but there are a whole lot of us in the church who are sensitive and who are fighting and giving their lives for the same valid principles for which you are fighting and giving yours and I come as a representative of the church without any equivocation or any shame to say that we as we carry on from day to day are conscious of the vast struggle and I know the irrelevance of the church in so many areas but I have not written it off and I stay there because I believe in it and I believe that it has a message. Neither have I written you off because I believe that you, as I said to our congregation this morning, men like STOKELY CARMICHAEL have a message to tell this country in a time like this.
(applause) And I hope America will listen for I want to see America an America where all people can live together in peace and in freedom. This is what I have been preaching for all these years and there are segments of the oldest black institution we have, the black church, that's still preaching that. Thank you and God bless you. (applause)

WALTER BREMOND: That cat is talking about some righteous stuff because we got 37% of our black brothers dying over there in that racist oppressive war in Vietnam and they need

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to be right here, not tomorrow but they need to be right here right now. (applause) That's what I call the black soul but I got to tell you all about one thing like that man that's got all kinds of people here and everytime you stand up it makes it pretty tough for security, so just feel it and pat your foot when you want to stand, all right.

Brother FOREMAN has already talked about our next speaker, he's a cat who is doing it, like I mean he's righteously doing it and he's right down there with the brothers in the street. Close friend of Bro. HUEY P. NEWTON, a brother of Bro. HUEY P. NEWTON, a brother who is willing to give his life for Bro. HUEY P. NEWTON. I like to introduce to you at this time Bro. BOBBY SEALE, chairman of Black Panther Party for Self Defense. (applause)

BOBBY SEALE: Thank you brothers and sisters. I'm going to explain something. I'm going to try to give you some insight as to who our black brother HUEY P. NEWTON is. You notice I didn't say "was". You've already had MALCOLM X, no "was", "is". Bro. HUEY P. NEWTON is now chained in jail in Oakland, California. He's charged with murder of a pig cop. (applause) He's charged with the wounding of another and has another couple of more charges of so called kidnaping and an ex-felon with a gun. The brother has soul, wait a minute, his soul is for black people to survive within the confines of racist, decadent America. This is

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the brother's soul. Watch; the brother with this perspective of the situation, the oppressive situation the black people are subjected to within the confines of this racist system, this perspective on how to deal with the situation is in fact what you might call really a new level. The brother teaches that politics is war without bloodshed and that war is politics with bloodshed. The brother understands that the white power structure makes many political decisions upon our heads that we disagree with. The brother understands or teaches and gives what we call a functional definition for black power, starts out with a functional definition of power. That power is the ability to define phenomenon and make it act in a desired manner. Now wait a minute. Let's go back to that word phenomenon. Black Power, black people, social phenomenon, 400 years of oppression by the racist power structure, the racist dogs and pigs in this country. We must understand and define this first and get some power, develop and organize in a fashion where after we define the situation we can make it act in a desired manner. Black people situation is political. Now, we look at the power structure and how it uses power, wait, let's say what the real power is. We must understand that it's not green power because this is a bunch of baloney. The brother shows you, if you get a chance to get it run down and I'm going to run it down, that a very good example

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in the Civil War when the North and the South were fighting against each other, the North had some green power, Yankee money and the South had some green power, Confederate money. Both of them had forces and guns. The North out maneuvered the South had all the guns and force and defined the South's money as not really being money any more. They burned it up in the streets. Where was the real power at? the guns and the force. Can we check that out? (applause)

Black people, the period of reconstruction, were promised 40 acres and two mules, 40 acres and two mules, but we didn't get this 40 acres and two mules, we got the butt of a gun, the lynching rope, etc. But we'd have had that 40 acres and two mules to every black man. Black people would have had some ownership of land. Black people would have had a chance to have constructed within the confines of this setup their own institution to control their own communities and control their own lives and have the power to determine the destiny of their lives in their communities, or wherever they might live, if we had had this 40 acres and two mules. Because by owning this 40 acres and two mules at that time we, this country was predominately agricultural at the time, we could have wheeled and dealed and operated in such a fashion that the power structure would have had to answer our basic political desires and needs. Also, if we had been promised the 40 acres and two mules, the 40 acres, we might have had a

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chance then to compete against General Motors, Standard Oil and the major industries now who are over 100 years old. Maybe you didn't know that Standard Oil started off in 1860 and ten years later they were refining some 80 million barrels of oil. Now, these big industries, these white businessmen are the ones who robbed us of this 40 acres and two mules, they got it right now. (applause) What I'm trying to hip you to brothers is that in 1869 the man had the land because he bought Alaska in 1869 right in the period of Reconstruction. That's when we were supposed to receive the 40 acres and two mules. That's when we would have had the power. That's when we would have had the land to live on and survive, to organize amongst ourselves. That's one form of power I've been talking about, is ownership of land. The other form of power is ownership and the control of the industry by the peoples in the community by whatever system you design to do it. But there's a third form of power that we must understand that exists; it definitely exists. It's commonly referred to as a military power which the Black Panther Party for Self Defense calls a self defense power. Guns, organized in the black communities is a form of power. Everytime the power structure makes a political decision on a group of peoples _____ and the people disagree with it the power structure sends in guns and force upon the peoples to try and make them submit to those political decisions that do not serve them. (applause) We

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are going to have to understand what power really is. The Vietnamese in Vietnam understand what power is. They understand, they are using guns and force to defend themselves, (applause) in an organized fashion. Only in the relation to their terrain. We have another terrain. I'm not talking about you going up in no hills nowhere. I'm talking about right where you are at your home. Right there in Detroit. Did you see it in Detroit? You remember that? Some more organizing. The brothers was dealing in righteous power. In a 200 square block area in Detroit these cats drove out United States paratroopers for four hours. (applause) The brothers is up tight. Every black man here must have a shotgun in his home to defend himself and his family against the racist gestapo police who occupy our community like a foreign troop. (applause) Now maybe you saying that, is this the limit of HUEY's perspective? On the contrary. If you ever have a chance to read the platform and the program of the Black Panther Party for Self Defense the point I just finished talking on was only one point, point #7, and point #7 of the platform of the Black Panther Party says that we want an immediate end to police brutality and murder of black people. That's only one point. (applause) Point #1 says we want freedom, we want power to determine the destiny of our own black communities. Point #2 says we want an end by the white racist businessman who

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robs us in our black communities. Point #3 says we want full employment for our people. Point #4 says we want decent housing fit for shelter of human beings. Point #5 deals with education and us being educated with the true decadence of this racist American society and our place in society and who we are in _____. Point #8 deals with the fact that we want all of the black brothers who are in city prisons, that Solodad, Folsom, that's Quentin, that's Chino, all the joints we want them free because they haven't had a fair trial, they've all been tried by white juries and none of them are their peers.(applause)

Now, out of this platform and program HUEY said we must start working somewhere on a practical level. So, in the San Francisco, Oakland Bay area, in October, November of 1966, cops begin to get patrolled. We didn't go out there with just a camera and a tape recorder. We went out there with a shotgun, just like his, lots of shotguns and when the cop look at the shotguns he say, "yeah that boy'll kill me if I get to jive him, and he knows it." (applause) That was dealing in a form of power organized. The brothers just wouldn't throw the gun in their hand. The brothers were trained safety with those guns because they realize and was taught, they were taught to realize that it was necessary that this gun is political and is here to defend black people in the black communities against the racist police brutality. When we patrol cops up there we come out of the cars five strong, call up

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another car, another car come up five strong, that's when a cop stops some brother on the corner and we line up, stand ten feet away, they got some little jive law saying every citizen got a right to observe a cop carrying out his duty, we observed him, but we observed him with our eyes, he got a 12 gauge shotgun, we have one. We got 3.57's, we got .45's, everything just like he got. (applause)

This was the practical program that was instituted. It's instituted to another level. The black people in their homes. Put a shotgun in your home. The cops is in your community. He's not off in a white community brutalizing white people, he's down in the black community brutalizing black people so you can patrol him from your window. (applause) Joe, John, and Jim, who all live in the same block, and Harry and Edward and Baboo and the rest of them are supposed to be up tight together to know that two or three _____ when they are home and around that they checking out up and down the block, that if they see some pig I say get ready to shoot, or brutalize some brother, that they are going to come to the aid of that brother with four or five shotguns quickly. (applause) That is a practical program of dealing in black power. (applause) Organizing from block to block in every black community across this nation. That we will defend ourselves against the racists attacks by the racists period on Point #7 we

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started. Reason we really started on Point #7 is because if you wanted to hold a meeting or hold a demonstration concerning employment, housing, decent education, etc. the man or red stripes will send down the pigs to intimidate you with his pistols. So if we are going to hold a red stripe we are going to hold a red stripe with brothers there with arms, etc. to make sure that the black people be defended and not let those cops brutalize them just because the people want to redress their grievances as it says by the man's own jive law. (applause) So, I want to bring the point to this level, that HUEY P. NEWTON is a political prisoner. The lawyers told us that if it didn't have political racial overtones HUEY P. NEWTON, they haven't got enough evidence to convict HUEY, that he could get him out tomorrow. The man wants to railroad HUEY and drop a pill on him. Black people have to support HUEY P. NEWTON. (applause) Black Power, black people in this room. Black people have to stand up behind HUEY P. NEWTON. HUEY P. NEWTON was standing up for black people. (applause) I think it's necessary to go a little farther in getting you to understand the line of demarcation between us and the enemy and who the real enemy is. We say the pig cops. That's true. We say the racists, the clan, the Birchites, the Minutemen, etc., that's true. But that power structure allows and organizes and maintains the racism that goes on in this country as a whole; that

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power structure, it's very, very important and that pig cop is the real power of the power structure. Don't let anybody take that out of your mind because that's where the real power starts. Before Watts there was only 1,300 cops. There are 6,000 cops in Los Angeles now patrolling black people, and 3½ years ago there were only 350 cops in Oakland, there are over 1,000 cops there now patrolling black people. San Francisco doubled its force from 550. All across this nation in every major metropolis they are doubling and tripling and quadtripling these police forces. We cannot sit aside, you must organize. All these black people in the world like brother CARMICHAEL talks about, the man they got us outnumbered, he got us out organized. That's where we got to get up to. (applause) This is what Bro. HUEY P. NEWTON was doing. Organized force to defend ourselves within our community. Bro. HUEY P. NEWTON was the type of a brother even when he saw a brother was causing his situation to be such in a way that if he just had a chance to say a word or to _____ ran he used to doing that, that's just a hangup, even when he knew the brother was kind of wrong, Bro. HUEY P. NEWTON would go out there and go down with the brother first, regardless of whether the brother was wrong or not. (applause) This is what I'm trying to get over. Brothers soul is his desire to free his people; is his desire to see his people organized in a fashion politically to deal with the racist white power structure.

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To deal with the man on a political level. To deal with the man in defining our situation. And when we talk about power being the ability to define phenomenon and make him act in a desired manner. We define the situation. We have to have this power to make those cops act in a desired manner; that they must withdraw from our communities, that we want our own police forces, our own courts, our own institutions. This is what's happening when you start talking about power and we must deal with it in this fashion. In the confines of every institution that exists we must try to control it. We must control them. Our people have to be educated. Our people have to understand how in fact we will get the land and the bread. We can't keep going on with long dissertations and outlines and a bunch of esoteric stuff because when you walk down the block and try to talk to one of these brothers here, talk about, you know the basic socio-economic structure, brother, and the adverse conditions that we're subjected to within the confines of our community, brother say man, later, man, I got no time for that stuff now. (applause) But when you get ready to organize brothers, when you get ready to -- brothers they say man, you know that pig out there, I say yes, he say man we going to organize with some guns, with some force, when these dudes start getting down wrong, man, we are going to defend ourselves. They say, I can dig it, baby, I can

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dig it. (applause) He becomes educated in the process. And we don't run him away because he got a process on his head. The first thing we are wondering is this here -- what kind of soul does he got and is he ready to defend his people, that's first, not whether he got a natural or not, cause a whole lot of brothers out there been fighting them pigs with processes on their head for years and years, that's very important. I don't give a damn whether you got a process or a natural, a cop's club going to hit the head because you black. (applause) In the process of organizing the brother he will decide whether he wants the natural or not. I'm not going to write the revolutionary song for the brother, he can write his own revolutionary song, that's what you've done yourselves. Before Watts, all down in Los Angeles, I lived in Los Angeles for 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ years, all the time we didn't have nothing but processes but after awhile all of a sudden brothers popped out you see with naturals, you wrote your own revolutionary song, I didn't have to write it for you. (applause) You want to save yourselves. You want to be self and when you involve yourself on a practical level and at the real level in a situation this is where you become more educated besides the book. The book is very, very good to learn by, very good to learn by, but there's another way to learn too by doing. And we found that a lot of times along with

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the book, learning by doing is even better at that. This is very important. These brothers here have done. These brothers have dealt with it on the streets, on the block in Sacramento, California, all over the place. They've dealt with it. These brothers are organized and many more who are still up there. They know how to deal with the man in a fashion that's for real. There's no jive out there. There's none of this stuff about man he could be caught, I think I got to go take a leak now; we don't have that. (laughter) All right. I want to ask you, I want to say to you, want to explain to you the need for having our Bro. HUEY P. NEWTON set free. Bro. HUEY P. NEWTON, as far as I'm concerned, information I got, the man tried to murder Bro. HUEY P. NEWTON. The man kind of set Bro. HUEY P. NEWTON up. But the man lost on that game because he was dealing with the real brothers. Now Bro. HUEY is going to be set free. You are going to set him free. I want every black man in this house to stand up and we're all going to say "free HUEY, free HUEY or else, free HUEY or else, free HUEY or else." Wooooo - look at that organization. (applause) Brothers, I want to thank you. Black Power on a for real level. Thank you. (applause)

WALTER BREMOND: That's out of sight. Going to be moving rather rapidly at this point. This is not just a black rally today. It's a black-brown rally and Bro. REIES TIJERINA

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is also going to be here. (long applause) As I understand he's en route now from Delano with Bro. CESAR CHAVEZ and let's pray that they make it. (applause) But before he arrives I think we should have an opportunity to meet his brother who is sitting up here on the stage with us. I'm not going to introduce him. I think that one of his brown brothers should do that. And I would like to call upon the stage Bro. MONTEZUMA SPADA from the Brown Beret. (applause)

MONTEZUMA SPADA: Bro. SEALE said a little while ago that the black man has been facing a war of oppression from the Gavacho, that is what we call "whitey", (applause) for the last 400 years. For the Gavacho has been in the Southwest for over 100 years and we have been facing a war of extermination for that time. (applause) Right now there is a war, a war in the streets, a war in the hills of Northern New Mexico and right here today is one of the men that are carrying on that war against the Gavacho, because he is doing us all in and he will do us all in if we don't fight him. (applause) For we have got to fight him. (applause) And we have got to fight. (wild applause) On (Spanish phrase) ----- (applause).

Ladies and gentlemen, I'm glad to be here with you and I bring greetings from all the people from New Mexico. (applause) I'm very sorry that REIES couldn't make it here this evening, I

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think he missed his plane or something, so I'm going to tell you a few words, that I'm very happy to be here and it's an honor for me to be here and most of all that the brown people and the black people are getting together united, (applause) to fight one enemy in the U.S. and the same enemy that is trying to suppress the whole world. (applause) _____ signed the treaty with the black people and that's one of the things that gave us more courage to go ahead and to go ahead a little stronger and go all the way and we want the support from the black people and I think that the black people would like to have our support and fight _____ together. (applause) I think that it's a shame that the first class citizen is treated like third class, fourth class, is treated like if we were stepsons to this country. Anything that we try to do to protect our rights is a violation of the law. We can do nothing to please the gestapo. (applause) I think they worn out the locks on the penitentiary doors and I'm getting tired of going in and out. (applause) Everytime they hear the name of Terrinas they start jumping. It is not because we are a big mass or a strong people but they know that the Terrinas are trying to lead the people on the right direction and trying to petition and discipline the people to learn how to defend their rights, even if we're going to have to spill some blood. That doesn't mean nothing to me. (applause) I served in the World

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War II war, I made it back, but if I was of draft age I think that I would rather serve five years in the penitentiary or hard labor than go to Vietnam. (applause) Well I think that's about all and I think that REIES' finally made it, so I guess he'll _____ you can hear it from him. So thank you very much. (applause)

WALTER BREMOND: Viva to TIJERINA, viva to TIJERINA. (applause) All right. Like we are going to be a little late and you all warming up and what I just hear brother REIES TIJERINA just walked in. Where is he? (applause) All right, while he's getting ready _____ I am going to tell you all, like the brother ain't talking he's making revolution in the hills of New Mexico. (applause) And he just don't talk about brownness he also talks about blackness, but he also talk about redness too and that's the Indian cause it's a struggle, baby. Here he comes - REIES TIJERINA, viva REIES. (applause) You all just sit down now. I knew you all was going to warm up before the evening was over. Just go ahead and sit down. You all let me tell you something. _____ another brother and he's from the hills of Colorado and this is Bro. ~~CORRY~~ GONZALES. (applause) The man's in trouble. They really don't know it, he's in trouble. And I really don't care if we are going to be a little late with our program. I'm going to take my time now. Is that all right? (applause) Bro.

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REIES will speak in a few moments, but we've heard some very, very, very provocative talk, nitty gritty black talk thus far, so let's give Bro. BOBBY SEALE another hand. (applause) And I'll bet you some of you even forgot that black militant minister up here by the name of Rev. TOM KILGORE who was talking about that peace petition. (applause) So I'm going to ask the brothers to move back because at this point we are going to have a little entertainment and it's out of sight. A dance from South Africa _____, so let's give them a hand. (applause)

REIES TIJERINA: I will be fighting against time.

I'm not used to speaking ten minutes, but you people are looking so brilliant, so pretty and I feel a communication between your faces and my heart and it's going to be hard to get rid of this place or have them move me out of this place. Ladies and gentlemen, I'm speaking in English. As you know Anglo in the land of the free told me not to speak my language, therefore I must agree. I must please him. My computer computes in Spanish. My soul is Spanish, but --- or rather Indio is Spanish, Indio is Spanish, my mother was an Indian and my father was a Spaniard. The Spaniard was kicked out of the continent by the Anglo and the Indian was put in a reservation and I was left alone as an orphan.

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So I stand here as an orphan against the greatest power ever built by tax payers, the United States Government. (applause)

Ladies and gentlemen, allow me to speak out of the bottom of my heart. The enemy of justice, the enemy of mankind, the ruler of _____, the white man, he is always poisoning the minds of the public and saying the Terrina is a violent man, the Terrina is advocating revolution. The Terrina is breeding poison, hatred among racists. Of course he doesn't recall that he wrote the black legend against Spain, against Communism, against Russia, against China, against DE GAULE, but he doesn't want us to criticize him. But I will because I see nothing good in him. (applause) The white man proud to say that he still recalls and remembers when one of his said "give me freedom--- give me liberty or give me death." I say that we have more right, more cultural right, more blood right, more legal right, more special right, more human right to say "give me freedom" - not _____. (applause) In all this so-called state welfare assistance and the war on poverty and all that stuff that this Roman Empire is now using to postpone time to win time, to, he's fighting against time because he's running out of time and out of friends. He no longer has any friends and tonight in these few minutes I like to tell the white man, the good one I mean, to repent and join the black, the Indian and the Spaniard or the Mexican. (applause)

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You know, that Indian called Crazy Horse one time said to his warriors, to his braves, he says "Today is a beautiful day to die," when he was going to fight that white yellow hair, what was his name? CUSTARD? (laughter) The white man, the white man has forgotten that the soul of an oppressed people, the soul of a humble people who is thirsty for justice and freedom, also feels quickness in his soul when we think about dying for our rights. There is sick feeling and _____ in our souls (applause) when we say _____. (applause) I have a very short minute so don't interrupt my minutes because there are very few. He comes around with his foolishness and lies saying "Oh! We're fighting in Vietnam for our _____ to arrive and for the free world. I have never heard that bigger, bigger, low-down rotten liar, never. Ladies and gentlemen that is the reason why we from New Mexico has chosen, has chosen the path of death rather than keep on eating and drinking that powdered milk, even dogs die when they use that dirty, low-down powdered milk and synthetic cheese. It is not the _____, it is not the bombs, it is not _____, ladies and gentlemen that wins the victory and brings peace and brings victory and brings justice to Earth. It is that peculiar, that mystic, that miraculous power of nature vested in creatures. It is _____ creatures when they have no little ones, they run from here and there, but the she dog, she will run, but after she have little

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puppies she will not run from nobody. She will not run from nobody, and let me tell you one thing, we in New Mexico have little puppies and we will not run from nobody. (applause) Ladies and gentlemen, we cannot invest our life in the lives of the Anglo, of the enemy of mankind, no, he's too big of a liar, he's bringing destruction to the world, he's _____ everything for himself, and he's no good. So, I can no longer trust him. Of course he gets mad because I don't want to talk to him, but that's my business and until he can prove that he believes in God, then I will believe in him. But he thinks he believes in God but he's following the devil. (applause) I'm not joking, I'm not joking. I'm not joking. We have a very serious enemy and a very big and powerful enemy. We are fortunate though to have the colors on our side, to have this the land, many times on our side. I'm learning and am planning to believe that the international events and the _____ all things to be decided on color, on the basis of colors. (applause) The whole future of the United States will be decided on color, that which he hates, that which he hates. Read your Bibles if you are Christians, you will find it in Isaiah, Chapter 14, Verse 13, that the last war on this Earth will be decided on color and race. (applause) That is the reason why the great religious leaders and organizations are no longer _____ about

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their religion, are no longer back-biting against themselves, ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
they're trying to unite because there is no longer any
difference between religions, but in colors, yes, there is
difference. (applause) Brothers and sisters, hear my words.
I speak for half a million Mexican-Americans which I call Indio-
Spaniards, because we really are a new breed and as you know a
new child is clear of sin as long as he's innocent. And those
new breeds are always innocent. The new breeds are trusted by
God, but the old races who have accumulated hatred and rath,
power, lies, those develop _____ old races can no longer be
trusted by God because they know they do not know how to handle
or how to honor justice. So we feel that we are _____ Mexico,
that's why we are looking _____ groups, those people that
are crying out loud for justice. And even though we don't see
your faces, but you're crying for justice. Those across the
country we feel it through the radio, through the press and
through the television. But-can all drive hard to keep your cry
from reaching heaven and Earth and hell, but in unity a man like
this, so-called rabble rousers and Communists _____ RAP BROWN
have heard our cry across the country _____.
(applause) Oh, I don't hate the white man. No, of course not.
I'm not going to be violent against him. All I'm going to do if
I'm sleeping and he breaks down my door, I'm going to shoot him
between the eyes and I'm going to keep on sleeping. (applause)

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Oh, he wants to make you believe that I'll go after them, ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
no-no-no. I trap them like a spider. Come over her. I told
Governor CARGO of New Mexico, I told him next time four police
goes to my room to arrest me without a warrant of arrest I'm
going to shoot them as dogs because they have no right. (applause)
So the Governor immediately called the Chief of Police, the State
Chief of Police _____ and told him "watch out, that man
means what he says, so tell your men to make sure and carry some
papers when they go and arrest _____. " Brothers and sisters
now the world will all hear about us. Now our enemy our govern-
ment knows about us because we have _____ the right to
cross the country _____ through these well selected men.
There's no gold in the world that we could even exchange for man,
_____ of men like CARMICHAEL, RAP BROWN, CESAR CHAVEZ,
CORKY GONZALES and your servant of New Mexico. What we did was
to arrest two United States Forest Rangers Officers that were not
in the custom of having New Mexicans arrest them. That's _____
and boy you should see the whole Pentagon. Everybody got angry.
In the courthouse of New Mexico there was nothing done all these
pig cops State Police ran like coyotes, even though they had
good shotguns in their hands they ran. Some day I will have not
ten minutes but probably half an hour or more, I will speak until
your fire goes out. Thank you very much and don't forget that

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we have been selected by the destiny and the forces of nature especially in this continent to march and militate together, fight together, stick together and if we die we die with honor. God bless you. (applause)

WALTER BREMOND: Ladies and gentlemen now I want a round for KARENGA, chairman of US. (applause)

KARENGA: This has to be short and sweet, all praises due to the black man. (applause) I like to start out talking very quickly about power because everybody's concerned about power today and unless we stop being interested in making the reference rather than the reality we'll still be nowhere, still holding rallies, still making speeches and the white man will still be marching outside. So now what we want to say to black people is understand there are basically four areas in which you can get power. The first is political office, second is community organization, third is coalition and alliance and the fourth is disruption. We will discuss that more at length (laughter) In terms of political office we must understand that any politician that wants to be a politician has to meet certain criteria that black people put down, they cannot just take office and say that is sufficient in itself. That's why we can't give HATCHER any credit; that's why we can't give STOKES any credit, because they must be given time to prove themselves and there are five things

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that you have to ask them about themselves if they are going to call themselves black power politicians; first accountability, who are they accountable to. Are they accountable to us or are they accountable to the people that pay their campaign. Second, do they expose the system as corrupt and unworkable, and the white man as a liar a thief or a dog or a murderer and someone we can never work with, only work against. Can they say that? And can they mean that, or do they see this great office holding has something that all Americans should belong to? Do they see this as an end in itself? Do they see this as a great honor for Negroes finally to become Americans when everybody else is finally becoming human. (applause) The next thing they must do is play the power of disruption and bring up controversy issues like the war in Vietnam, like WALTER JENKINS in the bathroom with JOHNSON and like all them other things they're doing. These things have to be brought up to undermine the white man as a very corrupt and vile thing and unless it is done they cannot claim to be anything except puppets.

Finally, they have to ask the questions do they support black nationalism. This is the only legitimate thing and this is a very beautiful day because this day shows after so long the triumph of black nationalism that is the love of black people and the defense of those black people and that's what we are supposed

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to be here for today to talk about the defense of black people personified in the defense of Bro. HUEY NEWTON. (applause)

The second area of political power is community organization. How can we organize black people? The first thing we've got to do is accept the concepts of operational unity. That is to say we've got to stop putting labels on people, talking about bourgeoisie this and grass root that, a nigger's a nigger in front of white people, does not matter. (applause) So some niggers get killed faster, some niggers have _____ money and some niggers get killed in court while others get killed in the street; it's the same thing and black people got to realize that. We are very happy to say that we have been promoting operational unity since 1966 when we had the first black power rally out at Will Rodgers Park. We have said then that black people must form a united front for black people and that front should be for everybody whether it's Uncle Tom preacher, Uncle Tom mailman or a nigger at random they should all sit down and talk about their future. (applause) So then at that time we organized what was called the Black Congress and more black people should have come and should keep coming to Black Congress. And the next Congress for some of you all don't know about it NAACP come, the Urban League come, Black Nationalists come, everybody comes and has something to say and

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should say something because I always like to talk, this is a forum for them. But we must do more than that because the white man got his thing together and he knows the name of the game and it's kill, that's what he's doing to us. (laughter) So then we talk about getting the Black United Front and Black Congresses all over the country and unless black people get in order where they can all talk and stop being scared of each other, stop making scare phrases, we got to kill as many, don't be in no troop baby, if you going to kill somebody find out how much it costs. Find out how it can be done and then set about the work of the Lord. (applause) But everybody has to be organized. Can't just be anything, that's why we throw out classes. Ain't but one class, the class of the dispossessed, the class of _____ and we have got to remember that and get rid of those bourgeois grass root terminology. You got to talk about black people cause that's what we all are regardless of how much money we make sometime. We are all black. The third and I'm being brief on that is the area of coalitions and alliance. With whom can we make coalitions and whom can we make alliances. Let's talk about coalitions as a temporary arrangement. We can make a coalition with anybody including the white boy and the same _____ that he got in it something that he wants to get out of it and we do too. Just like for example this question of peace and war. Let the white people run out there and stop blood

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and stop niggers from going overseas. Let the white man set out there and picket around Century Plaza and let them get beat so they will start moving against the police. We'll send ourselves out there, let us organize our own black ghettos and make a coalition with white people so that white people can add some more internal contradictions in this society and tear it apart. Let them tear it apart as well as us. (applause) And don't get so _____ that everytime you see a black man in a relationship with a white man you think he's being used cause you ain't got no sense. You think that everybody can use you and if a Jew walking down the street and he see a Jew talking to a nigger he say "oooh, another child." That's what a Jew would say. Brother walking down the street and a Jew comes in there and he says "wow man, that man being used." That's from different points of view but if we got our _____ together nobody can use us--- nobody can use us. (applause) Let's talk about how to get white people fighting each other, that's what we got to talk about. Let them shoot each other, let them march and picket and confront each other and after it's all finished we will have a better world. (applause) That's what TIJERINA called a coalition of permanent relation, is called an alliance. That alliance with brothers like TIJERINA and the Brown Beret and all people of color that are doing something. Let us support all people of color everywhere, let the white man call them Communists, let the

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white man call them anything they want, but let's talk about them as people of color. (applause) You can't talk about how beautiful this thing is and how some people never thought it would come about, but brothers from Mexicans could come up here and support us. How could we ever do that before, but this is a new day and I am glad I lived to see it. (applause) Understand that also we must be glad when the Vietnamese go into their thing. Can you see how beautiful it was last week and all this week when they, check this out, wait a minute, wait a minute. How this man marched in talking about he so bad and this is a lesson to these niggers that are scared of white people. Here's a man that got an embassy in Vietnam, can you dig this _____ got an embassy in Vietnam and the Vietnamese walked in there, sat at the Ambassador's desk, sent a memo to WESTMORELAND and told him to get out and the _____ couldn't do a thing. (applause) So let us make alliances with all the people of color. Ain't no Communists. _____ told us that the question of the 20th Century is a question of the color line. There ain't no way out big interest. All people that have money got white faces. The people that own corporations have white faces, the people that control China _____ have white faces and the people that are killing off got white faces.

Finally, the last power, is the power of disruption. That's in terms of riots if you want it, be scared enough to call

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it that, revolts or revolutions, whatever you feel like calling it. But understand you got to learn if you going to be political how to be deceptive. So one thing, say 50 other things, and still don't do what you said you were going to do. (laughter) That's why you never hear us, even though you might feel it, you never hear us say, "We going to get this man, we going to get 'em, bla bla bla bla, like this." We always say, "Yeah, we're against violence, right, uh huh, right," but after sundown anything might happen. (laughter) And learn how to stop making statements and start building troops. Learn how to get people organized and disciplined like the brother you see around here. Don't just sit around and make scare phrases. You're a paper tiger like the white man is. The white man's a paper tiger, he burns and he's a scare crow and you can put a match to him if you care, but, he got a thing going and unless you get a thing that's more organized than his, you'll still be holding rallies 20 years from now and you won't have done anything. (applause)

So, in conclusion I'd like to say thanks everybody for coming and supporting Bro. HUEY P. NEWTON because as we know he is a symbolic figure. What happened to him will happen to all black people and don't you forget that and don't you feel that you are escaping from anything. And I'd like to end with a poem we always have by LEROY JONES and it's: "After we've just done

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our thing and got this man off our back, _____ off our back, his slimy hands out of our pocket and his rope from around our neck, we've won. Can you dig it? Niggers coming out in the street and we doing what we always did, dance in the street and _____, but we call everybody to get serious and then the microphone comes out and says this -- Walk through life beautiful more than anything, stand in sunlight. Walk through life, love all the things that make you strong. Be anything for all the people of Earth. You have brothers you love each other. Change up and look at the world now man as ours. Take it slow you got a long time and a long way to go, but then we have each other and the world. Don't be sorry. Walk on out through sunlight _____ and know. Can you dig it? We on the go for love." (applause)

WALTER BREMOND: I like to bring up on the stage again just for a very few moments but not for entertainment, something very serious, Bro. OSCAR BROWN.

OSCAR BROWN: I warn Bro. WALTER I been up here so much he'll get sick of me, but they figure I have a gift for gab and they wanted me to raise the collection. The collection is to go to the defense of HUEY P. NEWTON. HUEY P. NEWTON is a political prisoner. A prisoner of a war that has, that has been launched against black people. In order that he be defended a sacrifice must be made. It's not enough just to cheer and applaud the militant statement. You have to dig down at this point and

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come up with the _____ to wage a defense. Come up with a _____ to publicize this case throughout the world in order that the maximum number of people will be able to come to the defense of HUEY NEWTON. The ushers are going to pass among you now with buckets. We want you to make a sacrifice to give not just what it is easy to give but that which is a sacrifice because there are great ---- there _____ a great sacrifice ahead of us and we might as well get into the motion. There are brothers here who have spoken of self defense and it is around that issue that we defend HUEY P. NEWTON. There's also the issue of self expression that many of the brothers have touched on. Expressing ourselves politically. Nothing is possible unless it is politically possible. Politics is the art of persuasion. In order to get to masses of people that you may persuade them in your spirit, you must find ways and means of communicating with them. And that costs money. In order to confront the legal trickery that is going to be raised against you, you need the best legal advice and that costs money.

X The brother asked me to say something, I'm a little _____ that might inspire you to give a little more. I don't think you need that kind of inspiration. But perhaps it would inspire you if you read in the press over the weekend that President JOHNSON says that he expects a long hot summer. He expects a bad summer. In fact he says he expects several bad

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summers. He didn't say he was doing anything at all to prevent them. Instead he sent CYRUS VANCE about to advise us all that they are expanding the police departments of every major city in the United States and opening up more jails. But it is -- President JOHNSON seems intent on doing. He's using the black revolution. He's using our demonstrations, our efforts to be free, as an excuse to develop a police state that will silence all opposition to racism. (applause) Don't applaud. Will you please put your hands in your pockets or your purse until you've made a bigger contribution than what you planned on when you came in. When LYNDON JOHNSON wants to process the war in Vietnam he, he knows damn well how to do it. He goes on television, he goes into the newspapers, he goes into the magazines and every possible article is written. Every possible story is told in order to try to justify in the minds of the people the war in Vietnam. If the administration is serious about fighting a war on poverty they would do it the same way but they don't because they're not serious. We are involved in fighting a war on racism. We got to do it the way it's done in other sections of the world. We have got to make our war against racism politically possible. That means we've got to be able to reach the brother who is not here and tell our story to the brother who is not here. We have got to be able to unite our people. In order to unite our people we've got to talk to them. Racism among us has us feeling ashamed of ourselves and

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afraid of each other. _____ we have got to eradicate that fear. We have to make our freedom politically possible. We have to free our own minds and hearts of the shackles in which they have been held through these many years. And that requires communication. We hope therefore that you have given generously, that you are giving generously in order that the story of HUEY P. NEWTON may be told, maybe put in perspective. Then there's the same people say well all I know is what I read in the papers. If all that the mass of white people know about black people is what they read in the paper they are indeed ignorant. (applause) We must demand, we must find ways and means of communicating with each other. JAMES BROWN just bought a radio station. That brother knows what's happening. Brother JAMES BROWN believes in taking care of business and he knows he has to communicate in order to get the masses with his program. And that's what we must do if we want to get it with our program. If our program is freedom then we must process freedom politically. So that the next time we have this rally every corner of this Sports Arena is filled. (applause)

I think that the collection now is over, I want to thank you very much for this opportunity to unite with you. I want to be a part of the growing unity that is going to unite all colored people everywhere in this war against racism. Thank you very much. (applause)

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WALTER BREMOND: Next man on the program, like the other brothers, really doesn't need an introduction. _____ that brother JAMES FOREMAN talked about. It's my pleasure to introduce to you the minister of justice for the Black Panther Party for Self Defense, the chairman of SNCC, Bro. RAP BROWN. (applause)

RAP BROWN: Solid brother. They tell me that we running overtime but I figure if they can give the Los Angeles Lakers overtime, and the Los Angeles Lakers ain't never burned nothing but cigarettes, they can give us overtime, we burned Watts. (applause)

I want to raise the question with black people here tonight. A question that's relevant to all black people and oppressed people across the world. The question is what happens when there is no redress of grievance. See, black people in America have never had a machinery that spoke adequately for the redress of grievances and to the lack of redress of grievances in this country. In other words justice has never been a reality for black people in this country. You've got to begin to look at America and its oppressor's nature and then you begin to understand the revolutionary struggle that oppressed people are engaged in throughout the world. The revolution that this country is facing will be a revolution of dispossessed people. That means

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Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, blacks, American-Indians and any dispossessed class in this country. (applause) Our _____ brother once eulogized Detroit. Perhaps it would be the eulogy for America. He says there was a town called _____ town, now it ain't no town. He said they used to call it Detroit, now they call it "destroyed." (laughter) America will fit in this same situation if she doesn't begin to address herself to the problems of black people in this country. (applause) Black people must begin to understand that if you don't control, everything that you don't control becomes a weapon against you. The educational system today is a weapon against black people. It expounds and teaches white nationalism. (applause) An example of white nationalism that's taught in the educational system of America which perputates this society is that COLUMBUS discovered America, a continent full of people. How can you discover a continent full of people. It tells you further that anything white in this country, anything white across the world is good. Everything black is bad. Black cows don't give good milk, black hens don't lay eggs. You wear black to funerals and white to weddings. Angel food cake is white, devils food cake is black. Even band-aid plastic strips flesh color are pink. (applause) But we go for it. We go for it because we're chumps. We're chumps of the highest order. HUEY P. NEWTON is now confined in jail because of our lack of action. We accuse ourselves of being revolutionaries.

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How many white cops have died since HUEY P. NEWTON has been ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ in jail? One. He killed the last hunkie that died from a bullet from a black gun. (applause) The only thing that HUEY NEWTON is guilty of, perhaps, is that he didn't tell me he was going down on the hunkies that day. That's the only thing, (laughter) that's the only thing. But HUEY P. NEWTON's freedom depends upon what black people do. Nobody else. You see freedom is not a _____ commodity, you are born free. You must exercise your right to be free. The man cannot give you freedom. He can't pass it out. You can't run around _____ talking about we waiting to be free. You must begin to become free. Begin to exercise that right. There is no such thing as a second class citizen. You are either free or you are slave. Freedom is absolute. There is no in between. You have to stop thinking along those lines. (applause) To tell me that you are a second class citizen is like telling me that you will never get pregnant. You can't be a little bit pregnant. You're either pregnant or you're not. You're either lying or you're telling the truth. These are absolutes. Freedom is an absolutism. Black people if they're going to be free must begin to seize power. _____ says power comes from the barrel of a gun. (applause) You better get your gun brother. I don't care if it ain't nothing but a bebe gun with poisoned babes. (laughter) America has shown us that she does not respect anything but counter force. Plainfield,

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New Jersey, one of the most successful examples of a rebellion this year was successful because the brothers had only recently stole some 46 automatic weapons, each one that would shoot 2000 times and throw bricks for a half hour. And the police refused to go down there and warned them shoot up Plainfield so they signed an armistice with the brothers and they say, well gee, you let us go look for the weapons so we can look good on the news. The brothers say "groovy" cause they hid the weapons. The National Guard went down there and begin to kick down doors and destroy property and the word went out "you kick down one more door we going to shoot your leg off." (laughter) They left playing field, that's counter force, the brothers were armed. America does not love China, she respects China. (applause) Force. America runs the game on _____ and tells you that you are being violent. This is the most violent country that has ever been conceived. LYNDON JOHNSON is a two-gun outlaw from Texas. (applause) He believes in the showdown concept. That's what's going on in Vietnam. That's what's going on in this country today. That's why white folks are arming themselves. JOHNSON has told them "You got to be the fastest draw." But my advice and my news for the Minutemen is if you can't fight but a minute, don't come to my community. (laughter) You've got to arm yourself. That's the basic right. You can't talk about

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revolution if you don't have anything to fight with. You're caught up in a revolution era whether you approve of it or not. Black people for years have equated progress with concessions. We have made no progress from slavery. We are still slaves in this country. They took the chains off our feet and put it on our minds. (applause) There is no political structure in this country that's relevant to black people. The only politics we can be concerned with is the politics of revolution. (applause) There is no difference between the Democratic and Republican parties. What's the difference between GOLDWATER and JOHNSON? Yet black people run around the country talking about their Democrats and the Democrats have them thoroughly fooled because they tell them "We for the good of colored folks, but it ain't our fault it's the Dixiecrats;" there is no such animal as a Dixiecrat. The only difference between GEORGE WALLACE and President JOHNSON is that one of them's wife has got cancer. Nothing else. (laughter and applause) Two of the most potentially dangerous Negroes in this country are Democrats, HATCHER and STOKES. Now understand this. Their allegiance is not to the black community. It's to the Democratic Party whether by "lynch em" JOHNSON or racist, red neck, _____ honky from Texas. (applause) This is the same game that was run on the Jews in Germany. It was not the Germans who began to move Jews, it was

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other Jews. When JOHNSON tells STOKES to move out the agitators and the trouble makers, what you think he going to do? He's going to move them. When he tells STOKES to move out the trouble makers, he's going to move them. This is why black people must quit dividing themselves and talking about classes. We can ill afford the luxury of class structures in our community. There is no such thing as a black middle class. You don't believe it go to Detroit and ask the brothers who thought they were in the middle class. The cops whip middle class here with middle class sticks. No difference. (applause) If you think that you can divide yourselves into classes then you are lost already, because first of all they got to remove the troublemakers. Then they going to remove the athletes because they talking about boycotting the Olympics. And the entertainers going to sit back say "Well it ain't us", but ERTHA KITT got them so far in even they ain't going to get out of it, (applause) and it becomes a matter of time before they eliminate everybody. The resistance is weakened. Everytime they take off a different stratification of black people we cannot afford for HUEY NEWTON to sit in jail. We cannot afford for any black person to be political prisoners _____ in this country. This is our country. It was built on our backs by our labor. We've built the country up, we'll burn it down if they don't hurry up and come around. (applause) People are running around here scared of black power.

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What you going to do when you need black power. That's the thing you got to be talking about. That's what's going to defend you. We cannot run around and let the white man dictate and tell you who you should follow. The movement at this point seems to be a leaderless movement. We must begin to expouse an ideology that covers everybody in their black community. The brothers know that they are fighting, they have expressed the will to fight, but they only know they are supposed to fight the policeman. You see I saw a sign once that said "I wonder what happened to LEE HARVEY OSWALD now that we really need him?" (laughter) See, you're chumps. You believe the sign. ROCKEFELLER probably put that sign up. (laughter) You see, it's not only JOHNSON. It's not only those people in Washington. ROCKEFELLER has investments in S. Africa. These are the enemies. (applause) You must begin to broaden your concepts. You got to get beyond the racist pig cop, you see, because he is a tool of the man who really controls this system. We not only talking about destroying a power structure, we talking about ruination of a system. (applause) Black people cannot afford to become Capitalists. The military industrial complex that old _____ EISENHOWER even had sense enough to know about is real. It's very real. The military industrial complex means that over 70% of the people employed in this country has some dealings

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to do with the military. In other words war is profitable in this country. We must fight war to keep the economy up. This is why we are in the war in Vietnam. It's not because we're trying to stop Communist aggression, that's the biggest lie ever told. If we was so interested in stopping Communist aggression why has America never moved to stop Communist aggression in white community countries with the use of napalm? They always use Radio Free Europe _____. (applause) Black people in this country face extermination. That's it, brother. You face extermination daily. We are facing genocide on about four different levels. The war is active genocide. It's no accident that 45% of the casualties in Vietnam are black. That's no accident. The courts of America, any black man who faces a court in America can expect a maximum sentence and a maximum fine.

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RAPP BROWN: Well then you said we were making progress.
Very good MARSHALL is a nigger and JAMES EASTLAND told him
he was a nigger. (applause) Herefore good MARSHALL supposedly
go on before the high extension of the country, was subjected
to a type of hustling by a cracker whose old man was a
lynchman of black people. In other words, what EASTLAND was
telling IRVIN MARSHALL is that you the top nigger in the
country but you still a nigger to me. (applause)

That's not progress. (applause)

They gave you an astronaut. I said they were going
to lose the nigger in space, but they didn't let him get that
high. (applause)

What you say we makin' progress. That's not progress.
Progress is determined by the amount of power you possess in
wheels.

See brothers, we must begin to prepare ourselves
mentally and physically, for the battle is yet to come -- the
battle is not descended down upon black people like it will in
the next few years.

The concentration camps are real, and if you don't
believe America is capable of sending niggers to concentration
camps, or people of color to concentration camps, ask the
Japanese American, ask the Indians. (applause)

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They don't need you any more. You are commodity in this country. A surplus. America got a surplus of niggers. (applause)

RAMSEY CLARK, Attorney General, got on T. V. a few months ago and said within the next 20 years, the entire population of this country will be a leisure class, with the exception of 20 percent of that population because of automation and sovereignization. And then you examine to see who they're training for automated and sovereignated jobs. They ain't training you, double ol' soul. (appluase) They're training white people.

We were brought here to do work. There is no more work to do. They will exterminate you. Our history proves she is capable of extermination of people of color. She dropped the bomb on Hiroshima and not in Germany and not because she didn't have the bombs, but because the Japanese were yella'. (applause)

You must begin to understand that your fight is a fight of survival. People of color must be concerned. We must become allies. These are our allies: Mexican Americans. Puerto Ricans. American Indians. These are the people who we align with. (applause)

Yes brother, America has given us an ultimatum. She say you live or die. We say freedom or death. Fuck it. Black power, brother. (applause)

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The Prime Minister for the Black Panther Party of Self-Defense..... I really don't need to call his name.... Brother STOKELY CARMICHAEL. Black power. (applause)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL: Brothers and sisters. Good evening. They tell us they gonna' put us out at seven o'clock, but I'm a talk pass seven o'clock tonight. (applause) I'm a do had 'cause we have to talk to each other. Got to do that, huh. Before we do, I just want to introduce some people....uh,... Atlanta Communications Director Miss ETHEL MINER. (applause) A bad brother from Boston who was arrested for inciting to riot, when the little thing went down in Roxbury, just returned from across the waters, and incidentally, we are always gonna go where we wanna go, talk to whom we wanna talk to, go to what country we want to talk to....no honkie gonna tell us where to go, KEYTOE EDWARDS. (applause) As far as we're concerned, we born free. We go to China, we go to Cuba, we go to Africa. We'll go wherever we want to go and if the honkie don't like it, he can go to hell. He can go to hell. He can go to hell. (applause) Can't nobody tell you where to go, who to see, and who you talk to. You got to know so you can understand what this honkie is puttin' down. We have got to go across the waters to talk to our brothers. (applause) To our brothers. (applause)

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Now then today we want to talk about one thing-- survival. That's all. How is this beautiful race of people, black people, gonna survive Babylon. That's all we have to talk about. Survival transcends economics. It transcends politics. It transcends the poverty program. We are talking about survival. About our people. Black people all over the world. That's all we are talking about. Survival. Survival. Now you have to understand survival because I have to repeat some of the things Brother RAP said.

Is it possible for the honkies to commit genocide against black people. Now if you don't think it's possible, check out the history of this country. In order for this country to be born, they committed genocide against the red man. They can and will do it. They can and will do it. Not only have they committed genocide against the Indian, but what they have done is they romanticize that genocide. That's what they do when they put that cowboy and Indian junk on television for you to flap. That is nothing but romanticizing the genocide of a race of people. They are so unaware of their superiority complex, they do not know what they are doing. The fight is gonna be a fight of color. Nothing else. Nothing else. (applause) It is going to be a fight of color because wherever the horkie goes, he rules. Whether the majority or the minority, he rules wherever he goes.

He came to this country. The Indians showed him how to prepare corn. The Indians showed em how to hunt. After the Indian

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showed em that, after the first Thanksgiving, he wiped them out. (applause)

He went to Mexico. He went to South America. He found the Aztec Indians. They said to him this is our silver. This is our gold. We are relig-- we are a religious people. We build symbols, monuments. We make little jewelry. He took the jewelry and he wiped them out. He wiped them out. (applause)

He went to Africa. He saw the greatest people in the world alive. They thought he was a human being. They said come. This is our gold. This is our way of life. We dance, we sing, we get high. They showed him the gold. He took the gold. He enslaved us and he rules Africa today. Today. (applause) Today. Go get em.

No need to get excited today, baby, we gonna get em. We gonna get em. No need to get excited. We gonna get em. As sure as I'm standing here, black people gonna survive this country. We ain't got to worry. We just organize.

He went to China. The Chinese had gun powder. They said we use this for fire works. For our festivities. He took it. Make it a gun and enslaved the Chinese. Where has he gone that he has not enslaved people. Where has he gone. I ask you tell me one place that honkie has gone where he has acted as a human being. Not one place on this earth. (applause)

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So that today when we talk about our survival, we do not talk about this country. Which is America. Which is white people. We talk about our people. Nothing else. Our people. That's all we care about. Our poeple. If this country burns down to the ground, we rejoice and we dance. We care about our people. Our people. (applause) Nothing else. Our people. Our people. (applause)

In organizing our concept this year, there are three. There are three slogans that we need to take with us. Number one is that we must develop consciously an undying love for our people. Undying love for our people. That means that our slogan becomes first. Our people. Then and only then, me and you. Our people come first. First. You must understand the concept of love for one's people because we're talking about HUEY P. NEWTON, who personifies love for his people. (applause)

Our second slogan--every Negro is a potential black man. Let's work with our people and bring them home. Bring them home. (applause) Bring them home. (continuing applause) Why do we say every Negro is a potential black man. Because 400 years ago, when that honkie stole us and brought us here, we were African or black people. Today we are Negroes. It took us 400 years to make us Negroes and we've been black for four thousand years. Four thousand years. Four thousand years.

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To be a Negro means that you begin with your history 400 years ago and your history is defined by the honkie to be an African or a black man is to be a man who rules in his own land. We are black Africans. Black Africans. (applause) We must understand that concept fully. A lot of our peoples' minds are messed up. We will not fight with our people. We will sit down. We will talk. We will take time. We will use love and brotherhood and bring them home. Our major enemy is the honkie. That's where our energies go. Go. Go. Go. (applause)

You cannot fight inside the black communey and fight them at the same time. Also. If every Negro is a potential ally, you never alienate your ally. Everybody in our community comes organized from the bourgeoisie to the man in the street. Everybody is gonna be organized because they are black. Black. (applause) If you understand that concept, it means that when you sit down with one of your brothers, and their minds have been messed up by the honkies. And they start arguing when you say the word black. Don't get excited. If you do, the honkie has won. Don't get excited. Sit down. Take time with your brother. Use the example if I have got a brother and a white man came into my family and turned that brother against me, if I didn't have enough strenth to bring my brother home, the honkie was stronger than I am. They are not stronger than we

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are. We will dominate our people. Bring them home. Bring them home. Bring them home. Bring them home. (applause) That means that when we move against our people, we do not use force. We do not use force against our people. We use love, brotherhood, unity, and patience, and we take time. (applause) And we take time. (continuing applause)

The third concept that we talk about is that for black people, the question of community is not a question of geography, it is simply a question of color. Understand that? That means that if you live in Watts. If you live in Detroit, Southside Chicago, Washington, D. C. You are the same people belonging to the same community cause you are black. You are of African descent. You are an African people. Wherever you are. Wherever you are. (applause) We must begin to understand that concept. Because if we understand that concept, we break down the geographical barriers and we become part of black people in Africa, in Cuba, in Brazil, in Guatemala, in Santa Domingo, in the West Indies, in the United States, in Nova Scotia. We are one people nine hundred million strong. That's us. That's us. (applause) That's us.

Those are the three concepts we have to move with. Let me repeat them. One. Undying love for our people. First our people. Then and only then, you and me. Everything goes to our people. Everything including our life goes to our people. Our people. Our people. (applause) You've got to

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understand that that does not mean this country. Because this country has been and always will be against our people. So to help this country is to be against yourself. We must be for our people. Our people.

Secondly. Every Negro is a potential black man. Let's work with our people and bring them home. Understand that.

We need the people who we call the bourgeoisie. They have technical skills that we can use. Their minds are messed up. They're giving those technical skills to the honkies. Let's bring them home and let them give it to us. We must open up the channels for that. Let's bring our people home. (applause) Let's bring our people home. (continuing applause)

Thirdly. The question of community for black people is not a question of geography. It is a question of color. We do the same dances that people in Watts do yo do in New York. The Boogaloo gets transplanted so fast that without television, without radio, without any of their communications' systems, we do the same dances. Not only here, but in Africa. But in Africa. (applause)

Now then we want to talk about survival in a practical context. The United States works in the three M's. First the missionaries. Then the money. Then the Marines. That's its pattern all over the world. We have sent the missionaries out of our community. The money is going out because our brothers in Viet Nam is taking it and the Koreans gettin' ready to get

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it on again. So the money's going. Next comes the Marines. If we are going to survive as a people and we must survive if for no other reason than for what our ancestors has been through with this honkie. We have got to organize. Got to organize. That means that the question of the vote for black people be conked as a relevent issue unless to use it as a vehicle for organizing black people. Nothing else. Nothing else.

It is foolish to assume that the vote is gonna do anything for black people. It is always been irrelevant to our lives. We have survived without it. We survived in the deep south without the vote. In-- two years ago when JULIAN BOND was elected in Georgia, they took him out for two years. His people are still surviving. ADAM CLAYTON POWELL is outside of Harlem. Our people are still surviving. The vote is irrelevant. It's a trick-back the honkies put down on us. It don't mean a thing to black people. We can survive without it. We can survive without it. (applause)

That means that if we go into the vote, we use it only as a political vehicle for bringing more of our people together. That is all. We do not depend upon the vote. Do not depend upon the vote.

Secondly. The Poverty Program. We have to understand the concept of the Poverty Program and what it has done. The Poverty Program has been for one purpose and one purpose only.

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Stop the rebellion. Stop the rebellion. And they stopped the rebellion by dividing the black community. That is been their tactic and it has worked. It has worked.

Take a look at Watts. It was the first community be swamped with the Poverty Program and today we are fighting each other over the crumbs that we cannot even get together. They have succeeded in dividing us. And how have they done that.

The most instinctive revolutionary cadre of people in any race, except theirs today, is the youth. The youth will fight at the drop of a hat in any race. (applause) In any race. In any race. (continuing applause) The youth have always been the warriors. Except for their race where they becomin' hippies. But thas' good. We will develop the warriors. Let them develop the hippies. We'll get em. We'll get em. (applause)

They have given money to the youth to keep them quiet. And while they have done that, they have split the family which they talk about so much. How would you feel if you were a father, couldn't get a job and you son was coming home with \$120.00 a week in his pocket for doing nothing. For doing nothing. What do you think they have done to our families but divide em on that simple concept of the Poverty Program. If they were concerned about us, they would see to it that our fathers got the job because they are the bread winners of the family. (applause) They are the bread winners

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or the family. (continuing applause)

We knock out the vote. We knock out the Poverty Program. Only as an organizing vehicle for our people can it be used. It does not, will not, and cannot solve our problems. We use it only as an organizing vehicle.

Thirdly. The question of education. Now Brother RAP ran it down very nicely. I'll just add to it. Education don't help us in this country. It cripples us. That is a fact. In our communities. Our communities are filled with hustlers, pimps, dope addicts, prostitutes, number men, racketeers, preachers, teachers, maids, porters, and some factory workers. Not one black school in the country has a curriculum here to teach us how to be a good pimp, good hustler, good preacher, good teacher, good anything. (applause) Not one. (applause) Not one. (continuing applause)

If the education is to teach us how to live in our community, then it must do one of two things: Prepare us to live in that community by teaching us how to be good prostitutes, good maids, good preachers, or by teaching us how to change our community so we can live like human beings. (applause)

Our school system does neither. And when our young people who are very intelligent drop out of school cause they recognize the game the honkie is running on em, they have us

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fighting them saying get back in school, get back to work.
White nationalism?

If we want our children to go, we have to educate them. (applause) We have to educate them. We have to educated them. (continuing applause) Nobody else.

There is no race in history that gives their young to another race to educate. No race at all. No race at all. We are the only race that allow our enemy to educate our youth against us. We must educate our people. We must educate our people. In order to educate our people, it means that we must take over the schools. Nothing less. Take them over. By any means necessary. But we start by organizing our people. We start by organizing our students into black student unions. We break up the Parent Teachers Association because they're dominated by the teachers and by the union and those teacher unions don't speak to us. We form Parent Associations with parents alone and with African American teachers. We form African American Teachers Association. We bring the three groups together and we take the school by any means necessary. (applause) And we must understand that concept means that we have to get out and organize our people. We must organize our people. Now let us talk a little about the concept of a black united us. It is crystal clear that

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no matter what happens in the coming summer of this country, it is going to be black against white. If I go out today and I throw a brick, when they come down, anybody who's black is in trouble. Is in trouble. Not only that, the very fact that they give us money depends upon us being black. The brothers in the middle class may yell when Brother RAP BROWN yells burn the country down. But every time RAP yells burn the country down, they get five million dollars in Poverty Program. That is a fact. That is a fact. (applause) They need RAP BROWN and we need them. We are one people. An African people. We must get rid of these divisions in our community. We must come together for the survival of the greatest race on earth. African people. African people. African people. (applause)

Now we want to go into talking about alliances and coalition and why it is that the only people we can, in fact, ally ourselves with are the Mexican American the red man and the Puerto Ricans. We're gonna go into it now.

I do not deny the fact that there are poor people in this country who incidentally happen to be white. I do not deny that fact. There are a lot of poor white people in this country. But you are not just fighting money for----well--- let me do it another way.

There are two types of oppression. There is exploitation and there is colonization. Exploitation deals

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with when you explight somebody from your own race.

Colonization is when you exploit somebody from another race and colonization is more brutal than exploitation because when white people exploit other poor white people they do not dehumanize them. But when white people colonize people of other races, they dehumanize them. They strip them of their culture, their language, their history, their society, their values, (applause) There's a big difference (applause) There is a big difference. (applause) A big difference (continuing applause) There is a big difference between exploitation and colonization. Poor white people in this country who are exploited can always hope to reach the top. People who are colonized can never hope to reach the top until they overthrow their oppressor. (applause) Their oppressor. (continuing applause)

There is another reason. White people who are poor have the same values as LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON. The same institution and the same culture. We are a different people with different languages, different cultures, different history, different way of life. That is a fact.

We gonna keep on talkin'. They can't get us off. (applause) If everybody would just keep their seats we can get it together. We can get it together. We don't react to him. Let's carry on our program. (applause)

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Now then we have to understand the concept of exploitation verses colonization because what is happened is that people of color around the world have been colonized and we also have been colonized inside this country. So our natural aliences is with people who have been colonized. Brother TIJERINA is colonized cause he can't say, "eldeberde todo revolucionario es hacer de revelucion." (applause) Yeah, Yeah, Yeah. (continuing applause)

His language has been taken from him. His culture has been striped from him. And it has been done consciously as it has been to us. But our people have always resisted. That's what we never understand. You can find a honkie from France, from Italy, from Poland, from Scandinavia. They come over here. In two generations they speak English perfectly. Our people refuse to speak it perfectly. We know it's not our language. We have resisted. (applause) We have resisted. (applause)

We must begin to understand the form of resistance in our community so we can grapple for the ideology we need for our survival. That means all other ideologies is irrelevant.

Now let us speak about dehumanizing, then Communism, and Socialism. We have been so dehumanized that we cannot even hate our enemy. That is to say that if we were sitting

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in a room. A honkie kicked in the door. Whipped our wife. Raped our daughter. Beat us up. Walked out. We would sit there and say we don't hate you. Just like a dog. If a man kicks em, spits on em, don't feed em, starves em, put em out in the rain. When he snaps his finger the dog comes running back. We are not dogs. We are human beings with emotions. (applause) With emotions. With emotions. (continuing applause)

And, therefore, everything in dis world there is an opposite. For hot there is cold. For joy there is sadness. For love there is hate. If you don't have hate, you don't know when you were in love. You move from one pole to the other and we are afraid to say, "Yes, God dammit! We hate you for what you did to our people. To our people. To our people." (applause)

We are afraid to express hatred. Yet, in this country is a fact that white people hate us more than we hate them. And we haven't done a damn thing to um. A damn thing to um. (applause)

We have been so dehumanized we cannot recognize our humanity and that's what this fight is all about. It is not a question of poor housing, poor jobs, unemployment, an all that junk they run down. It is a question of our humanity. They're whole lot of poor white people in this country. They ain't rebelled yet. We are rebelling. It is a question of

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humanity. We are fighting for our humanity. Our humanity. That's what we're fighting for. And we are fighting against the destroyer of humanity in the world today. White western countries. They have destroyed humanity wherever they have gone. We are fighting for our humanity. Not for money. Not for jobs. Our humanity. That's very, very important. Very important.

Now let us talk about Communism and Socialism.
You ready for me brother? Communism and Socialism is not
an ideology suited for black people. I'm a tell you why.
Communism and Socialism deals with the question of exploitation
of people in the same race. We are dealing with the problem
of racism which transcends exploitation. We need an ideology
to talks to racism. Communism does not. It does not.
Communism does not because for us if you rich, if you poor, you still black. You still black. Even if I were exploiting every black man in here today, thru' imperialistic structure. When I walked outside to face the honkie cops, he hit me up side the head cause I'm black. We need an ideology for us that deals with the problem of racism which is above exploitation.

I-Secondly--We donot have that many class structures in the society among us. Communism and Socialism speaks to classes. We are talking about races of people. There is a difference. That means to say that we read Chi-minh and MAO Tse-sung. We can read Chi-minh and MAO Tse-sung. Because he

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has a lot of good things to say. Chi-minh and MAO Tse-sung is a great Chinese leader. The greatest Chinese leader there is. But we need African leaders. That's who we must follow. African leaders. We are Africans. We are Africans. We are not Chinese. The Chinese don't go around and bow down to an African. They bow down to someone in their own image. We have to find people in our own image who we will bow down to. African leaders. African ideology. Straight down the middle. Straight down the middle. We're comin straight from a black thing. No right, left, -- none of that junk, straight up black. That's where we're comin from.

Now let us move on. It is a fact see a lot a people might of got upset when Brother TIJERINA said that the man 'daddy' is the devil but the man's got to be the devil. Read your Bible. You see what they're doing. The honkies are stealing our hearts in South Africa to put it into their hearts and that's not enough. When they finish do that, they bring that honkie witch doctor and put him on television across the nation so we should bow down to him after he's taken the heart of our brother. The Bible says 'beware, the devil will come to you and way to you that he can restore life after death.'

(applause)

We must begin to understand our concept. We are bounded to people of color wherever they are. We have been strewn across the western hemisphere by the white man. Look

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at us. We don't know who we are. Where we came from. Are we Goosa (phonetic), are we Zoolu (phonetic), are we Malicali (phonetic), are we Baila (phonetic), are we Zuboo (phonetic), where have our ancestors come from. Where have our ancestors come from. Where have they come from. It is a question of fighting to regain our humanity, our culture, our history, and our particular way of life which is different from theirs. We are talking about humanity. Not money. Not dream power. That's their game. Money has never been something that interested us. We survive with or without it. With or without it.

Now then it is important to understand how the honkie are moving to organize. When they brought that honkie from South Africa, they tried to give South Africa a respectable image. So respectable an image that the United States voted to let South Africa come into the Olympics. And if any black athlete from this country goes to that Olympic, that nigger ought to stay there. Stay there. (applause) Stay there. Stay there. Stay there. Stay there. (continuing applause)

It is no longer a question of how we are treated in this country. It is a question of our flesh is our flesh, and blood of our blood is treated in South Africa, in Mosambee (phonetic), in Zimbwadee (phonetic), in Portuguese Guinea, Everywhere on this earth they control us. We are like

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a race of dogs. We can't go anywhere without asking um,
'Master, can we move?' We are a mighty race of people.
We have got to get up and devise. We have got to get up
and devise. Our fathers were warriors. Our fathers ruled
the world. Our ancestors are great people. We have to pay
them the respect. We must get up. We must get up. (applause)
We must get up. We must get up. We must get up. We must
get up. (continuing applause)

Now then we have to understand that as we tied
into the concept of Brother HUEY P. NEWTON. He is flesh of
our flesh. And blood of our blood. We cannot hold any mock
trials unless we are the executioners. We must become the
executioners inside our community. That says very clearly
if you off Brother HUEY, we off 15 hunkie cops. Fifteen.(applause)
Right out. Right out. (continuing applause) And we off them
and if anybody in the black community says anything about it,
we off him too. (applause) We off him too. We off him too.
(continuing applause)

And we off him because as MAO Tse-sung says, "To
condemn ones people, is to take the stand of the enemy."
(applause) Of the enemy. (continuing applause) You cannot
condemn your people. You cannot condemn your people. Undying
love for our people.

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As we understand that, then our mind moves internationally to the most important issue that gonna affect this country. The question of the Middle East. And we have to make it clear. We can have no relations with any Jewish group that support what they call Isreal. Which is occupied Palestine.

And I will tell you why we cannot support what they call Isreal. They got that state in 1917. The British was ruling Palestine. The British gave it to them. They didn't consult the Arabs. They didn't say to our brothers, "You know, do you want to sell it?" They just took it. And the scientists went to Isreal and started to use terrorist bombs to run our brothers out. And when we talk about being brothers with the Arabs, they say, "Well, don't you forget the Arabs told you sell them. We sold their momma's and let it go at that." The Arabs are our brothers. Our brothers. We have to understand that because they have developed the concept of love for a state developed in 1948 and they're moving into Egypt. Egypt is in Africa. Africa is in our mother land. We owned it for four thousand years. (applause) For four thousand years. (applause) And here we are who should have a love for our mother land for four thousand years gonna let some simple scientists run a game down on us. Send his young children to Isreal which he sold and made Isreal in 1948.

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They're willing to die for it. And we sit 'chere while they invade Egypt. Egypt, the country that gave civilization to mankind. Our country. Our ancestors. Our mother land.

We are opposed to the creation of the state called Isreal.

The Arabs are our brothers. We stand united. Let's run it down. Run it down. (applause)

Let us not get afraid to tell them outright, "Yes, we want the Vietamese to win in Viet Nam." (applause) Yes, we do. (continuing applause)

So get caught up in the honkie's silly games. He gets up and says, "Well, Well. We're wrong but we have commitments and before we get out, we have to save face." And while that honkie is saving face, he's killing millions of yellow people who are our brothers. Don't worry about his face. Wipe his face out. Let the Vietamese take their country. Let em take their country. (applause)

We don't have to be afraid of them any more. Our time is coming brothers and sisters. We winners and we movin' on up. (applause) We movin' on up. We movin' on up. (continuing applause)

Now then. The concept of becoming executions is one we have to talk about because if we are going to move to build and understand we're not moving against the honkies. We don't give a damn about em. We're moving to build a concept of

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peoplehood to move to a concept of nationhood inside this country that attack and talks to the nine hundred million Africans in the world today. If that honkie tries to stop us, we off him. (applause) We off him. (continuing applause)

We're not talking about destroying their system. We're talking about building our system. Regaining our humanity. If they don't mess wid us we won't mess with them. But God knows, if they mess wid us, then everyone of us going to the streets. Going to the streets. (applause)

We are concerned with building a concept of peoplehood where we will have undying love for our people. Where we will be willing and happy and glad to die for our people. (applause) For our people. And in building that concept, we must organize groups which will when they come down against us have the maximum damage against them and the minimum risk to us. That means we organize little groups. When they off us, that group offs a number of them. If they get caught, it's a small group. The community keeps moving. They must be consciously willing to do that for their people. Everybody else has done it. Everybody else has done it. To talk about rebellions today without being organized is to give them the chance to come down. They have tanks. They have sonar rifles. They have machine guns. They have got one armed shotguns. They got everything they wanna get but they forget

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one thing. A war is never decided by technology. It is decided by the will of the people to fight for what belongs to them. (applause) What belongs to them.

A war is not just decided by numbers. It is decided by the determination, the dedication, the love of the people who are fighting. The Vietnamese show us that every day. They're whippin' um to death. (applause) Their whippin' um to death. (continuing applause)

But if we move the concept of a community as to wherever people are, we outnumber them. General MAO Tse-sung says seven hundred and fifty million Chinese. We have nine hundred million Africans in the world today. (applause) In the world today. (continuing applause) And we have all been colonized and we have been colonized by the same man. The honkie. The honkie has colonized us all. Our major enemy is the honkie. We move to build in our community. Our people have to survive. We have to survive. Our ancestors went through too much not to survive. Not to survive. Not to survive. (applause)

If we did not survive we should bury ourselves alive after what our parents went through in slavery. After what they went through the reconstruction. After what they went through in World War I. What they went through through the depression. What they went through World War II, the Korean War, and the Vietnamese War. We have a responsibility to our people to

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survive. (applause) To survive. (continuing applause)

We are the most beautiful people in this country.
We are. (applause)

We are not a war-like people. We have warriors but we are not a war-like people. We are a peace-loving people. But there comes a time in order to insure your peace you must pick up your spear and fight. (applause) And fight. (continuing applause) If we do not do that, brothers and sisters, we will be exterminated. Not only for our ancestors do we have to wage a battle but for our beautiful young children coming up today who are digging what it is to be black. We have a responsibility to them to survive. (applause) To them to survive. (applause)

When Brother HUEY gets messed around, if they try it. There will be some retaliation. (applause) There has to be a retaliation for many reasons. Brother HUEY represents progress in our race. They wasted our saint Brother MALCOM X for what he was saying. For what he was saying. (applause) For what he was saying. (continuing applause) Understand Brother MALCOM X did not do anything. He was just talking. And they wasted him cause he was waking us up they wasted him. Now they got Brother HUEY in jail at least for getting two of them. That's progress. That's progress. We've moved from talking to doing. Now we have the responsibility to Brother HUEY NEWTON. Cause

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when Brother MALCOLM got ace--- wasted, we was so confused, we didn't retaliate but we got to retaliate if they get Brother HUEY NEWTON. Got to retaliate. (applause)

We have got to retaliate because we are the only people where they wipe out our leaders and we do nothing. In the last five years we have lost the BUCA (phonetic) from South Africa. We have lost BATRICE LA MUMBA (phonetic) from the Congo, and we have lost MALCOM X. And now we gonna lose HUEY NEWTON.

We must protect the people who care about us. We have got to retaliate brothers and sisters. Got to retaliate brothers and sisters. (applause)

We must cut down the in-fighting in our group. These brothers are the Evondon (phonetic). They're already to carry on a struggle. Whether or not we agree or disagree with their ideology. They think they're doing a educational job for the black community to teach them how to organize. We have to recognize that. We have to appreciate that. Because they have not been too many black people who have been willing to fight for their people. We have them now. We have a generation of warriors now. (applause) We have a generation of warriors now. (applause) We have a generation of warriors now. (continuing applause)

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Our people have resisted. Our ancestors have resisted for this generation to wait the final struggle so our people can regain their humanity. We must organize our people. We must organize our people. We must organize our people. We must organize our people. If we do not, we will perish. We must organize our people and when groups are organizing in our community, you see nothing, you hear nothing, you know nothing. (applause)

Because on this new level of organization there are no Uncle Tom's because we're bringing people together. There are just traitors. And you off traitors. (applause) Off traitors. (continuing applause)

You just off traitors. Every black man in this country. Every black man around the world is flesh of my flesh, and blood of my blood. But if he gets in the way of my people. I'm gonna off him sure as I'm sittin' here. Sure as I'm sittin' here. (applause)

We have people today who are willing to off. We do not want to off our own people. Because all of them are potential allies. But if any black man talks to any honkie about what we do in our community. We are gonna kill him. (applause)

Now then brothers and sisters, we have to go. The three concepts. First. Our people. Then and only then me

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me and you. Undying love for our people. Every Negro must become a potential black man. Do not discourage our people. Let's work with them. Bring them home. For black people, the question of community is not one of geography but one of color. That means that the brothers of color all --- will everyone please stay seated. Because of security. I'm told. Just please stay seated. We'll be off in two minutes.---- The brothers of color around the world are our comrades in arms.

When the students in Santa Domingo rebel. You jump up and yell, "Hallelujah. They gettin' in one more place." They gettin' in one more place. (applause)

When the brothers in Viet Nam take the embassies, you holler, "Hallelujah. They gettin' em good. They gettin' em good. They gettin' em good." (applause)

And when our brothers in Africa take em in Portuguese New Guinea, take em in Zambezi (phonetic), take em in Mozambique, take em in South Africa, you holler, "Hold it, baby! I am comin to help you too." (applause) I'm comin to help you too. I'm comin to help you too. (continuing applause)

We are a beautiful race of people. Our forefathers would rather fight the sun than bow down to anyone. But look at us. Just look at us. We are like dogs living in this place. Our people are drinking wine. They taking dope.

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They're fighting each other. They're cutting each other.
We must be concerned with our people. The hell with this
God damn country. Let's be concerned with our people.
(applause) Our people. Our people. Our people. We must
be concerned wid our people. We must be concerned wid our
people. (continuing applause)

Our young spend half their time in reform schools.
Our youth spend half their time sleeping on roof tops and
then when they're finished they send them to Viet Nam. What
kind of a life is that for a human being. What kind of a
life is that. Get up black people. Get up. We will survive
America. We will survive America. We have survived too
much not to survive now. And if they waste Brother HUEY,
you take it from me, Brother HUEY P. NEWTON will be freed
or else. Thank you. (applause)

Brother STOKELY CARMICHAEL. I know everybody want
to clap. This is tremendously important that everyone remain
in their seat until our platform guests are out of the area.
Please have a seat. Please have a seat. Now it'll take them
just a few minutes to get off the stage and while they're
getting off the stage a few quick announcements.

Brother ERNIE THOMPSON, Deacons for Defense, Johns-
burg, Louisiana. Here he is. Right here. Moving into
L. A. (applause) Brother MELVIN NEWTON. I don't know if
he's still sittin' here, but he and Sister NEWTON. I don't

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know where he is. Alright. There will be a soul session tonight. Strictly soul session at 7228 South Broadway. 9 o'clock PM. Donation \$1.00. "Arambe" is on sale outside when you go out. That's the Black Congress Newspaper and it's important that you pick that up. It's important that we have our voice.

The Peace Action Council is circulating peace petitions so that we can get that on the ballot. That's also important that everybody signs that.

Just another few more minutes. I hope everybody has enjoyed themselves. If you have, let's, you know, let's clap for one another. (applause)

We got the word we're moving late. Pick up your literature and move out quickly and quietly and love black people. Thank you very much.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY-MISCELLANEOUS, SEDITION
BLACK CONGRESS SPONSORED RALLY FOR
DEFENSE OF HUEY P. NEWTON,
LOS ANGELES SPORTS ARENA
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA
FEBRUARY 18, 1968

On February 27, 1968, [] advised that Stokely Carmichael and Reies Tijerina were featured speakers on February 19, 1968, at 8:00 PM, at a rally at the Second Baptist Church, 2412 Griffith, Los Angeles, California, where approximately 300 people were in attendance, with a majority being young Negroes, between 18 and 25 years of age. The audience was 65 percent Negro and 35 percent Mexican-Americans. Carmichael was the last speaker, and in his presentation, he indicated that the white man was the cause for all Negro problems. "The whites have robbed the Negro of his dignity". He indicated that the police were the force that maintained the white power structure. "It's time the Negroes stopped playing games, because the man (whitey) doesn't play games with you". Carmichael said an example of this was Detroit, Michigan, when the white man used bazookas, guns and canons against the Negro. "The Negroes must arm themselves, and they must use these weapons", he said. Carmichael was received with standing ovations, and great enthusiasm by the audience. No news media or police were permitted to enter and observe the rally. (X) u

b2
b7D

On February 21, 1968, [] advised that Stokely Carmichael departed Los Angeles at 9:00 PM, February 20, 1968, and flew to San Francisco, in the company of two Black Panther members, in order to make a speech in Oakland, California, on that date. (X) u

b2
b7D

On February 21, 1968, [] advised that Stokely Carmichael departed Los Angeles on February 20, 1968, for San Francisco, California, where he was scheduled to appear on February 23, 1968, at Sokol Hall, 739 Page, San Francisco, and speak at a rally being sponsored by the Black Students Association of San Francisco City College. (X) u

b2
b7D

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Los Angeles, California

March 5, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No. 100-68783
157-2091

Title STOKELY CARMICHAEL
 BLACK CONGRESS SPONSORED RALLY FOR
 DEFENSE OF HUEY P. NEWTON,
 LOS ANGELES SPORTS ARENA,
 LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA
 2/18/68

Character INTERNAL SECURITY-MISCELLANEOUS,
 SEDITION
Reference ~~XXXXXXXX~~ RACIAL MATTER
 Letterhead memorandum, dated and
 captioned as above, at Los Angeles

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-28-2006 BY
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VIA TELETYPE

MAR 4 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

WASHINGTON--09--

10:05 PM URGENT 03/04/68 JPK

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080) AND WFO (100-43503) (PLAINTEXT)

ATTN DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION
FROM NEWARK (100-49533)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; IS - MISC; SEDITION, OO: WFO.

RENKTEL TO BUREAU AND BUTELCALL TO NK TODAY.
FOLLOWING COVERAGE TO BE AFFORDED SUBJECTS POSSIBLE APPEARANCE

CAMDEN, NJ.

ARRANGEMENTS BEING MADE WITH CAMDEN, NJPD, TO TAPE
RECORD SPEECHES BY CARMICHAEL IF HE APPEARS AT CONVENTION HALL,

CAMDEN, NJ.

PHYSICAL SURVEILLANCE

FISURS WILL BE CONDUCTED TO DETERMINE SUBJECTS CONTACTS
WHILE IN CAMDEN.

THIS MATTER BEING CLOSELY FOLLOWED BY NEWARK.

E N D

WASH.....RM FBI WASH DC

TAP FTB

100-446080-1210

12 MAR 11 1968

RELAYED TO

WFO

70 MAR 18 1968

MAR 1968

~~SECRET~~

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WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

DATE: 04-20-2006

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DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1)

VIA TELE 04-20-2031

MAR 8 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Casper_____
Mr. Callahan_____
Mr. Conrad_____
Mr. Felt_____
Mr. Gale_____
Mr. Rosen_____
Mr. Sullivan_____
Mr. Tavel_____
Mr. Trotter_____
Tele. Room_____
Miss Holmes_____
Miss Gandy_____

WA-02

255 AM 3-8-68 URGENT JMV

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080) AND WFO (100-43503) (PLAIN TEXT)

WFO VIA WASH

FROM PHILADELPHIA (100-47630) (P)
STOKELY CARMICHAEL; IS - MISC.; SEDITION.

b7C

RE WFO AT MARCH FOUR SIXTY EIGHT RE PENNA. LICENSE TAG

b7C

THIS LICENSE ISSUED TO

INFORMATION FROM PD ON THREE SIX SIXTY
EIGHT REFLECTS RESIDED IN APARTMENT

b7C

UNTIL ABOUT JUNE
EIGHT SIXTY SIX WHEN HE MOVED TO

PD, RECALLS

SUBJECT OF TRAFFIC TICKET AND SUBSEQUENT SUMMONS, HOWEVER,
SUMMONS COULD FURNISH NO FURTHER INFORMATION THAN INDIVIDUALS
NAME AND ADDRESSM ALSO RECALLS THAT INVOLVED IN
SOME TYPE CIVIL RIGHTS ACTIVITY.

REC-100

100-446080-1211

b7C

POST OFFICE,

ADVISED
22 MAR 11 1968

AS OF JUNE EIGHT SIXTY SIX HAD MAIL FORWARDED TO

END PAGE ONE

RELAYED TO
60 MAR 18 1968

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

PAGE TWO

ON MARCH SEVEN SIXTY EIGHT [REDACTED] ADVISED
CREDIT REPORT OF AUGUST SIXTY SEVEN ON [REDACTED] AND WIFE, [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] REFLECTED

[REDACTED] SUBJECTS OF CREDIT BUREAU REQUEST OF WASHINGTON, D.C.,
AND THAT [REDACTED] WAS THIRTY SIX YEARS OLD WITH TWO DEPENDENTS.
HE HAD FORMERLY BEEN EMPLOYED AS OF MAY SIXTY SEVEN AS [REDACTED]

b7C

[REDACTED]
FORMERLY EMPLOYED [REDACTED]

PREVIOUS ADDRESS IN FILE WAS SHOWN TO BE [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] ADDITIONAL PREVIOUS ADDRESS WAS [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] PHILADELPHIA.

THE SECOND INQUIRY FROM WASHINGTON, D.C., CREDIT BUREAU
OF NOVEMBER ONE SIXTY SEVEN REFLECTED [REDACTED] EMPLOYED AT [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] WASHINGTON, D.C.

b7C

DELINQUENT ACCOUNT TO AMERICAN OIL COMPANY AS OF AUGUST
SIXTY SEVEN REFLECTED [REDACTED] IN ARREARS ONE HUNDRED EIGHTY SEVEN
DOLLARS AND THIRTY NINE CENTS. THERE WAS NO BANKING INFORMATION
IN THE FILE.

END PAGE TWO

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

PAGE THREE

ON JANUARY TWENTY SEVEN SIXTY SEVEN AMERICAN EXPRESS
MADE AN INQUIRY FOR UNKNOWN REASON.

[REDACTED] CHESTER PD, ADVISED HE HAD NO
RECORD ON SUBJECT AND HAD COMPLETELY GONE THROUGH THE FILE OF
FIVE TWO FIVE NAMES OF INDIVIDUALS ARRESTED IN CHESTER IN
NINETEEN SIXTY THREE AND SIXTY FOUR DURING MASSIVE ARRESTS
WHILE CIVIL RIGHTS ACTIVITY TAKING PLACE.

b7C

[REDACTED] FURNISHED INFORMATION RE GENERAL
MEMBERSHIP MEETING MAY TWENTYONE NINETEEN SIXTYFIVE OF SOCIALIST PARTY
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION. THE SUBJECT UNDER DISCUSSION WAS A
FUTURE MEETING OF [REDACTED] MAKING A SPEECH AT WHICH, IT WAS DECIDED,
CORE AND SNCC WOULD PARTICIPATE IN ORGANIZING. ONE OF THE SPEAKERS
WAS ONE [REDACTED] AND [REDACTED] OF THE MEETING WAS [REDACTED] OF
CORE.

b2

b7C

b7D

(S) [REDACTED] FURNISHED INFORMATION RE A
MAY TWENTYONE SIXTY FIVE MEETING OF THE MILITANT LABOR FORUM (SWP)
AT WHICH ONE OF THE SPEAKERS WAS IDENTIFIED AS [REDACTED]

b7C
b7D

END PAGE THREE

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

PAGE FOUR

OF THE GREATER CHESTER MOVEMENT. HE SAID HE SPENT MUCH TIME
WITH CHILDREN IN CHESTER IN COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES AND ACCORDING
TO THE INFORMANT APPEARED TO BE

b7C
b7D

PH WILL FURNISH ANY FURTHER INFORMATION OBTAINED.

b7C

SUGGEST WFO DETERMINE IF STILL EMPLOYED WDC AND
WHETHER ASSOCIATED WITH CARMICHAEL.

END

WA

RDR

FBI WASH DC

FTB REC 02 C W B

~~SECRET~~

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FBI WASH DC

FBI MOBILE

1124 PM

URGENT 3/10/68 VFP

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080) AND BIRMINGHAM

FROM MOBILE (100-1858)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

MAR 11 1968

TELETYPE

b7C

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Bishop	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS DASH MISC. SEDITION.

[REDACTED] ALABAMA DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC SAFETY ADVISED
THAT DURING THE SURVEILANCE OF STOKELY CARMICHAEL IN MONTGOMERY AND
LOWNDES COUNTY ALABAMA ON MARCH TEN SIXTYEIGHT THAT AT APPROXIMATELY
TWO FORTY PM CST AS A RESULT OF THE CLOSE SURVEILANCE THAT
WAS MAINTAINED ON CARMICHAEL THAT MEMBERS OF [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] IN LOWNDES COUNTY ALABAMA CHALLENGED
THE PRESENCE OF STATE INVESTIGATORS IN THE AREA AND STATED THAT
IF THEY DID NOT GET OUT OF AREA STEPS WOULD BE TAKEN TO GET
THEM OUT.

b7C

REC 8

100-446080-1212

[REDACTED] ADVISED THAT HE WOULD HAVE SUFFICIENT MANPOWER
TO HANDLE ANY SITUATION THAT DEVELOPES.

MAR 12 1968

b7C

[REDACTED] SUBSEQUENTLY ADVISED THAT HE WAS WITHDRAWING
HIS CARS FROM A COMPLETE SURVEILANCE OF CARMICHAEL INASMUCH
AS THE COVERAGE GIVEN HIM APPEARED TO INTENSIFY A POTENTIAL
RACIAL SITUATION. HIS INSTRUCTIONS WILL BE TO ATTEMPT TO PICK
UP CARMICHAEL DURING THE DAY OF MARCH ELEVEN SIXTYEIGHT AND KEEP
ABREAST OF HIS ACTIVITIES.

b7C

END PAGE ONE

63 MAR 13 1968

INTER DIV INFO UNIT 920 AM
ADVISED 3/11/68 PTB

PAGE TWO

UACB BECAUSE OF THE RURAL AREA INVOLVED WHEREIN EVEN
A DISCRET SURVEILANCE IS IMPOSSIBLE THE MOBILE OFFICE WILL
FOLLOW CARMICHAELS ACTIVITIES THROUGH STATE, LOCAL AND INFORMANT
COVERAGE.

END

ELR

FBI WASH DC

FBI WASH DC*

FBI MOBILE

958 PM

URGENT 3/10/68 VFP

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080)

WFO (100-43503)

NEW YORK (100-153751)

ATLANTA (100-6812)

BIRMINGHAM

FROM MOBILE (100-1858)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS DASH MISC. SEDITION.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL AND A NEGRO MALE IDENTIFIED BY LOCAL
AUTHORITIES AS [REDACTED] OF STUDENT NONVIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC) ARRIVED AT MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA BY EASTERN
AIRLINES AT ELEVEN FORTYEIGHT AM MARCH TEN SIXTYEIGHT. HE WAS MET AT
THE AIRPORT BY AN INDIVIDUAL REPORTED TO BE [REDACTED] A NEGRO
MALE, ALSO REPORTED AS MEMBER OF STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING
COMMITTEE FROM SELMA, ALABAMA AND ANOTHER UNIDENTIFIED NEGRO MALE.
THEY PROCEEDED IN AN AUTOMOBILE REGISTERED TO [REDACTED] OF SELMA,
ALABAMA, A REPORTEDLY SNCC REPRESENTATIVE TO A HOUSE NEXT
TO RESIDENCE OWNED BY [REDACTED] COMMUNITY OF
LOWNDES COUNTY ALABAMA AND WHICH HOUSE IS USED BY SNCC REPRESENTATIVES
WHEN THEY COME TO LOWNDES COUNTY ALABAMA.

CARMICHAEL WITH HIS GROUP THEN VISITED VARIOUS RESIDENTS
OF LOWNDES COUNTY AND AT FOUR TWENTY PM MARCH TEN SIXTYEIGHT WAS IN
ATTENDANCE AT A MASS MEETING OF NEGROES AT MT. MIRRIAH CHURCH,
TWELVE MILES SOUTH WEST OF HAYNEVILLE, ALABAMA IN LOWNDES COUNTY.

END PAGE ONE

63 MAR 13 1968

INTER DIV INFO UNIT
ADVISED 3/11/68 9:20 AM PLS

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

MAR 10 1968

TELETYPE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/10/87 BY SP-7 mac/DB
#87-59

b7C

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

b7C

5 MAR 12 1968

b7C

PAGE TWO

NO WHITE PERSONS WERE ALLOWED INTO THE CHURCH. THERE WERE APPROXIMATELY ONE HUNDRED FIFTY WHO ATTENDED THE MEETING. THE CONTEXT OF SPEECH IS UNKNOWN AT THIS TIME HOWEVER THE SPEECH WAS REPORTEDLY MADE COMMEMORATING THE THIRD ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDATION OF THE LOWNDES COUNTY CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION. THE MEETING LASTED UNTIL APPROXIMATELY SIX FIFTEEN PM CST AFTER WHICH CARMICHAEL WAS DRIVEN BACK TO THE HOUSE NEXT TO [REDACTED] RESIDENCE. b7C

[REDACTED] TUSKEGEE, ALABAMA POLICE DEPARTMENT ADVISES HE HAS BEEN IN CONTACT WITH [REDACTED] WHO IS [REDACTED] OF SNCC AND WHO IS STAYING AT [REDACTED]

TUSKEGEE, ALABAMA AN ALL NEGRO SCHOOL, STATED THAT CARMICHAEL WOULD NOT ARRIVE TUSKEGEE UNTIL SHORTLY BEFORE HIS SCHEDULED SPEECH AT EIGHT PM MARCH ELEVEN SIXTYEIGHT AND WILL LEAVE RIGHT AFTER HIS SPEECH. HIS SPEECH WILL FOLLOW A PLAY ENTITLED "BACK TO BLACK" WHICH IS BEING SPONSORED BY THE STUDENT GOVERNMENT ASSOCIATION OF TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, BUT THE THROW AWAY PAMPHLETS INDICATES THAT IT IS A SNCC PRESENTATION AND IS BEING [REDACTED] ALSO REPORTEDLY A REPRESENTATIVE OF SNCC. b7C

END PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE

MONTGOMERY ALABAMA POLICE DEPARTMENT AND ALABAMA DEPARTMENT OF
PUBLIC SAFETY HAVE BEEN ADVISED AND ARE
AWARE OF CARMICHAELS PRESENCE IN ALABAMA. MILITARY AGENCIES
AND SECRET SERVICE ALSO ADVISED. [REDACTED] ALABAMA
STATE TROOPERS HAS ADVISED THAT COVERAGE WILL BE
PROVIDED CARMICHAEL UNTIL HE LEAVES ALABAMA.

b7C

ADMINISTRATIVE; REFERENCE IS MADE TO ATLANTA TELETYPE OF MARCH
TEN SIXTYEIGHT. CLOSE LAISON IS BEING MAINTAINED WITH STATE AND
LOCAL AUTHORITIES AND BUREAU AND INTERESTED OFFICES WILL BE ADVISED.
END

LLD

FBI WASH DC*

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DATE 03-28-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

FBI

Date: 3/9/68

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Via TELETYPE

URGENT

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080) SACS BIRMINGHAM, MOBILE
NEW ORLEANS, NEW YORK, AND ATLANTA

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) P
STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC.; SEDITION
REWFOTEL MARCH EIGHT LAST.

b7C

SUBJECT DEPARTED RESIDENCE IN MORNING OF MARCH NINE
IN COMPANY OF TWO NEGRO MALES AND DROVE TO NATIONAL AIRPORT WHERE
WALKED AROUND THE TERMINAL. LATER CONTACTED DELTA AIRLINES DESK
AND ATTEMPTED TO HAVE TICKETS IN NAMES OF V. WALCHER AND [REDACTED]
CONVERTED TO TICKETS ON AN EASTERN AIRLINES (EAL) FLIGHT TO
MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA ON AM MARCH TEN NEXT. SUBJECT HAD NO IDEN-
TIFICATION AND AIRLINES REFUSED HIS REQUEST. HE STATED HE WOULD
PURCHASE TICKETS ON EASTERN LATER AND OBTAIN REFUND FROM DELTA.
SUBJECT RETURNED TO RESIDENCE AND REMAINED THERE UNTIL APPROXIMATE-
LY TWO THIRTY PM. HE THEN RETURNED TO SNCC HEADQUARTERS 1234 U.
STREET AND SPENT BALANCE OF DAY BETWEEN HIS RESIDENCE AND SNCC
PICKING UP LAUNDRY, CLEANING AND SHOE REPAIRS IN BETWEEN TRIPS

b7C

2 - Bureau
2 - Teletype Unit
2 - WFO
JEK:clr
(6)

b7C

INTER-DIV INFO UNIT
ADVISED 3/10/68
PTD

REC-30

5 MAR 12 1968

Approved: *[Signature]*
55 MAR 22 1968
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

F B I

Date:

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(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

PAGE TWO
WFO 100-43503

TO RESIDENCE. SUBJECT NOW HOLDS AIR TRAVEL SPACE TO LEAVE
WASHINGTON, D.C. VIA EAL FLIGHT NUMBER ONE THREE FIVE DEPARTING
EIGHT FIFTY AM, MARCH TEN NEXT, ARRIVE ATLANTA TEN TWENTY-NINE
AM EST. LEAVE ATLANTA VIA EAL FLIGHT NUMBER SIX THREE ONE, ELEVEN
FIFTY-FIVE AM SAME DATE, ARRIVE MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA, ELEVEN
THIRTY-NINE, CST, MARCH TEN. RESERVATIONS ARE IN NAMES OF V.
WALCHER AND

b7C

ADMINISTRATIVE:

WFO WILL CONFIRM SUBJECT'S DEPARTURE AND WILL TELE-
PHONICALLY ADVISE MOBILE OF DEPARTURE.

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-28-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

FBI

Date: 3/8/68

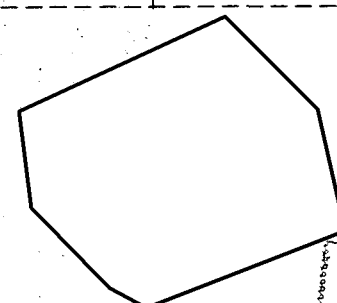
Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080) b7C

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-153751) (P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISC; SEDITION
(OO:WFO)



On 3/4/68, [redacted]
[redacted] New York, New
York, made available to SA [redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]

b7C
b7D

The New York Office has been directed to conduct an aggressive investigation of this matter.

Offices receiving copies of this communication should identify the telephone number called within their division and if feasible, conduct logical credit, arrest and informant checks concerning subscriber of that telephone number.

- 3 - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - Newark (RM)
- 2 - Charlotte (RM)
- 2 - Pittsburgh (RM)
- 2 - Baltimore (RM)
- 2 - Philadelphia (RM)
- 2 - Washington Field (RM)
- 2 - Boston (RM)
- 2 - Jackson (RM)
- 2 - Oklahoma City (RM)
- 2 - Dallas (RM)
- 1 - New York

100-806980

REC-30

ST 102

100-446080-1215

20 MAR 9 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.

BJW:pm C. C. Bishop

(25)

Approved: *[Signature]*
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

WA 7
RHHWRE7

434 PM

URGENT 3-8-68

TO DIRECTOR 100-446080 AND WFO 100-43503 PLAIN TEXT

WFO VIA WASHINGTON

b7C

ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM PHILADELPHIA 100-47630 12 P

STOKELY CARMICHAEL - IS - MISCELLANEOUS, SEDITION

RE PHILA TELETYPE TO THE BUREAU, ATTENTION DOMESTIC
INTELLIGENCE DIVISION, AND WFO 3/8/68.

RECORDS OF GREATER PHILA CREDIT BUREAU REFLECT [REDACTED]

AND ALSO OF [REDACTED]

PHILA, EMPLOYED

b7C

HOWEVER,

RECORD IS NOT CLEAR IF THIS IS WIFE'S OR HUSBAND'S OR EMPLOYMENT
OF ONLY ONE OF THEM.

RECORD REFLECTS A FIFTYEIGHT DOLLARS AND NINETY CENTS

b7C

COLLECTION ACCOUNT AGAINST [REDACTED] NO DATE. RECORD FURTHER

REFLECTS ON SEPT ELEVEN, SIXTYSEVEN, CONFESSION OF JUDGMENT IN 12 1968

AMOUNT EIGHTEEN HUNDRED SEVENTYFIVE DOLLARS, SIXTY CENTS. THE

CARD IS NOT CLEAR AS TO CREDITOR IN THIS INSTANCE; HOWEVER, THERE

END OF PAGE ONE

63 MAR 1 1968
RELAYED TO

VIA TELETYPE
MAR 8 1968
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson_____
Mr. DeLoach_____
Mr. Mohr_____
Mr. Bishop_____
Mr. Casper_____
Mr. Callahan_____
Mr. Conrad_____
Mr. Felt_____
Mr. Gale_____
Mr. Rosen_____
Mr. Sullivan_____
Mr. Tavel_____
Mr. Trotter_____
Tele. Room_____
Miss Holmes_____
Miss Gandy_____

PAGE TWO

PH 100-47630

IS POSSIBILITY THE PROVIDENT CREDIT CORP, FORTYTWO SOUTH FIFTEENTH
ST., PHILA

b7C

FOLLOWING ARE TRADING INQUIRIES ON RECORD:

WANAMAKER'S, SEPT TWO SIXTYFIVE;
FORD MOTOR CREDIT CO., SEPT THREE, SIXTYFIVE;

OXFORD AUTO ACCEPTANCE, INC., OCT. TWENTY, SIXTYFIVE;

CHRYSLER CREDIT CORP., OCT. TWENTYTWO, SIXTYFIVE;

GREATER PHILA FINANCE CO., OCT. TWENTYEIGHT, SIXTYFIVE;

AETNA FINANCE CO., DEC. NINE, SIXTYFIVE, AND MARCH

TWENTYTHREE, SIXTYSIX;

CREDIT BUREAU OF NORR/

STOWN, PA., APRIL FOURTEEN,
SIXTYSIX.

INVESTIGATION CONTINUING AND WILL BE FORWARDED BUREAU AND
WFO WHEN FINISHED.

END

~~CORRECTION LAST LINE NEXT OR RATHE BEFORE LAST PARAGRAPH SHOULD
READ~~

~~CREDIT BUREAU OF NORRISTOWN,~~

~~APR 14 1966
APRIL FOURTEEN, SIXTYSIX.~~

HWL R RELAY

FBI WASH DC

COPIES MAIL

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-28-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

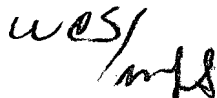
INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 3/7/68

Stokely Carmichael is former chairman of Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, a militant civil rights organization.

The attached, which relates possible action being considered against Carmichael by Attorney General, State of Alabama, to be furnished interested Divisions of Department.

JFM:chs



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

VIA

DATE 03-28-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

MAR 7 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Bishop	✓
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

242PM URGENT 3/7/68 AAH/HWL

NEW YORK

TO DIRECTOR, ATLANTA, BIRMINGHAM, WASHINGTON FIELD CODE

NEW YORK VIA WASHINGTON

FROM MOBILE

INTERNAL SECURITY
STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS - MISCELLANEOUS - SEDITION.

b7C

CONFIDENTIALLY ADVISED THIS DATE HE HAS

RECEIVED

TO ATTEND THE SPEECH OF CARMICHAEL PLANNED

FOR MARCH ELEVEN NEXT AT TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, TUSKEGEE, ALABAMA,

b7C
b7D

AND THAT IF IN HIS OPINION, CARMICHAEL VIOLATES ACT

NUMBER TWO THREE TWO AND TWO THREE THREE PASSED BY THE HOUSE

OF REPRESENTATIVES, ALABAMA STATE LEGISLATURE ON JULY THIRTEEN

LAST AND APPROVED BY GOVERNOR LURLEEN B. WALLACE, AUGUST

SIXTEEN LAST, WHILE AT TUSKEGEE HE IS TO ARREST CARMICHAEL.

HE SAID AT THIS MOMENT, HE HAS NOT WORKED OUT DETAILS IF

ARREST SHOULD BE MADE, BUT IS CONFERRING ALABAMA STATE TROOPERS.

WILL IN ANY EVENT, RECORD SPEECH.

REC-30

100-446080-1217

ST 1091

YED TO

b7C

ES TO WFO

38 MAR 1 1968

INTER DIV INFO UNIT
ADVISED 3/8/68
PTB

MAR 12 1968

PAGE TWO

ACT TWO THREE TWO IS AN ACT "TO DEFINE AND CREATE THE STATUTORY OFFENSES OF INCITING TO FELONY AND OF INCITING TO MISDEMEANOR; AND TO PRESCRIBE PUNISHMENT THEREFOR."

ACT TWO THREE THREE IS AN ACT "TO PRESERVE LAW AND ORDER AND PROSCRIBING, PROHIBITING AND PENALIZING INCITMENT TO CRIME OR TO RIOTOUS CONDUCT."

BUREAU AND INTERESTED OFFICES WILL BE KEPT ADVISED.

COPIES OF ACTS, SUPRA, BEING OBTAINED AND FORWARDED BY AIRTEL.

RECEIVED: 3:58 PM HWL

2 CC: WASHINGTON FIELD.

RELAYED TO: NEW YORK

NOV 1 4 44 PM '68
COMM. MAIL

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-28-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

DECODED COPY

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

☐ AIRGRAM ☐ CABLEGRAM ☒ RADIO ☐ TELETYPE

R-63

URGENT 3-7-68

TO DIRECTOR AND WASHINGTON FIELD
FROM COLUMBIA

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS - MISC., SEDITION.

RE WFO TELETYPE TO DIRECTOR MARCH 6 LAST.

SOURCES COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA ADVISED

LEFT COLUMBIA FOR ATLANTA, GEORGIA TO CONFER WITH ATTORNEYS.

HE LEFT ATLANTA EN ROUTE TO WASHINGTON, D.C. TO ATTEND SNCC MEET-
ING ON MARCH 6 LAST. METHOD OF TRAVEL UNKNOWN TO SOURCES. SOURCE
CES DO NOT KNOW WHEN WILL RETURN TO COLUMBIA.

FOR INFORMATION OF OFFICES, WIFE OBSERVED IN
COLUMBIA THIS DATE.

ATLANTA ADVISED AIRMAIL.

RECEIVED: 6:07 PM MSE

ST 109

100-446080-1218

REC-30

MAR 12 1968

TWO COPIES WFO

Mr. J. Walter Yeagley
Assistant Attorney General

March 12, 1968

Director, FBI

1
1
1

b7C

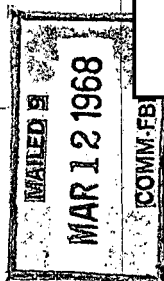
STOKELY CARMICHAEL—
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION

b1

(S)

b1

(S)



100-446080

PTB:eco/ekw
(6)

NOTE:

REC 107

100-446080-1219

We had previously furnished the Department a copy of the July-August, 1967, issue of the magazine "Tri Continental," which contained an article by Stokely Carmichael. AAG Yeagley advised some of the statements in this article have evidentiary value tending to show Carmichael's motive and intent in his attempts to obstruct the recruiting services of the U. S. Yeagley requested that efforts be made to identify any individual who can testify that Carmichael wrote the aforementioned article.

R 13 1968

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

b1

51 MAR 19 1968

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

~~SECRET~~

Date of Mail 3/12/68

Has been removed and placed in the Special File Room of Records Branch.

See File 66-2554-7530 for authority.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-28-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

Subject JUNE MAIL

Stokely Carmichael

Removed By 181968

File Number 100-446080

Permanent Serial Charge Out

F 332

Date of Mail 2/29 /68

Has been removed and placed in the Special File Room of Records Branch.

See File 66-2554-7530 for authority.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-28-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

Subject JUNE MAIL

Stokely Carmichael

Removed By 181968

File Number 100-446080-1220

Permanent Serial Charge Out

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-28-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

FBI

Date: 3/8/68

Transmit the following in **CODED**
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via **TELETYPE** **URGENT**
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Bishop	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080), SAC, BIRMINGHAM, MOBILE
NEW ORLEANS, AND NEW YORK

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) P

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC.; SEDITION

STOKELY CARMICHAEL ON EARLY AFTERNOON OF MARCH EIGHTH, SIXTY
EIGHTH, VISITED HOWARD UNIVERSITY CAMPUS AND LISTENED TO TALK BY
CLEVELAND SELLERS ON STEPS OF A UNIVERSITY BUILDING. CARMICHAEL
THRERAFTER RETURNED TO SNCC HDQTS. AT APPROXIMATELY FIVE THIRTY
PM, MARCH EIGHT, CARMICHAEL SAW [REDACTED] OFF ON EASTERN AL
FLIGHT SEVEN ONE SIX TO BINGHAMTON, N.Y. FROM NATIONAL AIRPORT.
SUBJECT LATER OBSERVED AT APPROXIMATELY EIGHT TWENTY FIVE PM IN
VICINITY OF SNCC HDQTS. HE WAS NOT FURTHER OBSERVED.

INQUIRY AT NATIONAL AIRPORT INDICATED TWO RESERVATIONS WERE
MADE ON DELTA AL FLIGHT FIVE ONE FIVE TO DEPART WDC, MARCH NINE,
SIXTY EIGHT AT ONE ELEVEN PM, TO ARRIVE MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA AT
THREE FORTY ONE PM, SAME DATE. THESE RESERVATIONS WERE IN NAME OF
V. WELCHER AND [REDACTED] CARMICHAEL HAS USED NAME OF WELCHER IN

2 - Bureau
2 - Teletype Unit
2 - WFO

HHK:tkm
(6)

EX-114

REC-66 100-446080-1221

13 MAR 13 1968

5-184

51 MAR 20 1968
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

PAGE TWO
WFO 100-43503

b7C
2 PREVIOUS TRAVEL. IT APPEARS TRAVEL WILL BE BY CARMICHAEL AND
[REDACTED] AT TIME OF ABOVE RESERVATIONS INDIVIDUAL MAKING
RESERVATIONS GAVE TELEPHONE NUMBER LISTED TO SNCC, WDC.

WFO FOLLOWING AND WILL CONFIRM CARMICHAEL'S DEPARTURE.

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

VIA TELETYPE

MAR 8 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-28-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls b7C

5:57 PM URGENT 3-8-68 HEP

TO DIRECTOR, ATLANTA, MOBILE, NEW YORK, WASHINGTON FIELD CODE

NEW YORK VIA WASHINGTON

FROM BIRMINGHAM

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISCELLANEOUS-SEDITION.

RE WFO TEL TO BUREAU MARCH SIX LAST.

UACB, BUAGENTS BIRMINGHAM WILL KEEP CARMICHAEL UNDER DISCREET
SURVEILLANCE WHILE IN THE BIRMINGHAM DIVISION. BELIEVED THAT
SURVEILLANCE WILL ENABLE BIRMINGHAM TO BE AWARE OF CARMICHAEL'S
ACTIVITIES WITHIN THIS DIVISION AT ALL TIMES AND ALSO ENABLE AGENTS
TO DETERMINE AND REPORT ALL CONTACTS MADE BY CARMICHAEL. BIRMINGHAM BY
USE OF DISCREET SURVEILLANCE WILL BE IN A POSITION TO INSTANTLY ADVISE
BUREAU AND OTHER INTERESTED INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES IN THE EVENT THAT

END PAGE ONE
TWO COPIES TO WFO
RELAYED TO NY

EX 101

MAR 12 1968

54 MAR 19 1968

PAGE TWO

CARMICHAEL INSTIGATES A CIVIL DISTURBANCE OR RIOT DURING HIS WEEK'S STAY IN ALABAMA. MAJOR LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES AND MILITARY INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES HAVE CONTACTED THE BIRMINGHAM DIVISION EXPRESSING THEIR KEEN INTEREST IN INTELLIGENCE INFORMATION REGARDING CARMICHAEL'S ACTIVITIES WHILE IN ALABAMA.

NEW YORK REQUESTED TO ADVISE ATLANTA WHEN CARMICHAEL DEPARTS FOR BIRMINGHAM (IDENTIFICATION OF AIRPLANE AND TIME OF ARRIVAL IN ATLANTA). ATLANTA REQUESTED TO ADVISE BIRMINGHAM AND MOBILE WHEN CARMICHAEL DEPARTS FOR EITHER BIRMINGHAM OR MONTGOMERY. MOBILE AT MONTGOMERY, WILL ADVISE BIRMINGHAM WHEN CARMICHAEL DEPARTS THE TUSKEGEE-MONTGOMERY AREA FOR THE BIRMINGHAM DIVISION.

RECEIVED: 7:12 PM RAK

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-28-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

3/10/68

CODE

URGENT

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080) SACS BIRMINGHAM,
MOBILE, NEW ORLEANS, NEW YORK AND ATLANTA
FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P) b7C
STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC.; SEDITION
REWFOTEL MARCH 9 LAST AND TELEPHONE CALL
TO ATLANTA AND MOBILE MARCH 10.

SUBJECT AND NEGRO MALE DEPARTED EASTERN
AIRLINES (EAL) FLIGHT ONE THREE FIVE AT EIGHT FIFTY A.M.
THIS DATE WILL ARRIVE ATLANTA TEN TWENTY NINE A.M.
DEPART ATLANTA ELEVEN FIFTY FIVE A.M., EAL FLIGHT SIX
THREE ONE, ARRIVE MONTGOMERY ELEVEN THIRTY NINE A.M.,
CST. SUBJECT TRAVELING UNDER NAME V. WALCHER, COMPANION

AS [REDACTED] b7C

2 - BUREAU
2 - TELETYPE UNIT
2 - WFO
JTS:1gh
(6)

REC-74

100 446080-1223

MAR 12 1968

INTER-DIV INFO UNIT
ADVISED 3/10/68
FIVE

55 MAR 12 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-28-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM : SAC, PITTSBURGH (100-15615) -RUC-

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - M; SEDITION
(OO: WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE)

DATE: 3/12/68

b7C

Re Pittsburgh teletype to Bureau and Washington
Field Office dated 2/19/68, and Washington Field Office
teletype to the Bureau dated 2/19/68.

On the dates indicated, the following racial
informants (reliable - conceal) advised that no information
has come to their attention indicating that subject was
in Pittsburgh during the weekend of 2/23-25/68:

b7C
b7D

- 2-Bureau (RM)
1-Las Vegas (Info) (RM)
1-Los Angeles (Info) (RM)
2-Washington Field Office (100-43503) (RM)
1-Pittsburgh

FFK/djk
(7)

EX-111

REC- 59

100-446080-1224

4 MAR 14 1968

MAR 21 1968



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-28-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls
FBI

Date: 3/6/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM: SAC, BOSTON (157-437)
SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION
(OO: WFO)

b7C

Enclosed for the Bureau are eleven copies of a letter-
head memorandum concerning CARMICHAEL. Two copies are being sent
WFO.

The source mentioned is [REDACTED]

b2
b7D

The letterhead memorandum is classified ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
since the information furnished by informant could logically
result in his identification and jeopardize his future activity.

It is noted that [REDACTED] has been
reportedly in contact with STOKELY CARMICHAEL on CARMICHAEL's
recent visits to Boston and has been working with [REDACTED]
of Boston SNCC [REDACTED]
in Boston. [REDACTED] is currently under investigation by Boston.

b7C

ENCLOSURE

3 - Bureau (Enc. 11) (RM)
2 - WFO (Enc. 2) (RM)
2 - Boston
(1 - [REDACTED])

JFN:maf
(7)

AGENCY: AGSI, NIC, OSI, SEC. SERV.,

ISD, CRD, RAO, Cuing, UDTU

HOW FORW: 115

DATE FORW: 3/13/68

BY: 178/1001

b2
b7DEX 101
REC 55

100-446080/1225

18 MAR 7 1968

115 c.c. - Bishop

84 MAR 9 1968

1cc of airtel + LHM
806 900

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Boston, Massachusetts

March 6, 1968

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

On March 5, 1968, a source who has furnished reliable information in the past advised that on February 22, 1968, [redacted] DC

[redacted] had made the statement that one of the principal things he wanted to accomplish was to remove the Negro prostitutes from Massachusetts and Columbus Avenues in Boston. It distresses him to see prostitutes selling themselves to "whitey." M 95
b7C
b7D

[redacted] claimed the prostitutes and their "pimps" are backed by mobsters. Stokely Carmichael proposed a plan which Carmichael claims has been working successfully in Washington, D. C. for some nine months and which was put in effect there by Carmichael. This is the creation of a black mafia. This group warns prostitutes to discontinue their activities. If they refuse, then the "muscle boys" step in and teach them a lesson. This may arouse the prostitute's "pimp" to action, in which case the "muscle boys" handle him. b7C
b7D

[redacted] said that Carmichael is so pleased with the success of this plan in Washington, D. C. and has found it so effective, he plans to start taking a cut of the local bookie profits. If this is effective and lucrative enough, a certain percentage of the take will be used to support some Black Power programs. b7C
b7D

[redacted] is considering trying to put this program into effect in Boston at least with respect to prostitution. b7C
b7D

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

- 1* -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

ENCLOSURE

100 - 446080 1225

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-29-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

14 MAR 10 1968
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan B
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

mm 353 PM URGENT 3-10-68 JWE

TO DIRECTOR BIRMINGHAM MOBILE NEW ORLEANS NEW YORK AND WASHINGTON
FIELD --CODE--

NEW YORK VIA WASHINGTON
FROM ATLANTA

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC; SEDITION.

b7C

CONFIDENTIAL
REWFOTEL MARCH TEN SETTING FORTH TRAVEL ITINERARY OF SUBJECT.
SUBJECT ARRIVED ATLANTA VIA EAL FLIGHT ONE THREE FIVE AT TEN
FIFTY AM, MARCH TEN. TRAVELING WITH COMPANION DESCRIBED IN RETEL.
SUBJECT AND COMPANION LOITERED IN AIRPORT TERMINAL, MAKING PHONE CALLS
AND MAKING CASUAL REMARKS WITH INDIVIDUALS RECOGNIZING HIM. SUBJECT
UNDER NAME OF V. WALSHER, AND COMPANION, UNDER NAME OF
BOARDED EAL FLIGHT SIX THREE ONE AT ELEVEN FIFTY A.M., MARCH TEN, DUE
TO ARRIVE MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA ELEVEN THIRTY NINE A.M., CST. BOTH
INDIVIDUALS TRAVELING ON OPEN RETURN FROM MONTGOMERY TO ATLANTA AND
ATLANTA TO WASHINGTON.

b7C

MOBILE TELEPHONICALLY ADVISED OF ABOVE.

RECEIVED: 4:01PM RAK

RELAYED TO NY

TWO COPIES TO WFO

62 MAR 19 1968

ST. 109

INTER. DIV INFO UNIT
ADVISED 3/11/68
920 AM PTB

MAR 12 1968

5-PA

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 03-29-2006 BY

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

DATE: 3/14/68

FROM : SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS;
SEDITION
(OO:WFO)

Re Springfield airtel 3/6/68.

b7C

No further leads being set out to verify
the Selective Service Status of

② - Bureau
1 - WFO
WWH:fjc
(3)

ST. 109

100 446080 - 1227
MAR 15 1968

REC 5

RACIAL INT. SECT.



MAR 21 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-29-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

UNITED STATES

MENT

Memorandum

TO

DATE: March 13, 1968

FROM

b7C

SUBJECT

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTER

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

By memorandum dated December 20, 1967, the
State Department advised that while in Sweden, Carmichael
spoke at Uppsala University and that he called
meeting of all Negro students at the school.

b7C

By Bureau letter to State Department dated
December 28, 1967, we asked State if it would be possible
to have this person interviewed in detail concerning the
comments made by Carmichael.

This matter has been followed by Liaison with
State. I have now been advised by _____ State,
that both State and _____ attempted
to locate and interview the American Negro but have been
unsuccessful.

b2
b7C

ACTION:

For the information of the Racial Intelligence
Section.

OHB:clb
(5)

- 1 - _____
- 1 - _____
- 1 - Liaison
- 1 - _____

b7C

EX 101

REC-35

11 MAR 15 1968

54 MAR 21 1968

~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

b7C

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

TO

[Redacted]

DATE: March 6, 1968

FROM : S. J. Papich

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION

b7C

(S)

b1

b1

(S)

ACTION:

The above information is being directed to the
attention of the Racial Intelligence Section.

SJP:clb
(4)

- 1 - [Redacted]
- 1 - Liaison
- 1 - Mr. Papich

b7C

DATE: 05-05-2006

CLASSIFIED BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 2 2/11

Classification per OGA letter
dated 05-02-2006

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

EX 107

REC-35

11 MAR 15 1968

54 MAR 21 1968

~~SECRET~~

FBI

Date: 3/6/68

Transmit the following in CODE
(Type in plaintext or code)Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
ATTN: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC; SEDITION

SUBJECT FIRST OBSERVED IN VICINITY OF RESIDENCE AT ELEVEN
TWENTY AM THIS DATE.

A SOURCE, WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFO IN THE PAST, ADVISED
THAT A MEETING OF SNCC MEMBERS WAS HELD IN THE SUBJ'S RESIDENCE
AROUND NOON, INSTANT DATE, WHICH LASTED FOR ABOUT AN HOUR AND
FIFTEEN MINUTES.

SUBJ LATER DEPARTED RESIDENCE AND PROCEEDED DIRECTLY TO SNCC
HDQTS., WDC, WHERE HE SPENT THE REMAINDER OF THE DAY.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RE WFOTEL 3/5/68

SOURCE MENTIONED ABOVE IS [REDACTED]

b2
b7D

3-Bureau
1-WFO

RNW:mmh
(4)

b7C

INTER-AGENCY
ADVISED 3/7/68
PTB

REC-66
EX 110

100-446080-1230

11 MAR 15 1968

5-plt

b7C

51 MAR 20 1968

Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date: 3/3/68

Transmit the following in PLAINTEXT
(Type in plaintext or code)Via TELETYPE URGENT *BM*
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

SM
STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC; SEDITION
RE WFOTEL THREE TWO SIXTYEIGHT.

SUBJECT ATTENDED SERVICE DURING MORNING AT NEW BETHEL BAPTIST
CHURCH, WDC, WHERE [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] THEN PROCEEDED TO EDDIE MURPHY'S SUPPER CLUB,
TWO TWO TWO SEVEN GEORGIA AVENUE, NW, WDC. LATER IN AFTERNOON AND
EVENING VISITED [REDACTED] WDC. SOURCE
ADVISED SUBJECT WAS ATTENDING PARTIES AT ABOVE ADDRESSES. THROUGH
SOURCE EFFORTS WILL BE MADE TO DEVELOP ADDITIONAL INFORMATION RE
ACTIVITIES AT PARTIES. *um*

ADMINISTRATIVE

SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

3 - Bureau
1 - WFO

FFB:tkm
(4)

b2
b7D

REC-66
EX 110

100-446080-1231

MAR 15 1968

J-111

b7C

TRAINOR

61 MAR 20 1968
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

Date of Mail

2-29-68

Has been removed and placed in the Special File Room of Records Branch.

See File 66-2554-7530 for authority.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-29-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

Subject

JUNE MAIL

Stokely Carmichael

Removed By

9 8 JUN 19 1968

File Number

100-446080-1232

Permanent Serial Charge Out

VIA TELETYPE
MAR 12 1968
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson_____
Mr. DeLoach_____
Mr. Mohr_____
Mr. Bishop_____
Mr. Casper_____
Mr. Callahan_____
Mr. Conrad_____
Mr. Felt_____
Mr. Gale_____
Mr. Rosen_____
Mr. Sullivan_____
Mr. Tavel_____
Mr. Trotter_____
Tele. Room_____
Miss Holmes_____
Miss Gandy_____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-29-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

759PM URGENT 3-12-68 GDM
TO DIRECTOR MOBILE AND WFO
FROM BIRMINGHAM

b7C

STOKLEY CARMICHAEL, - MISC., SEDITION.

SUBJECT ENTERED THE BIRMINGHAM DIVISION AT CENTREVILLE, ALABAMA,
AT TWO THIRTYFIVE P. M., CST, RIDING IN SIXTYSEVEN YELLOW MUSTANG,
SIXTYEIGHT ALABAMA TAG [REDACTED] SUBJECT PROCEEDED
DIRECTLY TO STILLMAN COLLEGE, TUSCALOOSA, ALABAMA, AND HE IS CURRENTLY
CONDUCTING SEMINAR AT THE STUDENT CENTER. [REDACTED]

b7C

[REDACTED] ADVISES THAT CARMICHAEL WILL GIVE SPEECH TONIGHT AT EIGHT
P. M., BIRTHRIGHT AUDITORIUM, STILLMAN COLLEGE. SPEECH OPEN TO
PUBLIC.

[REDACTED] ADVISES SIXTYEIGHT ALABAMA TAG

b7C

[REDACTED] LISTED TO [REDACTED]

EX 110 DEC-60

TUSKEGEE, ALABAMA.

BIRMINGHAM WILL CONTINUE TO ADVISE ALL PERTINENT DEVELOPMENTS.

15 MAR 15 1968

RECEIVED: 9:11PM EXR

COPIES TO WFO

b7C

5-14

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-29-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls
FBI

Date:

2/27/68

REC-74

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

AIR MAIL

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

b7C

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM : SAC SAN FRANCISCO (175-0)
SUBJECT: THREAT AGAINST THE PRESIDENT JOHNSON
OF THE UNITED STATES

b7C

Remytel to Bureau 2/27/68.

Enclosed herewith as indicated below is letterhead memorandum suitable for dissemination:

To Bureau - Original and 6 copies of LHM
To Mobile - 1 copy of LHM
To Sacramento - 1 copy of LHM

The Mobile and Sacramento Offices are requested to search indices for background data concerning subject and furnish any pertinent information to the Bureau and to San Francisco for information of Secret Service, San Francisco, particularly any information relative to possible membership or activity by [redacted] in connection with KKK, Minutemen, or similar group.

A copy of the LHM has been disseminated to Secret Service, San Francisco.

- 3 - Bureau (Encls. 6)
2 - Mobile (Encl. 1)
2 - Sacramento (Encl. 1)
2 - San Francisco

WH:ab

(9)

ENCLOSURE

100-446080
EX-108
NOT RECORDED
100 MAR 26 1968

22 MAR 1968

Approved: 287

Sent _____

M

Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

ORIGINAL FILED IN 62-109078-3150



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-29-2006 BY

UNIT 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
San Francisco, California

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

February 27, 1968

b7C

[REDACTED]
THREAT AGAINST THE PRESIDENT
OF THE UNITED STATES

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] furnished the follow-
ing information on February 27, 1968:

b7C

In about November or December, 1967, in the course of his employment, he observed a person he came to know as [REDACTED] commence to patronize the restaurant. He first noticed [REDACTED] as a member on two separate occasions of a party which included former Governor George Wallace of Alabama when Wallace was in California for the purpose of qualifying for the Presidential primary election.

b7C

He subsequently became well acquainted with [REDACTED] who visited the restaurant almost nightly. He formed the opinion that [REDACTED] was extremely "anti-Negro", "anti-left", and "anti-liberal." During the course of conversations covering a period of over 2 months, [REDACTED] named numerous persons whom [REDACTED] termed as "traitors", or some similar term, to the United States. [REDACTED] indicated that in his opinion, these persons should be disposed of, meaning to [REDACTED] that they should be killed. [REDACTED] did not mention any group such as the Minutemen or the Ku Klux Klan with which he might be affiliated but [REDACTED] is of the opinion that he has backing from some organization or group.

b7C

Subsequently, after further conversations, [REDACTED] mentioned that the President of the United States, Lyndon B. Johnson, was considered by him to be a traitor and that the President would be killed by shooting him. He revealed no definite plan and did not mention a specific time or place

b7C

62-107078-3150
ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE

100 - 446080

Re: [redacted]

b7C

b7C for such action although he gained the impression that it may have been considered for the period during which the Democratic National Convention is held. [redacted] made no overtures to [redacted] to participate in any way in the mentioned assassination of the President.

b7C Subsequently, [redacted] talked against persons he considered subversive. He eventually revealed that he had compiled a list of 11 persons he considered should be eliminated in the best interests of the United States. [redacted] recalls that this list included Senator Robert Kennedy and 10 other persons all of whom he believed to be of the Negro race. The only names he could specifically recall were [redacted] Stokely Carmichael, and Martin Luther King. [redacted] alleges that he "played along" with the suggestions and, in fact, is in agreement with them generally with the exception that he has no intention of committing or being involved in any murder of such persons.

b7C [redacted] further alleges that sometime in the previous week, [redacted] proposed that [redacted] kill one or more of the list of 11, meaning Senator Robert Kennedy and the 10 Negroes. [redacted] proposed that he would furnish an airline ticket to the destination and would furnish an untraceable weapon, type not specified, but presumed to be explosives or rifle. [redacted] insisted that [redacted] also furnish an alibi for him to which [redacted] agreed but no specific plans relative to alibi were discussed.

b7C Since that time, [redacted] said he has had no contact with [redacted] and has, in fact, been avoiding contact. He agreed he will report any further contact or pertinent information to the FBI.

b7C [redacted] states that [redacted]
[redacted]
Alabama in his present campaign for the Presidential primary election in California. He is of the opinion that [redacted] came here from an unknown city in the state of Alabama and believes he arrived in the area approximately December 1, 1967.

b7C [redacted]

b7C

Re: [redacted]

[redacted] described [redacted] as follows:

Race:
Sex:
Age:
Height:
Weight:
Build:
Hair:
Residence:
Employment:

b7C

He considers [redacted] to be slightly unstable emotionally but states that in ordinary social contacts this would probably not be noticeable. However, he recalls that on one occasion,

b7C

[redacted] or perhaps other associates could direct to a particular spot where it would explode and in effect assassinate the persons against whom it was directed.

Records of the City Business License Bureau, San Leandro, Calif., reflect that an application for a business permit was made on December 4, 1967, in the name of [redacted]

b7C

[redacted] listing the owner as [redacted]

B. APPROX 93-1928

San Leandro Police Department records reflect a temporary employee at the same company, position not listed, under date of December 4, 1967, was one [redacted] telephone [redacted]

b7C

[redacted] City in which these telephones located was not listed.

b7C

He admits previous employment as [redacted]

[redacted] from which he admits he was released due to excessive drinking. Reliability of [redacted] is unknown.

The above information was made available to Agent [redacted] U. S. Secret Service, San Francisco, Calif., at 2:45 p.m., February 27, 1968, by FBI Agent [redacted]

b7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAR 12 1968

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

FBI WASH DC*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/10/87 BY SP-7 mac/1025
#87-59

2:06 AM CST URGENT 3/12/68 LPB

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080) WFO (100-43503) NEW YORK (100-153751)

ATLANTA (100-6812) BIRMINGHAM (157-2425)

FROM MOBILE (100-1858)

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS - MISC. SEDITION.

b7C

[REDACTED] ALABAMA STATE TROOPERS, ALA. DEPT. OF
PUBLIC SAFETY ADVISED ON MARCH ELEVEN SIXTYEIGHT THAT THERE WERE
NO REPORTED ACTIVITIES OF STOKELY CARMICHAEL IN LOWNDES COUNTY,
ALABAMA DURING MORNING OF MARCH ELEVEN INSTANT.

b7C

HE WAS OBSERVED AT TWELVE FIFTEEN PM MARCH ELEVEN INSTANT AT
RESIDENCE OF [REDACTED] OF LOWNDES
COUNTY.

AT ONE FIFTEEN PM CST TWO CARS DEPARTED THE [REDACTED] RESIDENCE.
CARMICHAEL WAS A PASSENGER IN A NINETEEN SIXTY SIX BLUE PONTIAC
BEARING NINETEEN SIXTYEIGHT ALA. LICENSE [REDACTED]

b7C

[REDACTED] WHICH ACCORDING TO THE RECORD OF THE MOTOR VEHICLE BUREAU
STATE OF ALA., IS REGISTERED TO [REDACTED] CAMDEN, ALA.

THE CAR WAS DRIVEN BY [REDACTED] OF LOWNDES CO. MAR 10 1968

CONTAINED TWO OTHER PASSENGERS ONE OF WHOM WAS BELIEVED TO BE [REDACTED]

END PAGE ONE

70 MAR 20 1968

Relayed to WFO

b7C

TRAINOR

PAGE TWO

[REDACTED] ALA. THE OCCUPANTS OF THE SECOND CAR WERE UNKNOWN. THIS CAR WAS A NINETEEN SIXTYSEVEN CHEVROLET BEARING NINETEEN SIXTYEIGHT ALA. LICENSE [REDACTED]

b7C

[REDACTED] REGISTERED TO [REDACTED] ALA. THE CARS PROCEEDED TO MONTGOMERY, ALA. AND STOPPED AT WMRA RADIO STATION FOR SOME FIVE MINUTES. THE NINETEEN SIXTYSIX PONTIAC WITH CARMICHAEL AS A PASSENGER THEN PROCEEDED TO ROUTE INTERSTATE EIGHTY FIVE TOWARD TUSKEGEE, ALA. AND ARRIVED AT TUSKEGEE AT TWO FIFTY PM CST.

[REDACTED] TUSKEGEE, ALA. POLICE DEPT. ADVISED THAT THROUGH HIS OFFICERS HE DETERMINED THAT CARMICHAEL UPON ARRIVAL AT TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE PROCEEDED TO THE STUDENT UNION HALL ON THE CAMPUS. THERE WAS NO MASS WELCOME FOR HIM AND DURING THE COURSE OF THE AFTERNOON HE VISITED STUDENTS ON CAMPUS. AT APPROXIMATELY SEVEN PM HE WENT TO LOGAN HALL, TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE WHERE HE WAS TO GIVE HIS SPEECH.

b7C

[REDACTED] MONTGOMERY, ALA. ADVISED HE ATTEMPTED TO GAIN ENTRANCE TO THE MEETING BUT WAS TOLD THAT THE PRESS WAS BARRED. THIS WAS CONFIRMED BY [REDACTED]

b7C

END PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE

[REDACTED] MONTGOMERY ALA. WHO HAD ENTERED THE MEETING BUT WAS
ASKED TO LEAVE. [REDACTED] ESTIMATED THAT SOME FIFTEEN HUNDRED TO
TWO THOUSAND PERSONS WERE PRESENT.

b7C

[REDACTED] ALA. STATE DEPT. OF
PUBLIC SAFETY ATTENDED THE MEETING AND ESTIMATED THE ATTENDANCE
AT TWO THOUSAND. THE PLAY "BACK TO BLACK" DEALT WITH AFRICAN
CULTURE AND THE CAST WAS DRESSED IN AFRICAN COSTUMES.

b7C

[REDACTED] TUSKEGEE, ALA. PD ADVISED THAT THE
PLAY TOUCHED ON BLACK POWER. CARMICHAEL'S SPEECH CONDEMNED
THE WHITE PEOPLE AND CONDEMNED PARTICULARLY WHITE LAW ENFORCEMENT
AGENCIES. HE CONDEMNED THE WAR IN VIET NAM AND EMPHASIZED THAT
THE NEGROES SHOULD OBTAIN GUNS AND THAT FOR EVERY NEGRO THAT
GOT KILLED THAT TEN "COPS" SHOULD DIE. AFTER THE MEETING
THERE WAS A QUESTION AND ANSWER PROGRAM. IT WAS NOTED THAT
CARMICHAEL'S COMPANIONS THAT ARRIVED WITH HIM WORE PISTOLS
THAT THEY DID NOT ATTEMPT TO CONCEAL. HE STATED THAT
CARMICHAEL'S SPEECH LASTED FROM NINE THIRTY PM CST TO
APPROXIMATELY TEN FIFTY PM. THERE WERE NO INCIDENTS.

b7C

END PAGE THREE

PAGE FOUR

[REDACTED] TUSKEGEE PD ADVISED THAT
AFTER THE MEETING BROKE UP CARMICHAEL AND HIS PARTY PROCEEDED
TO A RESIDENCE AT [REDACTED] WHERE THEY
WOULD BE ENTERTAINED. IT WAS BELIEVED THAT THIS WAS THE
RESIDENCE OF ONE [REDACTED] ACCORDING TO [REDACTED]
CARMICHAEL AND HIS COMPANIONS PLANNED TO GO TO TUSCALOOSA,
ALABAMA AND MAY POSSIBLY TAKE THE CAST OF THE PLAY WITH
HIM. AS OF ONE AM THREE TWELVE SIXTYEIGHT THE PARTY WAS
STILL IN PROGRESS.

b7C

LOCAL, STATE AND MILITARY AGENCIES ARE COGNIZANT.

ADMINISTRATIVE: MOTELS THREE TEN SIXTYEIGHT.

LHM FOLLOWS.

MOBILE MAINTAINING LIAISON WITH LOCAL AUTHORITIES.

END

HFL

FBI WASH DC*

P

JAN 17 3 14 PM '68

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-29-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

DATE: 3/18/68

FROM : SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS;
SEDITION
(OO:WFO)

ReDEairtel 3/11/68.

WFO sources presently have no information confirming CARMICHAEL's visit to Eastern Michigan University (EMU), 4/25-27/68. Any information developed will be furnished promptly.

DE follow through sources and if visit made contemplate covering same per Buairtel 12/21/67.

Is

1cc 806 980

EX-110

REC-35

100-446080-1236

- ② - Bureau
 - 1 - Atlanta (RM) (Info) (100-6812)
 - 2 - Detroit (RM) (100-34122)
 - 1 - New York (RM) (Info) (100-153751)
 - 1 - WFO
- WWH:typ
(7)

9 MAR 19 1968

b7C



66 MAR 25 1968



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-30-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

Date: 3/6/68

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

AIRMAIL

(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-721) (P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION
OO: WFO

b7C

Re WFO airtel to Bureau 2/29/68 with LHM.

Enclosed for the Bureau are twelve (12) copies of
LHM suitable for dissemination summarizing Subject's
activities from 2/15/68 to 2/27/68.

LHM is classified "~~CONFIDENTIAL~~" because of infor-
mation furnished by sources [redacted] which could result
in the identification of informants and compromise future
effectiveness thereof.

b2
b7Db2
b7C
b7D

who furnished info [redacted] to
SA [redacted] of
the Los Angeles Division.

- 3 - Bureau (Encl. 12) (RM)
2 - WFO (100-43503) (Encl. 2) (RM)
1 - Atlanta (100-6812) (Encl. 1 - info) (RM)
2 - San Francisco

PBN:cg
(8)

AGENCY: ACSI, NIC, OSI, SEC. SERV.

DEPT: ISD, CRD, RAO, IDIU, Cum

HOW FORW: R/S

DATE FORW: 3/13/68

By: PTE/ale

REC-23

MAR 9 1968

b7C

Approved: [Signature]

Special Agent in Charge

Sent: [Signature]

Per [Signature]

RACIAL/INT. SECT.

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

cc: Airtel to LHM
TO: AG
5/5/68

ENCLOSURE

57 MAR 25 1968

SF 157-721

PBN:cg

[Redacted]

b2
b7C
b7D

ADMINISTRATIVE:

Personal observation on 2/15/68 was by SAs of
the FBI, [Redacted]
[Redacted]

b7C

Personal observation of BPPSD rally 2/17/68 by
SAs [Redacted]
[Redacted]

b7C

Personal observation of CARMICHAEL at [Redacted]
[Redacted] Oakland, on 2/18/68 was by SAs [Redacted]
[Redacted]

b7C

CARMICHAEL's speeches at Merritt College, 2/21/68
were witnessed by SAs [Redacted]
[Redacted]

b7C

Copies of LHM furnished Army, Navy, Air Force,
Secret Service, and United States Attorney, San Francisco.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

San Francisco, California

March 6, 1968
DECLASSIFIED BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls
ON 03-30-2006

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Through personal observation of Special Agents of the FBI, it was determined that Stokely Carmichael arrived San Francisco International Airport (SFIA), via United Airlines Flight 57 from Washington, D.C., at approximately 8:25 p.m., February 15, 1968. Carmichael was met by a group of six male Negroes and transported by auto to 850 Oak Street, San Francisco. As of 11:30 p.m., February 15, 1968, Carmichael had not departed from 850 Oak Street, San Francisco, which is the residence of Eldridge Cleaver who is publicly known as Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense (BPPSD), (see appendix for characterization of BPPSD).

CALIF.

Stokely Carmichael failed to appear for a previously announced noon rally at University of California, Berkeley (UCB), on February 16, 1968.

[redacted] advised that a noon rally would take place from 12 Noon to 1:00 p.m., on February 16, 1968, at Wheeler Auditorium, UCB under the sponsorship of the Campus W.E.B. Du Bois Club (see appendix for characterization of Campus W.E.B. Du Bois Club). [redacted] advised that following the rally, shortly after 1:00 p.m., Stokely Carmichael in company with eight to ten members of the BPPSD arrived at Sproul Plaza, UCB. The Carmichael group encountered Reies Tijerina who appeared as a speaker at the rally. Stokely Carmichael and Reies Tijerina embraced each other in a spirit of solidarity and expressed a mutual desire to meet and confer in the near future.

b2
b7D

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GROUP 1

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ENCLOSURE 100-446080-1237

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Reies Tijerina

Reies ~~Lopez~~ Tijerina is publicly known as leader of the Alianza Federal De Mercedes, an organization which demands that lands in New Mexico be returned to descendants of the original owners.

CALIF.

Carmichael appeared in company with members of the BPPSD at 1:45 p.m., at Alameda County Court House, Oakland, California, on February 16, 1968. Carmichael visited Huey P. Newton in the Alameda County Jail.

Huey P. Newton who is publicly known as Minister of Defense of the *Black Panther Party* of the BPPSD, is awaiting trial on a charge of having murdered an Oakland, California police officer.

Carmichael declined to hold a press conference and departed from the Alameda County Court House at 2:15 p.m.

[redacted] advised that Stokely Carmichael spent the evening of February 16, 1968, at [redacted] California, the residence of [redacted] who in 1963 was [redacted]

b2
b7C
b7D

Stokely Carmichael appeared as the final speaker at a public rally in the Oakland Municipal Auditorium Arena on the evening of February 17, 1968. This rally was sponsored by the BPPSD to raise funds for the legal defense of Huey P. Newton and in commemoration of the Negro's 26th birthday. All persons entering the auditorium arena were frisked for weapons, cameras or recording devices. Metropolitan press services and leading news media, were denied the use of cameras or recorders.

The merger of Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee (SNCC) and BPPSD were denounced by Master of Ceremonies, Eldridge Cleaver, who nominated Stokely Carmichael as "Prime Minister of Afro-Americans". Carmichael was unanimously acclaimed to this position by a standing vote of Negroes present.

Stokely Carmichael urged that all blacks in the world unite to avoid being exterminated by "honkys", meaning caucasians. Carmichael stated that this unity must be social,

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

economic and military. Carmichael stated that every Negro was a potential black man. Stokely Carmichael demanded that all blacks refuse to cooperate with white governmental authorities or be "offed", meaning executed.

Through personal observation of Special Agents of the FBI, it was ascertained that following the rally and as of 2:00 a.m., February 18, 1968, Stokely Carmichael attended a social gathering at the residence of [redacted]

b7C

[redacted] California.

[redacted] San Mateo County Sheriff's Office, SFIA Detail, advised that Stokely Carmichael boarded United Airlines Flight 511, departing SFIA 11:45 a.m., February 18, 1968, and scheduled to arrive Los Angeles at 12:40 p.m., that date.

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[redacted] advised that at approximately 9:00 p.m., February 20, 1968, Stokely Carmichael had departed Los Angeles via air en route San Francisco.

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Stokely Carmichael appeared as a speaker at the auditorium of Merritt College, Oakland, California, at 3:55 p.m., February 21, 1968, as part of an all-day rally in memory of the death of Malcolm X. Attendance for Carmichael's speech was approximately 1,000 persons, 97 per cent of whom were Negro. Persons entering the auditorium were searched at the door and a "donation" of 50 cents was collected. Carmichael asserted that Africans were in danger of being exterminated at the hands of the white race. In answer to a question, Carmichael stated that the use of brains would not suffice and "we must take up guns". Stokely Carmichael gave a similar speech at the same location at 10:00 p.m., on February 21, 1968, for an audience of approximately 1,000 persons; 95 per cent of whom were Negro. A \$1.00 donation was collected for the evening speech, but no search was made of those attending.

[redacted] advised that on February 27, 1968, from 11:00 a.m., to 4:00 p.m., Stokely Carmichael was present at a meeting of between 225 and 250 persons, all of whom were

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Negro. This meeting was held for the purpose of having leaders of the black community get together for the purpose of achieving black unity. The meeting was held at Downs Memorial Methodist Church, 61st and Idaho Streets, Oakland, California. All of those attending were present by invitation only.

[] advised that Stokely Carmichael appeared and spoke at Franklin Junior High School on February 23, 1968. Admission was by a donation of \$1.00 and was restricted to blacks only. Carmichael asserted that police would be killed, industrial plants blown up and three southern governors killed if anything happens to H. Rapp Brown.

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H. Rapp Brown is publicly known as Carmichael's successor as leader of SNCC, and is presently incarcerated in Louisiana on federal charge of obstructing justice.

[] advised that on February 24, 1968, Stokely Carmichael made a public speech in the morning at Green Oaks Public School, East Palo Alto, California. In the afternoon and again in the evening of February 24, 1968, Carmichael addressed groups of Negroes only at the same location. Later in the evening of February 24, 1968, Carmichael spoke at a private residence [] California. This speech was made to a group of approximately 75 persons all of whom were Negro and were present by invitation only.

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On February 26, 1968, Stokely Carmichael appeared in a public gathering of approximately 200 demonstrators at the Civic Center, Berkeley, California. This gathering was occasioned by the arrest on February 25, 1968 of Bobby Seale, Chairman of the BPPSD and others on charges of possession of firearms. Stokely Carmichael read a letter he claimed was from H. Rapp Brown.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

[] advised that Stokely Carmichael arrived
Atlanta, Georgia on February 27, 1968.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF-DEFENSE (BPPSD)

A source advised that the Black Panther Party For Self-Defense (BPPSD) was formed by HUEY PERCY NEWTON, Minister of Defense, [REDACTED] in Oakland, California, in December, 1966, as a militant black nationalist political organization to combat "police brutality," to unite militant black youth, to determine the destiny of black communities, and to educate black people in African history. The political philosophy of the organization was taken from the writings of MAO TSE-TUNG of Communist China and black militant writers.

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The official BPPSD publication "The Black Panther - Black Community News Service" indicates the leadership of the BPPSD advocates the use of guns and guerilla tactics in the violent revolutionary program to end oppression and to oppose the drafting of black men to fight in Vietnam.

A [REDACTED] advised that in early 1967, [REDACTED] NEWTON, and their associates carried carbine rifles and holstered pistols in plain view on the streets of Oakland and elsewhere while on "defense patrols."

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[REDACTED]

A Grand Jury of Alameda County, California, Oakland, California, on November 13, 1967, indicted HUEY PERCY NEWTON on charge of murder of an Oakland, California police officer on October 28, 1967, in Oakland, California.

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The [REDACTED] advised that the headquarters office of the BPPSD at 5624 Grove Street, Oakland, California, is closed and that no membership meetings have been held since August, 1967.

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The November 4, 1967, issue of "The Sun Reporter," a San Francisco, California Negro community newspaper, states that a HUEY PERCY NEWTON defense fund has been established and that the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the Congress on Racial Equality (CORE) through the national offices have pledged their complete and continuous support to the defense of HUEY PERCY NEWTON.

APPENDIX

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1

W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (DCA)

A source advised that on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist -oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates were told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A [] has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention.

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The [] advised in September, 1966, that [] stated that in Negro communities the Party still supported the plan to build "left" socialist centers and to solidify the Party base through the DCA. This source also advised in September, 1966 that [] stated the Party believes the DCA should have a working-class outlook and be a mass organization favorable to socialism, socialist countries and Marxism, and in April, 1967, advised GUS HALL, CPUSA General Secretary, had indicated the DCA primary emphasis should be on developing mass resistance to the draft.

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A [] advised in September, 1967, that [] of the DCA on September 10, 1967, at the Third National Convention of the DCA held in New York, New York, from September 8-10, 1967.

b2
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b7D

A [] advised during August, 1967, that [] is a member of the National Committee of the CPUSA.

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A [] advised on September 21, 1967, that the headquarters of the DCA is located at 34 West 17th Street, New York, New York.

b2
b7D

7*
APPENDIX

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Francisco, California

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

March 6, 1968

SF 157-721

Title Stokely Carmichael

Character

Reference San Francisco memorandum
dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-30-2006 BY

1201AM URGENT 3-60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls
TO DIRECTOR WASHINGTON FIELD ATLANTA
FROM MOBILE 2P

VIA TELETYPE
MAR 15 1968

ENCIPHERED

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS - MISC. SEDITION.

Mr. Tolson.....
Mr. DeLoach.....
Mr. Mohr.....
Mr. Bishop.....
Mr. Casper.....
Mr. Callahan.....
Mr. Conrad.....
Mr. Felt.....
Mr. Gale.....
Mr. Rosen.....
Mr. Sullivan.....
Mr. Tavel.....
Mr. Trotter.....
Tele. Room.....
Miss Holmes.....
Miss Gandy.....

b7C

b7C

[REDACTED] ALABAMA STATE DEPT. OF PUBLIC
SAFETY, ADVISED TEN FIFTY EIGHT AM CST THAT SUBJECT ARRIVED
SELMA, ALABAMA INSTANT DATE WITH ITINERARY UNKNOWN. SUBJECT
OBSERVED BY BUAGENTS ELEVEN FIFTEEN AM IN DOWNTOWN SELMA,
ALABAMA ACCOMPANIED BY [REDACTED]
AND THREE OTHER UNIDENTIFIED YOUNG NEGRO MALES. IDENTITY
OF [REDACTED] ESTABLISHED AS HE WAS PREVIOUSLY KNOWN TO BUAGENTS
OF SELMA RA.

ESTABLISHED SOURCES INCLUDING LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES
AND RACIAL SOURCES STATE CARMICHAEL DID NOT HAVE ANY
SPEAKING ENGAGEMENT AT SELMA, ALABAMA.

CARMICHAEL OBSERVED TO DEPART SELMA APPROXIMATELY
ELEVEN THIRTY AM CST TOWARD LOWNDES COUNTY ALABAMA OR MONT-
GOMERY, ALABAMA.

TWO COPIES TO WFO

REC-103

100-446080-1238

4 MAR 19 1968

b7C

54 MAR 21 1968

1010 DEPT
ADVISED 900 AM
3/15/68 PJB.

PAGE TWO

OBSERVATIONS LOWNDES COUNTY ALABAMA INDICATE THAT CARMICHAEL AND ASSOCIATES WERE IN THE VICINITY OF WHITEHALL COMMUNITY DURING AFTERNOON OF MARCH FOURTEEN INSTANT. SOURCES ADVISED THAT CARMICHAEL WAS ARRANGING A SPEECH AT BEULAH BAPTIST CHURCH MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA AT EIGHT PM MARCH FOURTEEN SIXTYEIGHT. SOURCES VERIFIED SUBJECTS PRESENCE IN MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA. AT THE TIME OF SCHEDULED SPEECH, CHURCH SERVICES WERE BEING HELD AND NO ORGANIZED MEETING WAS HAD. NO FORMAL SPEECH GIVEN.

CARMICHAEL AND [REDACTED] DEPARTED MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA BY DELTA FLIGHT THREE SIX FIVE TO ATLANTA LEAVING MONTGOMERY AT NINE TWELVE PM AND ARRIVING ATLANTA TEN FORTYSIX PM. b7C

ATLANTA TELEPHONICALLY ADVISED.

RECEIVED: 1:11AM MSE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-30-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

FBI

Date: 3/15/68

Transmit the following in _____

PLAINTEXT

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE

URGENT

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR (100-446080), ATLANTA (100-6812)

FM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC; SEDITION

RE ATTEL 3/15/68.

SUBJ ARRIVED WDC PER INFO IN AT TEL AND PROCEEDED WITH COM-
PANIONS TO SNCC HDQTS., WDC. SUBJ AND ONE COMPANION DEPARTED SNCC
TEN ZERO SEVEN PM AND PROCEEDED TO SUBJ'S RESIDENCE FOR EVENING.
OTHER TWO COMPANIONS DEPARTED SNCC IN A TAXI.

WFO WILL ATTEMPT TO IDENT [REDACTED]

2-Bureau
2-Teletype
2-WFO

VPD:mmh
(6)

EX-105

REC-9/

100-446080-1237

MAR 19 1968

Approved: [Signature]

62 MAR 21 1968

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

3/19/68

airtel

1 -
1 -

b7c

To: SACs, Detroit
Atlanta
WFO

From: Director, FBI (100-446080)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION

ReDetroit airtel and letterhead memorandum (LHM) dated 3/11/68, wherein it is reported that Stokely Carmichael has accepted an invitation to speak at a symposium, scheduled to be held at Eastern Michigan University, Ypsilanti, Michigan, April 25-27, 1968.

It is noted that other speakers whom have been invited to the symposium are Ex-Governor George Wallace of Alabama, New York Senator Robert F. Kennedy and Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey. It does not appear likely that the above four mentioned individuals would appear on the same program.

Detroit through established sources should immediately determine complete information concerning this symposium, as well as the identity of the invited speakers and those who have accepted the invitation to appear.

WFO and Atlanta should through informants and established sources develop any information indicating that Carmichael has accepted an invitation to speak at this symposium.

Pertinent information developed should be promptly submitted to the Bureau in a form suitable for dissemination.

MAILED 30
MAR 18 1968

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

PTB:lmr

(9)

EX-105

REC-9

100-446080-1240

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO.

MAR 19 1968

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Airtel to SACs, Detroit, Atlanta, W
RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

NOTE:

The information in referenced Detroit LHM has been furnished to the Vice President. In view of the fact that it does not appear likely the above four mentioned individuals would speak on the same program, above instructions are being issued to develop additional information.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION
MAR 12 1968

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

FBI WASH DC

TELETYPE

FBI MOBILE

5:30PM

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-30-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

URGENT 3/12/68 CRS

TO: DIRECTOR (100-446080) AND BIRMINGHAM

FROM: MOBILE (100-1858)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL. IS - MISCELLANEOUS, SEDITION.

[REDACTED] TUSKEGEE, ALA. POLICE DEPARTMENT,
ADVISED THIS DATE HE LEARNED THROUGH [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] WHO ATTACHED HIMSELF TO CARMICHAEL'S PARTY, AFTER
SPEECH AND QUESTION AND ANSWER SESSION AT TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
LAST NIGHT, CARMICHAEL AND CLOSE ASSOCIATES ATTENDED PARTY AT
RESIDENCE OF [REDACTED]

TUSKEGEE, ALA. DURING EARLY MORNING HOURS, CARMICHAEL LEFT
THIS PARTY WITH [REDACTED] OF TUSKEGEE, ALA.,
WHO TOOK HIM TO RESIDENCE OF [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] WHERE
CARMICHAEL REPORTEDLY SPENT REMAINDER OF NIGHT WITH UNIDENTIFIED
ATLANTA, GA. GIRL. LATER IN MORNING OF MARCH TWELVE SIXTYEIGHT.

[REDACTED] REPORTED CARMICHAEL AND [REDACTED] WENT TO MAR 19 1968
COLLEGE UNION BUILDING, TUSKEGEE, INSTITUTE, ATTEMPTING TO

END PAGE ONE

55 MAR 26 1968

PAGE TWO

MO 100-1858

ORGANIZE CAST OF DRAMA ENTITLED "BACK TO BLACK " TO GO TO STILLMAN COLLEGE, TUSCALOOSA, ALA., WHERE CARMICHAEL HAS SPEAKING ENGAGEMENT TONIGHT. SUCCESS OF THIS EFFORT IS UNKNOWN.

[REDACTED] REPORTED CARMICHAEL LEFT TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE AT ABOUT NOON THIS DATE IN NINETEEN SIXTYSIX YELLOW MUSTANG OF [REDACTED]

b7C

[REDACTED] ACCOMPANIED BY [REDACTED] AND TWO OTHER UNIDENTIFIED NEGRO MALES, PRESUMABLY EN ROUTE TO STILLMAN COLLEGE, TUSCALOOSA, ALA., POSSIBLY VIA LOWNDES COUNTY, ALA.

NO INCIDENTS OCCURRED.

RE MO TEL THREE TWELVE SIXTYEIGHT INSTANT.

LETTERHEAD MEMO FOLLOWS. P.

END.

BGM

FBI WASH DC

X

APR 17 4 21 PM '68

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

MAR 15 1968 *Bm*

TELETYPE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-30-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

wegs

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Bishop	✓
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

FBI WASH DC*

FBI ATLANTA

155PM URGENT 3-15-68 LCS

TO DIRECTOR 100-446080 AND WFO 100-43503
FROM ATLANTA 100-6812

0
STOKELY CARMICHAEL. IS - M; SEDITION.

JS WSB, LOCAL RADIO STATION, REPORTED NBC RELEASE AT NINE AM
MAR. FIFTEEN INSTANT THAT SUBJECT IS TO MARRY MIRIAM MAKEBA,
IDENTIFIED AS A WELL KNOWN SOUTH AFRICAN ENTERTAINER. P.

END

LCC

FBI WASH DC*

P

REC-9
EX-105

100-446080-1242
5 MAR 19 1968

114 187
57 MAR 26 1968

RELAYED TO WFO

MR. DELOACH FOR THE DIRECTOR

CC- MR. SULLIVAN

VIA TELETYPE

MAR 13 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-30-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

208 URGENT 3-13-68 JGA

TO DIRECTOR JACKSON MOBILE AND WASHINGTON FIELD
FROM BIRMINGHAM

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC, SEDITION.

REMYTEL TO DIRECTOR, MOBILE AND WFO TODAY.

[REDACTED] STILLMAN COLLEGE ADVISED CARMICHAEL

WILL STAY ON CAMPUS UNTIL NOON TODAY. CARMICHAEL TOLD [REDACTED] HE THEN
PLANS TRAVEL TO GREENE COUNTY, ALA., AND WILL SPEAK
TONIGHT AT FIRST AFRICAN BAPTIST CHURCH, EUTAW, ALA., IN BEHALF
OF [REDACTED]

b7C

[REDACTED] SAID CARMICHAEL TALKED ABOUT POSSIBLY VISITING
TALLADEGA COLLEGE IN ANNISTON, ALA. 128-446080-1243
BUAGENTS CONDUCTING LOOSE DISCREET SURVEILLANCE. MAR 19 1968
NOTED TWO CONTACTS MADE BY CARMICHAEL AND AIDES WHILE AT
STILLMAN COLLEGE. CARMICHAEL WAS VISITED IN HIS ROOM AT COLLEGE
BY FIVE UNKNOWN NEGRO PERSONS, THREE MALE, TWO FEMALE.

b7C

TWO COPIES TO WFO

b7C

CC

57 MAR 25 1968

1210 REPT
ARR. 3/14/68
900 AM PJB

PAGE TWO

THEY ARRIVED IN NINETEEN SIXTYFIVE PLYMOUTH BEARING NINETEEN SIXTYEIGHT MISSISSIPPI TAG [REDACTED] (MARSHALL COUNTY MISSISSIPPI) AND DEPARTED DURING EARLY MORNING HOURS. CARMICHAEL'S AIDES ALSO MADE CONTACT WITH [REDACTED] AT HIS RESIDENCE, [REDACTED] TUSCALOOSA, ALABAMA.

b7C

TUSCALOOSA CITY DIRECTORY REFLECTS [REDACTED] AT STILLMAN COLLEGE.

FOR INFO BUREAU [REDACTED] IS LIAISON SOURCE, BIRMINGHAM DIVISION AND CONTACT BEING MAINTAINED WITH HIM TO ASCERTAIN CARMICHAELS FUTURE PLANS.

b7C

GREENE COUNTY ALABAMA IS SPARSELY POPULATED THEREFORE DISCREET SURVEILLANCE WILL BE CONDUCTED EXTREMELY LOOSE. ^DBOUBTFUL THAT PRESS OR ANY WHITE PERSONS WILL BE ADMITTED INTO FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH, EUTAW, TONIGHT.

PAGE THREE

BUAGENTS WILL NOT ATTEND MEETING, HOWEVER, LIAISON SOURCE [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] WILL COVER MEETING. ALSO

[REDACTED] WILL ATTEND

AND REPORT ON CARMICHAEL'S SPEECH.

BIRMINGHAM WILL FOLLOW AND ADVISE.

RECEIVED: 3:29 PM RDR

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b7C
b7D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-30-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

VIA TELETYPE

MAR 13 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

9:34 PM URGENT 3-13-68 HEP

TO DIRECTOR MOBILE AND WASHINGTON FIELD
FROM BIRMINGHAM

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC; SEDITION.

b7C

REMYTEL TODAY.

AT ELEVEN AM INSTANT DATE CARMICHAEL DEPARTED UNANNOUNCED FROM STILLMAN COLLEGE, TUSCALOOSA TO MILES COLLEGE, BIRMINGHAM WHILE UNDER DISCREET SURVEILLANCE BY BUAGENTS. AGENTS AT BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA ALERTED AND COVERED HIS APPEARANCE AT MILES. CARMICHAEL WENT ONTO MILES COLLEGE CAMPUS AT TWO PM BUT SCHOOL OFFICIALS REFUSED TO ALLOW HIM TO SPEAK IN AUDITORIUM. HE SUBSEQUENTLY DEPARTED FOR TALLADEGA COLLEGE, TALLADEGA, ALABAMA. BUAGENTS AT ANNISTON RA ALERTED AND HAD SOURCE ATTEND CARMICHAEL'S SPEECH AT TALLADEGA THREE THIRTY PM TODAY.

SOURCE REPORTED THAT CARMICHAEL MADE NO INFLAMMATORY STATEMENTS;
LIST OF SPEECH WAS TO GET OUT OF WAR IN VIETNAM.

EX-105

REC-4

100-446080-1244

4 MAR 19 1968

b7C

b7C

1040 DE DEPT
ADVISEN 3/14/68
9:00 AM. JTB

TWO COPIES TO WFO
57 MAR 25 1968

PAGE TWO

LOOSE, DISCREET SURVEILLANCE CONTINUED AND CARMICHAEL THEREAFTER DEPARTED FOR GREENE COUNTY, ALABAMA VIA BIRMINGHAM.

CARMICHAEL CURRENTLY UNDER SURVEILLANCE, HOWEVER, SURVEILLANCE WILL BE EXTREMELY LOOSE WHEN HE ENTERS GREENE COUNTY WHICH HAS A LARGE NEGRO POPULATION. BIRMINGHAM WILL REPORT ON CARMICHAEL'S SPEECH TONIGHT AS SET OUT IN RETEL.

BIRMINGHAM WILL FOLLOW AND ADVISE.

RECEIVED: 10:44 PM RDR

10 10 50

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-30-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE ATLANTA	OFFICE OF ORIGIN WFO	DATE 3/13/68	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 2/1/68 - 3/1/68
TITLE OF CASE CHANGED: ⑨ STOKELY CARMICHAEL, aka. A. Kuttati		REPORT MADE BY SA [REDACTED]	TYPED BY pml
		CHARACTER OF CASE INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC SEDITION	

Title marked changed to include alias of A. Kuttati
used by subject when traveling by air from Atlanta to Washington,
D. C. 2/28/68. 2
W.C. 6

REFERENCE: Atlanta tels to Director, WFO, New York and Boston,
dated 2/28/68.

- P -

AGENCY/UNIT/TYPE CLAIMED					NONE	ACQUISIT
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	PROPERTIES	TALE

APPROVED <i>[Signature]</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW	
COPIES MADE: ⑤ Bureau (100-446080) (RM) 3-WFO (100-43503) (RM) 1-New York (100-153751) (Info) (RM) 2-Boston (Info) (RM) (1-157-437) (CARMICHAEL) (1-157- [REDACTED]) b7C 2-Atlanta (100-6812) COPIES DESTROYED 343 FEB 23 1971		100-446080-1245	REC 69 EX-110
DISSEMINATION RECORD OF ATTACHED REPORT		18 MAR 18 1968	
AGENCY	REQUEST RECD.	NOTATIONS	
DATE FWD	HOW FWD	0-7 to AT, 3/27/68 Resubmit amended synopsis by return R/S marked Other: Div 5, Racial Intelligence Section. PTB/akf	
BY			

AT 100-6812

ADMINISTRATIVE:

Atlanta tel dated 2/28/68 advised speech given by CARMICHAEL at Morehouse College on 2/28/68 had been taped by Atlanta PD. On 2/29/68, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Atlanta PD, advised that the men [REDACTED] who had been assigned to follow subject's activities while he was in Atlanta, had, on 2/28/68, attempted to record CARMICHAEL's speech at Morehouse by utilizing a portable recorder. On 2/29/68, when they attempted to play this tape back, they found that the background noise and acoustics in the gymnasium where the speech was made was such that the fidelity of the tape was extremely poor, preventing their securing a readable copy of CARMICHAEL's speech.

b7C

The Atlanta Office has learned that CARMICHAEL's speech was taped by a local Negro radio station (WAOK). Atlanta is currently in the process of developing a racial informant closely associated with this radio station whom, it is believed, will be in a position to secure a copy of this tape.

Upon development of this source, the securing of the tape and transcription of it, a letterhead memorandum will be prepared and forwarded to the Bureau and interested offices.

The Agent observing CARMICHAEL on 2/28/68 is identified as SA [REDACTED]

b7C

INFORMANTS:

INFORMANT

DATE RECEIVED

LOCATION OF INFORMATION

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Instant Report
Instant Report
Instant Report
Instant Report

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

requested that information furnished by [REDACTED] be protected. He pointed out that [REDACTED] who had been assigned to follow the activities of CARMICHAEL while CARMICHAEL was in Atlanta, [REDACTED] and their connection with the

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AT 100-6812

[REDACTED] is not generally known at the
Atlanta University complex.

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LEADS:

NEW YORK AND BOSTON DIVISIONS (INFORMATION)

Information copies furnished New York because
of their continuing interest in CARMICHAEL and information
copies furnished Boston in view of [REDACTED] traveling
from Atlanta to Washington, D.C. with CARMICHAEL and
continuing on to Boston.

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ATLANTA DIVISION

AT ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Will follow and report all activities of subject.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-30-2006 BY
JN160309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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Copy to:

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Report of: SA [REDACTED]
Date: March 13, 1968

Office: ATLANTA

Field Office File #: 100-6812

Bureau File #: 100-446080

Title: STOKELY CARMICHAEL, Also Known As
A. Kuttati

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING
COMMITTEE; SEDITION

Synopsis:

~~CARMICHAEL~~ ^{ATLANTA, GA} arrived in Atlanta via air at 5:35
a.m., 2/27/68 from San Francisco. Spent considerable
time of 2/27-28/68 in company of SNCC associates and
[REDACTED] reportedly Atlanta girlfriend and at the
apartment of [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Spoke at Morehouse
College gymnasium before approximately 2,000 students
on afternoon of 2/28/68. Speech advocated that for every
Orangeburg, S. C. incident there should be ten Detroit's
and ten Watts this summer. Advocated support of Arabs in
their struggle with the Israelies. Classified the Poverty
Program as a trick of the white man to further suppress
the Negro. Stated that if \$24,000 a year was earned under
this program, \$10,000 should be kept to live on and the
other \$14,000 should be given toward the purchase of guns.
Did not advocate using guns unless the "hunky" (white)
starts something. Departed Atlanta 5:10 PM, 2/28/68, via
Delta Flight 106 under the name of A. KUTTATI. Traveled
with companion, [REDACTED] traveling as far as Washing-
ton, D.C. with subject and then continuing on to Boston,
Massachusetts. ARMED AND DANGEROUS

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- P -

DETAILS:

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On February 27, 1968, [REDACTED] advised that he had
heard that STOKELY CARMICHAEL had arrived in Atlanta sometime
during the day but, at that time, he was unable to determine

AT 100-6812

any specific details in this regard.

On February 28, 1968, [] advised that he had learned that CARMICHAEL had arrived in Atlanta from San Francisco, California at 5:35 a.m., February 27, 1968. Other information available to [] reflected that CARMICHAEL was scheduled to speak at Morehouse College at 2:00 p.m. on the afternoon of February 28, 1968. The source said that originally []

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[] of Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), was supposed to address a group of students at the Atlanta University complex, but because of travel restrictions placed on [] CARMICHAEL would fulfill this speaking engagement. The invitation for CARMICHAEL to speak had been extended by the Black Student Alliance, an organization which was believed to have had its formation at a meeting held recently at the Mount Moriah Baptist Church, located at the corner of Ashby and Fair Streets, Atlanta.

[] advised later on February 28, 1968 that CARMICHAEL had spent considerable time on February 27-28, 1968 in the company of [] reportedly CARMICHAEL's [] in Atlanta, Georgia. A considerable amount of time was also spent at the apartment of [] who resides in []

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In regard to [] advises that she is the owner of a 1965 Ford Mustang fastback, winter green in color, bearing 1967 Georgia license []. According to [] who resided at [] Atlanta, until Thursday, February 29, 1968, [] Georgia. The source advises that [] is not SNCC indoctrinated, does not espouse the SNCC philosophy and her associations with CARMICHAEL stems from []

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At approximately 12:45 a.m., February 28, 1968, a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation observed CARMICHAEL, [redacted] and two other unidentified individuals in a 1965 Ford Mustang at the intersection of Del Mar Lane and Linkwood Avenue, Southwest. Immediately after this observation, the automobile proceeded to the vicinity of a Negro community in Atlanta known as Vine City, where one of the occupants exited the automobile and CARMICHAEL, [redacted] and a third individual were last observed going west on Simpson Street in the vicinity of its intersection with Northside Drive.

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[redacted] advised that about 12:40 p.m. February 28, 1968, a crowd of more than 200 Negro students gathered in a class room in Sage Hall, Morehouse College, for the purpose of hearing STOKELY CARMICHAEL. According to these sources, it was obvious that the limited space at Sage Hall would not accommodate the crowd that was gathering and [redacted] a known SNCC associate by [redacted] suggested that they all move to the gymnasium on the campus.

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[redacted] advised that the crowd moved to the gymnasium and that at about 2:00 p.m. CARMICHAEL appeared and addressed the approximate 2,000 students that had gathered in the gymnasium to hear his speech.

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According to these sources, CARMICHAEL said that those in attendance must be aware of the beauty or blackness, as black is beautiful and we are a black people. He said that they must realize that they are Africans as their mother country is Africa and their heritage began there. CARMICHAEL said that they could not believe what the "Hunky" (white) tells you and that if you did you would look back at your beginning and realize that it started with slavery.

AT 100-6812

During his speech, CARMICHAEL said that the "Hunky" has many tricks to keep the Negroes under control and said that the poverty program is one of these favorite tricks. He said that the "Hunky" gives the Negro family problems as he will give the eighteen or nineteen year old kid in the family a good job and will make him the bread winner of the household, but that if he really wanted to help, he would get the fathers good jobs so that they would become the bread winners, as they should be. CARMICHAEL said that if a Negro is working on the poverty program and earned \$24,000 a year, he should keep \$10,000 to live on and give the other \$14,000 for the purchase of guns. He did not say to use these guns but that they should be handy just in case the "Hunky" started something. He added that the "Hunky" has, for many years, been afraid of black and he has tried to make the black afraid of the gun, but they are not now afraid to fight or willing to die for the cause.

He stressed the necessity for black people to remember that the blacks should come first, then the individual. He claimed that America does not exist now and never did exist as far as the black masses are concerned as their mother country is Africa and the Negroes have been brought to America for one purpose and one purpose only, to build an empire. Now that the purpose has been fulfilled, the "Hunky" is getting rid of the Negro and for every Orangeburg, South Carolina incident there should be ten Detroit's, ten Watts (California) and ten Alabamas this summer. He urged those in attendance to unite and support the Arabs in their struggle with the Israelis, as the Arabs are our people.

CARMICHAEL made reference to the boycott by the Negroes of the Olympics pointing out that without the Negro the United States would lose, and a loss for the United States would be a victory for the Negro. He said that the Negroes are the warriors and when the Whites lose, the blacks can take pride in this fact and that if all the black men were to withdraw from Vietnam, the White society would collapse.

AT 100-6812

Information made available by [] reflected that at 11:30 a.m. on February 28, 1968, CARMICHAEL was at Paschel Brothers Restaurant located on Hunter Street, where he remained for a short time before going to the Morehouse gymnasium located at the Atlanta University complex.

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[] said that at approximately 1:45 p.m. CARMICHAEL began his speech urging a uniting of the Negro in a consolidated effort to prevent being wiped out by the White race. During the speech by CARMICHAEL, [] said that CARMICHAEL accused the United States of having taken the gold and silver from Africa as well as other valuables from other countries, and that they had tried to run these countries with their ideas but the black people are just as superior as the Whites. CARMICHAEL urged the black people to stop fighting among themselves and destroying each other, but to unite and become individuals. CARMICHAEL urged that the black people eliminate undesirable associates and environments, as it is a plan of the White race to keep the Negroes in these environments which would prevent their possible improvement of their moral standards, which improvements in the long run would be to the benefit of the entire race. According to [] CARMICHAEL referred to the poverty program as nothing but a lot of "Hog Wash". He then related how the poverty program is catering to the young Negro element as opposed to the older "bread winner" of the family.

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According to [] the meeting was orderly and no incidents developed and at the end of the meeting CARMICHAEL went to the Robert Hall Building on Morehouse campus, for a [] meeting with members of the Black Student Alliance. Also in attendance at this [] meeting were several SNCC members. After this meeting broke up, CARMICHAEL went to [] the office of []

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[] CARMICHAEL was here for a short time where he was picked up by an automobile driven by an unidentified individual and driven to the Atlanta airport. CARMICHAEL, in company of one [] boarded Delta Flight Number 105, which was scheduled to depart Atlanta at 4:50 p.m. for Dulles Airport in Washington, D. C. CARMICHAEL was travel-

AT 100-6812

ing under the name of A. KUTTATI with reservations to Washington, D. C. only and his companion, [REDACTED] had continuing reservations on Northeastern Airways Number 316Y, destined for Boston, Massachusetts.

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[REDACTED] said that the plane left Atlanta at approximately 5:10 p.m.

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[REDACTED] advised that at the conclusion of CARMICHAEL's speech at Morehouse, he read a letter which had been written by H. RAP BROWN, the National Chairman of SNCC.

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[REDACTED] made available a copy of this letter which is set forth as follows:

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A LETTER FROM PRISON FROM H. RAP BROWN

Parish Prison
New Orleans, La.
2/21/68

Being a man is the continuing battle of one's life and one loses a bit of manhood with every stale compromise to the authority of any power in which one does not believe.

No slave should die a natural death. There is a point where caution ends and cowardice begins.

For everyday I am imprisoned I will refuse both food and water. My hunger is for the liberation of my people. My thirst is for the ending of oppression.

I am a political prisoner, jailed for my beliefs -- that Black People must be free. The Government has taken a position true to its fascist nature: Those who we cannot convert, we must silence. This government has become the enemy of Mankind.

Death can no longer alter our path to Freedom. For our people, Death has been the only known exit from slavery and oppression. We must open others.

Our will to live must no longer supersede our will to fight, for our fighting will determine if our race shall live. To desire Freedom is not enough.

We must move from resistance to aggression, from revolt to revolution.

For every Orangeburg there must be 10 Detroites. For every Max Stanford and Huey Newton, there must be 10 dead racist cops. And for every Black Death there must be a Dien Bien Phu.

Brothers and Sisters, and all oppressed people, you must prepare yourself both mentally and physically, for the major confrontation is yet to come. You must fight. It is the people who in the final analysis make and determine history, not leaders or systems. The laws to govern you must be made by you.

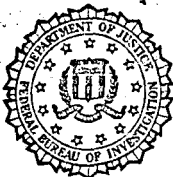
May the deaths of '68 signal the beginning of the end of this country. I do what I must out of the love for my people. My will is to fight; resistance is not enough. Aggression is the order of the day.

NOTE TO AMERICA

America, if it takes my Death to organize my people to revolt against you, and to organize your jails to revolt against you, and to organize your troops to revolt against you, and to organize your children, your God, your poor, your country, and to organize Mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here is my life! But my soul belongs to MY PEOPLE.

Lasime Tushinde Mbilashaka. (We shall conquer without a doubt.)

H. RAP BROWN



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

March 13, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Title STOKELY CARMICHAEL, aka.
A. Kuttati

Character IS - SNCC; SEDITION

b7C

Reference Atlanta report of SA [redacted]
dated 3/13/68

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

Routing Slip

FD-4 (Rev. 4-28-67)

Date 3/28/68

To:

☒ Director Attn: FILE Bufile 100-446080

Att.: Division 5, Racial Intelligence Section.

☐ SAC STOKELY CARMICHAEL, aka
☐ ASAC IS-SNCC; SEDITION.

☐ Supv. _____

☐ Agent _____ ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

☐ SE _____ HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

☐ IC _____ DATE 03-30-2006 BY

☐ CC _____ 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

☐ Steno _____

☐ Clerk _____ ☐ Rotor #: _____

ACTION DESIRED

- | | |
|--|---|
| ☐ Acknowledge | ☐ Open Case |
| ☐ Assign _____ Reassign _____ | ☐ Prepare lead cards |
| ☐ Bring file | ☐ Prepare tickler |
| ☐ Call me | ☐ Return assignment card |
| ☐ Correct | ☐ Return file |
| ☐ Deadline _____ | ☐ Search and return |
| ☐ Deadline passed | ☐ See me |
| ☐ Delinquent | ☐ Serial # _____ |
| ☐ Discontinue | ☐ Post ☐ Recharge ☐ Return |
| ☐ Expedite | ☐ Send to _____ |
| ☐ File | ☐ Submit new charge out |
| ☐ For information | ☐ Submit report by _____ |
| ☐ Handle | ☐ Type |
| ☐ Initial & return | |
| ☐ Leads need attention | |
| ☐ Return with explanation or notation as to action taken. | |

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Rereport SA [redacted] 3/13/68.
Attached are amended FD-204 for rereport.
Bureau requested to insert attached in rereport.

b7C

ENCLOSURE

5 ENCLS.

SAC: FRANK V. HITT
Office: Atlanta

See reverse side

CONSULTATION

Date: March 13, 1968

To: Director, FBI

(Bufile: 100-446080)

Attention:

From: Legal-Attache, Ottawa

(100-1564)

Title	Character
STOKELY CARMICHAEL	IS-MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION
OO: WFO	Reference
	b7D

Enclosed are the following communications received from [redacted]

Three copies of Department of State Airgram dated February 28, 1968, "Unclassified."

Remarks:

For info.

b7D

1 CC [redacted] Let + Encl
 To WFO - by R/S
 1 CC ENCL to ISD
 By R/S
 3/20/68 PTB/mb

b7C

1 XPROY ENCL
 806 980

b7D

1 CC [redacted] Let + Encl
 806 980

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Dissemination

- ☐ May be made as received
☐ May be made as indicated by stamp on enclosure
☐ May not be made without further clearance with [redacted]

Following offices would be interested in receiving copies of enclosures:

WFO (100-43503)

Status with this office:

- ☒ RUC
☐ Pending

3-Bureau (Encs. 2-3) ENCLOSURE
 1 WFO

JPM:jl
 (3)

55 APR 17 1968

Do not write in space below

100-446080-1246	EX-110
10 MAR 19 1968	
RACIAL INT. SECT.	

35 EXP. PROC.

U.S. EMBASSY
OTTAWA

AIRGRAM

UNCLASSIFIED

1968 FEB 29 PM 12 48

Department of State

INFO RECEIVED OTTAWA, QUEBEC

	ACT	INF	INT
AMB			
MIN			
POL	+		
ECON			
CONS			
ADMIN			
B&F			
UNIS			
DEPT			
FILES			
ACTION: NA			
DATE: 2-24			
INITIALS: J			

FROM Amconsul MONTREAL

DATE February 28, 1968

SUBJECT Stokely Carmichael Supports Quebec Separatists.

b7C -

REF

Montréal-Matin, a French-language daily, printed the following story in its edition of February 28 stating that Vallières and Gagnon have received a telegram of support from Stokely Carmichael.

"Pierre Vallières, who is now standing trial before the Assizes Court, and Charles Gagnon, who will stand trial in the March session, are receiving support not only from a movement formed for their defense in Quebec, but also from abroad. The following telegram brings to Vallières and Gagnon, two presumed members of the neo-FLQ, the support and the good wishes of Stokely Carmichael, President [sic] of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee:

"(The underlined words are in French in the text of the telegram.)

"'Courage brothers. Our group is also grappling daily with the dirty tricks of government [chinoiseries gouvernementales] and we are deceived every day. We refuse to disassociate ourselves from our brothers of the FLQ by uttering vicious lies. Accept our sympathy during the trial which you are now facing. Your present experience differs in no respect from that of true patriots everywhere whenever they oppose tyranny. We are confident that you will be acquitted. We will win [Nous vaincrons]."

UNCLASSIFIED

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ENCLOSURE

100-446080-124

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-30-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

DATE: 3/18/68

FROM : SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

b7C

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - M; SEDITION
(OO:WFO)

Reference New York airtel 3/8/68.

Telephone number DU 7-1000 is the public telephone number of The Chastelton Hotel, 1701 16th. Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. Sources are unable to advise WFO as to who was contacted there on 12/21/67. NYO requested to advise WFO of any additional information developed which might tend to identify person contacted at the above hotel on 12/21/67.

EX-110

REC-74

100-446080-1247

- 2 - Bureau
 - 2 - New York (RM) (100-153751)
 - 1 - WFO
- WWH:typ
(5)

MAR 19 1968

1cc 500920

F87

RACIAL INT. SECT.



62 MAR 26 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-30-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

Date: 3/13/68

Transmit the following in _____

AIRTEL

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via _____

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

b7C

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISC;
SEDITION
(OO:WFO)

ReBuairtel, 2/28/68.

Enclosed herewith are eleven copies of an
LHM regarding the above-captioned matter.

It is to be noted the information furnished by

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[redacted] Metro-
politan Police Department (MPD), was predicated to a
large extent on information received by the MPD from an
undercover policeman operating against CARMICHAEL.

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The source referred to as having furnished
information on 3/12/68 is [redacted]

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Numerous sources of WFO are being contacted
regarding the specific allegation mentioned in the

ENCLOSURE

3-Bureau (Enc. 11)
1-WFO

WWH:dan
(4)

AIRTEL

AGENCY: ACIS, OSI, SEC. SERV., C.R.M.
DEPT: ISD, CRD, IDIU

HOW FORW: R/S

DATE FORW: 3/19/68

BY: PTB/226

C. C. = Bishop

Approved: _____

Sent _____

M

Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

6 MAR 25 1968

WFO 100-43503

attached LHM. Negative results have been received from a number of sources to date. Additional sources are yet to be heard from. WFO is following this matter closely and additional info as developed will be furnished to the Bureau.



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-30-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Washington, D.C. 20535
March 13, 1968

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

According to a press release dated February 20, 1968, Stokely Carmichael was reported to be conducting a secret school for black militants in Washington, D.C.

[redacted]
Metropolitan Police Department (MPD), advised on March 4, 1968, that the MPD has followed the activities of Stokely Carmichael closely since his arrival in Washington, D.C. to take up residence on January 4, 1968. He advised the MPD has remained aware of his activities in establishing an organization called the Black United Front (BUF), and his affiliation with the Washington Office of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). [redacted] stated Carmichael has attended a number of organizational meetings of the BUF since his arrival and has also attended various meetings of the Steering Committee of that organization. Carmichael has visited several high schools in Washington, D.C. and on several occasions, has spoken before student groups at the schools. In addition, he has attended many parties since his arrival in Washington, D.C., many of which were held in private homes, where Carmichael was the guest of honor. In addition, Carmichael has been known to hold office staff meetings with the Washington Office SNCC personnel from time to time concerning administrative operating procedures.

b7C [redacted] advised that no information has come to the attention of the MPD that Carmichael is conducting a secret school in Washington, D.C. to train black militants from various cities in the United States, who then return to their own communities to conduct similar schools. He

ENCLOSURE

100-446080-1248

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

stated he feels sure no such school is being operated by Carmichael in Washington, D.C. because if he were, it would have in all probability been discovered by now by investigative action of the police. He added that he has not observed a large influx into Washington, D.C. of so-called black militants from other cities since Carmichael's arrival.

The following additional persons affiliated with law enforcement or intelligence agencies in the Washington, D.C. area were contacted on the dates indicated regarding the allegation contained in the above-mentioned press release:

[redacted]
United States Park Police
March 7, 1968

Jack Parker
Assistant Special Agent in Charge,
Intelligence Division, United States
Secret Service
March 6, 1968

[redacted]
[redacted]
General Services Administration
March 11, 1968

[redacted]
United States Capitol Police
March 12, 1968

[redacted]
116th Military Intelligence Group,
United States Army
March 4, 1968

b7C

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

[redacted]
Office of Special Investigations,
4th District, United States Air Force
March 7, 1968

b7C

[redacted]
Naval Intelligence Security Office,
United States Navy
March 5, 1968

The above individuals advised no information has come to their attention that Stokely Carmichael is operating a school in Washington, D.C. to train out-of-state militants.

b7C [redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted] Washington, D.C., advised on March 13, 1968, he has been following Carmichael's activities since his arrival in Washington, D.C. on January 4, 1968, particularly regarding matters which might affect Selective Service or recruitment matters. He advised that no information has come to his attention that Carmichael is operating a school for racial militants in Washington, D.C. He advised that he was doubtful such a school was being operated because if it were being operated, it would have in all probability come to the attention of authorities by this time.

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past and who is in a position to be aware of Carmichael's activities, advised on March 12, 1968, that much of Carmichael's time since his arrival in Washington, D.C. has been directed toward the establishment of an organization called the Black United Front. Source advised that the BUF is an organization being created with the announced purpose of attempting to unify the black community of Washington, D.C. In this connection, source stated that Carmichael has held a number of general meetings

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

of the organization, as well as various meetings with the Steering Committee. The general organization meetings have been held at the New School for Afro-American Thought, 2208 14th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. The meetings of the Steering Committee of the organization have been held in private residences of members or in a local church. Carmichael, according to the source, has used the Washington, D.C. Office of SNCC as his headquarters since his arrival in Washington, D.C. and has held several meetings with the staff personnel working in that office. Several of these staff meetings were held at Carmichael's residence. Source continued that Carmichael has attended a number of parties in private residences since his arrival in Washington, D.C., many of which were fund-raising parties sponsored by SNCC. He has also attended a number of parties of a public nature. Source advised that Carmichael has appeared at several of the public schools in the District of Columbia and has made talks to a few classes, apparently with the approval of the school administration. Carmichael has also attended conferences and meetings with other civil rights organizations, such as the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), sponsor of the Washington Spring Project. Source stated Carmichael has also met with Dr. Martin Luther King of SCLC. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] in Washington, D.C.

Source advised there is no information available Carmichael is operating a school for out-of-town racial militants in Washington, D.C. On the contrary, according to source, Carmichael appears to be visiting so-called racial militants in the cities where they are located rather than having them come to Washington, D.C. Source stated Carmichael has visited the Roxbury, Boston area in Massachusetts, the Dayton, Cincinnati area in Ohio, and the San Francisco, Oakland, Los Angeles, California, areas since he took up residence in Washington, D.C. During each of these visits, he made speeches and held discussions of black power with leaders there. Source has noticed no

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

large influx of out-of-town Negro militants in contact with Carmichael in Washington, D.C. Source was of the opinion Carmichael, if he were inclined toward establishing such a school to train racial militants, would not establish it in Washington for fear it would be discovered easily since it is the capitol of the country.

Other sources, who have furnished reliable information in the past and who have knowledge of Carmichael's activities, as well as knowledge of racial matters generally in the Washington, D.C. area, advised when contacted they have no information about Stokely Carmichael operating a school for training of out-of-town militants in Washington, D.C.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-30-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

Date: 3/14/68

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - M; SEDITION

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[redacted] advised that STOKELY CARMICHAEL may give a talk at the Presbyterian Church of the Redeemer, 15th and Girard Streets, N. W., WDC, on Sunday evening of 3/17/68. According to the source this activity is part of a regular Sunday night church service ~~forum~~ which is held each Sunday evening for Negro churchgoers.

A pretext telephone call to the church on 3/14/68 ascertained that if CARMICHAEL was in town he would attend the regular Sunday night church fellowship forum attended by the congregation. It was stated that CARMICHAEL's talk would include a question and answer period followed by a social hour.

MPD has advised that because of the religious connotation involved and the high risk potential for embarrassment, they will not attempt to record the program.

WFO will cover CARMICHAEL's activity through live sources; however, in view of the fact that the nature of

3 - Bureau
1 - WFO

WWH:tab
(4)

AIRTEL

C. C. Bishop

REC-23

EX-110

13 MAR 19 1968

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

57 MAR 23 1968

WFO 100-43503

CARMICHAEL's appearance is reported to be part of the regular Sunday night church program, no attempt will be made by WFO to record the activity because of potential embarrassment involved in recording a church program in this all Negro congregation church.

VIA TELETYPE

MAR 15 1968 *BM*

ENCIPHERED

207 PM URGENT 3-15-68 LCS

TO DIRECTOR AND WASHINGTON FIELD

FROM ATLANTA

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-30-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS - MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION.

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

RE MOBILE TEL MARCH FIFTEEN INSTANT.

b7C

CARMICHAEL ARRIVED ATLANTA DELTA AIRLINES FLIGHT THREE
SIX FIVE AT TEN: FIVE TWO PM, ACCOMPANIED BY UNKNOWN NEGRO MALE.
AT AIRPORT BOTH INDIVIDUALS MADE TELEPHONE CALLS FOR SEVERAL
MINUTES, THEN PICKED UP BAGGAGE. CARMICHAEL AND OTHER INDIVIDUAL
THEN SAT ON BENCH AT CAB STAND AND AT ELEVEN: FOUR FOUR PM
WERE PICKED UP BY TWO NEGRO FEMALES IN GREEN FOUR DOOR PONTIAC
WITH SIXTYEIGHT GEORGIA TAG [REDACTED] TAG
ISSUED TO [REDACTED]
ATLANTA.

325M93C 31M
MAR 13 3 28 PM '68
b7C

SOURCE WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN PAST
IDENTIFIED [REDACTED] STUDENT NON-VIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC).

b7C
b7D

ADMINISTRATIVE

REC-40

b2
b7D

SOURCE IS AT [REDACTED] ATLANTA FOLLOWING

CLOSELY AND WILL KEEP BUREAU AND WFO ADVISED.

13 MAR 19 1968

RECEIVED: 217 PM RNK

EX 106

TWO CC WASHINGTON FIELD

62 MAR 26 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-30-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls
3/11/06

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Transmit the following in PLAINTEXT
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE URGENT *BM*
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
ATTN: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC; SEDITION

RE WFOTEL 3/16/68

9/24
SUBJ OBSERVED DEPART RESIDENCE EARLY AFTERNOON INSTANT IN LATE
MODEL BLUE ELYMOUTH FURY BEARING NY LIC [REDACTED]
PREVIOUSLY DETERMINED TO BE [REDACTED] ACCOMPAINED BY TWO
UNIDENTIFIED FEMALES. LATER RETURNED IN/ANOTHER VEHICLE DRIVEN BY
9/24 [REDACTED] ACCOMPAINED BY [REDACTED] WHO ENTERED RESIDENCE
WITH SUBJ. SUBJ AT SIX PM APPEARED AT THE CHURCH OF THE REDEEMER,
FIFTHTEEN AND GIRARD STS., NW, WDC, FOR TALK SPONSORED BY CHURCH
FELLOWSHIP FORUM. HE WAS ACCOMPAINED BY [REDACTED] WHOM HE
INTRODUCED TO CROWD. ATTENDANCE APPROXIMATELY THREE HUNDRED. TALK
CONCERNED WHITE WESTERN CIVILIZATION AND HOW IT HAD "COLONIZED" THE
NEGRO IN THE UNITED STATES AND ELSEWHERE. STATED NEGROES SURVIVAL

3-Bureau
1-New York (RM) (AM)
1-WFO

WWH:mmh
(5)

XEROX

MAR 1968

REC-40

1010 ADV.
8:30 AM 3/17/68 EX 106
FEB

13 MAR 19 1968

Approved: *WWH*
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

PAGE TWO
WFO 100-43503

AT STAKE AS U.S. PLANNING GENOCIDE AGAINST THEM. SUBJ STATED
COMMUNISM NOT ANSWER TO PROBLEM OF NEGRO WHO MUST CONNECT UP WITH
THE OTHER NINE HUNDRED MILLION NEGROES IN THE "THIRD WORLD" TO
LIBERATE HIMSELF FROM "YOKE" OF WHITE MAN. STATED NEGROES SHOULD
SUPPORT ARABS OVER ISRAELIS. PRAISED [REDACTED] AND STATED HE
WAS NOT GUILTY OF ANYTHING.

b7C

ADMINISTRATIVE

COPY TO NEW YORK AIR MAIL

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-30-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

FBI

Date: 3/16/68

Transmit the following in _____

PLAINTEXT

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE

URGENT

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR (100-446080)
ATTN: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC; SEDITION

RE MYTEL 3/15/68

b7C

SUBJ FIRST OBSERVED THIS DATE AT ONE FORTYFIVE PM IN VICINITY
OF RESIDENCE. HE THEN PROCEEDED DIRECTLY TO SNCC HDQTS, ONE TWO
THREE FOUR U ST., NW, WDC. LATER LEFT SNCC OFFICE WITH TWO UNIDENTI-
FIED MALES AND ENTERED A GREEN VOLKSWAGEN BEARING CURRENT D.C. LIC

[REDACTED] WHICH IS REGISTERED TO [REDACTED]

b7C

WDC.

VEHICLE PROCEEDED TO ABOVE ADDRESS WHERE SUBJ AND TWO UNIDENTIFIED
MALES WERE SEEN TO ENTER. SUBJ SPENT REMAINDER OF EVENING AT ABOVE
ADDRESS.

ADMINISTRATIVE

WFO WILL ATTEMPT TO FURTHER IDENTIFY [REDACTED]

b7C

3-Bureau
1-WFO

RNW:mmh
(4)

b7C

1D1U ADV.
3/18/68
8:50 AM
PTB

EX 106

REC-40

b7C

13 MAR 19 1968

Approved: JDP/RNW
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

②② MAR 20 1968

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-30-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM : *PWB/mr* SAC, NEWARK (100-49533) (RUC)

SUBJECT: *0* STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS

DATE: 3/19/68

b7C

AD
Re Newark tel, dated 3/7/68.

Referenced teletype set forth information the subject did not appear in Camden, N.J., on 3/6/68.

Inasmuch as the subject did not appear in Camden, and there is no information concerning scheduled appearance in Camden in the future, no additional investigation will be conducted.

Newark has obtained informant coverage in the organization which had reportedly invited subject and is in a position to be aware of any scheduled appearances in Camden, N.J.

R

100 806 900
EX 101

REC-68

100-446080/253

2-Bureau (RM)
2-WFO (100-43503) (RM)
1-Newark
RSB/maj
(5)

1 MAR 20 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT DATE 03-30-2006 BY

60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080) DATE: 3/19/68
ATTENTION: C. C. MOORE, Section Chief, Racial
Intelligence Section, Division 5
FROM : *WMA*
C SAC, MOBILE (100-1858)(P)
SUBJECT: *8*
STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS, SEDITION

te Reference is made to Mobile telephone call to Bureau,
and Mobile teletype to Bureau, 3/7/68.

Attached hereto are 2 copies each of Act No. 232
and Act No. 233 referred to in referenced communications,
which were furnished to the Mobile Division by

b7C

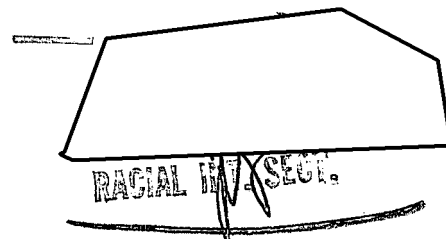
Alabama State Attorney General's
Office, Montgomery, Ala.

- ② - Bureau (Encs. 4) ENCLOSURE
2 - Mobile
CAR-jes
(4)
- 4*

ST-101
REC 5

100-446080-1254

MAR 21 1968



b7C



CC 806 947
APR 1 1968

Drake, Shumate, Bowers,
Brown, Waggoner, Burgess,
Starnes, Smith (C)

H. 402

Enrolled, An Act, To define and create the statutory offenses of inciting to felony and of inciting to misdemeanor; and to prescribe punishment therefor.

BE IT ENACTED BY THE LEGISLATURE OF ALABAMA:

Section 1. (a) Inciting to a felony is the effort or endeavor by one person to induce, procure or cause another to commit a specific felony.

(b) Inciting to misdemeanor is the effort or endeavor of one person to procure or cause another to commit a specific misdemeanor.

Section 2. Any person who incites to a felony shall be imprisoned in the penitentiary for not less than one nor more than ten years; provided, however, that, if such person incites to a felony under circumstances and with results which would render him an aider or abettor in the commission of such felony, he may be indicted, tried, and punished as a principal in the commission of such felony or, at the election and choice of the State, he may be proceeded against as a violator of this statute; but in no event may a person be convicted and punished, for the commission of the same criminal act or acts, both as a violator of this statute and as a principal in the commission of the felony to which he shall have incited.

Section 3. Any person who incites to misdemeanor must be fined not more than five hundred dollars, and may also be imprisoned in the county jail or sentenced to hard labor for the county for not more than six months.

Section 4. This Act is intended to be cumulative and supplementary to existing law or laws. It is not intended to supersede either the common law or any penal statute now in force. The common law offense of criminal solicitation shall continue to be recognized in this state.

Section 5. Should any provision of this Act, or the application thereof to any person or in any particular circumstance, be held invalid, such holding shall not affect the remainder of the Act and the application of such provision to other persons or in other circumstances.

Section 6. This Act shall become effective upon its passage and approval by the Governor, or upon its otherwise becoming a law.

232

RECEIVED

AUG 17 1967

11:00 A.M.

Speaker of the House of Representatives

Secretary of State

President and Presiding Officer of the Senate

House of Representatives
August 3, 1967

I hereby certify that the within Act originated in and was passed by the House July 13, 1967.

John W. Pemberton
Clerk

Senate

8/3/67

Passed

Drake, Shumate, Bowers,
Brown, Burgess, Waggoner,
Starnes, Smith (C)

H. 403

Enrolled, An Act, To preserve law and order by proscribing, prohibiting and penalizing incitement to crime or to riotous conduct.
BE IT ENACTED BY THE LEGISLATURE OF ALABAMA:

Section 1. Definitions. For the purposes of this Act, the following words and phrases shall have the respective meanings hereinafter in this section assigned to them:

(a) "Incite" means to urge, encourage, counsel, command, direct, enjoin, charm, beguile, inveigle, cajole, conjure, demand, summon, stimulate, threaten, arouse, stir, agitate, suggest, induce, provoke, exhort, beg, beseech, entreat, ask, tell, signal, call, motion, gesture or otherwise seek to move to concrete action either immediately or at the first opportune occasion. It does not include the advocacy or teaching of abstract doctrine unaccompanied by any effort to bring about concrete action.

(b) "Immediately" means either presently, or upon completion, or recess or adjournment of a meeting or program in progress; or upon the assembling or gathering of three or more persons pursuant to an act of incitement as hereinafter defined. For the purposes of this act, the taking of concrete action need not occur instantaneously in order to occur immediately.

(c) "Act of Incitement" means any conduct, whether entailing the use of words or otherwise, by which a person or persons incite any other person or persons.

(d) "Person" includes natural persons, corporations, associations and all other juristic entities.

Section 2. Creation and Gradation of Statutory Offenses.

(a) Any person who incites any other person or number of persons to do any of the following shall be guilty of a felony: (1) kill any human being or one or more human beings or group, body or class of human beings; or (2) with force and violence, to do bodily harm to, or inflict bodily injury upon, any human being; or (3) commit mayhem upon any human being or one or more human beings or any group, body or class of human beings; or (4) unlawfully or forcibly confine, inveigle or entice away any human being, with intent to cause him or her to be secretly confined or imprisoned against his or her will, or to be sent out of the state against his or her will; or (5) set fire to or burn a dwelling house, warehouse, store, or any other structure usually occupied or used by any human being or by one or more human beings or by any member or members of a group, body or class of human beings; or (6) assemble unlawfully with others and, being so assembled, demolish, pull down, destroy, or begin to demolish, pull down, or destroy, any dwelling house or other structure; or (7) sell, give or otherwise furnish arms, ammunition, weapons or explosives to any person participating or, to the knowledge of the seller or other furnisher of said items, being about to participate in any riot, tumult or other mob action; or (8) take away from any human being any of his or her money or goods of value by force or by putting such human being into fear, with the intent permanently to deprive such human being of his ownership or property rights in such money or goods of value; or (9) burglarize the dwelling house or other building occupied by or belonging to any human being or to any one or more human beings or to any group or class of people, or to any other juristic person; or (10) commit any felony against the person or property of any human being or against any group, body or class of human beings, or other juristic person, whether such felony be a statutory offense, a common law offense, or both; or (11) assemble with others, and being so

assembled, engage in riotous conduct, disturbances of the peace and civil disturbances threatening or endangering life or property, after being warned to cease and desist inciting such conduct by any duly authorized law enforcement officer.

(b) Any person shall be guilty of a misdemeanor if he, she or it incites any other person or persons to commit a misdemeanor which, if committed, would inflict bodily harm or injury upon any human being or upon one or more human beings or upon any group, body or class of human beings. Actual commission of any misdemeanor so incited shall not be an element of the statutory misdemeanor hereby created.

Section 3. Punishment.

(a) Any person convicted of inciting any other person or persons to the commission of any of the acts enumerated in Sub-section (a) of Section (2) hereof shall be imprisoned in the penitentiary for not less than one nor more than ten years.

(b) Any person convicted of the statutory misdemeanor created in and by Sub-section (b) of Section (2) hereof must be fined not more than five hundred dollars, and may also be imprisoned in the county jail or sentenced to hard labor for the county for not more than six months.

(c) If any person engages in an act of incitement under such circumstances and attended with such results as to constitute such person, under the law of Alabama as it exists prior to the passage of this Act, an aider and abettor in the commission of crime, then such person may be proceeded against as a principal in the commission of the crime to which he has incited; or, at the election of the State, such person may be proceeded against for violation of this Act; but in no event shall a person be convicted and punished, for the commission of the same criminal act or acts, both as a violator of this statute and as a principal in the commission of the crime to which he shall have incited another or others.

Section 4. Interpretation and Severability of Provisions.

(a) This Act is not to be interpreted as requiring that conduct include or involve verbal communication in order for such conduct to constitute an act of incitement. If conduct reasonably adapted to the purpose of incitement be employed for the accomplishment of that purpose, it shall be immaterial that neither spoken nor written words are so employed. Nothing herein provided, however, is to be deemed, construed or interpreted as limiting the acts of incitement here denounced to non-verbal acts. An act of incitement may or may not consist in whole or in part of the use of words, oral, written, printed, drawn or otherwise formulated. (b) The only intent requisite to the commission of the crimes in this Act denounced is the intent to do the act of incitement. (c) The crimes herein denounced shall be deemed to be completed upon completion of the act of incitement, whether the specific acts of wrongdoing sought to be incited be committed as a result or in consequence of the act of incitement or not; but the efficacy or inefficacy of an act of incitement may be considered in imposing punishment. (d) If any provision of this Act, or the application thereof to any person or in any particular circumstance, be held invalid, the remainder of the Act and the application of each provision to other persons or in other circumstances shall not be affected by such holding of invalidity.

Section 5. Effective Date. It is hereby specially provided that this Act shall become effective upon its passage and approval by the Governor, or upon its otherwise becoming a law.

R. E. Smith

Speaker of the House of Representatives

Albert I. Brown

President and Presiding Officer of the Senate

House of Representatives
August 8, 1967

I hereby certify that the within Act originated in and was passed by the House July 13, 1967.

John W. Pemberton
Clerk

Senate

8/3/67

Passed

APPROVED *Aug 16 1967*

TIME *7:12 P.M.*

Leahur B. Whitman
Governor

NO. *233*

RECEIVED

AUG 17 1967

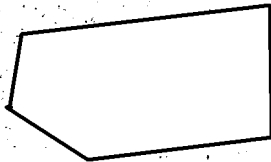
TIME *11:00 A.M.*

Secretary of State

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-30-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

Date: 3/6/68

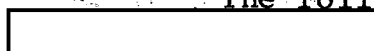
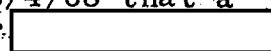
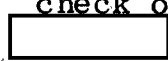
Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080) b7C
FROM: SAC, SPRINGFIELD (100-10697) - RUC - 
SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - M; SEDITION

Re Chicago airtel to Director dated 1/10/68, Atlanta airtel to Director dated 2/7/68, and WFO airtel to Director dated 2/20/68.

b7C

The following investigation was conducted by IC


 Selective Service
Headquarters, Springfield, Illinois, advised on 3/4/68 that a
check of records failed to reflect any record for 


b7C

- 3 - Bureau (100-446080)(RM)
2 - WFO (100-43503)(RM)
1 - Atlanta (100-6812)(Info)(RM)
1 - Chicago (157-1207)(Info)(RM)
1 - Springfield (100-10697)

JDH:css
(8)

REC-75

EX-105

REC

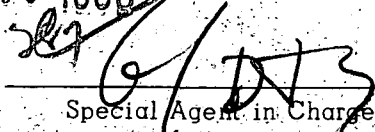
1cc 80698D

100-446080-1255

MAR 8 1968

C. C. Bishop

62 MAR 26 1968

Approved: 
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

RACIAL INT. SECT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-30-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Date: 3/11/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM: SAC, DETROIT (100-34122) (P)
SUBJECT: STOKLEY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISC
SEDITION
(OO: WFO)

Enclosed for Bureau are 9 copies of LHM
entitled "Visit of STOKLEY CARMICHAEL to Eastern
Michigan University Campus," 4/25, 26, and 27/68.

The source referred to in this LHM is _____
_____ Detroit Office.

b7C
b7D

This LHM is being classified ~~confidential~~
to protect the source of continuing value.

It is suggested that offices covering
CARMICHAEL substantiate his speaking engagement at
Eastern Michigan University, and report info. to Bureau
and interested offices.

3 - Bureau (Enc. 9) (RM)
2 - Atlanta (100-6812) (Enc. 2) (RM)
2 - New York (100-153751) (Enc. 2) (RM) ST. 109
2 - WFO (100-43503) (Enc. 2) (RM)
2 - Detroit
WS/msl
(11)

100-446080-1256
806 98D
CRIM
AGENCY: ACSI, OSI, SEC. SERV..
DEPT: ISD, CRD, PDCU

9 ENCLOSURE

HOW FORW: R/S
DATE FORW: 3/20/68
BY: PTB/rnb
MAR 14 1968

C. C. Bishop
CC SULLIVAN

RACIAL INT. SEC.

Approved: 1/38

66 MAR 28 1968

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

A/T TO DETROIT 3/19/68
LT TO WILLIAM WELLS & ADM.
ASSIST. V. - Presi 3/19/68 RLY

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-30-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 3/15/68

Information in the attached indicates Stokely Carmichael, a militant black nationalist, Senator Robert Kennedy, Ex-Governor George Wallace of Alabama, and Vice-President Hubert Humphrey, have been invited to speak at Eastern Michigan University, Ypsilanti, Michigan, during a symposium, April 25-27, 1968.

Carmichael is presently in Alabama, where he has been speaking at several Negro colleges.

This is first information we have received concerning this affair. We will continue to closely follow. Pertinent offices instructed to determine validity of this information. Detroit is being instructed to obtain full details through established sources. We are advising the office of the Vice-President.

WLS:lrb

MA

D

WES/
mtl



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Detroit, Michigan
March 11, 1968

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls
ON 03-30-2006

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Bishop	✓
Mr. Casper	✓
Mr. Callahan	✓
Mr. Conrad	✓
Mr. Felt	✓
Mr. Gale	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Miss Holmes	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

Re: Visit of Stokley Carmichael
to Eastern Michigan University

On March 8, 1968, a confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past advised that the Eastern Michigan University (EMU), Ypsilanti, Michigan, Administration and Social Student Organizations, are sponsoring a symposium that is scheduled to be held on April 25, 26, and 27, 1968, on the EMU campus.

The source advised that the following speakers for this symposium were invited:

Stokley Carmichael

Ex-Governor George Wallace of Alabama

Senator Robert Kennedy

Vice President Hubert Humphrey

He also stated that other local state senators and congressmen, the names of which he did not know, were also invited.

The source stated that Carmichael and Senator Kennedy had accepted the invitation and were to appear and that Vice President Humphrey stated he either would accept the invitation, or send a representative to replace him.

The source further stated that the EMU Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) Chapter was not able to endorse this group officially because the SDS organization on the EMU campus had no funds available to share with the expenses involved.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~Group 1
Excluded from
automatic down-
grading and
declassification~~

APR 10 2 40 PM '68

ENCLOSURE

100-446080-1256

Re: Visit of Stokley Carmichael
to Eastern Michigan University

A characterization of the SDS will be found in
the appendix pages attached hereto.

APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) as it is known today came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California on May 14, 1965 described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us". At the June, 1965 SDS National Convention, an anti-Communist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966 issue of "New Left Notes", the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some Communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967 was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Re: Visit of Stokley Carmichael to
Eastern Michigan University

This document contains neither recommendations
nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the
FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents
are not to be distributed outside your agency.

Date: 3/2/68

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Transmit the following in **PLAINTEXT**
(Type in plaintext or code)Via **TELETYPE** **URGENT**
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC.; SEDITION

RE WFOTEL THREE ONE SIXTYEIGHT.

SUBJECT FIRST OBSERVED ENTERING SNCC HDQTS, ONE TWO THREE
FOUR U ST. N.W., WDC WITH UNKNOWN MALE AND FEMALE ABOUT ONE THIRTY
PM THIS DATE, LATER WENT TO OFFICE OF [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] AND THEN RETURNED TO SNCC.

DURING THE EVENING, SUBJECT VISITED AT SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN
LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE'S WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT OFFICE, ONE
FOUR ZERO ONE U ST., N.W., WDC.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11/5/86 BY 1678 REP/RSW
#253,475

REC 27

100 - 446080 - 1257

3 - Bureau
2 - WFO

RNW:tkm
(5)

MAR 20 1968

54 MAR 27 1968

Approved: [Signature] Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-30-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls
FBI

Date: 3/14/68

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - M; SEDITION
(OO:WFO)

Re New York airtel 3/7/68 entitled "NATIONAL BLACK
ANTI-WAR ANTI-DRAFT UNION, RM" (NBAWADU).

New York requested to ascertain details concerning
STOKELY CARMICHAEL's scheduled speech before NBAWADU, being
held New York City, April 12, 13, 14, 1968; and cover
pursuant to Bureau airtel 12/21/67.

③ Bureau

3 - New York (100-153751) (RM)
(1 - 157-2085) (NBAWADU)

2 - WFO

(1 - 157-1513) (NBAWADU)

WWH:cjk
(8)

AIRTEL

C. C. Bishop

Approved: _____

Sent _____

M _____

Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

70 MAR 21 1968

REC-112

100-446080-1258

MAR 21 1968

5-14

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-30-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 3/13/68

We are continuing to follow the activities of Stokely Carmichael, the former Chairman of the Students Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

The attached pertains to speech he made last night at Stillman College, Tuscaloosa, Alabama. In view of his comments, pertinent information is being furnished to the White House, the Attorney General, and interested agencies.

WLS:lrb

glr

wcs/mbs

D

VIA TELETYPE
MAR 13 1968
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson ✓
Mr. DeLoach ✓
Mr. Mohr ✓
Mr. Bishop ✓
Mr. Casper ✓
Mr. Callahan ✓
Mr. Conrad ✓
Mr. Felt ✓
Mr. Gale ✓
Mr. Rosen ✓
Mr. Sullivan ✓
Mr. Tavel ✓
Mr. Trotter ✓
Tele. Room ✓
Miss Holmes ✓
Miss Gandy ✓

103 AM URGENT 3-13-68

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-30-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

TO DIRECTOR MOBILE AND WASHINGTON FIELD

FROM BIRMINGHAM 2P

Internal security - Miscellaneous

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS - MISC., SEDITION.

b7C

REMYTEL MARCH TWELVE SIXTYEIGHT.

EVENING MARCH TWELVE SIXTYEIGHT CARMICHAEL ADDRESSED
GROUP OF APPROXIMATELY FIFTEEN HUNDRED PERSONS AT STILLMAN
COLLEGE. ^{BUREAU} AGENTS PRESENT AT SPEECH WHICH WAS OPEN TO PUBLIC.
CARMICHAEL GAVE USUAL BLACK NATIONIST TYPE ADDRESS CALLING
FOR A BLACK AFRICIAN REVOLUTION IN THIS COUNTRY. CARMICHAEL
REFERRED TO PRESIDENT JOHNSON AS "HONKEY" AND CARMICHAEL
ADMITTED THAT HE MET WITH HO CHI MINH WHILE IN NORTH VIETNAM.
DURING QUESTION AND ANSWER PERIOD AFTER SPEECH CARMICHAEL
COMMENTED "THE WHITE MAN IN AMERICA WANTS A CIVIL WAR WITH
THE BLACKS, WELL WE SAY WE ARE READY FOR THEM AND WHEN THAT
CIVIL WAR COMES WE WILL GET JOHNSON."

REC-19

EX 101

14 MAR 19 1968

62 MAR 26 1968

TWO COPIES TO WFO

W. H. L. 3/13/68

CFG/lyc

PAGE TWO

~~ALABAMA~~ STATE TROOPER

AST RECORDED SPEECH BUT NOT QUESTION AND ANSWER PERIOD. TRANSCRIPTION OF SPEECH WILL BE SUBMITTED TO BUREAU IN FORM OF LETTER HEAD MEMO.

CARMICHAEL INDICATED HE WILL TRAVEL TO UTAH, ALABAMA TOMORROW AND SPEAK AT FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH, UTAH, TOMORROW NIGHT.

b7C

[REDACTED]
ADVISED CARMICHAEL WILL STAY ON CAMPUS UNTIL APPROXIMATELY NOON MARCH THIRTEENTH NEXT.

INFO REGARDING CARMICHAEL'S ACTIVITIES WILL BE APPROPRI-
ATELY DISSEMINATED TO LOCAL LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES, MILI-
TARY INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES, U.S. SECRET SERVICE AND USA. *Attorney*

BIRMINGHAM WILL FOLLOW AND ADVISE.

RECEIVED: 2:19AM MSE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAR 14 1968

TELETYPE

FBI WASH DC*

FBI BIRMGHAM

512PM URGENT 3-14-68 RL

TO DIRECTOR, MOBILE, WASHINGTON FIELD

FROM BIRMINGHAM (157-2546) 1P

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS - MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION.

REMYTEL TODAY AND BIRMINGHAM TELCALL TO MOBILE TODAY.

SUBJECT DEPARTED GREENE COUNTY, ALA., INSTANT DATE AT
APPROXIMATELY NINE A.M. EN ROUTE SELMA, ALA. SUBJECT DUE TO
SPEAK AT SELMA AT TEN THIRTY A.M. INSTANT DATE.

MOBILE WAS ADVISED BY RETELCALL.

END

BAP

FBI WASH DC*

P

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

REC-19

EX 101

100 - 446080 - 1260
MAR 19 1968

62 MAR 26 1968

Relayed to WFO

b7C

1 - Administrative Division

1 -

b7C

REC

(RM) 100-440020 - 1261

Date: March 18, 1968
To: Director, U. S. Secret Service
From: John Edgar Hoover, Director
Subject: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS

The source referred to in the memorandum dated June 8, 1967, at Los Angeles, which was furnished to your Agency, has been re-described as having furnished both reliable and unreliable information in the past. You may desire to make a notation on your copy of the correspondence.

1 - Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence
Department of the Army

Attention: Director of Security

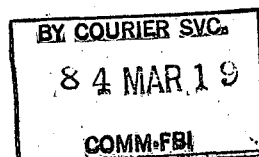
1 - Office of Special Investigations
Air Force

Attention: Chief, Counterintelligence Division

1 - Assistant Attorney General
Internal Security Division

Attention: Administrative Officer
(by 0-6)

RMH:lmr
(8) *lmr*



SEE NOTE PAGE TWO.

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

66 MAR 25 1968

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Director, U. S. Secret Service

NOTE:

Corrective action being taken regarding information furnished by a discontinued Los Angeles informant in accordance with memorandum [redacted] to W. C. Sullivan 2/2/68 regarding [redacted] Racial Matters."

Administrative action handled.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-30-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

FC 3/6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080) DATE: 2/29/68

FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-68783) b7C

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS

OO: Atlanta

per 300.5.2 route

Re Los Angeles airtel and Letterhead Memorandum
to Bureau dated 6/8/67.

Confidential source [redacted] mentioned
in referenced communication has been reclassified from
"reliable" to a source "who has furnished both reliable and
unreliable information in the past."

Bureau and Atlanta are requested to make above-
listed change. Los Angeles copies have been changed and
pertinent serials have been marked accordingly.

If referenced communication has been disseminated
by the Bureau and Atlanta, they are being requested to advise
agency or agencies to whom disseminations were made in accord-
ance with instructions set forth in Volume IV, Manual of
Instructions, Section 107.

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
(1 - [redacted])
1 - Atlanta (100-6812) (RM)
2 - Los Angeles
(1 - [redacted])
JWW/dlp
(5)

REC

100-446080-1261

RECORDED

MAR 4 1968

REC'D INT. SEC.

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

b2
b7D

Let, 55
RMH: June 3/10/68

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-30-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

FBI

Date: 3/4/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority)

TO : Director, FBI (100-438794)

FROM: SAC, Indianapolis (100-14416)

COMINFIL
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE (SCLC)
IS - C

OO: Atlanta

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are nine copies of LHM which the Bureau may desire to disseminate.

Enclosed for Chicago, Atlanta and WFO are two copies each of above LHM.

Confidential source is [redacted]

[redacted] who furnished information to SA [redacted]
[redacted] 2/29/68. Source's identity should be protected and she has furnished reliable information in the past.

LHM is classified ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ because information reported from the confidential source could reasonably result in the identification of a confidential informant of continuing value and compromise her future effectiveness in furnishing information concerning the national defense.

One copy of LHM is being disseminated to MIG, U. S. Army, Fort Benjamin Harrison, Indiana.

- ③ - Bureau (Enc. 9) (RM)
- 2 - Chicago (Enc. 2) (RM)
- 2 - Atlanta (Enc. 2) (RM)
- 2 - WFO (Enc. 2) (RM)
- 3 - Indianapolis

(1 - [redacted])
HSK/rel
(12)

AGENCY: ACSI, ~~OSI~~, OSI; SEC. SER: GSA
~~ISD~~: ISD, CRD, RAO IDI
DATE FORW: 3/13/68
HOW FORW: RIS
BY: Dmulei

100-446080-

NOT RECORDED

136 MAR 15 1968

CARBON COPY

Approved: 01968

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

CARBON COPY

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-438794-2098



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Indianapolis, Indiana
March 4, 1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls
ON 03-30-2006

Christian Leadership Conference

(SCLC)

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, on February 29, 1968 advised as follows:

On February 28, 1968 three individuals from South Bend, Indiana, who were interested in civil rights, conferred with [redacted] at SCLC headquarters, 3543 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois. [redacted] advised one of the individuals from South Bend that he expected her to participate in the "first wave" of Reverend Martin Luther King's "Poor Peoples" Campaign, tentatively set for April 7, 1968. There will be around 3000 individuals in this first wave and 200 to 300 of this number will be from the Chicago area. The first wave will camp by the "cherry trees" in Washington and if necessary will cut down the trees for use in fuel for cooking meals. If members of the first wave are arrested, replacements will be available.

[redacted] stated that Stokely Carmichael, former head of Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), will publicly disavow this approach of SCLC to the problem of poverty but privately will give support. SCLC will publicly disavow violence but [redacted] stated "Many of us feel self-defense is essential" and "If someone is hit, there is no way of telling him not to defend himself". Also, [redacted] stated in effect that the official stances of SCLC is one of non-violence but "SCLC can't police everyone".

[redacted] related that the first stage will last up to three weeks followed by a second wave where those participating will be more from the middle class and will engage in more massive civil disobedience such as blocking the roads leading to Washington with their bodies and setting up large tent cities on government grounds.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

100-446080-

ENCLOSURE

Southern Christian Leadership Conference
(SCLC)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b7C

[] characterized the campaign by stating "This is not a march; this is resistance". He indicated that if the United States Government is forced to use troops to police the areas occupied by the "poor people", it would focus the attention of the world on the racist society of the United States.

b7C

[] indicated that SCLC was setting up child care centers to care for the children of those mothers who would be participating in the campaign. SCLC has just had a meeting with the Chicago Department of Public Welfare and obtained assurances that the Department of Public Welfare will not take any action against those who do participate in the campaign.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-30-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

b7C

olson _____
Loach _____
Mohr _____
shop _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

TO :

DATE: 3/6/68

FROM :

b7C

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS

b7C

On 3/5/68, [redacted]

[redacted] furnished Liaison for the Bureau's
information the attached memorandum dated 2/6/68 concerning

It is noted that the members of the [redacted] are
not set forth. [redacted] advised that among other militants
present were Stokely Carmichael, [redacted]

b7C

b7D

[redacted] advised that this information was furnished
to the Bureau on a confidential basis and should not be
disseminated outside of the Bureau.

ACTION:

For information of the Nationalities Intelligence
Section.

Enclosure

RHH:hke
(4)

1- [redacted]
1-Liaison
1- [redacted]

b7C

ENCLOSURE

REC-44

EX 106

1 MAR 19 1968

55 MAR 26 1968

~~SECRET~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

FBI

DATE: 04-20-2006

CLASSIFIED BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1)

04-20-2031

Date: 3/6/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-168197)
FROM: SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-70038)(RUC)
SUBJECT:
SM-SNCC

OO: Atlanta

Re Los Angeles airtel and Letterhead Memorandum (LHM)
2/26/68 captioned "STOKELY CARMICHAEL IS - MISCELLANEOUS,
SEDITION; BLACK CONGRESS SPONSORED RALLY FOR DEFENSE OF HUEY P.
NEWTON, LOS ANGELES SPORTS ARENA, LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA,
2/18/68, RACIAL MATTERS."

Transmitted herewith are five copies of LHM for
the Bureau, two copies to Atlanta, and one copy each to
New York, New Orleans, Richmond, San Francisco, and Washington
Field.

Sources mentioned in LHM are as follows:

- 3 - Bureau (RM) (Enc. 5) ENCLOSURE
2 - Atlanta (100-7098)
(RM) (Enc. 2)
1 - New York (100-160701)
(RM) (Enc. 1)
1 - New Orleans (100-17568)
(RM) (Enc. 1)
1 - Richmond (RM) (Enc. 1)
1 - San Francisco (RM) (Enc. 1)
1 - Washington Field (RM) (Enc. 1)
1 - Los Angeles DEPT: *Yagley, Vinton, Belak*

NOT RECORDED
183 MAR 20 1968

20 MAR 9 1968

JWW/gja
(11)

AGENCY: ACSI, ADO, OSI, SEC. SERV.,

DEPT: *Yagley, Vinton, Belak*HOW FORW: *11/5*DATE FORW: *3/13/68*BY: *PTB/atb*Approved: *574*

Sent

Special Agent in Charge

55 MAR 2 1968

1cc of airtel to
4 Xerox 7/6/88
80694D

~~SECRET~~

ORIGINAL FILED IN 105-168197-602

~~SECRET~~

LA 100-70038

b2
b7C
b7D



(S)

b1



b7C

Special Agent of the FBI, [redacted] was present and observed the Black Congress sponsored rally for defense of HUEY P. NEWTON at Los Angeles Sports Arena, Los Angeles, California, on 2/18/68, and a mechanical recording of the rally was made. A verbatim transcript of H. RAP BROWN's speech at the arena appears in attached LHM.

b2
b7D

Enclosed LHM is classified ~~confidential~~ inasmuch as data from [redacted] could reasonably result in the identification of confidential informants of continuing value and compromise future effectiveness thereof.

- 2 -

~~SECRET~~



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls
ON 03-30-2006

UNIT STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Los Angeles, California

March 6, 1968



b7C

SECURITY MATTER - STUDENT NON-VIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Sources utilized in this memorandum have furnished reliable information in the past.

On February 18, 1968, a Special Agent of the FBI, was present and observed a rally sponsored by the Black Congress (a coalition of militant, black nationalist organizations in Los Angeles, California) for the defense of Huey P. Newton at the Los Angeles Sports Arena, Los Angeles, California, on February 18, 1968. One of the featured speakers at this rally was H. Rap Brown, and the following comments were made concerning Brown's presentation by a representative of the FBI.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

100-446986

ENCLOSURE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~Date 2/28/68

On February 18, 1968, a rally sponsored by the Black Congress scheduled from 3:00 p.m. to 6:00 p.m. was held at the Los Angeles Sports Arena at Santa Barbara and Figueroa Street, Los Angeles, California, to raise funds for the defense of HUEY P. NEWTON. There were 3,300 persons in attendance. The rally was delayed and did not commence until 4:22 p.m. because STOKELY CARMICHAEL refused to enter the arena unless all police officers were removed from the premises. A compromise was reached by the management of the arena and CARMICHAEL when Negro police officers were permitted to remain in the arena.

The purpose of the rally was to raise funds for the defense of HUEY P. NEWTON, Minister of Defense, Black Panther Party for Self-Defense (BPPSD) who is presently incarcerated in the Alameda County Jail, Oakland, California awaiting trial on charges of murdering an Oakland Police Officer in October, 1967 at Oakland, California.

H. RAP BROWN was first introduced to the audience at the beginning of the rally as he made his way to the speaker's platform with STOKELY CARMICHAEL and other black nationalist leaders. At this time, BROWN was mentioned as being a "representative from New York City." BROWN sat on the speaker's platform between STOKELY CARMICHAEL and RON KARENGA, who is Chairman of US, a militant black nationalist organization based in Los Angeles, California.

At approximately 6:30 p.m. H. RAP BROWN was introduced by WALTER BREMOND, Chairman of the Black Congress, as the Minister of Justice of the BPPSD and Chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

- 2 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

On 2/18/68 at Los Angeles, California File # Los Angeles 100-70038

by SA GCW b7C Date dictated 2/22/68

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LA 100-70038

During his speech, H. RAP BROWN referred to the audience as "chumps" because they believe any lies that the white people tell them, and he stated substantially the following:

He began his dissertation by asking the question, "What happens when there is no redress of grievances?" There will be a revolution of dispossessed people.

They used to call it Detroit, now they call it "Destroit".

Black people must understand you have to control everything or you don't control anything. You must control the economics, the education and the political situation.

America tells Negroes that everything white is good and everything black is bad.

We call ourselves revolutionaries, but how many white cops have died since NEWTON has been in jail? He killed the last honkie cop. "The only thing HUEY NEWTON is guilty of is that he didn't tell me he was going to get a honkie that day."

Everyone is born free and you must begin to exercise your rights because you are either free or slaves. Freedom is absolute.

MAO says, "Freedom comes from the barrel of a gun." Brothers should acquire guns because America only understands force.

Plainfield, New Jersey was a successful rebellion because they had guns. America only respects guns. "LYNDON JOHNSON is a two-gun outlaw from Texas." If you want to have a revolution you have to have something to fight with.

Black people have equated progress with concession, but we have made no progress. They took chains from our feet and put them on our minds.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LA 100-70038

There is no difference between the Democrats or the Republicans or between GOLDWATER or JOHNSON. The only difference between GEORGE WALLACE and President JOHNSON is one of their wives has cancer. There are no classes of Negroes. They are just "niggers".

BROWN stated that he saw a sign that said, "I wonder what happened to LEE HARVEY OSWALD now that we need him." BROWN said that he wondered the same thing.

Negroes must go beyond "racist pig cops" because he is just a tool of the white power structure.

Black People cannot be capitalists because war is profitable to this country and it must fight to keep the economy up. America says it is fighting to stop communism and it lies because we only drop Napalm on communists of color.

Negroes are facing genocide and extermination in America.

They told us we are making progress when THURGOOD MARSHALL was appointed to the Supreme Court. Senator JAMES EASTLAND in no uncertain terms told MARSHALL he was "the top nigger. Is that progress?" Progress is determined by the amount of power you have.

American will send "niggers" to concentration camps, and you can ask the Indians and the Japanese Americans.

As far as America looks at it, they have a surplus of "niggers". America will exterminate people of color because they did it to the Japanese when they bombed Hiroshima. You must fight for survival.

America has given an ultimatum. Either live or die, and we say "freedom or death."

BROWN terminated his speech at approximately 6:48 p.m.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

4

LA 100-70038

BROWN was attired in a blue sport jacket with a red handkerchief in his left breast pocket. He wore brown trousers and dark field boots. BROWN departed the arena at approximately 7:40 p.m. with STOKELY CARMICHAEL, JAMES FORMAN, RON KARENGA, and other black nationalist leaders who spoke at the arena.

- 5 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HUBERT GEROLD BROWN

[redacted]
[redacted] For the Los Angeles Sports Arena, was present and observed H. Rap Brown at the Black Congress rally, which was held at the arena on February 18, 1968.

b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 2/23/68

[redacted]
[redacted] was interviewed at his place of employment, [redacted]
[redacted] Los Angeles, and furnished
the following information:

b7C

On Sunday, February 18, 1968, he was present at the Los Angeles Sports Arena, 3939 South Figueroa Street, Los Angeles, California. While at the Sports Arena, he observed the following individuals there:

H. RAP BROWN
STOKELY CARMICHAEL

b7C

[redacted]

-7-

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

On 2/21/68 at Los Angeles, California File # Los Angeles 100-70038
by SA [redacted] gcw Date dictated 2/21/68

b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HUBERT GEROLD BROWN

A recording of H. Rap Brown's presentation at the Black Congress rally, Los Angeles Sports Arena, on February 18, 1968 was made by a Special Agent of the FBI, and the following is a verbatim transcript of that speech:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WALTER BREMOND: Next man on the program, like the other brothers, really doesn't need an introduction. _____ that brother JAMES FOREMAN talked about. It's my pleasure to introduce to you the minister of justice for the Black Panther Party for Self Defense, the chairman of SNCC, Bro. RAP BROWN. (applause)

RAP BROWN: Solid brother. They tell me that we running overtime but I figure if they can give the Los Angeles Lakers overtime, and the Los Angeles Lakers ain't never burned nothing but cigarettes, they can give us overtime, we burned Watts. (applause)

I want to raise the question with black people here tonight. A question that's relevant to all black people and oppressed people across the world. The question is what happens when there is no redress of grievance. See, black people in America have never had a machinery that spoke adequately for the redress of grievances and to the lack of redress of grievances in this country. In other words justice has never been a reality for black people in this country. You've got to begin to look at America and its oppressor's nature and then you begin to understand the revolutionary struggle that oppressed people are engaged in throughout the world. The revolution that this country is facing will be a revolution of dispossessed people. That means

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, blacks, American-Indians and any dispossessed class in this country. (applause) Our _____ brother once eulogized Detroit. Perhaps it would be the eulogy for America. He says there was a town called _____ town, now it ain't no town. He said they used to call it Detroit, now they call it "destroyed." (laughter) America will fit in this same situation if she doesn't begin to address herself to the problems of black people in this country. (applause) Black people must begin to understand that if you don't control, everything that you don't control becomes a weapon against you. The educational system today is a weapon against black people. It expounds and teaches white nationalism. (applause) An example of white nationalism that's taught in the educational system of America which perputates this society is that COLUMBUS discovered America, a continent full of people. How can you discover a continent full of people. It tells you further that anything white in this country, anything white across the world is good. Everything black is bad. Black cows don't give good milk, black hens don't lay eggs. You wear black to funerals and white to weddings. Angel food cake is white, devils food cake is black. Even band-aid plastic strips flesh color are pink. (applause) But we go for it. We go for it because we're chumps. We're chumps of the highest order. HUEY P. NEWTON is now confined in jail because of our lack of action. We accuse ourselves of being revolutionaries.

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How many white cops have died since HUEY P. NEWTON has been in jail? One. He killed the last hunkie that died from a bullet from a black gun. (applause) The only thing that HUEY NEWTON is guilty of, perhaps, is that he didn't tell me he was going down on the hunkies that day. That's the only thing, (laughter) that's the only thing. But HUEY P. NEWTON's freedom depends upon what black people do. Nobody else. You see freedom is not a _____ commodity, you are born free. You must exercise your right to be free. The man cannot give you freedom. He can't pass it out. You can't run around _____ talking about we waiting to be free. You must begin to become free. Begin to exercise that right. There is no such thing as a second class citizen. You are either free or you are slave. Freedom is absolute. There is no in between. You have to stop thinking along those lines. (applause) To tell me that you are a second class citizen is like telling me that you will never get pregnant. You can't be a little bit pregnant. You're either pregnant or you're not. You're either lying or you're telling the truth. These are absolutes. Freedom is an absolutism. Black people if they're going to be free must begin to seize power. _____ says power comes from the barrel of a gun. (applause) You better get your gun brother. I don't care if it ain't nothing but a bebe gun with poisoned babes. (laughter) America has shown us that she does not respect anything but counter force. Plainfield,

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New Jersey, one of the most successful examples of a rebellion this year was successful because the brothers had only recently stole some 46 automatic weapons, each one that would shoot 2000 times and throw bricks for a half hour. And the police refused to go down there and warned them shoot up Plainfield so they signed an armistice with the brothers and they say, well gee, you let us go look for the weapons so we can look good on the news. The brothers say "groovy" cause they hid the weapons. The National Guard went down there and begin to kick down doors and destroy property and the word went out "you kick down one more door we going to shoot your leg off." (laughter) They left playing field, that's counter force, the brothers were armed. America does not love China, she respects China. (applause) Force. America runs the game on _____ and tells you that you are being violent. This is the most violent country that has ever been conceived. LYNDON JOHNSON is a two-gun outlaw from Texas. (applause) He believes in the showdown concept. That's what's going on in Vietnam. That's what's going on in this country today. That's why white folks are arming themselves. JOHNSON has told them "You got to be the fastest draw.", But my advice and my news for the Minutemen is if you can't fight but a minute, don't come to my community. (laughter) You've got to arm yourself. That's the basic right. You can't talk about

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revolution if you don't have anything to fight with. You're caught up in a revolution era whether you approve of it or not. Black people for years have equated progress with concessions. We have made no progress from slavery. We are still slaves in this country. They took the chains off our feet and put it on our minds. (applause) There is no political structure in this country that's relevant to black people. The only politics we can be concerned with is the politics of revolution. (applause) There is no difference between the Democratic and Republican parties. What's the difference between GOLDWATER and JOHNSON? Yet black people run around the country talking about their Democrats and the Democrats have them thoroughly fooled because they tell them "We for the good of colored folks, but it ain't our fault it's the Dixiecrats;" there is no such animal as a Dixiecrat. The only difference between GEORGE WALLACE and President JOHNSON is that one of them's wife has got cancer. Nothing else. (laughter and applause) Two of the most potentially dangerous Negroes in this country are Democrats, HATCHER and STOKES. Now understand this. Their allegiance is not to the black community. It's to the Democratic Party whether by "lynch em" JOHNSON or racist, red neck, _____ honky from Texas. (applause) This is the same game that was run on the Jews in Germany. It was not the Germans who began to move Jews, it was

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other Jews. When JOHNSON tells STOKES to move out the agitators and the trouble makers, what you think he going to do? He's going to move them. When he tells STOKES to move out the trouble makers, he's going to move them. This is why black people must quit dividing themselves and talking about classes. We can ill afford the luxury of class structures in our community. There is no such thing as a black middle class. You don't believe it go to Detroit and ask the brothers who thought they were in the middle class. The cops whip middle class here with middle class sticks. No difference. (applause) If you think that you can divide yourselves into classes then you are lost already, because first of all they got to remove the troublemakers. Then they going to remove the athletes because they talking about boycotting the Olympics. And the entertainers going to sit back say "Well it ain't us", but ERTHA KITT got them so far in even they ain't going to get out of it, (applause) and it becomes a matter of time before they eliminate everybody. The resistance is weakened. Everytime they take off a different stratification of black people we cannot afford for HUEY NEWTON to sit in jail. We cannot afford for any black person to be political prisoners _____ in this country. This is our country. It was built on our backs by our labor. We've built the country up, we'll burn it down if they don't hurry up and come around. (applause) People are running around here scared of black power.

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What you going to do when you need black power. That's the thing you got to be talking about. That's what's going to defend you. We cannot run around and let the white man dictate and tell you who you should follow. The movement at this point seems to be a leaderless movement. We must begin to expouse an ideology that covers everybody in their black community. The brothers know that they are fighting, they have expressed the will to fight, but they only know they are supposed to fight the policeman. You see I saw a sign once that said "I wonder what happened to LEE HARVEY OSWALD now that we really need him?" (laughter) See, you're chumps. You believe the sign. ROCKEFELLER probably put that sign up. (laughter) You see, it's not only JOHNSON. It's not only those people in Washington. ROCKEFELLER has investments in S. Africa. These are the enemies. (applause) You must begin to broaden your concepts. You got to get beyond the racist pig cop, you see, because he is a tool of the man who really controls this system. We not only talking about destroying a power structure, we talking about ruination of a system. (applause) Black people cannot afford to become Capitalists. The military industrial complex that old _____ EISENHOWER even had sense enough to know about is real. It's very real. The military industrial complex means that over 70% of the people employed in this country has some dealings

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

to do with the military. In other words war is profitable in this country. We must fight war to keep the economy up. This is why we are in the war in Vietnam. It's not because we're trying to stop Communist aggression, that's the biggest lie ever told. If we was so interested in stopping Communist aggression why has America never moved to stop Communist aggression in white community countries with the use of napalm? They always use Radio Free Europe _____. (applause) Black people in this country face extermination. That's it, brother. You face extermination daily. We are facing genocide on about four different levels. The war is active genocide. It's no accident that 45% of the casualties in Vietnam are black. That's no accident. The courts of America, any black man who faces a court in America can expect a maximum sentence and a maximum fine.

(Continued Next Page)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Well then you said we were making progress.
Very good MARSHALL is a nigger and JAMES EASTLAND told him he was a nigger. (applause) Herefore good MARSHALL supposedly go on before the high extension of the country, was subjected to a type of hustling by a cracker whose old man was a lynchman of black people. In other words, what EASTLAND was telling IRVIN MARSHALL is that you the top nigger in the country but you still a nigger to me. (applause)

That's not progress. (applause)

They gave you an astronaut. I said they were going to lose the nigger in space, but they didn't let him get that high. (applause)

What you say we makin' progress. That's not progress. Progress is determined by the amount of power you possess in wheels.

See brothers, we must begin to prepare ourselves mentally and physically, for the battle is yet to come -- the battle is not descended down upon black people like it will in the next few years.

The concentration camps are real, and if you don't believe America is capable of sending niggers to concentration camps, or people of color to concentration camps, ask the Japanese American, ask the Indians. (applause)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

They don't need you any more. You are commodity in this country. A surplus. America got a surplus of niggers. (applause)

RAMSEY CLARK, Attorney General, got on T. V. a few months ago and said within the next 20 years, the entire population of this country will be a leisure class, with the exception of 20 percent of that population because of automation and sovereignization. And then you examine to see who they're training for automated and sovereignized jobs. They ain't training you, double ol' soul. (applause) They're training white people.

We were brought here to do work. There is no more work to do. They will exterminate you. Our history proves she is capable of extermination of people of color. She dropped the bomb on Hiroshima and not in Germany and not because she didn't have the bombs, but because the Japanese were yella'. (applause)

You must begin to understand that your fight is a fight of survival. People of color must be concerned. We must become allies. These are our allies: Mexican Americans. Puerto Ricans. American Indians. These are the people who we align with. (applause)

Yes brother, America has given us an ultimatum. She say you live or die. We say freedom or death. Fuck it. Black power, brother. (applause)

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HUBERT GEROLD BROWN

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b7D
Sources [] reported that they had personally observed H. Rap Brown at a rally at the Los Angeles Sports Arena on the afternoon of February 18, 1968, and that he was in the company of Stokely Carmichael and James Forman, who are both associated with the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, a militant black nationalist organization.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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The following documents appearing in FBI files have been reviewed under the provisions of The Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) (Title 5, United States Code, Section 552); Privacy Act of 1974 (PA) (Title 5, United States Code, Section 552a); and/or Litigation.

☐ FOIA/PA☐ Litigation☐ Executive Order Applied

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Subject: _____

Computer or Case Identification Number: _____

Title of Case: _____ Section _____

* File _____

Serials Reviewed: _____

Release Location: *File _____ Section _____

b2

This file section has been scanned into the FOIPA Document Processing System (FDPS) prior to National Security Classification review. Please see the documents located in the FDPS for current classification action, if warranted. Direct inquiries about the FDPS to RIDS Service Request Unit, [REDACTED]

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FBI

Date: 3/18/68

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Transmit the following in PLAINTEXT
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

b7C

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC.; SEDITION
RE WFOTEL MARCH SEVENTEEN LAST.

ml SUBJECT AT RESIDENCE DRIVING AM THIS DATE. LATER
ENTERED SUBJECT'S RESIDENCE CARRYING NUMBER OF PACKAGES. IN AFTER-
NOON SUBJECT AND VISITED UNIDENTIFIED PERSON AT WINDSOR PARK
HOTEL. SUBJECT LATER WENT TO SNCC HDQTS. IN EVENING, SUBJECT ATE
AT THE SOUTHERN DINING ROOM WITH TWO UNIDENTIFIED NEGRO MALES. THEY
LATER VISITED WASHINGTON NATIONAL AIRPORT, APPEARING TO BE SIGHT
SEEING. SUBJECT SUBSEQUENTLY RETURNED TO RESIDENCE.

ADMINISTRATIVE

EFFORTS BEING MADE TO IDENTIFY PERSON VISITED AT WINDSOR PARK
HOTEL.

b2
b7D

ADVISED BLACK UNITED FRONT
MEETING SCHEDULED FOR EVENING OF MARCH NINETEEN NEXT.

3 - Bureau
1 - WFO

CWB:tkm
(4)

b7C

EX 101

REC-38

100-446080-1264
12 MAR 22 1968Approved: *[Signature]*

Special Agent

Sent

M

Per

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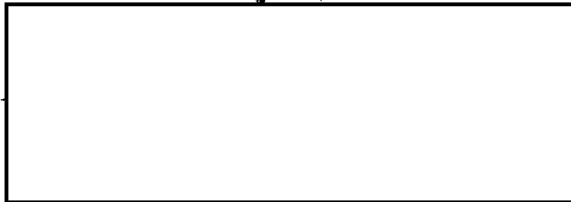
March 19, 1968

REC-105

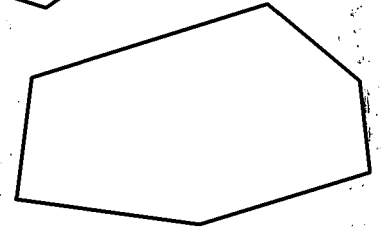
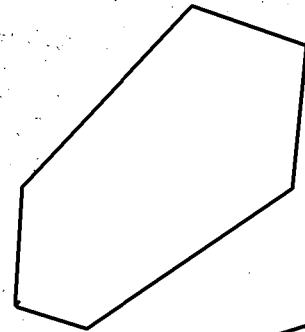
100-446080-1265

b7C

b7C



b7C



b7C

Dear



I have received your letter, with enclosure,
of March 14th. Thank you for bringing this material to
my attention.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

MAILED 9

MAR 19 1968

COMM-FBI

b7C

NOTE: [redacted] is on the Special Correspondents List and [redacted]

Enclosure

refers to speech by Stokely Carmichael on March 12th in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, and mentions a bill introduced by Congressman Armistead Selden providing for up to five years imprisonment or fines of up to \$10,000 for any person who crosses state borders or uses interstate facilities to institute or encourage riots. The Congressman's bill would have a similar fine or 10 years imprisonment against anyone giving aid or comfort to any foreign country or armed group fighting against the United States.

WMG:cae (3)

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Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

55 APR 4 1968

TELETYPE UNIT

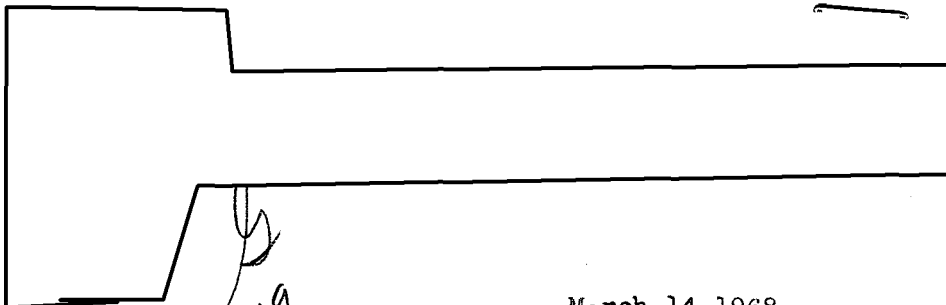
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APR 12 5 40 PM '68
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APR 12 8 56 AM '68

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March 14, 1968

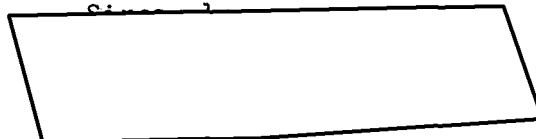
Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
U.S. Department of Justice
Washington, D.C.

Re: Stokley Carmichael

Dear Sir:

Attached hereto is a clipping from the "Tuscaloosa News", page 13, issue of March 13, 1968, for your information.

b7C



REC-105

100-446080-126

ack wmg/car
3-19-68 sel

MAR 23 1968

/ ENCLOSURE

wmg
CORRESPONDENCE

PERS. REC. UNIT

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13	Noted
Mailing List	3/18/68
Change Noted	26

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Stokely Urges Negroes Here to Take Arms

Black Power advocate Stokely Carmichael spoke here last night, said white men are arming themselves to kill Negroes, and urged his "African brothers" to unite, secure guns and revolt.

Referring to Carmichael's presence in Tuscaloosa, Congressman Armistead Selden, candidate for the United States Senate, described him as a national disgrace and a man who openly incites mob action.

Selden spoke at the state convention of the Daughters of the American Revolution at the Stafford Motor Hotel last night and called for the Justice Department to find laws to prosecute and jail Carmichael. Selden said he had introduced legislation in Congress that should be passed if no other laws can be found to do the job.

The Selden bill would provide up to five years imprisonment or fines of up to \$10,000 for any person who crosses state borders or uses interstate facilities to institute or encourage riots. A similar fine of 10 years imprisonment could be meted out against anyone giving aid or comfort to any foreign country or armed group fighting against the United States or U.S. forces.

Speaking before an applauding crowd at Birthright Auditorium at Stillman College, Carmichael made a direct appeal to Negroes who he said had been robbed of a rich culture and heritage in Africa when their ancestors were stolen by white men from there at gunpoint.

H. Rap Brown, Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee chairman, was jailed not because he shot someone or burned a building, he said. Brown was placed in jail because of his political beliefs, Carmichael said.

Sprinkling his talk with several anti-Vietnam phrases, Carmichael boasted of the ease with which he was able to talk with Ho Chi Minh in North Vietnam at a time when American leaders were unable to get him to a conference table.

Newsmen were not allowed to take notes or shoot pictures during the two-hour speech of Carmichael. Several individuals were escorted from the building when they attempted to do so.

The Stillman Student Government Association sponsored

100-446080-1365
ENCLOSURE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

DATE: 3/18/68

FROM : *af* LEGAT, PARIS (100-2683)(P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS;
SEDITION
(OO:AT)

b7C

Remylet, 2/29/68.

b1

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b1

(C)

DATE: 03-31-2006

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03-31-2031

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WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

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- 4 - Bureau (Encl. 7)
 - (1 - Liaison Section)
 - (1 - Atlanta)(Info)
- 1 - Paris

NWP:sch
(5)

*1cc of let + 6 Xerox copies
806 9 & D*

EX-114

REC-66

100-446080

1266

12 MAR 22 1968

b2

b7C

AGENCY: ACSI, ~~ISI~~, OSI, SEC. SERV.,
DEPT: ISD, CRD, ~~ISI~~ *Crim*, IDIU, STATE

HOW FORW: 45
DATE FORW: 4/8/68
BY: PTB/dk

43
1 APR 23 1968

RACIAL INT. SEC.

*1cc of let + 4 Xerox
to WFO, 4/8/68
PTB/dk*

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Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



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FBI

Date: 3/19/68

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Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

b7C

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC; SEDITION
REWFO TEL MARCH ONE EIGHT LAST.

SUBJECT DEPARTED RESIDENCE MID-MORNING OF MARCH ONE/NINE
AND PROCEEDED TO SNCC HQTS. REMAINED AT SNCC UNTIL MID-AFTERNOON
AND THEN VISITED CAMPUS OF HOWARD UNIVERSITY (HU) WHERE STUDENT
SIT-IN IN PROGRESS. LATER RETURNED TO SNCC HQTS. IN EVENING
PROCEEDED TO LINCOLN MEMORIAL CONGREGATIONAL TEMPLE WHERE MEETING
OF BLACK UNITED FRONT (BUF) BEING HELD. A SOURCE ADVISED REGISTRATION
FOR NEW MEMBERS OF BUF WAS HELD FROM SIX PM TO EIGHT PM, FOLLOWING
WHICH A MEETING WAS OPENED BY SUBJECT. APPROXIMATELY ONE HUNDRED
TWENTY PEOPLE PRESENT. THE MAIN TOPIC OF BUSINESS, WAS A PROPOSAL
MADE THAT A BOARD OF ARBITRATORS SETTLE DISPUTES AMONG BLACKS IN
THE BLACK COMMUNITY. FIVE PEOPLE ADDED TO BUF STEERING COMMITTEE.
COLLECTIONS TAKEN UP FOR STUDENTS AT HU AND FOR DEFENSE OF H. RAP
BROWN.

REC-110 100-446080-1267

15 MAR 22 1968

3-Bureau
1-WFO
(4)

AAM;rmj

55 APR 1 1968

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)PAGE TWO
100-43503ADMINISTRATIVE:ABOVE SOURCE ARE [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]b2
b7D

LHM FOLLOWS.

P.

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

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DATE 03-31-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls
FBI

Date: 3/15/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM SAC, PITTSBURGH (100-15615) (RUC)
SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION
(OO: WASHINGTON FIELD)

Re New York airtel to Bureau dated 3/8/68, which set out
that on 12/12/67, [REDACTED]

The current Pittsburgh telephone directory indicates
that telephone [REDACTED] is listed to [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Pa.

[REDACTED]
who accompanied CARMICHAEL on his return from [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] is subject of Bureau file [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] A summary report was submitted by
Pittsburgh concerning [REDACTED] dated 3/12/68, and he has been
recommended for the Rabble Rouser Index.

In view of the fact that the above telephone call
was made [REDACTED] one day after [REDACTED] return from [REDACTED]
with the subject and was made to [REDACTED] mother, no further
investigation is being conducted into this matter by Pittsburgh.

3-Bureau (RM)
2-New York (100-153751)(RM)
2-Washington Field (100-43503) (RM)
2-Pittsburgh
1-100-15245

LMC/alb
(9)

REC-43

1 MAR 18 1968

C. C. Bishop

CC-806 94D

XEROX

MAR 22 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

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Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 3/14/68

Stokely Carmichael, a militant black nationalist, has been speaking at Negro colleges in Alabama.

Information in the attached indicates that he spoke before an all-Negro audience of 300 to 400 persons at a church in Eutaw, Alabama. Source indicated that Carmichael spoke about Vietnam and his talks with Ho Chi Minh in Hanoi, North Vietnam. Concerning the draft, he stated that if Negroes had to fight they should fight here in the United States..

The attached information is being furnished to the White House, Attorney General, and interested agencies, by summary teletype.

RCD:chs

*How WCS
D*

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DATE 03-31-2006 BY

60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

YPE

MAR 14 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson ✓
Mr. DeLoach ✓
Mr. Mohr ✓
Mr. Bishop ✓
Mr. Casper ✓
Mr. Callahan ✓
Mr. Conrad ✓
Mr. Felt ✓
Mr. Gale ✓
Mr. Rosen ✓
Mr. Sullivan ✓
Mr. Tavel ✓
Mr. Trotter ✓
Tele. Room ✓
Miss Holmes ✓
Miss Gandy ✓

3:31 PM URGENT 3-14-68 JGA

TO DIRECTOR MOBILE AND WASHINGTON FIELD
FROM BIRMINGHAM

b7C

INTERNAL SECURITY
STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS - MISCELLANEOUS, SEDITION.

REMYTEL TO DIRECTOR, JACKSON, MOBILE AND WFO, MARCH THIRTEEN,
LAST, BIRMINGHAM TELEPHONE CALL TO MOBILE, MARCH FOURTEEN, LAST.

SUBJECT DETERMINED TO LEAVE BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA, AND TRAVELED
ENROUTE TO EUTAW, ALA., ARRIVING FIRST AFRICAN BAPTIST CHURCH AT
APPROXIMATELY EIGHT ZERO FIVE PM, MARCH THIRTEEN, LAST. LOOSE AND
DISCREET SURVEILLANCE MAINTAINED IN ROUTE.

b7C

[REDACTED] GREENE COUNTY, ALA., ADVISED LOCAL
COUNTY AND STATE OFFICERS ON SCENE AT EUTAW, ALA., AND NO INCIDENTS
REPORTED. [REDACTED] ADVISED MEETING AT CHURCH RESTRICTED TO NEGROES AND TWO
UPI REPORTERS TURNED AWAY.

REC-35

100 - 446080 - 1270

b2
b7D

AFTER SPEECH, [REDACTED] ADVISED MEETING
AT CHURCH ATTENDED BY APPROXIMATELY THREE HUNDRED - FOUR HUNDRED PERSONS,
ALL NEGROES. SOURCE ADVISED SUBJECT SPOKE ABOUT U. S. INVOLVEMENT IN
VIETNAM, HIS (CARMICHAELS) TALKS WITH HO CHI MINH IN HANOI AND THE

TWO COPIES TO WFO

62 MAR 28 1968

W. A. L. 3/15/68

MAR 22 1968
MINH
JUN 12 11 53 AM '68

PAGE TWO FROM BIRMINGHAM

FACT NORTH VIET NAM ^{IS} ~~IN~~ FIGHTING ONLY WHITE AMERICANS NOT THE NEGROES. CARMICHAEL ALSO MENTIONED THE DRAFT AND SAID IF THE NEGROES HAD TO FIGHT THEY SHOULD FIGHT HERE IN THE UNITED STATES. NO SPECIFIC COMMENTS MADE RE DRAFT EVASION. CARMICHAEL ALSO MENTIONED STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE NEGRO AND THE WHITE MAN AND SAID THE NEGRO MUST ARM HIMSELF TO STOP THE WHITE MAN. SOURCE ADVISED MOST OF CARMICHAELS COMMENTS WERE GENERAL IN NATURE.

[REDACTED] BOTH LOCAL NEGROES, CONFIDENTIALLY VERIFIED ABOVE INFORMATION FURNISHED BY SOURCE PLUS ADDITIONAL COMMENTS MADE BY CARMICHAEL RE LOCAL PROBLEMS IN EUTAW, ALA.

b7C
b7D

[REDACTED] ADVISED MEETING ENDED APPROXIMATELY TEN FIFTEEN PM. SUBJECT MADE NO STATEMENT AS TO FUTURE PLANS AND THAT APPROXIMATELY EIGHTYFOUR DOLLARS WAS COLLECTED IN DONATIONS. [REDACTED] ADVISED FURTHER THAT CARMICHAEL INDICATED HE WOULD SPEND NIGHT OF MARCH THIRTEEN, LAST, IN GREENE COUNTY, ALA., AND THEN TRAVEL TO SELMA, ALA., FOR MEETING PLANNED EVENING OF MARCH FOURTEEN, INSTANT.

b2
b7C
b7D

[REDACTED] ADVISED LOCAL AUTHORITIES SELMA, ALA., NOTIFIED, AND CARMICHAEL AND ASSOCIATES TRAVELING IN LATE MODEL YELLOW MUSTANG,

b7C

WUB 1A 5 40 6W 28

WUB 1A 5 40 6W 28

PAGE THREE FROM BIRMINGHAM

NINETEEN SIXTYEIGHT ALA. LICENSE [REDACTED]

b7C

NINETEEN SIXTYSIX VOLKSWAGEN SEDAN, NINETEEN SIXTY EIGHT ALA.

LICENSE [REDACTED] REGISTERED TO

[REDACTED] TUSCALOOSA, ALA., AND A NINETEEN

SIXTYFOUR GREY PLYMOUTH, NINETEEN SIXTYEIGHT ALA. LICENSE [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] REGISTERED TO [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] SELMA, ALA.

DUE TO PRESENCE OF PRESS AND FACT THAT GREENE COUNTY, ALA., IS
A RURAL SPARSELY POPULATED COUNTY WITH PREDOMINATELY NEGRO POPULATION,
SURVEILLANCE WAS DISCONTINUED
NIGHT OF MARCH THIRTEEN, LAST, IN ORDER TO PRECLUDE ANY POSSIBLE
INDICENTS.

BIRMINGHAM WILL CONTINUE TO FOLLOW AND ADVISE.

RECEIVED: 5:06 PM FJB

NOV 11 5 40 PM '68

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-31-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls
FBI

Date: 3/15/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM: SAC, MOBILE (100-1858) (P)
RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS, SEDITION

Re Mobile teletype to Bureau dated 3/15/68.

Enclosed herewith to the Bureau are 11 copies of letterhead memorandum pertaining to CARMICHAEL's appearances in Selma and Montgomery, Ala. on 3/14/68. Four (4) copies of the letterhead memorandum are being forwarded to Atlanta, and two (2) copies of the letterhead memorandum are being forwarded to the designated offices.

SA [redacted] identified [redacted] as he had previously observed [redacted]

The [redacted] confidential source who furnished information in letterhead memorandum [redacted] Montgomery, Ala., a liaison source of the Mobile Office. The [redacted] confidential source who furnished information in letterhead memorandum [redacted] Montgomery, Ala., a liaison source of the Mobile Office.

Dissemination is being made to military intelligence agencies, U. S. Secret Service, and U. S. Attorney, Montgomery, Ala. C. C. - Bishop

- ENCLOSURE REC-43 100-446080-127
- 3 - Bureau (Encs. 11) (RM)
 - 4 - Atlanta (100-6812) (RM) (Encs. 4)
 - 2 - Birmingham (Encs. 2) (RM)
 - 2 - New York (100-153751) (Encs. 2) (RM)
 - 2 - WFO (100-43503) (Encs. 2) (RM)
 - 8 - Mobile (2 - 100-1858) (1 - 100-1693, SNCC) RACIAL INT. SECT.

JRC:jes
(21)

b7C

(1 - [redacted])
(1 - [redacted])
(1 - [redacted])

Approved: 55 MAR 21 1968
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

March 15, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Director
United States Secret Service
Department of the Treasury
Washington, D. C. 20220

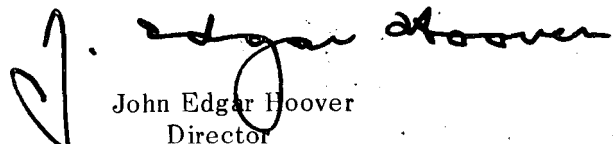
Dear Sir:

The information furnished herewith concerns an individual who is believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning Presidential protection, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

1. ☐ Has attempted or threatened bodily harm to any government official or employee, including foreign government officials residing in or planning an imminent visit to the U. S., because of his official status.
2. ☐ Has attempted or threatened to redress a grievance against any public official by other than legal means.
3. ☐ Because of background is potentially dangerous; or has been identified as member or participant in communist movement; or has been under active investigation as member of other group or organization inimical to U. S.
4. ☐ U. S. citizens or residents who defect from the U. S. to countries in the Soviet or Chinese Communist blocs and return.
5. ☒ Subversives, ultrarightists, racists and fascists who meet one or more of the following criteria:
 - (a) ☐ Evidence of emotional instability (including unstable residence and employment record) or irrational or suicidal behavior;
 - (b) ☐ Expressions of strong or violent anti-U. S. sentiment;
 - (c) ☒ Prior acts (including arrests or convictions) or conduct or statements indicating a propensity for violence and antipathy toward good order and government.
6. ☐ Individuals involved in illegal bombing or illegal bomb-making.

Photograph ☐ has been furnished ☐ enclosed ☐ is not available
☐ may be available through _____

Very truly yours,


John Edgar Hoover
Director

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s) 1
U. S. Secret Service, **Birmingham, Alabama.**

Enclosure(s) 1

(Upon removal of classified enclosures, if any, this transmittal form
becomes UNCLASSIFIED.)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-31-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Mobile, Alabama
March 15, 1968

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

b7C

On March 14, 1968, [redacted] Alabama State Department Of Public Safety, Selma, Alabama, advised that at 10:50 A.M., Central Standard Time, March 14, 1968, STOKELY CARMICHAEL arrived in Selma, Alabama, and his itinerary is unknown.

CARMICHAEL was observed at 11:15 A.M., March 14, 1968, in the downtown area of Selma, Alabama, accompanied by [redacted] previously reported as [redacted] of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), and three other unidentified young Negro males.

b7C

Established sources, which included law enforcement agencies and racial sources, stated that CARMICHAEL did not have any speaking engagement at Selma, Alabama.

CARMICHAEL departed Selma, Alabama at approximately 11:30 A.M., Central Standard Time, March 14, 1968.

During the course of the afternoon of March 14, 1968, CARMICHAEL and his associates were in the vicinity of the Whitehall Community in Lowndes County, Alabama. They were at a residence usually used by representatives of the SNCC when in Lowndes County, Alabama.

A confidential source, with whom contact has not been sufficient to establish his reliability, made available a throwaway pamphlet, which reflected that STOKELY CARMICHAEL would speak at the Beulah Baptist Church in Montgomery, Alabama at 8:00 P.M., Central Standard Time, on March 14, 1968. A [redacted] confidential source, with whom contact has not been sufficient

b2
b7D

COPIES DESTROYED
343 MAR 18 1971

100-446080-1271
ENCLOSURE

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

to establish his reliability, verified this information, but stated the minister of the church involved had retracted the invitation to CARMICHAEL to speak at the church. He stated, however, if the church could not be used, CARMICHAEL would make an address on the churchgrounds.

CARMICHAEL arrived at the Beulah Baptist Church in Montgomery, Alabama between 8:00 and 8:15 P.M., Central Standard Time, March 14, 1968, accompanied by four other Negro males at the time church services were just ending, and there were some 50 Negroes on the churchgrounds at the time of CARMICHAEL's arrival. Most of them appeared to be students from Alabama State College, Montgomery, Alabama. CARMICHAEL briefly addressed the group. He made but a few remarks, such as telling the girls that "No one should tell you that black is not beautiful" and "Whitey, the FBI, followed me from Tuscaloosa, Alabama, and, because I was followed, I will have to change my plans in the future".

During this time, an unidentified associate of CARMICHAEL addressed the group, complaining about the fact that CARMICHAEL was denied the privilege of the facilities of the Alabama State College, an all-Negro school at Montgomery, Alabama.

b7C Shortly thereafter, CARMICHAEL came out of the church and had a [] meeting with approximately [] individuals. The meeting was of a short duration.

b7C CARMICHAEL and [] departed Montgomery, Alabama via Delta Air Lines Flight Number 356 for Atlanta, Georgia, leaving Montgomery at 12:00 P.M., Central Standard Time, March 14, 1968, arriving in Atlanta, Georgia at 10:46 P.M., Central Standard Time, March 14, 1968.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-31-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

Federal Bureau of Investigation

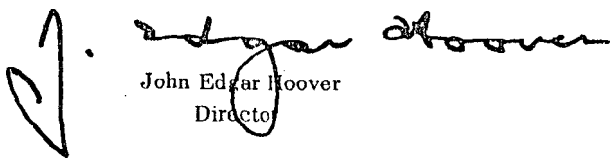
MAR 22 1968

Director of Special Investigations
The Inspector General
Department of the Air Force
Building Tempo E
4th and Adams Drive, S. W.
Washington, D. C. 20333

Dear Sir:

- ☒ 1. For your information, I am enclosing communications which may be of interest to you.
- ☐ 2. No further investigation is contemplated with regard to this matter.
- ☐ 3. You will be advised of the pertinent developments in connection with this inquiry.
- ☐ 4. Please note change in caption of this case.
- ☐ 5. Status of case: ☐ Completed ☐ Incomplete

Very truly yours,


John Edgar Hoover
Director

Enc.

(Upon removal of classified enclosures, if any,
this transmittal form becomes UNCLASSIFIED.)

From
Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
To

MAR 22 1968

- ☐ The Solicitor General
☐ Deputy Attorney General
☐ Assistant Attorney General

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-31-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

- ☐ Director, Bureau of Prisons
☐ The Pardon Attorney
☐ Chairman, Parole Board
☐ Assistant Attorney General for Administration
☐ Immigration and Naturalization Service
☐ Office of Alien Property
☐ Chief - Accounts Branch
☐ Chief - Administrative Services Office
☐ Chief of Personnel
☐ General Litigation Section, Civil Division

XX Records Administration Office

- Attention: ☐ Antitrust Division
☐ Civil Division
☐ Civil Rights Division
☐ Criminal Division
XX Internal Security Division

- ☐ A. No further action will be taken in this case in the absence of a specific request from you.
- ☐ B. Please advise what further investigation, if any, is desired in this matter.
- ☐ C. For your information, I am enclosing a communication regarding the holder of a diplomatic or international organization visa.
- ☒ D. For your information.
- ☐ E. Please note change in caption of this case.

1 - CRD1 - INTER-DIVISION INFORMATION UNIT

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Enc.

(Upon removal of classified enclosures, if any, this transmittal form becomes UNCLASSIFIED.)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-31-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

Federal Bureau of Investigation

MAR 22 1968

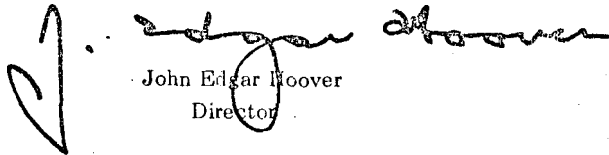
Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence
Department of the Army
The Pentagon
Washington, D.C. 20310

ATTENTION: Director of Security

Dear Sir:

- ☒ 1. For your information, I am enclosing communications which may be of interest to you.
- ☐ 2. No further investigation is contemplated with regard to this matter.
- ☐ 3. You will be advised of the pertinent developments in connection with this inquiry.
- ☐ 4. Please note change in caption of this case.
- ☐ 5. Status of case: ☐ Completed ☐ Incomplete

Very truly yours,


John Edgar Hoover
Director

Enc.

(Upon removal of classified enclosures, if any,
this transmittal form becomes UNCLASSIFIED.)

From
Director

Federal Bureau of Investigation MAR 21 1968

To

- ☐ The Solicitor General
☐ Deputy Attorney General
☐ Assistant Attorney General

☐ Director, Bureau of Prisons
☐ The Pardon Attorney
☐ Chairman, Parole Board
☐ Assistant Attorney General for Administration
☐ Immigration and Naturalization Service
☐ Office of Alien Property
☐ Chief - Accounts Branch
☐ Chief - Administrative Services Office
☐ Chief of Personnel
☐ General Litigation Section, Civil Division
☒ Records Administration Office

Attention: ☐ Antitrust Division
☐ Civil Division
☒ Civil Rights Division
☐ Criminal Division
☐ Internal Security Division

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 03-31-2006 BY
 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

- ☐ A. No further action will be taken in this case in the absence of a specific request from you.
- ☐ B. Please advise what further investigation, if any, is desired in this matter.
- ☐ C. For your information, I am enclosing a communication regarding the holder of a diplomatic or international organization visa.
- ☒ D. For your information.
- ☐ E. Please note change in caption of this case.

1 - ISD

1 - INTER-DIVISION INFORMATION UNIT

John Edgar Hoover
 Director

Enc. (Upon removal of classified enclosures, if any, this transmittal form becomes UNCLASSIFIED.)

From
Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
To

MAR 21 1968

- ☐ The Solicitor General
☐ Deputy Attorney General
☐ Assistant Attorney General
☐ Director, Bureau of Prisons
☐ The Pardon Attorney
☐ Chairman, Parole Board
☐ Assistant Attorney General for Administration
☐ Immigration and Naturalization Service
☐ Office of Alien Property
☐ Chief - Accounts Branch
☐ Chief - Administrative Services Office
☐ Chief of Personnel
☐ General Litigation Section, Civil Division

XX Records Administration Office

- Attention: ☐ Antitrust Division
☐ Civil Division
☐ Civil Rights Division
☐ Criminal Division
☐ Internal Security Division

XX INTER-DIVISION INFORMATION UNIT

- ☐ A. No further action will be taken in this case in the absence of a specific request from you.
- ☐ B. Please advise what further investigation, if any, is desired in this matter.
- ☐ C. For your information, I am enclosing a communication regarding the holder of a diplomatic or international organization visa.
- XX** D. For your information.
- ☐ E. Please note change in caption of this case.

1 - ISD1 - CRD

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Enc.

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-31-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

/68

Mr. Tolson.....
Mr. DeLoach.....
Mr. Mohr.....
Mr. Bishop.....
Mr. Casper.....
Mr. Callahan.....
Mr. Conrad.....
Mr. Felt.....
Mr. Gale.....
Mr. Rosen.....
Mr. Sullivan.....
Mr. Tavel.....
Mr. Trotter.....
Tele. Room.....
Miss Holmes.....
Miss Gandy.....

AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISC; SEDITION
(OO:WFO)

b7C

ReWFOairtel to Bureau 2/29/68, with LHM setting forth
summary of subject's activities for 2/14-15/68.

b7C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 11 copies of a
LHM suitable for dissemination setting forth a summary of sub-
ject's activities from 2/28/68 to 3/10/68. Two copies each
are furnished the offices listed in the copy count for infor-
mation.

b7C

It is noted subject departed Washington, D. C., on
2/15/68, for SF and returned to Washington, D. C., on 2/28/68.
He departed Washington, D. C., on 3/10/68 reportedly en route
to areas of Atlanta, Birmingham, Mobile and New Orleans.

The information contained in the LHM was developed
by physical surveillance and sources available to WFO.

b7C

Local dissemination made to Secret Service, AUSA
and military intelligence agencies.

ENCLOSURE

- 3-Bureau (Encs. 11)
- 2-Atlanta (100-6812) (Encs. 2) (RM)
- 2-Birmingham (157-2546) (Encs. 2) (RM)
- 2-Mobile (100-1858) (Encs. 2) (RM)
- 2-New Orleans (100-16568) (Encs. 2) (RM)
- 1-WFO

WWH:cjb
(12)

AIRTEL

C. C. Bishop
54 MAR 2 1968

REC 69

100-446080-13

12 MAR 22 1968

AGENCY: ACSI, NIC, OSI, SEC. SERV.
DEPT: ISD, CRD, ID

HOW FORM: R/S
DATE FORM: 3/19/68
BY: PTB/mt

1cc Airtel + LHM
806 98D

WFO 100-43503

All receiving offices submit promptly LHM suitable for dissemination containing summary of subject's activities while on visits to those areas followed by reports containing any evidentiary data developed.



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-31-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C. 20535
March 12, 1968

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

The following pertinent activities of Stokely Carmichael from February 28 to March 10, 1968, are set forth as follows:

b7C
Man
On Wednesday, February 28, 1968, Stokely Carmichael, traveling under the name A. Kuttati, arrived at Dulles Airport, Washington, D. C. (WDC), via Delta Airlines Flight Number 106 at 6:24 p.m. from Atlanta, Georgia. He was accompanied by one [redacted] Vo. They were met by [redacted] and went to National Airport, WDC, where [redacted] boarded Eastern Airlines Flight Number 646 for Boston, scheduled to depart at 7:35 p.m. After the departure, Carmichael and [redacted] traveled to the headquarters of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), 1234 U Street, N. W., WDC. Carmichael later went to his residence, 2200 12th Street, N. W., WDC. Subsequently he returned to SNCC Headquarters and later attended a movie at a local theater.

On Thursday, February 29, 1968, Carmichael spent the day at his residence and SNCC Headquarters. In the evening, he visited briefly the New School for Afro-American Thought, 2208 14th Street, N. W., WDC, with a female companion, where a social appeared to be in progress. Later than evening, they visited a night club.

On Friday, March 1, 1968, Carmichael departed his residence and went to SNCC Headquarters. In the evening he left SNCC Headquarters and went to the residence of [redacted] [redacted] WDC, accompanied by six other individuals. b7C

100-446080 - 1272
ENCLOSURE

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

A source advised a SNCC fund raising party was held that evening at the [] residence with Carmichael being the guest of honor. b7C

On Saturday, March 2, 1968, Carmichael went to SNCC Headquarters where he remained into the afternoon. Later he went to the office of [] WDC. Subsequently he returned to SNCC Headquarters. In the evening he visited the newly established headquarters of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), 1401 U Street, N. W., WDC, headed by Dr. Martin Luther King, sponsor of the Washington Spring Project. b7C

On Sunday, March 3, 1968, Carmichael attended religious services at the New Bethel Baptist Church, WDC, [] He later went to Eddie Murphy's Supper Club, 2227 Georgia Avenue, N. W., WDC. Subsequently that afternoon he went to the residence of [] WDC, where a social was being held. b7C

A source advised a fund raising social for SNCC was held at the residence of [] mentioned above, during the afternoon and evening of March 3, 1968, and that [] was the guest of honor. After attending the above party, Carmichael went to [] held at [] WDC. b7C

On Monday, March 4, 1968, Carmichael returned to his residence late in the afternoon. Later he went to SNCC Headquarters.

A source advised that on the evening of March 4, 1968, Carmichael was scheduled to attend a meeting of the Board of Conveeners of the Black United Front (BUF). He went to the address where it was to be held, however, due to an apparent mix up in dates only a few members in addition to Carmichael appeared. For this reason the meeting was cancelled and re-scheduled for the evening of March 7, 1968, to be held at the Lincoln Memorial Congregational Temple, WDC.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Stokely Carmichael + Co. and SNCC
On Tuesday, March 5, 1968, a source advised that a SNCC meeting was held that date at the apartment of Stokely Carmichael. The source stated it appeared that friction had developed and a split between Carmichael and [redacted] of the WDC Office of SNCC, was evident. Carmichael confronted [redacted]
[redacted]

[redacted] According to the source, it appeared that some SNCC workers seemed to be lined up against [redacted] in an effort to remove him [redacted]. The meeting was punctuated by arguments concerning the lack of efficient operation of the SNCC office. [redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]

b7C

Later that date Stokely Carmichael went to SNCC Headquarters. In the evening he returned to his residence.

On Wednesday, March 6, 1968, a source advised that another meeting of SNCC office workers was held that date at Carmichael's residence. At this meeting it was decided to make a press release containing excerpts from writings of H. Rap Brown since his confinement to jail. It was also decided to release a statement to the press concerning Dr. Martin Luther King's Washington Spring Project pointing out that SNCC had a program in WDC before King's project was contemplated and that SNCC would continue to implement this program after his departure. According to source the release would state in effect the press in WDC has used SNCC as a "whipping boy" claiming SNCC might cause violence, whereas the real problem in the city is over-reaction by the police to situations arising in the ghetto areas. Source advised the release would emphasize that the biggest problem connected with the proposed march of Dr. King will in all probability be the reaction of the police rather than any unlawful behavior on the part of SNCC members.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

In the afternoon Carmichael went to SNCC Headquarters where he remained into the evening hours.

On Thursday, March 7, 1968, Carmichael departed his residence and went to SNCC Headquarters. In the early afternoon he visited the office of the SCLC, Washington Spring Project, 1401 U Street, N. W., WDC. He subsequently returned to SNCC Headquarters, 1234 U Street, N. W., WDC. In the evening Carmichael went to the Lincoln Memorial Congregational Temple, 11th and R Street, N. W., WDC.

A source advised that a meeting of the BUF, Board of Conveeners, was held at the Lincoln Memorial Congregational Temple, WDC, on the evening of March 7, 1968. Stokely Carmichael was in attendance. The meeting centered around three main issues: membership, organizational procedure and meeting places. Regarding membership, the discussion primarily concerned whether a membership fee should be charged. It was decided over Carmichael's objection that an organization should pay \$10 and a fee of \$1 or \$2 should be charged for individuals. Carmichael felt an organization should not have to pay a fee. Regarding the discussion on organizational procedures no decisions were made. This discussion was concerned with whether the BUF is actually an organization type of a group or whether or not it is a mass movement. Concerning organizational meetings to be held in the future it was decided that additional space would be needed. It was agreed that the next meeting would be held at the Lincoln Memorial Congregational Temple, WDC, rather than at the New School for Afro-American Thought. The next organizational meeting of the BUF was scheduled for March 19, 1968.

A source further advised that a SNCC meeting was held in another portion of the Lincoln Memorial Congregational Temple following the above mentioned meeting of the Board of Conveeners of the BUF. The purpose of the SNCC meeting was to express sympathy for the three Negro students killed recently during a racial incident at Orangeburg, South Carolina.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Cleveland Sellers, a SNCC representative who had been present in Orangeburg during the incident, addressed the meeting. He discussed the recent racial developments in Orangeburg and gave his view of what had taken place causing the death of three students. Sellers urged the audience to support and show sympathy for the persons who had been arrested in connection with racial problems such as Leroy Jones and H. Rap Brown. He maintained they had been jailed for fighting for the rights of black people.

On Friday, March 8, 1968, Carmichael visited the campus of Howard University, WDC, in the afternoon where he listened to a speech by Cleveland Sellers mentioned previously. Sellers spoke of the events which took place at the recent racial incident at South Carolina State College in Orangeburg. Subsequently Carmichael went to National Airport, WDC, where he saw [redacted] off on a flight to Binghamton, New York. b7C

On Saturday, March 9, 1968, Carmichael went to National Airport, WDC, where he inquired about travel arrangements to Montgomery, Alabama. In the afternoon he visited SNCC Headquarters prior to returning to his residence.

On Sunday, March 10, 1968, Carmichael accompanied by an individual believed to be [redacted] departed WDC at National Airport 8:50 a.m. via Eastern Airlines Flight Number 135 en route to Montgomery, Alabama. Carmichael traveled under name V. Walcher and his companion used the name [redacted] b7C

This document contains neither
recommendations nor conclusions of
the FBI. It is the property of
the FBI and is loaned to your agency;
it and its contents are not to be
distributed outside your agency.

52/58

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-31-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

Date: 3/18/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM: SAC, DALLAS (157-760) (RUC)
SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISC; SEDITION
OO: WFO

Re New York airtel to Bureau dated 3/8/68.

[REDACTED]
(Protect Identity). Dallas, Texas, on 3/11/68,
advised SA [REDACTED] that telephone number
351-9155 was listed to a public pay station at
Dallas Love Field in the south lobby of that
air terminal.

b7C
b7D

Due to this information, no further
investigation is being conducted by the Dallas
Office in this matter.

REC 69

100-446080-1273

13 MAR 19 1968

- 3 - Bureau (RM)
 - 2 - WFO (100-43503) (RM)
 - 2 - New York (100-153751) (RM)
 - 1 - Dallas
- GLG:jmh
(8)

RACIAL MA SECT

b7C

Bishop

CC 806 940

MAR 29 1968

Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-31-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

FBI

Date: 3/14/68

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

AIRMAIL

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Bishop	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (100-6812) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, aka
IS - SNCC; SEDITION

b7C

Remytel dated 2/28/68, concerning a speech given
by subject at Morehouse College on 2/28/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau, and for WFO two copies,
are six copies of an LHM containing verbatim transcript
of speech which was given by CARMICHAEL. The source
referred to in the LHM is identified as [redacted]

[redacted] the Atlanta Police Department, who had one
[redacted] secure a copy of this tape through a
very highly confidential source from [redacted]
which station had taped CARMICHAEL's speech.

b7C

b7D

The source of the transcript is concealed as [redacted]
[redacted] advised that it had been extremely difficult
for the Atlanta Police Department to establish a source
at this station, and in the event any items that are
traced back as being connected with the source will
undoubtedly adversely effect their investigations in
this particular area.

For this reason, this tape and its source is
not available for testimony as to the tape authenticity
or as to the speaker being STOKELY CARMICHAEL.

3-Bureau (Enc. 6) (RM)
2-WFO (100-43503) (Enc. 2) (RM)
2-Atlanta
EUC:bjc

54 MAR 29 1968

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

MAR 16 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.

HOW FORM: 3/1/68
DATE FORM: 3/1/68
BY: [redacted]

b2

b7C

b7D

AGENCY: ACISI, NIC, OSI, SEC. SERV.,
DEPT. OF JUSTICE, FBI, [redacted]

REC 69

69

100-446080-1274

DIA



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Atlanta, Georgia
March 14, 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-31-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING
COMMITTEE (SNCC)
SEDITION

On February 28, 1968, a source, who is in a position to furnish reliable information, advised that Stokely Carmichael was in Atlanta, Georgia, on that date and beginning at approximately 2:30 p.m., gave a speech before approximately 2,000 students in the gymnasium located on the campus of Morehouse College in Atlanta.

This source furnished a tape recording of this speech, a transcript of which is as follows:

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ENCLOSURE

100-446080 - 1274

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

"Good afternoon. I want to talk about a couple of things today and then we want to end by talking about Brother Rap Brown on the importance of the situation today for black people in the country. Now we started off at the McFall(phonetic) Chapel talking about where black people are in this country today, and it is crystal clear that we have to begin to talk about our survival and nothing else, just how we will survive because it is crystal clear that the hunkies are getting ready to wipe out everybody whether you are Bourgoise(phonetic), whether you are militants, whether you are revolutionary, whether you are college students, whether you Delta(phonetic), whether you this or whether you that. If you black you go vote.

"Now then, we want to talk about survival on three levels, but first we have to try and repeat what we said earlier about understanding the ingrained superiority of white people around the world where they are subconscious of their own superior attitude and subconscious of their own racism. Now we began by explaining the moods of the white Western World against the Colored World. They first began to expand in this country and in order to establish a country, they wiped out the Indians. They committed genocide against that race. They then moved to South America. They did the same thing to the Aztec Indians. They came to our motherland, Africa, and they stole us, they steal our gold, they steal our copper, they steal our uranium, they steal our cocoa. Today they still plunder and steal everything from our motherland. They went to Asia and they did the exact same thing in Asia. Wherever this white man has gone, he has felt the people who were not his color are supposed to serve him. It is time for us to tell him that junk is over.

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"Now then, we have to develop three very important concepts as we move to organize our people today, and the first is very important. It is an undying love for our people, and we have to develop that concept more and more and understand what it means because we have our people turning against each other, fighting each other, destroying each other, only because of the system under which we live. An undying love for our people will begin to recognize that we can forgive the individuals who are black inside our community who commit crimes against us if we understand the system that aroused them to do those things. For example, I find a lot of people who say they are organizing but they don't want to organize prostitutes, or pimps, hustlers or ex-convicts, and there are approaches to take these people as individuals, to try to get a dope addict to stop using dope, But that's absolutely nonsensical. If you get a dope addict to stop using dope and you do not remove the pressures that caused him to use dope, it's really inevitable that he is going to go back to using dope anyhow. So there is no need to approach that individual. We have to approach the system that makes them use dope, that make our women become prostitutes, that make our men become pimps, that make everybody in this society become a hustler for each other to live. An understanding of the system will mean that we will be able to forgive our own people who are caught up in the system. There is one other thing I think we ought to understand about the hustlers and the ex-convicts. They are the most courageous people in our community without a doubt. In this society if you are black you make it two ways. Either you get an education, which is by definition a compromise of our manhood or dignity, or you go out with a gun and you face

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the man. The hustlers and the pimps face the guns. They face the man every day by themselves, single handedly. When they go out to hold up a store, rubbing the (unintelligible) hands up against the wall and (unintelligible) stick up enough taking it all, but they do that individually. They do that individually, where we have to understand this where we can collect all of the hustlers, all of the pimps, all of the ex-cons, everybody with a gun go (unintelligible) and that we want the government. That means that we could organize the people so they do not confront hunkies one at a time, where we confront them together, and we must move to a confrontation of this system, we must understand that in defense of ours one does not change the status quo. One just stays alive within the status quo. If you want to change the status quo, you got to move against it. Defense of ours does not change the status quo, it just protects your life. So it's very important, the undying love for our people. The first concept, then, is first our people, then and only then, meaning you.

"Following that comes the second issue that every Negro is a potential black man and that must be understood because too many of our black masters are alienating a majority of our people who they feel are not black enough. And we have to understand that it is our job to take time out with those who are still Negroes and make them black then, because if we believe the fight is going to be against the entire community, that every Negro is a potential ally and we never alienate our potential allies. Nobody who is fixing to have a confrontation ever alienates their potential allies. We must understand that concept and we must work at it consciously. Every Negro is a potential black

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man. Let's work with our people and bring them home. That is our desire and this is very important. (Applause)

"Now then, the third concept, which is a little bit more difficult to deal with, but which is fundamental to our movement is very simple. For black people, the question of community is not the question of geography, it is a question of color. I want to repeat that so we can expand on it. For black people, the question of community is not the question of geography, it is the question of color, it is simply wherever our people are, wherever our people are, we are at home because we do the same things, if it's in Watts, if you are in Los Angeles, you want to be with your people. You go to Watts, you feel at home. South side Chicago, Detroit, in Atlanta, Georgia, the Hunter Street District, it used to be on the bottom but they just renovated the place moving South. In San Francisco, it's the Filmore (phonetic) District, wherever you go, when we want to be in a community, we go where our people are. We must begin to understand that, because if we understand that concept then we understand that we are part and partial the same people. So that whatever happens in any one area effects us and if we really understand that, then we break down national geography and we recognize that there are now 100 million occupants in the world today and we are part of them, but we have to break down that concept. We have to. (Applause)

"And the only way we can conscientiously break down that concept is to stop talking this nonsense about America. We talk about our people, black people, Africans, that is all that is important to

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us. This country is nothing, this country never has been, this country never will be, and unless we come to that realization, we are going to be lost. But it is very important for us to view that concept in international relationships. There are 900 million Africans in the world today. Chairman Mao Tse Tung talks about 750 million Chinese, we have 900 million Africans in the world today. From South Africa to Novia Scotia, we have been scattered by the white man and he saw fit, not that we saw fit. We do not know who we are, where we came from, who our sisters are, who our brothers are. We know absolutely nothing about our peers, the flesh of our blood, and the (unintelligible) and unless we come to that realization we are going to be lost. The white man scattered us in the West Indies, he scattered us to Cuba, he scattered us in Brazil, in Panama, in Guatamala, in Santo Domingo, in Mexico, United States, and Canada. Wherever he wanted to be he scattered us and he put thousands of miles of water between us, but we have to tell them that blood is thicker than water. (Applause) If we begin to understand that concept then we will not allow them to divide us from our brothers in Africa. When you see an African student here on your campus who comes from Africa, the only reason he is here now is because of the Mayflower mission. That's the only reason. The only reason. (Applause) So that makes him no different than us, the only difference is that we were caught and his parents were not. For all we know he might be our brother because our parents might have been the brother they swapped, and he is the one that they left. We cannot allow them to divide us, they have decided to conquer us on power, they are afraid of blackness. They have tried to make us afraid of blackness. We must get

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up and tell them we are being black. It is the most beautiful thing in the world. (Applause)

"Now then, we have to begin talking about organizing techniques and all the programs that the hunkies run down that will save us and we must understand them very clearly. The first thing is that all of them are saying now today that Black Power represents the vote, and we find a lot of our people jumping up and saying Black Power is the vote. We ought to recognize as the people that the vote is now and always has been irrelevant to the survival of black people. Is now and always has been irrelevant to the survival of black people. We survived in Mississippi, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, Texas, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, before they passed their jive voting rights act in 1965. We survived without it, we are surviving without it today and we are not voting in large numbers. When they took Julian Bond from his seat he was out of his seat for a year and one-half, we survived right here in this district without Julian Bond. They take Adam Clayton Powell, we are surviving without Adam Clayton Powell. We must recognize the vote is nothing but a trick beg by the white man. It is absolutely nothing, because they have the power to renew everybody we possess that is not ours, that is not ours. (Applause) And until we conscientiously begin to deal with it, we will be caught with everybody running around voting for somebody and when that person gets in there, if he is the slightest bit black, they will kick him out. And they can do it to everybody in the dark people elect in this country. Including the Stokes, the Clevelands, if they ever try to get a little bit black all they have to do is find a commissioner, find him guilty of fraud, kick

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him out of office, and we are going to stand there voting. The vote is irrelevant to black people. (Applause) Unless you have real power to back up the people you put in power, you have no power. Mao Tse Tung says political power goes out of the barrel of the gun. He is correct. (Applause) And we must begin to understand that's not it, because none of us here can do anything about Adam Clayton Powell if they took out Stokes and Hatchet (phonetic), we could do absolutely nothing.

"If we use the vote today it must be used only as an organizing tool for our people, for bringing us together, not as a solution to our problems. It will not solve any of our problems, only as an organizing tool to bring our people together do we use the vote. And as far as the 1968 election is concerned, we should forecast the whole damn thing. (Applause)

"now then, we have to move to the next thing, which is the poverty program. (Laughter) We must understand the poverty program and its concepts. The poverty program is the most sinister program the hunkies could have developed. It does two things. It strips the community and strips our families. Let us examine the poverty program. We need not, we all know what it does in the community, they organize this group, they organize that group, they organize about four groups and then they say they can only fund one group. And then these groups get to fight each other for the crumbs, for the bones. If these groups had any kind of sense, they would stop fighting for the bones, get together, and we could all get the meat, which belongs to us.

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But the poverty program is a clearance to visit our neighbors in the black community. No one can deny that. Watts, which was the first community to be funded by their jive poverty program system, is now completely divided. The black people voting white instead of for black people for a couple of hundred thousand dollars, and the white man sits back there laughing at all of us fighting each other. We must understand the poverty program in its correct prospective.

"Now, the way it divides the family, and this is important. At any rate, the most distinctive revolutionary people are the youth, that is a fact. In our race, the most revolutionary, vindictive revolutionary people are our youths. They will fight at the drop of a hat. They will do anything. The youths will fight at the drop of a hat. The poverty program is paid to stop the (unintelligible). It is right for our youths to get \$50 to \$75 to \$150 a week for doing absolutely nothing but stopping the rebellion. That is all. But look what it brought to the fathers. Now the modern man preaches all this junk about the Negro father (unintelligible), but he talks about the need for bringing family together, you know he takes \$150 and gives it to a youth, a young man 18 or 19. This young man 18 or 19 (unintelligible) at \$150 a week and our fathers have to sit there and look at our children become the breadwinners of our family. If they cared about our families, they would give the money to our fathers, who must be the breadwinners in our structure. Must be the breadwinners. (Applause)

"It is because the poverty program is used once again as the division element of our community that

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we are caught up in it. If we use the poverty program today it must be used only to organize and bring our people together. Nothing else. If a man is making \$2400 a year, \$24,000 a year, on the poverty program, he should live on \$10,000 and use \$14,000 to buy guns. (Applause) I'm not saying we going to use the guns, but I said just in case he decided to come down on us, it would be good if we had them. (Laughter) Now if you had the stuff and they came down then we could meet them two for two and life for life. Won't be notrouble, cause if they come with the guns, we ought to know we are going, and since we are going, let us take a couple with us. And this must be preached to our people and don't tell me black people are frail because we are not afraid of guns. All our hustlers and pimps carry guns every day. (Laughter) All of you young men as soon as you get out of college, you will be carrying a gun in Viet Nam unless you have got the guts to die for your own principals and not his. (Applause)

"We are not now nor have we ever been afraid of a gun, the trouble is that we have been using the gun to (unintelligible) this country against our people. We have been using the gun for the white man but individually not selectively for our people today. If we are going to use the gun, it ought to be used for the benefit of the masses of our people. We are going to have to get a gun.

"Now then we want to talk about education. Last year when we spoke we talked about Franz (unintelligible) when he said that education is nothing but the re-establishment and re-enforcing of values and institutions of a given society. That is a fact. That is a fact. That's all education is. All you

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you get in education is an ideology and a few technical skills, but the real messing up of the minds of our people, the ideology -- you know when you used to have reading comprehension tests. We had to memorize and answer back and see what range you were. I'll give you a little story about George Washington, a beautiful man who never lied, always told the truth, cut down the cherry tree and he came in and told his father and for that he became president of the United States. You had to remember it and you had to remember and jot down the answer. All they were doing was white washing us. That's all they were doing. And we thought we were trying to improve our reading skills. We were reading about George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, United States presidents. (Applause). And what we have begun to understand today, and must be clear about it, is that we need an ideology in this country that speaks for the benefit of black people. That means we must cut across the values system of this country. This country preaches the value system of the individual, the individual, that's the Horatio Alger nonsense that you read when you are in kindergarden. That if you are strong, if you are brave, if you are trustworthy, if you work hard, if you sweat, then by God, you'll make it if you believe in motherhood and the United States. But that is not true. It is not true, and we ought to know it as black people. It is not true. We need a new value system. First our people, then and only then, the individual. First our people, then and only then, the individual. If we could begin to get that ideology across then we could send any one of our children to Harvard and when they got through with their technical skills, they would come back and give it to their people. (Applause)

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"First our people. In order to do that it means we must look and examine the schools in our community. An education is supposed to fit you to live into your community, to prepare you to live in your community. Let us examine our communities. Let us examine the big cities, and since we are in the South, the rural South. In the big cities. I live in Washington, D. C. I live at 14th and U. It is the hippies neighborhood north. I get home every morning about 3:00 or 4:00, when I pass there are five prostitutes, sometimes four, if one got lucky, there are pimps, there are hustlers, there are gangsters, there are racketeers, there are young teenage gangs, there are numbers men, there are runners, there are hookers, there are teachers, there are hippies, there are maids, there are porters, there are preachers, there are ditchdigger, and there are some factory workers. Our schools, if we sent our youth to them, should prepare our children how to be good prostitutes, good pimps, good maids (Laughter) -- You may laugh but it is a fact. If you are going to live in your community, then you need to know how to be a good pimp, a good prostitute, a good hustler, a good preacher, good teacher, good porter, good maid, good ditchdigger, good factory worker, if not, what are they preparing you for? If they cannot do that, then they ought to teach you how to change your community so you can live like a human being.

"But our schools do neither. Neither, that is why we have to take them over. We have to take them over because no race takes their youth and gives them to another race to train. No race does that. We take our children and kick them into the hunkie institutions and then our children, who are much more intelligent, drop out of school, and

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they dig, man, that junk ain't helping me. We kick them back. We point fingers at them, you drop out, get back in school. You do this, you do that, get back to what? To white washing institutions that destroy our people? Let's change the school system. Let's take them over. (Applause) Unless we take them over, we will never teach our children and I will tell you why. In order for you to want to learn you must know something about yourself, you must have dignity and pride in yourself, or else you will never learn anything. That's why we don't learn, because we have no pride and dignity in ourselves. What do we know about ourselves? We were slaves, happy and contented, a few of us, even though we were slaves, helped America oppress us some more. We need to know who we are. Africans, Africans, Africans. (Unintelligible). We need to know that we have a history 4,000 years old and we gave civilization to the hunkies, we gave civilization to the hunkies. We gave it to them.

"We need to know that the first university in the world was the University of Timbuck Two in Africa, in Africa. We need to know the sciences that he got, he got from us. We need to know about the mighty Hannibal, who marched over the Alps, and beat the Romans to death. We need to know that we are Africans and that we have ancestors. And unless we begin to understand Africans, as opposed to Negro, we are going to get wasted, because to begin Negro is to begin a history defined for you by your oppressors. You cannot define Africans because we rule the world, and all of its gold. We cannot define Africa because our ancestors would fight the sun before they would bow down to anyone. We need to know Africa is where we come from. And unless we understand that concept, we will never make it,

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because we were trying to be Negroes in a white man's country. We have to understand we are Africans.

"Now we want to talk about the concept of black united funds across the country. Now we don't understand very clearly what the fight is about, see. But hunkies got all kinds of games, I mean, they really got the games. After every rebellion they jump up and they gather what we call the Catechism of Rebellions and they recite the Catechism. They rebelled because there was no money and because of unemployment, because of poor housing, because of bad facilities, because of bad transportation, all of the reasons they are telling us we are rebelling is because we don't have money. And see everybody gets tired up on that and they talk about power, poverty program, we want money. They don't recognize that this is not a fight for money, it is a fight for our humanity. There are thousands of poor white people in this country, they don't fight. You think we are fighting because of money, we are fighting for our humanity. If you had a million dollars, you are still a Nigger, still a Nigger. (Applause)

"Unless we begin to understand what we are fighting for we are going to be caught up fighting for some jive poverty program, and some jive money when the system is going to fall in the next three years anyhow. Anyhow. And we know, we know it, cause the system is going to fall because they are trying to convert it. They're trying harder and harder. We cannot fight for money. There must be something above money. It must be love of our people. That is all. Don't talk about money.

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You are going to get wasted, cause it is the one thing they have used to divide us time and time again. Time and time again -- Money. No green power, black power is the only kind of power we can talk about.

"Now we want to understand those concepts in terms of dealing with oppression, exploitation, cause more and more you finally got a new game coming. They are talking about, well, they want to organize poor whites and poor blacks because they are both poor. We must understand that poor whites and poor blacks in this country do not have the same problems. They are entirely different. Let me explain this.

"There are two types of oppression in the world. There is exploitation and there is colonization. Poor whites are exploited. The black people of this country are colonized. Let me tell you the difference. When you are exploited, it is the same race of people taking advantage of each other, but they have the same values, the same culture, the same history, the same way of life, so the people are just poor. What they are fighting for is money. Right? When you are colonized, it is one race of people exploiting the entire race of another people and it's not just a question of being poor; our culture, our history, our language, our way of life, our everything is destroyed and we become further dehumanized that we respond to the every action of the master. There is a difference. It's a big difference. For the white people don't have to fight for their culture, for their history, for their values system, for their way of life. It has never been destroyed.

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Ours has been destroyed. It has to be destroyed in order for the man to do what he has done to us. We are a colonized people.

"Now let me explain to you the difference. Poor white people hate. I mean they really hate. They hate everybody, and they hate us, and they hate rich white people. But black people don't hate. We have been so dehumanized that we do not hate. So dehumanized that we do not even feel we have the right to hate. Now what kind of a man are you when you are sitting in your house, a hunkie comes in, slaps your wife, rapes your daughter, slaps you, and walks out the door, and you say I still love him. (Laughter) There are ----- that even college teaching they give you cannot answer the question. You know you live in a world that revolves around dialectic philosophy, there are opposites for everything. For hot there is cold, for joy there is sorrow, for laughter there is crying, and for love there is hate. It is a real emotion. If you do not have hate you cannot differentiate love. But they tell us and we tell ourselves that we can't hate. You can't love if you can't hate, cause you don't know the difference. It is because we are so dehumanized, we are afraid to stand up and say, 'Yes, Daddy, we hate you for what you have done to our people and what you continue to do to our people. But we are afraid to say it, I know. (Applause)

"We have been so dehumanized we are like dogs. You kick, you spit on, you beat up, you push outside, and when you snap your finger, he comes running. We are not dogs, we are human beings. We have emotions, and we cannot allow ourselves to dehumanize to that

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level. We cannot.

"Now then, exploitation and colonization becomes very important for us to recognize where the world is moving. Communism and socialism is not an ideology suited for us. It is not an ideology suited for us because the doctrines of Communism and Socialism speaks to the problems of exploitation. They say we want the wealth divided up among all of the people. That's an expression of exploitation. Communism and Socialism does not speak to the problem of colonization. We just don't want the wealth divided up in the country. We just want to reclaim our dignity and our humanity, our culture, our history, and our way of life. Communism and Socialism does not see to that. We have to understand that as Negroes today. That is not assuming Communism is no good cause the hunkies says its not good. Later for the hunkie. If Communism was only right we would take it and tell them so and he couldn't do nothing about it. Nothing about it. And you ought to understand how they use this thing, Communism, to divide us. Like they are running this program down in SNCC saying it is infiltrated with Communists and the main hunkie, Ralph McGill, talking about we are having meetings with Communists. Lydon Baines Johnson had a three day meeting with the top Communist official in the whole world and they put it on television. And they put on television. The last meeting was a meeting where one hunkie had a meeting with another hunkie. One was Communist and one was Catholic, but they got together every news commentator praised it as a beautiful thing that the Communists are getting together. They are coming together so that we can have peace in the world. The Communists are getting

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together with the Capitalists. Yet when a black man is for a Communist he can't get together with his own people. We have to recognize those tools are used to divide us. We cannot have any respect for anything the hunkie says about any of our people. Let him talk about his own. And you have to recognize the importance of that drive on me. It is simply a question of the world colonizing on the question of color. Russia gives guns to North Viet Nam. How can Lyndon Johnson sit down with a man and be friends when he is giving guns to the man he is fighting. That don't make no kind of sense to the dumbest Nigger in the world. (Applause)

"We have to begin to understand it is just a question of color. Check this country out. They're not. They're the white man from South Africa, our country, the richest country in the world, with all the gold in the world, being ruined and run by these hunkies. They are white men over there with guns. Our people can't move in their own country unless they are cautious. (Unintelligible) a hunkie doctor to take the heart of a black man, move it into a white man, and then bring him over here and make him a national hero. It is a question of color. A question of color. They make him a national hero and then they say it is scientific development. It is the slow destruction of the most beautiful race of people on the face of this earth, Africans, and unless we become aware of it we are going to be wiped out. Check this country out. This was the country what voted for South Africa to participate in the Olympics. The United States of America voted for the South Africa, Union

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of South Africa, to participate in the Olympics, and they want to know why black people want to boycott the Olympics and they always say they can't find out what it is. I'll tell you what it is. Tell them that our brothers are going to boycott it and when they ask you what you hope to gain, say you are going to lose and that's enough, we want you to lose, without us. (Applause)

"We must understand that. If they lose without us, it's a victory because for us because it will demonstrate to our people that we are the warriors of this country. We are the warriors of this country. It is our flesh and our blood that represents the real warrior force in the United States. In the field of sports, they would not win one Olympic medal without black warriors. In the wars, they would not win one war without black warriors. We are the warriors of this country, we are the warriors of this country. We are. And unless we begin to understand that, we are the warriors, and stop waring for them, but make war for our people, we are going to be wiped out. We are going to be wiped out.

"Now as we go into our concept internationally, we must begin now to make hook ups with groups around the world and to make hook ups with people where there is going to be war. The next one is going to be the Middle East. Black people must be crystal clear on that position. We can be for no one but the Arabs. We can be for no one but the Arabs, we cannot be for the Zionists. We can have no relationship with any Jewish group in this country that support Israel. Because let me tell you about Israel. Do you know how it was created? In 1917, the British were controlling Palistine. A hunkie gave the land to the Zionists. Gave it to them. And then they decided to move the Arabs out.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

They didn't pay for it. They didn't have the Arabs where they wanted. They took Palistine and gave it to the Zionists. They went there and they started to blow up, and make terrorist gangs, and run the Arabs out, and then in 1948, they created what was called Israel. And notice how they created it. The justification was that the Jews were persecuted all over the world. They absolutely (unintelligible) the Jews had been persecuted all over the world, but they persecuted the Jews. Other hunkies persecuted the Jews, we never did. (Applause) Russia, England, France, Germany, the United States, Hungary, they are the ones who persecuted the Jews. Germany was the one who started to wipe them out. If they wanted peace over there, take it from Hitler. He lost the war. Don't come to us and take it from our country.

"Ours are the ones we have to support. But make it more clear for you why we must support the Arabs. Israel is a creation of 1948. You have young Jewish kids who will be ready to fight and go die for Israel today. In the last invasion they took over Northern Egypt. Do you not know that Egypt is in Africa and Africa is our motherland and we have (unintelligible), not since 1948, (unintelligible) 4,000 years ago. And here we are supporting Zionists to take over Egypt, our mother country. We are so confused. The arabs, the Arabs, the Arabs. And when they tell you about the Arab soldier people, ask them what did they give the Arabs. A very important question. This question about black people selling black people. What could a hunkie give a black man in Africa when we have everything they wanted. We have everything

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

they wanted. They came to Africa to take it, what did they give us? Green dollars? Gold? We have the gold. Silver? We have the silver. Food? We have the food. Copper? We have the copper. Uranium? We have the uranium. What could they give us? What could they give us? Yeah, Jesus Christ. (Laughter)

"We must begin to clarify our minds. We must begin to understand very clearly all of the tricks, all of the lies that have been told to us. We must begin to understand today a number of things. Three things.

"Number one. Black people, our people, are willing to fight today. There is no question about that. No one will stop that. We are going to fight. Every time they get one of us, then all of us are going to have to go down, whether we like it or not. But we must begin to organize consciously, where that when they attack one of us, there is maximum damage to them and minimum risk to us. Understand that concept. Understand that concept. Maximum damage to them, minimum risk to us. If we do not, we will play into their hands. They are prepared to deal with major rebellion to some extent. They are prepared to some extent to deal with major rebellions. Let me tell you something. The people who want rebellions in our community is not really the cat on the street. The persons who wants it most is the middle class person cause he gets the poverty program after the rebellion. They are the ones you see talking about it on TV. If you don't give us the money, well, then, we are going to give the program to Stokely Carmichael or H. Rap Brown and you know what will happen. You better

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

give us the money. Ain't no money going to buy us a rebellion, because there ain't going to be no rebellion. There's going to be organized retaliation against the hunkie white people.
(Applause)

"We must be conscious that our people are willing to fight. It is not a question of condemning our people when they want to fight. I will tell you why. To condemn one people, said Mao Eise Tung, is to take the side of the enemy. Understand that. To condemn ones' people is to take the side of the enemy. What if you had a rebellion in Atlanta tomorrow and hunkie got up there and started saying, 'You black people should rise (Unintelligible). You do it this way.' And a Negro comes behind him and says, 'You black people should rise.' He's saying the same thing the hunkie is saying. What good is it? You can't condemn your people. If the Negro had any sense he would say, 'Hunkie, you are to blame for what you have done to our people. You and your entire race of people have tried consciously to destroy us, and now you are moving physically to do it by selling white people guns for \$1.00 in Atlanta.'

"Whether or not we want to fight is not the question today. It is solely a question of survival. We have to survive as a race of people. We must survive as a race of people if even we didn't want to. We owe it to our ancestors to survive. We owe it to our brothers and sisters in slavery, who took all of that to survive. We owe it to our brothers and sisters during the Reconstruction Period, during the rise of the Ku Klux Klan, during the

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

depression, during World War II, during the Korean War. We owe it to our mothers who stuck to us for it. We have to survive as a people. We have to survive as a people, and that is the only question that we have to deal with today. The question of survival. And brothers and sisters, the (unintelligible) is right. When it is all over, all black people will survive, few Negroes will make it, and no hunkies at all. (Applause)

"It is simply a question of survival. We cannot make to convince people when they talk about pranks, when they talk about guns, when they talk about one arm shotguns, when they talk about Migs (phonetic), when they talk about chemical warfare, when they talk about Communists. Who do you think they are talking about? Us. Us. Us. It is we they are preparing to wipe out, because they no longer have need for us. We have done what we were brought here to do. Build this country to an empire. Now that it is done, we can be gotten rid of. Do not underestimate the hunkies. They have committed genocide and attempted to commit genocide every place they went to people of a different color. I would like to end by reading a statement from Brother Rap Brown, who is in jail now. Brother wrote the statement while he was in jail. Rap Brown is my leader. He speaks for me. I would like you to listen to the entire statement before you applaud. It ends with 'We shall conquer without a doubt.' But please listen to the entire statement, because I think that Brother Rap is saying the same thing. It is simply a question of survival.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

'Being a man is the continuing battle of one's life and one loses a bit of manhood with every stale compromise to the authority of any power in which one does not believe.

'No slave should die a natural death. There is a point where caution ends and cowardice begins.

'For everyday I am imprisoned I will refuse both food and water. My hunger is for the liberation of my people. My thirst is for the ending of oppression.

'I am a political prisoner, jailed for my beliefs -- that Black People must be free. The Government has taken a position true to its fascist nature: Those who we cannot convert, we must silence. This government has become the enemy of Mankind.

'Death can no longer alter our path to Freedom. For our people, Death has been the only known exit from slavery and oppression. We must open others.

'Our will to live must no longer supersede our fight, for our fighting will determine if our race shall live. To desire Freedom is not enough.

'We must move from resistance to aggression, from revolt to revolution.

'For every Orangeburg there must be 10 Detroit's. For every Max Stanford and Huey Newton, there must be 10 dead racist cops. And for every Black Death there must be a Dien Bien Phu.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

'Brothers and Sisters, and all oppressed people, you must prepare yourself both mentally and physically, for the major confrontation is yet to come. You must fight. It is the people who in the final analysis make and determine history, not leaders or systems. The laws to govern you must be made by you.

'May the deaths of '68 signal the beginning of the end of this country. I do what I must out of the love for my people. My will is to fight; resistance is not enough. Aggression is the order of the day.

NOTE TO AMERICA

'America, if it takes my Death to organize my people to revolt against you, and to organize your jails to revolt against you, and to organize your troops to revolt against you, and to organize your children, your God, your poor, your country, and to organize Mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here is my life! But my soul belongs to MY PEOPLE.

'(We shall conquer without a doubt.)' "

FBI

Date: 3/11/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM: SAC, MOBILE (100-1858)(P)
RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS, SEDITION

b7C

Re Mobile teletype of 3/10/68.

Enclosed herewith to the Bureau are 11 copies of letterhead memorandum pertaining to referenced teletype. Four (4) copies of the letterhead memorandum are being forwarded to Atlanta, and two (2) copies of the letterhead memorandum are being forwarded to the designated offices.

Confidential source mentioned in letterhead memorandum is [redacted] with whom there was but brief contact at the time of CARMICHAEL's speech at Mt. Miriah Church. Efforts were made to contact [redacted] on 3/11/68, but due to the heavy rains, the road to his house is impassable.

b7C
b7D

Dissemination is being made to military intelligence agencies, U. S. Secret Service, and U. S. Attorney, Montgomery Ala.

AGENCY: ACSI, NIC, OSI, SEC. SERV., FD-37 (S.C.)
DEPT: ~~CRD~~ IDIU

HOW FORW: R/S
DATE FORW: 3/21/68

BY: PTB/ash
100-446080-1275
10 MAR 15 1968

- ③ - Bureau (Encs. 11)(RM)
4 - Atlanta (100-6812)(Encs. 4)(RM)
2 - Birmingham (RM)(Encs. 2)
2 - New York (100-153751)(Encs. 2)(RM)
2 - WFO (100-43503)(Encs. 2)(RM)
6 - Mobile (2 - 100-1858)
JRC:jcs (1 - 100-1693)(SNCC)
(19) (1 - [redacted])
(1 - [redacted])
(1 - [redacted])
(1 - [redacted])

b7C

2 XEROX
806 98D

1cc Airtel + LHM 806 91D
2 XEROX
806
98D

C. C. Bishop

Approved: _____

59 MAR 27 1968

Special Agent in Charge

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 3/16/87 BY SP7MAC/d

Per

3/24/87 SP-1 AG/NO CH262028



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

March 11, 1968

Director
United States Secret Service
Department of the Treasury
Washington, D. C. 20220

Dear Sir:

The information furnished herewith concerns an individual who is believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning Presidential protection, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

1. ☐ Has attempted or threatened bodily harm to any government official or employee, including foreign government officials residing in or planning an imminent visit to the U. S., because of his official status.
2. ☐ Has attempted or threatened to redress a grievance against any public official by other than legal means.
3. ☐ Because of background is potentially dangerous; or has been identified as member or participant in communist movement; or has been under active investigation as member of other group or organization inimical to U. S.
4. ☐ U. S. citizens or residents who defect from the U. S. to countries in the Soviet or Chinese Communist blocs and return.
5. ☒ Subversives, ultrarightists, racists and fascists who meet one or more of the following criteria:
 - (a) ☐ Evidence of emotional instability (including unstable residence and employment record) or irrational or suicidal behavior;
 - (b) ☐ Expressions of strong or violent anti-U. S. sentiment;
 - (c) ☒ Prior acts (including arrests or convictions) or conduct or statements indicating a propensity for violence and antipathy toward good order and government.
6. ☐ Individuals involved in illegal bombing or illegal bomb-making.

Photograph ☐ has been furnished ☐ enclosed ☐ is not available
☐ may be available through _____

Very truly yours,

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 3/16/87 BY SP2MAC/dd

J. Edgar Hoover
John Edgar Hoover
Director

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s) 1)
U. S. Secret Service, **Birmingham, Alabama**

Enclosure(s) 1

(Upon removal of classified enclosures, if any, this transmittal form
becomes UNCLASSIFIED.)



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Mobile, Alabama
March 11, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

STOKELY CARMICHAEL and a Negro male travelling with him under the name of [redacted] arrived at Montgomery, Alabama via Eastern Airlines at 11:48 A.M., Central Standard Time, on March 10, 1968. It was the speculation of local authorities at the time that [redacted] a representative of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), who had previously been in the Alabama area with CARMICHAEL; however, subsequently, a positive identification was not made that [redacted]

b7C

[redacted] They were met at the airport by an individual reported to be [redacted] a Negro male also reported as a member of SNCC from Selma, Alabama, and another unidentified Negro male. They proceeded in an automobile, which, according to records of the Alabama Motor Vehicle Division, Montgomery, Alabama, was registered to [redacted] of Selma, Alabama, also identified by local authorities as a representative of SNCC. [redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]

CARMICHAEL, with his group, visited various residents of Lowndes County, Alabama, and at 4:20 P.M., Central Standard Time, on March 10, 1968, CARMICHAEL was in attendance at a mass meeting of Negroes at the Mt. Miriah Church, twelve miles southwest of Hayneville, in Lowndes County, Alabama. No white persons were allowed in the church. There were approximately 150 Negroes who attended this meeting. The context of the speech is unknown at this time; however, according to a confidential source, who has not been contacted sufficiently to determine his reliability, the speech was made in commemorative of the third anniversary of the foundation of the Lowndes County Christian Association. The meeting lasted until approximately 6:15 P.M., Central Standard Time, after which CARMICHAEL was driven back to the house next to the [redacted] residence.

b7C

3/24/87 SP-1AG/RU C#252028
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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/16/87 BY sp7mac/dd
#10187-64

100-446080-1275
ENCLOSURE

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

[redacted] Alabama State Troopers, advised that during their observations of the activities of STOKELY CARMICHAEL and his group the troopers in one of his cars were challenged in front of the residence of [redacted] at approximately 2:40 P.M., Central Standard Time, by members of the [redacted] Family as to their presence in the area and stated if they did not get out of the area steps would be taken to get them out. b7C

[redacted] advised he would have sufficient manpower to handle any situation that developed. b7C

No significant developments occurred during the course of events on March 10, 1968.

[redacted] Tuskegee, Alabama Police Department, advised on March 10, 1968 that he has been in contact with [redacted] of SNCC, and who is staying at [redacted] Tuskegee, Alabama, who stated CARMICHAEL would not arrive at Tuskegee until shortly before his scheduled speech at 8:00 P.M., Central Standard Time, March 11, 1968, and he would leave right after the speech. The speech will follow a play entitled "BACK TO BLACK", which is being sponsored by the Tuskegee Institute Student Government Association, but the throwaway pamphlets indicate that it is a SNCC presentation and is being directed [redacted] also reportedly a representative of SNCC. b7C

[redacted] Domestic Relations Division, Montgomery, Alabama Police Department; [redacted] Alabama State Troopers, Montgomery, Alabama; [redacted] Military Intelligence, Montgomery, Alabama; and [redacted] United States Secret Service, Mobile, Alabama; were all advised on March 10, 1968 of the arrival of STOKELY CARMICHAEL in Montgomery, Alabama. b7C

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

FBI

Date: 3/13/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority)

b7C

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, MOBILE (100-1858) (P)

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS,
SEDITION

OT AT 3-20-68-68
+ LHM 3-20-68
126

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/13/81 BY SP-1 AG/MD
#452008

Re Mobile airtel of 3/11/68, with accompanying letterhead memorandum, Mobile teletype of 3/12/68, and Birmingham teletypes of 3/12/68 and 3/13/68.

Enclosed herewith to the Bureau are 11 copies of letterhead memorandum pertaining CARMICHAEL's speech at Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Ala. Four (4) copies of the letterhead memorandum are being forwarded to Atlanta, and two (2) copies of the letterhead memorandum are being forwarded to the designated offices.

Confidential source mentioned in letterhead memorandum is [redacted] who requested that his identity be protected.

Dissemination is being made to military intelligence agencies, U. S. Secret Service, and U. S. Attorney, Montgomery, Ala.

AGENCY: ACSI, NIC, OSI, SEC. SERV. (S-C)
DEPT: ESD, CRD, RMD, TDC

HOW FORW: R/S

DATE FORW: 3/21/68

BY: PTB/mt b2

- ENCLOSURE
- 100-446080-1276
- 10 MAR 15 1968
- 3 - Bureau (Encs. 11) (RM)
 - 4 - Atlanta (100-6812) (Encs. 4) (RM)
 - 2 - Birmingham (Encs. 2) (RM)
 - 2 - New York (100-153751) (Encs. 2) (RM)
 - 2 - WFO (100-43503) (Encs. 2) (RM)
 - 6 - Mobile (2 - 100-1858)

(1 - 100-1693) (SNCC)

(1 - [redacted])

(1 - [redacted])

(1 - [redacted])

CBC:jes (19)

C. C. Bishop

54 MAR 27 1968

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR
ADD. DISSEMINATION

Per _____

RACIAL INT. SECT.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

March 13, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Director
United States Secret Service
Department of the Treasury
Washington, D. C. 20220

Dear Sir:

The information furnished herewith concerns an individual who is believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning Presidential protection, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

1. ☐ Has attempted or threatened bodily harm to any government official or employee, including foreign government officials residing in or planning an imminent visit to the U. S., because of his official status.
2. ☐ Has attempted or threatened to redress a grievance against any public official by other than legal means.
3. ☐ Because of background is potentially dangerous; or has been identified as member or participant in communist movement; or has been under active investigation as member of other group or organization inimical to U. S.
4. ☐ U. S. citizens or residents who defect from the U. S. to countries in the Soviet or Chinese Communist blocs and return.
5. ☒ Subversives, ultrarightists, racists and fascists who meet one or more of the following criteria:
 - (a) ☐ Evidence of emotional instability (including unstable residence and employment record) or irrational or suicidal behavior;
 - (b) ☐ Expressions of strong or violent anti-U. S. sentiment;
 - (c) ☒ Prior acts (including arrests or convictions) or conduct or statements indicating a propensity for violence and antipathy toward good order and government.
6. ☐ Individuals involved in illegal bombing or illegal bomb-making.

Photograph ☐ has been furnished ☐ enclosed ☐ is not available
☐ may be available through _____

Very truly yours,

J. Edgar Hoover
John Edgar Hoover
Director

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s) 1
U. S. Secret Service, **Birmingham, Alabama**

Enclosure(s) 1

(Upon removal of classified enclosures, if any, this transmittal form
becomes UNCLASSIFIED.)



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Mobile, Alabama
March 13, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

[redacted] Alabama State Troopers, Alabama Department Of Public Safety, Montgomery, Alabama, advised on March 11, 1968 there were no reported activities of STOKELY CARMICHAEL in Lowndes County, Alabama during the morning of March 11, 1968.

b7C

CARMICHAEL was observed at 12:15 P.M. on March 11, 1968 at the residence of [redacted] in Lowndes County, Alabama.

b7C

At 1:15 P.M., Central Standard Time, two cars departed the [redacted] residence. CARMICHAEL was a passenger in a 1966 Blue Pontiac, bearing 1968 Alabama License [redacted] which, according to the records of the Motor Vehicle Bureau, State Of Alabama, Montgomery, Alabama, is registered to [redacted] Camden, Alabama. The car was driven by [redacted] of Lowndes County, Alabama, and contained two other passengers, one of whom was believed to be [redacted] of Selma, Alabama. The occupants of the second car were unknown. This car was a 1967 Chevrolet, bearing 1968 Alabama License [redacted] registered to [redacted] of Camden, Alabama. The cars proceeded to Montgomery, Alabama and stopped at Radio Station WMRA for some five minutes. The 1966 Pontiac with CARMICHAEL as a passenger then proceeded to Interstate Highway 85 toward Tuskegee, Alabama, and arrived at Tuskegee, Alabama at 2:50 P.M., Central Standard Time.

b7C

[redacted] Tuskegee, Alabama, Police Department, advised on March 11, 1968 that, through his officers, he determined that CARMICHAEL, upon arrival at Tuskegee Institute, proceeded to the Student Union Hall on the campus. There was no mass welcome for him, and, during the course of the afternoon, he visited students on the campus. At approximately 7:00 P.M., he went to Logan Hall, Tuskegee Institute, where he was to give his speech.

b7C

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/24/87 BY SP-1A/RW

CHAS 128

ENCLOSURE

100-116080-1276

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

b7C [redacted] Montgomery, Alabama, advised on March 11, 1968 he attempted to gain entrance to the meeting, but he was told the press was barred. This was confirmed by [redacted] Montgomery, Alabama, who had entered the meeting but was asked to leave. [redacted] estimated that some 1500 to 2,000 persons were present.

b7C On March 11, 1968, [redacted] Alabama State Department Of Public Safety, Montgomery, Alabama, advised he attended the meeting held at Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama, on March 11, 1968, and he estimated the attendance at 2,000. The play, "Back To Black", dealt with African Culture, and the cast was dressed in African Costumes. He stated CARMICHAEL's speech lasted from 9:30 P.M., Central Standard Time, to approximately 10:50 P.M., Central Standard Time. There were no incidents.

b2
b7D On March 11, 1968, [redacted] a confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past, who attended the meeting at Logan Hall, Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama, on March 11, 1968, described CARMICHAEL's speech as highly inflammatory and as repeatedly urging Negroes to arm themselves and to pursue violent action against white persons, characterized by him as "hunkies". This source informed CARMICHAEL attacked state and federal law enforcement officers in bitter, profane, and obscene language, stating that "for every black man that dies, ten cops should die". CARMICHAEL told the audience they should not go to Vietnam, but should die in the streets here. He stated he would not say whether he was a communist or not. "I am black. That's all I will say." He urged hearers to applaud the black man who broke a store window or robbed a store with a gun, saying "I want everything" as being brave enough to take that which belonged to him. Black men were told to go to the Capitol with guns and say "Hands up. This country is ours. But, you've got to get guns. Everybody get a gun." CARMICHAEL was critical of Tuskegee Institute, its policies, and the attitude of the black man who sought financial security in the form of "green power" (referring to money). "If we got it, the 'hunkies' would change it to blue. We are all slaves. No slave should die a natural death."

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

This source further informed that during CARMICHAEL's speech a few of his companions stood on the platform at parade rest closely observing the audience, and with little effort to conceal pistols which they were wearing.

On March 11, 1968, [redacted] Tuskegee, Alabama Police Department, advised after the meeting at Logan Hall, Tuskegee Institute, broke up on the night of March 11, 1968, CARMICHAEL and his party proceeded to a residence at [redacted] Tuskegee, Alabama, where they would be entertained. It was believed this was the residence of one [redacted]

[redacted] Tuskegee, Alabama Police Department, advised on March 12, 1968 he learned through [redacted] who attached himself to CARMICHAEL's party, after speech and question and answer session at Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama, on the night of March 11, 1968, CARMICHAEL and close associates attended a party at the residence of [redacted] Tuskegee, Alabama.

During the early morning hours, CARMICHAEL left this party with [redacted] Also Known As [redacted] of Tuskegee, Alabama, who took him to the residence of [redacted]

[redacted] in Tuskegee, Alabama, where CARMICHAEL reportedly spent the remainder of the night.

Later in the morning of March 12, 1968, [redacted] reported CARMICHAEL and [redacted] went to the College Union Building, Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama, attempting to organize a cast of drama entitled "Back To Black" to go to Stillman College, Tuscaloosa, Alabama, where CARMICHAEL has a speaking engagement on the night of March 12, 1968.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

b7C [] reported CARMICHAEL left Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama, at about noon on March 12, 1968 in 1966 Yellow Mustang belonging to [] accompanied by [] and two other unidentified Negro males, presumably en route to Stillman College, Tuscaloosa, Alabama, possibly via Lowndes County, Alabama.

No incidents occurred.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

SAC, Atlanta (100-103700) (100-439100)

3/13/68

Director, FBI

1 -
1 -
1 -
1 -

b7C

BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF DEFENSE, (BPPSD)
RACIAL MATTER
OO:SAN FRANCISCO

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE, (SNCC)
IS - SNCC
OO:ATLANTA

Attached for recipient offices is a copy of a letter from J. Walter Teagley, Assistant Attorney General, Internal Security Division of the Department, dated 3/7/68.

Your attention is specifically invited to the last two paragraphs of page 2, wherein it is pointed out that Sections 2383, 2384 and 2385, respectively, of Title 18, U.S. Code, proscribe the crimes of rebellion or insurrection, seditious conspiracy and advocating the violent overthrow of the U.S. Government or the government of any political subdivision thereof.

In the continuing intensive investigation of the subjects and organizations listed in the Department's letter, recipient offices should be constantly alert for any information indicating a conspiracy on the part of these individuals and organizations to violate one or more of the above referred to statutes.

Atlanta and San Francisco should be particularly alert to the development of any information which would indicate that the merger of SNCC with the BPPSD is for the purpose of implementing the alleged revolutionary policy of SNCC.

- 2 - Los Angeles (Enclosure)
- 2 - New York (Enclosure)
- 4 - San Francisco (Enclosure)
- 2 - WFO (Enclosure)

1 - James Fernan (100-443500)

1 -
1 -
1 -
1 -

1 - Stokely Carmichael (100-443500)

b7C

55 MAR-

DUPLICATE YELLOW

ORIGINAL FILED IN

Letter to SAC, Atlanta

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SOLE DEFENSE

Any information developed must be expeditiously
furnished to the Bureau in a form suitable for dissemination
and vigorously investigated to prove or resolve the allegation.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation

J. Walter Yeagley
Assistant Attorney General
Internal Security Division

March 7, 1968.

Black Nationalist Movement in the United States;
Racial Matters (BPPSD)

Reference is made to your teletype of February 18, 1968, containing information concerning the BPPSD rally at Oakland, California, on February 17th. Your teletype noted that Leroy Eldridge Cleaver announced a merger of the BPPSD and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). Your teletype also stated that various individuals made a number of statements as follows:

JAMES FORMAN, International Director of SNCC, said reprisals must be taken for the assassination of any black leader.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, presented as the Prime Minister of the Afro-America to all Africans throughout the world asserted that all blacks must unite socially, economically and militarily in order to avoid extermination by Whites.

Reference is also made to your teletype of February 19, 1968, containing information concerning the Black Congress program at Los Angeles on February 18th. This teletype also

100-446080
NOT RECORDED

46 MAR 20 1968

ORIGINAL FILED IN 105-165706-39

advised that various statements were made by a number of individuals as follows:

JAMES FORMAN said every Negro should be armed due to the eventual revolution of black people.

[REDACTED]

b7C

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

STOKELY CARMICHAEL reiterated his remark that all blacks must unite socially, economically and militarily.

Sections 2383, 2384 and 2385, respectively, of Title 18, United States Code, proscribe the crimes of rebellion or insurrection, seditious conspiracy and advocating the violent overthrow of the United States Government or the government of any political subdivision thereof. While the statements attributed to the foregoing speakers ostensibly are aimed at uniting Negroes for the purpose of obtaining their rights, the violation of one or more of the mentioned statutes is implicit in these statements. We would therefore appreciate receiving, on a continuing basis, all information indicating a conspiracy on the part of the named individuals and organizations to violate one or more of these statutes.

In regard to the above, reference is made to my memorandum dated January 29, 1968, captioned [REDACTED] - Security Matter - Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee," in which I refer to a statement made by [REDACTED] on November 24, 1967, at Debs Hall in Chicago, that SNCC is no longer a protest group but is now a revolutionary movement. We would appreciate receiving any information which would indicate that the merger of SNCC with the BPPSD is for the purpose of implementing the alleged revolutionary policy of SNCC.

b7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE LOS ANGELES	OFFICE OF ORIGIN WASHINGTON FIELD	DATE 3/19/68	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 2/17/68 - 3/11/68
TITLE OF CASE STOKELY CARMICHAEL, aka C. Welcher		REPORT MADE BY [REDACTED] b7C	TYPED BY dlp
		CHARACTER OF CASE IS - MISCELLANEOUS, SEDITION	

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 04-21-2006 BY

60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

REFERENCES: Washington Field airtel to Bureau dated
2/20/68.
Los Angeles airtel and Letterhead Memorandum
dated 3/5/68.

- RUC - b7C

ADMINISTRATIVE

b7C

Special Agent of the FBI [REDACTED] was present and observed activities at a Black Congress sponsored rally for the Defense of HUEY P. NEWTON, Los Angeles Sports Arena, Los Angeles, California, on 2/18/68, which featured STOKELY CARMICHAEL, made a mechanical record of all speeches and statements made by CARMICHAEL and a verbatim transcript has been incorporated in the details of this report.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED						ACQUIT- TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		
							PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐ YES ☐ NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS ☐ YES ☐ NO
APPROVED [Signature] COPIES MADE:						SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	
5 - Bureau (100-446080) (RM) 2 - Washington Field (100-43503) (RM) 1 - Los Angeles (100-68783)						DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW	
						100-446080-1277 REC-20	
						14 MAR 25 1968 ST. 115	
Dissemination Record of Attached Report						Notations b2	
Agency	ACSI, NIG, CSI, SEC. SERV.					[REDACTED]	
Request Recd.	DEPT. ISD CRD, CRIM, IDIU, STATE;						
Date Fwd.	4/4/68						
How Fwd.	R.S.						
By	PTB/ale					7 Xerox copies of rept. 806 94D	

79 APR 9 - 1968

LA 100-68783

This report is being classified ~~confidential~~ because information furnished by confidential sources could reasonably result in the identification and compromise their future effectiveness.

INFORMANTS

SOURCE

LOCATION

[redacted]
[redacted]

100-68783-294

(Conceal)

[redacted]

Orally to SA [redacted]

[redacted]

Orally [redacted] to SA [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

Orally to SA [redacted]

[redacted]

Orally [redacted] to SA [redacted]

[redacted]

100-68783-294

[redacted]

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b2
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b7D

LA 100-68783

SOURCE

LOCATION

b2
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b7D

[REDACTED]

100-68783-294

[REDACTED]

100-68783-294

[REDACTED]

100-68783-294

[REDACTED]

(Conceal per request)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATIONDECLASSIFIED BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls
ON 04-21-2006

Copy to:

Report of:

Date:

3/19/68

b7C

Office: Los Angeles, California

Field Office File #:

100-68783

Bureau File #:

100-446080

Title:

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Character:

INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS, SEDITION

Synopsis:

CARMICHAEL in Los Angeles, California, between February 18 and 20, 1968. He was featured speaker at a Black Congress sponsored rally for Defense of HUEY P. NEWTON at the Los Angeles Sports Arena, Los Angeles, California. 2/18/68. Statements of

concerning rally and CARMICHAEL's speech set forth. A verbatim transcript of CARMICHAEL's speech at Black Congress rally set forth. CARMICHAEL featured speaker on 2/19/68 at a rally held at the Second Baptist Church, 2412 Griffith Street, Los Angeles, California. Details set forth.

b7C

- RUC -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~~~GROUP 1~~~~Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

LA 100-68783

DETAILS:

BACKGROUND

TRAVEL

[REDACTED]

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On February 18, 1968, source indicated that STOKELY CARMICHAEL, [REDACTED] and JAMES FORMAN, executive members of the Student Non Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), a black nationalist organization and several black nationalist leaders from Oakland, California, were presently en route to Los Angeles, California, on United Airlines Flight 511, which departed San Francisco, California, at 11:45 a.m. and will arrive Los Angeles at 12:40 p.m.

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[REDACTED]

On February 20, 1968, STOKELY CARMICHAEL departed Los Angeles at approximately 9:00 p.m. and flew to San Francisco, California, in order to make a speech in Oakland, California, on that date.

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b7D

[REDACTED]

On February 20, 1968, STOKELY CARMICHAEL departed Los Angeles for San Francisco, California, where he was scheduled to appear on February 23, 1969 at Sokol Hall, 739 Page Street, San Francisco, California, and spoke at a rally being sponsored by the Black Students Association of San Francisco City College.

CARMICHAEL'S ACTIVITIES

BLACK CONGRESS SPONSORED RALLY
FOR DEFENSE OF HUEY P. NEWTON,
LOS ANGELES SPORTS ARENA
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA
FEBRUARY 18, 1968

HUEY P. NEWTON is publicly known as the
Minister of Defense for the Black
Panther Party for Self Defense (BPPSD),

LA 100-68783

in Oakland, California. The BPPSD is described as a political organization to combat "police brutality" to unite militant black youths in order to determine the destiny of the black community, and to educate black people in African history. NEWTON is confined presently in the Alameda City Jail for shooting a policeman.

The Black Congress is publicly known as a coalition of militant black nationalist organizations in Los Angeles, California.



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On February 18, 1968, the above sources were present and observed the activities held at the Black Congress sponsored rally at the Los Angeles Sports Arena, Los Angeles, California, when 3500 people were present with approximately ten percent of the audience being Caucasian. Upon entering the Sports Arena, they were frisked by Negro males wearing black berets who acted as security guards for the rally. The rally, which was scheduled from 3:00 to 6:00 p.m. did not commence until approximately 4:30 p.m. The master of ceremonies was WALTER BREMOND, Chairman of the Black Congress.

Speakers for the rally included JAMES FORMAN, a representative of SNCC, THOMAS KILGORE, West Coast representative of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), a civil rights organization headed by the Reverend MARTIN LUTHER KING, BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, Chairman of the BPPSD, CRISTOBAL TIJERINA and REYES LOPEZ TIJERINA.

N. Mex.

N. Mex.

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REIES LOPEZ TIJERINA is the leader of the Alianza Federal De Merced (AFDM), which is publicly known as an organization representing local land interest in the State of New Mexico, to descendants of original owners.

The featured speakers at the rally were RONIE MC KINLEY EVERETT, also known as RON KARENGA, Chairman of "US", a militant black nationalist group based in Los Angeles, California, H. RAB BROWN, Chairman of SNCC and Minister of Justice for the BPPSD, and STOKELY CARMICHAEL.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 2/28/68

On February 18, 1968, a rally sponsored by the Black Congress, scheduled from 3:00 p.m. to 6:00 p.m., was held at the Los Angeles Sports Arena at Santa Barbara and Figueroa Streets, Los Angeles, California, to raise funds for the defense of Huey P. Newton. There were 3,300 persons in attendance, with approximately 12 per cent being Caucasian. A majority of those present were between the ages of 18 and 25.

The rally was delayed and did not commence until 4:22 p.m. because Stokely Carmichael refused to enter the arena unless all police officers were removed from the premises. A compromise was reached between the management of the arena and Carmichael when only Negro police officers were permitted to remain in the arena.

The purpose of this rally was to raise funds for the defense of Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense, Black Panther Party for Self-Defense (BPPSD), who is presently incarcerated in the Alameda City Jail, California, awaiting trial on charges of murdering an Oakland Police Officer in October, 1967 at Oakland, California.

Stokely Carmichael was first introduced to the audience at the beginning of the rally as he made his way to the speaker's platform with James Forman and H. Rap Brown, who are both associated with the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), a militant, black nationalist organization.

At approximately 6:55 p.m., Carmichael was interviewed by Walter Bremond, Chairman of the Black Congress, as Prime Minister for the BPPSD.

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On 2/18/68 at Los Angeles, California File # Los Angeles 100-68783

by SA gcw b7C Date dictated 2/22/68

LA 100-68783

During his speech, Stokely Carmichael emphasized the fact that Negroes should love one another. Carmichael related substantially the following:

Carmichael said that he's always gonna go where he wants to go and he'll talk to anyone he wants to talk to, and go to whatever country he wants to go to, and no white people will tell him where to go or what to do.

It is possible for the honkies to commit genocide against black people. They committed genocide against the Indian. The Indian showed him how to raise corn and survive and then he wiped them out. The white people enslaved the Negroes and brought us to America from our home in Africa. Our people are the African people. If this country burns to the ground, we will be happy. We don't care about the American people.

The Negro slogan should be, "One dying love for our people." Negroes must understand the concept of love for one's people. Our only enemy is the honkie. The Negroes must organize themselves or they will be exterminated. The Negroes should never forget they are Africans. This concept breaks down all geographical barriers because we are all black people from Africa even though we live in other parts of the world. The United States works in three m's. First the missionaries, then money, then the United States Marines, and that has been its pattern all over the world.

The Negroes must realize that the vote will do nothing for the black people. The Negroes have survived without the vote and we will have to continue to survive without it.

The Poverty Program is a payoff to stop rebellion. Negroes are fighting each other over crumbs from the Poverty Program which is keeping us from organizing in the ghettos. We must control the educational systems in our communities. The educational system now is teaching honkie philosophy and the honkie way of life. The white people have stripped the Negro of his culture.

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The main concern of the Negro in America is survival. The whites are attempting to dehumanize the black man.

The Negro must be able to say, "We hate you white people for what you are. We hate white people for what they've done to our race".

He related that communism and socialism is not the ideology suited for the Negro. Communism and socialism deals with ways of exploiting a people in the same race.

We must be concerned over how black people are being treated throughout the world. We must be concerned because they are of our blood and are our people. That is why we must support our brother Huey P. Newton. We must become executioners within our own community, and if brother Huey Newton dies, we must kill 15 honkie copies, and if any person in the black community says anything about it, we should kill him too.

"We want the Vietnamese to win in Vietnam". The honkie is just killing yellow people in Vietnam. It is a racist war.

The Negro must organize into groups which will do the maximum damage against the whites with minimum risk to us. He recommended small groups so they will be scattered throughout the community. Carmichael was encouraged to see that the Vietnamese were whipping the Americans.

If Huey Newton is convicted, there will be retaliation. There must be retaliation because the white power structure is killing off our African leaders.

The cry of the Negro community should be to organize our people. If any black man talks to a honkie about what is going on in our community, he should be killed.

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When the brothers in Vietnam take over the American Embassy, you should hollar for joy and encourage them to get whitey. He encouraged the black people to rise up in order that they might survive.

Stokely Carmichael terminated his presentation at approximately 7:40 p.m., and at approximately 7:42 p.m., departed the arena.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 2/28/681

On February 18, 1968, a rally sponsored by the Black Congress, for the defense of Huey P. Newton, was held at the Los Angeles Sports Arena at Santa Barbara and Figueroa Streets, Los Angeles, California. There were approximately 3,300 person in attendance, with approximately 12 per cent being Caucasian. The rally was scheduled from 3:00 p.m. to 6:00 p.m. but was delayed and did not begin until 4:22 p.m.

The featured speakers at this rally were James Forman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), Bobby George Seale, Chairman of the Black Panther Party for Self Defense (BPPSD), Reies Lopez Tijerina, leader of the Alianza Federal de Mercedes, Ron Karenga, Chairman of US, H. Rap Brown, Chairman of SNCC, and Stokely Carmichael of SNCC.

b7C A mechanical recording of this rally which included speeches by the black nationalist leaders listed above, was made by Special Agent [redacted] who attended and observed this rally.

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On 2/18/68 at Los Angeles, California File # Los Angeles 100-68783

by SA [redacted] gcw b7C Date dictated 2/22/68

LA 100-68783

The following is a verbatim transcript of the speech of STOKELY CARMICHAEL at the Black Congress rally at the Los Angeles Sports Arena, Los Angeles, California, on February 18, 1968:

STOKELY CARMICHAEL: Brothers and sisters. Good evening. They tell us they gonna' put us out at seven o'clock, but I'm a talk pass seven o'clock tonight. (applause) I'm a do had 'cause we have to talk to each other. Got to do that, huh. Before we do, I just want to introduce some people....uh... Atlanta Communications Director Miss ETHEL MINER. (applause) A bad brother from Boston who was arrested for inciting to riot, when the little thing went down in Roxbury, just returned from across the waters, and incidentally, we are always gonna go where we wanna go, talk to whom we wanna talk to, go to what country we want to talk to....no honkie gonna tell us where to go, KEYTOE EDWARDS. (applause) As far as we're concerned, we born free. We go to China, we go to Cuba, we go to Africa. We'll go wherever we want to go and if the honkie don't like it, he can go to hell. He can go to hell. He can go to hell. (applause) Can't nobody tell you where to go, who to see, and who you talk to. You got to know so you can understand what this honkie is puttin' down. We have got to go across the waters to talk to our brothers. (applause) To our brothers. (applause)

Now then today we want to talk about one thing-- survival. That's all. How is this beautiful race of people, black people, gonna survive Babylon. That's all we have to talk about. Survival transcends economics. It transcends politics. It transcends the poverty program. We are talking about survival. About our people. Black people all over the world. That's all we are talking about. Survival. Survival. Now you have to understand survival because I have to repeat some of the things Brother RAP said.

It is possible for the honkies to commit genocide against black people. Now if you don't think it's possible, check out the history of this country. In order for this country to be born, they committed genocide against the red man. They can and will do it. They can and will do it. Not only have they committed genocide against the Indian, but what they have done is they romanticize that genocide. That's what they do when they put that cowboy and Indian junk on television for you to flap. That is nothing but romanticizing the genocide of a race of people. They are so unaware of their superiority complex, they do not know what they are doing. The fight is gonna be a fight of color. Nothing else. Nothing else. (applause) It is going to be a fight of color because wherever the honkie goes, he rules. Whether the majority or the minority, he rules wherever he goes.

He came to this country. The Indians showed him how to prepare corn. The Indians showed em how to hunt. After the Indian

showed em that, after the first Thanksgiving, he wiped them out. (applause)

He went to Mexico. He went to South America. He found the Aztec Indians. They said to him this is our silver. This is our gold. We are relig-- we are a religious people. We build symbols, monuments. We make little jewelry. He took the jewelry and he wiped them out. He wiped them out. (applause)

He went to Africa. He saw the greatest people in the world alive. They thought he was a human being. They said come. This is our gold. This is our way of life. We dance, we sing, we get high. They showed him the gold. He took the gold. He enslaved us and he rules Africa today. Today. (applause) Today. Go get em.

No need to get excited today, baby, we gonna get em. We gonna get em. No need to get excited. We gonna get em. As sure as I'm standing here, black people gonna survive this country. We ain't got to worry. We just organize.

He went to China. The Chinese had gun powder. They said we use this for fire works. For our festivities. He took it. Make it a gun and enslaved the Chinese. Where has he gone that he has not enslaved people. Where has he gone. I ask you tell me one place that honkie has gone where he has acted as a human being. Not one place on this earth. (applause)

So that today when we talk about our survival, we do not talk about this country. Which is America. Which is white people. We talk about our people. Nothing else. Our people. That's all we care about. Our poeple. If this country burns down to the ground, we rejoice and we dance. We care about our people. Our people. (applause) Nothing else. Our people. Our people. (applause)

In organizing our concept this year, there are three. There are three slogans that we need to take with us. Number one is that we must develop consciously an undying love for our people. Undying love for our people. That means that our slogan becomes first. Our people. Then and only then, me and you. Our people come first. First. You must understand the concept of love for one's people because we're talking about HUEY P. NEWTON, who personifies love for his people. (applause)

Our second slogan--every Negro is a potential black man. Let's work with our people and bring them home. Bring them home. (applause) Bring them home. (continuing applause) Why do we say every Negro is a potential black man. Because 400 years ago, when that honkie stole us and brought us here, we were African or black people. Today we are Negroes. It took us 400 years to make us Negroes and we've been black for four thousand years. Four thousand years. Four thousand years.

To be a Negro means that you begin with your history 400 years ago and your history is defined by the honkie to be an African or a black man is to be a man who rules in his own land. We are black Africans. Black Africans. (applause) We must understand that concept fully. A lot of our peoples' minds are messed up. We will not fight with our people. We will sit down. We will talk. We will take time. We will use love and brotherhood and bring them home. Our major enemy is the honkie. That's where our energies go. Go. Go. Go. (applause)

You cannot fight inside the black communey and fight them at the same time. Also. If every Negro is a potential ally, you never alienate your ally. Everybody in our community comes organized from the bourgeoisie to the man in the street. Everybody is gonna be organized because they are black. Black. (applause) If you understand that concept, it means that when you sit down with one of your brothers, and their minds have been messed up by the honkies. And they start arguing when you say the word black. Don't get excited. If you do, the honkie has won. Don't get excited. Sit down. Take time with your brother. Use the example if I have got a brother and a white man came into my family and turned that brother against me, if I didn't have enough strenth to bring my brother home, the honkie was stronger than I am. They are not stronger than we

are. We will dominate our people. Bring them home. Bring them home. Bring them home. Bring them home. (applause) That means that when we move against our people, we do not use force. We do not use force against our people. We use love, brotherhood, unity, and patience, and we take time. (applause) And we take time. (continuing applause)

The third concept that we talk about is that for black people, the question of community is not a question of geography, it is simply a question of color. Understand that? That means that if you live in Watts. If you live in Detroit, Southside Chicago, Washington, D. C. You are the same people belonging to the same community cause you are black. You are of African descent. You are an African people. Wherever you are. Wherever you are. (applause) We must begin to understand that concept. Because if we understand that concept, we break down the geographical barriers and we become part of black people in Africa, in Cuba, in Brazil, in Guatemala, in Santa Domingo, in the West Indies, in the United States, in Nova Scotia. We are one people nine hundred million strong. That's us. That's us. (applause) That's us.

Those are the three concepts we have to move with. Let me repeat them. One. Undying love for our people. First our people. Then and only then, you and me. Everything goes to our people. Everything including our life goes to our people. Our people. Our people. (applause) You've got to

understand that that does not mean this country. Because this country has been and always will be against our people. So to help this country is to be against yourself. We must be for our people. Our people.

Secondly. Every Negro is a potential black man. Let's work with our people and bring them home. Understand that.

We need the people who we call the bourgeoisie. They have technical skills that we can use. Their minds are messed up. They're giving those technical skills to the honkies. Let's bring them home and let them give it to us. We must open up the channels for that. Let's bring our people home. (applause) Let's bring our people home. (continuing applause)

Thirdly. The question of community for black people is not a question of geography. It is a question of color. We do the same dances that people in Watts do yo do in New York. The Boogaloo gets transplanted so fast that without television, without radio, without any of their communications' systems, we do the same dances. Not only here, but in Africa. But in Africa. (applause)

Now then we want to talk about survival in a practical context. The United States works in the three M's. First the missionaries. Then the money. Then the Marines. That's its pattern all over the world. We have sent the missionaries out of our community. The money is going out because our brothers in Viet Nam is taking it and the Koreans gettin' ready to get

it on again. So the money's going. Next comes the Marines. If we are going to survive as a people and we must survive if for no other reason than for what our ancestors has been through with this honkie. We have got to organize. Got to organize. That means that the question of the vote for black people be conked as a relevent issue unless to use it as a vehicle for organizing black people. Nothing else. Nothing else.

It is foolish to assume that the vote is gonna do anything for black people. It is always been irrelevant to our lives. We have survived without it. We survived in the deep south without the vote. In-- two years ago when JULIAN BOND was elected in Georgia, they took him out for two years. His people are still surviving. ADAM CLAYTON POWELL is outside of Harlem. Our people are still surviving. The vote is irrelevant. It's a trick-back the honkies put down on us. It don't mean a thing to black people. We can survive without it. We can survive without it. (applause)

That means that if we go into the vote, we use it only as a political vehicle for bringing more of our people together. That is all. We do not depend upon the vote. Do not depend upon the vote.

Secondly. The Poverty Program. We have to understand the concept of the Poverty Program and what it has done. The Poverty Program has been for one purpose and () pose only.

Stop the rebellion. Stop the rebellion. And they stopped the rebellion by dividing the black community. That is been their tactic and it has worked. It has worked.

Take a look at Watts. It was the first community be swamped with the Poverty Program and today we are fighting each other over the crumbs that we cannot even get together. They have succeeded in dividing us. And how have they done that.

The most instinctive revolutionary cadre of people in any race, except theirs today, is the youth. The youth will fight at the drop of a hat in any race. (applause) In any race. In any race. (continuing applause) The youth have always been the warriors. Except for their race where they becomin' hippies. But thas' good. We will develop the warriors. Let them develop the hippies. We'll get em. We'll get em. (applause)

They have given money to the youth to keep them quiet. And while they have done that, they have split the family which they talk about so much. How would you feel if you were a father, couldn't get a job and you son was coming home with \$120.00 a week in his pocket for doing nothing. For doing nothing. What do you think they have done to our families but divide em on that simple concept of the Poverty Program. If they were concerned about us, they would see to it that our fathers got the job because they are the bread winners of the family. (applause) They are the bread winners

of the family. (continuing applause)

We knock out the vote. We knock out the Poverty Program. Only as an organizing vehicle for our people can it be used. It does not, will not, and cannot solve our problems. We use it only as an organizing vehicle.

Thirdly. The question of education. Now Brother RAP ran it down very nicely. I'll just add to it. Education don't help us in this country. It cripples us. That is a fact. In our communities. Our communities are filled with hustlers, pimps, dope addicts, prostitutes, number men, racketeers, preachers, teachers, maids, porters, and some factory workers. Not one black school in the country has a curriculum here to teach us how to be a good pimp, good hustler, good preacher, good teacher, good anything. (applause) Not one. (applause) Not one. (continuing applause)

If the education is to teach us how to live in our community, then it must do one of two things: Prepare us to live in that community by teaching us how to be good prostitutes, good maids, good preachers, or by teaching us how to change our community so we can live like human beings. (applause)

Our school system does neither. And when our young people who are very intelligent drop out of school cause they recognize the game the honkie is running on em, they have us

fighting them saying get back in school, get back to work.
White nationalism?

If we want our children to go, we have to educate them. (applause) We have to educate them. We have to educated them. (continuing applause) Nobody else.

There is no race in history that gives their young to another race to educate. No race at all No race at all. We are the only race that allow our enemy to educate our youth against us. We must educate our people. We must educate our people. In order to educate our people, it means that we must take over the schools. Nothing less. Take them over. By any means necessary. But we start by organizing our people. We start by organizing our students into black student unions. We break up the Parent Teachers Association because they're dominated by the teachers and by the union and those teacher unions don't speak to us. We form Parent Associations with parents alone and with African American teachers. We form African American Teachers Association. We bring the three groups together and we take the school by any means necessary. (applause) And we must understand that concept means that we have to get out and organize our people. We must organize our people. Now let us talk a little about the concept of a black united us. It is crystal clear that

no matter what happens in the coming summer of this country, it is going to be black against white. If I go out today and I throw a brick, when they come down, anybody who's black is in trouble. Is in trouble. Not only that, the very fact that they give us money depends upon us being black. The brothers in the middle class may yell when Brother RAP BROWN yells burn the country down. But every time RAP yells burn the country down, they get five million dollars in Poverty Program. That is a fact. That is a fact. (applause) They need RAP BROWN and we need them. We are one people. An African people. We must get rid of these divisions in our community. We must come together for the survival of the greatest race on earth. African people. African people. African people. (applause)

Now we want to go into talking about alliances and coalition and why it is that the only people we can, in fact, ally ourselves with are the Mexican American the red man and the Puerto Ricans. We're gonna go into it now.

I do not deny the fact that there are poor people in this country who incidentally happen to be white. I do not deny that fact. There are a lot of poor white people in this country. But you are not just fighting money for----well---let me do it another way.

There are two types of oppression. There is exploitation and there is colonization. Exploitation deals

with when you exploit somebody from your own race.

Colonization is when you exploit somebody from another race and colonization is more brutal than exploitation because when white people exploit other poor white people they do not dehumanize them. But when white people colonize people of other races, they dehumanize them. They strip them of their culture, their language, their history, their society, their values, (applause) There's a big difference (applause) There is a big difference. (applause) A big difference (continuing applause) There is a big difference between exploitation and colonization. Poor white people in this country who are exploited can always hope to reach the top. People who are colonized can never hope to reach the top until they overthrow their oppressor. (applause) Their oppressor. (continuing applause)

There is another reason. White people who are poor have the same values as LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON. The same institution and the same culture. We are a different people with different languages, different cultures, different history, different way of life. That is a fact.

We gonna keep on talkin'. They can't get us off. (applause) If everybody would just keep their seats we can get it together. We can get it together. We don't react to him. Let's carry on our program. (applause)

Now then we have to understand the concept of exploitation verses colonization because what is happened is that people of color around the world have been colonized and we also have been colonized inside this country. So our natural aliences is with people who have been colonized. Brother TIJERINA is colonized cause he can't say, "eldeberde todo revolucionario es hacer de revelucion." (applause) Yeah, Yeah, Yeah. (continuing applause)

His language has been taken from him. His culture has been striped from him. And it has been done consciously as it has been to us. But our people have always resisted. That's what we never understand. You can find a honkie from France, from Italy, from Poland, from Scandinavia. They come over here. In two generations they speak English perfectly. Our people refuse to speak it perfectly. We know it's not our language. We have resisted. (applause) We have resisted. (applause)

We must begin to understand the form of resistance in our community so we can grapple for the ideology we need for our survival. That means all other ideologies is irrelevant.

Now let us speak about dehumanizing, then Communism, and Socialism. We have been so dehumanized that we cannot even hate our enemy. That is to say that if we were sitting

~~SECRET~~

in a room. A honkie kicked in the door. Whipped our wife. Raped our daughter. Beat us up. Walked out. We would sit there and say we don't hate you. Just like a dog. If a man kicks em, spits on em, don't feed em, starves em, put em out in the rain. When he snaps his finger the dog comes running back. We are not dogs. We are human beings with emotions. (applause) With emotions. With emotions. (continuing applause)

And, therefore, everything in dis world there is an opposite. For hot there is cold. For joy there is sadness. For love there is hate. If you don't have hate, you don't know when you were in love. You move from one pole to the other and we are afraid to say, "Yes, God dammit! We hate you for what you did to our people. To our people. To our people." (applause)

We are afraid to express hatred. Yet, in this country is a fact that white people hate us more than we hate them. And we haven't done a damn thing to um. A damn thing to um. (applause)

We have been so dehumanized we cannot recognize our humanity and that's what this fight is all about. It is not a question of poor housing, poor jobs, unemployment, an' all that junk they run down. It is a question of our humanity. They're whole lot of poor white people in this country. They ain't rebelled yet. We are rebelling. It is a question of

humanity. We are fighting for our humanity. Our humanity. That's what we're fighting for. And we are fighting against the destroyer of humanity in the world today. White western countries. They have destroyed humanity wherever they have gone. We are fighting for our humanity. Not for money. Not for jobs. Our humanity. That's very, very important. Very important.

Now let us talk about Communism and Socialism. You ready for me brother? Communism and Socialism is not an ideology suited for black people. I'm a tell you why. Communism and Socialism deals with the question of exploitation of people in the same race. We are dealing with the problem of racism which transcends exploitation. We need an ideology to talks to racism. Communism does not. It does not. Communism does not because for us if you rich, if you poor, you still black. You still black. Even if I were exploiting every black man in here today, thru' imperialistic structure. When I walked outside to face the honkie cops, he hit me up side the head cause I'm black. We need an ideology for us that deals with the problem of racism which is above exploitation.

I-Secondly--We do not have that many class structures in the society among us. Communism and Socialism speaks to classes. We are talking about races of people. There is a difference. That means to say that we read Chi-minh and MAO Tse-sung. We can read Chi-minh and MAO Tse-sung. Because he

has a lot of good things to say. Chi-minh and MAO Tse-sung is a great Chinese leader. The greatest Chinese leader there is. But we need African leaders. That's who we must follow. African leaders. We are Africans. We are Africans. We are not Chinese. The Chinese don't go around and bow down to an African. They bow down to someone in their own image. We have to find people in our own image who we will bow down to. African leaders. African ideology. Straight down the middle. Straight down the middle. We're comin straight from a black thing. No right, left, -- none of that junk, straight up black. That's where we're comin from.

Now let us move on. It is a fact see a lot a people might of got upset when Brother TIJERINA said that the man 'daddy' is the devil but the man's got to be the devil. Read your Bible. You see what they're doing. The honkies are stealing our hearts in South Africa to put it into their hearts and that's not enough. When they finish do that, they bring that honkie witch doctor and put him on television across the nation so we should bow down to him after he's taken the heart of our brother. The Bible says 'beware, the devil will come to you and way to you that he can restore life after death.'

(applause)

We must begin to understand our concept. We are bounded to people of color wherever they are. We have been strewn across the western hemisphere by the white man. Look

at us. We don't know who we are. Where we came from.
Are we Goosa (phonetic), are we Zoolu (phonetic), are we
Malicali (phonetic), are we Baila (phonetic), are we
Zuboo (phonetic), where have our ancestors come from. Where
have our ancestors come from. Where have they come from.
It is a question of fighting to regain our humanity, our
culture, our history, and our particular way of life which
is different from theirs. We are talking about humanity.
Not money. Not dream power. That's their game. Money has
never been something that interested us. We survive with or
without it. With or without it.

Now then it is important to understand how the
honkie are moving to organize. When they brought that honkie
from South Africa, they tried to give South Africa a
respectable image. So respectable an image that the United
States voted to let South Africa come into the Olympics.
And if any black athlete from this country goes to that
Olympic, that nigger ought to stay there. Stay there.
(applause) Stay there. Stay there. Stay there. Stay there.
(continuing applause)

It is no longer a question of how we are treated in
this country. It is a question of our flesh is our flesh,
and blood of our blood is treated in South Africa, in
Mosambee (phonetic), in Zimbwadee (phonetic), in Portuguese
Guinea, Everywhere on this earth they control us. We are like

a race of dogs. We can't go anywhere without asking um,
'Master, can we move?' We are a mighty race of people.
We have got to get up and devise. We have got to get up
and devise. Our fathers were warriors. Our fathers ruled
the world. Our ancestors are great people. We have to pay
them the respect. We must get up. We must get up. (applause)
We must get up. We must get up. We must get up. We must
get up. (continuing applause)

Now then we have to understand that as we tied
into the concept of Brother HUEY P. NEWTON. He is flesh of
our flesh. And blood of our blood. We cannot hold any mock
trials unless we are the executioners. We must become the
executioners inside our community. That says very clearly
if you off Brother HUEY, we off 15 hunkie cops. Fifteen. (applause)
Right out. Right out. (continuing applause) And we off them
and if anybody in the black community says anything about it,
we off him too. (applause) We off him too. We off him too.
(continuing applause)

And we off him because as MAO Tse-sung says, "To
condemn ones people, is to take the stand of the enemy."
(applause) Of the enemy. (continuing applause) You cannot
condemn your people. You cannot condemn your people. Undying
love for our people.

As we understand that, then our mind moves internationally to the most important issue that gonna affect this country. The question of the Middle East. And we have to make it clear. We can have no relations with any Jewish group that support what they call Isreal. Which is occupied Palestine.

And I will tell you why we cannot support what they call Isreal. They got that state in 1917. The British was ruling Palestine. The British gave it to them. They didn't consult the Arabs. They didn't say to our brothers, "You know, do you want to sell it?" They just took it. And the scientists went to Isreal and started to use terrorist bombs to run our brothers out. And when we talk about being brothers with the Arabs, they say, "Well, don't you forget the Arabs told you sell them. We sold their momma's and let it go at that." The Arabs are our brothers. Our brothers. We have to understand that because they have developed the concept of love for a state developed in 1948 and they're moving into Egypt. Egypt is in Africa. Africa is in our mother land. We owned it for four thousand years. (applause) For four thousand years. (applause) And here we are who should have a love for our mother land for four thousand years gonna let some simple scientists run a game down on us. Send his young children to Isreal which he sold and made Isreal in 1948.

They're willing to die for it. And we sit 'chere while they invade Egypt. Egypt, the country that gave civilization to mankind. Our country. Our ancestors. Our mother land. We are opposed to the creation of the state called Isreal. The Arabs are our brothers. We stand united. Let's run it down. Run it down. (applause)

Let us not get afraid to tell them outright, "Yes, we want the Vietamese to win in Viet Nam." (applause) Yes, we do. (continuing applause)

So get caught up in the honkie's silly games. He gets up and says, "Well, Well. We're wrong but we have commitments and before we get out, we have to save face." And while that honkie is saving face, he's killing millions of yellow people who are our brothers. Don't worry about his face. Wipe his face out. Let the Vietamese take their country. Let em take their country. (applause)

We don't have to be afraid of them any more. Our time is coming brothers and sisters. We winners and we movin' on up. (applause) We movin' on up. We movin' on up. (continuing applause)

Now then. The concept of becoming executious is one we have to talk about because if we are going to move to build and understand we're not moving against the honkies. We don't give a damn about 'em. We're moving to build a concept of

peoplehood to move to a concept of nationhood inside this country that attack and talks to the nine hundred million Africans in the world today. If that honkie tries to stop us, we off him. (applause) We off him. (continuing applause)

We're not talking about destroying their system. We're talking about building our system. Regaining our humanity. If they don't mess wid us we won't mess with them. But God knows, if they mess wid us, then everyone of us going to the streets. Going to the streets. (applause)

We are concerned with building a concept of peoplehood where we will have undying love for our people. Where we will be willing and happy and glad to die for our people. (applause) For our people. And in building that concept, we must organize groups which will when they come down against us have the maximum damage against them and the minimum risk to us. That means we organize little groups. When they off us, that group offs a number of them. If they get caught, it's a small group. The community keeps moving. They must be consciously willing to do that for their people. Everybody else has done it. Everybody else has done it. To talk about rebellions today without being organized is to give them the chance to come down. They have tanks. They have sonar rifles. They have machine guns. They have got one armed shotguns. They got everything they wanna get but they forget

one thing. A war is never decided by technology. It is decided by the will of the people to fight for what belongs to them. (applause) What belongs to them.

A war is not just decided by numbers. It is decided by the determination, the dedication, the love of the people who are fighting. The Vietnamese show us that every day. They're whippin' um to death. (applause) Their whippin' um to death. (continuing applause)

But if we move the concept of a community as to wherever people are, we outnumber them. General MAO Tse-sung says seven hundred and fifty million Chinese. We have nine hundred million Africans in the world today. (applause) In the world today. (continuing applause) And we have all been colonized and we have been colonized by the same man. The honkie. The honkie has colonized us all. Our major enemy is the honkie. We move to build in our community. Our people have to survive. We have to survive. Our ancestors went through too much not to survive. Not to survive. Not to survive. (applause)

If we did not survive we should bury ourselves alive after what our parents went through in slavery. After what they went through the reconstruction. After what they went through in World War I. What they went through through the depression. What they went through World War II, the Korean War, and the Vietnamese War. We have a responsibility to our people to

survive. (applause) To survive. (continuing applause)

We are the most beautiful people in this country.
We are. (applause)

We are not a war-like people. We have warriors but we are not a war-like people. We are a peace-loving people. But there comes a time in order to insure your peace you must pick up your spear and fight. (applause) And fight. (continuing applause) If we do not do that, brothers and sisters, we will be exterminated. Not only for our ancestors do we have to wage a battle but for our beautiful young children coming up today who are digging what it is to be black. We have a responsibility to them to survive. (applause) To them to survive. (applause)

When Brother HUEY gets messed around, if they try it. There will be some retaliation. (applause) There has to be a retaliation for many reasons. Brother HUEY represents progress in our race. They wasted our saint Brother MALCOM X for what he was saying. For what he was saying. (applause) For what he was saying. (continuing applause) Understand Brother MALCOM X did not do anything. He was just talking. And they wasted him cause he was waking us up they wasted him. Now they got Brother HUEY in jail at least for getting two of them. That's progress. That's progress. We've moved from talking to doing. Now we have the responsibility to Brother HUEY NEWTON. Cause

when Brother MALCOLM got ace--- wasted, we was so confused, we didn't retaliate but we got to retaliate if they get Brother HUEY NEWTON. Got to retaliate. (applause)

We have got to retaliate because we are the only people where they wipe out our leaders and we do nothing. In the last five years we have lost the BUCA (phonetic) from South Africa. We have lost BATRICE LA MUMBA (phonetic) from the Congo, and we have lost MALCOM X. And now we gonna lose HUEY NEWTON.

We must protect the people who care about us. We have got to retaliate brothers and sisters. Got to retaliate brothers and sisters. (applause)

We must cut down the in-fighting in our group. These brothers are the Evondon (phonetic). They're already to carry on a struggle. Whether or not we agree or disagree with their ideology. They think they're doing a educational job for the black community to teach them how to organize. We have to recognize that. We have to appreciate that. Because they have not been too many black people who have been willing to fight for their people. We have them now. We have a generation of warriors now. (applause) We have a generation of warriors now. (applause) We have a generation of warriors now. (continuing applause)

Our people have resisted. Our ancestors have resisted for this generation to wait the final struggle so our people can regain their humanity. We must organize our people. We must organize our people. We must organize our people. We must organize our people. If we do not, we will perish. We must organize our people and when groups are organizing in our community, you see nothing, you hear nothing, you know nothing. (applause)

Because on this new level of organization there are no Uncle Tom's because we're bringing people together. There are just traitors. And you off traitors. (applause) Off traitors. (continuing applause)

You just off traitors. Every black man in this country. Every black man around the world is flesh of my flesh, and blood of my blood. But if he gets in the way of my people. I'm gonna off him sure as I'm sittin' here. Sure as I'm sittin' here. (applause)

We have people today who are willing to off. We do not want to off our own people. Because all of them are potential allies. But if any black man talks to any honkie about what we do in our community. We are gonna kill him. (applause)

Now then brothers and sisters, we have to go. The three concepts. First. Our people. Then and only then me-

me and you. Undying love for our people. Every Negro must become a potential black man. Do not discourage our people. Let's work with them. Bring them home. For black people, the question of community is not one of geography but one of color. That means that the brothers of color all --- will everyone please stay seated. Because of security. I'm told. Just please stay seated. We'll be off in two minutes.---- The brothers of color around the world are our comrades in arms.

When the students in Santa Domingo rebel. You jump up and yell, "Hallelujah. They gettin' in one more place." They gettin' in one more place. (applause)

When the brothers in Viet Nam take the embassies, you holler, "Hallelujah. They gettin' em good. They gettin' em good. They gettin' em good." (applause)

And when our brothers in Africa take em in Portuguese New Guinea, take em in Zambezi (phonetic), take em in Mozambique, take em in South Africa, you holler, "Hold it, baby! I am comin to help you too." (applause) I'm comin to help you too. I'm comin to help you too. (continuing applause)

We are a beautiful race of people. Our forefathers would rather fight the sun than bow down to anyone. But look at us. Just look at us. We are like dogs living in this place. Our people are drinking wine. They taking dope.

They're fighting each other. They're cutting each other.

We must be concerned with our people. The hell with this

God damn country. Let's be concerned with our people.

(applause) Our people. Our people. Our people. We must

be concerned wid our people. We must be concerned wid our

people. (continuing applause)

Our young spend half their time in reform schools.

Our youth spend half their time sleeping on roof tops and

then when they're finished they send them to Viet Nam. What

kind of a life is that for a human being. What kind of a

life is that. Get up black people. Get up. We will survive

America. We will survive America. We have survived too

much not to survive now. And if they waste Brother HUEY,

you take it from me, Brother HUEY P. NEWTON will be freed

or else. Thank you. (applause)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LA 100-68783

STOKELY CARMICHAEL RALLY
SECOND BAPTIST CHURCH
2412 GRIFFTH
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA
FEBRUARY 19, 1968

b2
b7D

On February 19, 1968 at 8:00 p.m., a rally featuring STOKELY CARMICHAEL was held at the Second Baptist Church, Los Angeles, California, where approximately 300 persons were in attendance with a majority being young Negroes between 18 and 25 years of age. REYES TIJERINA of the AFDM spoke prior to CARMICHAEL's presentation.

CARMICHAEL, who was the last speaker on the program, stated that the white man was the cause of all Negro problems. "The whites have robbed the Negro of his dignity." He indicated that the police were the force that maintained the white power structure.

CARMICHAEL indicated, "It's time the Negroes stop playing games, because the man (whitey) doesn't play games with you." CARMICHAEL related that an example of this was Detroit, Michigan, when the white man used bazookas, guns and camms against the Negro. The Negroes were urged to arm themselves and to use these weapons.

CARMICHAEL received a standing ovation and great enthusiasm for CARMICHAEL was expressed by the audience.

No news media or police were permitted to enter and observe the rally. All persons entering the church were searched and only persons known to the Negro Security Detail were permitted to enter the building.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Los Angeles, California
March 19, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No. 100-68783

Title STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Character INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS,
SEDITION
Reference Report of SA [REDACTED] b7C
dated and captioned as above,
at Los Angeles.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

(1-10-61)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 04-21-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 3/16/68

Stokely Carmichael is former chairman of Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, a militant civil rights organization.

The attached pertains to subject's return to Washington, D. C. Subsequently WFO verified his arrival. Subject proceeded to his residence.

Carmichael is returning from a series of speeches made primarily at Negro colleges in Alabama. Pertinent information concerning his activities will be furnished to the Criminal and Civil Rights Divisions of the Department and interested agencies.

RCD:chs:kmj

WCS
WCS
WCS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 04-21-2006 BY
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

MAR 15 1968

FBI WASH DC*

TELETYPE

FBI ATLANTA

8:16PM URGENT 3/15/68 LBN

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080) AND WFO (100-43503)
FROM ATLANTA (100-6812) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-M; SEDITION INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS

RE AT TEL THIS DATE AND PHONE CALL TO WFO.

SUBJECT, TRAVELING UNDER NAME J. WALSHER, ACCOMPANIED

BY INDIVIDUALS GIVING NAMES OF [REDACTED]

DEPARTED ATLANTA VIA EASTERN AIRLINES FLIGHT ONE THREE SIX AT
SIX FOURTEEN PM MARCH FIFTEEN DESTINED NATIONAL AIRPORT WASHINGTON
DUE TO ARRIVE SEVEN FORTY PM. ADDITIONAL DETAILS AND LHM FOLLOWS.
END.

SVW

FBI WASH DC*

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Bishop	✓
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

REC-100

100-446080-1278

MAR 21 1968

55 MAR 28 1968

RELAYED TO WFO

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 04-21-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

Date: 3/14/68

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

AIRMAIL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM: SAC, BIRMINGHAM (157-2546)
SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS, SEDITION

b7C

Remytels 3/12/68.

Enclosed are 11 copies of a letterhead memorandum suitable for dissemination.

Copies of this letterhead memorandum have been disseminated locally to military intelligence agencies, U. S. Attorney, and U. S. Secret Service.

b7C

One copy of letterhead memorandum is being furnished to Washington Field and Mobile for information.

1CC Auto LHM
806 980
AGENCY: ACSI, OSI, SEC. SERV.,
DEPT: ISD, CRD, IDIU
HOW FORW: R/S
DATE FORW: 3/20/68
BY: PTB/jmk

C. C. Bishop

ENCLOSURE

3 - Bureau (Enc. 11) (RM)
1 - Birmingham
CBS:jam
(4)

12 MAR 18 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Approved: _____

Sent _____

M

Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

55 MAR 28 1968



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1400 - 2121 Building

Birmingham, Alabama 35203

March 14, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 04-21-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

b7C

The following information was obtained from
[redacted] Alabama State Troopers:

Stokely Carmichael entered the Birmingham Division at Centreville, Alabama at 2:35 p.m. (C.S.T.) March 12, 1968, riding in a 1967 yellow mustang, 1968 Alabama license [redacted]. He proceeded directly to Stillman College, Tuscaloosa, Alabama, and thereafter conducted a seminar at the student center.

b7C

[redacted] advised that Carmichael would speak at 8 p.m. at Birthright Auditorium on March 12 and the speech would be open to the public. 1968 Alabama license [redacted] is listed to [redacted]

[redacted] Tuskegee, Alabama.

FBI agents observed Carmichael's appearance at Stillman College and obtained the following information:

On March 12, 1968, Carmichael addressed a group of approximately 1,500 persons at Stillman College, Tuscaloosa, Alabama. Speech was open to the public. He gave "Black Nationalist" type of address calling for a black African revolution in this country. He referred to President Johnson as a "Honkey" and admitted that he met with Ho Chi Mien while in North Vietnam. During a question and answer period after the speech, Carmichael commented, "The white man in America wants a civil war with the blacks. Well we say we are ready for them and when that civilwar comes, we'll get Johnson."

COPIES DESTROYED

343 FEB 24 1971

100 - 446080 - 1279
ENCLOSURE

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Carmichael stated he would travel to Eutaw, Alabama, on March 13, and would speak at the First Baptist Church on that night.

b7C

Stillman College, advised Carmichael would stay on the campus until approximately noon March 13, 1968.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 04-21-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

Date: 3/15/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM: SAC, JACKSON (100-123) (P)
SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS;
SEDITION
(OO:WFO)

b7C

Re New York airtel to Bureau dated 3/8/68.

The following investigation was conducted at
Hazlehurst, Miss., by SA [REDACTED] on 3/14/68. b7C

Investigation at Hazlehurst, Miss., reveals
telephone [REDACTED] belongs to [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Hazlehurst, Miss. [REDACTED] a Negro male,
is approximately sixty years of age. Credit check
negative. Sheriff's Office, Copiah County, Hazlehurst,
Miss., and COP, Hazlehurst, Miss., advised their records
contain no individual identifiable with [REDACTED] b7C

On 3/13/68, [REDACTED] advised he has
known [REDACTED] for approximately twenty years and knows b7C
him to be a very substantial citizen of the community.
He further advised that he knew [REDACTED] to have at least
four children.

C. C. - Bishop

3-Bureau (RM)
2-Chicago (RM)
2-New York (RM)
2-Atlanta (RM)
2-Washington Field (RM)
2-Jackson
SBK:mah
(13)

REC 99

100-446080-1280

12 MAR 20 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Approved: [Signature]

Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

66 MAR 29 1968

JN 100-123

b7C On 3/14/68, [] advised that the discrete inquiries by himself had revealed [] to have a son by the name of [] who currently resides in Chicago, and who is married [] [] further advised that he had ascertained that [] had been in Hazlehurst, Miss., for the holidays through January 5, 1968, visiting his parents. J.L.

Local sources negative regarding any information concerning either [] b7C

LEADS:

CHICAGO DIVISION

AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

b7C [] Will review indices and attempt to identify [] to determine if he has potential as source of information.

JACKSON DIVISION

AT HAZLEHURST, MISSISSIPPI

b7C [] Will conduct discrete investigation into background of [] and attempt to determine if he has potential as source of information.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 04-21-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

Date: 3/19/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM: SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-68783)
RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION

Re WFO airtel to Bureau, 2/20/68.

Los Angeles is not submitting Selective Service data concerning [redacted] in form suitable for dissemination due to the fact that Selective Service records are confidential and can only be utilized in Selective Service cases.

Referenced communication stated that [redacted] attended a speech of STOKELY CARMICHAEL at Lincoln Memorial Congregational Temple, Washington, D. C. on May 16, 1967.

- 3 - Bureau (AM-REGISTERED)
2 - WFO (100-43503) (AM-REGISTERED)
1 - New York (100-153751) (Info) (AM-REGISTERED)
1 - Los Angeles
JWW:gcw
(7)

C. C. Bishop

cc 806 94 DE

b7C

15 MAR 21 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

70 APR 1 1968

LA 100-68783

On 1/16/59, [redacted] furnished the following information: [redacted]

Name

Born

Sex
Race
Height
Weight
Hair
Eyes
Parents

Occupation
Employment

N.Y.
Wash, D.C.

b7C
b7D

b7C
b7D

[redacted]
On 7/28/61, he was residing [redacted]
California. On 9/5/61, he was residing at [redacted]
[redacted] California. On 6/2/65, his address was
changed to [redacted]

b7C
b7D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 04-21-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

Date: 3/20/68

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS;
SEDITION

Enclosed herewith are 11 copies of an LHM regarding
above captioned matter. The LHM is being furnished for
information and possible dissemination.

b7C

The source referred to in the LHM is [redacted]
contacted by SA [redacted]

b2
b7C
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The info contained in the LHM has been furnished
verbally to [redacted] Intelligence Division,
MPD.

b7C

WFO will report any pertinent additional information
received regarding this matter from sources.

11 ENCLOSURE
3 - Bureau (Enc. 11)
1 - WFO

WWH:tab
(4)

AIRTEL

C. C. Bishop

REC 99 100-446080-1282
CRIM
AGENCY: ACSI, OSI, SEC. SERV. 1 MAR 26 1968
DEPT: ISD, CRD, DDT
HOW FORM: R/S
DATE FORM: 3/25/68
BY: PTB/...

Approved: _____

Sent _____

M

Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

66 MAR 29 1968



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 04-21-2006 BY
UNIT 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

E

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C. 20535
March 20, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

A confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past advised on March 19, 1968, that Stokely Carmichael reportedly had [redacted] of Peoples Drug Store, 14th and U Streets, N. W., Washington, D. C., on March 16, 1968, over the arrest of a Negro woman caught shoplifting in the store the previous day. Carmichael allegedly came into the store during the morning of March 16, 1968 and asked for "Honky", apparently referring to [redacted] a white person. Carmichael was told by [redacted] was not in and Carmichael stated he would return later. Source stated Carmichael reportedly returned to the store at a later time and told [redacted] he did not want to hear about any more of "his people" being arrested and locked up. Source advised that some reference was apparently made about picketing the store but he did not know if Carmichael had made this statement or any other direct threats. Source advised that the impression was left with persons familiar with the incident that Carmichael was trying to have stealing and shoplifting condoned in the area. Source noted the drug store is located near the Washington Office of the Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee (SNCC), 1234 U Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., where Carmichael "hangs out" a lot of the time. Source stated officials of Peoples Drug Stores had reportedly become quite concerned about the incident.

b7C
b7D

[redacted] advised on March 19, 1968, that on March 15, 1968, at about 8:30 p.m. [redacted]

b7C
b7D

COPIES DESTROYED
343 FEB 24 1971

100-446080-1282
ENCLOSURE

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

The next day [] did not report to work until in the afternoon. When he arrived he learned from [] that Stokely Carmichael had been in the store earlier inquiring for him. He was told [] would be in later. In the evening [] was working near the front of the store and Carmichael entered. Carmichael approached him and asked if he was []. [] acknowledged he was []. Carmichael told [] he wanted five minutes of his time and identified himself as Stokely Carmichael. Carmichael then asked, "Why do you have the special policeman in the store?" [] replied it was necessary because of stealing that went on in the store. Carmichael said something about there not being special policemen in Peoples Drug Stores in white neighborhoods. [] replied there should be because thefts occurred in both white and Negro neighborhoods. Carmichael then turned to leave, stating, "Honky, the special policeman goes or else". [] asked Carmichael what he meant by that statement and Carmichael replied, "The policeman goes or else". Carmichael then stated that he would return to the store sometime on March 19, 1968, probably at night. Carmichael then left the store. [] advised that he had no indication what Carmichael intended to do.

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b7D

[] further advised on the morning of March 20, 1968, Carmichael had not again returned to the store to pursue the matter.

b7C
b7D

This document contains neither
recommendations nor conclusions of
the FBI. It is the property of
the FBI and is loaned to your agency;
it and its contents are not to be
distributed outside your agency.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 04-21-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

Date: 3/20/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
NCS/M. [initials]
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (157-6-41)

FROM: SAC, WFO (157-433) (P)

POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
WASHINGTON, D. C.
RM

Re WFO airtel and LHM of 3/5/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are eleven copies of an LHM captioned as above. Copies are being disseminated to Secret Service, the Assistant United States Attorney and local military intelligence agencies.

The following is the coverage being utilized by WFO in captioned matter:

183 MAR 28 1968

Liaison on a daily basis with the Intelligence Division of the Metropolitan Police Department (MPD), the commanding officers of the MPD precincts, United States Park Police and local military intelligence agencies. [redacted] Liaison Sources provide coverage of demonstrations by civil rights groups. The CP and related activities are covered by [redacted] security informants and [redacted] panel sources. The Nation of Islam is covered by [redacted] racial informants, a security informant, and [redacted] Probationary Racial Informant (PRI). Racial matters are covered by [redacted] Racial informants. Regular contacts are had with [redacted] PRIs who reside in ghetto areas and are employed therein. These have all been informed of the urgent need for immediately furnishing WFO with all information which might show racial tension. Additional investigation is being conducted to develop more PRIs.

b2
b7D

ENCLOSURE AGENCY: CRD, ISD, IIU, RAO, -GD,
ACSI, OSI, SS, CFS, OEO

HOW FORW: _____
DATE FORW: MAR 25 1968
BY: CEE-GAS

3 - Bureau (Encl. 11)
1 - WFO
RMK:dab

AIRTEL

Approved: _____

Sent _____ M Per _____

Room 836
9 & D

62 APR 2 1968 Special Agent in Charge

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 4/6/89 BY 3042 PUL/GAT

(82-1466)

ORIGINAL FILED IN 157-6-43-1303

WFO 157-433

The monitoring of MPD radio calls provides WFO with prompt and timely notice regarding conditions in the various MPD precincts.

All Criminal Informants and Potential Criminal Informants have been advised to immediately call WFO if they obtain any data concerning racial tension.

The Supervisory staff and all Special Agents of WFO have been made aware of the need for being constantly alert to pick up any information related to racial matters. This includes information received from individuals, radio and television news.

The following sources as reported in the attached LHM were contacted as follows:

SOURCE

CONTACTED BY SA

--

--

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b7C
b7D

WFO 157-433

The enclosed LHM is classified "~~Confidential~~" in view of information received from [REDACTED] [REDACTED] which could reasonably result in the identification of this informant of continuing value and compromise the future effectiveness of the informant.

b2
b7D

STOKELY CARMICHAEL is on the Rabble Rouser Index, (RRI).



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C. 20535

March 20, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
WASHINGTON, D. C.

This current document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The information set forth is based on the comments and views of the individuals mentioned herein. These pertained to the racial situation as it existed at the time the comments and views were expressed. The possibility exists that the racial situation in any particular area in Washington, D. C., may change suddenly. Due consideration must be given this fact.

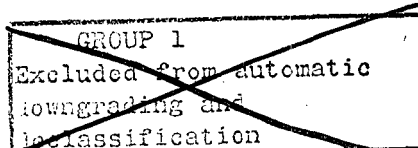
II. GENERAL RACIAL SITUATION

The individuals familiar with conditions existing in the ghetto areas in Washington, D. C., have advised as follows:

The racial situation is very uncertain. People are apprehensive about Dr. Martin Luther King's "poor people's campaign" which he plans to bring to Washington, D. C. (WDC) in April, 1968. Some believe the demonstration will be beneficial and will show the underprivileged that efforts are being expended in their behalf. A riot could happen over some unexpected incident as has happened in other large cities. Stokely Carmichael urged a gathering of people in WDC, on March 17, 1968, to arm themselves and that every black man in the United States should get a gun. Some

100-446080

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



DECLASSIFIED BY 3042 PWT/GAT
ON 2/6/89 (82-1466)

ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE

POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
WASHINGTON, D. C.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

people in WDC are not in sympathy with Dr. King's demonstration plans. WDC leaders are attempting to evaluate the potential of Dr. King's impact on WDC, in April. Howard University students began a sit-in at Howard University on March 19, 1968, protesting possible disciplinary actions against students involved in previous disruptive action on the campus.

III. CURRENT EVALUATION OF VIOLENCE POTENTIAL

[redacted] who lives in the [redacted] and works in the [redacted] sections of WDC, advised as follows on March 11, 1968:

b2
b7D

The racial situation in WDC appears to be very uncertain. Nobody knows what is going to happen in WDC and many people are scared. They are not sure what will happen when Dr. Martin Luther King's "poor people's campaign" begins in April. Even though Dr. King has asked the militants to stay out of the activities, there is no assurance the request will be honored.

The March 11, 1968, issue of the "Newsweek" magazine, page 45 contained a paragraph captioned "Washington". It stated Washington had never been considered to be a major racial tinderbox as much of its Negro population works for the Federal government and is insulated by civil service security from the worst chills of black despair. It stated Washington was facing the summer with nervous uncertainty, and Dr. King was bringing 3000 demonstrators to Washington to begin a summer-long campaign of picketing and marching for jobs and income.

The March 12, 1968 issue of "The Evening Star", a daily WDC newspaper, page B-1 reported that District Safety Director Patrick V. Murphy had said the Washington police hoped to train as many as 2,800 volunteers for emergency duty this summer in an enlarged "Police Reserver

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
WASHINGTON, D.C.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Corps". Most of them would be used for station duty and thus free additional policemen during emergencies.

The March 12, 1968 issue of "Washington Afro-American", a Washington, D. C. newspaper, page 12, reported that The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders had said that "Abrasive relationships between police and non-whites have been a major source of rioting in the racial ghettos of American cities".

On March 14, 1968, [] who works in the ghettos of WDC and is acquainted with many of the under privileged advised as follows:

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b7D

The "poor people's campaign" which is a demonstration being planned by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. has been given the support of a number of the larger religious groups in WDC. The demonstration will show the underprivileged that much effort is being expended in efforts to improve their life. It is believed the demonstration will be beneficial. Plans are being made to have volunteers from among the demonstrators, who will agree to be arrested if necessary. It is not believed that any racial trouble will result from the demonstration.

[] further advised as follows:

Stokely Carmichael is in Washington, D. C. and has organized the Black United Front, (BUF), but it is not believed that Carmichael will have much support from BUF members if Carmichael decides to create violence in WDC. The majority of the BUF members are not expected to support any plans for racial violence.

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b7D

On March 14, 1968, [] who resides in the [] section of WDC advised as follows:

It is his belief that a riot could take place in WDC over some unexpected incident such as the arrest of a Negro. This has happened in the past in other large cities. Other than the above situation, the conditions are such that the source is optimistic about a riot-free summer in WDC.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
WASHINGTON, D. C.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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[redacted] who resides and works in the ghetto areas of Northwest WDC, advised as follows on March 18, 1968:

On March 17, 1968, Stokely Carmichael gave a talk at The Church of The Redeemer, 15th and Girard Streets, N. E., WDC at the invitation of the Fellowship Forum of the church. Among other things, Carmichael said the black people in the United States must connect with the 900 million black people of the "third world" to liberate themselves from the control of the white man. He described the "third world" as including the black people of Cuba, West Indies, Haiti, South America and Africa. He said the United States is planning genocide against the Negroes and for this reason Negroes should arm themselves. He said he did not mean a .22 caliber either. He advocated that every black man in the United States get a gun. He stated that if Negroes obtained an arsenal, relations between whites and blacks would be equal.

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b7D

[redacted] further stated as follows:

Carmichael said he realized many black people do not agree with his ideology and that there are many "Uncle Toms" in the community. Carmichael said his group proposes that if they develop information about a person "being that way", someone will talk to that person and attempt to change his mind and "if he does not change his ways, he will be considered a traitor to his community and all traitors die". Carmichael said black people should support the Arabs in any conflict between the Arabs and the Israelis. He said the WDC Public School System is 93% Negro and the curriculum must be changed to be more relative to the Negro community.

The March 18, 1968, issue of "The Washington Post and Times Herald", newspaper on page B-3 reported that Stokely Carmichael had spoken to a racially mixed audience on March 17, 1968 at The Church of The Redeemer, WDC. Among Carmichael's comments to the group were "We are advocating simply that every black man in this country should get a gun. The only reason the honkie (white man) is able to rule is because he has a gun".

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
WASHINGTON, D. C.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The March 18, 1968 issue of "The Evening Star", a daily WDC newspaper on page B-3, reported that the District chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People had voted to support the goals of the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King's "Poor People's Campaign".

[redacted] who lives and works in the Northwest section of WDC, on March 18, 1968, advised as follows:

b2
b7D

It is believed there are some individuals in WDC who may be inclined toward the creation of racial trouble in WDC, but these are not likely to initiate any actions toward the starting of trouble. The feeling among many in the Northwest ghetto is that in order for the "poor people's campaign" to be successful, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. will have to bring in outsiders for his reported "civil disobedience" in WDC. In the event large numbers of outsiders are brought in, their behavior will be very difficult to control. Therefore anything may happen.

[redacted] further advised as follows on March 18, 1968:

b2
b7D

In the Northeast area near the source's residence, there has been a lack of enthusiasm by the WDC citizens for Dr. King's "poor people's campaign". These people are not in sympathy with Dr. King's plans as they fail to see that any benefits may result from any demonstration involving civil disobedience.

[redacted] who resides in Northwest WDC and is employed in a Northwest ghetto area, advised as follows on March 18, 1968:

b2
b7D

The foremost concern of people in WDC is the unknown potential for racial trouble which could take place when Dr. Martin Luther King and his "poor people's campaign" begins in WDC in April 1968. Many leaders of organizations in WDC are attempting to evaluate the current and future potential of Dr. King's impact on the racial scene of WDC. These leaders are very concerned and are trying to determine what response WDC citizens may give Dr. King.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
WASHINGTON, D. C.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b2
b7D [redacted] who resides in the Northeast section of WDC and has a wide acquaintanceship in WDC advised as follows on March 19, 1968:

On March 19, 1968 at about 1:30 PM about fifty to seventy-five students began a sit-in in the lobby of the Administration Building, at Howard University to protest possible disciplinary action against students who had participated in previous disruptive activity on the campus.

b7C On March 19, 1968, [redacted] Intelligence Division, Metropolitan Police Department, advised that at about 4:45 PM, on March 19, 1968, approximately one hundred and fifty students were engaging in a sit-in in the Administration Building, Howard University and planned to remain all night. According to [redacted] Stokely Carmichael appeared briefly at the building, but did not participate in the sit-in and then departed.

THEFTS OF GUNS AND AMMUNITION

b2
b7D [redacted] who is employed in the Northwest section of WDC, on March 18 and 19, 1968 advised as follows:

[redacted]

b7C
b7D

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, WFO (157-1537) (RUC)

CHANGED

RM- SNCC
(00:NY)

Title being marked "CHANGED" to reflect true
name of subject as [redacted] Was previously carried
as [redacted]

Re Bureau let, 3/15/68.

[redacted] USDS, WDC,
advised this date confidential basis [redacted] (correct
spelling) [redacted]

[redacted] stated recently several student groups in
U.S. reportedly invited [redacted] to visit U.S. and was all set
to do so. [redacted]

[redacted] stated did not believe much chance [redacted]
will be permitted to leave country any time in near future.
However, speculated he might flee country. In that event he

- 4- Bureau
(1- 100-446080) (CARMICHAEL)
3- New York (RM)
(1- 100-153751) (CARMICHAEL)
2- WFO
(1- 100-43503) (CARMICHAEL)
WWH:js
(9) AIRTEL

100-446080
NOT RECORDED
202 MAR 26 1968

66 APR 3 1968

WFO 157-1537

may visit the United States. [] requested to be advised in the event any information is received [] comes to the U.S.

b7C

b7C [] requested above not be disseminated outside the Bureau without prior clearance from the U.S.D.S.

WFO will continue to follow this matter in CARMICHAEL case since CARMICHAEL might meet with [] if he comes to U.S.

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 04-25-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

FBI

Date: 3/21/68

Transmit the following in PLAINTEXT
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI, (100-446080)

b7C

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC; SEDITION

PEWFOTEL MARCH TWENTY LAST.

SUBJECT DEPARTED RESIDENCE LATE MORNING MARCH TWO ONE
INSTANT AND PROCEEDED TO SNCC HDQTS. LEFT SNCC EARLY AFTERNOON
AND PROCEEDED TO NUMBER THREE THOMAS CIRCLE. THEN RETURNED TO
SNCC HDQTS. LATER WENT TO ONE FIVE ZERO SEVEN NINTH STREET, NW,
AND RETURNED TO RESIDENCE IN MID-AFTERNOON. LATER RETURNED TO
SNCC HDQTS. THEN VISITED CLEANERS AND BARBERSHOP IN NEARBY AREA.

AT FOUR TWO FIVE PM, SUBJECT ENTERED THE PEOPLES DRUG
STORE LOCATED AT FOURTEENTH AND U STREETS, NW, AND INQUIRED OF
MANAGER IF THE UNIFORMED POLICEMAN WAS STILL EMPLOYED THERE.
SUBJECT SAID HE HAD PREVIOUSLY TOLD THE MANAGER TO GET RID OF
THIS POLICEMAN OR ELSE. MANAGER REPLIED AFFIRMATIVELY. SUBJECT
INQUIRED IF THIS WAS STORE POLICY TO HAVE A GUARD. WHEN TOLD
THIS WAS TRUE, SUBJECT DEPARTED.

3-Bureau
1-WFO

REC 36

100-446080-1283

AAM;rmj
(4)

5 MAR 26 1968

b7C

Approved: 66 APR 1 1968

Sent

M

Per

Special Agent in Charge

RACIAL UNIT

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)PAGE TWO
WFO 100-43503

SUBJECT LATER RETURNED TO SNCC HDQTS WHERE HE REMAINED
INTO THE EVENING HOURS.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

EFFORTS BEING MADE TO DETERMINE REASONS FOR
VISITS BY SUBJECT TO NUMBER THREE THOMAS CIRCLE AND ONE FIVE
ZERO SEVEN NINTH STREET, NW.

P

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

MAR 23 1968

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

F

FBI WASH DC

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 04-25-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

b7c

FBI ATLANTA

10:00 AM URGENT 3-23-68 JWE

TO BUREAU 100-446080 AND CHICAGO 157-1279
FROM ATLANTA 100-6812

STOKELY CARMICHAEL. IS - MISC. SEDITION.

RE CHICAGO TEL MARCH TWENTYTWO LAST.

SOURCES ATLANTA UNABLE TO FURNISH ANY INFO RE PROPOSED
ITINERARY OF CARMICHAEL OR AS TO HIS REPORTED PARTICIPATION
IN ACTIVITY SET FORTH IN RETEL.

WFO ADVISED AIRMAIL.

END.

SAA

FBI WASH DC

X

REC 36

100-446080-1284

5 MAR 26 1968

66 APR 1 1968

MAR 23 10 03 AM '68

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5-11

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 04-25-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

Date: 3/18/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL REGISTERED
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080) b7C
FROM: SAC, BIRMINGHAM (157-2546) (P)
STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS, SEDITION

Re Birmingham teletype, 3/13/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of a letterhead memorandum suitable for dissemination.

Enclosed for Washington Field Office is one copy of this letterhead memorandum.

[] is confidential source [] b2 b7D

This letterhead memorandum has been disseminated locally to military intelligence agencies, U. S. Secret Service, Birmingham, and United States Attorney, Birmingham.

- ③ - Bureau (Enc. 11) (AM-RM)
1 - Washington Field (100-43503) (Info) (Enc. 1) (AM-RM)
1 - Birmingham

CBS:cap
(5)

11 ENCLOSURE

CRIM

AGENCY: ACSI, OSI, SEC. SER. 69

DEPT: ISD, CRD, ZDIL

HOW FORW: R/S

DATE FORW: 3/22/68

BY: PTB/200

MAR 20 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT

54 MAR 29 1968 - Bishop

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 04-25-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls
UNITED STATES

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Birmingham, Alabama 35203

March 18, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Birmingham Confidential Informant [] furnished
the following information:

b2
b7D

On March 13, 1968, Stokely Carmichael, a
Black Power advocate, spoke at Miles College, Fairfield,
Alabama, on this date. Carmichael inferred that []
[] whom he considers an
"Uncle Tom", should be killed if he and others like him
cannot be won over to the Black Power cause. He called
upon students to get guns and protect their "fellow black
loved ones". In closing, his speech to a packed lecture
room of excited students and some instructors, he read
what he called a letter written by his counterpart, Rap
Brown, from jail where he is confined for violating a
court order. The letter stated the following:

b7C
b7D

1. That he is a political prisoner.
2. The Negro must move from resistance to
revolution.
3. From resistance that's not enough, to
aggression.
4. 1968 must signal the beginning of the
end for this country.

The after effects of the speech left the
students with gossip and mixed emotions. Carmichael
came to the Miles campus without the sanction of the
school administration. []

b7C
b7D

[] spearheaded the effort to get Carmichael on
the campus and had charge of a large delegation of
Mileans who went to Tuscaloosa, Alabama, on the night of
March 12, 1968, to hear his speech at Stillman College.

On the morning of March 13th, petitions were
circulated throughout the student body getting signatures
asking that Carmichael be permitted to speak on the
Miles campus. []

b7C
b7D

100-446080-1285

ENCLOSURE

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

by the presence of Fairfield and county police officers who kept watch from the street at the school's main entrances several hours after Carmichael left the campus. During the meeting the notes taken by a white reporter of the "Southern Courier" newspaper were torn up by one of Carmichael's aides, and he was put out of the room. No other incidents occurred.

Some "Black Power" advocates on the Miles College campus claim to be disappointed at what they call the mildness of Carmichael's speech.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 04-25-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

MAR 24 1968

TELETYPE

FBI WASH DC*

FBI INDAPOLS

1144PM URGENT 3-24-68 JR

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080) AND WASHINGTON FIELD

WASHINGTON FIELD VIA WASHINGTON

FROM INDIANAPOLIS (100-15504)

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-M; SEDITION. OO: WFO.

SOURCE ADVISED CLOSED STORE ON TWO ONE FIVE NINE BROADWAY, GARY,
INDIANA, WAS OPENED UP FOR PROPOSED SPEECH BY CARMICHAEL. LESS
THAN FIFTY PEOPLE SHOWED UP AS OF TEN THIRTY P.M., C.S.T.
CARMICHAEL HAD NOT APPEARED AND PEOPLE BEGAN DRIFTING AWAY. SOURCE
STATED ONE UNIDENTIFIED YOUNG MALE NEGRO APPEARED TO BE IN CHARGE,
WHO STATED NO ORGANIZATION SPONSORING SPEECH, JUST FRIENDS OF
CARMICHAEL. GARY PD ADVISED NO SPEECH TOOK PLACE, AND GROUP LEAVING
BUILDING.

b7C

ADMINISTRATIVE DATA:

REIPTTEL THIS DATE.

SOURCE IS

LHM FOLLOWS.

END

62 APR 2 1968

FBI WASH DC*

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

REC-21

100-446080-1286

1 MAR 26 1968

b2

b7D

J-24

487

FBI WASH DC*

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

MAR 24 1968

TELETYPE

FBI INDAPOLS

945PM URGENT 3-24-68 JR

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080) AND WASHINGTON FIELD

WASHINGTON FIELD VIA WASHINGTON

FROM INDIANAPOLIS (100-¹⁵⁵⁰⁴~~6842~~)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 04-25-2006 BY

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-M; 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

b7C

SOURCE ADVISED LATE THIS AFTERNOON THAT STOKELY CARMICHAEL
REPORTED TO BE COMING TO GARY, INDIANA, FOR A SPEECH THIS EVENING
GARY PD ADVISED AND PD LATER CALLED BACK AND ADVISED LEAFLET BEING
PASSED OUT IN GARY TO EFFECT CARMICHAEL WILL SPEAK AT NINE P.M.
C.S.T. AT TWO ONE FIVE NINE BROADWAY, GARY. THIS IS EMPTY STORE
WHICH CAN HOLD NOT OVER ONE HUNDRED PERSONS.

 SOURCE RESIDING THIS AREA WAS CONTACTED AND WAS UNAWARE,
BUT IS NOW PLANNING TO ATTEND. GARY PD AFFORDING APPROPRIATE
COVERAGE BUT NO INDICATION CARMICHAEL IN AREA AT THIS TIME.

b2
b7D

ADMINISTRATIVE DATA:

b7C

BUREAU WILL BE KEPT ADVISED.

LHM FOLLOWS.

END

~~CHANGE IP FILE NR TO READ (100-15504)~~

JMS

FBI WASH DC*

62 APR 2 1968

RELAYED TO WFO

EX-110
REC-21

100-446080-1287

1 MAR 26 1968

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
ss Gandy	_____

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

MAR 23 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 04-25-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

LETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

FBI WASH DC*

FBI BOSTON

11:08PM URGENT 3-23-68 RDS

TO DIRECTOR, WFO & CHICAGO

FROM BOSTON (157-437) 1P

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, AKA, RM - SNCC; SEDITION.

REMYTEL THIS DATE.

BOSTON SOURCES AND LOCAL POLICE HAVE NO ADDITIONAL INFO
CINCERNING SUBJECT'S ACTIVITIES OR CURRENT WHEREABOUTS. SOURCES
REMAINING ALERT FOR FURTHER INFO. INVESTIGATION CONTINUES. EFFORTS
WILL BE MADE TO ESTABLISH SUBJECT'S TIME OF DEPARTURE FROM BOSTON AND
DESTINATION.

END

JMS

FBI WASH DC*

@

62 APR 2 1968

RELAYED TO

WFO

REC-21

100-446080-1288

MAR 26 1968

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 04-25-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

FBI

Date: 3/20/68

Transmit the following in PLAINTEXT
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC.; SEDITION

SUBJECT DEPARTED RESIDENCE MID-MORNING MARCH TWENTY INSTANT
AND LATER ARRIVED SNCC HDQTS. DEPARTED SNCC AND ENTERED VW, WASH-
INGTON LICENSE [REDACTED] DETERMINED REGISTERED TO [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] ARLINGTON, VA.

SUBJECT PROCEEDED TO ONE FOUR ZERO ZERO BLOCK OF SWANN ST., N.W.
WHERE HE ENTERED A PRIVATE RESIDENCE. LATER RETURNED TO SNCC HDQTS.
IN AFTERNOON SUBJECT WENT TO DIXIE REALTY CO. WHERE HE CREATED SCENE
IN EFFORT TO HAVE MONEY REFUNDED PREVIOUSLY PLACED BY [REDACTED]
AS DEPOSIT ON HOUSE RENTAL. CARMICHAEL BECAME BOISTEROUS AND POLICE
CALLED. PART OF MONEY REFUNDED TO HIM TO PREVENT TROUBLE AND HE
DEPARTED, RETURNING TO SNCC HDQTS. NO FURTHER POLICE ACTION
REQUIRED.

b7C

IN EVENING SUBJECT WENT TO ONE SIX TWO FIVE FRANKLIN ST. N.E.

SUBJECT LATER APPEARED ON TV PANEL PROGRAM, QUOTE CONTROVERSY

3 - Bureau
1 - WFO

AAM:tkm
(4)

15 MAR 26 1968

b7C

5-100

55 APR 1968

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

PAGE TWO
WFO 100-43503

FOURTEEN UNQUOTE, WITH OTHERS. SUBJECT RE PAST REMARKS ADVOCATING VIOLENCE AND COMMENTED THAT THESE REMARKS WERE MADE IN CONTEXT OF EQUALITY. HE REMARKED THAT WHITE PEOPLE HAVE GUNS, POLICE HAVE GUNS SO IT IS NECESSARY THAT BLACK PEOPLE GET GUNS.

ADMINISTRATIVE

EFFORTS BEING MADE TO DETERMINE IDENTITIES OF PERSONS VISITED AT ABOVE ADDRESSES, AND DETERMINE FURTHER INFORMATION REGARDING THE NATURE OF SUBJECT'S REMARKS ON TV.

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

VIA TELETYPE
MAR 20 1968
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 04-25-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

R 62

b7C

URGENT 3-20-68

TO DIRECTOR AND WASHINGTON FIELD
FROM NEW HAVEN

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-M; SEDITION.

b7C

[REDACTED] NEW HAVEN POLICE DEPT., ADVISED THIS DATE
THAT A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE REPORTED THAT INFORMATION HAD COME TO SOURCE'S
ATTENTION INDICATING THAT CARMICHAEL WAS TO MAKE AN APPEARANCE AT
HARTFORD, CONN., FRIDAY, MARCH TWO TWO, ONE NINE SIX EIGHT, PURPOSE
UNKNOWN. WFO REQUESTED TO CONFIRM AND ADVISE TYPE OF COVERAGE
DESIRED.

2CC WASHINGTON FIELD

RECEIVED: 4:58 PM MKP

EX-110

REC-38

100-446080-1290

B MAR 21 1968

MAR 29 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 04-25-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

DATE: 3/25/68

FROM : SAC, COLUMBIA (100-179) (RUC)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISC; SEDITION
(OO:WFO)

ReNYairtel to Director, 3/8/68.

Telephone number [redacted] is listed
to the residence of [redacted]
[redacted] This telephone number noted on personal
checks of [redacted] as made available by [redacted]
[redacted] whose identity
must be protected.

b7C

- ② - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - New York (100-153751) (Info) (RM)
- 2 - WFO (100-43503) (RM)
- 1 - Columbia

FHA/fha
(6)

REC-75

100-446080-1291

1 MAR 27 1968

RACIAL ~~IN~~ SECT.



6 APR 2 1968

487
100-40698D

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 04-25-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

Date: 3/18/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM: SAC, BIRMINGHAM (157-2546) (P)
STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS, SEDITION

b7C

Re Birmingham teletype to Bureau, Mobile and
WFO, 3/14/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of a
letterhead memorandum reflecting CARMICHAEL's trip
to Eutaw, Alabama, and comments made at a meeting
held 3/13/68.

Enclosed for Washington Field Office is
one copy of this letterhead memorandum.

Dissemination of this letterhead memorandum
has been made to interested local agencies.

The identity of the confidential sources
utilized in the letterhead memorandum are as follows:

b2
b7C
b7D

- ③ - Bureau (Enc. 11) (AM-RM)
2 - Washington Field (Enc. 1) (100-43-503) (AM-RM)
2 - Birmingham

ELW:cap
(7)

AGENCY: ACSI, OSI, SE

DEPT: ISD, CRD

HOW FORW:

DATE FORW

BY: PFB/jha

MAR 20 1968

Approved: *[Signature]*

Sent

Special Agent in Charge

66 APR 1 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 04-25-2006 BY
UNITED 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Birmingham, Alabama 35203

March 18, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Stokely Carmichael determined to have traveled from Birmingham, Alabama, to Eutaw, Alabama, arriving at the First African Baptist Church at approximately 8:05 P.M. on the evening of March 13, 1968. Carmichael and associates traveled in the following vehicles:

Late model yellow Ford Mustang bearing 1968 Alabama License [redacted] a 1966 Volkswagen sedan Fastback, gray in color, bearing 1968 Alabama License [redacted] determined to be registered to [redacted] Tuscaloosa, Alabama, and a 1968 gray Plymouth, bearing 1968 Alabama License [redacted] determined to be registered to [redacted] Selma, Alabama.

b7C

Birmingham confidential source [redacted] advised that approximately 300 to 400 persons were gathered at the church to greet Carmichael, all of whom were Negro. [redacted] advised that this meeting lasted approximately two hours, and that Carmichael spoke for about one hour to one hour and twenty minutes, the other time being taken up by speeches from local civil rights leaders. [redacted] advised that Carmichael spoke about American involvement in Vietnam and how, in his talks with the leader of North Vietnam, Ho Chi Minh, he (Carmichael) learned that the people of North Vietnam did not want to fight the Negro, only the white man. Carmichael also spoke about the draft and how it would be better for the Negro, if he had to fight, to fight in America protecting his family, rather than fighting in Asia against other colored people. [redacted] also advised that Carmichael spoke about the history of the Negro people of America and how the Negro had been used by the white man to build America, but was not allowed to participate in American society. [redacted] stated that Carmichael spoke about all the beatings, lynchings and other violence used by the white man against the Negro, and that now it was time for the Negro to fight back, using violence if necessary. [redacted] stated that Carmichael told how

b2
b7D

ENCLOSURE

100 - 446080 - 1292

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

non-violence had not worked for the Negro, and now was the time for the Negro to arm himself in order to protect his family and his future. [] advised that Carmichael did not make any specific comments concerning draft evasion or the war in Vietnam, but confined his comments to generalities about Negro-white relations in America today. [] advised that a collection was taken at the end of the meeting, and approximately \$84.00 was taken in.

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b7D

Birmingham confidential source [] advised that a meeting at the First African Baptist Church, Eutaw, Alabama, held March 13, 1968, was attended by approximately 350 persons, and that before Stokely Carmichael, who was the featured speaker, made his talk, local Negro candidates and civil rights workers, including William Branch, who is running for Congress for the Fifth District of Alabama, spoke about their campaign and solicited the support of the audience. [] advised that the audience at the First African Baptist Church was composed entirely of Negroes. [] advised that Carmichael's speech was anti-white in nature and that he used Biblical quotations as an outline for his talk. [] advised that Carmichael criticized the white man, saying that he had persecuted the Negroes for over 400 years, that the Negro had never done anything to the white man, but that the white man had always hurt the Negro. [] advised that Carmichael mentioned that the Negro had built America and that the white man was not going to put him out of America or to whip him any further. [] further stated that Carmichael spoke about the war in Vietnam and how the Vietnamese people did not want to fight the colored person in America, and that the colored person, if he had to fight, should take up arms in America in order to protect his family and his own rights.

b2
b7D

Birmingham confidential source [] furnished virtually the same information as furnished by Birmingham confidential sources []. Birmingham confidential source [] further stated that he learned that Stokely Carmichael would spend the evening of March 13, 1968, at Eutaw, Alabama, and then sometime during the day of March 14, 1968, he would travel to Selma, Alabama, where he would make another speech.

b2
b7D

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

[redacted] Greene County, Eutaw, Alabama, advised that local, county and state officers were in Eutaw, Alabama, during the visit by Stokely Carmichael on March 14, 1968. [redacted] advised that there were no reported incidents except that no white persons were allowed in the First African Baptist Church, and that two UPI reporters had been turned away from this church.

b7C

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 04-25-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

Date: 3/20/68

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via **AIRTEL** _____

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - M
SEDITION
(OO:WFO)

ReWFOairtel with LHM dated 3/13/68.

Enclosed herewith are eleven copies of LHM
regarding the above captioned matter.

The confidential source referred to in the
LHM as having provided information is _____
_____ who is under consideration for development as
a PRI, contacted by SA _____

b7C

b7D

In the interest of brevity the identity of the
numerous other sources contacted regarding this matter
are being set forth in subject's file, WFO, and not
being repeated in instant communication.

WFO continuing to follow this matter closely
and any pertinent information developed will be furnished
promptly.

ENCLOSURE

REC-21

3-Bureau (Encs. 11)

2-WFO

(1-157-1426) (BLACK UNITED FRONT)

WWH:bap

(5)

C. C. Bishop

AIRTEL

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per: _____

AGENCY: ACSI, NIC, OSI, SEC. SERV.

DEPT: ISD, CRD, JDE

HOW FORW: R/S

DATE FORW: 3/26/68

BY: PTB/mb



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 04-25-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Washington, D.C. 20535
March 20, 1968

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION

According to a press release dated February 20, 1968, Stokely Carmichael was reported to have been conducting a secret school for black militants in Washington, D. C.

[redacted] a native Washingtonian, advised on March 14, 1968 that although the Washington Office of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) is not active, he is regarded as [redacted] advised he is generally aware of current racial problems in the District of Columbia and the organizing efforts of Stokely Carmichael to unify the Negro community through the establishment of the Black United Front (BUF). In this connection he stated it is a known fact Carmichael is meeting with various individuals in Washington, D.C. but these contacts are not for the purpose of organizing secret groups to rebel against the community. He stated he knows of no secret school having been established by Carmichael to train out-of-town racial militants in how to promote violence.

[redacted] of the Washington, D.C. branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) advised on March 15, 1968 that he is aware of the racial conditions prevalent in the Washington, D. C. area. He further advised that he has followed the activities of Stokely Carmichael and the newly organized Black United Front (BUF). [redacted] advised that he has received no information that Stokely Carmichael

ENCLOSURE

1293

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

has organized a secret school in Washington, D.C. for the purpose of training out-of-town racial militants in violent tactics.

A confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on March 20, 1968, he has scrutinized the activities of Stokely Carmichael carefully since his arrival in Washington, D.C. on January 4, 1968. He stated Carmichael has participated in many meetings, discussions and social functions concerning the establishment of the Black United Front and the activities of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). Source stated no information has come to his attention that Carmichael or SNCC has established any secret schools in Washington, D.C. for training out-of-town racial militants. Source stated he does not believe such a school has been established, otherwise he would have information of its existence because of his position in racial matters in Washington, D.C.

Additional confidential sources familiar with racial activities in Washington, D.C. advised that they are aware of Stokely Carmichael's efforts to organize the Negro community into the Black United Front and that in this connection he is holding various meetings. However, no information has come to their attention that he has organized a secret school to train racial militants how to commit acts of violence.

This document contains neither
recommendations nor conclusions of
the FBI. It is the property of
the FBI and is loaned to your agency.
It and its contents are not to be
distributed outside your agency.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 04-25-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

Date: 3/20/68

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via **AIRTEL****AIRMAIL - REGISTERED**

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM: SAC, BIRMINGHAM (157-2546) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS, SEDITION
OO: WFO

Re Birmingham airtel to Bureau dated 3/14/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of letterhead memorandum suitable for dissemination. Enclosed for WFO are two copies of letterhead memorandum.

Copies of this letterhead memorandum have been disseminated locally to military intelligence agencies, U. S. Attorney, and U. S. Secret Service, Birmingham.

b7C
b7D

Confidential Informant [] is []

(By request). Tape recording furnished by [] being retained in Birmingham Division.

AGENCY: ACSI, NIC, OSI, SEC. SERV.,

DEPT: ~~ISD, CHD, RAO~~ *DATA*; STATE []HOW FORW: *R/S*DATE FORW: *3/24/68*BY: *RTB/det*

b2

- 3 - Bureau (Enc. 11) (RM)
2 - WFO (Enc. 2) (100-43503) (RM)
2 - Birmingham
LGG:mas
(7)

*1cc of airtel +
1 Xerox CHM
80C 940*

REC-43 Bishop
100-446080-1294

MAR 25 1968

REC'D - SEC. SERV.
MAR 25 1968

70 APR 1 1968

Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Birmingham, Alabama
March 20, 1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls
ON 04-25-2006

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

On March 13, 1968, Confidential Informant [] advised that at 8:00 p.m. on March 12, 1968, Stokely Carmichael addressed a group of approximately 1,500 persons at the Birthright Auditorium, Stillman College, Tuscaloosa, Alabama. [] furnished a tape recording of the first 45 minutes of this speech. [] said the tape does not include the last 30 minutes of the speech and does not include the question and answer period.

b2
b7D

The attached pages set forth the tape recording of Stokely Carmichael's speech as furnished by []

b2
b7D

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ENCLOSURE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

100-446084-1294

We want to talk tonight about survival - whether or not the black people are going to survive in America. It's important today that we talk about survival because it's crystal clear in the minds of many of us that the white people are getting ready to commit genocide against black people. While that concept may sound strange and impossible to many black people, it is important that we examine our history and begin to understand whether or not it is possible for white people to consider committing genocide against us.

Now we can ...(inaudible) very simply. Now, genocide means very simply the advent to wipe us out physically - that is, kill everybody, that's what we mean when we say genocide.

I'd swear that in the new- ...(inaudible) emphasis they are burying their own people for a physical showdown with black people. They do that every day when they talk about their tanks - they do that every day when they talk about their stolen guns - they do that every day when they talk about their mace - they do that every day when they talk about their chemicals - they do that every day when they talk about their concentration camps. They do everything and they bury their own people for eventual showdown with black people.

It is very simple that we black people must prepare for this showdown so that we will survive, and that is all that we need to talk about...(inaudible)...(applause)...(inaudible)

We're not talking about politics - we're not talking about economics. We're talking about a certain type of ingrained superiority to be found in all white people when it comes to dealing with Negro color.

Let's examine the (inaudible) history of Europeans as they moved around the world. They came to this country - the Indians took them in - they showed them how to plant - how to fish - how to adapt to this country. After the Indians did that, they systematically wiped them out. They committed genocide against the Indians, and they do not even feel sorry about committing genocide. As a matter of fact, they laugh about it every day. They put it on TV - the cowboys and Indians, and they laugh about it when the cowboys shoot the Indians, and they have everybody else laughing at it so that people will begin to accept it as a way of life. They have completely committed genocide against the Indians.

They went to South America. They found the Aztec Indians. The Aztec Indians had a civilization. They had a lot of silver and they built a lot of monuments, religious monuments. They showed them to the white man. When he saw the silver, he stole it and tried to commit genocide against them. They went into the entire land and subjugated them to their way of life.

They went to Africa. The colored showed them gold and diamonds and all the minerals that we had. He stole the gold - he stole the diamonds - and he wasn't satisfied, and he stole us. (applause)

He went to China, and the Chinese had gun powder because they used gun powder to shoot fireworks...The Chinese showed him the gun powder. He took it and developed the gun, came back and conquered all of Asia.

We're talking about a type of superiority among the white people that makes them think that because they are white they're better than everybody else - and their entire system, not only in this country but around the world,...to show them favor today. Wherever the white man is today - whether he is the majority or the minority - he rules - he rules. He rules America - he says he's the majority. He rules South Africa - he is the minority. He's trying to rule in Vietnam - but the Vietnamese (inaudible) (applause).

Is it possible, then, to recognize what he's done to people's color around the world? Is it possible for him to develop genocide against us? We were brought to this country for one purpose - to build - and we did that ... (inaudible) Black people will decide. We were brought to this country to pick cotton. When we were brought to this country, the United States was an agricultural country. The cash crop on the market was cotton. Who picked cotton? ... (applause) ... We picked the cotton - and since we picked the cotton, we built the economy of this country.

After the Civil War...we all read about whether this country would be agricultural or industrial (partially inaudible); and at least once when this country became industrial, it was we who was used once again to develop industry in this country. We built the railroads, the ... (inaudible) - we did it - all the menial tasks to develop the country...

...(inaudible)...We have done what we were brought here to do - build this country - and today it's the most powerful country in the world...

...(inaudible)...The first thing - what they have been able to do to us as a people - is to destroy the love that we have for each other. They have been able to make us see ourselves as individuals rather than as a people. We must begin prompt action. We must see ourselves as a people. We must understand that our people come first - that we as individuals are not important - only our people is important. We must preach that concept more and more to our people. We must begin to develop an undying love for our people - the type of love where you are willing to die for your people - not for yourself, but for your people. So that our slogan must become: First, our people - then, and only then - you and me as individuals - but our people must come first. And in order to do that, we must develop an undying love for our people, an undying love for black people.

The second thing we say - today, while some of us have become very black, while some of us are still in the dark, we must be able to stand willing for the dark are still our people, and we cannot alienate them. So, our second slogan must be: Every Negro is a potential black man, and we can never alienate our sisters who are still wearing wigs (applause) and those who are so concerned that the only thing they can go out with is a high, light, bright man who...(inaudible). They need help, and the only people who are capable of helping them are their own brothers and sisters. Our second slogan must be very, very helpful - Every Negro is a potential black man...(inaudible). That means that we have in our race Uncle Toms. We do not begin to crush the Uncle Toms nor do we turn our backs on the Uncle Toms. We need to sit down, explain and talk with them and show them why they do something against the Negro, and show to them love, understanding, and patience - because we know Uncle Toms...because white people make them Uncle Toms. So there is no need to fight with the Uncle Toms, but our real fight is with the white man - not with our people - so we sit down and try with the Uncle Toms - we try him and we try him and we try him - if he doesn't come home, we classify him as a traitor. And you don't talk to traitors - you kill them. (applause)

But we must understand the concept of every Negro being a potential black man - because you never alienate from potential allies - you never do that, you should not do that... (inaudible)...

The third concept has more force and is more difficult to understand - for us, for black people - the question of community is not a question of geography. It is simply a question of color and where our people are. I will repeat that - for us, the question of community is not a question of geography - it is simply a question of color, where our people are - we are at home. That means, for example, if we went to Detroit, we would not be at home until we got to where our people were - east side, west side, and so on. If you went to Los Angeles, or until you got to Watts, you would not be at home - New York, Harlem; Washington, D. C., the entire city. (applause).

And if we understand this concept, that the question of geography is relative to us for a community, that will break down barriers of national geography so that not only are we at home in Harlem, in Watts, in Southside Chicago, Westside Queens, and Washington, D. C. - but we're also at home in Cuba, where 65 percent of the population is black. We're also at home in (inaudible), which is in Africa. We're also at home in (inaudible), which is in Africa. We would be at home in Brazil where 45 percent of the population is black. We would be at home in Panama where 40 percent of the population is black. We would be at home in Nova Scotia where 55 percent of the population is black.

So we break down the national barriers the white man has pulled around us, telling us that you are the Negro people. We are not Negroes - we are Africans. The blood of Africa runs in our veins, and this is what we must talk about. Let me explain to you the difference between a Negro and African.

A Negro begins in America. If you are a Negro and you began in America, you began in slavery. Is that not correct? Yes. When they sold us from Africa and they brought us here, they sold us like we were Africans - but when they put us here, we became Negroes, and Negroes...(inaudible)...

If you say that you are a Negro, or your history begins with a Negro, your history begins in slavery - and if your history begins in slavery, you can never aspire to be

something more than a slave. The best thing you could want to be is a good slave. (applause)

...(inaudible)...Everything leads back to slavery. What we're saying is that we are a people born out of slavery. You cannot admit that your people were born out of slavery. If your people were born out of slavery, you can never jump over them.

Why is it that you're called Africans? Because that's where we came from. Not only that - if we say we're Africans, we recognize the history of a culture that is rich. We're African people - the world calls us so. Yes, we're Africans! We produced the first university of the world - the University of Timbuktu, in Africa. Yes, we're Africans! We gave some riches to the orphans (?). Yes, we're Africans! Unless you understand that concept, we're going to fall. We can never have any more riches - because no people can have more riches unless they feel that they are somebody - and if you are a slave, you have no riches. Yes, we are Africans! And that's what we're saying...(inaudible)...

Do you know where you come from? You might say your grandmother might have come from Alabama, or your great grandmother might have come from Alabama, your great-great-grandmother might have come from Alabama - but somewhere back there, somebody had to come from Africa. Don't you be ashamed of this - we came from Africa!

...Black people...now, we must understand concept number four (?) ..(inaudible)... Now, I know that this is going to be difficult to see...(inaudible)...but there may be some of you who will believe and there are some who don't - because everything the white man says is a lie - that we know. But there are white people reasons why we cannot believe it. The white man came to Africa. He came to Africa to steal us. That's why he came - he came to steal. What did he buy us with? Gold? We had our gold. We still have it. Regardless of what it might be worth, South Africa is still stealing it... (applause)

What did he buy us with? Diamonds? - the largest deposits in the world were found in Africa. What did he buy us with? Copper? Uranium? Zinc? ...(inaudible). Everything you want you find in Africa - it is the richest continent in the world's history.

What would he have bought us with? A green dollar bill? The dollar bill wouldn't be any good to you in Africa... (inaudible)...The green dollar bill that you have is backed by gold. If you have the gold, why do you need the dollar bill? (applause)

So you have to understand that when he says that our people sold our people out, he is doing two things. The first thing he's doing is getting divided, but you do not want to hear that our people sold you out. They sold me out...in Cuba ...(inaudible)... Once, you say, our people sold us out - what you're saying is that if they did it once, they can do it again - and once you have that idea in the back of your mind, you don't want to come close to somebody so troublesome. It's due to the ridiculous price.

The second reason is that he's got to admit that he sold us himself, so he's got to share some of the blame... (inaudible)... He did it - he sold it and he proved a point - so all we can say is Crackers, stand by us.

We have cotton in Africa - and tobacco - the best... (inaudible) comes from Africa - and the best "pot" in the world comes from Africa.

...(inaudible)...so that if we go we must go for tobacco ...We have the real...(inaudible)...there was something that was saved for us to do. That's what we...(inaudible) It was sheer robbery - he stole us from Africa. He did not buy us...(inaudible)... What else did he buy us with? ...(inaudible) ..but he did not buy us - he stole us.

Nobody sold our people out. We must understand that concept...(inaudible)...Now we must understand a number of things. The world today is divided on the question of color - nothing else - on the question of color - nothing else - I'm not advocating that it should divide on the question of color; I'm telling you that the world is divided on the question of

color. We have always been divided on the question of color. But today it's coming to an end...(inaudible)...You think that because they tell you...(inaudible)...that the world is being divided by communists and capitalists, and all of that nonsense, that is totally correct - but let me give you an example.

In Washington, D. C., ...(inaudible)....We see all black people - from the Urban League and the NAACP to the revolutionaries who want to blow up Washington, D. C. - have come together and sat down under one roof and one color, and polled the black united vote, which means that all of these organizations (inaudible) and talk about how we can work for the benefit of the masses of our people. Well, do you know what the white man did the next day? Through the newspaper and TV argued that we rejoiced during the conference with LEROY WILKINS and MARTIN LUTHER KING sit down with communists like STOKELY CARMICHAEL. I've never said I am a communist, but they say I am - but that's not important - because I'm not going to tell them because they don't have no business knowing no how! (laughter ... inaudible).

Do you know what they're trying to do? ...(inaudible) that of our light-dark Negroes...(inaudible)... LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON...(inaudible)...a man by the name of KOSYGIN. KOSYGIN happens to be the leader of the communist world. They had meetings for three days in Glassboro, New Jersey, and they flashed that all over the nation...They said how good, how great, how wonderful that the communists and capitalists are coming together - but when a black communist sits down with a black capitalist, it is no good. What they're saying is that it's great and it's good that white people are coming together, but it's not great and not good when black people come together because they want to wipe us out - that's what they want; and if we recognize that they are going to stop, they can never wipe us out. If we think they're not going to wipe us out, they will wipe us out. I'm going to say it again - if we do not think they're going to wipe us out, then they will wipe us out - but if we know that they are going to wipe us out, they can never wipe us out. Are we saying that?

So you say the problem is communists - and you try to answer the problem. Russia did (inaudible) and (inaudible) every to North Vietnam...North Vietnam is an enemy of the United States, or is it that the United States is an enemy of the Viet Cong?... (inaudible)...Yet the United States can sit

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

down with Russia and talk about joining hands. Don't you think that it is true that I am fighting with...(inaudible) ...There are yellow people over there and white people. We are not white people - some of us like to think that we are!

And so we must understand the concept that the world is divided on color - for if we begin to understand that, then we know how we have to move. But if we continue this nonsense about we are all one people, we are all defending our country, we're goin' to wake up in hell (?). We're goin' to wake up in two vallies - ...(inaudible). When the young people start telling the old people what's happening, we're through. (laughter - inaudible).

...(inaudible)...A few years ago when we were talking about black power, everybody was talking and said, No, we can't have it - or, This is not what we should have - blah, blah, blah, blah - If you get it, you will not be satisfied - so, we talked about black power - but because they didn't stop black power, they have not accepted black power, now they want to define black power. Then how do you define black power?

Well, first of all...(inaudible)...education... (inaudible)...Everybody has it. I didn't tell you ... (inaudible)...but that's not black power! (laughter - inaudible)...Education and money is not now and never will be black power. (end of tape)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



*In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.*

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Birmingham, Alabama
March 20, 1968

Title STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Character INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS,
 SEDITION

Reference Letterhead memorandum dated
 March 20, 1968, at Birmingham,
 Alabama.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 04-25-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

SAC, WFO

March 21, 1968

Director, FBI

PERSONAL ATTENTION

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISC; SEDITION
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
IS - SNNC

Reurlet 3/11/68 re the above-captioned matter. Based on
information submitted, Bureau has concluded that services of SAs [redacted]
[redacted] were not so unusual or beyond that
expected which would warrant commendation.

b7C

- 1 - Personnel File of [redacted]
1 - Personnel File of [redacted]

MMH:dml /dml

b7C

(6)
Based on [redacted] Sullivan memo 3/13/68 and addendum
Administrative Division 3/15/68 re captioned matter.

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Rm. _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

MAILED 9
MAR 21 1968
COMM-FBI

55 APR 4 1968

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

REC 36 100-446080-1295

MAR 26 1968

LDH
2H

[Handwritten signature]

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DATE 04-25-2006 BY
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

MAR 24 1968

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

FBI BOSTON

1013PM URGENT 3-24-68 WMG

TO DIRECTOR WFO CHICAGO & NEW YORK MAIL

FROM BOSTON 157-437

RE STOKLEY CARMICHAEL RM - SNCC; SEDITION.

RE MY TEL MARCH TWENTYTHREE LAST. A SOURCE WHO HAS FURNISHED
RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST ADVISED THIS DATE STOKELY CARMICHAEL
SPENT FRIDAY AND SATURDAY NIGHTS MAR TWENTYONE AND TWENTYTWO LAST
AT RESIDENCE OF [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] BOSTON STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE.

PRESENT AT MEETING BOSTON CHAPTER CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY (CORE)
THREE SEVEN THREE BLUEHILL AVE. ROXBURY LATE AFTERNOON MAR. TWENTYTWO.
PRESENT AT UNION METHODIST CHURCH FOUR EIGHT FIVE COLUMBUS AVE.
BOSTON THAT EVENING WHERE LEROY JONES SPOKE. LATER ATTENDED PARTY OF
RESIDENCE OF [REDACTED]

AT CORE MEETING A "SITIN" WAS PLANNED FOR MAR TWENTYSIX NEXT AT A
WELFARE OFFICE PROBABLY IN GROVE HALL ROXBURY. TWO UNIDENTIFIED MAR 26 1968
NEGROES PRESENT FROM BEDFORD - STYVESANT AREA NEW YORK CITY. DEPLORED
LACK OF AVAILABLE GUNS IN BOSTON. SUGGESTED EXPLORING POSSIBILITY OF
END PAGE ONE

59 APR 26 1968
RELAYED TO

PAGE TWO

THEFTS FROM BOSTON ARMY BASE. EXPLAINED MONEY OBTAINED FROM NEW YORK BUSINESSMEN BY ~~I~~ IMPLIED THREATS. DONATORS RECEIVED STICKERS TO DISPLAY ON WINDOW. PLANS MADE TO DRAW LETTER TO SEND TO BOSTON MERCHANTS. SOURCE BELIEVES CARMICHAEL TO SPEND TONIGHT AT [REDACTED] RESIDENCE. BOSTON WILL ATTEMPT TO FOLLOW AND REPORT ACTIVITIES.

b7C

ADMINISTRATIVE; SOURCE MENTIONED AS [REDACTED] ALL OF ABOVE INDIVIDUALS UNDER INVESTIGATION IN THIS OFFICE. APPROPRIATE AGENCIES NOTIFIED. LHM WILL BE SUBMITTED.

b2
b7D

END

JMS

FBI WASH DC*

TK C@

CC MR. Trainor

*CORRECT per
Boston tel call
mde*

MAILED 10 12 54 PM '68

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 04-25-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

FBI

Date: 3/1/68

Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

Transmit the following in CODED
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
ATTENTION: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC; SEDITION

b2
b7D

SUBJECT AFTER DEPARTING RESIDENCE TODAY WENT TO SNCC HDQTS.

IN EVENING SUBJECT ENTERED RESIDENCE AT [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] WDC. SOURCE ADVISED SUBJECT TO ATTEND A FUND RAISING PARTY
GIVEN FOR HIM [REDACTED] AT ABOVE ADDRESS PM THIS DATE.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RE WFOTEL THREE ONE SIXTY EIGHT.

b2
b7D

SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

AM COPY TO ATLANTA.

b7C

WFO WILL FURTHER IDENTIFY [REDACTED] P.

b7C

- ③ - Bureau
1 - Atlanta (RM) (AM)
1 - WFO

RCC:tkm
(5)

REC-110

b7C

100-446080-1297
14 MAR 22 1968

XEROX

MAR 25 1968

Approved: [Signature]

Sent

M

Per

Special Agent in Charge

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 04-25-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

3/26/68

airtel

1 -
1 -

b7C

To: SAC, Mobile (100-1858)
From: Director, FBI (100-446080)
STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION

ReMOteletype dated 3/7/68 and airtel with letterhead memorandum (LHM) dated 3/13/68.

Advise by return airtel whether or not a recording was made of Carmichael's speech at Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama, on 3/11/68. In the event a recording was made, a verbatim transcript should be prepared and promptly submitted to the Bureau in a form suitable for dissemination.

PTB:lmr

(5) *lmr*

NOTE:

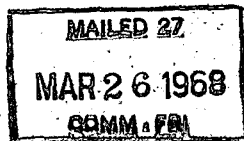
Mobile previously advised that arrangements had been effected with the Alabama State Police to record Carmichael's speech at Tuskegee Institute on 3/11/68. Mobile in referenced airtel and LHM submitted information concerning coverage of the speech but did not indicate whether or not it had been recorded.

REC-97

100-446080-129

ST 107

MAR 27 1968



Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

MAIL ROOM ☐

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

APR 2 1968

587
Gcmr

pk

~~SECRET~~

DATE: 05-01-2006

CLASSIFIED BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/AAG

DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1)

05-01-2031

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT

WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

FBI WASH DC*

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

MAR 25 1968

TELETYPE

FBI CHICAGO

210 AM URGNET 3/25/68 ERH

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080), WFO AND BOSTON (157-347)

WFO VIA WASHINGTON

FROM FROM CHICAGO (157-1279)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL RM - SNCC (SEDITION)

Mr. Tolson

Mr. Callahan

Mr. Conrad

Mr. Felt

Mr. Gale

Mr. Rosen

Mr. Sullivan

Mr. Tavel

Mr. Trotter

Tele. Room

Miss Holmes

Miss Gandy

[REDACTED] RELIABLE IN THE PAST, ADVISED THREE

TWENTYFOUR, LAST, THAT CARMICHAEL APPEARED APPROXIMATELY FOUR PM,

THREE TWENTYFOUR, LAST, BEFORE WEST SUBURBAN NAACP YOUTH COUNCIL,

MAYWOOD, ILL., AT MASONIC TEMPLE, THIRTEENTH AND MADISON, MAYWOOD.

CARMICHAEL SPOKE APPROXIMATELY ONE HOUR, AFTER INTRODUCTION BY

FREED HAMPTON, PRESIDENT, ABOVE YOUTH COUNCIL. SOURCE ADVISED

CARMICHAEL TRAVELING BY CAR, WITH THREE MALE COMPANIONS, ALL

UNKNOWN. HAS NO IDEA OF CARMICHAEL'S ITINERARY OR WHERE STAYING

LOCALLY.

MAYWOOD PD HAS ADVISED SOURCE OF THEIRS, CONSIDERED

RELIABLE HAS ALSO ADVISED CARMICHAEL PRESENT IN MAYWOOD AFTERNOON

THREE TWENTYFOUR, LAST, BUT WAS NOT AT MEETING. PD ADVISED

THERE WHERE NO DISTURBANCES OR INCIDENTS CONNECTED THIS MEETING.

[REDACTED] RELIABLE, IN CONTACT WITH WEST

END PAGE ONE

55 APR 2 1968

11 MAR 28 1968

101U ADV
9:55 AM 3/25/68

~~SECRET~~

PAGE TWO

SUBURBAN YOUTH COUNCIL MEMBER, MAYWOOD, ADVISES LEARNED CARMICHAEL APPEARED BEFORE THIS GROUP AFTERNOON THREE TWENTYFOUR, LAST. MEETING WAS HELD "SPUR OF MOMENT", NOT PRE-PLANNED, LIMITED TO NEGROES AND BY INVITATION ONLY. SOURCE UNABLE TO FURNISH INFORMATION REGARDING CARMICHAEL ITINERARY OR WHERE STAYING LOCALLY.

[REDACTED] RELIABLE IN PAST, ADVISED THAT CARMICHAEL DID NOT APPEAR AT FUND-RAISING AFFAIR CHICAGOS WEST SIDE, EVENING THREE TWENTYFOUR, LAST, AS PUBLICIZED. AFFAIR HELD UNDER AUSPICES GARFIELD ORGANIZATION (GO) NEIGHBORHOOD IMPROVEMENT GROUP ON CHICAGO WEST SIDE, AND EARTHA KITT, DICK GREGORY, CASSIUS CLAY AND REV. JESSE JACKSON WERE SPEAKERS. KITT URGED NATIONAL UNITY AND PREACHED AGAINST RACE HATRED, JACKSON CALLED FOR UNITY OF NEGRO CLERGY TO SOLVE PROBLEM OF GHETTO DWELLERS; CLAY URGED BLACK WOMEN BE PROTECTED FROM EXPLOITATION AND GREGORY STATED IF CONDITIONS OF NEGRO DO NOT IMPROVE, THIS SUMMER MAY SEE RESUMPTION RACIAL VIOLENCE. NO INCIDENTS, DISORDERS OR DISTURBANCES, OCCURRED AT AFFAIR, WHICH ENDED APPROXIMATELY ELEVEN PM, THREE TWENTYFOUR, LAST. ANNOUNCED AT AFFAIR THAT CARMICHAEL WILL BE IN CHICAGO THREE TWENTYFIVE, INSTANT, AND WILL APPEAR AT BLACK ARTS AFFAIR, TO RAISE FUNDS FOR SNCC CHAIRMAN H. RAP BROWN, AFFAIR

END PAGE TWO

b2
b7D

PAGE THREE

TO BE HELD PM, CHICAGO SOUTH SIDE.

ADMINISTRATIVE;

RECGTEL THREE TWENTYTWO, LAST, AND BOSTON TEL THREE TWENTY-
FOUR LAST, BOTH THIS CAPTION.

b1 CHICAGO SOURCES IN ORDER OF USE ARE [REDACTED] PRI

(S) (PROB) [REDACTED]

b7C
b7D

NO CHICAGO PD SOURCE OR CHICAGO SOURCE HAS DEVELOPED ANY INFOR-
MATION RE CARMICHAELS ITINERARY OR WHEREABOUTS. PD STOPS WITH
AIRLINES, PRESS MEDIA AND OTHER SUCH SOURCES HAVE PRODUCED NO IN-
FORMATION. CHICAGO SOURCES ASSIGNED TO DEVELOP ALL PERTINENT
INFO RE SUBJECT. IN EVENT CARMICHAEL APPEARS AT AFFAIR THREE
TWENTYFIVE, INSTANT, PD WILL ATTEMPT TO RECORD HIS REMARKS.

CHICAGO FOLLOWING CLOSELY. BUREAU AND INTERESTED OFFICES WILL
BE ADVISED ON ALL DEVELOPMENTS. [REDACTED] TO BE
COMPLETELY DEBRIEFED RE CARMICHAEL REMARKS, THREE TWENTYFIVE,
INSTANT, AS UNABLE TO DO MORE THAN MAKE BRIEF CONTACT PM, LAST.

b2
b7D

LHM FOLLOWS. MILITARY AND CHICAGO PD ADVISED CARMICHAEL LOCAL
PRESENCE. USA AND SECRET SERVICE TO BE ADVISED BY LHM.

END

ELR

FBI WASH DC*

MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 04-25-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 3/22/68

Stokely Carmichael, former Chairman, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, militant civil rights organization, departed Washington, D. C., 3/22/68. There are indications he may appear at a fund-raising affair in Chicago, Illinois, 3/24/68.

Attached states Carmichael arrived in Boston, 3/22/68, and made appearance at Boston Technical High School.

Pertinent parts of this, and other information received this date relative to Carmichael, has been furnished Inter-Division Information Unit of Department, and copy of each teletype sent Attorney General. We are following Carmichael's activities closely.

JFM:chs

WCS/m
JF

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 04-25-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION
MAR 22 1968

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Bishop	✓
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

FBI WASH DC*

FBI BOSTON

10:20PM URGENT 3-22-68 RDS

TO DIRECTOR & WFO

FROM BOSTON (157-437) 1P

INTERNAL SECURITY - STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING
STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS - SNEC, SEDITION. *Committee*

RE WFO TEL DATED MARCH TWENTYTWO INSTANT.

SUBJECT AND COMPANION ARRIVED LOGAN AIRPORT, BOSTON, MASS. ON
ALLEGHENY FLIGHT NINE TWO SIX AT THREE TWENTYFIVE PM THIS DATE.

MET BY [REDACTED]

TRAVELLED TO [REDACTED] MASS. IN CAR DRIVEN BY [REDACTED]

KEPT SCHEDULED APPEARANCE AT BOSTON TECHNICAL HIGH SCHOOL, BOSTON,
MASS. THIS EVENING. APPEARANCE BEING COVERED BY BOSTON SOURCES.

BUREAU AND WFO WILL BE KEPT ADVISED OF SUBJECT'S ACTIVITIES WHERE
POSSIBLE. *MEMO* LHM FOLLOWS.

END

BGM

FBI WASH DC*

EX-102

REC-74

100-446080-1301

MAR 25 10 50 AM '68

MAR 28 1968

55 APR 4 1968

RELAYED TO

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 04-25-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

FBI

Date: 3/22/68

Transmit the following in CODED
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan ☒
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
SACS BOSTON (157-437) AND
CHICAGO

NEW HAVEN
FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, AKA. RM - SNCC; SEDITION.

SUBJECT OBSERVED AT NATIONAL AIRPORT, WASHINGTON, D.C., TO
BOARD ALLEGANEY AIRLINES FLIGHT NUMBER NINE TWO SIX SCHEDULED TO
DEPART WDC ONE P.M. INSTANT DATE AND ARRIVE IN BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS
THREE P.M. INSTANT DATE. SUBJECT WEARING LIGHT BLUE TURTLE NECK
SHIRT, CARRYING BROWN SUEDE COAT, A BLUE BRIEF CASE WITH HANDLE,
AND A SOFT-TYPE BLUE SUITCASE. SUBJECT ACCOMPANIED BY NEGRO,
MALE WEARING GREEN CORDUROY SHORT SLEEVE JACKET, BROWN
SHIRT, DARK TROUSERS AND GLASSES, AND CARRYING BLUE SOFT-TYPE
SUITCASE AND A BLUE RAINCOAT. OF
SNCC, WDC.

METROPOLITAN POLICE DEPARTMENT SOURCE ADVISED THAT SUBJECT WILL
TRAVEL FROM BOSTON TO CHICAGO MARCH TWENTYFOUR NEXT AND RETURN TO
WDC ABOUT MARCH TWENTYSIX NEXT. REC 36

BOSTON TELEPHONICALLY ADVISED OF DEPARTURE.

- ② - Bureau
2 - Teletype Unit
2 - WFO

XEROX

MAR 1968

b7C

MR. TRAINOR

CAF:dgp

ROOM 836 9&D

(6)

TELETYPE

Approved: *[Signature]*

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

11 MAR 28 1968

M Per

62 APR 2 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 04-25-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

Date: 3/22/68

Transmit the following in _____

CODED

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via _____

TELETYPE

URGENT

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, AND SACS BOSTON
CHICAGO
NEW HAVEN
NEW YORK

FROM: SAC, WASHINGTON FIELD

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, AKA; RM - SNCC; SEDITION; OO:WFO

RE WFO TEL AND CHICAGO TEL INSTANT DATE.

FOR INFO BOSTON, RE CHICAGO TEL ADVISED SUBJECT WILL
APPEAR CHICAGO FOR FUND RAISING AFFAIR MARCH TWENTYFOUR NEXT
AND WILL POSSIBLY ARRIVE CHICAGO EARLY A. M. THAT DATE.

REC-74

EX-105

100-446080-1303

MAR 28 1968

- 2 - Bureau
- 2 - Teletype Unit
- 2 - WFO (100-43503)

LAC:rhs

5(6)

APR 2 1968

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 04-25-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

INVESTIGATION
OF JUSTICE
SECTION

MAR 22 1968

TELETYPE

FBI WASH DC*

FBI CHICAGO

615PM URGENT 3-22-68 TAB RFJ

TO: DIRECTOR (100-446080) ATLANTA (100-6812) WASHINGTON FIELD
(VIA BUREAU)
FROM: CHICAGO (157-1279)

STOKLEY CARMICHAEL. IS- MISCELLANEOUS (SEDITION)

[REDACTED] RELIABLE IN THE PAST, ADVISED
TODAY THAT CARMICHAEL TENTATIVELY EXPECTED TO APPEAR, CHICAGO,
MARCH TWO FOUR NEXT AT FUND RAISING AFFAIR CHICAGO WEST SIDE,
IN BEHALF GARFIELD ORGANIZATION (GO). GO IS NEIGHBORHOOD
REHABILITATION AND IMPROVEMENT ORGANIZATION, GARFIELD COMMUNITY
ON WEST SIDE.

~~EARTH~~ KITT, WELL-KNOWN NEGRO ENTERTAINER ALSO BEING
ADVERTISED AS FEATURED GUEST THIS AFFAIR, WITH CARMICHAEL
EXPECTED TO PUT IN APPEARANCE ONLY, NOT PRESENT AS FEATURED
SPEAKER.

IN EVENT CARMICHAEL COME TO CHICAGO, TENTATIVELY SCHEDULED
FOR APPEARANCE AT URBAN TRAINING CENTER (UTC) FORTY NORTH ASHLAND
AVENUE, CHICAGO, MORNING TWO FIVE NEXT. UTC TRAINING
GROUND FOR CLERGY FOR WORKING IN SO CALLED INNER CITY MISSIONS,

END PAGE ONE

62 APR 2 1968

RELAYED TO

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

b7C

b2
b7D

EX-110

REC-24

100-446080-1304

31 MAR 28 1968

Partiment Park only
CC's to AG FIDIV
3/22/68 JFM/glo

PAGE TWO

AND CURRENTLY HOLDING TRAINING CLASSES UNDER SPONSORSHIP, CHICAGO CITY MISSIONARY SOCIETY. A NUMBER OF LOCAL CIVIL RIGHTS AND BLACK NATIONALIST FIGURES ALSO ATTENDING THESE TRAINING SESSIONS.

NO FURTHER APPEARANCES FOR CARMICHAEL KNOWN AT PRESENT, SOURCES ADVISING PRIMARY PURPOSE OF CARMICHAEL TRIP TO VISIT

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] NO

b7C

SPECIFIC ARRIVAL TIME FOR CARMICHAEL KNOWN, OTHER THAN POSSIBLY EARLY AM MARCH TWO FOUR NEXT. CHICAGO ASSOCIATES OF CARMICHAEL CONCERNED OVER HIS SAFETY HERE, AS [REDACTED] REPORTEDLY HAS RECEIVED THREATENING LOCAL TELEPHONE CALL, BOTH FOR [REDACTED] AND CARMICHAEL, [REDACTED] NO INFORMATION AVAILABLE REFLECTING ANY PLANS FOR DISTURBANCES OR VIOLENT TYPE DEMONSTRATIONS IN CONNECTION WITH POSSIBLE APPEARANCE OF CARMICHAEL LOCALLY. (CHICAGO PD AWARE OF CARMICHAEL'S POSSIBLE *delete* ARRIVAL CHICAGO THIS WEEKEND AND ALTHOUGH WILL NOT PROVIDE ANY PROTECTION, WILL MONITOR HIS ACTIVITIES TO EXTENT POSSIBLE IN ORDER TO PRECLUDE POSSIBILITY OF ANY INCIDENTS.)

END PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE

EARTHA KITT EXPECTED TO ARRIVE CHICAGO TODAY AND HAS
APPEARANCE SCHEDULED AT SOCIAL AFFAIR VETERANS FOR PEACE IN VIET
NAM THIS PM. THIS ORGANIZATION MILITANT ANTI-VIET NAM
ORGANIZATION CHICAGO AREA. KITT HAS SCHEDULED ALSO TOUR OF WEST
SIDE CHICAGO TAVERNS AND LOUNGES, EVENING OF MARCH TWO THREE NEXT.
NO RALLIES OR PUBLIC APPEARANCE AS SUCH SCHEDULED.

ADMINISTRATIVE

SOURCES ABOVE ARE [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] LATTER SOURCE IN PERSONAL CONTACT

[REDACTED] MARCH TWO ONE LAST AND GAINED IMPRESSION CARMICHAEL'S
VISIT HERE STILL TENTATIVE.

WFO AND ATLANTA ADVISE OF ANY INFORMATION REFLECTING PLANS
OF CARMICHAEL TO APPEAR CHICAGO THIS WEEKEND. ACCORDING TO

[REDACTED] AFFAIR OF MARCH TWO FOUR NEXT INITIALLY ORGANIZED
BY GO FOR APPEARANCE OF KITT AND PRESENCE OF CARMICHAEL THIS
AFFAIR NOW BEING ADVERTISED ONLY SINCE POSSIBILITY EXISTS HE WILL BE
IN CHICAGO

END PAGE THREE

b2
b7C
b7D

b2
b7D

PAGE FOUR

SESSIONS AT UTC [REDACTED] VE, WILL BE CLOSED TO PUBLIC, PRESS, AND PD. ATTENDANCE IS BY INVITATION ONLY. CHICAGO ATTEMPTING TO ARRANGE SOURCE COVERAGE THIS SESSION IN EVENT OF CARMICHAEL'S APPEARANCE. AS NOTED CHICAGO PD COGNIZANT OF CARMICHAEL'S POSSIBLE PRESENCE HERE THIS WEEKEND AND ALERT TO POTENTIAL FOR DISTURBANCES. PD WILL FOLLOW HIS ACTIVITIES CLOSELY AND IF POSSIBLE WILL TAPE RECORD ANY PUBLIC APPEARANCE, UTILIZING COVERT SQUAD, PD INTELLIGENCE UNIT. CHICAGO ALERT TO BUREAU INSTRUCTIONS REGARDING COVERAGE OF CARMICHAEL AND SOURCES BEING ASSIGNED. SOURCES LIKEWISE ASSIGNED TO COVER ACTIVITIES OF [REDACTED] AND BUREAU AND INTERESTED OFFICES WILL BE ADVISED ANY PERTINENT DEVELOPMENTS.

CHICAGO FOLLOWING CLOSELY. LHM FOLLOWS. MILITARY AND SECRET SERVICE ADVISED. USA WILL BE ADVISED BY LHM. AMSD COPY LOS ANGELES. FOR INFO BUREAU, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] NO DETAILS PROVIDED.

END

BAP

FBI WASH DC*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 04-25-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

Date **3/25/68**

Transmit the following in _____

PLAINTEXT

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via _____

TELETYPE**URGENT**

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI AND SAC'S, COLUMBIA AND CHICAGO

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-M; SEDITION

RE CHICAGO TEL THIS DATE.

WFO INDICES CONTAIN NO IDENTIFYING INFORMATION RE

b7C

[REDACTED] COLUMBIA EXPEDITIOUSLY FURNISH CHICAGO

CURRENT DESCRIPTION OF [REDACTED] AS HE MAY BE THERE.

P

EX-110

REC-74

2 - Bureau
2 - Teletype Unit
2 - WFO

100-446080-1305

5-111

WWH:ska

(6)

11 MAR 28 1968

66 APR 3 1968

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

SAC, Atlanta (100-6812)

3/15/68

Director (100-446980) 1306

EX-105

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION

ReATsirtel dated 3/5/68 with a copy of a booklet
entitled "Ndugu Stokely From Africa."

Atlanta advised it appeared that two pages had
been left out of this booklet; however, a review of the
booklet indicates that the pages were stapled improperly
and if the four pages starting with the word "Secondly"
are placed inside the other four pages bearing the caption
"Ndugu Stokely From Africa," the pages of the booklet will
be in order.

By return mail Atlanta should submit 11 copies of
a letterhead memorandum (LHM) in a form suitable for dis-
semination setting forth pertinent information as to how
this booklet was obtained. The LHMs should include as an
enclosure a Xerox copy of the above referred to booklet.

Inasmuch as WFO is office of origin concerning
captioned subject, you should make certain that a copy
of your communication is designated for WFO and that in the
future information obtained by your office concerning
Carmichael is promptly furnished to the office of origin.

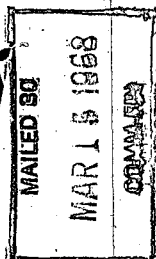
1 - WFO

PTB:lmr

(6) *lmr*

NOTE:

Atlanta in referenced communication advised they ob-
tained the above mentioned booklet from a racial
probationary ghetto informant. Atlanta noted the contents of
this booklet are a very succinct outline of revolution. It was
suggested that the Central Research Desk consider dissemination
of this booklet to Agent personnel particularly in areas where
black nationalist activities are prevalent. In order that in-
formation concerning the booklet can be promptly disseminated
to the Department and other interested agencies, AT is being re-
quested to resubmit the information in a form suitable for
dissemination. Instead of dissemination of pamphlet to Agents,
consideration is being given through counterintelligence program
to disseminate to the public. This is being handled separately.



Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

APR 2 1968

He pr

FBI

Date: 3/5/68

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL

REGISTERED MAIL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
ATTENTION: CENTRAL RESEARCH DESK

FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (100-6812) (P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS-MISCELLANEOUS;
SEDITION

b7C

Enclosed for the information of the Bureau is one copy of a booklet entitled, "NDUGU STOKELY FROM AFRICA."

This booklet was furnished to the Atlanta Office by [redacted] who attended a gathering at the Atlanta University Center on 2/28/68 at which STOKELY CARMICHAEL was the featured speaker. Atlanta has only two copies of this item and it is suggested if additional copies are needed that it be reproduced by the Bureau.

It is noted that the booklet has two places where there appeared to have been a page left out and these are obvious by the reading.

It is noted that the contents of this booklet are a very succinct outline of revolution. CARMICHAEL's remarks seem subdued compared to press reports of fiery speeches prior to his world travel. However, CARMICHAEL's remarks indicate that considerable thought, planning, analysis and study of revolutionary methods went into this particular work.

3-Bureau (Enc. 1) (RM)
4-Atlanta (2-100-6812)
(1-100-6488)
(1-[redacted])

ALM/hjm
(7)

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED
REC-9
EX-105

100-446080-1306

MAR 7 1968

Approved: _____

Special Agent _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/12/87 BY SP-1A/120

M

Per _____

RACIAL INT. SECT.

RESEARCH SECTION

Let. AT
PDB:lmw 3/15/68

C. Q. Bishop

AT 100-6812

Agents working closely with the militant Black Nationalist in Atlanta have noted a distinct lack of understanding on the part of the white citizenry, as expressed in casual remarks in day to day contact.

While it is fully understood that most Agents not connected with this type of investigation are more fully aware of the problem than the general public, it is felt that the full value of Agent's contact throughout the county might be enhanced if the contents of this document were made available for reading and the seriousness of the situation underscored.

It is suggested that the Central Research Desk consider dissemination of this booklet to Agent personnel particularly in areas where Black Nationalist activity is prevalent.

ON THIS ENVELOPE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 04-25-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
ATTENTION: CENTRAL RESEARCH DESK

FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (100-6812) (P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS-MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION

REGISTERED MAIL

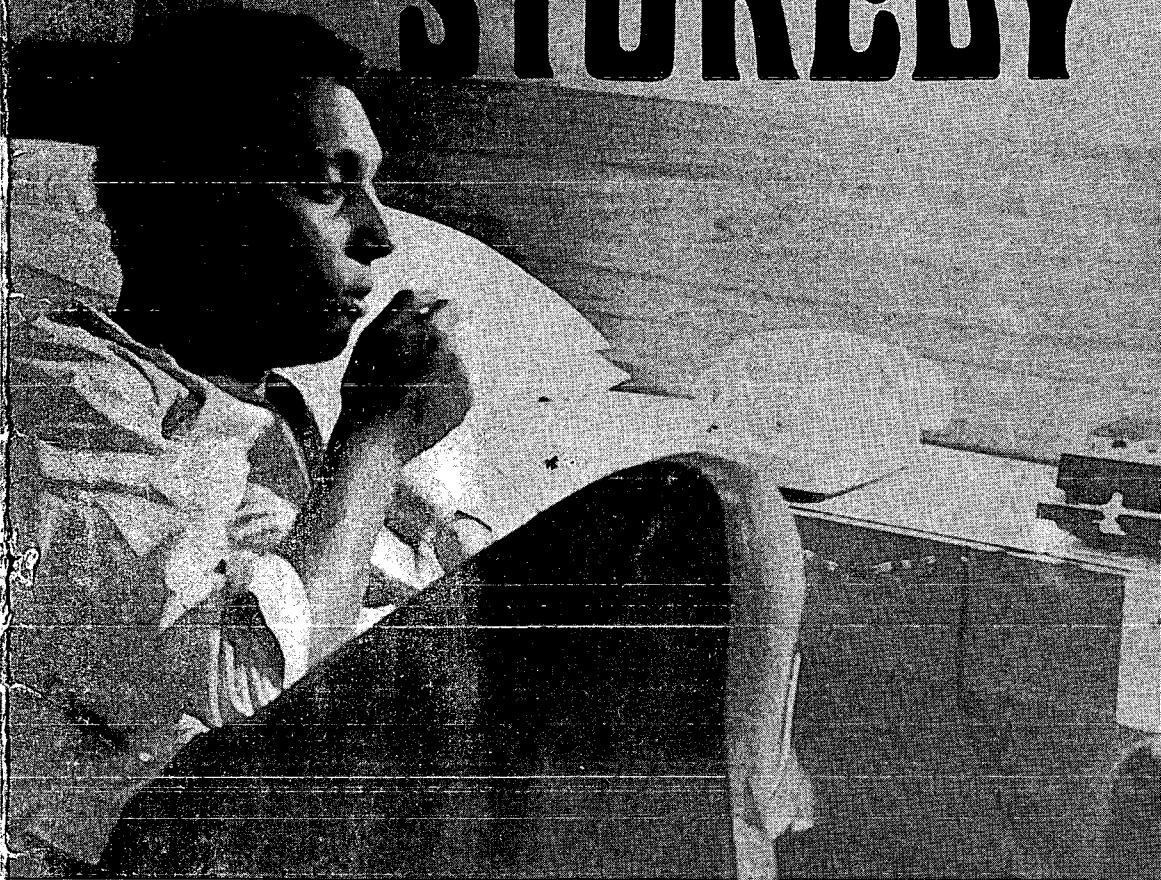
Sent to Bureau by airtel, 3/5/68

ENCLOSURE

100-446080-1306

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 04-25-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

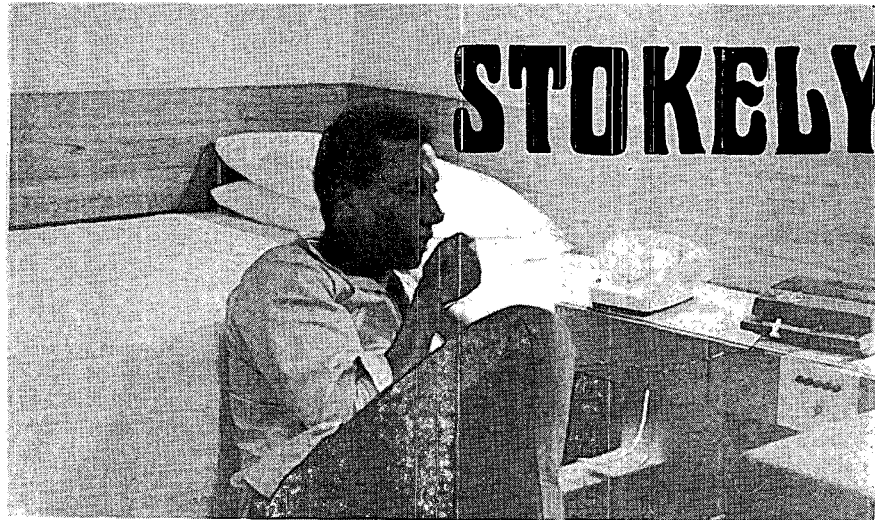
NDUGU STOKELY



FROM
AFRICA

100-446080-1306

NDUGU



STOKELY

FROM

AFRICA

STOKELY CARMICHAEL'S MESSAGE TO BLACK YOUTH FROM OUR MOTHERLAND — AFRICA!

Today is November 13, 1967. We are sitting in the Motherland, Africa, Tanzania . . . On this trip we have seen a lot of things and we have come to know a lot of important things and we think that now is the time for us to begin to move as a coordinated unit.

We face a lot of problems today, especially the African-American, but the first thing that we all must begin to understand is that we are not isolated. First, we are Africans, living in the United States, but we are first Africans. Our ancestry and our roots are in Africa. The African has been scattered all over the Western World. We are to be found from South Africa to Nova Scotia and we must begin to recognize this fact—this is the first thing we must



understand. It must be crystal clear in our minds that today the African represents 900 million people in the world today. We can be found all over Africa. We can be found all over the West Indies. We can be found all over the Antilles. We can be found in Cuba, where we are 60 per cent. We can be found in Bolivia where we are thirty-five to forty per cent. We can be found in Panama, in Colombia, in Venezuela, in Guyana, in Nicaragua, in Guatemala—all the way up into the United States and into Nova Scotia. Today in Nova Scotia the African-American represents the majority of the people. Once we begin to understand as Brother Marcus Garvey tried time and time again to explain to us and as Brother Marcus himself understood when he took his trips through South and Central America, how strong we are, then we will begin to stop feeling that we cannot do anything. That is first and foremost!

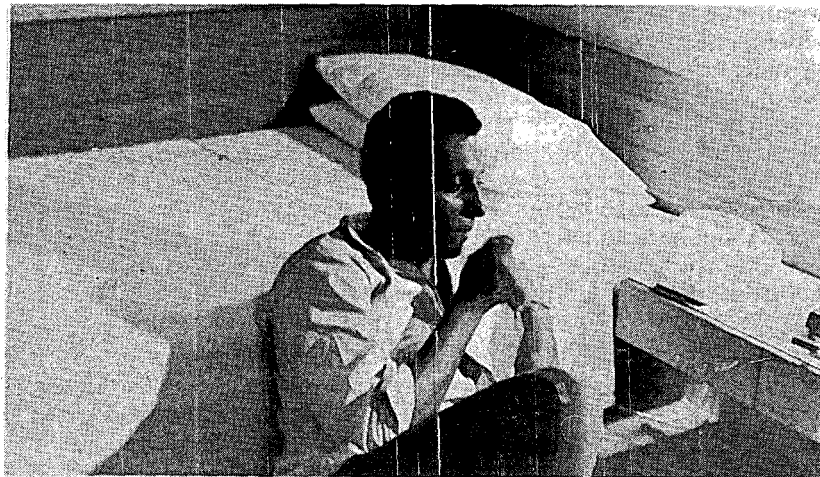
Secondly, we must begin to understand that wherever the African is oppressed, be it in the United States, be it in Nova Scotia, be it in Puerto Rico, or be it in Africa, WE are oppressed. That's first and foremost in our minds and it must ALWAYS be in our minds and we MUST be crystal clear about that.

Now then, we have to talk about the problems that the African faces in the world today. We must talk about the problems the 900 million Africans face in the world today. The first problem is that we are oppressed wherever we are because of our color. *We are oppressed because of our color* and we must begin to understand that it is *this* that we are going to use to unite us and bring us together. We must begin to talk about this and not make apologies to *anybody*—anybody *at all* for what we have to do.

Number One: We begin to decide inside the United States to form what is called a United Front. That is to say, we will form a United Front with all groups from the N.A.A.C.P. to the Muslims. And this United Front will say very clearly that all of us are the same people and we are fighting for the same things and that publicly we will never attack each other. *We will never publicly attack each other* because the masses of our people need to see us united.

Secondly, whenever the white man comes down on any one group, ALL of us will rally to the support of that group. Our differences will be settled in the backrooms; never publicly. Brother Malcolm tried time and time again to emphasize this, but since this trip we have come to understand how very important it is because the honkies played that up outside—especially in Africa—where it seems as if we are divided and we don't know where we are going.

The second thing is that we must remember that whenever we talk we must be concerned with our Motherland, Africa. Africa is our Motherland. That is where we were *raped* from. That is where our ancestors are. That is where the blood of our blood and the flesh of our flesh is. We *must* always talk about Africa because United Africa today can become the power in the world that will serve as protection for the Africans; especially the Africans inside the United States, but also other African's outside of Africa. We must revive the concept of Marcus Garvey and understand what he was talking about when he said "*Africa is our Motherland.*" If our blood is to be shed today we must make it clear it will be shed for three reasons and these three reasons only: Number one, for Black people wherever they are; Number two, for the Motherland, Africa; or Number three, for the oppressed people of the world. Our blood will never be shed for the white man. We have shed our blood too long for the white man with nothing for it. Our people, Our Motherland, and the oppressed people of the world.



Now then, since this is addressed to a youth conference, we ought to talk about the role of the youth in our movement. The first thing is that it is very important for the youth of our race to have a meeting by themselves. But it is also important that they do not use age as a criteria to eliminate many of our people, because many of our people who are older are very, very clear and know precisely what must be done and have the experience that we need in order to help us map out a program for our future strategy and to help us form an ideology. I do not need to mention Brother Malcolm X who was over 30 nor do I need to mention Dr.

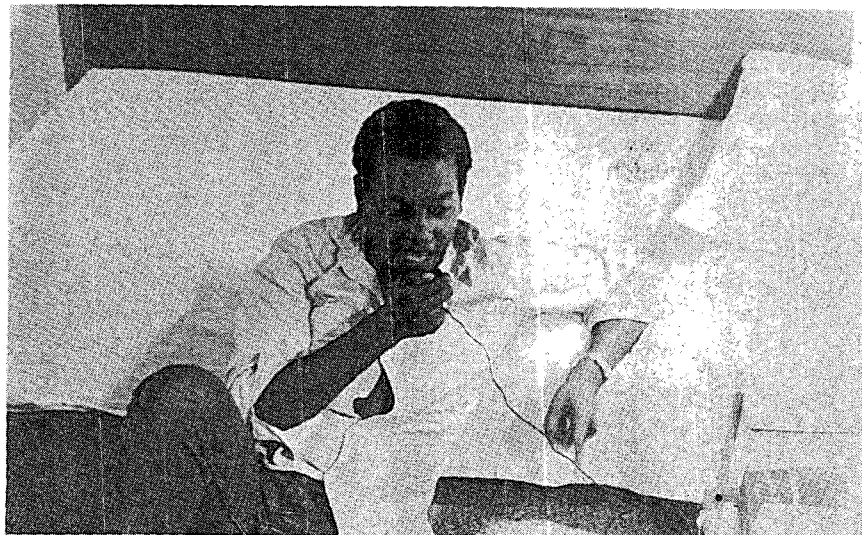
DuBois who was in his nineties nor do I need to mention Marcus Garvey or many of the other brothers today who are over 30 and are fighting. So we cannot let age be a criteria to separate us. The youth need to have a meeting. They must begin to plan and to find out ways in which they can support and supplement the struggle. But they cannot isolate themselves from people over 30. There are too many people today over 30 who can really help us and really move.

The first role, then, of the youth in our race today is, Number One, to begin to organize themselves first. In our countries today our youth are divided by gang structures which fight and murder and plunder and kill each other. The first role of our youth if they're going to be serious is to contact all of these gang leaders and to begin to bring them together and to explain to them that we will not fight each other any more, nor will we wage gang wars among our Puerto Rican brothers because many of them are from Africa and the blood of Africa flows through the veins of Puerto Ricans. Nor will we wage war on our Mexican brothers. We will not wage war on them. That is the first thing that you as youth are supposed to do and if you are to be serious you must, when you leave this conference, go back and contact those gang leaders and begin to bring them together to the first thing to map out a peace strategy where we will not fight each other.

Number Two: Many of our people today need a pride in themselves so they can begin to feel that they are men, so they can begin to feel they are women, so they will not feel degraded and dehumanized. The job of the youth is to begin to give pride to our older generation. The way they can do that is to set an example of unity and love among our people, outside of words. Those must begin to come about and to begin to show a great deal of respect for our race.

Number Three: Fortunately many of the youth of today in our race are literate. Many of our people are illiterate. We must begin to render services to our people. This is very, very important. Our people will back us and will fight. But they will only fight if they can see that they are getting something concrete from the fight. If the fights are just being wasted in frustration they will refuse to fight. We must begin to get our people to fight but we must give them something concrete in that fight so they can see that they're gaining things so they will continue to fight. The role of the youth then is to begin to set up organizations inside our communities that will love Number One, begin to teach our people who cannot read and write TO read and write. We must first begin to talk about wiping out illiteracy in our community.

Next, the youth must begin to show to the older generation the mistakes that they have made and that we must explain to them carefully so that we do not alienate them from our ranks. We cannot alienate them from our ranks. We must begin to show them the mistakes they made and show them that we are willing to move to correct those mistakes and to find the path that is going to lead us to our liberation. The first way, of course, is to show them the mistakes they made in fighting for the wars of the white man. That is a slow and tedious job. But we must slowly begin to explain



to them that we cannot fight in this war and why it is important for them to back us in a resistance movement to the war in Viet Nam.

Next, the youth of our country must begin to prepare themselves for paramilitary training. That is clear. There is no need for us to dodge the issue any more. We prepare ourselves for military training and we make it clear we recognize that they are going to move to commit genocide against us and we must be prepared. We are not going to let them provoke us into a mass war now because we are not prepared to wage that war. But we make it clear that every time they touch one of us *all* of us will fight whether we are prepared or not. Any time they touch one of us *all* of us *must* fight and the reason is so that we let them know that when they come to get us they must be prepared to lose some of their people! That is to say we are always prepared to fight, but we will decide when to fight.

There are many of us who frown on the question of reading books and understanding what is going on, but in your cadre you should select a number of people whose job it is to read everything that comes out in the newspaper and begin to analyze those things and to produce solutions for the benefit of the masses of our people. Never for a few intellectuals or the few bourgeois in our people but for the masses of our people. A clear understanding of the political situation of the United States is necessary before we move.

There are a number of youth in our community today who run around shooting off their mouths about Black Nationalism, etc., etc. Our job is to begin to corral those youths who have the energy and begin to give them precise things to do. I do not want to outline for you your specific program. That is your job. It is your organization. But it is clear that talk is no longer going to fill a program for us—for our people. You must begin to organize precisely and give people things to do; no matter how little those things are. This leads us to the question of organization.

We have to begin concretely and seriously to organize our people in everything they do. We will organize everybody and everything and

the simplest thing, from sewing clubs to political organizations. But the question is organize. Organize our people, organize our mothers, organize our teenage girls, organize our teenage boys, organize our fathers, organize our poor people, organize our babies, organize, organize, organize! And those organizations *must* be sound. We cannot just talk about organizing. You must have a conference. Your job is to begin to find out what organizations are viable, how they can continue and how they can all hookup into a national structure for our youth. I have many suggestions, but again, I think it is important for you to begin to try and map these out for yourselves.

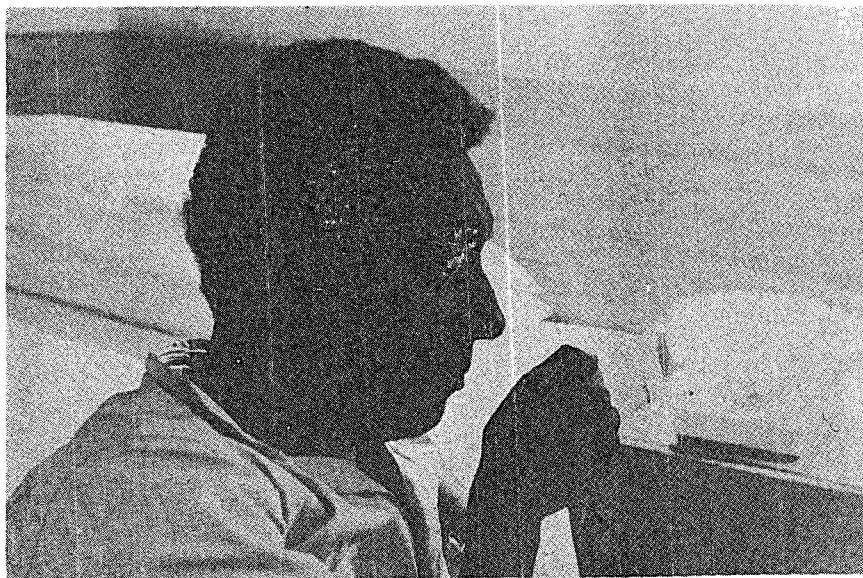
You must begin to find new ways to try to finance our movement. Our movement is going to be financed by us, Black people. You must concretely work out ways to finance that movement.

The federal government today is pumping a lot of money into our communities. The reason this money is coming in is not to help us. The reason is to divide once again and to conquer us. You should begin to map out a strategy for the youth with whom the poverty program is concerned, because you represent the force that they are unable to deal with. You represent the force that is ready to fight for our people anytime, anyplace and anywhere. And so it is you they are going to seek to try and divide and delude and and whitewash. Therefore you should begin to see how in our community *we* can control the poverty program and use it for *our* benefit. If we cannot control it you should seek ways to disrupt and destroy it.

The question of culture is very, very important. It is very closely hooked to the question of history. We must begin to reclaim our history and our culture. We must begin to push to our people the need for them to stop imitating the standard of beauty of white society. The wearing of "natural" is a very important political weapon. We must try to convince our people to stop frying their hair. The youth can do this because you represent the beauty of our race. If we are going to participate in the nonsense of beauty queens, etc., etc., we should begin to find people who are black and who represent us from the sense of blackness. That is to say, regardless of the shade of their skins people who appreciate themselves and do not wear a lot of nonsensical makeup and fry their hair. That you can begin to do.

The youth must begin to create an atmosphere of self-sufficiency in our communities. That is to say that we depend upon ourselves; on no one else. And unless the youth in our community is willing to demonstrate that they do not depend on any white people we will not be able to encourage our older generations or our generations to come. Self-sufficiency should be your law number one. We depend on ourselves, Black people, all 900 millions of us wherever we are, we depend on ourselves.

We begin to read books published by black people, written by black people. We can read other books by other revolutionaries, but our first task is to begin to create heroes among ourselves whom we can admire and who can inspire us. Your job is to begin to read Franz Fanon. Your job is to begin to read Marcus Garvey, Richard Wright, LeRoi Jones. We must begin to read to analyze those people. Then we can read other revolutionaries like Che Guevara. We



must begin to understand that to get an analysis of our problem we read our people and we draw from other revolutionaries around the world. Your slogan should be: "THE BLACK YOUTH IS A REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH BY NATURE." We are revolutionaries, nothing less.

You should establish a cultural department in your conference whose job it is to further Black Culture across the country. You *must* begin to consciously organize a program to further Black Culture. To talk about furthering it without organizing to do it is going to be our downfall. You *must* organize a cultural department.

You cannot be isolated. We cannot be isolated. You should seek then to move to build a national youth organization. A national youth organization, which receives its programs from the bottom, never from the top. That is to say the president or vice-president of the organizations do not decide the programs. The programs will be decided by the local chapters who are working with the masses of our people then carried out and articulated by the leaders of that national organization.

In our organization we cannot eliminate ANYBODY! We must organize *everybody*; the drunks, the prostitutes, the pimps, the gangsters, the hustlers, the preachers, the sisters in the church, the welfare mothers—we must seek to organize *EVERYBODY*!

We must begin to learn Swahili. We must begin to learn Swahili. We must spread it all over the country.

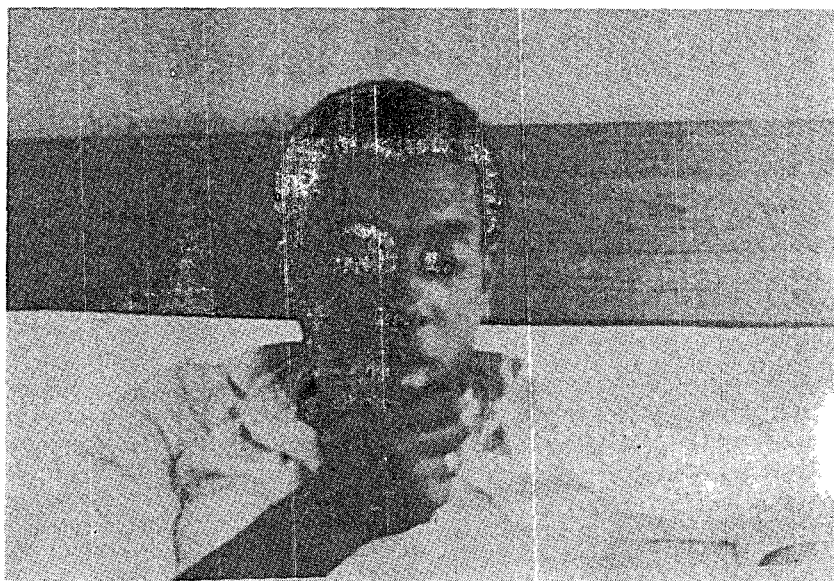
In summing up: The youth should try and subjugate itself to a national organization which must be created among our elders, supporting the political ideology where we can agree with it. If there are to be disagreements, then we meet and try to work out those disagreements behind closed doors and we will try and support those programs to begin to give some continuity to our struggle. We must recognize that our struggle did not start in 1960 nor did it start in 1954. Our struggle started four hundred years ago when the first white man came to Africa and tried to rape us. We have a continual struggle. Our

struggle does not end in 1970 or 1972. We must be prepared to wage a long struggle and we must recognize that our fight will not even begin to *show* any sort of solutions for at least ten to twenty years and we must be willing to commit and dedicate ourselves to these years of struggle. We must be willing to say that if this entire generation of black youth must fight and be wiped out so that our generation that comes behind us can live like human beings we are willing to commit this generation to that fight.

Finally, the most important thing for the youth is to begin to show love for our people; undying love for our people which we have never been able to find. Love. Love, love, love and we do not and NEVER apologize for hate. If we hate white people we tell them we hate them because we love our people so much and because they try to hurt our people we are willing to die fighting with guns in our hands. Let us not be discouraged. There are going to be many of us who are going to die. But let us tell them it is from the blood of Patrice Lumumba, it is from the blood of Huey Newton, it is from the blood of a hundred and thirty brothers and sisters who have died in the last three years of rebellion, it is from the sweat of twenty-eight thousands of our brothers and sisters who are in jail all over the United States today because of rebellions, it is from THEIR blood that we will continue to fight. And if Rap Brown dies it is from his blood that will spread millions more ready to die! Blood and death will not stop us! We must march on! We must move on!

This is the generation of Africans that is going to reclaim the humanity of our people. This is the generation of Africans that is going to reclaim our Motherland. We cannot lose once we begin to struggle. It is a question of liberation or death, that is all. But we make it crystal clear to the world that *this* generation of Africans are going to have Black Power in the world one way or the other.

Thank you brothers and sisters. Keep on fighting. I'll be home within a month. BLACK POWER!! And no matter what, we got to T C B.



FBI WASH DC*

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

MAR 25 1968

TELETYPE

FBI CHICAGO

644PM URGENT 3/25/68 RSM

TO DIRECTOR AND WASHINGTON FIELD

WASHINGTON FIELD VIA DIRECTOR

FROM CHICAGO (157-1297) (P)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

STOKELY CARMICHAEL IS - MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION. OO: WFO

b2
b7D

[REDACTED] RELIABLE, ADVISED INSTANT

DATE THAT CARMICHAEL WILL SPEAK AT FUND RAISING AFFAIR FOR
H. RAP BROWN, NATIONAL DIRECTOR, SNCC, EIGHT PM INSTANT AT
AFRO-ARTS THEATRE, THREE NINE FOUR SEVEN SOUTH DREXEL BOULEVARD,
CHICAGO.

CHICAGO SOURCES O'HARE AIRPORT UNABLE TO CONFIRM
CARMICHAEL'S ARRIVAL AND HAVE NO RESERVATIONS FOR DEPART-
URE FROM CHICAGO.

[REDACTED] ADVISES CARMICHAEL SPENT SUNDAY NIGHT
MARCH TWENTY FOUR LAST AT ROBERTS MOTEL, THREE SEVEN FIVE
SIX SOUTH MICHIGAN AVENUE [REDACTED]

b7C
b7D

[REDACTED] CHICAGO SATURDAY
NIGHT MARCH TWENTY THREE, LAST [REDACTED] CHICAGO
BRANCH OF SNCC. NO VIOLENT INCIDENTS HAVE BEEN REPORTED
IN CONNECTION WITH CARMICHAEL'S VISIT TO CHICAGO TODAY. CHICAGO PD
COVERING AFRO-ARTS AFFAIR INSTANT DATE.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 04-25-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

END PAGE ONE 1968

RELAYED TO [REDACTED]

PAGE TWO

RE CHICAGO TELS MARCH TWENTY FIVE, INSTANT. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] SOURCE WILL

ATTEND AFRO-ARTS THEATRE AFFAIR. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] CARMICHAEL HAD THREE

UNKNOWN "BODYGUARDS" IN ROOM ONE ZERO SEVEN AND ACCOMPANYING

ON SPEECHES. [REDACTED] SPENT NIGHT WITH

SUBJECT. CHICAGO FOLLOWING CLOSELY. LHM FOLLOWS. MILITARY

AND SECRET SERVICE ADVISED. USA WILL BE ADVISED BY LHM.

BUREAU WILL BE ADVISED OF PERTINENT INFORMATION DEVELOPED.

END

BAP

FBI WASH DC*

TU

b2
b7C
b7D

C. C. Trainor

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DATE 04-25-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

FBI

Date: 3/18/68

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

b7C

SUBJ: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - M
SEDITION
(OO:WFO)

Re WFO teletype 3/17/68.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 11 copies
of an LHM regarding the above captioned subject.

b2

b7D

The source referred to in the LHM as having provided
information is

The LHM is being classified "~~Confidential~~" to protect
a source furnishing information of continuing value, the
unauthorized disclosure of which could compromise his future
effectiveness.

LHM being furnished locally U. S. Secret Service,
AUSA, and military intelligence agencies.

ENCLOSURE

3 - Bureau (Enc. 11)

2 - WFO

(1 - 157-1426) (BLACK UNITED FRONT)

WWH:arw
(5)

yeagley, Vinson, Paclak,
AGENCY: ACSI, NIC, OSI, SEC. SERV.,

DEPT: ~~STATE~~ IDIU, STATEHOW FORW: 115DATE FORW: 3/26/68BY: PTB/ARW

AIRTEL

C. C. Bishop

Approved: Joseph P. Curran

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

Per _____

39 APR 4 1968

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1cc of airtel
+ 1 cc of 4/6/68
806 940



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls
ON 04-25-2006

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C. 20535

March 18, 1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION

A confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past advised on March 18, 1968, that Stokely Carmichael appeared at The Church of The Redeemer, 15th and Girard Streets, N. E., Washington, D. C. at 6:00 p.m. on March 17, 1968, where he gave a talk at the invitation of the Fellowship Forum of the church. Source advised that approximately 350 persons were present which consisted of both Negroes and whites. The audience was composed primarily of adults, with some teenagers present.

Source advised the Pastor of the Church, Reverend Jefferson Rogers, gave the invocation opening the program. Carmichael was then introduced by James Robinson who presided. Carmichael introduced his wife to be, Miriam Makeba, who accompanied him and sat in the audience. He also introduced William (Bill) Hall whom he described as working with the Black United Front (BUF) to organize the school system in the District of Columbia.

Carmichael introduced his remarks by stating that what he had to say related to Black unity, black power and the survival of the black man. He commented the remarks that he would make he has made many times before and will make them many times in the future. He stated the white man and primarily white western civilization has historically and systematically "colonized" the Negro, the white man has also attempted to "dehumanize" him. He stated that the white man has always had an evil motive in dealing with black people.

68
5/17
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

ENCLOSURE

100-446080-1308

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

He stated the black people in the United States must connect up with the other 900 million black people of the "Third World" in order to liberate themselves from the control of the white man. He described the "Third World" as including black people in Cuba, West Indies, Haiti, South America and Africa. He emphasized the survival of the Negro is at stake in America as the United States is planning genocide against them and for this reason Negroes should arm themselves. He commented he did not mean a .22 caliber either. He stated he was advocating simply that every black man in the U. S. get a gun and that the only reason the "honkie" is able to rule is because he has "the gun". He stated that if Negroes obtained an arsenal, relations between whites and blacks would be equal. He commented that this is "why the brothers on the block call the gun an equalizer".

Carmichael stated he realizes many black people do not agree with his ideology and that there are a lot of "Uncle Toms" in the Negro community. He disclosed his group proposes that when they develop information about a person "being that way" that someone sit down and talk with them in an attempt to get them to change their minds. After, "they call him in and talk to him, if he does not change his ways, he will be considered a traitor to his community and all traitors die".

Carmichael emphasized black people must develop an undying love for their race, not their country. Further that they must be willing to die for their race and if they must die, they should die in the streets of the United States, not in Vietnam. He commented he was willing to die for his people.

Carmichael further stated that the right to vote in the United States means nothing to black people and that they would not be able to develop any power through bloc voting.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

He stated that if "you're white, the vote means you can play games with Kennedy, Mc Carthy, Johnson and Wallace. But they're all the same when it comes to us". He quoted from Mao Tse Tung, Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party that "Political power comes out of the barrel of a gun".

Carmichael also advised that black people should support the Arabs in any conflict that might develop between them and the Israelis. He stated that this stand has caused many Jewish people to call him anti-semitic but that this is not true because the Arabs are also a semitic people according to racial origins. Carmichael continued that while the Negro has many problems, Communism is not the answer to solve these problems because of the fact that his problem is more racial than political. Carmichael stated that a lot of people questioned the need for a Black United Front (BUF) but that the need for this type of an organization was necessary regardless of ideology so that black people could sit down and talk together and reach an understanding as to their problems. He commented that the only reason the press had been barred from the past meetings was because of the fact the press has a tendency to distort the truth concerning efforts for the Negro to unify himself. He commented that the D. C. Public School System is 93 percent Negro and that the curriculum must be changed to be made more relative to the Negro community. He stated that "we must take over the school system", as it is not teaching what should be taught to black people.

Carmichael read a statement from H. Rap Brown written by him in jail. Brown spoke of fasting because he had done nothing wrong but had been merely attempting to liberate his people. Brown wrote that he was being held a political prisoner. Carmichael stated that Brown is willing to die for his people.

Carmichael also stated that on March 20, 1968, there would be an "International Rap Brown Day" and at that time money would be solicited for Brown's legal defense.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Regarding Adam Clayton Powell, Carmichael stated that when Powell made a mistake he was "choked out" by the white man but when Senator Dodd, a white man made a mistake, he was merely censured.

During an answer and question period that followed the talk, Carmichael stated the United States can never win in Vietnam unless it uses the atomic bomb because of the determination of the North Vietnamese. Even if the atomic bomb were used the United States would face a more formidable foe in Red China because of its many people.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

MAR 25 1968

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

FBI WASH DC*

b7C

FBI CHICAGO

426PM URGENT 3/25/68 EOM

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080) ATLANTA (100-6812) AND WFO

WFO VIA WASHINGTON

FROM CHICAGO (157-1279) (P) 1P

STOKLEY CARMICHAEL, RM, SNCC (SEDITION). 00: WFO

CARMICHAEL'S TRAVELING COMPANION REPORTED TO BE

NEGRO MALE. RECEIVING OFFICES SUTEL

DESCRIPTION AND BACKGROUND INFO RE IF UNABLE

SUTEL DESCRIPTION AND BACKGROUND INFO RE

WHO COULD BE USING NAME

of Student Non Violent Coordinating Committee

END

GFH

FBI WASH DC*

TUP

U.S.A.

EX-102

REC 6

100-446080-1309

8 MAR 28 1968

55 APR 4 1968

MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

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DATE 04-25-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

A TELETYPE
MAR 25 1968
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

WA -1- 311PM DRS

URGENT 3/25/68 DCM

TO DIRECTOR, WFO AND BOSTON (CODE)

WFO VIA WASHINGTON /ENDODDED/
FROM CHICAGO

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RM - SNCC; SEDITION. OO:WFO
RE WFO TEL MARCH TWENTY TWO LAST.

CHICAGO SOURCES, O'HARE AIRPORT, UNABLE CONFIRM SUBJECT'S
ARRIVAL OR LOCATE DEPARTURE RESERVATIONS.

RETEL INDICATED SUBJECT'S TRAVEL PLANS BOSTON TO CHICAGO
MARCH TWENTY FOUR LAST, CHICAGO TO WASHINGTON D. C. MARCH
TWENTY SIX NEXT .

BOSTON CONTACT AIRLINE SOURCES AND CONFIRM SUBJECT'S
DEPARTURE MARCH TWENTY FOUR LAST AND ANY FUTURE RESERVATIONS.

BOSTON ADVISED SEPARATELY.

ENDEKA

HWL R RELAY

FBI WASH DC

REC 15

100-446080-1310

MAR 28 1968

ST-116

TWO COPIES TO WFO

70 APR 2 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 04-25-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls
FBI

Date: 3/19/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM: SAC, MOBILE (100-1858) (P)
RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS, SEDITION

b7C

Re Mobile airtel of 3/15/68.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 11 copies of a letterhead memorandum suitable for dissemination regarding CARMICHAEL's speeches in Lowndes and Montgomery Counties, Ala. on 3/10 and 14/68.

Enclosed herewith for the Atlanta and WFO Divisions are 2 copies, and for the Birmingham Division 1 copy, of this letterhead memorandum.

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b7D

_____ who
is being recommended as _____

Dissemination of this letterhead memorandum is being made to military intelligence agencies, U. S. Secret Service, and U. S. Attorney, Montgomery, Ala.

AGENCY: ACSI, NIC, OSI, SEC. SERV. (FD 376)
DEPT: ISD, CRD, _____, #5(c), IDIU

- ③ - Bureau (Encs. 11) (RM)
2 - WFO (100-43503) (Encs. 2) (RM)
2 - Atlanta (100-6812) (Encs. 2) (RM)
1 - Birmingham (Info) (157-2546) (Enc. 1) (RM)
8 - Mobile (2 - 100-1858) (1 - 100-1693) (SNCC)

HOW FORW: R/S
DATE FORW: 3/27/68
BY: PTB/dkf

(1 - _____) (1 - _____)
(1 - 157- _____) (1 - _____)
(1 - _____)

JRC:jes
(16)

b2
b7C
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REC-15 100-446080-1311

6 MAR 23 1968

66 APR 3 1968
Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

March 19, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Director
United States Secret Service
Department of the Treasury
Washington, D. C. 20220

Dear Sir:

The information furnished herewith concerns an individual who is believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning Presidential protection, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

1. ☐ Has attempted or threatened bodily harm to any government official or employee, including foreign government officials residing in or planning an imminent visit to the U. S., because of his official status.
2. ☐ Has attempted or threatened to redress a grievance against any public official by other than legal means.
3. ☐ Because of background is potentially dangerous; or has been identified as member or participant in communist movement; or has been under active investigation as member of other group or organization inimical to U. S.
4. ☐ U. S. citizens or residents who defect from the U. S. to countries in the Soviet or Chinese Communist blocs and return.
5. ☒ Subversives, ultrarightists, racists and fascists who meet one or more of the following criteria:
 - (a) ☐ Evidence of emotional instability (including unstable residence and employment record) or irrational or suicidal behavior;
 - (b) ☐ Expressions of strong or violent anti-U. S. sentiment;
 - (c) ☒ Prior acts (including arrests or convictions) or conduct or statements indicating a propensity for violence and antipathy toward good order and government.
6. ☐ Individuals involved in illegal bombing or illegal bomb-making.

Photograph ☐ has been furnished ☐ enclosed ☐ is not available
☐ may be available through _____

Very truly yours,

J. Edgar Hoover
John Edgar Hoover
Director

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s) 1)
U. S. Secret Service, **Birmingham, Alabama**

Enclosure(s) 1

- 2 -
(Upon removal of classified enclosures, if any, this transmittal form becomes UNCLASSIFIED.)



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
UNCL (DATE 04-25-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Mobile, Alabama
March 19, 1968

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Previous memorandum was forwarded concerning the fact that STOKELY CARMICHAEL spoke at a mass meeting of the Lowndes County Christian Movement For Human Rights at Mt. Miriah Church, Beechwood, Alabama, on March 10, 1968, and at the Beulah Baptist Church, Montgomery, Alabama, on March 14, 1968.

ALA
MISS. A confidential source, who has provided reliable information in the past, advised that CARMICHAEL arrived at the Mt. Miriah Church, Beechwood, Alabama, at approximately 5:00 P.M., and the duration of his speech was about forty-five minutes. There were some 250 Negroes in attendance at the meeting, which was held commemorating the third anniversary of the organization. Reverend SOLOMON GRANT, from the Delta Ministers Association Of Mississippi, was the invited guest speaker. CARMICHAEL was not specifically invited to attend this meeting, and no invitation was openly sent to him. CARMICHAEL, however, has an open invitation to attend and speak at any type of function, due to his popularity with the Negroes.

CARMICHAEL used three scriptural references from the Bible to emphasize his talk and ~~how~~ it related to the Negro and to the injustice of the present. He compared the coming of Christ and his followers to the present day Negro revolution. CARMICHAEL said he was speaking in behalf of the Mexican Americans, American Indians, and the Negroes, who have been dealt a gross injustice by the white man. He advised those present to learn and know their background, which is of African Heritage, and they should be proud to identify themselves as such. He told the audience they should prepare themselves the same as the

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343 MAR 18 1971

ENCLOSURE

100-446080-1311

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

white man is preparing himself in the use of firearms, as evidenced by the white citizens of St. Louis, Missouri being instructed by the police in the use of guns. He advised those present that the protection of the Negroes is the responsibility of the Negroes, and Negroes should stop killing each other and learn who their enemies are. CARMICHAEL alleged he was not preaching hatred of the white man, but telling the Negroes to look at the record and realize the plight of the Negroes, and who is responsible if not the white man. This source continued that CARMICHAEL did not mention the Vietnam War in particular. CARMICHAEL advised that in all wars the people should learn who they are fighting, and who is friend and who is not. He stated the power of the black man can be used to good advantage, as evidenced by the fact that they placed ADAM CLAYTON POWELL in a position of power and then took it away from him, because they did not lend their support to him in time of need. He stated that GEORGE WALLACE can travel in every state in the country speaking his racist program, but RAP BROWN and he do not have the same privileges. CARMICHAEL stated that when WALLACE speaks and a riot or disturbance occurs, it is blamed on the demonstrating group, but if CARMICHAEL or BROWN speaks and a demonstration breaks out, it has been caused by the direct action of BROWN or CARMICHAEL, and they are threatened with lawsuits and jail. CARMICHAEL did not mention the term "Black Power" at any time, but he showed how black power could be used to further the Negro revolution and place it on the right road.

[redacted] with whom sufficient contact has not been had to establish his reliability, advised that STOKELY CARMICHAEL arrived at the Beulah Baptist Church, Montgomery, Alabama, between 8:00 and 8:15 P.M. on March 14, 1968. There were five occupants of the car in which he was riding. One of the Negroes with CARMICHAEL was carrying a light brown plastic-type briefcase, which had two latches on the cover and a strap which came over the top opening. CARMICHAEL greeted all of those present, made a few remarks, and then entered the church, where he remained a few minutes. When he came out, [redacted] together with CARMICHAEL and two unidentified Negro males, went to a room on the side of the church, where all five entered.

ALA.

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b7D

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

b7C

b7D

CARMICHAEL made the comment that [REDACTED] here, and, further, he did not want any informants in his organization, and if his words got out, the person would be "missed like dead, Baby", and to emphasize his remarks he had one of the unknown Negro males open the briefcase, previously described, and display a machine gun, which had been broken into two parts. There were also three clips in the briefcase. CARMICHAEL indicated they could get more where this gun came from. He stated that WALLACE is speaking all over the United States, telling people how he handles demonstrations, and it will be seen how he handles the next riot, stating "We are going to burn this honky town down", and "The National Guard and whites are getting ready, but we are going to strike quick and fast. We will leave and be like NERO, off fiddling somewhere while the city burns". CARMICHAEL indicated there will be riots in every Southern State. CARMICHAEL further stated Berkley, California and Chicago, Illinois are "in for a hot spell, but Montgomery, Alabama is in for a long hot summer". He indicated he intended to use students to start the riots. He further indicated that he intends to organize in Montgomery, Alabama and move an office to Montgomery, using a club name to throw "whitey" off guard.

CARMICHAEL stated he would like to talk longer, but he had to catch a plane to Atlanta, Georgia, where he plans to raise \$10,000.00 for RAP BROWN. He said he then was going to proceed to Washington, D. C.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

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DATE 04-25-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

DATE: 3/27/68

FROM : SAC, NEW ORLEANS (100-17362) (RUC)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - Misc; SEDITION

ReWFOairtel to Bureau, 3/12/68, advising of subject's proposed itinerary which would have taken him to Atlanta, Birmingham, Mobile and New Orleans on 3/10/68.

Information was received from other offices, as well as from local sources, as to the proposed visit of subject to New Orleans. CARMICHAEL, however, did not come to New Orleans, and this case is therefore being considered RUC at this time.

- 2 - Bureau (AMRM)
1 - Atlanta (100-6812) (AMRM)
1 - Birmingham (157-2546) (AMRM)
1 - Mobile (100-1858) (AMRM)
1 - Washington Field (100-43503) (AMRM)
1 - New Orleans

JWG:mbc
(7)

REC 27

100-446080-1312
12 MAR 29 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.



APR 11 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT DATE 04-25-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM : SAC, MEMPHIS (100-4492) (RUC)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS
(OO: WFO)

DATE: 3/27/68

Re Memphis letter to Bureau 10/31/67.

Efforts have been made to obtain from [redacted]
[redacted] a copy of CARMICHAEL's
speech delivered at Fisk University, Nashville,
Tennessee, during April 1967. [redacted]
advised that he has been unable to locate a copy of
said speech after an extensive search and has to
presume that it is lost.

In view of the above, no further investigation
will be conducted in this matter and the case is being
placed in an RUC status.

REC-21

EX-105

100-446080-1313

12 MAR 29 1968

2-Bureau (RM)
1-WFO (100-43503) (RM)
1-Memphis
WDM:wp
(4)

MAR 5 10 21 AM '68

RACIAL INT. SECT.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 04-25-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM : SAC, RICHMOND (100-10532) -RUC-

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION
(OO: WFO)

DATE: 3-29-68

Re WFO airtel to Bureau, 3-5-68.

b7C

The following investigation was conducted by IC
[redacted] at Richmond, Va.:

b7C

On 3-11-68, [redacted] File Section,
Division of Motor Vehicles (DMV), advised their files reflect
1967 Virginia license [redacted] was issued to [redacted]
[redacted] Va., for display on a 1959 Peugeot Station
Wagon, [redacted]

b7C

On 3-19-68, [redacted] Operator's
License Section, DMV, advised their files reflect [redacted]
[redacted] Va., was issued operator's license
number [redacted] on 6-5-67, which expires on 5-31-70.
She was then described as WF, 120 lbs., 5'7", brown eyes,
brown hair and born [redacted] Her occupation was listed as
"none."

b7C

[redacted] apparently has another car and has merely
switched the license plates from one car to the other.

- ③ - Bureau (REGISTERED MAIL)
2 - WFO (100-43503) (REGISTERED MAIL)
1 - Richmond

CSK/lmm
(6)

REC 10
APR 1 1968

1 APR 1 1968

b7C

RACIAL INT. SECT.

57 APR 12 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 04-25-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

b7C

1
1
1

5263

SAC, Washington Field Office (100-43503)

March 25, 1968

EX-110 REC-19
Director, FBI

100-446080 1315

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY -
MISCELLANEOUS;
SEDITION

Reurairtel 2/20/68.

A camera mount has been completed for use at
SNCC Headquarters, 1234 U Street, N.W., and at subject's
residence at 2200 12th Street, N.W.

b2
b7E

b2
b7E

The equipment being furnished you should be added
to your inventory but should be returned to the FBI Laboratory
when you no longer have any need for this particular equipment
since only a small number of the lenses like the one being
furnished you are available at the Bureau.

MAILED 24

MAR 26 1968

COMM-FBI

FEW:lcb (6)

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 04-25-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

Date: 2/20/68

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

ATTN: SPECIAL PHOTOGRAPHIC
UNIT, FBI LABORATORY

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY -
MISCELLANEOUS;
SEDITION

As part of WFO's investigation of subject, it is desired that more intensive photographic coverage be effected from lookouts established on SNCC Headquarters, 1234 U Streets, N.W., and on subject's residence at 2200 12th Street, N.W., for purposes of identification of subject's contacts and associates.

The physical circumstances of these LO's preclude

The physical aspects indicate that
are most desirable.

b2
b7E

Tests conducted by WFO indicate that

could give acceptable results if a suitable compact

3 - Bureau
2 - WFO
(1-100-41626) (SNCC)

RCC:dgp
(5)

C. C. Bishop

AIRTEL cc - Sullivan

EX-110

REC-19

100-446080/315

MAR 28 1968

letter
3/25/68
FEW:lob

Approved: _____

Sent _____

M

Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

WFO 100-43503

and easily portable support is available. Equipment tested by WFO is bulky and a suitable support is not available to WFO.

Bureau is also requested to give consideration to the feasibility for the utilization of a 16mm movie camera at this location in the future.

It is requested that the Laboratory assist WFO in establishing the most appropriate photographic equipment for the above installation. It is suggested that laboratory representatives may wish to visit above lookout for this purpose.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT DATE 04-25-2006 BY

60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

DATE: 3/28/68

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-721)

SUBJECT: STOKLEY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION
OO: Atlanta

Re New York airtel and LHM dated 12/27/67, no
copies designated for San Francisco or Los Angeles.

On 3/13/68 [redacted] (Protect Identity),

[redacted] who is an
established source, advised that [redacted]

b7C

b7D

[redacted] stated that [redacted] file contains no
information regarding his Selective Service status or the
identity of his Local Board. [redacted] noted that [redacted]

[redacted] Calif., and suggested that his Local Board might
be located in that area.

It is to be noted that current Stanford University
policy precludes the furnishing of background information re
students without the written consent of the student involved.

The foregoing information is being furnished for
the assistance of Los Angeles in locating [redacted] Local
Board.

b7C

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - Atlanta (100-6812) (RM)
2 - Los Angeles (RM)
2 - San Francisco
RET/pae
(8)

EX 101

REC 18

100-446080-1316
12 APR 1 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.

30
51 APR 12 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 04-25-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls
FBI

Date: 3/22/68

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

AIRMAIL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (100-6812) (P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS;
SEDITION

b2

Re Bureau letter to [] dated 2/2/68.

Enclosed are 11 copies of LHM concerning inquiry
made in Atlanta relative to the possibility that CARMICHAEL
wrote the article "The Third World - Our World".

b2
b7D[] is identified as []
is identified as []

3 - Bureau (Encs. [] (RM)
4 - Atlanta
(2 - 100-6812)
(1 - [])
(1 - [])
EUC:jlh
(7)

b2

b7D

REC-40

100-446080-1317

1 MAR 25 1968

b7C

Approved: 9977

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Atlanta, Georgia

March 22, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 04-25-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

LY CARMICHAEL
-----NAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS;
SEDITION

On February 8, 1968, [redacted] both of
whom are personally acquainted with Stokely Carmichael,
were shown an article entitled "The Third World - Our World"

b2
b7D

These sources were asked if they knew whether
or not Carmichael had personally authored this article.
The sources said that the context has many of the phraseologies
of known to have been used by Carmichael on previous occasions.
These sources said that while in contact with other known
associates of Carmichael, they would make inquiry to determine
if in fact he had written this item.

On February 16, 1968, these sources were again
contacted to determine if they had developed anything of a
positive nature relative to this matter, and they advised
that they could develop nothing to indicate that Carmichael
had personally written this article.

This document contains neither recommendations nor
conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is
loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be
distributed outside your agency.

COPIES DESTROYED

343 FEB 24 1971

ENCLOSURE

100-446080-1317



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Atlanta, Georgia
March 22, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Title STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Character INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS;
 SEDITION

Reference Letterhead memorandum prepared
 at Atlanta, Georgia, dated and
 captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 04-25-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

Date: 3/21/68

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - M
SEDITION
(OO:WFO)

Enclosed for Bureau are eleven copies of an LHM regarding the above-captioned subject. The LHM is being furnished for information and possible dissemination. Two copies are furnished NY for information purposes.

[redacted]
of the Metropolitan Police Department (MPD) advised on 3/21/68 that he is aware of the incidents mentioned in the LHM.

[redacted] stated he does not contemplate pressing charges regarding the matter with CARMICHAEL as he feels it might merely "compound his problem."

WFO will report any additional pertinent information received from sources regarding this matter.

ST 115 ENCLOSURE 100-446080-1318
③ - Bureau (Enc. 11) REC-69
1 - New York (Enc. 2) (RM) (100-153751)
1 - WFO

1 MAR 29 1968

WWH:skt
(5)

C. C. Bishop

AGENCY: ACSI, NTC, OSI, SEC. SERV.
DEPT: ISD, ERD, RAO, Crim, IDIU

AIRTEL

HOW FORW: 145

DATE FORW: 3/27/68

BY: [signature]

Approved: [signature]

Sent

M

Per

Special Agent in Charge

APR 5 1968



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 04-25-2006 BY
UNI60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

GE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Washington, D.C. 20535
March 21, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

[redacted]
[redacted] advised on March 20,
1968, Stokely Carmichael had reportedly been involved in an
incident at [redacted]

[redacted] Washington, D.C. (WDC), on that date. He
advised that the police had been called because of a threat
of trouble. He advised that apparently the incident was
created over an argument about [redacted]

b7C

[redacted] WDC. [redacted] advised that apparently the
problem was settled between Carmichael and [redacted]
[redacted] as no further trouble had been reported.

b7C

COPIES DESTROYED
343 FEB 24 1971

ENCLOSURE

100-246280-1318

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

b7C

[REDACTED]

While the premises were being decorated on March 18, 1968, Stokely Carmichael and three other male individuals arrived at the residence and announced to the painter "they were taking over." [REDACTED] stated that this was about the same time that Carmichael's [REDACTED] had been announced in the press. Carmichael and his companions insisted the painter give them the key which he did reluctantly but felt necessary to do so under the circumstances due to apparent pressure from the group. Carmichael reportedly "stalked" indicating displeasure with the facilities. Subsequently, Carmichael and his companions appeared at the office of [REDACTED]. They demanded to see [REDACTED] immediately who was busy with another customer at the time. Carmichael and his companions were invited to have seats for a moment. Instead, they began hissing and clapping their hands while insisting on seeing [REDACTED] immediately. [REDACTED] met with them as soon as possible. Carmichael indicated that he was not pleased with the condition of the premises [REDACTED].

b7C

[REDACTED] He wanted additional decorations made and insisted on a new stove being installed. [REDACTED] told Carmichael that he would not make the additional repairs to the premises that he demanded and told him that he had not dealt with him [REDACTED].

He told Carmichael that he did not know who he was and did

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

not desire to deal with him about matters concerning [redacted]
[redacted] Carmichael indignantly replied that he was Stokely Carmichael and "we're taking over honky." [redacted] reiterated to Carmichael that he felt he should deal with [redacted] directly about the matter, but this did not satisfy Carmichael, and he demanded in [redacted]
[redacted] be returned as well as [redacted]

b7C

[redacted] told him that they could cancel [redacted] if they desired to do so, but [redacted] would have to visit the office. Carmichael insisted that [redacted] deal with him, and [redacted] told him to bring in the receipts he had given to [redacted] and the money would be refunded. This did not appear to please Carmichael as he wanted the money then in cash. [redacted] then became afraid violence might develop and attempted to call the police; however, one of Carmichael's companions took custody of the telephone and prevented [redacted] from getting the call through. The switchboard operator was able to get a call through to the police. Carmichael then engaged in further harangue using abusive language about the matter. He left, however, soon thereafter before the police arrived.

[redacted] stated that the incident terrified his office employees as they are for the most part older people and inclined to be frightened easily. He pointed out that he has been in the [redacted] business at that address for over forty years and never had any similar problems. He stated he was intimidated and threatened by Carmichael. In addition, he discovered a "parrot" knife missing from his desk which he had used to open mail and believes one of Carmichael's companions took this during the incident.

On March 20, 1968, Carmichael returned with three of his male companions to [redacted] office. [redacted] advised that he had hired a guard in the meantime to sit in the office, and they had kept the outside door to the office locked. The guard had been directed to permit only persons into the office previously recognized by office workers through the glass door. When Carmichael arrived, he found the door locked and began rapping loudly on the glass. He shouted

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

"hey honky, I've got the receipt, I want my money." The office staff was afraid of him, and they refused to let him inside the office. He then became boisterous and profane. They summoned the police who arrived shortly thereafter. Carmichael was not permitted to enter, and he was invited to push the receipt under the door. He refused to do this. Carmichael persisted in demanding a return of the money in cash. To prevent further trouble, [redacted] relented and agreed to give Carmichael a check for the [redacted]

Carmichael refused to accept this and demanded cash and said he also wanted the [redacted]

b7C

[redacted] In the meantime, a check was prepared and pushed under the door which Carmichael finally accepted. He then insisted that the [redacted] be returned to him also.

[redacted] explained that it was written on a New York bank and had not cleared yet. Carmichael appeared not to accept this reasoning and said he was going to get that money or else he was going to [redacted] asked him to repeat what he had said, and he repeated that if he did not get the money he was going to tear up [redacted] told him that he was threatening him. [redacted] then told Carmichael that if he would bring in a receipt for the [redacted] that had been given to [redacted] they would return the money to him. [redacted] stated he did not feel he was obligated to deal with Carmichael since he had made all his previous arrangements about [redacted] however, he acceded to Carmichael's demands under the circumstances.

[redacted] felt he did not have to legally return the [redacted]

[redacted] however, he advised that he planned to do this in order to prevent further trouble.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

5 April 1968

hhhh 3

CUBA

STOKELY CALLS STRIKE TO PROTEST KING'S DEATH

Havana in Spanish to the Americas 1200 GMT 5 Apr 68 C

[Excerpt] The North American Negro leader, Stokely Carmichael, last night called upon the U.S. Negro population to stage a nationwide general strike today, Friday, to repudiate the vile assassination of Rev Martin Luther King. Carmichael made the declaration by phone to the PRENSA LATINA Press Agency in New York from the offices of the Student Nonviolent Coordination Committee in Washington.

The youthful Negro leader's appeal stated that with the general strike the North American Negro population will bring home to the white racists that they have the necessary strength to pay back for the outrages that have been committed against the Afro-Americans.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 04-26-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

? DAILY REPORT

LATIN AMERICA

Page hhhh 3

April 5, 1968

100-446080-

NOT RECORDED

APR 23 1968

43
57 APR 23 1968

100-446080
File 5

~~SECRET~~

04-28-06

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

DATE: 05-05-2006

CLASSIFIED BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

Classification per OGA letter
da67cd 05-02-2006

TO :

[Redacted]

DATE: April 10, 1968

Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____

FROM : W. O. CREGAR

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

Room b7C
s _____

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTER

[Redacted]

b1
61

(S)

b1

ORIGINAL FILED IN 157-8415-53-8

WOC:hke

CONTINUED - OVER

(4)

1- [Redacted] (Attn.: [Redacted])

1-Liaison

1-Mr. Cregar

100-446180

APR 16 1968

NOT RECORDED

184 APR 17 1968

43

51 APR 23 1968

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Memorandum from W. O. Cregar to
RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTER

b7C

b1

(S)

ACTION:

The above is directed to the Racial Intelligence
Section for its attention.

~~SECRET~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 04-26-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

MAR 26 1968

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

FBI WASH DC*

b7C

FBI BOSTON

923AM URGENT 3/26/68 1P JPM
TO DIRECTOR, WFO & CHICAGO
FROM BOSTON 157-437

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RM-SNCC; SEDITION

REBOSTEL DATED MARCH TWENTYFOUR LAST.

BOSTON SOURCES AND POLICE AGENCIES ARE UNAWARE OF SUBJECT'S
CURRENT ACTIVITIES OR LOCATION. NO RECORD FOUND AT AIRLINES
OF SUBJECT'S DEPARTURE FROM BOSTON. SOURCES REMAINING ALERT.
BUREAU AND INTERESTED OFFICES WILL BE KEPT ADVISED.

END

GFH

FBI WASH DC*

P

REC- 69

100-446080-1319

MAR 29 1968

RELAYED TO

WFO

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 04-26-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

VIA TELETYPE
MAR 25 1968
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

R 8

URGENT 3-25-68

TO DIRECTOR, WASHINGTON FIELD, CHICAGO
FROM INDIANAPOLIS

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-M; SEDITION. OO: WFO.

CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE, WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST, AND GARY PD ADVISED CARMICHAEL APPEARED AT APPROXIMATELY ONE ZERO: FOUR FIVE P.M., MARCH TWO FOUR LAST, AT TWO ONE FIVE NINE BROADWAY, GARY, AND GAVE SHORT "BLACK POWER" SPEECH TO APPROXIMATELY SEVEN FIVE PERSONS. GARY PD AND SOURCE ADVISED CARMICHAEL RETURNED TO CHICAGO, ILL., AT APPROXIMATELY ONE TWO A.M., THIS DATE. GARY PD ADVISED SPEECH WAS ORDERLY AND THERE WERE NO INCIDENTS.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

ST 115

REC-69 100-446080-1350
MAR 29 1968

RE INDIANAPOLIS TELS TO BUREAU AND WFO MARCH ~~TWO FOUR LAST~~

CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE IS

b2
b7D

LHM FOLLOWS.

RECEIVED: 11:29 AM DHH

2 CC WFO

APR 5 1968

ATTENTION

The following documents appearing in FBI files have been reviewed under the provisions of The Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) (Title 5, United States Code, Section 552); Privacy Act of 1974 (PA) (Title 5, United States Code, Section 552a); and/or Litigation.

☐ FOIA/PA☐ Litigation☐ Executive Order Applied

Requester: _____

Subject: _____

Computer or Case Identification Number: _____

Title of Case: _____

Section _____

* File _____

Serials Reviewed: _____

Release Location: *File _____

Section _____

This file section has been scanned into the FOIPA Document Processing System (FDPS) prior to National Security Classification review. Please see the documents located in the FDPS for current classification action, if warranted. Direct inquiries about the FDPS to RIDS Service Request Unit

File Number: _____

Section _____

Serial(s) Reviewed: _____

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: _____

File Number: _____

Section _____

Serial(s) Reviewed: _____

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: _____

File Number: _____

Section _____

Serial(s) Reviewed: _____

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 05-01-2006 BY

60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

THIS FORM IS TO BE MAINTAINED AS THE TOP SERIAL OF THE FILE, BUT NOT SERIALIZED.

SCANNED BY DocLab (RMD)

SCANNED BY DocLab (RMD)

DATE: _____

ATTENTION

DATE: 8-3-05

LAST SERIAL: _____

DO NOT REMOVE FROM FILE

LAST SERIAL: 1362

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-01-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

Date: 3/19/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (100-6812) (P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - M; SEDITION

b7C

Re Mobile teletype 3/15/68 and Atlanta teletype,
3/15/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of an LHM
setting forth summary of subject's activities while in
Atlanta, 3/14-15/68.

Additional copies are designated for offices
listed in the copy count..

b7C

Agent observing subject's arrival at Atlanta
at 10:52 p.m., 3/14/68, is identified as SA [redacted]

[redacted] referred to in LHM is [redacted]

b2
b7D

- ③ - Bureau (Enc. 1) (RM) (100-446080)
2 - WFO (Enc. 2) (RM) (100-43503)
1 - Mobile (Enc. 1) (RM) (100-1858) (Info)
1 - New York (Enc. 1) (RM) (100-153751) (Info)
2 - Albany (RM) (Enc. 2)
2 - Atlanta
EUC:met
(11)

AGENCY: ACSI, OSI, SEC. SERV..

DEPT: ISD, CRD, Cum, IDIU

HOW FORM: 105

DATE FORM 3/27/68

BY: [redacted]

1 MAR 21 1968

b7C

Bishop

Approved: [redacted]

5 APR 4 1968

Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

1cc yantel +
LHM 806 960

AT 100-6812

Agents observing departure of subject from
Atlanta at 6:14 p.m. on 3/15/68, identified as SA [redacted]
[redacted] and SA [redacted]

b7C

LEAD:

ALBANY

AT ALBANY, N.Y.

b7C

Identify individual to whom New York license
[redacted] issued. Check indices and report pertinent information to Atlanta and New York.

MOBILE (INFO)

Copy of this airtel being furnished Mobile for
information in view of subject's recent visit to that
area.



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-01-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bis
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Atlanta, Georgia
March 19, 1968

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS;
SEDITION

On March 14, 1968, an Agent of the FBI observed Stokely Carmichael and another Negro male arrive at the Municipal Airport in Atlanta, via Delta Airlines Flight 365, at 10:52 p.m. Carmichael subsequently made several telephone calls, went to the pick-up baggage area, secured his luggage, and went to the cab stand area, where at 11:44 p.m. he was picked up by two Negro females driving a 1961 four-door Pontiac bearing 1968 Georgia license [redacted] b7C

According to the records of the Motor Vehicle Unit, Georgia State Department of Revenue, this license was issued to [redacted] Atlanta, Georgia. [redacted] according to [redacted]

[redacted] for the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). [redacted] advised that Carmichael and his traveling companion spent the rest of the night and early morning hours of March 15, 1968 at the apartment of [redacted] Atlanta. [redacted]

On March 15, 1968, [redacted] advised that Carmichael visited the local SNCC Office at 360 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, late in the afternoon of March 15, and apparently had just left the offices of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) located at 234 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta. [redacted] advised on March 19, 1968, he had been unable to develop the identity of individuals visited by Carmichael at the offices of the SCLC, but believes that this visit had something to do with SNCC's support of Dr. Martin Luther King's forthcoming Washington Spring Project.

[redacted] has advised in the past that the policy of Carmichael is that SNCC will not openly and physically support Dr. King's efforts in Washington during the month

ENCLOSURE

100-446080-1321

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

April, 1968, and that the limit of their participation in this endeavor will be confined to "lip service" only.

[redacted] advised that when Carmichael returned to the SNCC Office late in the afternoon of March 15, 1968, and immediately prior to his departure from Atlanta for Washington, D.C., he had met with three Mexican-appearing individuals at SNCC. The source was unable to determine complete details of this meeting, but it was learned that this group asked Carmichael what he would do about the racial situation in Albuquerque, and also how he was able to get around so easily. They also mentioned that they had recently come into possession of a large sum of money and desired to know how Carmichael would put this money to use in regard to the civil rights movement. The source was unable to learn in detail Carmichael's observation or answer to questions put to him by this source, but did learn that he explained his ease of getting around to the number of friends that he has. [redacted] said that Carmichael did not appear too interested in any problem that this group of Mexicans may have, as he was somewhat in a "holiday mood" over the announcement just that day of his engagement [redacted]

b2
b7C
b7D

[redacted] advised that this group of Mexicans was traveling in a white Chevrolet Impala bearing New York license [redacted]

b2
b7C
b7D

[redacted] advised that at about 5:00 p.m. on March 15, 1968, Carmichael, using the name of J. Walsher, [redacted] left the SNCC Offices in the company of [redacted] SNCC [redacted] en route to the Atlanta Municipal Airport for a trip to Washington, D.C.

b2
b7C
b7D

Agents of the FBI observed Carmichael and three other individuals board Eastern Airlines Flight 136 at 6:14 p.m. on March 15, 1968. This flight was destined for National Airport, Washington, D.C., due to arrive there at 7:40 p.m.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

b2
b7C
b7D

[redacted] advised on March 19, 1968 that [redacted]
[redacted] are unknown to him, but that [redacted] is
identical with [redacted] of
the Chicago Branch of SNCC.

b2
b7C
b7D

On March 16, 1968, [redacted] advised immediately
after Carmichael's departure from Atlanta, [redacted]
[redacted] of SNCC, issued
the following directive to all members of the SNCC staff:

This document contains neither recommendations
nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI
and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not
to be distributed outside your agency.

During the past week, the Atlanta Communications office has been bombarded with press calls from Washington, D.C. and all parts of the country. Reporters constantly seek to verify: (1) when and where the staff meeting will be held, (2) Stokely's schedule and (3) rumors circulating concerning the possibility of Stokely going to organize in Wash. D.C. NOW---we all know that as long as we use the U.S. Post Office to send staff correspondence and use tapped, bugged phone lines to discuss organizational business and details of staff meetings, that organizational business is bound to "leak" to the press and other interested parties. Also, as long as we openly talk to "friends" and others outside of staff, such leaks are bound to occur. However, we feel that such leaks can be controlled somewhat if we follow the policy outlined below:

1. All calls from reporters and others not in our strictest confidence concerning organizational business should be handled by saying that "we have no information or no knowledge" of whatever it is they are calling about. In fact, we do not need to speak to the press or respond to their questions. You can always say you have "nothing to say to the press."
2. Under No circumstances should information concerning Stokely's schedule be given to the press or to anyone not in strict confidence. This is absolutely necessary if we are to maintain some semblance of security and for Stokely's physical protection. Reports from the SNCC folk who went on the campus tour emphasize the need for keeping Stokely's schedule, or anyone elses in the organization for that matter, a secret---thereby keeping reporters, cops, and other unnecessary persons out of his way and off of his trail.
3. Business such as whether or not Carmichael is to go to D.C., or any other internal business does not belong in the press and should not be circulated outside of SNCC. We are not obligated to answer questions of other people who think they are entitled to know SNCC's internal business. When and if it is desirable or necessary to publicly circulate SNCC plans, it could be done through a press conference or statement. Then and only then, should we have any dialogue with the press.
4. All questions and calls from the press concerning any public SNCC statements should be referred to the Atlanta Communications office, unless such statements originate locally in your office or project. Copies os statements issued locally should be sent to the Atlanta communications office.

The only exception to this policy should be to confirm a SNCC statement which you have read and know, in fact, was issued to the public; or to deny mis-information and distortions of public statements which you know, in fact, are incorrect.

5. PLEASE DO NOT GIVE OUT INFORMATION CONCERNING SNCC STAFF MEETINGS TO ANYONE OUTSIDE OF STAFF OR NOT SPECIFICALLY INVITED TO ATTEND. The press has shown great interest in the coming meeting, and we do not wish to be surrounded by reporters and others hanging around the site of our meeting. To all reporters who have called to get information on our meeting, we respond that we "have no knowledge of any impending staff meeting, nor do we know if, when or where any such meeting will be held."

WE HOPE THAT ALL STAFF MEMBERS WILL COOPERATE AND FOLLOW THE GUIDE-LINES ABOVE. IF WE DO, THEN WE MAY REDUCE THE AMOUNT OF INFORMATION WHICH LEAKS TO THE PRESS AND OTHER INDIVIDUALS ANXIOUS TO KNOW OUR BUSINESS FOR OTHER REASONS.



*In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.*

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Atlanta, Georgia
March 19, 1968

Title: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS;
SEDITION

Reference: Memorandum prepared at Atlanta,
Georgia, dated and captioned as above.

All sources whose identities are concealed in the
referenced communication have furnished reliable information
in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor
conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is
loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be dis-
tributed outside your agency.

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 3/6/68

b7C

[redacted] Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee official, was arrested during the recent racial disturbance [redacted] He has been released on \$20,000 bond.

Information previously received that Carmichael is scheduled to speak Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama, 3/11/68, and Stillman College, Tuscaloosa, Alabama, 3/12/68. Arrangements have been made to cover these appearances and to record any speeches Carmichael makes.

Information in the attached will be furnished to the White House, Attorney General, and interested agencies.

JFM:chs

hem
D

wcs/m

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-01-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-01-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls FBI

Date: 3/6/68

Transmit the following in _____

CODED

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via _____

TELETYPE

URGENT

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson ✓
Mr. DeLoach ✓
Mr. Mohr ✓
Mr. Bishop ✓
Mr. Casper ✓
Mr. Callahan ✓
Mr. Conrad ✓
Mr. Felt ✓
Mr. Gale ✓
Mr. Rosen ✓
Mr. Sullivan ✓
Mr. Tavel ✓
Mr. Trotter ✓
Tele. Room ✓
Miss Holmes ✓
Miss Gandy ✓

TO: DIRECTOR AND SACS, ATLANTA, BIRMINGHAM, COLUMBIA,
MOBILE, NEWARK, NEW ORLEANS, NEW YORK, PHILADELPHIA

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)
Internal Security
STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS - MISC., SEDITION.

A SOURCE ADVISED ON MARCH SIX LAST [REDACTED] IS

SCHEDULED TO BE IN WASHINGTON, D. C., ON THE EVENING OF MARCH
SEVEN NEXT TO ATTEND A SNCC MEETING LINCOLN MEMORIAL CONGREGA-
TIONAL TEMPLE, ELEVENTH AND R STREETS, N. W., IN SYMPATHY WITH
THE RECENT ORANGEBURG, SOUTH CAROLINA, RIOT. SOURCE STATED
THAT IF ENOUGH MEMBERS SHOW UP, THE BLACK UNITED FRONT BOARD
OF CONVENORS WILL HOLD A MEETING BEFORE THE SNCC MEETING.

SOURCE FURTHER ADVISED CARMICHAEL WILL DEPART WASHINGTON ON
MARCH EIGHT NEXT, TIME UNKNOWN, FOR NEW YORK CITY, WHERE HE

SAID HE IS TO MEET WITH [REDACTED] TIME AND PLACE UNKNOWN

- ② - Bureau
2 - Teletype Unit
2 - WFO

ALA:cjk/jma
(6)

*STUDENT Nonviolent Coordinating
Committee REG-42

100-446080

1322

MAR 1968

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

MAR 26 1968

Sent _____

M

Per _____

b7C

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 157-

b7C

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)PAGE TWO
WFO 100-43503

TO SOURCE. SOURCE SAID CARMICHAEL WILL LEAVE NEW YORK FOR ALABAMA, WHERE HE HAS ENGAGEMENTS DURING THE ENTIRE WEEK OF MARCH ELEVEN TO FIFTEEN NEXT.

ADMINISTRATIVE: SOURCE REFERRED TO ABOVE IS [REDACTED]

b7C
b7D

[REDACTED] WHO IS UNDER CONSIDERATION FOR DEVELOPMENT
POTENTIAL RACIAL INFORMANT
AS PRI BY WFO [REDACTED] DESCRIBED [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] BY THE GOVERNMENT.

COLUMBIA ADVISE WFO AVAILABLE INFO REGARDING [REDACTED] PLANS
TO BE IN WASHINGTON, D. C.

b7C

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-01-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls
FBI

Date: 3/26/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS-MISCELLANEOUS;
SEDITION
(OO:WFO)

b7C

Re Los Angeles airtel 3/19/68.

Enclosed herewith are 11 copies of an LHM regarding
the above captioned subject. One copy is being furnished
to Los Angeles for information.

b2
b7C
b7D

California, set forth in Los Angeles airtel 3/19/68.

LHM containing data set forth and prepared by
request of J. WALTER YEAGLEY, Assistant Attorney General,
Internal Security Section, United States Department of
Justice, Washington, D. C.

ls

③ - Bureau (Enc. 11)

1 - Los Angeles (100-68783) (INFO) (RM) (Enc. 1)

1 - WFO

WWH:cabb
(5)

b7C

AIRTEL

*1cc to J. Walter Yeagley
(attn: Paul Vincent)
Note: Ref. Bu LHM 9/29/67, updated
attended speech of S.C.
at Lincoln Memorial Congressional
Temple, Wash., D.C. on 5/16/67.
A/S 4/1/68. PTE/akl*

REC-75

100-446080-1323

MAR 27 1968

RACIAL INT. SEC.

32 APR 4 1968

Approved:

Sent

M

Per

Special Agent in Charge

262



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-01-2006 BY
60308/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Washington, D. C. 20535
March 26, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY-MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION

[redacted] another government agency which maintains
personnel records advised on March 8, 1968, [redacted]

b2
b7C
b7D

[redacted] As of that date, the following
background data was set forth;

Name:
Address:

Born:

Sex:
Race:
Height:
Weight:
Hair:
Eyes:
Parent:

b7C
b7D

Occupation:
Employed:

[Large redacted area for background data]

DC,
NY

COPIES DESTROYED
343 FEB 23 1971

100-446080- 1323

ENCLOSURE


STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Records further disclosed that as of July 28, 1961, [redacted] was residing at [redacted] California and as of September 5, 1961, was residing at [redacted] California. On January 14, 1965, [redacted] was reclassified [redacted] and is presently classified in that category. On June 2, 1965, his address was changed to [redacted] New York. The records disclosed that [redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted] As of November 1966 [redacted]
[redacted] was employed [redacted]
[redacted] Washington, D. C., according to the records of [redacted]

b2
b7C
b7D

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-01-2008 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080) DATE: 3/20/68

FROM : *JS* SAC, ATLANTA (100-6812)(P)

SUBJECT: *JS* STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - M; SEDITION

ReBulet to Atlanta, 3/15/68; Atlanta airtel to Bureau, 3/5/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of an LHM which is self-explanatory.

Enclosed for WFO is one copy of the above LHM.

b2
b7D

referred to in LHM is

- ② - Bureau (Enc. 11) (RM)
 - 1 - WFO (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)
 - 2 - Atlanta
- ALM:met
(5)

AGENCY: ACSI, NIC, OSI, SEC. SERV.,
DEPT: ISD, CRD, ~~SEC~~, Crim, STATE, IDIU

HOW FORM: 115
DATE FORM: 3/28/68
BY: PTB/akf

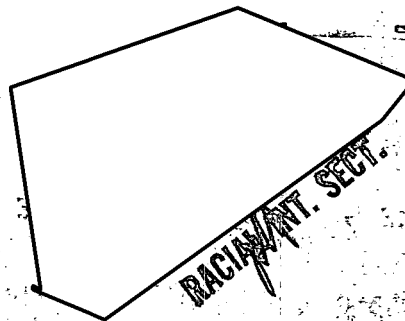
REC-74

100-446080-1324
4-1
25 MAR 25 1968

ENCLOSURE

b7C

*1 copy sent to
1 Xerox of encl.
506 960*



RACIAL INT. SECT.



APR 5 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

EXP-PROC



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-01-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bis
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Atlanta, Georgia

March 20, 1968

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS;
SEDITION

b2

b7D

[redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on February 28, 1968, that a copy of a booklet entitled "NDUGU STOKELY FROM AFRICA" had been obtained from a supply which was left on a table at the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee Headquarters, 360 Nelson Street, N.W., Atlanta, Georgia, on February 28, 1968.

The following is a xerox copy of this booklet:

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ENCLOSURE

100-446080-1324

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-01-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls
FBI

Date: 3/27/68

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Transmit the following in PLAINTEXT
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)
STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC; SEDITION
RE WFOTEL THREE TWENTYSEVEN.

SUBJECT AND [REDACTED] RETURNED TO WDC AFTERNOON THIS
DATE AND WENT TO SUBJECT'S RESIDENCE. SUBSEQUENTLY SUBJECT AND
[REDACTED] WENT TO AREA OF HARVARD ST., NW WHERE THEY APPEARED TO BE
LOOKING AT HOUSING FOR RENT. THEY ALSO VISITED ONE FIVE ZERO SEVEN
NINTH ST., NW, WHERE A REALTOR IS LOCATED. BOTH THEN RETURNED TO
SUBJECT'S RESIDENCE AND CARMICHAEL LATER WENT TO SNCC HDQTS. WHERE
HE REMAINED INTO THE EVENING HOURS.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

A SOURCE ADVISED THAT [REDACTED] PREVIOUSLY RENTED A HOUSE AT
[REDACTED] WHICH [REDACTED] AND CARMICHAEL
PLANNED TO OCCUPY. HOWEVER, NEGOTIATIONS ON THIS HOUSE FAILED TO
MATERIALIZE AND THEY ARE AGAIN SEEKING A PLACE OF RESIDENCE.

ABOVE SOURCE IDENTIFIED AS [REDACTED]

3 - Bureau
1 - WFO

JJO:tkm
(4)

REC-21

ST-116

54 APR 8 1968

Approved: [Signature]

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

100-446080-1325

14 APR 2 1968

J-PA

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-01-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

FBI

Date: 3/29/68

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

Transmit the following in _____

PLAINTEXT

(Type in plaintext or code)

TELETYPE

URGENT

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR (100-446080), CHICAGO, DETROIT

FM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC; SEDITION

RE WFOTEL 3/28/68

SUBJ DEPARTED HIS RESIDENCE IN LATE MORNING AND WENT TO SNCC

HDQTS. SUBSEQUENTLY HE AND [REDACTED] EXAMINED A HOUSE FOR RENT ON

[REDACTED] THEY THEN RETURNED TO SUBJ'S RESIDENCE AFTER
BUYING GROCERIES. SUBJ LATER SPENT SEVERAL HOURS AT SNCC IN THE
AFTERNOON.

IN THE EVENING, SUBJ AND [REDACTED] WENT TO [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] AND EXAMINED A HOUSE LISTED FOR RENT. THEY RETURNED
TO SUBJ'S RESIDENCE AND WERE NOT AGAIN OBSERVED TO DEPART.

WFO ASCERTAINED THIS DATE, CARMICHAEL HAS RESERVATIONS UNDER
NAMES [REDACTED] TO LEAVE WDC MARCH THIRTY NEXT AT EIGHT
TWENTYFIVE AM VIA UNITED AIR LINES FLIGHT THREE SEVEN FIVE FROM

2-Bureau
2-Teletype
2-WFO
JJG:mmh
(6)

REC-21

ST-116

100-446080-1326

1 APR 2 1968

Approved: JDP / JJO

62 APR 8 1968

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

F B I

Date: _____

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)PAGE TWO
WFO 100-43503

WASHINGTON NATIONAL AIRPORT TO ARRIVE CHICAGO NINE TWENTY AM CST.
AT CHICAGO WILL MAKE CONNECTIONS WITH NORTH CENTRAL AIR LINES FLIGHT
EIGHT ZERO FIVE TO DEPART CHICAGO ELEVEN FORTY AM ARRIVING IN
KALAMAZOOM MICHIGAN AT ONE FIFTY PM EST MARCH THIRTY NEXT. NO INFO
REGARDING CAR RENTAL DEVELOPED. RESERVATIONS FOR RETURN FLIGHT
CONFIRMED VIA NORTH CENTRAL AIR LINES FLIGHT EIGHT HUNDRED DEPARTING
KALAMAZOO SEVEN FIFTYEIGHT AM, EST, MARCH THIRTYONE NEXT, ARRIVING
IN CHICAGO SEVEN FORTYFIVE AM, CST. TO DEPART CHICAGO EIGHT FORTY
AM, CST, VIA AMERICAN AIRLINES FLIGHT TWO EIGHT FOUR TO ARRIVE WDC
NATIONAL AIRPORT ELEVEN FIFTEEN AM MARCH THIRTYONE NEXT.

ADMINISTRATIVE

WFO WILL VERIFY SUBJ'S DEPARTURE FROM WDC MORNING OF MARCH
THIRTY NEXT, AND ADVISE CHICAGO TELEPHONICALLY.

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-01-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DOE/bis
FBI

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

Date: 3/28/68

Transmit the following in PLAINTEXT
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC; SEDITION

RE WFOTEL 3/27/68

CARMICHAEL AT HIS RESIDENCE DURING THE MORNING THIS DATE. ABOUT
ONE PM, SUBJ WENT TO SNCC HDQTS. WHERE HE SPENT MOST OF AFTERNOON.

HE WAS LATER JOINED AT SNCC BY [REDACTED] LATER SUBJ AND [REDACTED]

WENT TO AN APARTMENT HOUSE AT [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] WHERE THEY REMAINED INTO THE EVENING HOURS.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

EFFORTS BEING MADE TO ASCERTAIN REASON FOR SUBJ'S VISIT TO ABOVE
APARTMENT HOUSE.

3-Bureau
1-WFO

JJO:mmh
(4)

ST-115
REC-27

PAUL VINCENT
1SD - ADV -
3/29/68
PLB

100-446080-1327

15 APR 2 1968

55 APR 8 1968

Approved: [REDACTED]

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-01-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls
FBI

Date: 3/31/68

Transmit the following in PLAINTEXT
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE URGENT *BM*
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
ATTN: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC; SEDITION

RE CG TT INSTANT DATE.

SUBJ UPON RETURNING WASHINGTON, D.C., THIS DATE WENT TO HIS RESIDENCE. IN EARLY AFTERNOON DEPARTED RESIDENCE AND WENT TO NEW SCHOOL FOR AFRO-AMERICAN THOUGHT WHERE SOCIAL APPEARED TO BE IN PROGRESS. LATER WENT TO SNCC HDQTS. AND THEN TO HIS RESIDENCE. LEFT HIS RESIDENCE IN EVENING AND PROCEEDED TO A SOCIAL FUNCTION IN NORTH WEST WASHINGTON, D.C..

b7C

b7C

EX-102

REC-31

100-446080-1328

APR 3 1968

3-Bureau
1-WFO
JAC:mmh
(4)

b7C

10111
LED ADV. 4/1/68
PTB.

Approved: *JAC*

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-01-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/PCS/bls

Date: 3/27/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
(Att: Domestic Intelligence Division)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-153751) b7C

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS-MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION

ReNY airtel to Bureau, 12/29/67. Bureau Routing
Slip, 3/20/68 with attached copy of Office of Economic
Opportunity from [redacted] 2/14/68.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are eleven (11)
copies of LHM, two copies each to WFO, Atlanta, Boston,
Pittsburgh, New Haven and Newark.

Copies of enclosed LHM are also being disseminated
locally to OSI, NISO, 108th MI, Secret Service and USA's
SDNY and EDNY.

- ENCLOSURE
- 3- Bureau (Encls 11) (RM)
(Att: Domestic Intelligence Division)
 - 2- Atlanta (Encls 2) (RM)
 - 2- Boston (Encls 2) (Info) (RM)
 - 2- Pittsburgh (Encls 2) (Info) (RM)
 - 2- New Haven (Encls 2) (Info) (RM)
 - 2- Newark (Encls 2) (RM)
 - 2- Washington Field (Encls 2) (RM)
 - 1- New York

BJW:mmh
(17)

REC-71

EX-115

100-446080-1329

AGENCY: ~~DEPT. OF JUSTICE~~, SEC. SERV.DEPT: ~~ISD, ORD, SEC. SERV.~~, ~~SEC. SERV.~~HOW FORW: 4/5DATE FORW: 4/2/68BY: PTB/dkt

MAR 28 1968

54 APR 9 1968

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

RACIAL INT. SEC.

NY 100-153751

The LHM is classified "~~Confidential~~" since data reported from source could reasonably result in the identification of a confidential source of continuing value and compromise future effectiveness thereof.

Information set forth in enclosed LHM pertinent to [redacted] was furnished by Pittsburgh and Boston respectively in teletype dated 12/23/67 and 12/22/67, captioned as above.

b7C



DECLASSIFIED BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls
ON 05-01-2006

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

New York, New York
March 27, 1968

Stokely Carmichael
Internal Security-Miscellaneous;
Sedition

b7C On December 22, 1967, Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) observed Stokely Carmichael leave his residence at [redacted] New York, and enter an automobile occupied by two other unidentified Negro males. This car was a 1968 maroon Chevrolet bearing Rhode Island license EX162.

b7C After entering the above car, Carmichael was driven to 19 West 123rd Street, New York City; Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) headquarters, [redacted] New York City; and [redacted] New York. At the last address Carmichael met with two unidentified Negro females who subsequently accompanied him and the other unidentified Negro males back to SNCC headquarters, thence to 123rd Street and Lenox Avenue, New York City, where still another unidentified Negro male entered the 1968 Maroon Chevrolet and finally back to [redacted] New York, where all left the vehicle and entered the house.

b7C It is noted that Rhode Island license EX162 is issued to Chrysler Auto Leasing, [redacted] [redacted] for a 1968 white Plymouth sedan.

b7C It is further noted that Executive Car Rental, Providence, Rhode Island, the address of which is the home of [redacted]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

COPIES DESTROYED

343 FEB 23 1971

ENCLOSURE

100-446080-1329

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Stokely Carmichael

b7C On December 22, 1967, [redacted] mentioned above, advised that his car rental Invoice Number [redacted] indicates that [redacted] who resides at [redacted] and who is an employee of [redacted]

[redacted] rented a 1968 maroon Chevrolet bearing Rhode Island license number EX162 and presented Pennsylvania license [redacted] as identification. Government invoice shows [redacted] was presented Travel Auto Number [redacted] GSA Order Number [redacted] [redacted] said there were several digits missing from the above invoice on the GSA order form.

b7C On December 22, 1967, [redacted] GSA, Providence, Rhode Island, advised he had no record of a [redacted] rental through a Providence, Rhode Island car rental agency for [redacted]

[redacted] states his records show [redacted] employed by [redacted] New York City, requested a rented car. [redacted] said his records show an Executive Car Rental vehicle was furnished to [redacted] at Theodore E. Green Airport, Warwick, Rhode Island, [redacted]

b7C Concerning [redacted] mentioned above, he served in the United States Marine Corps, Serial Number [redacted] receiving an honorable discharge.

b7C [redacted] is a Negro male, was born on [redacted] is 5'7", 167 pounds, and has black hair and brown eyes. He attended [redacted] for two years and in the past has resided at [redacted]

[redacted] August 19, 1956 to November, 1956; at [redacted] Washington, DC, in September, 1959; and at [redacted] Washington, DC, in November, 1959. His wife is [redacted]

[redacted] whom he married [redacted] In 1962, she was employed as a [redacted] in Washington, DC and was formerly employed by [redacted] On May 17, 1962, she was granted an absolute divorce from [redacted] in Washington, DC.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Stokely Carmichael

b7C

As of July 10, 1962, [] was employed as a []
[] and his last known address
in the [] area was the [] address listed
above.

b7C

As of 1962, no information developed that [] had
been or was engaged in any subversive activities in []
area.

b7C

[] concerning the activities of [] advised,
"because of the increasing hostility toward white [] in
ghetto neighborhoods, [] has been attempting to establish
and keep open a line of communication with militant blacks in the
urban areas. [] who is himself a militant Negro, []
has been working very closely with the militants in Connecticut
and New Jersey. On December 22, 1967, [] in the company
of two militants from Connecticut, journeyed to New York and
chauffeured Stokely Carmichael around the city in a rented car
charged to the Government. [] reported this to []
the following Day." According to [] was aware
that they were being followed by the FBI and although he would
have liked to have reported the incident immediately,
circumstances prohibited it.

b7C

Another [] employee of []
[] who lives on [] in New York City, [] has been
doing similar work in New York City. [] has reported that his
residence is being watched by the FBI and that he is sure FBI
reports will be forthcoming concerning personal visits by known
Black Nationalists in New York City.

b7C

[] advised "these men are on a mission of
information - gathering and sensitivity data for [] They
are not interested in being spies or finks but they are
vitally concerned in keeping [] functional. [] is
readily concerned over the fact that we are fast approaching
a situation where white [] can no longer work in black
neighborhoods. From information garnered to date, []
believes that the black militant is bent in seeing the white
[] fail.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Stokely Carmichael

b7C On the basis of his information, [] considers Atlantic City to be the most volatile urban center on the east coast today. In addition, he feels that any metropolitan area with a large Negro population is capable of erupting in riot activity at any time. [] also mentioned that he fully expects Camden, New Jersey, to erupt during the summer months. In the past this city has been apathetic but under militant leadership it has now reached the boiling point.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-01-2006 BY
Domestic Intelligence Division
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/BIS

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 3/26/68

The attached contains information regarding two appearances of Stokely Carmichael in Chicago yesterday. Carmichael is former Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and in his appearance last evening at a fund-raising affair urged the Negroes not to fight in Vietnam, stated that Negroes should get guns and fight for rights of Negroes. Pertinent information in attached being included in today's teletype summary to the White House on selected racial developments.

TDR:fhd

WRC GCM

Wesford

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-01-2006 BY
60309/ ~~FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION~~
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

MAR 26 1968

FBI WASH DC*

TELETYPE

FBI CHICAGO

4:49 AM URGENT 3/26/68 ERH/GMU

TO DIRECTOR, WFO AND ATLANTA

WFO VIA WASHINGTON

FROM CHICAGO (157-1297) 3P

STOKLEY CARMICHAEL IS - MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION 00: WFO

[REDACTED] ADVISED EIGHT PM THREE

TWENTYFIVE, LAST, CARMICHAEL APPEARED AT ONE FIVE TWO SEVEN
WEST ROOSEVELT RD., CHICAGO, FOUR PM, THREE TWENTYFIVE, LAST,
AND GAVE SHORT TALK. SUBJECT, BLACK MEN MUST STOP KILLING EACH OTHER.
ABOVE ADDRESS IS OFFICE OF WEST SIDE ORGANIZATION DESCRIBED AS
A MILITANTLY ORIENTED NEGRO ORGANIZATION ACTIVE ON CHICAGO'S
WEST SIDE IN SECURING EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES FOR NEGROES.
APPROXIMATELY SIXTY PERSONS IN ATTENDANCE WHICH INCLUDED FOUR
WHITES AND FIFTYSIX NEGROES. MEETING ENDED SIX THIRTY PM. NO
INCIDENTS OCCURRED AND AREA REMAINED NORMAL DURING CARMICHAEL'S
APPEARANCE.

[REDACTED] ADVISED ELEVEN FIFTY PM,

THREE TWENTYFIVE, LAST, THAT FUND RAISING AFFAIR AT AFRO-ARTS
THEATER THREE NINE FOUR SEVEN SOUTH DREXEL BLVD., CHICAGO WAS

END PAGE ONE

57 APR 9 - 1968

Summary
Included in letter to White House
and Attorney General. Date 3/26/68

RECEIVED TO

Mr. Tolson ✓
Mr. DeLoach ✓
Mr. Mohr ✓
Mr. Bishop ✓
Mr. Casper ✓
Mr. Callahan ✓
Mr. Conrad ✓
Mr. Felt ✓
Mr. Gale ✓
Mr. Rosen ✓
Mr. Sullivan ✓
Mr. Tavel ✓
Mr. Trotter ✓
Tele. Room ✓
Miss Holmes ✓
Miss Gandy ✓

b7C
b7D

b7C

PAGE TWO

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
HELD FOR H. RAP BROWN, NATIONAL DIRECTOR, SNCC. THIS AFFAIR COMMENCED
APPROXIMATELY EIGHT THIRTY PM, THREE TWENTYFIVE, LAST. ABOUT
TWO THOUSAND FIVE HUNDRED PERSONS IN ATTENDANCE. SOME WHITES ^{BELIEVED} ~~BELIVED~~
TO BE PHOTOGRAPHERS AND PRESS REPORTERS WERE ASKED TO LEAVE THE MEETING
AT OUT SET. A FEW REMANING WHITE PRESENT DURING PART OF MEETING
WERE ASKED TO LEAVE DURING MIDDLE OF MEETING.

ONE MALE AND ONE FEMALE NEGRO (NAMES NOT OBTAINED DUE TO
EXTENSIVE NOISE) TALKED BRIEFLY POINTING OUT NEED FOR BLACK
GROUPS TO JOIN TOGETHER THIS SUMMER TO TAKE OVER THE CITY. (NO
SPECIFIC DETAILS MENTIONED IN THIS REGARD.)

ROBERT BROWN, ACTING DIRECTOR CHICAGO SNCC, TALKED BRIEFLY
AND COMMENTED BLACK GROUPS SHOULD JOIN TOGETHER TO ACHIEVE THEIR
OBJECTIVES.

CARMICHAEL SPOKE FROM ABOUT NINE THIRTY PM TO ELEVEN PM. HE
SPOKE OF LOVE THAT NEGROES SHOULD HAVE FOR EACH OTHER; THAT NEGROES
SHOULD NOT FIGHT IN VIET NAM; THAT NEGROES SHOULD GET GUNS AND FIGHT
FOR RIGHTS OF NEGROES AND FOR WHAT THEY NEED; THAT NEGRO GANGS SHOULD
STOP SHOOTING EACH OTHER; THAT POLITICIANS AND CIVILXXX CIVIC LEADERS
SHOULD TAKE INTEREST IN GANGS TO GET THESE GANGS TO FIGHT FOR NEGRO RIGH^{HTS}

CARMICHAEL ALSO READ LETTER FROM H. RAP BROWN WHICH MENTIONED
END PAGE TWO

NOV 19 2 40 PM '66

83 MAR 26 3 15 PM
PAGE THREE

THE ANTAGONISTIC TREATMENT BEING AFFORDED HIM BY PRISON AUTHORITIES. BROWN IN LETTER ALSO INFORMED THAT FOR EVERY NEGRO KILLED TEN WHITE COPS SHOULD BE KILLED. ABOVE SOURCE ADDED THAT ADMISSION CHARGE TO THIS MEETING WAS TWO DOLLARS PER PERSON. NEAR CONCLUSION OF MEETING BOXES WERE PASSED OUT TO COLLECT ADDITIONAL FUNDS TO BE USED TO GET H. RAP BROWN OUT OF JAIL. MEETING ENDED ABOUT ELEVEN PM. NO INCIDENTS OCCURRED DURING COURSE OF MEETING AND SURROUNDING AREA REMAINED NORMAL. AREA PRESENTLY QUIET.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

[REDACTED]

b7C
b7D

[REDACTED]

CHICAGO FOLLOWING, SOURCES ASSIGNED, MILITARY, SECRET SERVICE, AND COOK COUNTY SHERIFF'S OFFICE ADVISED. LHM FOLLOWS WITH COPIES LOCALLY TO USA.

b2
b7D

[REDACTED] WAS TO HAVE ATTENDED THIS AFFAIR BUT FOR SECURITY REASONS HAS NOT BEEN ABLE TO CONTACT CHICAGO OFFICE AS YET. THIS SOURCE WILL BE DEBRIEFED AT EARLIEST POSSIBLE DATE AND BUREAU WILL BE ADVISED. NO FURTHER INFORMATION DEVELOPED RE CARMICHAEL'S ITENERARY. SOURCES CONTINUE ASSIGNED.

END

JRX

100 32 2 30 PM '88
FBI WASH DC*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-01-2006 BY
60309/AUC/FBI/DCG/bls

Date: 3/27/68

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

WFO AIRTEL

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - M; SEDITION
(OO:WFO)

Enclosed herewith for Atlanta, Birmingham and
Mobile is one photo each of [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] believed identical to [REDACTED] who
accompanied CARMICHAEL from Washington, D. C. on trip to
Atlanta and Alabama on 3/10 - 15/68.

Atlanta, Birmingham and Mobile display photo of
[REDACTED] to Sas observing CARMICHAEL and [REDACTED] as well as to
other appropriate sources as necessary to determine if [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] are identical.

- EX 110
REC 8
- ③ - Bureau
2 - Atlanta (RM) (Enc. 1) (100-6812)
2 - Birmingham (RM) (Enc. 1) (157-2546)
2 - Mobile (RM) (Enc. 1) (100-1858)
2 - WFO
(1 - [REDACTED])

WWH:1kh C. C. Bishop
(11)

AIRTEL

REC'D DOM INTELL DIV

Approved: [Signature]

Sent _____

M _____

Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

57 APR 10 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-01-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DEB/pls

Date: 3/29/68

WCS/PA

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - M;
SEDITION
(OO:WFO)

ReATairtel 3/19/68, no cc Chicago.

For information of Chicago, [redacted] previously
advised that about 5 p. m., on 3/15/68, STOKELY CARMICHAEL,
using name of J. WALSHER; [redacted]
left the SNCC Office (Atlanta) in the company of [redacted]
[redacted] employees of Atlanta SNCC, enroute to
Atlanta Municipal Airport for flight to Washington, D. C.

b2
b7C
b7D

DC
GA [redacted] advised on 3/19/68. [redacted] mentioned
above, identical with [redacted]
Chicago branch of SNCC.

b2
b7C
b7D

- 4 - Bureau
2 - Atlanta (100-6812) (RM)
3 - Chicago (RM)

(1 - [redacted])

2 - WFO

(1 - [redacted])

WWH:slb
(11)

AIRTEL

REC 8

EX-105

14 APR 3 1968

57 APR 9 - 1968

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

WFO 100-43503

b7C Efforts being made to establish if [] identical with SNCC worker [] Identity of [] or if true name not established. Upon arrival, National Airport, Washington, D. C., on 3/15/68, [] above-mentioned individuals went to Washington, D. C., SNCC Headquarters via taxi where CARMICHAEL and [] entered. [] continued via taxi.

WFO sources unable to provide any information regarding [] WFO indices contain no record identifiable with [] b7C

Chicago contact sources for pertinent information regarding [] visit to Atlanta and travels with CARMICHAEL. Check indices regarding [] attempt to identify, and ascertain if from Chicago area. b7C

Atlanta report any additional information developed from sources regarding [] visit to Atlanta and travels with CARMICHAEL, as well as any other identifying data regarding [] b7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAR 3 0 1968

TELETYPE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-02-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

FBI WASH DC*

FBI DETROIT

7:57 PM URGENT 3-30-68 SPW IP

TO: DIRECTOR 100-446080, CHICAGO, WFO 100-43503

FROM: DETROIT P

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC; SEDITION

RE WFO TEL TODAY.

CARMICHAEL ARRIVED AT WESTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY,
KALAMAZOO, MICH., FIVE THIRTY P.M. TODAY VIA PRIVATE
AUTOMOBILE. UNDER SURVEILLANCE. P.

END

LCC

FBI WASH DC*

TU

EX 110

REC 8

100-446080-1333

APR 3 1968

57 APR 10 1968

RELAYED TO WFO

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAR 30 1968

TELETYPE

FBI WASH DC*

FBI CHICAGO

744PM URGENT 3-30-68 RFJ

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080) AND WASHINGTON FIELD (100-43503)

WASHINGTON FIELD VIA WASHINGTON

FROM CHICAGO (157-1297)

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL. IS-MISC; SEDITION. OO: WFO.

BUAGENTS OBSERVED CARMICHAEL ARRIVAL CHICAGO ON UNITED AIRLINES

FLIGHT ONE FOUR SEVEN, TWELVE FIFTEEN PM INSTANT, ACCOMPANIED

BY UNKNOWN NEGRO MALE. WAS MET BY TWO UNKNOWN NEGRO

MALES. FOUR MEN ENTERED NINETEEN SIXTY FIVE PLYMOUTH

AUTOMOBILE, BEARING NINETEEN SIXTY EIGHT ILLINOIS LICENSE

b7C

REGISTERED TO

CHICAGO,

ILLINOIS.

ADVISED ABOVE DESCRIBED AUTOMOBILE WITH

OCCUPANTS DROVE FROM O'HARE FIELD, CHICAGO, THROUGH

CITY PROCEEDING EAST ON INTERSTATE HIGHWAY NUMBER NINETY

FOUR. LAST OBSERVED TRAVELLING EAST OF GARY ON INDIANA

TOLLROAD.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RE WFO TELETYPE MARCH THIRTY, INSTANT, APR 3 1968

CHICAGO

b7D

END PAGE ONE

RELAYED TO

Mr. Tolson_____
Mr. DeLoach_____
Mr. Mohr_____
Mr. Bishop_____
Mr. Casper_____
Mr. Callahan_____
Mr. Conrad_____
Mr. Felt_____
Mr. Gale_____
Mr. Rosen_____
Mr. Sullivan_____
Mr. Tavel_____
Mr. Trotter_____
Tele. Room_____
Miss Holmes_____
Miss Gandy_____

100-446080-1334

5-PA

PAGE TWO

FOLLOWING. SOURCES ASSIGNED. MILITARY, SECRET SERVICE ADVISED. LHM FOLLOWS WITH COPIES LOCALLY TO USA. DETROIT TELEPHONICALLY ADVISED. ON CARMICHAEL'S ARRIVAL, CHICAGO, PD INTELLIGENCE UNIT INSTITUTED SURVEILLNCE OF CARMICHAEL AND COMPANIONS. DETROIT ADVISE CHICAGO ANY INFO RECEIVED RE CARMICHAEL'S SUBSEQUENT TRAVEL PLANS. NOTED REFERENCED TELETYPE REFLECTS SUBJECT SCHEDULED TO SPEAK KALAMAZOO, MICHIGAN.

END

MXS

FBI WASH DC*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-02-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAR 31 1968

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

FBI WASH DC*

FBI DETROIT

418 AM URGENT 3-31-68 VMC

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080), CHICAGO AND WFO (100-43503)
FROM DETROIT (100-34122)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS - MISC., SEDITION.

REMY TEL TO BUREAU THREE THIRTY LAST AND DE TEL CALL TO
CHICAGO THIS DATE.

CARMICHAEL DEPARTED KALAMAZOO, MICHIGAN, TWO THIRTY AM THIS
DATE IN BRONZE PLYMOUTH TWO-DOOR SEDAN, BEARING 'SIXTYEIGHT ILL.
LICENSE [REDACTED] TRAVELING WEST ON INTERSTATE
NINETYFOUR PRESUMABLY EN ROUTE TO CHICAGO.

CARMICHAEL SPOKE AT WESTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY BEFORE
APPROXIMATELY NINE HUNDRED PEOPLE AT MIDWESTERN REGIONAL CONFERENCE
ON BLACK POWER. SPEECH RECORDED. SURVEILLED ENTIRE TIME IN KALAMAZOO.
NO INCIDENTS OR DISTURBANCES.

LHM FOLLOWS.

END.

BGM

FBI WASH DC*

EX 110
REC 8

100-446080-1335

14 APR 8 1968

RELAYED TO WFO

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-02-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DOG/bls
FBI

Date: 4/1/68

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

PLAINTEXT

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via TELETYPE URGENT *BM*
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) P

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC.; SEDITION

SUBJ OBSERVED LATE MORNING INSTANT DATE TO DEPART RESIDENCE
FOR SNCC HDQTS. DURING AFTERNOON SUBJ WENT TO NEARBY HDQTS. OF
SCLC, WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT. REMAINDER OF AFTERNOON SPENT
AT SNCC HDQTS. SUBJ LAST OBSERVED TO RETURN TO RESIDENCE IN
EARLY EVENING.

b7C

b7C

EX 110
REC 8

100-446080-1336

APR 3 1968

b7C

③-Bureau
1-WFOJTA:mmh
(4)

b7C

TRAINOR

Approved: *JTA*

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309/ANC/TAM/DCG/bls
ON 05-02-2006

FBI

Date: 3/25/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority)~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, INDIANAPOLIS (100-15504) (RUC)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - M
SEDITION

OO: WFO

Re Indianapolis teletypes to Director, 3/24/68
and 3/25/68.Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of LHM
re appearance at Gary, Indiana, on 3/24/68 of STOKELY
CARMICHAEL. Enclosed for other receiving offices are two
copies of LHM.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

Classified by ~~SECRET~~

Declassify on: OADR 3/27/87

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.in LHM is
isb2
b7DSecret Service and local military intelligence
advised.

- 100-446080-1337
- 3 - Bureau (Enc. 11) (RM)
- 2 - Atlanta (100-SNCC) (Enc. 2) (RM)
- 2 - Chicago (1 - 100-STOKELY CARMICHAEL) (Enc. 2) (RM)
- (1 - 100-SNCC)
- 2 - WFO (100-STOKELY CARMICHAEL) (Enc. 2)
- 3 - Indianapolis (1 - 100-15504)
- (1 - 100-16050) *WFO*
- (1 - 100-SNCC) AGENCY: ACST, NIC, OSI, SEC. SERV.,

ECW:cdv

DEPT: ISD, CRD, ~~SEC~~HOW FORM: *1/3*DATE FORM: *4/2/68*BY: *PTB/det*

(12)

Approved: *5/27/68*

Special Agent in Charge

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

M

Per

RACIAL INT. SEC.
INT. SEC.

1cc Encl to

C. C. Bishop



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Indianapolis, Indiana

March 25, 1968

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls
ON 05-02-2006

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

On March 24, 1968, a confidential source, who has provided reliable information in the past, advised he was in contact on that date with [redacted] also known as [redacted] a Gary, Indiana, Negro and [redacted]

[redacted] Indiana. Source advised [redacted] has been in contact with members of the Chicago, Illinois Student Non-Violence Coordinating Committee (SNCC) because he wanted to organize a SNCC Chapter at Gary, Indiana. Source further stated [redacted] advised that Stokely Carmichael, former president of SNCC, was to be in Chicago, Illinois, on March 24, 1968, [redacted]

b7C
b7D

Source stated arrangements had been made by [redacted] to have Carmichael come to Gary, Indiana at 9 pm on March 24, 1968, to give a short speech at a vacant store located at 2159 Broadway, Gary, Indiana.

On March 24, 1968, [redacted] Gary, Indiana Police Department, was advised of the proposed appearance at Gary, Indiana, of Stokely Carmichael. He advised the Gary Police Department was unaware of the planned speech and would afford it appropriate coverage.

b7C

On March 25, 1968, [redacted] who has provided reliable information in the past, advised he attended the speech by Stokely Carmichael given on March 24, 1968 at [redacted] Gary, Indiana. Source stated Carmichael was scheduled to appear at 9 pm, but he did not appear until approximately 10:45 pm.

b7C
b7D

Source stated [redacted] of Gary, Indiana, was in charge of the meeting which was attended by approximately sixty persons from Gary, Indiana. He stated an additional fifteen persons

b7C
b7D

Classified by SP-1A6/20

Declassify on: OADR

3/27/87
CA232028

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ENCLOSURE

100-446080-1337

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

came with Carmichael from Chicago, Illinois to attend. Source stated Carmichael remained for about 1½ hours during which time he spoke about having interested Gary Negroes form a chapter of SNCC. Source advised Carmichael spoke about the "black people loving each other" and about having them "organize themselves under SNCC to stand up for their rights." He stated Carmichael said the "black man must stop giving into the white man." Source advised Carmichael's talk was short and that he mentioned his trip to Cuba. Source stated Carmichael left a few minutes after midnight to return to Chicago, Illinois.

On March 25, 1968, [redacted] Gary, Indiana, advised Stokely Carmichael appeared at [redacted] Gary, Indiana, at approximately 10:45 pm on March 24, 1968 and spoke to approximately 75 persons. [redacted] stated the meeting was orderly and that there was no incidents. He advised Carmichael departed for Chicago, Illinois, at approximately 12 am.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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DATE 05-02-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls
FBI

Date: 3/28/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM: SAC, MOBILE (100-1858)(P)
RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS,
SEDITION

b7C

Re Bureau airtel of 3/26/68.

The source who was to make available an anticipated tape recording of CARMICHAEL's speech at Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Ala., on 3/11/68 was ejected from the meeting. Mobile has no knowledge of anyone having a recording of the speech.

3 - Bureau RM
2 - Mobile
JRC:jes
(5)

C. C. = Bishop

100-446080-1338

10 APR 1 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Approved: _____

Sent _____

M

Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

57 APR 9 - 1968

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60309/AUC/TAM/DBI/bls

Date: 3/27/68

Transmit the following in _____

PLAINTEXT
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE

URGENT

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR AND SACS, ATLANTA, BOSTON AND CHICAGO

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; IS - M; SEDITION.

RE CHICAGO TELETYPE MARCH TWENTY-SEVEN, INSTANT.

b7C

SUBJECT AND [REDACTED] OBSERVED BY SAS, WFO,

AFTERNOON OF MARCH TWENTY-SEVEN, INSTANT. P

b7C

REC-100

100-446080-133

15 APR 2 1968

cc - trans
(2) - Bureau
2 - Teletype Unit
2 - WFO
WWH:sme
(6)

70 APR 10 1968

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

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DATE 05-02-2006 BY
60309/AHC/TAM/DCG/bls
Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 4/1/68

Attached relates to speech made by Stokely Carmichael, former Chairman of Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, militant civil rights organization. 3/30/68, at Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, Michigan.

This information is being furnished to the Inter-Division Information Unit and the Internal Security Division of the Department, the military, and United States Secret Service.

JFM:chs:lrb

her

wcs
mfd

FBI WASH DC

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 05-05-2005 BY 60309/AUC
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

APR 1 1968

TELETYPE

FBI DETROIT

357RM URGENT 4-1-68 JRM

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080)

FROM DETROIT (100-34122) 4P

b7C

INTERNAL SECURITY

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS - MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION

b7C

REFERENCE

RE DETROIT TELETYPE TO THE BUREAU, DATED MARCH THIRTY

ONE LAST.

ON MARCH THIRTY ONE, SIXTY EIGHT, A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE,
WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST, ADVISED
THAT THE FOLLOWING COMMENTS, IN SUBSTANCE, WERE MADE BY
STOKELY CARMICHAEL DURING CARMICHAEL'S SPEECH ON THE EVENING
OF MARCH THIRTH, SIXTY EIGHT, AT THE UNIVERSITY AUDITORIUM,
WESTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY, KALAMAZOO, MICHIGAN, AT THE
MIDWESTERN REGIONAL CONFERENCE ON BLACK POWER:

"THEY" TALK ABOUT THE CONFRONTATION BETWEEN THE WESTERN
WORLD AND THE COMMUNIST WORLD. THAT'S NOT THE REAL CONFRON-
TATION - THAT'S BETWEEN BLACKS AND WHITES

"WE'LL" TELL THAT HONKIE YOU TOOK IT WITH A GUN AND

WE'LL TAKE IT BACK WITH A GUN. WE MUST ORGANIZE OUR PEOPLE
WITH GUNS SINCE IT'S CLEAR TO US THAT WHITE PEOPLE INTEND

TO COMMIT GENOCIDE UPON US. WE'VE GOT TO HAVE GUNS JUST IN

END PAGE ONE

MR. DELOACH FOR THE DIRECTOR

Mr. Tolson ✓
Mr. DeLoach ✓
Mr. Mohr ✓
Mr. Bishop ✓
Mr. Casper ✓
Mr. Callahan ✓
Mr. Conrad ✓
Mr. Felt ✓
Mr. Gale ✓
Mr. Rosen ✓
Mr. Sullivan ✓
Mr. Tavel ✓
Mr. Trotter ✓
Tele. Room ✓
Miss Holmes ✓
Miss Gandy ✓

REC-43

100-446080-1340

APR 4 1968

45

PAUL VINCENT
150 ADV
4/2/68

5-14

59 APR 1 1968

DE 100-34122

PAGE TWO

// CASE THEY ARE GETTING READY TO PLAY COWBOYS AND NEGROES.

MAO TSE TUNG SAYS POLITICAL POWER GROWS OUT OF THE
BARREL OF A GUN AND HE IS RIGHT.

// "I" AM NOT TOO IMPRESSED WITH NEGROES AT COLLEGES.
THEY COME OUT OF COLLEGE LIKE A WHITWASH. YOU CAN'T EVEN
GET A COLLEGE STUDENT TO PACK A GUN.

WE HAVE TO TALK THIS YEAR ABOUT SURVIVAL. THAT'S ALL.

NEGROES HAVE TO GET OUT IN THE STREET.

WE MUST HAVE AN UNDYING LOVE FOR OUR PEOPLE. "I" MEAN
THAT YOU MUST BE PREPARED TO DIE FOR OUR PEOPLE NOT FOR THE
WHITE MAN.

IF YOU GO TO SCHOOL, GO TO SCHOOL FOR YOUR PEOPLE.
NEGROES WHO GO TO COLLEGE TO BECOME PROFESSIONAL MEN CONTRIBUTE
ONLY TO THEIR OWN WELFARE.

// WE HAVE A LOT OF UNCLE TOMS. THEY ARE TRAITORS AND YOU
KILL TRAITORS, BUT WE SHOULD EMPHASIZE SAVING OUR BROTHERS.

END PAGE TWO

7 02 11 08

DE 100-34122

PAGE THREE

IT WILL TEAR US UP INSIDE, BUT WE WILL HAVE TO KILL THEM.
WE HAVE TO KILL ANYONE WHO IS AGAINST THE MASSES OF THE
PEOPLE.

THIS GENERATION IS THE ONE WHICH HAS GOT TO START DOING
RETALIATION. THE FIRES IN CHICAGO WERE JUST THE BEGINNING.

IF "NIGGERS" CAN'T DO NOTHING, THEN "OBSCENE" THEY
ARE GOING TO HAVE TO STAND UP AND DIE LIKE MEN. THEY HAVE
BEEN LIVING ON THEIR STOMACHS TOO "OBSCENE" LONG.

WHY GO TO VIETNAM? DIE RIGHT HERE. WE'RE THE WARRIORS.
THE HONKIES ARE NOT.

KENNEDY IS TRYING TO PUT US TO SLEEP. THAT'S RIGHT.
THE KENNEDYS TRY TO PUT US TO SLEEP.

IN ANSWER TO A QUESTION FROM THE FLOOR AS TO WHAT
^{RESERVE OFFICERS TRAINING CORPS.}
CARMICHAEL WOULD SUGGEST THE ROTC CADETS AND ACADEMY CADETS
DO WHEN THEY GET INTO THE ARMY, CARMICHAEL SAID:

"NOW THERE ARE TWO THINGS THEY CAN DO. NUMBER
ONE, IF THEY REALLY HAVE AN UNDYING LOVE FOR THEIR
PEOPLE, THEY CAN TAKE THEIR TRAINING AND USE

END PAGE THREE 5/14/66

DE 100-34122

PAGE FOUR

"THEIR TRAINING FOR THEIR PEOPLE. NUMBER TWO
THEY CAN TAKE THEIR TRAINING AND USE IT FOR
THEIR PEOPLE, IF THEY CAN'T DO THAT, THEY
SHOULD GET OUT. GET OUT. TELL THE HONKIE,
NO. STAND UP AND SAY NO FOR ONCE. JUST TELL
THEM NO, IT MAKES YOU FEEL GOOD".

CARMICHAEL ALSO SAID THAT "YOU" MUST TAKE FIVE YEARS
IN JAIL OR DEATH.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

THE CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

b7C
b7D

SOURCES ARE BEING CONTACTED AND AN ^{MEMO} LHM WILL FOLLOW.

END.

HOLD PLS

JMS

FBI WASH DC

CC- MR. SULLIVAN

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60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls
FBI

Date: 3/27/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

b7C

FROM: SAC, DETROIT (100-34122)

STOKELEY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION
(OO: WFO)

Re Detroit airtel and LHM, dated 3/11/68, and
Bureau airtel, dated 3/19/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of an LHM
relating to captioned matter and for Atlanta, New York,
and Washington Field, two copies of LHM.

b7C

The source utilized in LHM is _____
_____ Detroit Office.

b7C
b7D

Will follow this matter through appropriate
informants and established sources and will report all
pertinent information immediately to the Bureau and
interested offices in form suitable for dissemination.

The LHM is classified ~~confidential~~ to protect
a source of continuing value.

3 - Bureau (Enc.-1) (RM)
2 - Atlanta (Enc.-2) (RM)
2 - New York (Enc.-2) (RM)
2 - Washington Field (Enc.-2) (RM)
2 - Detroit
JEK/mcm
(11)

AGENCY: ACSI, NIC, OSI, SEC. SERV.,

DEPT: ISD, CRD, ~~SEC~~, Cum, FDUHOW FORM: 115DATE FORM 4/3/68BY: PTB/dkt

REC-47

100-446080-1341
15 MAR 29 1968

LT. TO

ADMIN.

b7C

100-806-94D

RACIAL ~~IN~~ ~~SEC~~Approved: [Signature]

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Re: Stokeley Carmichael

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Speaker Contact and Accomodations Committee

[Redacted]

Facilities Committee

[Redacted]

MICH.

MICH.

Budget Committee

[Redacted]

EASTERN MICHIGAN ✓
UNIVERSITY
YPSILANTI, MICH.

MICH.

Departmental Contacts Committee

[Redacted]

Co-Chairman: Not named

Public Relations and Publicity Committee

[Redacted]

MICH.

MICH.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b7C
b7D

Re: Stokeley Carmichael

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b7C

b7D

Security Committee

EASTERN MICHIGAN

UNIVERSITY

YPSILANTI, MICH.

b7C

b7D

The source stated that Stokeley Carmichael has accepted and that this information was furnished him

b7C

b7D

The source further stated that Senator Robert F. Kennedy advised that his present commitments may keep him from accepting a speaking engagement, but if time permits, he will come.

MICH.
DG

He said that Vice President Humphrey will send his expert on urban problems because he will be unable to attend.

The source said that [] stated they have had no acceptance as of this date for ex-governor George Wallace of Alabama.

b7C

b7D

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

- 3* -

64
53

VIA AIRMAIL
ENCIPHERED

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-02-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

Mr. Tolson.....
Mr. DeLoach.....
Mr. Mohr.....
Mr. Bishop.....
Mr. Casper.....
Mr. Callahan.....
Mr. Conrad.....
Mr. Felt.....
Mr. Gale.....
Mr. Rosen.....
Mr. Sullivan.....
Mr. Tavel.....
Mr. Trotter.....
Tele. Room.....
Miss Holmes.....
Miss Gandy.....

12:52AM URGENT 3-27-68 RSM

TO DIRECTOR WASHINGTON FIELD AND ATLANTA
FROM CHICAGO

WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT (WSP). RM. 00: WFO.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL. RM-SNCC. (SEDITION). 00: WFO.

[REDACTED] RELIABLE IN PAST, ADVISED TODAY HAS
LEARNED OF DISAGREEMENT BETWEEN FORCES WASHINGTON, D.C., WORKING FOR WSP
AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE AND SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN
LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE (SCLC) PERSONNEL ARE EACH ACCUSING OTHER OF
NOT WORKING ON BEHALF WSP AND PROGRAM HAS COME TO ALMOST COMPLETE
BREAKDOWN. [REDACTED] WASHINGTON, D.C.,
REPORTEDLY IN CENTER THIS PROBLEM BUT NO FURTHER DETAILS KNOWN.

SOURCE ADVISES WSP MEETING TO BE HELD ATLANTA, GEORGIA, SCLC
HEADQUARTERS, COMMENCING MARCH TWENTYSEVEN NEXT, TO LAST
APPROXIMATELY THREE DAYS, FOR PURPOSE OF DISCUSSING WSP ORGANIZING
EFFORTS. PRESUMABLY WASHINGTON, D.C. PROBLEM REFERRED TO ALSO TO BE
SUBJECT FOR DISCUSSION.

5 APR 2 1968

NOT RECORDED

100 APR 5 1968

51 APR 10 1968

99

157-8428-491
ORIGINAL FILED IN

PAGE TWO

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, CURRENTLY IN CHICAGO, PRESENT AT HEADQUARTERS WEST SIDE ORGANIZATION (WSO), ONE FIVE TWO SEVEN W. ROOSEVELT RD. MARCH TWENTYFIVE LAST AND URGED THOSE PRESENT TO SUPPORT WSP AND PARTICIPATE THEREIN. CARMICHAEL REPORTEDLY PREACHED HATRED OF WHITES AND STATED REVOLUTION IS COMING. WSO IS SMALL WEST SIDE CHICAGO CIVIC RIGHTS GROUP, CONCENTRATION POINT FOR LOCAL WSP EFFORTS. CARMICHAEL HAS INDICATED WILL ATTEND ATLANTA MEETING CONCERNING WSP MARCH TWENTYSEVEN NEXT.

CHICAGO WSP STAFF UNCHANGED FROM PAST SEVERAL WEEKS; STAFF FEELS WILL HAVE APPROXIMATELY TWO HUNDRED PARTICIPANTS FOR WSP. MOST WILL BE WELFARE RECIPIENTS AND YOUTH GANG MEMBERS CHICAGO NEAR WEST SIDE. MONEY FOR TRANSPORTATION THESE PARTICIPANTS TO WASHINGTON, INFORM GREYHOUND BUSES, REPORTEDLY AVAILABLE TO CHICAGO WSP [REDACTED]

b7C

[REDACTED] SOURCE ALSO LEARNED LOCAL WSP STAFF HOLDS REGULAR WEEKLY ORGANIZATIONAL MEETINGS, [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RE CG TELCAL INSTANT.

SOURCE FURNISHING ABOVE IS [REDACTED]

b2
b7D

SOURCE WAS NOT PRESENT AT WSO MEETING WHERE CARMICHAEL SPOKE, LEARNING STATEMENTS ATTRIBUTED TO CARMICHAEL FROM ASSOCIATES WHO WERE PRESENT. NO SPECIFIC DETAILS AVAILABLE AT PRESENT CONCERNING CARMICHAEL'S ITINERARY RELATING TO TRAVEL TO ATLANTA.

PAGE THREE

EXPENSES FOR TRAVEL OF ABOVE SOURCE TO ATLANTA WSP MEETING
HANDLED RETELCAL. CHICAGO FOLLOWING CLOSELY AND INTERESTED OFFICES
WILL BE ADVISED OF ANY SUBSEQUENT DEVELOPMENTS CONCERNING WSP OR
TRAVEL OF CARMICHAEL. LHM FOLLOWS. MILITARY AND CHICAGO PD ADVISED,
PERTINENT PORTIONS ABOVE. SECRET SERVICE TO BE ADVISED BY LHM.

RECEIVED: 2:02AM RM

2 CC WASHINGTON FIELD.

CC Trainor

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls
ON 05-02-2006
FBI

Date: 3/27/68

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

Via _____

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP (S) BY *etc*
DATE *1-14-80*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b7C

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (157-1297) (P)
SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM

(OO: WFO)

Re Chicago tels to Director dated 3/22, 25 and 26/68

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of a
LHM dated and captioned as above. A copy of the LHM is
being furnished USA, Chicago, US Secret Service, Chicago,
and Region 1. 113th MI Group, Evanston, Illinois.

- 3 - Bureau (Encs. 11) (RM)
2 - Atlanta (100-6488) (SNCC) (Encs. 2) (RM) (Info)
1 - Boston (Enc. 1) (Info.) (RM)
1 - Columbus (Enc. 1) (Info.) (RM)
1 - Indianapolis (Enc. 1) (Info.) (RM)
1 - Los Angeles (Enc. 1) (Info.) (RM)
1 - New York City (Enc. 1) (Info.) (RM)
2 - WFO (Encs. 2) (RM)
17 - Chicago

(1-100-40342) (SNCC)

(1-100-41317) (WSO)

(1-
[redacted])

(1-100-11329) (CORE)

(1-157-1805) (GARFIELD ORGANIZATION)

(1-157-303) (ACT)

(1-
[redacted])(1-
[redacted])(1-
[redacted])(1-
[redacted])

(1-157-2269) (RACIAL TENSION, MAYWOOD, ILLINOIS)

Copies continued on 1 page

20 MAR 30 1968

b7C

RACIAL INT. SECT.

AGENCY: ACIS, NIC, OSI, SEC. SERV.

DEPT: ISD, CRD, [redacted], [redacted], [redacted]

HOW FORM: 4/3/68

DATE FORM: 4/3/68

BY: [redacted]

ENCLOSURE

62 APR 11 1968

Approved: [redacted]

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

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WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

CG 157-1297

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(1-
(1-
(1-
(1-
(1-157-413)

b2
b7C
b7D

DEH:smg
(29)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CG 157-1297

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Information copies of LHM are being furnished
offices previously submitting or receiving details in this
case.

The sources mentioned in LHM are as follows: (U)

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b7C
b7D

	(U)

Chicago is following this matter closely and the
Bureau will be kept advised of pertinent developments.

As of this date there are no known recordings
of any of CARMICHAEL's speeches.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Chicago, Illinois 60604
March 27, 1968

157-1297

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) BY *etc*
DATE *1-14-80*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

DECLASSIFIED BY *SP-1AL/MD*
ON *3/20/87*
CHASCO

On March 26, 1968, [redacted]

[redacted] American Airlines, O'Hare Airport, Chicago, Illinois, advised that their flight number 115 Manifest from Boston, Massachusetts, to Chicago, Illinois, on Saturday, March 23, 1968, indicated Stokely Carmichael was one of the passengers. This flight arrived at O'Hare Airport at 6:29 p.m. on this date. This individual paid for his fare with a Travel Agency Check endorsed S. Carmichael.

b7C

[redacted] stated at this time Stokely Carmichael has made no reservations with the American or United Airlines for return flight to Washington, D.C.

b7C

Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) Chairman Stokely Carmichael, 24, was raised in the slums of Trinidad, The West Indies, New York City and Washington, D.C. where he attended Howard University. Toughened by his ghetto life, Carmichael was a militant leader of Howard University Student Government and gave direction and leadership to the Student Activist Group in Washington called the Nonviolent Action Group.

Carmichael, a Howard Graduate, is one of five children put through school [redacted] He graduated from the select Bronx High School of Science of New York in 1960.

b7C

Arrested over 12 times while participating in Movement activities, Carmichael has seen action in Jackson, Mississippi, New Orleans, Tennessee, Maryland, Virginia, New York and Alabama. He has worked with SNCC since its inception. When asked why he joined the

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ENCLOSURE

100-446080-1342

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343 FEB 23 1971

1-10-80
2842 PMV/MA
1-2-80
8-27-80
845 marked otherwise

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Movement and wanted to work for SNCC Carmichael said, "I have worked with SNCC since its beginning. I believe that while most other organizations are working for reform, SNCC is trying to lay the foundation for a revolution. I do not feel that a reform movement will solve the socio-economic problems facing us. The best it can do is bring the problems to the public'.

[REDACTED] X(u)

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On March 25, 1968, [REDACTED] advised that on Sunday afternoon, March 24, 1968, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) Youth Council, Maywood, Illinois, personally contacted Negroes in the Maywood community to attend an impromptu meeting at the Masonic Temple, 13th and Madison Streets, Maywood, Illinois, where Stokely Carmichael, former director of SNCC would speak. Approximately 200 Negroes responded to this invitation and paid \$1.00 apiece admission fee to hear Carmichael speak. At approximately 4:00 p.m. on this date Carmichael arrived at the Masonic Temple in a late model Cadillac accompanied by five unknown Negro males. X(u)

✓
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Carmichael spoke for approximately one hour on the themes of Negro segregation from the white race and the history of the Negroes. He also commented on how to achieve "black power" in Maywood, Illinois. He recommended that the immediate objective should be total boycott of white merchants in Maywood, who after they are forced out of business should be taken over and operated by Negroes. A tentative target then set for inciting the boycott was May 20 or 21, 1968, which would coincide with the death of a martyred Negro leader. The source was unable to recall the name of the martyred individual.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

The source recalled that Carmichael stated in a question and answer session following his speech, "While Martin Luther King goes about his non-violent way, I am getting the guns ready."

The source stated Carmichael was paid \$100 for his appearance [REDACTED]

b7C
b7D

The source advised that the program was well attended, held without incidents and there were no arrests or harassment from the Maywood Police.

On March 25, 1968, [REDACTED] advised that the Garfield Organization, a Chicago West Side white community organization under the direction of primarily religious leaders, which attempts to maintain and improve the conditions of this Negro neighborhood, held an annual fund raising program on the evening of Sunday, March 24, 1968, at a Union Hall of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, 5247 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois. Tickets were sold and women from the neighborhood prepared food, which was served. Eartha Kitt, nationally known Negro female actress and entertainer performed at this affair. (u)

b2
b7D

Also appearing on the program were local musical groups, Dick Gregory, Negro comedian civil rights activist and Muhammad Ali, formerly known as Cassius Clay.

Stokely Carmichael made an impromptu appearance and said a few words which were generally in a humorous manner.

The source advised that the program was well attended, held without incidents and there were no arrests made by the Chicago Police Department.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The source advised the above listed individuals commented as follows:

Eartha Kitt urged national Negro unity and preached against race hatred. Cassius Clay commented that black women should be protected from exploitation. Dick Gregory commented that if conditions of the Negro do not improve, this summer may see a resumption of racial violence.

Richard Gregory is a Negro male and nationally known ✓ entertainer. He ran for Mayor of Chicago as an independent write-in candidate in the local elections in March, 1967. He has led and participated in numerous civil rights demonstrations in Chicago in the past. He has been arrested in Chicago on a number of occasions in connection with these activities. He is considered a "Maverick" who does not lend his support exclusively to any particular civil rights group but will participate in civil rights activities which appear to appeal to him personally.

[REDACTED]

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b7D

Cassius Clay was the former Heavyweight Champion of the World. He is known as Muhammad Ali in the Nation of Islam Organization of which he is a member.

[REDACTED]

b2
b7D

On March 25, 1968, [REDACTED] advised that Stokely Carmichael occupied room 105 of the Roberts Motel located at 3756 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, during Saturday night, March 23, 1968, and checked out of the motel on Sunday morning, March 24, 1968. Three unknown Negro males who accompanied Carmichael occupied room [REDACTED] These rooms were rented by [REDACTED] Chicago, Illinois.

b2
b7C
b7D

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b7C
b7D

On March 26, 1968, [redacted] Roberts Motel, 3756 South Michigan, Chicago, advised that rooms 105 and [redacted] were rented by [redacted] Chicago, at 3:18 p.m. on March 23, 1968. Three unknown Negro males wearing African hair styles occupied room [redacted] checked out of the rooms at 11:30 a.m. on Monday, March 25, 1968, and paid a total of \$72 for room service and rent. [redacted]

b7C
b7D

[redacted]
Chicago, Illinois, a former member of Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), assumed the position of [redacted]
[redacted]

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b7D

On March 26, 1968, [redacted] advised that on Monday, March 25, 1968, between the hours of 4:00 and 6:20 p.m. Stokely Carmichael spoke at the West Side Organization Headquarters at 1527 West Roosevelt Road, Chicago, Illinois. Approximately 60 people were in attendance. Carmichael stated that the reason he is in Chicago is to stop the black people from killing each other. He commented, "The black man must stop killing themselves and start killing the white man." The source advised that no incidents occurred, the area remained calm and no arrests were made by the Chicago Police Department. [redacted]

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The West Side Organization is a militant grassroots type welfare union organization which concentrates on locating jobs for the West side slum residents. It has an office at 1527 West Roosevelt Road, Chicago, It is supported by the Chicago City Missionary Society.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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On March 26, 1968, [] advised that a fund raising rally was held at the Afro Arts Theatre, 3947 South Drexel Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois, beginning at 9:15 p.m. and ending at 11:05 p.m., Monday evening, March 25, 1968. This rally was held for the benefit of H. Rap Brown, National Director, SNCC, who is currently in jail in New Orleans, Louisiana. There were approximately 700 people in attendance and the Theatre was filled to capacity. Among the speakers recognized by the source at the rally were Stokely Carmichael, Robert Brown, Robert Lucas and Edward "Fats" Crawford. (M)

Several white males were observed waiting outside the Theatre prior to the affair, but these individuals were told to leave the area. Various news men attempted to attend the rally but were refused admission.

Robert Brown, Robert Lucas and Edward "Fats" Crawford spoke briefly and only by way of introduction to the featured speaker, Stokely Carmichael.

Stokely Carmichael spoke for approximately an hour and a half, frequently repeating himself and giving the impression of disinterest. Among the often repeated remarks by Carmichael were, "Blacks must love blacks", "The black man must know that the honkey is his enemy", "Blacks must unite".

Carmichael stated, "The white man has done nothing for the blacks except cheat them, as is evident from the days of slavery." "When the white man first came to this country he learned from the Indian and then he killed him." "It is not going to be a long hot summer but it is going to be a long hot year."

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Carmichael stated he did not want the various Negro teenagers fighting and killing each other, but rather that they should unite and fight their common enemy. He stated that H. Rap Brown was in jail because he "rapped too much" pointing out the truth. Carmichael read the audience a letter he had received from Brown which commented in the same manner as he had been talking.

Source said students were able to attend the meeting for a cost of \$1.00, while adults had to pay \$2.00 admission fee. During the affair a collection was taken up for H. Rap Brown. There was no announcement made as to how much money had been collected.

The source stated there were no disturbances during the rally. order was kept reasonably well, there were no incidents and no arrests by the Chicago Police Department.

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On March 26, 1968, [] advised that on Monday evening, March 25, 1968, between 7:00 and 12:00 p.m. a fund raising rally was held at the Afro Arts Theatre, 3947 South Drexel Boulevard, Chicago. The feature speaker of the evening was Stokely Carmichael who addressed approximately 700 people of which 50 were representatives of black power organizations in the Chicago area. *AM*

Carmichael stated that the black people need black supremacy. The black man must have guns not votes and that votes are useless, guns should be used in place of votes. Carmichael protested America's Education System for the Negroes. Carmichael said every black man should get a gun to defend himself and that the Blackstone Rangers should not destroy each other but rather go after the white man. Carmichael took a collection for H. Rap Brown to help obtain his release from jail and referred to Brown as a hero.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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On March 26, 1968, [] advised that on Monday evening, March 25, 1968, Stokely Carmichael spoke for approximately one hour at a fund raising rally held at the Afro Arts Theatre, 3947 South Drexel Boulevard, Chicago. Carmichael's speech was lack luster and obviously off the cuff. Carmichael seemed bored with the meeting and the crowd and quite disinterested. The crowd was extremely enthusiastic at first but sensed his disinterest and responded accordingly. *blm*

Carmichael commented that this summer will undoubtedly see "whitey" out to get the Negro. He counselled the audience to become armed and be prepared to defend themselves and their community. He said they should learn black brotherly love and stop fighting each other, stop gang fighting and tearing up their own property. He said there is strength and power in black unity. Black youths need to study their own history and get a good black education. They cannot do this under the inadequate educational facilities available to the Negroes under today's conditions.

Carmichael made mention of H. Rap Brown on only one occasion and then later to a collection in his behalf.

Carmichael repeated himself constantly and spent alot of time preaching the necessity of all factions within the black power movement to unify. Carmichael's comments concerning Negroes arming themselves was limited to defensive purposes and not of the usual inflammatory nature.

The source advised that the speeches were poorly organized and Carmichael was introduced by Robert Brown who made only brief remarks not nearly as violent as is his usual manner. Robert Brown urged Negro unity of themselves and their neighborhoods

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The source observed that Stokely Carmichael had body guards among whom was [redacted] Several of the body guards were observed to be armed with .45 caliber automatics.

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[redacted] is a male Negro, self-proclaimed [redacted] Chicago Chapter, and has recently proclaimed himself [redacted] was organized by [redacted] to teach Negroes over 18 years of age the laws pertaining to the use of firearms.

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At 6:48 a.m. on March 26, 1968, over a Chicago radio station, WBBM, the announcer commented that Stokely Carmichael made the following remarks at a meeting last night:

"He promised a summer of violence, that the the honkeys are preparing genocide race destruction, and that the blacks must have a gun to fight them."

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On March 26, 1968, [redacted] advised that as of this date Stokely Carmichael has received \$900 for his speaking appearances in the Chicago area and that through his efforts the Chicago Branch of SNCC has received \$2,400. *HW*

The source advised that on Monday morning, March 25, 1968, Stokely Carmichael spoke at the Urban Training Center, 40 North Ashland, Chicago, Illinois, to a group of approximately 40 to 60 students in training. The Urban Training Center is sponsored by several religious groups primarily for the training of ministers for the urban and ghetto areas, however, a sizeable percentage of students are members of the Black Power Community Organizations. The source stated Carmichael made a brief speech to this group and commented mainly on the theme of black unity and black brotherly love. He advised the students that if they can get organized, educated and plan a constructive program, he will return to Chicago in the near future and assist them in the programs implementation.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The source stated Carmichael's speech was extremely conciliatory and mild in comparison to previous speeches by him.

The source advised that Carmichael is not expected to leave Chicago until [REDACTED]

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b7D

The CORE is a militant type orientated civil rights organization primarily of Negro members whose present aims include independent political campaigns concerning slum housing, employment, minimum wages and recruitment of Negroes for the anti-draft move.

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[REDACTED] of the Chicago Chapter. ✓

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X(u)

SNCC is known as the chief exponent of the "Black Power" philosophy. The Chicago Branch of SNCC is very loosely organized and has no coherent program of activities. [REDACTED] Stokely Carmichael, national leaders, have publicly espoused the use of violence to achieve Negro equality and have used the phrase, "Hell no, I won't go" in reference to Negroes being drafted.

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b7D

X(u)

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

A copy of this communication is being furnished to the following Agencies:

United States Attorney, Chicago, Illinois

United States Secret Service, Chicago, Illinois

Region 1, 113th Military Intelligence Group,
Evanston, Illinois

The following individuals were advised of pertinent portions of this memorandum as pertinent events were ascertained:

[redacted] on March 26, 1968

b7C

[redacted] United States Secret Service, on
March 26, 1968

[redacted] Sheriff's Office, Cook County, Chicago,
Illinois

[redacted] Chicago Police Department

The following organizations are characterized in the attached appendix pages:

Deacons of Defense and Justice, Incorporated

Nation of Islam

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DEACONS OF DEFENSE AND JUSTICE, INC.,
Aka. Deacons for Defense and Justice, Inc.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The Articles of Incorporation of the Deacons of Defense and Justice (DDJ) as on file with the Secretary of State for the State of Louisiana, reflect that the Deacons of Defense and Justice, Inc., is a Louisiana corporation domiciled at Jonesboro, Louisiana. The location and business office address of its registered office shall be Amos Service Station (rear), Beach Spring Road, Drawer B., Jonesboro, Louisiana.

"This corporation is organized for the following purposes and to carry on the following purposes:

"To instruct, train, teach, and educate Citizens of the United States and especially minority groups in the fundamental principles of the republican form of government and our democratic way of life; to instruct, teach, train and educate said persons in the provisions of the constitution and laws of the United States and the State of Louisiana, as well as the constitution and laws of any other state wherein this corporation may operate; to instruct, teach, train and educate said persons in the use, value, and purpose of the ballot and the right to vote; to instruct, teach, train and educate said persons as to the duties and responsibilities of good citizenship relative to the obligation and duties of the community to the citizen; to further instruct, teach, train and educate said persons in the value of economic security and in the effective use of their spending power; to inspire in said persons a sense of responsibility and to develop leadership. This corporation has for its further purpose, and is dedicated to, the defense of the civil rights, property rights and personal rights of said people and will defend said rights by any and all honorable and legal means to the end that justice may be obtained. This corporation may establish chapters and conduct its business at any place in this State and elsewhere as permitted by law."

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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1.

APPENDIX

NATION OF ISLAM, Formerly referred to
as the Muslim Cult of Islam, also known
as Muhammad's Temples of Islam

In January, 1957, a source advised ELIJAH MUHAMMAD has described his organization on ~~a nationwide basis~~ as the "Nation of Islam" and "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

On May 5, 1967, a second source advised ELIJAH MUHAMMAD is the national leader of the Nation of Islam (NOI); Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 2, 5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, is the national headquarters of the NOI; and in mid-1960 MUHAMMAD and other NOI officials, when referring to MUHAMMAD's organization on a nationwide basis, commenced using either "Mosque" or "Temple" when mentioning one of "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

The NOI is an all-Negro organization which was originally organized in 1930 in Detroit, Michigan. MUHAMMAD claims to have been selected by Allah, the Supreme Being, to lead the so-called Negro race out of slavery in the wilderness of North America by establishing an independent black nation in the United States. Members following MUHAMMAD's teachings and his interpretation of the "Koran" believe there is no such thing as a Negro; that the so-called Negroes are slaves of the white race, referred to as "white devils," in the United States; and that the white race, because of its exploitation of the so-called Negroes, must and will be destroyed in the approaching "War of Armageddon."

In the past, officials and members of the NOI, including MUHAMMAD, have refused to register under the provisions of the Selective Service Acts and have declared that members owe no allegiance to the United States.

On May 5, 1958, the first source advised MUHAMMAD had, upon advice of legal counsel, tempered his personal statements and instructions to his ministers concerning the principles of his organization in order to avoid possible prosecution by the United States government; however, he did not indicate any fundamental changes in the teachings of his organization.

On May 2, 1966, a third source advised MUHAMMAD had, early in July, 1958, decided to de-emphasize the religious aspects of the teachings of Islam and to stress the economic benefits to be derived by those Negroes who joined the NOI. This policy change, according to MUHAMMAD, would help him acquire additional followers and create more interest in his programs.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Chicago, Illinois 60604
March 27, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 157-1297

Title STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Character RACIAL MATTER

Reference Memorandum dated and captioned as above

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

b2
b7D

[Redacted] (S)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls
ON 05-02-2006

FBI

Date: 3/29/68

Transmit the following in

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

b7C

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO

SUBJECT: RACIAL TENSIONS
MAYWOOD, ILLINOIS
1968

RM

OO: CHICAGO

(Chicago File 157-2269) (P)

b7C

RM

OO: CHICAGO

(Chicago File

(Bureau File

(P)

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD
OFFICE ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP
ON 4/1/68 Dms

Enclosed for the Bureau are 12 copies of an LHM dated
and captioned as above.

AGENCY: CRD, ISD, IIU, HAO, -

ACSI, OSI, SS

HOW FORW: 1/5

DATE FORW: APR 2 1968

BY: CEG:GOS SP/

4 - Bureau (Enc. 12) (RM)
(1-100-446080) (STOKELY CARMICHAEL)

1 - WFO (STOKELY CARMICHAEL) (RM) (Enc. 1)

13 - Chicago

(1-157-413)

(1-100-8261) (NAACP)

(1-157-New) [redacted] Male Negro)

(1-157-New) [redacted] Male Negro)

(1-157-New) [redacted] (Phonetic), Male Negro)

(1-157-New) [redacted] Male Negro)

(1-157-New) [redacted] Male Negro)

(1-157-) [redacted] Male Negro, [redacted]

West Suburban Chapter)

(1-157-New) [redacted] Male Negro)

(1-157-New) [redacted] Male Negro)

(1-157-1297) (STOKLEY CARMICHAEL)

CLASS. & EXT. BY 2842 PUD/oms 9/4/99

REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2 2

DATE OF REVIEW 3/29/88

WJB:RIS
(18)

ENCLOSURE

NOT RECORDED
180 APR 8 1968

APR 1 1968

59 APR 1 1968

Approved:

Special Agent in Charge

Sent
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RACIAL INT. SECT.

ORIGINAL FILED IN 157-6-9 622

CG 157-2269

b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Source mentioned herein is [redacted] currently under consideration as a Probationary Racial Informant. The LHM has been classified ~~confidential~~ to further protect this source. Source has declined to furnish this information in a written, signed form. ~~C~~-(U)

b7C
b7D

Information concerning STOKELY CARMICHAEL's appearance in Maywood has been previously furnished to the Bureau under his caption. ~~C~~-(U)

b7C

Chicago is opening cases on [redacted] to determine if they meet criteria for Agitator Index. ~~C~~

One copy each of said LHM is being furnished to the USA, Chicago, Secret Service, Chicago, and Region 1, 113th MI Group, Evanston, Illinois. u (U)

Chicago is following developments in Maywood, Illinois, through sources and Maywood Police Department. Bureau will be kept advised. u

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Chicago, Illinois

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

157-2269

b7C

March 29, 1968 CLASSIFIED BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

ON 05-02-2006

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RACIAL TENSIONS
MAYWOOD, ILLINOIS
1968;

b7C

b7C

In March, 1968, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, stated he learned from friends that [redacted] the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), in Maywood, Illinois, has directed all of the recent disturbances at Proviso East High School, Maywood, Illinois. ~~(U)~~

b7C

In March, 1968, source stated that at a meeting on the afternoon of March 17, 1968, at the Cultural Center, 1009 Madison Street, Maywood, Illinois, there were 75 to 80 Negroes in attendance with the majority being teenagers, but some in their early twenties. [redacted]

(phonetic). Also present were [redacted] whose last name is unknown. [redacted]

Source stated that [redacted] and the above mentioned [redacted] of the NAACP Youth Council. ~~(U)~~

b7C

The meeting was also attended by [redacted] NAACP, and the subjects discussed at the meeting included calling for more disruption at Proviso East High School until the teachers who discriminated against Negroes are replaced and until officials, such as [redacted] are removed. Other discussions included a desire for a swimming pool and a liquor

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency. (U)

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD
OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP
ON 9/16/79 DMS

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~Group 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

CLASS. & EXT. BY 284200/DMS 9/4/79

REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2 2

DATE OF REVIEW 3/29/88

ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RACIAL TENSIONS
MAYWOOD, ILLINOIS
1968:

b7C

[redacted]
store in Maywood, Illinois, and to attain these goals, [redacted] called for more disruptive activities in Maywood. [redacted] also called for the picketing of the Shell Service Station, 17th Avenue and Madison Street, and picketing at the Tasty Freez Store, 12th Avenue and Madison Street, Maywood, both of which are owned by white men. ~~C~~-(U)

b7C

Source further advised that one [redacted] age about 25, spoke out at the meeting against disruptive tactics and advocated working for goals in an orderly manner, but he was booed and jeered. [redacted] also spoke of the possibility of obtaining firearms to protect themselves in the event of police brutality. ~~C~~-(U)

b7C

Also in attendance at this meeting were two individuals known to be students presently attending Proviso East High School and according to source, these two are probably the individuals who carry out the disruptive tactics at the school planned by [redacted]. They are [redacted].

b7C

[redacted] Source further stated that all of the individuals in attendance have paid \$5 to join the NAACP Youth Council. According to reports at the meeting, money seems to be no problem with the Youth Council as they are making money selling various goods at the Cultural Center. ~~C~~-(U)

Source stated that he has heard through an associate of [redacted] that the leaders of the group mentioned above meet each Wednesday night at their private homes and discuss their aims and goals. Source stated that this individual has told him the following: ~~C~~-(U)

b7C

[redacted] is seeking to cause a race riot in the near future in Maywood in order to gain more power than he now possesses. [redacted] stated he has connections in Chicago and can obtain all the firearms he needs. [redacted] allegedly has planned to have a fire started in the woodworking shop at Proviso East High School, which is in a separate building from the main high school. ~~C~~-(U)

b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RACIAL TENSIONS
MAYWOOD, ILLINOIS
1968:

b7C

Discussion in this private group has reached the point where [redacted]

[redacted] has refused to go along with the movement of [redacted] to cause disruptions in Maywood until it is a totally Negro village. In addition, [redacted] wants to personally own Tasty Freez, referred to above, because it is a lucrative business. [redacted] is seeking to own the Shell Service Station, referred to above, for the same reason. These private discussions also indicated that the group has a grudge against [redacted] a Negro [redacted] in Maywood, and they have talked about blowing up his office. ~~(U)~~

b7C

In late March, 1968, source learned from an associate that [redacted] and his aides held a private meeting on [redacted] gave orders to continue the rock throwing at Tasty Freez and the Shell Service Station. Source stated that [redacted] who mix with juveniles and stir them up to do the actual damage, pointing out to them that because they are juveniles they cannot be charged with crimes. Also at this meeting they discussed using [redacted]

b7C

[redacted] is believed to border on being crazy so that he could not be convicted of murder if apprehended. Source further stated that [redacted] and his aides usually meet at about 5:00 p.m. in the pool hall at 19th and St. Charles and mingle with the youths and through talk of violence are able to get them to do what they want them to do. Another target which they spoke of at the pool hall was the O.K. Food Market, 11th and Madison, Maywood. This is a personal grudge because a Negro had been discharged by this store. Here again rocks would be thrown through windows in an effort to drive the white owners from Maywood. ~~(U)~~

b7C

Source advised that [redacted] spread the word that Stokely Carmichael would speak in Maywood on March 25, 1968, and paid Carmichael \$100 to speak. About 200 persons, all Negro, and mostly young people, heard the speech at the Masonic Temple, 13th Avenue and St. Charles Road, which lasted

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RACIAL TENSIONS
MAYWOOD, ILLINOIS
1963:

b7C

[redacted]
from 3:00 p.m. to 4:05 p.m. Carmichael discussed the Negro from slavery to the present time, showing the separation of the races and stating that they should continue to be separated. He called for boycotts to achieve goals, whether aimed at merchants, schools, or any other area. He stated that while King talks non-violence, he is getting together guns. In answer to a question from the audience, he stated that to get guns all the people have to do is raid the Police Department and take them. Carmichael arrived in a Cadillac accompanied by six of his aides and left the same way. [redacted] spoke after Carmichael left and called for boycotts to begin at the school and at the places of business of the white merchants on May 20 or 21, 1968, the anniversary of some slain civil rights leader. ~~C~~-(U)

b7C

[redacted] Maywood, Illinois Police Department and [redacted] Cook County, Illinois, were orally advised of above information. ~~C~~-(U)

b7C

At a meeting at Proviso East High School, on March 28, 1968, [redacted] told a group of approximately 600 students and their parents, that during the period of March 14 and 15, 1968, while the school was closed as a result of racial disturbance, the student lockers were searched and a number of weapons were found therein. [redacted] stated that some of the weapons were homemade and some had been fashioned in the shop classes of the school. He said that knives, steel rulers, and jack knives were found. The meeting was the first of a series designed to ease racial tensions in the school. ~~C~~-(U)

b7C

Copies of this memorandum are being furnished to:

Region 1, 113th Military Intelligence Group,
Evanston, Illinois.

United States Secret Service, Chicago, Illinois.

United States Attorney, Chicago, Illinois.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-02-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls
FBI

Date: 3/27/68

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

Via _____

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

b7C

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS;
SEDITION
(OO:WFO)

ReJNairtel 3/15/68.

Vietnam

OKLA.

CAL.

For information, [redacted] 116th MIG, Washing-
ton, D.C. advised on 3/26/68, [redacted]

b7C

Previous residences listed as Care Of [redacted]

b7C

[redacted] New York, N.Y.; after December,
1966, resided for an undisclosed period of time at [redacted]
[redacted] New York, N.Y.. which is the residence of
[redacted]

- 3-Bureau
- 2-Chicago (157-1279) (RM)
- 2-Jackson (100-123) (RM)
- 1-WFO

WWH:bap
(8) Bishop

REC-74 100-446080-1343
APR 5 1968

54 APR 11 1968

Approved: [Signature]
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

WFO 100-43503

According to [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] that date and reported to San Francisco, Calif. for overseas assignment, being processed through Oakland, Calif.. His current address reported to be [REDACTED]

b7C

and according to [REDACTED] is now apparently in [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] attempt to ascertain if [REDACTED] mentioned above, is identical with [REDACTED] reported to be living in Chicago area in [REDACTED] airtel, 3/15/68. If determined to be identical, Chicago discontinue efforts to locate [REDACTED] as it appears [REDACTED]

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-02-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/BCG/bls

Date: 4/2/68

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

Via _____

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - M; SED
(OO:WFO)

b7C

On 3/31/68, SAS of the WFO observed a late model yellow convertible Corvette, bearing 1967 Virginia License [redacted] parked in front of the residence of CARMICHAEL, WDC. Vehicle later observed in front of New School for Afro-American Thought, where CARMICHAEL was visiting. CARMICHAEL later departed above school and shook hands with unknown Negro male who left area in the vehicle.

RH ascertain to whom above car registered and develop background information. Check indices and conduct credit and criminal.

- ③ - Bureau
2 - Richmond (100-10532) (RM) REC-74
1 - WFO

WWH:psm
(6)

AIRTEL

C. C. - Bishop

Approved: *[Signature]*

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M _____

Per _____

62 APR 11 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-02-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/FBI/ble

Date: 4/2/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - M; SEDITION
(OO:WFO)

REC-74

At 8:05 pm 3/31/68, [redacted]
Number 10 Precinct, Metropolitan Police Department (MPD),
WDC, stopped a tan mustang bearing Ohio license [redacted]
[redacted] being driven by [redacted]
[redacted] WDC., for driving 35 mph in a 30 mph zone. The
car contained another female and four males, one of whom was
STOKELY CARMICHAEL. [redacted] protested to [redacted]
that she was stopped because of her race. She was allowed
to take the group to [redacted] where all entered
except [redacted] and her male companion who accompanied her
to the 10th Precinct where she was given a \$5 ticket for
failure to have a registration card for the car in her pos-
session. At 8:30 pm she and her companion returned to [redacted]
[redacted] told [redacted] that she was [redacted]
[redacted] and attended Howard University, WDC.

WFO indices negative re [redacted]

- 3 - Bureau
2 - Cincinnati (100-16858) (RM)
1 - WFO

WWH:bah
(6)

AIRTEL

C. C. - Bishop

Approved: [Signature]

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

1 APR 5 1968

REC-74

100-446080-1345

APR 5 20 44 PM '68

5-14

APR 5 1968

WFO 100-43503

CI ascertain to whom above car registered and develop background information through established sources, conducting credit and criminal.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT DATE 05-02-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

Memorandum

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

TO : [REDACTED] DATE: April 8, 1968

FROM : [REDACTED] b7C

SUBJECT: ALLEGED PLANNING OF RACIAL DISTURBANCES
OCCURRING DURING APRIL, 1968
RACIAL MATTERS

On 4/8/68, [REDACTED]

advised

Liaison that he had been talking to [REDACTED]

According to [REDACTED] statement to [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] had been talking to a Negro chauffeur at the
Pentagon, and the chauffeur alleged that plans had been made
by Martin Luther King, Stokely Carmichael, and others to
cause riots during the Poor People's March during the latter
part of April, 1968. However, in view of the assassination
of King, these plans were put into effect immediately,
Further, according to the chauffeur, the riots at Baltimore
started later than Washington, D.C., because of a delay in
getting the plans under way.

[REDACTED] stated that he did not know the identity of
the chauffeur and had no further details. He stated he has
no idea as to the accuracy of this information but suggested
that the Bureau might wish to interview [REDACTED]

ACTION:

For information of the Racial Intelligence Section.

RHH:hke

(4)

1 [REDACTED]
1 Liaison
1 [REDACTED]

NOT RECORDED

176 APR 10 1968

1 APR 9 1968

ORIGINAL FILED IN 157-6-1254

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls
ON 05-02-2006

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Bishop
1 - Mr. Rosen
1 - Mr. Sullivan

The Attorney General

April 10, 1968

Director, FBI

b7C

1 -
1 -
1 -

ASSASSINATION OF MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

Enclosed is a memorandum setting forth information volunteered to our representative in the Dominican Republic by a Dominican national concerning an allegation made by a Dominican communist that Stokely Carmichael and [redacted] have advocated the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., by a white man.

b7C

This information is also being furnished to the White House and other interested Government officials.

Enclosure

1 - The Deputy Attorney General - Enclosure

1 - Mr. J. Walter Yeagley - Enclosure
Assistant Attorney General

1 - Mr. Fred M. Vinson, Jr. - Enclosure
Assistant Attorney General

1 - [redacted]
1 - 100-446080 (S. Carmichael)

b7C

WHA:ams
(14)

NOTE: Classified "~~Secret~~" since unauthorized disclosure of data herein could result in serious damage to national defense interests by jeopardizing our operations in the Dominican Republic.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

100-446080
NOT RECORDED
170 APR 10 1968

DUPLICATE YELLOW

~~SECRET~~

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

ORIGINAL FILED IN

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCS/bl
ON 05-02-2006

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Bishop
1 - Mr. Rosen
1 - Mr. Sullivan

b7C

April 10, 1968

BY LIAISON

[redacted]
The White House
Washington, D. C.

b7C

Dear [redacted]

Enclosed is a memorandum setting forth information volunteered to our representative in the Dominican Republic by a Dominican national concerning an allegation made by a Dominican communist that Stokely Carmichael and [redacted] have advocated the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., by a white man.

b7C

These data are being furnished for the information of the President. The material is also being furnished to the Attorney General and other interested Government officials.

Sincerely yours,

Enclosure

b7C

1 - [redacted]
1 - 100-446080 (S. Carmichael)

WHA:ams

(11)

NOTE: Classified "~~Secret~~" since unauthorized disclosure of data herein could result in serious damage to national defense interests by jeopardizing our operations in the Dominican Republic.

100-446080

NOT RECORDED
170 APR 10 1968

~~SECRET~~

Group 1

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

79 APR 11 1968

ON 05-02-2006

~~SECRET~~

1 - [REDACTED]
(Route through
for review)

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Bishop
1 - Mr. Rosen (Route through
for review)
1 - Mr. Sullivan

b7C

1 - [REDACTED]
1 - [REDACTED]

April 10, 1968

ASSASSINATION OF MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

The following information was volunteered to our representative in the Dominican Republic on April 8, 1968, by a Dominican national who has previously furnished both information that has been subsequently verified and information that has been proven to be inaccurate. The source is

b7D

[REDACTED]
He reportedly had some "bad experience in Cuba during and just after 1959." During prior interviews the source when pressed for specific details has sometimes become evasive.

The source advised he learned from a female, whom he refused to identify, that the latter had visited during the afternoon of April 6, 1968, the residence of [REDACTED]

b7C

b7D

[REDACTED] During such visit she overheard a partial conversation between [REDACTED] both active members of the Dominican Communist Party (PCD).

According to the source, the above female advised that [REDACTED] told [REDACTED] that since possible peace in Vietnam was weakening communist actions, an "event strong enough to shake the U.S. to its foundations was needed to create a national atmosphere of war which would lead to the overthrow of the present Government" in the United States. [REDACTED] commented that Stokely Carmichael and [REDACTED] are geniuses or they have perfectly assimilated the lessons they have received during the past two years.

b7C

b7D

[REDACTED] noted that for more than fifteen days Carmichael and [REDACTED] have been advocating the death of Martin Luther King. King was described by [REDACTED] as a person who favored the men of the right of the "pseudo-Democrats" with his politics of nonviolence and

b7C

b7D

① - 100-446080 (Stokely Carmichael)

b7C

~~SECRET~~

(U)

WHA:ned (20)

GROUP 1

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

ENCLOSURE

100-446080

~~SECRET~~

ASSASSINATION OF MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

b7C
b7D
"gulled the plans of black power which is one of violence."
[redacted] stated it was, therefore, propitious for
the cause of "black violence" from all points of view to
assassinate Martin Luther King with the assassin being a
white man. As a result the "guilt" for this deed would
be attributed to President Johnson and Wall Street.

The source advised the above-described female could
furnish no further information concerning this matter.

b7C
b7D
The source possessed no information as to how
[redacted] could possibly have been
in contact with Carmichael or [redacted]. He expressed the
opinion, however, that these Dominicans are in close
communication through couriers with individuals in Cuba.
On February 26, 1968, he advised that [redacted]
[redacted]

b7C
[redacted] and Stokely Carmichael are the
[redacted] and former Chairman, respectively, of the Student
Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, an extremely militant
Black Nationalist organization.

NOTE:

Classified "~~Secret~~" since unauthorized disclosure of
data herein could result in serious damage to national defense
interests by jeopardizing our operations in the Dominican Republic.

b7C
LHM prepared for dissemination to White House by
separate letter. Copies will be furnished the Attorney General,
Deputy Attorney General, Assistant Attorneys General Yeagley
and Vinson by separate communication. It will also be furnished
to State Department, [redacted] DIA, Secret Service and the Military.

~~SECRET~~

VIA TELETYPE

APR 2 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson.....
Mr. DeLoach.....
Mr. Mohr.....
Mr. Bishop.....
Mr. Casper.....
Mr. Callahan.....
Mr. Conrad.....
Mr. Felt.....
Mr. Gale.....
Mr. Rosen.....
Mr. Sullivan.....
Mr. Tavel.....
Mr. Trotter.....
Tele. Room.....
Miss Holmes.....
Miss Gandy.....

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

WASHDC DATE 05-02-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

3-19PM URGENT 4-2-68 LLR

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080) AND WASHINGTON FIELD (100-4603)

WASHINGTON FIELD VIA WASHINGTON PLAINTEXT
FROM LOS ANGELES (100-68783)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL. IS - MISCELLANEOUS, SEDITION.

AN ARTICLE, ENTERTAINMENT SECTION, EVENING EDITION
OF "LOS ANGELES TIMES", APRIL ONE LAST, CONCERNING MIRIAM
MAKEBA, REPORTED CARMICHAEL EXPECTED TO ATTEND FIANCE'S
OPENING NIGHT COCONUT GROVE, AMBASSADOR HOTEL, LOS ANGELES,
CALIFORNIA, THIS DATE.

SOURCES AND POLICE AGENCIES ALERTED, HAVE NO INFO TO
SUBSTANTIATE THIS REPORT.

WASHINGTON FIELD REQUESTED TO FURNISH INFORMATION
CONCERNING TRAVEL STATUS OF CARMICHAEL.

END

MSE R RELAY

FBI WASH DC

REC-106

100-446080/1346

1 APR 5 1968

59 APR 12 1968
LAYED TO WFO

APR 5 2 02 PM '68

5-101

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-02-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DOG/bls

F B I

Date: 4/2/68

CODED

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

TELETYPE

URGENT

Via _____

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

TO: DIRECTOR AND SAC NEW YORK

b7C

FROM: SAC, WFO

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; IS - M; SEDITION.

WFO SOURCE ADVISED THIS DATE STOKELY CARMICHAEL

b7C

b7D

[REDACTED] TO BE MARRIED IN NYC APRIL TWENTYSEVEN NEXT.

CARMICHAEL INVITED SOURCE TO WEDDING AND [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] FOR PARTICULARS SUCH AS TIME AND LOCATION
OF MARRIAGE. NY OFFICE ASCERTAIN SUBSCRIBER TO ABOVE NUMBER
AND PLANS REGARDING CARMICHAEL'S MARRIAGE.

ADMINISTRATIVE

ABOVE SOURCE, [REDACTED]

b7C

b7D

- ② - Bureau
2 - Teletype Unit
2 - WFO (100-43503)

WWH:tab
(6)

b7C

REC-117

100-446080-1347

5 APR 5 1968

62 APR 15 1968

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-02-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls
FBI

Date: 4/3/68

Transmit the following in _____

CODED

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE

URGENT *BR.*

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC; SEDITION

RE WFOTEL APRIL TWO SIXTY EIGHT.

b7C SOURCE ADVISED WENT WITH CARMICHAEL ON PLEASURE TRIP TO
BALTIMORE INSTANT DATE. DEPARTED SNCC HDQT [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] OWNED BY SOURCE'S FRIEND WHERE SPENT
MOST OF DAY. CARMICHAEL MET IN [REDACTED] ONE [REDACTED] AND ONE [REDACTED] BOTH
(LNU), WHO LEFT [REDACTED] FOR ABOUT TWO HOURS WITH CARMICHAEL AND WENT
FOR WHAT WAS DESCRIBED AS "A RIDE TO LOOK OVER SOME PLACES." [REDACTED]
CLAIMED TO HAVE MET CARMICHAEL TWO YEARS AGO IN ATLANTA. SOURCE
AND CARMICHAEL LEFT BALTIMORE ABOUT SIX FIFTEEN PM RETURNING TO
WDC.

CARMICHAEL ARRIVAL SNCC HDQT OBSERVED ABOUT SEVEN TWENTYFIVE
PM AND DURING REMAINDER OF EVENING ASSISTED OTHERS IN TRANSPORTING
SNCC EFFECTS TO NEW QUARTERS, TWENTYTWO ZERO EIGHT FOURTEEN ST. NW.

ANOTHER SOURCE ADVISED CARMICHAEL AND [REDACTED] HAVE

3-Bureau
1-WFO
(4)
REO:rmj

b7C

1510 ADV.
4/4/68 PIS

b7C

Approved: *[Signature]*

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)PAGE TWO
100-43503

b7C

← AGREED TO TAKE ONE YEAR LEASE ON HOUSE AT [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] WDC, WITH OPTION TO BUY. PLAN TO RENT FOR
THREE MONTHS, FOUR HUNDRED AND FIFTY PER MONTH, WILL THEN EXERCISE
OPTION TO BUY PAYING FORTY SEVEN THOUSAND AND FIVE HUNDRED CASH.

HOUSE NOW OWNED BY [REDACTED] ALL NEGOTIATIONS IN
NAME OF [REDACTED] WHO IS PUTTING UP MONEY, INCLUDING ONE THOUSAND
DOWN. OCCUPANCY DATE UNKNOWN. SOURCE STATED THEY PLAN TO BE MARRIED
CIVIL CEREMONY NEW YORK CITY APRIL TWENTY SEVEN AND WILL HONEYMOON
IN ALABAMA. [REDACTED] CALIF. DUE RETURN
WDC APRIL SEVEN. [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

b7C

ADMINISTRATIVE:

BALTIMORE COGNIZANT OF TRAVEL THERE APRIL THREE.

P

b2
b7C
b7D

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-02-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

DATE: 4/5/68

FROM: SAC, JACKSON (100-123) (P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION
OO: WFO

Re Jackson airtel to Bureau 3/15/68, and
WFO airtel to Bureau 3/27/68.

b7C

The following investigation was conducted by
SA [redacted] at Hazlehurst, Miss., on 3/30/68:

[redacted] advised that
he has learned that [redacted] has a son [redacted]
[redacted] who was currently in the Armed Forces somewhere
overseas. He stated that he did not know where overseas
or to what particular branch of the military he was attached.
He further advised that he now knows [redacted]

b7C

[redacted] advised that it had come to his attention
that [redacted] had moved away from Mississippi approximately
in 1963 and had only returned on a couple occasions.

b7C

LEAD: SI 114

CHICAGO

REC-7

100-446080-1349

AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

b7C

Discontinue efforts to locate [redacted]
inasmuch as he is in the Armed Forces somewhere overseas

b7C

- 2 - Bureau
- 2 - Chicago (157-1279)
- 2 - WFO (100-43503)
- 1 - Jackson

APR 17 1968



5010-108-01

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-02-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls
FBI

Date: 4/2/68

Transmit the following in PLAINTEXT
(Type in plaintext or code)Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; IS-MISC; SEDITION

RE WFO TELETYPE APRIL ONE LAST.

SUBJ DEPARTED RESIDENCE LATE MORNING APRIL TWO INSTANT AND
WENT TO ALLIED MEDICAL SERVICES, ONE ONE ONE TWO W ST., NW, WDC,
WHERE HE VISITED WITH [REDACTED] DEPARTED

b7C AND PROCEEDED TO SNCC HDQTS. LEFT SNCC HDQTS EARLY AFTERNOON FOR
RICHMOND, VA., WHERE ACCORDING TO SOURCE HE WAS GOING TO ATTEND A
COURT HEARING FOR [REDACTED] ALONG WITH OTHER SNCC MEMBERS. *ln*

RETURNED TO SNCC HDQTS., WDC IN EARLY EVENING. LATER
VISITED HOWARD UNIVERSITY LAW SCHOOL BUILDING. SUBSEQUENTLY
RETURNED TO SNCC HDQTS. WHERE HE REMAINED INTO LATE EVENING.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

REC-75

100-446080-1350

b2 [REDACTED] ADVISED SUBJ TO BE
b7C MARRIED [REDACTED] ON APRIL TWENTY SEVEN NEXT IN NYC. ABOVE
b7D SOURCE IS [REDACTED] WHO ALSO ADVISED SUBJ AND

3-Bureau
1-WFO

(4)
AAM;rmj

1 APR 5 1968

b7C

54 APR 1 1968

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via _____
(Priority)

Page Two
100-43503

b7C

[REDACTED] LOOKED AT RESIDENCE, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] WASHINGTON, D.C., TO POSSIBLY BUY OR RENT.

P

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-02-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls
FBI

Date: 4/6/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISC; SEDITION
(OO: WFO)

b7C

ReWFOairtel and LHM dated and captioned as above.

Enclosed for the Bureau are five copies of an LHM
dated and captioned as above.

b7C

The Agents who interviewed [redacted] were
[redacted]

b7C

REC-69
69

100-446080-1351

EX-105

3 - Bureau (Enc. 5)
1 - WFO

CBF:tjd
(4)

AIRTEL

Agency: ONI, OSI, ACST, SS, JIM
By Rs. Date: APR 7 1968
Jm/Reg

lcc Trainor

Approved: JDR/s
55 APR 12 1968
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-02-2006 BY
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Washington, D.C. 20535
April 6, 1968

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

On April 6, 1968, [redacted]
[redacted] Washington, D.C., advised Special Agents
of the Federal Bureau of Investigation that as [redacted] he
covers the various schools in the Washington area. b7C

On April 5, 1968, he covered a meeting of students
and officials of Howard University decrying the assassination
of Dr. Martin Luther King at Cramton Hall, Howard University,
which lasted from approximately 12:00 noon to 1:00 p.m.

[redacted] stated that he left this meeting before it was
over and during the time he was present he did not see Stokely
Carmichael and did not hear Carmichael say anything. He said b7C
he has never heard Carmichael make any statement in person.
When he called his newspaper, he learned that some other
activity may have occurred at Howard; however, [redacted]
did not see it. He did not know who covered this news for
"The Evening Star" and could furnish the name of no one who
may have been present at this activity.

This document contains neither
recommendations nor conclusions of
the FBI. It is the property of
the FBI and is loaned to your agency;
it and its contents are not to be
distributed outside your agency.

100-446080-1351
ENCLOSURE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-02-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

Date: 4/6/68

Transmit the following in

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISC; SEDITION
(OO: WFO)

b7C

ReWFOairtel and LHM dated and captioned as above.

Enclosed for the Bureau are five copies of an LHM
dated and captioned as above.

b7C

The Agent who contacted individuals mentioned in the
LHM is

REC-69

100-446080-1352

EX-105

3 - Bureau (Enc. 5)
1 - WFO

JJO:tjd
(4)

AIRTEL

Agency:

ONI, OSI, ACSS, AS, Years of
Vinson ISD, ITU

By

AS

Jm/Rly

Icc: Trainer

b2

Approved:
Special Agent in Charge

Sent M Per

55 APR 12 1968



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-02-2006 BY
60308/AHC/TAM/DCG/bjs
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D.C. 20535
April 6, 1968

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

On April 6, 1968, an article appeared in "The Washington Post" newspaper under the byline of Phil Casey, Staff Writer, which included the statement "Later, at the Howard University rally, Carmichael rose and chanted over and over, his voice rising, 'Stay off the streets tonight, if you don't have a gun because there's going to be shooting.' Then he held a revolver over his head."

Relative to the above quote, the following investigation was conducted on April 6, 1968:

[redacted]
[redacted] Washington, D.C., advised a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation he was not personally at Howard University on April 5, 1968, when Stokely Carmichael talked to a crowd assembled there. [redacted] stated that [redacted] was there at the time.

b7C

[redacted] advised that he was at Howard University on April 5, 1968, but was not familiar with the circumstances concerning the Carmichael article. [redacted] stated that [redacted] was present at Howard University and could possibly furnish information concerning the article.

b7C

[redacted] stated that he had arrived at Howard University at approximately 1:30 p.m., April 5, 1968, and was on the fringe of the crowd when Stokely Carmichael spoke. He advised the contents of the article were accurate and he could add nothing to supplement it. He heard Carmichael speak

b7C

100-446080-1352
ENCLOSURE

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

and saw a dark metal revolver raised in the air but could not definitely state Carmichael held the gun. [] declined to meet with Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation for the purpose of confirming his observations at Howard University on the basis he personally felt it would compromise his effectiveness as a reporter in the future. [] would not personally meet with Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation to confirm the contents of the article appearing in his newspaper without discussing the matter with his Managing Editor. He gave no indication that this would be done. b7C

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-02-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls
FBI

Date: 4/6/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISC; SEDITION
(OO: WFO)

Enclosed for the Bureau are eleven copies of an LHM
reflecting an interview with [REDACTED]

Reference is made to telephone conversation between
SA [REDACTED] and Section Chief [REDACTED]
2:15 p.m., 4/6/68, authorizing WFO to contact Radio Station
WAVA in order to obtain any transcript made by WAVA this date
of comments of STOKELY CARMICHAEL or any representative of
SNCC or associates of CARMICHAEL. This is in response to
a radio broadcast by WAVA at about noon today concerning
STOKELY CARMICHAEL's presence at a fire in N.E. Washington, D.C.
and comments made of an inflammatory nature at that time.

[REDACTED] advised that he did not tape the conversation
between himself and CARMICHAEL and his associate.

[REDACTED] advised that
he had no tape recording of the comments made by CARMICHAEL's
associate at the time of the above-mentioned interview.

3 - Bureau (Enc. 11)

2 - WFO

b7C (1-157-New) [REDACTED] ph)

RNW:tjd

(5)

Asony 001, 552, 100, 100, 100, 100

Dept [REDACTED]

Vinson

En Rs

APR 7 1968

Ice Train

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Washington, D.C. 20535
April 6, 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-02-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

At approximately 12:30 p.m. on April 6, 1968,
Stokely Carmichael and an associate who was introduced as
[redacted] (phonetic) approached [redacted]
[redacted] near the scene of a fire at the corner
of 16th and F Streets, N.E.

b7C

Attached hereto is an FD-302 reflecting the
conversation held between [redacted] and Carmichael and his
associate.

b7C

COPIES DESTROYED
343 FEB 23 1971

100-446080-1353
ENCLOSURE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/6/68

b7C

[redacted] advised on this date that about 12:30 p.m., he was at the scene of a fire in a warehouse near the corner of 16th and F Streets, N.E. [redacted] STOKELY CARMICHAEL approached him and began a conversation.

b7C

D.C. [redacted] asked CARMICHAEL if he would care to be interviewed but CARMICHAEL declined. CARMICHAEL then introduced a companion as [redacted] (phonetic) and said that he [redacted] ask the young people to stay at home.

b7C

[redacted] who said in substance the following: We have our own Urban Renewal here. We are going to burn down the slums and have a Black Urban Renewal and I think that it is wonderful.

b7C

At that point, [redacted] cut off the microphone and informed [redacted] that he would lose his job if he permitted any further inflammatory statements to be made. [redacted] said that it did not matter about the job because they were going to take over the rest of the city. [redacted] joked that they would make [redacted] when they took over. [redacted] also made a statement to the effect that the revolution has begun.

b7C

[redacted] said that the whole conversation lasted about ten minutes. He said that CARMICHAEL appeared on foot in the area and that he did not see any vehicle from which CARMICHAEL might have come.

b7C

[redacted] also said that there was a third person with CARMICHAEL, but that he could not identify that person.

On 4/6/68 at Washington, D.C.File # WFO 100-43503

SAs [redacted]

b7C

by

Date dictated 4/6/68

WFO 100-43503

2

[redacted] identified a photograph of CARMICHAEL and
described [redacted] as follows:

b7C

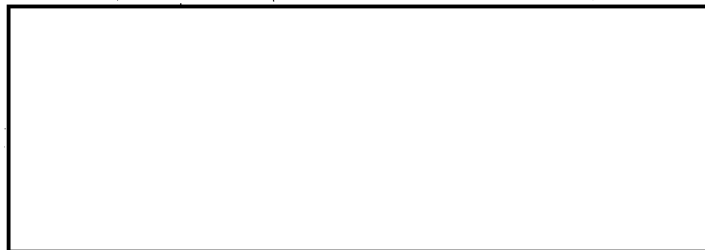
Height:

Weight:

Hair:

Characteristics:

Attire:



This document contains neither
recommendations nor conclusions of
the FBI. It is the property of
the FBI and is loaned to your agency;
it and its contents are not to be
distributed outside your agency.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-02-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DOG/bls
FBI

Date: 4/2/68

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Transmit the following in PLAINTEXT
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR (100-446080) AND SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-68783)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; IS - MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION.

RE LOS ANGELES TELETYPE APRIL TWO INSTANT.

AT SEVENTHIRTY PM INSTANT DATE SUBJECT IN WDC. WFO

SOURCES PRESENTLY HAVE NO INFORMATION SUBJECT PLANS TO VISIT
WEST COAST.

REC-74

- ② - Bureau
2 - Teletype Unit
2 - WFO

WWH:tab
(6)

b7C

APR 5 1968

Sent _____ M Per _____

Approved: [Signature]
Special Agent in Charge

70

39

APR 12 1968

5-PA

FBI

Date: 3/28/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, NEW ORLEANS (100-17362) (P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - SNCC

b7C

On 3/27/68

b7C

b7D

confidentially advised that on March 20, 1968, a request had been received from the Student Liberal Federation (SLF), a campus group at LSUNO, for STOKELY CARMICHAEL to speak at that institution at 8:00 a.m., 10:00 a.m. and 2:00 p.m., on April 19, 1968.

b7C

b7D

[redacted] advised that he personally feels that this is a test of the administration by the SLF and that CARMICHAEL would not be well received if he appeared at the LSUNO campus. He further advised that he is personally inclined and in all probability, will okay this request.

- ③ - Bureau (RM)
3 - Atlanta (RM)

(2 - 100-
(1 - 100-

(STOKELY CARMICHAEL)
(SNCC)

- 3 - WFO (RM)

(2 - 100-
(1 - 100-

(STOKELY CARMICHAEL)
(UNITED FRONT)

- 6 - New Orleans

(2 - 100-17362)
(1 - 100-16890)
(1 - 100-17574)
(1 - 157-10239)
(1 - 157-2604)

(STOKELY CARMICHAEL)
(SNCC)
(SLF, LSUNO)
(BLACK NATIONALIST MOVEMENT)
(POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE,
MAJOR URBAN AREAS)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 3/31/87 BY 88-7A6/RO

RJH:srl
(15)

C. Bishop

cc 706 94-0

RACIAL M. SECTA

70 APR 12 1968

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

NO 100-17362

RJH:srl

LEADS:

ATLANTA AND WFO

Immediately advise New Orleans if information is received that CARMICHAEL plans to travel to speak at LSUNO.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-02-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

TO

MR. W. C. SULLIVAN *wes/s*

DATE: 4-5-68

FROM

MR. J. A. SIZOO *JAS*

SUBJECT:

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - RACIAL MATTER

b7C

With reference to Stokely Carmichael's press conference this morning, Mr. J. Walter Yeagley of the Internal Security Division, called me and asked if we had or could acquire a verbatim transcript of Carmichael's remarks. He said, according to the press release, Carmichael had used "inciting" language and he was anxious to have a verbatim copy, if possible.

I checked with the Washington Field Office (WFO) and was advised by SAC Purvis that an Agent carrying identification as a reporter attempted to enter the room where the press release was to be made. He and several other reporters were rejected, but one reporter was permitted to enter. After the press statement this reporter came out and said that in essence Carmichael's statement was:

"Martin Luther King is the last of his generation. He represented nonviolence. White America has declared war on the Negroes and now it is Black America's turn to declare war on the whites. There is going to be fighting in the streets and it will have to be done with guns. It will not be done with rocks and bottles as it was last night. War cannot start until Negroes get guns."

b7C

JAS:hrt
(6)

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan

REC-40

- 1 -
- 1 -

6 APR 9 1968

b7C

62 APR 17 1968

CONTINUED - over

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. SULLIVAN
RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

In addition, television coverage was provided this conference by both NBC and CBS. WFO has contacted NBC and has been advised that a copy of the audio tape will be made available at 2 p.m. this afternoon. Efforts are also being made to obtain a copy of the CBS tape. These will be furnished to the Department upon receipt.

Mr. Yeagley has been advised of the above.

ACTION:

This is for information.

Wesper *ju* *✓* *mm*
DGH

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-02-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DOG/bis

Date: 3/27/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via **AIRTEL**

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS;
SEDITION
(OO: WFO)

Re WFO airtel to Bureau, 3/12/68, setting forth
summary of subject's activities from 2/28/68 - 3/10/68.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 11 copies
of a letterhead memorandum suitable for dissemination,
setting forth a summary of subject's activities from
3/15/68 to 3/22/68. Two copies each are furnished the
offices listed in the copy count for information.

It is to be noted subject departed Washington,
D. C., on 3/10/68 en route to Montgomery, Alabama, and
returned to Washington, D. C. on 3/15/68. He again
departed Washington, D. C., on 3/22/68 en route to Boston,
Massachusetts.

The information contained in the LHM was developed
by physical surveillance and sources available to WFO.

3-Bureau (Enc. 11)
2-Boston (Enc. 2) (157-347) (RM)
2-Chicago (Enc. 2) (157-1279) (RM)
1-WFO

WWH:llw
(8)

AGENCY: ACSI, NIC, OSI, SEC. SERV.
DEPT: ISD, CRD, ~~SEC~~, ~~CHIN~~, IDIU

HOW FORW: NSDATE FORW: 4/2/68BY: PTB/abf

1 MAR 28 1968

RACIAL M. SECT.

51 APR 2 1968

Approved: [Signature]

Sent: _____

M. Per: _____

Special Agent in Charge

WFO 100-43503

Local dissemination made to Secret Service, AUSA, and military intelligence agencies.

Boston and Chicago submit promptly LHM suitable for dissemination containing summary of subject's activities while on visits to those areas, followed by reports containing any evidentiary data developed.



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-03-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C. 20535
March 27, 1968

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

The following pertinent activities of Stokely Carmichael, from March 15, 1968 to March 22, 1968, are set forth as follows:

On Friday, March 15, 1968, Carmichael returned to Washington, D. C., from a visit to Atlanta and several cities in Alabama. He arrived at National Airport, Washington, D. C., on Eastern Airlines Flight Number 136 from Atlanta at approximately 7:40 PM. He traveled under the name J. Walsher and was accompanied by three other male individuals with names [redacted] b7C

[redacted] is believed to be [redacted] the same individual using name [redacted] who departed Washington, D. C. on March 10, 1968 with Carmichael. They went to the Washington headquarters of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), 1234 U Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., via taxi, where they entered. The individuals using the names [redacted] later left SNCC headquarters and departed the area via taxi. Carmichael and the person believed to be [redacted] subsequently went to Carmichael's residence, 2200 12th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

On March 15, 1968, the Evening Star, a Washington, D. C., daily newspaper, contained an article stating as follows:

"Black power advocate Stokely Carmichael and South African singing star Miriam Makeba are engaged to be married."

"A spokesman for Miss Makeba, 35, said no date has been set for the wedding. The

B.A.T.S.
ILL

APR 11 1968

ENCLOSURE

100-440000-1357

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

songstress is currently in Nassau, the Bahamas, and will open at a club in Chicago Monday.

"Carmichael, 27, former chairman and now Washington-based field secretary of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, has not been married previously.

"Miss Makeba's marriage to Hugh Masakela, a South African recording star, terminated in divorce. She has a daughter, Bongi, 17.

"Miss Makeba came to the United States in 1959 as a protege of Singer Harry Belafonte. Besides singing, she designs African-styled fashions."

b7C On Saturday, March 16, 1968, Carmichael departed his residence in the early afternoon and went to SNCC headquarters, after having stopped at a restaurant in the area. He subsequently departed SNCC headquarters with two other individuals and drove in a late model Volkswagen to Carmichael's residence. Subsequently they departed Carmichael's residence and drove to [redacted] Washington, D. C., believed to be the residence of [redacted] where they remained into the evening hours.

A source advised that a social was believed to have been held at the above residence during the evening of March 16, 1968, with Carmichael in attendance.

On Sunday, March 17, 1968, Carmichael departed his residence and entered a late model blue Plymouth sedan bearing New York license [redacted] which contained two unidentified females. It was determined that this vehicle is registered to [redacted]

b7C [redacted] New York. With Carmichael as an occupant, the car departed the area of his residence. Carmichael subsequently appeared at the New School of Afro-American Thought, 2208 14th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., where a social appeared to be in progress. He left the above address accompanied by [redacted] and was driven to his residence by [redacted] where he and [redacted] entered his residence. In the evening, Carmichael,

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

b7C

accompanied by [] went to the Church of the Redeemer, 15th and Gerard Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., where Carmichael was scheduled to give a talk sponsored by the Church Fellowship Forum. Carmichael introduced Makeba to the audience of about 350 persons, as well as William (Bill) Hall, whom he described as working with the Black United Front (BUF) to organize the school system in the District of Columbia. Carmichael spoke of black unity, black power, and the "survival of the black man." He stated white western civilization has historically and systematically "colonized the Negro" and attempted to "dehumanize" him. He stated the black people in the United States must connect up with the other 900 million black people of the "Third World" in order to liberate themselves from the control of the white man. He described the "Third World" as including black people in Cuba, West Indies, Haiti, South America, and Africa. He emphasized the survival of the Negro is at stake in America as the United States is planning genocide against them and for this reason Negroes should arm themselves. He commented he did not mean a .22 caliber either. He stated he was simply advocating that every black man in the United States get a gun and that the only reason the "honkie" is able to rule is because he has "the gun." He stated that if Negroes obtained an arsenal, relations between whites and blacks would be equal. He commented that this is "why the brothers on the block called the gun an equalizer." He stated Negroes must be willing to die for their race and if they must die they should die on the streets of the United States, not in Vietnam. He commented that he was willing to die for his people. He quoted from Mao Tse Tung, Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party, that "political power comes out of the barrel of a gun."

Carmichael continued that the District of Columbia Public School System is 93% Negro and that the curriculum must be changed to be made more relevant to the Negro community. He stated "we must take over the school system" as it is not teaching what should be taught to black people. Carmichael also stated that black people should support the Arabs in any conflict that might develop between the Arabs and the Israelis.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Carmichael, near the conclusion of his talk, read a statement reportedly written by H. Rap Brown from jail. Brown spoke of fasting and claimed that he had done nothing wrong. He stated he was being held a political prisoner. Carmichael commented that Brown is willing to die for his people and urged support for his cause.

On Monday, March 18, 1968, Carmichael was at his residence in the morning. In the early afternoon, [redacted] visited Carmichael's residence. Subsequently, they went to the Windsor Park Hotel, Washington, D. C. where they reportedly met [redacted] b7C

[redacted] who was in Washington, D. C. for a visit from Los Angeles, California. The nature of their meeting was not disclosed.

In the evening of March 18, 1968, Carmichael traveled to Baltimore where he attended a speech by Negro playwright Leroy Jones, held before an audience of about 350 at the Harlem Park Unity Methodist Church. Near the end of the program, Carmichael spoke briefly about the racial issue. M D

On Tuesday, March 19, 1968, Carmichael left his residence in the morning and went to SNCC headquarters. He remained at SNCC headquarters until mid-afternoon. He then visited the campus of Howard University (HU) where a student sit-in had gotten under way. Subsequently that afternoon he returned to SNCC headquarters. In the evening, Carmichael went to the Lincoln Memorial Congregational Temple, 11th and R Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., where a meeting of the BUF was to be held.

A source advised that a meeting of the BUF was held at the Lincoln Memorial Congregational Temple on the evening of March 19, 1968. According to source, registration for new BUF members was held from 6 PM to 8 PM. The BUF meeting which was opened by Carmichael, got under way about 8 PM with approximately 120 people reported to have been in attendance. The main topic of business was a proposal that a Board of Arbitrators be established within the BUF.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

to settle disputes between blacks in the Negro community. Carmichael reportedly stated he believed that in order to be effective and carry out its mission, those who served on the Board of Arbitrators would have to have some kind of power to enforce its decisions. A suggestion was then made from the floor that a police committee be formed and that members of the committee carry guns since force would be needed to carry out the decisions of the Board of Arbitrators. The general feeling of those present seemed to be that it was unnecessary to carry guns and that a "police committee" should be part of the Arbitration Committee and assist that committee in carrying out decisions.

Source advised a motion was made and adopted to appoint a 16 man committee to study the situation further and bring a report to the next general meeting of the BUF to be held on April 22, 1968 at the New School for Afro-American Thought.

Source continued a motion was approved stating the BUF believed it was the right of [redacted] to retain membership in the Steering Committee of the BUF and also serve on the District of Columbia Council, however, this right was not to be construed as approval or support of actions of the D. C. Government or [redacted] action as an official of the D. C. Government. b7C

Source continued [redacted] a student at HU, announced at the meeting that approximately 500 students at HU were staging a sit-in demonstration on the campus and had taken over the first floor of the Administration Building to protest hearings scheduled for 40 students for their participation in the disruption of the Founder's Day exercises. Source stated that after listening to [redacted] a collection was taken up and \$41.25 was raised for food for the students. The membership of the BUF then voted to approve the action taken by HU students and instructed [redacted] to convey the BUF's support to the students engaged in the demonstration. b7C

The incarceration of H. Rap Brown was discussed at the BUF meeting and the question of raising bail for his release. A collection was taken but it was reported to be only \$5 or less.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

After the BUF meeting, mentioned above, Carmichael went to HU campus where the student sit-in continued to be in progress. He announced to the participants that BUF had unanimously adopted a resolution supporting the student sit-in.

On Wednesday, March 20, 1968, Carmichael departed his residence in the morning and went to SNCC headquarters. In the afternoon he visited the office of [redacted]

Washington, D. C., where a controversy about [redacted] of a residence in Washington, D. C. [redacted] Source advised that [redacted]

b7C [redacted] to Carmichael was announced, according to source, he tried to take over matters concerning [redacted] arrangement. Carmichael reportedly visited the office of [redacted] company several days prior to March 20, 1968 and demanded additions be made to [redacted] [redacted] refused to do. Carmichael reportedly became loud and boisterous and a heated argument ensued, resulting in the police being summoned. [redacted]

Source reported that [redacted] [redacted] declined to deal with Carmichael, stating that [redacted] he prior [redacted] and not Carmichael. Carmichael was informed that [redacted]

b7C [redacted] He was told that if he would produce [redacted] [redacted] it would be returned to him. He did not have [redacted] [redacted] with him and stated that he would obtain them from [redacted] Upon returning to the office on March 20, 1968, [redacted]

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

returned to him. The office to [] company was locked and Carmichael was not permitted to enter. He again became loud and boisterous and police were summoned. The management of the company was reported to be reluctant to deal with him rather than []

b7C

[] to him to prevent further trouble.

On the evening of March 20, 1968, Carmichael appeared on the television panel program "Controversy Fourteen" broadcast by WFAN (UHF) and moderated by John Hightower. A review was held in the form of a discussion about the stand that Carmichael has taken concerning the racial question. Carmichael reiterated on the program that Negroes should arm themselves. He reportedly stated that white people have guns, police have guns, so it is necessary that black people get guns.

On Thursday, March 21, 1968, Carmichael departed his residence in the morning and went to SNCC headquarters. In the afternoon he visited a People's Drug Store in the area of SNCC and spoke with a store official. According to a source, Carmichael had appeared at the store prior to March 21, 1968, after a young woman had been arrested at the store on the previous day for shoplifting, and questioned a store official about the policy of keeping a special uniformed policeman on the premises. Carmichael reportedly asked "why do you have the special policeman in the store?" The official replied it was necessary because of stealing that went on in the store. Carmichael said something about there not being special policemen in People's Drug Stores in white neighborhoods. The official replied that there should be because thefts occur in both white and Negro neighborhoods. Carmichael then turned to leave stating "honkie, the special policeman goes or else." The store official asked Carmichael what he meant by that statement and Carmichael replied "the policeman goes or

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

else." Carmichael then stated he would return later, probably that night.

Upon returning to the store on March 21, 1968, according to source, Carmichael further questioned the official about having the special policeman on the premises. Carmichael reportedly asked upon entering, "is that policeman still here?" He was informed in the affirmative. Carmichael stated "is it the policy of the store to have one?" He was informed that this was the store's policy. Carmichael then left the store without further discussion concerning the matter.

On Friday, March 22, 1968, Carmichael departed his residence in the morning accompanied by another male individual carrying a suitcase. They traveled to National Airport, Washington, D. C., where they boarded Allegheny Airlines Flight 926, bound for Boston, Massachusetts. In purchasing tickets for the flight, Carmichael used his true name and his companion used the name [REDACTED] Subsequently that afternoon, Carmichael and his companion arrived at Logan Airport, Boston, Massachusetts on the above mentioned flight. b7C

This document contains neither
recommendations nor conclusions of
the FBI. It is the property of
the FBI and is loaned to your agency;
it and its contents are not to be
distributed outside your agency.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-02-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/PCG/bls

Date: **3/27/68**Transmit the following in **PLAINTEXT**
(Type in plaintext or code)Via **AIRTEL**

(Priority)

TO: **DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)**

b7C

FROM: **SAC, NEWARK (100-49533) (P)**SUBJECT: **STOKELY CARMICHAEL
SM-SNCC
(OO: WFO)**

Re Atlanta Airtel to Bureau and all offices except
Honolulu 2/7/68.

On 3/26/68, [redacted] who has furnished reliable
information in the past, and [redacted] whose
reliability has not been established, advised that a
meeting sponsored by the United Brothers Association, Newark,
N.J., on 3/22/68, an announcement was made that CARMICHAEL
is scheduled to appear 4/26/68 in Newark, N.J., at the
Central High School.

b2
b7D

Newark will afford informant coverage.

Arrangements are being made to obtain a verbatim
transcript of CARMICHAEL's speech.

3- Bureau
2- WFO
1- Newark
MLC/gd
(6)

REC-40

EX-116

100-446080-1358

MAR 28 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.

G. C. - Bishop

JCV

cc 806 940

62 APR 15 1968Approved: RWD/
Special Agent in-Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

FBI

Date: MAR 27 1968

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bl
(Priority)
ON 05-02-2006

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM: SAC, CHICAGO
SUBJECT: WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT (WSP)
RM:
(OO: WFO)
(Bufile 157-8428)
(CGfile 157-2474)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM-SNCC (SEDITION)
(OO: WFO)
(Bufile 100-446080)
(CGfile 157-1297)

Re Chicago teletype dated 3/27/68, above captions.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 12 copies of a
letterhead memorandum (LHM) concerning the captioned matters,
with copies for interested offices as indicated below.

b2
b7D

[redacted] utilized in the enclosed LHM is
[redacted] Due
to the use of this source, who enjoys a sensitive relationship
with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), the
enclosed LHM is being classified ~~confidential~~ as unauthorized
disclosure of the information could conceivably compromise
the source and his continuing effectiveness.

- ④ - Bureau (Encls. 12) (RM)
- 2 - Atlanta (Encls. 2) (RM)
 - (1 - 157-2924) (WSP)
 - (1 - 100-6812) (STOKELY CARMICHAEL)
- 4 - WFO (Encls. 4) (RM)
 - (2 - 157-1395) (WSP)
 - (2 - STOKELY CARMICHAEL)
- 6 - Chicago
 - (1 - [redacted])
 - (1 - 157-[redacted])
 - (1 - 157-[redacted])
 - (1 - 157-New) (BLACK UNITED FRONT)

b2
b7C
b7D

100-446080-
NOT RECORDED
136 APR 10 1968

ENCLOSURE

JCS:pag
(16)

APR 15 1968
Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M Per

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Classified by 6347
Exempt from GDS, Category II
Date of Declassification Indefinite

ORIGINAL FILED IN 157-8428-515

CG 157-2474
CG 157-1297

b2
b7D

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
The source for the information concerning the controversy between the Washington, D. C. American Friends Service Committee personnel and the WSP staff was [REDACTED] who was in telephonic contact with [REDACTED] and during the course of this contact he furnished this estimate of the Washington situation to the source.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
b2
b7C
b7D

In connection with local WSP efforts, [REDACTED] above has advised that there has been no material change in the progress of local organizing efforts. Low key efforts are being made by the staff, who in many instances appear to be simply going through the motions. The source advises that it is through his efforts that many people affiliated with the West Side Organization (WSO) have committed themselves tentatively to travel to Washington in connection with the WSP, however, this is in many cases because the WSO has obligated these people, through intercession for them with the Cook County Welfare Department and the like. The source, as well as others on the WSP staff, considers it very questionable whether many of these persons will, in fact, go to Washington when the time comes and feels that many have agreed simply in order not to alienate WSO personnel. WSP staff meetings are poorly attended and there is little or no publicity given to the WSP other than on an occasional basis and there is no real enthusiasm or support for it on the part of local people who have been contacted. The source advises that it appears the principal reason for this is due to the feeling of most individuals that the project is a waste of time and will not in the final analysis be productive of any positive results. The wide publicity given to remarks which have been made by MARTIN LUTHER KING and others, reflecting that most people who go will be arrested, or should be prepared to be arrested, has served to discourage participation, with many people feeling that if they are going to be arrested, they can do this in Chicago just as well as in Washington.

b2
b7D

The source stated that he feels that it will be possible to get approximately 200 people to participate in the WSP from Chicago, but emphasized that until the

CG 157-2474
CG 157-1297

morning of the day in which these people will leave Chicago, it will not be possible to make other than an educated guess as to the number of those who will be willing to actually participate.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Chicago is following this matter closely on a continuing basis and the Bureau and all interested offices will be advised of any information developed, in accordance withstanding Bureau instructions.

In connection with remarks attributed to STOKELY CARMICHAEL at the Urban Training Center, 40 North Ashland Avenue, Chicago, on March 25, 1968, Chicago is opening a new case on the Black United Front.

Copies of this LHM are being provided locally to appropriate military authorities and Secret Service.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Chicago, Illinois

March 27, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No.

157-2474

157-1297

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT (WSP)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Martin Luther King, Jr., President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) has publicly announced that he will conduct a massive civil disobedience campaign in Washington, D. C. during the latter part of April, 1968, in an effort to pressure Congress into passing legislation favorable to the Negro and the poor people in this country. This campaign has been given the name Washington Spring Project (WSP).

In connection with the WSP, a confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past has recently advised as follows:

In conversation with individuals involved with local WSP organizing efforts it has been learned that there has arisen a serious disagreement between the forces in Washington, D. C. working for the WSP. American Friends Service Committee and SCLC personnel there are each accusing the other of not working hard enough for the WSP and the program has come to an almost complete breakdown. No further details concerning this particular matter, however, were available to the source.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~Group 1~~

~~Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

*declassified
2/26/77
ml*

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

100-446080-

ENCLOSURE

WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT (WSP)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

A WSP meeting is to be held at the Atlanta, Georgia headquarters of SCLC commencing on or about March 27, 1968, to last for several days, for the purpose of discussing and finalizing certain WSP organizing details. Presumably the Washington, D. C. problem referred to previously will also be subject for discussion at this meeting.

The source continued that it has been learned that Stokely Carmichael, in Chicago for the past several days, was present at headquarters of the West Side Organization on March 25, 1968, and urged those present at this meeting to support the WSP and if at all possible, to participate in it. Carmichael also reportedly preached hatred of whites during his remarks here and stated that the black revolution is coming. No specific details of his remarks were made available to this source.

It is known, however, that the WSO is a small West Side Chicago civil rights group and that it has been a concentration point for local WSP efforts. During this appearance Carmichael had also indicated that he would be present at the Atlanta, Georgia WSP affair which is to commence March 27, 1968.

In connection with local Chicago WSP efforts, the staff has remained unchanged within recent weeks.

b7C

[REDACTED] WSP
[REDACTED] staff meetings are held regularly, on a weekly basis, however, they are somewhat poorly attended and it appears that many people working locally on behalf of the WSP are simply "going through the motions," and have aroused little local enthusiasm and support for the effort. Funds for transportation of those individuals who have expressed a willingness to participate in the WSP are available and will be utilized to rent Greyhound buses which will transport them to Washington. The details of this transportation, however, are currently awaiting some final estimate of the number of individuals who appear to have made a serious commitment to participate. The staff has indicated that

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT (WSP)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

some 200 participants are expected to go to Washington from Chicago, most of whom will be welfare recipients and youth gang members from Chicago's near West Side, principally near the headquarters and influence of the WSO. The staff is aware, however, that many of these individuals have made commitments to go only because they feel an obligation to WSO or to the WSP staff, and it is general agreement that in the final analysis many of these individuals who have stated a willingness to participate will not actually show up when the time comes to travel to Washington.

Attached to this memorandum for information are copies of an article in the "Daily Defender," a South Side Chicago newspaper, the article relating to the remarks made by Stokely Carmichael on Monday, March 25, 1968, in Chicago. The article appeared in the March 26, 1968, edition.

Concerning Carmichael, [redacted] an agency which conducts intelligence type investigations locally, advised in January, 1968, that he has publicly espoused the use of violence to achieve Negro equality and has used the phrase "Hell no, I won't go", in reference to Negroes being drafted. Carmichael is former Chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, the Chief exponent of the militant "Black Power" philosophy, and continues at present as a leading Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee spokesman.

b2

b7D

In connection with remarks made by Carmichael, as set forth in the attached newspaper article, [redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past advised on March 26, 1968, that these remarks were made at a meeting at the Urban Training Center (UTC), 40 North Ashland Avenue, Chicago, in connection with regular meetings which are held there on the problems of ghetto dwellers in urban areas. These classes and the UTC are operated under the general auspices of the Chicago City Missionary Society and the UTC primarily serves as a training ground for members of the clergy who will work in so-called inner-city missions.

b2

b7D

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT (WSP)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The following page sets forth additional detailed data relating to this project.

Copies of this communication are being made available to Region I, 113th Military Intelligence Group, Evanston, Illinois, and Secret Service, Chicago.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT

Reporting office:	Chicago
Address of Headquarters:	American Friends Service Committee, 3543 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago
Known number of individuals recruited to date:	Not available
Known names of individuals recruited:	Not available
Estimated number of individuals recruited:	Approximately 200
Number of buses and other commer- cial type transportation chartered and total capacity:	Not available, possibly a total of five Greyhound buses to be utilized.
Number of private cars to participate:	Not known.
Identity of driver, make, model and license numbers of cars to participate:	Not known.
Route cars are scheduled to use:	Not known;
Areas buses and drivers are to discharge passengers upon arrival in Washington, D. C.:	Not known.
Address demonstrators are to report to upon arrival:	Not known.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Carmichael, Local Black Groups Meet

He Details United Front Operations

By BETTY WASHINGTON
Daily Defender Associate Editor

Stokely Carmichael met here Monday with about 50 representatives of black organizations from across the city and discussed in detail the umbrella rights organization, the Black United Front.

Sitting in were spokesmen representing CORE, SNCC, ACT, the Deacons for Defense and Justice, SCLC, and members of several teen gangs, along with other community-based rights groups.

Carmichael was brought here by the black rights organizations "in order that we could all hear more about the Black United Front, how it is organized, how it works," a spokesman said, adding that there has been some interest in establishing a similar organization in Chicago.

Carmichael set forth the three following "basic ideologies" which he said characterize the nature of BUF:

— "Undying love for our people," which he said necessitates commitment to the welfare of all black people.

— Recognition that every "Negro" is a potential black man.

— Realization that for black people the question of "community" is not a question of land but of the degree of unity.

BUF was organized by Carmichael and other members of SNCC in Washington, D.C. But the membership has now been broadened to include conservative Negro organizations, of varying degrees of militancy.

The black rights leader said that BUF membership is open to all black groups and to racially integrated organizations that have a black membership of at least 50 per cent

and are headed by a black person.

BUF is not now concerned with developing programs, and recognizes that organization must take place before programming, said Carmichael. He described BUF as a loose organization, where there is room for "God, Allah, radicals, militants, conservative, Uncle Toms, non-violent and violent philosophies."

BUF is still in the organizing stage, and the "ground rules" are currently being drawn up by 17 people who may not necessarily serve in leadership capacities once the organization gets rolling, he said.

He revealed that the organization in Washington is made up of 100 groups and includes followers of Elijah Muhammad as well as high ranking NAACP officials.

The Washington group, which could become a model for similar umbrella set-ups across the country, is to be directed by Council of Elders, an arbitrary council which will have as one function the settling of differences that develop between groups of differing ideologies.

One essential ground rule is that organizations belonging to

BUF may not attack any other black organization. For teen gang members, this means an absolute end to hostilities vented by black youths against other blacks youths.

"Nothing is more important in Chicago, now, than to stop these gang fights," said Carmichael. He said he and several members of local rights groups "spent five hours Sunday night breaking up a gang fight" that was brewing in one ghetto community.

Carmichael told the group

that he has no belief in the vote as a tool for developing black power. He said, "We can use the vote, but only as a means to bring black people together."

He said he also rejects the value of green power, "which is a materialistic concept and does not speak to the issue of black power". Carmichael described the war on poverty as "the most divisive program we have," and said it is geared to pit segments of the black community against one

another, and ultimately slows down the "rebellion."

-6-*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

((9-29-65) ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-02-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 4/5/68

Attached sets out activities of Stokely Carmichael during day and evening of 4/4/68, indicating his presence at the scene of disturbances in Washington, D. C. following the assassination of Martin Luther King. At one time Carmichael led a group to several businesses asking them to close in remembrance of King. Part of the group began breaking windows, looting, and harrassing white motorists.

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, a militant Black nationalist group, plans a meeting in the remembrance of King at Howard University some time on 4/5/68.

Copies are being furnished to the Inter-Division Information Unit of the Department and the Attorney General.

ABF:lrb

GCM

WCS
ms

W

FBI

Date: 4/5/68

Transmit the following in PLAINTEXT
(Type in plaintext or code)Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Bishop	✓
Mr. Casper	✓
Mr. Callahan	✓
Mr. Conrad	✓
Mr. Felt	✓
Mr. Gale	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Miss Holmes	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

b7C

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS - MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION

WASHINGTON FIELD
REFERENCE ~~WFO~~ TELETYPE FOUR THREE LAST.

WASH.D.C. SUBJECT DEPARTED RESIDENCE MID MORNING WITH [REDACTED]
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC) b7C
[REDACTED] AND PROCEEDED TO SNCC HEADQUARTERS, TWO TWO ZERO

EIGHT FOURTEENTH STREET, N. W. SUBJECT RETURNED TO RESIDENCE
ABOUT FIVE P. M. b7C [REDACTED]

SOURCE ADVISED THAT AT THREE FORTY P. M. CARMICHAEL
VISITED PEOPLES DRUG STORE, FOURTEENTH AND U STREETS, N. W.,
AND SPOKE TO [REDACTED] STATING, QUOTE THIS
b7C STORE SEEMS TO BE CAUSING ME A LOT OF TROUBLE. IT'S PUTTING
BROTHER AGAINST BROTHER. UNQUOTE [REDACTED] REPLIED THAT THE
MAJORITY OF PEOPLE IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD ARE GOOD AND ONLY A
FEW CAUSE TROUBLE. CARMICHAEL STATED, QUOTE THERE WAS A STORE
EX-105 REC-20 100-446080-1359
LIKE THIS IN CHICAGO THAT BURNED DOWN LAST WEEK. UNQUOTE THEN
HE LEFT STORE.

③ - Bureau
1 - WFO

6 APR 9 1968

GWP:nlr
(4)

Approved: [Signature]

Sent

M

Per

XEROX

Special Agent in Charge

55 APR 12 1968

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)WFO 100-43503
PAGE TWO

b2
b7D [] STATED CARMICHAEL, AT ABOUT EIGHT P. M.,
VISITED SCLC HEADQUARTERS, FOURTEENTH AND U STREETS, N. W.,
AND INQUIRED ABOUT THE SHOOTING OF MARTIN LUTHER KING IN MEMPHIS.
SCLC EMPLOYEES ADVISED HIM OF AVAILABLE DETAILS AND ADDED THAT
DR. KING HAD BEEN TAKEN TO A HOSPITAL AND WAS UNDERGOING
SURGERY. CARMICHAEL WANTED TO KNOW WHO SHOT HIM AND WAS TOLD
THEY DO NOT KNOW, BUT ASSAILANT WAS WHITE. HE SAID, QUOTE SO
HONKEY GOT HIM, THAT'S ALL I WANTED TO KNOW. UNQUOTE
CARMICHAEL THEN SPOKE, TRYING TO AROUSE ANTI-WHITE PASSIONS
OF SCLC EMPLOYEES. THEN HE MADE A TELEPHONE CALL TO PERSON
UNKNOWN AND DEPARTED. SOURCE STATED THAT AT THIS TIME THE
DEATH OF DR. KING HAD NOT BEEN ANNOUNCED. SOURCE REMARKED
THAT HE WAS FEARFUL CARMICHAEL MIGHT STIR UP TROUBLE, DUE TO
HIS REMARKS.

b2
b7D [] ADVISED THAT HE HAD SEEN CARMICHAEL AROUND
FOURTEENTH AND U AT ABOUT NINE TEN P. M. APRIL FOUR LAST.
SOURCE STATED FOUR STORE WINDOWS AND SOME LOOTING HAD TAKEN

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

WFO 100-43503

PAGE THREE

PLACE AT THAT TIME HOWEVER DID NOT OBSERVE CARMICHAEL TAKING PART. SOURCE DEPARTED AREA SOON AND DID NOT SEE CARMICHAEL AGAIN.

b2
b7D

[REDACTED] ADVISED CARMICHAEL WAS AT THE NEW SNCC HEADQUARTERS, TWO TWO ZERO EIGHT FOURTEENTH STREET, N. W., WITH OTHER SNCC LEADERS AT EIGHT THIRTY P. M. APRIL FOUR LAST. DISCUSSION TOOK PLACE REGARDING DEATH OF MARTIN LUTHER KING. SOME INDIVIDUALS PRESENT WANTED TO CALL PRESS CONFERENCE OR MAKE PRESS RELEASE REGARDING FEELINGS IN GHETTO ABOUT ASSASSINATION, BUT CARMICHAEL TALKED OF BUSINESS ESTABLISHMENTS CLOSING WHEN PRESIDENT KENNEDY WAS ASSASSINATED, AND FELT THE SAME MUST BE DONE NOW. CARMICHAEL, FOLLOWED BY GROUP, VISITED SEVERAL BUSINESS ESTABLISHMENTS IN THE AREA OF FOURTEENTH STREET, N. W., REQUESTING THEM TO CLOSE. THIS ACTIVITY WAS PEACEFUL IN NATURE UNTIL A GROUP OF YOUNG PEOPLE BROKE AWAY FROM CARMICHAEL AND COMMENCED BREAKING WINDOWS, LOOTING, AND ATTEMPTING TO ATTACK OR HARASS WHITE MOTORISTS.

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)WFO 100-43503
PAGE FOUR

SOURCE ADDED SNCC AGREED A MEETING WOULD BE HELD AT HOWARD
UNIVERSITY SOMETIME APRIL FIVE INSTANT IN REMEMBRANCE OF
KING. NATURE OF MEETING UNKNOWN AT THIS TIME.

ADMINISTRATIVE

ANY ADDITIONAL INFORMATION REGARDING CARMICHAEL'S ACTIVITY IN
RELATION TO CIVIL DISTURBANCE IN WASHINGTON, D. C., WILL BE
SUBMITTED EXPEDITIOUSLY.

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

b2
b7C
b7D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-02-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

The Attorney General

April 9, 1968

Director, FBI

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS
SUBSIDIARY

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Bishop
1 - Mr. Rosen
1 -
1 - Mail Room
1 -

b7C

Reference is made to your letter dated April 6, 1968, wherein you requested an investigation of the incidents in Washington, D. C., involving Stokely Carmichael on April 4, 5, and 6, 1968.

In line with your request, a preliminary report dated April 8, 1968, has been received from our Washington Field Office. A copy of this report is being furnished to Assistant Attorneys General J. Walter Yeagley and Fred M. Vinson, Jr. Included in the report is a signed statement from a witness who observed Carmichael during the evening of April 4, 1968, lead a group of 15 to 20 young Negroes from the area of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee Headquarters at 2208 14th Street, Northwest, to the vicinity of 14th and U streets, Northwest, Washington, D. C. Carmichael and members of this group requested store managers in the vicinity to close their stores in respect for the death of Martin Luther King, Jr. Carmichael told the group, "If you don't have a gun, go home and get one." He thereafter exhibited a small caliber handgun to the crowd.

The report also contains a transcript of a tape recording of remarks made by Stokely Carmichael at a press conference on April 5, 1968. It is noted that during this press conference, Carmichael stated, "We led all of those youngsters up and down the streets to close every store." He said, "Now some of them kicked glass store windows in. We are not stopping them from kicking in the store windows; we are stopping them from coming out on the streets without guns."

PTB:fhd (13)

SEE NOTE PAGE 2

APR 10 1968

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

62 APR 12 1968

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

The Attorney General

When they come out on the streets, we want them with guns." Carmichael also said, "The rebellions that have been occurring around the cities of this country is just light stuff to what is about to happen. We have to retaliate for the death of our leaders. The execution of those deaths will not be in the courtrooms--they are going to be on the streets of the United States of America."

On the afternoon of April 5, 1968, the above-mentioned witness observed Carmichael address a group at Howard University, Washington, D. C., where Carmichael stated, "Do not be out on the streets for looting tonight; we mean business. If you don't come out tonight with your gun, stay home." While making these remarks, Carmichael waved a small caliber gun.

With respect to your request in the last paragraph of your letter for a continuing investigation and surveillance of Carmichael, we wish to again point out that a full-time physical surveillance of Carmichael is both impractical and impossible. We are, however, continuing to press this investigation to determine the identities of additional potential witnesses and to interview them.

- 1 - The Deputy Attorney General
- 1 - Mr. J. Walter Yeagley (Enclosure)
Assistant Attorney General
- 1 - Mr. Fred M. Vinson, Jr. (Enclosure)
Assistant Attorney General

b7C

NOTE: See memorandum [redacted] to Sullivan, same caption, 4/9/68, PTB:fhd.

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439190)

3/26/68

SAC, WFO (100-41626) (P)

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

~~THE SNCC~~

RM-SNCC

ReBuairtel 2/19/68.

Referenced Bureau airtel requested WFO and Atlanta to resolve if Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) has given financial assistance to SNCC and if SNCC intends to participate in the Washington Spring Project as such or through Black United Front (BUF).

Review of information available to WFO reflects following:

[redacted] advised on 2/3/68 that at a meeting of SNCC office workers, in the apartment of STOKLEY CARMICHAEL on 2/2/68, a radio station announced that CARMICHAEL and SNCC would aid Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING in his planned demonstration at Washington, D. C. during the month of April. This statement was immediately repudiated by CARMICHAEL and [redacted] called the station from CARMICHAEL's apartment to advise the announcement was in error. He advised the station that CARMICHAEL and SNCC would not openly support April demonstration. As Bureau has been advised, according to [redacted] CARMICHAEL has previously stated he would not openly support KING's April demonstration but would not oppose it either.

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b7D

As set out in the report of SA [redacted] WFO, entitled Black United Front, Racial Matter - Organization,

b7C

- 3-Bureau
- 2-Atlanta (100-41626) (RM)
- 3-WFO
 - (1 - 157-1426) (BLACK UNITED FRONT)
 - (1 - 157-1395) (WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT)

HGE:llw
(8)

100-446080-
NOT RECORDED
136 APR 5 1968

100-439190-65-19
ORIGINAL FILED IN

WFO 100-41626

dated 2/21/68, at a BUF press conference on 2/14/68, [redacted] stated that members of BUF would support the Spring Campaign of KING financially and morally. [redacted] also advised BUF would provide housing for the marchers and support KING in any way possible.

b7C

WFO has surveyed 13 of 14 banks in Washington, D. C. for SNCC accounts. Only the National Savings and Trust Company has an account for SNCC. None surveyed have any banking relationship with STOKELY CARMICHAEL. If any banking relationship is located at the remaining bank, this account will be monitored monthly. To date there is no indication SCLC has given financial assistance to SNCC in Washington, D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-02-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCS/bls

Date: 3/29/68
PLAINTEXT

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR AND SACS, CHICAGO AND DETROIT
FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) b7C

MIDWESTERN REGIONAL CONFERENCE ON BLACK POWER, WESTERN
MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY, KALAMAZOO, MICHIGAN, MARCH TWENTYNINE TO
THIRTYONE, SIXTYEIGHT, RM. b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL IS -M ; SEDITION.

RE DETROIT TELETYPE MARCH TWENTYEIGHT LAST.

WFO SOURCE ADVISED THIS DATE CARMICHAEL PLANS TO TRAVEL
TO KALAMAZOO, MICHIGAN, ON MARCH THIRTY LAST. CARMICHAEL WILL
DEPART WASH. D. C. ABOUT ELEVEN AM AND FLY TO CHICAGO. AT
CHICAGO, HE WILL TRAVEL TO KALAMAZOO VIA RENT-A-CAR, ARRIVING
THERE IN AFTERNOON. WFO FOLLOWING CLOSELY. FURTHER DEPARTURE
DATA OBTAINED WILL BE FURNISHED.

ADMINISTRATIVE. [REDACTED]

b7C
b7D

- 2 - Teletype Unit
2 - Bureau
2 - WFO

WWH:njs
(6)

100-446080-
NOT RECORDED

178 APR 4 1968

54 APR 12 1968

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Gandy

ORIGINAL FILED IN 157-8445-15-5

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 05-02-2006 BY

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE BOSTON	OFFICE OF ORIGIN WFO	DATE 4/4/68	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 1/25 - 3/24/68
TITLE OF CASE STOKELY CARMICHAEL, aka		REPORT MADE BY b7C	TYPED BY maf
		CHARACTER OF CASE RM-SNCC; SEDITION b7C	

REFERENCE: WFO airtel to Bureau, dated 2/19/68.

- RUC -

INFORMANTS

Identity

Location

157-437-109

Instant report

Instant report

b2

b7C

b7D



ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED						ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		
							PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐ YES ☐ NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS ☐ YES ☐ NO

APPROVED

SPECIAL AGENT
IN CHARGE

COPIES MADE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

- 5 - Bureau (100-446080) (RM)
 3 - WFO (100-43503) (RM)
 1 - Boston (157-437)

100-446080-1361 REC-40

1 APR 9 1968

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	RAO: FSD CRD CD; ACST, NTC
Request Recd.	DSF, 'Spec. Serv., FDFL
Date Fwd.	4/24/68
How Fwd.	PTB/244
By	

RACIAL INT. SECT.

5 Xerox copies of LHM 80.6 960

57 APR 30 1968

BS 157-437

ADMINISTRATIVE

The Boston agents who participated in the fisur on 1/25/68 are SA's [redacted] Intelligence Division, Boston, Mass. Police Department, also participated in the surveillance on that date.

b7C

The Boston agents who participated in the surveillance on 3/22/68 were SA's [redacted]

b7C

This report is being classified ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ since the information furnished by [redacted] could logically result in identification of confidential informants of continuing value and jeopardize their future activity.

b2

b7D

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATIONDECLASSIFIED BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls
ON 05-02-2006

Copy to:

b7C

Report of:

Date:

4/4/68

Office: Boston, Massachusetts

Field Office File #:

157-437

Bureau File #: 100-446080

Title:

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Character:

RACIAL MATTER - STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING
COMMITTEE; SEDITION

Synopsis:

STOKELY CARMICHAEL came to Boston, Mass., on the evening of 1/25/68 and spoke at the YMCA, Roxbury, Mass., at a gathering of representatives of local Negro organizations in an effort to convince them of the need of establishing a "united front." CARMICHAEL again appeared at Boston on 3/22/68 and made a scheduled speaking appearance at Boston Technical High School, Roxbury, Mass., before an audience of approximately 1,200 persons. Caucasians and news media were excluded. CARMICHAEL attended a meeting at the Boston office of CORE on 3/23/68.

- RUC -

Details:

On January 25, 1968, the Washington Field Office of the FBI advised that STOKELY CARMICHAEL had departed from the National Airport, Alexandria, Virginia, aboard Eastern Airlines flight 646 at 7:35 p.m. on that date. CARMICHAEL was traveling to Boston, Massachusetts, under the name of V. WELCH.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

BS 157-437

Flight 646 of Eastern Airlines was observed to arrive at Logan International Airport, East Boston, Massachusetts, at 7:03 p.m., January 25, 1968, although blizzard conditions prevailed.

CARMICHAEL was met by an unidentified young Negress and both entered an ITOA cab driven by a young male Negro. The cab bore Massachusetts registration [redacted] CARMICHAEL was driven to the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) at 401 Warren Street, Roxbury, Massachusetts. The young girl accompanying him entered the YMCA and returned with two unidentified male Negroes who conversed at the cab for a couple of minutes, when they re-entered the YMCA and the cab continued on its way. The cab drove down Townsend Street, Roxbury, and as it crossed the intersection of Walnut Avenue, a panel truck pulled out of Walnut Avenue, blocking the intersection so that no traffic could follow the cab.

b7C

On January 25, 1968, [redacted] advised that a meeting was held at the YMCA, Warren Street, Roxbury, Massachusetts, on that evening, at which representatives of various Negro organizations in the greater Boston area were present. The meeting was organized by [redacted] a member of the local Boston office of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

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[redacted] advised that the representatives of the various organizations present had been invited there for the purpose of discussing the formation of a "united front." [redacted] stated that this was the second of [redacted] meetings held at the YMCA for that same purpose and that on previous occasions the representatives had been advised that the formation of a united front was the brain child of STOKELY CARMICHAEL. It was explained that CARMICHAEL believes that if a united front is formed in each major city and the representatives from the various united fronts form a national united front, the Negro people would have a coalition which would give them tremendous black power. [redacted] stated that at the previous meetings the representatives of local organizations had for the most part rejected the idea principally because it was proposed by CARMICHAEL and they feared that CARMICHAEL would control such an organization.

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BS 100-157-437

[] stated that because of the blizzard conditions, people were late in arriving and the meeting was started by [] at approximately 9:30 p.m. At approximately 10:00 p.m., STOKELY CARMICHAEL, whom [] identified as one of the national officers of SNCC, entered the meeting and was introduced and addressed the meeting. CARMICHAEL spoke in favor of a united front and told the group that the plan would not cause any of the organizations to lose their identity or purpose and he stressed the power which a united front would give to the black man. Source stated in spite of the fact that CARMICHAEL made a personal appearance to push this plan, the plan was still not favorably received by the majority of those present. [] advised that CARMICHAEL left the YMCA at approximately 10:30 p.m.

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b7D

Later in the evening the taxicab which had brought CARMICHAEL from Logan Airport to the YMCA was observed traveling on Warren Street with a panel truck immediately behind it.

On January 26, 1968, [] Boston, Massachusetts, advised that he had been operating the ITOA cab with Massachusetts registration [] on the evening of January 25, 1968. The cab is owned by [] Dorchester, Massachusetts, [] operates the cab from 4:00 p.m. to midnight four days a week.

b7C

He advised that a young Negro girl, known to him only as [] had arranged with him on the evening of January 25, 1968, to drive her to the airport to pick up a friend. At the airport [] went into the Eastern Airlines terminal and returned with a male Negro whom [] stated he had never seen before. [] introduced the man to [] but [] does not recall the name used.

b7C

He drove to the YMCA on Warren Street in Roxbury, Massachusetts, where [] claimed both [] and her companion paid him and entered the YMCA.

b7C

[] then delivered the bags belonging to this man to [] Dorchester, Massachusetts, and stated that he did not see [] or the man again that night.

b7C

BS 157-437

On January 31, 1968, [] advised that [] previously mentioned, is believed by him to be [] who is known by him to be inclined to be a militant Negro and who is reported to be engaged to marry [] of the Boston SNCC. b7C

On March 22, 1968, agents of the FBI observed STOKELY CARMICHAEL board Allegheny Airlines flight number 926 at the National Airport, Washington, D. C. CARMICHAEL was accompanied by one [] of the SNCC office at Washington, D. C. Flight number 926 was scheduled to depart National Airport at 1:00 p.m. and arrive in Boston, Massachusetts, at 3:00 p.m., March 22, 1968. b7C

On March 20, 1968, [] made available a flyer advertising a program, "Black Revolution," to be presented on Friday, March 22, 1968, at 6:30 p.m., at Boston Technical High School Auditorium, Roxbury, Massachusetts. The flyer identified as invited guests STOKELY CARMICHAEL of SNCC, Washington, D. C.; MUHAMMAD ALI, identified as World's Heavyweight Champion and a minister in the Nation of Islam (NOI); and the Honorable OGINGA ODINGA, identified as the Kenya nationalist leader, President of Kenya Peoples Union, member of Parliament and former Vice President of Kenya. b2 b7D Africa

On March 20, 1968, [] Intelligence Division, Boston, Massachusetts Police Department, advised that the permit to use the auditorium of Boston Technical High School had been applied for by [] who is a native of [] and a student at Boston University, Boston, Massachusetts. The purpose of the program was to raise money to help defray the travel expenses of Honorable OGINGA ODINGA, who was reported to be making a speaking tour through the United States. A donation of one dollar would be asked for that purpose. b7C

On March 22, 1968, STOKELY CARMICHAEL and a companion were observed by agents of the FBI to disembark Allegheny flight number 926 at 3:25 p.m. The pair was met by [] of Boston SNCC, and [] b7C

[] They were driven to [] Massachusetts, the residence of [] in a car operated by []

BS 157-437

On March 23, 1968, [] advised that STOKELY CARMICHAEL appeared at Boston Technical High School on the evening of March 22, 1968, as advertised on flyers distributed through the Roxbury area of Boston, Massachusetts. CASSIUS CLAY, also known as MUHAMMAD ALI, did not put in appearance although the flyers had scheduled him to be a guest. Mr. FRANK H. OCHIENG announced that the Honorable OGINGA ODINGA would not appear since the government of Kenya had refused to allow him to leave the country. MASS.

b2
b7D

[] advised that the auditorium at Boston Technical High School seats approximately 1,200 persons and was practically filled. STOKELY CARMICHAEL spoke for about an hour, during which he discussed the history of slavery in America, oppression of the black people by the white race, the poverty and inequality under which black people live and on several occasions stated, in substance, that the white people must be killed or the blacks will die. [] stated that the audience for the most part was between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five and received CARMICHAEL's talk with enthusiasm although less response was given by the audience when CARMICHAEL mentioned killing whites.

b2
b7D

[] stated that six guards were stationed at the entrance to the auditorium and prohibited members of the press and members of the white race from entering the hall.

b2
b7D

The Boston Globe, a daily newspaper published at Boston, Massachusetts, in its edition of March 23, 1968, carried an article showing that STOKELY CARMICHAEL had spoken at a "Black Revolution Forum" at Boston Technical High School on the evening of March 22, 1968. The article stated that six husky Negro guards kept all white persons, including the press and two nuns, from entering. According to the article, CARMICHAEL reportedly told the crowd that all Negroes must love one another; that every Negro has a potential identity as a black man; and that the black community is the result of color rather than geography.

The March 28, 1968 edition of the Bay State Banner, a weekly Negro newspaper published at Roxbury, Massachusetts, carried an article concerning CARMICHAEL's appearance at Boston Technical High School. CARMICHAEL is quoted as

BS 157-437

saying, "Every Negro is a potential black man," and, "We must begin to have undying love for our people or face genocide from the whites." The article stated that CARMICHAEL, two other speakers from SNCC and JOHN WILSON, Chairman and founder of the National Black Anti-War Anti-Draft Union, addressed the crowd with a real sense of urgency about the plight of the black man in the United States.

MASS.

CARMICHAEL criticized the system of education in the United States, saying, "For black people, it is just a reinforcement of the values of the white society which teaches our children to be ashamed of themselves," and, "White Americans think that the only way to solve our problems is with money. To destroy racism would be to destroy themselves."

b2
b7D On March 28, 1968, [] advised that CARMICHAEL during his speech at Boston Technical High School on March 22, 1968, read verbatim a letter which [] understood CARMICHAEL to say he had received from H. RAY BROWN of SNCC. CARMICHAEL told the audience that the letter had been written from BROWN's prison cell. [] advised that the letter is identical to the one appearing in the March 22, 1968 edition of Muhammad Speaks. [] identified Muhammad Speaks as the official news organ of the NOI.

VA.

A characterization of the NOI appears in the appendix.

b2
b7D [] made available a copy of Muhammad Speaks and the letter appearing on page ~~twenty~~-seven, in substance, states that no slave should die a natural death; there is a point where caution ends and cowardice begins. BROWN states that everyday he is in prison, he will refuse both food and water. His hunger is for the liberation of his people and his thirst is for the ending of oppression. He claims to be a political prisoner jailed for his belief that the black people must be free. The Government believes that those whom they cannot convert, they must silence and the United States Government has become the enemy of mankind.

BS 157-437

BROWN tells the black people their will to live must no longer supersede their will to fight. For their fighting will determine if the black race shall live. The desire for freedom is not enough. Black people must move from resistance to aggression and from revolt to revolution. For every black death, there must be ten dead racist cops. He states that the black people must prepare itself mentally and physically for the major confrontation is yet to come. They must fight. Laws to govern black people must be made by black people. The letter is ended by the statement, "We shall conquer without a doubt."

On March 23, 1968, [] advised that STOKELY CARMICHAEL had spoken at Boston Technical High School on the evening of March 22, 1968. [] stated, in substance, concerning CARMICHAEL's talk the same as set out under [] above.

b2
b7D

[] stated on March 24, 1968, that STOKELY CARMICHAEL had stayed overnight on Friday and Saturday, March 22-23, 1968, at the residence of [] Roxbury. On the afternoon of March 23, 1968, CARMICHAEL attended a meeting at the Boston office of the Congress Of Racial Equality (CORE), 373 Blue Hill Avenue, Roxbury. According to [] at the CORE meeting a sit-in was planned for March 27, 1968, to take place at a welfare office. [] believed that the welfare office in question would probably be located in Roxbury.

b2
b7C
b7D

[] stated that two unidentified Negroes from the Bedford-Styvesant area of New York City, New York, were present and deplored the scarcity of guns in the Roxbury area. It was their suggestion that the possibility of stealing guns from the nearby Boston Army Base be explored. They also discussed a method used by them to obtain money from New York businessmen. They stated that either by letter or in person these businessmen were told that donations by them to assist the rehabilitation of the Negro could prevent possible civil disorders in their areas. [] stated it was decided to explore this method in the Roxbury area.

b2
b7D

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX

1.

NATION OF ISLAM, Formerly Referred to as
THE MUSLIM CULT OF ISLAM, also known
as MUHAMMAD'S TEMPLES OF ISLAM

In January, 1957, a source advised Elijah Muhammad has described his organization on a nationwide basis as the "Nation of Islam" and "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

On May 5, 1967, a second source advised Elijah Muhammad is the national leader of the Nation of Islam (NOI); Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 2, 5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, is the national headquarters of the NOI; and in mid-1960 Muhammad and other NOI officials, when referring to Muhammad's organization on a nationwide basis, commenced using either "Mosque" or "Temple" when mentioning one of "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

The NOI is an all-Negro organization which was originally organized in 1930 in Detroit, Michigan. Muhammad claims to have been selected by Allah, the Supreme Being, to lead the so-called Negro race out of slavery in the wilderness of North America by establishing an independent black nation in the United States. Members following Muhammad's teachings and his interpretation of the "Koran" believe there is no such thing as a Negro; the so-called Negroes are slaves of the white race, referred to as "white devils," in the United States; and the white race, because of its exploitation of the so-called Negroes, must and will be destroyed in the approaching "War of Armageddon."

In the past, officials and members of the NOI, including Muhammad, have refused to register under the provisions of the Selective Service Acts and have declared that members owe no allegiance to the United States.

On May 5, 1958, the first source advised Muhammad had, upon advice of legal counsel, tempered his personal statements and instructions to his ministers concerning the principles of his organization in order to avoid possible prosecution by the United States Government; however, he did not indicate any fundamental changes in the teachings of his organization.

On May 2, 1966, a third source advised Muhammad had, in early July, 1958, decided to de-emphasize the religious aspects of the teachings of Islam and to stress the economic benefits to be derived by those Negroes who joined the NOI. This policy change, according to Muhammad, would help him acquire additional followers and create more interest in his programs.

8*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Boston, Massachusetts

April 4, 1968

Title

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Character

RACIAL MATTER - STUDENT
NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING
COMMITTEE; SEDITION

b7C

Reference

Report of SA [REDACTED]
dated and captioned as above

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

UNITED STATES

MENT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-02-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

Memorandum

TO : Mr. Sullivan

DATE: 4/5/68

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

FROM :

b7C

b7C

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION

Past experience has indicated that many offices receive reports to the effect that Stokely Carmichael, former Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, has been seen in their territory. In practically all instances these reports are subsequently determined to be inaccurate.

The proposed attached letter to Albany, copies to all continental offices, points out that Washington Field Office is office of origin in the Carmichael case and is responsible for knowing his whereabouts at all times and that in the event an office receives an allegation that Carmichael has been seen in its territory, Washington Field Office should be immediately contacted to resolve the allegation.

ACTION:

If you agree, there is attached a proposed letter to Albany, copies to all continental offices.

Enclosure *sent 4-8-68*
100-446080
TDR:fhd (7)

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bishop

b7C

1 - 

REG-59

2 APR 10 1968

66 APR 17 1968

ATTENTION

The following documents appearing in FBI files have been reviewed under the provisions of The Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) (Title 5, United States Code, Section 552); Privacy Act of 1974 (PA) (Title 5, United States Code, Section 552a); and/or Litigation.

☐ FOIA/PA☐ Litigation☐ Executive Order Applied

Requester: _____

Subject: _____

Computer or Case Identification Number: _____

Title of Case: _____ Section _____

* File _____

Serials Reviewed: _____

Release Location: *File _____ Section _____

b2

This file section has been scanned into the FOIPA Document Processing System (FDPS) prior to National Security Classification review. Please see the documents located in the FDPS for current classification action, if warranted. Direct inquiries about the FDPS to RIDS Service Request Unit

File Number: 100-HQ-446080 Section 28Serial(s) Reviewed: All

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: 983317

File Number: _____ Section _____

Serial(s) Reviewed: _____

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: _____

File Number: _____ Section _____

Serial(s) Reviewed: _____

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 05-02-2006 BY

60308/ANC/TAM/DCG/hls

THIS FORM IS TO BE MAINTAINED AS THE TOP SERIAL OF THE FILE, BUT NOT SERIALIZED.

SCANNED BY DocLab (RMD)

DATE: _____

ATTENTION

LAST SERIAL: _____ DO NOT REMOVE FROM FILE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *wcs*

FROM : [redacted] *ha* b7C

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Bishop
1 - Mr. Rosen
DATE: April 6, 1968

1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - [redacted]
1 - [redacted]

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan *fel*
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-02-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

By teletype dated April 5, 1968, the San Francisco Office advised that according to a San Francisco Police Department informant, the Black Student Union, San Francisco, California, reportedly received a telegram April 5, 1968, from Stokely Carmichael instructing all black people to "hit the streets tonight." The informant did not see the telegram and investigation at San Francisco has been unable to verify that, in fact, such a telegram was received by the Black Student Union. The above information was furnished to the Department.

wcs
b7C
This afternoon Henry Peterson, Departmental Attorney in the Attorney General's office, telephonically requested that a review be made of Western Union records, Washington, D. C., since the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., to determine if any inflammatory telegrams had been sent by Stokely Carmichael, [redacted] of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), Washington, D. C., [redacted] SNCC official, and [redacted] believed to be connected with SNCC, Washington, D. C. *R*

Peterson stated in order to make the review of Western Union legal, he had instructed Assistant United States Attorney Strazella, Washington, D. C., to draw up a subpoena to be used by our Agents.

WFO was instructed to expeditiously review Western Union records as requested.

RECOMMENDATION:

For your information.

100-446080

PTB:bff

(7)

52 APR 11 1968

REC 36

100-446080-1363

APR 9 1968

wcs *10*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-02-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

FBI

Date: 4/8/68

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Transmit the following in **PLAINTEXT**

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via **TELETYPE**

URGENT

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM: SAC, WFO (66-9737)

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, INCITE TO RIOT

WFO, ON APRIL EIGHT INSTANT, IN RECEIPT OF INFO FROM
SECRETARY TO ASSISTANT AG J. WALTER YEAGLEY THAT HER
HUSBAND, [REDACTED]

b7C

[REDACTED] WASHINGTON, D. C., HAD INFO REGARDING SUBJECT
FURNISHED HIM BY ONE OF HIS EMPLOYEES AT [REDACTED] IT
WAS REPORTED TO WFO THAT " A GIRL IN [REDACTED] OFFICE HAS A
COUSIN WHO ATTENDED ANASNCC MEETING ON APRIL SEVEN LAST AT
WHICH MEETING SUBJECT STATED THAT "WDC IS JUST THE BEGINNING
AND THAT PHILADELPHIA AND OTHER LARGE CITIES WILL HAVE THEIR
TOPS BLOWN OFF."

REC 36

100 - 446080 - 1364

2-Bureau
2-Teletype Unit
2-WFO

APR 9 1968

RCW:11w
(6)

XEROX

1968 APR

X AAC YEAGLEY
4/9 MD

5 MD

Approved: *Joe D. Parris*

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

PAGE TWO

ON APRIL EIGHT INSTANT, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] ADVISED THAT THE EMPLOYEE
WHO TOLD HIM ABOUT SUBJECT WAS [REDACTED]

HE ALSO STATED THAT ALL OF HIS EMPLOYEES HAVE BEEN CONTINUALLY
DISCUSSING THE RIOT SITUATION IN WDC AND THAT HE DOES NOT
PLACE ANY CREDANCE ON "THEIR GOSSIP." HE ALSO STATED THAT
HE HAD HEARD SO MANY RUMORS AND GOSSIP THAT HE WAS CONFUSED
AS TO WHO SAID WHAT AND COULD NOT SAY FOR SURE THAT THE
ABOVE STATEMENT ALLEGEDLY MADE BY SUBJECT WAS IN FACT
STATED BY [REDACTED]

b7C

ON APRIL EIGHT INSTANT, [REDACTED] STATED
SHE SPOKE LONG DISTANCE WITH HER COUSIN, [REDACTED]
IN ATLANTA, GEORGIA, ATTENDING SPELMA COLLEGE ON APRIL SEVEN
LAST. AT THIS TIME HER COUSIN STATED THAT "THE WHOLE

b7C

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

PAGE THREE

SOCIETY IN THE U.S. IS SICK AND PEOPLE MUST WAKE UP."

[] STATED THAT SHE AND HER COUSIN DID NOT DISCUSS
SUBJECT, BUT THAT HER COUSIN HAD STATED THAT SHE RECENTLY
ATTENDED A SNCC MEETING IN ATLANTA. SHE ALSO STATED THAT

SHE, [] DOES NOT BELIEVE IN VIOLENCE AND HAS NOT
ATTENDED SNCC MEETINGS IN WDC AND HAS NOT SEEN SUBJECT IN
PERSON. SHE STATED SHE "HEARD" THAT SUBJECT LEFT WDC

THE MORNING OF APRIL EIGHT INSTANT ENROUTE TO RICHMOND,

VIRGINIA. [] STATED SHE RESIDES AT []

[] WDC, TELEPHONE []

[] SHE DENIED MAKING THE ABOVE STATEMENT
TO [] OR TO ANYONE ELSE.

IN VIEW OF THE FACT THAT THE ABOVE ALLEGATION IS
UNSUBSTANTIATED AND IN FACT DENIED, NO FURTHER ACTION IS
RECOMMENDED.

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-02-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

4/2/68

airtel

1 -
1 -

b7C

To: SAC, WFO

From: Director, FBI (100-446080)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION

Authority is granted to pay \$62.50 for one month's
rental of the dwelling previously requested by your office.

1 - Mr. M. F. Row (6221 IB)

PTB:lmr

(5)

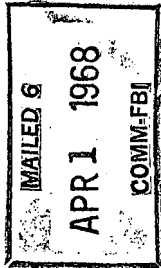
NOTE: Above authorized pursuant to telephone request from
WFO to supply lookout coverage on Stokely Carmichael.

REC 36

100-446080/365

EX 106

10 APR 9 1968



Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Candy _____

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

55 APR 15 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-02-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls
FBI

Date: 4/2/68

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, DETROIT (100-34122)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS;
SEDITION

Re Detroit teletypes to the Bureau, dated
3/31/68 and 4/1/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of an LHM
relative to the appearance of STOKELY CARMICHAEL at
Kalamazoo, Mich., on 3/30/68 and 3/31/68.

Two copies of the LHM are being furnished to
Secret Service, Grand Rapids, Mich.

One copy of the LHM is being furnished to the
following:

NIC, Chicago, Ill.
OSI, Dayton, Ohio
G-2, Detroit, Mich.
USA, Grand Rapids, Mich.

Detroit confidential informant, [redacted] is
[redacted] who furnished information to SA [redacted]

The confidential source mentioned in LHM is
[redacted] Kalamazoo Co. SO, Kalamazoo,
Mich., who was contacted by SA [redacted]

- ENCLOSURE
- 3 - Bureau (Enc.-11) (RM)
 - 2 - Chicago (Enc.-2) (RM)
 - 2 - Washington Field (100-43503) (RM) (Enc.-2)
 - 6 - Detroit (100-34122)
 - (1 - 157-2000) (RACIAL SITUATION KALAMAZOO)
 - (1 - 157-2118) (RAM)
 - (1 - [redacted])
 - (1 - 157-2222) (MRC ON BP)

VLC/mem
(13)

Approved: 70 APR 12 1968 C. C. Bishop
Special Agent in Charge

Sent

AGENCY: ACSI, NIC, OSI, SEC. SERV.
DEPT: [redacted] CRD, [redacted]

HOW FORW: [redacted]

DATE FORW: 4/9/68

BY: [redacted]

M

Per

b7C

g. W. [redacted] (Attn: Paul
Crim. Attn: [redacted])

b2
b7C
b7D

b7C
b7D

REC-20

APR 9 1968

rec of [redacted] +
LHM 806 900

DE 100-34122

Surveillance of CARMICHAEL was conducted by
SAs [REDACTED]

b7C

It is noted that [REDACTED] advised that CARMICHAEL's
companions were carrying a rifle and a pistol.

b2
b7D

This LHM is classified ~~confidential~~ to protect
sources of continuing value.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Detroit, Michigan

April 2, 1968

CLASSIFIED BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bl
ON 05-02-2006

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

Re: Stokely Carmichael

[redacted] At 5:25 PM, March 30, 1968, Detroit confidential informant, [redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that Stokely Carmichael had just arrived at the home of [redacted] Kalamazoo, Michigan, [redacted]

b2
b7C
b7D

[redacted] BAM sponsored the Midwestern Regional Conference on Black Power held at WMU March 29 to 31, 1968.

Carmichael arrived in a bronze colored, 1965 Plymouth, two-door sedan, bearing 1968 Illinois license [redacted] Carmichael was accompanied by three Negro males, one of whom was called [redacted]

b7C
b7D

Records of the Illinois Secretary of State disclosed that 1968 Illinois license [redacted] is registered to [redacted] [redacted] Chicago, Illinois, for a 1965 Plymouth.

b7C

[redacted] also advised that Carmichael and his three companions then went to the residence of [redacted] [redacted] Kalamazoo, Michigan, [redacted]

b2
b7C
b7D

Carmichael and his three companions then drove to the University Auditorium, WMU, arriving there at 7:13 PM in the 1965 Plymouth, supra.

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

~~GROUP I~~

~~Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

ENCLOSURE

100-446080-1366

Re: Stokely Carmichael

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

On April 1, 1968, [] advised that [] was observed to be in possession of a rifle which appeared to be a Mauser and which held a cartridge clip about ten inches long. One of Carmichael's companions was wearing a black and white sweater and this man carried a pistol.

b2
b7C
b7D

On March 31, 1968, a confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that the following comments, in substance, were made by Stokely Carmichael during Carmichael's speech on the evening of March 30, 1968, at the University Auditorium, WMU, Kalamazoo, Michigan, at the Midwestern Regional Conference on Black Power:

"They" talk about the confrontation between the western world and the Communist world. That's not the real confrontation - that's between blacks and whites.

"We'll" tell that honkie you took it with a gun and we'll take it back with a gun. We must organize our people with guns since it's clear to us that white people intend to commit genocide upon us. We've got to have guns just in case they are getting ready to play cowboys and Negroes.

Mao Tse Tung says political power grows out of the barrel of a gun and he is right.

"I" am not too impressed with Negroes at colleges. They come out of college like a whitewash. You can't even get a college student to pack a gun.

We have to talk this year about survival. That's all.

Negroes have to get out in the street.

We must have an undying love for our people. "I" mean that you must be prepared to die for our people not for the white man.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

- 2 -

100-100000-100000

Re: Stokely Carmichael

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

If you go to school, go to school for your people. Negroes who go to college to become professional men contribute only to their own welfare.

We have a lot of Uncle Toms. They are traitors and you kill traitors, but we should emphasize saving our brothers. It will tear us up inside, but we will have to kill them. We have to kill anyone who is against the masses of the people.

This generation is the one which has got to start doing retaliation. The fires in Chicago were just the beginning.

If "Niggers" can't do nothing, then "obscene" they are going to have to stand up and die like men. They have been living on their stomachs too "obscene" long.

Why go to Vietnam? Die right here. We're the warriors. The honkies are not.

Kennedy is trying to put us to sleep. That's right. The Kennedys try to put us to sleep.

In answer to a question from the floor as to what Carmichael would suggest the ROTC cadets and academy cadets do when they get into the Army, Carmichael said:

"Now there are two things they can do. Number one, if they really have an undying love for their people, they can take their training and use their training for their people. Number two, they can take their training and use it for their people, if they can't do that, they should get out. Get out. Tell the honkie, No. Stand up and say no for once. Just tell them no, it makes you feel good."

Carmichael also said that "you" must take five years in jail or death. At least you're on your feet. That's important, man, because if a "Nigger" can be a man once in his life, he should die for that.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: Stokely Carmichael

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b7C
b7D

On March 30, 1968, [redacted] advised that [redacted] of the University Auditorium, estimated there were approximately 900 persons in attendance at the speech by Carmichael.

At 10:33 PM, March 30, 1968, Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation observed Carmichael leave the University Auditorium, WMU, and enter a bronze colored, 1965 Plymouth, two-door sedan, bearing 1968 Illinois license [redacted]. Carmichael was accompanied by four Negro males.

They drove directly to the residence of [redacted] Kalamazoo, Michigan, arriving there at 10:40 PM. Numerous Negroes were observed entering and departing from that residence while Carmichael was present.

b7C

At 12:20 AM, March 31, 1968, Carmichael was observed to leave [redacted] residence and ride in a green, 1965 Oldsmobile sedan, bearing 1968 Michigan license [redacted] to the Masonic Temple, 309 North Rose Street, Kalamazoo, Michigan. He arrived at that location at 12:26 AM where he made an appearance at a dance sponsored by BAM for delegates to the Midwestern Regional Conference on Black Power.

At 1:00 AM, March 31, 1968, Carmichael was observed to depart from the Masonic Temple and accompanied by four Negro males. Carmichael rode in the 1965 Plymouth sedan, supra, [redacted] Kalamazoo, Michigan, where he entered Apartment [redacted]

b7C

At 2:13 AM, March 31, 1968, Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation observed a group of Negroes leave Apartment [redacted]. Carmichael was observed in this group. Carmichael and three Negro companions entered the bronze colored, 1965 Plymouth sedan, supra, and the Plymouth departed the area. At 2:30 AM, March 31, 1968, the Plymouth was observed to drive onto Interstate Highway 94 and proceed in a westerly direction on that highway. The Plymouth continued to the end of Interstate Highway 94 and at 3:58 AM crossed to Indiana on Indiana Highway 39.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: Stokely Carmichael

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Records of the Michigan Secretary of State disclose that 1968 Michigan license [redacted] is registered to [redacted] Kalamazoo, Michigan, on a 1965 Oldsmobile sedan.

b7C

[redacted] advised in the past that [redacted] Kalamazoo, and [redacted] resides at his parents' home.

b2
b7C
b7D

MICH
On March 31, 1968, [redacted] Michigan State Police, advised that a bronze 1965 Plymouth, two-door sedan, bearing 1968 Illinois license [redacted] was stopped on Interstate 94 near Paw Paw, Michigan, by Michigan State Police [redacted] because of a defective taillight on the Plymouth, at 12:48 AM on March 31, 1968. The occupants of the Plymouth identified themselves as follows:

b7C
b7D

Driver
Name
Address

Date of Birth
Height
Weight
Hair
Eyes
Operator's license
Number

[redacted]

MICH

b7C
b7D

Right Front
Name
Date of Birth
Place of Birth

[redacted]

MICH

Left Rear
Name
Address

Stokely Carmichael
360 Nelson SW
Atlanta, Georgia

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: Stokely Carmichael

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Date of Birth	June 29, 1941
Height	6'1"
Weight	170 pounds
Eyes	Brown
Hair	Black
Operator's license Number	Georgia 0-434616

Right Rear
Name
Address

Date of Birth
Height
Weight
Operator's license
Number



Mich

b7C
b7D

On March 31, 1968,  Kalamazoo, Michigan, Police Department, advised there were no incidents or disturbances in connection with Carmichael's appearance at Kalamazoo, Michigan, on March 30 and 31, 1968.

b7C
b7D

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 05-02-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 4/9/68

FROM : J. A. Sizoo

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - RACIAL MATTERS
INCITING TO RIOT - SEDITION

b7C

Supervisor [redacted] of the Washington Field Office called today in connection with our investigation of Carmichael and asked for authority to expend \$120 to obtain a complete sound reproduction of a color film which had been made of the Stokely Carmichael press conference on 4/5/68.

ACTION:

In view of the importance of developing a case against Carmichael at this time, I authorized the expenditure as requested.

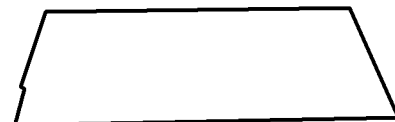
JAS:mls (4)
~~1-Mr. DeLoach~~
1-Mr. Sullivan
1-[redacted]

b7C

REC-106 100-446080-1367

10 APR 10 1968

b7C



RACIAL INT. SECT.

62 APR 18 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 05-02-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls
FBI

Date: 3/29/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080) b7C

FROM: SAC, BOSTON (157-437)(P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - SNCC; SEDITION

Re WFO teletype 3/22/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are eleven copies of a letterhead memorandum concerning subject's visit to Boston 3/22-24/68. Two copies are being sent to New York for their information since they may find it necessary to conduct investigation concerning information set out in the letterhead memorandum. Two copies are being furnished WFO because they are Office of Origin.

Copies are being disseminated locally to 108th Military Intelligence Group, Naval Investigative Service Office and the USA, Boston, Mass.

The letterhead memorandum is being classified ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ since the information furnished by the sources mentioned in the letterhead memorandum could logically result in identification of confidential informants of continuing value and jeopardize their future activities.

Sources mentioned are _____

- 3 - Bureau (Enc. 11)(RM)
2 - New York (Enc. 2)(RM)
2 - WFO (Enc. 2)(RM)
2 - Boston
JFN:maf
(9)

C. C. - Bishop ENCLOSURE

AGENCY: ACSI, NIO, OSI, SEC. SERV.

DEPT: ISD, CRD, ~~ADM~~, Cum, IDIUHOW FORW: 1/5DATE FORW: 4/5/68BY: PTB/akt

EX-115 APR 1 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT

Approved: _____

Sent _____

M

Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

70 APR 18 1968

1cc of airtel +
AM 806 940

BS 157-437

The agents who participated in the surveillance of CARMICHAEL on 3/22/68 were SA's [REDACTED]

b7C

[REDACTED] The identity of the agents participating in WFO surveillance are not known.

With reference to the claim that guns are stolen from the army base in New York City, even though source believes statement is a bragging one and probably without basis, it is suggested New York may desire to contact authorities at the base concerning possible theft of guns.

Information concerning possible thefts of guns from the army base has been furnished local police authorities and 108 MI Group.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

REF ID: A6309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

ON 05-02-2006



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Boston, Massachusetts

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

March 29, 1968

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

On March 22, 1968, agents of the FBI observed Stokely Carmichael accompanied by [redacted] of the Washington, D. C. office of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), board Allegheny Airlines flight 926 at the National Airport, Washington, D. C. This flight departed Washington, D. C. at 1:00 p.m. and was scheduled to arrive at Boston, Massachusetts, at 3:00 p.m.

b7C

On March 22, 1968, Stokely Carmichael and a male Negro companion believed to be [redacted] were observed to disembark from Allegheny Airlines flight 926 which arrived at Logan International Airport, East Boston, Massachusetts, at 3:25 p.m. on that date.

The pair were met by [redacted] of the Boston SNCC, and his wife, [redacted] Carmichael and his companion were driven by [redacted] to [redacted] residence at [redacted] Massachusetts.

b7C

On March 23, 1968, a source who has furnished reliable information in the past advised that Stokely Carmichael was scheduled to appear as a guest at a program called "Black Revolution" at Boston Technical High School, Roxbury, Massachusetts, at 6:30 p.m. on March 22, 1968.

The source advised that the permit to use the hall had been obtained by one [redacted] and currently a student at Boston University, Boston, Massachusetts. [redacted] had scheduled the affair primarily to present [redacted] whom source stated he understands is supposed to be making a speaking tour through the United States. Source stated that during the program, [redacted] announced that [redacted] would not be able to appear since the country of [redacted] refused to allow him to leave the country.

b7C
b7D

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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343 FEB 23 1971

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

ENCLOSURE 100-446080-1368

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

The source stated that Carmichael spoke for approximately an hour before an audience of approximately 1,200 persons. The audience was predominantly between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five. Carmichael discussed the history of slavery in America, oppression of the black people by the white, the poverty and inequality under which black people must live and several times stated in substance that the whites must be killed or the black people will die. This source stated that Carmichael's talk was received with enthusiasm although less response was given when he made reference to killing white people.

The source stated that half a dozen Negro males were stationed at the entrance of the hall to prevent white people from entering. All members of the news media were also excluded.

No incident occurred either during the program or after its conclusion.

A [redacted] with whom sufficient contact has not been had to determine his reliability advised on March 23, 1968, that Stokely Carmichael had appeared as scheduled at Boston Technical High School on the evening of March 22, 1968. This source stated in substance the information previously set out above.

On March 24, 1968, the [redacted] mentioned advised that Stokely Carmichael stayed overnight on March 22 and 23, 1968, at the residence of [redacted]

On the afternoon of March 23, 1968, Carmichael was present at a meeting held at the Boston Chapter of the Congress Of Racial Equality (CORE), 373 Blue Hill Avenue, Roxbury, Massachusetts. The source advised that he learned that at the CORE meeting, a sit-in was planned for March 27, 1968, at one of the welfare offices in Boston, Massachusetts. The source could not learn where the sit-in was to be held but believed it would be at a Roxbury office, possibly the one at Grove Hall.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

The source also advised that two unidentified male Negroes from the Bedford-Styvesant area of New York City were present at the CORE office. They deplored the lack of available guns in Boston and suggested that since the Boston Army Base was adjacent to the Roxbury area, the possibility of stealing guns from the Army Base should be explored. They pointed out that this was one of the methods by which guns were obtained in New York City. The source stated that both of these men appeared to be braggarts and whether or not this information has any basis in fact could not be determined. Source stated as far as he could find out, it could possibly have been said in jest.

These two men explained that money was obtained in New York from New York businessmen by implied threats. Businessmen are contacted sometimes in person and sometimes by letter and it is pointed out to them that by supporting Negro programs, they could possibly insure themselves against civil disorder and consequent property loss. Donators are given a CORE sticker to place on their window. Source stated that the Boston group decided that some sort of effort would be made to do this in the Boston area.

Source advised on the evening of March 23, 1968, Carmichael attended a meeting at the Union Methodist Church, 485 Columbus Avenue, Roxbury, where Ron Karenga of US spoke.

Subsequent to this affair, Carmichael went to a party at the home of [redacted] Massachusetts. Source advised that [redacted]

b7C
b7D

Source advised that he is not aware of Carmichael's time of departure from Boston or his destination, but believes he spent at least part of Sunday, March 24, 1968, in Boston.

b2
b7D

A [redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past advised on March 24, 1968, that Stokely Carmichael appeared before the West Suburban National Association for

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

the Advancement of Colored People Youth Council in Maywood, Illinois, at approximately 4:00 p.m. on that date. The affair took place at the Masonic Temple in Maywood.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

- 4* -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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Date: 4/4/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P) b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

IS - M; SED

(OO:WFO)

ReNOairtel, 3/28/68.

No information received from WFO sources regarding plans of CARMICHAEL to speak at Louisiana State University, New Orleans, on 4/19/68. Any information received indicating such a speech will be furnished promptly.

New Orleans continue to follow closely and, if speech made, contemplate covering same per Bureau airtel, 12/21/67.

- 3 - Bureau
2 - New Orleans (100-17362) (RM) (AM)
1 - WFO

WWH:psm
(6)

C. C. Bishop
4 8 SW 6W 508

AIRTEL

REC-47

100-446080-1369

1 APR 9 1968

54 APR 12 1968

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

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FBI

Date: 4/9/68

PLAINTEXT

Transmit the following in

TELETYPE

(Type in plaintext or code)

URGENT

Via

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR AND SACS ATLANTA AND MEMPHIS

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS - M; SEDITION. (OO: WFO)

RE ATLANTA TELETYPE APRIL EIGHT, LAST.

[REDACTED] ADVISED THAT SUBJECT VISITED HIS

[REDACTED] APRIL EIGHT LAST, AT EIGHT AM FOR PURPOSE OF

[REDACTED] ACCORDING TO [REDACTED] HE

TOLD SUBJECT THAT THE ONLY PIECE OF CLOTHING OF HIS WHICH
REMAINED WAS HIS TURTLE NECK SWEATER, AS THE STORE HAD
BEEN LOOTED DURING THE RIOT. HE STATED THAT CARMICHAEL,
UPON HEARING THAT HIS CLOTHING WAS LOOTED, BECAME ANGRY
AND LEFT THE STORE CARRYING ONLY HIS SWEATER.

2-Bureau
2-Teletype Unit
2-WFO

CAF:11w
(6)

REC-20

APR 9 1968

Approved:

Joseph D. Curvis
Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

b7C
b7D

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

PAGE TWO

SOURCE ADVISED THAT HE DID NOT OBSERVE SUBJECT IN WDC THIS DATE, HOWEVER, HE BELIEVED THAT CARMICHAEL WAS IN ATLANTA AS HE HAD PREVIOUSLY INDICATED TO THE SOURCE THAT HE WOULD BE IN ATLANTA ON APRIL EIGHT, LAST, FOR KING'S FUNERAL THE NEXT DAY.

MPD ADVISED THAT THEIR SOURCES INDICATED THAT CARMICHAEL WAS BELIEVED TO BE IN ATLANTA FOR THE PURPOSE OF ATTENDING KING'S FUNERAL. MPD FURTHER ADVISED THAT [REDACTED] ARRIVED WDC APPROXIMATELY FIVE PM APRIL EIGHT LAST AND THAT THEY HAD DETERMINED THAT THE SUBJECT HAS NOT BEEN IN TOUCH WITH HER AS OF MIDNIGHT, APRIL EIGHT LAST AND THAT [REDACTED] MADE HOTEL RESERVATIONS IN ATLANTA FOR APRIL NINE INSTANT.

b7C
b7D

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via _____
(Priority)

PAGE THREE

ADMINISTRATIVE

SOURCE IS

[REDACTED]

b2
b7D

P

b7C

[REDACTED]

IDIU, 3¹⁵ am 4/9/68 R

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

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60309
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

APR 10 1968

TELETYPE

964
FBI WASH DC*

FBI ATLANTA

105AM IMMEDIATE 4/10/68 LWG

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080) AND WFO (100-43503)
FROM ATLANTA (100-6812) 2P

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, AKA; IS - M; SEDITION.

[] ADVISED THAT SUBJECT ARRIVED IN FRONT OF PASCHAL
MOTOR HOTEL, EIGHT THREE ZERO HUNTER ST., S.W. IN NINETEEN
SIXTYFIVE BLUE AND WHITE DODGE SEDAN BEARING UNKNOWN SOUTH
CAROLINA LICENSE AT APPROXIMATELY ELEVEN FORTY PM ON APRIL EIGHT.
AS SUBJECT ALIGHTED FROM CAR, HE SPOKE TO CROWD SAYING QUOTE
BROTHER, TOMORROW NIGHT WE GONNA BURN THEM UNQUOTE.

[] ADVISES THAT SUBJECT ARRIVED VICINITY OF
EBENEZER BAPTIST CHURCH, FOUR ONE THREE AUBURN AVE., NE, AT
APPROXIMATELY TEN TWENTY AM APRIL NINE WHERE FUNERAL SERVICES
FOR DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. WERE IN PROGRESS. AS SUBJECT
PROCEEDED IN VICINITY OF CHURCH AND ALTHOUGH SPEAKING TO NO ONE
IN PARTICULAR REPEATED TIME AND TIME AGAIN QUOTE BLACK POWER,
BLACK POWER UNQUOTE AS HE HELD UP HIS HANDS. SUBJECT WAS NEATLY
DRESSED IN A BLACK BUSINESS SUIT. AFTER SERVICES AT CHURCH AND
WHILE EN ROUTE TO MEMORIAL SERVICES AT MOREHOUSE COLLEGE RUMOR WAS
END PAGE ONE

b2
b7D

b7C

32 APR 15 1968

RELAYED TO

W.F.D.

adv. 4/10/68 R

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

PAGE TWO

THAT SUBJECT HAD SAID QUOTE PLAY IT COOL AND AFTER WE BURY THE MAN,
THEN THE RIOTS CAN START UNQUOTE.

[] NEXT OBSERVED CARMICHAEL AT MOREHOUSE COLLEGE
CAMPUS STANDING CLOSE TO CASKET OF KING AT APPROXIMATELY TWO OR
THREE PM APRIL NINE. SUBJECT MADE NO SPEECHES OR COMMENTS AT THIS
TIME.

[] ADVISED THAT AT APPROXIMATELY
NINE THIRTY PM APRIL NINE A CROWD OF APPROXIMATELY TWO HUNDRED
FIFTY TO THREE HUNDRED FIFTY PERSONS WERE GATHERED IN FRONT OF
PASCHAL MOTOR HOTEL AND [] ADVISED SUBJECT WAS INSIDE
HAVING DINNER WITH SMALL GROUP KNOWN STUDENT NONVIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE PERSONNEL.

b2
b7D

[] ADVISED THAT AT APPROXIMATELY TEN THIRTY
FIVE PM APRIL NINE, THE CROWD IN FRONT OF PASCHAL'S DISPERSED AND
CARMICHAEL WAS NOT KNOWN TO HAVE ENGAGED IN ANY ACTIVITY OR SPEECH
MAKING UP TO THAT TIME.

EFFORTS CONTINUING THRU INFORMANTS SOURCES AND OTHERWISE TO
DETERMINE ACTIVITIES AND STATEMENTS. LHM FOLLOWS.

END

JCR

FBI WASH DC*

@

362
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F B

Date: 4/7/68

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PLAINTEXT

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE

URGENT

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR AND SACS ATLANTA AND RICHMOND

FROM: SAC, WFO (157-1576)

b7C

ASSASSINATION OF MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., RACIAL MATTERS.

NEWS REPORT ON A LOCAL RADIO STATION, WASHINGTON, D.C.
(WDC), AT ABOUT ELEVEN FORTY P.M., APRIL SIX, LAST, STATED
STOKELY CARMICHAEL TO LEAVE WDC APRIL SEVEN, INSTANT, FOR
ATLANTA, AND WOULD BE IN RICHMOND APRIL EIGHT, NEXT, FOR
COURT APPEARANCE OF H. RAP BROWN.

ANOTHER REPORT ON WTOP TELEVISION AT TWEEVE THIRTY A.M.,
APRIL SEVEN INSTANT, STATED CARMICHAEL GOING TO ATLANTA
QUOTE TOMORROW END QUOTE, FOR KING FUNERAL.

WFO SOURCES ALERTED.

- 2 - Bureau
1 - Teletype Unit
4 - WFO
(1 - 100-43503)
(1 - 100-46722)

GWP:fet
(7)

39
62 APR 12 1968

100-446080-1372
REC-99
EX-104

APR 10 1968

12 APR 10 1968

ROOM 836 9&D

ICC AG + IDIU

5 P.B.

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

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FBI WASH DC

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

APR 9 1968

TELETYPE

FBI ATLANTA

1:10 AM URGENT 4-9-68 JWE

TO DIRECTOR
FROM ATLANTA

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 05-02-2006 BY
60350CAUC/TAM/DCG/bls

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; IS 60350CAUC/TAM/DCG/bls

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

b7C

RE WFO TELEPHONE CALL INSTANT AND ATLANTA PHONE CALL TO
WFO.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL OBSERVED AT APPROXIMATELY ELEVEN FORTY
P.M. ON APRIL EIGHT SIXTYEIGHT DRIVING UP IN FRONT OF PASCHALL'S
RESTAURANT, HUNTER STREET, ATLANTA, BY ATLANTA POLICE OFFICER WHO
HAS PREVIOUSLY SURVEILLED CARMICHAEL AND KNOWS HIM. CARMICHAEL IN
SIXTYFIVE BLUE AND WHITE DODGE SEDAN WITH UNKNOWN SOUTH CAROLINA
TAG. AS HE ALIGHTED FROM CAR STATED QUOTE BROTHERS TOMORROW
NIGHT WE GONNA BURN THEM ENQUOTE

ATLANTA SOURCES HAVE BEEN REALERTED AS TO CARMICHAEL'S
PRESENCE ATLANTA HAVE BEEN INSTRUCTED TO IMMEDIATELY ADVISE OF ANY
PLANS, CONTEMPLATED ACTIVITIES OR OTHER MOVEMENTS OF CARMICHAEL
SECRET SERVICE SPECIAL DETAIL AND MILITARY INTELLIGENCE 1968
ALERTED. PD ALREADY AWARE.

BUREAU WILL BE KEPT ADVISED AS INFORMATION BECOMES AVAILABLE

RE CARMICHAEL.

END.

JCR

FBI WASH DC

APR 11 1968

2

J

EX-116

REC TO

100 - 446080 - 1373

SS. adv. by [redacted] 1201A 4/9/68
IDIC [redacted] 1201A 4/9/68
[redacted] 1201A 4/9/68
[redacted] 4/9/68

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DATE 05-02-2008 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: April 5, 1968

1 - Mr. Bishop
1 - Mr. Rosen
1 - 
1 - 

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : 

b7C

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION

This morning a brief press conference was held at the Headquarters of the Washington, D. C., chapter of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). Stokely Carmichael, former Chairman of SNCC, stated that the press conference had been scheduled before Martin Luther King, Jr., was assassinated and had originally been called to protest the jailing of H. Rap Brown, Chairman of SNCC who is presently incarcerated, Orleans Parish Jail, New Orleans, Louisiana. Carmichael declared that a hearing for Brown is scheduled to be held in Richmond, Virginia, next week and the SNCC organization wants to see him released from jail at that time. The purpose of this hearing is to determine whether or not Brown should be extradited from Virginia to the State of Maryland where he has been charged with inciting to commit riot and inciting to commit arson at Cambridge, Maryland.

Carmichael stated that white America made its biggest mistake when she killed Martin Luther King as he was the one man of the Negro race who was trying to teach love, compassion, and mercy for what the white man had done. Carmichael stated that the rebellions around the United States cities "is light stuff" compared to what is about to happen. He said they would retaliate for the death of their leaders. The execution of those deaths would not be in the court room but would be on the streets of the United States of America and black people know they have to get guns.

In answer to a question as to what action SNCC intends to take in getting H. Rap Brown out of jail, Carmichael replied that the Central Committee of SNCC has decided that if the State of Maryland persists in charging H. Rap Brown for the Cambridge incident, Governor Spiro Agnew of Maryland "has not seen anything yet." He said that they would turn that state inside out and upside down. He further indicated they were going to get Louisiana and

PTB:dsm
(7)

CONTINUED - OVER

54 APR 16 1968

COPY SENT TO MR. TOLSON

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan
Re: Stokely Carmichael

that they have some brothers working in Florida, Ohio, and are going to get Richmond, Virginia. He did not further explain this statement. A transcript of this press conference prepared by the National Broadcasting Company and the Columbia Broadcasting Company was obtained by our Washington Field Office through contact arranged by Mr. Bishop's Division and furnished to the Criminal Division of the Department. The Department is presently reviewing the transcript to determine if a warrant can be obtained charging Carmichael with inciting to riot in Washington, D. C.

ACTION:

For information.

RA
Wey
J
L. J. [unclear]
D. J. [unclear]
B
J. S.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 4/6/68

FROM :

[Redacted]

b7C

SUBJECT: **STOKELY CARMICHAEL**
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS - SEDITION

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

At 5:30 p.m., 4/6/68, SAC Purvis, Washington Field Office, called to advise of the following request received from U.S. Attorney David Bress, District of Columbia, concerning Stokely Carmichael, a member of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

Mr. Purvis advised that he and Supervisor [Redacted] had been requested by Mr. Bress to attend a conference at which two Assistant U.S. Attorneys were present, as well as [Redacted]

b7C

[Redacted] Metropolitan Police Department (MPD). Mr. Bress said that he wanted an investigation conducted concerning Carmichael in order to make a charge of inciting to riot under the D. C. Code. He is anxious to make a charge that would stand up in the District.

Mr. Bress asked for three specific investigations and the one he would like the FBI to conduct concerns the march on the evening of 4/4/68 where Carmichael called on merchants to close their doors in honor of Martin Luther King. Mr. Bress wants the FBI to interview store owners, employees, customers, and anyone else who can be identified as present to determine Carmichael's statements and actions. Supposedly, during this march, two white men were pulled out of a Volkswagen and it is desired that our investigation cover this incident. The MPD had an undercover man present during this march, but his evidence is not sufficient. Mr. Bress advised that the Attorney General has specifically asked that he make the request to the FBI to investigate this incident.

Mr. Bress advised that he wanted the MPD to investigate the press conference of Carmichael held on 4/5/68 and also Carmichael's appearance at Howard University this same date.

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. W.C. Sullivan

[Redacted]

b7C

CONTINUED - OVER

2 APR 10 1968

DEM:jes

APR 16 1968

Memo to Mr. Sullivan
RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

After checking, SAC Purvis was advised that he could inform Mr. Bress that we would conduct the requested investigation, but would not interview the store owners in their homes and would conduct the investigation starting Monday.

Subsequently, SAC Purvis called back to advise that the MPD had informed U.S. Attorney's Office that in view of current conditions, it was impossible for them to conduct the investigation requested of them at this time. He, therefore, asked if the Bureau would conduct the investigation concerning the press conference of Carmichael on 4/5/68 and his appearance at Howard University.

It is noted that we have already conducted considerable investigation concerning both of these incidents and have furnished considerable details to the Department. In view of this fact, SAC Purvis was advised to go ahead and conduct this additional investigation and to so inform U.S. Attorney Bress.

ACTION:

For information. This investigation will be closely followed and we will furnish the results to the Department and U.S. Attorney promptly.

WCS *D*

270
FBI WASH DC*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 05-02-2006 BY
80309/ALB DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FBI SAN FRAN

APR 6 1968

FLS RELAY TO WASH FIELD

TELETYPE *C*

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

wcs
sh
sd
45
2

202PM DEFERRED 4/6/68 LFH

TO DIRECTOR AND WASHINGTON FIELD

WASHINGTON FIELD VIA DIRECTOR

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-721) 2P (P)

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IRAM-ISC

REBUTELPHONE CALL THIS DATE INSTRUCTING INVESTIGATION TO
SECURE ADDITIONAL DETAILS CONCERNING REPORT THAT BLACK STUDENTS
UNION AT SAN FRANCISCO STATE COLLEGE RECEIVED TELEGRAM FROM
STOKELY CARMICHAEL ON APRIL FIVE LAST WITH INSTRUCTIONS TO BLACK
POWER AFFILIATES TO HIT THE STREETS TONIGHT.

[REDACTED]
CONTACTED THIS DATE ADVISED THAT HIS RELIABLE SOURCE AT SAN FRANCISCO
STATE COLLEGE REPORTED ORIGINAL INFORMATION HAD NOT OBSERVED TELE-
GRAM, BUT HAD SECURED INFORMATION FROM INDIVIDUALS CONNECTED WITH
BLACK STUDENTS UNION AT COLLEGE. TELEGRAM SUPPOSEDLY SENT TO ALL
BLACK POWER AFFILIATES. [REDACTED] ADVISED THAT TELEGRAM COULD HAVE
BEEN ANY OTHER MEANS OF COMMUNICATION OR EVEN AN IMAGINED ONE TO
ENHANCE SOMEONES STATUS. [REDACTED] VOLUNTEERED THAT AROUND NOON PST

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b7D

END PAGE ONE

54 APR 1 6 1968

REC-100 - 446080 1376

APR 10 1968

RELAYED TO WFO

PAGE TWO

ON APRIL FIVE LAST STOKLY CARMICHAEL APPEARED ON UNKNOWN CHANNEL ON TELEVISION ORIGIN OF THE BROADCAST UNKNOWN, BUT PRESUMED EAST COAST. HE URGED BLACK MEN TO HIT THE STREETS AND TO GO AND RETALIATE. THIS PROGRAM REBROADCAST LATER THAT DAY. WESTERN UNION SAN FRANCISCO RECHECKED ALL MESSAGES TO BRANCH SERVICING SAN FRANCISCO STATE COLLEGE FROM TWO PM APRIL FOUR UNTIL FIVE PM APRIL FIVE LAST AND NO TELEGRAM FROM STOKELY CARMICHAEL FOUND.

END

GFH

FBI WASH DC*

@

APR 5 2 11 PM '68

FBI WASH DC*

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

APR 6 1968

TELETYPE

FBI SAN FRAN

PLS RELAY TO WASH FIELD

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-02-2006 BY

228PM DEFERRED 4/6/68 LFH 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

TO DIRECTOR AND WASHINGTON FIELD

WASH FIELD VIA DIRECTOR

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-721) P 2P

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IRAM-ISC

REMYTEL THIS DATE.

IN AN EFFORT TO DETERMINE IF STOKELY CARMICHAEL SENT A
TELEGRAM TO AFFILIATED BLACK NATIONALIST ORGANIZATIONS INSTRUCTING
THEM TO TAKE ACTION UPON THE DEATH OF DR. KING, WESTERN UNION WAS
REQUESTED TO DETERMINE IF A TELEGRAM HAD BEEN SENT TO BLACK STUDENTS
UNION, SAN FRANCISCO STATE COLLEGE. WESTERN UNION ADVISED THEY WERE
UNABLE TO FIND ANY SUCH TELEGRAM. WESTERN UNION PRODUCED A TELEGRAM
DATED APRIL FIVE, LAST WHICH WAS SENT FROM WASHINGTON, D.C., ON APRIL
FOUR AS FOLLOWS:

SAN FRANCISCO. A SICK COUNTRY. DESPAIR, WHERE IS OUR HEART?
AMERICA ONCE AGAIN DESTROYS A BEAUTIFUL HUMAN BECAUSE OF HIS BLACK-
NESS. TOO LATE? TOO LATE? FOUR HUNDRED YEARS TOO LATE? WE MUST

END PAGE ONE

54 APR 11 1968

RELAYED TO

WFO

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

b7C

b7C

REC-4

APR 10 1968

PAGE TWO

MAKE A CRY FOR LIFE. DR. KINGS' CRY FOR LIFE, "I HAVE A DREAM",
TODAY WE MUST ACT FOR BLACK AMERICAS' LIFE SIGNED BY

b7C

WASHINGTON, D.C.

[REDACTED] IS UNKNOWN TO SAN FRANCISCO AND A SIXTY SEVEN -
SIXTY EIGHT SAN FRANCISCO STATE COLLEGE STUDENT DIRECTORY DOES NOT
LIST A STUDENT BY THAT NAME. WASHINGTON FIELD SHOULD ATTEMPT TO
IDENTIFY THE PERSONS WHO SENT THE TELEGRAM TO DETERMINE IF THEY ARE
POSSIBLY CONNECTED WITH STOKELY CARMICHAEL.

END

b7C

~~CORRECTION PAGE TWO LINE 2 SHD BE . . . LIFE SIGNED BY~~ [REDACTED]

GFH

FBI WASH DC*

6744.8 60 00 64.80

359
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-02-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

FBI

Date: 4/7/68

Transmit the following in

PLAINTEXT

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE

DEFERRED

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC; SEDITION.

RE SF TELETYPE TO BUREAU AND WFO APRIL SIX, SIXTYEIGHT,
TWO TWENTYEIGHT P.M.

WFO INDICES DISCLOSE NO INFORMATION CONCERNING [REDACTED]

b7C

WASHINGTON, D.C.

[REDACTED] MAY BE IDENTICAL TO [REDACTED]

b7C
b7D

EMPLOYED BY [REDACTED] AS OF FEBRUARY ONE,

LAST, SUBJECT OF WFO FILE [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] TWO ONE ONE FIVE S STREET, N.W., LOCAL HEADQUARTERS OF
THE NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION. [REDACTED] INTERVIEWED BY

WFO SPECIAL AGENTS FEBRUARY ONE, LAST, AS A RESULT OF FAILURE
TO REPORT FOR INDUCTION ON NOVEMBER FOURTEEN, SIXTYSEVEN.

- 2 - Bureau
- 1 - Teletype Unit
- 1 - San Francisco (AM)
- 2 - WFO

RNW:fet

REC-4

100-4460801378

2 APR 10 1968

5-114

54 APR 9 1968

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

PAGE TWO

AT TIME OF INTERVIEW, SUBJECT SAID THAT HE HAD BEEN ADVISED
BY COUNSEL NOT TO MAKE ANY STATEMENT IN ABSENCE OF COUNSEL.

A SOURCE WHO IS FAMILIAR WITH STOKELY CARMICHAEL AND
OTHER MEMBERS OF SNCC, WASHINGTON, D.C., ADVISED THAT SHE
IS UNFAMILIAR WITH THE NAMES ABOVE AND HAS NOT HEARD ANY OF
THEM MENTIONED IN CONNECTION WITH STOKELY CARMICHAEL OR SNCC.

WFO CONTINUING.

ADMINISTRATIVE. SOURCE MENTIONED IS [REDACTED]

b2
b7D[REDACTED]
AIRMAIL COPY TO SAN FRANCISCO.

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-02-2006 BY
60309/AUC/ETM/DCG/bls

Date: 4/3/68

Transmit the following in PLAINTEXT
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
(ATT: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION)
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-153751) (P)
SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS-MISC; SEDITION

ReWFOtel to Bu and NY, 4/2/68.

Telephone number 989-1313, is listed to SNCC head-
quarters, 100 5th Ave., NYC.NYO has a list of confidential sources to ascertain
information concerning wedding of subject
scheduled for 4/27/68, at NYC.NYO will advise immediately upon receiving any
additional information.

- 3- Bureau (RM)
2- Washington Field (RM)
1- New York

BJW: amb
(7)

REC-20

14 APR 4 1968

APR 17 1968

Approved

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED~~
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-02-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls
Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 4/7/68

Attached is a memorandum from the Attorney General requesting investigation concerning Stokely Carmichael's activities on April 4, 5, and 6. This is practically the same investigation which was requested by USA Bress, Washington, D. C., on 4/6 and which is subject of memorandum same date. It should also be noted that we had these matters under investigation before receipt of Bress's request. Washington Field Office (WFO) is giving these matters ^{as}expeditious investigative attention as condition in pertinent areas permits. Copies of Attorney General memorandum have been furnished SAC, WFO, with instructions to submit report to Bureau as soon as possible setting forth investigation conducted to date. Attached also is copy of WFO airtel 4/7 setting out pertinent D.C. Code Section.

ds D
Wes
JAS:slc

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-02-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/Bls

FBI

Date:

4/7/68

Transmit the following in PLAIN TEXT
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson ✓
Mr. DeLoach ✓
Mr. Mohr ✓
Mr. Bishop ✓
Mr. Casper ✓
Mr. Callahan ✓
Mr. Conrad ✓
Mr. Felt ✓
Mr. Gale ✓
Mr. Rosen ✓
Mr. Sullivan ✓
Mr. Tavel ✓
Mr. Trotter ✓
Tele. Room ✓
Miss Holmes ✓
Miss Gandy ✓

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080) AND SAC, RICHMOND

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)
INTERNAL SECURITY

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS - MISC., SEDITION.

A SOURCE, WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST, ADVISED AT FOUR FORTYFIVE P.M., APRIL SEVEN INSTANT, THAT HE ATTENDED A PRESS CONFERENCE HELD AT ED MURPHYS SUPPER CLUB, TWO TWO TWO SEVEN GEORGIA AVE., N.W., WDC, AT THREE P.M., WHICH WAS TO ENDORSE THE STATEMENT OF FLOYD MC KISSICK, NATIONAL CHAIRMAN, CORE, TO THE EFFECT THAT A HOLIDAY BE DECLARED ON APRIL NINE NEXT IN MEMORY OF DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. IN ATTENDANCE AT THIS CONFERENCE WAS LESTER MC KINNEY AND STOKELY CARMICHAEL OF SNCC, WDC. SOURCE ADVISED AN AUTO CARAVAN WILL DEPART WDC FOR RICHMOND, VA. AT FIVE THIRTY A.M., APRIL EIGHT NEXT, IN CONNECTION WITH H. RAP BROWNS APPEARANCE THERE. SOURCE DID NOT KNOW HOW MANY WILL PARTICIPATE IN THE CARAVAN AND WAS UNABLE TO DETERMINE ANY TRAVEL PLANS OF CARMICHAEL.

ADMINISTRATIVE: SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

10 APR 11 1968

② Bureau
2-Teletype Unit
2-WFO
AAM:MJB
(6)

REC-20

100-446080-1380

5/1/68

Approved: [Signature]
62 APR 17 1968 Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-02-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080) DATE: 4/9/68

FROM : *JM* SAC, ATLANTA (100-6812) P

SUBJECT: *0* STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - M; SEDITION

S.T.
gh
Encl.
X

Enclosed are 11 copies of LHM for the Bureau and
two copies for New York and WFO containing information
secured from

b2
b7D

ENCLOSURE *la*

- 2- Bureau (Enc. 11) (RM)
 - 2- New York (Enc. 2) (RM) (100-153751)
 - 2- WFO (Enc. 2) (100-43503) (RM)
 - 3- Atlanta
 - (2 - 100-6812)
 - (1 -)
- EUC:jhs
(9)

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REC-52

100-446080-1381

APR 11 1968

AGENCY: ACSI, ~~OSI~~, SEC. SERV.
ISD, CRD, RAO, *Crim*, *Intell*

HOW FORW: *N/S*

DATE FORW: *4/18/68*

BY: *PTB/AM*

66 APR 22 1968

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la

REC'D INT. SEC

rec. of LHM
806 920



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Atlanta, Georgia
April 9, 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-02-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - M; SEDITION

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A source, who has furnished reliable information
in the past, advised on April 9, 1968, that the wedding
[redacted] Stokely Carmichael is scheduled
to take place in New York City, on April 27, 1968.

1*

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions
of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to
your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside
your agency.

COPIES DESTROYED

343 FEB 23 1971

100-446080-1381

ENCLOSURE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-02-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls
FBI

Date: 4/1/68

Transmit the following in

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via A I R T E L

(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (157-1297) (P)
SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - M; SEDITION
OO: WFO

b7C

Re Chicago tels to the Bureau dated 3/31/68, and Chicago airtel and letterhead memorandum (LHM) dated 3/27/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are eleven (11) copies of a LHM dated and captioned as above. A copy of the LHM is being furnished the USA, Chicago; Secret Service, Chicago; and Region I, 113th MI Group, Evanston, Illinois.

Information copies of the LHM are being furnished to offices previously submitting or receiving details in this case.

3 - Bureau (Encl. 11) (RM) **ENCLOSURE**
 2 - Atlanta (100-6488) (SNCC) (Encl. 2) (RM) (Info.)
 1 - Columbia (RM) (Info.) (Encl. 1)
 1 - Columbus (Encl. 1) (Info.) (RM)
 1 - Detroit (Encl. 1) (Info.) (RM)
 1 - Indianapolis (Encl. 1) (Info.) (RM)
 1 - Los Angeles (Encl. 1) (Info.) (RM)
 1 - New York (Encl. 1) (Info.) (RM)
 2 - WFO (Encl. 2) (RM)
 9 - Chicago

ISD *Attn: Paul*
 AGENCY: ACSI, NI
 DEPT: *2*
 HOW FORM: *14*
 DATE FORM: *4/1*
 BY: *1*

ISD. *Attn: Paul Vincent*
AGENCY: ACSI, NIC, OSI, SEC. SERV.
DEPT: ~~DOJ~~, CRD, ~~DOJ~~, *ITL, Crim*
HOW FORM: *NY*
DATE FORM: *4/10/68*
BY: *PTB/det*

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b7D

DEH:flk
(22)

100-446080-1382

22 APR 5 1968

~~RACIAL INTL SECT. (NO)~~

Approved:

Sent

N

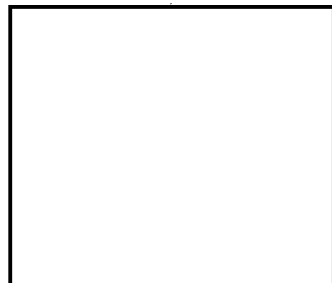
Pe

Special Agent in Charge

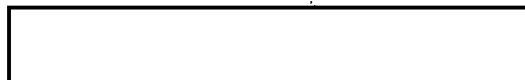
5 APR 1 1966

Sources mentioned in LHM are as follows:

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[redacted] (per request)



Characterization of SNCC

Chicago is of the opinion that [redacted]
mentioned in the LHM, is identical to [redacted]
[redacted] of SNCC.

b7C

Chicago Agents observing CARMICHAEL at O'Hare
Field on March 30, 1968, are SAs [redacted]
[redacted]

LEAD

CHICAGO

b7C

AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS. Will contact [redacted]
[redacted] and inquire if
tape recording was made of STOKELY CARMICHAEL's speech on
3/24/68.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Chicago, Illinois

April 1, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No. CG 157-1297

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-02-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Reference is made to Chicago memorandum dated
March 27, 1968.

On March 29, 1968, a confidential source, who has not been contacted sufficiently to determine reliability, advised that source was among an audience of approximately 130 people at St. Margaret's Episcopal Church Hall, 2555 East 73rd Street, Chicago, Illinois, on Sunday evening, March 24, 1968. The St. Margaret's Episcopal Church membership consists of approximately 300 members composed of about 10% Negro membership. The Episcopal youth organization is composed of about 40 high school teen-agers with the same racial balance which is [redacted]

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ILL [redacted] Source learned on Sunday evening, March 24, 1968, that Stokely Carmichael, former National Director of the Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee (SNCC), had been invited to speak before the Episcopal youth group [redacted]. The audience, which numbered approximately 130, was composed of 20 to 30 Episcopal youths, seven adult parishioners, and 100 Negroes, none of which were parishioners. Many of the Negroes wore beatnik and African style hair and attire.

Stokely Carmichael and about 100 Negroes arrived approximately 45 minutes late. He apologized for the delay stating he had spent the past five hours arbitrating a Negro youth gang dispute between the Blackstone Rangers and another south side Chicago gang. He then retired to a room to the rear of the speaker's platform with a few of his accomplices.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ENCLOSURE

100-446080-1382

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

b7C
b7D

[redacted] then had a collection taken to be presented to Stokely Carmichael as a honorarium.

[redacted] then introduced a colleague of Stokely Carmichael by the name of Cleveland Brown. Brown is described as a Negro male, 30 years old, 5'8" tall, 140 pounds, medium complexion, brown hair cut normal, clean shaven, neat appearing, slender build, and a soft speaker. Cleveland Brown spoke for about 15 minutes on the theme of police brutality against Negroes. He told of a recent experience he had with police when he tried to lead a peaceful demonstration at Orangeburg, South Carolina, at a Negro college. He was badly beaten by the Orangeburg Police, then hauled off to a hospital and placed in an isolation ward for 21 days. Brown said he is now considered a fugitive by police because he has been charged with seven local violations in Orangeburg, South Carolina, and Atlanta, Georgia. ILL

Brown then introduced Stokely Carmichael who spoke for approximately 30 minutes, principally on the theme that Negroes must arm themselves and unify. Carmichael appeared surprised to see white people in the audience and explained that he thought he would be talking to an all Negro audience so would have to change the nature of his speech. He said his main reason for coming to Chicago was to create peace between Negro groups. Carmichael through his speech would state a point and then repeat himself at least three times which source thought was disconcerting, dull, and repetitious. Carmichael made the following comments: "If any white men touch our black brothers we'll kill them"; "Black people must learn to stop fighting with each other"; "Organize and carry the fight to the streets"; "Black people must get guns and ammunition to defend themselves"; "To hell with the United States. To hell with Vietnam. The black people of the United States have always had to do the lowest and dirtiest jobs. Why should they go over and fight the white man's war?"

The source stated the meeting broke up without any incidents. The neighborhood remained calm and there were no arrests by the Chicago Police Department.

Attached to this memorandum are the following articles concerning Carmichael's visit to Chicago and speech at St. Margaret's Episcopalian Church taken from local newspapers:

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

"The Chicago Defender" weekly edition, dated March 26, 1968, an article entitled "Carmichael, Local Black Groups Meet. He Details United Front Operations";

"The Daily Calumet, a daily edition, dated March 26, 27, and 28, 1968, articles entitled respectively:

"Preaches at 73rd and Coles Church. 'Eliminate' The Opposition: Stokely";

"Church Sanctions Militant Black Power Speeches";

"Bishop Aide, Warden View Stokely".

On March 28, 1968, a [redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that Fred Hampton, President, The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People Youth Council, Maywood, Illinois, recently commented that when Stokely Carmichael was in Maywood, Illinois, on Sunday, March 24, 1968, that he promised Hampton he would return to Maywood in the future. Source said that one of the reasons why Carmichael came to Chicago was to talk to leaders of the Blackstone Rangers and other Chicago Negro youth gangs to stop their intergang fighting and attempt to have them unite with the Black Power Movement sponsored by Carmichael. The source did not know if Carmichael was able to contact the Blackstone Rangers or other youth gang leaders.

On March 30, 1968, Friendship Airport Police at Baltimore, Maryland, advised that Stokely Carmichael, using the name S. Leigh, accompanied by a Negro male using the name [redacted] departed there on United Airlines Flight 147 at 11:15 AM, Saturday, March 30, 1968, with destination Chicago.

On March 30, 1968, [redacted] United Airlines, Washington, D.C., advised that on March 29, 1968, round trip reservations were made for S. Leigh and [redacted] for the above mentioned United Airlines Flight. Reservations were also made for a return trip from Chicago to Washington, D. C., via United Airlines Flight 284 scheduled to depart Chicago at 7:30 AM Sunday, March 31, 1968, and to arrive at Washington, D.C., at 10:00 AM that date. The telephone number given to confirm these reservations is listed for SNCC, Washington, D.C.

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

b7C At 12:15 PM, March 30, 1968, Special Agents of the FBI observed Stokely Carmichael arrive in Chicago on United Airlines Flight 147 at O'Hare Airport. Carmichael was accompanied by an unknown Negro male. They were met by two unknown Negro males. The four men then entered a 1965 Plymouth sedan bearing 1968 Illinois License [redacted]

b2 A [redacted] an agency which collects
b7D intelligence type information in the Chicago area, advised on March 30, 1968, that Carmichael and the others drove from O'Hare Field, Chicago, through Chicago, proceeding east on Interstate Highway 94. They were last observed traveling east of Gary, Indiana, on the Indiana Toll Road.

b7C 1968 Illinois License [redacted] is registered to
b7D [redacted] Chicago, Illinois.

On June 15, 1965, [redacted]
[redacted] Chicago Police Department, advised that
b7C among the individuals arrested on June 11, and 12, 1965, in
b7D connection with a demonstration at Chicago, Illinois.
[redacted]
[redacted]

who resides at [redacted] Chicago. Her Chicago
Police Department Central Booking Number is [redacted] 1946

At 5:30 PM on Saturday, March 30, 1968, Stokely Carmichael was observed arriving at Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, Michigan, by Special Agents of the FBI.

The Kalamazoo, Michigan, Police Department, advised on March 30, 1968, Stokely Carmichael spoke at Western Michigan University before approximately 900 people at a mid-west regional conference on black power.

b7C At 2:30 AM on March 31, 1968, Stokely Carmichael was observed to depart Kalamazoo, Michigan, in a bronze Plymouth, two-door sedan, bearing 1968 Illinois License [redacted] traveling west on Interstate 94 in the direction of Chicago.

b7C On March 31, 1968, [redacted] United
b7D Airlines, O'Hare Field, Chicago, Illinois, advised that Stokely Carmichael departed on Flight 284, at 7:30 AM, Sunday, March 31, 1968. His flight was due to arrive at Baltimore, Maryland, at 10:00 AM this date. Carmichael was traveling under the name S. Leigh and his Negro male companion was traveling under the name [redacted]

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

SNCC is known as the chief exponent of "The Black Power Philosophy". National leader [redacted] Stokely Carmichael have publically espoused the use of violence to achieve Negro equality and have used the phrase, "Hell no, I won't go" in reference to Negroes being drafted. b7C

Pertinent portions of the above memorandum were furnished to United States Secret Service, Chicago; Region I, 113th MI Group, Evanston, Illinois; Cook County Sheriff's Office, Chicago, Illinois; and Chicago Police Department, Chicago, Illinois.

A copy of this memorandum is being furnished to the following agencies:

United States Attorney
Chicago, Illinois

United States Secret Service
Chicago, Illinois

Region I, 113th MI Group
Evanston, Illinois.

Carmichael, Local Black Groups

Meet

He Details United Front Operations

By BETTY WASHINGTON
Daily Defender Associate Editor

Stokely Carmichael met here Monday with about 50 representatives of black organizations from across the city and discussed in detail the umbrella rights organization, the Black United Front.

Sitting in were spokesmen representing CORE, SNCC, ACT, the Deacons for Defense and Justice, SCLC, and members of several teen gangs, along with other community-based rights groups.

Carmichael was brought here by the black rights organizations "in order that we could all hear more about the Black United Front, how it is organized, how it works," a spokesman said, adding that there has been some interest in establishing a similar organization in Chicago.

Carmichael set forth the three following "basic ideologies" which he said characterize the nature of BUF:

— "Undying love for our people," which he said necessitates commitment to the welfare of all black people.

— Recognition that every "Negro" is a potential black man.

— Realization that for black people the question of "community" is not a question of land but of the degree of unity.

BUF was organized by Carmichael and other members of SNCC in Washington, D.C. But the membership has now been broadened to include conservative Negro organizations, of varying degrees of militancy.

The black rights leader said that BUF membership is open to all black groups and to racially integrated organizations that have a black membership of at least 50 per cent and are headed by a black person.

BUF is not now concerned with developing programs, and recognizes that organization must take place before programming, said Carmichael. He described BUF as a loose organization, where there is room for "God, Allah, radicals, militants, conservative, Uncle Toins, non-violent and violent philosophies."

BUF is still in the organizing stage, and the "ground rules" are currently being drawn up by 17 people who may not necessarily serve in leadership capacities once the organization gets rolling, he said.

He revealed that the organization in Washington is made up of 100 groups and includes followers of Elijah Muhammad as well as high ranking NAACP officials.

The Washington group, which could become a model for similar umbrella set-ups across the country, is to be directed by Council of Elders, an arbitrary council which will have as one function the settling of differences that develop between groups of differing ideologies.

One essential ground rule is that organizations belonging to

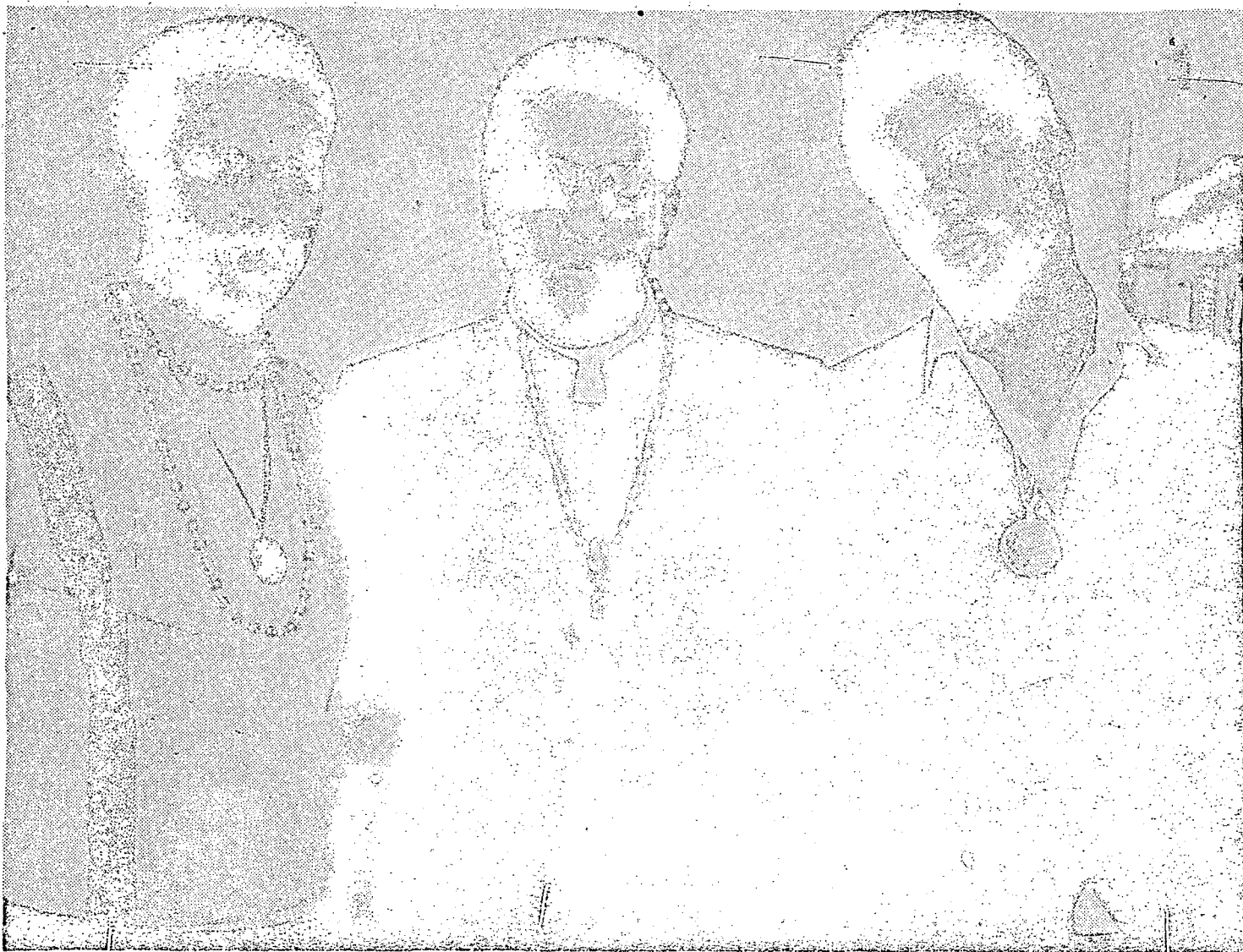
BUF may not attack any other black organization. For teen gang members, this means an absolute end to hostilities vented by black youths against other blacks youths.

"Nothing is more important in Chicago, now, than to stop these gang fights," said Carmichael. He said he and several members of local rights groups "spent five hours Sunday night breaking up a gang fight" that was brewing in one ghetto community.

Carmichael told the group that he has no belief in the vote as a tool for developing black power. He said, "We can use the vote, but only as a means

to bring black people together."

He said he also rejects the value of green power, "which is a materialistic concept and does not speak to the issue of black power". Carmichael described the war on poverty as "the most divisive program we have," and said it is geared to pit segments of the black community against one another, and ultimately slows down the "rebellion."



Stokely Carmichael, of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, stands between Calvin Lockridge, left, and Charles Hooks, representatives of local

rights groups who invited the black power advocate to come to Chicago to discuss the Black United Front. (Daily Defender Photo by John Gunn.)

Preaches At 73rd & Coles Church

'ELIMINATE' THE OPPOSITION: STOKELY

(By The Daily Calumet Staff)

Stokely Carmichael, militant black power leader, preached a gospel of Negro armament for the summer ahead in St. Margaret's Episcopal Church hall, 2535 E. 73rd St., Sunday night.

"If someone touches any of our black brothers, we'll kill him," Carmichael declared to an audience of teenagers, hippies, parishioners and spectators.

Carmichael charged his black brothers to arm themselves with guns and bullets under his leadership. He said black or whites who resist or oppose would "have to be eliminated." He said Negroes should spend their time "fighting in the streets," not in Viet Nam.

The meeting was apparently arranged for the benefit of the church's youth group by Father William Wetzel, St. Margaret curate.

meeting were Fr. Wetzel, Carmichael, a man introduced as Cleveland Brown,

and another speaker who was not identified.

Persons who knew of the gathering in the church hall were told to be present by 7:15 p.m., when the doors to the basement meeting room would be closed. They were greeted by a rock-an-roll three-piece musical group named The Soul Power.

The trio entertained until Brown took the rostrum at 7:30 p.m. He looked out at an audience which included a half-dozen white teenagers, about 20 hippies of both races, nearly 100 Negro adults and a handful of white adults.

Details of the meeting were revealed to The Daily Calumet yesterday by two parishioners who attended. They said they found out about the meeting almost by accident through members of the teen group. The parishioners

fear of reprisals.

St. Margaret's pastor, Father Albert Peters, who was not at the meeting was not available for comment yesterday. Neither were Fr.

Wetzel or Edward B. Stasiak, senior warden of the church vestry, the church's lay advisory board.

Carmichael and Brown were introduced by Fr. Wetzel, a Negro curate who has served at the church for about a year.

Brown was the first to speak, and according to the information, laid the groundwork for Carmichael.

He reported on militant activities on a college campus in South Carolina, and said white authorities "just wanted injured Negroes to die" after they were shot.

He counseled blacks to "arm for self-protection."

"We must always be ready to kill to protect ourselves," he is reported to have said.

Carmichael arrived at about

8:15. When introduced, he received a standing ovation.

To audience amens, yehs and applause, Carmichael asserted Negroes needed guns and ammunition "so they (whites) don't kill us."

He declared "to hell" with the United States, the war in Viet Nam and white persons "who are responsible" for Negro problems. "They don't mean a thing," he is reported to have said.

Carmichael apologized for being late. He said he was on the city's west side "making peace" between two rival gangs. He referred to a gang leader who had been shot over the weekend. He claimed authorities made "no attempt" to provide swift medical aid to the youth, who he said was shot in the face. He claimed authorities "wanted him to die" and went on to preach black unity and death to those in either race who would oppose his movement.

A third speaker reportedly was to follow Carmichael. When Carmichael concluded, there was a brief question and answer period in which a man asked what was to follow the "blood and killing." Fr. Wetzel reportedly cut the questioner off after Carmichael said, "If someone touches any of our black brothers, we'll kill him."

Before Brown spoke, a collection was taken.

The persons who reported the meeting to The Daily Calmet said they had "never seen the hall so packed." They pointed out they could identify only two or three persons as St. Margaret parishioners. They noted that Brown prefaced his comments with, "I'll have to speak a little differently" because white persons were present. Brown said he thought he would be addressing an all Negro audience.

Church Sanctions Militant Black Power Speeches

By JOSEPH SEVICK

(Of The Daily Calumet Staff)

A Sunday evening Black Power speech by militant Stokely Carmichael at St. Margaret's Episcopal Church, 2555 E. 73rd St., yesterday was sanctioned by the church's diocesan office.

Fr. William Wetzel, St. Margaret's curate and apparently the middle-man who arranged Carmichael's appearance, revealed yesterday that he has been banned from commenting on the appearance.

Reaction came from members of the church's vestry (lay advisory board), but Fr. Albert Peters, pastor, could not be contacted.

Cannon Paul Kyger, an

Episcopal priest and assistant to Bishop Gerald Durrill, said yesterday the bishop in a letter to diocesan parish churches "encourages the use of pulpits as forums" so that "all points of view can be disseminated in the community."

The bishop's freedom of expression directives in the letter pertained only to the diocesan cathedral. However, Fr. Kyger said, based on a previous incident where the Students for a Democratic Society were allowed to conduct "a huge" rally at an Episcopal church, he believed Carmichael's appearance would not be banned.

He noted that, in fact, the bishop could only indicate displeasure, but could not stop an activity in a parish church. Fr. Kyger said the diocesan

office was not aware of the Carmichael's appearance in advance, though.

The priest said his office had prepared no statement to explain Carmichael's appearance.

In his talk before 135 persons Sunday night, Carmichael said Negroes should arm themselves with guns and ammunition and be prepared to fight in the streets to defend themselves.

A full report of the meeting, at which a man identified as Cleveland Brown also expressed views similar to Carmichael's, was given to The Daily Calumet by two parishioners who attended.

Though the parishioners said there were only about 25 youths present, Fr. Kyger said yesterday Carmichael's appearance was for the benefit of the church's youth group.

He said the Episcopal Youth Organization conducted a dance at the church Saturday night. The invitation to attend Carmichael's speech was issued at that dance.

When asked why the announcement of Carmichael's appearance was not made in the church bulletin or during services Sunday, Fr. Kyger replied, "We weren't trying to make a big blast. This was just an opportunity for the youth to have the opportunity to be exposed" to Carmichael's views "so when they grow up they will be prepared to deal with the world as they find it."

The audience for the Carmichael-Black Power speech consisted of about 100 Negro

adults, parishioners attending said. They noted about 20 hippies on hand, and a few white teenagers and adults.

Fr. Kyger indicated Carmichael's appearance was arranged "through contacts." He contended the appearance was "a legitimate use of the church and church building." The meeting was conducted in a basement meeting hall. He noted the existing church policy is to "preclude no point of view whatsoever from being kept out."

According to parishioners who attended, Fr. Wetzel, St. Margaret's curate, apparently had a major role in arranging the appearance.

When contacted yesterday, Fr. Wetzel said, "I am not allowed to make any statement by order of my boss." He explained that his boss is Fr. Albert Peters, St. Margaret's pastor. He stated, "He (Fr. Peters) told me yesterday evening (Monday) he would appreciate me not making any statements."

Fr. Wetzel was ordained in June of last year and was appointed to St. Margaret's in his first assignment in July, 1967.

Fr. Peters was not available for comment yesterday. Fr. Wetzel said he was on the north side of the city conducting a retreat for a group of Episcopal women.

Clarence C. Curtis, 2860 E. 76th St., junior warden of St. Margaret's vestry, when told of Carmichael's speech, said there were no announcements of the appearance at Sunday's services or in the church bulletin. He said he

Curtis indicated he felt the appearance "should have been taken up by the vestry. I don't think it was. This is a very peculiar sort of deal."

He said a number of persons had called him to object to the appearance.

"The man's (Carmichael's) reputation is such that I think it would be very foolish to invite him into the church. What he has to say has no religious bearing," Curtis said.

Bishop Aide, Warden View Stokely

By JOSEPH SEVICK

(Of The Daily Calumet Staff)

New developments emerged yesterday on all fronts but one in the wake of a Sunday evening appearance by black power militant Stokely Carmichael at St. Margaret's Episcopal Church, 2555 E. 73rd St.

Rev. Albert Peters, church pastor, yesterday continued to be unavailable for comment. A designated spokesman was also not able to be reached.

New disclosures came, however, from an assistant to the Episcopal archbishop of the Chicago diocese and the senior warden of St. Margaret's vestry, a lay advisory board.

Charges of a "hatch-job" in reporting Carmichael's appearance were made, and it was disclosed the church's vestry will conduct a special meeting within a week to consider the appearance.

It was also learned that Fr. Peters was not told of Carmichael's appearance before hand.

Carmichael told an audience of about 125 persons Sunday night in the church hall that Negroes should arm themselves. Carmichael derided the United States, the war in Viet Nam and the white race, according to two parishioners who attended the meeting.

The parishioners reported the session to The Daily Calumet Monday. They said the audience was consisted mostly of Negro adults and teenage hippies who they could not

identify as church members.

Cannon Paul Kyger, assistant to the Episcopal archbishop of the Chicago diocese, and other persons interviewed in the past three days had stated the meeting was held as a function of the church's youth group.

Fr. Kyger acknowledged Tuesday that Fr. William Wetzel, St. Margaret curate since July, was apparently the middle-man who arranged Carmichael's appearance.

Fr. Wetzel has stated he is under orders of Fr. Peters to make no statements about the appearance.

Since Monday when the meeting was reported to The Daily Calumet, Fr. Peters has received daily phone messages asking that he speak with The Daily Calumet, his secretary, Mrs. F.A. Duplissles, said yesterday.

Mrs. Duplissles said yesterday Jack Hizer, a former vestry member, had been authorized to make a statement. When contacted, Mrs. Hizer said her husband would not be available for comment until last evening. She stated she and her husband attended the meeting, but that only Mr. Hizer would comment.

Cannon Kyger, when asked for comment yesterday, said he received a report of The Daily Calumet news story reporting Carmichael's appearance. He termed his source "trusted" and claimed the article was "a hatch-job." He asserted the account was slanted, and declared, "I want this thing to die out." Tuesday Fr. Kyger said he inter-

prets past statements and actions by Episcopal Bishop Gerald Durrill as favoring freedom of expression in churches, including presentation of extreme points of view.

He said had the diocesan office known of the appearance in advance, Carmichael's appearance would probably not have been discouraged.

Yesterday, senior St. Margaret vestry warden Edward B. Stasiak expressed a middle of the road and opposing view.

"My feeling is that more preparatory work than was done" was in order, said Stasiak. He said he was aware of Bishop Durrill's policy of unrestricted use of the diocesan cathedral. He noted "it (the policy) could probably be extended" to include neighborhood parish churches.

Stasiak contrasted "preparation" to "surprise." He said there was no general announcement of the appearance to parishioners. There were no announcements at Sunday services or in the church bulletin, he said.

"I do not condone or condemn" Carmichael's appearance, Stasiak said, but noted, "It could have been handled better."

Stasiak observed that reaction to the appearance has been that parishioners "don't believe in extremism" and are against Carmichael's use of the church hall, and "would feel the same way if it were Governor (George) Wallace."

Stasiak also said he had spoken with Fr. Peters Tuesday night. "He (Fr. Peters) tells me he wasn't informed" of Carmichael's appearance before hand, Stasiak said.

Fr. Peters "assured me that all future actions of Fr. Wetzel would be gone over and approved before they happen," Stasiak stated.

He said Fr. Wetzel "has been doing a wonderful job with the youth group and everything else. It's been entirely satisfactory, so far."

Stasiak said also that if Carmichael's appearance had

been generally known in advance, "It probably never would have occurred." He declined to say why Carmichael would not have appeared.

Fr. Kyger said earlier this week the only announcement of the appearance that he knew of was made at a youth group dance Saturday night. The youth group moderator is Fr. Wetzel.

Stasiak, who is head of the church vestry which has the power to "hire and fire" religious personnel with the approval of the Episcopal bishop, disclosed the vestry will meet in a special session within a week to discuss Carmichael's appearance and decide if action is necessary.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-02-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls
FBI

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

Date: 3/30/68

PLAINTEXT

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE

URGENT
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI, SAC CHICAGO AND DETROIT

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; IS - M; SEDITION

RE WFO TELETYPE MARCH TWENTYNINE, LAST.

[REDACTED] BALTIMORE, MARYLAND, ADVISED
MARCH THIRTY INSTANT THAT CARMICHAEL USING NAME FNU LEIGH (PH)
ACCOMPANIED BY INDIVIDUAL USING NAME FNU [REDACTED] (PH) DEPARTED
THERE ON UNITED AIRLINES FLIGHT NUMBER ONE FOUR SEVEN AT ELEVEN
FIFTEEN AM THIS DATE DESTINATION CHICAGO, ILLINOIS.

ON MARCH THIRTY INSTANT [REDACTED] UNITED AIRLINES,
WASHINGTON, D. C. (WDC) ADVISED THAT ON MARCH TWENTYNINE, LAST
ROUND TRIP RESERVATIONS WERE MADE FOR S. LEIGH AND [REDACTED] FOR
ABOVE UNITED FLIGHT. RESERVATIONS MADE FOR RETURN TRIP TO WDC
VIA UNITED FLIGHT NUMBER TWO EIGHT FOUR SCHEDULED TO DEPART
CHICAGO AT SEVEN THIRTY A.M. AND TO ARRIVE IN WDC AT TEN AM
MARCH THIRTYONE, NEXT

② - Bureau

2 - Teletype Unit

1 - WFO

Approved: [Signature]

GWP:arw (6) Sent

Special Agent in Charge

APR 3 1968

M Per

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)WFO 100-43503
PAGE TWO

TELEPHONE NUMBER ISSUED TO SNCC, WDC, GIVEN AS CONTACT WHEN
RESERVATIONS MADE.

b7D

[REDACTED] ADVISED THAT CARMICHAEL HAS REPORTEDLY
MADE SEVERAL RESERVATIONS UNDER VARIOUS NAMES FOR RETURN FLIGHT
TO WDC ONE OF WHICH REPORTEDLY IS TO ARRIVE WDC APPROXIMATELY
SEVEN PM MARCH THIRTY-ONE, NEXT. IT IS NOTED UNITED FLIGHT
NUMBER EIGHT FIVE ZERO IS SCHEDULED TO ARRIVE WDC FROM CHICAGO
AT SEVEN ELEVEN P.M. MARCH THIRTY-ONE, NEXT.

ADMINISTRATIVE: CHICAGO AND DETROIT ADVISED TELEPHONICALLY.
CHICAGO AND DETROIT HANDLE CARMICHAEL VISIT PER BUREAU AIRTEL
DATED DECEMBER TWENTY-ONE, LAST.

IT IS NOTED RE TELETYPE SHOWS ADDITIONAL RESERVATION MADE
BY CARMICHAEL FOR RETURN TRIP TO WDC. P.

XEROX

1968

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-02-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

4/9/68

airtel

1 -
1 -

b7C

To: SAC, Detroit

From: Director, FBI (105-446080)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION

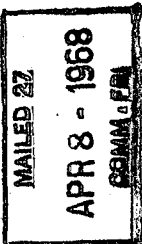
ReDEtel dated 3/31/68 and DEairtel dated 4/2/68.

Referenced teletype indicates that Carmichael's speech at Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, Michigan, on 3/30/68 was recorded. You should expeditiously submit in a form suitable for dissemination a verbatim transcript of Carmichael's speech. Include in the letterhead memorandum (LHM) the identity of the person who obtained the recording of Carmichael's speech.

1 - WFO

NOTE:

Detroit in referenced LHM submitted a resume of Carmichael's speech at the Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, Michigan, on 3/30/68. This speech contained several inflammatory statements and the LHM resume has been disseminated to pertinent divisions in the Department, as well as interested agencies. Detroit has advised that a recording was made of the speech and accordingly is being requested to expeditiously furnish a verbatim transcript of this recording.



PTB:lmr

(6) *lmr*

REC 36

10 APR 9 1968

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Himes _____
Gandy _____

66 APR 16 1968

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SAC, WFO

4/11/68

REC- 10

Director, FBI (100-446080) - 1385

1 -

b7C

**STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION**

b1

(C)

PTB:lmr

(4)

b1

NOTE:

The above information was received

(C)

DATE: 05-02-2006

CLASSIFIED BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(6)

05-02-2031

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

MAILED 3

APR 10 1968

COMM-FBI

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

MAIL ROOM ☒

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 05-02-2006 BY

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 4/8/68

Attached relates to press conference held 4/7/68, which was attended by Stokely Carmichael and Lester McKinney. Purpose was to endorse a statement of Floyd McKissick, National Chairman of the Congress of Racial Equality that a holiday be declared 4/9/68 in memory of King. Carmichael and McKinney are connected with Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. As of 7:30 p.m., 4/8/68, the Caravan had not departed for Richmond, Virginia.

Data has been furnished the White House, Secret Service, Army, and Inter-Division Information Unit.

CAP:lrb

WCS

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT 05-02-2006 BY DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

Memorandum

TO : J. Edgar Hoover
Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation

DATE: April

FROM : Ramsey Clark
Attorney General

SUBJECT: Stokely Carmichael--DJ 146-1-51-19654
(Internal Security, Miscellaneous Sedition).

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Bishop	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

This is to request your assistance in developing factual information on the incidents involving Stokely Carmichael on April 4, 5, and 6, 1968.

b7C

As to the events on April 4, 1968, I wish information on his conduct in the vicinity of 14th and U Streets, N.W., commencing at approximately 8 p.m. Specifically, I want interviews of the storekeepers or others who may have observed his efforts to close the stores or who may have spoken with him or heard him. Carmichael confirms his presence in these circumstances in his news conference of April 5, 1968.

Concerning the events of April 5, 1968, I want hard facts on the incidents which occurred at about 2 p.m. in the vicinity of Howard University. I wish information on: (1) what Mr. Carmichael said in his remarks at Howard University and (2) what occurred immediately following his remarks. This investigation should also include interviews with any persons who may have been present on the Howard Campus and with storekeepers and business people in the vicinity of Howard University. It should also include a check of all newspapers and interviews with any persons who they may have assigned to cover this event. It should also include a check of all radio and TV stations, with particular reference to the possible existence of tape recordings or video tape of Carmichael's remarks or the subsequent events.

REC-19

A continuing investigation and surveillance of Carmichael should be made.

100-446080-1386
APR 11 1968

b7C

APR 17 1968

PLAINTEXT

per

4/10/68

TELETYPE

URGENT

b7C

1 -

TO SAC WASHINGTON FIELD

PERSONAL ATTENTION

FROM DIRECTOR FBI

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS,
SEDITION.

REFERENCE IS MADE TO LETTER FROM THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
DATED APRIL SIX ONE NINE SIX EIGHT CAPTIONED "STOKELY
CARMICHAEL--DJ ONE FOUR SIX - ONE - FIVE ONE - ONE NINE SIX FIVE
FOUR, INTERNAL SECURITY, MISCELLANEOUS, SEDITION," COPIES OF
WHICH HAVE BEEN FURNISHED YOUR OFFICE.

IN CONNECTION WITH THE LAST PARAGRAPH OF REFERENCED LETTER
WHICH CALLS FOR A CONTINUING INVESTIGATION AND SURVEILLANCE OF
CARMICHAEL, WE HAVE ADVISED THE ATTORNEY GENERAL THAT A FULL-
TIME SURVEILLANCE IS BOTH IMPRACTICAL AND IMPOSSIBLE. 10 APR 11 1968

IN ACCORDANCE WITH PREVIOUS INSTRUCTIONS, HOWEVER, YOU
MUST AFFORD THE FULLEST FEASIBLE COVERAGE OF CARMICHAEL'S
ACTIVITIES, TRAVEL, SPEECHES, ETC., AND ADVISE THE OFFICES
COVERING AREAS TO WHICH HE MAY TRAVEL. IT IS ABSOLUTELY

TDR:fhf (4)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

INITIALED
DIRECTOR'S OFFICE

7 1968

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION
APR 10 1968
5:14 P M
TELETYPE
Toison _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

Teletype to Washington Field
RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

ESSENTIAL THAT EVERY EFFORT BE MADE TO DEVELOP NECESSARY EVIDENCE FOR THE DEPARTMENT'S CONSIDERATION WITH RESPECT TO POSSIBLE PROSECUTION CONCERNING INSTANT MATTER AS WELL AS FUTURE MATTERS.

THIS INVESTIGATION MUST RECEIVE YOUR PERSONAL ATTENTION ON A CONTINUING BASIS AND YOU SHOULD CONTINUE TO FURNISH THE BUREAU A DAILY TELETYPE SUMMARY OF CARMICHAEL'S ACTIVITIES AS PREVIOUSLY INSTRUCTED.

NOTE:

Referenced letter from the Department requested the development of factual information on incidents involving Stokely Carmichael on 4/4,5,6/68. It also requested a continuing investigation and surveillance of Carmichael. We have advised the Attorney General today that the full-time physical surveillance is impractical and impossible. Detailed instructions have previously been issued the Washington Field Office as to investigative attention that must be afforded the Carmichael case.

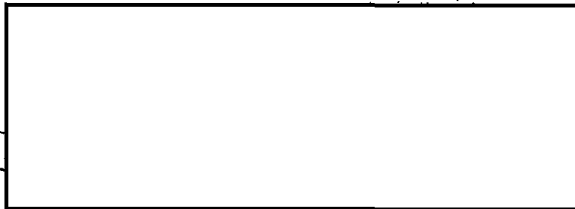
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-02-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

EX 110

REC- 14

4 100-446080-1388

April 11, 1968



b7C-

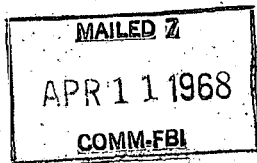
Dear

Your letter of April 5th has been received and I appreciate the interest which prompted you to write.

In response to your inquiry, Stokely Carmichael was born on June 29, 1941, at Trinidad, West Indies, and is a citizen of the United States by derivation. He is, therefore, not subject to exclusion from the United States as an alien. In addition, the FBI is strictly an investigative agency of the Federal Government and, as such, does not determine whether prosecution will be undertaken in any situation. Such decisions concerning violations of Federal law are within the province of the Attorney General.

I can assure you, however, the FBI is aware of the activities of the individual you mentioned and voluminous data regarding him has been furnished to the Department of Justice for its consideration.

Sincerely yours,
J. Edgar Hoover



NOTE: Bufiles contain no record identifiable with correspondent.

HCS:lrs (3)

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

165

[Handwritten signature]

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70 APR 13 1968 MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT ☐

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-03-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

TRUE COPY

b7C

April 5, 1968

J. Edgar Hoover
Director of F.B.I.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

I have just listened to the news report in which
Stokely Carmichael was quoted as urging black people to get
guns and kill white people. Surely any man, white or black,
making such a statement must answer for it. Freedom of
speech can be abused. Can no grounds be found for deporting
this man?

Respectfully yours,

b7C

Copy to the Attorney General

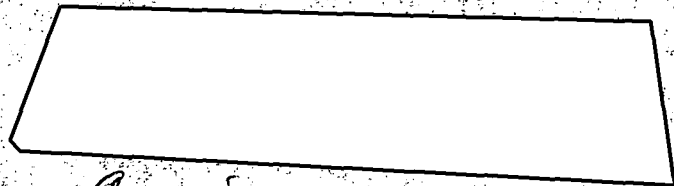
b7C

ITE yoo
4-10-68
ack HES/ Jis
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mml

8/1/68

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-03-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/blg

b7C



April 5, 1968

J. Edgar Hoover
Director, F.B.I.
Washington, D.C.

Stokely Carmichael

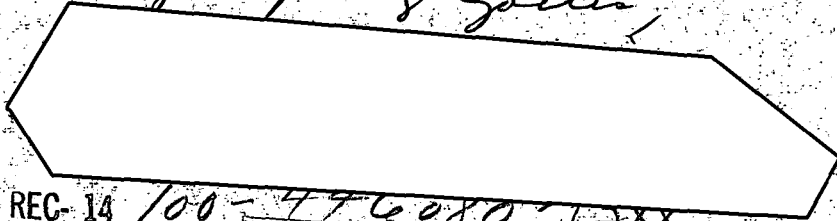
Dear Sir:

I have just listened to the news report in which Stokely Carmichael was quoted as urging black people to get guns and kill white people. Surely any man, white or black, making such a statement must answer for it. Freedom of speech can be abused. Can no grounds be found for deporting this man?

ITC jao
4-10-68
ack HCS-lro
4-11-68
mm

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Respectfully yours,



EX 110

REC-14 100-476080-1288

Cops To the Attorney General

APR 12 1968

RESPONSE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE WASHINGTON FIELD	OFFICE OF ORIGIN WASHINGTON FIELD	DATE 4/8/68	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 4/4 - 8/68
TITLE OF CASE STOKELY CARMICHAEL		REPORT MADE BY SA [redacted]	TYPED BY llw
		CHARACTER OF CASE INCITING TO RIOT - MISCELLANEOUS	

Reference: WFO airtel 4/7/68.

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DATE 05-03-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

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ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED

CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES

ACQUIT-
TALS

CASE HAS BEEN:

PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐ YES ☒ NO
PENDING PROSECUTION
OVER SIX MONTHS ☐ YES ☒ NO

APPROVED

SPECIAL AGENT
IN CHARGE

COPIES MADE:

6-Bureau (Attn: Domestic
Intelligence Division)
1-USA, Washington, D. C.
3-WFO (62-9737)

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

100-446080-1389

APR 11 1968

REC 102

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	FDIU		
Request Recd.			
Date Fwd.	4/10/68		
How Fwd.	11/2/5		
By	PTB/dkf		

Notations

1 Xerox of report 806 910

55 APR 16 1968

3/ Rec of report hand
delivered to G. Watter
Yacoby & Fred M. Vinson, Jr.
4/19/68.
Rec of report sent to Attorney General
4/19/68. PTB/dkf

[redacted] (info)

R

WFO 62-9737

ALA:CMS

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ADMINISTRATIVE DATA:

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[redacted] who is under consideration for development as a PRI, advised on the late evening of 4/4/68, he was at 2208 14th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., where a group of individuals affiliated with the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) were present. Included in this group were STOKELY CARMICHAEL and [redacted]. They were discussing the shooting of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., with specific reference to what action they should take here in Washington, D.C.

[redacted] said CARMICHAEL was receiving numerous telephone calls from unknown individuals that evening, and when he had completed his conversation in one instance, he turned to the group and said that the business establishments were closed when (President JOHN F.) KENNEDY was assassinated and they should close now. He suggested that they visit the business establishments in the area for the purpose of requesting that these establishments close. [redacted] said CARMICHAEL then departed there with a group of individuals, including [redacted] and visited several business establishments in the area requesting that they close as a tribute to Dr. KING. He said CARMICHAEL told those accompanying him to be polite in their requests to have the businesses close. [redacted] added that in some instances CARMICHAEL did not enter the business establishments but sent other individuals in to make the request. [redacted] said that when CARMICHAEL first suggested visiting these establishments, [redacted] requested [redacted] to prevail upon CARMICHAEL to not make these requests. [redacted] that it would not do any good for him to make this suggestion to CARMICHAEL.

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[redacted] stated that until a group of young people broke away from CARMICHAEL, the affair seemed to be very well disciplined. But, when this group broke away, they commenced breaking windows in the business establishments, looting in some instances, and harassing the white motorists who were passing through the area. In one instance he personally saw a young Negro male, identity unknown, strike the window of a passing auto making a fist and smashing the car window. This resulted in the fact that his fist was badly cut. [redacted]

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WFO 62-9737

ALA:CMS

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[redacted] said it was agreed a meeting would be held at Howard University sometime during the afternoon of 4/5/68 in memory of Dr. KING.

[redacted] advised on 4/6/68, he cannot testify to the above information in open court because it would ruin him in the Negro community, both politically and economically. He pointed out that if there was some way this could be done without divulging his identity to the public, he would be most happy to give such testimony.

[redacted] advised on 4/5/68, that STOKELY CARMICHAEL and [redacted] in the company of three or four other individuals, appeared on the Howard University campus at approximately 1:45 p.m., 4/5/68.

Source continued that CARMICHAEL addressed a crowd of approximately 300 persons at the conclusion of a memorial program for Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING and advised the crowd that "tonight bring your gun; don't loot, shoot." Source continued that CARMICHAEL stated that the individuals in the crowd should tell their "little brothers" to stay off the streets tonight because there would definitely be trouble. Source continued that CARMICHAEL pulled a gun from his pocket, held it up before the crowd, and indicated that he had his gun and everyone else should get guns. CARMICHAEL also stated, according to the source, that the white man killed Dr. KING who was the one man who could keep Negroes on a non-violent path. The white man would have done better to kill him (CARMICHAEL).

PRI was asked if he would be willing to testify to the above information in court. PRI responded by saying he definitely did not wish to testify and reminded SA [redacted] that at the outset of his relationship with the FBI and SA [redacted] he was assured his identity would be kept confidential and should he ever have to testify, his family and friends would never be able to understand why he was furnishing information. PRI reiterated that he would not testify under any circumstances.

WFO 62-9737

[redacted] and a member of SCLC, is out of the city and will not return until the evening of April 9, 1968, at the earliest. [redacted] will be interviewed promptly on his return.

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Copies of NBC and CBS prepared tapes of the comments of STOKELY CARMICHAEL at the press conference held 10 a.m. on 4/5/68, at SNCC headquarters, were hand carried to the FBI Laboratory on that date. Copies have been previously furnished to Division 5. Copies are also being retained by WFO.

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[redacted] advised SA [redacted] on 4/8/68 that they are currently in the process of estimating the property damage done during the civil disturbance in WDC. He said that this is being done for the Mayor and will be the official estimate of damages. [redacted] advised that the estimate would not be ready until a later date.

b7C SA [redacted] heard, observed and is competent to testify regarding the statements attributed to CARMICHAEL concerning the press conference held 4/7/68 at Ed Murphy's Supper Club.

LEADS

WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE

AT WASHINGTON, D.C.

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1. Will interview [redacted] upon his return to the WDC area.
2. WFO is attempting to locate additional witnesses of CARMICHAEL's statements and activities during the pertinent period with particular emphasis on his activities in the 14th Street, N.W. area and on statements made at Howard University.
3. Contact is also being made with appropriate news media to obtain witnesses and/or tapes of any statements by CARMICHAEL.

**UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-03-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

Copy to: **U.S. Attorney**

b7C.

Report of:

SA [REDACTED]

Office: **Washington Field**

Date:

4/8/68

Field Office File No.:

62-9737

Bureau File No.:

Title:

STOKELY CARMICHAEL**INCITING TO RIOT - MISCELLANEOUS**

Character:

Synopsis:

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, age 26, former National Chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), on the evening of 4/4/68, after the assassination of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., led a group of some 15 - 20 young Negroes from the area of SNCC headquarters, 2208 14th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., to the vicinity of 14th and U Streets, N.W., Washington, D.C. CARMICHAEL and this group requested store managers in the vicinity to close their stores in respect for KING's death. This group swelled in number as it moved north on 14th St. Upon reaching the vicinity of 14th and Chapin Sts., N.W., CARMICHAEL told the group, "If you don't have a gun, go home and get one," and thereafter exhibited a small caliber handgun to the crowd. One of the members of this group then fired two shots from a handgun into the air, at which time CARMICHAEL rebuked this individual by saying, "This is not the time." The mood of the people reportedly became increasingly hostile and subsequently the crowd fragmented and moved in different directions, breaking store windows and causing other damage. During the night, fires, looting and other damage occurred in Washington, D.C. CARMICHAEL, at SNCC press conference of 4/5/68, stated "We led all of those young people up and down the streets to close every store." He said, "Now, some of them kicked glass store windows." He added, "But when they get guns, we'll be on the streets." On the afternoon of 4/5/68, CARMICHAEL told a large group on campus at Howard University, after a KING memorial service, that they should not be out on the street for looting that night since, "We mean business. If you don't come out tonight with your gun, stay home." CARMICHAEL, while

WFO 62-9737

making these remarks, was waving a small caliber gun in the air. On 4/7/68, he stated, "Too many niggers were calling for peace," and that he wanted no part of any peace movement. Eight deaths and property damage estimated over 10 million dollars attributed to rioting. CARMICHAEL's identification record set forth with FBI Number 853 121-D.

- P -

WFO 62-9737

CJJ:CMS

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On April 6, 1968, United States Attorney DAVID G. BRESS, and the Attorney General requested an investigation concerning incidents on April 4, 5, and 6, 1968, involving STOKELY CARMICHAEL. The investigation relates to Public Law 90-226, enacted December 27, 1967, 81-Stat. 743. This statute reads as follows:

"Sec. 901. (a) A riot in the District of Columbia is a public disturbance involving an assemblage of five or more persons which by tumultuous and violent conduct or the threat thereof create grave danger of damage or injury to property or persons.

"(b) Whoever willfully engages in a riot in the District of Columbia shall be punished by imprisonment for not more than one year or a fine of not more than \$1,000, or both.

"(c) Whoever willfully incites or urges other persons to engage in a riot shall be punished by imprisonment for not more than one year or a fine of not more than \$1,000, or both.

"(d) If in the course and as a result of a riot a person suffers serious bodily harm or there is property damage in excess of \$5,000, every person who willfully incited or urged others to engage in the riot shall be punished by imprisonment for not more than ten years or a fine of not more than \$10,000, or both.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 4/8/68b7C
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[redacted] advised that from the period 11 p.m. on April 4, 1968, to noon on April 7, 1968, there had been 334 individuals treated at various hospitals as a result of injuries sustained during and as a result of the riots.

In addition, there were at least eight fatalities which can be attributed to this situation.

On 4/7/68 at Washington, D.C. File # WFO 62-3737

by SA [redacted] EJB Date dictated 4/8/68

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

WFO 62-9737

ECR:MJB

"The Washington Post," a Washington, D.C. daily newspaper, on page A-9, in its issue of April 8, 1968, carried an article reflecting that insurance spokesmen gave a preliminary damage estimate of more than ten million dollars for properties affected during the first 48 hours of rioting in Washington, D.C.

WFO 62-9737

[redacted]
[redacted] Washington, D. C. (WDC), gave the following
signed statement to Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of
Investigation on April 8, 1968:

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Washington, D.C.

April 8, 1968

I, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Washington, D.C. (WDC), voluntarily make the following statement to Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation [REDACTED]

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I know that this statement may be used in a court of law. I have been on [REDACTED] and I was on an undercover assignment on the evening of April 4, 1968, in the vicinity of 14th and U Streets, N.W., WDC.

During my undercover assignment, I was in the headquarters of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) located on the corner of 14th and U Streets, N.W., WDC. Shortly after 8 p.m., approximately fifteen to twenty persons were present in the headquarters of SCLC inasmuch as Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., had been shot in Memphis, Tennessee. At this time I observed Stokely Carmichael sitting quietly in a chair also awaiting the outcome of Dr. King's condition. I can positively identify this individual as Stokely Carmichael because in the past I have had occasion to see and listen to him when he was making speeches throughout the WDC area. In addition to Carmichael, also present at SCLC headquarters were an elderly white couple and a young white male and female and other Negro males and females, both adults and juveniles, whom I cannot identify by name.

Prior to the announcement on the radio that Dr. King was dead, Carmichael appeared to become impatient, got up from his seat, and said something to the effect, "I'm not going to wait for a final verdict. I'm going to get my guys." After Carmichael's departure, the elderly white couple in SCLC headquarters appeared to be frightened and made attempts to leave when a Negro male, whom I could not identify, advised them not to leave inasmuch as they were more welcome at SCLC than was Stokely Carmichael. The couple remained.

Sometime after Carmichael's departure, I departed SCLC and entered the People's Drug Store located next door on 14th Street. In the People's Drug Store there were approximately twenty people listening to a radio news broadcast about Dr. King.

Almost immediately after the announcement that Dr. King had died, Carmichael, accompanied by ten to fifteen young Negro males, entered the People's Drug Store. Carmichael, within earshot of an employee near the front of the store, asked "Where's the manager? We're going to close this store because when Kennedy was shot the businesses were closed and they are going to be closed now that King's dead." Carmichael and the individuals following him then proceeded to the back of the

store and after a few seconds returned and walked outside. b7D
Carmichael left People's Drug Store and [] and
the young Negro males to the southeast corner of 14th and U
Streets. They proceeded south and some of the group entered
various business establishments, requesting them to close, and
continued to Wallach Place, N.W. At this time, they crossed to
the west side of 14th Street and proceeded north, again entering
business establishments for the same purpose. At the intersection
of 14th and U Streets, Carmichael and his followers crossed over
to the northeast corner and proceeded in an easterly direction
on the north side of U Street. Carmichael then entered a
theater in the 1300 block of U Street, N.W. Upon re-appearing,
his group was interspersed by a number of people who were coming
out of the theater at this time. Due to this, it was impossible
to estimate the size of the crowd. While the crowd was gathered
in the vicinity of the theater, a plate glass door was broken;
but I did not observe who had broken it or how it had been
broken. Carmichael stopped and said, "We don't want any
damaging. We just want the stores to close." He then continued
east towards 13th Street and I remained in the vicinity of the
theater. Shortly thereafter, Carmichael returned and then
proceeded in a westerly direction on the north side of U
Street, and when he and his group arrived at the intersection
of 14th and U Streets, they proceeded to the side where People's
Drug Store is located (west side of 14th Street) and walked
north.

At this time I observed no other destruction of property or any looting in the general area of 14th and U Streets.

I then left Carmichael and the group with him and made a phone call to the 13th Precinct, MPD. When I returned, the group and Carmichael were at the intersection of 14th and W Streets, N.W. As they went north on 14th Street, the crowd appeared to be approximately 200 in number and as they passed business establishments, I was at the rear of the crowd and noticed windows broken at a television and radio store along the route. Carmichael at this time was at the front of the crowd. They then proceeded to the 2400 block of 14th Street, which is located between Belmont and Chapin Streets, N.W. At the corner of 14th and Chapin, Carmichael stopped and the crowd stopped behind him. As he faced the gathering, a Negro male described as five feet ten inches, 180 to 195 pounds, approximately thirty years of age, heavy set, and wearing his hair in natural bush style, approached Carmichael and said something to the effect that he was wrong in what he was doing. Carmichael turned to this individual and asked him, "Do you have your gun?" The individual replied, "No," and Carmichael then said, "Well, I have mine." At this time Carmichael removed a small caliber handgun which appeared to be a .32 caliber from inside his waist-

band and held this weapon above his head. After this, Carmichael turned and began walking south on 14th Street, on the west side, and the group, which had been with him, began going in different directions. It appeared he had no control of them. At this time I heard two shots fired, and I then observed windows being broken in a Safeway store located on the east side of 14th Street in the 2400 block. I also observed that windows of Eddie Leonard's Sandwich Shop and the Belmont Radio and Television Shop, both located on the west side of 14th Street within the 2400 block, were broken. During this period I noticed that two white males in a blue Volkswagen, who were parked in an alleyway behind Eddie Leonard's, were attacked by stones and other flying objects which hit the car as they attempted to leave the area. I further saw a Negro couple sitting in a car on the ^{EAST SIDE OF} ~~corner of Chapin and~~ 14th Streets, when someone hit the windshield with a rake, smashing it and causing the Negro female to fall on the seat for protection.

On April 5, 1968, I was on the campus of Howard University, WDC, at approximately 1:30 p.m. A group of students numbering between 500 - 700 were gathered near the steps of Douglas Hall, where they were being addressed by a small group of young people concerning the death of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

Stokely Carmichael appeared through the crowd and walked to the steps of Douglas Hall. He then addressed the crowd by saying, "They should not have killed Dr. King. They have killed the wrong man, they should have killed me." He further stated, "Do not be out on the streets for looting tonight. We mean business. If you don't come out tonight with your gun, stay home." While making these remarks, Carmichael waved a small caliber gun. His appearance before the group was very short in duration and at the conclusion of the above remarks, he was observed leaving the campus.

Prior to Carmichael's appearance the mood of the crowd appeared very hostile, and when he (Carmichael) left, I heard voices in the crowd saying in effect, "Do you have your gun?" "I have mine or I wish I had mine."

During the time Carmichael made his statement I could not identify any person within the crowd, however, on the steps of Douglas Hall from which he spoke, I recognized (First Name Unknown) [redacted] both Negro males. DC

I then left the area and returned to the 13th Precinct, prior to departing I observed no fires in the immediate area where Carmichael had traveled.

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I have read this statement, consisting of this
and six other pages, and I believe it to be true and correct.

[Redacted]

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Witnessed:

[Redacted]

b7C

[Redacted]

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/7/68

[redacted]
[redacted] was interviewed at [redacted]
[redacted] Washington, D.C. [redacted] furnished the
following information:

He resides at [redacted] Washington, D.C.
(Takoma Park), telephone [redacted] He is 37 years of age, is
married and has four dependent children.

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He has been employed in his present capacity at [redacted]
[redacted] for approximately one year.. His primary interest
is in [redacted] and he hopes to get a position in [redacted]
[redacted] He has had experience in [redacted]
[redacted]

He stated that at the present time [redacted]
has no [redacted] in the Washington Office, and since he
is the [redacted] in the office, he has been [redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]

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Following the news of the assassination of Dr.
MARTIN LUTHER KING on the early evening of April 4, 1968, he
went out to the vicinity of 14th and U Streets, NW. At
approximately 9:20 p.m., he observed STOKELY CARMICHAEL, whom
he knows by sight, in the vicinity of 2208 14th Street, N.W.,
which is the current office of the Student Non-Violent
Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

CARMICHAEL began walking south on the west side of
14th Street and a group of male Negro teen-agers, estimated by
[redacted] as being 15 - 20 in number, followed CARMICHAEL. The
mood of the people on the street was militant as exemplified by
common expressions overheard, such as "Kill Whitey," "Get the
Honky," "Whitey Killed KING," and "The Honky killed KING."

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b7D

On 4/6/68 at Washington, D.C. File # WFO 100-43503

SAs [redacted] b7C
[redacted] ERW/MJB Date dictated 4/7/68

[redacted] joined the group which followed CARMICHAEL south on 14th Street. As he caught up with the group, he noted CARMICHAEL entering the business establishments along 14th Street and emerging a few seconds later. He reached CARMICHAEL's immediate proximity as CARMICHAEL entered a beauty salon near the Safeway food store at the corner of 14th and U Streets, N.W. [redacted] heard CARMICHAEL say to the shop manager, "KING is dead." He asked the manager to close the shop. [redacted] noted at this point that CARMICHAEL appeared to be highly emotional, maintaining a constant frown on his face, and tears appeared from time to time in his eyes.

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In the middle of the intersection at 14th and U Streets, N.W., CARMICHAEL encountered [redacted] who appeared to be in a state of shock, and who held CARMICHAEL by the arm and said, "Look what they have done to Dr. KING." CARMICHAEL, in his state of emotionalism, raised his hands with bowed head in complete disgust. [redacted] separated from CARMICHAEL.

By this time the crowd had swelled to several hundred people, consisting of both juveniles and adults, males and females, most of whom appeared to be discussing and mourning the assassination of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING.

[redacted] stated that CARMICHAEL then proceeded west on the north side of U Street requesting people to close their businesses out of respect for the death of Dr. KING. He went as far as the Lincoln Theater located in the 1300 block of U Street, N.W. At this point a group of teen-agers at that location approximated 40 in number. A portion of the teen-agers continued east on U Street as far as the Republic Theater, which is in the 1200 block of U Street. As they proceeded along, they too were entering businesses, and it was [redacted] opinion that they were asking proprietors to close their businesses out of respect for the death of Dr. KING.

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[redacted] temporarily lost sight of CARMICHAEL, and a few minutes later he again observed him at 14th and U Streets, N.W. At this time CARMICHAEL and a group of approximately 25 teen-agers, whose ages [redacted] estimated at 13 to 17 years of age, proceeded north on the west side of 14th Street. After crossing the intersection at 14th and Florida, N.W., CARMICHAEL again began entering business establishments on the west side of 14th Street asking proprietors to close.

In the 2400 block of 14th Street (between Belmont and Chapin Streets, N.W.), CARMICHAEL stopped and addressed the teen-agers who still numbered approximately 25. [] recalls CARMICHAEL saying, "The white man is coming to kill you, so if you don't have a gun, go home and get one. I Don't want any blk blood in the street."

Someone in the crowd asked CARMICHAEL if he had his (CARMICHAEL's) gun and CARMICHAEL replied by displaying a small caliber weapon which he had been carrying.

[] stated that [] account of these statements which were made by CARMICHAEL reflected that the crowd at that point numbered approximately 400. He stated that he had not reported to [] that any crowd numbered 400 until some time after he had first reported CARMICHAEL's statements to the crowd of 25; and that when the crowd had swelled to 400, CARMICHAEL had not assumed any position of leadership.

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[] advised that when CARMICHAEL made the statements concerning the guns to the teen-agers, he [] observed two individuals with CARMICHAEL whom he interpreted to be "aides." He gave the following description of these two individuals:

1. A Negro male, approximately 6'2" tall, weighing approximately 200 pounds, 25 years of age, brown complexion, wearing blue jeans and a short-waisted blue jacket. His hair was long and worn in a natural bush style, with receding hairline and slightly balding.
2. A Negro male, approximately 25 years of age, weighing 170 pounds, short and stocky in build, 5'5" - 5'7" tall. He wore a green military jacket with dark pants. His hair was extremely long and worn in a natural bush style.

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After speaking to this group, CARMICHAEL proceeded south on 14th Street. As the group followed, [] overheard two Negro teen-agers, between 15 and 17 years of age, ask one another if the other had a gun. One replied that he did, and he drew a handgun from under his jacket, and fired two shots into the air.

When CARMICHAEL heard the shots, he immediately stopped and told the youngster to put the gun away, because "This is not the time."

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WFO 100-43503

CARMICHAEL returned to the 2100 block of 14th Street and remained there with his two "aides."

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The mood of the people in the area had become increasingly hostile and [] heard glass breaking and commotion in the vicinity of the Peoples Drug at 14th and U Streets, N.W. (2000 block of 14th Street, N.W.) Inasmuch as his assignment was to cover the racial disturbances, he shifted his attention from CARMICHAEL to the outburst.

[] stated that he then telephoned [] the activities surrounding CARMICHAEL and that when he returned to the intersection of 14th and U Streets, N.W., he noted that the crowd had swelled to approximately 400 in number.

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When the edition of "The New York Times" of April 5, 1968, came out, with the account of the activities in Washington, D.C., it was noted that the Times account which was based on the facts that [] had telephoned in were somewhat dissimilar with the account of that evening's events that appeared in the "Washington Post." [] stated that [] had contacted the "Washington Post" concerning the differences in the two accounts of the facts, and that the "Washington Post" had confirmed that [] account was factual.

In response to a specific question, [] emphatically stated that he would not testify concerning this matter.

The

New York

Times

THE NEW YORK TIMES, FRIDAY, APRIL 5, 1968

NEW YORK, FRIDAY, APRIL 5, 1968

LOOTING ERUPTS IN WASHINGTON

Looting in Washington

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 4—Vandalism and looting, led openly by Stokely Carmichael, the militant black nationalist, erupted tonight in a small area of Washington's Negro section within hours after the death of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

Carmichael, the former chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, rejected pleas to avoid trouble by the Rev. Walter E. Fauntroy, vice chairman of the District of Columbia's City Council and a close associate of Dr. King's.

[Clashes between groups of Negroes and the police were reported in scattered sections of the country after the assassination of Dr. King.]

Carmichael told about 400 Negroes to "go home and get your guns."

There were reports of looting.

Continued on Page 26, Column 5

Continued From Page 1, Col. 7

ing, and some shouting in the air but the police said no one had been shot. Traffic was diverted from the troubled area.

There were apparently no immediate attempts to arrest Carmichael or anyone else in the unruly group. At 11 P.M., however, the police were forming a cordon to make sweep of the area. They had orders to arrest anyone who failed to move on.

"If you don't have a gun, go home," Carmichael shouted to a group of Negro youths at 14th and U Streets, N.W., in the heart of the commercial section of Washington's Negro slum.

"When the white man comes, he is coming to kill you," Carmichael yelled. "I don't want any black blood in the street. Go home and get you a gun and then come back because I got mea gun."

He then brandished what appeared to be a small pistol.

As he did so, a slight Negro youth, perhaps 15 years old, fired two shots into the air from a pearl-handled pistol. The reports startled the crowd into silence. But Carmichael quickly added:

"Don't shoot unless everybody's got their gun."

In the crowd there were cries of "I got my gun—you got your gun?"

At one point, three special policemen, all Negroes, pulled up in a car in front of the crowd and jumped to the curb with drawn guns. With his hands raised, Carmichael approached them and remonstrated with them. As a crowd gathered, the special policemen returned to their car and drove away.

Trouble Began at 9 P.M.

The trouble on 14th Street started at about 9 P.M., as President Johnson was making his televised address from the White House. Carmichael led a group of Negroes—no more than 50 at first—south on 14th Street shouting, "Close the stores—Martin Luther King is dead."

The group, gathering manpower as it moved, entered two motion picture theaters, the Lincoln and the Republic, on U Street N.W. Mr. Carmichael demanded that they close immediately. The startled patrons apparently did not know that Dr. King was dead.

As the crowd—now about 200 persons—moved south from U Street, about a mile north of the White House, Negro beauty shops, drug and liquor stores and pool halls along rain-drenched 14th Street closed their doors.

The looting, confined to a two-block area north and south of 14th and U Streets—Washington's equivalent of 125th Street and Amsterdam Avenue—broke out about an hour after the march began.

A reporter on the scene saw Negro youths smash the windows of a Peoples Drug Store, a pawnshop, a liquor store and two electrical appliance stores, enter the stores and run off with piles of merchandise, including at least 25 television sets.

Uniformed city policemen were ordered to stay clear of the area but plainclothes officers began moving in as the looters fled.

400 in the Area

Perhaps 400 persons filled the two-block section of 14th Street while the looting went on. As they ran, they shouted "Baep. Baep. black power" and "Go home and get a gun."

The confrontation between

Carmichael and Mr. Fauntroy, pastor of the New Bethel Church who is director of the Washington Bureau of Dr. King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference, was dramatic.

Mr. Fauntroy, a slightly built moredate who has been severely criticised in Congress for maintaining close contact with Carmichael during the planning for Dr. King's Poor People's Campaign in Washington, approached the youthful Negro militant as he led about 100 marchers.

"Please don't make any trouble," Mr. Fauntroy said, seeking to grasp Carmichael's arm. Throwing both of his arms into the air, Carmichael symbolically rejected the clergyman's plea by shouting "They killed King."

The marchers moved on. Mr. Fauntroy, apparently near tears, later appeared on local television stations appealing to citizens to stay at home.

Brief clashes between Negroes and the police broke out in scattered sections of the country last after the assassination of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

In Raleigh, N. C., the police clashed with a group of about 75 young Negro students from Shaw University, a Negro school, who invaded the city's main business street and overturned automobiles and smashed store windows.

A similar incident was reported in Boston. In Memphis, where the Negro leader was slain, Police Chief Frank Hollo-

man went on television to report that rioting has broken out in parts of the city and looting was taking place. "Looting is rampant," he said. The National Guard is coming back.

The

Washington

Post

Times Herald

FRIDAY, APRIL 5, 1968

King

Assassinated

in Memphis

Shouting Crowds

Smash Stores

in District

Tense Crowd of Hundreds Smashes Inner-City Stores Here

14th St. Area Is Sealed Off

Tense, milling crowds of Negroes—angered by the slaying of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King—swarmed along 14th Street's inner-city strip last night and early today, wrecking and looting stores and heckling policemen.

Hundreds of people in clusters, at first embittered, moved haphazardly through the area and baited police into the use of tear gas at one major fire. It started as a parade that Stokely Carmichael and others began and later could not control.

At 12:30 a.m. four to five hours after it began, Public Director Patrick V. Murphy reported "some success in urging people to go home . . . the officers are talking to as many people as possible telling them to go home."

Murphy said the cautious pullback of police during the scattered disturbances was planned to avoid direct confrontations and to await the arrival of "sufficient men to move."

By 12:45 a.m. police had closed 14th Street from Spring Road to N Street.

A major confrontation between police and a crowd developed shortly before 1 a.m., when a large fire broke out at Steelman's Liquors, 2746 14th st. nw.—one of five "sizable fires" reported.

A fresh wave of heckling people pelted firefighters, and gas-masked police released tear gas and pulled out their night sticks and pistols to move the crowd down the block away from the flames.

After midnight, reporters noted carloads of youths roaming outside the sealed-off 14th street strip area. Window breakage occurred at such widely scattered spots as Georgia Avenue and Princeton Street, Georgia Avenue and Irving Street, Florida Avenue and 7th Street, Florida and 9th, and Mount Pleasant and Lamont Streets. A window was broken at Hecht's at 7th and F Street and at D. J. Kauffman's, in the 1000 block of D Street. Looting occurred in some cases.

Shortly after 1 a.m. today, the 8 a.m. to 4 p.m. shift of policemen was called to duty, putting all three shifts on the street.

Three policemen and one fireman were reported to have suffered minor injuries during the course of the night.

The night's raucous activity—neither under control nor completely out of hand—was contained largely by police in a 19-block narrow strip along 14th Street.

Police worked to seal off the area from Park Road to R Street and from 14th to 18th Streets nw.

But before it was over, a large number of stores had been ravaged by bands of people—a great number of them youths—and occasional arrests had been made. By midnight, police had arrested 30 persons.

An informal command post

See MOOD, A3, Col. 1

MOOD, From A1

was set up at the 13th Precinct station house, with Mayor Walter E. Washington, Licenses and Inspections Chief Julian R. Dugas, Police Chief John B. Layton, the Rev. Walter E. Fauntroy, vice chairman of the City Council, and Clinton Mitchell of the city's Human Relations Council in constant conference.

Walter E. Washington, Public Safety Director Patrick V. Murphy, Licenses and Inspections Chief Julian R. Dugas, Police Chief John B. Layton, the Rev. Walter E. Fauntroy, vice chairman of the City Council, and Clinton Mitchell of the city's Human Relations Council in constant conference.

The incidents began to erupt shortly after the news of Dr. King's assassination spread through the streets, by radio and word of mouth. A group of about 15 people gathered at Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee headquarters, 2208 14th st. nw.

At first there were tears, and Lester McKinnie, local SNNC leader called quickly for "a period to react to this great tragedy."

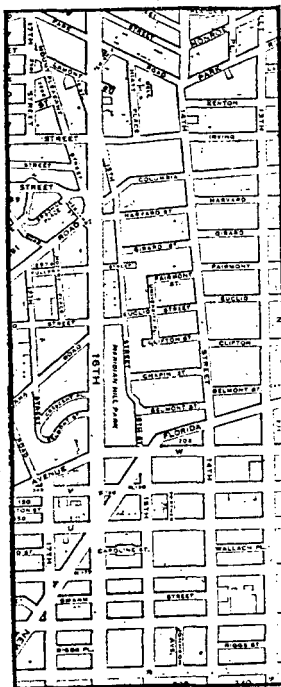
Carmichael burst in to suggest that the group close down the area's stores out of respect for Dr. King. "If Kennedy had died, all these stores would have closed," he said. "Martin Luther King is our leader and we are going to show him some respect."

As the small band began shouting its request to store owners along the way—and many answered them quickly by turning off lights and closing doors—the number of people began to swell.

As it did, quiet respect and polite requests turned to angry shouts, broken windows, more looting and calls for extra policemen to handle an uglier mood that began to overtake the impromptu march.

As windows of stores cracked and TV sets and other appliances were yanked out of stores, Carmichael shouted, "No, no! Not now, not now!" He ordered the looters he saw to "Go home, go home."

Near 14th and W Streets, Mr. Fauntroy appeared and attempted to persuade the people to break it up. "This is



April 5, 1968 The Washington Post
Affected Area.

not the way to do it, Stokely, this is not the way," he said, gently holding Carmichael's arm.

But Carmichael pulled away and continued the zig-zagging parade, yelling at more store owners to close down.

As the group moved down from 14th and Clifton Streets back toward SNCC, two gunshots were fired, and Carmichael grabbed one gun from a man, saying, "None of this, none of this."

At one point, he pulled out a gun himself, waved it, told

people he was ready but they were not and not to do anything until they were, to wait through the night, to go home.

Someone in the cluster yelled back, "We don't have no leader. We lost our leader."

"You won't get one like this," Carmichael yelled back. "You'll just get shot."

Among stores in the 2000 block of 14th Street that were damaged were a carryout, a TV repair shop, a hardware store, and a dress shop.

Police initially stayed clear of the immediate area, following Public Safety Director Patrick V. Murphy's on-the-street order to "keep cool" and pull away from any imminent confrontation.

At 10:40 p.m., police moved to detour northbound traffic around the area where the crowd had gathered, sending cars west on R Street. Sporadically, windows of cars were cracked by flying debris.

At about 11:10 p.m. police, including the Civil Disturbance Unit, were ordered to begin moving in and disperse the crowd and make arrests, if necessary. The command came as a steady rain began.

By then, about 40 stores had been reported looted, ranging from the 1900 block to the 2400 block of 14th Street, and some side streets.

A car in a lot at 14th and Chapin Streets nw., was set afire.

As the milling continued in the rain, Mr. Fauntroy traveled from one television station to another, appealing for calm, asking "black brothers and sisters" to "handle our grief in the spirit of nonviolence."

He implored people to stay home and pray.

McKinnie issued a call for a general strike today "of all black people."

In this way, he declared, "we can all begin to analyse what this racist, imperialist country is doing to us."

"We are urging all SNCC offices throughout the country to encourage general strikes in their areas that we may grieve the tragedy of Dr. King's death, because he is flesh of our flesh and blood of our blood."

By 11:15, Layton advised Mayor Washington that the incidents had localized in the hub of 14th and U Streets and he felt the situation was coming under control.

He gave this report as eight squad cars and two buses of tactical squad members moved in to the area.

At 11 p.m., Mayor Washington issued a statement on the disturbances, which he said were "localized in the area of 14th Street nw." He added: "There has been some property damage. The situation appears under control and it is expected that police on hand will retain control of the situation."

"I have been in continuous touch with the situation and I urge the citizens of the Dis-

trict to pull together during these tragic times."

Detectives on the midnight-to-8 a.m. shift, called in an hour early to help clear the area, were instructed to disperse the crowd. About 40 footmen joined in the patrol.

Looting continued around Florida Avenue, with some liquor stores victimized.

A small outbreak of window-breaking occurred around 7th Street and Florida Avenue nw. The disturbance was quickly quieted by police who came in four cruisers and a patrol wagon.

Windows were broken at Manhattan Auto, 7th and R Street nw., Quality Music Store, at 1836 7th st. nw., and a shoe store nearby.

A midnight memorial service was called at St. Stephen and the Incarnation Episcopal Church, 16th and Newton Streets nw., with Episcopal Suffragan Bishop Paul Moore officiating.

Meanwhile, other community leaders were hastily gathered to plan still other memorial services and statements to the community.

Mayor Washington called Dr. King's death "a grievous loss to the entire Nation and all humanity."

The Interreligious Committee on Race Relations, headed by Methodist Bishop John Wesley Lord, and the Washington Cathedral set a special, "simple interreligious memorial service" for noon today at the Cathedral, for all residents.

Bishop Lord said his Committee was "stunned by the mad act of violence" that brought Dr. King's life to an end "we must now enter more completely into his labors."

Patrick Cardinal O'Boyle, archbishop of Washington, called, too, for renewed efforts

at understanding among peoples.

Terming Dr. King "an apostle of nonviolence" who "advanced the cause of justice for millions," the Cardinal said, "We shall honor his memory by striving constantly to achieve the goals for which he gave his life."

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/8/68

[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted] was interviewed at his office this date and furnished the following information:

[redacted] stated for professional reasons, he is generally known as [redacted]. He stated that at approximately 11:00 AM, Thursday, April 4, 1968, he received a telephone call from an unknown woman at the headquarters of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) who advised him there was a press conference scheduled for the following day, Friday, April 5, 1968, at 10 AM, at which time STOKELY CARMICHAEL would discuss matters relating to [redacted]. [redacted] said he did not have any further notification from SNCC but early Friday morning, April 5, 1968, a message came over the United Press International Wire Service that the conference scheduled at SNCC headquarters would relate to the death of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

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[redacted] advised he attended the press conference at 10 AM, Friday, April 5, 1968, at SNCC headquarters and noted there were approximately 25 - 30 reporters present including representatives of all the major news media services.

He said the press conference lasted approximately 30 minutes and the only speakers were LESTER MC KINNIE and STOKELY CARMICHAEL. [redacted] advised he had tape recording equipment with him and made a tape recording of the entire proceedings, including all the comments of MC KINNIE and CARMICHAEL, however, he since had erased the tape and did not now have it available. [redacted] recalled MC KINNIE started the news conference off, primarily directing his comments to reporters and instructing them

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On 4/8/68 at Washington, D.C. File # 150 62-9732
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by SAs [redacted] Date dictated 4/8/68
[redacted] CEC:llv

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WFO 62-9732

that immediately following the press conference they must get their gear out of the premises quickly. MC KINNIE thereafter introduced CARMICHAEL.

[] stated CARMICHAEL first eulogized Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., and commented that they shouldn't have killed him as Dr. KING was the only non-violent person left in the movement. CARMICHAEL related it would have been better if it had been RAP BROWN or STOKELY CARMICHAEL killed instead of KING. [] recalled CARMICHAEL went on to tell the people he did not want people coming out on the streets just to ramble around and that it would be better for them to stay inside but if the people did come out of the house, they should come out with guns.

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[] also recalled CARMICHAEL mentioned he had told some of the kids on the streets to go home on Thursday night (April 4, 1968) as the kids were just roaming around the streets and looting the stores.

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WFO 62-9737

WWH:CMS

1

A press conference was called for 10:00 a.m., April 5, 1968, by the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) to be held at SNCC Headquarters, 2208 14th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

The following is a transcript of a tape recording of remarks made at the press conference prepared by [redacted] at the above time and location:

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Commentator: I want you people to listen clearly. This press conference will be only five minutes. And...as soon as the press conference is over, you gentlemen will not leave anything in here that you didn't bring in here. Your films, your cigarette butts, you take them with you. If you waste any water you have to clean it up. Ah...we will have a few questions...of two minutes questions. To my right, extreme right, is Mr. CLEVELAND SELLERS, Director of the Orangeburg, South Carolina, project of SNCC. To my right here, immediate right, is STOKELY CARMICHAEL, who is on staff here in Washington, D.C. And to my left is Mr. WILLIAM HALL, who is also a member of the staff in Washington. And LESTER MC KINNIE, Director of the Washington SNCC office. Mr. CARMICHAEL will speak to you for five minutes.

CARMICHAEL: As you may or may not know, this press conference was called before Dr. KING was murdered. We called it then to deal with our Brother RAP BROWN because we were very upset that Brother BROWN had been in jail for 41 days and Governor AGNEW of Maryland still seems to persist with his nonsensical charge and so the Brother can't get out of jail. Now we want the Brother out of jail..ah..next week when he comes to trial. Now, as to Dr. KING's murder, I think white America made its biggest mistake when she killed Dr. KING last night because when she killed Dr. KING last night, she killed all reasonable hope. When she killed Dr. KING last night, she killed the one man of our race in this country, in the older generation, which the militants and also

CARMICHAEL:
(contd')

the revolutionaries and the masses of black people, would still listen to, even though sometimes he did not disagree..ah..(interrupts and says)..agree with them they would still listen to him. When - When white America killed Dr. KING last night, she opened the eyes for every black man in this country. When white America got rid of MARCUS GARVEY (phonetic), she did it and she said he was an extremist, he was crazy. When they got rid of Brother MALCOLM X, they said he was preaching hate, he deserved what he got. But when they got rid of Brother MARTIN LUTHER KING, they had absolutely no reason to do so. He was the one man in our race who was trying to teach our people to have love, compassion, and mercy for what white people have done. When white America killed Dr. KING last night, she declared war on us. There will be no crying, there will be no funerals. The rebellions that have been occurring around the cities of this country is just light stuff to what is about to happen. We have to retaliate for the death of our leaders. The execution of those deaths will not be in the courtrooms...they are going to be on the streets of the United States of America. When white America killed Dr. KING last night, she made a whole lot easier for a whole lot of black people today. They no longer needs to be intellectual discussions...black people know that they have to get guns. White America will live to cry that she killed Dr. KING last night. It would have been better if she had killed RAP BROWN and/or STOKELY CARMICHAEL. But when she killed Dr. KING, she lost. That's it.

Unidentified: Before any question, I would like to give one statement from the organization. We the students of the Non-Violent Coordinate Committee wish to extend our condolences to the family of the late Reverend MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., who was brutally murdered today in Memphis, Tennessee. In his death there is a lesson which white America has taught us many times before. This lesson was clear in the murder of our four brothers in Orangeburg. This lesson was clear in the murder

Unidentified: of a 16-year-old, LARRY PAYNE (phonetic) in
(cont'd) Memphis. This lesson is clear in the day-to-day torture of black people by white people in America and throughout the world. It was to end this torture that Dr. KING bravely faced death many times, non-violently. Dr. KING was a brother who dedicated his life to liberate his peoples through non-violence. Dr. KING was a symbol of non-violence and white America shot him down.

CARMICHAEL: There is one last comment about these new things - about last night. We will tell you where we were last night. Last night, we led all of those youngsters up and down the streets to close every store in this area because Dr. KING was shot and they should have closed those stores. Now, some of them kicked glass store windows in. We are not stopping them from kicking in the store windows. We are stopping them from coming out on the streets without guns. When they come out on the streets, we want them with guns. If they don't have guns, we're not gonna let 'em throw bricks and bottles at guns. But when they get guns, we'll be on the streets.

Unidentified: Question (me) if you have any questions.

Unidentified Reporter: Mr. CARMICHAEL, don't you believe the vast majority of Americans feel just as badly as you do about what happened in Memphis?

CARMICHAEL: The white press and that's from "honkey" LYNDON JOHNSON to "honkey" BOBBY KENNEDY will not co-opt (phonetic) Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING. Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING fought for his people. It was not but four weeks ago when JOHNSON told KING that if he came marching into the District, he would meet a force because he should bring his troubles to him. And now tonight he is trying to make as if Dr. KING was his hero. He fools no one. BOBBY KENNEDY pulled that

CARMICHAEL:
(cont'd)

trigger just as well as anybody else. Because when Dr. KING was down in the South and BOBBY KENNEDY was Attorney General, every time a black person got killed, KENNEDY would not move because he wanted votes so he is just as guilty...all of white America killed Dr. KING. And those who feel sorry ought to feel sorry.

Unidentified
Reporter:

Mr. CARMICHAEL, what do you intend to do... what action do you intend to take relative to RAP BROWN and your intent to get him out of jail.

CARMICHAEL:

We decided at our central committee meeting that if Maryland persists with this (nonsensical) charge, even though the reports said that RAP did not incite any riot in Cambridge. Well then Governor AGNEW, he ain't seen nothing if he thinks he saw something on that Bowie State thing. We will take our troops back into Maryland and all of us are veterans from Cambridge, Maryland, and from Baltimore, Maryland, and we will turn that State inside out and upside down. And we've got Louisiana to get. We've got some brothers working in Florida. We've got some brothers working in Ohio and we are gonna get Richmond, Virginia.

Unidentified
Reporter:

Mr. CARMICHAEL, what do you think will happen to the poor people's campaign now?

CARMICHAEL:

I understand that the Southern Christian Leadership Conference will carry it on and as we said before we will be glad to give them any support. Whatever Southern Christian Leadership Conference asks for today, we will give to them. Except our tears. We will give no more tears for any black man killed in this country.

Unidentified
Reporter:

Mr. CARMICHAEL, do you see anybody replacing Dr. KING as a non-violent leader?

CARMICHAEL: No, that's why America lost when she shot him down last night.

Unidentified
Reporter:
(Woman)

Mr. CARMICHAEL, is there any truth to the rumor that you are going to call a general strike here in town?

CARMICHAEL: We are waiting for what the Southern Christian Leadership Conference wants us to do.

Unidentified
Reporter:

What you say the execution of those deaths will be, not in the courtroom, but in the streets, can you be a little more specific about the course of action you expect?

CARMICHAEL: I think that is quite explicit.

Unidentified
Reporter:

Do you expect an organized rebellion?

CARMICHAEL: I think it is quite explicit.

Unidentified
Reporter:

Mr. CARMICHAEL, suppose a lot of black people have to die...(garbled). (What would it do to please you--This is thought what the reporter said.)

CARMICHAEL: That they take as many white people with them as they can.

Unidentified
Reporter:

Yes, but what about the black people who have to die?

CARMICHAEL:

Ah...we die every day. We die in Vietnam for the "honkeys", why don't we come home and die in the streets for our people. We die everyday. We die cutting and fighting each other inside our own communities. Why cut and fight each other and kill each other off? Let's kill off the real enemy. Black people are not afraid to die. We die all the time. We die in your jails, we die in your ghettos, we die in your rat infested homes. We die a thousand deaths every day. So we are not afraid to die. Today we are going to die for our people.

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Unidentified
Commentator:

I would like to say this before we have any more questions, that on Monday our Chairman, H. RAP BROWN, will be in Richmond, Virginia, according to "honkey", Federal Government, and there will be a car caravan from all directions leading to Richmond, Virginia, on Monday morning. We are urging all our black brothers and sisters to come to Richmond.

Unidentified
Reporter:

Mr. CARMICHAEL, what is the alternative to the kind of retribution in the streets that you are talking about? Is there any way to stop it?

CARMICHAEL:

I don't think so. I do not think so. I think white America is incapable of dealing with the problem.

Unidentified
Reporter:

How will Dr. KING's death affect your leadership as you see it, Mr. CARMICHAEL?

CARMICHAEL:

Well, Dr. KING's death will not affect my leadership or affect me as a black man. Because he was my brother, flesh of my flesh and blood of my blood. You see, the mistake they made when they shot Dr. KING was even though Dr. KING talked about non-violence he was always in the streets. Ready to lead a demonstration. All of the other so-called leaders who are...talk about non-violence are not on the streets with their people. Many people respected Dr. KING even though they didn't agree with his philosophy cause at least he was in the streets. So now there is really no one else to respect who talks about non-violence because the people who talk about non-violence are not in the streets.

Unidentified
Reporter:

Mr. CARMICHAEL, are you declaring war on White America?

CARMICHAEL: White America has declared war on black people. She did so when she sold the first black man from Africa. The black man has been sufficient, has been patient, has been resisting and today the final showdown is coming. That is clear. That is crystal clear. And that black people are going to have to find ways to survive. The only way to survive is to get some guns. Cause that is the only way white America keeps us in check is because she's got the guns.

Unidentified Reporter: STOKELY, What do you see this ultimately leading to? A blood bath in which nobody wins?

CARMICHAEL: First, my name is Mr. CARMICHAEL, and secondly, black people will survive America.

Unidentified Commentator: Last question.

Unidentified Reporter: What accomplishment or objectives do you visualize from the retaliation that you speak? What do you think you will accomplish?

CARMICHAEL: If black man can't do nothing in this country then we gonna stand up on our feet and die like men. If that is our only act of manhood then GOD DAMMIT we gonna die. We're tired of living on our stomachs.

Unidentified Reporter: Do you fear for your life?

CARMICHAEL: Hell with my life. You should fear for yours. I know I am gonna die. I know I am gonna die. (Applause)

Unidentified Commentator: There is still a possibility that there will be a general strike throughout the United States. So that our black brothers and sisters can take off that day from their slavery and working for the master and to think about and to re-analyze what the "honkeys" are doing to the black people in this country and me. And perhaps then something can be done. That is the end of the press conference.

Carmichael Warns of 'Retaliation'

By Phil Casey

Washington Post Staff Writer

Black power spokesman Stokely Carmichael said yesterday "white America is incapable of dealing with the (race) problem" and warned of increasing violence in the streets.

He spoke first at a news conference in the headquarters of the New School of Afro-American Thought at 2208 14th st. nw. and appeared later at a Howard University rally.

Speaking softly at his news conference, Carmichael told the newsmen, "When white America killed Dr. King last

night she declared war on us . . . We have to retaliate for the deaths of our leaders. The executions of those deaths will not be in the courtrooms. They're going to be in the streets of the United States of America . . ."

He went on to say: "The kind of man that killed Dr. King last night made it a whole lot easier for a whole lot of black people today. There no longer needs to be intellectual discussions. Black people know that they have to get guns. White America will live to cry since she killed Dr. King last night. It would have been better if she had killed Rap Brown and/or Stokely Carmichael. But when she killed Dr. King, she lost it."

Carmichael termed Dr. King's murder America's "biggest mistake" and added: "When white America killed Dr. King, she opened the eyes of every black man in this country . . . He was the one man in our race who was trying to reach our people to have love, compassion and mercy for what white people had done. When white America killed Dr. King last night, she declared war on us . . ."

It was a strange, and hostile, news conference. Reporters and photographers were searched by two solemn-faced Negroes.

Lester McKinnie, Washington head of SNCC, was stern: "You gentlemen will not leave anything here . . . Your films, cigarette butts, you take them with you."

Carmichael received the press in a small, cluttered rear office.

He spoke always in his usual soft voice and raised it only once, when he was asked if he feared for his life.

"The hell with my life!" he snapped. "You should fear for yours. I know I'm going to die. I know I'm leaving." There was loud applause from his followers.

At one point, in response to a question about Rap Brown, he said that if Maryland persists in its charges against Brown, "we will turn that State inside out and upside down."

The Negroes who die in street violence should "take as many white people with them as then can," he said. "We die every day. We die in Vietnam for the honkies. Why don't we come home and die in the streets for our people? We die

every day. We die cutting and fighting each other inside our own communities. We cut and fight and kill each other off. Let's kill off the real enemies. Black people are not afraid to die. We die all the time. We die in your jails. We die in your ghettos. We die in your rat-infested homes.

"We die a thousand deaths every day. We're not afraid to die, because now we're going to die for our people."

The conflict between the Negroes and whites is the white man's fault, he insisted. "White America has declared war on black people. She did so when she stole the first black man from Africa . . . and today the final showdown is coming . . . That is crystal clear. And black people are going to have to find ways to survive. The only way to survive is to get some guns, because that's the only way white America keeps us in check, because she's got the guns."

His voice rose slightly and there was a note of anguish when he told a reporter what Negroes could accomplish with violence: "The black man can't do nothing in this country, then we're going to stand up on our feet and die like

men. If that's our only act of manhood, then, God damn it, we're going to die. We're tired of living on our stomachs."

(Later, at the Howard University rally, Carmichael rose and chanted over and over, his voice rising, "Stay off the streets tonight, if you don't have a gun because there's going to be shooting." Then he held a revolver over his head.)

At the news conference, he implied that violence is inevi-

table, when he was asked if there was any way to stop it. "I don't think so," he said. I do not think so. I think white America is incapable of dealing with the problem."

And his voice seemed suddenly firm and suddenly sad, when he was asked whether anyone would replace Dr. King.

"No!" he exclaimed. "That's why America lost when she shot him down last night."



United Press International

Carmichael: 'White America has declared war.'

WFO 62-9737

ALA:CMS

1

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[redacted]
[redacted] Washington, D.C., advised SA [redacted]
on April 6, 1968, he did not personally appear at Howard
University, Washington, D.C., on April 5, 1968, when STOKELY
CARMICHAEL spoke to a crowd assembled there. [redacted] was of
the opinion [redacted] attended
this affair.

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[redacted]
Washington, D.C., advised SA [redacted] on April 6, 1968, that
he was at Howard University on April 5, 1968, but is not familiar
with the circumstances surrounding the appearance and comments
made by CARMICHAEL. [redacted] stated that [redacted]
[redacted] was present at Howard University on this
occasion.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/6/681

[redacted] advised he arrived at Howard University at approximately 1:30 p.m., April 5, 1968, and was on the fringe of the crowd when STOKELY CARMICHAEL spoke there. He said the contents of the article appearing in "The Washington Post" newspaper on April 6, 1968, regarding this incident are accurate and he could add nothing to supplement the article. He stated he heard CARMICHAEL speak and saw a dark metal revolver raised in the air but could not definitely state that CARMICHAEL held the gun.

[redacted] declined to meet with Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation for the purpose of confirming his observations at Howard University on the previous day since he personally felt it would compromise his effectiveness as a reporter in the future. He likewise declined to meet with Special Agents to confirm the contents of the article without first discussing the matter with [redacted]

On 4/6/68 at Washington, D.C. File # WFO 62-9737

by SA [redacted] EMS Date dictated 4/6/68

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/6/68

[redacted]
[redacted] advised on this date that about 12:30 p.m., he was at the scene of a fire in a warehouse near the corner of 16th and F Streets, N.E. As he was preparing to make a live report to the station, STOKELY CARMICHAEL approached him and began a conversation.

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[redacted] asked CARMICHAEL if he would care to be interviewed but CARMICHAEL declined. CARMICHAEL then introduced a companion as [redacted] (phonetic) and said that he [redacted] ask the young people to stay at home.

[redacted] began his report and introduced [redacted] who said in substance the following: We have our own Urban Renewal here. We are going to burn down the slums and have a Black Urban Renewal and I think that it is wonderful.

At that point, [redacted] and informed [redacted]

[redacted] said that it did not matter about the job because they were going to take over the rest of the city. [redacted] joked that they would make [redacted] when they took over. [redacted] also made a statement to the effect that the revolution has begun.

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b7D

[redacted] said that the whole conversation lasted about ten minutes. He said that CARMICHAEL appeared on foot in the area and that he did not see any vehicle from which CARMICHAEL might have come.

[redacted] also said that there was a third person with CARMICHAEL, but that he could not identify that person.

On 4/6/68 at Washington, D.C. File # WFO 100-43503

SAs [redacted]

b7C

by [redacted] Date dictated 4/6/68

WFO 100-43503

[redacted] identified a photograph of CARMICHAEL and
described [redacted] as follows:

b7C
b7D

Height:	5 feet 7 inches or 8 inches
Weight:	150 pounds
Hair:	"Natural" hair cut
Characteristics:	Full beard; sunglasses
Attire:	Long dark rain coat, dark trousers and black shoes.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 4/7/68

b7C

A press conference was held at Ed Murphy's Supper Club, 2227 Georgia Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. [redacted]

At approximately 3:10 p.m., STONELY CARMICHAEL, accompanied by [redacted] entered. He told [redacted] that he was not sure if he would participate because, "too many niggers were calling for peace," and he wanted no part of any peace movement.

b7C

[redacted] CARMICHAEL to read a printed text of the statement and CARMICHAEL expressed pleasure with the statement by laughing aloud and a hand slapping gesture with [redacted]

The conference began and CARMICHAEL sat in with the others. Throughout the conference he made no statements. STONE introduced him as the Acting Chairman of the Black United Front.

b7C

After the reading of the statement by STONE before the news cameras, CARMICHAEL excused himself and left. [redacted] left with him. At that time it was 3:24 p.m.

BEST COPY
AVAILABLE

On 4/7/68 at Washington, DC. File # WFO 100-43503
by SA [redacted] WJB Date dictated 4/7/68

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

62-9737

WWH:teb

The files of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Washington, D. C., disclosed STOKELY CARMICHAEL was born June 29, 1941, at Port of Spain, Trinidad, British West Indies. His father, ADOLPHUS STANDIFORD CARMICHAEL, now deceased, was born in Port of Spain, Trinidad, British West Indies (BWI) on February 1, 1913. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] ADOLPHUS STANDIFORD CARMICHAEL on October 7, 1939, at the Port of Spain, Trinidad, BWI. [REDACTED]

b7C

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] ADOLPHUS STANDIFORD CARMICHAEL entered the United States at New York, New York, on July 15, 1946, as a transient to the BWI and on March 28, 1951, an order by the Assistant Commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service that his deportation as a alien who had remained for a longer period than authorized be suspended and that his case be referred to Congress. The suspension was based on a finding of economic detriment to his lawful resident alien wife, should he be deported. A Concurrent Resolution of Congress, CR-29892, approved the action. A record of entry for permanent residence, retroactive to July 15, 1946, was created on January 28, 1952.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL entered the United States for permanent residence on June 15, 1952, and was destined to his father. STOKELY CARMICHAEL automatically became a citizen of the United States on April 27, 1953, the date of the naturalization of his second parent under provisions of Section 321 (a) of the Immigration and Naturalization Act. CARMICHAEL applied for a derivative certificate of citizenship and after being interviewed with his parents, was issued Certificate A338082 on April 17, 1958, by Immigration and Naturalization Service at New York, New York.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL is further described as follows:

Date and Place of Birth: June 29, 1941, Port of Spain, Trinidad, British West Indies.

Naturalization: Naturalized a United States citizen, April 27, 1953, Certificate #A 338082

WFO 62-9737

WWH:teb

Race:
Sex:
Height:
Weight:
Eyes:
Hair:
Build:
Complexion:
Scars and Marks
Marital Status:

Negro
Male
6 feet, 1 inch
160 - 170 pounds
Brown
Black
Medium
Dark Brown
None
Single

b7C

Education:

Graduated from Bronx High School
of Science, Bronx, New York,
June, 1960

Graduated from Howard University,
Washington, D. C., June 5, 1964,
receiving B. A. degree in
Philosophy.

Current Residence

2200 12th Street, NW, Washington,
D. C., Apartment 3.

Parents:

ADOLPHUS STANDIFORD CARMICHAEL,
father (deceased)

b7C

FBI Number:

853121D

IDENTIFICATION RECORD

The following is the identification record of STOKELY CARMICHAEL as contained in the records of the Identification Division of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

4-8-68 318 DCL

J. Edgar Hoover
Director.

The following FBI record, NUMBER 853 121 D, is furnished FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY.

CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
Police Department Jackson, Mississippi	Stokely Carmichael #20978	June 8, 1961	breach of peace	City Crt \$200 & 4 mo last 2 mos susp Co Crt Nollo
Sheriff's Office Jackson, Mississippi	Stokeley Carmichael #40	June 15, 1961	breach of the peace	Contendere \$200 & C das susp \$200 fine and 4 months with 60 days suspended unavailable per contr 3-22-67
St Hwy Pat Jackson Miss	Stokely Carmichael	10-18-64	disobeying an officer & blocking roadway	\$100 & \$7 C & 60 das H1 Rel on Bond \$500 (Case believed to have been disposed of be Federal Court) unavailable per contr 3-22-67
PD Selma Ala	Stockely Carmichael #19951	1-26-65	unlawful assembly	\$100 & \$7 C & 60 das H1 Rel on Bond \$500 (Case believed to have been disposed of be Federal Court) unavailable per contr 3-22-67
PD Atlanta Ga	Stokely Carmichael #242521	9-8-66	1) DC inciting to riot 2) DC dist	\$100 & \$7 C & 60 das H1
PD Selma Ala	Stokley Carmichael #11778	11-5-66	inciting to riot	\$100 & \$7 C & 60 das H1
PD Atlanta Ga	Stokley Carmichael #242521 Residence: 360 Nelson St Atlanta Ga	6-18-67	DC(failing to move on)	\$53 or 50 das

43

Information shown on this Identification Record represents data furnished FBI by fingerprint contributors. Where final disposition is not shown or further explanation of charge is desired, communicate with agency contributing those fingerprints.

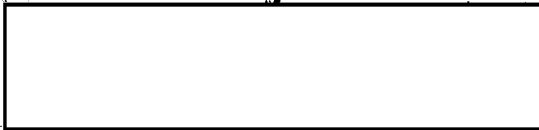
Notations indicated by * are NOT based on fingerprints in FBI files but are listed only as investigative leads as being possibly identical with subject of this record.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-03-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

April 11, 1968

REC-75

100-446080-1390

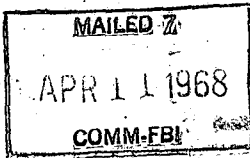


b7C

Dear [Redacted]

Your letter of April 5th has been received.

With respect to your inquiries, the FBI is strictly an investigative agency of the Federal Government and, as such, does not determine whether prosecution will be undertaken in any situation. Such decisions concerning violations of Federal law are within the province of the Attorney General. I can assure you, however, the FBI is aware of the activities of Stokely Carmichael. Voluminous data regarding him has been furnished to the Department of Justice for its consideration and you may wish to contact the Attorney General in this matter.



Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

b7C

NOTE: Bufiles indicate [Redacted]

[Redacted] Our laboratory has had a number of contacts with him in the past. Our last outgoing to him was 4-26-64 in response to new film he had developed.

WMG:mer (3)

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

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DATE 05-03-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

TRUE COPY

b7C

April 5th

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Dir
F. B. I.
Washington D. C.

b7C Dear Mr. Hoover:

[redacted] and I are in St Petersburg for the winter,
and leave for home April 12th.

We were shocked this noon by a news program on
Radio Station here W. S. S. A. their 12.00 noon News Round-up, in
which remarks by Stokley Carmichael were broadcast on the air.

As near as we can remember they were as follows:
"One of our leaders has been shot, now it is nessary to shoot a
white leader. When Dr. King was shot, it was the start of a black
revolution in the United States, and time for all colored people to
arm themselves. We have no intention of having this settled in the
courts, but in the streets by revolution and violence." end quote.
The full and complete text can be obtained from Press International
Network of News. *W*

Isnt this seditious? cant he be jailed and the news-
media stopped from broadcasting such remarks? Sincerely

/s/

b7C

REC-75

16 APR 12 1968

CORRESPONDENCE

ITC 4-9-68
dem

100-446080-1390

b7C

April 5th

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Dir
F.B.I.
Washington D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

[redacted] and I are in St Petersburg
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We were shocked this noon by a
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remarks by Stokely Carmichael were
broadcast on the air.

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were as follows: "One of our leaders has
been shot, now it is necessary to shoot a
white leader. When Dr. King was shot, it was
the start of a black revolution in the United
States, and time for all colored people to
arm themselves. We have no intention of
having this settled in the courts, but in
the streets by revolution and violence." end
quote. The full and complete text can be
obtained from Press International Network of News

Isn't this seditious? Can't he be jailed
and the newsmedia stopped from broad-
casting such remarks? Sincerely,

b7C

April 9, 1968

b7C

REC-68 100-446080-139

b7c

Dear

Received.

25

47

MAILED 2
APR 9 1968
COMM-FBI

b7C

12

HRH:gky (4)

JES
 JES
 JES

[Handwritten signatures and initials]

T6 Bl a

66 APR 18 1968 MAIL ROOM TEL

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-03-2006 BY
60209/AUS

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

APR 6 1968

WESTERN UNION

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

BIA008 533P EST APR 6 68 KPPLSYB380
SY NCA198 PD NEW ROCHELLE NY 6 456P EST
J EDGAR HOOVER

WASHDC

NEW YORK CITY FBI ~~NEW~~ MEN THINK STOKELY CARMICHAEL ~~GRAY~~ GREAT
MAN SHAME, HE IS RESPONSIBLE FOR WASHINGTON RIOTS REVOKE HIS
CITIZENSHIP

b7c

ack 4/9/68
HRH/guy
nme

REC-68

101

APR 12 1968

CC: Mr. Bishop

MR. DELOACH FOR THE DIRECTOR

8/10

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-03-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

SAC, Albany

April 8, 1968

Director, FBI

REC-68

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION

EX-102

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Bishop
1 -
1 -
1 -

b7C

It has been noticed that many offices receive reports from varying sources that Stokely Carmichael, former Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, has been seen in their territory. As the summer season approaches when disturbances and riots most frequently occur, increased allegations of Carmichael's appearance may be expected.

Washington Field Office is the office of origin in the Carmichael case and is responsible for knowing his whereabouts at all times. In the event an office receives an allegation that Carmichael has been seen in its territory, contact with the Washington Field Office should be the first step taken to resolve the allegation.

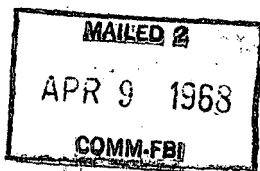
2 - All Continental Offices

b7C

NOTE: See memorandum to Sullivan, 4/5/68, same caption, TDR:fhd.

100-446080-1392

TDR:fhd (127)



99 JUN 12 1968

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

55 APR 23 1968

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAR 31 1968

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

FBI WASH DC*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-03-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

FBI CHICAGO

829 AM URGENT 3/31/68 ERH

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080), WFO (100-43503) AND BALTIMORE

WFO VIA WASHINGTON

b7C

FROM CHICAGO (157-1297)

INTERNAL SECURITY- MISCELLANEOUS

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS - MISC., SEDITION.

[REDACTED] AIRPORT,
[REDACTED] UNITED AIRLINES, O'HARE, CHICAGO ADVISED
2 8 4 7:30 AM
THAT CARMICHAEL DEPARTED ON FLIGHT TWO EIGHT FOUR, AT SEVEN THIRTY AM
3/31/68
THIS DATE FOR BALTIMORE MD., ARRIVING TEN AM. CARMICHAEL
TRAVELING UNDER NAME S. LEIGH. HE IS TRAVELING WITH COMPANION
WHOSE NAME IS GIVEN AS [REDACTED] AND BOTH HAVE SEATS SIXTEEN B
AND C.

b7C
b7D

ADMINISTRATIVE;

REDETEL TO BUREAU, AND WFO THIS DATE.

MILITARY, SECRET SERVICE AND CHICAGO AD ADVISED. LHM

FOLLOWS WITH COPY LOCALLY TO USA.

END

GJM

FBI WASH DC*

ALBERT HAYDEN
1010 3/31/68
11 PM VERN
DEPT APR 1
4/1/68 PTK

8 APR 3 1968

J-H

RELAYED TO

FBI

Date 4/6/68

PLAINTEXT

Transmit the following in

TELETYPE

URGENT

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI AND
SAC, CHICAGO (100-35356)

FROM: SAC, WFO (157-NEW)

ASSASSINATION OF MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., RACIAL MATTERS.

RE CHICAGO TELETYPE APRIL SIX INSTANT.

SOURCES WFO HAVE NO INDICATION STOKELY CARMICHAEL PLANNING
TO LEAVE THIS AREA THIS WEEKEND. SOURCES WILL BE ALERT AND WILL
PROMPTLY REPORT ANY INFORMATION REGARDING CARMICHAEL'S PROPOSED
TRAVEL.

- ③ - Bureau
- 2 - Teletype Unit
- 1 - WFO

ALA:jle
(6)

REC-19

100-446080-1394

12 APR 12 1968

XEROX

1968 APR

Approved: *[Signature]*

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-03-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls
FBI

Date: 3/28/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM: SAC, MOBILE (100-1858)
SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION

Re Mobile airtel and LHM, 3/19/68, captioned
as above.

_____ and who was formerly employed by _____

_____ was contacted on 3/14/68 while STOKELY CARMICHAEL was in the Mobile territory. He advised that CARMICHAEL was scheduled to be at _____ that day at about 4:00 P.M. A check with him at about 6:30 P.M. revealed that _____ was at that time at _____ and he could not speak with the Agent. This was verified through other sources and through observing the car at _____

_____ Efforts to recontact _____ later on 3/14 and 15/68 were negative.

An appointment was set for 12:20 P.M., 3/15/68, but since _____ was changing jobs and the 15th being his last day of employment at _____ he had, according to his wife, a change in plans and decided to take a 1:00 P.M. flight to Indianapolis. He said he departed on the 15th at about 4:00 P.M.

- ③ - Bureau (RM)
1 - Indianapolis (RM)
3 - Mobile (2 - 100-1858)
 (1 - 157-2504)

CAR:mb
(7)

REC-5 100-446080-1395

b7C

APR 11 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.

APR 1 8 1968

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

MO 100-1858

b7C

b7D

[redacted] is now employed [redacted]
[redacted]

For information of Indianapolis, CARMICHAEL [redacted] at about 8:00 P.M. on 3/14/68 and proceeded to the Beula Baptist Church, 625 South Union Street, Montgomery, Ala., where a meeting had previously been scheduled but approval was later withdrawn by the church. They remained there about 15 minutes. During this time and while a revival meeting was in progress in the church, a short speech was given on the steps in front of the church by an individual described as being a Negro male, age about 23-25, 5'10", 160 pounds, medium build, with some teeth missing in upper front (possibly in lower), Afro haircut and who is believed to be [redacted]
[redacted]

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b7D

INDIANAPOLIS, at Indianapolis, Ind. Interview [redacted] re contact with CARMICHAEL and attempt to determine persons travelling with CARMICHAEL. (It is believed they were [redacted]) Also determine whether [redacted] observed the above described Negro male and, if so, if he can identify him as [redacted]
[redacted]

b7C

b7D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-03-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/PCG/bls
FBI

Date: 4/4/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR (100-446080) b7C

FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (100-6812) (P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - M; SEDITION

MB Re New Orleans airtel 3/28/68, indicating subject
may speak at Louisiana State University, April 19, 1968.

b2
b7C
b7D On April 3, 1968, [] advised that []
[] a known SNCC associate, and also described by source
as working with the Atlanta Summit Conference (ASC), a function
of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, has invited
CARMICHAEL to come to Atlanta on April 19, to participate in
a conference sponsored by ASC. Source unable to secure any
details re this conference, and believes []
[] of SNCC, has also spoken to CARMICHAEL about attending
this conference.

LEADS:WFOAT WASHINGTON, D.C.

Alert sources re possible travel of CARMICHAEL to
Atlanta on weekend of 4/19/68, and advise Atlanta of any
positive information developed.

- 3 - Bureau (RM)
2 - WFO (100-43503) (RM)
2 - New Orleans (100-17362) (RM)
5 - Atlanta (2 - 100-6812)
(1 - 100-5718) (SCLC)
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C. C. = Bishop

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RACIAL INT. SECT.

Approved: *[Signature]*

Sent _____

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Per _____

66 APR 18 1968

Special Agent in Charge

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 05-03-2006 BY

60300, AN, (FAM) D02, B13

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE SAN FRANCISCO	OFFICE OF ORIGIN WASHINGTON FIELD	DATE 4/11/68	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 4/1-8/68
TITLE OF CASE STOKELY CARMICHAEL		REPORT MADE BY [REDACTED]	TYPED BY kah
		CHARACTER OF CASE IS - MISC; SEDITION	

REFERENCES: Washington Field Office airtel to Director, 2/20/68.
San Francisco airtel to Director, 3/6/68, enclosing
LHM

b7C

- RUC -

ADMINISTRATIVE

Personal observation of STOKELY CARMICHAEL on the
evening of 2/15/68 was by SAs [REDACTED]

Personal observation of STOKELY CARMICHAEL on 2/16/68
was by SAs [REDACTED]

b7C

Has been: Pending over one year ☐ Yes ☐ No; Pending prosecution over six months ☐ Yes ☐ No

APPROVED

SPECIAL AGENT
IN CHARGE

COPIES MADE:

⑦-Bureau (100-446080) (RM)
3-WFO (100-43503) (RM)
1-Atlanta (100-6812) (Info)
1-San Francisco (157-721)

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

100-446080-1397 REC 55

1 APR 15 1968

EX-110

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	ACSF	DSF	SEC. SERV.
Request Recd.	RAO: TSD, CRD,	Crim, FIDU	
Date Fwd.	R/S		
How Fwd.	4/30/68		
By	PTB/dkl		

Notations

RACIAL INT. SECT.

54 MAY 7 1968

2 Xerox copies of report
806 90D

SF 157-721
PBN:kah

Personal observation of the EPPSD sponsored program
at Oakland Municipal Auditorium on 2/17/68 was by SAs [redacted]
[redacted]

b7C

Personal observation of STOKELY CARMICHAEL at 2:00 a.m.
on 2/18/68 was by SAs [redacted]

This report is classified "~~Confidential~~" because data
reported from [redacted]

b2
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[redacted] if disclosed, could reasonably result
in the identification of confidential informants of continuing
value and compromise future effectiveness thereof.

INFORMANTS

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Identity of Source

File Where Located

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

157-721-262

[redacted]

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[redacted]

157-721-193

(conceal by request)

SF 157-721
PBN:kah

Identity of Source

File Where Located

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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157-721-187

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157-721-227

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

157-721-210

(conceal by request)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

157-721-196

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION~~CONFIDENTIAL~~DECLASSIFIED BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls
ON 05-03-2006

Copy to:

b7C

Report of:

Date:

4/11/68

Office: SAN FRANCISCO

Field Office File #: 157-721

Bureau File #: 100-446080

Title:

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Character:

INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS,
SEDITION

Synopsis:

STOKELY CARMICHAEL visited San Francisco Bay Area during periods 2/15-18/68 and 2/20-26/68. Speech of CARMICHAEL on 2/17/68 at Oakland Municipal Auditorium under sponsorship of BPPSD is set forth verbatim. Information relating to other speeches and appearances in San Francisco, Oakland, San Mateo and Berkeley is set forth.

- RUC -

DETAILS:

STOKELY CARMICHAEL arrived at San Francisco International Airport at approximately 8:25 p.m., February 15, 1968, via United Air Lines Flight 57 from Washington, D.C. CARMICHAEL was met by a group of six male Negroes and was transported by auto to 850 Oak Street, San Francisco. As of 11:30 p.m. CARMICHAEL remained at 850 Oak Street, San Francisco, which is the residence of LE ROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~~~Group 1~~~~Excluded from~~~~automatic downgrading
and declassification~~Personal observation
by SAs of FBI,
2/15/68

SF 157-721
PEN:kah

LR ROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, commonly known as ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, is publicly known as the Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party for Self Defense (BPPSD).

✓ A characterization of the BPPSD is contained in the appendix.

On February 16, 1968, at the University of California, Berkeley, STOKELY CARMICHAEL failed to appear as a speaker for a previously announced noon rally under the sponsorship of the Campus W.E.B. Du Bois Club (see appendix). Following the rally and shortly after 1:00 p.m. on February 16, 1968, STOKELY CARMICHAEL in company with eight to ten members of the BPPSD arrived at Sproul Plaza, University of California, Berkeley (UCB). The CARMICHAEL group encountered REIES TIJERINA who had appeared as a speaker at the rally. CARMICHAEL and TIJERINA embraced each other in a spirit of solidarity and expressed mutual desire to meet and confer in the near future.

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REIES TIJERINA is publicly known as leader of the Alianza Federal De Mercedes, an organization which demands that lands in New Mexico be returned to the descendants of the original owners.

In company with members of the BPPSD, STOKELY CARMICHAEL appeared at the Alameda County Court House, Oakland, California, at approximately 1:45 p.m., February 16, 1968. CARMICHAEL visited HUEY P. NEWTON in the Alameda County Jail. CARMICHAEL declined to hold a press conference and ignored questions of newsmen. Just before leaving the Court House, STOKELY CARMICHAEL stated loudly, "Brother HUEY P. NEWTON will be freed or else". CARMICHAEL departed from the Alameda County Court House at approximately 2:15 p.m.

Personal observation
by SAs of FBI on
2/16/68

SF 157-721

PBN:kah

HUEY P. NEWTON is publicly known as the Minister of Defense of the BPPSD. NEWTON is presently incarcerated in the Alameda County Jail awaiting trial on a charge of having murdered an Oakland police officer.

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL spent the evening of February 16, 1968, at [redacted] California, the residence of [redacted] the Western Regional Office of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). [redacted]

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL appeared as the last and principal speaker at a rally at the Oakland Municipal Auditorium on February 17, 1968. The rally lasted from approximately 8:30 p.m. until approximately 12:30 a.m., February 18, 1968. The rally was sponsored by the BPPSD for the purpose of raising funds for the legal defense of HUEY P. NEWTON. The rally was advertised as a birthday party for HUEY P. NEWTON on his 26th birthday. Admission was \$3 and \$2 for students was charged those attending. The audience was frisked for weapons, cameras and recording devices. ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, who is publicly known as the Minister of Information of the BPPSD, acted as Master of Ceremonies. CLEAVER announced the merger of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) with the BPPSD.

Personal observation
by SAs of FBI
on 2/17/68

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b7D

15 from
The following verbatim account of STOKELY CARMICHAEL's speech on February 17, 1968, ~~was~~ made available on February 19, 1968, by [redacted] who ~~tape recorded~~ the entire program:

at San Francisco

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER
(Unknown Male-Introducing STOKELY CARMICHAEL)

We have a candidate tonight for prime minister of Afro-America. The Black Panther Party for Self Defense says that STOKELY CARMICHAEL is the prime minister of Afro-America. (Applause) We want to know how you feel about that? Is STOKELY okay with you black people? Can he speak for you? (Roar of "Yes" from audience.) Well, all right, come on STOKELY and speak. (Applause)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL:

Good evening. It's getting late, but we have a lot to talk about tonight because we have to be serious. Before I begin, I want to introduce just two people, one is our communications director who came out from Atlanta to spend birthday with brother HUEY NEWTON, Miss ~~ETHEL MINER~~ ^{GA} ~~ETHEL~~, ^{CR} where are you? (Applause) The next person is one of our young warriors who was involved in the Roxbury (ph) rebellion where he was charged with a number of charges. He's out of jail and he's just returned from a trip across the waters. He went to revolutionary countries where hunkies can't go, ~~CHICO WEBLETT~~ (ph). (Applause)

Now then, tonight we have to talk about several things. We're here to celebrate brother HUEY P. NEWTON's birthday. We're not here to celebrate it as HUEY NEWTON, the individual, but as HUEY NEWTON, part and parcel of black people, wherever we are on the world today. And, so in talking about brother HUEY NEWTON tonight, we have to talk about the struggle of black people, not only in the United States, but in the world today, and how he become part and parcel of that struggle, how we move on so that our people will survive America. Therefore, we are not talking about politics tonight. We're not talking about economics tonight. We are talking about the survival of a race of people. That is all that is at stake. We are talking about the survival of black people. Nothing else. And, you must understand that.

Now, why is it necessary for us to talk about the survival of our people? Many of us feel, many of our generation feel, that they're getting ready to commit genocide against us. Now, many people say that's a horrible thing to say about anybody. But, if it is a horrible thing to say, then we should

do as brother MALCOLM said, we should examine history. The birth of this nation was conceived in the genocide of the red man. In order for this country to come about, the hunk had to completely exterminate the red man, and he did it. And, he did it where he does not even feel sorry, but he romanticizes it by putting it on television with cowboy and Indian. And, the question we must ask ourselves is if he's capable of doing it to the red man, can he also do it to us? Let us examine history some more. People say that it's a horrible thing to say that white people would really think about committing genocide against black people. Let us check our history out. It is a fact that we built this country, nobody else.

I'll explain that to you. When this country started, economically it was an agricultural country. The cash crop on the world market was cotton. We picked the cotton. So, it is we who build this country. It is we who have fought in the wars of this country. This country is becoming more and more technological so that the need for black people is fastly disappearing. When the need for black people disappears, so will we, and he will consciously wipe us out.

Let us check World War II. He will not do it unto his own. Notice who he dropped an atomic bomb on, some helpless yellow people in Hiroshima. If you do not think he's capable of committing genocide against us, check out what he's doing to our brothers in Vietnam. Check out what he's doing in Vietnam. We have to understand that we're talking about our survival and nothing else, whether or not this beautiful race of people is going to survive on the earth, that's what we are talking about, nothing else. If you do not think he's capable of wiping us out, check out the white race. Wherever they have gone they ruled, conquered and murdered and plagued. Whether they are the majority or the minority, they always rule, always rule. And, check out the pattern in which they move. They came to this country. They didn't know a damn thing about this country. The red man showed them how to adapt to this country. He showed them how to grow corn. He showed them how to hunt. And, when the Indians finished showing it, he wiped them out.

He was not satisfied. He went to South America. The Aztec Indians said this is our silver, this is our copper, these are our medals, these are our statues, we build them for the beauty of our people. After the Indians showed it to them, he took it and he wiped them out.

He went to Africa. Our ancestors said dig, this is our way of life. We beat drums, we enjoy ourselves, we have gold, we make diamonds and stuff for our women. He took the gold, he made us slaves, and today he runs Africa.

He went to Asia. The Chinese showed them everything they had. They showed him gunpowder. They said we use this for fireworks on our anniversaries, on our days of festivities. He took it, he made it a gun, and he conquered China.

We are talking about a certain type of superiority complex that exists in the white man wherever he is. And, that's what we have to understand today, so that everything goes out the window, we talk about survival, that's all. They can cut all that junk about poverty programs, education, housing, welfare. We are talking about survival, and brothers and sisters, we going to survive America. Now then, we have to understand what is going on, not only in this country, but in the world, especially in Africa, because we are an African people, nothing else. We have always been an African people, we have always maintained our own value system, and I will prove that to you. As much as he has tried, our people have resisted for 413 years in this wilderness, and they resisted for this generation to carry out what must be done. We cannot fail our ancestors.

We resisted in every way you can point to. Take the English language. There are cats who come here from Italy, from Germany, from Poland, from France, in two generations they speak English perfectly. We have never spoken English perfectly. (Applause) And, that is because our people consciously resisted a language that did not belong to us. Never did, never will. Anyhow they try to run it down our throats; we ain't gonna have it. You must understand that as a level of resistance. Anyone can speak that simple hunky's language correctly, anybody can do it. We have not done it because we have resisted. Check out our way of life. No matter how hard he's tried, we still maintain a communal way of life in our communities. We do not send old people to old people's homes, that's junk. (Applause)

We do not call children illegitimate in our community, we take care of any child in our community. (Applause) It is the level of resistance that we must begin to look for among our people, pick up their threads, and do what has to be done so that our people will survive.

Three things. First and foremost. He has been able to make us hate each other. He has transplanted that hate and

the love for each other for the love of his country. His country. We must begin to develop number one, and this is the most important thing we can do as a people. We must first develop an undying love for our people. (Applause) We must develop an undying love as is personified in brother HUEY P. NEWTON, undying love for our people. If we do not do that, we will be wiped out. We must develop an undying love for our people. Our slogan will become, "First our people, then, and only then, you and me as individuals, our people first." (Applause)

Following from that comes secondly the slogan, "Every Negro is a potential black man," we will not alienate them. (Applause) And, we must understand the concept of Negro, and the concept of black man. We came to this country as black men and as Africans. It took us 400 years to become Negroes. Understand that. That means that the concept of a black man is one who recognizes his cultural, his historical, and the root of his great ancestors, who were the greatest warriors on the face of this earth, Africans. (Applause)

Many of our peoples minds have been white-washed. If a Negro comes up to you and you turn your back on him, he's got to run to the hunky. We're going to take time and patience with our people because they're ours. All of the "Uncle Toms," we're going to sit down and we're going to talk. And, when they slap, we're going to bow, and when they slap, we're going to bow, and we're going to try and bring them home. And if they don't come home, we going to off them, that's all. (Applause)

We have to recognize who our major enemy is. The major enemy is not your brother, flesh of your flesh, and blood of your blood. The major enemy is the hunky and his institutions of racism, that's the major enemy. And, whenever anybody prepares for revolutionary warfare, you concentrate on the major enemy. We're not strong enough to fight each other and also fight him. We will not fight each other today, we will not fight each other. There will be no fights in the black community among black people. There will just be people who will be offed. There will be no fights, there will be no disruptions. We are going to be united.

Thirdly, and most importantly, we must understand that for black people, the question of community is not a question of geography, it is a question of color. If you live in Watts, if you live in Harlem, South side Chicago, Detroit,

West Philadelphia, Georgia, Mississippi, Alabama, wherever you go, the first place you go is to your people, not to the land, to your people. For us the question of community is a question of color and our people, not geography, not land, not land, not geography. That is to say that we break down the concept that black people living inside the United States are black Americans, that's nonsense. We got brothers in Africa, we got brothers in Cuba, we got brothers in Brazil, we got brothers in Latin America, we got brothers all over the world, all over the world. (Applause) And, once we begin to understand that the concept of community is simply one of our people, it don't make a difference where we are, we are with our people, and therefore we are home.

Now then, in speaking of survival it is necessary to understand the moves of one's enemy. The United States works on what we call the three Ms. The missionaries, the money, and the Marines. That is precisely the way it's moved all over the world. It is the way it moves against us. They have sent the missionaries in. We send them out. They have sent the money in with the poverty program, the Vietnamese and the Koreans are pulling the money out. The next thing comes the Marines. And, if we're talking seriously, we get prepared for the Marines. (Applause)

Now if some black people do not think that the white man is going to wipe us out completely, then it won't be no harm being prepared, just in case he decides to do it. So there'll be no harm in us preparing ourselves for the Marines. There's a lot of tactics we can learn. The VC are showing us the best way to get it done. And, don't be afraid to say and tell them, yeah you want the Vietnamese to defeat them 'cause they're wrong from the jump, they wrong from the jump. (Applause) Don't get up there and play games with them. You ever see them on TV? Well, actually we were wrong going into Vietnam, but we can't get out unless we save face. To save that hunky's face, million of Vietnamese got to die. That's a lot of junk. If you're wrong, say you're wrong and get out. (Applause)

We have to then go down the programs that they run through our throats and see how they relate to us. The first one is the vote. They got a new thing now. Black power is the vote. The vote in this country is, has been, and always will be, irrelevant to the lives of black people. That is a fact.

We've survived in Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Texas, South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, and Washington, D. C. without the vote. Two years ago when JULIAN BOND was elected by black people in Georgia, they took him off the seat, there was no representation, the black people of Georgia are surviving today. They took ADAM CLAYTON POWELL out of office, they've had him out of office for a year and a half, black people in Harlem are still surviving, that should teach you, the vote ain't nothing but a hunky's trick. If we talk about the vote today, we talk about it as one thing, an organizing tool to bring our people together, nothing else. It becomes a vehicle for organization, it cannot be any thing else. To believe the vote is going to save you is to believe the way brother ADAM CLAYTON POWELL did. He's in Bimini now. That's what we have to understand.

The second thing they ran down our throat is this poverty program, and you have to understand the poverty program. It is designed to number one, split the black community, and number two, split the black family. There is no doubt about it splitting the black community. We know all those people who started fighting over crumbs, for that's all the poverty program is, the crumbs. If you leave the crumbs alone and organize, we can take the whole loaf because it belongs to us. (Applause)

So, what happens, is that the poverty program sends a couple of hundred thousand dollars into the community and goofs start setting up to fight over that money, so, automatically, you've got splits in the community. Watts is the best example that we have today. It was the first one to get the poverty program after the rebellion and today, it is the most divided black community in the country. The second thing we have to recognize is what the poverty program does. In any race of people, the most instinctively revolutionary people are the youth, because the youth is always willing to fight at the drop of a hat. In anybody's race. And, the poverty program is geared right at our youth, to stop them from fighting. That's all the poverty program is, stop the rebellion, not take care of black people, stop the rebellion. How is it, that you felt if you were a father, and your son, who you're supposed to be providing for comes home with \$90.00 a week, and you're still unemployed. What is the poverty program doing to our fathers? What is it doing to our fathers?

If they were concerned about the black community, if they believed the garbage they run down about the black families, they would give the jobs to our fathers, the bread-winners of the family, so we could have some respect for him. But it is precisely because the poverty program is aimed at quelling our youth that they do that. And, all of the people that administer the poverty program won't even put their children in those programs that are supposed to be so good for us.

Let us move on to education. And, we must talk very clearly about this concept of education. ~~FRANZ FANON~~ ^{USA} says very clearly, education is nothing but the re-establishment and reinforcement of values and institutions of a given society. All the brother is saying is that, whatever this society says is right, when you go to school they tell you it's right, and you got to run on down. If you run it on down, you get an A. If I say to you Columbus discovered America in 1492. If I was your teacher and you said, no Columbus didn't discover America in 1492, there were Indians here, I'd tell you you flunked the course. So, education doesn't mean what they say it means. So, now we must use education for our people and we must understand our communities.

In our communities there are dope addicts, there are pimps, there are prostitutes, there's hustlers, there are teachers, there are maids, there are porters, there are preachers, there are gangsters. If I go to high school, I want to learn how to be a good maid, a good porter, a good hustler, a good pimp, a good prostitute, a good teacher, or a good porter. An education is supposed to prepare you to live in your community, that's what our community is like. If the educational system cannot do that, it must teach us how to change our community. It must do one or the other. The schools that we send our children to do not do one or the other. They do neither, they do something absolutely opposite. And when our youth, who are more intelligent than all those hunkies on those boards, drop out of those schools 'cause they recognize it's not going to help them, then we turn around and yell at them, dividing our community again.

We have to understand that unless we control the education system where it begins to teach us how to change our

community where we live like human beings, no need to send anybody to school, that's just a natural fact. We have no alternative but to fight, whether we like it or not. On every level in this country black people have got to fight, got to fight. (Applause)

Now then, let us move down and talk about organizing in a concept. We have in our community, black people, the masses and the bourgeoisie. That's about the level of breakdown. The bourgeoisie is very, very minute inside our community. We have to bring them home. We have to bring them home for many reasons. We have to bring them home because they have technical skills which must be put for the benefit of their people, not for the benefit of this country, which is against their people, we've got to bring them home. (Applause)

One of the ways of bringing our people home is by using patience, love, brotherhood, and unity, not force. Love, patience, brotherhood, and unity. We try, and we try, and we try. If they become a threat, we off them. (Applause) But we must begin to understand that in a concept of forming inside our community a united front, a black united front, which engulfs every sector, every facet, and every person inside our community working for the benefit of black people. And, that is for each other's survival. A lot of people in the bourgeoisie tell me that they don't like RAP BROWN when he says "I'm going to burn the country down," but every time RAP BROWN says "I'm going to burn the country down," they get a poverty program. A lot of people say to me, we don't like the Black Panthers for Self Defense walking around with guns. I'll tell you now, if the hunkies in San Francisco take off the fighters who happen to represent the Black Panthers for Self Defense, ain't nobody in this community prepared to fight right now.

Everybody gets offed, everybody gets offed. We need each other, we have to have each other for our survival, we have to have each other. From the revolutionaries to the conservatives, a black united front is what we're about. (Applause)

Now, there's some people may now understand brother RAP when he talks about who to ally with. He said we have to ally with Mexican-Americans, the Puerto Ricans, and the dispossessed people of the earth. He did not mention poor whites.

We must understand that. I will not deny that poor whites in this country are oppressed, but there are two types of oppression, one is exploitation, the other is colonization, and we have to understand the difference between both of them.

Exploitation is when you exploit somebody of your own race. Colonization is when you exploit somebody of a different race. We are colonized, they are exploited. (Applause)

Now let us explain how the process of exploitation and colonization works. If I am black and I am exploiting you who are also black, we have the same values, the same culture, the same language, the same society, the same institutions, so I do not have to destroy those institutions for you. But, if you are of another race, if you have a different culture, different language, different values, I have to destroy all of those to make you bow to me, and that is the difference between poor whites and poor blacks. Poor whites have their culture, have their values, have their institutions. Ours have been completely destroyed. (Applause) So, when you talk about alliances, you recognize you form alliances with people who are trying to rebuild their culture, trying to rebuild their history, trying to rebuild their dignity, people who are fighting for their humanity.

Poor white people are not fighting for their humanity, they're fighting for more money. There are a lot of poor white people in this country, you ain't seen none of them rebel yet, have you? Why is it that black people are rebelling? Do you think it's because it's just poor jobs? Don't believe that junk the hunky is running down. It's not poor jobs. It's a question of a people finding their culture, their nature, and fighting for their humanity, for their humanity. (Applause)

We have been so colonized, that we are ashamed to say we hate, and that is the best example of a person who's colonized. You sit in your house, a hunky walks in your house, beats you up, rapes your wife, beats up your child, and you don't have the humanity to say, I hate you. You don't have it. That is how dehumanized we are. We are so dehumanized we cannot say, yes, we hate you for what you have done to us. Can't say it, can't say it. And, we are afraid to think beyond that point. Who do you think has more hatred pent up in them, white people for

black people, or black people for white people? White people for black people obviously. The hatred has been more. What have we done to them for them to build up this hatred? Absolutely nothing. Yet, we don't even want to have the chance to hate them for what they have done to us. And, if hate should be justified, we have the best justification in the world for hating hunkies.

But, we have been so dehumanized, we're like a dog, which the master can kick, which the master can throw out of the house, which the master can spit on, and whenever he calls, the dog comes running back. We are human beings and we have emotions, we're fighting for our humanity, we're fighting for our humanity. And, in regaining our humanity, we recognize all the emotions that are in us. If you have love, you got to have hate. You don't have one-sided emotion. There's a lot of junk. You always have two sides, hot, cold, white, black. Everything going, love, hate, cause if you don't have hate, you cannot differentiate love. You cannot do it.

Now, that brings us to the point of this thing about communism and socialism. Let's get to that, once and for all.

Communism is not an ideology suited for black people, period. Socialism is not an ideology fitted for black people, period. And, I will tell you why, and it must become crystal clear in our minds. Now, we don't say that because the hunkies call it communist, we don't care what they call it; it don't make a difference. The ideologies of communism and socialism speak to class structures. They speak to people who oppress people from the top down to the bottom. We are not just facing exploitation, we are facing something much more important. We are facing, because we are the victims of racism. Communism or socialism does not speak to the problem of racism. And, racism for black people in this country is far more important than exploitation, 'cause no matter how much money you make in the black community, when you go into the white world you are still a nigger. (Applause) So, that for us the question of racism becomes uppermost in our minds.

How do we destroy those institutions that seek to keep us dehumanized? That is all we're talking about. On the question of exploitation, it comes second. Now, for white people who are communist, the question of communist comes first, because

they're exploited by their own people. If we were exploited by other black people, then it would be a question of how we divide the profits. It is a question of how we regain our humanity and begin to live as a people, and we do not do that because of the effects of racism in this country. We must, therefore, consciously strive for an ideology which deals with racism first, and if we do that we recognize the necessity of hooking up with the 900 million black people in the world today, that's what we recognize. (Applause) And, if we recognize that, then it means that our political situation must become international. It cannot be national, it cannot be national, it must be international, must be international. (Applause) It must be international, because if we know anything, we would recognize that the hunkies just don't exploit us, they exploit the whole "third world," Asia, Africa, Latin America. They take advantage of Europe, but they don't colonize Europe. They colonize Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Understand that. If we begin to understand, then the problems that America is heading for becomes uppermost in our minds.

And, the first one they're heading for is the conflict in the Middle East. We must declare on whose side we stand. We can be for no one but the Arabs. There can be no doubt in our minds, no doubt in our minds. (Applause) We can be for no one but the Arabs because Israel belonged to the Arabs in 1917. The British gave it to a group of Zionists who went to Israel, ran the Palestinian Arabs out with terrorist groups, and organized the state, and did not get anywhere until Hitler came along and they swelled (ph) the state in 1948. That country belongs to the Palestinians. Not only that, they are moving to take over Egypt. Egypt is our motherland, it's in Africa. (Applause)

We do not understand the concept of love. Here are a group of Zionists who come anyway they want to and organize and feeling for a place called Israel, which was created in 1948, where their youth are willing to and fight for Israel. Egypt belonged to us 4000 years ago and we We got to be for the Arabs, period. (Applause) That means that we also moved the rest of the "third world" and understand precisely what is going on.

It is no coincidence that the hunky who stole the heart out of our brother and put it into another devil was brought

here on nation-wide TV. There's no coincidence. (Applause)

Now, for those of the older generation who said I may be harsh because I said the devil, let me give you a Biblical quotation. It says, beware that they will come, the devil will come telling you that he can give you back life after death. If that's not what they're doing, I don't know what it is. (Applause)

We have to understand that just today, the United States voted for South Africa to come into the Olympics, and black people here are debating whether or not black athletes should be part of the Olympics. That is not a debate. The question is final. There can be no black athletes with any dignity participating in that white nonsense. (Applause)

Now then, we have to understand more and more as our people talk about survival. It means that when we talk about survival we organize politically, we organize consciously, that's what they call education, we call it black consciousness, 'cause that speaks to us, education speaks to them, we organize economically and we organize militarily. (Applause) Because if we don't do that, if you don't have a gun in your hand, they can snatch the ballot from you, but if you got a gun, it's either them or us. (Applause) And, the preparation of that fight on all struggles must become conscious among our people. We are ahead of the Jews, we know what they are getting ready to do. They tell us every day in their "Esquire" magazine, they tell us on their television, they tell us with their 15,000 soldiers they're putting in the cities, they tell us with their tanks, they tell us with their sonar (ph) guns, they tell us. We got to wake up and tell them, we are going to get you back. (Applause)

Wipe out of your minds the question of minority, wipe out of your minds the questions of technology, technology never decides a war. It is the will of a people that decides a war. It is the will of a people. (Applause) Wipe out of your mind the fact that we do not have guns. The Vietnamese didn't have it when they started, now they got American guns, American tanks, American everything. (Applause)

If they come to get us they got to bring some to get some, we gonna take it and the guns, and the guns, and the guns. (Applause)

And, unless we raise our minds to the level of consciousness where we have an undying love for our people, where we're willing to shed our blood like HUEY NEWTON did for our people, we will not survive. Now, there are many people who know that. All of the brothers sitting on the stage, all of the brothers around here. We all know that when something goes down, we are the first ones on. There's no question in any of our minds, only things gonna stop us today is a bullet, and we're spitting them back.

But, the question is not whether or not we can move, how this entire black community moves for survival in a world that's clearly heading for a color clash. That is what we must ask ourselves. That is the only question. We can only do that by organizing our people, and orienting them toward an African ideology which speaks to our blackness. Nothing else. It's not a question right or left. It's a question black. You dig where we coming colored from, we coming from a black thing, that's where we're coming from. Because we can begin to pick up the threads of resistance that our ancestors laid down for us. And, unless we begin to understand our people as a people, we will not do that, because they will split us and divide us. That means consciously we have to begin to organize our people, organize our people, organize our people, organize our people, nothing else, organize our people. (Applause)

We have no time for them, all our sweat, all our blood, even our life must go to our people. (Applause) We have to understand this consciously. Our youth must be organized with a revolutionary perspective.

A revolutionary perspective says that we're fighting a war of liberation. In order to fight a war of liberation, you need an ideology of nationalism. We do not have this country. The nationalism can be nothing but black nationalism. It is insane to think of anything else. Black nationalism has to begin to be our ideology. While blackness is necessary, it is not sufficient, so we have to move on. We move on then to consciously organize in our community. And; we recognize today why we are organizing. We do not have the money to feed our people, so there's no use to say organize, we can get you a job. We can't get them. They control them. That is a fact. That isn't a reason for you to sit down, it is only more of a reason for you to fight, to think that you can't give your people a job. That's more than inspiration to fight, so can give them a job,

rather than to sit down and say the hunkies got us on every end. They are not God. We are a beautiful race of people, we can do any thing we want to do, all we got to do is get up, get up, get up. (Applause)

Now then, we have to discuss very cold, the question of rebellion. It is a fact that they're prepared to meet rebellions anywhere in the cities. Now what is going to happen if one of our brothers get offed? What happens if they go ahead and off HUEY NEWTON? We must develop tactics where we do the maximum damage to them with minor damage to us. (Applause) And, when we move into that arena that means that this black community must be organized. So, if HUEY NEWTON goes and ten hunky cops goes, won't a black man in this community get up and open his mouth, 'cause if he does, he goes too. (Applause) That means that in organizing for the maximum damage against them, and the minor damage against us, we must be consciously aware of the fact that there will be people in our community that will be going around doing just that. In our community we see nothing, we hear nothing, we know nothing.

Now, the question of agents is becoming a question where it's making us paranoid. We cannot become paranoid because what they can do is make you so afraid you won't move. So, we're not going to do that. We're going to plan what we're going to do. Little groups are going to plan theirs, big groups are going to plan theirs. If an agent is found, there is no question. He is going to be offed in such a manner that any other black man who dares talk to the hunky will have three thoughts before he even talks to a white man about reporting an _____ . (Applause)

Our people have demonstrated a willingness to fight. Our people have demonstrated the courage of our ancestors, to face tanks, guns, police dogs, with bricks and bottles. That is a courageous act. We must understand that. And, since our people have demonstrated a willingness to fight, the question is how can we organize that fight so we become the winners. If a major rebellion were to break out, our people may or may not become the losers, but if a small group was doing maximum damage, we remain on top. (Applause) That is what we must understand. Consciously understand it. It is not a question of what they might do, it is a question of how and when they're going to do it. That is all that's in their minds. That is all.

For us the question is not going to Vietnam anymore, the question is how can we protect brothers who do not go to Vietnam from going to jail. That's the only question we have to face in our community today. So, that when one brother says, hell no, there are enough people in that community around him that if they dare come in they're going to face maximum damage in their community. (Applause) We are talking about survival. We are talking about a people whose entire culture, whose entire history, whose entire way of life has been destroyed. We're talking about a people who have produced in this year a warrior, a generation of warriors who are going to restore to our people the humanity and the love that we have for each other. That's what we're talking about today. (Applause) We are talking about becoming the executioners of our executioners. For example, you should give a lot of money to their defense fund, because while some of that money going to go for court scene, the rest of the money gonna go for the executioners, so that if they execute HUEY, the final execution rests in our hands. (Applause)

It is simply the question of a people, they control everything, they make us fight, they make us steal, they judge us, they put us in prison, they parole us, they send us out, they pick us up again. Where in God's name do we exercise any sense of dignity in this country, where, where, where? (Applause)

What in God's name do we control except the church, whose ideology is based to be compatible with this system which is against us. Where in God's name do we exercise any control as a people whose ancestors were the proudest people who walked the fact of this earth, where? (Applause) Where, do I ask you, where. Everywhere he's gone, he's controlled our people. In South Africa he steals the gold from our people. In the West Indies he steals the materials from our people. In South America, where he scattered our people, he's raping us blind. In America he rapes us. In Nova Scotia he rapes us. Where in God's name are we going to find a piece of earth that belongs to us, so we can restore our humanity. Where are we going to find it unless this generation organize to fight for it, fight for it, fight for it? (Applause)

And, if this generation begins to fight, there can be no disruptive elements in our community. There can be none, we will tolerate none. There will be no disruptions. Anyone who fights for their people, we put our lives on the line for them.

HUEY NEWTON fought for our people. Whether or not HUEY NEWTON becomes freed depends upon black people, nobody else. Other people may help, but the final decision of brother HUEY depends upon us. He didn't lay down his life for other people, he laid it down for us, for us. (Applause) And, if he did that, we must be willing to do the same, not only for him, but for the generation that's going to follow us. (Applause)

Consciously we must understand about organizing every element of our community. That work must begin. That means that people must be willing to give money to an organizer who is willing to spend 24 hours a day organizing. He cannot organize from the poverty program because they tell him what to do, but if black people are giving him the money, he can do anything for the benefit of black people. (Applause)

It means that people have to consciously give money for their people. Must. We have to run all of the exploiters out of our community, by any means necessary. (Applause) You ask yourself, if you were white, why would you want to be a cop in a black ghetto today when you know they looking for you. Why, if you weren't sick in the mind, and thought you were so superior that you had the right to rule them? Why would you want a lousy \$5,000.00 a year job when you white, and you can make it in this society? Why would you want the job as a cop if you weren't sick? Tell me. Would you want to be in their community if they were ready to off you, for \$4000, \$5000, \$6000 dollars a year?

We have to understand the politics of those hunkies in our community. They are there to patrol and to control it, that is all. We are going to do the patrolling, we are going to do the controlling. We are building a concept of peoplehood. We do not care about hunkies, but if in building that concept of peoplehood, the hunkies get in our way, they got to go, there is no question about it, no question about it. (Applause)

We are not concerned with their way of life, we are concerned with our people. We want to give our people the dignity and humanity that we know as our people. And, if they get in our way, they going to get offed. We're not concerned with their system. Let them have it. We want our way of life, and we're going to get it. We're going to get it or no body's

going to have any peace on this earth. (Applause)

Now then, finally before I sit down, let me say two things. I want to read a statement that brother HUEY P. NEWTON wrote yesterday when I saw him in jail. We have to understand this statement. He said, as the racist police escalate the war in our community against black people, we reserve the right to self-defense and maximum retaliation. (Applause)

All of the things we spoke about tonight centered around brother HUEY P. NEWTON because all of the things we spoke about tonight exemplifies what he was trying to do. Now, we have to understand something. There is no need for us to go to jail today for what we say. They did that to brother MALCOLM X. They just offed him for what he was saying. We have to progress as a race. Brother HUEY may or may not have wiped out that hunky, but at least it shows a progression, at least we're not getting offed for what we say, we're to get offed for what we do. Understand this concept. When they offed brother MALCOLM we did nothing. If they off brother HUEY, we get to retaliate, we get to retaliate. (Applause) Do you think that any other race of people will let them off somebody and the rest of them sit there? Where in God's name would you find a race of people like that?

We have lost in the last five years some of our best leaders, LANUNBA, MALCOLM X, they offed brother IKRUMAH, and we do nothing, we do nothing. Now they offing our leaders, they take our youth and send them to Vietnam, send them to Korea, we are slowly getting wiped out. We must retaliate, we must fight for our humanity. It is our humanity that is at stake. It is not a question of dollars and cents. We are going to survive because we have survived what they couldn't survive through, that's a natural-born fact. We have survived through slavery, we survived through their jive reconstruction, we survived through World War I, we survived through the depression, we survived through World War II, we survived after World War II when they threw us out of the jobs in the North, we survived the Korean War. We going to survive. There ain't no doubt about that in my mind, no doubt at all. (Applause) We will survive.

Our problem is to develop an undying love for our people, an undying love for our people. We must be willing to give our talent, our sweat, our blood, even our life, for our people, nothing else, not this country, our people, our people. We must develop the concept that every Negro is a potential black man. You do not alienate your potential allies. Let's bring our people home, let's bring our people home. (Applause)

We must understand the concept that for us, the question of community is not geography, it is a question of us, black people wherever we are, so we have to consciously become a part of the 900 million black people that are separated over this world. We were separated by them. We are blood of the same blood and flesh of the same flesh. We do not know who is our sister, who is brother, or where we came from. They took us from Africa and they put thousands of miles of water between us, but they forget, blood is thicker than water, we coming together, we coming together. (Applause) We are an African people with an African ideology. We are wandering in the United States. We are going to build a concept of peoplehood in this country or there will be no country, or there will be no country. (Applause)

As I end brothers and sisters, brother HUEY P. NEWTON belongs to us. He is flesh of our flesh, he is blood of our blood. He may be Mrs. NEWTON's baby, he's our brother. (Applause) We do not have to talk about what we're going to do, if we're consciously preparing and consciously willing to back those who prepare. All we say, brother HUEY will be set free, or else. (Applause)

End of Speech

SF 157-721
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STOKELY CARMICHAEL's speech at the February 17, 1968 rally was witnessed by Special Agents of the FBI as well as [redacted] who furnished the information on March 4, 1968; [redacted] on February 19, 1968; [redacted] on February 28, 1968; and [redacted] who furnished the information on February 28, 1968.

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Following the rally of February 17, 1968, and as of 2:00 a.m., February 18, 1968, STOKELY CARMICHAEL attended a social gathering at the residence of [redacted]

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[redacted] California.

Personal observation
by SAs of FBI on
2/17-18/68

On February 18, 1968, STOKELY CARMICHAEL was one of 14 persons who boarded United Air Lines Flight 511 which departed San Francisco International Airport at 11:45 a.m., scheduled to arrive at Los Angeles, California, at 12:40 p.m.

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Subject departed Los Angeles at approximately 9:00 p.m., February 20, 1968, en route to San Francisco via air.

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A handout advertisement revealed that STOKELY CARMICHAEL would address the black students of San Francisco at Sokol Hall, 739 Page Street, San Francisco, at 11:00 a.m., February 21, 1968. This appearance was to be under the sponsorship of the Black Students Association, City College of San Francisco.

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL addressed approximately 400 persons on the afternoon of February 21, 1968, at Sokol Hall, 739 Page Street, San Francisco. The theme of CARMICHAEL's speech was: All black people must unite to stamp out the "honkey" (white man).

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 2/23/68b7C
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At the gymnasium, Merritt College, Oakland, California, 8:10 p.m., on February 21, 1968, entrance was blocked by two Negroes who stated that no white persons were permitted entrance without permission of [redacted]

At the auditorium, all persons were admitted. There was an admission charge of fifty cents and all persons were thoroughly frisked for weapons of any kind. Until the arrival of STOKELY CARMICHAEL, a small group of musicians, all Negroes, entertained the crowd. The auditorium was said to hold 900 persons and at the time of CARMICHAEL's arrival, all seats were taken with approximately 100 standees.

The un-named Negro who introduced CARMICHAEL at 3:55 p.m. announced that "STOKELY's" rules call for no unauthorized tape recorders and no unauthorized photographers. He indicated that these rules would be enforced by men patrolling in the aisles.

CARMICHAEL received a standing ovation. He spoke from about 3:55 p.m. to 4:15 p.m., at which time he answered questions from the audience. The theme of his speech was "love" for fellow Africans.

CARMICHAEL claimed that the white man wants to wipe us out and the only way "we" can combat this effort is to organize and fight back. He said it is white against all other races all over the world and the white man insists on ruling even in countries where he is in the minority. To make his point he cited the large percentage of communists in Italy and France, countries the white man considers his allies; he then cited relations with Russia which he indicated was a shame because President JOHNSON can often be seen shaking hands with their leaders. He said "we" are against everything American and if anyone should ask us who we are, we should respond that we are Africans.

From the floor, the question was asked if there was a rift between he and MARTIN LUTHER KING. He replied that we have the same skin and the same blood and the same

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AVAILABLE

On 2/21/68 at Merritt College, Oakland, California File # 87-157-721

by SA's [redacted] b7C

Date dictated 2/23/68

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SF 157-721

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purpose and indicated there was love of one African for another between them.

From the floor a young Negro woman who could not be clearly heard appeared to castigate CARMICHAEL. She continued on to the stage where CARMICHAEL listened to her and then gave her the microphone. She stated, in effect, that the way to lick the white man was with our minds. She was applauded quite well by the audience. CARMICHAEL responded, vehemently, that the white man gained his superiority with guns, with ropes, and with every means at his disposal except his mind to gain superiority over the blacks. He received a standing ovation and much cheering but it is estimated that about 40 per cent of the crowd did not rise and did not cheer.

To a question about organizing he urged the crowd to join the Black Students Union, then urge their parents to organize a Black Parents Union, not a Parent-Teachers Association, and then organize all the teachers into an Afro-American Teachers Union--then "we" will have complete control of the schools.

It was the opinion of the agents that though CARMICHAEL was received very well by the crowd, there were many who were not in whole-hearted agreement with him.

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Information corroborative of STOKELY CARMICHAEL's speech at approximately 3:00 p.m., February 21, 1968, at Merritt College, 5714 Grove Street, Oakland, California, has been furnished.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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2/28/68

Date

At approximately 10:00 p.m., STOKELY CARMICHAEL was observed entering the stage at Merritt College auditorium, 57th and Grove Streets, Oakland, California. CARMICHAEL was present to address the evening session of an all-day rally, held to commemorate the death of MALCOLM X. This rally was sponsored by the Black Student Union at Merritt College.

There were approximately 1000 individuals gathered in the auditorium, and it was noted that approximately 95% of these individuals were Negroes. A "donation" of \$1.00 was collected at the door.

During the entire period of CARMICHAEL's speech, ten Negroes were noted standing on the stage near CARMICHAEL. It was apparent that these individuals were ostensibly placed on the stage to act as a guard for CARMICHAEL.

CARMICHAEL spoke for approximately thirty minutes and his speech was followed by a question and answer period. His principal theme was that the survival of the Negro race depended mainly on all Negroes having love for the Negro race. CARMICHAEL reiterated this theme over and over again during his speech, indicating that Negroes must band together in order to survive the hostility of the whites. He stated that MALCOLM X had attempted to alert the Negro race to the real struggle going on in the United States, that of whites against non-whites. Until the Negro race recognized the fact that Negroes have to unite together against white hostility, all Negroes will be at the mercy of the "fascist pig cops."

On 2/21/68 at Oakland, California

File # SF 157-721

SAs

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by

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Date dictated 2/26/68

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On February 20, 1968, information was received revealing that a cross section of the leadership of the San Francisco Bay Area Negro community was being invited by letter invitation in the name of STOKELY CARMICHAEL to attend a meeting at a Downs Memorial Methodist Church, 61st and Idaho Streets, Oakland, on February 22, 1968, at 11:00 a.m. The meeting was to be held for the purpose of exploring ways and means of eliminating existing antagonisms within the Negro community.

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On February 22, 1968, from noon to 4:00 p.m., STOKELY CARMICHAEL attended and was in charge of a unity meeting at Downs Memorial Methodist Church, 61st and Idaho Streets, Oakland. Approximately 225 persons, all Negroes, were present by invitation only. Those present represented a cross section of the leadership of the Negro community of the entire San Francisco Bay Area. The purpose of the meeting was to promote unity and understanding among all members of the black community. In order to help unite middle and upper class Negroes with young black militants, a Black United Front organization was proposed by STOKELY CARMICHAEL.

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At a [redacted] Communist Party (CP) club meeting at a private residence in [redacted] of the CP members present related that they had managed to attend a recently held [redacted] meeting addressed by STOKELY CARMICHAEL. They asserted that they had difficulty in entering the meeting because they did not possess special numbered cards, but due to their insistence, the [redacted] were allowed to enter. They related that the meeting was attended by approximately 200 people and that STOKELY CARMICHAEL stated that the black people in the U. S. face possible extermination due to uprisings and racial tension prevalent in this society. CARMICHAEL reportedly stated that all black people should arm themselves as soon as possible and he stated there are many black people around the country who do not realize the problem they face. CARMICHAEL reportedly stated that he would make a proposal that would rock the government from the East Coast to the West Coast. This

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proposal was the reason for calling the [] meeting and avoiding publicity and avoiding any possibility of federal or local law intervention. It was also to prevent any newspaper leaks from getting his story to the public before his plan could get off the ground. CARMICHAEL's plan is that all black groups and organizations band together to form a Black United Front. CARMICHAEL stated that all blacks would be invited whether they were involved in political activity or not, regardless of the political organization, whether NAACP, Urban League or even CP, USA. CARMICHAEL reportedly stated that every Negro person is a potential black and if one falls, all fall until blacks unite now before it is too late. CARMICHAEL reportedly asserted that all blacks should make plans for self protection and that all blacks upon entering the Black United Front should be prepared to defend themselves at any cost using knives, guns or sticks.

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Printed invitations were sent announcing a reception with STOKELY CARMICHAEL at a private residence at [] California, [] from 8:30 to 10:30 p.m. The invitations stated that the event was a benefit for the Huey P. Newton Defense Fund and that donations were \$10 per person and \$15 per couple.

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL appeared and spoke at Benjamin Franklin Junior High School, San Francisco, California, on February 23, 1968. Admission was by a donation of \$1 and was limited to blacks only. Speakers on the program asserted that police would be killed, industrial plants blown up, and three Southern governors killed if anything happened to H. RAPP BROWN, and that the same reprisals applied in the case of HUEY P. NEWTON.

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H. RAPP BROWN is publicly known as CARMICHAEL's successor as leader of the SNCC and is presently incarcerated on a federal charge of obstructing justice.

At the February 23, 1968 meeting at Benjamin Franklin Junior High School, San Francisco, STOKELY CARMICHAEL read a letter from H. RAPP BROWN which had been written in jail. Following the reading of the letter, CARMICHAEL urged all black people to have an undying love for one another.

[REDACTED]

Information corroborative of CARMICHAEL's presence at the February 23, 1968 meeting at Benjamin Franklin Junior High School, San Francisco, has been received.

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On February 24, 1968, STOKELY CARMICHAEL spoke at morning, luncheon and afternoon sessions at the Green Oaks School, East Palo Alto, California.

[REDACTED]

STOKELY CARMICHAEL addressed a gathering of approximately 300 people at the Green Oaks School, East Palo Alto, California, at approximately 1:00 p.m., February 24, 1968. CARMICHAEL urged the recruitment of Negro college students into Black Student Unions and tutorial programs for blacks. CARMICHAEL urged that all black people develop an undying love for each other.

[REDACTED]

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL was a guest speaker at an evening gathering of approximately 50 persons at a private residence,

[REDACTED] California, [REDACTED]
At this gathering STOKELY CARMICHAEL urged all black people to have "undying love" for each other and to ban together in order to free themselves from the "honkey" who has brainwashed the Negro for hundreds of years. CARMICHAEL urged his listeners not to listen to "honkeys" and not to vote in elections.

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The "Berkeley Daily Gazette", a newspaper of general circulation published at Berkeley, California, carried articles on pages 1 and 2 in the issue of February 27, 1968. These articles reveal that STOKELY CARMICHAEL was present among a crowd of approximately 300 persons who gathered at the Berkeley Civic Center area to protest the arrest and prosecution of BOBBY SEALE, his wife and others on charges of possessing illegal weapons.

BOBBY GEORGE SEALE is publicly known as the Chairman of the BPPSD.

The newspaper account reflects that CARMICHAEL read from what he said was a letter from H. RAPP BROWN. This letter stated in part, "It is time to move from resistance to aggression, from revolt to revolution. I am a political prisoner jailed for my beliefs. This government is the enemy of mankind. For our people, death has been the only end to slavery and oppression. We must fight. It is the people who determine history, not the leaders. If it takes my death (to bring about the end of this country) then here is my life, but my soul belongs to my people."

During an undetermined portion of the period February 20 to February 26, 1968, STOKELY CARMICHAEL is reported to have been quartered at a private residence, [REDACTED] b7C
[REDACTED] California, the home of one [REDACTED] b7D

STOKELY CARMICHAEL arrived at Atlanta, Georgia, on February 27, 1968. [REDACTED] b2
[REDACTED] b7D

BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF-DEFENSE (BPPSD)

A source advised that the Black Panther Party For Self-Defense (BPPSD) was formed by HUEY PERCY NEWTON, Minister of Defense, [redacted] in Oakland, California, in December, 1966, as a militant black nationalist political organization to combat "police brutality," to unite militant black youth, to determine the destiny of black communities, and to educate black people in African history. The political philosophy of the organization was taken from the writings of MAO TSE-TUNG of Communist China and black militant writers.

b7C
b7D

The official BPPSD publication "The Black Panther - Black Community News Service" indicates the leadership of the BPPSD advocates the use of guns and guerilla tactics in the violent revolutionary program to end oppression and to oppose the drafting of black men to fight in Vietnam.

A second source advised that in early 1967, [redacted] NEWTON, and their associates carried carbine rifles and holstered pistols in plain view on the streets of Oakland and elsewhere while on "defense patrols."

b7C
b7D

[redacted] was one of the persons arrested by the Sacramento, California Police Department on May 2, 1967, when members of the BPPSD invaded the California State Legislative Assembly in Sacramento while in session, carrying loaded guns to protest restrictions on the carrying of guns.

A Grand Jury of Alameda County, California, Oakland, California, on November 13, 1967, indicted HUEY PERCY NEWTON on charge of murder of an Oakland, California police officer on October 28, 1967, in Oakland, California.

The [redacted] advised that the headquarters office of the BPPSD at 5624 Grove Street, Oakland, California, is closed and that no membership meetings have been held since August, 1967.

b2
b7D

The November 4, 1967, issue of "The Sun Reporter," a San Francisco, California Negro community newspaper, states that a HUEY PERCY NEWTON defense fund has been established and that the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the Congress on Racial Equality (CORE) through the national offices have pledged their complete and continuous support to the defense of HUEY PERCY NEWTON.

APPENDIX

W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (DCA)

A source advised that on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist -oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates were told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A [] has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention.

b2
b7D

The [] advised in September, 1966, that [] stated that in Negro communities the Party still supported the plan to build "left" socialist centers and to solidify the Party base through the DCA. This source also advised in September, 1966 that []

[] stated the Party believes the DCA should have a working-class outlook and be a mass organization favorable to socialism, socialist countries and Marxism, and in April, 1967, advised GUS HALL, CPUSA General Secretary, had indicated the DCA primary emphasis should be on developing mass resistance to the draft.

b2
b7C
b7D

A [] advised in September, 1967, that [] of the DCA on September 10, 1967, at the Third National Convention of the DCA held in New York, New York, from September 8-10, 1967.

A [] advised during August, 1967, that [] is a member of the National Committee of the CPUSA.

A [] advised on September 21, 1967, that the headquarters of the DCA is located at 34 West 17th Street, New York, New York.

b2
b7DAPPENDIX

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (DCA)
SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION

A source has advised that as of April, 1966, the records of the DCA reflect that the following Du Bois Clubs and/or Chapters in Northern California are affiliated with the parent organization, the DCA:

1. Berkeley Du Bois Club (BDBC), (Chartered)
2. Fillmore Du Bois Club (FDBC), (Chartered)
3. San Francisco Du Bois Club (SFDBC), (Chartered)
4. San Francisco State College Du Bois Club (SFSCDBC), (Chartered)
5. San Jose Du Bois Club (SJDBC), (Chartered)
6. San Jose State College Du Bois Club (SJSCDBC), (Non-chartered)
7. Stanford University Du Bois Club (SUDBC), (Non-chartered)

b2
b7D

A [] has advised in April, 1967, that for all intent and purpose, the DCA is defunct in the general San Francisco Bay Area, although certain elements in the Northern California District Communist Party are attempting to revive interest in the DCA.

APPENDIX

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



*In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.*

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Francisco, California

April 11, 1968

Title STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Character INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS
 SEDITION

Reference Report of SA [redacted]
 [redacted] dated and captioned
 as above at San Francisco.

b7C

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

Date 4/26/68

To:

☒ Director

Racial Intelligence

FILE

Att.:

Title STOKELY CARMICHAEL

☐ SAC

IS - MISC; SEDITION

☐ ASAC

☐ Supv.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

☐ Agent

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

☐ SE

DATE 05-03-2006 BY

☐ IC

60309/AUC/TAM/DO

☐ CC

RE: SF report SA

4/11/68.

☐ Steno

☐ Clerk

☐ Rotor #:

ACTION DESIRED

☐ Acknowledge

☐ Open Case

☐ Assign Reassign

☐ Prepare lead cards

☐ Bring file

☐ Prepare tickler

☐ Call me

☐ Return assignment card

☐ Correct

☐ Return file

☐ Deadline

☐ Search and return

☐ Deadline passed

☐ See me

☐ Delinquent

☐ Serial #

☐ Discontinue

☐ Post ☐ Recharge ☐ Return

☐ Expedite

☐ Send to

☐ File

☐ Submit new charge out

☐ For information

☐ Submit report by

☐ Handle

☐ Type

☐ Initial & return

b2

b7D

☐ Leads need attention

☐ Return with explanation or notation as to action taken.

Page 3, para. 2, please add at end 2/17/68. Local copies corrected.

REGISTERED MAIL

SAC

CHARLES W. SEARLES

RACIAL INTL. SEC.

SF

Office

CONFIDENTIAL

See reverse side

Date 4/26/68

To:

☒ Director

FILE BU 100-446080

Att.: Div. 5, Room 806, 9 & D Bldg.

Title

☐ SAC

☐ ASAC

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

☐ Supv.

IS - MISC; SEDITION

☐ Agent ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

b7C

☐ SE HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

☐ IC DATE 05-03-2006

Attached r/s and SF report

☐ CC 60309/AUC/TAM/REG SA

4/11/68.

☐ Steno

☐ Clerk

☐ Rotor #:

ACTION DESIRED

☐ Acknowledge

☐ Open Case

☐ Assign Reassign

☐ Prepare lead cards

☐ Bring file

☐ Prepare tickler

☐ Call me

☐ Return assignment card

☐ Correct

☐ Return file

☐ Deadline

☐ Search and return

☐ Deadline passed

☐ See me

☐ Delinquent

☐ Serial #

☐ Discontinue

☐ Post ☐ Recharge ☐ Return

☐ Expedite

☐ Send to

☐ File

☐ Submit new charge out

☐ For information

☐ Submit report by

☐ Handle

☐ Type

☐ Initial & return

b2

☐ Leads need attention

b7D

☐ Return with explanation or notation as to action taken.

Page 22, first para., line 3, should be
rather than Also, Cover Page B.

 rather than

Bureau please correct its copies. Local copies corrected.

REGISTERED MAIL

SAC CHARLES W. BATES

Office SAN FRANCISCO

 See reverse side

Routing Slip
0-7 (Rev. 3-31-67)

(Copies to Offices Checked)

TO: SAC,

☐ Albany
☐ Albuquerque
☐ Anchorage
☐ Atlanta
☐ Baltimore
☐ Birmingham
☐ Boston
☐ Buffalo
☐ Butte
☐ Charlotte
☐ Chicago
☐ Cincinnati
☐ Cleveland
☐ Columbia
☐ Dallas
☐ Denver
☐ Detroit
☐ El Paso
☐ Honolulu

☐ Houston
☐ Indianapolis
☐ Jackson
☐ Jacksonville
☐ Kansas City
☐ Knoxville
☐ Las Vegas
☐ Little Rock
☐ Los Angeles
☐ Louisville
☐ Memphis
☐ Miami
☐ Milwaukee
☐ Minneapolis
☐ Mobile
☐ Newark
☐ New Haven
☐ New Orleans

☐ New York City
☐ Norfolk
☐ Oklahoma City
☐ Omaha
☐ Philadelphia
☐ Phoenix
☐ Pittsburgh
☐ Portland
☐ Richmond
☐ St. Louis
☐ Salt Lake City
☐ San Antonio
☐ San Diego
☒ San Francisco
☐ San Juan
☐ Savannah
☐ Seattle
☐ Springfield

☐ Tampa
☐ Washington Field
☐ Quantico

TO LEGAT:

☐ Bern
☐ Bonn
☐ Buenos Aires
☐ Hong Kong
☐ London
☐ Manila
☐ Mexico, D.F.
☐ Ottawa
☐ Paris
☐ Rome
☐ Santo Domingo
☐ Tokyo

Date

4/24/68

RE:

**STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION**

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

☐ For information ☐ optional ☒ Retention ☐ action ☐ Date ☐ For appropriate action ☐ Surep. by
DATE 05-03-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bis
☐ The enclosed is for your information. If used in a future report, ☐ conceal
all sources, ☐ paraphrase contents.
☐ Enclosed are corrected pages from report of SA _____
dated _____
b7C

Remarks:

Re report of SA [redacted]
dated 4/11/68.

Unable to locate [redacted] in re report. Advise
by return routing slip marked Division 5, Room
806, 9 & D Building.

Dissemination being withheld pending
your reply.

b2
b7D

SERIALIZED

APR 25 1 54 PM '68

FBI - SAN FRANCISCO

Enc. [signature]
Bufile 100-446080
Urfile 157-721

[redacted]

157-721

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-03-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DOG/bls
FBI

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan ☒ _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

Date: 4/12/68 3:40 a.m.

CODED

Transmit the following in _____

TELETYPE

URGENT

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via _____

(Priority)

b7C

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI AND SACS, NEW YORK
(100-446080) SAN FRANCISCO

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS - MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION, OO:WFO.

REFERENCE SAN FRANCISCO TELCALL TO WFO APRIL TWELVE INSTANT
CONCERNING BURIAL OF A BLACK PANTHER PARTY MEMBER IN SAN FRANCISCO
THIS DATE. SAN FRANCISCO HAS RUMOR CARMICHAEL WILL ATTEND
FUNERAL.

A SOURCE HAS ADVISED THAT CARMICHAEL STATED HE WOULD DEPART
WASHINGTON, D. C. (WDC) NINE P.M. APRIL ELEVEN LAST BY AIR FOR
NEW YORK CITY (NYC) AND THAT [REDACTED] WOULD MEET HIM
AT THE AIRPORT. HE PLANNED ON BEING ACCOMPANIED BY [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] BOTH KNOWN SNCC AFFILIATES IN WDC.

ACCORDING TO THE SOURCE, [REDACTED]

2 - Bureau
2 - Teletype Unit
2 - WFO

GWP:jle
(6)

REC-27

100-446080-1398

14 APR 15 1968

5-74

IDIU ADVISED
4/12/68
[Signature]

Approved: [Signature]
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

WFO 100-43503

PAGE TWO

WILL TRAVEL TO NYC ON APRIL TWELVE INSTANT. SOURCE FURTHER
STATED OTHER SNCC MEMBERS PLANNED TO TRAVEL TO NYC APRIL ELEVEN
LAST AND WOULD STAY AT DIPLOMAT HOTEL, NYC.

NEW YORK ADVISE SAN FRANCISCO RE ANY INFO COMING TO THEIR
ATTENTION CONCERNING PLANS OF CARMICHAEL TO TRAVEL TO SAN
FRANCISCO.

ADMINISTRATIVE

b7C
b7DSOURCE MENTIONED IS cc
100-111111
ROOM 836 942
Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

1709
BA
5/1

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-03-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bjs

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

APR 12 1968

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

FBI WASH DC*

FBI SAN FRAN

1259AM DEFERRED 4-12-68 RLO

TO DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080), WFO (100-43503), ATLANTA (100-6812)
RICHMOND (157-2135), NEW YORK (100-153751)
FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-721) b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL. RACIAL MATTERS.

RE SF TEL CALL TO WFO APRIL TWELVE INSTANT.

RICHMOND, CALIFORNIA PD ADVISES RUMOR CURRENT THAT STOKELY
CARMICHAEL IS IN SAN FRANCISCO AREA OR MAY BE COMING FRIDAY,
APRIL TWELVE, IN CONNECTION WITH FUNERAL OF BOBBY HUTTON, MEMBER
OF BLACK PANTHER PARTY SLAIN LAST SUNDAY MORNING IN OAKLAND.
OAKLAND, BERKELEY AND RICHMOND POLICE DEPARTMENTS ANXIOUS TO KNOW
IF RUMOR TRUE AS THERE MAY BE TROUBLE ARISING AS FUNERAL AFTERMATH.

RECIPIENT OFFICES REQUESTED TO ADVISE PROMPTLY IF CARMICHAEL
WHEREABOUTS KNOWN. HUTTON FUNERAL SET FOR ELEVEN A.M. PST IN
BERKELEY, CALIF.

END OTHER OFFICES ADVISED SEPARATELY

MXS

FBI WASH DC*

REC 27

100-446080-1399

14 APR 15 1968

MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

Relayed to

APR 18 1968

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

APR 12 1968

TELETYPE

RA
FBI WASH DC*

FBI TAMPA

1149AM URGENT 4-12-68 BLW

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080) AND WFO

FROM TAMPA (100-1103)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-03-2006 BY

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS - M; SEDITION. OO WFO.

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan ✓
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

b7C

FLA.,

ADVISED THIS DATE THAT HE HAD RECEIVED INFORMATION FROM A
SOURCE, UNIDENTIFIED, AT ST. PETERSBURG, FLA., TO THE
EFFECT THAT THE ABOVE-CAPTIONED SUBJECT IS COMING TO
ST. PETERSBURG, FLA. TO CAUSE TROUBLE AT MAAS BROTHERS
DEPARTMENT STORE THERE, AND THAT IT IS EXPECTED HE WILL
THEREAFTER COME TO TAMPA, FLA.

b7C
b7D

THIS IS THE FIRST INDICATION TO TAMPA OFFICE THAT
CARMICHAEL IS PLANNING A TRIP TO THIS AREA.

THE BUREAU AND WFO ARE REQUESTED TO ADVISE IF ANY
INFORMATION HAS BEEN DEVELOPED TO INDICATE THAT CARMICHAEL
INTENDS TO VISIT FLORIDA IN THE NEAR FUTURE. SUTEL TODAY.

END

RB

FBI WASH DC*

PLS

54 APR 18 1968

RELAYED TO WFO

WFO ADVISED
TAMPA OF CARMICHAEL'S
WHEREABOUTS & KNOWN
IT IN ANY. 4/15/68
FBI

APR 15 1968

5-12

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-03-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls
FBI

Date: 4/11/68

PLAINTEXT

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

TELETYPE

URGENT

Via _____
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

TO: DIRECTOR (100-446080) AND SACS ATLANTA
BALTIMORE
CHICAGO
KANSAN CITY
NEWARK
NEW YORK
RICHMOND

b7C

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; IS - M; SEDITION; OO:WFO.

SUBJECT RETURNED TO WDC THIS DATE ARRIVING AT FIVE
FORTYFIVE PM, EST. SUBJECT WENT TO SNCC HEADQUARTERS, WDC.

b7C

IDIU - 10⁰¹ pm 4/11/68
ARMY - 10⁰³ 4/11/68
SS - 10⁰⁶ pm 4/11/68

- ② - Bureau
- 2 - Teletype Unit
- 2 - WFO

WWH:tab
(6)

XEROX

1968 APR

Included in informative
note on RA 4/11/68.
IDIU and Secret Service
advised. P.B. advised by WFO.

b7C

EX-110

REC 13

100-446080-140 hcc IDIU
icc AG

11 APR 16 1968

62 APR 18 1968

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-03-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

FBI

Date: 4/8/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, BOSTON

MINISTEEMEN
IS
MURKIN

Rebostel, 4/8/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are six copies of an
LHM, and two copies for Albany, Kansas City, New Haven,
New York, Newark and WFO, dated and captioned as above
at Boston.

The information contained therein was
furnished by [redacted] to SA [redacted]

b7C
b7D

C. C. Bishop

ENCLOSURE

3-Bureau (Encs. 6)(RM)
2-Albany (Encs. 2)(RM)
2-Kansas City (Encs. 2)(RM)
2-New Haven (Encs. 2)(RM)
2-New York (Encs. 2)(RM)
2-Newark (Encs. 2)(RM)
2-Washington Field (Encs. 2)(RM)
2-Boston

JPS:po'b
(17)

b7C

100-44600
NOT RECORDED
180 APR 15 1968

12 APR 9 1968

54 APR 18 1968

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

ORIGINAL FILED IN 62-107261-3273



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Boston, Massachusetts

April 8, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-03-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

MINUTEMEN

The following information was received from a source who claims to be familiar with activities and plans of the Minutemen:

The Minutemen had a general plan to foment civil strife by killing Negro Leaders, Martin Luther King, [redacted] and Stokely Carmichael and, therefore, seize power in the confusion. No specific time table set and Carmichael had least priority because he was already fomenting civil strife himself.

b7C
b7D
The Minutemen also planned to kill [redacted] and to kidnap and kill the United States Attorney in Kansas City, Missouri, for prosecution against the Minutemen and [redacted] and Alcohol, Tobacco and Tax Unit Agents [redacted] of Kansas City, Missouri, and FBI Investigator of the Minutemen in Kansas City whom they described as elderly, short and with gray hair.

They planned to place a bomb at the door of the FBI Office in New Haven, Connecticut, after working hours, not to injure people but to cause confusion.

b7C
b7D
From time to time, the Minutemen have conducted surveillances of individuals in their offices concerning these plans. The Minutemen members in Connecticut are identified as [redacted]

[redacted]
[redacted] The meetings are held on [redacted] Connecticut. [redacted] to blow up the courtroom or court house rather than let himself be tried and convicted.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

100-446080
ENCLOSURE

APPENDIX

"MINUTEMEN"

b7C
b7D

The "Minutemen" was organized in June, 1960. Its present headquarters are Norborne, Missouri. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] has stated the membership of the "Minutemen" to be in excess of 35,000 members, however, confidential sources state this figure is greatly exaggerated and that a more true estimate would be between 800 and 2,000 members. Statements by [REDACTED] and literature distributed by the organization indicate its purpose to be the resistance to, and exposure of, the spread of Communist influence within the United States; for the formation of a guerrilla or underground organization to combat the troops of any foreign powers which might eventually occupy this country; and resist passage of laws which would regulate private ownership of firearms.

b7C
b7D

The Kansas City Star newspaper has on numerous occasions contained articles concerning the "Minutemen", wherein it was stated that members of the organization participate in maneuvers utilizing guerrilla tactics with machine guns, mortars, grenades, and other firearms. [REDACTED] has publicly stated the "Minutemen" as an organization does not buy or store arms or ammunition; however, individual members are urged to maintain arms and ammunition, which is their constitutional right. "Minutemen" has given instructions in the use of explosive compounds from such readily accessible ingredients as common fertilizer, ammonium nitrate. [REDACTED] along with his close associate [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] were convicted in U. S. District Court of violation of the Federal Firearms Act. All were sentenced to prison and all are free on bond pending their appeals to the 8th Circuit Court of Appeals, St. Louis, Missouri.

On October 30, 1966, the New York City Police Department arrested 19 members of the "Minutemen", charging them with "conspiracy to commit arson", and "illegal possession of firearms". An inventory of firearms seized as a result of these arrests included 115 rifles, 26 handguns, 8 automatic weapons, 3 bazookas, 2 mortars, 1 anti-tank gun and an unknown quantity of ammunition.

~~2~~

APPENDIX

"MINUTEMEN"

b7C

In April, 1966, [] stated the "Minutemen" organization was then dividing itself into two bodies: one group to be members who have been able to maintain their identity in complete secrecy from the public and government investigative agencies, and the other group to be made up of members who have been publicly identified and who will become active in the Patriotic Party. The first group will go completely underground and will continue to emphasize intelligence activities and resistance warfare training programs. The first national convention of the Patriotic Party was held July 3 and 4, 1966, at Kansas City, Missouri, [] About 300 individuals attended this convention. The second annual convention of the Patriotic Party was held July 2, 3, & 4, 1967, Kansas City, Kansas, with approximately 240 persons attending. []

[] at the convention, however, he stated he would continue in an advisory capacity. The delegates, at [] urging, endorsed former Governor of Alabama, George Wallace, and []

[]

~~SECRET~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE
Classification per OCA letter
dated 05-08-2006

DATE: 05-03-2006
CLASSIFIED BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/b1
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1)
05-03-2031

4/11/63

CODE

TELETYPE

URGENT

1 - Mr. Rosen

1 -
1 -
1 -
1 -

b7C

TO LEGAT SANTO DOMINGO
FROM DIRECTOR FBI

ASSASSINATION OF MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
REURTELS NUMBERS TWO AND FOUR DATED APRIL EIGHT LAST.
PERTINENT DATA IN RETELS WAS INCORPORATED INTO LHM AND
FURNISHED WHITE HOUSE, ATTORNEY GENERAL AND INTERESTED
GOVERNMENT AGENCIES BY LETTER APRIL TEN INSTANT.

IN VIEW OF NATURE AND EXORCITY OF ALLEGATIONS MADE BY
[REDACTED] CONCERNING THIS MATTER, LEGAT MUST ENDEAVOR
TO VERIFY OR DISPROVE SUCH ALLEGATIONS.

PHOTOGRAPH OF ONE [REDACTED] ALSO KNOWN AS

SEPARATELY.

BEING FORWARDED

100-446080

BUREAU FILES REVEAL ABOVE INDIVIDUAL IS
AND HIS PARENTS [REDACTED]

1 - Foreign Liaison Unit (route through for review)

1 - [REDACTED]

55 APR 15 1963

WHA:lan

(10)

~~SECRET~~

BEST COPY AVAILABLE
DUPLICATE YELLOW OF
WIRE TRANSMITTED

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

ORIGINAL FILED IN 44-38861-447

(S)

~~SECRET~~

TELETYPE TO LEGAT SANTO DOMINGO
RE: ASSASSINATION OF MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

b1

(S)

ADDITIONAL PERTINENT INFORMATION CONCERNING [REDACTED]
WILL BE FORWARDED BY AIRTEL.

b7C

NOTE:

Legat in retels reported [REDACTED] had volunteered a third party had overheard a conversation in Santo Domingo between two Dominican communists in which it was alleged that Stokely Carmichael and [REDACTED] advocated the death of Martin Luther King and King's assassination would benefit the cause of black violence.

b7C

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

- 3 -

~~SECRET~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

APR 8 1968

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

634
FBI WASH DC*

4:29 PM EST

4/8/68 URGENT VSC

TO DIRECTOR, MEMPHIS, RICHMOND, WFO

FROM ATLANTA

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-03-2006 BY

[REDACTED] IS - SNCG0309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, AKA. IS - M; SEDITION.

ASSASSINATION OF DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. RM.

[REDACTED] ADVISES STOKELY CARMICHAEL

PRESENTLY IN RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, TO POST BOND FOR

[REDACTED] AFTER SECURING RELEASE OF [REDACTED]

WILL ACCOMPANY CARMICHAEL TO MEMPHIS, TENN., ON APR.

EIGHTH INSTANT, PROCEEDING TO ATLANTA, APR. NINTH NEXT,

TO ATTEND FUNERAL OF MARTIN LUTHER KING.

WFO, RICHMOND AND MEMPHIS ATTEMPT TO ASCERTAIN
DETAILS AND ADVISE PERTINENT SOURCES OF ANY PROPOSED
ITINERARY FOR CARMICHAEL AND/OR [REDACTED]

SECRET SERVICE AND MILITARY AUTHORITIES ADVISED.

A.M. COPY SENT NEW YORK. P

END

CAB

FBI WASH DC*

MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

XEROX

T RELAYED TO

WFO

1968 APR

54 APR 16 1968

100 - 446080
5-14
NOT RECORDED
165 APR 10 1968

ORIGINAL FILED IN 105-168197-639

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-03-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls
FBI

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

Date: 4/11/68

Transmit the following in _____

CODE

(Type in plaintext or code)

TELETYPE

URGENT

Via _____

(Priority)

b7C

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, WFO

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS - MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION

WFO SOURCE ADVISED THIS DATE [REDACTED]

RETURNED WASHINGTON, D.C. VIA FIVE P.M. FLIGHT, APRIL

ELEVEN INSTANT FROM NEW YORK CITY AND CARMICHAEL RETURNED

FROM ATLANTA. [REDACTED] AND CARMICHAEL (MET (WITH SOURCE

EARLY EVENING, [REDACTED] INSTANT, AT [REDACTED]

b7C
b7D

[REDACTED]

WASHINGTON, D.C., [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b7C

2-Bureau (100-446080)

2-Teletype Unit

2-WFO (100-43503)

WWH:dan

(6)

XEROX

54 APR 18 1968

1968 APR

11 APR 16 1968

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

RACIAL INT. SECT.

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)WFO 100-43503
PAGE TWOb7C
b7D

A [] ADVISED THAT CARMICHAEL STATED HE
WOULD DEPART WASHINGTON, D.C. NINE P.M., APRIL ELEVEN
INSTANT BY AIR FOR NEW YORK CITY AND THAT []

b2
b7C
b7D

[] WOULD MEET HIM AT THE AIRPORT. HE
PLANNED ON BEING ACCOMPANIED BY []

[] ACCORDING TO SOURCE, []
WILL LEAVE FOR NEW YORK CITY WITH [] ON APRIL
TWELVE NEXT. SOURCE STATED OTHER SNCC MEMBERS PLAN
TO TRAVEL TO NEW YORK CITY APRIL ELEVEN INSTANT AND
WILL STAY AT DIPLOMAT HOTEL, NEW YORK CITY. SOURCE

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)WFO 100-43503
PAGE THREEb7C
b7D

STATED CARMICHAEL AND [REDACTED] WERE TALKING TO OTHERS AT
SNCC HEADQUARTERS, APRIL ELEVEN INSTANT, AND CARMICHAEL
STATED, "WE'RE MARRIED" AND MADE NO FURTHER COMMENT
REGARDING THIS.

ADMINISTRATIVE

REFERENCE WFO TEL APRIL ELEVEN INSTANT.

b2
b7C
b7D

NEW YORK COGNIZANT OF TRAVEL.

P

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

ATTENTION

The following documents appearing in FBI files have been reviewed under the provisions of The Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) (Title 5, United States Code, Section 552); Privacy Act of 1974 (PA) (Title 5, United States Code, Section 552a); and/or Litigation.

☐ FOIA/PA☐ Litigation☐ Executive Order Applied

Requester: _____

Subject: _____

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Title of Case: _____ Section _____

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File Number: _____

100-HQ-446080

Section _____

29

Serial(s) Reviewed: _____

All

FOIPA Requester: _____

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FOIPA Computer Number: _____

983317

File Number: _____

Section _____

Serial(s) Reviewed: _____

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ATTENTION

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE WASHINGTON FIELD	OFFICE OF ORIGIN WASHINGTON FIELD	DATE 4/12/68	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 4/8 - 12/68
TITLE OF CASE STOKELY CARMICHAEL		REPORT MADE BY SA b7C	TYPED BY tab
		CHARACTER OF CASE INCITING TO RIOT - MISCELLANEOUS	

REFERENCE: WFO report of SA dated 4/8/68

- P -

b7C

INFORMANT:

The source mentioned in this report who furnished information on CARMICHAEL and attendance at Howard University on 4/5/68 is

b7C
b7D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-08-2005 BY 60309 AUC
TAM/MLT/JHF

/ bls

983317

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED						ACQUIT- TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		
							PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐ YES ☒ NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS ☐ YES ☒ NO

APPROVED *[Signature]* SPECIAL AGENT
IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

COPIES MADE:

100-446080-1403

- ⑥ - Bureau (Attn: Domestic (100-446080)
Intelligence Division)
2 - USA, Washington, D. C.
3 - WFO (62-9737)

11 APR 17 1968

REC-48

REC-73

EX 109

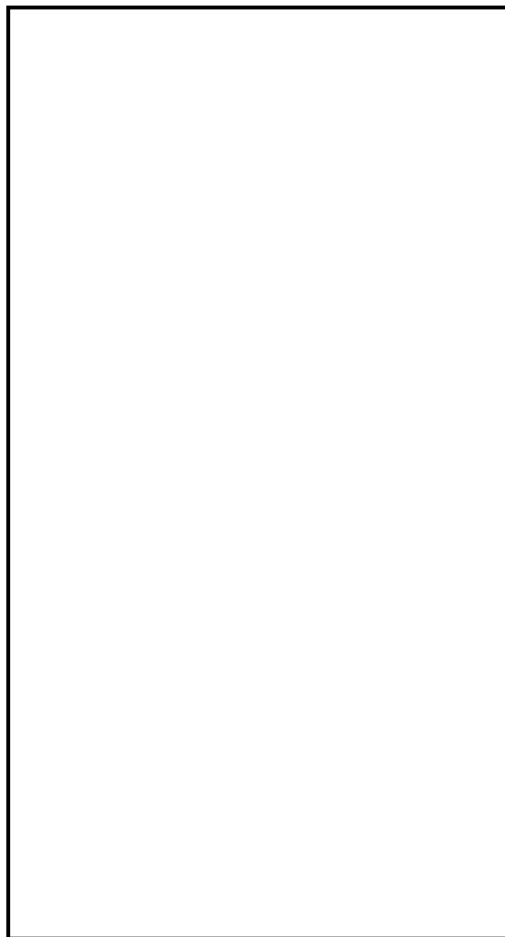
Dissemination Record of Attached Report		Notations
Agency	Request Recd.	
DEPT J. Walter Headley, Fred M. Vinson, Jr.	Crim - Attn: 	RACIAL INT. SEC. RACIAL INT. SEC. RACIAL INT. SEC.
Date Fwd.	4/15/68	
How Fwd.	413	
By	OTB/dep 54	

b7C

79 APR 30 1968

WFO 62-9737

The following Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) participated in the negative interviews conducted 4/8, 9, 10/68 in the vicinity of 14th and U Streets, N.W.:



b7C

B
COVER PAGE

WFO 62-9737

LEADS

WASHINGTON FIELD

AT WASHINGTON, D.C.

Will locate and interview D.C. Recreational
Department [redacted]

b7C

Will attempt to obtain handbills reportedly handed out by CARMICHAEL on evening of 4/5/68 regarding keeping children off the streets.

Will interview all reporters and other personnel of "The Washington Post" newspaper not already interviewed, which investigation reveals were assigned to coverage of STOKELY CARMICHAEL's activities during the period 4/4-7/68.

Will interview, when available, [redacted]
[redacted] newspaper concerning her eye witness account which appeared in that newspaper, 4/9/68, under caption of "First Night - Stores Looted, Rocks Thrown at D.C. Police."

b7C

Will await Bureau decision regarding obtaining copies of logs of "Washington Post" newsmen who were reporting on events on 14th Street, N.W. and vicinity on night of 4/4/68.

Will interview all individuals in the news gathering community whose names turn up during investigation who may have witnessed pertinent events during period of 4/4-7/68.

Will make transcriptions of the audio portions of the sound color films of STOKELY CARMICHAEL's press conference of 10:00 a.m., 4/5/68, at SNCC Headquarters as furnished by WTOP and ABC, for inclusion in next report.

C

COVER PAGE

WFO 62-9737

Will continue attempts to identify and interview students who were present during CARMICHAEL's remarks on 4/5/68.

Will specifically attempt to identify those students arrested during the disturbance and arrange for interviews to determine if they heard CARMICHAEL's remarks on 4/4/68 or 4/5/68, and whether or not the remarks had an effect on their actions.

Will interview additional employees on duty at Peoples Drug Store #3, 14th and U Streets, N.W.

Will locate and interview additional Special Police officers, employees of Seaboard Service Systems, Limited, Washington, D.C.

Will attempt to identify and interview officers of the Metropolitan Police Department in the area of 14th and U Streets, N.W. on Thursday evening, 4/4/68.

Will continue to locate and interview other owners and/or employees of business establishments in the area of 14th and U Streets, N.W.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to: 2 - United States Attorney, Washington, D. C.

b7C

Report of:

SA [REDACTED]

Office: Washington, D. C.

Date:

4/12/68

Field Office File #:

62-9737

Bureau File #: 100-446080

Title:

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

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DATE 12-08-2005 BY 60309 AUC
TAM/MLT/JHF

983317

/bls

Character:

INCITING TO RIOT - MISCELLANEOUS

Synopsis:

Press reporters stated STOKELY CARMICHAEL observed leading group in area of 14th and U Streets, N. W. evening of 4/4/68 prior to the breaking of store windows and looting. CARMICHAEL reported that evening snatching a weapon from an unruly individual in crowd and kept weapon in his hand. When looting began crowd reportedly scattered and broke up into groups. Press reporters in variance of CARMICHAEL's remarks on night of 4/4/68. Numerous store owners and employees in area of 14th and U interviewed and some reported CARMICHAEL in group telling businessmen to close after assassination of MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. which they did. Seven students advised they observed CARMICHAEL on afternoon of 4/5/68 at Howard University. Several of these students reported CARMICHAEL exhibiting a pistol to a group gathered on campus and making such statements as "Don't go on the streets unless you have a gun and here's mine". One student believes CARMICHAEL's remarks could have excited the crowd. Prior to CARMICHAEL's appearance on Howard University Campus afternoon of 4/5/68, neighborhood investigation that vicinity determined breaking of windows of various businesses and automobiles took place. Results of interviews with representatives of Reuters News Agency, WTOP, ABC, NBC, UPI and AP who attended press conference at SNCC Headquarters morning of 4/5/68 set forth. Official District of Columbia damage estimate of disturbance reported as \$13,300,000. D. C. Weapons Law also set forth.

WFO 62-9737

CARMICHAEL SHOULD BE CONSIDERED ARMED AND DANGEROUS
SINCE INDIVIDUALS HAVE REPORTED HIM IN POSSESSION OF A GUN ON
EVENING OF 4/4/68 IN VICINITY OF 14TH AND U STREETS, N. W.
AND AGAIN ON AFTERNCON OF 4/5/68 AT HOWARD UNIVERSITY.

- P -

DETAILS: AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

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WFO 62-9737

I. EVENTS INVOLVING STOKELY CARMICHAEL
ON EVENING OF APRIL 4, 1968

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/12/68

b7C

[redacted] of the "Washington Post" was contacted at his office, 1515 L Street, N.W. for information concerning the article which appeared in the "Washington Post" on April 5, 1968 regarding civil disturbance in the District of Columbia on the preceding evening. At the request of [redacted] [redacted] joined the interview.

b7C

[redacted] was questioned as to the source of the article. He advised there were three reporters in the immediate vicinity of STOKELY CARMICHAEL on the night of April 4, 1968 and the story was based on their account. After publication of the article in the "New York Times" quoting CARMICHAEL as telling the crowd, "Go home and get your guns," the almost simultaneous reports of these three reporters were reviewed and they were personally questioned about the matter. No reporter recorded CARMICHAEL making such a statement, and each definitely stated such a statement was not made by CARMICHAEL. [redacted] said that all three reporters were experienced and reliable. He was of the definite belief that the Washington Post article was correct and the New York Times article in error. He furnished the names of these reporters [redacted] [redacted] all Negroes. All three had been dispatched at the time the bulletin was received as to the death of KING, and prior to news of any disturbance.

In addition to these reporters, the "Washington Post" had six other reporters and four photographers covering the happenings of the night of April 4, 1968. However, none of the others observed the activities of CARMICHAEL. No photograph was obtained of CARMICHAEL with a weapon.

b7C

[redacted] stated it was the desire of his office to cooperate with the various law enforcement agencies; however, some reporters felt if informants and sources of information became aware of their (reporters') cooperation these sources would cease to furnish information, and their

On 4/10/68 at Washington, D.C. File # WFO 62-9737
by SAs [redacted] HDP:bap Date dictated 4/10/68

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2

livelihood or possibly lives would be jeopardized. He also said that he did not like to have his reporters tied up for long intervals in Court. [redacted] informed Agents they were at liberty to contact the above-mentioned reporters and photographers to ascertain if they would be willing to furnish facts concerning their observations of CARMICHAEL and others on the evening of April 4, 1968. He said that

b7C

[redacted] who did not desire to be interviewed by Agents, had been present, along with CARMICHAEL, at the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee headquarters shortly after news was received of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING's death and had observed CARMICHAEL's march on 14th and U Streets, N.W.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/12/681

After Agents had contacted [redacted] of the "Washington Post" in his office, 1515 L Street, N.W., for information concerning an article which appeared in the Washington Post on April 5, 1968, regarding civil disturbances in the District of Columbia on the preceding evening he requested [redacted] join the interview. b7C

[redacted] reiterated [redacted] statement that three experienced, reliable, reporters had been present and observed CARMICHAEL's activities as reported in the Post article. He stated that the "New York Time's" article quoting CARMICHAEL as telling the crowd to go home and get their guns was in error. When this incident was supposed to have occurred, one Post reporter was in the crowd, another in a car, and the third in a phone booth. Each independently reported approximately the same information. CARMICHAEL was reported as telling the crowd when it began to get unruly, "This isn't the way to do it"; and he kept repeating, "Go home, Go home, Go home." And CARMICHAEL made a statement to the effect that they were not going to "do it tonight." CARMICHAEL also was quoted as making a statement to the effect that he had a gun and inquired if the members of the crowd had theirs, but at no time did he tell the crowd to go home and get theirs. b7C

[redacted] advised that [redacted] told him that he would not consent to an interview by Federal Bureau of Investigation Agents "under any circumstances." b7C

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by SAs [redacted] HDP:bap b7C 4/10/68
Date dictated

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date April 11, 1968

b7C

[redacted]
 advised that he has been a reporter for "The Washington Post" newspaper [redacted]
 [redacted]
 [redacted]
 [redacted]
 [redacted]

b7C

On the evening of April 4, 1968, after a bulletin had come over the news service of the death of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., [redacted] left the "Post" newsroom at about 8:00 p.m. and was driven to New Bethel Baptist Church in an endeavor to contact [redacted]. He was advised by [redacted] was distraught and had left his church to go to 14th and "U" Streets, N.W., to calm down the crowd. He later learned that [redacted] had gone to the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) Headquarters. [redacted] wife drove him to 14th and "U" Streets, N.W., where he arrived at about 9:00 p.m. [redacted] explained that his sense of time might be off since things were happening so fast.

b7C

Upon arrival at 14th and "U" Streets, N.W., [redacted] observed a crowd of about 100 people north of "U" Street on 14th Street, led by STOKELY CARMICHAEL, proceeding south. He recognized others in the crowd as being SNCC members whom he had seen in the past but whose names he did not know.

The crowd came south on the west side of 14th Street. He observed CARMICHAEL talking with a person whom he believed to be the manager of Peoples Drug Store, at 14th and "U" Streets, N.W., and he noted that this person nodded his head as if in agreement with CARMICHAEL. As

On 4/11/68 at Washington, D.C. File # WFO 62-9737
 by SAs [redacted] :dan Date dictated 4/11/68
 b7C

b7C CARMICHAEL was leaving the store, [] heard CARMICHAEL tell people that the store was being closed in respect to the memory of Dr. KING. The crowd crossed to the east side of 14th Street at "U" Street, where a liquor store was asked to close. [] remained at 14th and "U" Streets and made a call to his office. Upon completion of the call, the crowd apparently had gone south of "U" Street on 14th Street for only a short distance as it returned quickly to 14th and "U" Streets and turned east on "U" Street, going as far as the Republic Theater, telling the various business establishments which were open that they should close in respect to KING. He observed that some of the members of the crowd were endeavoring to restrain others who were trying to destroy property, and recalled that earlier some of the individuals had been restrained from breaking a window in the Safeway store on 14th Street. The crowd, CARMICHAEL in the lead, proceeded to 12th Street and turned back toward 14th Street. [] again called his office from 12th and "U" Streets. He next observed the crowd at 14th Street as it turned north and crossed over to the west side, about one-fourth block north of "U" Street, at which time someone broke a window at Peoples Drug Store. Members of the crowd admonished others to be "cool" and not lose their heads. [] followed the crowd as far as 14th and "W" Streets, N.W. He believed the crowd went as far north as Clifton Street. The crowd returned south on 14th Street, again on the west side, and other windows were broken. Several persons tried to get in front of the crowd to the store fronts, trying to prevent looting. [] again called his office from 14th and "V" Streets.

b7C When [] rejoined his observation at 14th and "U" Streets, he observed that a person was brandishing a hand weapon on the steps of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. [] said that he did not know

b7C whether the weapon was a pistol or a revolver. CARMICHAEL "snatched" the weapon from this individual and told him to go home. [] said that as far as he could remember CARMICHAEL kept this weapon in his hand. He never saw him put it away, and saw it in his hands as long as 30 minutes later. [] observed the breaking of windows of business establishments, including a dress shop and a television repair shop. Persons in the crowd again tried to protect the stores from looting. However, he had noticed that looting was beginning as he had called his office from 14th and "V" Streets.

b7C The crowd which had been led by CARMICHAEL had moved somewhat as a unit, but as the looting began the crowd scattered and broke up into groups or mobs, which had no cohesiveness. Some people went north on 14th Street, others went south. Another window was broken at Peoples Drug Store and at two pawnshops on the west side of 14th Street between "T" and "U" Streets. Looting broke out in several areas. [] tried to get into the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People office to make a phone call. From this point on, there was just a general melee and there were no cohesive units.

b7C [] said at no time did he actually hear STOKELY CARMICHAEL tell any storekeeper to close his business but it was clear that while the crowd was moving about in the general area of 14th and "U" Streets telling the stores to close in respect to Dr. KING, CARMICHAEL was leading the group and was their spokesman. The only store [] actually entered was the Peoples Drug Store, previously referred to. As the crowd became unruly, CARMICHAEL and others tried to calm them. He did not recall the exact words of CARMICHAEL, but in effect, CARMICHAEL wanted to close the stores but not to cause trouble. However, people in the crowd yelled such things as: "Go get guns," "Let's kill," or "Let's take something." [] recalls specifically two points where CARMICHAEL

b7C tried to cool tempers and argued with persons who were apparently getting out of hand -- once just north of the Peoples Drug Store and the second time, a few feet south of the Zanzibar Restaurant on 14th Street. At the latter place, CARMICHAEL said, "Let's cool it. We're not ready. If you don't have your gun, go home." He did not recall that CARMICHAEL had brandished a gun at this time. [] reiterated he had never seen CARMICHAEL put away the gun which he had taken from the person on the steps of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference earlier, and that he assumed the gun he saw on these various occasions was the same gun.

b7C [] estimated he was in the 14th and "U" Streets, N.W. area for about two hours, commencing at 8:30 or 9:00 p.m. to about 10:30 - 11:00 p.m. He lost contact with CARMICHAEL shortly after the crowd split up into groups. He last observed CARMICHAEL talking to some people at 14th and "U" Streets.

b7C [] advised that he was hesitant to take notes during the foregoing activities. He advised that he had noticed early the anger of the crowd because of Dr. KING's murder. The closing of the stores seemed to add to the excitement of the crowd, and the crowd's temper was stimulated by some in the crowd who wanted to exploit the situation. [] said he was struck by the fury of some people who were bent on destruction but not looting. At no time Thursday night or later has he observed anyone trying to incite or lead others in destruction or looting. People seemed to be acting individually. He commented that on one occasion he observed a man ignite an awning; others advised this person that people resided in the building and the man then unsuccessfully tried to put out the fire he had lit. At one time, [] observed an individual exhorting the crowd not to loot, and an hour later he saw this same individual himself looting.

Other than the weapon [] saw in the hands of CARMICHAEL, the only other weapon he saw was what appeared to be a sawed-off shotgun extending below the jacket of an unknown male he observed walking north between "W" and Clifton Streets on 14th Street.

b7C

[] said the only other comments he heard CARMICHAEL say was, "Get off the street," "They have tanks," "We are not ready yet," "We are here to close stores," "Let's be cool. Let's not have violence." [] did not recall seeing CARMICHAEL brandish a gun and say "Go home if you don't have a gun as I have mine."

[] said the only direct action he observed CARMICHAEL to take was in leading the crowd in the closing of the stores.

b7C

[] has not seen CARMICHAEL since the evening of April 4, 1968.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/10/68

b7C

[redacted] for WTOP news, home address, [redacted] advised that in connection with his employment [redacted] he arrived at the corner of 14th Street, N. W. and U Streets, N. W. at approximately 10:00 p.m. on April 4, 1968. He heard trouble had developed in the area.

He said when he arrived in the area he noticed groups of people gathered on all four corners and nearby with maybe 50 people in one group, 75 in another and maybe 100 in another apparently just standing around. He said he went near the group of maybe 100 people who were on the northwest corner partly in front of Peoples Drug Store which was then closed and the headquarters of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

b7C

Shortly after arriving there he noticed STOKELY CARMICHAEL, [redacted] and several others whom he knows to be members of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in the group and heard CARMICHAEL say "Go Home, Go Home, this is not the way, this is not the time." He said he also heard CARMICHAEL say "Go Home and get your guns", but said it was his impression that CARMICHAEL's pleas to "Go Home" actually was an attempt by him to disperse the crowd and he did not interpret CARMICHAEL's saying "Go Home and get your guns" to mean come back that evening with guns, but rather to arm themselves for some future action, the time not being specified.

Right after CARMICHAEL made the statement about getting guns, a drunken Negro male in the crowd hollered "I got a gun", and held it high over his head to display it to the crowd. There was a brief scuffle in the crowd and after it was over CARMICHAEL appeared with the gun which he had apparently taken from the drunken Negro male and was holding it over his head.

On 4/9/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737
by SAs [redacted] b7C

by [redacted] WWH:jle Date dictated 4/10/68

About that time, two, three or four Special Police guards, all Negroes, drove up in a yellow convertible who were apparently hired by the Peoples Drug Store to guard their store. The crowd moved menacingly toward them and CARMICHAEL still holding the gun high moved between the crowd and the guards and held the crowd back and said to the guards "Now, get the hell out of here" and the Special Police left immediately.

b7C

[] said the appearance of the guards, did not arouse CARMICHAEL's anger, but he apparently acted in this way to prevent further trouble.

b7C

He related that to the best of his memory, he was aware of CARMICHAEL being in the area for twenty to twenty five minutes after his arrival there. He said he last remembered seeing him across the street from Peoples while he [] was still in front of Peoples. His attention was then diverted to some other area and he does not recall seeing CARMICHAEL again. He said he [] was in the general area until about 4:00 a.m. or so the next morning.

b7C

He said sometime which he believed was before he [] arrived a window had been broken in Peoples Drug Store, but during the time CARMICHAEL was there, he did not recall any looting except possibly a few small children may have taken some candy from Peoples.

He said the breaking of windows and looting which later ensued was sporadic and disorganized.

b7C

[] said it was his impression that the activities of CARMICHAEL which he witnessed, did not precipitate the disturbances, and in fact, his actions may have stalled somewhat the activity which followed.

[] said when he first arrived in the area he also noticed [] in the crowd.

WFO 62-9737

b7C

said he would be willing to testify to the above.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date 4/12/68

b7C On April 10, 1968, [redacted] residence telephone number [redacted] was interviewed at the Washington Field Office (WFO), Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), by Special Agents (SAs) [redacted]

[redacted] who was born in [redacted] advised he presently is [redacted] which conducts [redacted] in the Greater Washington, D.C. (WDC), area. Recently his business office was located in one of the shops located on [redacted] but, because of a recent fire damage incurred during the week of April 1-6, 1968, he has been conducting his business from a newly opened [redacted] located at [redacted] Maryland, where telephone number is [redacted]

b7C [redacted] explained he formerly was a full-time news reporter [redacted] but, for business reasons during the past year and a half, he has devoted full time to his business and has worked for [redacted] on a part-time basis as [redacted] explained that because of his being a member of the Negro race, it sometimes is necessary for [redacted] to seek his services as a news reporter, particularly with regard to racial matters. He stated in the course of such coverage, he has come to know personally such personnel of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), including [redacted] STOKELY CARMICHAEL, FLOYD MC KISSICK, and [redacted]

b7C [redacted] related that as the local racial tension increased on Thursday night, April 4, 1968, he went out on the street about 9:00 - 9:30 p.m., with a tape recorder and remained on the streets until about 4:30 a.m., Friday, April 5, 1968. He said he did not utilize his tape recorder but merely made notes of his observations. He said he ranged up and down 7th

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SAs [redacted] b7C
by [redacted] CEG:skt Date dictated 4/10/68

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Street and 14th Street, N.W.; this area between Pennsylvania Avenue and as far north as Upshur Street; in addition he also traversed Georgia Avenue and repeatedly traveled on these three main thoroughfares, observing fires burning, business houses being looted and other destruction being committed. He said he specifically was looking for CARMICHAEL or some of the other well-known leaders of SNCC, but throughout that evening did not encounter any of them.

[] said he resumed coverage on the streets on Friday evening and remained on the streets, covering the same areas, until about 5:00 a.m., Saturday, April 6, 1968. He said during the course of these travels and observations he did not see CARMICHAEL nor any other SNCC leaders.

b7C

Concerning the violence in Washington as a whole, [] expressed the opinion that on Thursday night and on Friday night, previously indicated, he concluded the mood of the people was not violence based on anger, but was more in the spirit of a lark or within a carnival atmosphere. He said as the violence reached the height of its pitch and ebbed by reason of the presence of military personnel as well as police officers, he felt the mood of the protesters turned more to anger because of the imposition of the curfew and the ever presence of an armed soldier standing in readiness to restrict the crowd or any individual.

[] said it was his personal opinion, based upon his association in the black community, that WDC, as well as other major cities, would see greater examples of violence and protest from members of the black community. [] attributed this to inaction and lack of attention on the part of Congress and others presently in power.

b7C

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JLS:kjl

1

On April 8, 1968, [redacted] WMAL-TV.
Washington, D. C. (WDC), was interviewed by SAs [redacted]
[redacted] concerning his knowledge of events
leading up to the disturbances and looting which occurred in
WDC following the assassination of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, Jr.

b7C

[redacted] stated he personally did not observe the
happenings which took place on 14th Street, N. W., on the
evening of April 4, 1968 and that most of his information in
this respect came from [redacted] reporter for
WMAL, who was on the scene for a few minutes.

[redacted] furnished interviewing Agents a copy of
his 11:00 pm newscast regarding the reactions of citizens in
WDC to the news of the death of Dr. KING.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 4/9/68

[redacted] Washington, D.C. (WDC), [redacted] stated he went to the area of 14th Street and Florida Avenue, N.W., at approximately 9:00 p.m. on the evening of April 4, 1968, to attempt to get on tape some comments regarding the reactions of people in that area to the news of the assassination of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING.

b7C

[redacted] stated when he arrived in the area there was a group of about seventy-five to one hundred people, mostly in the age bracket of mid-teens to mid-twenties, who were walking with STOKELY CARMICHAEL on Florida Avenue east of 14th Street, N.W. After going east on Florida Avenue for several blocks, the crowd turned around, came back to 14th Street, and walked north on 14th Street.

[redacted] advised he asked STOKELY CARMICHAEL if he would care to make any comments concerning Dr. KING's death, and STOKELY answered "No."

b7C

[redacted] stated he was in the area for about only ten or fifteen minutes and left when the mood of the crowd began to get angry and unruly. He commented, however, that he personally did not hear STOKELY or anyone else make any inflammatory statements to the crowd while he was on the scene.

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SAs [redacted]

b7C

by [redacted] JLS:skt Date dictated 4/9/68

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date April 10, 1968

[redacted] Washington
Office, "The New York Times," resides at [redacted]
[redacted] Washington, D.C.

b7C

[redacted] was exhibited several photographs of Negro males and females in an effort that he might be able to identify the two Negro males whom he had described when interviewed on April 6, 1968, as being "aides" of STOKELY CARMICHAEL, whom he had seen in the vicinity of 14th and Chapin Streets, N.W., Washington, D.C., with CARMICHAEL on the evening of April 4, 1968.

[redacted] observed the photographs and without hesitation pointed to one containing [redacted] as one of the "aides" and in fact, was the taller individual.

b7C

Carmichael's [redacted] *DC* was unable to positively identify the second person in any photograph but added that while he was attending a press conference at Ed Murphy's Supper Club, 2227 Georgia Avenue, N.W., on the afternoon of April 7, 1968, he observed the shorter individual wearing a brown suit with white shirt and tie.

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SAs [redacted]

b7C

by [redacted] dan Date dictated 4/10/68

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/12/68

✓
[redacted]
[redacted] Washington, D. C., was telephonically contacted at his office in effort to arrange a personal interview with him. After being advised as to the identity of the caller, [redacted] inquired as to the nature of interview desired of him. He was advised that at the request of the Attorney General, the FBI was conducting an investigation concerning various aspects of the recent civil disturbance in the District of Columbia and that a personal meeting with him was desired in connection with this matter.

b7C

[redacted] advised he has no comment to make, stating he has made no statements to representatives of any agency regarding the civil disturbance and that he does not want to be interviewed.

Before terminating the conversation he was asked if he was on 14th Street, N. W., on Thursday night, April 4, 1968, when trouble started there. He then stated if reference was being made to STOKELY CARMICHAEL's activities on 14th Street, N. W., at that time, "I don't know anything about that." He did state he was on the street during the civil disturbance on various days while the disturbance was in progress.

[redacted] then reiterated again he did not wish to be interviewed. He did accept the Special Agent's name and telephone number, agreeing to contact him if he changed his mind.

b7C

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by SA [redacted] /11w Date dictated 4/12/68

b7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date 4/11/68

b7C

On April 10, 1968, [redacted]
[redacted] Washington, D. C., Apartment [redacted] was interviewed
in connection with his assignments with the "Evening Star"
newspaper during the period April 4 through 8, 1968.

b7C

[redacted] advised he returned to the United
States approximately one month ago from [redacted] where he was
on assignment covering the [redacted] He stated he had
received permission from [redacted] of the "Evening Star",
[redacted] to work out of his [redacted] home preparing
articles on the [redacted] conflict and for this reason was not
at the newspaper office on April 4, 1968, when word was received
of the assassination of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., in
Memphis, Tennessee. He said that upon hearing this information
over the radio, he called his newspaper but at that time they
had no specific assignment for him. At about 10:00 that
evening, he went to [redacted]
and prepared a broadcast for them. At approximately 11 p.m.,
he received a call from [redacted] informing him that
the "Evening Star" wanted [redacted] of Dr.
KING for the newspaper. He immediately went to the Star
offices and was occupied with this assignment until approximately
1 a.m. the morning of April 5, 1968. Consequently, he was
not on the streets at all on the evening of April 4, 1968.

b7C

He remained in the Star offices and recalled that
as the deadline for filing his story approached around 5 a.m.
the morning of April 5, 1968, [redacted]
[redacted] showed him a "Washington Post" story concerning
STOKELY CARMICHAEL, and stated it was obvious that the
"Washington Post" had a Negro reporter on the streets who
had been able to obtain a good story. [redacted] was then
instructed by [redacted] to go up town and find STOKELY
CARMICHAEL and his friends and attempt to check this story out.

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by HGE:laa Date dictated 4/10/68

He said he parked on the northwest corner of 14th and U Streets and went across the street to a Peoples Drug Store located on 14th Street near the intersection of 14th and U Streets. The store was still closed since it was early in the morning but by showing his press card he was able to gain admittance.

b7C According to [] no one present at the drug store would identify themselves but a man, who from his appearance was the manager, advised [] that he was present the evening of April 4, 1968, when CARMICHAEL first appeared at the drug store. This individual advised [] that CARMICHAEL and about fifteen other men appeared at his store around 9:05 or 9:10 p.m. and CARMICHAEL announced he wanted the store closed in honor of Dr. KING. [] questioned the store manager as to whether or not CARMICHAEL had a gun at this time. The manager said, "No, I did not see a gun in CARMICHAEL's possession at that time."

b7C The manager said, according to [] that he had turned and walked to the back of the store and upon arriving at the rear of the drug store was surprised to note that CARMICHAEL had followed him. The store manager said he turned and told CARMICHAEL, "Look, I heard you. I'm going to close the store." CARMICHAEL then turned around and said, "Everybody out! Everybody out!"

b7C The store manager related, according to [] that CARMICHAEL then departed from the store and walked across the street to a Safeway store. [] said that upon receiving this information he attempted to retrace CARMICHAEL's steps and walked across the street to the Safeway store and asked an employee if he had been on duty the evening before when CARMICHAEL appeared. This employee advised that he had been on duty and that the store had already closed; however, CARMICHAEL rapped on the window and said in a loud voice, "Look, we want this store closed." The store employee told [] that he had informed CARMICHAEL that the store had already closed, whereupon CARMICHAEL departed.

b7C [] said that at this point he could no longer retrace CARMICHAEL's steps because the people he talked to at the Safeway store did not know where CARMICHAEL had gone from that store, but being somewhat familiar with the neighborhood, he walked south on 14th Street for several blocks to the Unique Barber Shop, which he sometimes patronizes.

[] asked the barber if he had seen CARMICHAEL the evening before and the barber said, "No, I was home. I close at 8:00."

b7C [] related that an old gentleman, whose name he does not know but who frequents this barber shop, was in the barber shop at this time and [] asked him if he had seen what happened the previous evening. The old man said, "Yes," whereupon [] asked him if he had seen STOKELY CARMICHAEL and the old gentleman said, "Yes, he's got nothing but nerve." [] then inquired where CARMICHAEL had been and the old gentleman said, "Up on the corner," and by this [] believed that he meant on the corner of 14th and U Streets near Peoples Drug Store.

b7C [] said upon questioning, this elderly Negro stated "I saw him up on the corner waving a gun and saying 'Go home. The only thing you can do with whitey is get killed.'"

b7C [] advised that he had then returned to the newspaper office and had written the story based on the above information. He remarked he was disappointed to learn that his newspaper had not used this story but had run an account of the above incidents which had been printed by the "New York Times." [] advised he believes the "New York Times" account to be in error and stated he based his belief on the fact that [] for the "Washington Post" stated he had been present when the incident concerning CARMICHAEL waving a gun in the air had taken place. [] stated that he over heard [] arguing with a

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writer from the "New York Times" about the incident and [redacted] categorically refuted the Times story. He heard [redacted] state to the Times reporter, "I was there and STOKELY CARMICHAEL did not say what you reported in your paper."

b7C

[redacted] advised this was the extent of his knowledge regarding the above incident.

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A. SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP
CONFERENCE HEADQUARTERS

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/11/681

b7C 5/8
[redacted]
Washington, D. C., furnished the following information:

b7C
68
He is a volunteer worker for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. His permanent address is [redacted] New York, and temporarily resides at [redacted] address.

b7C
On April 4, 1968, he was at the Southern Christian Leadership Conference office at 14th and U Streets, N. W., Washington, D. C., when the death of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING was announced. He saw STOKELY CARMICHAEL in the office between the time of the announcement of the shooting of Dr. KING and the time of the announcement of Dr. KING's death. CARMICHAEL tried to get the people to go home and made the statement that anyone who does not have a gun should go home. [redacted] did not know if CARMICHAEL carried a gun. [redacted] did not observe anything that CARMICHAEL did or said that would encourage people to take any action other than go home.

b7C
[redacted] advised that on Friday evening, April 5, 1968, CARMICHAEL helped pass out handbills on the streets requesting people to get their children off the streets. These handbills were prepared in the office of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. [redacted] also passed out these handbills and was assisted by STOKELY CARMICHAEL and several other people from the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee who [redacted] did not know.

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by SA [redacted] laa b7C Date dictated 4/10/68

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 4/11/68

[redacted]
[redacted] Washington, D. C., advised that he arrived at the Southern Christian Leadership Conference office, 14th and U Streets, N. W., Washington, D. C., shortly after the death of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING was announced on the radio on Thursday, April 4, 1968. He said he stayed at the office until about 11:00 p.m., that evening, and then went home. He said that he did not see STOKELY CARMICHAEL in the building while he, [redacted] was there, but did see CARMICHAEL on the street near the office shortly after the announcement of the death of Dr. KING. He said that CARMICHAEL was with a group of people that was walking down the street telling the shop keepers to turn off their lights and close their businesses out of respect of Dr. KING. He said that the group was loud but was not rioting at that time.

b7C

[redacted] could furnish no other information about the activities of STOKELY CARMICHAEL.

b7C

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by SA [redacted] laa ^{b7C} 4/10/68
Date dictated _____

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B. PEOPLES DRUG STORE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date April 10, 1968

b7C

[redacted] Peoples Drug Store Number 3, 2002 14th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., furnished the following information concerning the activities of STOKELY CARMICHAEL at that store on Thursday, April 4, 1968:

b7C

At about 9:05-9:10 p.m., Thursday, April 4, 1968, CARMICHAEL reappeared at that store with a following of from 15-20 Negro male individuals whose identities and general age group were not known to [redacted] CARMICHAEL and his associates entered via the front door and proceeded through the store to the rear where [redacted] was then located in the pharmacy area thereof.

b7C

Immediately upon entering the store and also while proceeding through the store to the pharmacy area, CARMICHAEL demanded in a loud voice that the store be closed in memory of Doctor MARTIN LUTHER KING who had just died. CARMICHAEL was more arrogant and demanding than on the occasions of his previous visits to the store, so [redacted] the store closed in deference to the demands of CARMICHAEL. Ten or fifteen customers were in the store at the time and CARMICHAEL ordered them out with statements to the effect that, "The store is closing!" The customers were ushered out by CARMICHAEL and his associates and the front door to the store was closed as CARMICHAEL and his associates departed. The employees on duty were then dismissed for the evening and individual areas of the store were secured.

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by SAs [redacted] [redacted] cjb b7C Date dictated 4/8/68

CARMICHAEL and his associates made no display of firearms and no other statements made by them during this visit to the store could be recalled by [REDACTED]

b7C

Upon departure from the store, CARMICHAEL and his described group of associates proceeded diagonally across 14th and U Streets, N.W., to the southeast corner of that intersection where [REDACTED] lost track of them. Shortly afterward [REDACTED] left the store for home.

b7C

Between 10:00 and 10:30 p.m. [REDACTED] received a telephone call at his home from [REDACTED] Peoples Drug Store Number 3, who reported to him that the show windows of the store had been smashed and that the store was being entered by looters. [REDACTED] had been informed of this activity by store employee [REDACTED] who had remained in the area of the store after it had been closed on orders from CARMICHAEL. The store had been closed since then and [REDACTED] did not return to the store that night. On the following date [REDACTED] noted the store had been looted of various items of merchandise.

b7C

The identities of the customers in the store when it was closed by CARMICHAEL were not known to [REDACTED]. The employees of the store were identified by [REDACTED] as follows:

b7C

[REDACTED]

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A Guard named (first name unknown) [redacted] was also
on the drug store premises at the time. [redacted] is employed
by [redacted] Washington, D.C.

b7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date April 10, 1968

b7C [redacted] Peoples Drug Store Number 3, 2002 14th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C., who resides at [redacted] Washington, telephone [redacted] furnished the following information concerning the activities of STOKELY CARMICHAEL at that store on Thursday, April 4, 1968;

b7C Between 3:30 p.m. and 4:00 p.m., Thursday, April 4, 1968, CARMICHAEL appeared at that store and made adverse comment to [redacted] of the store, with the statement, "Why this store want to give me so much trouble?" CARMICHAEL then made the statement to the effect that "Of all of the stores, this store gives me the most trouble". CARMICHAEL then expressed a greeting to the guard on duty and departed the store.

b7C When CARMICHAEL entered the store he appeared to have been accompanied by a Negro male individual wearing an African bush haircut. This individual remained inside of the front door to the store while CARMICHAEL spoke to [redacted]. This individual left the store as CARMICHAEL departed. He made no statements while on the premises.

[redacted] completed duty at the store at 4:00 p.m. and left for his place of residence. He did not return to the store that night.

b7C Between 10:00 p.m. and 10:30 p.m. that date [redacted] received a telephone call at his residence from [redacted] store employee, who reported he had observed from the street that the show windows of the store had been smashed and that the store was being looted. [redacted] conveyed this information telephonically to [redacted]

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SAs [redacted]

b7C

by [redacted] cjb

Date dictated 4/8/68

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date 4/11/68

b7C

[redacted]
Peoples Drug Store Number 3, 2002 14th Street, Washington, D. C., furnished the following information concerning the activities of STOKELY CARMICHAEL at that store during the period of Tuesday, April 2, 1968, and Thursday, April 4, 1968, as well as other activities deemed pertinent to this investigation:

After 8 p.m., Tuesday, April 2, 1968, a Peoples Drug Store guard, then on duty at that store, caused an incident by grabbing a young Negro boy who had caused a commotion in front of the store. The guard brought the boy to the rear of the store and then the guard's attention was immediately called to the front of the store where a large group had congregated in protest of the guard's treatment of the boy. A fracas resulted during which the guard sustained a cut on his lip allegedly made by a razor. In the interim, the young boy disappeared from the store unnoticed. The turmoil which erupted was quieted by the local police on two occasions, and more guards of the Peoples Drug Stores were summoned to the scene. During this turmoil, [redacted] also heard an explosion sounding like a firecracker explosion. [redacted]

b7C

[redacted]
[redacted] who was present at the time, described the noise as being similar to the discharge of a .22 caliber pistol. Both [redacted] were in the rear of the store behind the prescription counter during the described activity. Toward the end of the turmoil when the police had arrived for the second time, STOKELY CARMICHAEL also appeared on the scene and instructed the crowd to clean up the mess and leave the area. The crowd followed the directions of CARMICHAEL.

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SAS [redacted] b7C
by ECG:laa Date dictated 4/11/68

[redacted] was on the store premises between 3:30 and 4 p.m., Thursday, April 4, 1968, when STOKELY CARMICHAEL allegedly reappeared at the store, but she did not see CARMICHAEL at that time nor heard any portion of the remarks he allegedly made to the other store employees.

b7C Between 9:05 and 9:15 p.m., Thursday, April 4, 1968, while [redacted] was on duty [redacted] at the rear of the store, STOKELY CARMICHAEL entered the store followed by "about a dozen" Negro male associates ranging in ages from about twelve years to their early twenties. CARMICHAEL and his associates proceeded to the rear of the store via the aisle along the north side of the store and they then turned to the center aisle where CARMICHAEL stopped in front of the prescription counter. During this activity, [redacted] was attempting to telephone the local police precinct to report the appearance of CARMICHAEL and his group on the premises but he was not successful in reaching the police. As CARMICHAEL walked to the rear of the store the customers were leaving the store hurriedly, giving the impression to [redacted] that CARMICHAEL was ordering them to leave.

b7C When CARMICHAEL came within earshot of [redacted] [redacted] he was stating words to the effect of "Let's close the store! Let's close the store! Everybody out in respect for Dr. KING. Close the store!" He might also have referred to Dr. KING by his full name of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING at sometime during these demands. In any event, [redacted] clearly understood that CARMICHAEL was referring to the death of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING which had occurred that same evening.

Immediately thereafter, the manager of the store hung up the phone and agreed to close the store in deference to the demands made by CARMICHAEL. CARMICHAEL then turned around and walked out of the store via the center aisle.

b7C

As his group followed him, the younger boys in the rear of the group pilfered soft goods from a nearby counter. [redacted] [redacted] did not believe CARMICHAEL had become aware of this pilferage.

As soon as CARMICHAEL and his group left the store and the last customer departed, the manager closed the store, and he locked the front door. The employees closed down their individual operations and left the store, presumably for home.

b7C

[redacted] left for home at 9:35 p.m., at which time [redacted] [redacted] were still on the premises. [redacted] returned to the store on the following morning and noticed the store had been forcibly entered and looted during the night.

When CARMICHAEL ordered the store closed on the night of April 4, 1968, he was forceful and aggressive in his demand and arrogant in his demeanor. He made no display of any firearms or other dangerous weapons and he made no statements concerning them.

[redacted] was displayed photographs of the following persons:

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL



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From this group of photographs she selected the photograph of CARMICHAEL and identified him as such. She stated she had seen CARMICHAEL on various occasions in the past and that she is certain it was CARMICHAEL who had appeared at the store on the night of April 4, 1968, as described by her. She was unable to identify any of the other individuals portrayed in the photographs as persons known by her or seen by her in the store premises in the past.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/10/68

b7C

[redacted]
Washington, D. C., employed as [redacted] for Peoples Drug Store, Number Three, 2002 14th Street, N. W., Washington, furnished the following information regarding the evening of Thursday, April 4, 1968:

At approximately 9:05 p.m., STOKELY CARMICHAEL and a group of approximately twelve young colored males entered the Peoples Drug Store and CARMICHAEL demanded the store be closed in that Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING had been murdered. The store manager told all the customers to leave and then immediately closed the store. The employees left the store. CARMICHAEL and his group left the store and crossed 14th Street, N. W., walked east on U Street to the Republic Theatre which was open at the time. The Republic Theatre then closed and CARMICHAEL and his followers walked north on 14th Street, N. W., apparently telling the store owners to close their businesses. By this time about 200 teenagers were following CARMICHAEL, and the stores that were open at the time were closing immediately after the group departed.

b7C

[redacted] said he was parked on 14th Street, N. W., across from Peoples Drug Store and about 10:00 p.m. he saw the windows being broken in the Peoples Drug Store. He drove to his house and telephonically informed [redacted] of Peoples Drug Stores of what he had observed.

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by SAs [redacted] [redacted] jle Date dictated 4/8/68
b7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/12/68

[redacted]
[redacted]
b7C [redacted] advised he received a telephone call at about 9:30 p.m., April 4, 1968, from his office advising him of disturbances at Peoples Drug Store, 14th and U Streets, N. W. He immediately proceeded to the area in partial uniform via his 1966 blue Ford Galaxie, arriving at about 9:40 p.m., and proceeded to evacuate [redacted] [redacted] to his automobile. Having so done he then proceeded to Store Number Eight at 14th and Park Road, N. W., and evacuated [redacted] to his automobile.

He then returned to Store Number Three at 14th and U along with [redacted] Upon arrival he noted a large crowd of Negroes assembled in front of the store. Some of the crowd about 25 in number, appeared to be attempting to overturn a 1966 Plymouth automobile, yellow in color, with black vinyl top. This auto was occupied by [redacted]

b7C [redacted] The crowd consisted mainly of adults, three or four of whom walked over to [redacted] auto with hand guns in their hands. One individual had a gun in each hand. At this point [redacted] were ordered out of the area with their autos. It was later they were able to return to the store on foot [redacted] [redacted] unidentified, were stationed in Store Number Three for the night. [redacted] was stationed at Store Number Eight. [redacted] denied observing STOKELY CARMICHAEL during the evening however the large number of people and turmoil prevented him from identifying the participants.

While at Store Number Three he overheard people advising others to attend a meeting at Howard University

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SAs [redacted]

b7C

4/11/68

by [redacted] Date dictated [redacted]

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the following day at 1:00 p.m. No details were furnished by these individuals.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/12/68

[redacted]
[redacted]
advised he was working from 2 to 10 p.m., on April 4, 1968 at Peoples Drug Store 74 at 2529 Pennsylvania Avenue, S. E. Sometime shortly after 7:30 p.m., he received a telephone call from Peoples Warehouse, 77 P Street, N. W., advising him of a disturbance at Store Number Three, 14th and U Streets, N. W.

b7C

[redacted] proceeded directly to this location arriving at about 8:00 p.m., he found conditions not conducive for him to stop and enter the store. He turned his car around and pulled down in front of the store behind the auto of [redacted] [redacted] was driving slowly south on 14th Street. Neither stopped completely and being unable to stop they proceeded to a secluded area and [redacted] joined [redacted] auto, a 1962 White Rambler. They then proceeded to the warehouse after making a pass in front of the store.

At the warehouse all got into the automobile of [redacted] late model maroon Chevrolet Super Sport hardtop and proceeded to return to Store Number Three. They found conditions too perilous and returned to the warehouse. They almost immediately returned to Store Number Three at which time they were able to gain entrance. Assuring the store was secured as well as possible [redacted] upon instruction of [redacted] proceeded to Store Number Sixteen, 14th Street, and Thomas Circle, N. W., where they remained for the remainder of the evening until, the following day.

b7C

[redacted] does not recall having seen STOKELY CARMICHAEL during the disturbance on April 4, 1968, but noted everything was in a turmoil and is unable to identify any of the participants.

b7C

On 4/11/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737
by SAs [redacted] EWR:jle [redacted] Date dictated 4/11/68

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/12/68

[redacted]
[redacted] with residence address of [redacted]
[redacted] advised he received a telephone call on Thursday evening April 4, 1968, from his office located at the Peoples Warehouse, 77 P Street, N. W. [redacted] was informed rioting was in progress at the Peoples Store Number Three, 14th and U Streets, N. W. [redacted] immediately proceeded to Store Number Three arriving in fifteen minutes but was unable to stop due to the riotous condition and therefore returned to the warehouse. At the warehouse [redacted] contacted [redacted] residence and advised him of the situation at the 14th and U store. He thereafter returned to the store accompanied by [redacted] They again found conditions the same and were unable to get to the store and returned to the warehouse.

They again returned to the store with [redacted] at which time they gained access to the store after parking their automobile some distance. After guards for this store were in position he telephonically contacted [redacted] for Peoples who ordered him and [redacted] to proceed to the store at 14th Street and Thomas Circle, N. W. They remained overnight until 6:00 a.m. after arriving there at about 12:30 a.m. [redacted] then proceeded to Store Number Eight at 14th and Park Road, N. W., where he remained until approximately 4:00 p.m., on April 6, 1968.

[redacted] stated he does not recall having seen STOKELY CARMICHAEL at any time on Thursday, April 4, 1968. He did observe numerous instances of breaking and entering, arson and looting.

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by SAs [redacted] [redacted] EWR:jle Date dictated 4/11/68

[redacted] recalled that on April 2, 1968, a disturbance occurred at Store Number Three, 14th and U Streets, N. W. On this occasion he was notified at about 8:45 p.m., of the disturbance. Arriving at about 9:00 p.m. he noted upon arrival there were about 30 people milling around the store, consisting of teenagers, minors and adults. A fire truck was on the scene extinguishing a fire in a tree apparently set afire by lighter fluid. [redacted] learned one of [redacted] had been in an altercation with some teenagers between 7:30 and 8:00 p.m., same night. In the altercation [redacted] was cut with a knife or razor by one of the boys and was set upon by another armed with a fishing rod. The boys were arrested by Metropolitan Police Officers. After his arrival the crowd increased to an estimated 50 to 75 or more persons. About 50 or 75 of these came into the store attempting to fight with store personnel. After hearing a gunshot and a crash of some glass in front [redacted] to close up and [redacted] assisted him in clearing the people out. Sometime later, between 9:45 and 10:00 p.m., STOKELY CARMICHAEL appeared at the front door and [redacted] permitted CARMICHAEL in along with a bodyguard. At this time CARMICHAEL inquired as to the whereabouts of [redacted] After learning [redacted] was not readily available, CARMICHAEL made a statement to the effect "I done warned you, now you've had it". While making the statement he gestured with his hands across his throat three times. [redacted] followed CARMICHAEL and his bodyguard out of the store and he inquired of the bodyguard what CARMICHAEL wanted. The bodyguard replied with a statement to the effect that "we done had it, we're gonna blow this store up." During this time CARMICHAEL was talking to the crowd of people and said to the effect "we don't want white managers around this store" to which statements CARMICHAEL was cheered by the crowd. There was considerable rockthrowing up until about 11:00 p.m. at which time several windows were broken. He recalls a white male free lance writer who was on crutches who had a rather hard time keeping from getting injured.

[redacted] advised CARMICHAEL has been in the store on several occasions during 1968 indicating he did not like white

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people working in that People's Drug Store particularly he did not like a white manager in the store.

b7C [] advised he understands STOKELY CARMICHAEL was in Store Number Three on Thursday morning, April 4, 1968, and talked with [] and advised [] he did not wish [] beating on his "black brothers." This incident relates, according to [] to the disturbance on April 2, 1968.

[] advised he recalls that while [] Store Number Eight on April 6, 1968 an unidentified mailman in uniform claimed to have observed CARMICHAEL with a gun in his hand on the evening of April 4, 1968, sometime during the evening.

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C. BUSINESSES ON 14TH STREET,
N. W., WASHINGTON, D.C.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 4/9/68

b7C [redacted] Safeway Stores,
Incorporated, 1931 14th Street, N.W., Telephone 265-9818,
advised although he was not present in the store the night
of April 4, 1968, [redacted]
Telephone [redacted] the store told him
STOKELY CARMICHAEL came to the store about 9:05 p.m.,
April 4, 1968, and requested the store be closed. Since
the store had been closed at the usual time, 9:00 p.m.,
[redacted] advised CARMICHAEL of same.

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SAs [redacted]

b7C

by

JLE:skt

Date dictated 4/9/68

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/9/68

b7C

[redacted]
[redacted] home
address [redacted] advised he is [redacted]
of the Safeway Store, 1931 14th Street, N. W., and is currently
[redacted]

b7C

[redacted] stated that in regard to the trouble
erupted in the area of 14th and U Streets, N. W., after the
news of the death of Doctor MARTIN LUTHER KING, he was working
at the Safeway Store and at 9:00 p.m., April 4, 1968, he was
preparing to close the store, when he noticed a crowd of approxi-
mately 175 people walking toward the store from the corner of
14th and U Street, N. W. He stated he had started putting the
key in the door when STOKELY CARMICHAEL wearing glasses with
yellow lenses and a bright green sweater, followed by the crowd
came to the door of the store with arms in a raised position,
and in a loud voice stated, "Close down the store, Doctor KING
is dead". With this remark and the door of the store locked,
CARMICHAEL and the crowd proceeded south on 14th Street, N. W.

He stated CARMICHAEL was accompanied by two Negroes
with bushy hair whom he believed to be from another neighbor-
hood as they were not familiar to him.

b7C

[redacted] stated he believes CARMICHAEL to be
leader of the group because CARMICHAEL would point toward an
establishment and the crowd would immediately proceed in
the direction CARMICHAEL had pointed.

[redacted] related he did not see CARMICHAEL with
any weapons of any kind, and his hands were free when he
motioned with his arms in an up and downward motion indicating
he wanted the store to close down.

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SAs [redacted]

b7C

by

JIE:jle

Date dictated 4/9/68

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b7C

[] concluded by stating that while he was closing the store due to closing time, had it not been 9:00 p.m. and time to close the store; with the threat of CARMICHAEL and the crowd, he would have closed the store regardless of the time in order to protect the store and the employees.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 4/9/68

b7C

[redacted] Safeway Stores, Incorporated,
1931 14th Street, N.W., home address, [redacted]
[redacted] Telephone [redacted] furnished the following
information concerning events at above store the evening
of April 4, 1968:

b7C

According to [redacted] a crowd of about 100 people
were milling about the area of 14th and U Streets around
9:00 p.m. Around 9:05 p.m., STOKELY CARMICHAEL, who
appeared to be leading the crowd, came by the store and
said, "Close the store. Dr. KING is dead." [redacted] stated
the store was already closed at the usual time of 9:00 p.m.
and the personnel were cleaning. After the "clean-up,"
[redacted] returned to his home. [redacted] did not see a weapon
of any kind in possession of CARMICHAEL.

[redacted] could furnish no additional details.

On 4/8/68 at Washington, D.C. File # WFO 62-9737

SAs [redacted]

b7C

by [redacted]

JLE:skt

Date dictated 4/9/68

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date April 10, 1968

b7C

On April 8, 1968, [redacted]
Liberty Liquors, 2200 14th Street, N.W.; home address
[redacted] Silver Spring, Maryland, telephone
[redacted] furnished the following information concerning
events in the 2200 block of 14th Street, N.W., during
the period April 4, 1968 to April 6, 1968:

b7C

On Thursday, April 4, 1968, at 7:30 p.m., [redacted]
along with [redacted]
[redacted] Silver Spring, Maryland, telephone
[redacted] of Liberty Liquors, were operating
Liberty Liquors. About 8:00 p.m., crowds of from 25 - 50
Negroes led by an undetermined number of Negroes with
"bush-type haircuts" gathered outside the Student Nonviolent
Coordinating Committee (SNCC) headquarters, a few doors
away from Liberty Liquors and diagonally across the street
at the New School for Afro-American Thought.

b7C

[redacted] went outside to talk to a police officer at
a call box near the store concerning the death of Dr.
MARTIN LUTHER KING, but the officer was unaware of KING's
death. [redacted] returned to the store and had an employee
secure the folding metal gates in front of the windows as
he felt there might be some trouble because of the crowds.
At around 8:30 p.m., [redacted] heard words from an unidentified
Negro with a "bush-type haircut" to the effect that
"whitey's blood is going to be spilled tonight," or words
of a similar nature. At 8:50 p.m., [redacted]
closed the store and went home.

On Friday, April 5, 1968, at around 10:00 a.m.
[redacted] returned to their store and found it
to be untouched. [redacted] heard that STOKELY CARMICHAEL held

4/8/68
On 4/9/68 at Washington, D.C. File # WFO 62-9737
SAs [redacted] b7C
by [redacted] DRK:dan Date dictated 4/10/68

b7C a news conference at SNCC at 10:00 a.m. that date and later saw CARMICHAEL, followed by large crowds on both sides of 14th Street, walk south past his store and proceed to the vicinity of the Washington headquarters of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING's Southern Christian Leadership Conference, located at the northwest corner of 14th and U Streets, N.W. [] then contacted the 13th Precinct, Metropolitan Police Department (MPD) to determine what was happening. He was told nothing had happened as yet, but that many business establishments were voluntarily closing because of the crowds. Shortly before noon, [] closed the store and returned home.

[] On Saturday, April 6, 1968, [] returned to Liberty Liquors around 8:00 a.m. and noted the window of their store on the W Street side had been broken and looted.

b7C Later during the morning of April 6, 1968, [] who was inside his store, saw [] talking to STOKELY CARMICHAEL on the sidewalk in front of Liberty Liquors. According to [] does not know CARMICHAEL but [] told [] the individual he was talking to said something like "you killed my main man, my brother and we are not through yet." At approximately 10:30 a.m., April 6, 1968, although no one told them to do so, [] closed the door of their store and went home.

b7C At 3:00 p.m., on April 6, 1968, [] was telephoned by an individual in the Texaco Station on the southwest corner of 14th and W Streets, N.W., advising [] that Liberty Liquors had just been firebombed.

[] stated that at no time during the periods mentioned above did he see STOKELY CARMICHAEL or any other persons in the crowds with weapons of any kind.

b7C On April 9, 1968, [] was telephonically contacted to arrange an interview that date at his convenience for the purpose of obtaining any additional details [] may have possessed and to display photographs to [] in an effort to identify any leaders of the crowds. [] requested that rather than come to his home he desired to be interviewed on the telephone.

b7C As the interview progressed and [] was responding freely, a woman's voice could be overheard alternately screaming and crying at [] not to say anything to anybody, that he did not know anything, that if "they" found out he was talking, "they" would come and firebomb their home as they did their store. [] became hesitant and attempted to retract his statements of April 4, 5 and 6, 1968, stating he did not know STOKELY CARMICHAEL but it was someone who looked like CARMICHAEL.

[] then stated his wife was becoming hysterical and very frightened. [] requested the interview be terminated since he did not expect "things" to go so far and did not want to become involved. The interview was terminated at that point.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date April 10, 1968

On April 9, 1968, [redacted] Apartment [redacted] Silver Spring, Maryland, was contacted and advised that an interview was desired with him to develop information regarding events which might have caused the trouble in the area of 14th and U Streets, N.W., Thursday evening, April 4, 1968, after the shooting of Doctor MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

b7C

[redacted] stated he is in business with his [redacted] [redacted] which was "burned out." On Thursday, the day in question, after they had heard that Doctor KING had been shot, they became alarmed for their safety and welfare because of the poor neighborhood; and after seeing several small groups of colored people standing around the street corners talking, they had their delivery man put the iron bars on their store front for protection as they did every night when they closed. He stated that at about 8:50 p.m., they closed their store and went home.

[redacted] stated that they closed their store on their own and were not informed to close by anyone. On the following morning, Friday, April 6, 1968, they went to their store at about 9:50 a.m. and looked over their store and left near noon and returned home.

b7C

[redacted] stated he does not know STOKELY CARMICHAEL and he did not see anyone with weapons of any kind. He stated that due to his advanced age, he does not recall or remember whom he may have talked with in the store or on the street during the period April 4-6,

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SAs [redacted] b7C
by [redacted] JLE:dan Date dictated 4/9/68

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1968. A photograph of STOKELY CARMICHAEL was exhibited to him and he stated he did not recognize the individual.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

4/10/68

Date _____

[redacted] Washington, D. C. advised that he is the owner of [redacted] which is located at [redacted] Washington, D. C. He advised that he was at this place of business on Thursday, April 4, 1968. Between 6 and 6:30 p.m. about 100 Negro youths came to his place of business and told him to close up. He closed up the shop and went home. They did not give him a specific reason for closing but he heard members of the group shouting that they were going to burn the block. He stated that he did not know STOKELY CARMICHAEL and could not identify him by photograph as being a member of the group that told him to close. He said that he would be afraid to testify in court as he is a new businessman in this area.

b7C

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SAs [redacted] b7C

by [redacted] JAV:jle Date dictated 4/9/68

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date April 10, 1968

[redacted]
[redacted] telephone number [redacted] advised as follows:

b7C She has been employed by Eddie Leonards' Sandwich Shop, 2428 14th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C., [redacted] [redacted] for approximately two years. On the evening of April 4, 1968, she was working as usual, beginning at 7:30 p.m. Business activity was normal. About 9:00 p.m. the sandwich shop did very little business and no one was hanging around the shop. Sometime around 10:00 or 10:05 p.m., exact time not recalled, a group of Negro males, approximately 15 to 20, entered the shop. One of the Negro males whom I had never seen before stated, "who is the owner here?" I answered that the owner was not present. He then asked, "Who is in charge?" I told him I was the night manager. Then he asked if I was going to close the shop in respect to the death of MARTIN LUTHER KING. I replied "I do not know, I'll have to check with the boss". He then said a number of businesses were closing along the street and if I did not close I would "get hurt". He said they would return later to see if I had closed.

b7C During this conversation [redacted] noticed another Negro male, a tall Negro male, holding a switchblade knife in his hand. He never made any gestures or threatening moves. Soon after the conversation they all left.

[redacted] felt the above conversation was more of a command to close the shop than a request. She thereupon locked the front door and telephoned [redacted] [redacted] and advised him of what had taken place. This was about 10:10 p.m. [redacted] advised her to close as he did not want anyone to get hurt.

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Shortly after her telephone conversation with [REDACTED] a customer knocked at the door for his pick up order. She opened the door and served him. He then left the shop.

b7C

Almost immediately after this, exact time not recalled, another group of Negro males, fewer in number than the first group, but believed to be part of the first group came back to the shop and wanted to know if she was closing. She told them she was and while she was locking the door after the group had left, someone from the crowd on the street threw an object at the front door breaking the glass. She believed it was about 10:20 p.m. and she and the other employees left the shop at this time. [REDACTED] immediately left the area and went straight home.

She pointed out that the two groups that had entered the shop were unknown to her and as nearly as she could determine they were all strangers to her. She estimated their ages to be in the low twenties. Most of them had long hair. She related that none of these individuals had been customers of the sandwich shop and got the impression they were not local residents.

She furnished the identity of the following individuals who were or had been in the shop during this time:

b7C

[REDACTED]

All are employees.

[REDACTED] knows STOKELY CARMICHAEL from appearances in the neighborhood and stated that he was not a member of either group which came into the shop on this night.

She knows only STOKELY CARMICHAEL from his appearances in the area, but she does not know any member of his group.

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She reiterated that she did not know any of the individuals in either group and doubted that she would be able to identify any of them if she were to see them again. She was frightened and felt that her safety had been threatened because the groups wanted her to close the shop. She felt the groups coming into the shop was a spontaneous act as a result of the announcement of the death of Dr. KING.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date April 10, 1958

[redacted] Apartment [redacted]
Washington, D. C., advised as follows:

[redacted] was working at Eddie Leonard's Sandwich Shop, 2428 14th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., on Thursday evening, April 4, 1968. Her shift was scheduled to work from 4:30 p.m. April 4, 1968, until 4:00 a.m., April 5, 1968.

b7C

In regard to the happenings on the evening of April 4, 1968, she stated she prepared written notes of her impression of what occurred during that evening. She produced these notes consisting of two and one half handwritten pages, read them to the interviewing agents, stated that they were true and signed the notes in the presence of the agents. Her notes are set out as follows:

[redacted]

"D. C. Riots

"I was working on 14th st when I heard that Rev. MARTIN L. KING had been shot. I had dreamed every since last year that he had been assassinated. I prayed that he would recover but ½ hr later we heard he was dead. I told my co. workers that I had also dreamed that a full-scale civil war would follow. I said that the youths would now follow the militants like STOKLEY CARMEL about 1 hour later there is a great commotion outside. This girl who worked with us but you was only there to pick up her check sail you are those people coming up the st.

"A man burst in and said you is the manager here close this shop up. Then who should appear with tears in his eyes but STOCKLEY CAMARMICHAEL he said I quote 'I'm asking

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you to close this shop in respect to our leader who was slain tonnight in Memphis.' Just about then a real fair complexion co-worker yelled don't killed me mister. He says I not going hurt you ladies because you all my people but close this place. I was all excited and steadily hollering wer'e closing CARMICHEAL, were closing then they left and continued up the street and we heard the Safeway on 14st windows had been broken. By this time we were all excited. Our manager called down town and we we told to close up and stay there. I said you all can be a fool if you want to I'm going home.

"The above conclusions were prepared by me [redacted]
[redacted] on April 4 or 5 1968.

b7C

"Witness:

[redacted] Special Agent FBI, Washington, D.C.
[redacted] Special Agent, FBI, Washington, D. C."

[redacted] related she cannot definitely recall when the notes were written but it was either later on that evening of the fourth or the morning of the fifth. She said she frequently puts her thoughts into notes. It was pointed out to [redacted] that she had not set out the times at which the events set out in her notes had occurred and she stated and reiterated that a small group, possibly four or five Negro males entered the shop at about 9:15 p.m. to 9:30 p.m., and that one of these persons, a light skinned Negro whom she did not recognize, asked "Who is the manager" "Who is the manager here close this shop up." [redacted]

b7C

[redacted] A
few moments later [redacted] noticed a man she identified from newspaper and magazine photographs and articles as STOKELY CARMICHAEL in the group with tears in his eyes saying "I'm asking you to close this shop in respect to

our leader who was slain tonight in Memphis". At about this time her fellow workers appeared concerned and upset about their personal safety as set out in her notes and as further set out in her notes CARMICHAEL reassured her she would not be hurt. After CARMICHAEL assured them they would not be harmed he and the group departed and the shop was closed.

She pointed out that at no time during the above conversation did she see any one in possession of weapons.

[] stated the shop was closed at 10:00 p.m. but she waited around awhile before leaving with the other employees but could not give an exact time of departure. She stated that during the course of the evening she only looked at a clock at 10:00 p.m. and that the times of the related events were strictly an estimate on her part.

[] was positive that she had identified CARMICHAEL in the group because she is an admirer of his and she was excited and thrilled at seeing him in person.

A photograph of STOKELY CARMICHAEL was shown to her and she identified the person in the photograph as CARMICHAEL and said this was the individual who appeared in the shop. [] said she did not know any of the other individuals in this group.

[] was asked if she would incorporate all of the above information into a signed statement at which time she said she signed her notes and since they contained essentially all she knew, she could see no reason for furnishing a signed statement and would stand on her notes as her statement. She said she would be willing to testify to the information furnished.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date April 10, 1968

[redacted] Apartment
[redacted] telephone number [redacted] extension [redacted] advised as follows:

b7C She has been employed by Eddie Leonard's Sandwich Shop, 2428 14th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., for a period of seven months. On April 4, 1968, her night off, she went into the sandwich shop to repay [redacted] also an employee some money that she owed to [redacted]. The time of arrival was around 10:00 p.m. She attempted to leave the shop after repaying [redacted] however, as she stepped out of the shop onto 14th Street a Negro male, name unknown, waved her back into the shop. Before she re-entered the shop she noticed a large group of Negro males walking north on 14th Street toward the shop.

b7C She then re-entered the shop and hid behind a partition. The other female employees asked her what was wrong, but she was too scared and nervous to reply. At this time a group of about 25 Negro males entered the shop. One Negro male spoke out, (she did not see him), and asked who was [redacted]. She believes [redacted] answered, and the Negro male continued asking if they were going to close the shop. At this point she recalls no further conversation because she was too nervous and had noticed a tall Negro male holding a knife in his hand over his head. She described the knife as the type commonly used as a table steak knife. She did not observe this individual do anything with the knife but hold it over his head. He was one of the group which had entered the shop.

The group was comprised of strangers to her. None of them frequented the sandwich shop to her knowledge. She doubted she would recognize any of the group. After the

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SAs [redacted]

b7C

HWJ:cjb

by [redacted] Date dictated 4/9/68

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group left the sandwich shop all she recalls was that [] told her to lock the door and gave her the keys to the door. [] then telephoned the night supervisor who instructed [] to close the shop.

b7C

[] and all the employees left the shop, got into a friend's car and immediately left the area.

[] is not acquainted with STOKELY CARMICHAEL and was unable to recognize a photograph of CARMICHAEL which was displayed. She advised the individual whose photograph was displayed was not in the group.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/11/68

On April 8, 1968, [redacted]

b7C [redacted] Washington, D. C., telephone [redacted] who resides in an apartment above [redacted] residence telephone number [redacted] furnished the following information concerning the activities of STOKELY CARMICHAEL at [redacted] as well as other activities deemed pertinent to this investigation:

b7C On the night of Thursday, April 4, 1968, [redacted] noticed from the window of [redacted] that a large group of Negro male individuals had congregated on the East side of 14th Street, N. W. just North of U Street. A Representative of this group entered either the barber shop or Miller's Carry Out Shop as well as the Zanzibar Chinese-American Restaurant on the East side of 14th Street and caused these places to close. The group then crossed 14th Street in the direction of Peoples Drug Store Number Three and the liquor store to the North of the drug store. They then proceeded past [redacted] to the Yankee Tavern adjacent to the North side of [redacted] Representatives of this group then closed the Yankee Tavern. Before the departure of this group from the area of the Yankee Tavern a Negro man in the group waved to [redacted] The group then walked to Big Boy's Carry Out Shop in the intersection of 14th and V Streets, N. W. and closed the establishment. The group then disappeared from view.

b7C The only other person in the closed [redacted] at the time the described group passed by was employee, [redacted] [redacted] whose home address was not known to [redacted] but whose telephone number was thought to be [redacted] changes her place of residence often but was believed to reside in the vicinity of the Washington Hospital Center. [redacted] had informed [redacted] that the man who had waved to her as the described group passed [redacted] was STOKELY CARMICHAEL. [redacted]

4/8/68 and

4/10/68

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SAs [redacted]

b7C

by [redacted]

ECG:jle

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was not personally acquainted with STOKELY CARMICHAEL and was unable to recognize him on sight.

b7C Ten to twenty minutes after the CARMICHAEL group disappeared, [] and entered the street. She became interested in two women fighting each other for some purpose and remained on the street to watch the action. When [] had already left presumably for home. While [] was on the street there was some rock throwing by young Negro male individuals who were smashing windows. [] also heard an instruction issued to some of the youths that they should not throw rocks through the windows above [] could not identify the source of these instructions.

b7C [] then entered her apartment but before long a rock came through her open window. She then left her apartment and entered her automobile which was parked on V Street around the corner from 14th Street, N. W. While in her parked automobile [] noted that window breaking and looting in the local stores was in progress. During this period some of the looters solicited the use of [] automobile to transport a number of stolen television sets from the scene. At this point [] feigned a fainting spell and she was left alone by the looters.

On April 10, 1968, [] was displayed photographs of the following Negro male individuals:

STOKELY CARMICHAEL



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3

b7C

[redacted] was unable to identify any of these individuals in relation to any of the specific activities which took place as described above but she recognized CARMICHAEL and [redacted] as persons who were on 14th Street in the vicinity of [redacted] on the night of April 4, 1968, during the period of the described incidents which took place.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date April 8, 1968

[redacted]
[redacted]
Washington, D.C., furnished the following information:

b7C On Thursday evening, April 4, 1968, at approximately 10:00 p.m., an unidentified Negro male stopped at [redacted] and told him that he had better close business as there was trouble "brewing" later in the evening. The unknown Negro man stated that a group had formed at the corner of 14th and U Streets, N.W., and was going to cause trouble.

[redacted] said he stopped at the front door and looked north toward 14th and U Streets, N.W., and observed a crowd in that area. He then retraced into [redacted] and obtained a shotgun and some shells. He stated that he had determined that none of those "young punks" were going to smash his windows and, therefore, stationed himself at the front door. He said he had made up his mind that he was going to shoot the first person who threw bricks or rocks at his window. He continued, as it turned out, the crowd of young hoodlums did not bother his place of business.

[redacted] advised he was not in a position to hear any remarks made inciting these people. He heard comments from passers-by that STOKELY CARMICHAEL had been talking to the people at 14th and U Streets, N.W., inciting them to the subsequent looting and rioting. He stated that neither the individuals causing the disturbance nor the passers-by were known to him.

On 4/8/68 at Washington, D.C. File # WFO 62-9737
SAs [redacted] b7C
by [redacted] smm:dan Date dictated 4/8/68

WFO 62-9737

2

A photograph of STOKELY CARMICHAEL was exhibited to [] and he advised he did not see CARMICHAEL in the crowd.

b7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/8/68

b7C

[redacted]
[redacted] telephone [redacted] home address, [redacted]
[redacted] telephone [redacted] furnished the following
information concerning events on night of April 4, 1968:

At 8:00 p.m., April 4, 1968, he and employees of his store heard that Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING had been injured. At about 8:15 p.m. they heard KING had died. Shortly thereafter 100 or more persons led by an undetermined number of negroes with "African - bushy haircuts" from other than local neighborhood started walking up and down 14th Street and then east on U Street.

b7C

Prior to the above an individual known to [redacted] as [redacted] (upstairs) told [redacted] and others at [redacted] to go home as there might be trouble. According to [redacted] had apparently received some advanced knowledge of trouble and warned [redacted] as a friend, so that [redacted] and his employees could protect themselves.

b7C

Later that night the crowd told [redacted] and his employees to close the store because of Dr. KING's death. No one in particular gave the orders, although [redacted] stated STOKELY CARMICHAEL could be seen diagonally across the intersection of 14th and U Streets standing near Dr. KING's headquarters on N. W. corner. [redacted] did not see CARMICHAEL with a weapon of any kind. [redacted] closed the store between 8:30 and 9:00 p.m. because of the crowd and to avoid trouble.

[redacted] said the age of the crowd appeared to range from late teens to twenty-five. [redacted] said there were never less than five persons in a group.

On 4/8/68 at Washington, D. C. File# WFO 62-9737

by SA [redacted] tab b7C Date dictated 4/8/68

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 4/9/68

b7C

[redacted]
[redacted] Telephone [redacted] an employee of Carter's Liquors, Incorporated, 1941 14th Street, N.W., Telephone DU7-7600, furnished the following information concerning events on night of April 4, 1968:

At 8:00 p.m., he and other employees heard that Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING had been injured and about 8:15 p.m. that Dr. KING had died. Shortly thereafter, 100 or more persons led by an undetermined number of Negroes with "African bush haircuts" from other than the local neighborhood started walking up and down 14th Street and then east on U Street.

The crowd later came to Carter's Liquors and told the employees to close the store because of Dr. KING's death. No special person gave any orders although [redacted] could see STOKELY CARMICHAEL across the intersection of 14th and U Streets standing near Dr. KING's headquarters on the N.W. corner. [redacted] did not see CARMICHAEL with a weapon of any kind.

b7C

[redacted] believed the crowd to range from late teens to twenty-five years of age. [redacted] and other employees and [redacted] closed the store and went home around 8:30 to 9:00 p.m. because of the crowd and in hopes of avoiding any trouble.

On 4/8/68 at Washington, D.C. File # WFO 62-9737

SAs [redacted]

b7C

by [redacted] JLE:skt Date dictated 4/9/68

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 4/9/68

b7C

[redacted]
[redacted] Telephone [redacted] an employee of Carter's Liquors, Incorporated, 1941 14th Street, N.W., Telephone DU7-7600, furnished following information concerning events on night of April 4, 1968:

At 8:00 p.m., he and other employees heard that Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING had been injured and about 8:15 p.m. that Dr. KING had died. Shortly thereafter, 100 or more persons led by an undetermined number of Negroes with "African bush haircuts" from other than local neighborhood started walking up and down 14th Street and then east on U Street.

The crowd later came to Carter's Liquors and told the employees to close the store because of Dr. KING's death. No special person gave any orders although he could see STOKELY CARMICHAEL across the intersection of 14th and U Streets standing near Dr. KING's headquarters on the N.W. corner. [redacted] did not see CARMICHAEL with a weapon of any kind.

b7C

[redacted] believed the crowd to range in age from 18 to 25. [redacted] and other employees and [redacted] closed the store and went home between 8:30 p.m. and 9:00 p.m. because of the crowd and in hope of avoiding trouble.

On 4/8/68 at Washington, D.C. File # WFO 62-9737

SAs [redacted]

b7C

by [redacted] JLE:skt Date dictated 4/9/68

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 4/8/68

[redacted] Phoenix Society Thrift Shop, 2005 14th Street, N. W., advised that about 8 PM on Thursday night, April 4, 1968, he closed the thrift shop.

b7C

He noticed a group of Negro males walking south on 14th Street and saw them enter into Peoples' Drug Store at 14th and U Street, N. W. He stated that upon closing, it was necessary for him to circle the block to get home and he noticed another large group marching north on 14th Street, south of U Street, N. W. He said there was much hollering going on but he did not hear any specific words anyone said.

[redacted] said he did not know if STOKELY CARMICHAEL was in either group. No one told him to close the thrift shop but he closed it at its usual time.

b7C

On 4/8/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9732

SAs [redacted]

b7C

by [redacted] EVS/11w Date dictated 4/8/68

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/8/681

[redacted]
[redacted] advised that he was in the shop on the evening of April 4, 1968. He left the shop between 8 and 8:30 PM inasmuch as it was the usual closing time, however, he forgot something and returned to the shop between 9:30 and 10:00 and immediately left.

b7C

[redacted] noticed that on both occasions the streets were crowded but no one said anything to him and his shop suffered no damage.

On 4/8/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9732

SAs [redacted]

b7C

by [redacted] EVS/11w Date dictated 4/8/68

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 4/8/68

[redacted]
[redacted] advised that on Thursday evening, April 4, 1968, an unidentified woman opened the door and told her that MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., had been shot.

b7C

[redacted] noticed groups of men walking on the street, so immediately closed the carry out. She called for her husband to come and pick her up. She waited in the restaurant until approximately 2 AM before her husband could get to the restaurant to pick her up. No one said anything to her about closing the restaurant nor caused any damage to her restaurant.

On 4/8/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9732

SAs [redacted]

b7C

by [redacted] EVS/llw Date dictated 4/8/68

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date April 9, 19681

[redacted] Meyers Sunoco Service, 2125 14th Street, N.W., advised that he was on duty at this station during the night shift on Thursday, April 4, 1968.

b7C During the evening, after word had been spread that Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. had been killed, small groups of young Negro men and Negro boys milled around, walking up and down 14th Street and walking past the station. On one occasion, at about 10:30 p.m., someone from such a group yelled out that he had better close up. [redacted] said he was busy servicing a car at the time, did not look up, and does not know who made the statement. No threat accompanied the above remark and [redacted] did not close the station at that time but waited until almost 11 p.m., the usual closing time, before he actually closed the station. [redacted] said that at no time in the evening did he see what he would consider to be any organized group near his station.

When the above remark was overheard, [redacted] was the only person on duty in the station.

b7C [redacted] stated that although he would probably recognize STOKELY CARMICHAEL if he saw him, CARMICHAEL, to his knowledge, was not a member of any of the small groups which passed the station that evening.

On 4/8/68 at Washington, D.C. File # WFO 62-9737

SAs [redacted]

b7C

by [redacted] dgp Date dictated 4/9/68

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 4/11/68

[redacted]
Washington, D. C., advised that he is the owner of [redacted]

b7C

[redacted] Washington, D. C. He related that he was at the store during the evening of April 4, 1968, and at approximately 8:00 p.m. a group of four or five teenagers, plus an unidentified Negro male, stopped at the door and told him to close up. [redacted] said he subsequently closed up at 9:00 p.m., and could furnish no further pertinent information. He stated he could not identify STOKELY CARMICHAEL as having been with the group that told him to close up.

On 4/10/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737

SAS [redacted]

b7C

by JAV:laaDate dictated 4/11/68

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 4/11/68

b7C

[redacted] employee, Hillco Liquor Store, advised that he resides at [redacted] Washington, D. C. He stated he was working at the store on the evening of April 10, 1968, and observed essentially the same as related by [redacted] stated he knows STOKELY CARMICHAEL by sight, and he (CARMICHAEL) definitely was not in the group that told [redacted] to close up.

On 4/10/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737
by SA [redacted] laa b7C Date dictated 4/11/68

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/10/68

[redacted] Silver Spring, Maryland, advised that he is the owner of [redacted] Washington, D. C. He stated that he was not at this store on Thursday, April 4, 1968, however at 7:30 p.m. he received a telephone call from his employee, [redacted] Washington, D. C. She was working alone at [redacted]. She told him that a whole gang came in and told her to leave as they were going to tear the place apart. He told her to get out. He advised that when he went to his store on April 5, 1968 he found all the windows busted and the stock missing.

b7C

On 4/9/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737
by SAs [redacted] JAV:jle Date dictated 4/9/68

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 4/11/68

[redacted]
Apartment [redacted] Washington, D. C., telephone number [redacted]
furnished the following information:

b7C

[redacted] advised that she is employed [redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted] Washington, D. C., and was working alone at the shop during the evening of April 4, 1968. She stated that at approximately 8:00 p.m. several unidentified persons came running into the shop and told her that the Reverend MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., had been shot. Shortly thereafter other unidentified persons came in and related that KING was dead.

At approximately 9:45 p.m. a small group of unidentified teenagers entered the shop and told her to close it up. About five or ten minutes later, a small group of older, unidentified Negro males came in and again told her to close up.

[redacted] began closing up at approximately 10:05 p.m., but before the door was locked, a window was broken by the crowd that had formed outside. She immediately locked the door and vacated the premises at approximately 10:10 p.m.

b7C

[redacted] was unable to identify STOKELY CARMICHAEL by name or photograph as having been in the groups that told her to close up, but she did hear unidentified persons in the crowd say that CARMICHAEL was in a group at 14th and U Streets, N. W., telling shop keepers to close up.

[redacted] advised she would be willing to testify in court concerning the above information.

On 4/10/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737

SAS [redacted] b7C

by JAV:laa Date dictated 4/10/68

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date April 8, 1968

b7C

[redacted] Neighbor-
hood Grill, 1734 14th Street, N.W., advised that on the evening of April 4, 1968, he had noticed people milling around on the street in front of the Neighborhood Grill and fearing that they might become unruly he had closed his business. No one told him to close; he did not see anyone trying to incite others to burn, loot, or commit other illegal activities. He did not observe any march along 14th Street.

b7C

A photograph of STOKELY CARMICHAEL was exhibited to [redacted] who advised to his knowledge CARMICHAEL was not present in the crowd on April 4, 1968.

On 4/8/68 at Washington, D.C. File # WFO 62-9737
SAs [redacted] b7C
by [redacted] jld:dan Date dictated 4/8/68

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 4/8/68

b7C

[redacted] advised that on April 4, 1968, he had not closed his place of business until 11:00 p.m. No one told him to close. He did not see anyone urging anyone else to break windows, set fires, or loot, nor did he observe any march or procession. There was a crowd milling about but it appeared to be orderly. He observed no one who seemed to be the leader of the crowd. He commented that things did not get rough in the neighborhood until the following day.

b7C

A photograph of STOKELY CARMICHAEL was exhibited to [redacted] and he advised he did not see CARMICHAEL in the crowd on April 4, 1968.

On 4/8/68 at Washington, D.C. File # WFO 62-9737
by SAs [redacted] b7C [redacted] jld:dan Date dictated 4/8/68

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/10/68

[redacted] Arlington, Virginia,
advised that she is the owner of [redacted]

b7C

[redacted] Washington, D. C. She stated that she had closed this place of business on Thursday, April 4, 1968 at 7:00 p.m. No one came to her and requested the closing of this store. She had not noticed any unusual incidents in the store or its vicinity prior to when she left at 7:00 p.m. She advised that her store had been completely destroyed after she had left.

On 4/9/68 At Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737
by SAs [redacted] [redacted] JAV:jle 4/9/68
by _____ Date dictated _____

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/8/68

b7C

[redacted] advised that on April 4, 1968, she had left her establishment about 10:00 p.m. She observed people milling around on 14th Street, but she did not observe any march or procession nor did she notice anyone trying to get others to burn, break windows, or loot.

On 4/8/68 at Washington, D. C. File # 62-9737

b7C

by SAs [redacted] JLD Date dictated 4/8/68

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/10/68

b7C

[redacted]
[redacted] Washington, D. C. advised as follows:

At approximately 8:00 p.m., April 4, 1968, he was at the lounge preparing to open but after hearing that Dr. KING had been killed, decided to remain closed for the evening in respect for Dr. KING. A disturbance had erupted at a Peoples Drug Store at 14th and U Streets and a large crowd had gathered on 14th Street. Shortly after 8:00 p.m. he observed an individual whom he recognized as STOKELY CARMICHAEL, standing in front of the lounge talking with some other Negroes. He heard CARMICHAEL say words to the effect that "we must get these young fellows off the street before this crowd gets out of hand". [redacted] did not see CARMICHAEL do anything else or say anything else and could furnish no additional information in this regard.

b7C

On 4/8/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737
by SAs [redacted] [redacted] WPG:jle Date dictated 4/9/68

b7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/10/68

[redacted]
[redacted] Washington, D. C., advised that on April 4, 1968, about 9:00 p.m. some men came in the restaurant and told him to close in honor of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING. There were few customers and he ordered them out and closed the restaurant. He could not recognize the men who came in and does not know STOKELY CARMICHAEL. At about 9:30 p.m. the front windows of the restaurant were broken.

b7C

Also present during the interview were [redacted] employee, and [redacted] who both assented to the statement [redacted]

b7C

A photograph of STOKELY CARMICHAEL was exhibited to the above individuals, but none could identify CARMICHAEL as any one of the men who told [redacted] to close on April 4, 1968.

On 4/8/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737

SAs [redacted]

b7C

by [redacted]

ECB:jle

Date dictated

4/9/68

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/8/68

b7C

[redacted] Reese Barber Shop, 2009 14th Street, N. W., advised that on Thursday night, April 4, 1968, at approximately 7:30 PM, a man believed to be STOKELY CARMICHAEL and 14 or 15 other Negroes, opened the barber shop door and advised that they were asking all store owners to close in respect to the death of MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. The barber shop usually closes at 8:00 PM and had already taken steps to close at that time. The group with CARMICHAEL did not enter the barber shop nor stay in the doorway for over a few seconds.

The barber shop was open on Friday and Saturday and was not victimized in the riots.

b7C

A photograph of STOKELY CARMICHAEL was exhibited to [redacted] who stated he could not say for sure whether STOKELY CARMICHAEL was in the above group that came to his store and asked him to close on April 4, 1968.

On 4/8/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737
by SAs [redacted] ☒ [redacted] EVS/11w Date dictated 4/8/68

b7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 4/12/68

On April 9, 1968, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] furnished the following information concerning events on the night of Thursday, April 4, 1968:

b7C [REDACTED] had been serving customers between 9:00 p.m. and 9:30 p.m. when a crowd of from 20-30 Negroes came to the restaurant and told her to close because of the death of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING. Various individuals in the crowd stated if she did not close they would have to close for her. She could not identify any of the people in the crowd and noted they were not familiar to her as individuals who frequent the neighborhood. She stated she does not know STOKELY CARMICHAEL.

On April 11, 1968, [REDACTED] was exhibited a photograph of STOKELY CARMICHAEL and she advised she did not see CARMICHAEL in the above crowd.

On 4/9/68 and 4/11/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737
by SAs [REDACTED] JLE:jle Date dictated 4/11/68
[REDACTED] b7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date April 12, 1968

b7C

[redacted] employee, Dottie's Delicatessen, 2217 14th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., advised that a group of about 100 persons came up 14th Street, N.W. during the evening of April 4, 1968, and indicated to him that the store should be closed because of the death of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. He said the store was closed. He said he knows who STOKELY CARMICHAEL is but did not see him in this group or on that day.

On 4/8/68 at Washington, D.C. File # WFO 62-9737
by SAs [redacted] [redacted] dan Date dictated 4/11/68

b7C

WFO 62-9737

D. BUSINESSES ON U STREET, N.W.,
WASHINGTON, D.C.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/8/68

[redacted]
home telephone, [redacted] was interviewed and advised that on April 4, 1968, while he was [redacted] of the Republic Theater at 1353 U Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., at about 9:30 PM, a group of 50 - 75 young Negro males gathered in the lobby of the theater. He advised that this group was led by three or four men, including STOKELY CARMICHAEL. [redacted] stated at this time he was in the box office selling tickets to the theater patrons and then immediately discontinued the sale of tickets. He stated that upon the entrance of the crowd into the theater, they shattered a pane of glass in one of the front doors of the theater.

b7C

An individual walked up to the box office whom [redacted] described as a Negro male, about 25 years of age, small of stature, dark complexion, wearing sport coat and hat, who had a "vicious" look on his face and said to [redacted] "close the theater." [redacted] advised that he assumed that this man was one of the leaders of the group. Although he could not be positive of this, he stated he did not recognize the individual but that he thought he could recognize him if he saw him again.

b7C

Following the remark made by the above described individual, [redacted] stated that he looked into the crowd and spotted STOKELY CARMICHAEL standing in the background. CARMICHAEL, at this time, looked at [redacted] and made a negative type nodding motion with his head and told [redacted] "don't worry, nothing will happen to you."

[redacted] further advised that the group remained in the lobby for a period of 12 to 15 minutes, during this time shouting black power slogans. They then were led out by the leaders to proceed to the Lincoln Theater, located

b7C

On 4/8/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737
by SAs [redacted] [redacted] JFW:11w Date dictated 4/8/68

b7C

WFO 62-9737

in the 1200 block of U Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

b7C

concluded by advising that with the exception of STOKELY CARMICHAEL, he did not know the identities of any of the other individuals present.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/11/68

b7C

On April 10, 1968, [redacted]
[redacted] Apartment [redacted] telephone number [redacted]
[redacted] of the Lincoln Theatre, 1250 U Street, N. W., furnished
the following information:

b7C

[redacted] advised that approximately 9:30 p.m. Thursday evening, April 4, 1968, a crowd of about 300 persons primarily consisting of young Negro males walked into the lobby of the movie theatre and walked through the aisles of the theatre saying "Close the theatre" and/or "let's close the theatre". [redacted] stated that he did not think the mood of the crowd was "vicious" in view of the fact that no damage was done to either the exterior or interior of the theatre and also from the fact that the crowd moved in an orderly fashion. [redacted] stated that it appeared that this crowd had no particular leadership and he also advised that no single individual approached him to tell him to close the theatre. He advised that some people in the crowd stated that they would be back but did not make any specific threat of violence. [redacted] also advised that he did not recognize any individual in the crowd and he added that he knows STOKELY CARMICHAEL and [redacted] along with other "lieutenants" of Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) from the fact that SNCC Headquarters had been located directly across the street and that CARMICHAEL and others had frequented the theatre. [redacted] concluded by stating that he did close the theatre because of the crowd and from the fact that they had disrupted the audience to the point that the audience left the theatre. [redacted] stated that none of his employees were intimidated or threatened by the crowd.

On 4/10/68 at Washington, D. C.
SAs [redacted]

File # WFO 62-9737

by [redacted] JAM:jle

b7C

Date dictated 4/10/68

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 4/8/68

[redacted] advised that his office was opened Thursday evening, April 4, 1968, at about 9:30 PM when disturbances erupted on U Street, N. W. [redacted] stated that he observed a group of about 50 individuals, primarily consisting of young Negro males, none of whom he recognized, walking down U Street, but that he was not bothered by this group nor were any of his [redacted] properties in the area damaged.

b7C

[redacted] stated that he knows STOKELY CARMICHAEL from the fact that up until Wednesday evening, April 3, 1968, SNCC headquarters was located [redacted]. He advised, however, that he did not see CARMICHAEL in the above mentioned group of individuals.

b7C

[redacted]

On 4/8/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737

b7C

by SAs [redacted] JAM:llw Date dictated 4/8/68

1

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/8/68

b7C

[redacted] employee of the Jumbo Nut Shop, 1361 U Street, N.W., advised of the following information:

On April 4, 1968, at approximately 9 p.m., a group of young Negroes entered the shop and demanded that the store be closed down because of the death of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. She advised that she refused to close the shop and the group then departed the shop. A short while later, they returned and again demanded that the shop be closed. One of the group, whom she could not identify, stated in a very threatening manner, that they would give her five minutes to close the store. She stated that she became scared at this threat, closed the store down, and went home.

She advised that she does not know any of the group that came into the store, although she recognized three or four of them as being from the neighborhood. She described the group as young hoodlums.

b7C

[redacted] further advised that STOKELY CARMICHAEL was not in the group that entered the store and demanded that it be closed. She stated that the shop is owned by [redacted] who was not in the store during this time.

It was noted that [redacted] assisted in the interview of [redacted] since she does not speak English too fluently.

On 4/8/68 at Washington, D.C. File # WFO 62-9737

SAs [redacted]

b7C

by [redacted]

JFF/MJB

Date dictated 4/8/68

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date April 8, 1968

b7C [redacted] advised SAs [redacted] that he was in his place of business on the evening of Thursday, April 4, 1968. At approximately 10:00 p.m., [redacted] advised, a large group of colored persons entered his shop and asked him to close his place of business in deference to the recent death of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

b7C [redacted] stated that he was frightened and that he immediately closed his place of business, not so much in deference to the death of Dr. KING, but due to the size of the crowd which he said was so large that it could not get inside his place of business.

b7C [redacted] stated that he was unable to recognize or identify any individual in this group.

A photograph of STOKELY CARMICHAEL was exhibited to [redacted] and he advised he did not see CARMICHAEL in the crowd on April 4, 1968.

On 4/8/68 at Washington, D.C. File # WFO 62-9737
SAs [redacted] b7C
by [redacted] REW:smm:dan Date dictated 4/8/68

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date April 8, 1968

b7C

[redacted] advised SAs [redacted]
that he was here alone in his office throughout the entire evening and night of Thursday, April 4, 1968, and was not visited by any person or group of persons.

On 4/8/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737

by SAs [redacted] :smm Date dictated 4/8/68

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date April 8, 1968

b7C

[redacted]
advised SAS [redacted] that
he resides in [redacted] at this location and
that on the evening of Thursday, April 4, 1968, he spent
the night at this location and was not visited by any person
or group of persons asking him or threatening him to close
his office.

On 4/8/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737

by SAS [redacted] b7C
[redacted] :smm Date dictated 4/8/68

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

WFO 62-9737

E. MISCELLANEOUS

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/9/68

b7C

[redacted] employee of the Washington Field Office, Federal Bureau of Investigation, who resides at [redacted] Washington, D. C., Apartment [redacted] advised that at approximately 1:30 a.m., April 5, 1968, he was awakened by the noise of a crowd outside his apartment building and observed a group of approximately 100 young people standing at the intersection of 14th and Euclid Streets, N. W.

He described the mood of the crowd as being ugly but apparently leaderless, and stated there were many young girls in the group. He estimated the ages of the young people in this group ranged from 10 or 11 years old to 20 or 21 years of age.

For approximately one hour the crowd milled around the intersection of 14th and Euclid Streets throwing rocks and bottles which exploded on impact. Several times during this interval, police cars came into the area and the crowd scattered, running West on Euclid Street toward 16th Street, N. W.

After retreating west on Euclid Street, the crowd stopped, and on at least one occasion he observed youths throwing rocks and fire bombs towards the police officers. The police then withdrew from the area and the crowd surged back to the intersection.

b7C

By this time, according to [redacted] the plate glass in the store fronts at this intersection had been smashed and the crowd had thrown rocks at the traffic signal in an attempt to put the traffic light out of commission. He noted that some looting also took place during this period, particularly from a grocery store located at this intersection.

On 4/5/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737
by SA [redacted] tab b7C Date dictated 4/5/68

At approximately 3:00 a.m., a group of individuals entered the grocery store and set fire to it on the inside. Two other stores were also entered and fires were set inside the premises. A small store owned by a Negro which is located beside the grocery store was damaged by flames and smoke from the fire set in the grocery store.

The fire department was called and was able to bring all of the fires under control quickly. When the firemen arrived at the scene, the crowd backed off and allowed the fires to be put out.

b7C

[redacted] estimated that from approximately 1:30 a.m. until 3:00 a.m. at least 100 fire bombs were thrown in the immediate area of 14th and Euclid Streets, N. W. He stated he did not know how children as small as some he had observed in the crowd knew how to make fire bombs or were able to obtain the materials necessary, unless older teenagers in the crowd or young adults instructed them. In this connection he was of the opinion that those involved were from the immediate neighborhood, however, he did not recognize any children he knew.

He further advised that to his knowledge, no private homes or apartment houses were damaged in this area and he knew of no personal injuries sustained by any members of the crowd or members of the police department.

He recalled that at one point in this disorder, a large barrel similar to the type used by the Highway Department to store sand for emergencies during the winter months, was rolled out into the middle of the street. Three cars were stopped by the youths, however, no attempt was made to molest the occupants, and after a short interval, each car was allowed to continue on its way. He was unable to ascertain if the occupants of these cars were white or Negro.

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b7C

[] further advised that many adults came out of their homes and watched the entire episode, however, none of the older residents in the community attempted to take part in the vandalism. On the other hand, none of the adults present made any effort to stop the actions of the young people responsible for the disturbance.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date April 11, 1968

b7C

[redacted] Silver Spring, Maryland, residence telephone number [redacted] employed as [redacted] for ABC, Washington, D. C., at about 8:45 p.m. on the night of April 4, 1968, while in the offices of ABC, 1124 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., received a report that STOKELY CARMICHAEL was in the area of the headquarters of the "Poor Peoples' March On Washington" at 14th and U Streets, N.W., and that there was some kind of a disturbance going on there.

b7C

[redacted] and his partner [redacted] [redacted] employee immediately headed for that area. They approached the area of 14th and U Streets at an estimated 10:00 or 10:30 p.m., and noted a throng of people in the area. [redacted] looked toward the headquarters of the "March" but did not see CARMICHAEL though he would have recognized him on sight.

b7C

[redacted] continued to cruise in this area with [redacted] passing the intersection of 14th and U on three different occasions, and noted crowds of people shouting and chanting, as they broke store windows and began looting. [redacted] took no pictures because the area was dark, and he feared to throw a light on the scene. He noticed no groups of marchers requesting stores and theatres to close in honor of Dr. KING. At no time did he see CARMICHAEL. After leaving 14th Street, [redacted] parked on 16th Street between S and T Streets, N.W., to watch developments. A short time later they were met by ABC employees [redacted]

[redacted] did not go into the 14th and U Streets area, but [redacted] who is colored, went into that area on several occasions after joining [redacted] and had been in that area earlier. [redacted] later cruised in the area of 14th and Harvard Streets, N.W., around midnight of April 4 and noticed large crowds of looters running in all directions. Later they toured the 14th and Swann Streets area. At no time during the night of April 4 did [redacted] see CARMICHAEL.

On 4/9/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737

SAs [redacted]

b7C

by [redacted] TAM:cjb Date dictated 4/10/68

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date April 11, 1968

b7C [redacted] residence telephone [redacted] employed as [redacted] by ABC, on Thursday, the night of April 4, arrived by motorcycle in the vicinity of 14th and U Streets, N.W., where he expected to join up with ABC employee [redacted]. Not locating [redacted] in the vicinity he went first to the Poor Peoples' March Headquarters at 1401 U Street, N.W., thinking [redacted] might possibly be there. When [redacted] first arrived in the above area he noticed that two stores next to the "March" headquarters had been broken into, and there were crowds of people roaming the streets. At "March" headquarters he was met by a "priest" who told him no one was there, that they were keeping their doors locked, and not allowing people in.

b7C [redacted] knows STOKELY CARMICHAEL by sight, but stated that he did not see him in the area. It was obvious to him that people were looting in the area but he did not see any people marching on 14th Street, N.W., demanding that stores and theatres be closed. Not finding [redacted] returned to ABC offices at 1124 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., where he later learned that [redacted] was stationed at 16th and Swann Streets, N.W., joining him and [redacted] at that location at about 10:30 p.m.

b7C [redacted] stated that being colored he had no hesitancy about being in and out of the disturbed areas on the night of April 4, 1968, and that he was in and out of the 14th and U Streets area on his motorcycle numerous times up until about 2:00 a.m. April 5, 1968. At no time did he see CARMICHAEL.

[redacted] stated that at 9:00 p.m. nearly all of the stores in the vicinity of 14th and U Streets were already closed. He assumed that the theatres in the area were still open at that time, but paid no attention to them as he was concentrating

On 4/9/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737
 by SAs [redacted] b7C [redacted] TAM:cjb Date dictated 4/10/68

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2

on finding [REDACTED]

b7C

[REDACTED] He could furnish no information of
additional significance to this matter.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date April 11, 1968

b7C

[redacted]
Silver Spring, Maryland, residence telephone [redacted] employed by ABC, advised that he and his partner, ABC employee [redacted] were in ABC offices on Connecticut Avenue, at between 8:30 p.m. and 9:00 p.m. on the night of April 4, 1968, when they learned there was trouble brewing in the vicinity of 14th and U Streets, N.W.

b7C

[redacted] in an automobile with [redacted] proceeded to the area, and cruised around for a short time. [redacted] noted numerous groups of persons yelling and breaking store windows and beginning to loot merchandise from the store windows in the area. [redacted] does not know CARMICHAEL by sight and would not have recognized him had he seen him.

[redacted] remained with [redacted] until the early hours of the morning of April 5, but could add no additional information concerning CARMICHAEL.

On 4/9/68 at Washington, D. C.File # WFO 62-9737

SAs [redacted]

b7C

by [redacted] TAM:cjb

Date dictated 4/10/68

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date April 11, 1968

b7C [redacted]
Maryland, residence telephone [redacted] employed as [redacted]
[redacted] by ABC on the night of April 4, 1968,
along with fellow employee [redacted] headed up to the
vicinity of 14th and Swann Streets, N.W., at about 11:00 p.m.
When they arrived at this location from ABC offices on Con-
necticut Avenue, the police would not permit them to go any
further north on 14th Street. They began cruising in the
general area of 13th and 12th Streets, N.W., staying in the
area until approximately 2:00 a.m. on the morning of April 5,
1968.

b7C [redacted] stated that he knows STOKELY CARMICHAEL when
he saw him, but did not see him on the night of April 4.
Neither he nor [redacted] were able to get into the area of 14th
and U Streets, and he could offer no additional significant
information.

On 4/9/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737

SAs [redacted] b7C
by [redacted] TAM:cjb Date dictated 4/10/68

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date April 11, 1968

[redacted]
Maryland, residence telephone [redacted] employed as [redacted]
[redacted] by ABC, on April 4, 1968, at about 11:00 p.m.,
b7C along with fellow employee [redacted] arrived in
the vicinity of 14th and Swann Streets, N.W. They had been
working together all day on April 4, 1968, but not in con-
nection with the disturbances which broke out in Washington
during the night of April 4. They left the offices of [redacted]
together to go to the above area, and remained in the vicinity
until 2:00 a.m., April 5, 1968. However, by the time they
arrived, the area on 14th Street, north of Swann Street had
been sealed off by police and they never got in the vicinity
of 14th and U Streets, N.W.

b7C [redacted] knows CARMICHAEL by sight, but did not see
him on the night of April 4, 1968. He could furnish no ad-
ditional pertinent information.

On 4/9/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737

SAs [redacted] b7C
by [redacted] cjb Date dictated 4/10/68

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date April 11, 1968

[redacted]
[redacted] Virginia, residence telephone [redacted] employed
as [redacted] by ABC, arrived at the corner of 14th
Street and U Street, N.W., at about 10:00 p.m. on the night
of April 4, 1968. He had been requested to join [redacted]
[redacted] at that location. Unable to find
[redacted] car in the vicinity of 14th and U Streets, [redacted]
[redacted] returned to ABC offices on Connecticut Avenue, N.W.,
and after making contact with [redacted] joined him on 16th
Street, N.W., at about 11:00 p.m.

b7C

[redacted] knows CARMICHAEL by sight, but did not
see him on the night of April 4. He saw no groups marching
on 14th Street demanding that stores or theatres be closed.
[redacted] remained with [redacted] the rest of the night.

b7C

On 4/9/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737
SAs [redacted] b7C
by [redacted] TAM:cjb Date dictated 4/10/68

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TAM:cjb

1

The Washington Daily News
1013 13th Street, N.W.

b7C.

[redacted] The Washington Daily News, a Washington, D. C., daily newspaper, 1013 13th Street, N.W., was interviewed by SAs [redacted] [redacted] on April 8, 1968.

b7C

[redacted] advised that reporter [redacted] was on the scene in the vicinity of 14th Street and U Street, N.W., on the night of Thursday, April 4, 1968, covering the activities there for the paper.

b7C

Later in the day on April 8, 1968, [redacted] telephonically contacted the Washington Field Office and advised SA [redacted] that he had been working in the vicinity of 14th and U Streets on the night of April 4, 1968. He stated that he estimated that he was in the area from around 9:00 p.m. on, but stated that he did not see any group of men marching on 14th Street and demanding that stores and theatres close because of the death of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING.

b7C

[redacted] stated that at the time he was in the vicinity of 14th and U Streets, N.W., on the night of April 4, he did not know STOKELY CARMICHAEL by sight but mentioned that while he was in that area, a colored man came up to him and asked him what time it was. He said that when he returned to his office he observed a photograph of CARMICHAEL, and felt it was CARMICHAEL who asked him for the time. [redacted] could furnish no additional information concerning the activities or statements of the man who had requested the time of him, as he had not previously noticed this man, and took no subsequent notice of him.

[redacted] The Washington Daily News, advised SAs [redacted] on April 8,

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2

1968, that the paper had assigned [redacted] to the campus of Howard University on April 5, 1968, to cover the memorial services for Dr. KING held there on that date. [redacted] stated, however, that [redacted] had been "kicked off the Campus" at that time, resulting in the paper having no coverage of the reported appearance of CARMICHAEL on the campus during the memorial service. He stated for that reason [redacted] would be unable to furnish any information concerning CARMICHAEL in connection with the above occasion.

b7C

WFO 62-9737

TAM:cjb

1

United Press International Newspictures
1013 13th Street, N.W.

b7C

On April 8, 1968, [redacted] United Press International (UPI) Photos (newspictures), Washington Bureau, 1013 13th Street, N.W., was interviewed by SAs [redacted] [redacted] advised that his office had no coverage of CARMICHAEL on the night of April 4, 1968. He stated further that UPI Photos had not covered the memorial services for Dr. KING on the campus of Howard University on the afternoon of April 5, 1968.

WFO 62-9737

WHW:cjb

1

[redacted]
[redacted] Silver Spring, Maryland, telephonically advised SA [redacted]

[redacted] April 8, 1968, concerning the civil rights disturbance in Washington, D. C., on the evening of April 4, 1968. [redacted]

b7C

[redacted] and expected back on April 11, 1968. [redacted] advised that he [redacted]

[redacted] which was a sketch of the high points of the life of MARTIN LUTHER KING. [redacted] stated, and verified the statement with fellow employees, that [redacted]

[redacted] had not sent anyone to cover the disturbance on Thursday night, April 4, 1968. [redacted]

[redacted] was based solely on information gleaned from the wire services and from articles appearing in the New York Times and the Washington Post.

THE

NATIONAL

OBSERVER

MONDAY, APRIL 8, 1968

A Weekly Newspaper

Sniper Kills Martin Luther King; Blacks Riot, Loot Across Nation

WASHINGTON, D.C.

A stunned America faces up this week to the implications of near-insurrection.

While mourners march in Memphis, an urgent joint session of the U.S. Congress meets Monday night to hear President Johnson's appeal for "constructive action, instead of destructive action, in this time of national need."

While the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., is laid to rest in Atlanta, the leaders of some 50 U.S. cities cope with the aftermath of Negro violence unleashed by the assassination in Memphis, violence which swept from San Francisco to the very gates of the White House.

America learned last week, months before it fully expected to, that it can happen here, the kind of terror and insensate violence that has rent such far-off cities as Caracas and Algiers, Santo Domingo and Saigon. Most places it was the same old story—predominantly looting, then young Negroes setting fire to Negro districts. While the death toll, both black and white, was relatively small, hundreds were injured, thousands arrested.

In New York City's Harlem, an aged cripple is trapped on an upper floor of a fire-bombed building and dies when firemen finally get him to a hospital. In Tallahassee, Fla., 19-year-old Travis Crow, Jr., dies as well in another fire-bombed building while, a few blocks away, a small band of snipers on the campus of Florida A & M University keep policemen at bay. And in Itta Bena, Miss., highway patrolmen wound two students after receiving

fire from snipers at a local college, an all-Negro institution.

Riots occurred in city after city: Denver, Chicago, Detroit, Savannah, Hartford, Boston, Raleigh, Newark. Michigan Gov. George Romney called up 3,000 National Guardsmen for Detroit; 6,000 patrolled in Chicago; they were on alert in Boston. In Washington, Regular Army troops from nearby camps were deployed along with National Guardsmen, 4,000 in all, and then 2,000 airborne infantry were flown in. Nowhere was the situation more critical than in Washington, partly because it gave the Federal Government's home grounds an air of siege.

Unbelievable things happened.

Even as President Johnson was addressing the nation on Thursday night after Dr. King's murder, a mob of 50 Negroes led by firebrand Stokely Carmichael raged down 14th Street in Northwest Washington demanding that motion-picture houses, stores, beauty parlors, and other business establishments close to honor Dr. King's death.

'I Got Me a Gun'

The mob grew until it reached 400 persons, and Carmichael was heard to yell: "When the white man comes he is coming to kill you. I don't want any black blood in the street. Go home and get you a gun and then come back because I got me a gun!"

There was a dramatic confrontation between Mr. Carmichael and the Rev. Walter Fauntroy, vice chairman of the District of Columbia City Council and a close associate of the late Dr. King.

Mr. Fauntroy is a poised, slightly built individual, almost natty in his appearance. Of late he has been criticized by some members of the U.S. Congress for allowing Stokely Carmichael to be in on the planning of the Poor People's March on Washington this month. A few weeks ago in his office in the District Building, Mr. Fauntroy expressed fear of Mr. Carmichael since the latter's return from a five-month tour of Communist countries, saying that Mr. Carmichael had developed into a clever organizer who would have to be watched closely.

On Thursday night, Mr. Fauntroy approached Mr. Carmichael in the midst of the mob, imploring him not to stir up violence.

Stokely Carmichael stepped back, brushed Mr. Fauntroy aside, and exclaimed: "They killed King." The mob rushed on, and Mr. Fauntroy sped to a television station to appeal to Negro citizens to be calm in their hour of trial.

The Police Wait

For nearly two hours after the first reports of looting about 9:30 p.m. Thursday, the Metropolitan Police made few arrest attempts, apparently forced to bide their time until more police could be mustered. Many police on the scene appeared confused, sitting in their squad cars while Negroes smashed store windows, grabbed merchandise, and tossed fire bombs.

"Won't someone please tell us what to do?" came the pleading voice of one policeman over the police radio at 10:30 p.m.

Within a few hours, reinforcements

Please Turn to Page 19, Column 1

—Continued From Page One—

wearing white helmets with plastic face shields appeared on the streets in great numbers and started sweeping the streets of roving gangs. And then it happened, the first fatality of the riot: A white man was attacked in a service station and stabbed to death.

With first light Friday, the violence had ebbed and most fires had been brought under control. U.S. Government workers streamed into the city as usual from their homes in Maryland and Virginia, few of them completely aware of how serious the situation had been the night before.

Shortly after noon on Friday, a chilly, sunny day, the winds quickened, fanning embers to new flame in the riot area. With the new fires, the rioting broke out afresh.

Offices Close Early

Within two blocks of the White House, looters smashed the window of a haberdashery before the startled eyes of pedestrians waiting at a bus stop. Great billowing clouds of smoke roiled up from the riot area and the wail of police sirens and ambulances began to be noticeable above the hum of traffic. Word went out to Government offices to let the workers go home early. By 3:30 p.m. the routes out of Washington were snarled in a monstrous traffic jam.

There were no police available for traffic duty and hundreds of citizens, both black and white, spontaneously took over, directing traffic by waving their handkerchiefs.

There was almost a picnic air, despite the traffic jams. On street corners, groups gathered to listen to the riot news on transistor radios. Restaurants began closing their doors, and tourists here for the Cherry Blossom Festival, which had had to be canceled, wandered the streets aimlessly.

On the campus of Howard University, Negro students hauled down the American flag and raised in its stead a black flag trimmed in red, its centerpiece a gold wreath with a sword in the center: the symbol of black power.

At Washington National Cathedral, President Johnson and other Government dignitaries attended a memorial service for Dr. King. It was here, just five days before, that the civil-rights leader had enthralled a predominantly white congregation of 4,000 persons with a sermon on the subject of nonviolence.

When the President returned to the White House he was exhausted, his eyes red from lack of sleep.

With the coming of darkness, the Executive mansion put one in mind of a palace besieged. Policemen prowled the grounds. A string of more than 20 powerful floodlights were set up on the front lawn, their beams flashing across an eerily empty Pennsylvania Avenue to Lafayette Square beyond. By the northwest entrance, dozens of suitcases of newsmen, packed for the President's postponed trip to Hawaii, sat tagged and ready to go.

Few white people were now to be seen on the streets. On 14th Street a few blocks from the White House, a pair of policemen held four well-dressed young Negroes—two men, and two women—at bay against the side of their 1963 Pontiac. From the trunk of the Negroes' car, the policemen withdrew vases, lamps, jewelry, wine and liquor bottles.

"They just busted hell out of a store back there somewhere," said one of the policemen, visibly nervous.

Suspects Go Free

Both police and the accused Negroes were elaborately polite to one another. Then gangs of toughs drifted up. A carload of Negro men passed by, the driver pausing just long enough to scream obscenities at the policemen. Suddenly the policemen climbed back into their blue-and-white patrol car, leaving the four to go free, minus their loot.

In late afternoon, Walter Washington, the District's appointed Negro mayor, had declared a 5:30 p.m. to 6:30 a.m. curfew, but it was not being enforced by the harassed policemen. U.S. Army troops and National Guardsmen began to rumble into the city.

The National Observer's Tom DeFeo and Dan Greene, who toured the riot areas throughout Friday night, reported:

"Fourteenth Street above U Street, this was perhaps the worst section. There were soldiers and police everywhere. On some blocks, most of the buildings were

burning or were charred remains.

"Fire trucks all over. Blocks of 14th are devastated. Manikins and merchandise lying all over the streets. Here and there a looter dashes away. A group of soldiers with rifles before them hustle a bunch of Negroes along the sidewalk."

In a church, DeFeo and Greene talked with women and children who had been driven from their nearby apartments by smoke from fires. Cots had been set up and people were being fed coffee and sandwiches.

"Behind the altar," said Greene, "was a banner with gold letters on a blue background reading: 'Together let us make this a city of God.'" The banner included a picture of a white hand and a black hand clasped together.

"Everywhere we went, you could hear fire alarms clanging incessantly—the music of the riot."

Said one Negro woman, a self-styled militant: "They never thought it would happen in Washington, but it did. They talked about a long, hot summer. Well, I guess it's going to be a hot spring."

They never thought it would happen in Memphis, either, reported Observer correspondent Angus McEachran from that city.

Dr. King, the Nobel laureate, had come to Memphis to demonstrate for striking sanitation men and when his march led to violence on March 26, many people in Memphis were surprised.

People Take Notice

"We have had a small black-power group for a couple of years," said McEachran, "but they have never been taken too seriously before now. But as the mood grew nastier, people suddenly started taking notice."

"One black-power organizer is Charles Cabbage, 23, a will-o'-the-wisp, a man in motion, a half-glimpsed figure without a known address, moving from phone booth to phone booth."

"Cabbage and other members of the group call themselves the 'Invaders' and often wear Army fatigue jackets and African medallions around their necks. In their pockets, they carry a single .38-caliber bullet, which symbolizes the death of one white man. The Invaders wear sunglasses, or 'shades' to signify that they won't look at the world the white community has created. Before the strike there weren't more than 30 members of the Invaders. Now, I wouldn't estimate their numbers."

"There used to be a joke that Memphis could never support a race riot because 'Memphis has never supported anything.' It was a fair analysis of the complacency that exists—or did exist—in the community, white and black. The long racial calm had perhaps lulled the white civic leaders."

Trouble Was Expected

After the March 26 violence, the white leadership of Memphis was at a loss to explain why the riots started, or what must be done to get the city moving again toward racial harmony. Most of the white community appears to be behind Mayor Henry Loeb and his inflexible stance toward the strikers whom Dr. King had come to town to help. Certainly, they were expecting trouble when Dr. King returned again last week to plan for yet another march.

Some expected more trouble during the march on Monday, which Dr. King's followers had made into a memorial for their slain leader. And the strike of the garbage men, the all but forgotten start of the Memphis trouble, still had to be settled.

The Memphis curfew, which Memphis Negroes had complained was only a black curfew, was enforced tightly, even in the middle-class white suburbs of East Memphis that have been the source of the mayor's political strength.

Dr. King was shot while standing on the second floor balcony of the Lorraine Motel, a few blocks from the Mississippi River. Thirty minutes later he was pronounced dead at St. Joseph Hospital. Police and the FBI sought a white assailant from the time they found a .30-06 Remington pump rifle with a telescopic sight, believed to be the murder weapon.

"There are subtle differences now," concludes McEachran. "Last week you passed a Negro on the street and you felt funny, wondering if you shouldn't nod or something. Now you don't worry about it: You keep going fast."

In more than one American city this week white men and black will be wondering whether or not to nod.

—PETER T. CHEW

WFO 62-9737

JLS:kjl

1

On April 9, 1968, [redacted]
[redacted] of the "D. C. Examiner," 3600 M Street, N. W.,
Washington, D. C., was interviewed by SAs [redacted]
[redacted]

b7C

[redacted] advised that no one connected with his newspaper was on the street during recent disturbances in the Washington, D. C. area with the exception of himself on the afternoon of Friday, April 5, 1968. On this occasion, [redacted] stated one of the secretaries in his office drove him to the 14th Street and Park Road area for the purpose of taking photographs of the fires and riot scenes. He related that after having taken some good photographs, he was attacked from behind by a group of young Negroes who knocked him to the pavement and fled with his camera. In consideration of his secretary's safety, he then left the area.

[redacted] stated that he has no personal knowledge of anyone making any inflammatory statement which may have incited the recent disturbances but, in his own opinion, he felt STOKELY CARMICHAEL could have had a hand in precipitating the recent developments.

b7C

It should be noted that STOKELY CARMICHAEL was not in the area at the time [redacted] was out taking photographs, or at least no source has reported him being in that vicinity at that time.

WFO 62-9737

JTS:kjl

1

[redacted]
[redacted] "Washington Afro-American and Washington Tribune" newspaper, 11th and S Streets, N. W., Washington, D. C., was interviewed on April 8, 1968 by SAs [redacted] and furnished the following information concerning her newspaper's coverage of activities in Washington, D. C. since Thursday, April 4, 1968.

b7C

She advised that a [redacted] one of her reporters, covered activity on 14th Street Thursday night, April 4, 1968. She stated that she covered activity on 14th Street Friday during the day, April 5, 1968. She stated that from her observation she could not detect any leadership or direction by the group and saw no one in the group that she recognized.

She stated she stopped in at Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) Headquarters on 14th Street, N.W., where she observed [redacted] She stated that there was no activity there.

b7C

She advised that another reporter of hers, [redacted] covered STOKELY CARMICHAEL's press conference on Friday morning, April 5, 1968. She stated that he had a tape of the conference, but his tape only covered CARMICHAEL's formal statement and did not cover the question and answer period which followed.

She advised that no one from her paper covered STOKELY CARMICHAEL's march Thursday night nor his appearance at Howard University on Friday afternoon, April 5, 1968. She stated that, to her knowledge, the only reporter who covered the activity at Howard University was [redacted] a student at Howard University and a part-time reporter for "The Washington Post" newspaper.

b7C

WFO 62-9737

DJK:kjl

1

b7C On April 9, 1968, [redacted]
[redacted] "Washington Afro-American and Washington Tribune"
newspaper, 1800 11th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. was
reinterviewed by SAs [redacted]
She advised that in addition to her duties as [redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]

b7C [redacted] mentioned that [redacted]
a reporter for the above mentioned newspaper, whose article
appears in the April 9, 1968 edition of the newspaper, [redacted]
[redacted] said that [redacted] did not cover
the march on 14th Street on the night of April 4, 1968 and did
not cover the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)
press conference of STOKELY CARMICHAEL's on the morning of
April 5, 1968. [redacted] article in the April 9, 1968
edition of the newspaper included observations she made of
the riot devastated area on the morning of April 5, 1968.

b7C [redacted] advised that [redacted] was not,
available in the office. She described [redacted] as a reporter *Wash*
for the above mentioned newspaper, and mentioned that his *Afro-American*
article concerning the riots appeared in the April 9, 1968
edition on page 22. [redacted] advised that [redacted] was not *DC*
present for the march on 14th Street, N. W. on the night of
April 4, 1968, but that his newspaper article contained his
observations made much later that night in the riot torn area.
She said [redacted] was not at the SNCC press conference.

[redacted] stated that, in the event the records
were needed later for court proceedings, if the records concerned
newspaper articles themselves or records of the newspaper,
then a subpoena should be issued to the newspaper. [redacted]

b7C [redacted] a reporter for the above mentioned newspaper, made a tape
of the SNCC press conference of April 5, 1968. If this tape
had to be produced in court, a subpoena should be issued to [redacted]
as the tape is his personal property. *Wash, Afro-American*

[redacted] for the above *DC*
mentioned newspaper, advised he did not attend the SNCC press
conference of April 5, 1968 and was not in the immediate area
at the time of the march on 14th Street, N.W. on April 4, 1968.

Washington

Afro-American

and the WASHINGTON TRIBUNE

WASHINGTON, D.C., APRIL 9, 1968

District Riots

Unleashed

Ugly Emotions

BY MARY E. STRATFORD.

WASHINGTON

They chased him. He fled and his stark white fear was transmitted to the black bystanders, some of whom cried out, "Don't kill him."

But the predominant shout to "Get him," was the one winging the feet of the pursuers, urged on by a

cheering section lusty to revenge the slaying of the Rev. Martin Luther King in particular and the plight of the black race as a whole.

WHEN THE man was caught and surrounded, he, being shorter than they, looked up at them, mouth working, face gleaming in open appeal, the hands instinctively thrown up to cover his head.

They didn't strike in haste. The attackers forced the pleading man into a bent position, so that the bald spot on top of his head was vulnerable to the blow. Then, the tall slim one, carefully aimed and planted the brick on the skull.

Though in pain, this symbolic white man looked relieved, as if thinking, it

wasn't so bad, now it's over and I'm still alive.

HE STAGGERED down the sidewalk, face streaming with blood. Across the street, some onlookers mumbled, "he should have had better sense. He should have stayed out of here (upper 14th St., NW). A white man." His audacity at having come among them when they had taken

complete control of the area for black people, angered them more.

"Get him," they shouted anew and the attackers, only a few paces behind recaptured this wobbling, frightened man, now an enemy in their midst, ripped his clothing, beat him with fists, knocked him to the ground, picked him up and threw him into the

street.

Where he lay. Teenagers ran up, stomping, yelling, stomping, revengeful, stomping, hating, stomping, terrifying.

"Don't kill him." The yells for mercy were louder. The teenagers left. The white man was red in his own blood, nothing like it seen by most, except on TV where police have been

shown clubbing black rioters or demonstrators into senselessness.

THE MAN rose, staggered to a gas station, fell beside one of the pumps. The adult attackers followed, stood over him, began another assault on the prostrate form.

"Don't kill him." Not like

(Continued on Page 22)

Stark fear

overcame

the lone man

(Continued from Page 1)

King was killed, show him mercy. "Don't kill him." The yells had become a den.

The assailants had a quick conference, then left. Somebody must have sent for police for shortly afterwards, they drove up, and took the injured man with them.

THIS WAS Friday — the day the violence of the previous night resumed. It began ominously enough. Bands of men, women and teenagers roamed the area from 14th St., NW up to Park Rd. openly stuffing brown paper bags with spoils from stores broken into or burned the night before. Few police were seen in the area and those who were there, ignored the looting.

In front of People's Drug Store on 14th St. near U. a man warned a colored special guard blocking the entrance to leave.

IN HIS voice, there was an urgency stronger than a plea:

"We don't want to hurt you, brother. I'm telling you to leave. They've sold more gasoline in the past two hours than they've sold in the past two months.

"Don't be here when it happens, soul brother. You know whitey owns this store and when you get it, you know where whitey will be? He'll be in Florida."

A GROUP of young women gathered around the guard, who stood there, saying nothing, shaking his head in a negative gesture, smiling coolly.

The girls spotted a reporter. A frozen silence — then, one ventured, "I think it's awful what we've been doing but it can't be helped. None of it is going to bring Martin Luther King back but I'm not sorry about a g-d-d-m thing.

"And be sure you write, black power is still on the move."

A companion interrupted, "We know Dr. King wouldn't want us to do this. I don't know why we're doing it but you know, some of us are iggy."

THE OWNER of one establishment which had been spared was on the sidewalk surveying the scene. He said he gave the roamers coffee Thursday night.

"I hate to see a lot of these people get their place torn down but a lot of good things can come out of bad."

FARTHER UP 14th St., another businessman, whose building had not been touched, was nonetheless bitter over the loss of customers.

"This has had an adverse effect on my business. It has fallen off to practically nothing."

At 14th and Irving, rocks were hurled at passing cars with white drivers. Soon, the pastime was being enacted for blocks. Onlookers ducked from flying bricks, debris, rocks, flung at death speed.

COLORED drivers coming into the area were warned, "Turn on your lights." Cars with lights on were not harmed.

As white motorists gunned their motors, trying to escape injury, there were shouts of "There's one. Get whitey. Get him." The yells were lunged from one group to another as each car progressed up the street.

"Whitey comes in here, gets our money and then leaves town," one woman said angrily. "You ought to see whitey at night, getting out of town. We got a colored mayor and he ain't done nothing."

WHITE D.C. Transit drivers' buses were stoned although it meant their predominantly colored passengers were forced to flee from the buses.

Black bus drivers were permitted to pass if they put on their lights. As word circulated, white bus drivers in other areas of the city drove with lights on to signify they were colored.

FIRST NIGHT

Stores looted, rocks
thrown at D.C. police

By LILLIAN WIGGINS

Most Americans, black and white reacted to the death of Dr. Martin Luther King with calm grief and indignation but as word spread through the streets of Washington, it touched off a wave of violence despite the Thursday night rainfall.

The most serious outbreaks of looting and destruction of property took the police force and spectators by storm as teenage gangs and young black militants began breaking into stores, burning property and throwing rocks, glass and other items at law enforcement officers. For that matter, at anyone who happened to get in the line of fire.

I arrived on the scene at approximately 10 o'clock with a fellow reporter and could hardly believe my eyes. All of a sudden, cold perspiration made my body clammy.

IN THE vicinity of 14th and You Sts., whiskey in large quantities was being lifted from the stove through the broken plate glass windows. Televisions were being carried from a T.V. repair place and clothing was being stripped from the windows. Mannequins, colored and white, were scattered from one end of the street to the other.

I was taking notes on the situation when I noticed that several "soul brothers" were staring and pointing at me, so without hesitation, I put my pencil and pad back into my purse.

It didn't take much to realize from this, that reporters and photographers were not popular for the "on the scene action." But as just one of them many on the street, no one paid me any attention.

Everyone was calling each other "brothers and sisters." So as I passed large gatherings, a bit unnerved, I would say "Hello, brother" and the reply would always be... "soul sister."

ONE MAN, who admitted he was a little drunk, came up to me and said, "They shouldn't have done this. Killing Dr. King was the worst thing the white people could have done." He did not appear to be among the "in crowd" but sympathized with their actions.

At Florida and 14th St., an officer stopped me and said I had to go the other way. I showed my press credentials and as he let me through, he looked at me as if to say, You are crazy."

A little ways up the street, six policemen were holding ground with a group of about 50 hecklers. They were cursing the officers and in general creating a very unpleasant scene. The officers said they had been instructed to keep the peace without touching anyone.

FURTHER UP 14th near Euclid, I was caught in the middle of a glass, rock throwing session and had to duck into a D.C. Transit bus for cover to avoid the glass and tear gas. This was one of the many buses which brought the policemen into the strife area. A Capital Transit driver manned the bus which remained in the area.

From a tourist home on one side and an apartment located in the 2500 block of 14th St., young militants were using guerrilla type warfare against the officers.

The bombardment of the officers was so heavy at one time that reinforcements was rushed in completely armed with helmets, gas masks and gas guns.

Shortly after 2 a.m. fire broke out at the Empire Super market on the northwest corner of 14th and Clifton. The fire lit up that area like daylight and spread to an adjoining building when firemen were hampered, by rock throwing crowds, from extinguishing the blaze.

A THREE-STORY house on the Clifton Street side of the market was evacuated. Women in housecoats and children in night clothes stumbled into the streets, choking on the tear gas. It was like vapor in the air, so much of it had been fired. It was impossible to keep from crying as the gas irritated the eyes.

When the fire was out, at approximately 3:30 a.m. only charred remains were left.

Young militants referred to the fire as being "beautiful" and declared this is only the beginning. Others chanted "They asked for it and payers won't do them any good."

At 4 a.m. when the streets were calm, a tour of the general riot area was reflected general destruction. Establishments with "Soul" written all over the windows were spared.

Other "Soul Brother" establishments located on 14th Street above Columbia Road were less fortunate. "Mr. Man," a new clothing store for men which was opened nearly two months ago by a "soul brother" was left in complete chaos. Windows were broken, the store stripped of clothing and the decor smashed.

ANOTHER "soul" brother, who was nearly cleaned out was Hart Shoes at 14th and Irving. A pawnshop owner carrying two guns, one in each hip pocket, said that he saved his shop from destruction by firing two shots into the ceiling of his store as looters approached the entrance.

"I would never try to shoot any one," he said. "The whole thing is a tragic." He said that his place carried riot insurance, but he was sad for the small places which did not have such insurance.

He did not consider the events of the night as being a race riot. His logic was that not only did the looters destroy white property but colored as well.

Stores like Perry Nelson, Krashner, Mr. G's Town and Country Wear, Brookland Hardware, Federated 5 and 10 cent store, Francines, Federal Cab Association and Lite Radio and T.V. were left in shambles.

DAY WAS breaking on an angry community and as the streets on upper and lower 14th Street were being cleaned of debris, new reports of violence, looting and burning were breaking out on 7th, You Streets and Georgia Ave.

Store windows were broken in nearly every establishment on lower 7th Street and near N a linoleum store was nearly burned out. York Haberdashers on Georgia Ave., had "no windows" and stores like Mel's Hardware and the Giant Food on 14th Street were hard hit.

As the town awoken, stunned citizens travelling south on 14th Street around 8 a.m., Friday morning, slowed traffic down to a snail's pace as they viewed the destruction of the early hours.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date April 10, 1968

Wash DC
[redacted]
[redacted] was interviewed at the Washington, D.C. office of the "Washington Afro-American and the Washington Tribune" newspaper, 1800 11th Street, N.W., where he is employed as a reporter. [redacted] advised he writes under the byline of [redacted]

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He stated that the April 9, 1968, red edition of the above-mentioned newspaper includes an article on page 22, under his byline, [redacted]

[redacted] said this article concerns a press conference held by STOKELY CARMICHAEL at the Afro-American School of New Thought, 2208 14th Street, N.W., at 10:00 a.m. on Friday, April 5, 1968.

[redacted] stated that CARMICHAEL announced at the start of the press conference that he had originally scheduled it to comment on the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee's (SNCC) efforts to assist [redacted] but that in view of the assassination of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., he was going to use the press conference to comment on that event, as well as on [redacted] [redacted] stated that CARMICHAEL spoke for approximately five minutes, after which he answered questions put to him by the news media representatives present for two minutes.

b7C

The whole press conference lasted only seven minutes.

[redacted] stated he had a tape recorder with him at the press conference and that he had made a tape both of CARMICHAEL's five minute talk and of the two minute question and answer period which followed. [redacted] said his newspaper article of April 9, 1968, contained much of what CARMICHAEL had said in his statement to the press, but did not refer to what was said during the question and answer period.

b7C

On 4/9/68 at Washington, D.C. File # WFO 62-9737

SAs [redacted]

b7C

by [redacted]

VHW:dan

Date dictated 4/9/68

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[] said CARMICHAEL, in his statement to the press, referred to the assassination and then commented on what one could expect to happen as a result of the assassination. [] mentioned that he is []

[] Because [] formed the impression that CARMICHAEL was very careful in making his statement, so as to make it clear to his listeners that he, CARMICHAEL, was not advocating violence but was merely stating his opinion as to what one could expect to happen as a result of the assassination.

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[] did not wish to comment on what CARMICHAEL had said during the question and answer period. [] explained he was afraid that he might quote CARMICHAEL out of context, and in so doing, might give a different impression than what CARMICHAEL might have wished to convey. [] stated he is retaining the tape he made at the press conference and is willing to make it available to the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) at any time, should the FBI wish to make a reproduction of the tape. [] said he believes his tape contains no information other than that taped by the major networks for broadcasting purposes.

[] stated that in the event his tape is ever needed in court proceedings, it can be obtained by a subpoena issued to him.

b7C

[] stated that prior to the press conference, he interviewed CARMICHAEL at approximately 9:45 a.m. on April 5, 1968, at 2208 14th Street, N.W. [] said he asked CARMICHAEL what had happened during the march on 14th Street, N.W. on the night of April 4, 1968. [] said that CARMICHAEL told him that when he, CARMICHAEL, had heard the news that Dr. KING had been assassinated, he wanted to have a quiet demonstration in the form of a march downtown. CARMICHAEL told [] that the march had proceeded south on 14th Street for only two blocks when

b7C

some boys got out of hand. When this happened, CARMICHAEL said he stopped the march for the purpose of "cooling down" the boys. CARMICHAEL told [] that he had called upon other SNCC leaders who were present to assist him in "cooling down" the boys and sending them home. [] said that one, [] a SNCC leader [] was standing by CARMICHAEL when he, [] was interviewing CARMICHAEL.

Student nonviolent coordinating committee

DC

STOKELY ON KING

'White America killed our hopes'

By GIM OKOH

WASHINGTON

"I think white America made the biggest mistake when she killed Dr. Martin Luther King last Thursday."

Stokely Carmichael, Black Power advocate, with tears almost dripping from his weary red eyes, made these remarks as he spoke to the press here Friday.

"They have declared war on us and we will retaliate," Carmichael sobbed in a broken but clear voice.

He remarked that when White America killed Dr. King, she killed all reasonable hopes.

"WHEN SHE killed Dr.

King, she killed the one man of our race in this country, in the generation, who is non-militant and a revolutionist in the masses of colored people, who has been sincere even though sometimes they did not agree with him," he said.

Carmichael, who had scheduled a press conference to analyze SNCC's move to help Rap Brown out of jail, before Dr. King was shot, said they will march to Richmond to rescue Brown.

ATTORNEYS FOR the militant civil rights leader (Brown) turned up for an unscheduled bond hearing in a Richmond federal

court on Wednesday after his sympathizers made appearances there and, in Cambridge, Md., to protest pending court action against him.

The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., a man who lived by non-violence, was shot and killed Thursday evening by a sniper as he stood alone on the balcony of a motel in Memphis.

CARMICHAEL said the death of Dr. King has opened the eyes of colored people in America.

"When white America killed Marcus Garvey, they did it and said he was an extremist, when they got hold of Malcolm X, they did it and said he was preaching hate and deserved what he got; but when they got brother Dr. King they had no reason to do that," he said.

He said Dr. King was the one man "in our race who had tried to teach our people to have love, compassion and mercy for what white people have done."

"THERE WILL be no crying, there will be no funerals. The rebellions that have been occurring in cities of this country has been light stuff to what is about to happen. We are going to retaliate," he warned.

Carmichael said the revenge will not be in court room, nor rational discussion, "it will be in the streets of America."

"White America will live to regret that she killed Dr. King," he said.

WFO 62-9737

CWB:dan

1

Investigation was conducted by Special Agents of the FBI on April 8, 9, and 10, 1968, in the area of 14th Street, N.W., from R Street to Chapin Street, and on U Street, N.W., from 12th Street to 14th Street, in an effort to determine the activities of STOKELY CARMICHAEL on Thursday, April 4, 1968, subsequent to the death of the Reverend MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

The following owners and/or employees of business establishments within this area who were contacted in connection with this investigation stated they had either closed at their normal time without incident, or that they could furnish no information concerning STOKELY CARMICHAEL or the destruction that occurred in the area, which has been previously reported:

Employees of the Chesapeake and Potomac
Telephone Company, 1700 14th Street, N.W.

[Redacted]
[Redacted] Maryland

[Redacted]
[Redacted] Maryland

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[Redacted]
[Redacted] Virginia

[Redacted]
[Redacted] Virginia

[Redacted]
[Redacted] Maryland

WFO 62-9737

2

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Maryland

[REDACTED]

Washington, D.C.

b7C

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Maryland

[REDACTED]

Washington, D.C.

[REDACTED]

Artcraft Neon Sign
1728 14th Street, N.W.

[REDACTED]

1728 14th Street, N.W.

b7C

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
Dixie Janitor Supply Company, Inc.,
1716 14th Street, N.W.

[REDACTED]
Opportunities Industrialization Center,
1715 14th Street, N.W.

b7C

[REDACTED]
Commercial Laundry Equipment Company,
1714 14th Street, N.W.

[REDACTED]
Head Start - United Planning Organization,
1719 14th Street, N.W.

[REDACTED]
Allen's Service Center, Inc., 1724
14th Street, N.W.

Home address: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Virginia

[REDACTED]
Allen's Service Center, Inc.,
1724 14th Street, N.W.

Home address: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Virginia

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[REDACTED]
Wiggins Beauty Salon,
1732 14th Street, N.W.

[REDACTED]
PMI Parking Lot,
1735 14th Street, N.W.

[REDACTED]
Flamingo T.V. Rental Company
Flamingo T.V. Repair,
1736 14th Street, N.W.

[REDACTED]
Capitol Pawnbrokers, Inc.,
1738 14th Street, N.W.

b7C

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Fox-Keller,
Used Car Dealer,
1801 14th Street, N.W.

[REDACTED]
Unique Barber Shop,
1802 14th Street, N.W.

[REDACTED]
Hydraulic Equipment Service Company,
1803 14th Street, N.W.

[REDACTED]
WittStatt's Radiator Repair,
1804 14th Street, N.W.

[REDACTED]
WittStatt's Radiator Repair,
1804 14th Street, N.W.

b7C

[REDACTED]
Automatic Transmission Centers, Inc.,
1805 14th Street, N.W.

[REDACTED]
Quick Electric Motor Service,
1807 14th Street, N.W.

[REDACTED]
Copenhaver, Inc. Engraving Plant,
1809 14th Street, N.W.

[REDACTED]
Federal Mogul Service Division,
Federal Mogul Corporation Bearings,
1810 14th Street, N.W.

b7C

[REDACTED]
Keeta's Restaurant,
1814 14th Street, N.W.

[REDACTED]
Mattos, Inc. Paints, also known as
Standard Automotive Supply Company,
1811 14th Street, N. W.

[REDACTED]
RPS Products, Inc., also known as
Creel Brothers, Inc.,
1819 14th Street, N.W.

[REDACTED]
Manufacturer's Automotive Warehouse,
1821 14th Street, N.W.

b7C

[REDACTED]
Strick's Automotive,
1816 14th Street, N.W.

[REDACTED]
Union Chevron, Union Taxi,
1820 14th Street, N.W.

[REDACTED]
Briggs and Stratton Engine Products

[REDACTED]
Phelps, Robert Corporation
Weaver Mfg. Company
Wolfs Head Oil Distributor
1825 14th Street, N.W.

[REDACTED]
Crankshaft Service Inc.

[REDACTED]
Ohio Piston and Pin Company
1835 14th Street, N.W.

[REDACTED]
Adams-Burch, Inc.
1840 14th Street, N.W.

[REDACTED]
Jones Variety Shop,
1902 14th Street, N.W.,
Telephone 667-9883

[REDACTED]
Lee Chung Laundry,
1904 14th Street, N.W.,
Telephone NO 7-7953

[REDACTED]
Louis Billiards,
1905 14th Street, N.W.,
Telephone DE 2-9818

[REDACTED]
Newman Liquors,
1908 14th Street, N.W.
Telephone AD 2-6961

b7C

b7C

[REDACTED]
1912 Three C's Pig-N Pit Barbecue,
Telephone HO 2-3228
Home address: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
Franklin Delicatessen,
1916 14th Street, N.W.,
Telephone DU 7-8034

b7C

[REDACTED]
Chicca Grocery,
1918 14th Street, N.W.,
Telephone 232-9447

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Maryland
Lincoln Clothiers,
1924 14th Street, N.W.,
Telephone 462-9333

b7C

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Maryland
Sam's Pawnbrokers,
1930 14th Street, N.W.,
Telephone 234-5552

[REDACTED]
Wing's N Things Restaurant,
1932 14th Street, N.W.

[REDACTED]
Variety Store,
1936 14th Street, N.W.,
Telephone 232-9873

[REDACTED]

Kee Sam Laundry,
1938 14th Street, N.W.,
Telephone CO 5-2095

[REDACTED]

Apollo Valet Shop,
1940 14th Street, N.W.,
Telephone 232-9574

b7C

Residence: [REDACTED]
Telephone [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Columbia Lighthouse for the Blind,
2015, 2019, 2021, and 2025 14th Street, N.W.,
Washington, D.C.

[REDACTED]

United Planning Organization,
2013 14th Street, N.W.,
Washington, D.C.

[REDACTED]

Eaton Ivin Barber,
2100 14th Street, N.W.

b7C

[REDACTED]

U.S. Parts Corporation,
2101 14th Street, N.W.

[REDACTED]

D.C. Speedometer Repair Company,
2102 14th Street, N.W.

[REDACTED]

Beck's Sandwich Shop,
2104 14th Street, N.W.

[REDACTED]

Leon's Barber Shop,
2106 14th Street, N.W.

[REDACTED]

Auto Parts and Machine Company,
2108 14th Street, N.W.

[REDACTED]

United Planning Organization,
2109 14th Street, N.W.

b7C

[REDACTED]

Service Printing Company,
2110 14th Street, N.W.

[REDACTED]

Carry-Out,
2112 14th Street, N.W.

[REDACTED]

National Auto Top Company, Inc.,
2114 14th Street, N.W.

[REDACTED]

Elite Laundry,
2117 14th Street, N.W.
2119 14th Street, N.W.

b7C

[REDACTED]

Capitol Radio Wholesalers,
2120 14th Street, N.W.

[REDACTED]

Texaco Service Station,
14th and W Streets, N.W.

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10

[REDACTED]
Century Motors, Inc.,
2201-03 14th Street, N.W.

[REDACTED]
Abatt Air Conditioning and Heating, Inc.,
2205 14th Street, N.W.

[REDACTED]
Burt's Shoe Shine,
2209 14th Street, N.W.

b7C

[REDACTED]
Margaret's Steak House Restaurant,
2211 14th Street, N.W.

[REDACTED]
Jewel's Beauty Salon,
2217 14th Street, N.W.

[REDACTED]
Flamingo Playmate Lounge,
2204 14th Street, N.W.

b7C

[REDACTED]
Abatt Air Conditioning and Heating Company, Inc.,
2206 14th Street, N.W.

[REDACTED]
Florida Liquors,
2222 14th Street, N.W.

[REDACTED]

Barry Pate Chevrolet,
2300 14th Street, N.W.

[REDACTED]

Barry Pate Chevrolet,
2300 14th Street, N.W.

b7C

[REDACTED]

Barry Pate Chevrolet,
2300 14th Street, N.W.

[REDACTED]

Barry Pate Chevrolet,
2300 14th Street, N.W.

[REDACTED]

Eddie Leonards Sandwich Shop,
2428 14th Street, N.W.

[REDACTED]

Eddie Leonards Sandwich Shop,
1007 9th Street, N.W.

[REDACTED]

Central Cardoza Credit Union
2418 14th Street, N.W.

b7C

[REDACTED]

Eddie Leonards Sandwich Shop,
2428 14th Street, N.W.

[REDACTED]

American Liquors,
2400 14th Street, N.W.

WFO 62-9737

12

[REDACTED]
The Metropolitan Paint Company, Inc.,
1200 U Street, N.W.

[REDACTED]
Uptown Barber and Beauty Supply Company,
1208 U Street, N.W.

b7C

[REDACTED]
Robinson's Cleaners,
1214 U Street, N.W.

[REDACTED]
Ethical Opticians,
1236 U Street, N.W.

[REDACTED]
Fuller Products Company,
1217 U Street, N.W.

[REDACTED]
Peerless Barber Shop,
2012 12th Street, N.W.

[REDACTED]
Lovely Lady Beauty Salon,
1234 U Street, N.W.

b7C

[REDACTED]
Hamilton Printing Company,
1320 U Street, N.W.

[REDACTED]
Republic Market,
1307 U Street, N.W.

[REDACTED]
Smith's Transfer and Storage Company, Inc.,
1313 U Street, N.W.

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13

[REDACTED]
Fantasy Bar,
1355 U Street, N.W.

b7C

[REDACTED]
Aetna Employment Agency,
1343 U Street, N.W.

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
Candle City,
1346 U Street, N.W.

[REDACTED]
"Sam's Valet"
1342 U Street, N.W.

[REDACTED]
B & E Signs,
1328 U Street, N.W.

b7C

[REDACTED]
U Street Barber Shop,
1320 U Street, N.W.

[REDACTED]
Henson Jewelry,
1320 U Street, N.W.

[REDACTED]
McKinney and Bomar,
1924 13th Street, N.W.

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14

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Swank Beauty Parlor,
1350 U Street, N.W.

b7C

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] China Cafe,
1336 U Street, N.W.

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Republic Barber Shop,
1332 U Street, N.W.

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Palmero Parlor of Beauty,
1326 U Street, N.W.

b7C

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Betty's Discount House,
1310-20 U Street, N.W.

[REDACTED]
Kathy's Beauty Salon,
1203 U Street, N.W.

WFO 62-9737

CWB:dan

1

On 4/8/68, SAs [REDACTED]

b7C

[REDACTED] conducted the following survey:

The following business establishments located in the 1900 block of 14th Street, N.W. are closed and apparently not doing business prior to the evening of 4/4/68, as all appeared vacant:

Spa Restaurant
1901 14th Street, N.W.

Brown's Seafood Restaurant
1906 14th Street, N.W.

Blue Angel Restaurant
1907 14th Street, N.W.

Sam's Pawnbrokers
1918½ 14th Street, N.W.

Bargain Fair Clothing
1929 14th Street, N.W.

Johnnie's Tailoring
1934 14th Street, N.W.

Samuel's Men's Shop, Inc.
1942 14th Street, N.W.

On 4/10/68, [REDACTED]

b7C

[REDACTED] advised SAs

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
of business had been closed several months prior to 4/4/68 and that due to lack of business, he did not anticipate reopening [REDACTED]

WFO 62-9737

2

Inquiry and observation determined that the premises located at 2016 14th Street, N.W., is now and has been vacant for some time. A sign was observed on 4/9/68 on the window of this store advertising "For Rent, Call 234-5552." Numerous attempts on 4/9/68 and 4/10/68 to reach that number were unsuccessful as there was no answer.

b7C It was noted by SA [redacted] on 4/8/68 that Colorado Electric, 2113 14th Street, N.W., and Buckberg Cleaners, 2118 14th Street, N.W., were completely destroyed. [redacted] of the cleaners and [redacted] of Colorado Electric. Other businessmen in the area advised that both these establishments were not opened at 9:00 p.m., 4/4/68. They generally close at 5:00 - 5:30 p.m.

b7C [redacted] advised SA [redacted] on 4/8/68 that the [redacted] Marge's Linens, 1349 U Street, N.W., had discontinued business several weeks prior to 4/4/68.

WFO 62-9737

PHW:skt

1

On April 8, 1968, Special Agent (SA) [redacted] [redacted] contacted the following Washington, D.C. (WDC), area broadcasting stations concerning their coverage of events in WDC from Thursday, April 4, 1968, to April 8, 1968. None of the following had any on-the-spot coverage:

b7C

WAMU, American University

WASH, 1334 G Street, N.W.

WEAM, 2131 Crimmons Lane, Falls Church, Virginia

WFAN, 5321 First Place, N.E.

WGMS, 5100 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.

WJMD, 815 V Street, N.W.

WOOK, 5321 First Place, N.E.

WFO 62-9737

II. EVENTS AT HOWARD UNIVERSITY
ON AFTERNOON OF APRIL 5, 1968

WFO 62-9737

A. RESULTS OF STUDENT INTERVIEWS

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/12/68

b7C [redacted] student, McKinley Senior High School, residing at [redacted] Washington, D. C., was interviewed by a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and furnished the following information:

On Friday, April 5, 1968, a group of 150 to 200 students departed from McKinley Senior High School, 2nd and T Streets, N. E., Washington, D. C., of their own volition, in a "silent march" to the campus of Howard University, in deference to MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. He said the group was non-violent in nature and arrived on the campus about 12:20 p.m. They arrived as a group, remained in a group while on campus and returned to McKinley in a group. He stated that during their "silent march," there were some uneasy moments, but they managed to keep the group together. Not long after their arrival on campus, he noticed that disturbances had already begun on Georgia Avenue, N. W.

b7C

[redacted] advised that about 1:40 p.m. he saw STOKELY CARMICHAEL arrive on campus and heard him speak for approximately ten minutes. He stated that CARMICHAEL began by saying something to the effect, "good evening brothers and sisters." "I came for one purpose and one purpose alone; to let all of you know of curfew tonight." "Don't go on the streets unless you have a gun and here is mine." CARMICHAEL then held a gun high above his head. [redacted] said that the gun was black in color with a dark brown handle and appeared to be of .38 caliber. He said CARMICHAEL did not say anything about looting, but told everyone to "carry your guns, some people are going to die tonight." CARMICHAEL said they should use violence, that was the only way.

On 4/11/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737
by SA [redacted] jle Date dictated 4/11/68
b7C

b7C According to [] CARMICHAEL then departed. [] advised that he is of the opinion that the people who heard CARMICHAEL speak, may have thought about what he said and could have been influenced by CARMICHAEL's statements. Although the group who listened to CARMICHAEL did disperse peacefully, they could have subsequently become involved in looting, etc., and that he in fact did later observe some Howard University students involved in looting. [] did not know them by name, but said he knew them to be students of Howard University.

[] further advised that he does not advocate the teachings and methods of CARMICHAEL and stated that he would be willing to testify to the above information in a court of law.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/12/68

[redacted] student, McKinley Senior High School, residing at [redacted] Apartment [redacted] Washington, D. C., was interviewed by a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and furnished the following information:

b7C

[redacted] advised that on April 5, 1968, a group of approximately 150 students departed MC KINLEY Senior High School, 2nd and T Streets, N. E., Washington, D. C., and proceeded to the campus of Howard University to pay tribute to MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. They arrived on campus about 12:20 p.m. and he noticed a group of teenagers leaving about that time who appeared very unruly. He noticed various teenagers on the campus who were wearing the letters of other Senior High Schools, in the Washington, D. C. area, such as Dunbar, etc. He overheard several of these individuals talk of looting and "going to get their Easter outfits." Some of them suggested that they wait until summer and others said that if they waited until summer, "there won't be any of us left," and "We waited toolong, let's go now."

[redacted] advised that he first noticed STOKELY CARMICHAEL present on campus when he saw CARMICHAEL waving a gun in the air, and stating, "I have mine and I am going to use it." CARMICHAEL told the crowd that if they did not have a gun, they should not go into the streets because they would be shot at. [redacted] did not know what kind of gun CARMICHAEL had in his possession.

b7C

According to [redacted] he did not hear CARMICHAEL say anything about looting and that following the above remarks, CARMICHAEL departed in the company of some other unknown males.

On 4/11/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737
by SA [redacted] jle 4/11/68
Date dictated _____

[redacted] said he did not believe that the people who listened to CARMICHAEL "paid him any mind," but said that the group leaving the campus at the time he, [redacted] arrived, b7C [redacted] could have been influenced by CARMICHAEL if he was present at that time. [redacted] did not know if CARMICHAEL was on campus then and it would be hard for him to say if CARMICHAEL did actually incite or influence anyone to violence.

[redacted] stated that he did not like what he heard CARMICHAEL say and that he is not an advocator of CARMICHAEL or [redacted]

b7C [redacted] advised that the group from McKinley was broken up into "one brother for every two sisters," and that shortly after 2:00 p.m., he and the sisters he was with among others, begin to feel uneasy about the situation and the majority of the group returned to McKinley High School.

[redacted] stated that he would be willing to testify to the above information in a court of law.

FD-302 (Rev. 4-15-64)
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATIONDate 4/12/68

b7C

[redacted] student, McKinley High School, residing at [redacted] Washington, D. C., furnished the following information:

On April 5, 1968, at approximately 11:30 a.m. he and about 150-200 other McKinley pupils conducted a silent march in memory of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING from the school to the Howard University campus. After arriving on the campus, the group remained in the vicinity of Douglass Hall and observed several unknown individuals make speeches to a large crowd. At approximately 2:00 p.m. his group began forming for the return trip to McKinley when he noticed STOKELY CARMICHAEL began to address the crowd. [redacted] was sure that this individual was CARMICHAEL because he had seen him on a few other occasions, and also recognized him from many newspaper photographs. [redacted] stated that CARMICHAEL spoke for about five minutes, and in effect, stated "I have only one thing to say and it will take me only five minutes." When they shot Dr. KING, they killed non-violence. The only thing that's talking now is this." At this point CARMICHAEL exhibited a pistol which [redacted] believed to be a .38 caliber, black colored weapon. CARMICHAEL then held the pistol in his hand and waved his arm for a few seconds. [redacted] stated that CARMICHAEL concluded his remarks with something like "tonight's the night", and walked away from the speakers area.

b7C

[redacted] advised that the crowd began to break up and were extremely noisy. However, he did not know if any of the group then left the campus to participate in racial disturbances which were already under way in the vicinity of the University and other parts of Washington. However, [redacted] believed that the crowd had been excited by CARMICHAEL and other speakers and this could have resulted in later rioting on the part of those present.

On 4/11/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737
by SA [redacted] jle b7C Date dictated 4/11/68

WFO 62-9737

2

b7C

[] stated that after CARMICHAEL's speech, he and the other students returned to McKinley, and he has not seen CARMICHAEL since that occasion.

[] stated that he would prefer not to testify to the above information in a court of law, but if required, he would do so after discussing it with his parents.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date April 12, 1968

[redacted] Eastern High School,
Washington, D.C., furnished the following information:

b7C On April 5, 1968, at approximately 11:30 a.m. he received a telephone call from an unknown female caller who identified herself as only an affiliate of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). This caller directed that Eastern High School be closed within one-half hour.

[redacted] stated he did not engage in a conversation with this caller, and immediately called the school board to determine if any such instructions to close the high school had been issued. He learned that no order to close the school was in effect at that time. [redacted] could furnish no additional information regarding the telephone call.

b7C [redacted] advised that, after rioting broke out in Washington on April 5, 1968, [redacted] of the Recreation Department of the District of Columbia came to Eastern and requested that [redacted] accompany them to the District Building to attend a meeting designed to aid in curbing the riot situation. [redacted] stated he permitted [redacted] to go with [redacted] who were identified as [redacted]

On 4/10/68 at Washington, D.C. File # WFO 62-9737
by SAs [redacted] b7C [redacted] bgp Date dictated 4/11/68

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/12/68

[redacted] student, Eastern High School, Washington, D. C., residing at [redacted] Washington, D. C., was interviewed on April 10, 1968 and furnished the following information:

b7C [redacted] stated that on April 5, 1968, at about 12:30 p.m., [redacted] requested him to come to the office. Upon arrival, he was told that he and [redacted] would accompany [redacted] of the Washington, D. C. Recreation Department to attend a meeting of student and community leaders at the District Building in downtown Washington, in an attempt to curb rioting which had already progressed in Washington, D. C. [redacted] said that he, [redacted] and [redacted] names not recalled, left Eastern High School and drove to the campus of Howard University. While enroute, he learned that they were going to Howard to attempt to persuade STOKELY CARMICHAEL to accompany them to this meeting.

When they arrived at Howard just prior to 2:00 p.m., a large crowd of persons were gathered in the vicinity of Douglass Hall. Shortly thereafter, he observed CARMICHAEL and listened to him speak as follows: CARMICHAEL said, "they killed the wrong man, they should have killed myself or RAP." "Now it's time for the honkies to learn." CARMICHAEL stated that America had killed all hope for non-violence and the time for talking was over. He said that now they were going to do it their way. He told the crowd to keep the sisters off the street at night and to tell the young brothers not to loot because "we are out here for serious business." CARMICHAEL stated that "I know I am going to die, but I don't give a damn for myself, I know they are going to kill me."

On 4/10/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737
by SA [redacted] jle b7C 4/11/68
Date dictated _____

WFO 62-9737

2

[] advised that CARMICHAEL then pulled out what appeared to be a .38 caliber revolver and waved it in the air. CARMICHAEL then stated "I've got mine," and walked away.

[] said that everyone cheered and screamed. He does not know where CARMICHAEL then went.

b7C

[] said he had heard a rumor that CARMICHAEL, during the rioting, told a group of individuals not to riot or loot and on another occasion, went into a crowd and disarmed someone. [] said he did not know this to be a fact and said he was unable to account for CARMICHAEL's varied actions.

[] stated that he would not be willing to testify to the above information in a court of law. He said he feels that CARMICHAEL is a good leader in some ways and does not believe that he was totally responsible for the rioting. [] said that the rioting had already started at the time CARMICHAEL finished his speech on the campus at Howard University.

b7C

[] said they abandoned their plan to ask CARMICHAEL to go to the District Building with them and that the meeting was called off because rioting had already gotten out of control. [] were then driven back to Eastern High School.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/12/68

[redacted] student, Eastern High School, Washington, D. C., residing at [redacted] Washington, D. C., was interviewed on April 10, 1968. Prior to his interview, in view of [redacted] who was telephonically contacted, granted permission for his son to be interviewed.

b7C [redacted] stated that on April 5, 1968, at approximately 12:30 p.m., [redacted] summoned him to the office. After he arrived at the office, he was told that [redacted] would accompany [redacted] of the District of Columbia Recreation Department to attend a meeting of student and community leaders at the District Building in downtown Washington. The purpose of this meeting was to provide instructions designed to curb rioting which had already started in Washington. [redacted] stated that he, [redacted] and [redacted] names not recalled, left Eastern High School, and drove to the campus at Howard University. Enroute, he learned that they were going to Howard to attempt to persuade STOKELY CARMICHAEL to accompany them to the meeting.

b7C When they arrived at Howard at approximately 2:00 p.m. a large crowd of persons were assembled in the vicinity of Douglass Hall. [redacted] stated that he had been there only a brief time when he observed CARMICHAEL speaking to the crowd. [redacted] stated that he has seen CARMICHAEL on several other occasions, and was therefore able to be certain that the speaker was CARMICHAEL. The speech by CARMICHAEL lasted about three-five minutes. CARMICHAEL told the crowd that KING was the wrong man to kill, and "they should have killed 'RAP' or me". He told all sisters to stay off the streets at night. He then

On 4/10/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737
by SA [redacted] jle Date dictated 4/11/68
b7C

said, "If you don't have any heat, stay off the streets."

[] stated the word heat in this instance referred to a gun.

[] advised that CARMICHAEL then stated, "I have mine," and held up a pistol, believed to be a .38 caliber with a black barrel.

b7C

[] stated that CARMICHAEL moved away from the speaker's platform, and was loudly cheered by the crowd. [] advised that he next observed the crowd to disperse peacefully, talking in small groups, and walk away from the area in various directions.

[] stated that [] abandoned their plan to ask CARMICHAEL to come with them to the District Building. They entered Douglass Hall and called the District Building. They were then told that the previously scheduled meeting had been cancelled because rioting in the downtown area had gotten out of control.

[] advised that [] were then driven through the area of Georgia Avenue and 7th Street, N. W. and ultimately back to Eastern High School. [] stated he has not seen CARMICHAEL since the occasion at Howard.

b7C

[] advised that he did not desire to testify regarding the above information because, in his opinion, prosecuting CARMICHAEL is no solution to the problems causing the rioting. He felt that to put CARMICHAEL in jail would only cause further problems involving the black community.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 4/12/68

[redacted] student, Eastern High School,
Washington, D. C. residing at [redacted]
Washington, D. C. furnished the following information:

b7C

On April 5, 1968, at approximately 2:00 p.m. he and a large group of students from Eastern High School walked to the campus of Howard University. After arriving in the vicinity of the flag pole near Douglas Hall he observed STOKELY CARMICHAEL addressing a crowd of people.

[redacted] refused to provide any additional information regarding CARMICHAEL, his speech, or the reaction of the crowd to the speech by CARMICHAEL.

On 4/10/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737
SAs [redacted] b7C
by [redacted] AAM:jle Date dictated 4/11/68

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date April 10, 1968

b7C

[redacted] at Howard University, was interviewed at his off campus residence, [redacted] apartment, Washington, D.C. He furnished the following information:

He was on the campus of Howard University on Friday, April 5, 1968, where he attended a memorial program for Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. in Cramton Auditorium. The memorial services began at about 12:00 noon and ended about 1:20 p.m.

After leaving the services at Cramton Auditorium, he stood in the crowd of about 500 people and listened to speeches by several campus activists.

[redacted] advised that about 2:00 p.m. or shortly thereafter, the crowd dispersed except for a small group of campus activists that was close to the steps of Douglas Hall where the speakers were.

b7C

He did not see STOKELY CARMICHAEL at the rally but before leaving the rally heard someone request that CARMICHAEL should be allowed to come forward through the crowd.

[redacted] advised he does not recall by name any individuals in attendance at the ceremony. He saw no one waving or displaying a weapon. Because of his position at the rear of the crowd, he was one of the first to leave and therefore cannot furnish information as to what the crowd did upon leaving the campus.

He stated he could not furnish any further information of value.

On 4/9/68 at Washington, D.C. File # WFO 62-9737
SAs [redacted] b7C
by [redacted] dan Date dictated 4/10/68

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date April 11, 1968

b7C

[redacted] a senior in the Howard University [redacted] was interviewed at his off-campus residence, [redacted] Apartment [redacted] Washington, D.C. He furnished the following information:

He was present on the Howard University campus on Friday, April 5, 1968, during the memorial services for Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING. These services were held at Cramton Auditorium.

At about 2:30 p.m., during a rally in front of Douglas Hall which was being held by the "militants" at the University, STOKELY CARMICHAEL appeared and spoke to a crowd of about 200 students.

According to [redacted] CARMICHAEL said that "the honky killed the wrong man. He should have killed me or RAP. The honky killed the white man's friend. KING was a dreamer...and he was dreaming."

b7C

[redacted] stated that at this point in the rally there was some shouting and hand clapping by the students and since he was standing near the rear, he shifted his position to get a better view. He was unable to see or hear the remainder of CARMICHAEL's statements.

[redacted] saw no weapons being displayed by anyone. He did, however, feel that several students were armed.

CARMICHAEL spoke for about five minutes and when he finished, the students gradually dispersed.

On 4/9/68 at Washington, D.C. File # WFO 62-9737
SAs [redacted] b7C
by [redacted] dan Date dictated 4/10/68

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 4/12/68

b7C

[redacted] student, Howard University, Washington, D. C., residing at [redacted] Washington, D. C., furnished the following information:

On April 5, 1968, at approximately 11:40 a.m. he left his residence to go to Howard University to attend a memorial service for the late Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING. Shortly after 2:00 p.m., following the conclusion of the services in Crampton Hall, [redacted] observed a crowd assembled in the vicinity of Douglass Hall. He believed that this crowd was composed of mostly outsiders, since he was unable to identify many Howard students in the group. He stated that as he approached this group he noticed pistols in the hands of two unidentified individuals. He immediately left the campus and returned to his home.

b7C

[redacted] stated that he later learned, through friends, and the local newspapers, that STOKELY CARMICHAEL made a short speech at approximately 2:00 p.m. in the vicinity of Douglass Hall. However, [redacted] stated that he did not see CARMICHAEL, or hear anything CARMICHAEL said.

On 4/10/68 Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737
by SAs [redacted] [redacted] AAM:jle 4/11/68
Date dictated 4/11/68

WFO 62-9737

B. RESULTS OF NEIGHBORHOOD INVESTIGATION
IN VICINITY OF HOWARD UNIVERSITY

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date 4/9/68

[redacted] Diplomat Cab Association, 2336 Georgia Avenue, N. W., who resides [redacted] Washington, D. C., furnished the following information:

b7C

[redacted] was working alone in his office which is located south and in sight of Howard University at approximately 12:45 p.m., Friday, April 5, 1968. He observed a group of approximately 200-250 Negro teenagers walking north on the east side of Georgia Avenue past his office. They were orderly and walking two to three abreast. They proceeded onto the campus of Howard University. He did not observe their activities on the campus.

About 1:15 p.m. he observed a group of approximately 200-250 Negro teenagers, both male and female, leave the campus, cross Georgia Avenue and head south past his office. He assumed this was the same group. As they crossed Georgia Avenue they began running and several teenagers began throwing objects at passing cars and buses. Two Negro college age females were standing by his office at the intersection of Georgia and Berry Street, N. W., waiting on a bus. They ran when they saw the crowd and a bus did not stop for them.

Several individuals in the group hit his front window with their hands as they ran by, but did not break or damage any of his property. [redacted] went outside and asked some of the group where they went to school and was told by several that they attended McKinley, Eastern and Ballou High Schools. [redacted] did not observe any individuals in the group that appeared old enough to be Howard University students.

b7C

After the group passed his office he observed they continued south on the west side of Georgia Avenue. He also observed that several windows were broken in the stores south of his office.

On 4/8/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737

SAS

[redacted] b7C
by JWN:laa Date dictated 4/9/68

WFO 62-9737

2

b7C

[redacted] is certain this occurred about 1:15 p.m. because he received his usual telephone call from his wife while the group was running past his office. [redacted] remained at his office until 6 p.m. and did not observe any other group leave the Howard University campus. He did not observe any additional damage being done in the block during this period.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 4/9/68

b7C

[redacted]
[redacted] Washington, D.C. (WDC), advised that he did not notice anyone going by his place on April 5, 1968. He stated that he did see groups of youths milling about and looting in the vicinity of Florida Avenue and Georgia Avenue between 1:00 p.m. and 2:30 p.m. that day; however, they did not appear organized, and he did not recognize any of the participants.

On 4/8/68 at Washington, D.C. File # WFO 62-9737

SAs [redacted]

b7C

by [redacted] JJR:skt Date dictated 4/8/68

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 4/9/68

b7C

[redacted] Hampton Engineering,
2316 Georgia Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. (WDC), advised
that on April 5, 1968, he had seen a large group of Negro
males in the vicinity of that address. He advised that
they were very militant, breaking car and store windows.
He advised that he could not identify any leaders of this
group nor could ne identify any of the participants.

On 4/8/68 at Washington, D.C. File # WFO 62-9737

SAs [redacted]

b7C

by [redacted] JJR:skt Date dictated 4/8/68

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 4/9/68

b7C

[redacted] Hampton Engineering, 2316 Georgia Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. (WDC), advised that on April 5, 1968, shortly after 1:00 p.m. he observed an organized group walking north on Georgia Avenue towards Howard University. They were marching in line more like soldiers than a mob. He stated that all day long groups were milling around Georgia Avenue. He stated that prior to his employer pulling the time clock at 1:24 p.m. some members of a large mob broke the window of Hampton Engineering. He advised that he could not identify any leaders nor participants of the groups.

On 4/8/68 at Washington, D.C. File # WFO 62-9737

SAs [redacted]

b7C

by [redacted] JJR:skt Date dictated 4/8/68

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 4/9/68

b7C

[redacted] Hampton Engineering, 2316 Georgia Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. (WDC), advised that about 1:00 p.m. on April 5, 1968, he had seen a large orderly group of young Negro males going north on Georgia Avenue. He stated that this group did not cause any disturbances. Shortly after 1:00 p.m., he estimated a group of thousands came south on Georgia Avenue from the direction of Howard University. They were shouting, laughing, and yelling "bomb them out," "get whitey," and other remarks which were not clear due to the crowd. They seemed to be high school students, grown-ups, and young children. He estimates that at approximately 1:15 p.m. they broke his window. He and his associates decided to leave. They took the time clock off the wall at 1:24 p.m. so that he could positively fix the time of this activity prior to 1:24 p.m. He stated that the broken window was the only damage to his business. He advised that he could not identify any leaders of the mob nor could he identify any of the participants.

On 4/8/68 at Washington, D.C. File # WFO 62-9737

SAs [redacted]

b7C

by [redacted]

JJR:skt

Date dictated 4/8/68

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 4/9/68

b7C

[redacted]
Washington, D.C. (WDC), Apartment [redacted] advised that she was not at home on April 5, 1968, but around 11:30 a.m. or 12:00 p.m. she had seen packs of young boys, mostly high school students, on Florida Avenue near 9th Street, N.W., WDC. She stated that they were organized, but she could not recognize any of the leaders.

On 4/8/68 at Washington, D.C. File # WFO 62-9737

SAs [redacted]

b7C

by [redacted] JJR:skt Date dictated 4/8/68

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 4/9/68

b7C

[redacted] Washington Plating Company, 2020 Georgia Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. (WDC), advised that on April 5, 1968, he was considering leaving the area at about 11:30 a.m. due to the activities of young groups on the street. At approximately 12:00 noon a group of young Negro males about ten to twenty-five in number were observed breaking the window of a car across the street from Washington Plating Company. They then smashed the window of the Washington Plating Company and tried to get in the door. A police cruiser appeared in the neighborhood, and they fled. He stated right after this he left the area. He advised that the building did not receive any further damage. He stated that he could not identify the participants of the disorderly groups nor their leaders.

On 4/8/68 at Washington, D.C.File # WFO 62-9737

SAs [redacted]

b7C

by [redacted]

JJR:skt

Date dictated 4/8/68

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 4/9/68

b7C

[redacted] Motorcycle Shop, 2004 Georgia Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. (WDC), advised that he noticed a group of 200 to 300 kids come by his store sometime between 1:30 and 3:00 p.m. on April 5, 1968. He stated that he could not be more specific about the time. He stated that they were an orderly group of young Negro males; however, he did not notice their activity or direction of travel.

On 4/8/68 at Washington, D.C. File # WFO 62-9737

by SAs [redacted] [redacted] JJR:skt Date dictated 4/8/68

b7C

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 4/9/68

b7C

[redacted] Union Medical Center, 2024-2026 Georgia Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. (WDC), advised that she was working at this address on April 5, 1968; however, this center had not sustained any damage on this date; however, a window was broken on the previous evening. She left the Union Medical Center prior to 2:30 p.m. on April 5, 1968. She noticed crowds all day long; however, the most unruly group went past the Medical Center heading south about 1:30 p.m.

On 4/8/68 at Washington, D.C. File # WFO 62-9737

SAs [redacted]

b7C

by [redacted] JJR:skt Date dictated 4/8/68

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 4/9/68

[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted] who resides [redacted] Silver Spring, Maryland,
furnished the following information:

b7C

[redacted] was working at his company at approximately 1 p.m. Friday, April 5, 1968, when he observed a group of approximately 200 to 250 Negro teenage boys and girls walking north on the east side of Georgia Avenue, past his company. They were orderly and proceeded two to three abreast onto the campus of Howard University which is north and in view from the front of his company. Several minutes later he observed a group which he considered the same group running south on the west side of Georgia Avenue past his company.

After they passed his company he observed several windows had been broken in the block. He remained at the company for several hours and did not observe any other groups or damage being done in the block.

On 4/8/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737

SAS

b7C

by JWN:lga Date dictated 4/9/68

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 4/9/68

[redacted]
[redacted] Washington, D. C., who resides [redacted]
[redacted] Washington, D. C., furnished the
following information:

b7C

[redacted] observed a group of fifty or more Negro teenage boys and girls walking north on the east side of Georgia Avenue, N. W., past his store at approximately 12 noon to 1 p.m. Friday, April 5, 1968. He observed they were orderly and walking two to three abreast. They proceeded onto the campus of Howard University which is north and in view from the front of his store. About fifteen minutes later he observed a group of Negro teenagers running south past his store on the west side of Georgia Avenue. He assumed this was the same high school age group and not students of Howard University.

An unknown individual threw a brick through his front window while the group was running by. No one attempted to loot his store. After the group passed he observed they continued running south on the west side of Georgia Avenue. Several other windows in the block were broken.

b7C

[redacted] remained at the store for several hours and did not observe any other groups or additional damage being done in the block.

On 4/8/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737

SAS

b7C

by JWN:1aa Date dictated 4/9/68

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 4/9/68

[redacted]
[redacted] Washington, D.C.,
who resides [redacted] Washington, D.C.,
furnished the following information:

b7C [redacted] was in the rear of his store at
approximately 1 p.m., Friday, April 5, 1968, when he heard
the front window of his store being broken. He then observed
a group of approximately 75 to 80 Negro teenage boys and girls
running south past his store on the west side of Georgia
Avenue. They proceeded south on Georgia Avenue and [redacted]
[redacted] observed that several other windows were broken in
the block.

[redacted] remained at his store until 6 p.m.
and did not observe any other groups or damage being done in
the block.

On 4/8/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737

SAS [redacted]

b7C

by JWN:1aa Date dictated 4/9/68

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 4/9/68

[redacted]
[redacted] Washington, D. C., who resides
[redacted] Greenbelt, Maryland, furnished
the following information:

b7C

[redacted] was working in his company yard at approximately 1 p.m. to 1:30 p.m., Friday, April 5, 1968, when he observed approximately 300 Negro teenage boys and girls running south on the west side of Georgia Avenue, N.W. Some of the group were throwing objects at windows and passing cars. [redacted] closed the gates to [redacted] and remained out of sight until the group passed his company and continued south of Georgia Avenue.

[redacted] left the area at approximately 2 p.m. He did not observe any other groups or damage being done in the block.

SAS On 4/8/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737
[redacted] b7C
by JWN:laa Date dictated 4/9/68

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 4/9/68

[redacted]
[redacted] Washington, D. C., who resides
[redacted] Washington, D. C., furnished
the following information:

b7C

[redacted] was working at [redacted] at
approximately 11:30 a.m., Friday, April 5, 1968, when she
observed a group of Negro teenage boys and girls running
south on the west side of Georgia Avenue, past her store.
She was unable to estimate the number in the group. One
teenage boy threatened to break the front window but another
teenage boy in the group said the store belonged to a
"Soul Brother."

b7C

[redacted] did not observe any other groups
in the neighborhood that day.

On 4/5/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737

SAS [redacted]

b7C

by JWN:laa Date dictated 4/9/68

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

4/9/68

Date

b7C [redacted] Wonder Bread, 2301 Georgia Avenue, N. W., advised that he observed between 100 and 200 Negro youths, Junior High and High School age run South on Georgia Avenue from direction of Howard University on April 5, 1968. He is not sure of the time but believes it was about noon. Some of them had clubs and others stopped to put rocks in their pockets. They broke windows as they went down the street. This was the only large group that he observed on April 5, 1968.

On 4/8/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737
by SA [redacted]:jle b7C Date dictated 4/8/68

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/9/68

b7C [redacted] Wonder Bread,
2301 Georgia Avenue, N. W., advised that he went to lunch at
12:15 on April 5, 1968. He drove through Howard Campus and it
was crowded but calm. He returned at 1:40 p.m. and let off
[redacted] at 2301 Georgia Avenue and continued to County
Fair Bakery at 641 S. Street, N. W. He was not aware of the
rioting until he got to County Fair and received a call from
[redacted] at about 1:50 p.m. stating that the personnel at
Wonder Bread were nervous because of the rioting that had
occurred.

On 4/8/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737

by SA [redacted] jle Date dictated 4/8/68
b7C

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/9/68

b7C

[redacted] Wonder Bread,
2301 Georgia Avenue, N. W., observed a large group of Negro
youths coming down Georgia Avenue from the direction of Howard
University at about 1:45 p.m. to 2:00 p.m. on April 5, 1968.
She cannot be sure of the time and has no way to recall the
time. This group was yelling and breaking windows. There were
no other groups which she observed after this.

On 4/8/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737

by SA [redacted] file 4/8/68
b7C Date dictated

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/9/68

b7C

[redacted] Wonder Bread,
2301 Georgia Avenue, N. W., recalls that at about 12:30 p.m.,
on April 5, 1968, she looked out the window and saw broken
windows. She was not near the window to see anyone on the
street or any groups.

On 4/8/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737

by SA [redacted] jle b7C Date dictated 4/8/68

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 4/9/68

b7C

[redacted] of Wonder Bakery, 2301 Georgia Avenue, N. W., advised that between 12:45 p.m. and 1:00 p.m., on April 5, 1968, a large group of Negro teenagers, possibly a hundred or more in number, went by the bakery. They were yelling, running over the hoods and tops of cars, and breaking windows in shops along the west side of Georgia Avenue as they proceeded rapidly from north to south. She said these teenagers appeared to be of high school age and both male and female Negroes were in the group.

She said she was quite sure of the time because she had returned from lunch at 12:45 p.m. and the above incident occurred shortly thereafter.

She said she did not notice any other large groups during the remainder of the afternoon.

On 4/8/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737
by SA [redacted] laa b7C 4/9/68
Date dictated _____

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 4/9/68

b7C

[redacted] of Wonder Bakery, 2301 Georgia Avenue, N. W., advised that between 12:30 p.m. and 1:00 p.m. on April 5, 1968, she heard a commotion on Georgia Avenue and looked out to see a large group of about 100 Negro teenagers whose ages were approximately 15 to 19, running south on Georgia Avenue yelling as they went by. They were breaking windows of some of the shops on the west side of the street and some made their way down the street by running on the tops of cars.

She said she did not see any other groups similar to the above groups during the rest of the afternoon.

1 On 4/8/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737
by SA [redacted] laa b7C Date dictated 4/9/68

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 4/9/68

[redacted] at Wonder Bakery, 2301 Georgia Avenue, N. W., advised on April 5, 1968, shortly before 1:00 p.m., he observed a large group of Negro teenagers who were probably between 15 and 20 years of age proceeding wildly south on Georgia Avenue, N. W. They were yelling and breaking windows as they went south and some carried sticks. They were of both sexes and even though they broke windows, he could see no looting of the stores after they broke the windows.

b7C

He said he did not notice any other groups similar to the above described group during the rest of the afternoon.

On 4/8/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737

by SA [redacted] laa Date dictated 4/9/68

b7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 4/9/68

[redacted] at the Wonder Bakery, 2301 Georgia Avenue, N. W., advised that on April 5, 1968, between 12:30 p.m. and 1:00 p.m., a large group of Negro teenagers, probably about 200 in number, went south on Georgia Avenue past the bakery. They were yelling and breaking some of the windows in the shops on the west side of Georgia Avenue as they proceeded south. Some carried sticks and rocks with them. They appeared to be of junior high school or high school age, from about 13 to 16. Some walked on tops of cars.

b7C

He said he did not notice any other groups during the remainder of the afternoon.

On 4/8/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737

by SA [redacted] laa Date dictated 4/9/68

b7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/9/68

b7C

[redacted] who is employed at Wonder Bread, 2301 Georgia Avenue, N. W., advised that at about 12:45 p.m., on April 5, 1968, right after returning from lunch, she observed a group of Negro boys and girls running South on Georgia Avenue, breaking windows and running over the tops of cars. She observed about seventy five in the group and they appeared well dressed. They came from the direction of Howard University. She did not know any of them. She did not see any group coming down the hill after this first group.

On 4/8/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737

by SA [redacted] jle b7C Date dictated 4/8/68

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/9/68

b7C [redacted] Wonder Bread Company, 2301 Georgia Avenue, N. W., advised that at about 12:30 p.m. on April 5, 1968, he went to the parking lot across from the plant on Georgia Avenue so that he could go out and make his [redacted]. As he drove out of the parking lot he observed a large group of Negroes running over the lawn at Howard University and coming down Georgia Avenue. They were running behind a bus and yelling. They started to run over the tops of cars and breaking windows.

[redacted]
[redacted] Some citizens on the street took refuge in the plant.

b7C The group of Negroes were about 16 to 19 years of age. They came from Howard University campus and were through the area in about ten minutes.

[redacted] knows of no other large group coming down Georgia Avenue on April 5, 1968.

On 4/8/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737
by SA [redacted] file [redacted] Date dictated 4/8/68

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/9/68

[redacted] Peerless Sales, 2237 Georgia Avenue, N. W., advised that about 75-100 Negro youths, about 17 to 18 years of age, came down Georgia Avenue from the North breaking windows and yelling, at about 12:20 p.m. on April 5, 1968.

b7C

[redacted] left at 1:15 p.m. and he could see smoke rising on Georgia Avenue to the South.

[redacted] recalls the above time of 12:20 p.m. because he was on his lunch hour.

On 4/8/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737

by SA [redacted] jle Date dictated 4/8/68

b7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 4/9/68

b7C [redacted] of the Peerless Sales Company, 2237 Georgia Avenue, N. W., advised that on April 5, 1968, between 12:30 p.m. and 1:00 p.m., he observed about 200 Negro teenagers in a mob proceeding south on Georgia Avenue, breaking windows in shops on the west side of the street. He estimated there were easily 200 in the group ranging from about ages 12 to 20. He said the group was apparently being directed by a well-dressed Negro male age 25 to 30 who was proceeding south on the east side of the street while most of the group went down the west side of the street. He described this Negro male as a dark-skinned slender Negro who wore a sport coat, was about five feet ten inches to six feet in height. He said he was quite handsome and believed he wore a sport shirt rather than a shirt and tie.

b7C [redacted] was shown a photograph of STOKEL CARMICHAEL, but said the individual described above was not CARMICHAEL.

On 4/8/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737
by SA [redacted] laa b7C 4/9/68
Date dictated _____

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 4/9/68

b7C

[redacted] of Peerless Sales Company, 2237 Georgia Avenue, N. W., said that on April 5, 1968, shortly after 12:30 p.m., a large group of Negro teenagers of both sexes came down Howard Place, N. W., to Georgia Avenue, N. W., and turned south on Georgia Avenue and went past their business place breaking windows of shops on the west side of the street. He estimated there were almost 500 in the group and said they appeared to be in the age group of 16 to 20. He observed them proceeding at least as far south as Florida Avenue, N. W.

They apparently did not break windows in his business place because several of his Negro employees on their lunch hour were standing in front of their windows watching them as they went by.

He said this was the only large group he observed on the afternoon of April 5, 1968.

On 4/8/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737
by SA [redacted] laa b7C Date dictated 4/9/68

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/9/68

b7C [redacted] Peerless Sales, 2237 Georgia Avenue, N. W., advised that some time between 12:00 noon and 12:30 p.m. on April 5, 1968, a group of about 300 Negro youths, from 16 to 19 years of age, boys and girls, ran South on Georgia Avenue yelling and breaking windows. They came from the North on Georgia Avenue.

[redacted] left at about 2:30 p.m. There were no large groups that ran by after the first group.

On 4/8/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737

by SA [redacted] file b7C Date dictated 4/8/68

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/9/68

b7C [] Peerless Sales, 2237 Georgia Avenue, N. W., observed a group of Negro youths formed on the sidewalk at Bryant and 6th Streets, N. W. at 12:20 p.m. There were two Negroes in their 20s in front of the group. One had a sign on a stick but he could not read it. They walked West on Bryant and turned North on Georgia Avenue.

[] then went in the yard to the rear of Peerless Sales and was not aware that any group came down Georgia Avenue until he talked to his brothers later.

[] recalls the above time because he was late for an appointment with a welder at 12:00 noon.

On 4/8/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737
by SA [] file b7C Date dictated 4/8/68

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/9/68

b7C

[redacted] Peerless Sales, 2237 Georgia Avenue, N. W., advised that at about 12:30 p.m. on April 5, 1968, a group of young Negroes came down Georgia Avenue from the North and began smashing windows. He left work at 1:15 p.m. and he could see the smoke from stores South on Georgia Avenue.

On 4/8/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737
by SA [redacted] jle b7C Date dictated 4/8/68

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WFO 62-9737

C. MISCELLANEOUS

WFO 62-9737

WGD:cas

1

A source advised on April 5, 1968, that STOKELY CARMICHAEL [redacted] appeared on the campus of Howard University on April 5, 1968 in the company of several other individuals at approximately 1:45 p.m. The source continued that CARMICHAEL addressed a crowd of approximately 300 persons at the conclusion of a rally and memorial service for MARTIN LUTHER KING which was held in the vicinity of Douglas Hall, and stated, "Tonight, bring your gun; don't loot, shoot". The source continued that CARMICHAEL also stated that individuals in the crowd should tell their "little" brothers to stay off the streets tonight because there would be trouble. The source stated that CARMICHAEL pulled a gun from his pocket, held it up before the crowd, and indicated that he had his gun and everyone else should get guns. The source advised that CARMICHAEL also advised the crowd that the white man killed Doctor KING, who was the one man who could keep Negroes from becoming violent. The white man would have done better to kill him (CARMICHAEL).

b7C

The source stated that CARMICHAEL received an ovation from the crowd, and after his departure, the crowd dispersed in a peaceful manner.

This source advised he is not available to testify under any circumstances.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/10/68

b7C On April 9, 1968, [] Associated Press, 1300 Connecticut Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C., advised that at 11:30 a.m., April 5, 1968, he arrived on the campus of Howard University, Washington, D. C., to cover the memorial services for Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING. Shortly after his arrival, students from the Black Power Movement took down the United States flag and raised a black flag in its place. Later, there students went to the front of Douglas Hall and began making speeches castigating the white race.

b7C Between 1:30 p.m. and 1:45 p.m., as [] recalled, STOKELY CARMICHAEL arrived at Douglas Hall, Howard University. [] went into Douglas Hall to advise the Associated Press Office of CARMICHAEL's arrival, as all Associated Press Newsmen had been instructed to advise the main office of his whereabouts. [] stated CARMICHAEL was proceeding to the lectern to speak as [] entered Douglas Hall and when [] returned, in about two minutes, CARMICHAEL was departing from the lectern and left the area. [] stated he did not hear CARMICHAEL's speech.

[] stated he could furnish no other information on CARMICHAEL.

On 4/9/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737

SAs []

b7C

by []

WLS:jle

Date dictated 4/10/68

WFO 62-9737

DLL:kjl

1

b7C In connection with this case, SA [redacted] made inquiry at Dunbar High School, First and N Streets, N. W. concerning any students who may have been present at a rally held at Howard University on the afternoon of April 5, 1968, at which time STOKELY CARMICHAEL reportedly spoke.

On April 11, 1968, [redacted] Dunbar High School, First and N Streets, N. W. advised that on April 5, 1968, the school was concerned with a review of cadets which lasted until after 1:00 pm. He stated that 91% of the male students participate in the cadet program and there were no unusual absences on that date. He recalled that this function was well attended by all students.

b7C [redacted] also recalled that Dunbar was the last school to receive notice that the pupils would be released early. He stated that as a result students at Dunbar were not released until after 2:30 pm, which is after the time STOKELY CARMICHAEL allegedly spoke at Howard University.

[redacted] stated he was not aware of any students who visited Howard University on April 5, 1968, although he could not account for those who may have been absent on that date.

WFO 62-9737

JJR:skt

1

b7C The following persons were contacted by Special Agents (SAs) [redacted] on April 8, 1968, at Washington, D.C. (WDC), in reference to the activities which occurred on Georgia Avenue, N.W., on April 5, 1968, but were unable to furnish any positive information:

[redacted] Hampton Engineering, 2316 Georgia Avenue, N.W., WDC, advised that on April 5, 1968, he had returned to Hampton Engineering after all the disturbances had occurred and did not see any of the activities.

b7C [redacted] Washington Plating Company, 2020 Georgia Avenue, N.W., WDC, advised that he was not present at this company on April 5, 1968, when the damage occurred to the building. However, he did return at 12:45 p.m. and talked to [redacted] who told him what had happened prior to his arrival.

[redacted] Union Medical Center, 2024-2026 Georgia Avenue, N.W., WDC, advised that she was not at work at this address on April 5, 1968.

WFO 62-9737

CCM:skt

1

b7C

On April 8, 1968, the following investigation was conducted with negative results by Special Agents (SAs) [redacted] in the 2600 block of Georgia Avenue, N.W:

2600 Kampus Corner Restaurant (two unknown Negroes were contacted and advised that they did not know the name of the owner nor his address)

b7C

2602 [redacted]

2608 [redacted]

WFO 62-9737

JAV:skt

1

b7C

The following individuals were interviewed by
Special Agents (SAs) [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] on April 8, 1968, who advised they did not
observe any disturbance on Georgia Avenue, N.W., Washington,
D.C. (WDC), near Howard University on April 5, 1968:

b7C

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] American Industrial Rental Services, Incorporated,
2306 Georgia Avenue, N.W.

[REDACTED] Ace Junk
Company, 2220 Georgia Avenue, N.W.

WFO 62-9737

III. PRESS CONFERENCE HELD APRIL 5,
1968

WFO 62-9737

A. REUTERS NEWS AGENCY

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date April 11, 1968

b7C [redacted] Reuters News Agency, Room 615 National Press Building, advised that he attended the press conference held on April 5, 1968, at 2208 - 14th Street, N. W., headquarters for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, at approximately 10:00 a.m. During the course of the press conference, [redacted] made notes on statements made by STOKELY CARMICHAEL as follows:

"White America declared war on black America last night. What is needed now are guns and more guns -- last night here those kids tried to fight guns with rocks and bottles and it just didn't work. We will wait but only until we can get enough guns. There's no need for a lot of intellectual talk now -- that's all over. When Dr. KING was killed the last hope of the white man was also killed."

b7C [redacted] advised he prepared his news dispatch from the above, which he called in to the office of Reuters News Agency immediately at the conclusion of the press conference.

[redacted] stated he is willing to testify to the above at any proceedings which may be held.

[redacted] advised that he presently resides at [redacted] Maryland.

On 4/10/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737

by SAs [redacted] b7C [redacted] smm Date dictated 4/10/68

WFO 62-9737

B. WTOP

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/10/68

b7C

[redacted] WTOP, advised that he had and would retain custody of the original video and audio tapes taken at the CARMICHAEL press conference on April 5, 1968, [redacted]

[redacted] remarked that he was the person to be subpoenaed if these tapes were desired.

On 4/5/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737

SAs [redacted]

b7C

by [redacted] ASB/11w Date dictated 4/10/68

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/10/68

b7C

[redacted]
residence Apartment [redacted]
Maryland, telephone [redacted] furnished the following
information:

He believes [redacted]
WTOP, called him at home on April 5, 1968, and requested
that he come to the office earlier than usual for an
assignment. When he reached the WTOP office, he was
given the assignment by [redacted]
[redacted] to cover a press conference
to be held that morning at 10 AM by STOKELY CARMICHAEL
at SNCC Headquarters on 14th Street, N. W.

b7C

He. [redacted]
[redacted] arrived at SNCC Headquarters about 9:45 AM.
When he and his crew entered SNCC Headquarters, they
were frisked and their equipment was checked. He was
frisked by an unknown Negro male who said nothing. From
then on and while attending the conference, [redacted] had a
feeling of uneasiness and hostility toward him and the
white press. It was generally an uneasy situation as
it was a very hostile group and he was glad to get out
of SNCC after the conference.

They set up their equipment in the rear of a
room and were present when LESTER MC KINNIE arrived with
STOKELY CARMICHAEL and CLEVELAND SELLERS. Those in
attendance were told that they were being watched by
a man on top of a "privy" which was a compartmentalized
section of the room.

MC KINNIE introduced CARMICHAEL and SELLERS, made
other remarks and said that CARMICHAEL would speak for about five
minutes following which there would be a question and
answer period for a few minutes.

On 4/8/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737

SAs [redacted]

b7C

by [redacted]

ASB/11w

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b7C

[] stood beside [] during the entire press conference [] recorded the press conference on tape for WTOP Radio.

There were about 20 reporters in attendance plus a group of SNCC people, or individuals associated with SNCC, in the next room. The members of this group appeared to be in their 20's.

b7C

[] said that he had never seen CARMICHAEL before. It was his observation that CARMICHAEL appeared to be in a very emotional state and was making a great effort to control himself. He advised that CARMICHAEL spoke in a very soft tone but [] felt that CARMICHAEL was giving a warning. [] speculated as to whether CARMICHAEL was trying to make his remarks appear as a warning instead of a threat, because otherwise he would be accused of inciting to riot.

b7C

[] commented that during the question and answer session, he asked two questions. He did not recall one of the questions but explained that his other question was whether there was not some other alternative to what CARMICHAEL had advocated. As he recalls, CARMICHAEL did not think there was any alternative and that White America had made its worst mistake.

[] remembered that CARMICHAEL was asked a question regarding whether he had any fear for his life. He recalled that CARMICHAEL answered that he had no fear for his life but the person who asked the question, unknown to [] "should fear for yours." The SNCC group in the adjoining room applauded CARMICHAEL for his answer.

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[] advised that there was not a large gathering on the street outside SNCC Headquarters when he entered. When he came out, the gathering had grown a great deal and a passage way had been formed from the door to the street with approximately 50 people on each side of the passage way.

b7C

[] stated that [] shot about 600 feet of film during the conference. He stood beside [] and told him what to shoot. [] was present during the entire proceedings and heard what was taped by [] but he was also preoccupied with his job.

[] said that he arrived back at his WTOP office about 11:30 and left oral instructions with some unrecalled employee concerning how the press conference film should be edited.

b7C.

[] and [] selected the portion thereof to be used for the 1 PM news show. The portion [] selected for the television news ran about one and one-half minutes.

After [] returned to the office, again edited the film. On this edit, [] selected a section of the film which ran for about 47 seconds. This film was shown on the 6 PM and 7 PM WTOP television news cast.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/11/68

[redacted]
residence, [redacted] Virginia,
telephone [redacted] advised that he accompanied
[redacted] to SNCC Headquarters on
14th Street, to cover a press conference on April 5, 1968.
They arrived about 9:30 AM or 9:45 AM and parked in
front of the SNCC Office. He was searched when he
entered the Headquarters by an unknown Negro man and the
equipment he carried was also checked. He had a tape
recorder and worked together with [redacted] in setting up
the sound equipment.

He recalled that after their camera and sound
equipment was made operable, STOKELY CARMICHAEL entered
the room with LESTER MC KINNIE and another man. He
recalled that [redacted] shook hands with CARMICHAEL.

Shortly thereafter, MC KINNIE introduced
CARMICHAEL who read a statement, speaking in a soft
voice. After CARMICHAEL concluded his statement, a
question and answer period was held for about five minutes.
[redacted] stated that after the conference, they packed
their gear and got out as soon as possible. He recalled
that when they got outside they had to edge their way
through a crowd of about 50 people, the majority of
whom were between 18 and 25 years of age.

[redacted] believed about 45 to 50 people attended
the conference. There was a group of non-press individuals
who ranged in age from 18 to 30 years.

[redacted] said that he could see at all times
during the press conference and taped the proceedings
for WTOP Radio. He commented that he felt uncomfortable

On 4/5/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737

SAs [redacted]

b7C

by [redacted]

ASB:11w

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during the conference and believed the only reason it was called was to get publicity for CARMICHAEL. He said that CARMICHAEL appeared in control of his emotions until the last question was directed to him. This question seemed to upset CARMICHAEL and appeared to make him excited and "worked up." [redacted] was unable to recall the question which aroused CARMICHAEL and he was also unable to recall CARMICHAEL's answer there-
to

b7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/10/68

residence [redacted]
telephone [redacted] Maryland,
[redacted] furnished the following information:

b7C

At 9 AM, April 5, 1968, he received an assignment from [redacted] to accompany [redacted] to cover a press conference to be held by STOKELY CARMICHAEL at SNCC Headquarters on 14th Street at 10 AM that morning.

b7C

They arrived at SNCC Headquarters about 9:30 AM or 9:45 AM and parked in front of the SNCC office. At that time there were about 15 people, all less than 24 years of age, gathered outside the office. When [redacted] entered SNCC Headquarters, the first time, he was not searched. He had to leave the office shortly after his entrance to obtain his equipment. On his return to the SNCC Office, he and his equipment were searched by some unknown Negro man.

On his return, he, with [redacted] set up the camera and sound equipment for television and radio news coverage.

b7C

After their equipment was prepared, STOKELY CARMICHAEL, LESTER MC KINNIE, and another man entered the room. [redacted] said, "Hey, STOKELY" whereupon CARMICHAEL turned to him and shook [redacted] hand in an unusual series of three grips, which apparently had some significance which was unknown to [redacted]. Then CARMICHAEL proceeded to sit on a desk in front of the room. MC KINNIE called all to attention and introduced CARMICHAEL. He said that CARMICHAEL would read a statement for about five minutes and there would be a period of about five minutes of questions and answers. CARMICHAEL then proceeded to read

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by SAs [redacted] b7C
[redacted] ASB/11w Date dictated 4/10/68

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b7C his statement. CARMICHAEL spoke in a very soft, mellow, smooth tone. [] did not pay much attention to what CARMICHAEL said for he was busy with his camera. He did recall that during the question and answer period, [] of NBC asked CARMICHAEL if he thought it was right for Negroes to take up arms and be killed. CARMICHAEL replied that they were dying every day, in rat infested homes, etc.

b7C After the question and answer period, which lasted about five minutes, MC KINNIE announced that the conference was over. [] packed up his equipment and got out with [] as soon as he could. As they were leaving, he got some "dirty looks." When [] got outside, about 50 people were standing in the immediate vicinity of the SNCC office. The majority of them were young people, girls and boys between 18 and 25 years of age. He, [] had to edge their way through the gathering to get to his car.

b7C [] said he thought the purpose of the press conference was just for CARMICHAEL to get publicity. [] remarked that he felt a little uncomfortable at the press conference where about 45 to 50 people were in attendance. The non-press people observed at the conference were between 18 and 30 years of age.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 4/10/68

b7C [redacted] WTOP,
turned over to Special Agent [redacted] a reel of
video and sound film which he said represented the complete
film taken [redacted] at CARMICHAEL's
press conference on April 5, 1968.

He remarked that it was his opinion a portion
of the film had been cut out when edited because it was
considered too inflammatory to use on television.

b7C [redacted] advised that a reel of film of approximately
820 feet was received in the WTOP Processing Room at 11:31 AM,
April 5, 1968. On the 820 feet of film were 650 feet
covering the CARMICHAEL press conference, 100 feet covering
an affair at Eastern High School, and 70 feet on the riot.

b7C The total 820 feet of film was out of the
processing machine at 12:14 PM. The film was processed
by [redacted] or both. Whoever processed
the film placed it in the film rack outside the Processing
Room door.

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SA [redacted] /llw b7C 4/10/68

by _____ Date dictated _____

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 4/10/68

[redacted]
[redacted] WTOP, advised he took the press conference film from the film rack outside the processing room door and, pursuant to instructions, cut a two minute and eight second section of the film to be used on TV News. This section of film was aired on April 5, 1968, on the 1 PM Newsday, and 6 PM Newsnight television programs.

b7C [redacted] related that after [redacted] selected a 38 second strip of film to be used. The 38 second film was aired on the 7 PM and 11 PM television news reports on April 5, 1968. [redacted] advised that none of the film was used on Saturday, April 6, 1968. On Sunday, April 7, 1968, the 38 second strip with audio was used at 4:30 PM. It was used on the news program again at 6:30 PM, however, on this occasion the audio portion was not transmitted as the newscaster's narration accompanied exhibition of the press conference scenes. The 38 second strip of film was shown again on the 11 PM news roundup program. Again there was no audio but just the news commentator's commentary. This was the last time any of the press conference film, taken by [redacted] was used.

b7C [redacted] advised that he has had custody of the press conference film or has been aware of its whereabouts ever since it was in the WTOP office. The film was kept on his desk when it was being used. He advised that the parts used were kept on a rear side rack and the part that was cut out was kept in a rack in front of his desk.

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by SA [redacted] llw b7C Date dictated 4/10/68

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/10/68

[redacted]
advised he was on 14th Street, N. W., April 5, 1968, approximately one and one-half blocks from 2208 14th Street, N. W., SNCC Headquarters, when he called his office and received the assignment to cover the press conference to be held by STOKELY CARMICHAEL about 10 AM at SNCC Headquarters. He had been on 14th Street since approximately 8 AM conducting interviews with people on the street concerning the events of the previous night.

[redacted] proceeded to SNCC Headquarters and entered. He was not searched. When he arrived, CBS was in the process of setting up its equipment and NBC was set up.

Shortly after he arrived at SNCC, [redacted]

[redacted] arrived with [redacted]
[redacted]

Around 10 AM, STOKELY CARMICHAEL entered the room with LESTER MC KINNIE and CLEVELAND SELLERS. MC KINNIE introduced CARMICHAEL and SELLERS. CARMICHAEL spoke for about five minutes following which there was about a five minute question and answer session. During this session, [redacted] asked CARMICHAEL a question. He does not recall the actual words he employed, but his question pertained to whether CARMICHAEL thought his statement would lead to a blood bath in which no one would win. [redacted] remarked that he made the mistake of addressing his question to CARMICHAEL by calling him by his first name, STOKELY. CARMICHAEL informed [redacted] in reply that first, his name was Mr. CARMICHAEL. [redacted] did not recall CARMICHAEL's answer to his question but stated he was present during the entire conference and heard everything that [redacted] recorded on tape for WTOP radio during the conference.

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SAs [redacted]

b7C

by

ASB/11w

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[] recalled that [] asked CARMICHAEL two questions but he did not know what they were or what replies were given to them.

b7C

He stated that MC KINNIE made a brief statement concluding the conference.

[] advised there were between 35-40 news representatives at the press conference. This number included the technicians. In addition, there were about 12 other individuals who appeared to be SNCC staffers or people who looked and acted as though they belonged there. He said the group of about 12 consisted of people between the ages of 18 years and the mid 20's.

[] explained that his personal reaction was that the whole affair was a little frightening and that CARMICHAEL had succeeded in bringing out his feelings concerning white people. He was unable to explain the reaction of those in attendance but related that what CARMICHAEL said did not seem to strike the group of about 12, mentioned above, as strange.

b7C

After the conference was concluded, [] prepared to leave. In the process of departing, he recalled that he was told three or four times by unknown individuals who had been in attendance that he had better be out of SNCC by 11 AM or noon.

[] said that as he left SNCC Headquarters, he saw approximately 200 people, predominantly young, outside on the street. He commented that this gathering formed the nucleus of the group which later marched south on 14th Street.

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He remarked that CARMICHAEL was fully aware that during the press conference, his image was being recorded on film.

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C. AMERICAN BROADCASTING COMPANY

WFO 62-9737

TAM:cjb

1

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American Broadcasting Company
1124 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.

On April 8, 1968, [redacted]

[redacted] residence telephone [redacted] employed as [redacted]

[redacted] American Broadcasting Company (ABC) a radio and
broadcasting news bureau, 1124 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Wash-
ington, D. C., was interviewed by SAs [redacted]

b7C

[redacted] furnished the names of ABC employees who cov-
ered the civil disturbances in Washington in the vicinity of
14th and U Streets, N.W., on the night of April 4, 1968.

With regards to the press conference held by CAR-
MICHAEL at the headquarters of the Student Nonviolent Co-
ordinating Committee (SNCC), 2208 14th Street, N.W., on the
morning of Friday, April 5, [redacted] advised that [redacted]

[redacted] of this
news conference for ABC. He stated that [redacted] had
also [redacted] the news conference for radio broadcasting
purposes.

b7C

[redacted] stated that the audio and visual tapes of
CARMICHAEL would ordinarily be sent to ABC's New York, New
York, headquarters, but said that he would make arrangements
to have all original tapes held in Washington, D.C. Upon
request he agreed to have copies made of all ABC tapes obtained
on April 4 and 5, 1968, which concerned STOKELY CARMICHAEL in
any way, and would furnish these to the Federal Bureau of In-
vestigation. He reiterated that he would maintain the originals
of all of this material in Washington.

[redacted] advised that ABC did not cover the gathering
held at Howard University between 1:00 p.m. and 2:00 p.m.
where CARMICHAEL reportedly made an appearance, saying that
therefore ABC could furnish nothing concerning this gathering.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date April 11, 1968

[redacted]
[redacted] Washington, D. C., Answering Service Number [redacted]
[redacted] presently employed by
the American Broadcasting Company (ABC), 1124 Connecticut
Avenue, N.W., attended the news conference held Friday,
b7C April 5, 1968, at Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)
Headquarters, 2208 14th Street, N.W., at approximately 10:00 a.m.,
by STOKELY CARMICHAEL.

[redacted] camera began to
roll when CARMICHAEL walked into the room, and did not stop
until CARMICHAEL left the room after the press conference.

[redacted] shot approximately 500 feet of Ektachrome
ER 16 mm color movie film, known as Eastman 72-42 reversible
film. [redacted] estimated that the news conference lasted about
15 minutes including the question and answer session held by
CARMICHAEL after he finished speaking. [redacted] based this
estimate of the time on the fact that he was shooting about
36 feet of film per minute. [redacted] explained that the single
b7C film he took contains both the audio and pictures. [redacted]
was accompanied by ABC [redacted] and
both he and [redacted] went through the search routine by SNCC
members prior to the commencement of the new conference.

[redacted] did not linger after the news conference,
but packed up his camera and sound equipment and left. He was
unable to furnish any additional information concerning the
news conference.

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SAs [redacted] b7C
by [redacted] TAM:cjb Date dictated 4/10/68

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date April 11, 1968

[redacted]
Maryland, residence telephone number [redacted] employed
[redacted] Washington, D. C., attended the
news conference held on the morning of April 5, 1968, at
Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) Headquarters
in Washington by STOKELY CARMICHAEL.

[redacted] arrived at the news conference later than his
[redacted] was standing
at the door of SNCC Headquarters waiting to get in when CAR-
MICHAEL walked through those assembled at the door and entered.

[redacted] explained that there were a number of different
groups of correspondents trying to get into the conference in-
cluding a crew from Germany. He stated that these groups re-
presented the various television and news broadcasting companies
servicing the Washington area.

[redacted] stated that every white man entering SNCC Head-
quarters was first searched, and such things as pocket knives
and cigarette lighters were taken and placed on a table in the
room. According to [redacted] this was done by SNCC representatives
in a polite, but grim and firm manner. He stated they even
examined closely the heels of the shoes he was wearing, pos-
sibly because they were slightly over-sized. SNCC explained
that this search was for the protection of the newsmen, in
that they trusted their people.

Just after entering SNCC Headquarters, [redacted] noted
some sort of scuffle at the back of the room, and believed
that "some guy had been tossed out." He had no details on
this episode. He stated that they all stood around for
about 10 or 15 minutes after which CARMICHAEL and a number
of other SNCC officials were introduced.

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SAs [redacted] b7C
by [redacted] TAM:cjb Date dictated 4/10/68

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2

b7C [] stated that his partner [] had gotten the entire proceedings on tape, and that he would be unable to add anything additional to what was contained on the tape.

As soon as the news conference ended [] left immediately, saying that he did not think it "healthy" to remain. He could furnish no additional significant information.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date April 11, 1968

[redacted]
Virginia, residence telephone [redacted] employed as [redacted]
[redacted] by ABC, arrived at Student Nonviolent Coordinating
Committee (SNCC) Headquarters, 2208 14th Street, N.W., at
about 9:45 a.m. on the morning of April 5, 1968, to attend
the news conference called by STOKELY CARMICHAEL. He stated
that he entered with his accessory case in his hand and his
tape recorder slung over his shoulder. He was searched by
SNCC representatives, and his accessory case opened and ex-
amined. He stated that he thereafter set up his tape re-
corder to tape the conference for later re-broadcast over
ABC radio network.

According to [redacted] it was about 10:05 a.m. that
morning when CARMICHAEL made his appearance at SNCC Head-
quarters. [redacted] noted that the back door of SNCC Headquarters
was first bolted before the conference proceeded. [redacted]
turned on his tape recorder and taped the entire conference
and is in possession of this tape which he stated could not
be played over the ABC radio because of objectionable lan-
guage that CARMICHAEL had used. He stated that he would be
willing to testify concerning his taping of the conference
and could produce the original tape at any time if called
upon to do so. [redacted] taped the entire proceedings including
the introduction of SNCC officers and CARMICHAEL, and the
question and answer portion which occurred at the end of
CARMICHAEL's statement.

After the news conference, SNCC officials cleared
a path through the assemblage for CARMICHAEL, and that was
the last [redacted] saw of CARMICHAEL in the vicinity of SNCC
Headquarters that day.

On 4/9/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737
by SAs [redacted] b7C
[redacted] TAM:cjb Date dictated 4/10/68

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b7C

Student Nonviolent
Coordinating Committee

WFO 62-9737

D. NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date April 9, 1968

[redacted] WRC-TV, National Broadcasting Company (NBC), was interviewed at her place of employment, 4001 Nebraska Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C. (WDC), by Special Agents [redacted]

b7C

[redacted] stated her reporting duties mainly involve civil rights and poverty matters. She related she has observed STOKELY CARMICHAEL on two occasions since April 4, 1968. The first occasion occurred on April 5, 1968 when she attended a press conference at SNCC headquarters, 2208 - 14th Street, N. W., WDC, when CARMICHAEL was introduced by LESTER MC KINNIE. [redacted] was a member of the WRC-TV crew which recorded the proceedings of the news conference for both video presentation as well as for radio distribution.

[redacted] volunteered that she did not consider CARMICHAEL's remarks to be as inflammatory as remarks he has reportedly made in the past. She related she did not recall the identities of other reporters who attended the press conference, with the exception of [redacted] WOL Radio Station, WDC. She noted she was completely surrounded by the NBC crew and she was intent on the proceedings.

b7C

[redacted] consulted her notes and stated that the only remark of any consequence she recorded was the statement that CARMICHAEL made to the effect "the only way to survive is to find some guns."

[redacted] stated she next observed CARMICHAEL on April 7, 1968 when C. SUMNER STONE called a press conference at the Ed Murphy Supper Club, 2227 Georgia Avenue, N. W., WDC. STONE was discussing the merits of a "work stoppage" honoring Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., for April 9, 1968. CARMICHAEL did not address the reporters; however, he made some opening remarks to the other people assembled. She advised that CARMICHAEL stated he was "sick of hearing niggers calling for peace, peace, peace"; however, he did not state any alternatives with respect to the above remark.

On 4/9/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737

SAs [redacted]

b7C

by [redacted] Date dictated 4/9/68

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[redacted] related that only NBC was represented at this news conference, and she did not recognize any other reporters on this occasion.

b7C

[redacted] advised that [redacted]
[redacted] WRC-TV, was the person to contact in order that the recordings of the aforementioned press conferences could be produced.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date April 9, 1968

On April 9, 1968, [REDACTED]
WRC-TV, National Broadcasting Company, 4001 Nebraska Avenue,
N. W., Washington, D. C., was contacted by Special Agents
[REDACTED]

b7C

[REDACTED] advised he intended to preserve recordings
of CANNICHAEL's press conferences held on April 5 and 7, 1968,
and that said recordings are maintained at WRC-TV offices.
[REDACTED] stated he would make these recordings available on
request.

On 4/9/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737

SAs [REDACTED] b7C
by [REDACTED] Date dictated 4/9/68

WFO 62-9737

E. UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/11/68

b7C

[redacted]
United Press International, was interviewed at his office located at 1017 New Jersey Avenue, S. E. [redacted] advised he lives at [redacted] Maryland, home telephone number [redacted] related the following:

On the evening of April 4, 1968, he received notification from the United Press International (UPI) City News Wire Day Book, that STOKELY CARMICHAEL would hold a press conference at 10 AM, Friday, April 5, 1968.

b7C

[redacted] decided he personally, along with a television camera crew under his direction, would cover this press conference of CARMICHAEL. [redacted] was accompanied by [redacted]

[redacted] This UPI camera and news crew went to headquarters of Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), 2208 14th Street, N. W., and "set up" in advance of the meeting, it being noted by [redacted] other major news services and members of the press were represented in the crowd at SNCC Headquarters.

b7C

[redacted] estimated there were approximately 25 "pen and pencil" reporters present, including himself, with about 25, more or less, persons in the room, being made up by camera, sound men and electrical technicians who were members of various news crews who were photographing the press conference.

[redacted] stated his cameraman "shot" approximately 400 feet of sound and film footage in black and white and, in addition, possibly another 50 feet of film without sound. He stated the meeting was opened by LESTER MC KINNIE who first admonished all reporting

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SAs [redacted]

b7C

by [redacted]

CEG/11w

Date dictated 4/10/68

WFO 62-9737

b7C personnel present with their crews to be sure they cleaned up thoroughly following the press conference, taking all their debris, including cigarette butts, with them. He stated CARMICHAEL was introduced by MC KINNIE who thereupon directed his remarks to the cameras and reporters. [] stated he made a few penciled notes himself but was more concerned in directing his camera towards various "shots" and actually paid little attention to what CARMICHAEL said inasmuch as the press conference was being recorded both on film and on sound track. He said after the news conference was over, he and his crew returned to his office with the film and it was thereafter turned over to [] who prepared a total of 68 feet of film, amounting to one minute and fifty-three seconds of exposure time for transmission on television.

The narration or summation describing the 68 feet of film footage which was made available to UPI clients, described the film as follows:

"Black power advocate STOKELY CARMICHAEL has warned that there will be 'retaliation in the streets' for the killing of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING. CARMICHAEL told a news conference in the nation's capitol that when white America killed Dr. KING, she killed all reasonable hope."

b7C [] stated from his notes, [] had made a paraphrase of what had been uttered by CARMICHAEL at the press conference and this paraphrasing is set forth as it was prepared by []

"(paraphrasing) Carmichael says: When White America killed Dr. King last night she opened the way for every black man in this country... they had no reason to get rid of Dr. King.

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He was the one man everyone would listen to... they didn't always agree with him. The rebellion that went on last night is just light stuff to what is going to happen. We have to retaliate for the execution of Dr. King. Our retaliation won't be in the courts but in the streets of America...White America made it a whole lot easier for the black man. When she killed Dr. King (END CUE: 'she lost.')

b7C [] stated his own notes, which he had made at the scene of the news conference, were destroyed and thrown away. [] stated to his knowledge CARMICHAEL did not exhibit any firearm at any time during the press conference. It was his considered personal opinion that the utterances of CARMICHAEL were inflammatory and highly militant.

b7C During the question and answer period following CARMICHAEL's major announcements, [] asked CARMICHAEL "Don't you think the majority of Americans are as shocked (at the assassination of Dr. King) as most Negroes?"

[] stated in reply CARMICHAEL gave some sort of oblique answer, the nature of which [] was unable to recall, but which he said should have been fully recorded both by his camera and sound.

b7C Although [] and his crew "shot" in excess of 400 feet of film, [] explained that for purposes of selling the news footage to clients of UPI, only 68 feet of actual film was used and this was reproduced in the total number of 40 copies. The remaining footage which was not "printed out" is considered the "master" film and it was forwarded to the New York City Headquarters of UPI for storage in the Film Library. [] said the full footage minus editing clips would be available for use in any legal proceedings upon service to him of a proper subpoena duces tecum.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/11/68

b7C

[redacted] United Press International, 1017 New Jersey Avenue, S. E., was interviewed at his office this date.

[redacted] advised he resides at [redacted] Washington, D. C. [redacted] related he was [redacted] on the assignment to cover the press conference of STOKELY CARMICHAEL held Friday at 10 AM, April 5, 1968 at Headquarters of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). [redacted] related he operated [redacted] while approximately 400 to 450 feet of television news footage was run off covering all the happenings at the news conference, including the opening remarks by LESTER MC KINNIE, announcements by CARMICHAEL, and the brief question and answer period which concluded the press conference.

[redacted] stated inasmuch as he was more concerned with the operation and protection of his equipment than with the actual utterances of the speakers, he did not pay a great deal of attention to what CARMICHAEL actually said. [redacted] did recall he considered CARMICHAEL's utterances as inflammatory and highly militant although he had no specific recollection of actual phrases of CARMICHAEL. [redacted] stated he did not see CARMICHAEL exhibit any type of firearm during this press conference.

On 4/9/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737

SAs [redacted]

b7C

by [redacted] CEG/11w Date dictated 4/10/68

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date April 10, 1968

b7C [redacted] employed by United Press International (UPI), 1017 New Jersey Avenue, S. E., was interviewed this date at the House of Representatives, Press and Television Cameramen's Gallery, United States Capitol. [redacted] advised his home address is [redacted] Virginia. He related the following:

On Friday morning, April 5, 1968, [redacted]

b7C [redacted] UPI, to the headquarters of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee located at 2208 - 14th Street, N. W., where STOKELY CARMICHAEL was scheduled to hold a press conference at 10:00 a.m. [redacted] were accompanied by [redacted]

b7C [redacted] was primarily concerned with the operation and protection of his camera equipment and, during the course of the press conference initiated by LESTER MC KINNIE who preceded and introduced STOKELY CARMICHAEL, [redacted] said he was unable to devote full attention to statements made either by MC KINNIE or CARMICHAEL. He said the entire occurrence probably consumed approximately 30 minutes, during which period he "shot" a little more than 400 feet of black and white film which included all of the action with sound.

b7C [redacted] said he did not make any notes of comments made by either MC KINNIE or CARMICHAEL, but he did recall CARMICHAEL making a statement, in substance amounting to "Now is the time to shoot." [redacted] also recalled having heard CARMICHAEL state, again in substance, "Tomorrow we are going to Richmond and if they don't release RAP BROWN, we are going to burn Richmond down."

b7C [redacted] stated the entire theme of CARMICHAEL's utterances was "hate." [redacted] said at no time did he see any exhibition of weapons of any kind either by CARMICHAEL or by anyone else present at the news conference. He stated this was the only occasion on which he saw STOKELY CARMICHAEL during the week of April 1 - 6, 1968.

On 4/10/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737

b7C

by SA [redacted] smm Date dictated 4/10/68

b7C [] related that on Tuesday, April 9, 1968, he was assigned to Atlanta, Georgia, to act as [] for UPI during the course of the funeral services for Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. [] pointed out that he had seen STOKELY CARMICHAEL on many occasions and knew him by sight, and he said just about the time funeral services had ended at the church and as the motorcade was preparing to proceed to Morehouse College, he saw STOKELY CARMICHAEL in Atlanta. He said he saw CARMICHAEL for just a very short period of time and CARMICHAEL was not talking to anybody.

WFO 62-9737

F. ASSOCIATED PRESS

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/10/68

b7C On April 9, 1968, [] Associated Press, 1300 Connecticut Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C., advised he had been assigned and had covered the press conference held by STOKELY CARMICHAEL at the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) Headquarters, 2208 14th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., at 10:00 a.m., April 5, 1968.

He stated members of the news media were "frisked" upon entering SNCC Headquarters. [] stated he sat in the second row at the conference and recorded the proceedings on his portable tape recorder.

During the conference CARMICHAEL made no specific or direct threats of violence against white people. He spoke of getting guns and that there were debts that had to be paid.

b7C [] stated, in his opinion, there was an implied threat of violence toward the whites, in CARMICHAEL's statements, but stopped short of being an open and direct call for violence.

[] stated his tape of the press conference, is in the custody of [] Associated Press and is being held by Associated Press for their legal protection against libel action for misquotes. [] stated the Federal Bureau of Investigation is welcome to listen to or make a copy of this tape. He stated that as he was in the second row and his was a portable recorder the quality of the tape was not of the best. He stated the television and radio media had good equipment near CARMICHAEL which was probably of high quality.

On 4/9/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737
by SAs [] [] WLS:jle 4/9/68
b7C Date dictated

WFO 62-9737

DJM:dan

1

b7C

On April 10, 1968, [redacted]
[redacted] Associated Press, 1300 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.,
Washington, D.C., furnished the following information to
SAs [redacted]

On April 5, 1968, he attended a news conference
at the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)
Headquarters, 2208 14th Street, N.W., at which STOKELY
CARMICHAEL spoke for approximately five minutes. Upon
entering the room in which the conference took place, he
was searched by one of the SNCC members.

He did not at any time see CARMICHAEL brandish
a pistol or other weapon. He stated that CARMICHAEL's
remarks were accurately reported in the newspapers, and
he could add nothing to what has already been reported.

WFO 62-9737

G. MISCELLANEOUS

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date April 11, 1968

b7C Special Agent (SA) [] of the Washington Field Office of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, advised he was present to attend a press conference of STOKELY CARMICHAEL which he had called for 10:00 a.m. to be held at the headquarters of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), 2208 14th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C., on April 5, 1968.

b7C Upon arrival at SNCC headquarters at approximately 9:58 a.m., SA [] noticed a crowd of about 50 Negro males standing outside the address (between the ages of about 20 to 35). There did not appear to be any females in the crowd. Two young Negro males appearing to be in their early twenties guarded the door and appeared to be checking everyone entering. White members of the press were trying to get inside. Some were carrying camera equipment. As SA [] approached the doorway a white member of the press was seen exiting. He was asked what was going on inside. He replied that STOKELY CARMICHAEL was holding a press conference. He was further asked if he had been able to get inside. He said, no, that he was refused admittance by the guards. He said he was with "Newsweek" magazine. Another member of the press exited the doorway and inquired of SA [] if he had attempted to get inside, apparently assuming SA [] was with the press. When informed no, he said he tried to get inside but they would not admit him. He also said they had kicked him while trying to get inside. Several other white males appearing on the scene carrying camera equipment were observed to be denied admittance. Other white members of the press were admitted but were being given a body search by the guards posted at the door before entering. Other newsmen denied admittance stood outside in a cluster along side the estimated 50 Negro males.

b7C SA [] recognized there was no likelihood of being admitted to the press conference without being qualified

On 4/5/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737

SA [] cjb Date dictated 4/11/68

by the guards at the door as being with a member of the press acceptable to them. He joined the members of the press who had been denied admittance to the press conference standing outside waiting until it terminated. A group of about 50 Negroes also stood outside waiting for the conference to end. The crowd outside was ruly. They appeared expectant and curious about what was taking place inside. About 10:33 a.m. newsmen began to emerge from the building, indicating the press conference was ended.

b7C SA [] approached one of the emerging members of the press, whose name he did not know, and asked him what had taken place inside. The newsman had a paper containing notes in his hand which he read from. He said that during the news conference, STOKELY CARMICHAEL stated MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., was the last Negro civil rights leader of the older generation who preached nonviolence, brotherhood, love and good will, and now he is gone. He further said CARMICHAEL stated there will be no funeral and there is no need for crying. CARMICHAEL continued that black people must organize to fight the white society in which they live, there is no longer any need to press for love because what is needed is guns, because Negroes must arm themselves. He stated violence will come but Negroes must first arm themselves. CARMICHAEL continued that on the previous night, Negro youths fought policemen's guns with rocks and bottles. Next time, he stated, it won't be this way, there will be war in the streets.

b7C After the press conference was over, CARMICHAEL was not observed to emerge from SNCC by SA [] The crowd that had gathered outside the building dispersed soon thereafter in an orderly manner.

WFO 62-9737

JWG:kjl

1

b7C [redacted] AUCO Broadcasting Company, Station WWDC, 8800 Brookville Road, Silver Spring, Maryland, was contacted at his place of employment by SA [redacted]. Prior to this interview, [redacted] had been contacted by [redacted] of AUCO, concerning the interviewing agent's inquiry regarding whether or not personnel from that station covered a news conference held on April 5, 1968 at 10:00 am, by STOKELY CARMICHAEL.

b7C [redacted] advised that none of his station covered this news conference. He stated that the station was furnished with a tape of the conference by United Press International and part of the tape was used at the 11:00 news broadcast and a thirty second spot of it was used on the 12:00 news, an opposite view expressed by [redacted] was broadcast.

b7C [redacted] furnished the interviewing agent with a transcribed copy of the above tape and also with the tape itself. He furnished a transcribed copy of the 12:00 noon broadcast referred to above. These items were furnished to [redacted] of his staff.

WFO 62-9737

IV. ACTIVITY OF APRIL 6, 1968

b7C It will be recalled, as has been reported previously in this case, in an interview with [redacted] for WAVA Radio News, he related his experience with regard to his having encountered STOKELY CARMICHAEL on Saturday afternoon, April 6, 1968, in the vicinity of 16th and F Streets, N. E., at the scene of a fire in a warehouse. It is recalled CARMICHAEL, according to [redacted] declined to be interviewed on a "live" broadcast, but, in his place, CARMICHAEL told [redacted] to interview his companion, whose name was given as [redacted] or [redacted] (phonetic).

b7C In effort to establish an identification of the individual [redacted] was re-interviewed April 9, 1968, by Special Agents [redacted] at Radio Station WAVA, located at 1901 North Ft. Myer Drive, Arlington, Virginia. [redacted] advised he resides at [redacted] Washington, D.C.

b7C With a view of possibly identifying [redacted] [redacted] reviewed a series of photographs, including pictures of [redacted] and a photograph of an individual known as [redacted]

b7C After examining these photographs, [redacted] advised none of the persons pictured in the photographs was believed by him to be identical with the individual known to him as [redacted] however, the person whose photograph most closely resembles [redacted] pointed out he believed [redacted] had a darker skin than the individual in the [redacted] photograph, and he believed that [redacted] did not have his hair nearly so long as [redacted] hair is shown in his photograph.

b7C It is noted the photograph of [redacted] was that picture made February 23, 1968 by the Police Department (PD), Jackson, Mississippi, Jackson PD Number [redacted]

DC

WFO 62-9737

V. DAMAGE ASSESSMENT

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date April 9, 19681

b7C

[redacted] of Planning and Design, District of Columbia Redevelopment Land Agency, advised that the District of Columbia official estimate, as best could be determined at this time, as to property damage caused by the civil disturbance starting on April 4, 1968, was \$13,300,000.

On 4/9/68 at Washington, D.C. File # WFO 62-9737

by SA [redacted] dgp Date dictated 4/9/68

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

WFO 62-9737

VI. DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA WEAPONS
LAW

WFO 62-9737

PEM:dan

1

[redacted] Intelligence Division, Metropolitan Police Department, Washington, D.C., on April 11, 1968, advised SA [redacted] that STOKELY CARMICHAEL has not been issued a permit or any other authorization by the Metropolitan Police Department to carry a handgun in the District of Columbia.

b7C

The District of Columbia weapons law appears in Title 22, Sections 22-3202 to 22-3217 of the District of Columbia Code (1961 Edition). The law was originally enacted on July 8, 1932.

Section 22-3204, Title 22 provides as follows:

"Section 22-3204. Carrying concealed weapons.

"No person shall within the District of Columbia carry either openly or concealed on or about his person, except in his dwelling house or place of business or on other land possessed by him, a pistol, without a license therefor issued as hereinafter provided, or any deadly or dangerous weapon capable of being so concealed. Whoever violates this section shall be punished as provided in section 22-3215, unless the violation occurs after he has been convicted in the District of Columbia of a violation of this section or of a felony, either in the District of Columbia or in another jurisdiction, in which case he shall be sentenced to imprisonment for not more than ten years. (July 8, 1932, 47 Stat. 651, ch. 465, Section 4; Nov. 4, 1943, 57 Stat. 586, ch. 296; August 4, 1947, 61 Stat. 743, ch. 469; June 29, 1953, 67 Stat. 94, ch. 159, Section 204(c))."

Section 22-3215, Title 22, provides as follows:

"Section 22-3215. Penalties.

"Any violation of any provision of this chapter for which no penalty is specifically provided shall be punished by a fine of not more than \$1,000 or imprisonment for not more than one year, or both. (July 8, 1932, 47 Stat. 654, ch. 465, Section 15)."

ATTENTION

The following documents appearing in FBI files have been reviewed under the provisions of The Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) (Title 5, United States Code, Section 552); Privacy Act of 1974 (PA) (Title 5, United States Code, Section 552a); and/or Litigation.

☐ FOIA/PA☐ Litigation☐ Executive Order Applied

Requester: _____

Subject: _____

Computer or Case Identification Number: _____

Title of Case: _____ Section _____

* File _____

Serials Reviewed: _____

Release Location: *File _____ Section _____

b2

This file section has been scanned into the FOIPA Document Processing System (FDPS) prior to National Security Classification review. Please see the documents located in the FDPS for current classification action, if warranted. Direct inquiries about the FDPS to RIDS Service Request Unit

File Number: 100-HQ-446080 Section 30Serial(s) Reviewed: All

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: 98337

File Number: _____ Section _____

Serial(s) Reviewed: _____

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: _____

File Number: _____ Section _____

Serial(s) Reviewed: _____

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: _____

THIS FORM IS TO BE MAINTAINED AS THE TOP SERIAL OF THE FILE, BUT NOT SERIALIZED.

SCANNED BY DocLab (RMD)

DATE: 8-3-05

ATTENTION

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-26-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

LAST SERIAL: 1428

DO NOT REMOVE FROM FILE

VIA TELETYPE

APR 13 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. T.
Mr. De
Mr. Moh
Mr. Bisho
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

VV

FBI NEW YORK

10-52 M URGENT 4-13-68 AMS

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080) ENCODED

ATTN. DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM NEW YORK (100-153751) 1P ---13----

983317

STOKELY CARMICHAEL,

INTERNAL SECURITY, STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-4-93 BY 9803 PRR/nt

252,028

CARMICHAEL OBSERVED INSTANT DATE BY FUREAN AGENTS

DEPARTING [REDACTED] NEW YORK

RESIDENCE OF [REDACTED] AT TWELVE TWENTY FIVE PM, AND ARRIVING
DIPLOMAT HOTEL, NEW YORK CITY TWELVE PM.

CARMICHAEL DEPARTED DIPLOMAT HOTEL, NYC, SIX FOURTEEN
PM INSTANT DATE AND PROCEED IN DIRECTION OF HARLEM AREA, NEW
YORK CITY. AT EIGHT PM INSTANT DATE SUBJECT OBSERVED
ENTERING [REDACTED] RESIDENCE, [REDACTED] NEW YORK, AND IS PRESENTLY AT
THIS LOCATION.

END AND ACK

HWL

FBI WASH DC

APR 17 1968 XEROX

EX-115

b7C

REC-68

APR 16 1968

RELAYED TO
70 APR 19 1968

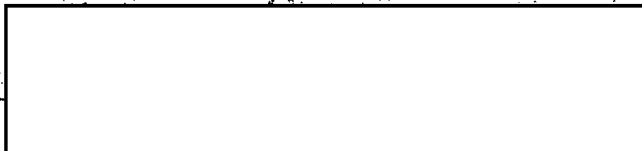
100-439190-34
UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

EX-103

REC 11

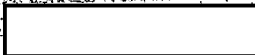
100-446080-1405

April 11, 1968



b7C

Dear



I received your letter and its enclosure on April 9th and appreciate the concern which prompted you to contact me.

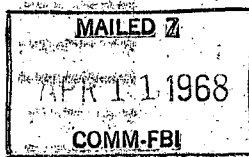
With respect to your inquiry, the FBI is strictly an investigative agency of the Federal Government and, as such, does not determine whether prosecutive action will be undertaken in any situation. Such decisions concerning violations of Federal law are within the province of the Attorney General.

The FBI has furnished voluminous data regarding Stokely Carmichael to the Department of Justice for its consideration, and you may wish to contact the Attorney General in this matter.  is now in custody on Federal charges.

b7C

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover



TGB

NOTE: Bufiles contain no record of   is currently in custody on Federal charges.

HRH:mew

(3)

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

APR 17 1968
XEROX
[Handwritten signature]

E B T

[Handwritten signature]

66 APR 25 1968

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT ☐

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 105-168197-

TRUE COPY

Dear Mr Hoover

Know how busy you are and all the Problems confronting you, will you please spare a few minutes to read the enclosed artical that appeared in the Philadelphia Bulletin Newspaper. What I want to know is how in this Great country of ours a thing of this sort is permitted- Why aren t the laws enforced to prevent this from happening. it seems that there is a complete breakdown of law and order, which brings fear to me and every other citizen I am married with a family a boy 2 1/2 and an infant daughter What steps are being taken by our goverment to insure safty for my family and I. What steps are being taken to apprehend and rid our streets of people such as Stokley Carmichel and [redacted] I love my family and Country Very much I am afriad for the Safty of both will you kindly give me the courtesey of a reply as to what is being done to help make this a more Secure and safe Country. P. S Just one sa e reason why he is not in Jail just one Thank you

b7C

Sincerley

b7C



EX-103

REC 11

100-446080-1405

APR 17 1968

CORRESPONDENCE

1 TC
4-9-68
Hdc: 4/11/68
H R H: new

APR 12 1968

ENCLOSURE

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 105-168197-

Dear Mr Hoover
Know how busy you are and
all the problems confronting you,
will you please spare a few
minutes to read the enclosed article
that appeared in the Philadelphia
Bulletin newspaper. What I want to
know is how in this Great Country
of ours a thing of this sort is
permitted - why aren't the laws enforced
to prevent this from happening. It seems
that there is a complete breakdown of law
and order, which brings fear to me and
every other citizen. I am married with
a family a boy 2 1/2 and an infant
daughter. What steps are being taken
by our government to insure safety for
my family and I. What steps are being
taken to apprehend and rid our streets of
people such as Stokely Carmichael and
[redacted] I love my family and
country very much I am afraid for the
safety of both will you kindly give
me the courtesy of a reply as to
what is being done to help make
this a more secure and safe country. P.S.
Just one same reason why he is not
in jail just one Thank you

Sincerely

b7C

ENCLOSURE

Hd 4/11/68
HRH: [unclear]
[unclear]

1 TC
4-9-68
mhc

APR 10 1968
FBI - PHILADELPHIA

b7C

Negroes Must Kill Whites, Stokely Carmichael Says

Washington — (UPI). — Stokely Carmichael said today that Negroes will "have to get guns" and take to the streets to retaliate for the execution of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

"When white America killed Dr. King, it declared war on us," the Black Power extremist told reporters.

"Black people know that their way is not by intellectual discussions. They know they have to get guns."

"We have to retaliate for the execution of our leaders. The execution of those debts will not be in the courtrooms. They will be in the streets of the United States of America."

Leads Looting

Carmichael, who led several hundred demonstrators last night during several hours of violence and looting in a 15-block area of Washington, said he did it so the youths could ask storeowners to close down their shops out of respect for King.

"I want it clear, however, that we are not stopping them from kicking in store windows," Carmichael added.

"If they don't have guns, we're not going to let them throw bricks and bottles at guns," he said. "When we have guns we will let them come out on the street."

Asked by a white reporter if he feared for his life, Carmichael replied:

"To hell with my life. You

should fear yours. I know I am going to die."

'Dying Every Day'

Asked if his course of action might result in the death of many Negroes, Carmichael responded:

"Black men are dying every day. In Vietnam for example. They might as well take as many white men as possible with them."

He called President Johnson and Sen. Robert F. Kennedy (D-NY) "honkies" and included them as part of the "white America" that he held responsible for King's death.

During the looting and other disturbances last night, Carmichael told the crowd of youths:

"When the white man comes he is coming to kill you. I don't want any black blood in the street. Go home and get you a gun and then come back because I got me a gun."

Carmichael then brandished a small, black pistol.

As he did so, a Negro boy fired two shots into the air.

Police tried to disperse demonstrators in various areas and at one point used tear gas.

There were several fires in which arson was suspected. Firemen were the target of rock throwers.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-26-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

ENCLOSURE

100-446080-1405

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-26-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

FBI

Date: 4/12/68

Transmit the following in:

PLAINTEXT

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via

TELETYPE

URGENT

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

TO: DIRECTOR AND SACS ATLANTA, BALTIMORE, BOSTON, CHICAGO,
KANSAS CITY, NEW YORK, NEWARK, PHILADELPHIA,
PITTSBURGH, RICHMOND AND SAN FRANCISCO

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS;
SEDITION.

CARMICHAEL DEPARTED WDC NINE THIRTY AM THIS DATE NATIONAL
AIRPORT VIA AMERICAN AIRLINES FLIGHT NUMBER TWO FOUR EIGHT
EN ROUTE NYC. DUE TO ARRIVE LAGUARDIA AIRPORT TEN TWENTYONE AM.
CARMICHAEL REPORTEDLY TO SPEAK AND ATTEND CONFERENCE NYC APRIL
TWELVE, THIRTEEN AND FOURTEEN BEING HELD HOTEL DIPLOMAT.

CARMICHAEL TRAVELING WITH SNCC REPRESENTATIVES

EX-110

REC-40

NY COGNIZANT OF TRAVEL.

16 APR 16 1968

P.

- 2 - Bureau
- 2 - Teletype Unit
- 2 - WFO

WWH:meh
(6)

Approved:

Sent

M

Per

Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date: 4/11/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGULAR MAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR FBI

FROM: SAC, BALTIMORE (100-24220)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTER

Re Baltimore telephone call to Washington Field
on 4/11/68 at 9:25 A.M.

Information received from [redacted] who is

[redacted] advised that STOKELY
CARMICHAEL called SCLC Office between 8:00 and 8:30 P.M.
last. CARMICHAEL first asked to speak with [redacted]
[redacted] was only one present at SCLC
Office and he talked with CARMICHAEL. [redacted] related to [redacted]
[redacted] that STOKELY was calling from Ashley, Virginia and advised
that if things stay as quite as they are at present he would
see him in Baltimore this coming weekend. Washington Field
cognizant and will handle.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-26-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

b7C

- ③ - Bureau
- 2 - Richmond
- 2 - WFO
- 2 - Baltimore
- GD/gcv
- (9)

EX-110
REC-40

100-446080-1407

APR 12 1968

APR 15 11 40 AM '68

CC - 806 940

C. C. Bishop

Approved: [Signature]
Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

RACIAL INT. SEC

b2
b7C
b7D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-26-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG DIS
Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 4/11/68

Stokely Carmichael, former
Chairman of the Student Nonviolent
Coordinating Committee (SNCC),
traveled to Atlanta, on 4/8/68, and
attended the funeral of Martin
Luther King, Jr., on 4/9/68.
Attached indicates he has returned
to Washington, D. C.

Secret Service, Army, and
Inter-Division Information Unit of
the Department advised. WFO
has been instructed to alert
sources and advise when his where-
abouts are established.

WLS:lrh

WCS/
msh

gh

1082
FBI WASH DC*

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

APR 10 1968

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach ✓
Mr. Mohr ✓
Mr. Bishop ✓
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen ✓
Mr. Sullivan ✓
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-26-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

FBI ATLANTA

940 PM

URGENT 4/10/68 VSC

TO DIRECTOR AND WFO

FROM ATLANTA 100-6812 1P

b7C

INTERNAL SECURITY- MISCELLANEOUS
STOKELY CARMICHAEL. ~~IS-M~~; SEDITION.

RE WFO TEL, APR. TEN, INSTANT.

CARMICHAEL KNOWN TO BE IN ATLANTA AS OF TEN THIRTYFIVE
PM, APR. NINE, LAST. INFO RECEIVED FROM SOURCE OF ANOTHER
OFFICE, WHO WAS IN ATLANTA, REFLECTS CARMICHAEL RETURNED
TO WASH., D.C., ON APR. TEN, INSTANT, MODE OF TRAVEL UNKNOWN

ATLANTA IN CONTACT WITH SOURCE IN EFFORT TO RESOLVE
CARMICHAEL'S PRESENT WHEREABOUTS. P

END

LCC

FBI WASH DC*

EX-110

REC-40

REC-D 012105

FBI

11 APR 16 1968

80 APR 19 1968
RELAYED TO WFO

100-446080-1408

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 4/11/68

At the specific request of the Attorney General we are conducting an investigation to develop information on the incidents involving Stokely Carmichael on 4/4-6/68. A preliminary report dated 4/8/68, has already been submitted to the Department concerning this matter.

Information in the attached indicates our Washington, Field Office has utilized 50 to 60 Agents in the investigation and has conducted 170 interviews with 50 additional interviews contemplated.

We are continuing to vigorously press this investigation. A supplemental report will be submitted 4/12/68.

PTB:chs

ga

js

WCS/m

Expedite.

dh

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-26-2006 BY
60389/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-26-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/SGG/bls

Date: 4/11/68

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via **AIRTEL** _____

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Bishop	✓
Mr. Casper	✓
Mr. Callahan	✓
Mr. Conrad	✓
Mr. Felt	✓
Mr. Gale	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Miss Holmes	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM: SAC, WFO (62-9737)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INCITE TO RIOT - MISC.

b7C

Re preliminary report submitted under date of

4/8/68.

For the information of the Bureau, between 50 and 60 Agents have been used daily in the investigation of instant matter, aimed at determining the extent of CARMICHAEL's direction and participation in the rioting conditions on 4/4, 5 and 6/68 in WDC. In excess of 170 interviews have been conducted to date concerning the march on 14th Street, NW, during the early evening of 4/4/68 and the Georgia and Florida Avenue, NW, area during the afternoon of 4/5/68. An estimated 50 additional interviews are contemplated concerning the 14th Street disturbance. To date, investigation indicates that a group of high-school age juveniles began destroying property and looting along Georgia Avenue between 12:30 and 1:30 PM, on 4/5/68. This group originated in the area of Howard University and the disturbance, including looting, began prior to the appearance of CARMICHAEL at the University.

In excess of 50 interviews have been conducted of news-media personnel in instant matter. An additional 14 interviews are contemplated.

③ - Bureau
1 - WFO

CJJ:teb
(4)

EX-116

REC-15

100-446080-1409

16 APR 11 1968

C. C. - Bishop 2ND RPT WFO 4/12/68
SENT DEPT 4/15/68

39 APR 22 1968
FIS

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

RACIAL MAT. SECT.

WFO 62-9737

Two audio-visual and three audio tapes, primarily concerning the STOKELY CARMICHAEL press interview on 4/5/68, have been obtained.

With respect to CARMICHAEL's appearance at Howard University, investigation has determined that there were three gatherings on that date at the University and that CARMICHAEL appeared only for the third meeting. Our best information to date indicates he arrived at about 1:45 - 2:00 PM and six students at this third gathering, who are considered extreme militants, have been identified as having been there. Efforts will be made to interview them. Five high-school students and six Howard University faculty members who were present at this meeting have been interviewed. Continuing efforts are being made to identify additional spectators at this meeting. Howard University students are on Easter recess and will not return to school until Monday, 4/22/68.

All leads are being given expeditious attention and sufficient manpower will be used to insure that investigation receives prompt attention.

Next investigative report will be submitted 4/12/68.

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 4/11/68

Information in the attached indicates that an unknown individual reportedly stated in San Antonio on 4/5/68 that he was going to blow Stokely Carmichael's head off. Our San Antonio Office is attempting to further identify this individual.

We have instructed our Washington Field Office to furnish this information in the attached to the Washington, D.C., Metropolitan Police Department.

PTB:bjb

He
D

WES/m

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-26-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-26-2008 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/ECB/bls

Date: 4/11/68

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

IS - M; SEDITION INTERNAL SECURITY - ~~REDACTED~~ MISC,
(OO:WFO)

SAN ANTONIO
Re ~~SA~~ airtel to WFO, 4/6/68.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are three copies
of above referenced SA airtel dated 4/6/68.

San Antonio ascertained to whom 1968 Texas License
[REDACTED] registered and attempted to further identify (FNU)
[REDACTED] through SA Police Department and other established
sources as well as his propensity for violence.

ENCLOSURE

- 3 - Bureau (Encls 3)
2 - San Antonio (100-103900) (RM) [REDACTED]
1 - WFO

WWH:jcb
(6)

AIRTEL

REC-15

16 APR 11 1968

Approved: *[Signature]*
55 APR 23 1968
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M _____

Per _____

F B I

Date: 4/6/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: SAC, WASHINGTON FIELD

FROM: SAC, SAN ANTONIO (100-10300)(RUC)

RE: STOKLEY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUSALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-26-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

On 4/5/68 [redacted] advised that he had observed an individual in a San Antonio restaurant who stated he was a retired soldier and that he was going to blow STOKLEY CARMICHAEL's head off. [redacted] advised this individual had shouted that he wanted to make an announcement, and then he made the threat. [redacted] said this person did not appear to have been drinking. He advised he went outside and checked the man's license on his car, which was a 1965 Chevrolet station wagon. The license number was 1968 Texas [redacted] The waitress called this man [redacted]

[redacted] described the individual as follows:

Name	(FNU) [redacted]
Race	White
Sex	Male
Age	55-60
Weight	170
Height	5'8"
Hair	White, combed straight back
Characteristics	Wears glasses

1968 Texas licenses not yet in file, and therefore San Antonio is unable to determine to whom that car is registered.

2 - Washington Field
1 - San Antonio
JMK:kfh (3)

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

ENCLOSURE

M

b7C

SA 100-10300

This is being furnished WFO for information and any action deemed appropriate. San Antonio taking no further action UAC.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-26-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. Sullivan *WLS*

DATE: 4/9/68

FROM :  *R*

b7C

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. Rosen

1 - 

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

b7C

By letter dated 4/6/68, the Attorney General requested the Bureau's assistance in developing information on the incidents involving Stokely Carmichael on 4/4-6/68.

We have received a preliminary report dated 4/8/68 from our Washington Field Office concerning this matter.

Included in the report is a signed statement from a witness who observed Carmichael lead 15 to 20 youngsters from Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee Headquarters in Washington, D. C., to the vicinity of 14th and U Streets, Northwest, Washington, D. C. Carmichael told the group, "If you don't have a gun, go home and get one." He thereafter exhibited a small caliber handgun to the crowd. This occurred 4/4/68. *B*

The report also contains a transcript of a tape recording of remarks made by Carmichael at a press conference on 4/5/68. During this press conference, Carmichael acknowledged that he led the Negro youngsters to 14th and U Streets the evening of 4/4/68 and acknowledged that he would not stop them from kicking in store glass windows. He declared, "We are stopping them from coming out on the streets without guns. When they come out on the streets, we want them with guns."

ACTION:

There is attached a proposed letter to the Attorney General, copies for Deputy Attorney General Yeagley and Vinson. Copies for Assistant Attorneys General Yeagley and Vinson contain as an enclosure a copy of Washington Field Office report dated 4/8/68. We are continuing to vigorously press this investigation.

Enclosures *WLS*

PTB:fhd (7)

54 APR 22 1968

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-26-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls
FBI

Date: 4/11/68

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Transmit the following in PLAINTEXT
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080) AND
SAC, BALTIMORE

FROM: SAC, WFO (62-9737)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, INCITING TO RIOT-MISCELLANEOUS.

THE WASHINGTON POST, APRIL TEN LAST, REPORTED

BOTH WASHINGTON, D. C., WERE FINED FIFTY DOLLARS AND GIVEN
SIXTY DAY JAIL TERMS AFTER CONVICTION OF CURFEW VIOLATIONS IN
A SPECIAL NIGHT COURT BY CRIMINAL COURT JUDGE WILLIAM J. O'DONNELL.
DEFENDANTS ARRESTED BALTIMORE EIGHT P.M. APRIL NINE LAST.
ACCORDING TO ARTICLE THEY CLAIMED THEY WERE ENROUTE PHILADELPHIA
AND WERE CARRYING A CAN OF GASOLINE IN THEIR AUTOMOBILE AS THEIR
CAR HAD A FAULTY FUEL PUMP.

b7C BALTIMORE INTERVIEW [REDACTED] IN AN EFFORT TO

- ② - Bureau
- 2 - Teletype Unit
- 2 - WFO

REC-4

6 APR 16 1968

JAC:jle
(6)

XEROX

196 APR

54 APR 19 1968
Approved: D. Fenwick/Rfo Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

WFO 62-9737

PAGE TWO

ESTABLISH THEIR RELATIONSHIP AND ASSOCIATION, IF ANY, WITH
CARMICHAEL AND ANY ACTION TAKEN BY THEM BASED UPON HIS COUNSEL.

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : The Director

DATE: 4-1-68

FROM : N. P. Callahan

SUBJECT: The Congressional Record

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-26-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

Pages 33561-33563. Senator Thurmond, (R) South Carolina, spoke concerning the recent riot in Memphis and commented on the activities of Martin Luther King. He stated "King says that he is nonviolent. Nevertheless, he has linked his cause with the most outspoken advocate of violence in the United States, Stokely Carmichael. . . . King and his followers are seeking to tie up the organs of government so that democracy will be paralyzed. Blackmail and mob rule have no part in our system of government. . . . I believe that President Lyndon Johnson knows what King is trying to do, and that he should do something about it. I call upon President Johnson to make public the information about King which is available to him. This information is openly talked about in Washington." Mr. Thurmond included an article from the Charleston (South Carolina) News and Courier of February 11 entitled "King, Carmichael To Join Forces" written by Frank V. Linden, and an article from the Northern Virginia Sun written by Jack V. Fox entitled "Carmichael Conducting Sabotage School in the District of Columbia."

100-446080-
NOT RECORDED

87 APR 11 1968

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for 3-29-68 was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case for subject matter files.

ORIGINAL FILED IN 3271
66-1731-22

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-26-2006 BY
Domestic Intelligence Division
WAC/PA/DCG/SIS

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date March 23, 1968

We are continuing to follow the activities of Stokely Carmichael, former chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. Attached concerns speech by Carmichael at the Boston, Massachusetts, Technical High School, and Carmichael said whites must be killed or blacks would die. 1,200 people were present and white people and newsmen were excluded. Information in the attached will be furnished the White House, Attorney General, and other interested agencies.

TJD:kmj

GCM

WAC/PA/DCG/SIS

RELAYED TO

PAGE TWO

BS 157-437

ENTHUSIASM ALTHOUGH LESS RESPONSE GIVEN WHEN REFERENCE
MADE TO KILLING WHITES. OTHER SPEAKERS ON PROGRAM INCLUDED
JAMES ~~WORMAN~~ OF STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE,
JOHN ~~YOUNG~~, CHAIRMAN OF BOSTON CHAPTER CONGRESS OF RACIAL
EQUALITY AND FRANK OCHIENG, PREVIOUSLY MENTIONED. NO INCIDENTS
OCCURRED. CARMICHAEL INDICATED PLANS TO BE IN BOSTON DURING
SATURDAY, MARCH TWENTYTHREE BUT DID NOT ELABORATE.

ADMINISTRATIVE

SOURCES MENTIONED AS PRESENT ARE [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] EFFORTS BEING MADE

TO FOLLOW CARMICHAEL'S ACTIVITIES THROUGH SOURCES.

BUREAU AND WFO WILL BE ADVISED. BOSTON SOURCES HAVE HAD NO
PREVIOUS ACQUAINTANCE WITH ROXBURY BLACK PEOPLES' FORUM.

END

SAA

FBI WASH DC*

b2
b7C
b7D

ERT

cc - Mr. Trainor

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-26-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

TO : SAC, Los Angeles San Francisco (Your file 100-68783
157-721) DATE: 3/28/68

FROM : Director, FBI (Bufile and Serial 100-446080)

✓ Post in file and
destroy 0-1
(For SOG use
only)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION

☐ 1. Bufiles indicate this case is delinquent. Give specific reason for delinquency

☒ Re WFO airtel dated 2/20/68.

SEARCHED _____	INDEXED _____
SERIALIZED _____	FILED _____
MAR 29 1968	
FBI - LOS ANGELES	
<i>Bureau</i>	

☒ 2. DATE ☒ airtel ☐ letterhead memo ☒ submitted 3-19-68
☐ report ☐ letter ☐ 90-day progress letter ☒ will be submitted _____

Reporting employee _____

☐ 3. If valid reason exists for not submitting report at this time, state reason specifically and when report will be submitted _____

☐ 4. Status of ☐ Appeal ☐ Inquiry ☐ Investigation ☐ Prosecution
☐ airtel ☐ letterhead memo
☐ 5. Submit ☐ report ☐ letter ☐ 90-day progress letter by _____ (Date)

(Place reply hereon and return to Bureau. Note receipt and acknowledgment on top serial in case file.)

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-26-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

157-437

TO : SAC, Boston Cincinnati (Your file 100-16858) DATE: 3/28/68FROM : Director, FBI (Bufile and Serial 100-446080)Room No. 805-96DSUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS A MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION

☐ Post in file and
destroy 0-1
(For SOG use
only)

☐ 1. Bufiles indicate this case is delinquent. Give specific reason for delinquency.

☒ Re WFO airtel dated 2/19/68.

☐ airtel ☐ letterhead memo ☐ submitted
☒ 2. DATE ☒ report ☐ letter ☐ 90-day progress letter ☒ will be submitted 4-8-68

Reporting employee _____

☐ 3. If valid reason exists for not submitting report at this time, state reason specifically and when report will be submitted _____

☐ 4. Status of ☐ Appeal ☐ Inquiry ☐ Investigation

☐ airtel ☐ letterhead memo
☐ 5. Submit ☐ report ☐ letter ☐ 90-day progress letter by _____

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	☒ Prosecution
MAR 29 1968	
FBI - BOSTON	
(Date)	

(Place reply hereon and return to Bureau. Note receipt and acknowledgment on top serial in case file.)

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-26-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

FROM: *fm*

XX

SAC, Boston
Cincinnati(Your file 157-437
100-16858) DATE: 3/28/68

TO:

XX

: Director, FBI (Bufile and Serial 100-446880)Room No. 100-16858☒ Post in file and
destroy 0-1

SUBJECT:

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS A MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAR 29 1968	
FBI - CINCINNATI	
<i>Bureau</i>	

- ☐ 1. Bufiles indicate this case is delinquent. Give specific reason for delinquency.

☒ Re WFO airtel dated 2/19/68.

- ☐ airtel ☐ letterhead memo ☐ submitted
- ☒ 2. DATE ☒ report ☐ letter ☐ 90-day progress letter ☒ will be submitted 4/10/68

Reporting employee _____

- ☐ 3. If valid reason exists for not submitting report at this time, state reason specifically and when report will be submitted _____

- ☐ 4. Status of ☐ Appeal ☐ Inquiry ☐ Investigation ☐ Prosecution
- ☐ airtel ☐ letterhead memo
- ☐ 5. Submit ☐ report ☐ letter ☐ 90-day progress letter by _____ (Date)

(Place reply hereon and return to Bureau. Note receipt and acknowledgment on top serial in case file.)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-26-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *wc*

DATE: 4/7/68

FROM : [REDACTED] *2036 M/10K*

b7C

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

INTERNAL SECURITY - STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
SEDITION

b7C

Set forth as follows is the action which we have instituted pursuant to information developed by our Washington Field Office (WFO) on the evening of April 7, 1968, that Stokely Carmichael, black nationalist militant, would go with a caravan of his followers to Richmond, Virginia, early tomorrow morning in connection with [REDACTED] court appearance there.

Pursuant to your instructions the Richmond Office was advised to endeavor to taperecord any statements which Carmichael or his militant followers might make in connection with this matter. In addition Richmond was instructed to endeavor to thoroughly cover the assemblage through observations of Agents on the spot, as well as use of photographic equipment, noting the necessity of developing any possible evidence in connection therewith.

WFO was instructed to maintain physical surveillance of Carmichael and his caravan and coordinate with the Richmond Office in order that the Richmond Office could assume the surveillance at a discreet position after they were on their way.

It was impressed upon both Richmond and WFO that it is most essential that the Bureau be kept fully advised of all developments in this matter.

We have been keeping the Department fully advised of activities of Carmichael and will continue to do so.

GCM:brr (7)

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - [REDACTED]

CONTINUED - OVER

b7C

1 APR 16 1968

59 APR 22 1968

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 105-168197

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan
RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

ACTION:

For information. This matter will be closely followed and you will be kept advised of all pertinent developments.

hc

h

g

WAL

✓

mm

ds

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
April 11, 1968

Mr. Fred M. Vinson, Jr.
Assistant Attorney General

Director, FBI

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION

1 - Mr. Bishop
1 - Mr. Rosen

1 - [REDACTED]
1 - [REDACTED]

b7C

On April 10, 1968, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] of the "Washington Post" newspaper, was interviewed for information concerning an article appearing in the "Washington Post" on April 5, 1968, regarding the disturbance at 14th and U Streets, N.W., Washington, D. C., on the night of April 4, 1968.

b7C

[REDACTED] advised that his office has a running log of messages telephoned and radioed in by reporters of events which pertain to the civil disturbance in Washington, D. C., on the night of April 4, 1968, and the morning of April 5, 1968. [REDACTED] said that the log is considered as private working papers of his office and may contain personal notes and comments that may not be desirable for the public to review. He stated he would like to cooperate with law enforcement officers but has some reservations about having his reporters tied up in court. He added that the lives and livelihoods of these reporters might be jeopardized by disclosure of information in this matter. However, he believed he could make this log available if it was treated on a "privy" basis.

b7C

Please advise whether it is desirable for our Washington Field Office to accept the above log from [REDACTED] under the restrictions placed on its use by him. This log should be the source of considerable lead material.

b7C

An early reply will be appreciated.

1 - Mr. J. Walter Yeagley
Assistant Attorney General

PTB:ekw
(10)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

APR 22 1968
MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

Mr. Fred M. Vinson

NOTE:

By letter dated April 6, 1968, the Attorney General requested an investigation of the incidents in Washington, D.C., involving Stokely Carmichael on April 4, 5, and 6, 1968. We have submitted to the Department a preliminary report from our Washington Field Office dated April 8, 1968, which contains considerable information concerning Carmichael's involvement on the above dates and we are continuing to press this investigation to determine the identities of additional potential witnesses and to interview them. The interview of [REDACTED] was conducted by our WFO Office.

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-26-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bis
FBI

Date: 4/10/68

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM: SAC, WFO (62-9737)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INCITE TO RIOT

Attached are 5 copies of LHM containing results of an interview of representatives of the "Washington Post" newspaper on 4/10/68 with respect to the presence of a log at the newspaper office setting forth the events which were telephoned in by reporters on the scene covering the riot which occurred on 4/4/68.

WFO recommends that this office be authorized to accept the log and review it for lead information.

Of concurrent interest was information supplied by [redacted] that the "Washington Post" newspaper had three reporters on the scene at 14th and Chapin Streets when CARMICHAEL made comments about using guns. The "Washington Post" has no objection to FBI interviews of these individuals; however, the final decision lies exclusively with the reporters. Interviews will be requested of [redacted]

[redacted] Names of additional reporters working for the "Post" on 4/4/68 have been obtained and they will be interviewed for whatever information they can contribute concerning STOKELY CARMICHAEL.

ENCLOSURE

③ - Bureau (5 Encls)
1 - WFO

CJJ:teb
(4)

C. C. Bishop

EX-110
REC-4

CC 806 970

APR 16 1968

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C.

April 10, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-26-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INCITE TO RIOT

On April 10, 1968, representatives of the
Federal Bureau of Investigation interviewed [redacted]

b7C.

[redacted] of the "Washington Post" newspaper, for
information concerning an article appearing in the "Post"
newspaper on April 5, 1968, regarding the 14th Street
disturbance on the night of April 4, 1968.

[redacted] advised that his office has a
running log of messages telephoned and radioed by reporters
of events which pertain to the civil disturbance in
Washington, D. C., on the night of April 4, and the
morning of April 5, 1968. When asked if he would make
that log available for review, [redacted] said that the
log is considered as private working papers of the office,
may contain personal notes and comments and may not be
desirable for the public to review. He stated he would
like very much to cooperate with law-enforcement officers
but has some reservations about having his reporters tied
up in court. He added that lives and livelihoods of these
reporters might be jeopardized by disclosure of their
sources of information in this matter. However, he believed
he could make this log available if it were treated on a
"privy" basis. [redacted] was advised that the representa-
tives could not give such assurance at this time; that a
check would be made with appropriate authorities and he
would be recontacted.

b7C.

100-446080-1415

COPIES DESTROYED

ENCLOSURE

286 FEB 23 1971

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-26-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

DATE: 4/16/68

FROM : SAC, BOSTON (157-437)(RUC)

b7C

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISC; SEDITION
(OO: WFO)

b7C

Re New York airtel to Director dated 3/8/68, requesting listings on phone numbers called from phone maintained in subject's residence, [redacted] New York.

b7C

On 3/12/68, the listing service of the New England Telephone and Telegraph Company, Brookline, Mass. Business Office, advised that telephone number [redacted] is listed to [redacted] Mass.

On 4/2/68, personnel of the Credit Bureau of Greater Boston, Inc., 6 St. James Ave., Boston, Mass., advised that they could locate no information in their files identifiable with [redacted]

b7C

On 4/2/68, personnel, Office of the Mass. Commissioner of Probation, Suffolk County Courthouse, Boston, Mass., a central repository for all criminal and traffic conviction records in the Commonwealth of Mass., advised that the files of that office contain no information identifiable with [redacted]

b7C

Telephone number [redacted] was found to be an unlisted number.

On 3/12/68 [redacted]

b2

b7C

b7D

[redacted] (Protect Identity) advised that the above number was listed to [redacted]

In connection with an investigation of [redacted] Racial Matters, it was determined that [redacted] resided with her mother, [redacted]

[redacted] in December, 1967. [redacted]

[redacted] was married to [redacted]

[redacted] in March, 1968, and currently resides at [redacted]

[redacted] according to [redacted] on 3/26/68.

- ② - Bureau (100-446080)(RM)
 - 2 - New York (100-153751)(RM)
 - 2 - WFO (RM)
 - 1 - Boston (157-437)
- JFN/jpm
(7)

EX-106

APR 17 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.

57 APR 24 1968

100 806 940

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-26-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

VIA TELETYPE

APR 14 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson_____
Mr. DeLoach_____
Mr. Mohr_____
Mr. Bishop_____
Mr. Casper_____
Mr. Callahan_____
Mr. Conrad_____
Mr. Felt_____
Mr. Gale_____
Mr. Rosen_____
Mr. Sullivan_____
Mr. Tavel_____
Mr. Trotter_____
Tele. Room_____
Miss Holmes_____
Miss Gandy_____

FBI NEW YORK

10-23 PM URGENT 4-14-68 AMS

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080)-4-- ATTN. DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

AND BALTIMORE ---1---, NEWARK --1---, WASHINGTON FIELD *hc*

TO WASHINGTON FIELD VIA WASHINGTON ---ENCODED

FROM NEW YORK (100-153751) 2P

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

IS - STUDENT NON - VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

CARMICHAEL OBSERVED INSTANT DATE BY BUREAU AGENTS DEPARTING

[REDACTED] NEW YORK, RESIDENCE

[REDACTED] AT TWO FIFTEEN PM, TRAVELLING TO DIPLOMAT HOTEL,

NEW YORK CITY. SUBJECT DEPARTED DIPLOMAT HOTEL TWO FIFTY PM,

AND PROCEEDED TO [REDACTED] NEW

YORK CITY, RESIDENCE OF [REDACTED] SUBJECT DEPARTED [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] AT FOUR TEN PM, TRAVELLED TO [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] NEW YORK. SUBJECT DEPARTED [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] SIX THIRTY PM AND WAS

OBSERVED CROSSING GEORGE WASHINGTON BRIDGE AND ENTERING NEW
JERSEY TURNPIKE AT WHICH TIME HE DISAPPEARED IN HEAVY TRAFFIC.

SUBJECT TRAVELLING IN ONE NINE SIX SEVEN OR SIX EIGHT YELLOW
PLYMOUTH STATION WAGON, NY LICENSE [REDACTED]

WITH [REDACTED] AND [REDACTED] UNKNOWN NEGRO MALE.

END OF PAGE ONE

EX-105

REC-15

100-446080-1417

11 APR 18 1968

TWO COPIES TO WFO
33 APR 25 1968

PAGE TWO

BUREAU OF SPECIAL SERVICES NEW YORK CITY POLICE DEPARTMENT
ADVISED THIS DATE THAT SUBJECT TOLD NEGRO DETECTIVE THAT HE WAS
PLANNING TO GO TO WASHINGTON, D.C.

ADMINISTRATIVE

BUREAU AGENTS MENTIONED OBSERVING SUBJECT WERE [REDACTED]

b7C

[REDACTED]
BUREAU NEWARK AND WASHINGTON FIELD TELEPHONICALLY ADVISED
THIS DATE.

BALTIMORE ADVISED BY WASHINGTON FIELD.

END AND ACK

WA.....HWL

FBI WASH DC

GLS FTB ACK NR 4

RECEIVED
FBI NEW YORK
JAN 10 1964

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 05-26-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: April 13, 1968

FROM : [REDACTED] *re*

b7C

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION

At the specific request of the Attorney General, we are conducting an investigation of the incidents in Washington, D. C., involving Stokely Carmichael on April 4, 5, and 6, 1968. One phase of this investigation is the interviewing of persons connected with the news media and in this connection, we interviewed [REDACTED] of the "Washington Post" newspaper.

b7C

[REDACTED] advised that his office has a running log of messages telephoned in by reporters of events which pertain to the civil disturbances in Washington, D. C., during April 4-6, 1968. He said the lives and livelihoods of these reporters might be jeopardized by disclosure of information in this matter. However, he believed he could make this log available if it was treated on a "privy" basis.

Our Washington Field Office in recognizing that obtaining the log under such conditions could possibly create technical legal problems, advised the Bureau of the conditions set forth by [REDACTED] and we immediately forwarded the information to the Department for its advice.

b7C

By letter dated April 12, 1968, Assistant Attorney General Fred M. Vinson, Jr., has requested that we obtain the log from [REDACTED]. Accordingly, the attached airtel with Mr. Vinson's letter as an enclosure instructs our Washington Field Office to recontact [REDACTED] and advise him that the matter of making the log available under "privy" was presented to the Department and the Department has made the request we obtain the log as set forth in the letter from Mr. Vinson, that is without any absolute promise of confidentiality.

b7C

Enclosure *sent* 4-15-68

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - [REDACTED]

EX-110 REC-19

b7C

11 APR 18 1968

66 APR 22 1968

CONTINUED - OVER

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan
RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

With respect to the last paragraph of Mr. Vinson's letter, he noted that it is his understanding that the Bureau is making contact with all other news media and pointed out the need to contact out-of-town news media. We have been doing this and have to date contacted a large number of persons connected with the news media. We are continuing to press this as well as all phases of this investigation.

ACTION:

If you approve, attached airtel to Washington Field Office will be sent containing instructions as set forth above.

pk *P* *WCS* *FK* *GK* *A* *✓*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-26-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: April 15, 1968

FROM :

[Redacted]

b7C

b7C

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION

By letter dated 4/6/68 the Attorney General requested the Bureau's assistance in developing information on the incidents involving Stokely Carmichael on 4/4-6/68.

We have furnished the Department a preliminary report dated 4/8/68 from our Washington Field Office concerning this matter. Included in this report is a signed statement from a witness who observed Carmichael on the evening of 4/4/68 tell a group in the vicinity of 14th and U Streets, Northwest, Washington, D. C., "If you don't have a gun, go home and get one." This report also contained a transcript of a tape recording of highly inflammatory remarks made by Carmichael during a press conference at Washington, D. C., Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) headquarters the morning of 4/5/68.

We have received a second report from Washington Field Office dated 4/12/68 consisting of over 250 pages which is being furnished to the Criminal Division and to the Internal Security Division of the Department. Included in this report is detailed information obtained from witnesses who observed the activities of Carmichael in the vicinity of 14th and U Streets, Northwest, Washington, D. C., the evening of 4/4/68. Persons interviewed, including press reporters, in variance as to what Carmichael said. However, several witnesses saw Carmichael in the possession of a hand gun. One news reporter heard Carmichael say "Go home and get your guns." Also, numerous store owners and employees in the area were interviewed and some observed Carmichael in group telling businessmen to close their business after the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. In addition it was reported that seven students observed Carmichael on afternoon of 4/5/68 at Howard University. Several of these students reported Carmichael exhibited a pistol to the group on the campus and made such statements as "Don't go on the streets unless you have a gun and here's mine."

100-446080

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan

1 - [Redacted]

APR 22 1968

REC-19

11 APR 18 1968

CONTINUED - OVER

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan
RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
100-446080

The report also contains results of interviews with representatives of news media who were present at the press conference on 4/5/68 when Carmichael made highly inflammatory statements.

We are continuing to press this investigation to determine the identities of additional potential witnesses and to interview them.

ACTION:

For information.

ptt
zrk

D

gar

✓

Wes

J

nm

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-26-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 4/5/68

FROM : J. A. Sizoo

b7C

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - RACIAL

SAC Purvis, Washington Field, telephonically furnished the following information at 2:05 p.m. this date:

Washington Field has received a telephone call from [redacted] at Howard University who stated that a eulogy-type meeting in honor of Martin Luther King had just been concluded at Howard University. Stokely Carmichael showed up there accompanied by [redacted]

b7C
b7D

[redacted] Carmichael held a gun up in the air and said, "Bring your guns tonight. Don't loot, but shoot."

ACTION:

This information was telephonically relayed to Mr. Yeagley of the Internal Security Division of the Department. Additional details will be obtained as soon as direct contact can be made with the informant and WFO will keep the Bureau advised.

JAS:mls (5)
1-Mr. DeLoach
1-Mr. Sullivan
1-Mr. Sizoo
1-[redacted]

b7C

EX-110

EC-12

11 APR 18 1968

66 APR 22 1968

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-26-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls*Memorandum*

TO : The Director

DATE: 4-9-68

FROM : N. P. Callahan

SUBJECT: The Congressional Record

0
Stokely Carmichael

Pages 33842-33843. Senator Byrd, (D) West Virginia, spoke concerning the recent events of violence and destruction in the District of Columbia. He pointed out that on Saturday he talked with Mr. Warren Christopher, Deputy Attorney General, and urged that firm police action be utilized in dealing with the rioters and looters and that all reasonable force be applied to apprehend and arrest lawbreakers. Mr. Byrd also made reference to activities of Stokely Carmichael and advised that he had asked Mayor Washington "what consideration was being given to the arrest of Stokely Carmichael and he said that 'serious considerations are being given by the Justice Department. I am continuing to talk with the Department of Justice regarding Carmichael.'" Mr. Byrd went on to state: "I wish to express deep appreciation to Mayor Washington, Deputy Mayor Fletcher, the White House personnel, Chief Layton, Mr. Vance, and others, who worked virtually around the clock in the effort to bring a most difficult and volatile situation under control."

Original filed in: 66-1731-3274

100-446080
NOT RECORDED

46 APR 17 1968

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for 4-8-68 was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

51 APR 22 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-26-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

FBI

Date: 4/4/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via A I R T E L _____
(Priority)Agency GA 157 OSI CRD 53

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

Date Forw. 4/4/68FROM: SAC, CHICAGOHow Forw. R/S

SUBJECT: RACIAL TENSIONS
MAYWOOD, ILLINOIS
1968 RACIAL MATTERS
RM
OO: CHICAGO
Cg File 157-2269 (P)

By Rab / w

FRED ALLEN HAMPTON
RM
OO: CHICAGO
Cg File 157-2343

b7C

Re Chicago airtel and LHM dated 4/2/68 and
captioned as above.

Enclosed for the Bureau are twelve copies
of an LHM dated and entitled as above.

One copy each of said LHM is being furnished
to USA, Chicago; U.S. Secret Service, Chicago; and Region I,
113th MI Group, Evanston, Illinois.

- ④ - Bureau (Enc. 12) (RM) ENCLOSURE
1 - 100-446080 (STOKELY CARMICHAEL)
1 - Springfield (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)
9 - Chicago
1 - [REDACTED]
1 - 157-2579 (Acquisition of Firearms)
1 - 157- [REDACTED]
1 - 157- [REDACTED]
1 - 157- [REDACTED]
1 - 157-1148 (Blackstone Rangers)
1 - 157-1297 (STOKELY CARMICHAEL)

WJB/kab
(14)

100-446080-
NOT RECORDED
10 APR 16 1968

APR 8 1968

b2
b7C
b7D

RACIAL MATTERS

Approved: 59 APR 22 1968
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

157-6-9-6384
UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

CG 157-2269
CG 157-2343

The information in the LHM was given to

b7C

[redacted]
[redacted] Chicago, Illinois.

The source mentioned in LHM is [redacted]
[redacted] who is under development as a Probationary Racial
Informant. The LHM has been classified ~~confidential~~
to further protect source's identity.

b7C
b7D

Chicago is following the situation in Maywood,
Illinois, through sources and the Maywood Police Depart-
ment and will keep the Bureau advised.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Chicago, Illinois

April 4, 1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 157-2269
157-2343

RACIAL TENSIONS
MAYWOOD, ILLINOIS

FRED ALLEN HAMPTON

Reference is made to Chicago memorandum dated April 2, 1968, and entitled as above.

On March 28, 1968, a confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past advised that he learned the following:

Fred Hampton and Stokely Carmichael are friends, but the closeness of their friendship is not known. Hampton stated that Carmichael will return to Maywood sometime in the future and stated that one of the reasons for Carmichael's recent visit to Chicago was to contact the Blackstone Rangers and request them to stop fighting with other Negro gangs and to unite behind the Black Power movement espoused by Carmichael.

Hampton and his aides are receiving a good deal of money and very little of it is being spent for the benefit of the people who contribute. The profits of the Cultural Center Store, 1009 Madison Street, Maywood, Illinois, also go to Hampton and he has stated he intends to buy a new car, possibly a Cadillac. Hampton also stated that he may return to work for the International Harvester Company, where he was formerly employed, but left because he was not made the shop steward. Hampton is also supporting [REDACTED]

b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~Group I~~

~~Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification.~~

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE

100-446080-

157-6-4-

RACIAL TENSIONS
MAYWOOD, ILLINOIS

FRED ALLEN HAMPTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[redacted] Illinois.

[redacted] is a long time employee of [redacted]
[redacted]

b7C

On April 2, 1968, source further advised that Hampton held a meeting with his five aides on March 31, 1968, and stated that on that date a boycott of gas stations in Maywood owned by white persons would begin. The stations were identified as the Shell Station, 17th Avenue and Madison Street; Standard Station, 19th Avenue and Madison Street; Sunoco, 9th and Madison; Mobil Station, 9th and Madison Streets; an off-brand station, 8th and Madison Streets; and the "S and A" Station at 4th Avenue and Lake Street. Hampton also stated that a boycott of white-owned grocery stores in Maywood would begin the following week and he would advise Negro-owned stores to stock up for this purpose. Hampton and [redacted] were seen visiting Negro-owned stores on April 1, 1968. *ILL*

b7C

Source stated Hampton urged that efforts be made to obtain guns as they had only one rifle, one shotgun, and some pistols, which may be hidden in the homes of Hampton's aides. Hampton and his aides thought that three or four guns would be found in the trunk of [redacted] car, but the attempted theft of said guns was thwarted when [redacted] were caught by [redacted] during the theft and arrested. Hampton was confident that they would not be convicted and he has paid their bond money and hired an attorney. [redacted] was recently arrested by [redacted] on an unknown charge and Hampton and his aides spoke of blowing up [redacted] Hampton also again spoke of blowing up [redacted] *ILL*

b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RACIAL TENSIONS
MAYWOOD, ILLINOIS

FRED ALLEN HAMPTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

the Ted Allen Realty Company in Maywood, Illinois.

Source stated Hampton also spoke of starting fires in the white-owned stores which are not put out of business by the boycott. He stated he developed this idea from the recent fires in Chicago stores.

On March 30, 1968, Hampton and [redacted] were driving around Maywood with a shotgun in the car. Hampton and his aides do not conceal the fact that they all expect to get rich by continuing their efforts in Maywood.

b7C

One copy each of this memorandum is being furnished to the United States Attorney, Chicago; United States Secret Service, Chicago; and Region I, 113th Military Intelligence Group, Evanston, Illinois.

On April 4, 1968, [redacted]

[redacted] Chicago, Illinois, was advised of the information set forth herein.

Source has previously advised that Hampton who is the leader in Maywood, Illinois, of the Youth Group of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, has instigated racial disturbances at Proviso East High School, Maywood, Illinois. [redacted] is one of Hampton's [redacted]

b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-26-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 4/10/68

Attention: Domestic Intelligence
Division

FROM : SAC, WFO (62-9737)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INCITING TO RIOT -
MISCELLANEOUS

b7C

In order that the Bureau might be fully informed concerning my conference with United States Attorney DAVID G. BRESS on 4/6/68, there is enclosed the original of a memorandum I prepared on 4/9/68, setting forth such information.

At one point in our conversation, Mr. BRESS indicated he personally would be willing to proceed against CARMICHAEL on the basis of information already obtained but he did recognize a definite need to strengthen the evidence.

I suggested to Mr. BRESS that due to the nature of this matter it might become necessary for him to exercise some of the muscle of his office by calling some potential witnesses to testify before a Grand Jury. He said he realized this might have to be considered.

2 - Bureau (Enc. 1)
1 - WFO
JDP:MCP
(3)

ENCLOSURE

REC-112

19
APR 10 1968

b7C

RACIAL INT. SECT.



57 APR 19 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-26-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

Washington, D. C.
April 9, 1968

M E M O R A N D U M

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INCITING TO RIOT -
MISCELLANEOUS

On Saturday afternoon, 4/6/68, accompanied by []
[] I responded to a request received from
United States Attorney DAVID G. BRESS that we confer on a matter b7C
which he described over the telephone as being very important.
With Mr. BRESS were two Assistant United States Attorneys, EARL
SILBERT and HAROLD SULLIVAN. At the conference it developed Mr.
BRESS wished to discuss possible prosecution of STOKELY CARMICHAEL
for violation of a new statute against Inciting to Riot within the
District of Columbia (Public Law 90-226, Enacted 12/27/67, 81-Stat.
743). Also present for the conference in Mr. BRESS' office was
[] of the Metropolitan Police Department, In-
telligence Division.

Mr. BRESS said he would like to speak for a few minutes
and he did so making the following comments:

Three things relating to possible prosecution are known.
They are: (1) On Thursday evening, 4/4/68, CARMICHAEL brandished
a pistol and started a large group of persons north on 14th Street.
Along the way he asked that stores be closed in respect to the
late Reverend MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. It is not known whether
this group increased in size as it went along, nor are the names
of the participants known nor do we know the identities of the
stores or people who were contacted. Likewise we do not know
what employees of the store operators were contacted. In fact, b7C
we have no witnesses at all. We know of no connection between
this activity and the breaking out of fires. The only thing we
know in fact is that a single individual, []
of the Metropolitan Police Department, heard CARMICHAEL ask others
at 14th and Chapin Streets, N. W., whether they had their guns.
Upon receiving a negative answer, CARMICHAEL reportedly stated
well he had his. There was a report that two people in a Volks-
wagen automobile were attacked in the immediate area, but we do
not know who they were or what happened.

1 - WFO (62-9737)
JDP:MCP
(1) *mcp*

SEARCHED _____	INDEXED _____
SERIALIZED _____	FILED _____
APR 9 1968	
FBI - WASH. F. O.	

100-446000-1421

ENCLOSURE

Mr. BRESS is charged with the responsibility to see that the events of Thursday evening, 4/4/68, are fully investigated. He noted a more formal type of request for investigation by the FBI would be forthcoming. Meantime he had been authorized by the Attorney General to get the FBI to do the investigation with respect to point (1) as outlined. He recognized it was impossible under the circumstances for the MPD to fully investigate CARMICHAEL's activities on that evening. This is as far as "we are asking the FBI to go," Mr. BRESS said. MPD would be requested to do nothing further concerning activities on 4/4, but was being requested by him during the conference to cover points (2) and (3) as follows:

(2) CARMICHAEL held a press conference on 4/5/68, and further details should be developed. For example, how did this conference come about? Who called it, etc.?

(3) What took place at Howard University on the afternoon of 4/5/68 when CARMICHAEL reportedly made a speech? Who was present? What did he say? What did he do? We have no information as to what he said during such a speech or what he did afterward or what he or his followers said later. We do have [redacted] but his testimony alone will probably not be sufficiently impressive or articulate to sustain conviction. b7C

Upon making the three requests cited above, Mr. BRESS spoke in more general terms as follows: Of course, CARMICHAEL, technically, could be prosecuted for carrying a dangerous weapon without a license but in the prevailing atmosphere no consideration would be seriously given to singling him out for such a charge. In fact no charge should be made unless we can be certain the Government will prevail. A question exists at the present time as to whether [redacted] testimony and the other limited information at hand would enable the Government to prevail. Consideration must be given as a practical matter as to the make-up of any jury which might be selected within the District of Columbia. b7C

Mr. BRESS then went over the provisions of the Riot Statute cited in the first paragraph of this memorandum, and said that after all the information had been obtained and reviewed by him, he would have to submit it and his judgment

WFO 62-9737

"to half a dozen persons upstairs." He stated he would have the assistance of Mr. SULLIVAN and Mr. SILBERT but it was his personal responsibility to report to the Attorney General on what develops from the investigation and how it fits into the law.

Following the conference with Mr. BRESS, I talked privately to [redacted] and learned from him that his view, and probably the view of his Department, would be that the MPD would not conduct any further investigation. It was felt a violation on the part of CARMICHAEL had been established sufficient for the Government to proceed if it cared to do so. [redacted] subsequently telephoned to say he had discussed the conference with [redacted] [redacted] had stated that while his Department would make [redacted] available and otherwise cooperate fully with the FBI, the MPD itself could not conduct any additional investigation at this time. [redacted] told me Mr. SULLIVAN and Mr. SILBERT were conferring at that time (5:40 p.m., 4/6/68) with [redacted] but [redacted] did not feel this conference would result in any statement contrary to what [redacted] had said.

b7C

At 7:10 p.m. on 4/6, Mr. SULLIVAN called me to advise of the view of the MPD and stated he had made this fact known to Mr. BRESS. At 7:38 p.m., Mr. BRESS himself called me. He stated that while the MPD would do anything and everything asked of it, he must readily recognize the inadequacy of the MPD's Intelligence Division to do very much at this time. Therefore, he would like to enlarge his prior request of the FBI to include the request that we handle items (2) and (3) as previously described.

After checking with Inspector JOSEPH A. SIZOO at the Bureau, who in turn had been in touch with Mr. DeLOACH, I called Mr. BRESS and told him the FBI would handle the investigation as requested but no effort would be made until regular hours on Monday, 4/8, to contact the business people in the burned out area.


Joseph D. Purvis
SAC

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-26-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

FBI

Date: 4/10/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (100-6812) (P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - M; SEDITION

b7C

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies, and for
WFO 2 copies, of an LHM regarding subject's reported acti-
vities in Atlanta on 4/8 and 9/68.

b2
b7C
b7D

[redacted] referred to in LHM is [redacted]

[redacted] referred to in LHM is [redacted]

[redacted] referred to in LHM is [redacted]

b2
b7D

[redacted] referred to in LHM is [redacted]

[redacted] referred to in LHM is [redacted]

[redacted] referred to in LHM is [redacted]

- ③ - Bureau (Enc. 1) (RM)
2 - WFO (Enc. 2) (RM)
4 - Atlanta (2 - 100-6812)

(1 - [redacted])
(1 - [redacted])

b2
b7D

8 APR 13 1968

EUC:met
(9)

C. C. Bishop

AGENCY: ACSI, OSI, SEC. SERV.

ISD, CRD, RAO

RACIAL INT. SECT.

HOW FORW: 145

DATE FORW: 4/18/68

BY: [redacted]

Approved: [redacted]

Sent: [redacted]

Per: [redacted]

Special Agent in Charge

AT 100-6812

Regarding Atlanta teletype 4/9/68 reflecting that CARMICHAEL had stated, "Brother, tomorrow night we gonna burn them", [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] was subsequently contacted to determine the identities of the officers who could testify to CARMICHAEL's making this type of statement while in front of the Paschal's Motor Motel on 4/9/68.

b7C

[REDACTED] advised he had determined that [REDACTED] were the officers originally reporting this statement by CARMICHAEL; however, upon recontacting them, they advised that they could not definitely state that this statement could be attributed to CARMICHAEL as they had merely heard this expression coming from the group surrounding CARMICHAEL.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Atlanta, Georgia
April 10, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-26-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

**STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS;
SEDITION**

On April 8, 1968, [] advised that Carmichael arrived in front of Paschal's Motor Motel, 830 Hunter Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, in a 1965 blue and white Dodge sedan bearing an unknown South Carolina license plate, at approximately 11:40 p.m. on April 8, 1968. Immediately upon his arrival and the recognition of him by several people in the immediate vicinity, a congregation assembled around the automobile from which he was alighting, and the remark "Brother, tomorrow night we gonna burn them" was heard coming from the crowd surrounding Carmichael.

b2
b7D

On April 9, 1968, [] advised that Carmichael arrived in the vicinity of the Ebenezer Baptist Church, 413 Auburn Avenue, N.E., at approximately 10:20 a.m., where the funeral services for Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. were in progress. As Carmichael walked toward the entrance to the church, and although not appearing to speak to anyone in particular, he repeated time and time again, as he held up his hands, "black power, black power."

Carmichael was dressed neatly in a black business suit, and upon reaching the entrance to the Ebenezer Baptist Church found that the doors had been locked on the inside. After the crowd had shouted "let him in" several times, the doors were opened and Carmichael entered the church.

According to [] after the services at the Ebenezer Baptist Church and while en route to memorial services for Dr. King which were to be held on the campus of Morehouse College, the rumor through the crowd was that Carmichael had said, "Play it cool, and after we bury the man, then the riots can start."

b2
b7D

[] advised that Carmichael, while standing close to the casket of Dr. King at the Morehouse College campus at approximately 2:00 or 3:00 p.m., made no speeches or comments.

COPIES DESTROYED

286 FEB 23 1971

100-416

1720

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

[] advised on April 9, 1968, that at approximately 9:30 p.m. on that date a crowd of around 250 to 350 persons gathered in front of Paschal's Motor Motel, and according to [] Carmichael was inside the motel having dinner with several known associates of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

b2
b7D

[] advised that at approximately 10:35 p.m. on April 9, 1968, the crowd in front of Paschal's dispersed and Carmichael was not known to have engaged in any activity or speech making up to that time.

Information received from [] failed to indicate that Carmichael was subsequently engaged in any type of speech making or other activity in the vicinity of Paschal's Motor Motel up until Midnight, April 9, 1968.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

FD-323

Atlanta, Georgia

April 10, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Title: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

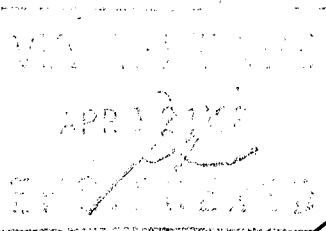
Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS;
SEDITION

Reference: Memorandum prepared at Atlanta,
Georgia, dated and captioned as
above

All sources whose identities are concealed in the referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-26-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls



Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

b7C

12-15 PM AST RKK

NR 1 1057AM URGENT 4-12-68 RTN

TO DIRECTOR

FROM LEGAT SANTO DOMINGO 3P

ASSASSINATION OF MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

REBUTEL APRIL ELEVEN LAST AND MY TELS NUMBER TWO AND FOUR.
APRIL EIGHT LAST.

ON APRIL ELEVEN LAST, LEGAT AND ASSISTANTS CONTACTED FOLLOWING
SOURCES.

[REDACTED]

b7C
b7D

THEIR AND LEGAT'S COMMENTS IN SUMMARY ARE

AS FOLLOWS.

[REDACTED]

ARE INTELLECTUAL RATHER THAN ACTIVE COMMUNISTS. RECORDS AND
SOURCES INDICATE THAT NEITHER HAS BEEN ABROAD FOR MANY
MONTHS. THEIR LACK OF INVOLVEMENT IN ACTIVITIES MAKES THEIR
CONTACT WITH COMMUNIST COURTERS, REMOTE.

END OF PAGE ONE.

Rec'd 5cc

[REDACTED]

NOT RECORDED

184 APR 18 1968

57 APR 24 1968

ORIGINAL FILED IN 44-38861-1115

PAGE TWO

SENSITIVE SOURCES UTILIZED BY [REDACTED]

ATTACHE SUGGEST NO MAIL RECEIVED BY EITHER INDICATES POLITICAL
CONTACTS OFF THE ISLAND. THESE AGENCIES ADD THAT THESE [REDACTED] PERSONS
ARE NOT ENGAGED IN ANY RADIO CONTACT ON OR OFF THE ISLAND.

b7C
b7D

A [REDACTED] SUGGESTED OR DIRECTED ASSASSINATION PLOT IN-
VOLVING SUCH NEWS NOTABLES AS THE VICTIM, STOKELY CARMICHAEL AND
[REDACTED] WOULD NOT BE MADE KNOWN TO [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] REMOTE FROM THE SCENE AND WHO IS ONLY INTELLECTUALLY
CONNECTED WITH THE CAUSE.

MORE THAN LIKELY [REDACTED] WERE DISCUSSING EVENTS BASED
ON PUBLIC SOURCE MATERIAL WHICH HAS BEEN ABUNDANTLY AVAILABLE
REGARDING THE HISTORIC ISSUES OF THE PAST WEEKS. THEIR COMMENTS REGARD-
ING THE ALLEGED TRAINING OF CARMICHAEL AND [REDACTED] IN ADDITION TO THE
ALLEGED ADVOCATION OF THE VICTIM'S DEMISE, WOULD APPEAR AS HOPEFUL
CONJECTURE.

LEGAT BELIEVES THE FOREGOING TENDS TO DISPROVE [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

VISA RECORDS SHOW [REDACTED] HOLDS DOMINICAN PASSPORT
NUMBER [REDACTED] HE WAS BORN [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] OF DOMINICAN PARENTS. HIS
GIVEN ADDRESS WAS [REDACTED] SANTO
END OF PAGE TWO

b7C

SRD OO MR. HENMAN

MR. TARRANT
ROOM 836 SLD

DHM FBI WASH DC

END

AWAY IN FEBRUARY OF THIS YEAR.

DOMINGO. THIS IS THE ADDRESS OF HIS MOTHER, HIS FATHER PASSED

PAGE THREE

DOF

PAGE THREE.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-26-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

4/15/68

56
Airtel

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Bishop
1 - Mr. Rosen
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 -
1 -

b7C

TEX-105 SAC, WFO (62-9737)

REC 18
From: Director, FBI (100-446080) - 1423

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION

Reurairtel 4/10/68.

Attached is a letter from Assistant Attorney General
Fred M. Vinson, Jr., dated 4/12/68. In accordance with
Mr. Vinson's request, you should obtain the log from
 of the "Washington Post."

b7C

It should be pointed out to that the matter
of making the log available on a "privy" basis was presented to
the Department and the Department has made the request as set
forth in the attached letter.

You should continue to expedite your interviews of
individuals connected with the news media including out-of-town
media representatives who may have pertinent information.

Enclosure

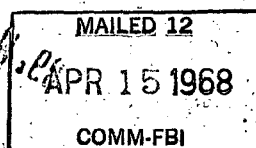
PTB:as
(9)

NOTE:

See memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan,
dated 4/13/68, captioned as above, prepared by PTB:as.

b7C

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy



MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

DEPARTMENT OF

Memorandum

TO : Director, Federal Bureau of
Investigation

DATE: April

FROM: *W* Fred M. Vinson, Jr.
Assistant Attorney General
Criminal Division

SUBJECT: Stokely Carmichael - Internal Security - Miscellaneous Seditio

Mr. Tolson	☒
Mr. DeLoach	☒
Mr. Mohr	☒
Mr. Bishop	☒
Mr. Casper	☒
Mr. Callahan	☐
Mr. Conrad	☐
Mr. Felt	☐
Mr. Gale	☐
Mr. Rosen	☒
Mr. Sullivan	☒
Mr. Tavel	☒
Mr. Trotter	☐
Tele. Room	☐
Miss Holmes	☐
Miss Gandy	☐

This is to request that the Washington Field Office obtain the "log of messages" of the Washington Post from [redacted]

b7C

Although we desire the informal cooperation of [redacted] the log should not be obtained with any absolute promise of confidentiality. While we appreciate the problem of [redacted] we cannot guarantee that they will never be subpoenaed or interviewed. However, we can proffer cooperation in developing alternative sources for the same information. [redacted] is undoubtedly aware that his log could probably be obtained by a subpoena.

It is our understanding that the Bureau is making contact with all other news media. In this connection, we would particularly call your attention to the need for making contact with some of the out-of-town media. We were advised, for example, that the American Broadcasting Corporation sent some of its New York staff to Washington during the emergency. It is also important to contact WOOK, WOL, WAVA, and any stations of the UBC.

b7C

REC-18

EX-105

100-446080-1423
16 APR 18 1968

COPIES DESTROYED
286 FEB 23 1971

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-26-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

COPY MADE FOR MR. TOLSON

CC - TO DIRECTOR 4-12-68 *W*

*4/13/68 memo to Sullivan (Encl)
4/15/68 att'd to SAC, WFO (Encl)
P7B:oe*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-26-2004 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

TO : *Los Angeles* **100-68783**
SAC, San Francisco (Your file **157-721**) DATE: *4/1/68*
~~3/28/68~~

FROM : Director, FBI (Bufile and Serial **100-446080**)
~~Room No. 8-3-5980~~ *Post in file and destroy 0-1 (For SOG use only)*

SUBJECT : **STOKELY CARMICHAEL**
IS - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION

☐ 1. Bufiles indicate this case is delinquent. Give specific reason for delinquency.

xx Re WFO airtel dated 2/20/68. *Ser 188*

☐ airtel ☐ letterhead memo ☐ submitted
xx 2. DATE **xx** report *By 4/12/68*
☐ letter ☐ 90-day progress letter **xx** will be submitted

Reporting employee _____

☐ 3. If valid reason exists for not submitting report at this time, state reason specifically and when report will be submitted _____

☐ 4. Status of ☐ Appeal ☐ Inquiry ☐ Investigation ☐ Prosecution
☐ airtel ☐ letterhead memo
☐ 5. Submit ☐ report ☐ letter ☐ 90-day progress letter by MAR 29 3 16 PM '68
(Date)

(Place reply hereon and return to Bureau. Note receipt and acknowledgment on top serial in case file.)

100-68783-157-721

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-26-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls
FBI

Date: 4-10-68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080) b7C
FROM: SAC, RICHMOND (100-10532) -RUC-
STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - M; SED
(OO: WFO)

Re WFO airtel to Bureau, 4-2-68.

In connection with 1967 Virginia license [redacted] referred to in reairtel, [redacted] Virginia State Division of Motor Vehicles (DMV), advised on 4-10-68, that this license issued to [redacted] N. C., for a 1967-68 Chevrolet Corvette convertible. Further, that a lien exists against this automobile in the amount of \$4,623.48, obtained in November, 1967, from the Citizens Bank of Maryland, Riverdale, Md. *NA*

Above records contained no further background re-
garding [redacted]

Richmond indices are negative re [redacted] Richmond City Directories do not list [redacted] *R*

It is noted that Virginia ranks highest among the states in the Nation that issues automobile licenses to out-of-state residents.

In view of the above, Baltimore is requested to review pertinent records at Citizens Bank of Maryland for residence and other background regarding [redacted] b7C

- 1424 SNIF
286 3/18/71
- ③ - Bureau (REGISTERED MAIL)
 - 2 - Baltimore (REGISTERED MAIL)
 - 2 - WFO (100-43503) (REGISTERED MAIL) 1cc WFO by airtel
 - 1 - Richmond
- WBW/lmm
(8)
- REC-69 100-446080-1425
1cc 806980
C. C. Bishop 7/31/74
RHEIGH
APR 12 1968
RACIAL INT. SECT.

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

66 APR 25 1968

RH 100-10532

For Baltimore's information, WFO, in reairtel advised Special Agents of the Washington Field Office observed a convertible Corvette with above Virginia license parked in front of residence of STOKELY CARMICHAEL, Washington, D. C., on 3-31-68. Vehicle later observed in front of New School for Afro-American Thought, where CARMICHAEL was visiting.

Richmond was requested to identify to whom car registered and furnish background.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-26-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

FBI

Date: 4/15/68

Transmit the following in _____

PLAINTEXT

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPEURGENT

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI, SACS BALTIMORE
NEW YORK

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC.; SEDITION
RE NY TEL FOUR FOURTEEN SIXTY EIGHT.

FRIENDSHIP AIRPORT POLICE ADVISED LATE MODEL PLYMOUTH
STATION WAGON BEARING NY LICENSE [REDACTED] RENTED

IN NAME OF [REDACTED] FROM HERTZ INC. TURNED IN AT FRIENDSHIP
AIRPORT AT THREE THIRTY AM FOUR FIFTEEN SIXTYEIGHT. WFO SOURCE
ADVISED CARMICHAEL RETURNED TO WDC LATE FOUR FOURTEEN SIXTY EIGHT
AND WAS PRESENT AT SNCC HDQTS EARLY AFTERNOON FOUR FIFTEEN SIXTY
EIGHT WHERE HE REMAINED INTO THE EVENING HOURS. ACCORDING TO SOURCE
CARMICHAEL SPENT TIME TALKING CASUALLY WITH VISITORS TO SNCC HDQTS.
BUT WAS NOT WORKING ON ANY PARTICULAR MATTERS. MENTION WAS MADE
HOWEVER OF HOLDING A BLACK UNITED FRONT MEETING SOON.

ADMINISTRATIVE

ABOVE SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

- 2 - Bureau
- 2 - Teletype
- 2 - WFO

RFO:tkm
(6)

EX 101

b2
b7D

REC-20

22 APR 18 1968

J-118

55 APR 1968

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-26-2006 BY
60309/AUG/TAM/DCG/bls

REC-40

100-446080-1427

April 16, 1968

EX 101

b7C

INFORMANT

b7C

Dear [redacted]

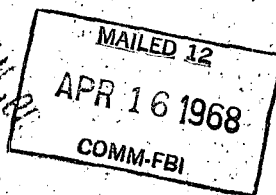
Your letter of April 9th has been received and I want to thank you for your kind comments concerning my work.

Stokely Carmichael was born on June 29, 1941, at Trinidad, West Indies, and is a citizen of the United States by derivation. He is, therefore, not subject to exclusion from the United States as an alien. In addition, the FBI is strictly an investigative agency of the Federal Government and, as such, does not determine whether prosecution will be undertaken in any situation. Such decisions concerning violations of Federal law are within the province of the Attorney General.

I want to assure you that we in the FBI are very much aware of the dangers posed by irresponsible demagogues, and that we will continue to discharge our responsibilities with the highest degree of thoroughness and dispatch.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover



REC'D JUSTICE
REC'D CIVILIAN

APR 16 2 03 PM '68

NOTE: Bufiles contain no record identifiable with correspondent.

HCS:jed

(3) jed

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

66 APR 25 1968

TELETYPE UNIT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-26-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Bishop	✓
Mr. Casper	✓
Mr. Callahan	✓
Mr. Conrad	✓
Mr. Felt	✓
Mr. Gale	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Miss Holmes	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

Dallas, Texas
April 9, 1968

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Director of Federal Bureau of Investigation

Dear Sir:

I have followed your career over the years and want you to know that I believe beyond a shadow of doubt that you are one of the greatest American Patriots of our times. You have done a tremendous job and I am proud of you for it.

Another reason for this letter was to ask no beg you to do something about Stockley Carmichael. I believe beyond any doubt that he has been trained by the Communist to try and destroy our American government. He has been allowed to preach hate, urge the black man to kill, burn & loot and I think it is time for him to be put away. Now I am not trying to tell you how to run your office, but I believe the Carmichaels, etc. should either be locked up or run out of the country. Can't your department act before it is too late?

b7C

Sincerely

b7C

COPY:nm

ack/mul
4-15-68
HCS: gsd

15 b7C

RECEIVED
FBI
APR 11 1968

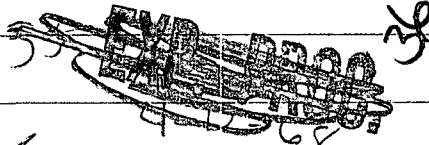
JH

Date, Tehran
April 9, 1948

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover

Director of Federal Bureau of Investigation

Dear Sir:



I have followed your career over the years and want you to know that I believe beyond a shadow of doubt that you are one of the greatest American Patriots of our time. You have done a tremendous job and I am proud of you for it.

Another reason for this letter was to ask you to do something about Stockley Carmichael. I believe beyond any doubt that he has been trained by the Communists to try and destroy our American government. He has been allowed to preach hate, urge the black man to kill, burn & loot and I think it is time for him to be put away. Now I am not trying to tell you how to run your office, but I believe the Carmichaels, [redacted]

b7C

[redacted] etc. should either be locked up ^{or} run out of the country. Can't your Department act before it is too late? REC-40 100-446080-1427

ack/mmt
4-16-68
HCS: red

EX 107

19
6 APR 22 1968

b7C

Sincerely

CORRESPONDENCE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE WASHINGTON FIELD	OFFICE OF ORIGIN WASHINGTON FIELD	DATE 4/19/68	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 4/13-19/68
TITLE OF CASE STOKELY CARMICHAEL		REPORT MADE BY SA [REDACTED]	TYPED BY tjd
		CHARACTER OF CASE INCITING TO RIOT-MISCELLANEOUS	

b7C

REFERENCE: WFO report of SA [REDACTED] dated 4/12/68.

- P -

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-26-2006 BY
60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

b7C

[REDACTED]
Hyattsville
(info)
yf

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED None					ACQUIT- TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES	
						PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐ YES ☒ NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS ☐ YES ☒ NO

APPROVED

SPECIAL AGENT
IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

COPIES MADE:

- 6) - Bureau (100-446080)
(ATTN: Domestic Intelligence Division)
2 - USA, Washington, D. C.
3 - WFO (62-9737)

Copy behind file

Dissemination Record of Attached Report		Notations
Agency	DEPT. J. Walter Yeader, Fred M. Harrison, Jr.	
Request Recd.	Crim. Acton [REDACTED]	
Date Fwd.	4/23/68	
How Fwd.	115	
By	PTB/dk	

b7C

2 cc. 7/2/81 806 92D

RACIAL INT. SECT.

PERG. REC. UNIT

RECORDS UNIT

WFO 62-9737

PKF:dan

1

In view of information that CARMICHAEL, after hearing of the news of KING's death on 4/4/68, had instructed or requested businessmen in the area of 14th and U Streets, N.W., to close early that evening, it was suggested that inquiry be made of logs kept at the 13th Precinct of the Metropolitan Police Department (MPD) which might reveal the identities of businessmen who had been approached by CARMICHAEL.

Accordingly, SAs [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] contacted [REDACTED]

13th Precinct, re the above. [REDACTED] stated that such inquiries or complaints by business establishments would not be kept on any type of log at the precinct level. He stated that all incoming telephone calls are recorded on 11 separate recorders at Headquarters.

b7C

[REDACTED] stated he learned that [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] who was on duty at the time of KING's death, was aware of CARMICHAEL's purported statements to businessmen along 14th Street, N.W. He stated that since he personally knew nothing further of this incident, he doubted that any formal complaint had been made by any businessmen. He stated he would remain alert for any information along this line and would advise WFO.

b7C

- B -

COVER PAGE

WFO 62-9737

GEI:dan

1

b7C

[redacted] 0-6 2C
an employee of [redacted] was inter-
viewed on April 8, 1968, by SAs [redacted]
[redacted]

[redacted] advised that he was arrested at approxi-
mately 3:00 a.m. on April 5, 1968, and was originally
charged with looting but charge reduced to petty larceny
and he was released on \$1,000 bond (P.R.).

b7C

[redacted] was unable to furnish any information
regarding any particular individual as being a leader
during the disturbances. Also, he stated he watched
the looting for several hours before he took anything.
He took a vase from an antique shop located at 14th
and Newton Streets, N.W., valued at about four dollars
(\$4.00).

[redacted] indicated he would cooperate and if
any information comes to his attention, he will immediately
contact WFO.

WFO 62-9737

The transcripts from WTOP and ABC, which appear in this report, were transcribed by SA of WFO.

b7C

WFO 62-9737

LEADS

WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE

b7C

AT WASHINGTON, D.C. *1. Will locate and interview
D. C. Recreational Department [redacted]
(FNU) [redacted]

*2. Will attempt to obtain handbills reportedly
handed out by CARMICHAEL on evening of 4/5/68 regarding
keeping children off the streets.

*3. Will continue to locate and interview other
owners and/or employees of business establishments in the
area of 14th and U Streets, N.W.

*4. Will interview [redacted] of
the "Washington-Afro-American" newspaper, when available.

b7C

5. Will interview any other members of the news
media whose identities are developed through investigation
and who may have covered events surrounding STOKELY CARMICHAEL's
activities during the period 4/4-7/68.

6. Will locate and interview [redacted]
[redacted] mentioned by [redacted]
MPD, as being in the 14th and U Streets area the night of
4/4/68.

b7C

b7D

7. Will obtain [redacted]
held by [redacted] on 4/7/68.

8. Will obtain "The Washington Post" log of events
relating to the period 4/4-5/68.

WFO 62-9737

9. Will attempt to identify and locate other individuals present in SCLC headquarters the evening of 4/4/68.

10. Will interview [redacted] regarding his knowledge of CARMICHAEL's activities in the vicinity of 14th and U Street, N.W., the evening of 4/4/68.

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11. Will attempt to identify and interview [redacted] (LNU) mentioned by [redacted] who reportedly saw CARMICHAEL on the street after KING's death.

12. Will await results of investigation on leads set out in WFO airtel to Director, FBI dated 4/16/68, to interview vacationing Howard students possibly present during CARMICHAEL's remarks 4/5/68.

13. Will continue attempts to locate and interview high school students present at Howard during CARMICHAEL remarks of 4/5/68.

*14. Will specifically attempt to identify those students arrested during the disturbance and interview to determine if they heard CARMICHAEL's remarks on 4/4 or 4/5/68, and whether the remarks had an effect on their actions.

15. Will at MPD Headquarters, locate records concerning logs kept by the 13th Precinct, which might reveal identities of any complainant businessmen who had been approached by CARMICHAEL to close on 4/4/68.

16. Will submit for Bureau consideration recommendations for permission to interview [redacted] both on Agitator Index and [redacted] the subject of a current Selective Service case.

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~~SECRET~~UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

DATE: 06-12-2006

CLASSIFIED BY 60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

DECLASSIFY ON: 25X

3.3 (1-derivative) 06-12-2031

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

Copy to: 2-United States Attorney, Washington, D. C.

b7C

Report of:

SA [REDACTED]

Date:

4/19/68

Office:

Washington, D. C.

Field Office File #: 62-9737

Bureau File #: 100-446080

Title:

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Character:

INCITING TO RIOT - MISCELLANEOUS

Synopsis:

MPD officer stated in signed statement that he observed CARMICHAEL on evening of 4/4/68, as the leader of a group which requested business establishments in the area of 14th and U Streets, N.W., to close and that CARMICHAEL stated "We don't want any violence, as long as they close. But if they don't, take it". Press reporter who accompanied crowd this same evening stated CARMICHAEL was very polite in making requests to close the stores and when CARMICHAEL was the leader of the group he did not condone vandalism. Reporter observed CARMICHAEL take a gun from an individual who fired twice in the air and CARMICHAEL not observed by this reporter with gun at any other time. Another press reporter who accompanied crowd on evening of 4/4/68, observed CARMICHAEL exhibit a short-barrelled gun which he had taken from inside his trousers at the belt. Press chronology of events the evening of 4/4/68 and morning of 4/5/68 set forth. Transcripts of WTOP and ABC's coverage of SNCC Press Conference 4/5/68, also set forth. Six students saw CARMICHAEL on campus of Howard University on the afternoon of 4/5/68. One of these students observed CARMICHAEL tell a group gathered on campus that "They killed the wrong man" referring to MARTIN LUTHER KING and then raise a pistol over his head. A press reporter stated CARMICHAEL's appearance on Howard University's campus neither created nor dispelled violence; however, she heard

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WFO 62-9737

CARMICHAEL say "If you don't have a gun, go home", but did not observe him with a gun at any time. Transcripts of Radio Havana broadcast of CARMICHAEL's telephone interview on 4/5/68 set forth. ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

- P -

DETAILS: AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

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WFO 62-9737

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WFO 62-9737

I. EVENTS INVOLVING STOKELY CARMICHAEL
ON EVENING OF APRIL 4, 1968

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Washington, D.C.

I, [REDACTED] Metropolitan

Police Department (MPD), Washington, D.C. (WDC), voluntarily
make the following statement to Special Agents of the
Federal Bureau of Investigation [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

I know that this statement may be used in a court
of law. I have been on the police force approximately nine
and one-half years, and I am assigned to the Vice Detail at
the 13th Precinct.

During the evening of Thursday, April 4, 1968,
I was assigned to plain clothes duty in the vicinity of the
Peoples Drug Store located in the 2000 block of 14th Street,
N.W., WDC. At approximately 8:50 p.m., while sitting in a
private automobile in the 2000 block of 14th Street, N.W.,
I was joined by [REDACTED] MPD, WDC.

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[REDACTED] stated he had been inside the headquarters of
Martin Luther King's Poor Peoples March, and had heard
Stokely Carmichael say he was not going to wait for any
verdict, but was going to get his boys.

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Shortly thereafter, I observed Carmichael, followed by approximately fifteen to twenty unidentified persons, proceeding south on the west side of the 2000 block of 14th Street, N.W. I readily recognized Carmichael from newspaper photographs, although I had not previously observed him in person. The group entered the Peoples Drug Store in the 2000 block of 14th Street, and I observed an unidentified person or persons in conversation with the manager of the store. I was not close enough at this time to determine who talked with the manager.

The group then exited the Peoples Drug Store and proceeded diagonally across 14th Street, N.W., to the 1900 block, where they stopped briefly at a Safeway Store. Inside the Safeway Store at this time were two or three employees and some special security officers. I did not observe the group to enter this store and do not know if any conversation ensued between the employees and members of the group.

The group, with Carmichael in front, continued south to the Wings Carry Out located at 14th and Wallach Place, N.W. There Carmichael was confronted by an individual I believe to be photographs of whom I had previously observed. After a brief conversation, Carmichael

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appeared to brush [] aside and entered the Wings Carry Out Shop. At this point, the group had grown to approximately eighty to one hundred in number. A small group of individuals followed Carmichael into the Wings Carry Out Shop.

Shortly thereafter, the group, with Carmichael in the lead, departed the Wings Carry Out Shop. I thereupon overheard Carmichael say to the group: "We don't want any violence, as long as they close. But if they don't, take it." The group, with Carmichael still in the lead, then crossed 14th Street to the west side. The group proceeded to the Pig N' Pit Restaurant in the 1900 block of 14th Street, N.W., and a small part of the group entered this restaurant. I was unable to observe if Carmichael personally entered this restaurant. After departing the Pig N' Pit, the group continued north to the Wings and Things Restaurant, also located in the 1900 block of 14th Street. Some of the group entered this restaurant, but again I was unable to observe if Carmichael himself went in.

Upon exiting the Wings and Things, the group proceeded north on 14th Street to U Street, crossed 14th Street and continued east on the north side of U Street. In

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the 1300 block of U Street, Carmichael and part of the group entered a delicatessen, the name of which I cannot recall.

Upon departing the delicatessen, they proceeded to the vicinity of the Republic Theater, also located in the 1300 block of U Street.

At the Republic Theater, Carmichael remained outside on the sidewalk, while part of the group filed through the lobby and into the theater itself. The group broke windows at the Republic Theater, and again I overheard Carmichael say: "We don't want any violence as long as they close. But if they don't close, take it."

The group then proceeded east on U Street to the Lincoln Theater, located in the 1200 block of U Street. Some of the group, which now numbered approximately 150 to 200 persons, entered the Lincoln Theater. At this point, my attention was distracted by the presence of an unidentified white male, who was standing on the south side of U Street and carrying a camera and camera case. The group also spotted this individual and about eighty to one hundred members of the group rushed him, shouting "kill him," and "get him." The unidentified white male was thrown to the ground by the mob, and I yelled to the mob to let him go. At this point, I was identified by several persons in the crowd as a "roller"

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(street language meaning policeman). I then heard someone in the mob shout, "Get the film." The unidentified white male thereupon opened the back of this 35 millimeter camera, and an unidentified member of the mob snatched the film from it. The white male was then assisted to his feet by an unidentified Negro male, and he and I pushed our way through the crowd and led the white male to safety. I last saw the unidentified Negro male and white male running north across U Street and west on U Street towards 14th Street. I did not observe Carmichael as being part of the group that attacked the unidentified white male.

At this point, I noticed that the group, now split in two sections with Carmichael leading the front section, proceeding west on U Street towards 14th Street. They went north on the west side of 14th Street and unidentified persons within the group began throwing objects, such as coke bottles and rocks, at passing automobiles bearing white persons. As these incidents occurred, I observed Carmichael to be leading the group, although I did not observe him to personally throw any objects. The group continued north on the west side of 14th Street, and some windows were broken in a drug store

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located at 14th and Clifton Streets and other premises, the names of which I cannot recall. I also observed unidentified persons looting the drug store window at 14th and Clifton Streets.

Subsequently, the main part of the crowd stopped at the corner of 14th and Chapin Streets, and led by Carmichael, reversed direction and proceeded south on 14th Street. At this point, I heard two gunshots. I was, at this time, one block north of the crowd around the corner at 14th and Clifton, where I had attempted to telephone the precinct. I did not see who fired the shots, and did not at any time observe Carmichael in possession of a gun. While following the group subsequent to the incident in the 1200 block of U Street, I received several threats against my person from unidentified members of the group.

After hearing the shots, I crossed to the east side of 14th Street and walked south of the group. Carmichael and the group stopped in front of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) Headquarters, 2208 14th Street, N.W., and I crossed back over 14th Street at U Street. I then walked back to the 13th Precinct and was assigned to duty in a police cruiser.

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The only member of the group that I recognized and knew by name is one [redacted] Negro male, about twenty-two years of age. I observed this individual outside the Peoples Drug Store with the Carmichael group, and I immediately recalled that I had arrested him [redacted] [redacted] for throwing an object in the direction of the store.

B. APPROX. 11:40

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At approximately 11:35 p.m. [redacted] I arrested one [redacted] Negro male, age thirty-one, [redacted] WDC, at 14th and Belmont Road, for looting.

B. APPROX. 11:37

b7C

During the movement of the Carmichael led crowd on the evening of April 4, 1968, I noticed that the group engaged in much handclapping and chanting of "black power."

I have read this statement, consisting of this and six other pages, and I believe it to be true and correct.

S/ [redacted]

b7C

Witnessed:

[redacted] Special Agent, FBI
Washington, D.C. 4/17/68

b7C

[redacted] Special Agent, FBI
Washington, D.C. 4/17/68

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WFO 62-9737

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On April 16, 1968, [redacted]
[redacted] of "The Washington Post" newspaper,
advised SA [redacted] as follows:

b7C "The Washington Post" article in the Sunday
edition, April 14, 1968, captioned "The City's Turmoil:
The Night It Began," was prepared from a mass of "pieces
of paper" which have not been assembled. These pieces of
paper represent a log of chronology of events telephoned
in to the paper by their reporters on the street.

[redacted] advised that, of course, a news-
paper does not desire that its activities be pried on;
however, at the same time, if its reporters secured
information in the performance of their duties which is
of evidentiary value, then there is a duty to make this
information available to the authorized authorities. [redacted]

b7C [redacted] said he is not particularly concerned that the
reporters might have to testify, but is concerned that
privileged sources not be disclosed. He stated that he
would go through this "log" of events to make certain
that it does not contain privileged matter. Once this
is done, which he estimated would take about two days to
review, the "log" will be made available to the Federal
Bureau of Investigation.

[redacted] further stated that the chronology
which appeared in last Sunday's edition of "The Washington
Post" contained about every quotation of STOKELY
CARMICHAEL that is available.

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The Washington Post

Times Herald

st Co.

SUNDAY, APRIL 14, 1968

Phone 223-6000

Circulation 223-6100
Classified 223-6200

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The City's Turmoil: The Night It Began

The intersection at 14th and U Streets nw. is, in many ways, the hub of the Negro community in Northwest Washington. Theaters, restaurants, shops and major bus stops make it one of the city's most traveled intersections, especially in the early evening hours.

Officials have always feared that the intersection's four corners could be launch pads for rioting. Last week, fears were confirmed.

In the wake of the news of the assassination of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., on Thursday, April 4, 1968, crowds took to the streets, smashing windows, looting and setting fires. That Thursday night was the trigger for the wave of looting, vandalism and arson that rolled over Washington's ghetto areas for the rest of the week and that left more than 7000 persons under arrest, hundreds of burned out buildings and 14,000 troops on hand to keep order.

Washington was already a city on edge before Dr. King's murder. Dr. King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference was to conduct the Poor People's Campaign here April 22. Stokely Carmichael, of the revolution-minded Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, had made the city his base of operations. Both groups have their offices near 14th and U Streets.

And it was at 14th and U on Tuesday night, April 2, that an angry crowd gathered after a tussle between a Peoples Drug Store guard and a youth. Police made two disorderly conduct arrests and withdrew quickly. The crowd dispersed.

This type of brush fire is endemic at 14th and U. It is, simply, a tense spot. And it is where Washington blew on April 4.

Reporters for The Washington Post have assembled the following chronological report of what happened on 14th Street that night. It was drawn from on-the-scene observations Thursday night and from exhaustive interviews since.

The chronological approach has helped resolve conflicts in the first reports of Thursday night's events, and has brought new information to light. For instance, it was found that Carmichael was involved in two separate gun incidents, and not one, as previously thought. In one, he pulled a gun from his belt to show a



By Matthew Lewis—The Washington Post

Looting began at 14th and U Thursday.

youth. Later, he took a gun away from another young man and waved it in the air telling the crowd to "go home."

Many of those interviewed did not know exact times and the times below are extrapolated from the various accounts:

7:05 p.m.—The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. is shot in the neck as he stands on the balcony of Lorraine Motel in Memphis, Tenn.

7:12 p.m.—Wire services send bulletins on the shooting. President Johnson, meeting in the White House with aides on Vietnam, gets word of the shooting from his news ticker.

7:13 — Mayor Walter E. Washington is in his District Building office. He is

See STREET, A6, Col. 1

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A 6

Sunday, April 14, 1968

THE WASHINGTON POST

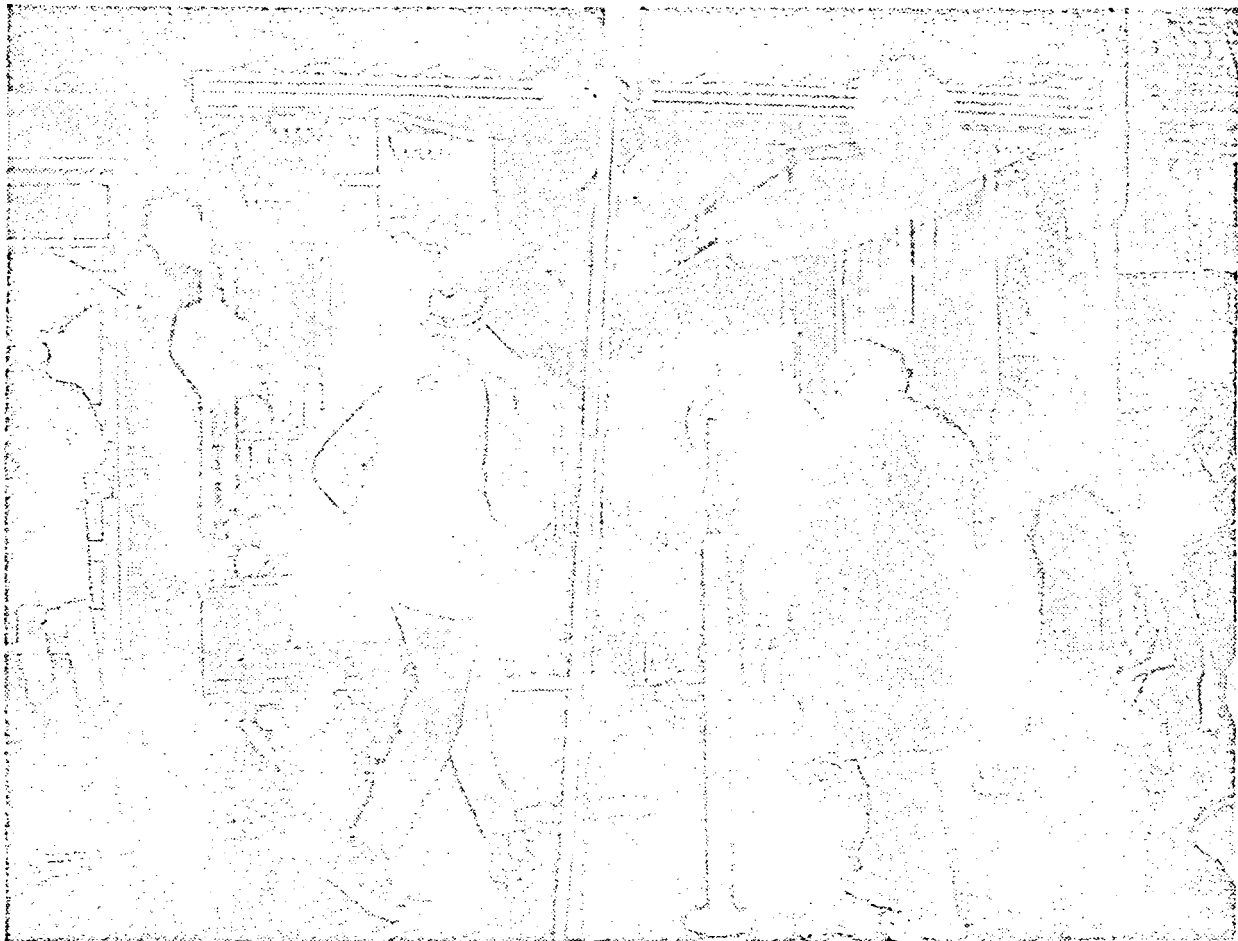
How the Violence Began:

Chronology of a

Night of Turmoil

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By Ken Felt—The Washington Post

Light rain did not deter looters Thursday night at this store near 14th and U Streets.

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STREET, From A1

told of the shooting by community organizer John Stagers. Corporation Counsel Charles T. Duncan learns of the shooting from his car radio as he drives home. At their homes when they get the news, at about the same time, are Public Safety Director Patrick V. Murphy, Police Chief John B. Layton, Assistant Chief Jerry V. Wilson and the Rev. Walter E. Fauntroy, Dr. King's Washington representative and vice chairman of the Washington City Council.

7:17 p.m.—President Johnson orders Attorney General Ramsey Clark to order the FBI into Memphis. He tells aide Joseph Califano to draft a statement for a television broadcast.

7:19 p.m.—Recovering from the first shock of the news, officials begin to act. Mr. Fauntroy is on his way to his church, the New Bethel Baptist Church at 9th and S Streets nw., as Murphy drives toward 14th Street, fearing trouble at the hub. Assembled in Mayor Washington's office are Deputy Mayor Thomas W. Fletcher, Stagers, press aide Sam Eastman, Program Director Sherrill Luke and others.

7:30 p.m.—Mayor Washington alerts the District's Civil Defense Communications Unit to provide him with information on what is happening in the city.

7:31 p.m.—Deputy Chief of Police John S. Hughes returns to police headquarters and asks his intelligence men for a description of what is happening on the streets.

8 p.m.—Stokely Carmichael, C. Sumner (Chuck) Stone of the Black United Front, and Lester McKinnie, SNCC's Washington director, confer in a small room at SNCC's new offices at 2208 14th st. nw. About 15 people wait outside in a larger room.

8:05 p.m.—Dr. King dies in Memphis. The public is not yet aware of it. The FBI immediately notifies President Johnson.

8:06 p.m.—Stone asks Carmichael and McKinnie without success to go on television and urge Negro citizens to remain calm.

8:11 p.m.—The President tells Califano to revise the statement in view of the death. He discusses canceling his scheduled trip to Honolulu and a speech he was to give that night at a fund-raising dinner at the Washington Hilton Hotel. Califano, Press Secretary George Christian and Defense Secretary Clark Clifford concur that both should be canceled.

8:12 p.m.—The President decides to go on television. His barber, standing by to trim his hair for the Hilton dinner, begins instead to prepare him for the broadcast.

8:19 p.m.—News of Dr. King's death flashed here. Assistant Chief Wilson, driving on 3rd Street nw. toward police headquarters, hears it on the radio. So do Carmichael, Stone and McKinnie at SNCC.

8:20 p.m.—Mayor Washington hears the news in his office. He telephones top aides and prepares to leave for home.

8:21 p.m.—Mr. Fauntroy, in his study at the church, has been trying to call the Lorraine Motel in Memphis and Mrs. King in Atlanta. The lines are busy. He has just placed a call to Dr. King's Atlanta secretary, Dora McDonald, as his father, William T. Fauntroy, interrupts him. Dr. King is dead. Walter Fauntroy is crushed and asks to be alone.

8:22 p.m.—The President calls Mrs. King to express his and Mrs. Johnson's sorrow. Mrs. King says she is proud to live in a country where the President would call her personally.

8:25 p.m.—Mayor Washington, leaving for home, is told that freeway opponent Sammie Abbott and his group are using the occasion of Dr. King's death to picket the Mayor's house.

8:26 — The Rev. Arnold Davis, at SCLC's Washington headquarters, calls Mr. Fauntroy and says an angry crowd is gathering at the office at 14th and U. Fauntroy agrees to come to calm them.

8:31—Mr. Fauntroy, at SCLC, asks 15 staffers to meet with him on the second floor. First floor lights are turned off.

8:32 p.m.—At SNCC, Carmichael, McKinnie and Stone are still discussing what should be done. Around them is first aid equipment.

8:33 p.m.—Citizens, stunned by the assassination, stand all along 11th Street, particularly at 14th and U.

8:34 p.m.—Stone suggests SNCC deploy people around to ward off trouble. They discuss a massive boycott to honor Dr. King.

3:42 p.m.—Police plainclothesmen are moving into the 14th and U Street area.

8:45 p.m.—The President calls Vice President Humphrey at the Hilton dinner and reads him the statement he will deliver on television.

8:45 p.m.—Mayor Washington arrives home. He gets in contact with the police communications center, to determine the whereabouts of Murphy, and Layton. The Mayor begins receiving periodic reports from the center.

8:46 p.m.—At SNCC, Lester McKinnie comes out of the inner office, and tells those in the front, larger room that they need "a period of time to react to this great tragedy." He suggests they all wait until everybody has a chance to get their senses together.

8:49 p.m. — Stokely Carmichael bursts out of the back room. He says: "We're going to close them down now."

8:51 p.m.—Corporation Counsel Duncan and his wife at their home agree that "all hell could break loose around the country."

8:52 p.m.—Carmichael leaves the SNCC office and starts walking south along 14th Street, a crowd gathering around him as he goes.

8:54 p.m.—Carmichael and the growing crowd are being observed and followed at a distance by Police Lt. Frye of the 13th Precinct. Plainclothes policemen are in the crowd around Carmichael, with instructions to observe.

9:02—The President begins his three-minute television broadcast.

9:06 p.m.—Stokely Carmichael and a crowd of about 25 to 30 others barge into the People's at 14th and U where some people had been listening to the President's speech. The group shouts: "Martin Luther King is dead! Close the store! Go home!"

The band dissolves and individuals run down the aisles. Carmichael confronts the manager, G. N. Simirtzakis, and tells him (politely, according to Simirtzakis) to close up. The store was closed.

9:12 p.m.—The crowd, led by Carmichael, rushes out of the drug store, pushing people (including one reporter) out the door.

9:14 p.m.—Carmichael and those with him cut diagonally across the 14th and U intersection toward Carter's Liquors at 1941 14th.

9:14 p.m.—Upstairs at SCLC, Mr. Fauntroy sees what is happening in the intersection and darts for the stairs to go outside.

9:14 p.m.—At Police Headquarters, Deputy Chief Hughes starts calling his full intelligence staff into work.

9:15 p.m.—Carl McKinley Harris is at his grandmother's house at 14th and Belmont sts. nw. He has just turned on the television set and learns that Dr. King is dead. A short time later, he leaves the house and goes onto 14th Street.

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9:15 p.m.—Public Safety Director Murphy is meeting with Lt. Frye at 16th and U for a briefing.

9:15 p.m.—Carmichael and the crowd are now on the east side of 14th Street, moving south, having closed Carter's Liquors.

9:16 p.m.—Assistant Chief Wilson, at Police Headquarters, gets a list of all plainclothesmen on duty in the city and a list of officers due on duty at midnight.

9:17 p.m.—Mr. Fauntroy catches up with the crowd and shoulders his way to the front where Carmichael is.

9:18 p.m.—"This is not the way to do it, Stokely," Mr. Fauntroy shouts. "Let's not get anyone hurt. Let's cool it."

"We're tired of them killing black people," Carmichael replies. "We want them to close out of respect for Dr. King." One reporter overhears Carmichael saying, "All we're asking them to do is close the stores. They killed Dr. King."

The confrontation takes place at the southeast corner of 14th Street and Wallach Place, about 25 feet from Wings 'n Things at 1917 14th.

Those around Carmichael number about 100. All but four are men between 18 and 30 or so, with four women in their early 20's.

9:20 p.m.—Berkley Chaney, the night manager of Wings 'n Things, looks out and sees the crowd. Some come in and ask him to close, and he starts to do so.

9:20 p.m.—A white reporter enters Billy Simpson's Restaurant at 3815 Georgia ave. nw., the gathering spot for the city's Negro elite. One customer is overheard to say, "He must have come to the wrong place."

9:23 p.m.—Mr. Fauntroy, satisfied that asking storeowners to close was a "useful channelling of the frustration," leaves the crowd.

9:24 p.m.—The crowd makes a U-turn on 14th Street and begins zig-zagging northward up the street, asking storeowners to close. They cooperate.

9:24 p.m.—Religious leaders like the Rev. Phillip Newell of the Council of Churches and the Rev. Geno Baroni of the Catholic Archdiocese are furiously trying to set up a service for Friday at the National Cathedral to honor Dr. King and, at the same time, defuse what they feel is a potentially explosive situation in the city.

9:25 p.m.—Mr. Fauntroy meets with a police official parked near 14th and U. He tells the policeman that, in his judgment, great numbers of policemen should not be called into the area.

9:26 p.m.—Mr. Fauntroy goes back into the SCLC offices.

9:30 p.m.—Murphy finishes his 16th and U briefing by Lt. Frye and heads to the Hilton to check on the Police Department's large detail there and on the streets leading to the hotel. The detail had been dispersed to cover the President's trip to the hotel.

Murphy tells a reporter: "We're giving it the light touch. There are no great numbers of men visible." He drives off in an unmarked Ford.

9:30 p.m.—The crowd turns right—east—on U Street. One of the milling clusters heads into Success Cafe and tells the bartender to close.

9:31 p.m.—The President has a snack. This done, he returns to his office to make plans for Friday. His aides go over a list of civil rights leaders to be invited to the White House Friday. They consider declaring a national day of mourning.

9:36 p.m.—The crowd, gathering momentum, arrives at the Republic Theater, 1343 U st. Reporters note that the mood is becoming ugly. One person yells, "This is it, baby." Another yells, "It's gonna hit the fan now. They got our leader."

9:37 p.m.—The crowd moves into the Republic's box office area and tells the ticket seller to close the theater. A glass door is broken—the first known act of vandalism in the disturbance.

9:37 p.m.—Murphy is now inside the Washington Hilton Hotel. He stays there as dinner guests, including the Vice President, begin departing.

9:38 p.m.—Murphy receives call about the crowd at the Mayor's house (but he does not realize they are anti-freeway pickets). He decides to move the large Presidential detail to the 13th Precinct, 1620 V st. nw., for possible use on 14th Street.

9:38 p.m.—The city's ethnic radio stations—those that program their fare for Negro audiences—have dropped their "soul" programs and play religious music in deference to Dr. King. Disc jockeys try to calm the situation. WOL's Bob Terry tells listeners, "This is no time to hate—hate won't get you anywhere."

9:41 p.m.—Corporation Counsel Duncan, his wife and Julian R. Dugas, head of the District's Licenses and Inspections Department, are touring the troubled area, on their way to Mayor Washington's home.

9:43 p.m.—The crowd arrives at the Lincoln Theater, 1215 U St., and closes it. Carmichael and others are hustling more rowdy persons out of the crowd.

9:45 p.m.—The outer edges of the crowd now extend out as far as the middle of the 1100 block of U Street, while the main body begins an about-face to return to 14th Street.

9:49 p.m.—The group reaches 14th and U and turns north to resume its demands on storeowners to shut down.

9:50 p.m.—The crowd on 14th Street is nearing V Street and the mood continues to grow uglier. Some in the crowd begin to shout for people to get their guns and kill some whites. Their cries become so loud that Carmichael and others ahead stop the crowd.

9:51 p.m.—Carmichael argues with a man who appears to be about 25.

"Are you ready to kill?" Carmichael demands. "How you gonna win? They got guns, tanks. What you got? If you don't have your gun, go home. We're not ready. Let's wait until tomorrow. Just cool it."

This sets off a wave of echoes in the crowd: "We're not ready. Let's wait and get our stuff together."

9:52 p.m.—People circulate throughout the crowd, telling them to wait, repeating the phrase, "We'll be back."

9:53 p.m.—Carmichael tells the people to "Go home! Get off the streets! This is not the time, brothers!" People ignore his advice. Some of them move to the west side of 14th Street to the front of People's.

9:54 p.m.—A glass window is broken at People's. It is the second known instance of vandalism. From his office at SCLC, Mr. Fauntroy hears the sound of splintering glass.

9:56 p.m.—Part of the crowd moves up the west side of 14th Street past closed stores. Nothing is smashed.

9:57 p.m.—Murphy leaves the Hilton, heading for Mayor Washington's house on T Street.

9:59 p.m.—Carmichael and eight others walk into the Van Kee Tavern, 2026 14th, and go to the rear, asking for the owner. He is How K. Chen. He comes out, and Carmichael asks him to close in honor of Dr. King. Chen nods his head in assent.

"Solid," Carmichael says. And he leaves.

10 p.m.—The crowd has grown to about 200. It moves to Eaton's Barber Shop, 2100 1/2 14th Street, and tells the only barber there, Johnny Jones, to close. He does.

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10:01 p.m.—Duncan, his wife and Dugas arrive at the Mayor's home. At about the same time, Deputy Chief Hughes calls Chief of Police John B. Layton at his home and tells him of trouble on 14th street. Layton heads for that area.

10:05 p.m.—The first part of the group led by Carmichael reaches 14th and Clifton Streets. The crowd seems to be running out of vigor. It turns around and moves back toward the SNCC office.

10:07 p.m.—The crowd is near the Belmont Radio and TV shop at 2414 14th Street when Carmichael hears the breaking of glass.

He races up to a youth, takes him by the shoulders and shakes him. He tells the youth that breaking windows is not worthwhile.

2100 block of 14th Street. Window

Carmichael then tells the youth that if he means business, he should have a gun. He reaches inside his jacket and pulls a gun from his belt, and shows it to the youth, implying that the youth wasn't ready for "the thing." The march south continues.

10:16 p.m.—Assistant Chief Wilson has arranged for buses to take the Presidential detail to the 13th Precinct stationhouse.

Wilson drives his unmarked white cruiser toward 14th Street in a light rain, wishing "it would rain like hell."

10:18 p.m.—The main body of the crowd is approaching the middle of the breaking is spreading and looting is becoming commonplace.

10:19 p.m.—A reporter observes a man walking by with a television set under each arm. Men break away from the crowd and guard windows to keep looters away. Other men pull people out of display windows to stop the stealing.

10:20 p.m.—Lt. Frye tells all policemen at 14th and U Streets to pull back from the area. The crowd reaches 14th and U.

10:21 p.m.—A heated argument breaks out in the crowd. Talk focuses on whether blacks should take revenge right now.

10:22 p.m.—Two loud reports are heard, and one young man brandishes a gun. Carmichael wrests the gun from the youth.

"Go home!" Carmichael tells the youth. Waving the gun over his head, he says: "None of this, none of this, we're not ready."

A voice in the crowd says: "But we don't have no leader. We lost our leader!"

"You won't get one like this," Carmichael snaps back. "You'll just get shot."

10:23 p.m.—Police have received a call for looting at Sam's Pawnbroker at 1930 14th St.

10:24 p.m.—Police receive a call that a window of the Rhodes 5 & 10 Store at 1930 14th St. has been broken. Police Headquarters suddenly becomes feverish with activity. All available detectives are ordered to report to headquarters.

10:24 p.m.—Murphy is back out on 14th Street. He drives up 14th from U and sees looters pillaging a liquor store. He hops out of his car and chases them. As he gets back in the car, he hears by radio that the crowd has grown at 14th and U Streets and he heads back that way.

10:25 p.m.—Carmichael slips away from the crowd at 14th and U and ducks into the U Street entrance of SCLC. He stays inside for about two minutes, emerges, cuts diagonally across the intersection, gets into a car and is driven away. He is not to be seen in the vicinity again.

10:26 p.m.—After Carmichael leaves, the crowd begins to drift aimlessly. More serious trouble is beginning.

10:26 p.m.—Calls are pouring into the police radio communications center from policemen seeking orders.

"We're surrounded by a mob of about 50 people," says one officer. "What do we do? They're looting. Do we arrest them or do we leave? Or what the hell do we do?"

10:27 p.m.—Policemen say they are being stoned in the 2600 block of 14th Street. Again, the call: "What do we do?"

Each time, the radio dispatcher asks for Murphy. Each time, a calm, cool voice replies:

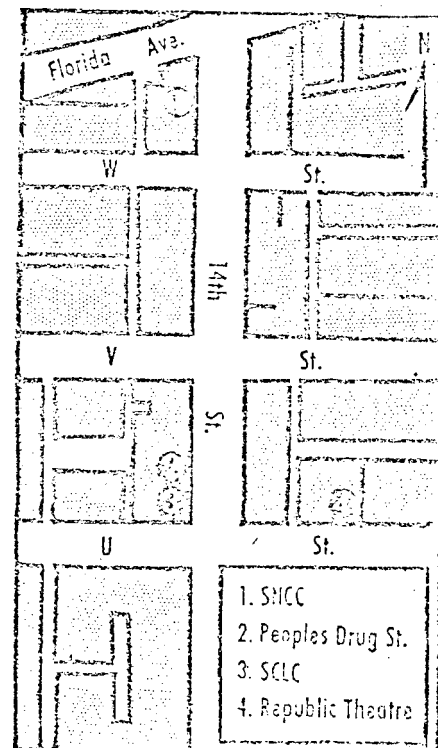
"Do whatever you think needs to be done."

10:30 p.m.—Deputy Chief Hughes tells a reporter that those men of the specially trained Civil Disturbance Unit who are on duty are being called into their headquarters room to draw equipment—helmets, gas masks, gas, etc.

10:32 p.m.—Looters pass the corner of 14th and V Streets with dresses and bottles of liquor. A wide section of the west side of the 2100 block of 14th Street has been looted.

10:33 p.m.—Mayor Washington is at his home, watching the news on television. With him are Duncan and Dugas, who have reported on their trip along 14th Street.

10:35 p.m.—Chief Layton tells the Mayor that incidents have localized at the 14th and U Streets hub and he says he thinks the situation is beginning to come under control.



April 14, 1968

The Washington Post

Area where the trouble started.

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10:40 p.m.—The Mayor decides to see for himself what is going on. He leaves in Duncan's new Pontiac Tempest, with the Corporation Counsel, Mrs. Duncan, Dugas and a reporter. They head for 14th Street.

10:50 p.m.—As looting proceeds, the first fire call comes in from the area—a car burning on the lot of Barry-Pate-Addison Chevrolet, 14th and Belmont Street.

10:52 p.m.—Fire Chief Henry Galotta is called at home and told about the trouble. He prepares to come in.

10:53 p.m.—Dugas and Duncan decide to go out and see for themselves what it was like on 14th Street. They get in Duncan's new Pontiac Tempest, telling the Mayor they will report to him later.

10:55 p.m.—The decision has been made to bring the midnight-to-3 a.m. police shift in an hour early to help. All detectives come to headquarters to put on special jump suits and to get riot paraphernalia. Riot helmets are rushed to the 13th Precinct stationhouse.

10:56 p.m.—A man standing in front of a pharmacy at 14th and Girard lights a match to a wad of paper and throws it inside. He also lights a paper sign hanging out of the broken window of the store—Judd's Prescriptions. As he does, several women across the street scream at him not to do it—that people live above the store. He tries to douse the flames, but he is too late. The store is burning; the people upstairs evacuate.

11:01 p.m.—Youths are attempting to break into Empire Supermarket, at 14th and Euclid. The grating holds.

One man steps out of a crowd of about 30 persons, rips a No Parking sign out of the pavement and shoves it through the grating breaking it. The heavy grating is pulled down, youths pour inside and begin wrecking the place. The youths try to set the supermarket on fire, but they do not succeed.

11:05 p.m.—By this hour, police feel they have massed enough men to make a show of force. The word is spread to start making arrests.

Police cruisers, four men to a car, are sent up 14th Street. Patrol wagons follow. As they go, youths heave bottles, bricks—anything they can find—at the cars.

11:07 p.m.—The sight of the approaching police vehicles angers many of the youths. One youngster, from 20 feet away, lobbs a bottle through the windshield of a patrol wagon into a policeman's face.

11:12 p.m.—Police on 14th Street between Harvard and Irving Streets are chasing looters, flailing at them with nightsticks. A general melee is breaking out along 14th from T Street to Park Road.

11:14 p.m.—With police escort, Mr. Fauntroy is being rushed from television station to television station to make appeals for calm.

11:21 p.m.—Reporters notice that policemen are backing away when confrontations with large groups of youth appear imminent.

11:31 p.m.—White House aides have been informed of the trouble. They get the impression that the city feels it can handle the trouble without outside help.

11:34 p.m.—A brief rainstorm seems to have quieted the looting and burning somewhat and to have driven some people off the streets.

11:40 p.m.—On the street, the Mayor has decided that the situation is truly serious and heads for the 13th Precinct stationhouse to meet Murphy, who is already there. **B. APPROX.**

11:44 p.m.—The first riot suspect is booked at the 13th precinct. He is Charles Herman, 31, of 1360 Belmont st. nw. He is charged with burglary. Police say they arrested him with a radio-phonograph at 11:35 p.m. in front of Belmont Radio & TV, 2414 14th st.

11:45 p.m.—The police cordon off 14th st. with a human wedge. They line up side-by-side across the street and then up both sides of the intersection to seal off any further movement north and south, east and west of the hub intersection.

11:46 p.m.—Mr. Fauntroy returns to SCLC offices and immediately talks by phone with the Rev. Ralph Abernathy of SCLC in Memphis. During the 15-minute conversation, he hears from below on 14th Street the sounds of glass breaking and sirens wailing.

11:49 p.m.—The youngsters who have ripped apart the Empire Supermarket have kept trying to burn the store. When police come by they scatter. When the police move on, they come back. After 45 minutes of trying, they succeed. The Empire Supermarket goes up in a swath of flames.

11:50 p.m.—The Mayor arrives at the 13th Precinct stationhouse and walks by green footlockers filled with tear gas and tear gas launchers. He goes into the Captain's office with Dugas, Duncan, Murphy, Layton and Clinton Mitchell of the city's Human Relations Council.

11:51 p.m.—Fire Chief Galotta tells his men to put "Plan F" into effect—splitting engine companies into two by bringing in off-duty firemen.

FRIDAY

12:04 a.m.—Mr. Fauntroy calls Mayor Washington at the 13th Precinct, responding to an earlier call from the Mayor. Washington tells him "we ought to be together during this crisis."

12:05 a.m.—Assistant Chief Wilson, now on 14th Street, has decided to call

in all off-duty policemen to boost strength to 2000 men.

12:05 a.m.—President Johnson tells Attorney General Ramsey Clark to go to Memphis with Clifford Alexander of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and Roy Wilkins of the NAACP. They are to check on the FBI's probe.

12:06 a.m.—Carl McKinley Harris, who had heard the news of Dr. King's death at 9:15 p.m., is arrested at 1351 U st. nw. Police charge him with taking seven men's hats from a clothing store. He is the second rioter booked. Harris, freed on \$500 bond, is scheduled for a jury trial on May 15.

12:15 a.m.—About 100 policemen face a crowd of 150 persons at the intersection of 14th and V Streets nw. Chief Layton is on the scene. The police march up 14th Street, herding the people in front of them. Some police are armed with tear gas dispensers.

12:23 a.m.—Another fire breaks out at Barry-Pate-Addison Chevrolet at 14th and Florida Avenue.

12:25 a.m.—The Fire Department notifies its men to use extreme caution in responding to fires because of disorderly crowds. At the same time, the firemen receive a call for a blaze at 2510 14th st. nw.—the Blue Ribbon Dry Cleaners, near Chapin Street.

12:32 a.m.—Chief Galotta tells his men to speed up and return as soon as possible. The Department does not have enough men to fight all of the fires that are burning.

12:35 a.m.—A fire is set at 11th and Fairmont Streets nw. Firemen and police are met by an ugly crowd made up mainly of men in their late teens and early 20's. A bottle is thrown from a roof and four policemen, drawing their guns, seek cover behind a reporter's car. Soon, the area is blanketed with tear gas. It is used extensively for the first time, with grenades and cannisters being launched. By the end, 140 cannisters will have been expended here as people came out of their houses to form new crowds.

12:42 a.m.—Firemen are ordered to wear goggles and protective screens are put over the driver's compartments on all trucks.

12:45 p.m.—Having received reports of sporadic looting and burning outside of the 13th Precinct, the Mayor and Murphy confer and decide to move to Police Headquarters so they can monitor the entire city by radio.

12:52 a.m.—The Central Market, 2629 14th st. nw., is in flames. Crowds gather as firemen arrive. They quickly put out the fire.

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12:55 a.m.—Another grocery burns in the 2700 block of 14th Street nw., near Fairmont Street.

12:57 a.m.—A hostile crowd bombards firemen as they move in to fight a blaze at Steelman's Liquors at 2746 14th st. nw. Police wearing gas masks fire tear gas into the crowd. The group breaks up, but reform farther down the street.

1 a.m.—The Mayor and his entourage arrive at Police Headquarters, 300 Indiana ave. nw. and head directly for Murphy's fifth-floor office. It is closed.

They go down one floor to the communications center, which is by this time the command post, and an aide knocks on the locked door.

A policeman looks out at the group apprehensively and is about to close the door when one of the aides says, "The Mayor wants to see Mr. Murphy." The officer hesitates briefly, and says, "The Mayor can come in; the rest stay outside."

The rest sit outside on hard wood benches. Mr. Fauntroy, by now nearly distraught with grief, holds his head in his hands.

1:15 a.m.—Murphy and his aide, Gerald M. Caplan, emerge carrying a map of the city mounted on a board and all but two lower-level aides are invited into the room to study data and listen to the radio channels.

1:17 a.m.—The Fire Department's Plan F is turning up enough additional men to field the first dual company, Engine Co. No. 6, as the force begins its growth from 32 to 64 companies in all.

2:00 a.m.—There are now nearly 2000 policemen on duty, and they are regaining control of 14th Street. Firemen are still battling blazes, as they will through the night, but crowds are beginning to diminish. Looting incidents are dropping.

2:02 a.m.—A general officer from the Pentagon arrives at Police Headquarters to establish liaison with the District government. Later, Murphy goes to the Pentagon to discuss contingency plans.

2:16 a.m.—A store at 14th and Euclid nw. starts to burn. Firemen know it is arson. They see that it was started in several places.

3 a.m.—Murphy goes to the Pentagon to meet with top officers of the Army and National Guard and representatives from the Justice Department. They are concerned about what might happen Friday night.

They decide to have Guardsmen on the streets Friday night. At this point, Federal troops that had been earmarked for possible duty if rioting broke out in Washington had been alerted for a possible call.

4:08 a.m.—The President's staff finishes contacting civil rights leaders who will meet with Mr. Johnson.

4:36 a.m.—Corporation Counsel Duncan drives Mayor Washington and Dugas to their homes (Mrs. Duncan has been driven home earlier). The unarticulated consensus is that the trouble is over.

What came next was a gradual buildup during the day. At first it was youths throwing rocks at cars. Then, shortly after noon Friday, the fires started multiplying and the firemen began to encounter more and more trouble battling the blazes.

The calls came rapidly. At 12:13 p.m. there was a blaze in a Safeway at 1931 14th st. nw. At 12:15, firemen were alerted not to use their sirens and use "extreme discretion." At 12:39, for a fire in the 2900 block of 14th Street, the firemen asked for police assistance because of hostile youths. It got worse and worse, and by 4 p.m., as workers clogged main arteries in their attempt to flee, the city told the President it needed Federal help. The riot was on.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date 4/16/68

b7C

[] has been employed by "The Washington Post" for two years. He has been [] for approximately one year. He resides at [] Washington, D.C. (WDC).

b7C

[] advised that on the night of April 4, 1968, he arrived at the office of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) shortly after 8:00 p.m. His purpose in going to that office was to obtain the reaction to Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., having been shot. He said that the office was quite crowded and everyone was trying to obtain news on the condition of Dr. KING. He does not recall the identities of individuals who were there except he does remember

STOKELY CARMICHAEL and one white man whom he believes to have been on the President's Crime Commission. [] said that he finally obtained the news of Dr. KING's death from [] automobile radio. The attitude at SCLC was one of grief. However, he heard mutterings to the effect "Non-violence, Hell! Now there is no way left except the STOKELY way."

Soon thereafter, he left SCLC and proceeded to SNCC headquarters where he joined a group in the back of the room. [] recalls [] were there but does not recall the identities of other individuals. Soon after his arrival at the SNCC Office, STOKELY CARMICHAEL came in and advised that he was going out and see that the stores were closed, as they closed when President KENNEDY was shot and they should do the same for Dr. KING. [] said he, personally, agreed that the stores should close and also thought the schools should do likewise. [] joined CARMICHAEL when he left SNCC headquarters to have the stores closed. [] remained at the SNCC Office. Other individuals who were at SNCC joined CARMICHAEL, but [] could not recall their identities.

b7C

On 4/15/68 at Washington, D.C. File # WFO 62-9737

SAs []

b7C

by []

WHW:skt

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WFO 62-9737

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b7C [] accompanied the crowd into Peoples Drug Store. They proceeded down one aisle to the rear of the store where CARMICHAEL asked an individual, whom [] presumed was the manager, to close the store in respect for Dr. KING. He also heard CARMICHAEL request several other stores to close but does not recall the specific stores. CARMICHAEL was very polite in making the request although others in the crowd were shouting "Close the store. Dr. KING is dead." [] said no trouble developed until they reached the Republic Theater where a youngster broke a window and a lot of popcorn was taken. When this occurred, CARMICHAEL grabbed the individual and said, "Don't do that. We don't want any trouble." [] said that while CARMICHAEL was the leader of the crowd he did not want vandalism and tried to stop it whenever he saw it occurring.

b7C According to [] the crowd got out of control at about the 2000 block of 14th Street and started looting. CARMICHAEL stopped and called to them to, "Cool it!" and "Go home. We don't want trouble."

[] said there were a lot of children as young as ten years of age and CARMICHAEL did not want any of them hurt. [] said there were other SNCC members on the street trying to stop vandalism, but does not know their names.

b7C [] said at one point he heard what he thought was two shots and then saw CARMICHAEL grab what appeared to be a gun (pistol or revolver) away from a sixteen or eighteen year old individual, wave it in the air, and say, "We will have none of this. Go home, go home. We are not ready." Someone in the crowd responded, "We lost our leader." CARMICHAEL replied, "You won't get one this way." [] did not see what CARMICHAEL did with the gun after he waved it in the air. He did not see CARMICHAEL with any other gun that evening nor did he hear CARMICHAEL tell the crowd to go and get their guns as he had his.

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WFO 62-9737

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b7C [] recalls that soon after CARMICHAEL started his tour to close the stores he was approached by [] who took him by the elbow and asked what he was doing; that this was not the way. CARMICHAEL replied that he was only asking the people to close their stores as they had killed Dr. KING.

[] stated he did not see CARMICHAEL leave the crowd and does not know when or how they departed. He is of the opinion he was with them less than an hour and believes that the events took place about fifteen minutes earlier than reported in "The Washington Post" article of April 14, 1968.

b7C [] saw no evidence that the looting had been planned and thought it was a spontaneous thing. As a matter of fact, he had been surprised that such activities had not occurred previously. He said that Washington ghettos had been tinder boxes for a long time. [] referred to Dr. KING as the greatest living American, and the people were upset over his death.

He has not seen CARMICHAEL since the night of April 4, 1968.

b7C [] said that he thought "The New York Times" coverage of the events pertaining to STOKELY CARMICHAEL on the evening of April 4, 1968, was "unfair" in that this article made no comment that CARMICHAEL was trying to "cool" the crowd and protect the stores. Concerning these happenings, [] commented that he believed CARMICHAEL was disturbed in that he could not control the people. He said this was a moderate attitude for CARMICHAEL and that he believed CARMICHAEL's participation was in respect to Dr. KING.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/16/68

b7C [redacted] for "The Washington Post", was interviewed in the Washington Field Office, Federal Bureau of Investigation. [redacted] resides at [redacted] and has telephone number [redacted]. He has been [redacted] for the Washington Post since June, 1967 prior to which time he attended college.

b7C As soon as he heard the news of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING's death on the evening of April 4, 1968, he left the "Post", and immediately drove around the streets in a radio-equipped automobile. His purpose was to write a mood article as to the city's reaction. [redacted] explained that he was "fuzzy" as to the times involved; he didn't actually keep time, and the times used in the "Post's" chronology were approximations. [redacted] first drove up 7th Street, N. W.; and then to 14th and "U" Streets, N. W., where at about 8:30 PM he went to the SCLC headquarters after having parked his automobile on "U" Street, just west of 14th Street. [redacted] was unsuccessful in getting into SCLC headquarters, which was just closing. [redacted] then went to the Peoples Drug Store at 14th and "U" Streets and called his office. At that time people in the store were listening to the President's message concerning KING's death on a radio. Just as the President's message ended, a large group of people came through the door making statements to the effect that the store was closed in respect to MARTIN LUTHER KING. [redacted] saw STOKELY CARMICHAEL in the store walking up and down the aisles telling the people that the store was to be closed. He did not actually see CARMICHAEL talk to the store manager, but, he, [redacted] several days later interviewed the manager who told him that CARMICHAEL had asked him to close the store in respect to Dr. KING. [redacted] said he phoned these happenings in to his office.

On 4/15/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737
 by SAs [redacted] b7C WHW/ 1lw Date dictated 4/16/68

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WFO 62-9737

b7C Following his phone call, [] joined the group which had crossed 14th Street diagonally to the south-east corner. In front of "Wings 'n Things" at about 14th and Wallach, [] came into the crowd and said: "STOKELY, this is not the way." [] believes this is an exact quote). CARMICHAEL replied in effect that the group just wanted to close the stores. [] again made a call to his office.

b7C When [] rejoined the crowd it was turning up 14th Street from "U". The crowd stopped at various places asking them to close. [] advised that not very many places were open and he and other reporters of the Post finally came up with the number of 12 or 13 establishments which were open and were asked to close. During this activity the crowd was growing, and he, [] had not seen any window breaking; although he has heard from other reporters that a window had been broken at the Republic Theater, probably during one of his phone calls.

b7C About 14th and "V" Streets he witnessed a male approach a bus and smash a window with his fists, and at the same time injure his hand. This person was pulled away from the bus by others in the crowd, but broke away and endeavored to hit at a small foreign auto which contained several white people. [] did not see any damage to this small auto, which moved away. [] said he did not know the individual who hit at the bus and small foreign car; nor did he know whether this car was a Volkswagen.

b7C The crowd then went to the "Yan-Kee" restaurant where [] saw CARMICHAEL talking to the manager, and [] overheard the part of CARMICHAEL's statement "...in honor of MARTIN LUTHER KING." The manager said that

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WFO 62-9737

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he would close. A few days later [] talked to the manager who told him that CARMICHAEL had asked him to close.

b7C

At about this point in time the group began to break up. About 40 people were with CARMICHAEL; another group was across the street; people were milling all over the street. The group following CARMICHAEL went up 14th Street. North of "W" Street, someone, not known to [] asked a pool hall to close. The group proceeded North on the west side of 14th to Belmont T.V. where someone broke the window, which was the first vandalism observed by

b7C

[] Someone broke the window of a nearby novelty store. CARMICHAEL came back into the crowd and grabbed a person by the arm and made a statement to the effect that this should be stopped, that the person would get himself killed, and that if the person did not have a gun he should go home. He asked the person if he had a gun and when the person replied that he did not, CARMICHAEL said that he had one and exhibited a black, short-barrelled gun, which [] who estimated he was four or five feet away, believed to be smaller than a .38 calibre, which he had pulled from inside his trousers at the belt. The person replied "OK." CARMICHAEL made a statement, not shouted, that he did not want any dead Negroes.

Shortly thereafter, [] left the crowd to make a phone call from a gasoline station at 14th and Clifton. [] walked down 14th Street to "U" where a liquor store was being looted, and Peoples Drug Store windows were broken. He observed a crowd in front of the National Liquor Store at the Northeast corner of 14th and "U". CARMICHAEL was heard by [] to exhort the crowd to go home or they would be killed. A response was made from the crowd that "They've killed our leader."

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WFO 62-9737

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CARMICHAEL responded that they would not get one "like this." STOKELY CARMICHAEL walked around the corner and [] did not again see him that night.

[] said that he did not observe CARMICHAEL take a gun from anyone. The only time he saw a gun in CARMICHAEL's possession was in the aforementioned instance on 14th Street, between Belmont and Chapin. [] stated that not once did he hear CARMICHAEL incite or urge anyone to vandalize, loot, or commit other illegal acts. He is sure that CARMICHAEL never told anyone, while he was present, to go home and get a gun.

b7C

[] recalled that he had observed CARMICHAEL lean over a railing in front of a variety store at about "W" or Florida and talk to someone, but he did not hear what CARMICHAEL said.

b7C

Following CARMICHAEL's departure, [] walked along "U" Street where people were looting a custom shop. A man with a polaroid, endeavoring to take a picture, told the people to get away as he did not want their faces in the photo. [] returned to his office before 12:30 AM but went back on the streets and drove around. There was not much trouble on 7th Street; however, he observed looting of a clothing store about 14th and Columbia Road.

[] said that in the crowd lead by CARMICHAEL he had seen several persons whom he had previously seen at SNCC, but whose names he did not know. After CARMICHAEL left, he observed [] (last name unknown) whom he had seen at SNCC, trying to prevent the crowd from looting a liquor store where a window had been broken. He advised he

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WFO 62-9737

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b7C [] knew no one in the crowd. During the evening he had seen [] of WTOP at the SCLC office, and had seen [] (phonetic) and [] of the Star somewhere along 14th Street, but did not know whether they had been present when CARMICHAEL was there.

[] advised he did not see CARMICHAEL after Thursday night, April 4, 1968. On Friday he worked "H" Street, N. E., and Saturday he was all over the city, ending up in the south-east section. At no time did he see anyone trying to incite the mob. He described the activity as a general melee, with no leader.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date April 18, 1968

[redacted]
residence telephone [redacted] employed as [redacted] for
"The Evening Star" newspaper, 225 Virginia Avenue, S.E.,
advised that in the evening of Thursday, April 4, 1968, he was
eating with a group at Mr. Smith's Restaurant on Pennsylvania
Avenue, S.E., when he learned of the shooting of Dr. MARTIN
LUTHER KING in Memphis, Tennessee. [redacted] returned to
the Star Building at about 8:00 p.m. and sometime later,
decided to "get out on the street" and cover any story that
might be breaking. He went to the vicinity of 14th and U
Streets, N.W., arriving there at about 9:45 p.m. After
parking his car, near 14th and U Streets, he walked westward
on U Street. When he got to the corner of 14th and U Streets,
he noticed a group of about 15 teenagers walking south on
14th Street led by a young man carrying a two inch by four
inch board approximately three to four feet long. This boy,
whose identity [redacted] did not learn, would swing the
two inch by four inch board which he carried and break store
windows as the group moved down the street. Then the other
"youngsters" following him would run into the windows and
stores and begin looting. Not many people were around at
the time and the group of boys did not say anything as they
moved along.

Shortly after this, [redacted] back tracked along
15th up to Belmont Street and noticed a lot of damage to
store buildings and looting in the area. He stated that when
he arrived on 14th Street, all of the stores were already
closed, although some were still lighted, people were inside,
but with the doors locked. He tried to get in one of these
lighted stores with people inside in order to use the phone
to call the "desk" and let the paper know what was going on
but he was refused admittance.

On 4/17/68 at Washington, D.C. File # WFO 62-9737
SAs [redacted] b7C
by [redacted] TAM:tjd Date dictated 4/18/68

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WFO 62-9737

2

b7C [] remained in the vicinity of 14th and U Streets for about two hours, watching developments until a police bus arrived. He stated the police began a "sweep" at Wallach Place, moving north on 14th Street, and he followed the police up to Clifton Street. Then he continued north almost to Harvard Street, remaining in the area until about 4:00 a.m. He stated that he believes he would have recognized STOKELY CARMICHAEL from pictures of him he had seen, but that at no time did he see CARMICHAEL on the night of April 4.

[] did not cover the news conference held at Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) Headquarters at 10:00 a.m. on April 5, 1968, at which news conference CARMICHAEL spoke.

b7C [] arrived at the Howard University campus at about 10:00 a.m. on Friday, April 5, to await the memorial service for Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING to be held there at noon on that date. It was his understanding that the doors to the Cramton auditorium would be opened at 11:30 a.m., but the doors were not opened until 12:00 noon at which time the service began. [] said that this service was presided over by a chaplain and that EWART BROWN, president of the student body of Howard and JAMES M. NABRIT, president of Howard University spoke. Later a number of clergymen offered prayers. According to [] BROWN in his address stated that racism had killed Dr. KING; that Dr. KING was a buffer between the moderates and the extremes among colored people; and that Dr. KING's absence forecasts trouble. [] stated that NABRIT's speech was more conciliatory and NABRIT dwelt on the worth of the man (Dr. KING) but pointed out that Dr. KING was not the last of the effective Negro leaders.

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b7C [] stated that Cramton auditorium was filled for this memorial service and that 15 to 20 percent of the audience was made up of white people. He stated that at about 12:50 p.m., the memorial service ended and he left just as the closing song, "We Shall Overcome", was being sung, as he had a 1:00 p.m. deadline with the paper which he wanted to meet. He telephoned the "Star" from the campus and was told to go to 7th Street, N.W., as it had been reported that a group of young people had left the campus and were headed for 7th Street. [] stated that while he was on the campus, he saw no such group leave, and certainly none had left the memorial service.

b7C From the campus, [] went to the vicinity of 7th and U Streets and saw that a number of fires had been set in business establishments. Subsequently, he saw bands of teenagers (and younger) racing along 14th Street, breaking the glass out of store fronts and looting at will. He stated that these looters were all "kids" at first but that after about an hour and a half, the adults too joined in the looting. For most of the afternoon of April 5, [] stayed in the vicinity of 14th and S Streets and observed the looting of stores, and fires being set in them after they were looted. [] stated that he did not see STOKELY CARMICHAEL at the Howard University campus as he evidently left the campus before CARMICHAEL arrived. He stated that at no time on the afternoon of April 5 did he see CARMICHAEL.

b7C [] stated that he had not attended the press conference reportedly held by "CHUCK" STONE, former administrative assistant to ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, on Sunday, April 7, 1968.

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b7C

On April 17, 1968, [redacted]
[redacted] residence address [redacted]
Maryland, residence telephone [redacted] employed as [redacted]
for "The Evening Star" newspaper, was interviewed at the Star
Building, 225 Virginia Avenue, S.E. by SAs [redacted]
[redacted]

b7C

On the night of April 4, 1968, [redacted] was at the
home of [redacted] At about 10:30 p.m.,
he toured the city with [redacted] He did not see STOKELY
CARMICHAEL on the night of April 4.

After being up nearly all night Thursday, April 4,
[redacted] slept most of the following morning, coming to work
at about noon. [redacted] covers the District Building and
spends most of each day there. On April 5, he was in the
District Building until 3:00 p.m. He did not cover the
memorial service at Howard University held in Cramton auditorium
at around noon on April 5, 1968, and was not on the campus
later when CARMICHAEL spoke there after the memorial service.

b7C

[redacted] advised that he has covered no news or
press conferences since the riots at which CARMICHAEL spoke,
and did not cover the conference held at the headquarters
of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)
on the morning of April 5, at which CARMICHAEL spoke. He
stated that he has not seen CARMICHAEL since the latter
returned to live in the Washington, D.C. area.

[redacted] did not work on Sunday, April 7, 1968
and did not attend the news conference held by "CHUCK" STONE
on Sunday afternoon at Ed Murphy's Supper Club on Georgia
Avenue, N.W., just south of the Howard University campus,
at which CARMICHAEL was reportedly present.

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WFO 62-9737

CTC:skt

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b7C. On April 17, 1968, [] of the 13th Precinct, Metropolitan Police Department (MPD), was interviewed by Special Agent (SA) []. The purpose of the interview being to obtain any information pertaining to the actions of STOKELY CARMICHAEL and/or any statements made by CARMICHAEL during the recent riot. It being noted that the 13th Precinct covers that area on 14th Street which was looted and burned.

b7C [] related that soon after it was announced that Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING had been killed, on the early evening of April 4, 1968, it became quite obvious that a highly explosive situation was in the making; therefore, in order to minimize the gravity of the situation he pulled practically all of his men out of the 14th and U Streets, N.W., area. [] stated that the very presence of a number of police officers in this critical area would have intensified the tempers of the gathering crowds; that since it was not possible to have a sufficient police power to cope with the situation he considered this action of pulling his men out a "strategic withdrawal." [] stated that only [] of his officers who were directed to go into the 14th and U Streets area in order to keep in touch with conditions as they developed and that these [] officers were the only [] who in his opinion were in any position to observe STOKELY CARMICHAEL if CARMICHAEL was in that area from early Thursday evening, April 4, 1968, through Monday morning, April 8, 1968. [] gave the names of these [] officers [] uniformed as []

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 4/18/68

[redacted] informed that from approximately 2:30 p.m., April 8, 1968, he was on duty with broken hours until Monday at 8:00 a.m., April 8, 1968. During this period of time, he covered the 14th and U Streets area.

b7C

[redacted] stated that at no time did he observe STOKELY CARMICHAEL nor did he hear any rumors of any actions on the part of CARMICHAEL or any statements attributable to him, inflammatory or otherwise. [redacted] stated he knows CARMICHAEL and could identify him. He wanted to point out, however, that there was such a large crowd on the evening of April 4, 1968, beginning shortly after 8:00 p.m. which crowd was surging south on 14th at U Street it was impossible to recognize any particular individual.

[redacted] did advise that about 8:20 p.m., Thursday, April 4, 1968, while he and his partner, [redacted] were parked on the N.E. corner of 14th Street, N.W., facing south at U Street [redacted] who was not among the crowd but was standing on the corner with two other individuals came up to their automobile, sticking his head inside, and talked directly to him, [redacted] asking them not to arrest "these people;" that they were "just expressing themselves," and he felt certain the crowd would disperse and do no harm. [redacted] said he did not recognize the two other individuals, and [redacted] did not introduce them.

b7C

[redacted] advised that his last encounter with STOKELY CARMICHAEL was Tuesday night, April 2, 1968, about 9:30 to 9:45 when there was a disturbance at the Peoples Drug Store, 14th and U Streets, N.W. A crowd of approximately fifty persons had gathered on the street outside of the drug store. CARMICHAEL, who had been in the drug store talking to the manager, came out and walked among the people asking them to go home. [redacted] said he did not see any firearm in CARMICHAEL's possession nor did he hear CARMICHAEL make any inflammatory statements.

b7C

On 4/17/68 at Washington, D.C. File # WFO 62-9737

by SA [redacted] skt Date dictated 4/18/68

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 4/18/68

[redacted] advised that he was from approximately 2:30 p.m., April 8, 1968, through 8:00 a.m., Monday, April 8, 1968, that their assignment was to cover the riot area of 14th and U Streets, N.W. [redacted] stated that at no time did he see STOKELY CARMICHAEL nor did he hear any rumors pertaining to any actions on the part of CARMICHAEL nor of any statements made by CARMICHAEL, inflammatory or otherwise. [redacted] stated he is acquainted with STOKELY CARMICHAEL and would recognize him. [redacted] said he wanted to point out, however, that by the very reason of the commotion of the surging crowds in the 14th and U Streets area it was practically impossible to recognize any particular individual who might have been a member of the crowds.

b7C

[redacted] stated that at about 8:20 p.m., Thursday, April 4, 1968, while he and [redacted] were parked on a N.E. corner of 14th Street facing south at U Street [redacted] came up to their car and after sticking his head inside talked with [redacted] he himself did not speak with [redacted] He did observe that [redacted] was not among the crowd which was surging down 14th Street but was standing on the corner with two other individuals who he, [redacted] did not recognize.

b7C

[redacted] explained that he last saw STOKELY CARMICHAEL on Tuesday night, April 2, 1968, between 9:30 and 9:45 when there was a disturbance at the Peoples Drug Store, 14th and U Streets, N.W. A crowd of approximately fifty people had gathered on the street outside of the building. He observed CARMICHAEL walking through this crowd of people asking them to go home. [redacted] said he did not observe a firearm in the possession of CARMICHAEL nor did he hear CARMICHAEL make any inflammatory statements.

b7C

On 4/17/68 at Washington, D.C. File # WFO 62-9737

by SA [redacted] skt Date dictated 4/18/68

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WFO 62-9737

CEG:smm

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b7C

[redacted] "The Washington Post" newspaper, was interviewed by Special Agents (SAs) [redacted] April 15, 1968, at his office. [redacted] stated he resides at [redacted] Apartment [redacted] with Washington, D. C. (WDC), telephone number [redacted]

b7C

[redacted] related that on the evening of Thursday, April 4, 1968, he was working the 4:00 p.m. to midnight shift and was assigned [redacted] to cover the Democratic dinner at the Washington-Hilton Hotel. He stated after the dinner he returned to his office and proceeded out on the street alone in a radio car, beginning at approximately 10:00 p.m. [redacted] related he remained on the street, principally on 14th Street, N. W., ranging between Florida Avenue and as far north as the Columbia Road and Park Road areas. [redacted]

b7C

[redacted] said he observed liquor stores being looted, clothing stores being looted and other businesses being broken into, but was not sufficiently close to the scene to get clear [redacted] as he was somewhat concerned about his own personal safety.

b7C

[redacted] said he was joined by a fellow employee, [redacted] about 11:30 p.m., and the two of them remained on the street until about 4:30 a.m., Friday, April 5, 1968. He said he and [redacted] stayed close to the police [redacted] who were attempting to curtail the movements of the people, and at no time did he see STOKELY CARMICHAEL, [redacted] or any of the other militant Negro leaders who were known personally to him by sight.

[redacted] stated on Friday, April 5, 1968, he came to work at 3:00 p.m. and spent five to six hours covering various areas of disorder [redacted]

[redacted] He said they remained out until approximately 9:00 p.m., and at no time did he see STOKELY CARMICHAEL, [redacted] or other persons known by him to be associated with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

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WFO 62-9737

CEG:smm

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b7C

On April 15, 1968, Special Agents [redacted] interviewed [redacted] [redacted] "The Washington Post" newspaper. [redacted] related he resides at [redacted] Maryland, home telephone number [redacted]

[redacted] stated on Friday, April 5, 1968, he worked [redacted] beginning about 11:00 a.m. and remaining out until 4:00 p.m., principally on 14th Street, N. W., working as far south as Florida Avenue and north to Irving.

b7C

[redacted] stated he and [redacted] observed many fires, some of which were set while they were in the immediate vicinity. [redacted] could not get sufficiently close in order for [redacted] to identify the persons responsible for the fires. He said in numerous instances they had to keep some distance away from the rioters as frequently they had missiles thrown at them, including filled whisky bottles, in order to discourage [redacted]

[redacted] stated on the following day, Saturday, April 6, 1968, he started working about 11:00 a.m. and remained out for some few hours, including coverage of the large fire at 16th and F Streets, N. E., where an ice house was burned down.

b7C

[redacted] stated he would recognize STOKELY CARMICHAEL or [redacted] on sight, but at no time during any of his tours, either on Friday or Saturday, did he see CARMICHAEL or any other members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

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WFO 62-9737
HFC/CEG:smm
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b7C

[redacted] "The Washington Post," was interviewed April 11, 1968, at his office by Special Agents [redacted] advised he resides at [redacted] Washington, D. C. (WDC).

[redacted] related on Thursday, April 4, 1968, he was assigned to cover a press conference the following day, April 5, 1968, scheduled to be held by STOKELY CARMICHAEL; however, on Thursday night, at home, he got a telephone call from the City Desk of the newspaper, advising him the press conference had been cancelled.

b7C

In the light of events which transpired on Thursday night with reported disorders, [redacted] on Friday morning, went to 2115 - 14th Street, N. W., to The New School of Afro-American Thought in anticipation of covering any events which might transpire there, and also he had heard CARMICHAEL was, in fact, going to hold a press conference. At any rate, by the time [redacted] arrived in the vicinity of headquarters for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), at 2208 14th Street, N. W., he learned the press conference was over. He, thereafter, returned to his office.

[redacted] stated beginning about 11:30 a.m., Friday, he began patrolling streets in a radio car of "The Washington Post" and traversed 14th Street as far as Euclid Street, N. W., and observed the activities going on in that vicinity until approximately 5:00 p.m.

He stated he made intermittent telephone calls to his office to report events and noted that at approximately 5:00 p.m., Friday, April 5, 1968, he counted 13 fires in the vicinity of 14th Street between Columbia Road and Park Road, and also observed three fires being set. He said he did not actually witness any specific individual setting fire to any one store but recalled a liquor store on 14th at Irving Street, N. W., was in the process of being looted and apparently was about half emptied out when some unidentified Negro youth gathered up pieces of cardboard boxes, set fire to them and began a fire in this store, which was thereafter burned up.

He said he was in the vicinity of another clothing store nearby which, while in the process of being looted, was set on fire by apparently some sort of fire bomb as he said

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b7C

there were young Negro youths still in the store looting when that fire was started. [] said he also observed a men's wear store on 14th Street, probably Irving's Men's Shop, explode into fire after it had been thoroughly looted. He said due to the size of the crowds milling around, he could not see who threw the fire bomb device which ignited Irving's Men's Shop. [] recalled he stayed on the street until approximately 2:00 a.m., Saturday morning, observing the general disorder.

b7C

On Saturday, according to [] he spent most of the time cruising the streets downtown in the 7th and 14th Street areas and eastward as far as Capitol Hill during the hours of 12:00 noon to 11:00 p.m. At no time while he was out on the street did [] see any evidence of any organization whatsoever, and he said he did not see STOKELY CARMICHAEL or others known to him to be associated with or identified as members of SNCC.

b7C

[] stated all of the things he saw gave him the impression the disorder was more in the nature of a carnival or gala event, rather than the results of hatred or sorrow at the death of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

On April 11, 1968, [] advised SAs [] that he resides at [] Apartment [] (telephone [] and has been employed [] for "The Washington Post" newspaper for approximately five years.

[] advised he was assigned at Metropolitan Police Department (MPD) headquarters on Thursday, April 4, 1968, where he remained until approximately 4:00 a.m. on April 5, 1968. Therefore, during this period he observed none of the looting or burning taking place in the city.

b7C

On April 5, 1968, [] reported for work at about 4:00 p.m. and was assigned to cover the H Street, N. E., area with [] He and [] proceeded to the vicinity of 9th and H Streets, N. W., arriving in that area at approximately 5:00 p.m. He remained in that vicinity, mixing with the crowds on H Street between 9th Street and Bladensburg Road, until approximately 10:00 or 10:30 p.m.

During this period, he observed the burning and looting of a number of business establishments, interviewed police and fire officials and spoke with citizens on the street. He

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WFO 62-9737

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noted that being of the Negro race himself, he was able to mix freely with the crowds and, in fact, was handed several bottles of liquor while in the vicinity of a liquor store that was being looted.

At about 10:30 or 11:00 p.m., that date, he returned to the Washington Post building for a lunch, after which he went out to 7th Street, N. W., and for the next several hours observed the activities of the fire department in that area.

b7C During the entire period mentioned above, [] stated he observed none of the known activist leaders in SNCC or other militant Negro groups. He further observed that the vandalism, looting and arson attendant during this period appeared to be unorganized, spur-of-the-moment activities without leadership or guidance.

b7C [] related that a fellow [] had made arrangements to accompany the SNCC contingent planning to travel to Richmond, Virginia, on Monday morning, April 8, 1968, to attend the hearing in court for []. Accordingly, with [] proceeded to SNCC headquarters about 5:30 a.m., Monday morning and noted the area was completely sealed off by police and military vehicles.

[] said they parked their car on 15th Street, and he could not even get close to SNCC headquarters on foot, but [] did manage to get to SNCC headquarters. He said the police and military authorities prevented the SNCC people from leaving their premises until after 6:30 a.m. at the termination of the curfew. Thereafter, a group of young Negro males came out of SNCC headquarters and proceeded to get into automobiles.

b7C At this point, [] approached and talked to [] at approximately 6:30 a.m. He asked [] where STOKELY CARMICHAEL was, and [] parried the question, wanting to know why [] was interested in STOKELY. [] pointed out that as a newspaperman it was his business to know the whereabouts of such prominent persons as CARMICHAEL. [] never did answer his question but proceeded to show to [] objects which [] identified as fragments of a tear gas cannister which he alleged had been thrown into SNCC headquarters the previous evening by someone believed to be an officer of the MPD. Thereafter, [] drove off with his other companions, presumably heading for Richmond, Virginia.

[] advised that in the period April 5 through April 8, 1968, he had seen no other leaders or activists of SNCC or other

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militant groups and noted that he had heard rumors at various times during this period that STOKELY CARMICHAEL was in Arlington, Virginia; New York, New York; or Memphis, Tennessee. He noted that he spoke to no one during this period who had seen CARMICHAEL since Thursday evening, April 4, 1968.

On April 11, 1968, [] advised SAs [] [] he resides at [] Apartment [] (telephone [] stated he has been employed [] on "The Washington Post" newspaper for approximately two months.

b7C

From approximately 11:30 p.m., April 4, 1968, to 3:00 a.m., April 5, 1968, [] was on the street in the vicinity of 7th and M Streets, N. W., observing the fires and the firemen in action. He observed no known leaders of SNCC or other militant groups in this area.

On April 5, 1968, between the period 12:30 and 5:00 p.m., he worked on 14th Street and 7th Street, N. W., observing the crowds and looting and again observed none of the leaders of militant black power groups. At approximately 7:30 p.m., he moved to the Anacostia area where he spent the remainder of the day and observed no significant activity.

The only exception to his above observation concerning leaders was his encounter with [] whom he identified as connected with [] [] He encountered [] at 14th Street and Florida Avenue, N. W., and attempted to interview him. [] hurried away, stating he had heard there were fires in the vicinity of his home and he was going home to ascertain if, in fact, his own home was being burned.

b7C

[] stated his own notes in his reporting his observations to the newspaper described his observations as being like a carnival or a big party, entirely without leadership and apparently mere spontaneous action on the part of the persons taking part in the looting and burning.

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WFO 62-9737

HDP:dan

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On April 12, 1968, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] for "The Washington Post." were interviewed by SAs [REDACTED]

b7C

[REDACTED] advised that they did not observe STOKELY CARMICHAEL at any time between April 4, 1968 and April 7, 1968, nor could they furnish any information concerning his activities except what they had read in the newspapers.

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WFO 62-9737

TAM:dan

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In connection with interviews with reporters and photographers of "The Washington Post" who were on duty the night of Thursday, April 4, 1968, and in the morning of Friday, April 5, SAs [redacted]

[redacted] interviewed on the dates indicated the following employees, none of whom had observed the activities of STOKELY CARMICHAEL at any time during the disturbance in Washington, D.C. beginning the night of April 4:

b7C

April 11, 1968

[redacted]
Residence: [redacted]

Telephone: [redacted]

Employment: [redacted]

April 12, 1968

[redacted]
Residence: [redacted]

Telephone: [redacted]

Employment: Reporter

b7C

[redacted]
Residence: [redacted]

Telephone: [redacted]

Employment: Reporter

[redacted]
Residence: [redacted]

Telephone: [redacted]

Employment: Photographer

b7C

[redacted]
Residence: [redacted]

Telephone: [redacted]

Employment: Photographer

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 4/17/68

[redacted] Washington, D. C., telephone [redacted] a self employed [redacted] under contract with various business establishments in Washington, furnished the following information:

[redacted] works primarily in the area covered by Precinct Number Two of the Metropolitan Police Department (MPD), Washington, and maintains a radio in his automobile which is tuned to the MPD frequency.

[redacted] was in the 14th and R Streets, N. W., vicinity on the night of Thursday, April 4, 1968, when the rioting began. He had heard that riot action had started farther North on 14th Street and he observed a large group of Negro male individuals walking South on 14th Street. This group came as far south as the 1700 block of 14th Street, N. W., where they inflicted severe damage to a pawn shop, two television shops and a laundromat, among other business establishments, in that block. [redacted] did not see this group proceed any further south that night.

[redacted] visited the riot area of 14th Street, N. W., and the vicinity thereof, on various occasions that night and during the subsequent nights of the rioting, during the course of which he observed various instances of destruction and looting. The only store guarded by him which had been damaged was a plumbing and miscellaneous supply store at 1624 14th Street, N. W., Washington, the rear door of which had been smashed.

[redacted] was unable to identify any of the rioters and he was also unable to identify STOKELY CARMICHAEL, [redacted] [redacted] by photographs of these persons displayed to him.

On 4/16/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737

SA [redacted]

b7C

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4/17/68

by _____ Date dictated _____

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WFO 62-9737

A. SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP
CONFERENCE HEADQUARTERS

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/12/68

b7C

[redacted] Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), 1401 U Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., advised as follows:

On the day and night of April 4, 1968, she was working at SCLC. When she heard the news that Reverend MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. had been shot she went home to get her television set to bring to headquarters so everyone could be kept abreast of the latest news. Upon returning to headquarters she saw STOKELY CARMICHAEL there. For a brief time both she and CARMICHAEL made attempts to reach Atlanta, Georgia with no success. She said she did not hear him make any statements, but when she went out into the street to try to get the young children and young adults to get off the street and home, he, and the people with him, also went out and she heard him trying to get people to get off the street. She further advised that the next day, April 5, 1968, some of the people from CARMICHAEL's group, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), returned to the SCLC and helped her distribute leaflets asking people to keep their children off the streets. She again stated she neither saw nor heard CARMICHAEL do anything to attempt to arouse anyone and she did not see him have a gun or any other weapon.

On 4/10/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737
SAs [redacted] b7C
by [redacted] tab Date dictated 4/10/68

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

4/12/68

Date _____

[redacted] Washington, D. C., a volunteer worker for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), Washington, D. C., advised as follows:

On the day and night of April 4, 1968, he was at his post at the SCLC, when the news was heard that Dr. KING had been shot and killed. He could not recall the times but did remember seeing STOKELY CARMICHAEL in the building during that period which he estimated to be from 7:00 p.m. to 9:00 p.m. [redacted] was unnerved by his presence because he recalled some of CARMICHAEL's earlier statements about "black power" and since there were several white volunteers in the building he feared for their safety. He said he did not see or hear CARMICHAEL suggest anything that might tend to arouse people but then his desk is located at the back of the building, perhaps thirty-five feet from where CARMICHAEL was while in the building. Although CARMICHAEL was not causing any trouble [redacted] still insisted that many of the white people leave and he personally escorted several to their cars and got them out of the neighborhood.

b7C

While CARMICHAEL was there, [redacted] also saw [redacted] there with CARMICHAEL and at one point he called [redacted] to his desk and asked him if he could not do something about getting CARMICHAEL to leave. He could not recall if [redacted] even answered him.

b7C

[redacted] recalled that sometime since Dr. KING's death, he has had occasion to talk to one of his acquaintances, [redacted] (LNU), who lives on [redacted] about two blocks from [redacted] [redacted] told him that he had seen CARMICHAEL on the street after KING's death and while the early rioting started, and had heard him making some statements which [redacted] was unable to remember exactly. He said he could find out his friend's last name and address if it was needed.

On 4/10/68 at Washington, D. C.

File # WFO 62-9737

SA [redacted] tab

b7C

4/11/68

by _____

Date dictated _____

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WFO 62-9737

b7C

[] also stated that one [] another worker at the SCLC, told him that she had heard CARMICHAEL talking about "honkies" and it had frightened her. Both she and her husband were at the SCLC while CARMICHAEL was there and he could not recall when they left.

He was unable to furnish any additional information.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/12/68

[redacted] Washington, D. C., an employee at the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), 14th and U Streets, N. W., Washington, D. C., advised as follows:

b7C On April 4, 1968, at the time it was announced that Dr. KING had been shot, he was at home. He then went to the SCLC building to see what he might be able to do and to find out further news. When he arrived he saw STOKELY CARMICHAEL, in the building, trying to call Atlanta, Georgia to get further details of the shooting. [redacted] then returned home to get his radio to take it to the SCLC, where he remained through that night and the next day. After he returned to the SCLC, CARMICHAEL was still there but left at approximately 9:00 p.m. and [redacted] did not see him again. [redacted] never heard CARMICHAEL make any remarks which he could have interpreted as attempting to arouse people to commit violence, nor did he ever see him in possession of any type of weapon.

b7C [redacted] further stated that he had also seen [redacted] in the area and had gotten the impression they were there to perhaps calm CARMICHAEL should he attempt anything, rather than as part of the group with CARMICHAEL from the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

[redacted] stated he was unable to furnish any further information.

On 4/10/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737
by SA [redacted] tab b7C Date dictated 4/11/68

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

4/12/68

Date _____

aka

b7C [redacted]
Maryland, a volunteer worker at the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, (SCLC), 14th and U Streets, N. W., Washington, D. C., advised as follows:

She and her husband, ^{MR S.} [redacted] were at the SCLC on the night of April 4, 1968. He was there to pick her up from work and is not normally at the SCLC. While there they heard the news about Dr. KING and waited to hear the later news that he had died. While waiting there she saw STOKELY CARMICHAEL come into the building. She said she did not like his attitude throughout the whole time he was there but would not elaborate on what she meant. She was asked if it was what he said or did that frightened her but she merely answered she did not like his attitude, it frightened her.

Further questioning failed to elicit any additional information.

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by SA [redacted] tab b7C Date dictated 4/11/68

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 4/18/68

b7C

[redacted] who had been previously interviewed at the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), 14th and U Streets, N.W., Washington, D.C. (WDC), on April 10, 1968, furnished the following information:

She said that on the night of April 4, 1968, when Dr. KING was killed she saw STOKELY CARMICHAEL carrying a silver and black transistor radio in his hand. She remembered this now after thinking about it since her previous interview, because she had heard that some member of the SCLC was saying that he had been carrying a pistol or revolver, and she wanted to clear up that point. She recalled the radio vividly because it belonged to some member of the SCLC, who had brought it to the SCLC for the workers to keep up with the news about the assassination and although the color may have made it appear to be a revolver or pistol, it very definitely was not; and in fact, they are now trying to contact him to find out what he did with the radio because they want it back.

She could not recall the name of the party who made the claim about the revolver and could furnish no additional information.

On 4/17/68 at Washington, D.C. File # WFO 62-9737

SAs [redacted]

b7C

by [redacted] GSB :skt Date dictated 4/17/68

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WFO 62-9737

B. PEOPLE'S DRUG STORE

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WFO 62-9737

1. PEOPLE'S EMPLOYEES

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date 4/15/68

[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted] Washington, D.C. (WDC), who resides
at [redacted] WDC, Telephone [redacted] furnished
the following information concerning the activities of
STOKELY CARMICHAEL at the Peoples Drug Store Number 3, 2002
14th Street, N.W., WDC, on Thursday, April 4, 1968, as well
as other activities deemed pertinent to this investigation:

b7C

[redacted] had been employed in a second job capacity
at Peoples Drug Store Number 3 for several years but terminated
his employment there in favor of transfer to another store of
Peoples after his experience of April 4, 1968, in the vicinity
of Store Number 3.

[redacted] had a night off from employment at Store
Number 3 on Tuesday, April 2, 1968; and he, therefore, did
not witness any of the activities which took place there
on that date. After hearing of the activities of April 2,
1968, [redacted] also decided against reporting for work on the
night of April 3, 1968. [redacted] did report for work on night
of April 4, 1968, and worked behind the cigar counter, his
usual employment location.

b7C

Following the announcement of the death of
Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., on April 4, 1968, the store
became unusually quiet with a minimum of customers. There
then began a buildup of people on the street in front of the
store.

At exactly 9:10 p.m., according to the wristwatch
of [redacted] a group of at least fifteen adult-sized young Negro
male individuals stormed into the store from the street
behind STOKELY CARMICHAEL and loudly demanded that the store
be immediately closed. All of the members of the group seemed
to have been yelling at once at the top of their voices in

On 4/11/68 at Washington, D.C. File # WFO 62-9737

SAs [redacted]

b7C

by [redacted]

ECG:skt

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b7C this regard. They yelled "This store is closed!" and that the store was closing because of the death of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. [] was unable to state that he actually had heard any utterance from the lips of CARMICHAEL because of the loudness of the entire group, but he had no difficulty in recognizing CARMICHAEL as the group leader. The group moved almost hand-in-hand in single file through the store. CARMICHAEL and the group proceeded to the rear of the store where they repeated their demands directly to the store manager, who agreed to close the store in deference to their demands.

b7C CARMICHAEL then led the group to the store entrance, during the course of which, one member of the group, noting that [] continued to wait upon a customer, cursed [] with a familiar Negro expression and demanded that he stop. The group then passed out of the store. No firearms or dangerous weapons of any nature were seen by [] in possession of the group.

The store was then immediately closed by the manager and the employees left the premises as soon as they were able to balance their accounts.

b7C [] left the store between 9:20 p.m. and 9:30 p.m. and entered his automobile which was parked facing west on U Street, N.W., just west of 14th Street. There were many people on the streets at that time and a group of Negro male individuals began crowding him as he approached his auto. One member of the group said "Let's take him!" [] recognized two of the members of the group as men he had seen in the area on various occasions in the past. These members told the group that [] was a "soul" and that they should leave him alone. Although [] is a Negro, he is occasionally mistaken for a white man.

b7C When [] entered his auto, he made a "U" turn on U Street and proceeded eastward across 14th Street to 13th Street, N.W., where he turned north and traveled to his residence.

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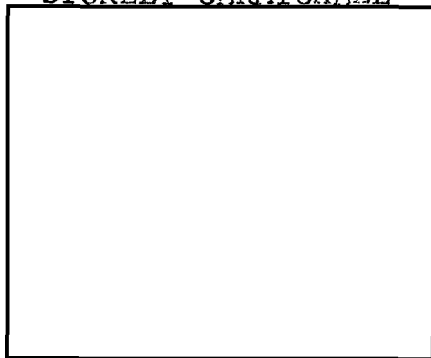
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b7C While entering his auto, [] noticed a group of Negro male individuals congregated on the street in front of the Republic Theater between 14th and 13th Street on U Street, N.W. When he passed the Republic Theater, he then noticed the same or a similar group walking toward the Lincoln Theater in the next block. [] could not state whether the group or groups seen by him in the theater areas was the previously described CARMICHAEL group which had entered the Drug Store.

b7C As [] rounded the corner of 13th and U Streets, N.W., he noticed for the first time that night that rocks were being thrown through store windows by persons unknown to him. [] continued on without stopping and went home. He has not returned to the 14th and U Streets, N.W., area of Washington since that night.

[] was displayed photographs of the following Negro male individuals:

b7C STOKELY CARMICHAEL



b7C [] immediately identified CARMICHAEL, by photograph and name, as the person who had led the parade of the group into the Peoples Drug Store Number 3 on the night of April 4, 1968, when demands were made for the store to close.

[] recognized [] by photograph, as a person who had been in the Drug Store on many occasions. He described [] as a "hanger-on" in the area for about six years.

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b7C

He noted that [] is an alleged [] and that [] has a constant female companion. [] did not know [] by name but recognized his photograph.

[] could not recognize or identify any of the other persons portrayed on these photographs.

b7C

[] stated he had heard that on the night of Friday, April 5, 1968, or Saturday, April 6, 1968, a note written by STOKELY CARMICHAEL had been delivered to the guards assigned to Peoples Drug Store Number 3. The note warned the guards that the store would be burned down.

[] stated he could furnish no further information of value to this inquiry.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date April 16, 1968

b7C On April 15, 1968, [] Veterans Administration, Washington, D.C., residence 2235 12th Place, Washington, D.C. (WDC), advised that during the evening of April 4, 1968, he was working at Peoples Drug Store Number 3, 14th and U Streets, N.W. At approximately 9:00 p.m., he was at his station, [] listening to the news broadcast on the radio. There was a small crowd around him listening to the latest reports on Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING. A large crowd burst into the store, being led by STOKELY CARMICHAEL and shouting words to the effect, This store is going to close, close this store right now in honor of MARTIN LUTHER KING. CARMICHAEL went to the rear of the store where he was met by the store manager. The manager agreed to close the store and the group started out of the store. After leaving the store, CARMICHAEL and group walked across 14th Street, N.W. on U Street.

b7C [] said that the store manager told the customers that the store was closed and then locked the front door. [] put his cash drawers in the safe at the rear of the store and departed the store about 9:30 p.m. when the manager departed the store. [] then walked to his residence on 12th Place. He saw no firearms displayed while the crowd was in Peoples Drug Store.

b7C On April 2, 1968, [] continued there was a disturbance at the Peoples Drug Store, one of the store guards had a run-in with a teen-ager about 8:30 p.m. The guard pulled a gun, the police were called, and the store was closed. The store was opened again that night and another crowd gathered in the store and there was some pushing and shoving. [] said there was one or two shots during this time; he believed one came from within the store and one from

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SAs []

b7C

by [] ECG:tjd Date dictated 4/16/68

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without. However, he did not see a gun during this disturbance. Everyone was put out of the store and the door locked. About this time, STOKELY CARMICHAEL came by and quieted the crowd, told them to go home, this is not the way to handle this.

b7C

said he believed that CARMICHAEL's appearance was accidental and he just happened to be walking by the store when this disturbance was taking place.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date April 12, 1968

b7C

On April 10, 1968, [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

advised that on April 4, 1968, during the evening he was working at the Peoples Drug Store Number 3, 14th and U Streets, N.W. At approximately 9:00 p.m. a large crowd of persons entered the store and walked to the rear of the store where they met the manager. The group was led by STOKELY CARMICHAEL and he was saying words to the effect clear the drug store, close the store in honor of Dr. KING. The manager of the store said he would close the store and the group walked out of the store.

b7C

[REDACTED] described the group as being a crowd of about 75 with the ages running from teenagers to the thirties. The manager closed the store and [REDACTED] said he departed the area.

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by SAs [REDACTED] b7C ECB:cjb Date dictated 4/11/68

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date April 12, 1968

b7C

On April 10, 1968, [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised that on the evening of April 4, 1968, he was working in the Peoples Drug Store Number 3, 14th and U Streets, N.W. At approximately 9:00 p.m. there was a commotion at the front of the store and a large group of colored male individuals were in the store proceeding to the rear of the store. There was one person leading the group, waving his hands, saying in effect, "close the store, close the store, in honor of Dr. KING". The group reached the rear of the store and turned to proceed up another aisle and out the front door.

[REDACTED] from photographs, identified the person leading the group as STOKELY CARMICHAEL.

b7C

[REDACTED] had the impression that the store should be closed and that the group was a show of force to cause the closing.

[REDACTED] completed working on an order for a customer and then departed the store with another customer who carried him to his residence, [REDACTED]

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ECG:tjd

1

On April 10, 1968, [redacted] Peoples
Drug Store Number 3, 14th and U Streets, N.W., advised SAs
[redacted] that she was not
working on April 4, 1968, [redacted]
[redacted]

b7C

Residence:

[redacted]
Apartment [redacted]

b7C

Telephone Number:

[redacted]

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2. SEABOARD SERVICE
SYSTEM PERSONNEL

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date April 12, 1968

[redacted] Seaboard Service System, Incorporated, 927 H Street, N.W., residence, [redacted] furnished the following information concerning violence at People's Drug Store Number 3, 14th and U Streets, N.W.:

b7C

On April 2, 1968, [redacted] was on duty at the store at H and North Capitol Streets, N.W. At 8:45 p.m., he left this store to proceed to Store Number 3, where violence had been reported. Arriving at the store at about 9:05 p.m., the same night with [redacted] noted a rather unruly crowd assembled at the front of the store. The crowd was engaged in throwing of bottles, etc. He immediately entered the store. The violence continued outside and at one point a group of about 75 entered the store to attempt to engage in an altercation with a porter. This porter had previously during the evening given aid to another private officer on duty at the store in connection with some teenage boys who had attacked the officer. When the crowd entered the store, the manager upon orders of one of the superior officers of the guard force, closed the store whereupon the crowd dispersed from inside; however, they continued to crowd around the front door outside of the store.

b7C

At approximately 9:30 p.m., an individual [redacted] knows as STOKELY CARMICHAEL gained entrance to the store by knocking on the front door. CARMICHAEL was accompanied by either one or two Negro males, obviously bodyguards or close associates. CARMICHAEL talked with the manager of the store and [redacted] overheard him say to the manager "I talked to you about this days ago. We're out to get you." CARMICHAEL left after conversing with the manager briefly. When outside the store, CARMICHAEL was heard by [redacted] to say to the crowd "All right let's clear the streets; we don't want to go to jail. I have a better way, we'll either burn it or we'll bomb it." CARMICHAEL was then observed by [redacted] to proceed across Fourteenth Street from the store and in a

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SAs [redacted]

b7C

by [redacted] EWR:cjb

Date dictated 4/12/68

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b7C
northerly direction. [] believes CARMICHAEL has an office up 14th Street or did have at one time. He presumes he was headed toward that office. [] believes CARMICHAEL left around 11:30 p.m. After CARMICHAEL's departure the crowd seemed to disperse progressively and it appeared all had left about 30 to 40 minutes later. He estimated the crowd consisted of about 300 to 400. [] advised that the crowd of about 75 who entered the store to engage the porter in a scuffle, kicked out some of the window panes in the front doors. The remainder of the night was relatively calm.

b7C
On Thursday evening, April 4, 1968, after it was learned MARTIN LUTHER KING had been shot and killed, [] remained at his station at the Peoples Drug Store at North Capitol and H Streets, N.W., until about the closing time of 10:00 p.m. He believes he left about 9:50 p.m. to assist in guard duties at Store Number 3. He got into a taxicab and proceeded to Store Number 3. Upon arrival he noted a crowd in excess of 200 and possibly as many as 300 in front of Store Number 3. He ordered the driver of the cab to go to Store Number 8 at 14th Street and Park Road, N.W. At that store [] met []

[] They were in the process of closing Store Number 8. [] left the store with the manager and proceeded to deposit the days receipts in the bank across the street, and then with [] they were to take the manager either home or at least to his automobile. The other [] guards, [] then got into [] automobile, a yellow 1966 Plymouth hard-top with black vinyl top and proceeded down 14th Street to Store Number 3. All [] got out of the Plymouth and proceeded to the front door. At the front door it was noted by [] that some glass was broken out, and that a small boy was leaving the store by way of the opening made by the broken glass. As the [] were about to open the door to the store, they noted a large crowd come around the corner onto 14th Street

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b7C

from U Street and proceed towards the [] officers. They all left hurriedly for the Plymouth automobile. In the automobile they closed the windows, locked the doors. The crowd swarmed around the auto preventing an instant getaway and a number of about 25 or 30 of the crowd commenced to grab hold of the car and commenced to rock it. At that instance, [] noted STOKELY CARMICHAEL with two 38 caliber snub nose revolvers in his hands. The revolvers appeared to be blue steel with brown handles. Two others in the crowd also had guns. CARMICHAEL announced to them "the police are not the only ones who have guns tonight. We have guns and ammunition, all we need. Best you can do is stay away from this store. We're going to burn it." CARMICHAEL also made the announcement stating "I am going to take over where KING left off". [] believes the time this all occurred was about 10:30 to 10:45 p.m. After CARMICHAEL told them to leave, the [] officers left and headed down 14th Street in a southerly direction. About a block or so away they were overtaken by [] who was in his automobile. [] said he did not intend them to get involved with so many people which [] estimated must have been close to 500. [] along with the rest of the officers in the Plymouth, as well as those in [] auto, left the two cars in an area removed some blocks from 14th and U and walked back to Store Number 3 and they posted themselves across the street from the store to observe. They remained until shortly after 1:00 a.m., after which the crowd was dispersed by the actions of Metropolitan Police Officers as well as the rains. After things quieted down some, [] entered Store Number 3 and remained until about 7:30 a.m., April 5, 1968 (Friday). Then he proceeded to Store Number 8 where he remained until 1:45 p.m., April 5, 1968 (Friday). Upon leaving Store Number 8, [] took up his regular assignment at [] where he remained until the following Sunday at 7:30 a.m.

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b7C

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[] advised he is absolutely positive he observed STOKELY CARMICHAEL at Store Number 3 on the evening of April 4, 1968, and he is identical with the individual he previously observed on April 2, 1968, at the same store. CARMICHAEL was definitely holding two guns at the time of the April 4 incident. CARMICHAEL impressed him as being the leader of the crowd.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date 4/15/68

[redacted] Seaboard, Ltd.
(a subsidiary of the Peoples Drug Stores), 927 H Street,
N.W., Washington, D.C. (WDC), who resides at [redacted]
[redacted] WDC, Telephone [redacted] furnished the following
information concerning the activities of STOKELY CARMICHAEL
at the Peoples Drug Store Number 3, 2002 14th Street, N.W.,
WDC, on Thursday, April 4, 1968, as well as other activities
deemed pertinent to this investigation:

b7C

Thursday, April 4, 1968, was [redacted] first day
of employment at Peoples Drug Store Number 3. He was on duty
that date from 5:30 p.m. until 9:30 p.m.

At about 9:00 p.m. that date, a large group of
about eighty Negro male individuals congregated in front of
the store. The members of this group were generally in their
twenties as to age. A large number of this group then entered
the store and shouted words to the effect, "Close this store
up! Close this (two word obscene expression) store! They
gave no stated reasons as to why the store should have been
closed.

[redacted] had been standing near the front entrance
to the store when the commotion began, but he retreated two-
thirds of the distance to the rear of the store in the aisle
adjacent to the soda fountain as the group entered the store.
From this position, [redacted] view of the described group was
completely obstructed by a wall dividing the soda fountain
aisle from the remainder of the store. A short while later
when [redacted] ventured back to the front of the store, the
described group had already disappeared. [redacted] then learned
from other store employees that the group had left the store.
By that time, the manager had closed the store in deference
to the demands of the group.

b7C

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SAs [redacted] b7C
by [redacted] ECG:skt Date dictated 4/12/68

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[] then noticed that the group was then proceeding south on 14th Street, N.W.

b7C Ten minutes later when again seen by [] the group was walking north on the opposite side of 14th Street across from the Drug Store, where some of the members entered several stores for short intervals and then returned to the street. Their purpose was believed to have been to also close these establishments although [] did not personally observe these stores actually closing. The group continued north on 14th Street until [] no longer observed them.

[] witnessed no violence on the part of this group and did not observe any firearms or other dangerous weapons in the possession of any of the group's members.

b7C STOKELY CARMICHAEL was not known to [] except by reputation, and [] did not recognize CARMICHAEL as a participant in the described activities of the group in the Drug Store or on the street.

Photographs of the following Negro male individuals were displayed to [] but he claimed he could not identify any of the persons portrayed as participants in the described activities or as persons seen by him in the past:

STOKELY CARMICHAEL



b7C

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/17/68

b7C

[redacted] Seaboard Service System Limited, 927 H Street, Northwest, was interviewed at his post at 77 P Street, N. W., the Peoples Drug Store warehouse. [redacted] residence is [redacted] Washington, D. C.

b7C

[redacted] advised he was on his regular post on Thursday, April 4, 1968, at the warehouse. His tour of duty was 3 PM to 11 PM. He advised his duties include taking all calls from other guards checking in regularly and in emergency situations. An emergency call was received at about 9 PM on April 4, 1968, from Store #3, at 14th and U Streets, N. W. The call came from the manager who advised a crowd was gathering or had gathered in front of the store after one of the guards had attempted to make an arrest, and a scuffle resulted. [redacted] immediately contacted [redacted] who was at home and [redacted] whom he believes were on duty at other stores.

b7C

Just prior to [redacted] being relieved at his assignment at 11 PM, [redacted] appeared at the warehouse along with [redacted]. They reportedly had been up to #3 and were unable to get into the store and therefore came to the warehouse. [redacted] got into his auto as did [redacted] and drove up to #3. Arriving at the 13th and U Streets area they noted citizens throwing bottles, bricks, rocks, etc., and as they approached 14th and U the crowd became more unruly. [redacted] suggested [redacted] pull his auto up on the sidewalk to block the front door of Peoples Drug Store, however, [redacted] declined and pulled around the corner onto 14th Street headed in a northerly direction. At 14th and W Streets, they approached a Metropolitan Police scout car and

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SAs [redacted]

b7C

by [redacted]

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Date dictated 4/16/68~~SECRET~~

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b7C
requested assistance for Peoples, however, they advised nothing could be done at the moment. All three returned to the warehouse. At about 11:50 PM, they returned to the 14th and U Streets, N. W., and still were unable to get into the store, however, the Police Department was attempting to break up the crowd. They shortly thereafter returned again to the warehouse. At the warehouse, [redacted] was instructed telephonically by [redacted] [redacted] Peoples Drug Stores, to remain available at the warehouse which he did. [redacted] took up posts at other stores.

b7C
[redacted] advised he is unable to identify any of the participants in the activities at 14th and U during the evening and advised he did not see STOKELY CARMICHAEL during the evening or anyone he could connect with CARMICHAEL.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date 4/13/68

[redacted] Seaboard Service Systems, Limited, 927 H Street, N. W., home address Apartment [redacted] [redacted] telephone [redacted] furnished the following information concerning events on the night of April 4, 1968:

b7C

At 9:15 p. m. [redacted] was stationed at Peoples Drug Store, 4837 Benning Road, S. E., when he received a call to proceed to Peoples Store Number 8 at Park Road, N. W. He arrived at 9:40 p. m.

From Store Number 8, [redacted] [redacted] also of Seaboard Systems were told by their supervisor to go to Store Number 3 at 14th and U Streets, N. W., to see if they could afford protection as Store Number 3 was being looted by a crowd of rioters.

b7C

At about 10:00 p. m. they arrived at Peoples Store Number 3 at 14th and U Streets where they double-parked [redacted] 1966 Plymouth and attempted to enter the store. They were stopped by a crowd estimated by [redacted] at 300-500 persons, ages eighteen to twenty-five, who appeared to be led by three individuals, two with bush type haircuts.

[redacted] were all in special police uniforms of Seaboard Systems, Limited. The [redacted] individuals, who appeared to be leading the crowd, according to [redacted] "shook and waved" pistols at them. He said each of the three had two guns apiece, each gun believed by [redacted] to be of thirty-eight caliber. The three individuals told them not to enter Peoples Drug store as "you all aren't the only ones with guns." They were also told "don't fire a shot or you will be killed," [redacted] thought the guns to be older weapons, possibly types which may have been purchased in a pawn shop. He stated it was difficult to further describe

b7C

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by SAs [redacted] ^{b7C} DRK:nlr Date dictated 4/12/68

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the guns and the events that were going on at the time because of the excitement and confusion.

[] said, during this time, he observed looters leaving Peoples Drug store with television sets and pole lamps.

b7C [] said an individual, whose name he could not recall, told the others in the crowd to "let [] go, he is okay." [] said he remembered the individual as someone with whom he had played "pool" on one occasion, but could not recall his name or the place he had met him.

b7C [] stated, he, [] made their way back to [] car and locked themselves inside. The crowd began to rock and bounce the car as if attempting to turn it over. [] started the car and left the area, experiencing great difficulty in getting through the crowd. [] according to [] were "scared" and feared for their personal safety because of the mass confusion and excitement. They were in the area approximately ten minutes from about 10:00 p. m. to 10:10 p. m.

b7C [] was exhibited a photograph of [] [] STOKELY CARMICHAEL and [] stated he could not identify anyone in the photograph by name, but noted the following:

Two of the individuals who "shook and waved" guns at the officers appeared to resemble [] [] stated he did not see STOKELY CARMICHAEL. [] pointed out he is from Southeast Washington and has been stationed at Peoples Drug Store at 14th and U Streets on only two occasions in the past. He said he is not familiar with either the people or the activities in the area of 14th and U Streets, N. W.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date 4/17/68

b7C [redacted] Seaboard Service System Limited, 927 H Street, N. W., residence [redacted] Apartment Number [redacted] furnished the following information:

b7C [redacted] advised he was enroute to Peoples Drug Store at Thomas Circle on Tuesday evening April 2, 1968, on a city bus. Passing 14th and U Streets, he observed a crowd forming and got off the bus to lend assistance to the officers on duty. He found [redacted] was on duty by himself; the other officer had left to handle some unruly teenagers who had been taken to the Police Precinct. Upon arriving [redacted] noted the front door glass had been broken. While there, the crowds tossed bricks, bottles, rocks, etc., at the store. Further on one occasion, he heard what sounded like shots fired although he did not observe the firing of a weapon nor did he see any weapon. [redacted] remained on duty until sometime after daylight on the following day.

b7C At about 9:00 p.m., on April 2, 1968, an individual he knows as STOKELY CARMICHAEL personally appeared at the store and he believes he was accompanied by another individual he is not able to identify. CARMICHAEL was let in by [redacted] CARMICHAEL advised [redacted] he had "had it up to here" pointing to his neck with both hands. He said he did not want a white manager in that store for "five minutes longer." Having made his statement to the manager, CARMICHAEL left by way of the front door. Since the door pane had been broken, [redacted] could hear some of the talk CARMICHAEL made to the crowd outside of the store. He indicated they should scatter and should not get locked up. He also indicated he would see to it the store was blown up that night. After the brief talk the crowd dispersed.

b7C

On 4/16/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737
SAS [redacted]
by WBS:laa Date dictated 4/17/68

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WFO 62-9737

2

b7C

[] advised some remained, some throwing bottles, bricks, etc. He overheard conversations indicating lighter fluid had been poured on the wall of the store and that they were unable to make it burn. A tree was set afire and was put out by the time fire fighting equipment arrived. The firemen were sneered at upon arrival.

b7C

A photograph on which appear STOKELY CARMICHAEL, [] was exhibited to [] [] identified CARMICHAEL as the individual who personally appeared to protest the white manager and identified [] as possibly identical with an individual in the crowd outside the store during the talk by CARMICHAEL. He is unable to advise if [] came into the store that night. [] advised he remained on duty at Store Number 3 until the following day at 9:30 a.m., April 3, 1968.

b7C

[] advised he was enroute to Thomas Circle by bus on the evening of April 4, 1968, when he arrived at Store Number 3. Noting a crowd of about one hundred people gathered he decided to get off to render any assistance necessary to officers on duty. Inside the store was [] and possibly a few other officers. Word was received trouble was brewing at Store Number 8 at Park Road and 14th Street. All personnel then proceeded to Store Number 8, [] riding in the automobile driven by [] Upon arrival at Number 8, the store was closed up. The manager was escorted to the bank across the street to make a night deposit and taken to his private automobile. [] then got into [] automobile with [] driving along with one or two other officers. They proceeded to Store Number 3. Upon arrival they noted a large crowd had now assembled. No attempt was made to enter the store, however, he believes the other car in which officers had traveled from Number 8 to Number 3 attempted to get in but were prevented from so doing by the crowd. The other car's occupants reportedly were threatened and therefore they pulled off.

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WFO 62-9737

3

b7C

The group which were in [] automobile met with the group in the other automobile about three or four blocks distance. They removed portions of their uniform and proceeded on foot to 14th and U Streets, N. W., where they took up informal posts across the street to observe. He estimated the crowd in excess of four hundred persons. No attempt to enter the store was made until sometime later when Metropolitan Police Department Officers were successful in breaking up the mob. This was after 12 midnight, exact time he cannot determine.

b7C

[] did not observe STOKELY CARMICHAEL in the crowd nor anyone he is able to identify.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date 4/17/68

[redacted] Seaboard Service System
Limited, 927 H Street, N. W., residence Apartment [redacted]
[redacted] advised as follows:

b7C

On Tuesday, April 2, 1968, [redacted] was on duty at Peoples Drug Store Number 3, 14th and U Streets, N. W. He caught a youth for stealing and as a result some scuffle resulted. The end result was that four youths were taken to Metropolitan Police Department Precinct Number 13 by police officers. He remained there until after 10 p.m., when he left for his residence and did not return to the store. He observed no activity after his departure from the store for Precinct Number 13.

b7C

While [redacted] was handling the youths, one or two of whom had struck him, a woman he knows as [redacted] (phonetic) cried out, "Police brutality" and became violent, accusing [redacted] of beating up the youths. He stated had this woman not become so violent in her actions the activities which he understood occurred later in the evening and which also brought one STOKELY CARMICHAEL to the store would not have happened.

b7C

[redacted] described [redacted] as a Negro, female, age 33-35, small build, five feet three inches to five feet five inches, medium brown complexion. He stated she is a frequent visitor to store number 3.

[redacted] advised STOKELY CARMICHAEL has been in the store on frequent occasions when [redacted] has been there. On one occasion [redacted] and CARMICHAEL talked rather lengthy during which CARMICHAEL attempted to persuade [redacted] not to work for Peoples any longer since the store was operated by white people including a white manager. [redacted] advised he

On 4/15/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737

SAS

b7C

by WBS:laa Date dictated 4/16/68

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WFO 62-9737

2

told CARMICHAEL he was not sympathetic to CARMICHAEL's beliefs or actions and he had no intention of leaving the store. Since that time CARMICHAEL has steered clear of

b7C

[redacted] was not at the store during the disturbances which occurred after the death of MARTIN LUTHER KING.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date April 18, 1968

[redacted] Seaboard Service System, Limited, 927 H Street, N.W., with residence address of [redacted] telephone [redacted] advised his usual duty is that of guard at Peoples Drug Store Number 3, 14th and U Streets, N.W., Washington, D.C. Occasionally, as circumstances require, he is assigned to other stores. While on duty on Tuesday, April 2, 1968, at Store Number 3, at about 8:45 p.m., after another guard had made an arrest which resulted in some disturbance at the store, an individual he has seen in the store previously known to him as STOKELY CARMICHAEL and an unidentified Negro male appeared at the store and conversed a few minutes with the manager, [redacted] CARMICHAEL advised the manager: "This is it, I've warned you before. We're going to blow this place up." [redacted] advised this may not have been the exact wordage used by CARMICHAEL but it is the best he can now recall of the conversation. [redacted] took this to mean CARMICHAEL or his group were dissatisfied with the guards at the store carrying out their assigned duties by arresting offenders of the law for shoplifting, etc.; he had warned the store previously and now he was going to blow the place up.

b7C

Having so advised the manager in the presence of [redacted] and other officers, including [redacted] [redacted] CARMICHAEL and the unidentified individual left the store. On the outside of the store, CARMICHAEL made an informal talk to the crowd, instructing them not to do anything that night because they may be arrested. However, he said, "We're gonna get them." By this [redacted] believes CARMICHAEL or his friends would get even with the store for the arrests made previously in the

b7C

On 4/12/68 at Washington, D.C. File # WFO 62-9737
SAs [redacted] b7C
by [redacted] dan Date dictated 4/16/68

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WFO 62-9737

2

b7C
evening and at other times. Based upon CARMICHAEL's conversation with the manager, he believes CARMICHAEL was telling the crowd the store would be destroyed. Shortly after CARMICHAEL's talk, the crowd dispersed; however, the store continually had rocks and bricks thrown at its windows during the night. [] estimated a crowd on the outside numbered over 100 when CARMICHAEL came in and after he left. [] advised the panes of the door were broken earlier in the evening by bricks and possibly by some gunshots. A workman attempted to board up the door during the evening but was prevented from so doing by the crowd. Sometime during the period the large crowd was at the store, some of the crowd attempted to burn the store by pouring lighter fluid on the outside front walls but was unable to make it burn. They were able only to burn a tree.

On the evening of April 4, 1968, after the death of MARTIN LUTHER KING was announced, [] was on duty at Store Number 8 located at 14th Street and Park Road, N.W. While at the store, [] was alerted there was trouble brewing at Store Number 3. [] got into the automobile of [] along with [] and was driven down to Store Number 3. The exact time cannot be recalled. [] automobile was preceded by the automobile of [] which was a late model yellow Plymouth convertible. Arriving in the area of the store, he noted [] automobile was not in front of the store but had pulled off and was about a block ahead of [] automobile when they arrived at Store Number 3. Noting a large crowd assembled, [] did not attempt to stop, driving on about three blocks where he parked the automobile and joined the other officers who were in the Plymouth. He understands the officers in the Plymouth attempted to gain entrance into the store, however, were prevented from so doing by the crowd. He understands some of the officers observed some of the crowd had guns and

b7C

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WFO 62-9737

3

they threatened the officers in the Plymouth with violence if they remained in the immediate area or went to the store.

b7C After having parked the automobile some blocks from the store, [] and the officers returned to the 14th and U Streets area and remained across the street, observing the activities going on. He indicated the crowd was extremely large, approximately 300 persons. He did not observe STOKELY CARMICHAEL in the crowd and recognized no one else. Sometime after midnight, he was able to gain entrance to the store, along with the others, and remained there throughout the night.

b7C A photograph of CARMICHAEL, including [] [] were exhibited to [] who identified CARMICHAEL as the individual in Store Number 3 on April 2; 1968, who conversed with the manager. He believes CARMICHAEL was accompanied at that time by []

[] advised he did not desire to furnish a signed statement at this time.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 4/17/68

[redacted] Seaboard Service
System Limited, 927 H Street, Northwest, residence [redacted]
[redacted] advised as follows:

b7C [redacted] was not involved in any of the activities at Peoples Drug Store #3 at 14th and U Streets, N. W., or Store #8, 14th and Park Road, N. W., during the disturbances on April 2 or April 4, 1968. [redacted] did advise he was on duty at #3 on Wednesday, April 3, 1968, which was the day after [redacted] had an altercation with four youths and a resultant civil disturbance occurred in front of the store. On Wednesday his duty was 8 AM to 4 PM, however, he remained until 10 PM. At about 9:30 AM, STOKELY CARMICHAEL appeared personally at the store and inquired of [redacted] who is a colored man, the whereabouts of the "honky". By honky CARMICHAEL was referring to the white manager of the store. CARMICHAEL made no other comment or request and left the store, having been advised the manager would not be in until about 1 PM.

b7C Due to shortage of personnel, [redacted] remained on duty until 10 PM. At about 7 to 7:30 PM, CARMICHAEL returned, at which time he inquired of the manager, [redacted] the reason guards were still in the store and advised he wanted the guards out of the store. Some of his exact words were "get the guards out or else." He also indicated he did not want anymore of his people locked up. CARMICHAEL was only in the store for about two or three minutes and he left getting into a 1962 or 1963 white Chevrolet. After [redacted] shift was over he departed, not to return until April 5, 1968, at about 3 PM. He has not seen CARMICHAEL again since the April 3rd instance.

On 4/16/68 at Washington, D. C.File # WFO 62-9737by SA [redacted] /llw

b7C

Date dictated 4/16/68~~SECRET~~

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WFO 62-9737

C. BUSINESSES ON 14TH
STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date April 10, 1968

b7C

[redacted] National Liquors,
2001 14th Street N.W., advised his residence is
[redacted] Maryland.

He advised that on the night of April 4, 1968, he closed the National Liquors Store at about 9:00 p.m. He had previously heard that Reverend MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., had been killed in Memphis, Tennessee. At the time he left his store there were not any unusual number of people on the street. No one said anything to him about closing the store. He did not see any persons on the street carrying guns or other weapons.

On 4/9/68 at Washington, D.C. File # WFO 62-9737

by SAs [redacted] b7C
[redacted] bfm Date dictated 4/9/68

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WFO 62-9737

REM:skt

1

On April 14, 1968, the Washington Post newspaper, a morning newspaper in the Washington, D.C. (WDC), area, published a chronological list of events which reportedly took place on the evening of April 4, 1968. It was mentioned in this list that a group of Negroes led by STOKELY CARMICHAEL closed the Carters Liquors Incorporated, 1941 14th Street, N.W., at 9:15 p.m.; and also closed the National Liquor Store, 2001 14th Street, N.W., at 9:30 p.m.

Inasmuch as the above information conflicted with information previously obtained by Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) during interviews at the above-mentioned establishments, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] National Liquor Store, and [REDACTED] Carters Liquors Incorporated, were reinterviewed on April 15, 1968. Results of these interviews and an interview with [REDACTED] Carters Liquors Incorporated, follow:

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 4/15/68

b7C On April 15, 1968, [redacted] National Liquor Store, 2001 14th Street, N.W., advised the normal closing time for his store, in accordance with the regulations set by the Alcoholic Beverage Control Board, is 9:00 p.m.

[redacted] stated that on the evening of April 4, 1968, he closed his store promptly at 9:00 p.m. and went home.

b7C [redacted] stated that on the evening of April 4, 1968, after closing his store at 9:00 p.m. he did not notice any crowds gathering in the area, nor did he notice anything unusual in the neighborhood.

[redacted] further advised that at no time on the evening of April 4, 1968, did anyone come into his store insisting that he close.

on 4/15/68 at Washington, D.C.

File # WFO 62-9737

SAs [redacted]

b7C

by [redacted] REM:skt

Date dictated 4/15/68

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 4/15/68

[redacted] Carters Liquors Incorporated, 1941 14th Street, N.W., advised on April 15, 1968, that on the evening of April 4, 1968, he left his store early and was at home when he heard the news of the death of MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

b7C

He stated that at about 8:15 p.m. on that evening he called his store from home to make certain everything was in order. He said he kept in touch with [redacted] by calling him on the telephone every ten or fifteen minutes until closing time, and no trouble was reported to him at that time.

On 4/15/68 at Washington, D.C. File # WFO 62-9737
by SAs [redacted] [redacted] REM:skt Date dictated 4/15/68

b7C

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 4/15/68

On April 15, 1968, [redacted]
Carters Liquors Incorporated, 1941 14th Street, N.W.,
advised that on the evening of April 4, 1968, he closed
the store as usual at 9:00 p.m. and departed the area about
9:10 p.m.

b7C

[redacted] stated that a large crowd was building
up in the area, and he feared for his safety but had no
trouble driving from the store to his home in [redacted]
Maryland.

[redacted] stated that at no time on the evening
of April 4, 1968, did any crowd enter his store and insist
that he close. He said, however, that at about 8:30 p.m.
on that night, [redacted] a Negro male, [redacted]
[redacted] came into the store and advised him that
MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., was dead, and he had better close
the store.

b7C

[redacted] stated he took this to be a friendly
concern for his safety on the part of [redacted] and not as a threat.

On 4/15/68 at Washington, D.C. File # WFO 62-9737

SAs [redacted]

b7C

by [redacted]

REM:skt

Date dictated 4/15/68

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WFO 62-9737

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b7C

The following reinterview of [redacted] was conducted as a result of information obtained from [redacted] [redacted] set forth on pages 61 through 63 of the April 12, 1968, report in this matter:

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date April 15, 1968

b7C

[redacted]
Maryland, was recontacted regarding the events on the evening of April 4, 1968, at Eddie Leonard's Sandwich Shop, 2428 14th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

Relative to the information she previously furnished, she stated it was an actual account of the events that took place. She reiterated that the first group of Negro males, consisting of about 25 men, entered the shop about 10:05 p.m. and one of the individuals, identity unknown, asked, "Who is the manager?" and she motioned with her hand that she was the manager. In the meantime, someone else in the group, identity not known to her, said, "I'm asking you to close because Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING has been slain, would you please close," or words to that effect, exact wordage not recalled. Someone in the group also said they would be back later.

b7C

[redacted] said she "got the message" and added she meant by this that it was her definite impression she had received a command rather than a request. She got the feeling they were "mean," especially after seeing one of them with a knife in his hand. In connection with seeing the knife, a co-worker, [redacted] was so frightened she ran into the back of the shop until the group left and later said she had done this because she was afraid of the knife.

[redacted] said that in her opinion no employee in the shop could have missed seeing the knife because of [redacted] actions.

b7C

On 4/11/68 at [redacted] File # WFO 62-9737
by SAs [redacted] dan [redacted] Date dictated 4/15/68

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WFO 62-9737

2

[] stated she was positive that STOKELY CARMICHAEL was not in the group or groups that entered the shop. She reiterated that if he had been in the shop, she would have recognized him. She stated he definitely was not a member of the group and that he definitely was not either of the individuals who requested that the shop be closed.

b7C

[] was also positive that at no time, while the group was in the shop, did [] speak or call "CARMICHAEL" or say anything to anyone. After the group left or when they were leaving the shop, [] said they were CARMICHAEL's group and when asked how she knew this, [] replied, "I just know" and nothing more was said about this.

b7C

[] said it was her opinion that [] likes to leave the impression that she is well informed and knows many people. She feels that [] tends to exaggerate in order to further convey this impression.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/3/68

[redacted] Fox-Keller, Inc. (used cars), 1801 14th Street, N. W., advised that he had closed his business at 9:30 p.m. on April 4, 1968. He stated that he had not observed anything unusual; he did not see anyone urge anyone to steal, set fire, or destroy property. He did not observe any march in the area.

[redacted] was exhibited a photograph of STOKELY CARMICHAEL and he advised he did not see CARMICHAEL the night of April 4, 1968.

On 4/8/68 at Washington, D. C. File # 62-9737

by SAS [redacted] b7C
[redacted] Date dictated 4/8/68

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

b7C

Date April 12, 1968

[redacted] Hunter Liquors, 1900 14th Street, N.W., furnished the following information:

He stated that on the evening of April 4, 1968, he closed his store at approximately 9:00 p.m., which is normal closing time. He stated that he did not at that time know of the death of MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., and no one asked him to close the store. He did not depart the store until 9:30 p.m. due to difficulty in reconciling cash register receipts which were \$45 out of balance. Between 9:00 p.m. and 9:30 p.m. of April 4, 1968, he learned of KING's death in a telephone call from his brother.

When he departed the store at 9:30 p.m. he noticed a large crowd of people north of the store around 14th and U Streets, N.W. He did not observe any unruly action of this crowd and he departed the area en route to his residence.

He said that he does not know STOKELY CARMICHAEL. He was shown a photograph of CARMICHAEL by the interviewing agents and stated that he did not recognize the man, nor had he seen him in the crowd.

On 4/10/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737
by SAs [redacted] b7C
[redacted] GBN;cjb Date dictated 4/10/68

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/18/68

On April 16, 1968, [redacted]

[redacted]
[redacted]
of Wings Carryout Chinese Restaurant, 1917 14th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., advised that on the night of April 4, 1968, he was playing bridge at a friend's home. The friend's son advised [redacted] of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, Jr.'s death about 7:30 p.m. that evening. From the bridge game, [redacted] drove to his restaurant on 14th Street, where he arrived about 12 midnight and observed his place was closed. He unlocked the door, then left after a cursory look revealed no apparent damage. He surmised that based on the evening's receipts the restaurant was probably closed about 8:00 p.m. He stated that [redacted] Washington, D. C., and [redacted] address unknown, Telephone [redacted] were employed in his restaurant on the evening of April 4. On Friday, April 5, 1968, [redacted] related to [redacted] that about 8:00 p.m., April 4, STOKELY CARMICHAEL entered Wings Carryout Restaurant and asked, "Would you do us a favor and close the store." [redacted] agreed to close the store immediately and did so. She told [redacted] there was a great deal of commotion on the street which worried her. She advised [redacted] that when she left no damage had been done to the store.

b7C

[redacted] advised that [redacted] did not appear to sympathize with STOKELY CARMICHAEL or his activities. He felt, however, that she might, out of fear, slant her comments concerning the happenings around the restaurant on the evening of April 4, 1968.

b7C

On 4/16/68 at Alexandria, VirginiaFile # WFO 62-9737

SAs [redacted]

b7C

by ([redacted]) /cad

Date dictated 4/18/68

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WFO 62-9737

RCC:ead

1

On April 16, 1968, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] of Wings-N-Things
Carryout Restaurant, 1932 14th Street, N. W., Washington,
D. C., advised SAs [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] that on the night of April 4, 1968, he was in Norfolk,
Virginia, tending to business matters. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] was placed in charge of the carryout restaurant
in his absence.

b7C

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 4/18/68

On April 16, 1968, [redacted]

[redacted] of Wings-N-Things Carryout Restaurant, 1932 14th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., advised he arrived at Wings-N-Things Restaurant, 1932 14th Street, N. W., about 8:55 p.m. on April 4, 1968, to check the change of shifts, as his usual responsibility. Everything appeared normal from 8:55 p.m. until 9:10 p.m. when he left. [redacted] of Wings-N-Things, [redacted] did not mention any unusual disturbance in the area. [redacted] returned to the restaurant about 9:30 p.m. and began closing, anticipating possible trouble. At this time he observed a few broken windows in the nearby stores. He did not see any large crowds in the area although large numbers of people are common in this area. He proceeded to another Wings-N-Things Carryout Restaurant on 14th and Kenyon Street, where he closed the restaurant about 10:30 p.m. due to the unruly crowds on the streets. [redacted] stated he heard a shot fired from the mob but could not determine where it occurred.

b7C

On Friday, April 5, 1968, while driving through the intersection at 14th and U Streets, N. W., about 11:30 a.m., [redacted] recognized STOKELY CARMICHAEL addressing a crowd. [redacted] did not stop to further observe these activities.

b7C

On 4/16/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737by SAs [redacted] lead [redacted] Date dictated 4/17/68

b7C

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date 4/13/68

On April 10, 1968, []
[] furnished the following information concerning events
on the night of Thursday, April 4, 1968:

Between 7:30 p. m. and 8:00 p. m. [] was at his
residence []

b7C

[] when he heard that Dr. MARTIN LUTHER
KING was dead. He noted crowds were beginning to gather on
14th Street. Shortly thereafter, he walked outside and went
to Carter's Liquors where he suggested they close as trouble
appeared to be in the making. [] stated he frequents Carter's,
cashes checks there and considers []
to be a friend. He told them to close as a friend so that no
damage would come to the store.

Thereafter, he saw crowds walking south on 14th
Street, towards U Street, estimated at over 200 people. Between
8:30 and 9:00 p. m., he saw STOKELY CARMICHAEL at 14th and W
Streets, where according to [] CARMICHAEL made the statements
"Anybody for violence go home," "Anybody for non-violence stay
with me." The crowd shouted "Hey, Hey, Black Power!"

b7C

Thereafter, he observed CARMICHAEL and a crowd
walking about the four block area from approximately W to S
Streets on 14th Street asking negro businesses to close and
leave on the lights, because Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING is dead.
According to [] who was in CARMICHAEL's presence for
approximately two to three minutes, near U Street, CARMICHAEL
told [] and others in the crowd, "Brother KING is dead, keep
a cool head." [] said CARMICHAEL, during his walk around
the area, stated "Dr. KING is dead, we must do the same as
we did when President KENNEDY was killed, because KENNEDY was
the United States President and KING was our President."

On 4/10/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737

by SAs [] b7C DRK:nlr Date dictated 4/12/68

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WFO 62-9737

2

b7C

☐ concluded his statement by volunteering it is his opinion that CARMICHAEL is for non-violence just like Dr. KING.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date April 10, 1968

b7C

[redacted] Reese Barber Shop, 2009 14th Street N.W. advised that on Thursday, April 4, 1968, he closed the barber shop about 8:00 p.m. Shortly after the shop was closed, possibly as late as 9:30 p.m. someone came to the door and stated words to the effect that in memory of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, close the shop. Inasmuch as the shop was already closed and crowds were gathering on the street, he remained in the shop until about midnight. There was no damage to his shop. He did not know who told him to close the shop.

On 4/9/68 at Washington, D.C. File # WFO 62-9737

by SAs [redacted] b7C
[redacted] bfm Date dictated 4/9/68

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date April 12, 1968

On April 11, 1968, [redacted] residence [redacted]

[redacted] advised that he is employed as [redacted]

[redacted] During the

b7C evening of April 4, 1968, [redacted] was making deliveries and returned to the store about 8:30 p.m. He parked the truck in the rear of the store. As he was in the alley behind the store he saw three adult Negro males run past him and he overheard someone remark "Let's get some gasoline and start a fire". He could not identify any of the men. One of them was about 28-30 years of age, the other two were about 25 years old. [redacted] said he then entered the store, which was being closed at the time, and then departed for home.

b7C On Tuesday night, April 2, 1968, [redacted] said there was a large crowd of people in front of the Peoples Drug Store Number 3,2002 14th Street, N.W., when some of the young people in the area were having an argument with the guards at the Peoples Drug Store. [redacted] said that he saw STOKELY CARMICHAEL that night in front of the Drug Store and heard him say words to the effect that "this ain't the time, we will let you know when."

The police did arrive that night and dispersed the crowd.

On 4/11/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737
by SAs [redacted] b7C ECB;cjb Date dictated 4/12/68

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date April 10, 1968

b7C

[redacted] Zanzibar, 2017 14th Street N.W., residence [redacted] advised that on Thursday night, April 4, 1968, prior to 8:00 p.m. he noticed a number of people on the street, possibly as many as one hundred. He had heard that Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. had been killed, so decided to close the restaurant at about 8:00 p.m. He stayed in the place until about 11:30 p.m. when police arrived. No one said anything to him about closing the restaurant, nor caused any damage to his restaurant that night. He has not opened since Thursday night.

On 4/9/68 at Washington, D.C. File # WFO 62-9732

by SAs [redacted] b7C
[redacted] bfm Date dictated 4/9/68

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 4/12/68

[redacted] of Diamond Jim's Restaurant, 2300 14th Street, N.W., advised that on the night of April 4, 1968, he opened his restaurant as usual at 8:00 p.m. A short time later, a man came into the restaurant and told him that a large crowd was assembling at 14th and "U" Streets, N.W. He was advised to turn out his lights and lock up as STOKELY CARMICHAEL was down there at 14th and "U" and there was going to be trouble. [redacted] advised that he closed his business at this point and departed the area.

b7C

On 4/12/68 at Washington, D.C.File # WFO 62-9737

SA [redacted]

fet

b7C

4/12/68

by _____

Date dictated _____

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 4/12/68

[redacted] of the Pool Hall, 2302 14th Street, N.W., advised that he was seated in Hill's Esso Station across the street from his pool hall when a gang of Negro youths approached him and told him to close his pool hall out of respect for the death of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING. At this point [redacted] noticed that a number of these youths had crossed the street and entered his pool hall. He told the man who had told him to close that he would gladly do so, if the other men who had entered his shop would leave. The man called out to another who was across the street and told him to have the others leave. All the men at this point left the pool hall and proceeded north on 14th Street. There were about 150 men milling around the sidewalks and in 14th Street at this point. [redacted] advised that this event occurred about 9:30 p.m., on April 4, 1968. He recognized one man in the crowd to be [redacted]

b7C

[redacted] advised that he knew STOKELY CARMICHAEL by reputation and photograph. He described the man who told him to close as resembling CARMICHAEL. He described him as about six feet tall, 190 pounds, and a light smooth "British West Indies" complexion. This man had a small gold earring in his left ear. A photograph of CARMICHAEL was displayed to [redacted] who advised that although he greatly resembled the man that he had talked to on the night of April 4, 1968, he could not make a positive identification.

b7C

[redacted] advised that on closing his shop, he proceeded south of 14th Street, away from the flow of the crowd, and went directly home.

On 4/12/68 at Washington, D.C. File # WFO 62-9737
by SAs [redacted] b7C
[redacted] RAW:fet Date dictated 4/12/68

105

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 4/12/68

b7C

[redacted] of Hill Service Station, 2301 14th Street, N.W., advised that he was in his station the night of April 4, 1968, when some time about 9:00 p.m., a group of men in their twenties entered the station. One, whom [redacted] did not recognize, said, "Close up, or we'll kill you." Then another man, who seemed to be their leader, came forward and said in a calm voice "Will you please close in respect to Dr. King?" [redacted] agreed to close his station, which he did and the men then left, some proceeding north on 13th Street and the rest going across the street.

b7C

[redacted] related that he did not know STOKELY CARMICHAEL and could not, therefore, identify him as being in the crowd.

On 4/9/68 at Washington, D.C. File # WFO 62-9737
SAs [redacted] b7C
by [redacted] WPH:fet Date dictated 4/12/68

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 4/12/68

b7C [redacted] advised that on the evening of April 4, 1968, he was in Hill Service Station on the night of April 4, 1968. Sometime after 9:00 p.m., a group of individuals in their twenties demanded that the station be closed. The group was described as having long hair, beards, and definitely not clean-cut. Some younger boys joined the crowd and they proceeded north on 14th Street. [redacted] has seen pictures of STOKELY CARMICHAEL but did not recognize him or any other person as being in the crowd.

On 4/11/68 at Washington, D.C. File # WFO 62-9737

by SA [redacted] fet ^{b7C} Date dictated 4/12/68

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/16/68

b7C On April 15, 1968, [redacted] of Caruso's Flower Shop, 2914 14th Street, N. W., advised on April 5, 1968, [redacted] opened his flower shop as usual. Later in the morning and early afternoon, looting activities increased in the area around his shop. While boarding up some broken windows on his store front, an unidentified Negro male told him it was no sense nailing that up; we are going to burn it down tonight. You're on the list. A few minutes later [redacted] asked some passersby why they were going to do this. An unidentified Negro male replied that we have got our orders. Another unidentified Negro male explained to [redacted] that he [redacted] had just spoken with STOKELY CARMICHAEL. [redacted] advised he was thoroughly familiar with STOKELY CARMICHAEL's face and stated that no one in the crowd resembled him. After studying a photograph of CARMICHAEL furnished by SA [redacted] stated that at no time on Friday did he observe any person who looked like CARMICHAEL.

b7C [redacted] advised he had developed a good business over the past 30 years with a solid Negro clientele. All those he witnessed participating in the looting were complete strangers to him.

1*

On 4/15/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737
by SA [redacted] SA [redacted] lead [redacted] Date dictated 4/16/68
b7C

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/16/68

On April 15, 1968, [redacted]

[redacted] Maryland, employee at Caruso's Flower Shop, 2914 14th Street, N. W., advised he arrived at Caruso's Flower Shop about 7:45 a.m., Friday, April 5, and noticed that the entire group of windows on the Columbia Road side of his store were broken. Increasing numbers of people began looting the surrounding stores. At about 3:00 p.m. while [redacted]

b7C

of the shop, boarded up the broken windows, an unknown Negro male advised them it was no sense nailing that up; we are going to burn it down tonight. Moments later an unidentified Negro male pointed down the general direction of Columbia Road and stated that STOKELY CARMICHAEL is down there. When showed a photograph of CARMICHAEL, [redacted] advised he was familiar with CARMICHAEL's appearance through pictures in the newspaper. He stated he did not recognize CARMICHAEL among any of the people he saw in the area of his street. He added that the persons participating in the looting were strangers to him. [redacted] advised [redacted] closed the shop about

4:00 p.m. and went home.

1*

On 4/15/68 at Washington, D. C.File # WFO 62-9737

SA [redacted]

b7C

SA [redacted]

lead

by

Date dictated 4/16/68

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date April 18, 19681

b7C

[redacted]
[redacted] Virginia, advised that he has been working part time at Chambers Funeral Home, 1400 Chapin Street, N.W. On the night of April 4, 1968, he was at Chambers when he heard the news of the death of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. Shortly thereafter, a group of persons appeared on the street and began to break windows and loot the Safeway Store across the street.

At the first sign of trouble, he sent the other employees of Chambers out of the area with the ambulances so that both personnel and equipment would be safe. After 9:00 p.m., he was there alone. He advised that he did not recognize anyone in the crowd that was milling in the street below, and did not see STOKELY CARMICHAEL or anyone else lead or exort the crowd.

On 4/12/68 at Washington, D.C. File # WFO-62-9737
SAs [redacted] b7C
by [redacted] dan Date dictated 4/18/68

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WFO 62-9737

GBN:cjb

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b7C

The following investigation was conducted by SAs

AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

On April 10, 1968, [redacted] of Nine Seventy Five Optical Company, 1921 14th Street, N.W., advised his store went out of business on April 1, 1968, and was not occupied after that time; consequently, he has no personal knowledge of neighborhood activity subsequent to that date.

b7C

On April 10, 1968, [redacted] Optometrist, 1944 14th Street, N.W., advised that on the afternoon of April 4, 1968, he closed his shop at approximately 4:30 p.m. He explained that he is under a doctor's care, following recent surgery for the removal of a chest tumor, and the doctor has permitted him to operate his shop only from 10:00 a.m. to approximately 3:30 p.m. He said he had no personal knowledge of neighborhood activity on April 4, 1968.

On April 10, attempts to contact someone at the Lord's House of Prayer, 1939 14th Street, N.W., were negative, as this establishment was locked and closed.

b7C

On April 10, 1968, [redacted] advised that he does not know who is the Pastor of the Lord's Prayer which is located on the street floor of this address. He pointed out, though, that the only time he has ever seen the establishment open is on a Sunday and does not believe it was open on the evening of April 4, 1968.

On April 10, 1968, attempts were made to contact someone at 1916 ½ 14th Street, N.W., the location of Williams Barber Shop. It was observed this shop had a vacant, abandoned appearance to it.

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WFO 62-9737

2

On the same date, records of Precinct Number 13, Metropolitan Police Department, revealed that this establishment is owned by BOYSIE WILLIAMS, 717 Varnum Street, N.W.

On April 10, 1968, [redacted] b7C
[redacted] advised that BOYSIE WILLIAMS is deceased and the Williams Barber Shop has been closed since July, 1967.

On April 10, 1968, [redacted]
[redacted] advised that his store was closed at 8:00 p.m. on April 4, 1968. He said that at that time he did not notice crowds on 14th Street, N.W., or anything of an unusual nature and closed his store because of the normal closing time. He said he is not familiar with STOKELY CARMICHAEL and did not see him in the area. b7C

[redacted] said that [redacted]
[redacted] is actually part of his store and closed at the same time.

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WFO 62-9737

ECB:jle

1

On April 8, 1968, SA []
[] conducted the following investigation:

Brookland Hardware
2010 14th Street, N. W.,
Washington, D. C.

b7C

[]
[] Washington, D. C., [] left store April 4, 1968
at 6:00 p.m. when store closed. Returned to store on April 8,
1968. No contact with rioters.

[] left the store when
it was closed. About 10:00 p.m. he returned to the store and
the front windows were broken. He began boarding the store
front. He stayed in the store with the lights on. He did not
see STOKELY CARMICHAEL during Thursday evening.

Lite Electronics
2012 14th Street, N. W.,
Washington, D. C.

[] advised he was not in the
area during April 4, 1968. He departed at 1:00 p.m., April 4,
1968 and returned Friday morning. [] resides []
[] Maryland, []

[] advised that at 8:20 p.m.,
April 4, 1968, he and []
[] Maryland, [] closed the
store, barred the windows and left. He saw a crowd north on
14th Street, N. W., but did not see STOKELY CARMICHAEL.

b7C

[] resides at []
[] left the store on April 4, 1968, at 6:30 p.m.

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WFO 62-9737

2

and returned on Friday morning. On April 3, 1968, Wednesday evening he did see STOKELY CARMICHAEL at Evelyn's Pastel Lounge, 12th and U Streets, N. W., however, he had no conversation with him.

b7C

[redacted] advised that he was out on service calls and was not in the area on April 4, 1968. He resides at [redacted] Maryland, telephone [redacted]

Cunningham Paint Company
2020 14th Street, N. W.,
Washington, D. C.

[redacted] left the store at 7:30 p.m., April 4, 1968, and at that time there was no activity. Windows were broken in store fronts and were then boarded.

b7C

Federal Taxi Cab Company
2022 14th Street, N. W.,
Washington, D. C.

[redacted] closed the store and no one was there during evening on April 4, 1968.

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The following persons were contacted by Special Agents [redacted] regarding the activities of STOKELY CARMICHAEL in the area of 14th Street between Florida Avenue and Chapin Street, on the night of April 4, 1968. They could furnish no pertinent information:

b7C

[redacted] Linda's Valet, 2306 14th Street, N.W., 4/9/68;

[redacted] Maryland (he was in the area the night of 4/4/68) 4/10/68;

[redacted] Chambers Funeral Home, 1400 Chapin Street, N.W. 4/10/68;

[redacted] Addison Chevrolet, 2222 14th Street, N.W., 4/10/68;

b7C

[redacted] Addison Chevrolet, 2222 14th Street, N.W., 4/10/68;

[redacted] Chaconas Florist, 2500 14th Street, N.W., 4/11/68;

[redacted] Chaconas Florist, 2500 14th Street, N.W., 4/11/68;

[redacted] Safeway Store, 2429 14th Street, N.W., 4/9/68;

[redacted] the Honey Ball Restaurant, 2404 14th Street, 4/9/68;

b7C

[redacted] the Honey Ball Restaurant, 2404 14th Street, N.W., 4/9/68;

[redacted] the Honey Ball Restaurant, 2404 14th Street, N.W., 4/9/68;

[redacted] the Golden Nuggett, 2504 14th Street, N.W., 4/12/68;

[redacted] Clifton Liquors, 2502 14th Street, N.W., 4/11/68;

[redacted] the Temple Grill, 2416 14th Street, N.W., 4/10/68;

[redacted] at the Temple Grill and who resides [redacted] Virginia.

[redacted] Honey Ball Restaurant, 2404 14th Street, N.W.

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WFO 62-9737

D. BUSINESSES ON U STREET,
N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C.

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WFO 62-9737

DMB:vw

1

The following persons were interviewed by SAs
[redacted] on April 16,
1968, and furnished no pertinent information:

[redacted] Kathy's Beauty Salon,
1207 U Street, N. W.

b7C

[redacted] Powder Box Beauty Shop,
1201 U Street, N. W., residence [redacted]
[redacted] Virginia

[redacted] Half Dollar House
(restaurant), 1210 U Street, N. W.,
residence [redacted]

[redacted] Utah Grill,
1216 U Street, N. W. [redacted]
[redacted]

b7C

[redacted] Evelyn's
Pastel Lounge, 12th and U Streets, N. W.
[redacted]
resides at [redacted]

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WFO 62-9737

RFB:skt

1

The following individuals were contacted during the period April 16 and 17, 1968, concerning this investigation by Special Agents [redacted] but could furnish nothing of pertinence:

[redacted] Duke's Shoe Shine, 1241
U Street, N.W.

[redacted] Feek Hair Stylist, 1239
U Street, N.W.

b7C

[redacted] Floodlight Studio, 1239
U Street, N.W.

[redacted] Ben's Chili Bowl,
1213 U Street, N.W.

[redacted] Mambo Limbo Nightclub,
1211 U Street, N.W.

b7C

[redacted] Agnes Salon of
Beauty, 1209 U Street, N.W.

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WFO 62-9737

E. MISCELLANEOUS

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WFO 62-9737

ECR:skt

1

On April 15, 1968, [redacted] residence
address [redacted] Maryland, residence
b7C telephone [redacted] employed as [redacted] Washington, D.C. (WDC),
Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of
Colored People (NAACP), was interviewed in his office at
422 1st Street, S.E., by Special Agents (SAs) [redacted]
[redacted]

b7C [redacted] advised that he had no specific
information which he could furnish regarding the recent
civil disturbance in WDC other than the fact that he personally
observed some of the damage which had resulted from this
disturbance. [redacted] stated that he knows STOKELY
CARMICHAEL by sight but has not seen him for over a year.
He added that he could furnish no information concerning
CARMICHAEL in connection with the happenings subsequent to
April 4, 1968, during which time rioting took place in the
District of Columbia.

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WFO 62-9737

DRK:tjd

1

Regarding interview with [redacted]
Apartment [redacted]
Maryland, which appeared in the report of April 12, 1968,
in this matter on page 55:

[redacted] was present during the interview and at the outset both were very cooperative. However, as specifics were mentioned concerning STOKELY CARMICHAEL, and other pertinent events of April 4-6, 1968, [redacted] became excited and attempted to answer all questions for her husband who was sincerely responding to interviewing Agents. As the interview progressed, it was impossible to obtain positive answers from [redacted] because of [redacted] disruptive influence. Consequently, [redacted] appeared to reluctantly answer in the negative at the urging of his wife. b7C

It is pointed out both [redacted] appeared concerned about the health of [redacted] advising interviewing Agents that [redacted] was not to be excited. It is also noted that [redacted] who furnished a more detailed account of events of April 4-6, 1968, during separate interviews, April 8, 1968 and April 9, 1968, mentioned that [redacted] should not be excited because of his health. b7C

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WFO 62-9737

HFC:skt

1

b7C

On April 16, 1968, [redacted] of Apartment [redacted]
[redacted] (Telephone [redacted] was interviewed
by Special Agents (SAs) [redacted]
[redacted]

[redacted] is employed [redacted] for "The Washington Post" newspaper, and his normal duties confine him to the office. On occasion, he is given reporting assignments outside the office.

On April 4, 1968, his duties confined him to the Washington Post Building. On April 5, 1968, he stated he was out on a reporting assignment for several hours and then returned to the building for the remainder of this shift. On Saturday and Sunday, April 6 and 7, 1968, his assignment was to endeavor to locate and stay with STOKELY CARMICHAEL. On Sunday evening, he spent several hours at SNCC headquarters; however, he never located or observed CARMICHAEL. During the time he was at SNCC headquarters, he observed no weapons and heard of no discussion concerning firearms or the use of same. During that period at SNCC headquarters, there was some discussion by unidentified individuals concerning their attendance at the Richmond, Virginia, hearing concerning [redacted]. There was no indication in this discussion of any contemplated violence in connection with that hearing.

b7C

During the above-mentioned period, April 5 to 7, 1968, [redacted] stated he had observed none of the leaders of SNCC or other militant organizations. He stated he observed several instances of looting and was in the vicinity of several of the fires; however, he was unable to identify any of the individuals involved in arson or looting.

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WFO 62-9737

JLS:tjd

1

b7C

On April 12, 1968, [redacted]
[redacted] "D.C. Examiner" newspaper, 3600 M Street, N.W.,
Washington, D.C. (WDC), advised SA [redacted] that she
was with [redacted] at the time he had a camera
taken from him on the afternoon of Friday, April 5, 1968.

b7C

She stated she and [redacted] had driven from the "D.C.
Examiner" office in a 1965, white, two door hardtop Mustang and
had parked this car on U Street between 14th and 15th Streets,
N.W. To the best of her recollection, between 5 and 5:30 p.m.,
she and [redacted] were on the south side of Florida Avenue between
14th and 14th Streets, watching a house fire across the street.
[redacted] was on one knee taking pictures with a LEICA
camera when he was struck on the head from behind, knocked
to the pavement and had his camera stolen. While she personally
did not see the actual attack, she stated that [redacted] although
he momentarily lost his glasses and was temporarily stunned,
described his attackers as two big Negro youths in their late
teens. After taking his LEICA camera these two assailants fled
down an alley between Florida Avenue and U Street.

b7C

[redacted] stated that after the attack, she and
[redacted] did not return immediately to their car but he stopped
to take a couple of pictures on Florida Avenue with another
camera which he had with him. At the same time, however,
they were edging toward 15th Street in order to get to their
car and get out of the area.

She stated she knew of no other photographer who had
been attacked in that area on Friday afternoon but she had
heard or read about two UPI men being attacked in a phone
booth in the area of 7th Street and H Street, N.W., on
Friday, p.m.

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WFO 62-9737

2

She added that while she and [] were in their automobile, there was no time during which anyone tried to molest them or pelt their car with rocks, bottles, sticks or other missiles.

[] on April 12, 1968, advised he concurred with [] description of events surrounding the loss of his camera on April 5, 1968, and further stated that he knew of no other photographer being attacked in that particular area at any time.

b7C

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WFO 62-9737

RFB:skt

1

On April 17, 1968, [redacted]
[redacted] advised Special Agents [redacted]
[redacted] as follows:

b7C

[redacted] is employed at an Esso Service Station
located at 4500 Benning Road, N.E., and is also [redacted]
[redacted]

[redacted] obtained a press card from [redacted]
[redacted] of "The Washington Post" and proceeded to the area
of 14th and U Streets, N.W., arriving in that area between
2:00 and 3:00 a.m., April 5, 1968. [redacted] proceeded to take
photographs of the burning and looting in the area until
about 3:30 a.m. when a group of young Negro males seized his
camera case, removed the film from his camera, broke his
camera, and fled with the camera case. Without a camera,
there was no need to remain in this area, and [redacted] went home.

b7C

[redacted] attended a press conference held by
STOKELY CARMICHAEL at the headquarters of the Student
Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, 2208 14th Street, N.W.,
at 10:00 a.m., April 5, 1968, [redacted] did not have a good
vantage point at the conference and was able to take only one
photograph with a borrowed camera which he was unable to sell
to the news media. [redacted] could add nothing of substance,
regarding statements made by CARMICHAEL or others at the
press conference to those reports which appeared in various
newspapers.

b7C

[redacted] again visited the 14th Street, N.W., area
where the looting and burning was taking place about 12:00
noon, April 5, 1968. He saw more looting and burning buildings
but he did not actually see any establishment set aflame.
[redacted] remained in this area taking pictures most of the time
until about 3:00 a.m., April 6, 1968, when he went home.

b7C

[redacted] was successful in selling three photographs
he had taken during the above period to "The Washington Post,"
which photos appeared in that newspaper.

[redacted] did not see STOKELY CARMICHAEL after the
press conference on April 5, 1968, was concluded.

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WFO 62-9737

II. PRESS CONFERENCE HELD
APRIL 5, 1968

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WFO 62-9737

A. WTOP

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WFO 62-9737

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Interviews previously conducted in conjunction with the following transcript of WTOP's coverage of the April 5, 1968, press conference are located on pages 210 through 222 of the April 12, 1968, report in this matter:

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WFO 62-9737

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1

A press conference was called for 10:00 a.m., April 5, 1968, by the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) to be held at SNCC Headquarters, 2208 14th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

The following is a transcript of the audio portion of a copy of a sound color film of the press conference, which copy was furnished by [REDACTED]

b7C

[REDACTED] Station WTOP. The original film was taken at the press conference, at the above time and location, by [REDACTED] for WTOP. This copy is an edited version of the original film.

CARMICHAEL: Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING fought for his people. It was not but four weeks ago when JOHNSON told KING that if he came marching into the District, he would meet a force because he should bring his troubles to him. And now tonight he is trying to make as if Dr. KING was his hero. He fools no one. BOBBY KENNEDY pulled that trigger just as well as anybody else. Because when Dr. KING was down in the South and BOBBY KENNEDY was Attorney General, every time a black person got killed, KENNEDY would not move because he wanted votes so he is just as guilty...all of white America killed Dr. KING. And those who feel sorry ought to feel sorry.

Unidentified
Reporter:

Mr. CARMICHAEL, what do you intend to do... what action do you intend to take relative to RAP BROWN and your intent to get him out of jail.

CARMICHAEL: We decided at our central committee meeting that if Maryland persists with this nonsensical charge, even though the reports said that RAP did not incite any riot in Cambridge. Well then Governor AGNEW, he ain't seen nothing if he thinks he saw something on that Bowie State

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thing. We will take our troops back into Maryland and all of us are veterans from Cambridge, Maryland, and from Baltimore, Maryland, and we will turn that State inside out and upside down. And we've got Louisiana to get. We've got some brothers working in Florida. We've got some brothers working in Ohio and we are gonna get Richmond, Virginia.

Unidentified
Reporter:

Mr. CARMICHAEL, what do you think will happen to the poor people's campaign now?

CARMICHAEL:

I understand that the Southern Christian Leadership Conference will carry it on and as we said before we will be glad to give them any support. Whatever Southern Christian Leadership Conference asks for today, we will give to them. Except our tears. We will give no more tears for any black man killed in this country.

Unidentified
Reporter:

Mr. CARMICHAEL, do you see anybody replacing Dr. KING as a non-violent leader?

CARMICHAEL:

No, that's why America lost when she shot him down last night.

Unidentified
Reporter:
(Woman)

Mr. CARMICHAEL, is there any truth to the rumor that you are going to call a general strike here in town?

CARMICHAEL:

We are waiting for what the Southern Christian Leadership Conference wants us to do.

Unidentified
Reporter:

When you say the execution of those debts will be, not in the courtroom, but in the streets, can you be a little more specific about the course of action you expect?

CARMICHAEL:

I think that is quite explicit.

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Unidentified

Reporter:

Do you expect an organized rebellion?

CARMICHAEL:

I think it is quite explicit.

Unidentified

Reporter:

(Woman)

Mr. CARMICHAEL, suppose a lot of black people have to die...(garbled). (What would it do to please you--This is thought what the reporter said.)

CARMICHAEL:

That they take as many white people with them as they can.

Unidentified

Reporter:

(Woman)

Yes, but what about the black people who have to die?

CARMICHAEL:

Ah...we die every day. We die in Vietnam for the "honkeys," why don't we come home and die in the streets for our people. We die everyday. We die cutting and fighting each other inside our own communities. Why cut and fight each other and kill each other off? Let's kill off the real enemy. Black people are not afraid to die. We die all the time. We die in your jails, we die in your ghettos, we die in your rat infested homes. We die a thousand deaths every day. So we are not afraid to die. Today we are going to die for our people.

Unidentified

Commentator:

I would like to say this before we have any more questions, that on Monday our Chairman, H. RAP BROWN, will be in Richmond, Virginia, according to the "honkey" Federal Government, and there will be a car caravan from all directions leading to Richmond, Virginia, on Monday morning. We are urging all our black brothers and sisters to come to Richmond.

Unidentified

Reporter:

Mr. CARMICHAEL, what is the alternative to the kind of retribution in the streets that you are talking about? Is there any way to stop it?

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CARMICHAEL: I don't think so. I do not think so. I think white America is incapable of dealing with the problem.

Unidentified Reporter: How will Dr. KING's death affect your leadership as you see it, Mr. CARMICHAEL?

CARMICHAEL: Well, Dr. KING's death will not affect my leadership, it will affect me as a black man because he was my brother, flesh of my flesh and blood of my blood. You see, the mistake they made when they shot Dr. KING was even though Dr. KING talked about non-violence he was always in the streets. Ready to lead a demonstration. All of the other so-called leaders who are...talk about non-violence are not on the streets with their people. Many people respected Dr. KING even though they didn't agree with his philosophy cause at least he was in the streets. So now there is really no one else to respect who talks about non-violence because the people who talk about non-violence are not in the streets.

Unidentified Reporter: Mr. CARMICHAEL, are you declaring war on White America?

CARMICHAEL: White America has declared war on black people. She did so when she sold the first black man from Africa. The black man has been sufficient, has been patient, has been resisting and today the final showdown is coming. That is clear. That is crystal clear. And that black people are going to have to find ways to survive. The only way to survive is to get some guns. Cause that is the only way white America keeps us in check is because she's got the guns.

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Unidentified
Reporter:

STOKEY, What do you see this ultimately leading to? A blood bath in which nobody wins?

CARMICHAEL:

First, my name is Mr. CARMICHAEL, and secondly, black people will survive America.

Unidentified
Commentator:

Last question.

Unidentified
Reporter:

What accomplishment or objectives do you visualize from the retaliation that you speak? What do you think you will accomplish.

CARMICHAEL:

If black man can't do nothing in this country then we gonna stand up on our feet and die like men. If that is our only act of manhood, then GOD DAMMIT we gonna die. We're tired of living on our stomachs.

Unidentified
Reporter:

Do you fear for your life?

CARMICHAEL:

Hell with my life. You should fear for yours. I know I am gonna die. I know I am gonna die.
(Applause)

Unidentified
Commentator:

There is still a possibility that there will be a general strike throughout the United States. So that our black brothers and sisters can take off that day from their slavery and working for the master and to think about and to re-analyze what the "honkeys" are doing to the black people in this country and me...And perhaps then something can be done. That is the end of the press conference.

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CARMICHAEL:

I think white America made its biggest mistake when she killed Dr. KING last night because when she killed Dr. KING last night, she killed all reasonable hope. When she killed Dr. KING last night, she killed the one man of our race in this country, in the older generation, who the militants and also the revolutionaries and the masses of black people, would still listen to, even though sometimes they did not dis.... agree with him they would still listen to him.

When white America killed Dr. KING last night, she opened the eyes for every black man in this country. When white America got rid of MARCUS GARVEY (phonetic), she did it and she said he was an extremist, he was crazy. When they got rid of Brother MALCOLM X, they said he was preaching hate, he deserved what he got. But when they got rid of Brother MARTIN LUTHER KING, they had absolutely no reason to do so. He was the one man in our race who was trying to teach our people to have love, compassion, and mercy for what white people have done. When white America killed Dr. KING last night, she declared war on us. There will be no crying, there will be no funerals. The rebellions that have been occurring around the cities of this country is just light stuff to what is about to happen. We have to retaliate for the death of our leaders. The execution of those debts will not be in the courtrooms...they are going to be in the streets of the United States of America. When white America killed Dr. KING last night, she made a whole lot easier for a whole lot of black people today. There no longer needs to be intellectual discussions...black people know that they have to get guns. White America will live to cry that she killed Dr. KING last night. It would have been better if she had killed RAP BROWN and/or STOKELY CARMICHAEL. But when she killed Dr. KING, she lost.

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B. AMERICAN BROADCASTING
CASTING COMPANY

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Interviews previously conducted in conjunction with the following transcript of ABC's coverage of the April 5, 1968, press conference are located on pages 224 through 229 of the April 12, 1968, report in this matter:

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EHB:ead

1

A press conference was called for 10:00 a.m., April 5, 1968, by the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) to be held at SNCC Headquarters, 2208 14th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

The following is a transcript of the audio portion of a copy of a sound color film of the press conference, which copy was furnished by [REDACTED]

b7C

[REDACTED] American Broadcasting Company (ABC), Washington, D. C. The original film was taken at the press conference, at the above time and location, by [REDACTED] for ABC. This copy is an edited version of the original film.

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CARMICHAEL: White America has declared war on black people. She did so when she sold the first black man from Africa. The black man has been sufficient, has been patient, has been resisting and today the final showdown is coming. That is clear. That is crystal clear. And that black people are going to have to find ways to survive. The only way to survive is to get some guns. Cause that is the only way white America keeps us in check is because she's got the guns.

Unidentified
Reporter:

STOKELY, What do you see this ultimately leading to? A blood bath in which nobody wins?

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CARMICHAEL: First, my name is Mr. CARMICHAEL, and secondly, black people will survive America.

CARMICHAEL: Black people are not afraid to die. We die all the time. We die in your jails, we die in your ghettos, we die in your rat infested homes. We die a thousand deaths every day. So we are not afraid to die. Today we are going to die for our people.

Unidentified Reporter: What accomplishment or objectives do you visualize from the retaliation that you speak? What do you think you will accomplish?

CARMICHAEL: If black man can't do nothing in this country then we gonna stand up on our feet and die like men. If that is our only act of manhood then GOD DAMMIT we gonna die. We're tired of living on our stomachs.

Unidentified Reporter: Do you fear for your life?

CARMICHAEL: Hell with my life. You should fear for yours. I know I am gonna die. I know I am gonna die.

Commentator: I want you people to listen clearly. This press conference will be only five minutes. And...as soon as the press conference is over, you gentlemen will not leave anything in here that you didn't bring in here. Your films, your cigarette butts, you take them with you. If you waste any water you have to clean it up. Ah...we will have a few questions.. of two minutes questions. To my right, extreme right, is Mr. CLEVELAND SELLERS, Director of the Orangeburg, South Carolina, project of SNCC. To my right here, immediate right, is STOKELY CARMICHAEL, who is on staff here in Washington, D. C. And to my left is Mr. WILLIAM HALL, who is also a member of the staff in Washington. And myself, LESTER MC KINNIE, Director of the Washington SNCC office. Mr. CARMICHAEL will speak to you for five minutes.

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CARMICHAEL:

As you may or may not know, this press conference was called before Dr. KING was murdered. We called it then to deal with our Brother RAP BROWN because we were very upset that Brother RAP BROWN had been in jail for 41 days and Governor AGNEW of Maryland still seems to persist with his nonsensical charge and so the Brother can't get out of jail. Now we want the Brother out of jail..ah..next week when he comes to trial. Now, as to Dr. KING's murder. I think white America made its biggest mistake when she killed Dr. KING last night because when she killed Dr. KING last night, she killed all reasonable hope. When she killed Dr. KING last night, she killed the one man of our race in this country, in the older generation, who the militants and the revolutionaries and the masses of black people, would still listen to, even though sometimes they did not dis....agree with him they would still listen to him. When white America killed Dr. KING last night, she opened the eyes for every black man in this country. When white America got rid of MARCUS GARVEY (phonetic), she did it and she said he was an extremist, he was crazy. When they got rid of Brother MALCOLM X, they said he was preaching hate, he deserved what he got. But when they got rid of Brother MARTIN LUTHER KING, they had absolutely no reason to do so. He was the one man in our race who was trying to teach our people to have love, compassion, and mercy for what white people have done.

CARMICHAEL: ...and/or STOKELY CARMICHAEL. But when she killed Dr. KING, she lost.

Unidentified: Before any question, I would like to give one statement from the organization. We the students of the Non-Violent Coordinating Committee wish to extend our condolences to the family of the

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Unidentified:
(Continued)

late Reverend MARTIN LUTHER KING, Jr., who was brutally murdered today in Memphis, Tennessee. In his death there is a lesson which white America has taught us many times before. This lesson was clear in the murder of our four brothers in Orangeburg. This lesson was clear in the murder of a 16-year-old LARRY PAYNE (phonetic) in Memphis. This lesson is clear in the day-to-day torture of black people by white people in America and throughout the world. It was to end this torture that Dr. KING bravely faced death many times, non-violently. Dr. KING was a brother who dedicated his life to liberating his peoples through non-violence. Dr. KING was a symbol of non-violence and white America shot him down.

CARMICHAEL:

There is one last comment about these news things - about last night. We will tell you where we were last night. Last night, we led all of those youngsters up and down the streets to close every store in this area because Dr. KING was shot and they should have closed those stores. Now, some of them kicked glass store window in. We are not stopping them from kicking in the store windows. We are stopping them from coming out on the streets without guns. When they come out on the streets, we want them with guns. If they don't have guns, we're not gonna let 'em throw bricks and bottles at guns. But when they get guns, we'll be on the streets.

Unidentified: Question...if you have any questions.

Unidentified
Reporter:

Mr. CARMICHAEL, don't you believe the vast majority of Americans feel just as badly as you do about what happened in Memphis?

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CARMICHAEL: The white press and that's from "honkey" LYNDON JOHNSON to "honkey" BOBBY KENNEDY will not co-opt (phonetic) Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING. Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING fought for his people. It was not but four weeks ago when JOHNSON told KING that if he came marching into the District, he would meet a force because he should bring his troubles to him. And now tonight he is trying to make as if Dr. KING was his hero. He fools no one.

Unidentified
Reporter:

Mr. CARMICHAEL, what do you intend to do... what action do you intend to take relative to RAP BROWN and your intent to get him out of jail.

CARMICHAEL: We decided at our central committee meeting that if Maryland persists with this nonsensical charge, even though the reports said that RAP did not incite any riot in Cambridge. Well then Governor AGNEW, he ain't seen nothing if he thinks he saw something on that Bowie State thing. We will take our troops back into Maryland and all of us are veterans from Cambridge, Maryland, and from Baltimore, Maryland, and we will turn that State inside out and upside down. And we've got Louisiana to get. We've got some brothers working in Florida. We've got some brothers working in Ohio and we are gonna get Richmond, Virginia.

Unidentified
Reporter:

Mr. CARMICHAEL, what do you think will happen to the poor people's campaign now?

CARMICHAEL: I understand that the Southern Christian Leadership Conference will carry it on and as we said before we will be glad to give them any support. Whatever Southern Christian Leadership Conference asks for today, we will give to them. Except our tears. We will give no more tears for any black man killed in this country.

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Unidentified
Reporter:

Mr. CARMICHAEL, do you see anybody replacing Dr. KING as a non-violent leader?

CARMICHAEL:

No, that's why America lost when she shot him down last night.

Unidentified
Reporter:
(Woman)

Mr. CARMICHAEL, is there any truth to the rumor that you are going to call a general strike here in town?

CARMICHAEL:

We are waiting for what the Southern Christian Leadership Conference wants us to do.

Unidentified
Reporter:

When you say the execution of those debts will be, not in the courtroom, but in the streets, can you be a little more specific about the course of action you expect?

CARMICHAEL:

I think that is quite explicit.

Unidentified
Reporter:

Do you expect an organized rebellion?

CARMICHAEL:

I think it is quite explicit.

Unidentified
Reporter:
(Woman)

Mr. CARMICHAEL, suppose a lot of black people have to die...(garbled). (What would it do to please you--This is thought what the reporter said.)

CARMICHAEL:

That they take as many white people with them as they can.

Unidentified
Reporter:

Yes, but what about the black people who have to die?

CARMICHAEL:

Ah...we die every day. We die in Vietnam for the "honkeys," why don't we come home and die

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EHB:ead

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CARMICHAEL:
(Continued)

in the streets for our people. We die everyday. We die cutting and fighting each other inside our own communities. Why cut and fight each other and kill each other off? Let's kill off the real enemy.

Unidentified
Commentator:

.....that on Monday our Chairman, H. RAP BROWN, will be in Richmond, Virginia, according to the "honkey" Federal Government, and there will be a car caravan from all directions leading to Richmond, Virginia, on Monday morning. We are urging all our black brothers and sisters to come to Richmond.

Unidentified
Reporter:

Mr. CARMICHAEL, what is the alternative to the kind of retribution in the streets that you are talking about? Is there any way to stop it?

CARMICHAEL:

I don't think so. I do not think so. I think white America is incapable of dealing with the problem.

Unidentified
Reporter:

How will Dr. KING's death affect your leadership as you see it, Mr. CARMICHAEL?

CARMICHAEL:

Well, Dr. KING's death will not affect my leadership; it will affect me as a black man because he was my brother, flesh of my flesh and blood of my blood. You see, the mistake they made when they shot Dr. KING was even though Dr. KING talked about non-violence he was always in the streets. Ready to lead a demonstration. All of the other so-called leaders who are...talk about non-violence are not on the streets with their people. Many people respected Dr. KING even though they didn't agree with his philosophy cause at least he was in the streets. So now there is really no one else to respect who talks about non-violence because the people who talk about non-violence are not in the streets.

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Unidentified

Reporter:

Mr. CARMICHAEL, are you declaring war on
White America?

Unidentified

Commentator:

.....a general strike throughout the United States.
So that our black brothers and sisters can take
off that day from their slavery and working for
the master and to think about and to re-analyze
what the "honkeys" are doing to the black people
in this country and me...And perhaps then some-
thing can be done. That is the end of the press
conference.

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WFO 62-9737

C. MISCELLANEOUS

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 4/18/68

b7C

On April 8, 1968, [redacted]
[redacted] Radio Station WOL, 2000 P Street, N. W.,
Washington, D. C. advised SAs [redacted]
[redacted] the station is owned by the Sonderling Broadcast-
ing Corporation, headquarters of which is in Long Beach,
California. [redacted] further advised he resides, [redacted]
[redacted] Maryland.

b7C

[redacted] stated the press conference at Headquarters of
the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) held on
the morning of April 5, 1968 had been covered by [redacted]
[redacted] WOL who made a tape recording of it. [redacted]
further stated after he heard the tape he decided not to put it
on the air, because he considered it to be "too inflammatory",
[redacted] said, "we tend to play things down. Moreover, we do not
even say 'cool it' on the air." Whether the tape would go on
the air or not [redacted] said, "was my decision to make and I
decided not to play the tape."

On 4/8/68 at Washington D. C. File # WFO 62-9737
SAs [redacted] b7C
[redacted] RES:jle 4/18/68
by _____ Date dictated _____

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WFO 62-9737

PDL:laa

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On April 9, 1968, SAS [redacted]

[redacted] interviewed [redacted]

[redacted] CBS News,

2020 M Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. [redacted] stated his crew consisting of [redacted] filmed the press conference of CARMICHAEL's at Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) Headquarters on the morning of April 5, 1968, and he understands the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) is in possession of this information.

[redacted] stated that CBS thought that CARMICHAEL's news conference might be too inflammatory under the circumstances and they did not use the film for broadcasting. This film is also available through the CBS office in New York.

[redacted] stated that his crew did not cover the Howard University activities which were covered by the local affiliate, WTOP-TV. [redacted] stated that none of his personnel covering the activities in Washington during the past weekend observed CARMICHAEL.

[redacted] stated he preferred to have [redacted] and other employees that might be involved in this investigation be interviewed in his presence in order that the employees might be given the proper legal counsel if necessary. [redacted] directed the conversation to STOKELY CARMICHAEL and stated he is sure none of his crew saw CARMICHAEL on 14th Street, N. W., on Thursday evening.

[redacted] stated that [redacted] was the cameraman who accompanied a reporter, [redacted] to the area for CBS. He stated no soundman was used by [redacted] [redacted] stated that he spoke with [redacted] and neither [redacted] nor [redacted] saw CARMICHAEL on that evening. [redacted] stated the cameraman and reporter heard that STOKELY was in the area. [redacted] did not know what action is recorded on film, but is quite sure CARMICHAEL is not on the film.

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[] stated he is sure, about 99 percent sure, that STOKELY does not appear on the film as it was reviewed by the producers and editors and they look for newsworthy individuals. [] stated the film can be made available for viewing by the FBI through the CBS office in New York.

[] stated it is company policy that the film be subpoenaed and this can be done through []

[] CBS News. [] stated that all of their film is shipped to the New York Office.

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WFO 62-9737

III. RESULTS OF INTERVIEWS
CONCERNING EVENTS AT
HOWARD UNIVERSITY,
AFTERNOON OF APRIL 5, 1968

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WFO 62-9737

A. MC KINLEY HIGH SCHOOL

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/18/68

b7C

[redacted] student, McKinley High School, born [redacted] residing at [redacted] Washington, D. C. was interviewed in the presence of and with the permission of his father, [redacted] [redacted] Washington, D. C. [redacted] furnished the following information:

b7C

On April 5, 1968, at approximately 10:30 a.m. he was part of a group of McKinley High School students who left McKinley and walked in a "silent march" to Howard University in deference to MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. After arriving at the Howard campus, his group became part of a large crowd assembled in an area near the flagpole. This crowd was composed of about 200-300 persons, and was addressed by various individuals. At approximately 2:15 p.m. a person known to [redacted] as STOKELY CARMICHAEL walked through the crowd and to the speaker's platform. [redacted] was sure that it was CARMICHAEL because he has seen him before in person, and has also seen numerous newspaper photographs of CARMICHAEL. [redacted] claimed that he was standing approximately 30-40 feet in front of CARMICHAEL during the speech.

b7C

[redacted] stated that CARMICHAEL spoke for about three to five minutes, mentioning the death of Dr. KING, and that "they killed the wrong man". CARMICHAEL also stated something to the effect that 14th Street was on fire. He then raised a pistol over his head and remarked that he had his gun. [redacted] believed that the gun in CARMICHAEL's possession was a .38 caliber pistol and he described it as having a long, black barrel.

CARMICHAEL finished his speech, walked through the crowd and disappeared from [redacted] view. [redacted] stated that, in his opinion, aside from loud cheering, the speech had

On 4/16/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737

SAs [redacted]

b7C

FFB:jle

4/17/68

by _____ Date dictated _____

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WFO 62-9737

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no noticeable effect on the crowd, and the people slowly dispersed.

[] left the campus shortly after the speech, and returned to McKinley High School.

b7C

[] stated that he would be willing to testify to the above information in a court of law.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/16/68

b7C

[redacted] student, McKinley High School, residing at [redacted] Washington, D. C., furnished the following information:

At 11:45 AM on April 5, 1968, he participated in a silent march in honor of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING from the high school to Howard University. The group of students walked to the area near Douglas Hall on the Howard campus and remained, listening to several persons address a large crowd which had gathered. About 2:00 PM, a person known to [redacted] as STOKELY CARMICHAEL began to speak to the crowd for about five minutes. [redacted] stated that he was standing approximately fifty yards from CARMICHAEL, but was still able to hear his speech. He recalled that CARMICHAEL mentioned that they had shot the wrong man in the wrong place at the wrong time, and that they should have shot him instead. [redacted] understood that CARMICHAEL was referring to the killer of Dr. KING. CARMICHAEL then cautioned those present to stay off the street. CARMICHAEL finished his speech and immediately left the area. The crowd quietly dispersed, and the group of students from McKinley returned to their school.

b7C

[redacted] advised that he later learned that CARMICHAEL displayed a pistol while he was speaking, but he [redacted] did not actually observe this because he was standing too far away from CARMICHAEL.

b7C

[redacted] stated that he would not be willing to testify to the above in a court of law.

On 4/11/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737

by SA [redacted] /llw Date dictated 4/11/68

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/16/68

b7C

[redacted] student, McKinley High School, residing at [redacted] Washington, D. C., furnished the following information:

On April 5, 1968, at approximately 12:00 noon, he and a large group of McKinley students walked from the high school to the campus of Howard University in a memorial march for Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING.

While on the campus, at approximately 2:00 PM, STOKELY CARMICHAEL appeared in the vicinity of Douglas Hall, and began to address a large crowd which had assembled. [redacted] however, when CARMICHAEL started to speak, was standing a long distance from the group, and was unable to hear what was said. [redacted] also claimed that he was too far away to observe CARMICHAEL in possession of a pistol. He later learned from his classmates that CARMICHAEL waved a pistol during his speech.

b7C

After CARMICHAEL finished his speech, the group from McKinley, including [redacted] formed and returned to the high school.

On 4/11/68 at Washington, D. C. File # 62-9737

b7C

by SA [redacted] /11w Date dictated 4/12/68

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 4/16/68

b7C

[redacted] Mc Kinley High School,
2nd and T Streets, N.E., Washington, D.C. (WDC), furnished
the following information:

b7C

On April 5, 1968, at 11:40 a.m. while at the
school, [redacted] received a telephone call from an unknown male
who identified himself as a member of the Student Nonviolent
Coordinating Committee (SNCC), WDC. The caller asked if the
school had held an assembly; and if so, how long was it. [redacted]
replied that an assembly was held (in honor of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER
KING, JR.), and it lasted one and one-half hours. The caller
stated that this was not long enough for a man as great as
Dr. KING. The caller then told [redacted] that he wanted to notify
the school that it was to close within one-half four, or
"we will be in to close it for you." [redacted] replied that he
had no intention of closing the school unless advised to do
so by the proper authorities. The caller again instructed that
the school be closed within a half-hour and the conversation
ended.

b7C

[redacted] stated that he interpreted the above remarks
as a direct threat, and he immediately notified the 12th
Precinct of the Metropolitan Police Department and requested
that a squad car be sent to patrol the school. [redacted] stated
that the school did not close until later in the day and that
no incident occurred when the caller's demands were not met.

On 4/11/68 at Washington, D.C. File # WFO 62-9737

SAs [redacted]

b7C

by [redacted]

AAM:skt

Date dictated 4/11/68

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WFO 62-9737

B. SPINGARN HIGH SCHOOL

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WFO 62-9737

AJS:rmh

1

[redacted] Spingarn High School, 26th and Benning Road, N.E., was contacted on April 11, 1968, by SA's [redacted]

b7C [redacted] for the purpose of obtaining the names of Spingarn students who attended a gathering at Howard University on Friday, April 5, 1968. [redacted] after consulting [redacted]

[redacted] at the School, determined that students, [redacted] were the only students that he could determine that had joined a group of students from Eastern High School to attend the gathering at Howard University on April 5.

[redacted] stated that on the morning of April 5, approximately 75 to 100 students from Eastern High School, Washington, D.C. (WDC), came to Spingarn where they walked through the halls and attempted to have students from Spingarn join them in attending the gathering at Howard University.

b7C [redacted] could furnish no additional information concerning names of students from Spingarn who might have attended the gathering at Howard University.

[redacted] later determined that [redacted] a Spingarn student, had attended the gathering at Howard University on April 5, 1968.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 4/12/68

b7C

[redacted] Spingarn High School, 26th and Benning Road, N.E., furnished the following information concerning activities at the school on the morning of April 5, 1968.

b7C

[redacted] said that at approximately 10:20 a.m., on April 5, students from Eastern High School arrived at Spingarn in an attempt to have Spingarn students join them in attending a gathering at Howard University. He said that he invited the leaders of this group, consisting of three boys and a girl, into his office to discuss the situation. He described one of the Eastern High School students as a Negro male having a bush haircut and pimply face. He believed that he also had been a member of the Eastern High School basketball team. He could not recall the other two Negro males. He stated that the Eastern High School girl student was a [redacted]. He stated that while they were in his office, the group of students from Eastern High School, consisting of approximately 150 to 200 students, came through the Spingarn halls and requested the Spingarn students to join them in attending the gathering at Howard University that day. He said that the Eastern students verbally made comments to the effect that all the students should leave the school.

b7C

[redacted] recalled that the four student leaders from Eastern High School had asked him whether or not the school had conducted any activities in tribute to Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING. [redacted] stated that he told the students that the school had held a memorial service that Friday morning.

[redacted] stated that as the Eastern students left Spingarn High School, he noticed that one student, [redacted] joined the group leaving the school around 10:50 a.m. He stated that few, if any, other Spingarn students were observed by him joining the Eastern High School group.

On 4/11/68 at Washington, D.C. File # WFO 62-9737
SA's [redacted] b7C
[redacted] AJS:rmh 4/12/68
by [redacted] Date dictated [redacted]

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date 4/12/68

[redacted] Age 17, a student at Spingarn High School, 26th and Benning Road, N.E., was interviewed at the school in a room adjacent to the principal's office. He furnished the following information concerning his activities on April 5, 1968.

b7C

[redacted] stated that he came to school on April 5, and attended his homeroom class. He left after this class and went across the street to Rip's (ph) pool room, which is just across the street from the school. He said that while he was in the pool room, around 10:30 a.m., a group of Eastern students came by who were on their way to attend a gathering at Howard University to demonstrate. He stated that he followed along in the crowd. He commented at this time that he felt that it was going to be a peaceful demonstration and also believed that the group had the right to demonstrate. He said that the group went through Spingarn High School soliciting other Spingarn students to join the group and also did the same thing at Phelps Vocational High School. He said that the group, consisting of students from Eastern, Ballou, Cardozo and Mc Kinley High Schools, walked out Benning Road, Florida Avenue up 4th Street to Howard University. He stated that they arrived at Howard University campus at approximately 12:15 p.m.

He stated that when they arrived at the campus, for approximately 20 minutes "militant students" talked to the students. He recalled one "militant" girl student whose identity was not known to him but who had an African bush haircut made comments that the group should "burn fast and burn quick", commenting that "they killed our leader" (Dr. KING). [redacted] stated that he thought that the demonstration was going to be a peaceful one. He said that they listened to the speakers for approximately 20 minutes and during this time, he recalled that people were saying that CARMICHAEL (STOKELY) had told us to get guns before they fought the Honkys. He could not attribute

b7C

On 4/11/68 at Washington, D.C. File # WFO 62-9737

SA's [redacted]

b7C

4/12/68

by [redacted]

AJS:rmh

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WFO 62-9737

2

these statements to any particular students or speakers.

He stated that after the speeches, the high school students left the campus. He does not know about the activities of any Howard University students.

b7C

[] said that as a result of speeches by the militants at Howard University on April 5, the emotions of the high school students were aroused and as a result when they left the campus, they went down 7th Street in force breaking windows in various stores along 7th Street. He stated, however, that the students did not begin looting the stores until they arrived at the Cavalier Clothing Store in the 1100 block of 7th Street, N.W. He said for a short time thereafter, he observed the breaking of store windows and looting but did not participate in these activities.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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Date 4/13/68

b7C [redacted] age 16, a tenth-grade student at Spingarn High School, 26 and Benning Road, N.E., was interviewed outside his residence and voluntarily furnished the following information:

[redacted] stated that on Thursday, April 4, 1968, he heard an announcement over radio station WOL that memorial services were to be held for Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING at Howard University at 12:00 noon, April 5, 1968. He advised he left his house at approximately 11:30 a.m. for the purpose of attending the memorial service at Howard University. As a result, he joined a group of Eastern High School students who were also en route to the memorial services, and who had been joined by students from Spingarn and Phelps Vocational High Schools. He stated while en route comments were made that they would be late for the services, however, one of the student leaders from Eastern High School, identity not recalled, commented "They know we're coming". He said that the group proceeded on foot out Florida Avenue and up 4th Street to Howard University, arriving there at approximately 12:05 p.m.

b7C [redacted] said that he was under the impression that the services for Dr. KING to be conducted at Howard University were to be nonviolent in nature. He stated, however, that when the students arrived at Howard University, the American flag was "dropped" down, but not desecrated and either an African flag or a Black Power flag was put up. He stated that one of the speakers who talked to the students made the comment that they should take back what the white people had taken from them. He did not know the identity of this individual. He said that while there, various people in the crowd spoke about killing a "Honkie", which [redacted] described as a "White Nigger". He could not recall any other specific statements made by the speakers that day. He did, however, recall that while on the Howard

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SA's [redacted] b7C

by [redacted] AJS:rmh Date dictated 4/12/68

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WFO 62-9737

2

University campus that someone made the remark "I'm going to get my Easter clothes today" and in response to this statement, another unidentified individual stated "I'm going to get them now". Following this statement, the students began running across the campus and proceeded down 7th Street. He commented that en route down 7th Street, N.W., the students began breaking windows, however, did not begin looting until they arrived at a liquor store at 7th Street and Rhode Island Avenue. They also looted the Cavalier Clothing Store located in the 1100 block of 7th Street, N.W. He also recalled that the police came while the crowd was at 7th and H Streets, N.W., and the crowd became "riled up". He stated that although the male students were blamed for breaking windows of the various stores, that girl students participated to a great extent. He stated that the group that originally began as approximately 300 or 400 students increased in size to approximately 500 or 600. He also commented that the group broke up and some of the group went down 7th Street while the other group proceeded down 14th Street, N.W.

[] stated that he did not participate in the looting as he was afraid of being shot. He stated that approximately 2:15 p.m., he later proceeded back up Georgia Avenue, and that afternoon returned home.

b7C

[] said that the students left the Howard University campus at approximately 12:45 p.m. and that during this period, he did not observe STOKELY CARMICHAEL as being present on the campus. He stated that the students in the crowd at the campus were from Mc Kinley, Spingarn, Phelps Vocational and Eastern High Schools.

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WFO 62-9737

RCC:vw:dan

1

On April 12, 1968, [redacted]
[redacted] Washington, D.C., advised

b7C Special Agents [redacted]
that he is a student in his sophomore year at Spingarn
High School, Washington, D.C. [redacted] stated that on the
evening of April 4, 1968, he visited a girl friend, [redacted]
[redacted] until about 9:30 p.m.
when he returned home.

[redacted] advised that on Friday, April 5, 1968,
he left for Spingarn High School, arriving at 8:45 a.m.
After an assembly honoring Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.,
a large number of Eastern High School students arrived
at Spingarn urging the students to assemble outside to
go to a rally at Howard University. [redacted] stated that
he left the school about 10:30 a.m. and went to the
Wigging's Restaurant, located across from Spingarn High
School, where he played records until about 11:00 a.m.
At that time, accompanied by another student known as
b7C [redacted] (Last Name Unknown) and another unidentifiable boy,
they took a bus to Howard University. [redacted] advised he
was not sure of the time he arrived at Howard. He stated
that a man and a woman, both unknown to him, were speaking
about the injustices committed by the white man against
the black man. During the rally [redacted] recognized
students from Eastern High School taking pictures of the
proceedings. Shortly thereafter, about 1:30 p.m., the
crowd moved down New York Avenue to 7th Street, where
[redacted] witnessed people breaking windows. [redacted] advised
he accompanied the crowd but when they began breaking
windows he sat in a park on New York Avenue, across
from a library and did not participate.

[redacted] advised that he did not see STOKELY
CARMICHAEL at Howard University on April 5, 1968, nor did
he observe him in the crowd that moved out from Howard

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WFO 62-9737

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b7C

University, although he heard that CARMICHAEL would be in the group. [] could not identify a photograph of STOKELY CARMICHAEL that was shown to him.

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WFO 62-9737

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b7C

On April 12, 1968, [redacted]
[redacted] Washington, D. C., advised
Special Agents [redacted]
that he was a junior at Spingarn High School.

[redacted] advised that on Friday, April 5, 1968,
he did not go to school but went to [redacted]
[redacted] the home of a friend, [redacted] About
11:00 a.m., he left, accompanied by [redacted]

b7C

[redacted]
[redacted] tried to cash a check. [redacted] formerly worked at this
[redacted] They proceeded to the Hecht Company
downtown but found the store closed. [redacted] mentioned he
had formerly worked part-time [redacted]
[redacted] and his group then moved on to the bus stop at
Hahn's Shoe Store, where police grabbed [redacted] and told him
to move on. [redacted] advised he became separated from his
companions at this point. He ran to the next bus stop
near Hahn's, caught a bus and went directly home, [redacted]
[redacted] where he lives with [redacted]
[redacted] mother lives at [redacted]
[redacted] Father lives in Washington, D. C., address
unknown.

b7C

[redacted] advised that although he witnessed window
breaking and some looting activities, he himself did not
participate in the rioting. [redacted] stated he would not
risk being shot for attempted theft. He stated that in his
opinion, if it had not been for the assassination of Dr.
MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. the black power militants would not have
had an excuse to make the people riot.

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WFO 62-9737

C. EASTERN HIGH SCHOOL

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date 4/12/68

b7C

[redacted] age 17, residence [redacted]
[redacted] Apartment [redacted] Washington, D. C., was interviewed
at Eastern High School, Washington, D. C., and provided the
following information:

On April 5, 1968, he arrived at school at approximately
8:15 a. m. From approximately 9:20 a. m. to 9:45 a. m. he
attended a school-wide assembly in the auditorium.

At the conclusion of the assembly he and 20-25 other
fellow students left the school without permission and pro-
ceeded to Spingarn High School, 26th Street and Benning Road,
N. E., Washington, D. C., with the intention of lowering the
school flag to half mast in honor of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING,
JR. He stated that the group from his high school was joined
by additional students from Spingarn High School and at
approximately 10:25 a. m. they left the above area and
proceeded to Phelps High School, Washington, D. C.

He advised that the group remained at Phelps High
School until approximately 10:55 a. m. at which time they
were joined by students from said school and proceeded on
foot to Howard University, Washington, D. C. He stated
that the group of students from the three high schools
totaled approximately 50 individuals.

He stated that their intention in going to Howard
University was to attend a rally held in honor of Dr. KING.
He stated that they arrived at Howard University at
approximately 12:05 p. m. and attended a memorial service
located by the university chapel. He stated that at the time
of their arrival there was approximately two to three hundred
individuals, the majority consisting of college students.

On 4/11/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737
by SAs [redacted] JEM:nlr Date dictated 4/12/68
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WFO 62-9737

2

He advised that an additional reason for his presence at Howard University was that [] was scheduled to speak at the memorial service.

b7C

He stated that he could not recall when the rally and memorial service started; however, it was scheduled to commence at 1 p. m., April 5, 1968. He stated that [] was either the first or second speaker on the platform. He stated that [] spoke for approximately 15 minutes and praised the services rendered by Dr. KING throughout his lifetime in the area of civil rights. He stated that [] speech was not inflammatory and did not in any way arouse the crowd.

b7C

He stated that while at the above function a rumor was heard by him that STOKELY CARMICHAEL was scheduled to attend as a speaker. He advised, however, that at the conclusion of [] talk he and his girlfriend, [] left the Howard University campus and therefore did not actually see CARMICHAEL or hear him speak.

He advised that he walked his girl friend home and then returned to his residence for the remainder of the day.

He stated that of all the individuals from the three high schools that attended the memorial service and rally he knew only the identity of one, his girl friend, set forth above.

b7C

He stated that he had heard that [] Eastern High School student, had also attended the above rally and memorial service and had listened to STOKELY CARMICHAEL's speech. He stated that [] to his knowledge, was not one of the original party of students that departed Eastern High School in his company.

He stated that to the best of his knowledge no one got up and walked out of the Eastern High School assembly during its duration. He stated, however, that at the conclusion of the assembly he and other students, as set forth above, left the assembly and left the school premises.

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WFO 62-9737

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b7C

He stated that while at the Howard University memorial service and rally he recognized only [redacted] on the speaker's platform although there were other individuals present.

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WFO 62-9737

D. BALLOU HIGH SCHOOL

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 4/16/68

b7C

[redacted] Apartment [redacted]
 [redacted] Washington, D.C. (WDC), was interviewed at this address in the presence of "his guardian and aunt," a woman who refused to identify herself. It is noted that the name on the apartment mail box was [redacted] furnished the following information:

b7C

The morning of April 5, 1968, he went to Ballou High School on 4th Street, S.E., and with the other students attended an assembly. After hearing several teachers talk to the students he, [redacted] and a group of students left the assembly to go to Howard University, WDC, to attend "Memorial Day Services" for Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

[redacted] and the students with him, about eight boys and twenty girls, traveled by public transportation to Howard University. The only students he can identify were [redacted] The others he only knows as students at Ballou and does not know them by name.

b7C

On arrival at Howard University, [redacted] and his fellow students heard a couple people speak to the persons gathered. These speakers were telling the people to stay off the streets and be calm. [redacted] and his group then started to leave and were in the back of a very large gathering of people at the time "STOKELY CARMICHAEL" arrived and started talking at Howard University to the gathering. The "sound machine" was bad and [redacted] could not hear all that CARMICHAEL was saying, but he did hear CARMICHAEL say "brothers and sisters this is the time to band together." Due to the poor sound, [redacted] and the group he was with decided to leave and return to their homes. However, before leaving he did hear another group of students unknown to him say that they were tired of talk and ready for action. This unknown group said they were going down to 14th Street and left. [redacted] and his group then left Howard University and took a bus back to S.E. WDC.

On 4/11/68 at Washington, D.C.File # WFO 62-9737

SAs [redacted]

b7C

by

JVD:skt

Date dictated 4/12/68

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date April 16, 1968

b7C

[redacted] was interviewed in the presence of his father, [redacted] at their residence at [redacted]. He furnished the following information:

On the morning of Friday, April 5, 1968, he and approximately a dozen students from Frank W. Ballou Senior High School, where he is a student, left school after the assembly and traveled to Howard University by public transportation to attend a "rally" being held there. When they arrived at Howard University, they saw other students there from Ballou. However, [redacted] stated he could not recall the names of any of the students from Ballou, including those who accompanied him.

b7C

[redacted] noted that he is a member of the Black Student Union. He stated that members of the Black Student Union groups from several Washington, D.C. high schools were present at Howard, including all those active in the Black Student Union at Ballou.

He did not observe a formal platform or public address system at Howard University. Various individuals whom he could not identify were speaking to different groups. He recalled hearing one individual make statements about "tearing the town apart" and other individuals who opposed such action. One individual made the statement that "the white man had declared war". Other individuals were debating the question of who had killed Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING.

b7C

The groups broke up and left the campus, but he did not recall what time this occurred because he did not have a watch. He returned to Southeast Washington to begin work at his place of employment around 3:00 p.m. [redacted] stated that

On 4/12/68 at Washington, D.C. File # WFO 62-9737
by SAs [redacted] JOW:tjd Date dictated 4/12/68

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one group departed from Howard stating they were "going downtown," but he could not further explain their intentions or objectives.

He stated that to his knowledge STOKELY CARMICHAEL did not appear or speak while he was present at the "rally". He stated that most of those he heard speak were not able to express themselves very well, and he had trouble hearing what was being said.

b7C

stated his personal reaction to the remarks he heard at the "rally" was one of "confusion". He stated that he would not consider the remarks he heard by the speakers to be of a nature to incite violence.

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WFO 62-9737

AWP:krk

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b7C

The following investigation was conducted by
SA [] at Washington, D. C.:

b7C

On April 12, 1968, []
[] mother of [] Ballou High
School student, was contacted and advised her son, []
was not available for interview on this date. She stated
[] was out of town at the present time and when he is
available for interview, the Federal Bureau of Investigation
will be promptly notified.

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WFO 62-9737

E. HOWARD UNIVERSITY

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 4/15/68

b7C

[redacted]
Howard University, Washington, D.C. (WDC), advised that he was not present at a student rally held on the campus of Howard University in front of Douglas Hall on the afternoon of April 5, 1968, at which time STOKELY CARMICHAEL was reported as allegedly raising a pistol in the air and making inflammatory remarks.

b7C

[redacted] stated that two Howard University students had advised him on April 5, 1968, that they were present at the rally during CARMICHAEL's appearance and related to him the details thereof. [redacted] refused, however, to supply the names of these two students, stating that he felt that they had approached him, knowing that he was [redacted]

[redacted] and that he would keep in confidence what they related to him. He stated that he felt that due to his official capacities he should not reveal the identity of the two students.

On 4/10/68 at Washington, D.C.File # WFO 62-9737

SAs [redacted]

b7C

by [redacted] RCC:skt

Date dictated 4/11/68

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/12/68

[redacted] Howard University was interviewed on April 8, 1968 and again on April 11, 1968 and advised that he was present on the campus of Howard University on April 5, 1968.

b7C

[redacted] stated that three separate ceremonies took place on the Howard campus on April 5, but only two of these were University approved functions. A University approved flag raising ceremony in memory of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING was scheduled for 12:00 noon and was to be conducted by the ROTC department. This was to end at approximately 12:15 at which time a second more formal memorial was to commence at Cramton Auditorium on the Howard campus. This was to be attended by the University faculty and staff members and was to end at approximately 1:15 p.m. Both these events had been hurriedly scheduled since the death of Dr. KING had only occurred the day before. Also to take place at about 1:00 was a rally by the militant element at Howard University which had been called by self appointed militant leaders who are not recognized by the University.

[redacted] advised that events which occurred on the day and night of April 4 caused the group of militants to form early. They were joined by groups from several different high schools in the District, who had originally appeared for the flag raising ceremony. [redacted] stated that there were students present from McKinley, Dunbar, Spingarn and Eastern high schools. [redacted] continued that he observed the rally conducted by the militants and observed several hundred high school students leave at approximately 12:45 p.m. [redacted] stated that STOKELY CARMICHAEL had not put in an appearance as of this time and after observing the high school students leave, he returned to his office.

b7C

On 4/8 and 11/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737

by SA [redacted] tab

b7C

4/11/68

Date dictated _____

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/12/68

[redacted]
[redacted] Howard University was interviewed on
April 8, 1968 and advised that his residence address is [redacted]
[redacted] Apartment number [redacted]

b7C

[redacted] advised that on April 5, 1968, at approximately 1:40 p.m., he observed on the campus of Howard University, what appeared to be a 1966 Plymouth automobile, tan in color, which contained several persons, one of whom he believed from physical observation to be STOKELY CARMICHAEL. [redacted] stated that he immediately telephoned this information into the office of the guard force.

[redacted] stated that a rally of some type was being held at this time and he believes STOKELY CARMICHAEL joined this rally although he was not in position to effect a positive identification and did not hear the remarks of any of the speakers.

b7C

[redacted] stated that the crowd from the rally broke up around 2:00 p.m. and the crowd dispersed in a normal way, that is, some people walking off in different directions and others standing in the vicinity of the rally site and conversing. [redacted] stated that he was in a position to observe, had a group left via the 6th Street gate and headed toward Georgia Avenue but he did not observe any such group leave the campus following the ending of the rally.

b7C

[redacted] stated that a group of high school students had assembled on the Howard campus earlier in the day and sometime just prior to 1:00 p.m. a large group of them left the campus and headed toward Georgia Avenue. [redacted] stated that this group left the campus prior to the time he observed STOKELY CARMICHAEL and although he did not observe them commit any acts of violence, anything could have happened after they proceeded down Georgia Avenue.

On 4/8/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737
by SA [redacted] tab b7C Date dictated 4/11/68

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WFO 62-9737

JDG:skt

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b7C

The following investigation was conducted by
Special Agents (SAs) [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] at Washington, D.C. (WDC):

On April 8, 1968, the following individuals were contacted. They all advised that they were on the campus at Howard University, Friday, April 5, 1968, but left before the rally at which STOKELY CARMICHAEL reportedly spoke took place. They advised that they could not furnish the names of any persons who may have been present.

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Howard University

b7C

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WFO 62-9737

RCC:tjd

1

The following individuals were contacted on April 10, 1968 by SAs [redacted] at Howard University:

[redacted]

Washington, D.C.

Student, [redacted]

b7C

[redacted]

Washington, D.C.

Student, [redacted]

The above persons advised that they were not present at the rally held at Howard University campus on the afternoon of April 5, 1968, at which time STOKELY CARMICHAEL was reported to have allegedly raised a pistol and made some inflammatory remarks. Neither [redacted] was able to supply the names of any individual who was present at the afternoon rally.

b7C

[redacted]
[redacted] Howard University, advised that he was not present at the April 5, 1968, afternoon rally during the time that STOKELY CARMICHAEL reportedly spoke. He said he had briefly visited the rally but left evidently before the appearance of CARMICHAEL. He supplied the name of [redacted] of his office as an individual who was possibly present during the CARMICHAEL talk.

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WFO 62-9737

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[redacted] Howard University, was contacted on April 10, 1968, and he advised that he had not obtained the names of any individuals who had attended the afternoon rally of April 5, 1968, at which STOKELY CARMICHAEL reportedly spoke. [redacted] added he did not attend the affair himself.

b7C

On April 11, 1968, [redacted]
[redacted] Howard University, advised he was not present at the rally held in front of Douglas Hall on April 5, 1968, when STOKELY CARMICHAEL spoke. He said that he had been present at this rally prior to CARMICHAEL's appearance but due to his official duties was not in attendance continuously. His only observations regarding CARMICHAEL was that as he left the Student Union he saw CARMICHAEL accompanied by [redacted]
[redacted] and four unidentified Negro males coming from the direction of the rally. He said that the crowd at the rally had cleared a path and he gained the impression that CARMICHAEL and his group had just walked through the path away from Douglas Hall. He was unable to furnish the names of any student or faculty member who might have been there.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 4/15/68

[redacted] Student, Howard University, who resides at [redacted] Washington, D.C. (WDC), advised that she was present at [redacted] held in front of Douglas Hall, Howard University, at about 2:00 p.m., April 5, 1968. [redacted] stated that during this rally STOKELY CARMICHAEL appeared as a speaker. She observed him to wave some unidentified object in his hand during the course of his talk. [redacted] advised that she witnessed this scene from the rear of a rather large crowd and hence could not identify the object CARMICHAEL held in his hand. [redacted] further stated that during CARMICHAEL's talk she was not too attentive to what he was saying as she was having an argument with her boyfriend at that time. [redacted] stated that the rally continued after CARMICHAEL's remarks.

She stated that also present at the rally were the following Howard University students:

[redacted]
Washington, D.C.

[redacted]
Washington, D.C.

[redacted]
Washington, D.C.

b7C

On 4/11/68 at Washington, D.C.

File # WFO 62-9737

SAs [redacted]

b7C

by [redacted] RCC:skt

Date dictated 4/11/68

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 4/15/68

b7C [redacted] Student, Howard University, who resides at [redacted] Washington, D.C. (WDC), stated that he was present at a student rally held in front of Douglas Hall, Howard University, at about 2:00 p.m., April 5, 1968. During the course of the rally, STOKELY CARMICHAEL talked briefly about support for the black brothers and sisters in the ghettos; he generally talked about welfare for the people in the ghettos. [redacted] stated that he was about fifty feet from CARMICHAEL during his talk; and although he had observed him wave his arms, he never observed CARMICHAEL holding any object in either of his hands.

He stated that also present at the rally were the following Howard University students:

[redacted]
Washington, D.C.

[redacted]
Washington, D.C.

[redacted]
Howard University

b7C

On 4/11/68 at Washington, D.C. File # WFO 62-9737

SAs [redacted]

b7C

by [redacted] RCC:skt Date dictated 4/11/68

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WFO 62-9737

RCC:11w

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The following individuals were contacted on April 16, 1968, by Special Agents [redacted] concerning activities on the campus of Howard University on the afternoon of April 5, 1968. Everyone except [redacted] advised he was on the campus and attended the MARTIN LUTHER KING memorial services at Crampton Hall, and immediately thereafter left the campus. [redacted] advised he was not on campus, but was in Memphis, Tennessee, covering the situation there for the "Washington Post," and did not return to Washington, D. C., until Tuesday, April 9, 1968:

b7C

[redacted]

Washington, D. C.
Student, Howard University

[redacted]

Washington, D. C.
Student, Howard University

b7C

[redacted]

Washington, D. C.
Student, Howard University

[redacted]

Washington, D. C.
Student, Howard University

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WFO 62-9737

RCC:11w

2

[REDACTED]
Washington, D. C.
Student, Howard University

b7C

[REDACTED]
Washington, D. C.
Student, Howard University

[REDACTED]
student, Howard University, was contacted on April 12, 1968
by Special Agents [REDACTED] She
advised that she was on the campus of Howard University
the afternoon of April 5, 1968, but took no part in any
of the MARTIN LUTHER KING memorial ceremonies or other
rallies held that day. [REDACTED] further advised she did not
observe STOKELY CARMICHAEL at any time during the period
she was on the Howard campus.

b7C

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WFO 62-9737

F. PRESS

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date 4/16/68

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[redacted]
residence telephone [redacted] employed [redacted]
[redacted] for "The Washington Post" newspaper, 1515 L Street, N.W., on Thursday night, April 4, 1968, did not arrive on the scene in the vicinity of 14th and U Streets, N.W., until around midnight of that date. While there, she did not see STOKELY CARMICHAEL.

The following day, Friday, April 5, 1968, she was scheduled by her paper to cover the news conference at Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) Headquarters at which CARMICHAEL spoke. She, however, was not able to make this assignment, and thus did not cover the news conference. However, since part of her news beat the previous week was the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), she went to the headquarters of that organization, 14th and U Streets, N.W., on Friday morning, April 5, 1968, arriving there at about 11:00 a.m.

At SCLC Headquarters, she met with [redacted] in charge of the forthcoming Poor Peoples March on Washington, and [redacted] of the Teachers Union, District of Columbia (D.C.) Board of Education Building, 13th and K Street, N.W. She remained at SCLC Headquarters until approximately 12:50 p.m. on April 5, 1968.

While at SCLC Headquarters, she asked [redacted] about his plans for a proposed meeting with the Board of Education and with the President of the school union, name unrecalled, and plans for school closings in honor of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.'s, death in Memphis the previous day, April 4, 1968.

In discussing plans of SCLC with [redacted] and with [redacted] of SCLC, she asked [redacted] if he was planning to attend the "rally" at Howard University scheduled for that

On 4/15/68 at Washington, D.C. File # WFO 62-9737

SAs [redacted]

b7C

by [redacted] WB:skt Date dictated 4/16/68

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WFO 62-9737

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b7C [] decided to attend this rally, and invited [] and a minister who was at SCLC Headquarters, as well as [] to join him. [] did not recall the name of this minister and did not recall the church with which he was affiliated. They left for the rally in the minister's automobile.

On the way to the rally at the Howard University campus, the group stopped off first at the Franklin Administration Building, offices of the Board of Education, remaining there until shortly after 1:00 p.m. They arrived at Howard University at about 1:30 p.m. and thus were late for the start of the rally which had begun at about 1:00 p.m. Because of the crowd, the leaders left the building where the rally was originally scheduled to be held and moved to the front of Frederick Douglas Hall, so that the rally could be held out in the open to accommodate all those in attendance.

b7C [] did not know the names of the student speakers but recalled an individual whom she presumed to be a Howard student introduce two other presumably student speakers, the last of whom was an African student who spoke about black unity throughout the world. All of the speakers were eulogizing Dr. KING and deploring the circumstances of his death.

b7C [] went up on the steps of Douglas Hall fully expecting to speak, but the student who was conducting the rally and acting as a sort of master of ceremonies requested that [] not speak; and [] thereupon acquiesced to this individual's wishes and made no effort to speak. [] hopes of having the minister who accompanied him speak were also quashed by his own rebuff by the student in charge of conducting the rally.

[] stated that suddenly from across the campus STOKELY CARMICHAEL came striding. She stated that as he neared the speakers platform a cheer arose, and he immediately started to speak. She stated that the students in attendance

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b7C had seen him coming across the green; and when he reached the platform, the crowd pressed forward to hear him. She stated that as she estimated it, CARMICHAEL appeared on the campus at about 1:45 p.m. and stayed no longer than about fifteen minutes. She said that he spoke for only three or four minutes. She noted that the mood of the crowd at the rally was militant, pointing out that it was for that reason that [] had been told that the leadership at the rally preferred that he not speak, knowing that his theme would be non-violence. She said that it was obvious that the crowd was in no mood to listen to a speech urging non-violence as advocated by SCLC, and she was of the opinion that CARMICHAEL recognized this immediately and geared his speech accordingly. [] explained that the students were angry over the death of Dr. KING. She stated that she noted that the students looked angry, and many had ominous expressions on their faces, and all were very serious. She said it was evident to her that the meeting was called as a sort of "catharsis" to enable them to display their anger, and express their mood. She stated, however, that during the speeches she heard no direct retaliatory action urged or planned.

b7C [] went on to state that when CARMICHAEL appeared he walked directly to the platform, faced the crowd, and immediately began to speak. She said in the crush of the crowd he was for a time lost from her sight. CARMICHAEL spoke of Dr. KING's death as "the death of our leader." According to her, he said to the crowd, "If you don't have a gun, go home." She stated that he talked as though he did not want the assemblage "to play games," because they were "not prepared." She stated that the theme of his speech was "go home." She stated that as soon as CARMICHAEL had finished speaking he walked straight through the crowd, crossed the center of the green, and evidently left the campus, as she did not again see him that day. She stated that as he walked across the campus [] was preparing to leave the campus, and her attention was centered on joining him, and she thus made no further effort to follow CARMICHAEL's movements. At this time, the crowd began to disperse, moving off in all directions. She stated that she did not notice any large group banding

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together and moving off in such a manner as being indicative of moving toward some common objective.

b7C [] was certain that CARMICHAEL had a gun at this gathering. She stated that she did not actually see a gun in his possession, but stated that for a time he was lost from her sight because of the crowd. She said, however, that she heard some of the students make statements concerning CARMICHAEL to the effect, "he's got his," stating that she was certain they were referring to a gun CARMICHAEL was carrying with him.

In summing up CARMICHAEL's appearance on the Howard campus, [] opinion was that he neither created nor dispelled violence. She said that she was certain that [] would have been booed off the platform had he attempted to speak of non-violence to the crowd. She stated that CARMICHAEL must also have known the tenor of the gathering and stated that he is "enough of a performer" to have understood the mood of the crowd and spoke accordingly. She said that if he had advocated non-violence at the campus he too would have been booed off the platform. She said that CARMICHAEL did not tell the students to do, or not to do, anything. He indicated to them that the group "better think about what you are doing."

b7C [] had no way of knowing whether the crowd was made up of predominantly Howard University students but felt that it was. She stated that there may have been high school students at the rally, but she could not recognize them as such. She said that she saw familiar faces there, but many of them she could not name. She stated that she recognized [] of the Howard student newspaper "Hilltop" in the crowd. She also recognized [] there, noting that others, names-unrecalled, in the Howard student government were present. She also mentioned that [] of the Black United Front was present and had spoken briefly with her, telling her that he had decided not to speak at the gathering. She stated that she believed there

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were also a number of Howard University white students in the audience, none of whom she knew by name. She added that it was entirely possible that there were high school students in the audience at the campus but said she had no way of telling whether they were from high schools.

After [redacted] [redacted] left the campus, they proceeded south on 7th Street; and [redacted] suggested they pick up some food on the way to take back to the Poor Peoples March on Washington Headquarters for SCLC people and others who were there. When they stopped for food, [redacted] told the group that she intended telephoning her whereabouts to her newspaper at which statement [redacted] who was with them became angry because he thought she intended informing the paper about STOKELY CARMICHAEL's speech. [redacted] who was driving told her that he would not take her back with him if she called the "Post." Therefore when she, [redacted] got out of [redacted] car at about 7th and Q Streets, N.W., [redacted] left them there and drove off alone. She stated that the three of them then planned to walk back to SCLC Headquarters. Noting "young kids" in the area who appeared to be between six and nine years of age on 7th Street between P and Q who were looting stores, she decided to remain in the area for a while to see what developed so that she could report back to her paper on the activities in the area. She stated that she remained in the area on 7th Street between Q Street and Mt. Vernon Place until about 3:30 p.m. She said that the police had cordoned off the area at Mt. Vernon Place, and it was some time before she was permitted to proceed on 7th Street south of Mt. Vernon. Finally at around 7th and G Streets, N.W., she and other "Post" people who had joined her on 7th Street were able to secure a cab. At that time "Post" [redacted] was with her, having previously joined her on 7th Street; and they proceeded by cab to the vicinity of Newton Street and 16th Street and secured [redacted] car which was parked there, and they returned to the "Post" building.

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WFO 62-9737

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b7C

[] advised that on Sunday night, April 7, 1968, she had flown to Atlanta with []
[] She flew back alone on Wednesday, April 10, 1968.

b7C

[] advised that she was acquainted with CARMICHAEL, having on one occasion, some time ago, had him at her residence for dinner. She stated that CARMICHAEL at that time had indicated to [] that he would like to meet her and that subsequently [] had brought CARMICHAEL to her residence for dinner. She stated that she did not consider CARMICHAEL "a friend," but thought he was a nice looking young man and very personable.

[] stated that she had not filed a story concerning CARMICHAEL; because after talking with the "Post," the paper was more concerned with the rioting and told her to report on that rather than on CARMICHAEL's campus appearance.

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WFO 62-9737

HGE:skt

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On April 10, 1968, [redacted]
[redacted] Virginia, a photographer for the "Evening Star"
newspaper was interviewed by Special Agents (SAs) [redacted]
[redacted] at the office of the
"Evening Star."

b7C

[redacted] stated he was sent to Howard University
the morning of April 5, 1968, to photograph the memorial
service being held on the campus of Howard University. He
arrived on the campus a few minutes late and observed an
incident taking place on campus which involved a group of
militant black students lowering the flag of the United States
and raising another flag in its place.

b7C

[redacted] stated he stopped to obtain pictures
of the incident before going to Crampton Auditorium when the
memorial services were being held.

Upon arriving at the auditorium, he found it was
too dark to obtain a photograph and so crowded he could progress
no further than the rear of the auditorium.

He departed from the auditorium and was making
his way off campus when he observed a crowd in front of
Douglas Hall. He did not see STOKELY CARMICHAEL and proceeded
on his way leaving the campus at approximately 1:55 p.m. or
2:00 p.m.

He was on the way to the office of the "Evening
Star" when he noticed disorder and looting on 7th Street, N.W.,
and proceeded to take pictures of these events for his paper.

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WFO 62-9737

IV. MISCELLANEOUS

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WFO 62-9737



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WFO 62-9737

B. "WASHINGTON POST" ARTICLE BY
ROWLAND EVANS AND ROBERT
NOVAK OF APRIL 8, 1968

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THE WASHINGTON POST Monday, April 8, 1968

A17

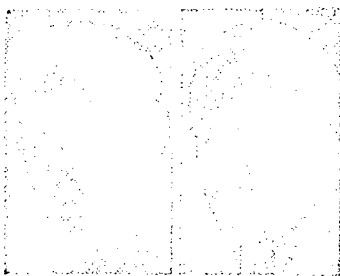
Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

Mystery Call Spurs Carmichael to Take Leadership in Mourning for Dr. King

WHEN THE NUMBING news came on Thursday night of the brutal assassination of Martin Luther King, the usually decisive Stokely Carmichael was in a momentary state of confusion and inaction—until he received a mysterious telephone call from an unknown source.

After that conversation, Carmichael was his old self. He announced that he would immediately go into the Negro ghetto on Washington's Northwest Side to demand that stores close out of respect for Dr. King. Not surprisingly, Carmichael's efforts degenerated into looting by Negro youths later in the evening (though Stokely, for a time, tried to discourage it). Moreover, he was back in Washington's streets Friday morning leading a march which preceded waves of new violence.

The mobilization of Carmichael by a single phone call reinforces suspicions of Negro leaders who believe he is guided through his otherwise inexplicable shifts of strategy by unseen—and undetermined—forces. After returning several months ago from a long sojourn in Communist countries, he dropped his advocacy of violence for a calmer popular-front line couched in Leninist vocabulary. A few weeks ago, however, Carmichael abruptly switched back to advocating violence.



Novak

Evans

WHAT MAKES the source of Carmichael's tactical aberrations so frighteningly persistent is that he may be the Negro filling the void left by Dr. King as the charismatic leader of the Negro masses.

The Rev. Ralph Abernathy, King's successor as head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), will maintain his martyred chief's principle of nonviolence, but neither he nor any of the other SCLC lieutenants can command national attention among the militant youths of the Nation.

Nor do any of the middle-aged, middle-class Negro leaders summoned to the White House on Friday by President Johnson. It is significant that, when Negro youths took to Washington's streets Thursday night none of the established civil rights leaders were on hand. Only two prominent negroes were in the ghetto: Carmichael and Chuck Stone, former aide to Adam Clayton Powell and a preacher of politics—not physical—Black Power.

Indeed, there are only two black leaders today nationally with the charisma to replace Dr. King. One is Powell—ailing, aging, embittered, self-exiled much of the time in the Caribbean. The other is Carmichael.

Moreover, Carmichael fits perfectly with the fierce new ghetto mood. Wherever militant Negro youths have gathered in recent weeks, there has been one subject: Guerrilla warfare. The militants claim that the department store fires in Chicago and New York began this war and grimly warn of more sophisticated anti-white assaults such as dynamiting power plants and poisoning water reservoirs.

EVEN WITH his unmatched prestige and spell-binding oratory, Dr. King had been losing ground of late among the ghetto militants. Carmichael obviously was waiting for Dr. King's Poor People's March on Washington later this month to fail, either by failing short of its dimly stated goals or by acquiescing in some unenforceable agreement with the Government. According to this plan, Carmichael then would nudged aside Dr. King for paramount Negro leadership and perhaps take over the March itself.

The tragic death of Dr. King not only moves up Carmichael's takeover

timetable but enormously strengthens his hand as a foe of nonviolence. Indeed, there is now an excellent chance that Carmichael and the militants will elbow the SCLC leaders out of running the March. The March might well then become something radically different from the nonviolent demonstration originally planned by Dr. King.

With this backdrop, Chuck Stone on Friday wrote his old boss, Adam Clayton Powell, to come home and try to seize leadership of the angry black militants. Although Powell bitterly declared an end to nonviolence in his last U.S. lecture tour, the fact remains that he never has been the cause, purposely or otherwise, of racial violence.

It would be ironic should Powell, defrocked for personal peccadilloes by his congressional colleagues, turn black militants away from suicidal revolution. It would also be unlikely. More probably, white leaders who so often condemned Martin Luther King as an extremist now will have the pleasure of dealing with Stokely Carmichael.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/17/68

[redacted] was contacted at his office,
[redacted] Washington,
D. C. [redacted]
[redacted]

[redacted] and contact with [redacted] was related to
[redacted]
[redacted]

[redacted] It is noted
that on April 10, 1968, [redacted] advised SA
[redacted]
[redacted]

[redacted] was not expected to return
to Washington, D. C., for several days.

On April 15, 1968, [redacted]
[redacted]

[redacted] but he was not present
at the time CARMICHAEL received the telephone call mentioned
therein. [redacted] stated that as a matter of fact, he was
not even in the vicinity of where the events occurred, but
that his information came from a number of sources,
whom he, [redacted] described as being "close" to CARMICHAEL.
[redacted] stated that he therefore has no personal knowledge
as to whom CARMICHAEL may have received the "mysterious
telephone call" from, and presumably neither do his sources.
In further commenting about his sources, [redacted] stated that
they also could be considered militants, that they have
mentioned being suspicious of CARMICHAEL, and conceivably
may even have wanted to take a "jab" at him by this means.

[redacted] stated that in his contacts with his
sources, he gains the impression that CARMICHAEL intentionally
fluctuates from his militant stance on occasions, that
possibly his wild aberrations are a maneuver, and that
others are "orchestrating" his actions. In this regard,

On 4/15/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737

by SAs [redacted] VHW:llw Date dictated 4/15/68

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[] stated, he is of the impression that JAMES FORMAN (the International Representative) of SNCC may be the individual so involved.

b7C

As concerns the very recent rioting and looting which occurred in Washington, D. C., [] stated that, based on his conversations with his sources, the minimum number of fatalities which occurred, and more or less the general manner or approach of containment of the authorities, may have taken some of the edge off the counter actions of the militants. [] said that he understands, had a large number of people been killed, this could have triggered the next plateau of escalation of the militant groups. [] said he has the impression they may have been looking for such an event. Further, that the talk now is that since this did not occur, the militants will have to resort to other measures of guerilla warfare.

b7C

In making these observations, [] pointed out that these are his impressions from comments of his sources, but that he has no idea as to where the sources may be getting such information, adding that this could be "pool hall" conversation or widespread talk within the militant community and elsewhere.

[] did not reveal the identity of his sources.

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WFO 62-9737

C. NEWS CONFERENCE OF
APRIL 7, 1968

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date 4/18/68

[redacted]
 Apartment [redacted] for "The Evening Star" newspaper,
 advised as follows:

b7C

[redacted] attended a press conference held by
 C. SUMNER STONE at the Ed Murphy's Supper Club, 2227 Georgia
 Avenue, N.W., on Sunday, April 7, 1968. [redacted] was given
 the assignment of covering the press conference after an
 anonymous telephone call had been received at his newspaper
 office that the conference was going to be held. The press
 conference was scheduled to begin at 3:00 p.m. However,
 [redacted] did not arrive there until approximately 3:25 p.m.;
 and at that time, the conference had not begun.

b7C

When he arrived at Ed Murphy's, [redacted] observed
 [redacted] a representative of the Student Nonviolent
 Coordinating Committee (SNCC), standing outside. [redacted]
 [redacted] was talking with [redacted]
 for his press card; but when [redacted] started to show it,
 [redacted] laughed and indicated he knew [redacted]

b7C

[redacted] described [redacted] as one who is always
 "hanging around" SNCC and who is always looking to borrow
 money. [redacted] has not borrowed any money from [redacted]

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL was just coming out onto the
 street when [redacted] was entering Ed Murphy's. They exchanged
 greetings but had no further conversation. CARMICHAEL went
 over and engaged [redacted] in conversation.

At approximately 3:30 p.m., STONE came onto the
 patio of Ed Murphy's and indicated that the press conference
 was to begin. STONE sat at a long table with CARMICHAEL to
 his immediate right.

On 4/16/68 at Washington, D.C. File # WFO 62-9737

SAs [redacted]

b7C

by [redacted] JLS:skt Date dictated 4/16/68

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WFO 62-9737

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STONE started the press conference by reading a prepared statement of two or three pages, which reading lasted approximately two or three minutes. In his statement, STONE said that they were calling for a national work stoppage on Tuesday, April 9, 1968, out of respect for the late Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., who was being buried that day. STONE said that Dr. KING had been a victim of white racists. STONE indicated that as a result of the eruptions which had followed Dr. KING's assassination, now perhaps "you will listen to us." According to [] STONE's statement was a moderate one.

b7C

As soon as STONE completed his prepared statement, CARMICHAEL left. CARMICHAEL made no statement.

The press conference continued with a question and answer period which lasted ten or fifteen minutes.

Immediately following the question and answer period, [] WTTG, a Washington, D.C. (WDC), television station, and a reporter (whom [] does not know by name but whom he believes works for "The Washington Post and Times Herald" newspaper) talked briefly with STONE. During this conversation, STONE said that the press conference indicated there was "black unity." STONE said that he and CARMICHAEL have their differences but that even he, CARMICHAEL, approved of STONE's proposal of a work stoppage. STONE indicated by his remarks that CARMICHAEL, by his presence at the conference, had yielded to the moderates in the Black Power Movement.

b7C

The press conference broke up at approximately 3:52 p.m. [] said he did obtain a press release at the conference, but he has since disposed of it. [] said he did not have a tape recorder with him at the conference.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date 4/15/68

On April 12, 1968, [] Metromedia Incorporated (WTTG-TV), 5151 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. (WDC), advised that he had been assigned to cover and did cover the Chuck Stone News Conference held at Ed Murphy's Supper Club, 2227 Georgia Avenue, N.W., WDC, on Sunday, April 7, 1968. He stated the conference was at 3:00 or 3:30 p.m., but he did not recall which time was correct.

b7C

[] advised that before STONE's conference began STOKELY CARMICHAEL and some of his lieutenants arrived. CARMICHAEL came up to STONE and stated, "This isn't going to be any peace conference is it?" STONE replied, "No, no, none of that." CARMICHAEL then said, according to [] words to the effect "Yeah, I'm sick and tired of these niggers talking about peace."

[] stated that one of CARMICHAEL's lieutenants said, "No, no, this is war." After CARMICHAEL made the statement to STONE about "This isn't going to be any peace conference is it?", [] stated he could not pinpoint which of CARMICHAEL's lieutenants made this statement.

b7C

[] advised that STONE then gave CARMICHAEL the statement, which was later made available to the press by STONE. CARMICHAEL sat at the table, set up for the press conference, and read the statement. When he finished reading, he appeared pleased with the statement as he was smiling. He exchanged some remark with STONE; and STONE, to the best of [] recollection, touched CARMICHAEL.

[] stated that right after this the press conference began, during which STONE read the statement he had shown CARMICHAEL. This statement, according to [] was about two pages in length. It called for a general work

On 4/12/68 at Washington, D.C. File # WFO 62-9737

SAs []

b7C

by [] WLS:skt Date dictated 4/15/68

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

WFO 62-9737

2

stoppage in Washington on Tuesday, April 9, 1968. [] characterized the statement as being "middle of the road" in that it called for neither war nor peace but for a general work stoppage.

b7C

[] advised that CARMICHAEL did not say anything during the conference, which lasted about fifteen or twenty minutes. At the conclusion of the conference, CARMICHAEL and his lieutenants departed immediately.

[] advised WTTG-TV had film of about ten minutes of the STONE press conference and also a copy of the press statement. However, the film and statement were not readily available due to the fact that these items are mixed in with the large volume of film exposed during coverage of the riots. [] advised attempts to locate these items at WTTG had not been successful.

b7C

[] stated other members of the press had attended the STONE news conference.

[] stated he was willing to testify in court.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date April 18, 1968

b7C [redacted] National Broadcasting Company, 4001 Nebraska Avenue, N.W., advised he would make available to the Federal Bureau of Investigation a dubbed copy of audio tapes taken by the National Broadcasting Company at the press conference held by C. SUMNER STONE on April 7, 1968, at the Ed Murphy's Supper Club, 2227 Georgia Avenue, N.W. [redacted] said instant tapes would be made available as soon as they could be dubbed.

On 4/18/68 at Washington, D.C. File # WFO 62-9737

by SA [redacted] tjd Date dictated 4/18/68

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

208

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

WFO 62-9737

DJK:llw

1

b7C

On April 15, 1968, []
[] Broadcast House, 40th and Brandywine Streets,
N. W., advised Special Agents []
[] as follows:

b7C

On Sunday, April 7, 1968, [] attended a press conference held by C. SUMNER STONE at the Ed Murphy Supper Club, 2227 Georgia Avenue, N. W. The press conference was scheduled to begin at 3:00 PM, but [] was delayed because of adverse traffic conditions and did not arrive there until approximately 3:30 PM. The press conference lasted only a few minutes after [] arrival. [] ascertained that the press conference was called by STONE to propose a "work stoppage" on Tuesday, April 9, 1968 in deference to the funeral of the late Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. [] said he did pick up a copy of a press release at the conference, but he does not have it now.

b7C

[] stated that STOKELY CARMICHAEL was not present at the press conference while he was there. [] recalled he had spoken with STONE following the press conference, at which time STONE mentioned that CARMICHAEL had been there earlier and that CARMICHAEL had indicated approval of STONE's "work stoppage" proposal.

[] mentioned that he had heard no one make any inflammatory statements while he was in attendance at the press conference. [] said he had a tape recorder with him, but that the tape recorder did not function properly. [] said he knew of no one else from WTOP-Radio or Television in attendance at the conference, but he was aware that the National Broadcasting Company had representatives there.

~~SECRET~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOI/PA
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET
FOI/PA# 1407783-0

Total Deleted Page(s) = 13

Page 18 ~ b7D;
Page 60 ~ b6; b7C;
Page 61 ~ b6; b7C;
Page 62 ~ b6; b7C;
Page 68 ~ b6; b7C;
Page 72 ~ Duplicate;
Page 77 ~ Duplicate;
Page 105 ~ Duplicate;
Page 141 ~ Duplicate;
Page 143 ~ b6; b7C; b7D;
Page 144 ~ b6; b7C; b7D;
Page 159 ~ Duplicate;
Page 160 ~ Duplicate;

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
X Deleted Page(s) X
X No Duplication Fee X
X For this Page X
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ATTENTION

The following documents appearing in FBI files have been reviewed under the provisions of The Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) (Title 5, United States Code, Section 552); Privacy Act of 1974 (PA) (Title 5, United States Code, Section 552a); and/or Litigation.

☐ FOIA/PA☐ Litigation☐ Executive Order Applied

Requester: _____

Subject: _____

Computer or Case Identification Number: _____

Title of Case: _____

Section _____

* File _____

Serials Reviewed: _____

Release Location: *File _____

Section _____

This file section has been scanned into the FOIPA Document Processing System (FDPS) prior to National Security Classification review. Please see the documents located in the FDPS for current classification action, if warranted. Direct inquiries about the FDPS to RIDS Service Request Unit

b2

File Number: _____

Section _____

Serial(s) Reviewed: _____

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: _____

File Number: _____

Section _____

Serial(s) Reviewed: _____

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: _____

File Number: _____

Section _____

Serial(s) Reviewed: _____

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: _____

THIS FORM IS TO BE MAINTAINED AS THE TOP SERIAL OF THE FILE, BUT NOT SERIALIZED.

SCANNED BY DocLab (RMD)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE: _____

7/31/85

ATTENTION

DATE 05-10-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

LAST SERIAL: _____

1471

DO NOT REMOVE FROM FILE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-10-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

FBI

Date: 4/12/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

To: Director, FBI

ATTENTION:

From: SAC, SAN DIEGO (RUC)☐ CIVIL RIGHTS SECTION

GENERAL INVEST. DIV.

Subject: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

☒ DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIV.☐ CR ☐ EL ☐ VRA-65 ☐ CRA-64☐ PA ☐ PE ☐ PF☐ BM ☐ BM-Threats ☒ Racial Matters☐ Klan ☐ Organization

b6

b7C

Summary of Complaint:

Enclosed for the Bureau are eleven copies of an LHM and one 3" reel of recording tape. Two copies enclosed for WFO.

Information contained in the attached LHM was recorded by _____ California, who is employed at a Texaco Gasoline Station, _____ California.

AGENCY: ASST. DIR., OSI, SEC. SERV.,

SUB: ISD, CRD, RAO, Chgo, IDIU

HOW FORW: N/SDATE FORW: 4/18/68BY: RTB/dkt

③ - Bureau (Enc. 12)

2 - WFO (Enc. 2)

2 - San Diego (1-100-13995)

(1-157-159 RACIAL RIOTS MAJOR URBAN AREAS)

EMP: ecc (7)

ACTION: UACB:

☒ No further action being taken and☒ LHM enclosed ☒ Copy furnished to USA, San Diego.☐ LHM being submitted☐ Report being submitted☐ Preliminary investigation instituted☐ Limited investigation instituted

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

14 APR 15 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

San Diego, California
April 12, 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-10-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

The following program was broadcast from Radio
Havanna, Cuba on April 5, 1968, at 10:30 PM, Pacific Standard
Time:

This is a statement from the Afro-American Leader
STOKELY CARMICHAEL made by telephone from Washington on MARTIN
LUTHER KING's murder.

Hello?

STOKELY.

Yes.

This is MIKE LAGUARDIA (Phonetic) from Radio Havanna,
Cuba.

Hello.

Hello Sir.

Como Esta?

Bien, Bien Y Usted?

Ah Ah

Say STOKELY.

Ah.

We would like to have a statement from you on MARTIN
LUTHER KING's assassination.

COPIES DESTROYED

286 FEB 23 1971

ENCLOSURE

100-446080-1428X

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Right.

And how you see the reaction of the African-American in the face of this crime.

Right.

So what do you have to say on that?

Are you ready?

Are you ready?

Just a second.

Go ahead.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL speaking:

A white America has dropped on its ear right now and America killed Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., last night. When they killed Dr. KING they made a mistake, because Dr. KING was the man who was trying to ask, ah, black people not to burn down the cities. Now that they have killed Dr. KING there is no black man who will ask black people not to burn down the cities. What it means is that we have gone full slate into the revolution. Last night thirty five cities had major incidents, that was last night, thirty five cities in the United States where there was burning and shooting and killing over the death of Dr. KING. It is clear that, ah, more of this will continue. It is going to become more and more a guerrilla, urban guerrilla warfare, because it is clear that we cannot win with the, ah, with the police, in open rebellion so more people are now beginning to plan seriously a major urban guerrilla warfare where we can begin to retaliate, by the right to the (?) death of Dr. KING to where we can begin to move seriously to do a serious revolution

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

in this country and bring them to their fate. It is crystal clear to us that the United States of America must fall in order for humanity to live. We are going to give our lives in this cause to our brothers and sisters in Cuba and Washington.

Hello.

And it's good to hear you all.

Thanks very much STOKELY.

Right.

We'll be coming back to you again and say something more later.

Very good.

All right all right.

And, ah, to Prime Minister FIDEL, say hello.

All right.

Have a good time.

Good-bye.

Good-bye.

That was STOKELY CARMICHAEL's voice in a special message on MARTIN LUTHER KING's death directly made from Washington.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 05-10-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

~~100 44 6080-1428~~⁴⁻⁸⁰

49-D

BULKY ENCLOSURE

BIN #

179

copy of
cover
letter
ENCLOSED

~~179~~

~~179~~

NOTICE

DOCUMENT CANNOT BE SCANNED

DESCRIPTION

Recording Tape



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 05-10-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bis

DATE 05-10-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bis

**magnetic
sound**



A. BY
S. CORP.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-10-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/b1E

STOCK NO. 2P10 2507 1 AMT-70-0-0

Full Frequency-Recording Response
GUARANTEED QUALITY

FROM: [REDACTED] [REDACTED] STAMP

[REDACTED] CALIF

THIS TAPE WAS RECORDED
AT 3^{3/4} IPS. 5 APRIL, 1968
2230 HRS PST AT 9655
KH2
RADIO HAVANA CUBA

Contents: Magnetic Recording
Tape. This parcel may be opened
for postal inspection if necessary.

b6
b7c

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ST
ma

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM : SAC, ALBUQUERQUE (100-3100)(P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION

DATE: 4/17/68

ReBulet to all offices, 4/8/68.

JACK CARINS, Director of Campus Security, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico, advised on 4/15/68 that subject is not scheduled to speak at the University of New Mexico to date.

Sources have been alerted and if subject is scheduled for an appearance in Albuquerque, the Albuquerque Office will notify Washington Field Office in accordance with relet.

2-Bureau (RM)
2-Washington Field ; (RM)
2-Albuquerque
JBB:dlb
(6)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-10-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

100-806980

09

REC 10

100-446080-1429
16 APR 22 1968



2 APR 30 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

Bayless
RACIAL INT. SECT.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-10-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

ST
fso
TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

DATE: 4/19/68

FROM : SAC, BALTIMORE (100-24220)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION
(OO: WFO)

Re New York airtel to Bureau, 3/8/68.

The above is not to be made a matter of public record without the issuance of a subpoena duces tecum directed to the attention of [REDACTED]

b6
b7C
b7D

[REDACTED] Baltimore,
Maryland.

A review of the indices of the Baltimore Office failed to reflect any information concerning [REDACTED]

On 4/9/68, [REDACTED] Credit Bureau of Baltimore, Inc., made available a credit report dated 4/26/67 on [REDACTED] Baltimore, Maryland. This reflected that her DOB was [REDACTED]

K

- EX 105
- 2 - Bureau (REGISTERED MAIL)
 - 2 - New York (100-153751) (REGISTERED MAIL)
 - 2 - WFO (REGISTERED MAIL)
 - 1 - Baltimore
- FJW:jtk
(7)

REC 6

100-446080-1430

16 APR 22 1968

b6
b7C



66 APR 30 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

BA 100-24220

[REDACTED]

On 4/9/68, [REDACTED] Clerk, Traffic Records Division, Maryland Department of Motor Vehicles, advised that she was unable to locate any record on an [REDACTED] but she did locate a record reflecting that [REDACTED] [REDACTED] Baltimore, Maryland, had applied for an operator's permit. The application reflected that [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b6
b7C

On 4/9/68, [REDACTED] Central Records, Baltimore, Maryland PD, advised she was unable to locate any record on [REDACTED]

On 4/5/68, [REDACTED] Central Records, Baltimore County Police Bureau, advised that she was unable to locate any record on [REDACTED]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 05-10-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

Date: 4/9/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (157-8982)

FROM: SAC, MOBILE (105-772) (P)

SUBJECT: YOUNG MEN'S PROGRESSIVE COMMITTEE
INTERNAL SECURITY

Re Mobile airtel 3/18/68, captioned as above,
and Bureau airtel, 3/28/68, captioned Student Non-violent
Coordinating Committee (SNCC), RM - SNCC.

[redacted] (Prob.) - Ghetto, was
contacted on 4/5/68 at which time he advised the following:

He was contacted [redacted]

[redacted] at his
home. [redacted] told the informant [redacted]

The informant advised [redacted]

5 - Bureau (Encl. 5) (RM)

(3 - 157-8982)

1 - 100-STOKELY CARMICHAEL)

(1 - 100-439190)

4 - Jackson (Encl. 3) (RM)

1 - WFO (Info.) (RM) (Encl. 1) (STOKELY CARMICHAEL)

1 - Atlanta (Info.) (STOKELY CARMICHAEL) (RM) (19) CG:mb

(Encl. 1)

NOT RECORDED

8 - Mobile

154 APR 24 1968

(1-100-1693)

(1-44-439)

(1-157-367)

(1-170-208)

(1-100-1858)

b6

b7C

b7D

53 APR 30 1968

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

MO 105-772

Terminal on April 5, 1968, reflects that there was a bus departing at 3:45 A.M. on 3/31/68 from Montgomery to Vicksburg. He advised that [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b6
b7C
b7D

[REDACTED]

A case is being opened by Mobile Office on [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] is under development as an informant.

With regard to the unidentified Negro male described by [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b6
b7C
b7D

following investigation is set forth:

MO 105-772

On 3/18 and 19/68, [redacted] Montgomery, Ala., advised that a Negro male, 5'9", 160 pounds, with an unidentified Negro female [redacted] bar at 9:00 P.M. on Thursday night, 3/14/68, and wanted to use the banquet room for a meeting. According to [redacted] the unidentified Negro male made the arrangements for approximately fifteen persons, believed to be from Alabama State College, to meet there. A photograph of [redacted] was exhibited to [redacted] stated that the Unsub looked like the photograph but that he could not positively state that he was the unsub. On 4/5/68, [redacted] that a Negro female student from Alabama State College contacted him during the week of 4/1/68 and requested [redacted] to use the meeting room at his bar. She referred to [redacted] as having been with [redacted] on 3/14/68 when they used the banquet room to hold the meeting. According to [redacted] he believed that these students are affiliated with SNCC.

b6
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On 3/18/68, [redacted] Alabama State College, Montgomery, Alabama, advised that [redacted] was observed on the campus of Alabama State College during the time STOKELY CARMICHAEL was in Alabama. He stated he saw [redacted] and CARMICHAEL together at Tuskegee on Monday night, 3/11/68. He described [redacted] as Negro male,

[redacted]
This is essentially the same description given by [redacted] with the exception of the location [redacted] of the unidentified Negro male who was in possession of the machine gun with CARMICHAEL on 3/14/68.

On 3/27/68, [redacted] advised, after viewing photograph of [redacted] that this was a good likeness of the unidentified Negro male who was in possession of a machine gun on 3/14/68 but he could not definitely state that this was the individual.

On 3/29/68, [redacted] Beulah Baptist Church, Montgomery, Alabama, advised that efforts were made to use [redacted] on 3/11/68 for a meeting. He advised that there is a small room on the left rear side of the church, and that it was unlocked during church services on 3/14/68. He stated, however, that he was not aware that this room had been used by anyone on that evening.

b6
b7C

MO 105-772

On 4/4/68, [redacted] Community Relations
Dent, Montgomery PD, stated that he recalls seeing [redacted]
[redacted] on the steps of the Beulah Baptist Church on 3/14/68,
at which time he was speaking. He said he did not hear
his comments but that he did recall seeing him.

The above investigation would tend to identify
[redacted] as the individual described by informant as
speaking on steps on 3/14/68 and the individual who was
in possession of the brief case which, according to the
informant, contained a submachine gun.

b6
b7C

Close contact is being maintained with [redacted]
[redacted] in the investigation of captioned organization
and particular emphasis is being given to developing
any information as to possession of weapons and their
sources.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau, WFO, Jackson
and Atlanta [redacted]

[redacted] referred to above.

It should be noted that [redacted]
[redacted]

[redacted] any disclosure of
the above information through open investigation could
result in informant's being killed. This should be borne
in mind in covering the following leads.

JACKSON, at Jackson, Miss. Attempt to identify
[redacted] through established sources and report any
[redacted]

At Vicksburg, Miss. Attempt to identify [redacted]
[redacted] (phonetic) through established sources and report
[redacted]

MOBILE, at Demopolis, Ala. Attempt to identify
[redacted] through established sources and report any
[redacted]

b6
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b7D

At Montgomery, Ala. Will continue to follow and
report activities [redacted]

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls
ON 05-10-2006

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Bishop
1 - Mr. Rosen
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
1 - Mr. Wannall

April 10, 1968

BY LIAISON

b6
b7C

Mrs. Mildred Stegall
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Stegall:

Enclosed is a memorandum setting forth information volunteered to our representative in the Dominican Republic by a Dominican national concerning an allegation made by a Dominican communist that Stokely Carmichael and H. Rap Brown have advocated the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., by a white man.

These data are being furnished for the information of the President. The material is also being furnished to the Attorney General and other interested Government officials.

b6
b7C

Sincerely yours,

NOT RECORDED

87 APR 22 1968

Enclosure

- 1 - 105-168197 (H. Rap Brown)
1 - 100-446080 (S. Carmichael)

WHA:ams

(11)

NOTE: Classified "~~Secret~~" since unauthorized disclosure of data herein could result in serious damage to national defense interests by jeopardizing our operations in the Dominican Republic.

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____

~~SECRET~~

Group I

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

Delivered to Mildred Stegall
on 4-10-68

ORIGINAL FILED IN 105-168197-640

70 APR 29 1968 TELETYPE UNIT

~~SECRET~~

1 - Mr. G.C. Moore 1 - Mr. DeLoach
(Route through 1 - Mr. Bishop
for review) 1 - Mr. Rosen (Route through
for review)
1 - Mr. Wannall
1 - Mr. Atkinson 1 - Mr. Sullivan

April 10, 1968

ASSASSINATION OF MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

The following information was volunteered to our representative in the Dominican Republic on April 8, 1968, by a Dominican national who has previously furnished both information that has been subsequently verified and information that has been proven to be inaccurate. The source is a member of a respected family in Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic, and is bitterly anticommunist and anti-Castro. He reportedly had some "bad experience in Cuba during and just after 1959." During prior interviews the source when pressed for specific details has sometimes become evasive.

The source advised he learned from a female, whom he refused to identify, that the latter had visited during the afternoon of April 6, 1968, the residence of [redacted]

[redacted] Santo Domingo. During such visit she overheard a partial conversation between [redacted] both active members of the Dominican Communist Party (PCD).

b6
b7C

According to the source, the above female advised that [redacted] that since possible peace in Vietnam was weakening communist actions, an "event strong enough to shake the U.S. to its foundations was needed to create a national atmosphere of war which would lead to the overthrow of the present Government" in the United States. [redacted] commented that Stokely Carmichael and H. Rap Brown are geniuses or they have perfectly assimilated the lessons they have received during the past two years.

b6
b7C

[redacted] noted that for more than fifteen days Carmichael and Brown have been advocating the death of Martin Luther King. King was described by [redacted] as a person who favored the men of the right or the "pseudo-Democrats" with his politics of nonviolence and

- 1 - 100-446080 (Stokely Carmichael)
- 1 - 105-168197 (H. Rap Brown)

WHA:sed (20) *sed*

~~SECRET~~
~~GROUP 1~~

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

very good
SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

ENCLOSURE

~~SECRET~~

ASSASSINATION OF MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

"Quilled the plans of black power which is one of violence." [redacted] stated it was, therefore, propitious for the cause of "black violence" from all points of view to assassinate Martin Luther King with the assassin being a white man. As a result the "guilt" for this deed would be attributed to President Johnson and Wall Street.

The source advised the above-described female could furnish no further information concerning this matter.

The source possessed no information as to how [redacted] could possibly have been in contact with Carmichael or Brown. He expressed the opinion, however, that these Dominicans are in close communication through couriers with individuals in Cuba. On February 26, 1968, he advised that [redacted] was then in Havana, Cuba, [redacted]

b6
b7C

[redacted] and Stokely Carmichael are the former Chairman, respectively, of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, an extremely militant Black Nationalist organization.

NOTE:

Classified "~~Secret~~" since unauthorized disclosure of data herein could result in serious damage to national defense interests by jeopardizing our operations in the Dominican Republic.

LEH prepared for dissemination to White House by separate letter. Copies will be furnished the Attorney General, Deputy Attorney General, Assistant Attorneys General Yeagley and Vinson by separate communication. It will also be furnished to State Department, CIA, DIA, Secret Service and the Military.

~~SECRET~~

5-113 (1-70-61)
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-10-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 4/16/68

The National Black Anti-War, Anti-Draft Union (NBAWADU) held a national conference at New York City during recent past. Attached relates to statements allegedly made by Stokely Carmichael in a special session of that conference

The New York Office and other interested offices are seeking to corroborate this information. Dissemination is being made to Secret Service, military intelligence agencies, and appropriate Divisions of the Department.

JFM:lrb

[Handwritten signature]

WA...28

FBI NEW YORK

5-53 PM URGENT 4/15/68 WPK

TO DIRECTOR AND WASHINGTON FIELD (CODE)

WASHINGTON FIELD VIA WASHINGTON

ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM NEW YORK 157-2085 4P

NATIONAL BLACK ANTI-WAR DRAFT UNION (NBWADU)

SOURCE WITH WHOM INSUFFICIENT CONTACT HAS
BEEN MADE TO ESTABLISH RELIABILITY, ADVISED ON INSTANT
THAT HE ATTENDED A SPECIAL SESSION OF CAPTIONED ORGANIZATION'S
REGIONAL LEADERS AT [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] APRIL ONE THREE INSTANT. SOURCE
ADVISED STOKELY CARMICHAEL OF SNCC WAS THE MAIN SPEAKER
TO APPROXIMATELY TWO FIVE REGIONAL LEADERS. AT THIS SESSION
CARMICHAEL ADVISED SULPHUR AND SULFURIC ACID WOULD

BE USED TO MAKE SMOKE BOMBS AND THE INGREDIENTS WILL BE
OBTAINED FROM AN INDIVIDUAL IDENTIFIED AS [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] WASHINGTON D.C., AND FROM

END PAGE ONE

* STUDENT NONVIOLENT Coordinating Committee

157-2085 10 1120

55 APR 25 1968

68-111-1

NOT RECORDED

141 APR 19 1968

b6
b7C

ORIGINAL FILED IN 157-2085-1

PAGE TWO

[REDACTED]

MASSACHUSETTS. SOURCE ADVISED THE FOLLOWING INDIVIDUALS
ARE KNOWN LEADERS OF THE CADRES TO BE FORMED IN THEIR
RESPECTIVE CITIES-

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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b7C

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

END PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE

[REDACTED]

DETROIT, MICHIGAN

TELEPHONE NUMBER [REDACTED]

IN ADDITION [REDACTED] IS IN POSSESSION OF SEVERAL FIRE ARMS
MAKE AND MODEL UNKNOWN.

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b7C

[REDACTED]

NEW YORK, NEW YORK

TELEPHONE NUMBER [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

NEW YORK CITY

SOURCE ADVISED ALL NAMES APPEARING ABOVE ARE
SPELLED PHONETICALLY.
ADMINISTRATIVE

NEW YORK TEL TO THE BUREAU APRIL

ONE THREE INSTANT. SOURCE IS [REDACTED] PRI, FROM
WASHINGTON, D.C. NEW YORK SOURCES CONTACTED REGARDING
END PAGE THREE

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b7C
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PAGE FOUR

THE ABOVE INFORMATION ADVISED THEY WERE NOT IN ATTENDANCE AT THIS SESSION. NEW YORK CONTINUING EFFORTS TO CORROBORATE THE ABOVE THROUGH ADDITIONAL SOURCES. LHM TO BE SUBMITTED.

LEADS- ALL RECEIVING OFFICES TO ADVISE WASHINGTON FIELD AND NEW YORK OF PERTINENT BACKGROUND AND DESCRIPTIVE INFORMATION AND ACTIVITIES OF BLACK NATIONALIST NATURE REGARDING INDIVIDUALS THEIR RESPECTIVE DIVISIONS.

FOR INFORMATION OF OMAHA AND BOSTON WHO HAVE NOT BEEN PREVIOUSLY ADVISED, CAPTIONED ORGANIZATION HELD NATIONAL CONFERENCE NEW YORK CITY APRIL ONE TWO THROUGH ONE FOUR INSTANT. STOKELY CARMICHAEL ANNOUNCED FORMATION OF SMALL GROUPS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY WHOSE PURPOSE WILL BE TO BEGIN DISRUPTIVE TACTICS AGAINST THE "ESTABLISHMENT". CARMICHAEL STATED METHOD TO BE EMPLOYED WILL BE UTILIZATION OF SMOKE BOMBS MADE OF SULFURIC ACID AND SULPHUR.

TARGETS OF THE "ESTABLISHMENT" BY THE ALLEGED CADRES NOT KNOWN TO DATE. ALL OFFICES EXTEND EFFORTS TO DEVELOP ACTIVITIES AND TARGETS OF CADRES THEIR DIVISIONS.

MAIL COPIES TO DETROIT BOSTON OMAHA AND PHILADELPHIAST.

END

WA...

FJB

FBI WASH DC

FTB - TAP

CC
JAN THORNTON
ROOM 836 986

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-10-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

Memorandum

TO: Director, FBI (Bufile- 100-446080)

DATE: 4/16/68

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL, aka
IS - M; SEDITION

RABBLE ROUSER INDEX

☐ New Subject ☒ Change ☐ Delete

Name STOKELY CARMICHAEL		FBI Number 853121 - D																								
Aliases OBEYA KUTTATI, V. WELCH, C. WELCHER, V. WALCHER, S. LEIGH, J. WALSHER, "Mr. WEBSTER"																										
Citizenship ☐ Native Born ☒ Naturalized ☐ Alien																										
Subject also on ☒ SI ☐ RI		Race Negro																								
Sex ☒ Male ☐ Female																										
Organizational Affiliation <table border="0"><tr><td>☐ 01 ANP</td><td>☐ 07 KLAN</td><td>☐ 12 PLP</td><td>☒ 17 SNCC</td></tr><tr><td>☐ 02 AVN</td><td>☐ 08 LA</td><td>☐ 13 PRN</td><td>☐ 18 SWP</td></tr><tr><td>☐ 03 BNAT</td><td>☐ 09 MIN</td><td>☐ 14 RAM</td><td>☐ 19 WWP</td></tr><tr><td>☐ 04 BPP</td><td>☐ 10 NOI</td><td>☐ 15 SCLC</td><td>☐ 99 MISC</td></tr><tr><td>☐ 05 COM</td><td>☐ 11 NSRP</td><td>☐ 16 SDS</td><td>(Specify)</td></tr><tr><td>☐ 06 CORE</td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr></table>			☐ 01 ANP	☐ 07 KLAN	☐ 12 PLP	☒ 17 SNCC	☐ 02 AVN	☐ 08 LA	☐ 13 PRN	☐ 18 SWP	☐ 03 BNAT	☐ 09 MIN	☐ 14 RAM	☐ 19 WWP	☐ 04 BPP	☐ 10 NOI	☐ 15 SCLC	☐ 99 MISC	☐ 05 COM	☐ 11 NSRP	☐ 16 SDS	(Specify)	☐ 06 CORE			
☐ 01 ANP	☐ 07 KLAN	☐ 12 PLP	☒ 17 SNCC																							
☐ 02 AVN	☐ 08 LA	☐ 13 PRN	☐ 18 SWP																							
☐ 03 BNAT	☐ 09 MIN	☐ 14 RAM	☐ 19 WWP																							
☐ 04 BPP	☐ 10 NOI	☐ 15 SCLC	☐ 99 MISC																							
☐ 05 COM	☐ 11 NSRP	☐ 16 SDS	(Specify)																							
☐ 06 CORE																										
Date of Birth 6/29/41	Place of Birth Port of Spain, Trinidad, British- West Indies																									
Position in Organization Organizer	Occupation, Business Address (Show Name of Employing Concern) Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), 2208 14th Street, N. W., Washington, D.C.																									
Residence Address 2200 12th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.																										

REGISTERED MAIL

② - Bureau
2 - WFO
(1-157-1275)
WJH;dab

MCT-46

NOT RECORDED

12 APR 17 1968

RACIAL M. SECT.

STAT. SECT.

66 APR 29 1968

WFO 100-43503

Subject is a black nationalist employed as an "Organizer" by the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, a militant civil rights organization openly advocating a policy of violence.

Subject has made numerous inflammatory speeches and statements on racial matters and urged negroes to arm themselves.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-10-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

Date: 4/12/68 11:30 AM

Transmit the following in PLAINTEXT
(Type in plaintext or code)Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI, SACS BALTIMORE AND RICHMOND

FROM: SAC, WFO (157-1576)

RACIAL SITUATION FOLLOWING ASSASSINATION OF MARTIN
LUTHER KING, JR., WASHINGTON, D. C. RACIAL MATTERS

AT TEN AM, MPD STATISTICS LIST: TOTAL ARRESTS, SEVEN
SIX ZERO THREE; FOUR FOUR SIX FOUR CURFEW VIOLATIONS;
INJURIES TOTAL ONE ONE EIGHT EIGHT, INCLUDES FIFTY THREE
POLICE, NINETEEN FIREMEN AND TWELVE SOLDIERS.

REFERENCE MADE TO WFO TEL ELEVEN THIRTY PM, APRIL
ELEVEN LAST, CONCERNING GEORGE STOREY AS SPEAKER AT
MEETING ST. STEPHEN'S CHURCH, WASHINGTON, D. C., APRIL
TWELVE FIVE PM. "THE SUNDAY STAR", PAGE A DASH EIGHT,
MARCH THIRTEEN NINETEEN SIXTY SIX, DISCLOSED MARION BARRY,
WASHINGTON DIRECTOR OF SNCC AND ORGANIZER OF "FREE D. C."

2-Bureau

2-Teletype Unit

2-WFO

FFB:llw
(6)

APR 22 1968

100-446080
NOT RECORDED
183 APR 24 1968

51 MAY - 1 1968
Approved: *[Signature]* Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

ORIGINAL FILED IN

157-6-53-1394

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

PAGE TWO

MOVEMENT" ANNOUNCED REVEREND WILLIAM A. WENDT, PASTOR OF ST. STEPHEN AND INCARNATION EPISCOPAL CHURCH, AND GEORGE STOREY, PRESIDENT OF THE UPPER CARDOZA MEN'S COUNCIL, WILL HEAD THE "FREE D. C. MOVEMENT" DRIVE IN FOURTEENTH STREET AREA BETWEEN U STREET AND PARK ROAD, N. W., WASHINGTON, D. C.

MPD ADVISED TEN TEN AM AS FOLLOWS: PURPOSE OF ABOVE MEETING TO OPPOSE WHITE STORES, WHITE SLUMLORDS, AND OTHER EXPLOITERS OF BLACK PEOPLE IN BLACK COMMUNITIES; TO OPPOSE WHITE UNIONS WITHOUT BLACK MEMBERS; TO OPPOSE SLAVE WAGES OF LESS THAN TWO DOLLARS AND TWENTY FIVE CENTS AN HOUR.

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] HAS ADVISED MPD PROCESSION KNOWN AS "WAY OF THE CROSS" WILL BE LED BY [REDACTED] THROUGH SEVERAL STREETS ADJOINING THE ST. STEPHEN'S CHURCH

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b7C

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

PAGE THREE

IMMEDIATELY AFTER MEETING AT FIVE PM AT THAT CHURCH AND
THAT PROCESSION WILL CONCLUDE AT THIS CHURCH WHERE SUPPER
WILL BE SERVED. [REDACTED] WILL NEITHER DENY NOR
CONFIRM TO MPD ABOVE INFO FURNISHED BY [REDACTED] MPD INDICATES
NO PERMIT APPLIED FOR PARADE NOR HAS ONE BEEN ISSUED. ONE
HUNDRED SIXTEENTH MIG ADVISED.

SAS OBSERVED STOKELY CARMICHAEL DEPART NATIONAL AIRPORT
NINE THIRTY AM, AMERICAN AIRLINES FLIGHT TWO FORTY EIGHT,
SCHEDULED TO ARRIVE NEW YORK CITY AT TEN TWENTY AM. CARMICHAEL
ACCOMPANIED BY [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] AND [REDACTED]

SNCC OFFICIALS. NY OFFICE, LOCAL MPD AND ONE HUNDRED
SIXTEENTH MIG COGNIZANT.

MPD ADVISED TEN FIFTEEN AM MAYOR WASHINGTON HAS
INSTRUCTED MPD TO LIFT PREVIOUS CURFEW ORDERS WITH FOLLOWING

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

PAGE FOUR

EXCEPTIONS: PURCHASE OF GASOLINE LIMITED TO FIVE DOLLARS,
AND BARS CAN SERVE LIQUOR UNTIL MIDNIGHT. ONE HUNDRED
SIXTEENTH MIG COGNIZANT.

ONE HUNDRED SIXTEENTH MIG ADVISED TEN THIRTY AM EIGHTY
SECOND AIRBORNE UNIT BEING PULLED OUT OF WASHINGTON, D. C.
APRIL TWELVE AND SIXTH CAVALRY UNIT LEAVING WASHINGTON, D. C.
APRIL THIRTEENTH AFTER COMPLETION OF RALLY AT ST. STEPHENS
CHURCH. MPD COGNIZANT.

APR 13 1968

MR. TOLSON
ROOM 1350

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL

REPORTING OFFICE CINCINNATI	OFFICE OF ORIGIN WFO	DATE 4/16/68	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 2/8/68 - 3/5/68
TITLE OF CASE STOKELY CARMICHAEL		REPORT MADE BY SA 	TYPED BY mjw
CLASS. & EXT. BY <i>5/18/81 2842/Am-1/1/81</i> REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2 <i>1-3/88</i> DATE OF REVIEW <i>4/6/88</i>		CHARACTER OF CASE IS - MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION	

b6
b7C

REFERENCE:

Folk Computer #88,116

Bureau airtel to Albany, 12/21/67.
WFO teletypes to Cincinnati, 2/6/68, and 2/8/68.
Cincinnati teletypes to Bureau, 2/8/68, and 2/9/68.
Cincinnati airtels to Bureau and WFO, 2/12/68,
and 2/26/68.
WFO airtel to Cincinnati, 2/29/68.
Jackson letter to Cincinnati, 3/7/68.
WFO airtel, 4/2/68.

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF *Classified*

DATE *8/12/81*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

- P -

ACCOMPLISHMENTS OBTAINED: None						ACQUIT- TALS
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	RECOVERIES	RECOVERIES	

DECLASSIFIED BY *SP-1AC/EW*
ON *4-6-87*

Case has been: Pending over one year ☐ Yes ☐ No; Pending prosecution over six months ☐ Yes ☐ No

APPROVED <i>[Signature]</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW	
COPIES MADE: 4 - Bureau (100-446080) (RM) 3 - WFO (100-43503) (RM) 2 - Atlanta (1 - 100-6812) (CARMICHAEL) (Info) (RM) / <i>100-446080-1431</i> (1 - SNCC) 2 - New York (1 - CARMICHAEL) (Info) (RM) <i>12 APR 22 1968</i> (1 -) 1 - Jackson (1 - 100-941) <i>REC-52</i> (Info) (RM) 2 - Cincinnati (100-16858)			
Dissemination Record of Attached Report		Notations	
Agency	<i>ACSF NIC OSF SEC. SERV.</i>	b6 b7C	
Request Recd.	<i>RA: TSD Attention Paul Vincent, Crim, CRD, JDTU</i>		
Date Fwd.	<i>5/1/68</i>		
How Fwd.	<i>RTS</i>		
By	<i>PTB/dkt</i>		

RACIAL INT. SECT.

6 Xerox copies *RM 806 920*

CONFIDENTIAL

CI 100-16858

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LEADS

Information copies being submitted to auxiliary offices because of their interest in subject, SNCC, and/or associates.

CINCINNATI

AT CINCINNATI, OHIO

Will attempt to ascertain background data regarding [redacted] and information concerning Ohio License [redacted] as requested in referenced airtel to Cincinnati, 4/2/68.

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ADMINISTRATIVE

This report is classified "Confidential" since it contains information from confidential sources of continuing value, the disclosure of which might tend to compromise their future effectiveness.

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source

[redacted] (ghetto)
(Prob.)

[redacted]

[redacted]

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b2
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Location

CI 100-16858-56

This report. Contacted by SA [redacted]

This report.

This report. Furnished to SA [redacted]

This report.

[redacted] Furnished to SA [redacted]

This report.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CI 100-16858

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Identity of Source

[REDACTED]

Location

Used to characterize

CI 100-16858-97

The SAs who first observed subject arrive in Dayton, Ohio, on 2/7/68, were SAs [REDACTED]

The SAs who observed subject leave the Sheraton-Gibson Hotel at approximately 8:30 p.m., 2/8/68, were SAs [REDACTED]

The SA who observed STOKELY CARMICHAEL at 10:30 p.m. on 2/8/68, at the Sheraton-Gibson Hotel was SA [REDACTED]

The SA who observed [REDACTED] depart from the Sheraton-Gibson Hotel at 2:30 a.m. on 2/9/68, was SA [REDACTED]

SAs who observed CARMICHAEL and associates depart the Sheraton-Gibson Hotel the afternoon of 2/9/68 and depart from the Greater Cincinnati Airport for Washington, D.C., were SAs [REDACTED]

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**UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF

CONFIDENTIAL

Copy to:

DATE

Report of:
Date:

SA [REDACTED]
4/16/68

Office: CINCINNATI

b6
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Field Office File #: CI 100-16858

Bureau File #: 100-446080

Title: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

(#25008)
DECLASSIFIED BY SP-1AG/En
ON 4-6-87

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION

Synopsis:

At approximately 11:30 p.m., 2/7/68, subject and [REDACTED] member of Central Committee of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), arrived at Cox Municipal Airport, Dayton, Ohio, where they were met by [REDACTED] other Dayton, Ohio, SNCC members. Subject and [REDACTED] met with other Dayton, Ohio, SNCC members at [REDACTED] house in Dayton, where they remained several hours. [REDACTED] another SNCC committeeman, met with CARMICHAEL at the [REDACTED] home. CARMICHAEL and associates discussed SNCC's new policy of ostensibly taking a "soft" line in order to bring more Negroes into the fold. However, they also mentioned during this time that they could not make meaningful changes without destroying the system of government in the U.S., and that "true liberation cannot be accomplished without violence" and that the Negro must develop an army to win the revolution.

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CARMICHAEL told Dayton SNCC members the analysis by SNCC of all riots in the U.S. had revealed that they were unorganized with no real leadership. He said future disturbances would be better organized. At approximately 4:00 a.m., 2/8/68, CARMICHAEL, [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] checked in at the Sheraton-Gibson Hotel, Cincinnati, Ohio, where CARMICHAEL was scheduled

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

CLASS. & EXT. BY 5186/24/Rm/Mac/H
REASON-FCIM II 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW 4/16/87
Folk Computer #88,116

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

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to speak before the National Conference of Negro Methodists' Convention later that evening. CARMICHAEL left hotel later that day with local SNCC members to hear speech by JAMES FARMER, former Director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), at a nearby church. CARMICHAEL returned immediately to hotel, where he later spoke to convention group. Text of CARMICHAEL's talk set forth by informants and local news media. It was reported, however, to be relatively tame and toned down as compared to previous speeches. CARMICHAEL, accompanied by [redacted] left Cincinnati at 12:50 p.m., 2/9/68, for Washington, D.C., via American Airlines. (u)

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DETAILS:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

On February 7, 1968, Special Agents of the FBI observed at approximately 11:30 p.m., STOKELY CARMICHAEL and [redacted] arrive at Cox Municipal Airport, Dayton, Ohio, aboard Trans World Airlines Jet Flight #442. This flight departed Washington International Airport, Washington, D.C., 9:30 p.m., with one stop in Columbus, Ohio.

CARMICHAEL and [redacted] were met at the airport by [redacted] and others, and from there, drove directly to the residence of [redacted] Dayton, Ohio. *representative*

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[redacted] advised that [redacted] is a member of the Central Committee of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

FLORENCE TATE

[redacted] *(u)* on various dates, advised that STOKELY CARMICHAEL, on April 29, 1967, while in Cincinnati, Ohio, stated that [redacted] is the SNCC representative in Dayton, Ohio, and plans are already formulated to give her assistance in organizing SNCC in Dayton during the summer of 1967.

[redacted] *(u)* advised that [redacted] Dayton, Ohio, [redacted] the Dayton Alliance for Racial Equality (DARE) a small, militant, local civil rights group. [redacted] *(u)* described [redacted] as an advocate of coordination and cooperation of Black Nationalist groups to promote Negro rights.

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[redacted] on February 8, 1968, advised that prior to the arrival of CARMICHAEL, there were approximately 28 persons at the [redacted] residence holding a meeting, ostensibly concerning the racial situation in Dayton, Ohio. When CARMICHAEL arrived, they were all surprised and elated since they were not aware

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he was coming to the meeting. (u)

[redacted] on February 8, 1968, stated that included among these persons was [redacted] who arrived in Dayton, Ohio, earlier in the day (February 7, 1968), and was being hosted by [redacted] is a member of the Central Committee of SNCC. (u)

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[redacted] on February 8, 1968, advised that [redacted] would be in Dayton, Ohio, for the next three to four months to organize a SNCC group. Dayton appears to be a SNCC priority city for the following reasons: (u)

- 1) Dayton is centrally located; that is, close to Cleveland, Cincinnati, and Columbus, Ohio. Also, Dayton is near two predominantly Negro colleges, referring to Central State University and Wilberforce University, both Wilberforce, Ohio.
- 2) Dayton has an Afro-American Center, 309 North Broadway, Dayton, Ohio, which has facilities and space to headquarter a SNCC chapter.
- 3) SNCC believes that because of three previous disturbances in Dayton, and the recent one at Central State University, Dayton appears to be ripe for SNCC recruiting.
- 4) [redacted] have indicated that there are a number of people interested in joining SNCC in the Dayton, Ohio, area.
- 5) [redacted] has a great admiration for STOKELY CARMICHAEL, and it appears he also admires her.

[redacted] on February 9, 1968, advised that CARMICHAEL was originally scheduled to travel directly to Cincinnati from Washington, D.C., to speak before the National Negro Methodist Convention at the Sheraton-Gibson Hotel, Cincinnati, Ohio, on February 8, 1968. However, it appears CARMICHAEL decided to travel to Dayton, Ohio, to lend prestige to [redacted] extended visit in Dayton and to visit [redacted] who are his friends. (u)

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[redacted] on February 9, 1968, advised that CARMICHAEL, [redacted] generally discussed SNCC's new policy, which is to attain unity among all Negro groups with the ultimate goal of Black Power. They indicated that SNCC is presently taking a "soft" line on Black Power in order to bring all Negroes into the fold. In Washington, D.C., this is called "Unified Black Front." They stated even "Uncle Toms" will be taken in and attempts will be made to convert them into SNCC followers. If they do not convert, they will be treated and handled like traitors. (u)

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CARMICHAEL stated that on February 7, 1968, he was with H. RAP BROWN, National Chairman of SNCC, and others in Washington, D.C., organizing the various groups. (u)

[redacted] advised that in each area, in order to unify the community, they will organize and set up programs around the needed goals of that particular community. For example, the programs in Washington, D.C., are centered around community organizations, civil rights groups, and the unifying of all Negro organizations. In New York City, the organizing is centered around the schools, PTA, Teachers Guild, and parents. (u)

[redacted] advised that CARMICHAEL stated the voter registration drives in the South were not the way to make changes since the Negroes feel they do not have any power. (u)

[redacted] stated that included in this new approach is that conferences and speeches are being decreased and instead, these SNCC workers are going out and working directly with the people. Also, SNCC is no longer going to issue press releases. (u)

In connection with the above, it is noted that the "Dayton Daily News," a daily newspaper of general circulation in the Dayton, Ohio, area, carried an article titled, "Carmichael Visits SNCC Here," on page two of the February 8, 1968, edition.

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According to the article, the news learned that CARMICHAEL and WARE were in Dayton on February 7, 1968, to help map future activities of SNCC in Dayton. Mrs. CHARLES (FLORENCE) TATE, when contacted by the news, refused to

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

confirm the visit, but commented that "Black people all over this country are coming together, making plans for their survival."

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

According to the article, TATE declared that whites "are becoming more and more irrelevant to us." TATE further stated, "We mean to survive by whatever means necessary."

[redacted] further advised on February 9, 1968, that CARMICHAEL mentioned they could not make meaningful changes without destroying the system of government in the United States. CARMICHAEL stated, "To attain equality in the system is not possible without destroying the system."

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(u)

CARMICHAEL stated, "True liberation cannot be accomplished without violence," and mentioned that the Negro must develop an army to win the revolution. CARMICHAEL stated, "No matter what happens, we (Negroes) will survive."

(u)

[redacted] said that CARMICHAEL mentioned that the Negro people all over the United States are ready to fight, including Washington, D.C. He stated, "The black people do not cause the incidents to spark the trouble, but are ready to fight if necessary."

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(u)

CARMICHAEL stated that they (presumably meaning SNCC) analyzed all the riots in the United States during the past few years and determined that they were unorganized and had no real leadership. According to CARMICHAEL, one group would be in meetings attempting reconciliation with the power structure, while the other groups would be in the streets rioting. He said that in the future, the disturbances would be better organized.

(u)

[redacted] advised that CARMICHAEL stated that the revolution is ready in its final phases all over the world, and the only ones holding it up are the "niggers" in the United States. Vietnam and Korea already have their rebellions, and other Asian countries - Africa and South America - are also preparing for their rebellions. Eventually, this situation will lead to war between the white and black people.

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(u)

[redacted]

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CARMICHAEL stated that the person who designed Washington, D.C. constructed it so as to be built in a circle of defense. He stated that they have "looked over" the armored vehicles in Washington, D.C., which will be utilized by the police department, and they determined that if oil was poured on asphalt streets, the vehicles would slide and become immobile. He also mentioned that in the event of a riot in Washington, trenches could be dug in the Negro areas which would prevent the armored vehicles from flushing the rioters. He mentioned that Washington is solid with black people and increasingly the people are becoming organized. X(u)

CARMICHAEL also mentioned that they understood that in the event of a riot in Washington, the U. S. Government could move 35,000 troops in immediately. X(u)

CARMICHAEL stated that they were doing research on the approaches to and control of riots conducted by law enforcement, both local and Federal. The purpose of this is that during a riot, this knowledge would be invaluable in order that appropriate action could be taken to combat action by law enforcement authorities. X(u)

[] on February 9, 1968, advised that [] generally discussed guerrilla warfare. [] stated that maintaining secrecy among a militant group is extremely important and referred to the Algerian Rebellion and the fact that even the leaders knew only a few of their followers. He further stated that the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM) always appears to get into trouble since they discuss their strategy and plans in open meetings. X(u)

A characterization of the Revolutionary Action Movement is contained in the appendix attached hereto.

[] stated that if a police officer does something to your group (for example, a policeman assaults or kills a black man), you should have a meeting with members of the community who will hold a trial and sentence this officer. X(u)

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If the officer is found guilty, a local militant group would carry out the sentence of eliminating the officer.

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[] mentioned that the militants should carry a gun with a silencer and that it is better to shoot a police officer than be charged with carrying a concealed weapon. (u)

[] advised that [] emphasized that under no circumstances should a Negro militant allow a police officer to take a gun away from him. [] stressed the fact that a secret militant security group is necessary since to carry on a rebellion trained soldiers are needed. (u)

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[] advised that it appeared at times that CARMICHAEL took a "back seat" to [] gives the impression of being smarter, more militant and more aggressive than CARMICHAEL. (u)

During the evening, CARMICHAEL mentioned that he would be departing Cincinnati, Ohio, on the evening of February 8, 1968, for Washington, D.C. [] indicated he was going to New York, but possibly would be going to Washington, D.C., first. [] indicated he was going to Nashville, Tennessee, and would be back in Dayton, Ohio, during the week of February 11-17, 1968. (u)

[] advised that CARMICHAEL, [] departed Dayton, Ohio, 2:30 a.m., by car, en route to Cincinnati, Ohio. (u)

On February 8, 1968, [] advised that STOKELY CARMICHAEL, accompanied by [] checked in at the Sheraton-Gibson Hotel, Cincinnati, Ohio, at about 4:00 a.m. on February 8, 1968. Source identified [] as being Field Representatives for SNCC. Source stated that CARMICHAEL [] were residing in [] (u)

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[] said that CARMICHAEL was in Cincinnati, Ohio, for the sole purpose of speaking before the National Conference of Negro Methodists, who were holding a three-day conference at the Sheraton-Gibson Hotel in Cincinnati. Source said that CARMICHAEL remained in the hotel all day on

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February 8, 1968, attending various workshops of the National Conference of the Negro Methodists. (S)(u) ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[redacted] related that in the early evening of February 8, 1968, CARMICHAEL, accompanied by [redacted] and several local SNCC members, went to the Wesley Methodist Chapel in Cincinnati, Ohio, to hear a speech by JAMES FARMER, former Director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), and now a professor at an eastern college. CARMICHAEL did not speak at the chapel but remained there for several hours, listening to other speakers, and returned to the Sheraton-Gibson Hotel at about 10:30 p.m. From approximately 11:00 p.m. to 12:00 midnight, CARMICHAEL spoke to approximately 250 Methodist Ministers who were attending the conference, as well as with local SNCC members. All of the ministers at the conference did not attend this speech, but only those who were interested. [redacted] related that this was a closed speech in that no white persons were permitted to be present. After speaking for approximately one hour, CARMICHAEL remained for about one-half hour or 45 minutes answering questions put to him by the ministers in attendance. The speech was held at the Roof Garden of the Sheraton-Gibson Hotel. After the speech, CARMICHAEL returned to his suite for a private party. (S)(u)

[redacted] stated that in attendance at this party were approximately four Negro ministers from the conference, as well as local SNCC members, the number of which was estimated at about 15. He said that there were several other people there whom he was not acquainted with, but stated there were about 35 persons in attendance. [redacted] said that CARMICHAEL's speech to the ministers was relatively tame and on a much higher plane than some of his previous talks. He said, in essence, that the Negro ministers should attempt to bring all Negroes together as a unit and should concentrate more on the poor than on the middle class. In some of his discussions at the party, CARMICHAEL related that when he got back to Washington, D.C., he and [redacted] who was to accompany him, would try to organize and take over the school system there with the help of school officials, schoolteachers, and anyone else they could get to assist them, including pimps and prostitutes. CARMICHAEL implied that this meeting with some school officials was going to be closed and/or secret, and it was hoped that through the cooperation of the Negro people in Washington,

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D.C., they could take over the schools and "run them their way." (u)

(u) said that the party terminated at approximately 3:00 a.m. (u)

On February 8, 1968, (u) Sheraton-Gibson Hotel, Cincinnati, Ohio, advised SA (u) that his records failed to disclose any registration under the names of STOKELY CARMICHAEL. He said (u) referred to by the hotel as the Presidential Suite. He said this room contains two bedrooms with twin beds in each and a living or sitting room. He said this room is registered to (u) one of the Negro ministers attending the National Negro Methodist Conference. He said that (u) and it was furnished to the conference on a complimentary basis.

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At approximately 8:30 p.m. on February 8, 1968, Special Agents of the FBI observed STOKELY CARMICHAEL, (u) local SNCC Chairman, and (u) leave the Sheraton-Gibson Hotel and drive off in a late model maroon Buick, bearing Ohio License (u) which is registered to one (u)

(u) on March 5, 1968, advised that (u) a student at Tougaloo College, Tougaloo, Mississippi, is Chairman of the Political Action Committee there, which is a militant Negro organization and is considered the contact for SNCC in the State of Mississippi. (u)

Student + Non-Violent Coordinating Committee

(u) stated that (u) is not a SNCC member but is a friend of (u). Regarding (u) (u) identified him as a former ministerial student who is currently attending or was attending Tougaloo College in Mississippi, and is now believed to be a full-time SNCC representative.

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(u) remarked that CARMICHAEL and his associates went directly to the Wesley Methodist Chapel and returned

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directly to the hotel after the talks were over.

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At approximately 10:30 p.m., February 8, 1968, a Special Agent of the FBI observed STOKELY CARMICHAEL and associates, previously mentioned, at the Sheraton-Gibson Hotel, Cincinnati, Ohio.

[redacted] advised on February 9, 1968, that while CARMICHAEL's party was in progress, CARMICHAEL received a long distance telephone call from possibly Orangeburg, South Carolina, and was informed that there had been a disturbance there at a Negro college, and that several Negroes had been killed. [redacted] who was present, packed and left immediately, presumably for Orangeburg, South Carolina.

At approximately 2:30 a.m., February 9, 1968, a Special Agent of the FBI observed [redacted] depart from the front entrance of the Sheraton-Gibson Hotel, Cincinnati, Ohio, carrying two attache-type cases and enter a taxicab.

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[redacted] advised on February 9, 1968, that CARMICHAEL was scheduled to depart with [redacted] from Cincinnati, Ohio, via American Airlines Flight 476, at 12:50 p.m., February 9, 1968, for Washington, D.C., arriving at National Airport, Washington, D.C., at 2:00 p.m. on that date.

At 12:25 p.m. on February 9, 1968, Special Agents of the FBI advised that CARMICHAEL, accompanied by [redacted] a local SNCC member, and [redacted] left the Sheraton-Gibson Hotel and proceeded to the Greater Cincinnati Airport at Erlanger, Kentucky. Special Agents of the FBI also observed that CARMICHAEL's car was followed by another vehicle with [redacted] both local SNCC members. At 2:50 p.m., both STOKELY CARMICHAEL and [redacted] departed Greater Cincinnati Airport via American Airlines Flight 476.

The February 8, 1968, edition of the "Cincinnati Enquirer," a daily newspaper of general circulation in the Cincinnati, Ohio, area, contained an article captioned "Negro Methodists Told To Stand Fast." This article indicated, in part, that some 300 Negro Methodist Ministers and laymen were here in Cincinnati for a three-day meeting to plan their role in the United Methodist Church.

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The February 9, 1968, edition of the "Cincinnati Enquirer" contained an article captioned, "Carmichael Here At Church Meeting." This article read as follows:

"Stokely Carmichael, militant Black Power advocate who ran into State Department troubles for tours behind the Iron Curtain, was in Cincinnati Thursday to speak to the National Conference of Negro Methodists at the Hotel Sheraton-Gibson. The public was not invited to the session.

"Carmichael was accompanied by George Ware, his principal aide, who was freed of sedition charges in Nashville, Tennessee, last August. Ware visited Communist Cuba with Carmichael last fall."

The February 8, 1968, edition of the "Cincinnati Post and Times Star," a daily newspaper of general circulation in the Cincinnati, Ohio, area, contained an article captioned, "Carmichael Here For Talk." This article stated as follows:

"Stokely Carmichael, former national president of SNCC and militant black power advocate, is in Cincinnati to speak at a workshop at the National Conference of Negro Methodists, now meeting at the Sheraton-Gibson.

"The Rev. James Lawson, Memphis, Tenn., conference chairman, confirmed that Carmichael is in town, but would not say where he is staying.

"He says Carmichael will speak at a workshop entitled 'Black Churchmen-Black Revolution' tonight, but it will be closed to the press, as are all other workshops of the conference.

"Rev. Mr. Lawson says Carmichael was brought here because the churchmen 'want to hear what he can tell them' and not for the publicity his appearance might arouse."

The February 9, 1968, Seven Star Final edition of the "Cincinnati Post and Times Star," contained an article

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captioned "Black Power Unanimously Approved." This article indicated that in a speech by JAMES FARMER, former National Director of CORE, at the Wesley Chapel before a group attending the National Conference of Negro Methodists, FARMER stated that the Negro "has got to stop being ashamed of being black and develop ethnic pride and identity." FARMER, according to this article, once considered a radical militant but now regarded as almost an elder statesman in the civil rights movement, is Director of Social Welfare at Lincoln University in Pennsylvania. The article stated that during FARMER's speech, the "slight, stooped figure of Stokely Carmichael, former National President of SNCC, tiptoed quietly up to the front of the church and sat down. Carmichael, who coined the slogan 'Black Power' was not introduced. He refused to talk to newsmen after the meeting, but rode with friends back to the Sheraton-Gibson, where he conducted a seminar for the church delegates on 'Black Churchmen-Black Revolution.'"

The February 9, 1968, edition of the "Dayton Daily News," a daily newspaper in general circulation in Dayton, Ohio, contained an article by EMIL DANSKER, Daily News Staff Writer, captioned, "'Turn World Upside Down'---Stokely." This article, which is datelined Cincinnati, refers to the talk made by CARMICHAEL before the National Conference of Negro Methodists, on Thursday evening, February 8, 1968. This article read as follows:

"A Bible-quoting Stokely Carmichael urged black Methodist ministers to 'turn the world upside down' in their efforts to help the poor in a talk before the National Conference of Negro Methodists Thursday night.

"Taking his text from Acts 17:6, Carmichael recalled for his audience of about 250 persons the words, 'And when they found them not, they drew Jason and certain brethren unto the rulers of the city, crying these that have turned the world upside down are come hither also.'

"And citing also Jeremiah 1:10---'See, I have this day set thee over the nations, and over the kingdoms, to root out and to pull down, and to destroy, and throw down, to build, and to plant'---

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he told the clerics they are as chosen people in their mission to work among the poor as did Jesus.

"Black ministers basically should be dealing with poor people, Carmichael said, and should try to get away from the middle-class Negroes and quit appealing to him.

"Your job," he said, 'is to turn the world upside down.'

"To nearly every question following the hour-long talk, Carmichael replied, in effect, that if Jesus could direct his message work among the poor, so can the church today.

"How, asked one questioner, can the Methodist Church combine the two factions represented on the one hand by the poor and on the other hand by a middle class reluctant to be directly involved in the civil rights movement?

"Carmichael, a Methodist, said, 'Jesus did it.'

"The former chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating committee received several rounds of applause, including a standing ovation, in a low-key talk scheduled as part of a new separatist movement between black and white Methodists.

"The talk officially was open only to registered delegates to the conference, but about 20 SNCC members attended as observers. They had been told not to participate in the question-and-answer session on grounds it might hinder a realistic exchange between Carmichael and regular delegates.

"Carmichael and his aide, George Ware, were in Dayton earlier in the week. They refused to be interviewed by reporters, asserting conference officials had asked them not to seek publicity.

"I don't have much to say," said Ware, who declined comment as to when he expects to return

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to Dayton to set up activity on the city's west side. 'As a matter of fact, I don't have anything to say.'

"One source said the Dayton activity will include a combined effort with Negro Methodists."

The February 11, 1968, edition of the "Cincinnati Enquirer" contained an article captioned, "Go Help The Poor, Stokely Tells Pastors." This is another article concerning the speech made by STOKELY CARMICHAEL before the Negro Methodist Conference at the Sheraton-Gibson Hotel. This article read as follows:

"Stokely Carmichael, black power advocate, told a group of Negro Methodist Ministers to go into the streets and help the poor.

"Carmichael made the statement to about 250 delegates last week in a closed session of the National Negro Methodist Conference at the Hotel Sheraton-Gibson. He told the ministers that the church should not be geared toward the middle class, but that its job was helping the poor.

"'You should do as Jesus did, go into the community, seek out the poor, preach to them, administer to them and bring them together as a unit. If the Negro minister fails to bring the poor Negroes together as a unit, then he is nothing more than a hustler in the community,' Carmichael said.

"The former Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee national chairman who has a Methodist background, said the church was the only agent within the Negro community which could bring about cohesiveness among the Negro people.

"He pointed out that the church can do this because dating back to slavery and after the slaves were freed, the Negro church was the one free agent in the Negro community controlled by them.

"Speaking to a quiet but tense audience, Carmichael began to generate emotions from the

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gathering as he told them that the church was the place where Negro culture was preserved.

"He said, 'When the black man was supposedly freed in this country, his culture began and was developed in the church. The rhythmic music forms which are so prevalent today in many other types of music other than spirituals, had their beginning in pews of the black churches. Ray Charles sings gospels. Aretha Franklin sings gospels, the late Sam Cooke sang gospels and brother James Brown had his beginning in the black church.'

"Carmichael pointed out that evidence of this free expression is prevalent in the Negro churches today.

"'The black man, today, sings, acts and talks like a black man when he is in his own church. We sing. We shout and we utter such common black man expressions as "amen, preach on, brother"; "uhun and yes, Lord,"' Carmichael said.

"The black power advocates said the white Methodist churches use hymns written by white song writers, such as John Wesley, 'But our black people want to hear "Ezekel Saw the Wheel,"' he said.

"Carmichael called for the Negro Methodist ministers to define black power. He told them not to accept the white man's definition of black power. 'Define it for yourself, see what it means to you and move on with it,' he said.

"He also said the black churches should take another look at Christianity and see if it really works for Negroes. He said Christianity was a white man's religion and might not work for Negroes.

"'This white man's religion shows Jesus Christ as a white man and this to a poor poverty-stricken black man represents an oppressor. How

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then can a black man really be taught to worship an oppressor?'

"Carmichael received a standing ovation as he closed by telling the ministers, 'Preach to them about black consciousness, instill pride in them, tell them black is beautiful and it's so beautiful to be black.'"

The February 10, 1968, edition of the "Cincinnati Post and Times Star," contained an article by JAMES ADAMS captioned, "Leaders Fear Voice of Change Unheard by Society." This article contained comments, in part, of Reverend JAMES LAWSON who chaired the National Conference of Negro Methodists meeting in Cincinnati. According to this article, Mr. LAWSON had the following comment to make concerning STOKELY CARMICHAEL:

"Mr. Lawson says he has known Stokely Carmichael since 1960. Stokely is a Methodist.

"'Stokely has the basic compassion that is called for in the Christian faith'---noticing my puzzled expression, he quickly added---
'I know white America can't grasp that.'

"'Stokely doesn't really know where he is going himself. He is trying a means to revolutionize society.' Carmichael was brought to the conference here at the request of some of the more militant ministers. Others objected and threatened to leave in protest.

"'I feel we ought to listen to what he has to say---even if we didn't agree,' Mr. Lawson says."

The February 9, 1968, edition of the "Cincinnati Post and Times Star," contained an article captioned, "Tense Peace Prevails in S.C. After 3 Students Die in Riot." This article, which was datelined Orangeburg, South Carolina, indicated that the South Carolina State College had suspended classes and urged students to stay in their dormitories today in the wake of a bloody battle

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between Highway Patrolmen and Negro students that claimed three lives and injured 36 persons. According to this article, among the injured, of whom two were listed as critical, was one CLEVELAND SELLERS, an official of SNCC, who was arrested on a number of charges at a hospital emergency room and jail. This article quoted SELLERS as stating, "STOKELY (CARMICHAEL) will probably come down if they incarcerate me." SELLERS, according to this article, had told newsmen earlier that he had been in touch by telephone with CARMICHAEL and H. RAP BROWN, head of SNCC. SELLERS, who had been organizing a "Black Awareness Committee" on the campus, was charged with inciting to riot, destruction of property, arson, and assault and battery with intent to kill.

[redacted] advised on February 13, 1968, (u) that CARMICHAEL, on the evening of February 8, 1968, spoke before a group of approximately 200 Methodist ministers and friends at a closed session at the Sheraton-Gibson Hotel. The ministers were a part of a group of Negro Methodist ministers attending a National Negro Methodist Conference there. He said CARMICHAEL spoke from a prepared speech and it was directed more or less to the Negro ministers attending the conference. He said, in part, that the Negro should go into the streets and help the poor, and that the church should not associate itself with the middle class. During his talk, he made several references to sections of the Bible to illustrate his comments. He made no comment about the Negro Methodist separating from the white Methodist Church, and mentioned the difficulty the Negro ministers were having in getting into the policy-making process within the framework of the entire Methodist Church.

[redacted] (u) advised that STOKELY CARMICHAEL, who was accompanied by [redacted] of SNCC, was at the Wesley Methodist Church to hear a speech by [redacted] the evening of February 8, 1968. He said ministers from the National Negro Methodist Conference were in attendance as well as approximately 15 local SNCC members to hear [redacted] talk. [redacted] (u) further advised that [redacted] speech, although scholarly done, did not create the same enthusiasm as the speech made by STOKELY CARMICHAEL at the Sheraton-Gibson Hotel later that evening.

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 (u) stated that he was in attendance at CARMICHAEL's speech, which was directed primarily to the ministers present, and was relatively tame in comparison to some of his other speeches. He said there was a question and answer period which followed CARMICHAEL's speech, but no questions were put to him about his travels in Communist countries, but most of them pertained to the subject matter of CARMICHAEL's speech.

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A P P E N D I X✓ REVOLUTIONARY ACTION MOVEMENT (RAM)~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

On November 3, 1964, a source made available a document entitled, "The Revolutionary Action Movement Manifesto," the document having been obtained by the source from an individual known to be a member of the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM).

This document stated, in part, that RAM was officially organized in the Winter of 1963 by Afro-Americans who support the revolutionary objectives of Robert F. Williams, then residing in Cuba, and his concept of organized violence to achieve the liberation of the Afro-American people in the United States. This Manifesto disclosed that RAM had oriented its program to one of education and political revolution and the organization of a "black" political party with revolutionary objectives, having recognized the need for a "black revolution" that could and would seize power. RAM philosophy is described in this document as one of revolutionary nationalism; that is, one involving the struggles of the non-white races of the world against exploitation and enslavement by the white capitalist and imperialist nations.

This source, in September, 1964, advised RAM is dedicated to the overthrow of the capitalist system in the United States by violence, if necessary, and to its replacement by a socialistic system oriented toward the Chinese Communist interpretation of Marxism-Leninism. RAM is entirely non-white in membership, clandestine in nature, and owes its primary allegiance to the "Bandung World," that is, the non-white races of the world rather than to any national entity, as such.

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On November 16, 1964, a second source advised he learned recently from a RAM member that the organization began in Detroit, Michigan, largely under the impetus of [redacted] described as the "Father" of RAM and referred to as RAM's "Black Stalin."

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~A P P E N D I XREVOLUTIONARY ACTION MOVEMENT (Continued)

[REDACTED]

On May 12, 1967, a third source advised that the RAM still remains active; however, there is no formal headquarters, as such, for the RAM. The source advised that [REDACTED] of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, is considered the leader of RAM and if a RAM headquarters ever existed, it would most likely be where [REDACTED] resides.

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In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Cincinnati, Ohio
April 16, 1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Title **STOKELY CARMICHAEL**

Character **INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS;
SEDITION**

Reference Report of SA
dated and captioned as above.

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All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

VIA TELETYPE

APR 12 1968

ENCIPHERED

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WA3

1126AM MPS

DEFERRED 4-12-68 MPS
TO DIRECTOR (100-446080) AND WFO (62-9737)

ATTN DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE

FROM BALTIMORE (100-24220)1P PLAINTEXT

STOKLEY CARMICHAEL, INCITING TO RIOT - MISCELLANEOUS

RE WFO TEL APRIL ELEVEN LAST.

[REDACTED] BALTIMORE CITY JAIL, ADVISED [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] WAS RELEASED APRIL TEN LAST. RECORDS REFLECT [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] STILL IN CITY JAIL BUT DUE TO CONFUSED SITUATION NO

INTERVIEWS BEING PERMITTED AT THIS TIME.

BALTIMORE WILL FOLLOW AND INTERVIEW [REDACTED] WHEN IT BECOMES
POSSIBLE.

END

LRC FBI WASH DC

ELP FBI FTB

REC-12

EX-103

100 - 446080 - 1432

Mr. Tolson_____
Mr. DeLoach_____
Mr. Mohr_____
Mr. Bishop_____
Mr. Casper_____
Mr. Callahan_____
Mr. Conrad_____
Mr. Felt_____
Mr. Gale_____
Mr. Rosen_____
Mr. Sullivan_____
Mr. Tavel_____
Mr. Trotter_____
Tele. Room_____
Miss Holmes_____
Miss Gandy_____

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b7C

11 APR 23 1968

Relayed to

WFO
18 2 1968

100-446080-1433

April 15, 1968

REC 10

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b7C



Dear [Redacted]

Your letter of April 8th has been received.

Regarding your question concerning H. Rap Brown and Stokely Carmichael, the FBI is strictly an investigative agency of the Federal Government and, as such, does not determine whether prosecutive action will be undertaken in any situation. Such decisions concerning violations of Federal law are within the province of the Attorney General.

I can assure you, however, the FBI is aware of the activities of the individuals you mentioned. Voluminous data regarding them has been furnished to the Department of Justice for its consideration, and you may wish to contact the Attorney General in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

MAILED 12

APR 15 1968

COMM-FBI

NOTE: Bufiles contain no record of correspondent.

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Rm. _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

JBT:kce (3)

REC-D R12H06

FBI

APR 12 2 02 PM '68

57 APR 30 1968

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-10-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

Mr. Tolson_____
Mr. DeLoach_____
Mr. Mohr_____
Mr. Bishop_____
Mr. Casper_____
Mr. Callahan_____
Mr. Conrad_____
Mr. Felt_____
Mr. Gale_____
Mr. Rosen_____
Mr. Sullivan_____
Mr. Tavel_____
Mr. Trotter_____
Tele. Room_____
Miss Holmes_____
Miss Gandy_____

EXP. PROC.
38 APR 9 1968

EX-103
REC 10 100-446080-1433
6 APR 9 1968
CORRESPONDENCE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-10-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

F B I

Date: 4/16/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

Via _____
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080) b6
FROM: SAC, WFO (62-9737) (P) (ATTN: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE b7C
DIVISION)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS;
SEDITION

Re memorandum of FRED M. VINSON, JR., Assistant
Attorney General, Criminal Division, USDJ, to Director, FBI,
dated 4/12/68, and Buairtel to WFO dated 4/15/68, concerning a

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③ - Bureau
1 - WFO

PHW:jle
(4)

AIRTEL

REC 10

APR 16 1968

cc 806 940

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

WFO 62-9737

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Concerning the Department's reference to making contact with all other news media, WFO has contacted all of the major wire services such as AP and UPI, has contacted ABC, NBC, CBS, and their affiliated TV and radio stations in the Washington metropolitan area. Radio broadcasting stations WOOK, WOL, WAVA and WFAN of UBC have been contacted. All Washington, D. C. newspapers have been contacted and all logical leads growing out of interviews are being covered.

WFO is giving this matter continuing and expeditious attention.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-10-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

FBI

Date: 4/18/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS-M; SEDITION
(OO:WFO)

New York set forth in LHM pertinent data developed regarding subject's activities while in NYC during period 4/12-14/68 followed by report containing information of evidentiary nature. Newark set forth in LHM any pertinent data developed regarding subject's presence in NJ on 4/14/68. Baltimore contact [REDACTED] (PROB) and ascertain if CARMICHAEL visited anyone in Baltimore on 4/14/68 en route from NYC to WDC. It is to be noted according to [REDACTED] (PROB) subject telephonically contacted the SCLC office in Baltimore on evening of 4/10/68 and reportedly indicated he would be in Baltimore during the weekend. It is also noted the late model Plymouth station wagon bearing NY license 5Z2693 subject used to return to WDC was turned in to Hertz Inc. at Friendship Airport 3:30 a.m. 4/15/68. BA set forth any pertinent data developed in LHM.

- 3 - Bureau
- 2 - Baltimore (100-24220) (RM)
- 2 - Newark (RM)
- 2 - New York (100-153751) (RM)
- 1 - WFO

WWH:meh
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AIRTEL

1 APR 18 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.

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Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

REC-40

100-446080-1436

April 16, 1968

EX-105

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Dear [REDACTED]

I have received your letter of April 9th and appreciate your kind comments. All of us in the FBI hope our efforts will continue to merit your approval.

As to your question concerning Stokely Carmichael, this Bureau is strictly an investigative agency of the Federal Government and, as such, does not determine whether prosecutive action will be undertaken in any situation. Decisions concerning violations of Federal law are within the province of the Attorney General.

I can assure you, however, the FBI is aware of the activities of Stokely Carmichael. Voluminous data regarding him has been furnished to the Department of Justice for its consideration and you may wish to contact the Attorney General in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

NOTE: Correspondent is not identifiable in Bufiles.

DCM:jas (3)

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

54 APR 20 1968

TELETYPE UNIT []

b6
b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-10-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

FBI

Date: 4/19/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

Via _____
(Priority)

TO DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM SAC, NEWARK (100-49533) P
SUBJECT STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INCITING TO RIOT - MISCELLANEOUS

Attempts to interview [redacted]

[redacted]
negative.

Relatives of [redacted] stated 4/18/68
that exact whereabouts of these two is unknown, although
both students plan to return to Howard University,
Washington, D.C.

[redacted] advised 4/18/68
that [redacted]

[redacted] in Washington, D.C. and the
possibility existed that he would not return to Howard
University.

~~Washington, D.C., and the possibility existed that he would
not return to Howard University.~~

[redacted] Washington, D.C.

Due to the fact that these three students are
unavailable for interview, Washington Field is requested
to handle these interviews.

Investigation continuing Newark Division to locate
and interview [redacted]

3 - Bureau (RM)
2 - Washington Field (62-9737) (RM)
2 - Newark
MLC:amd
(7)

REC-75

EX-115

APR 20 1968

cc TOB 94D

b6
b7C

b6
b7C

Approved

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

RACIAL INT. SECT.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-10-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

F B I

Date: 4/16/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - M;
SEDITION
(OO:WFO)

b6
b7C

CARMICHAEL returned to WDC from Atlanta on April 11, 1968, driving a red volvo sedan bearing temporary Tennessee license 089703, placed in rear window.

Memphis ascertain to whom temporary Tennessee license 089703 registered, and if other than CARMICHAEL, develop background information through established sources.

- 3- Bureau
2- Memphis (RM)
1- WFO

FBI

REC-21

WWH:age
(6)

AIRTEL

100-806910

100-446080-1438

1 APR 23 1968

5-PA

Approved: [Signature]
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

APR 23 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-10-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

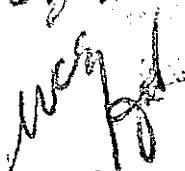
Date April 6, 1968

On April 5, 1968, Stokely Carmichael appeared at Howard University, Washington, D. C., and allegedly made the Statement "Tonight bring your gun, don't loot, shoot." The Criminal Division of the Department last night advised determination is being made with respect to getting warrant for arrest of Carmichael based on above and other activities. Criminal Division requested we expeditiously determine whether our source of above statement is willing to testify and whether any other evidence, such as press coverage, tape recordings, other source coverage and Metropolitan Police Department coverage is available.

Attached is the result of inquiries last night. It is noted source is fearful of life if he testifies. Further inquiries are continuing. Copy of attached memorandum has been furnished Criminal Division of Department.

GCM:jal

MAY 13 1968



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-10-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/pls

F B I

Date: 4/6/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM : SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISC.; SEDITION
(OO:WFO)

ReWFOtel dated 4/5/68, captioned, "ASSASSINATION OF
MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., RACIAL MATTERS."

Enclosed for the Bureau are five copies of an LHM
dated and captioned "STOKELY CARMICHAEL."

The source mentioned in attached LHM is [REDACTED] *B*
[REDACTED] PRI.

WFO indices reflect past contacts between [REDACTED]
and Soviet personnel, but such contacts would appear to be in
connection with his duties as a newspaperman. Indices are
negative regarding [REDACTED]

In connection with further inquiries of the above
two reporters regarding subject's remarks, if deemed necessary

3 - Bureau (Enc. 5)
1 - WFO

AAM:vw
(4)

AIRTEL

ENCLOSURE

REC-75

EX-118

16 APR 23 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Approved: *John P. ...*

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M _____

Per _____

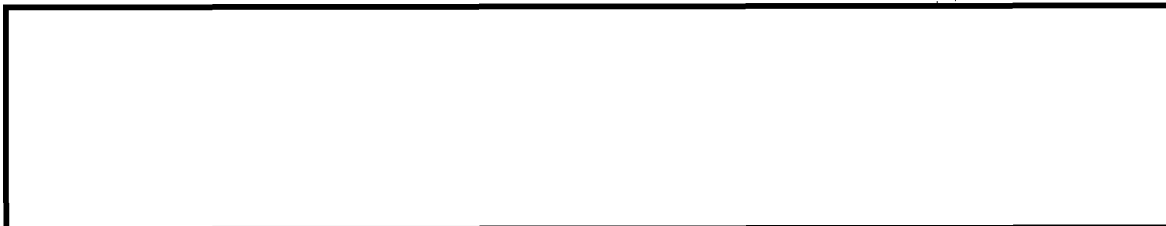
70 APR 30 1968

b6
b7C

WFO 100-43503

to this case, Bureau authority is requested to interview these individuals in order to determine their knowledge regarding the incident.

Additional inquiries are being made in an attempt to locate other witnesses.



b7D
b7E



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-10-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C. 20535

April 6, 1968

b6
b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

On April 5, 1968, a confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that Stokely Carmichael and Cleveland Sellers of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, appeared on Howard University Campus, Washington, D. C., on that date at about 1:55 p.m., where a Eulogy-type program in honor of Martin Luther King, Jr., was breaking up.

According to the source, before the crowd of about 300 departed and in clear view, Carmichael held a gun in the air before the crowd and stated, "Tonight bring your gun, don't loot, shoot." The source continued that the crowd began to peacefully disperse, leaving the campus.

The source advised on the same date that he would not be willing to testify to the above information at this time. In view of the current atmosphere prevailing, he would be fearful of his life if he testified.

An article appearing in "The Washington Post" newspaper, dated April 6, 1968, under the byline of Phil Casey, Staff Writer, stated that, "Later, at the Howard University rally, Carmichael rose and chanted over and over, his voice rising, 'Stay off the streets tonight, if you don't have a gun because there's going to be shooting.' Then he held a revolver over his head."

Further inquiry is being made regarding knowledge of the above incident.

b6
b7C

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286 MAR 17 1971

100-446032-1439

COPY MADE FOR MR. TOLSON

ENCLOSURE

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

[redacted] "The Evening Star"
newspaper, advised on April 6, 1968, that [redacted]
a reporter for the newspaper, was present on Howard University
Campus during the rally; however, he was not available at
this time.

Further inquiry is being made regarding [redacted]
knowledge of the above incident.

There is no known recording of Carmichael's remarks,
but additional inquiries are being made concerning this matter.

This document contains neither
recommendations nor conclusions of
the FBI. It is the property of
the FBI and is loaned to your agency;
it and its contents are not to be
distributed outside your agency.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-10-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

F B I

Date: 4/7/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, WFO

ATTENTION: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE
DIVISIONSTOKELY CARMICHAEL
INCITING TO A RIOT - MISCELLANEOUS

Investigation being initiated by this office with the Bureau's telephonic approval to develop details of possible violation by STOKELY CARMICHAEL of District of Columbia statute on willful inciting riot. Investigation requested on 4/6/68, by U. S. Attorney DAVID G. BRESS following conference with Attorney General.

Initially BRESS requested only that FBI develop full facts surrounding CARMICHAEL's activities on evening of 4/4/68, when he reportedly led a group of individuals along 14th St., spoke to various merchants enroute, and at one time brandished a weapon. Later, Mr. BRESS expanded request to include details of press conference conducted by CARMICHAEL on 4/5/68, and facts surrounding his appearance, statements, and action at Howard University, at a meeting apparently called to honor the memory of the Reverend MARTIN LUTHER KING.

(4) - Bureau
2 - WFOJDP:laa
(6)

AIRTEL

REC-4

100-446080-1439X
~~100-439170-1847~~
14 APR 12 1968

RACIAL INT. SEC.

Approved: 55 APR 13 1968

Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

MAY 17 1968

WFO

Merchants will be contacted beginning tomorrow as the Bureau has instructed.

The statute involved was enacted in December, 1967. It is Section 901 of Title 9, District of Columbia Code. The statute reads as follows:

"Sec. 901. (a) A riot in the District of Columbia is a public disturbance involving an assemblage of five or more persons which by tumultuous and violent conduct or the threat thereof create grave danger of damage or injury to property or persons.

(b) Whoever willfully engages in a riot in the District of Columbia shall be punished by imprisonment for not more than one year or a fine of not more than \$1,000, or both.

(c) Whoever willfully incites or urges other persons to engage in a riot shall be punished by imprisonment for not more than one year or a fine of not more than \$1,000, or both.

(d) If in the course and as a result of a riot a person suffers serious bodily harm or there is property damage in excess of \$5,000, every person who willfully incited or urged others to engage in the riot shall be punished by imprisonment for not more than ten years or a fine of not more than \$10,000, or both."

4/10/68

BA
Airtel

0- (reconnect file #) to WFO Counselor 5/3/68

b6
b7C

To: SAC, Washington Field (62-9737)

From: Director, FBI (100-439190) *100-446080-1439X1*

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC
SEDITION

REC-4

b6
b7C

Reurairtel 4/9/68.

b7D

NOTE: Washington Field Office is attempting to develop all contacts of Carmichael and SNCC during the riotous conditions which the District has gone through in recent days. Washington Field stated that the above checks can be made with full security assured.

TDR:fhd (4)

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____

MAILED 3

APR 10 1968

COMM-FBI

MAY 17 1968
APR 24 1968
MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-10-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

F B I

Date: 4/9/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

ATTN: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM: SAC, WFO (62-9737)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

INCITING TO RIOT-MISCELLANEOUS

(OO:WFO)

ReWFOreport of SA [REDACTED] 4/8/68.

This review will be accomplished with full security
and the Bureau's interest will be protected.

b6
b7C
b7D

③ - Bureau
1 - WFO

ECR:dgp

(4)

AIRTEL

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

14 APR 12 1968

REC-4

100-446080-1439X1

100-437170-1849

C. C. - Bishop

Handwritten:
Airtel to WFO
TDR/ghd
4-10-68

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-10-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

F B I

Date: 4/16/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

b6

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - M; Sedition
(OO:WFO)

mk CARMICHAEL recently observed in Washington, D.C. (WDC), riding in late model White Peugeot bearing Virginia license A 335-214 occupied by two males and two females. RH ascertain to whom above license registered and develop background info through established sources.

RH also set forth in LHM form pertinent data developed regarding CARMICHAEL's visit to RH area on 4/11/68.

EX-110
REC-21

100-446080-1416

1 APR 23 1968

- ③ - Bureau
- 2 - Richmond (RM) (100-10532)
- 1 - WFO

WWH:bkd
(6)

C. C. - 100-446080

100 806 920

AIRTELApproved: *[Signature]*

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-10-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

DATE: 4/18/68

FROM : SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - M; SEDITION
(OO:WFO)

Enclosed herewith are 11 copies of an LHM regarding the above captioned subject.

A tape of the program "Controversy 14" on which CARMICHAEL appeared has been obtained and is being furnished to the Bureau under separate cover.

ENCLOSURE

- ② - Bureau (Enc. 11)
- 1 - WFO

WWH:arw
(3)

Crim - Attn: Miss Sylvia Benson

ISD - Attn: Paul Vincent

AGENCY: ACSI, NIC, OSI, SEC. SERV.,

HOW FORW: R/S

DATE FORW: 4/29/68

BY: PFB/ARW

REC-24

100-446080-1441

16 APR 23 1968



APR 29 1968

U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

RECEIVED INT. SEC. 1



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C. 20535

April 18, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 05-10-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/b18

**STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION**

Stokely Carmichael appeared on television program "Controversy 14", broadcast from 7:00 to 10:00 PM on March 20, 1968, by station WFAN, Washington, D. C. The program was moderated by John Hightower who advised it was a discussion in nature involving Carmichael and others. Hightower advised the program was on the air from 7:00 to 10:00 PM, but Carmichael did not appear during the full time. Hightower also advised a tape was not made of the first 15 minutes of the program due to an oversight.

Statements made by Carmichael on the program are as follows:

Carmichael:
(CAR:)

because in the West Indies there were more Africans than there were white folks. There were a lots of us, a lot of slaves, a few white folks, so one day in the middle 1830's all the Africans got together and wiped out the white folks and took the island. So that was that, there was no more problem, I mean there was no emancipation, we drove the white folk out of the island.

Commentator:
(COMM:)

It was like then the take-over in Haiti.

CAR:

Right, Haiti and right on. After it spread in Haiti all around the West Indies. And so the African heritage was always stronger, it was passed down. My grandmother, on my fathers side was a Zulu and she maintains from her grandmother a lot of the Zulu's heritage which she passed on to me, so that I know that one part of me is Zulu.

100-446080-1441

COPIES DESTROYED

286 FEB 23 1971

ENCLOSURE

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

COMM: Well then how would you relate that to other people that are "hibos" (ph) or "houses" (ph) or what ever?

CAR: Well the same is true I mean, we are tribal people of African descent and Africa is the richest country in the world. It has the richest language in the world. For example, in Africa a child 6 years old speaks three different languages, by the time they are six, they speak three different languages. They are to be found in one country, as many as 30 rich languages.

COMM: Mr. Mack, you have been sitting off stage, sir, you live in the Shaw area?

ROLAND

MACK:

(MACK) Yes, I do. I'm speaking specifically for the Alabama tenant Association, the tenant group within the Shaw area.

COMM: Could you say what they had to say or have they given you a message that ought to be heard in Washington?

MACK: Well you recently heard about Sidney Brown up here at Clifton Terrace.

COMM: Yes, sir.

MACK: Now down here at the Alabama.....

COMM: Sixty days, is about a year or two or three or more than that, too light a sentence?

MACK: Would like to put the owners of our building in for a little bit longer.

COMM: Who owns your building?

MACK: This Carl S. Vollmer (ph)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

COMM: Varman (ph).

MACK: Vollmer (sp).

COMM: And what are the conditions that are in your building?

MACK: Well, in 1966 we had 500 housing code violations in our building; in 1967 we had 800 housing code violations in our building. And the recent inspection which took two weeks this year, we had 1000 housing code violations....

CAR: They ain't burned that place down yet?

MACK: I don't think I have to say anything else....

COMM: What was your question, Stokely?

CAR: That place should have been burned already, fire is the purifier says the Bible, and fire would do that building some good.

COMM: And where will those people live.

MACK: I don't think we're going to burn the building down. What I think we're going to do, since we have a tenants organization that's very well organized, I have one spokesman from the tenants organization here, he's on stage right now and I am the President so I suppose I'll have to be the spokesman more or less. But we're negotiating with HDC, we're working with "Curac" (ph), with UPO and other organizations. And we would like to take over the building we live in, have it rehabilitated and turn it into....

COMM: You mean like a co-operative..

MACK: Like the co-operatives, yes.

COMM: How much money would this cost.

MACK: The estimates that I've heard so far run between 150 and 200 thousands.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

COMM: Do you think that the tenants in the building are going to be able to afford this between them?

MACK: No, the thing is that the tenants will not definitely be able to afford this, we can't afford it but we would very much appreciate Federal assistance and we think that any loan or grant that the Federal government could give us, we could repay within 5 years.

COMM: Stokely, what do you think about a move like that?

CAR: Whatever the brother is doing to help our people, I am in favor of.

COMM: Does this go against your way of doing things?

CAR: We have different ways but the brother is doing it his way, I will back him one hundred percent.

COMM: This is really what you are looking for, isn't it? Self-determination on a local level.

CAR: That is absolutely correct, I'm looking for us to rule ourselves. The laws that govern black people must be made by black people. And what the brother is doing is good, if we can help in any way, we would. I think that ah....what did you say the "cats" name was?

MACK: Carl S. Vollmer.

CAR: I think that it's a crime that a man like that is able to live, you know really.

COMM: You're not advocating killing him, are you?

CAR: Let me ask you a question, man. If somebody forces somebody to live in sub-human condition like that, what would you advocate they do to him?

COMM: Well, I would imagine put him in jail as these people are undoubtedly going to attempt to do....

CAR: For 60 days?

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

COMM: I don't know.....

CAR: If a black man...

COMM: I'm not the () and I'm not the judge.....within a given system.

CAR: Right, let's work within this given system. If a black man 16 years old went into a store and stole 300 dollars and he got caught, do you think that they would send him to jail for 60 days?

COMM: No, I don't.

CAR: How long do you think they'd send him to jail for?

COMM: I have no idea.

CAR: Come on, take a guess.

COMM: Alright what is it, armed robbery? Strong arm robbery?

CAR: Alright, let's say it wasn't even arm robbery. Let's just say he just snatched 300 dollars out of the cash register.

COMM: He'd probably get a year.

CAR: He'd get a year. Now here's a honky, who has a 1000 violations on a house.....

COMM: How does that term come about?

CAR: Forget that. Here's this honky whose got a 1000 violations on a house and he's forcing our people to live in this house in these run down conditions, the laws hasn't picked him up, if the Judge ever picks him up he goes to jail for 60 days and comes back out and do the same thing. In order for the people to get the building they got to put up 150 or 200 thousand dollars. Now this honky has already made flat 200 thousand dollars, probably in one month off of our people. He shouldn't be walking the streets. Now, you can figure out what should be done yourself.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

COMM: What do you think about the difference one bureau wants, you know, between Marion Barry attempting to low rate Mr. Mayfield by trying to stop his press conference?

CAR: Marion Barry is the flesh of my flesh and blood of my blood, he is my brother. Rufus "Catfish" Mayfield is flesh of my flesh and blood of my blood, he is my brother. I will not in any way encourage black people to fight. The time for us fighting each other is over, it is past, it is time that we begin to move together in a spirit of love and unity to fight our major enemy.

COMM: Which is?

CAR: Which is that we bury all of our differences and we begin to development an undying love for each other, which this white man has been able to push against us, make us fight each other, make us hate each other, make us hate our color. We have to override that and begin to love each other, love our color, love our heritage and have a undying love for each other where we will not fight each other, we will come together and fight our major enemy.

COMM: Do you think or do you feel inately a hate for any white man?

CAR: Let's get that out of the way once and for all because I'm just tired of this question of hate. Now do you believe in dialective philosophy?

COMM: Sometime.

CAR: Well, clearly dialective philosophy works because all it says is that there are opposites in the world, is that correct?

COMM: I believe.

CAR: For hot there is cold, for joy there is sadness, for laughter there is tears. Is that correct?

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

COMM: Right.

CAR: There are opposites for everything, is that correct? Alright you have love, then there must be hate. So now if someone says to me that they don't hate white people then it means they don't have love for their own people. Because if they had love for their own people they would have to hate white people who are trying to destroy their people. If you're a father and you have children and I came to destroy your children you'd have to hate me, wouldn't you? Or try to stop me from destroying your children, wouldn't you?

COMM: Yes.

CAR: Right, because you love your children. So you don't have to preach hate and we don't have to preach hate for white people.

COMM: I answered yes to two questions. I think I would....

CAR: Alright, clarify them.

COMM: I think that I would try to stop you from killing those people, I think that hate is on an individual basis and not.....

CAR: You're absolutely wrong...

COMM: You hate me because I'm white.

CAR: Your people hate me because I'm black, dig that. You stole me from Africa because I was black.

COMM: I didn't steal you from anywhere.

CAR: Your ancestors stole me from Africa....

COMM: So therefore I've got to pay for what they did, theoretically did to your parents.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

CAR: No, it's not theoretical, it's actual, and not only do you have pay....

COMM: Yeah, but I said your parents and it wasn't even your parents, it was on before that.

CAR: No, no, no, baby, it was my ancestors, my people, my race, it is my race that has been destroyed; my race that has been destroyed, has been spattered all over this world; my race by your race, by your race. So its clearly now that we're talking about this race of people, this beautiful black race of people regaining their consciousness and taking care of business and doing what is necessary so that we will survive, because we have to survive, we can't go on the way we been going on for 400 years, I mean you just get tired of being tired and I swear black people are just tired of being tired. So you just say that well look if we come to the end of the road, this is the final showdown, let's get the confrontation on, you know,

COMM: What sort of a confrontation are you looking forward to?

CAR: The confrontation that will make black people survive. That means there can be no major rebellions in the cities because white people are prepared for major rebellion, you're not prepared for other kinds of things.

COMM: What sort of rebellion is effectual in the city?

CAR: Ha, ha, ha.

COMM: How long can you control a city if the pipelines to the food which obviously come from the country because you know they don't grow in the supermarkets.

CAR: How long can you control them if white people can't get into the cities? Where the heart of production of the cities are?

COMM: You really believe that people can just exist on machines?

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

- CAR: That's not what I'm saying. You set up a parallel situation. We can't get food; you can't get in to produce. The heart of production of this country is where? Where your machinery is? Where your industry is?
- COMM: Stokely, you can't eat machinery.
- CAR: Where are your industries?
- COMM: In New York, in Chicago, in Detroit.
- CAR: In the cities. Where's your steel? The largest steel plants are in Gary, Indiana, 60% of that is black. You can't function without steel.
- COMM: There's enough of (it) it starve you out.
- CAR: Well, we could try. Better to die on my feet than live on my stomach crawling for the rest of my life. I'd rather die at 26 with a gun in my hand than live to die like my father did, because he gave all his sweat and all his blood to white folk and I ain't got nothing to show for it.
- COMM: How did your father die?
- CAR: Of a heart attack at a young age, working hard, working, bowing scraping, saying yas suh, yas suh. But he was an Uncle Tom, not for me to be an Uncle Tom, he was an Uncle Tom for me to be a man and I'm going to be a man one way or another.
- COMM: Do you foresee what is termed a riot in Washington this summer?
- CAR: No, there's not going to be any riot in Washington this summer.
- COMM: A rebellion?

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

CAR: There ain't gonna be no rebellion in Washington this summer. The police are gonna start their little stuff and when they do we're gonna be cool. But we gonna get them back. Its not gonna be no mass thing because they got the tanks so we not gonna go out there and meet you with the tanks but everytime a policeman gets a brother...the policeman got to ride in our community.

COMM: So the reference is there that you're going to get a policeman?

CAR: (laughing) Not one (laughing) One ain't gonna be enough, brother, really.

(COMM. questions another panelist. CAR joins in.)

CAR: See the people we've been talking to, we've been making a mistake, we've been talking to white people. They have not been listening, that is the mistake. We've got to talk to our people that is what we've got to do. Now they are out there, forget these two cats, talk to our people, tell them what we've got to do.....right on, state blowing, take the time.....

CAR: Well I think that the problem that the brother, the brother faces a problem that we all face, that is how can black people communicate without the interpretation of the white media, because white people you know have to interpret everything that somebody says, a black man says, to black people, and what the brother is trying to do is get his own organ going where black people can talk to black people without white people saying what they doing, cause Honkies do that all the time like.....

COMM: That would be better without saying black in it.

CAR: Well look, I'm black and I am proud of it and I say it all the time...ah..you know I'm black and I'm beautiful and will say it a thousand times a night, that irrelavent...

COMM: What do you want me to say that I'm white and ugly?

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

CAR: That's your problem, not mine, really.....ah for example when we formed the Black United Front the main honkie press in this city, the Washington Post came out and said "why all these moderates leaders like Sterling Tucker sitting down with a communist like Stokely Carmichael, bla, bla....now what they what they were trying to do was to confuse the minds of our people, that was clear. About seven months ago a honkie named Lyndon Johnson sat down with another honkie named Kosygin in Glassboro, N. J. Johnson is the leader of the white free world and we know what that means, and Kosygin is leader of the Communist world, now these two honkies can sit down for two days and they get flashed all over the T.V., the Washington Post say what a beautiful thing that it is that these leaders are coming together and working out their differences bla, bla but when two black people get down together the honkies don't want to hear it. Now, that what the brother is trying to do he is trying to get his own press so all those.....

COMM: Are you a Marxist Stokely?

CAR: Marxism, I don't.....what is a Marxist?..Man I'm going to get you good. Tell me what is a Marxist is.

COMM: If you don't know I'm not going to tell you.....

CAR: No, No you asked the question. Tell me what a Marxist is.

COMM: Go ahead.....

CAR: Tell me what a Marxist is.

COMM: I just asked you a simple question.....

CAR: Well, I don't know what it is and I want to ask you the question.

COMM: Are you a black and beautiful man?

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

CAR: Well I know that I am black and beautiful, that's evident, I mean.....

COMM: OK, then, don't argue a Marxist.

CAR: Ah, well no, what is a Marxist?

COMM: Stokely, I ... you and I could talk about three more hours so.... There is a caller who called in with mention to Hannibal, Hannibal did not wipe out the Roman empire. His march over the alps came to a standstill before Rome because his government would not send equipment and supplies.....

CAR: Tell the man, did you ever see a Sicilian. Look at the color of a Sicilian man he's just as dark as me. That is Hannibal.

COMM: John, did you have a question for Mr. Carmichael?

JOHN: Well yes, I want to get some figures a little later on in the show. I was just telling him that I'm sure that the Washington Post didn't call him a communist because that's a () and you would undoubtedly have had a law suit within the hour.

CAR: The Washington Post said that Stokely Carmichael who has just returned from communist country who is espousing the downfall of the United States of America, are that these responsible Negroes should not set down with him. Kosygin is a communist. He lives in a communist country. He espouses the downfall of the United States. Yet when he sat down with Johnson the Washington Post did not say that Johnson should not set down with Kosygin. What I am saying is that the world is moving closer and closer on the Comi (??) question, the white man is coming closer and closer together to wipe out the black man and what the white man fears is the black man coming together, any sign of unity by the black man and the white man get upset. Any sign of identification by the black man and the white man get upset. Can't nothing upset a honkie like a man wearing a bush. A policeman gets shaken everytime he sees three brothers walking down the street with a bush.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

COMM: What is a bush natural?

CAR: Natural is our beautiful hair coming out.....

JOHN: Well wouldn't you get shook if you saw a Klansman walking through your neighborhood with a shot gun?

CAR: I most certainly would get shook, Not only would I get shook, I would blow him to kingdom come. Ah, you know I don't think a man with a bush is equivalent to a man with a gun. Especially since the klansman is in my community, the brother with the bush is in his community. The white cop ain't got no business in our community () cause the Klansman with the shotgun is the same, like the Honkie cop with the badge and the gun. make that analogy....

JOHN: It was my understanding that during the Watts riots (Carmichael corrects Rebellion) rebellion, revolution, whatever you want to call it (Carmichael rebellion moving toward revolution) That Police Chief Parker one of the things he offered to do was to withdraw the police protection from the community and he was asked definitely not "We don't want that done". Because he got tired of it Charlie we'll just draw them out of there if you don't want them. (Carmichael, he's not fooling anyone). Now this was a white press that wrote that. (garbled) lies.

CAR: (repeats) He is not fooling anybody, it is lies, he is not fooling anybody. White policemen in our community is to do one thing, to protect property, not to protect us. Everybody knows that.

JOHN: How about black policemen in your community?

CAR: Now we are not going to fight them..we are not going to fight with our black policemen. No sir, every time I walk down the street and see a black man in uniform I say hello brother because I am not going to alienate myself from that brother. But every time I see a blue eyed man wearing a cops gun in my community today when he knows he has got no business there I just look him dead in the eye and just tell him I'm waiting. I'm waiting. So you know....I not going to fight.....

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

JOHN: How much longer are you going to wait?

CAR: Not too much longer, baby. I can feel....

JOHN: You know Stokely I read a very interesting letter to the editor in the New York Times Magazine that pointed out the fact that you were from Trinidad... and that this type of path (?) that you are putting down makes a lot of sense to a country that has a black majority. But in a country with a white majority.....

CAR: I don't want to hear that nonsense. Wherever the white man is he rules. Whether he is the majority or the minority, he rules. In South Africa he's the minority, he rules. Wherever you go he rules. Because the white man got this superior thing that he is supposed to rule the whole world. He came to this country as the minority, as the minority. Indians told you how to adapt to this country, you wiped him out. Took the country. Came to Africa, you were the minority, stole us, brought us here. Gave us a (superiority?) complex.....

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

JOHN: Interrupts Carmichael and says, I think your black brothers have been selling you for a few hundred years

CAR: Carmichael interrupts and says, Wait a minute . . . Let's get to that now because I am tired of you white folks telling me how black people sold us. Now you came to Africa to steal gold. What did you buy us with? You didn't have no gold cause all the gold is in South Africa. You didn't have none.

JOHN: Some of the Soviets

CAR: Interrupting, What did you have? You didn't have . . . Don't tell me about the Soviet Union because the Czar had that up tight. What did you have? Trinkets? We had all the diamonds. You didn't have no diamonds. What did you have? Cotton? Africa's got cotton and we had to pick the cotton to develop the country. What did you buy us with? Green money? Green money aint no good unless it's backed with gold. And we go back to the gold nor for . . .

JOHN: Hold up your hand when you are through here

CAR: What did you buy us with? Tell me? What did you buy us with? What (coins?) did you use? You always say that our people sold us out . . . What did you buy us with?

JOHN: I asked you that with a question mark on the end of it. Has black people ever sold black people?

CAR: No, they have never sold black people. White people say that because they want us to divide among ourselves. No, never.

JOHN: Which you are not going to do?

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

CAR: We will not divide among ourselves. We are one beautiful race of people. We will unite today and take care of our

JOHN: Interrupts and asks, Do you think people like Roy Wilkins and Whitney Young see eye to eye with you? On the basic problems?

CAR: Whether or not they see eye to eye to me is irrelevant in public. They are flesh of my flesh and blood of my blood. I will sit down with them and I will talk to them and I will try to reason with them.

JOHN: Fine. Now answer the question. Do you think they see eye to eye with you? You said not in public. Have they indicated to you in private that they would like to come out and say to they are for what you . . . or would they dare

CAR: What they say in private I wouldn't tell you.

JOHN: I wouldn't expect you to but I expect you to be honest about it.

CAR: Ah well I see them in private.

JOHN: And they say different things than they say in public.

CAR: I see them in private.

UNKNOWN
INDIVID-
UAL:

Stokely ah

CAR: Let the brother talk about figures and show them to you

COMM: I will . . . I have a couple of more questions . . . Do you feel that the . . .

CAR: We can get em back. Let the brother () so we can take a break . . . (garbled)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

- COMM: Do you feel that the black community tomorrow (garbled by Carmichael)
- CAR: You are trying to split us again . . .
- COMM: I am not trying to split . . .
- CAR: I am like James Brown . . .
- COMM: (Garbled) Do you think the black community should physically arm itself with guns, shotguns, pistols, et cetera.
- CAR: I'll get back to that along thing as soon as the brother do the number because that' a long thing. We just can't answer yes or no.
- COMM: Stokely, we have a question that was directed to you. I believe it said to the beautiful Stokely Carmichael where can people find out more about Black Power.
- CAR: Black History.
- COMM: Right, same thing isn't it?
- CARM: Yes, in a sense it is. There are a lot of books that can be . . . One of them is Riches (pho) of the Earth by Franz (pho) Fanon (very pho). Brother Fanon has also written another good book called White Skin, Black Man. The story of a black man in a White Society. Another one to read which is very very good is by J. A. Rogers, which is Africa's gift to America. It is really not the right title because we didn't give anything to America. They just stole it. Another good book, of course too, is written by Brother Lerone (pho) Bennett is Before the Mayflower. Confrontation Black and White W. E. DuBois, The Brilliant Black Author, has written several books, one of the best ones, a little pocket book, The Soul of Black Folks, which is an excellent book. We also

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

(Continued)

CAR: have the invention of the Negro by Earl Carou (pho), which is very good to explain just how the term Negro came up and what its uses are. There are several new books on the market today that. The Crisica of the Negro Intellectual by Harold Cruise (pho). This is an excellent book to read and there are lots more coming out. What we are trying to do is compile a lot of these books and to open a black book store. As a matter of fact, we will open a black book store in the District which will be on 14th Street and Fairmont. If people want courses they can contact the New School for Afro-American Thoughts which is on 14th Street between Florida and W, which has an awful lot of information on this.

COMM: Stokely Carmichael, have you urged the black community in America to arm themselves?

CAR: Well, see I do that in the context of equality. I believe in equality.

COMM: Then again as an equalizer.

CAR: Well in a sense you see White People got guns, that's a fact. White folks got guns. Now if you believe in equality if a white man got a gun then a black man should have a gun, that being equal. But white folks got a game, if they get the gun they don't want nobody else to have the gun like the Atomic Bomb. White countries have the Atomic Bomb, the Hydrogen. Now they come up with some joke about we ought to have nuclear test treaties (long laughter). And no more testing. And no more developing of bombs, they got the bombs, if you don't have any nuclear testing it means you won't get the bomb. So they tell the rest of the Third World, Africa, Asia and Latin America, you all don't do any more testing cause we don't need no more bombs, they got all the bombs. The white folks are doing the same thing, they got all the guns, and

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

(Continued)

CAR: now today they talk about we got to stop the sale of guns because they got em. Did you see in the papers white women in Kansas, the police are teaching them how to shoot. Atlanta, Georgia, two months ago, the police department sold guns for a dollar a piece to white people. The necessity that black people get guns. We need em in case you come down. It's better to have your stuff than not to have it. It's always better to be prepared.

UNIDENTIFIED

MAN: To pursue this question of equalization a little bit further, as far as employment quotas are concerned, do you put any stock in those if a community is ten per cent black, that some of the businesses should employ at least ten per cent black people. Do you hold stock in that at all? Population versus percentage of employees .

CAR: I don't understand.

ANOTHER

UNIDENTIFIED

MAN: In other words if we go along with Mr. Ragland's statistics, that 90 per cent of the people in Washington are black, should 90 per cent of the job holders in Washington be black.

CAR: No, No, I'm not talking about job holders, I'm talking about ownership and control.

FIRST

UNIDENTIFIED

MAN: If there are ten per cent black people in the United
(ABOVE) States, should ten per cent of the Federal jobs be black?

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

CAR: Ten per cent of the ownership and control of their country should be black. Jobs don't mean nothing unless you have ownership and control. So let's talk about ownership and control. White people don't want to talk about it. They want to talk about we will give you ten per cent of the jobs.

UNIDENTIFIED

MAN: In a black community do you think things should be commonly owned?

CAR: Yes, no doubt about it. There is going to have to be in our community. This concept of private property and private ownership and profits is a strict white concept. We've never had it.

UNIDENTIFIED

MAN: That sounds a little Marxist there, doesn't it?

CAR: What's Marxist? (laughter) I'm talking about Africa that's Africa, the usual way of life - straight up African and a Marx is a white boy who came along after Africa, so you know.

UNIDENTIFIED

MAN: Where are there communal societies on the world that have worked out?

CAR: Africa, until you came along and disrupted it.

UNIDENTIFIED

MAN: What kind of standard of living do they have in Africa?

CAR: They had a beautiful standard of living. You have a standard of living now that tightens everybody up because you raped the world. You steal the gold, you steal the uranium, you steal the copper, you aint got no gold in this country.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

UNIDENTIFIED

MAN: You have a warped sense of history.

CAR: You aint got no gold in this country, yet your whole country is backed by gold (?). Do you back your gold currency 25 per cent on the dollar bill for your gold, hell no, and you know it. Uranium, copper, diamonds, zinc, where do you get all these from, that's not white economics, that's black stuff that you steal. Now what about your rest of metals and materials, where does it come from?

UNIDENTIFIED

MAN: What's your point?

CAR: My point is the United States raped the rest of the world.

UNIDENTIFIED

MAN: Do you want our gold and uranium?

CAR: No, I want my gold, my gold is in South Africa, my people gonna get it.

COMM: Ends discussion, time is up.

**This document contains neither
recommendations nor conclusions of
the FBI. It is the property of
the FBI and is loaned to your agency;
it and its contents are not to be
distributed outside your agency.**

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-11-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

FBI

Date: 4/11/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - M; SEDITION
(OO:WFO)

b6
b7C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau and Richmond
are three copies each of an article appearing in the
"Washington Evening Star" dated 4/3/68.

Richmond incorporate in LHM any pertinent informa-
tion developed regarding CARMICHAEL's visit to Richmond
area on 4/2/68.

1cc to ISD, C...
R/S 4/15/68.

PTO/akt

3-Bureau (Encs. 3) **ENCLOSURE**
2-Richmond (Encs. 3) (RM)
1-WFO

WWH:bap
(6)

AIRTEL

REC-33

100-446080-1442
~~100-446080-356~~

APR 12 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Approved: *[Signature]*
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

STUDENTS AT VIRGINIA UNION SEIZE BUILDING, BAN WHITES

RICHMOND (UPI)—Militant students seized the administration building of predominantly Negro Virginia Union University yesterday and vowed to occupy the structure for "a long, long time."

The 300 students turned the three-story building into a dance hall later, with couples dancing and mingling to rock and roll music blaring over loudspeakers.

Whites were warned to stay away from the building by the students, who enthusiastically welcomed black power advocate Stokely Carmichael as a visitor. Carmichael, in Richmond to attend a bond hearing for H. Rap Brown, head of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, remained in the administration building about a half hour.

The students took control of the building after talks between boycotting students and officials broke down.

Dr. Alix B. James, vice president of the school of about 1,300 enrollment, said the administration planned "to keep going as much of the normal operation of the university as possible."

Student grievances are known to include mandatory class attendance, the right to evaluate teachers and improved campus facilities.

DATE

4/3/68

PAGE

B-3

THE WASHINGTON POST
& TIMES HERALD

THE EVENING STAR

THE SUNDAY STAR

THE WASHINGTON DAILY NEWS

WASHINGTON AFRO AMERICAN

ENCLOSURE

100-446080-1442

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-11-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

DATE: 4/24/68

FROM : SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - M
SEDITION
(OO:WFO)

b6
b7C

SA [REDACTED] surveyed all WDC banks during the period 2/15/68 - 4/15/68 in an effort to locate an account for STOKELY CARMICHAEL. The survey failed to disclose an account or other banking relationship for CARMICHAEL.

Efforts will continue to locate financial data regarding CARMICHAEL.

②-Bureau (RM)
1-WFO

WVH:vdm
(3)

EX-115

REC 27 100-446080-1443

APR 24 1968

RECEIVED
FBI
FACIAL INT. SECT.



MAY 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (100-446080)

FROM : SAC, Indianapolis (100-15504)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION

DATE: 4/22/68

Re Mobile airtel to Director, 3/28/68.

On 4/11/68, [redacted] was contacted by SA [redacted] and SA [redacted]. He advised that CARMICHAEL was on a money-raising campaign and had spoken at three colleges near Montgomery, one being Tuskegee Institute, the other two were unknown to him.

b6
b7C
b7D

He identified WILLIE RICKS as the individual who gave the short speech on the church steps. He stated it was his impression RICKS is from New Orleans.

He identified [redacted] and [redacted] as the individuals who were traveling with CARMICHAEL.

He advised CARMICHAEL had no definite plans for any demonstrations and that the conversations he had with him were general in nature.

[redacted] advised if he heard further from CARMICHAEL, he will advise SA [redacted].

b6
b7C
b7D

[redacted] is under consideration by this office as a possible racial informant. Mobile advise Indianapolis if any reason exists for not considering him and all background information available your office re [redacted].

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - Mobile (100-1858) RM
2 - Washington Field RM
2 - Indianapolis

PJF/swm
(8)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/14/81 BY [redacted]

REC 11 100-446080-444

16 APR 24 1968

100-446080-444



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

RECEIVED
FBI
INDIANAPOLIS
APR 24 1968

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

4/16/68

b6
b7C

[Handwritten signature]
AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (62-9737) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INCITING TO RIOT - MISCELLANEOUS

Limited Classification
Review Conducted
See Top Serial
Form 4-774

At approximately 1:50 p m , 4/5/68, STOKELY CARMICHAEL reportedly appeared at a rally in the vicinity of Douglass Hall on the Howard University campus, brandished a pistol, and made several inflammatory remarks including the statements: "Don't loot, shoot" and "Go home and get your guns." Howard University students are presently on spring vacation and are not due back for classes until 4/22/68.

- ③ - bureau
- 2 - Albany
- 2 - Boston
- 2 - Buffalo
- 2 - Chicago
- 3 - Cleveland
- 2 - Columbia
- 2 - Indianapolis
- 2 - Louisville
- 2 - Miami
- 5 - Newark
- 2 - New Haven
- 2 - New York
- 2 - Norfolk
- 2 - Pittsburgh
- 2 - Tampa
- 1 - WFO

WCD:laa
(39)

AIRTEL

C. C. Bishop

62 APR 29 1968

70 MAY 10 1968

EX-116

REC 27

100-446080-1494
12 APR 23 1968

WFO 62-9737

Attempts to locate the following students who were reportedly present during the CARMICHAEL remarks have been negative and the possibility exists that they may have gone home for vacation:

BOSTON

[redacted] (Harvard University student)
[redacted] Harvard University

CHICAGO

[redacted]

CLEVELAND

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

Akron

LOUISVILLE

[redacted]

[redacted] Kentucky

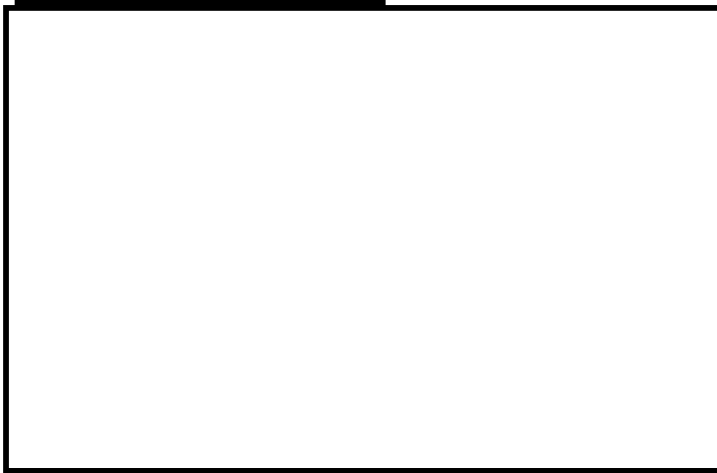
MIAMI

[redacted]

b6
b7C

WFO 62-9737

NEWARK



NEW HAVEN

b6
b7C



NEW YORK

Conn



NYC



PITTSBURGH



The aforementioned students should be immediately interviewed to determine if they were present during CARMICHAEL's

WFO 62-9737

remarks at Howard University on 4/5/68. The interviews should determine if CARMICHAEL was seen to wave a pistol, as best as can be remembered his exact statements, and the reactions of the crowd following his appearance.

The following Howard University students were determined to have been arrested during the disturbance at Washington, D. C.:

ALBANY

[REDACTED]

Syracuse

BUFFALO

[REDACTED]

COLUMBIA, S.C.

[REDACTED]

S.C.

INDIANAPOLIS

[REDACTED]

NORFOLK

[REDACTED]

TAMPA

[REDACTED]

Fla.

b6
b7C

WFO 62-9737

The students arrested for various offenses during the disturbance should be interviewed to determine if they heard remarks made by CARMICHAEL at approximately 9:30 p.m., 4/4/68, in the vicinity of 14th and U Streets, N.W., Washington, D. C. (CARMICHAEL reportedly made remarks similar to those made at Howard University on 4/5/68) or the following day at Howard University and interviews should determine if CARMICHAEL's remarks had any affect on actions of arrested students.

Offices receiving copies of this communication are requested to handle leads as expeditiously as possible and submit results on FD 302.

CARMICHAEL SHOULD BE CONSIDERED ARMED AND DANGEROUS SINCE INDIVIDUALS HAVE REPORTED HIM IN POSSESSION OF A GUN ON THE EVENING OF 4/4/68 IN THE VICINITY OF 14th AND U STREETS, N.W. AND AGAIN ON THE AFTERNOON OF 4/5/68 AT HOWARD UNIVERSITY.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-11-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

FBI

Date: 4/16/68

PLAINTEXT

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC; SEDITION

RE WFOTEL 4/15/68

SUBJ AND [REDACTED] DEPARTED FIVE ZERO ONE FIVE SIXTEEN ST.,
NW, WDC, ELEVEN A.M. AND DROVE TO WASHINGTON NATIONAL AIRPORT WHERE

[REDACTED] BOARDED FLIGHT FOR NEW YORK CITY. SUBJ RETURNED TO ABOVE
ADDRESS AND LATER VISITED [REDACTED] N.W.,
WDC, AND A LOCAL LAUNDRY AND RESTAURANT BEFORE GOING TO SNCC HDQTS.
A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE ADVISED SUBJ SPENT MOST OF AFTERNOON AT SNCC
HDQTS. AND IN EVENING ATTENDED A MEETING OF THE STEERING COMMITTEE
OF THE BLACK UNITED FRONT.

ADMINISTRATIVE

ABOVE SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

LHM RE BLACK UNITED FRONT MEETING FOLLOWS.

b2
b6
b7C
b7D

3-BUREAU
1-WFO
RFO:mmh
(4)

REC-19

100-446080-1446

4 APR 23 1968

Approved: JDP

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

32 APR 30 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-11-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan ✓
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

F B I

Date: 4/19/68

PLAINTEXT

Transmit the following in _____

TELETYPE

(Type in plaintext or code)
URGENT *BM*

Via _____

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR AND SACS ATLANTA, CHARLOTTE, LITTLE ROCK, NEW
ORLEANS, NEW YORK AND SAN DIEGO

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS - MISC. - SEDITION.

AS OF SEVEN O'CLOCK P.M. E.S.T. SUBJECT IN WASHINGTON,
D. C. NO INFORMATION DEVELOPED INDICATING SUBJECT PLANS
TO TRAVEL OUTSIDE WASHINGTON, D. C. WEEKEND OF APRIL NINETEEN
TO TWENTYONE.

b6
b7C

- ② - Bureau
2 - Teletype Unit
2 - WFO

REC 27

APR 23 1968

RFO:1aa
(6)

cc

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

100-446080-1447

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 05-11-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

F B I

Date: 4/21/68

PLAINTEXT

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE

URGENT

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC.; SEDITION

RE WFO TEL FOUR TWENTY SIXTYEIGHT.

SUBJECT DEPARTED FIVE ZERO ONE FIVE SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W., WDC, MIDAFTERNOON, FOUR TWENTYONE SIXTYEIGHT, WITH ANOTHER NEGRO MALE AND WENT TO [REDACTED] N.W., WDC. LATER VISITED SNCC HEADQUARTERS, BOHEMIAN CAVERNS CAFE, AND CONSTITUTION HALL, BEFORE RETURNING TO FIVE ZERO ONE FIVE SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W. IN EVENING SUBJECT RETURNED TO CONSTITUTION HALL FOR PERFORMANCE OF RAY CHARLES.

b6
b7C

3 - Bureau
1 - WFO

WWH:clr
(4)

REC 27

100-446023-1448

APR 23 1968

Approved: JDP

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

58 APR 30 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-11-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

F B I

Date: 4/19/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM: SAC, TAMPA (100-1103) (RUC)
STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INCITING TO RIOT - MISCELLANEOUS
(OO: WFO)

Re WFO airtel to the Bureau dated 4/16/68.

On 4/18/68

[redacted] Fla., advised that [redacted]

In view of above, no leads being set out for
New York and WFO will interview [redacted] upon return to
school.

C. C. = Bishop

3 - Bureau (RM)
2 - WFO (100-43503)
GWT:nh 1 - Tampa
(6)

REC-1

100-446080-1449

2 APR 22 1968

[redacted]
RECEIVED INT. SEC.b6
b7C

Approved: [signature]

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 05-11-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

F B I

Date: 4/18/68

Tolson _____
 DeLoach _____
 Mohr _____
 Bishop _____
 Mr. Casper _____
 Mr. Callahan _____
 Mr. Conrad _____
 Mr. Felt _____
 Mr. Gale _____
 Mr. Rosen _____
 Mr. Sullivan _____
 Mr. Tavel _____
 Mr. Trotter _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Miss Holmes _____
 Miss Gandy _____

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (62-9737) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INCITING TO RIOT - MISCELLANEOUS

District of Columbia

_____ interviewed
 for approximately 30 minutes 4/18/68. He advised unable to
 be available for further interviews until 4 p.m. 4/19/68.

During interview 4/18/68, re instant matter, FAUNTROY
 furnished the following information:

In response to a telephone call from SCLC office,
 14th and U Sts., N.W., about 8 p.m., 4/4/68, he went to the
 SCLC office. At the office he endeavored to call SCLC officials
 in Memphis, Tenn., but call not completed. Upon hearing street
 noise he went to SCLC office window. He observed CARMICHAEL
 leading 50 - 60 predominately young people south on 14th St. at
 U St. He feared break-ins and violence might erupt

that all the group was doing was just asking the store merchants
 to close their shops out of respect to Dr. KING's death and
 that he (CARMICHAEL) could not stop this.

3-Bureau
 2-WFO
 (1-100-43503)

REC-7

16 APR 23 1968

ASB:MJB
 (5)

C. C. - Bishop

AIRTEL

Approved: _____
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

b6
 b7C
 b7D

b6
 b7C
 b7D

6 APR 29 1968

WFO 62-9737

[redacted] saw no sticks, bricks or guns [redacted]
[redacted]

[redacted] he conversed with a police officer and requested that no further police officers be brought to the area inasmuch as their presence might antagonize people in the area to violence. He commented that he last observed CARMICHAEL from his office window. At this time CARMICHAEL was leading the group east in the 1300 block of U St., N.W.

[redacted] stated that he wanted to make it clear that he did not observe any violence or disruptive tactics by CARMICHAEL and the group following subject while he was in their immediate vicinity.

Interview with [redacted] expected to continue 4 p.m.
4/19/68.

b6
b7C
b7D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-11-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

Date: 4/17/68

Transmit the following in _____

PLAINTEXT

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE

URGENT

(Priority)

b6

b7C

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC; SEDITION

RE MYTEL 4/16/68

SUBJ WITH [REDACTED] DEPARTED FIVE ZERO ONE FIVE SIXTEENTH

STREET, NW, TWELVE TWENTYEIGHT P.M. AND WENT SHOPPING AT LOCAL

SAFEWAY LATER RETURNING TO ABOVE ADDRESS. MID AFTERNOON SUBJ RE-

VISITED ABOVE SAFEWAY AND HOT SHOPPE RESTAURANT WITH UNKNOWN NEGRO

MALE AND FEMALE. SUBJ SUBSEQUENTLY WENT TO SNCC HDQTS. MPD ADVISED

[REDACTED] ARRESTED FOURTEENTH AND U

STS., NW, EARLY AFTERNOON. WFO SOURCE RELIABLE IN PAST ADVISED

CROWD GATHERED AFTER ABOVE ARRESTS. SOMEONE IN AREA REPORTEDLY

WENT TO SNCC HDQTS. ASKED SUBJ TO COME QUIET THE CROWD WHICH HE DID.

SUBJ LATER RETURNED TO SNCC HDQTS ACCORDING TO SOURCE. WRC TV

3-Bureau

1-WFO

RFO:mmh

(4)

EX-103
REC-7

6 APR 23 1968

Approved: JDP RFO

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)PAGE TWO
WFO (100-43503)REPORTED SUBJ APPEARED D.C. COURT OF GENERAL SESSIONS DURING EVEN-
ING WHERE HEARING RE ABOVE ARRESTS BEING CONDUCTED. [REDACTED] SOURCE[REDACTED] ADVISED [REDACTED] RELEASED ON BAIL AND RETURNED
TO SNCC HDQTS. WITH SUBJ.ADMINISTRATIVE

[REDACTED]

b6
b7C
b7DXerox - [REDACTED]
Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

DATE: 4/12/68

FROM : LEGAT, PARIS (100-2683) (RUC)

DATE: 05-11-2006

CLASSIFIED BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/AAG

DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(6) 05-11-2031

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS;
SEDITION
(OO - AF)
WFO

Remylet to Bureau 3/18/68.

Confidential
WFO

(S)

(S)

(S)

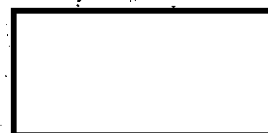
b1
b6
b7C

- 4 - Bureau
- (1 - Liaison Section)
- (1 - Atlanta, Info.)
- 1 - Paris WFO
- NWP:eim
- (5)

see to WFO 100-446080
113 4/23/68
EX PTB/dle
100-446080-1452
24
1 APR 17 1968

1 cc FOREIGN INFLUENCES IN THE
BLACK NAT MOVEMENT 157-2141
Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly

RACIAL VIO SECT.
Savings Plan



~~SECRET~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-11-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

F B I

Date: 4/20/68

Transmit the following in PLAINTEXT
(Type in plaintext or code)Via TELETYPE URGENT *BM*
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI AND SACS CHARLOTTE
COLUMBIA
NEW YORK

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC; SEDITION.

REWFO TEL APRIL NINETEENTH SIXTYEIGHT.

SUBJECT DEPARTED FIVE ZERO ONE FIVE SIXTEENTH ST., NW, WDC
TWELVE FIFTY PM FOUR TWENTY INSTANT WITH [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] THEY WENT TO [REDACTED], NW, WDC AND LATER

TO SNCC HDQTS. SUBJECT DEPARTED SNCC HDQTS WITH [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] AND WENT TO DOWNTOWN AREA WDC WHERE APPEARED TO BE SLEEPING
AT ABOUT TWO PM.

WDC SOURCE ADVISED SUBJECT LATER RETURNED TO SNCC HDQTS
WHERE PARTY IN PROGRESS. SOURCE ADVISED SOME TALK OF SUBJECT
TRAVELING OUT OF TOWN DURING WEEKEND. HOWEVER SUBJECT DID NOT
INDICATE TRAVEL DETAILS. MPD SOURCE ADVISED [REDACTED]

101

2-Bureau
2-Teletype
2-WFO

REC-40

100-446086-5

WVH:rmj
(6)

APR 24 1968

b6
b7C
b7D

Approved: *[Signature]*
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)PAGE TWO
(100-43503)ADMINISTRATIVE

ABOVE WFO SOURCE IS [REDACTED] PRI UNDER DEVELOPMENT.

CHARLOTTE AND COLUMBIA DETERMINE IF MEETING WITH [REDACTED]
SCHEDULED TO BE PRESENTLY BEING HELD IN AREA AND ADVISE WFO.

P.

b6
b7CApproved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-11-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

FBI

Date: 4/11/68

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, WFO (62-9737)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INCITING TO RIOT
MISCELLANEOUS

Attached are photographs of a small Japanese-made transistor radio capable of monitoring, with good clarity, the various radio frequencies used by the FBI, Metropolitan Police Department, Fire Department, and other nearby police agencies for their regular voice communications networks.

b6
b7C

This radio was furnished to Special Agents of this office on 4/10/68 by [redacted] under development as a PRI, who claims he obtained the radio at Washington SNCC Headquarters. [redacted] stated that similar radios are used by STOKELY CARMICHAEL, [redacted] and other members of SNCC to monitor police and FBI broadcasts. It is noted that pasted to the back of the radio is a small card which appears to be a listing of the exact places on the dial where the listed agencies can be monitored:

- 155 - D. C. Police
- 156 - (Middle Dot) Fire Department
- 159 - (Between 1 and 5) Prince Georges County
- 170 - Park Police
- 171 - FBI
- 160 - Arlington County

This radio can be purchased from the Radio Shack Company, which has stores in various large cities, for \$24.95. Similar radios covering the frequencies from 148 to 174 Mhz. can be purchased for as little as \$17.95 from Lafayette Radio Corporation stores and other stores throughout the United States.

4 - Bureau (Enc. 3)
(1 - FBI Laboratory)
1 - WFO

EHB:ead C. C. - Bishop
(5) cc - [redacted]

Approved: [redacted]
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

EX-105 REC-74
100-446080-1454

22 APR 18 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 05-11-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 4/12/68

Attached indicates that Stokely Carmichael and other Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee leaders in Washington, D. C., are utilizing an inexpensive small, Japanese-made transistor radio to monitor local police and FBI broadcasts.

This information is being furnished to Criminal and Internal Security Division of the Department Secret Service, military intelligence agencies, and local police agencies.

PTB:lrh

*hem**wes**A**106*

on this envelope

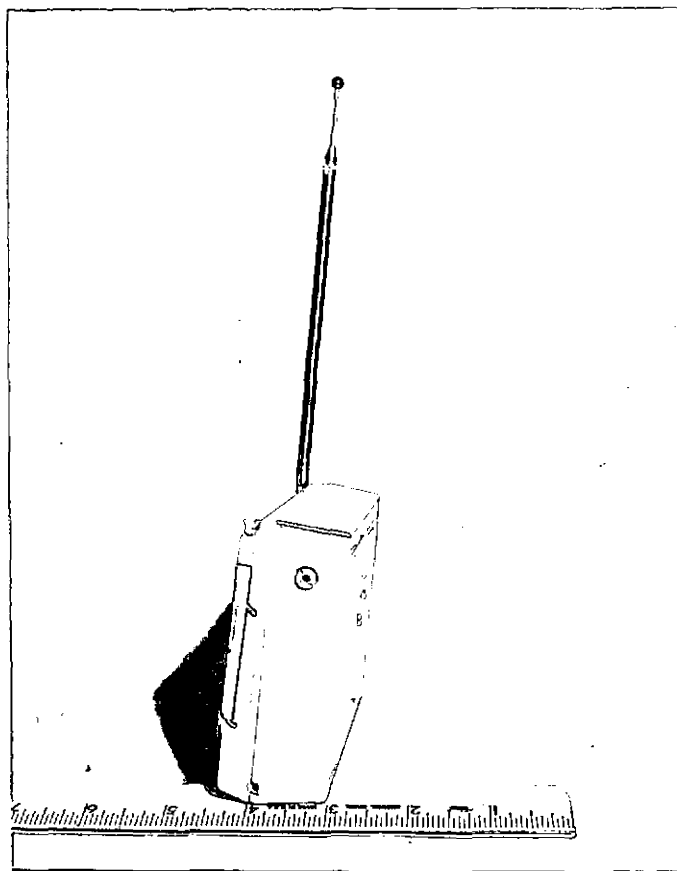
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

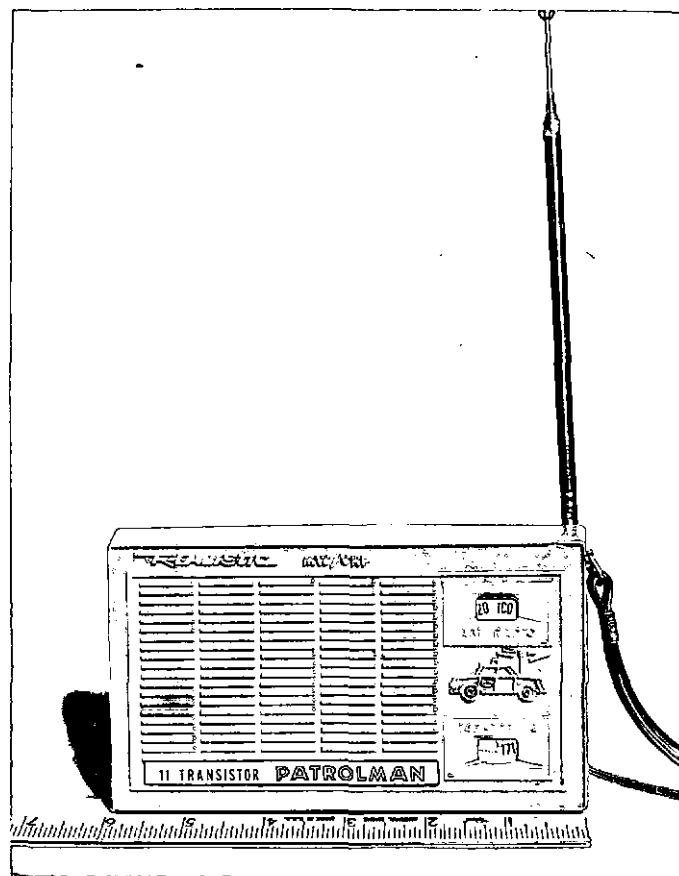
DATE 05-11-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

ENCLOSURE

100-446080-1454

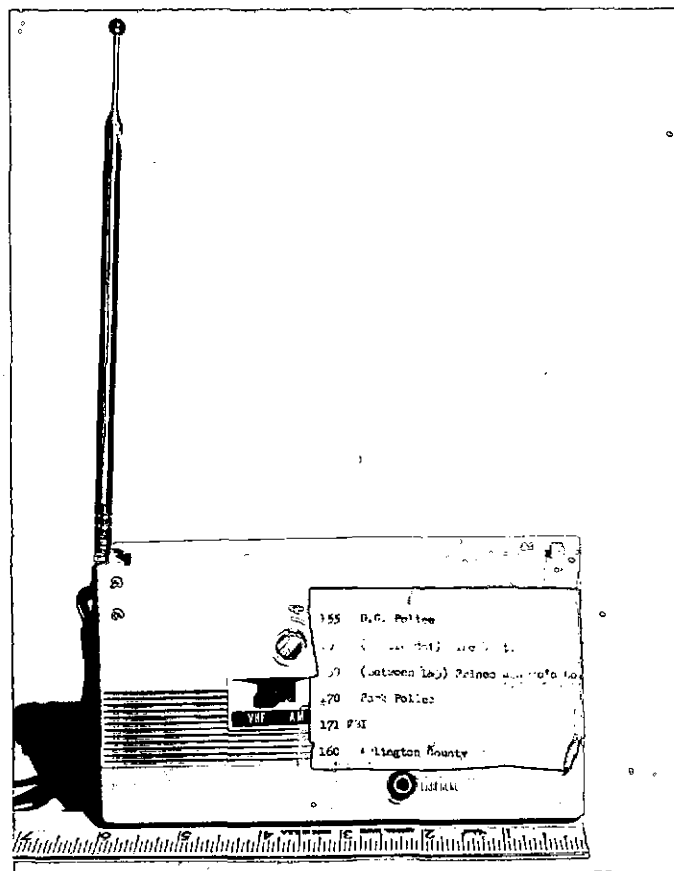


ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-11-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-11-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

Handwritten signature



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 05-11-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

446080-3

446080-3

100-446080-1454

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 05-11-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

~~SECRET~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 4/9/68

Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____

FROM : W. R. Wannall

DATE: 06-12-2006

CLASSIFIED BY 60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1 - derivative) 06-12-2031

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS;
INTERNAL SECURITY - CUBA

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

(S)

[REDACTED]

(S)

b1
b6
b7C

[REDACTED]

(S)

[REDACTED]

TJS:63b
(8)

EX-115 100-4460 80-743

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. W.C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. G.C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. Wannall
- 1 - Mr. P.T. Basher

REC 6

CONTINUED - OVER

04 APR 15 1968

749 MAY 13 1968

749 MAY 13 1968

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Memo to Mr. W. C. Sullivan
Re: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

(S)

b1

(S)

ACTION:

None. For information.

S.P.

B

over

wel

✓

ms

js

~~SECRET~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-11-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

APR 19 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

b6
b7C

WASH D.C. --4--

539PM URGENT 4/19/68 JLS

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080) WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE, LOS ANGELES

SAN FRANCISCO AND SACRAMENTO (PLAINTEXT)

FROM SAN DIEGO (100-13995)

STOKLEY CARMICHAEL, IS - MISC; SEDITION.

RE SAN DIEGO TELETYPE TO BUREAU AND WASHINGTON FIELD
APRIL EIGHTEEN LAST.

SOURCES IN SAN DIEGO ADVISED FIVE P.M. THIS DATE
THAT STOKELY CARMICHAEL WILL NOT COME FOR SAN DIEGO BLACK
CONFERENCE.

END
RDR

REC-12

EX-103

100-446080-1456

FBI WASH DC

57 APR 30 1968

RELAYED TO

b6
b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-11-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

F B I

Date: 4/17/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM: SAC, NEW ORLEANS (100-17362) (RUC)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY -
MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION

b6
b7C

Re Bureau letter to Albany 4/8/68, captioned
as above.

Reference is also made to New Orleans airtel
3/28/68 cc to Atlanta and WFO, reflecting [redacted]
[redacted] Louisiana State University, New Orleans,
La. (LSUNO), had confidentially advised a request had
been received from the Student Liberal Federation (SLF),
a campus group at LSUNO, for STOKELY CARMICHAEL to speak
at that institution at 8:00 AM, 10:00 AM, and 2:00 PM,
on 4/19/68.

[redacted] advised instant date he
had been advised this morning of the cancellation of
the proposed talks at LSUNO by CARMICHAEL. [redacted]
believes the cancellation may have resulted from a
lack of funds at SLF inasmuch as he believes CARMICHAEL
charges a large fee for his appearances.

b7D

Dr. ALBERT W. DENT, President of Dillard
University, New Orleans, an institution primarily of
colored students, advised 4/17/68, neither he nor his
Dean of Students is aware of any expected appearance
of CARMICHAEL in New Orleans for 4/19/68.

- 3 - Bureau
- 2 - WFO (100-43503)
- 1 - Atlanta (100-6812) (info)
- 1 - New Orleans

JWG:med
(7)

EX-115

10 APR 19 1968

b6

b7C

C. C. Bishop
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

INT. SEC.

SAC, New York (100-153751)

May 2, 1968

EX-116

Director, FBI (100-446080)-458

1

REC-126

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS - SNCC
SEDITION

ReNYlet dated 4/24/68.

b6
b7C
b7D

PTB:ekw *ekw*
(4)

MAILED 24

MAY 2 1968

COMM-FBI

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

326
54 MAY 8 1968

JM
ret

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-11-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

Memorandum

TO

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

DATE: 4/24/68

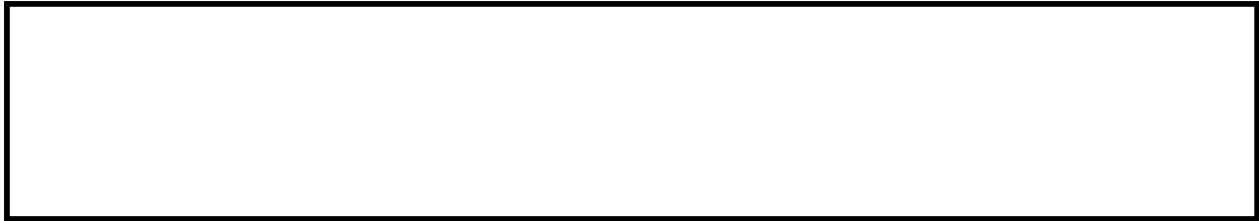
FROM

SAC, NEW YORK (100-153751) (P)

SUBJECT:

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS-MISC; SEDITION

b7D



mz
ak

Y

Set to NY 5/1/68
PTB: eha

- 3- Bureau (RM)
- 2- Washington Field (RM)
- 1- New York

BJW: amb
(6)

REC 16 100-446080-1458

10 APR 26 1968

b6
b7C



RACIAL INT. SECT.



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-11-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

DATE: 4/23/68

FROM : SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - M;
SEDITION
(OO:WFO)

Re WFO let dated 4/18/68.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 11 copies of an LHM concerning the above captioned subject. Also enclosed for the Bureau is one reel of tape containing both audio and video of Stokely Carmichael's appearance on TV program "Controversy 14", broadcast on March 20, 1968 by station WFAN, Washington, D.C. A written (type) translation of the tape was furnished by WFO to the Bureau in letter dated 4/18/68.

A copy of the above mentioned tape was prepared by the FBI laboratory and is being retained in the file by WFO.

The tape being furnished to the Bureau as an enclosure was obtained from the station on 4/15/68 by SA [redacted] and need not be returned.

b6
b7C

2 - Bureau (Enc. 12)
1 - WFO
WWH:typ
(3)

ENCLOSURE ON BULKY RAMP
XEROX COPY MADE &
PLACED IN BULKY ENCLOSURE
8/20/68
SIP

INFO IN LHM +

TRANSCRIPT OF SPEECHES
DISSEMINATED
4/29/68 PVB

50 MAY 15 1968
77 MAY 13 1968
79 APR 30 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

REC 36

100-446080-1459

APR 29 1968

CC 806 980

J-PLA



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Washington, D.C. 20535

April 23, 1968

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION

Stokely Carmichael appeared on television program "Controversy 14", broadcast from 7:00 to 10:00 PM on March 20, 1968, by station WFAN, Washington, D.C. The program was moderated by John Hightower who advised it was a discussion in nature involving Carmichael and others. Hightower advised the program was on the air from 7:00 to 10:00PM, but Carmichael did not appear during the full time. Hightower also advised a tape was not made of the first 15 minutes of the program due to an oversight.

The original tape prepared by the station and made available to Special Agent Paul E. Morrison of the Washington Field Office of the Federal Bureau Of Investigation on April 15, 1968, is enclosed herewith.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-11-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

This document contains neither
recommendations nor conclusions of
the FBI. It is the property of
the FBI and is loaned to your agency;
it and its contents are not to be
distributed outside your agency.

- 1*-

100-446080-1459

ENCLOSURE

COPIES DESTROYED

286 FEB 23 1971

FBI

Date: 4/16/68

PLAINTEXT

Transmit the following in _____

TELETYPE

(Type in plaintext or code)

URGENT

b6

b7C

Via _____

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson ✓
 Mr. DeLoach ✓
 Mr. Mohr ✓
 Mr. Bishop ✓
 Mr. Casper ✓
 Mr. Callahan ✓
 Mr. Conrad ✓
 Mr. Felt ✓
 Mr. Gale ✓
 Mr. Rosen ✓
 Mr. Sullivan ✓
 Mr. Tavel ✓
 Mr. Trotter ✓
 Tele. Room ✓
 Miss Holmes ✓

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI AND SACS NEW YORK, DETROIT, BOSTON,
 OMAHA AND PHILADELPHIA

FROM: SAC, WFO (157-
W.C. 2-1

NATIONAL BLACK ANTI WAR DRAFT UNION (NBAWADU), RACIAL
 MATTERS.

SOURCE WITH WHOM INSUFFICIENT CONTACT HAS BEEN MADE
 TO ESTABLISH RELIABILITY, ADVISED ON INSTANT DATE THAT
 DURING THE CONFERENCE OF THE CAPTIONED MATTER WHICH WAS
 HELD IN NYC DURING APRIL TWELVE TO FOURTEEN LAST, "REGIONAL
 CADRES" MET IN VARIOUS ROOMS IN THE DIPLOMAT HOTEL AND HELD
 GENERAL DISCUSSIONS CONCERNING THEIR PLANS FOR GUERRILLA
 REVOLUTIONARY ACTION AND TACTICS TO DISRUPT THE U.S.

SOURCE ADVISED THAT

- ② - Bureau
 2 - Teletype Unit
 2 - WFO

ERW:laa
 (6)

NOT RECORDED

183 APR 26 1968

APR 26 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 2/6/96 BY SSA9803RDD/8
 465,193

b6
 b7C

Approved: *66 MAY 10 1968*
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

*File to NY, WFO (cc-Boston, Den, Phil De-ny mail)
 4/17/68*

ORIGINAL FILED IN

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

WFO 157-

PAGE FOUR

ADMINISTRATIVE:

REFERENCE NEW YORK TEL APRIL FIFTEEN LAST. SOURCE IS

 *Potential Racial Informant*
PRI, WASHINGTON, D. C.

b7D

LEADS. ALL RECEIVING OFFICES ARE REQUESTED TO
CONTACT SOURCES IN ORDER TO CORROBORATE AND TO DEVELOP
ADDITIONAL INFORMATION CONCERNING THIS MATTER.

TRANPOR

MAY 1964

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI
ATTENTION: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE
AND CRIME RECORDS

DATE: 4/17/68

FROM : SAC, BALTIMORE (80-720)

b6
b7C

SUBJECT:

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

Re Baltimore letter to Bureau, 2/5/68.

SAC met with [redacted] for approximately two hours on 4/17/68. A synopsis of the conversation, wherein [redacted] responded to specific questions, is as follows:

The recently concluded disorders and riots in Baltimore showed signs of organization, considering the places that were looted and burned. Most businesses looted and destroyed were stores and shops operated and owned by whites, or operated by Negroes but owned by whites who live in distant suburbia. The disorders might not have been planned for the weekend of 4/5-7/68. As a matter of fact, [redacted] heard rumors beforehand that there would be "trouble" on Easter Monday in Baltimore (4/15/68), which is the traditional date Baltimore has had racial difficulties over the years. [redacted] feels the disorders broke out earlier because of the murder of MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. He has no "hard evidence" that the disorders were deliberately provoked or organized, but he had been hearing for weeks in advance of the April 5th weekend, black militant mutterings and remarks concerning the "economic rape of the ghetto" by absentee landlords and white proprietors. The angry talk in the ghetto was against many white shop owners who used the "thumb method" in dealing with Negroes who come in to purchase food with Welfare checks. These people get 75% of their money's worth of food, and 25% thumb on the scales. The black militants have been agitating people in the ghettos with such observations and their purpose is to drive the whites from the inner city and control it themselves.

EXP. PROC.

35 APR 18 1968

ORIGINAL FILED IN

- 2 - Bureau
- 2 - Baltimore
 - (1 - 80-720)
 - (1 - 157-857)

ERT:cm
(4)

MAY 15 1968

NOT RECORDED
180 MAY 8 1968

NOT RECORDED
180 MAY 8 1968

APR 18 1968

CRIME RESEARCH
b6
b7C

[redacted] feels the criminal element, led by individuals like [redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

may not have instigated the disorders, but they were prepared to exploit them, and Friday night (April 5), when many in the black ghettos were muttering resentfully about KING's assassination, these hoodlums were encouraging the "kids and teen-agers" to get something going. [redacted]

[redacted] in the western Baltimore Negro area, and subject of a separate case in this office.) [redacted] cannot prove it, but he feels there was some understanding or some loose agreement between the black hoodlums like [redacted] and the black militants, like [redacted]

[redacted] The disorders were to their liking and furthered their ends. [redacted] pointed out

b6
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b7D

[redacted] does not feel that "outsiders" played any significant role in the riots. He said the Negro hoodlum element in Baltimore and the black militants do not need "outsiders" and would be suspicious of them. [redacted] pointed out that Governor SPIRO T. AGNEW of Maryland was wrong when he stated that STOKELY CARMICHAEL was in Baltimore April 3 and met with Baltimore's black militants before the riots occurred. He said CARMICHAEL was in Baltimore April 3 to discuss plans for his wedding and primarily to contact an unknown Negro who is either to "foot the bill" for CARMICHAEL's wedding or is to give him a substantial wedding present. [redacted] related that [redacted]

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b7D

[redacted] pointed out a fairly established fact that the disorders in Baltimore were aimed at property rather than people. He is

BA 80-720

fearful, however, that in similar situations in the future, angry whites may confront the Negroes and severe race riots could result.

In response to my specific request, [redacted] advised me that he would furnish "pertinent information" coming to his attention where he felt the Bureau had an interest and concern. [redacted]

[redacted]

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-11-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

EBF 1459

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-11-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

Memorandum

184

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

DATE: 4/23/68

FROM : SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - M;
SEDITION
(OO:WFO)

Re WFO let dated 4/18/68.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 11 copies of an LHM concerning the above captioned subject. Also enclosed for the Bureau is one reel of tape containing both audio and video of Stokely Carmichael's appearance on TV program "Controversy 14", broadcast on March 20, 1968 by station WFAN, Washington, D.C. A written (type) translation of the tape was furnished by WFO to the Bureau in letter dated 4/18/68.

A copy of the above mentioned tape was prepared by the FBI laboratory and is being retained in the file by WFO.

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b7C

The tape being furnished to the Bureau as an enclosure was obtained from the station on 4/15/68 by SA [redacted] and need not be returned.

2 - Bureau (Enc. 12)

1 - WFO

WJH:typ

(3)

REC 30

100-446080-1459

SDC 900

ENCLOSURE ON BULEY BAMP

352

APR 29 1968

INFO IN LHM +

TRANSCRIPT OF SPEECH

MAY 13 1968

MAY 13 1968

APR 29 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

NOTICE

DOCUMENT CANNOT BE SCANNED

DESCRIPTION

Video Tape

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-11-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

100-446080-1459

754-1053-300

Scotch®
BRAND VIDEO TAPE

3M
COMPANY

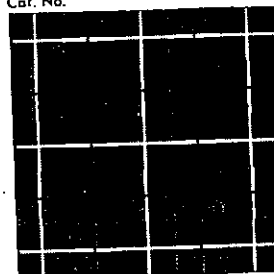
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-11-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/b1s

AA

39703 12 12 7

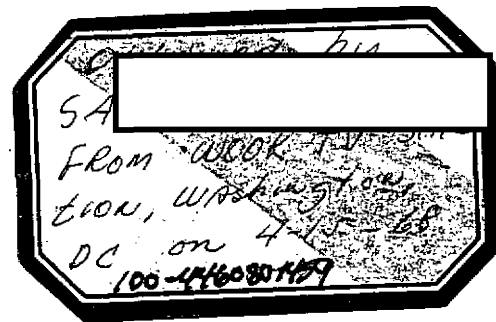
350B 2" X 1200' VRB8
(50.80mm X 360m)

Cat. No.



754-1053-080

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED b6
DATE 05-11-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAB7C /bls



April 24, 1968

1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
1 - Mr. Basher

Airtel

To: SAC, WFO (62-9737)

From: Director, FBI (100-446080) — 1460

EX-105 REC-1
STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INCITING TO RIOT - MISCELLANEOUS

Enclosed is a copy of a letter from Assistant Attorney General Fred M. Vinson, Jr., dated April 22, 1968, captioned "Stokely Carmichael, Inciting to Riot - Miscellaneous."

It is noted that the enclosed letter was prepared before the Department received your report dated April 19, 1968, and that the details of that report contained a considerable amount of the information requested.

The additional data requested by the Department should be handled promptly. Your attention is specifically invited to Item Number Five in the enclosed letter which requests information concerning "all of Carmichael's activities from April 4 to April 9, 1968." It is realized that the activities of Carmichael on April 7, 8, and 9 have been reported separately by daily teletypes and other communications to the Bureau. You should incorporate this information in your next report. Of course, any additional information developed covering this pertinent period should be included.

Enclosure

PTB:ekw
(5)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

MAILED 30
APR 24 1968
Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

66 MAY 2 1968

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

Airtel to SAC, WFO
STOKELY CARMICHAEL
100-446080

NOTE:

By letter dated April 6, 1968, the Attorney General requested the Bureau's assistance in developing information on the incidents involving Stokely Carmichael on April 4-6, 1968, and to conduct a continuing investigation and surveillance of Carmichael. By letter dated April 9, 1968, we advised the Attorney General that a full-time physical surveillance is impractical and impossible. However, we are maintaining a continuing investigation of Carmichael. Concerning the request of the Attorney General in his letter of April 6, 1968, we have to date furnished the Department three reports totaling over 500 pages and are continuing to press this investigation.

REC-D 912HOB

FBI

JUN 52 10 25 AM '68

Memorandum

TO : Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation DATE: April 23, 1968

FROM : Fred M. Vinson, Jr., Assistant Attorney
General, Criminal Division

SUBJECT: Stokely Carmichael
Inciting to Riot - Miscellaneous
Bureau #100-446080

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

FMV:SB:pah
146-1-51-1965

Your extensive report on certain activities of Stokely Carmichael on April 4, 5 and 6, 1968 in the District of Columbia opened several new areas of possible inquiry. We request your continued assistance in developing facts relating to the following matters:

1. Dissemination of the press conference of April 5, 1968.

TV, Radio and newspapers should be checked for time of broadcast or publication on the press conference. We are particularly concerned with precise time of broadcast, number of listeners at the given hour, the hour at which any newspapers with accounts of the conference may have reached readers and transcript of the broadcast or a copy of the news article.

2. Other knowledge which the news media may have.

The fruitful interviews with some of the news media indicate the need for further development of this source. We ask additional interviews with [redacted] as well as the stations beamed at the Negro community, i.e. [redacted] or any others known to you. These interviews should relate to what their reporters may have observed or heard about Carmichael and his activities from April 4 to date.

REC-7
EX-105

1 APR 23 1968

RACIAL SECT.

3. The knowledge of the Community Relations Service.

CRS people may have been about town during the recent events. We ask broad inquiry concerning their knowledge of particular incidents like the press conference as well as all matters relating to Carmichael's activities during this period.

4. The knowledge of the Roving Leaders.

Your reports suggest that roving leaders may have been on the streets during crucial times. We ask that they be interviewed both as to their knowledge of specific events and as to information on how these events got started.

5. All of Carmichael's activities from April 4 to April 9, 1968.

While we have some knowledge of Carmichael's activities from April 4 to April 9, 1968, he was not visible for some substantial periods of time. What he was doing, persons with whom he was conferring, etc., may shed light on his intent in going to Howard and/or the manner in which the riotous conduct was started or sustained. Furthermore, if any of the alleged supplies of firebombs, purchase of gasoline, etc. can be traced to him or to SNCC charges of possessing implements of crime may be involved. Likewise his communications with persons outside the District via telegraph or long distance may prove fruitful.^{1/}

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b7C

[redacted] and my staff will be available to discuss these matters with your agents.

Thank you for your cooperation.

^{1/} We are aware that the telegram check on the California matter produced nothing.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-11-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

F B I

Date: 4/23/68

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIR-TEL

AIRMAIL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM: SAC, BUFFALO (100-19370) (RUC)
②
STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INCITING TO RIOT
MISCELLANEOUS

Re Washington Field airtel, dated 4/16/68 requesting
Buffalo contact [redacted] Buffalo,
N. Y.

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b7C

On 4/23/68 [redacted]
[redacted] Buffalo, [redacted] stated he had gone
back to Washington, D. C., to Howard University. She said
[redacted] on the campus at Howard
University. She referred to [redacted]
and stated she was anxious concerning his involvement in
disturbances at Washington, D. C., but that he had never told
her anything about them. She stated he had never mentioned
STOKELY CARMICHAEL in his conversations. He had mentioned
[redacted]

b6
b7C

[redacted] said she was going to Washington, D. C.,
to attempt to learn [redacted]

[redacted] She indicated she did not
think it would be a good idea for FBI personnel to attempt to
interview her son on the Howard University campus.

- 3 - Bureau (AM)
1 - Washington Field (Info.) (AM)
1 - Buffalo
KPG:sap
(5)

REC-7 100-446080-1461

EX-105

C.C. - BHP

54 MAY 1 1968

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

F B I

Date: 4/23/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
 FROM: SAC, NORFOLK (100-6592)(RUC)
 STOKELY CARMICHAEL
 INCITING TO RIOT - MISCELLANEOUS
 (OO: WFO)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 2/6/92 BY 9111 adf

Re WFO airtel to Bureau, 4/16/68.

On 4/19/68, [redacted] a Howard University
 freshman was interviewed at the house of his parents in the
 presence of his mother, [redacted]. He appeared an
 intelligent youth who was forthright in his answers to
 questions. He commented that he was sorry to have caused
 the FBI any trouble. [redacted] created

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b7C

There are enclosed three copies of FD 302 covering
 interview of [redacted] for the Bureau and six copies of the same
 FD 302 for WFO.

No further action contemplated by Norfolk.

ARMED AND DANGEROUS

- ENCLOSURE 100-446080-1462
 ③ Bureau (Enc. 3)(RM)
 2- WFO (Enc. 6)(RM)(62-9737)
 1- Norfolk
 LWK:dmb
 (6)

REC 8

22 APR 25 1968

Approved: _____
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M

Per _____

66 MAY 2 1968

b6
b7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/23/68

[redacted]
 Virginia, advised he is a freshman at Howard University,
 Washington, D.C.

b6
b7C

[redacted] recalled he heard STOKELY CARMICHAEL make
 some speeches during the March, 1968, sit-in demonstrations
 at the University but never heard CARMICHAEL make any
 speeches during April, 1968. [redacted] said he did not know
 CARMICHAEL was at Howard University on the afternoon of
 April 5, 1968.

[redacted] recalled that on April 4, 1968, the night
 the news of Doctor MARTIN LUTHER KING'S assassination
 began being broadcast on radio and television. [redacted]

b6
b7C

COPIES DESTROYED
 23 1971
 28C FEB 22 1971

On 4/19/68 at [redacted] Virginia File # NF 100-6592

by SA [redacted] Date dictated 4/22/68

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

COPIES DESTROYED

28C FEB 22 1971

ENCLOSURE

100-416680-115

NF 100-6592

2

[] was certain he did not hear CARMICHAEL make several inflammatory remarks in the vicinity of Douglass Hall at Howard University at approximately 1:50 p.m., on April 5, 1968.

b6
b7C

[] said he was not near 14th and N. Streets, N.W., Washington, D.C., at 9:50 p.m., on April 4, 1968, because he was in his room at Cook Hall studying at that time.

[] said he did ^{not} see or hear CARMICHAEL on April 4 or April 5, 1968. He also said he did not know if CARMICHAEL possessed a weapon because he had not seen one in CARMICHAEL'S possession.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: April 13, 1968

FROM : Mr. G. C. Moore *GCM/DEM*

SUBJECT: **STOKELY CARMICHAEL**
RACIAL MATTER - STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Mr. _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

b6
b7C
[redacted] called Bureau Headquarters on 4/13/68 and stated she is a Negro and a Government employee. She said she works at the Library of Congress. She stated she is upset over the events of the past week and thinks the Government should arrest agitators like Stokely Carmichael.

[redacted] stated that she was listening to the 11 p.m. News on TV channel 7, 4/12/68, and she saw Carmichael and he was advocating that Negroes burn down American cities. She said she always felt the type of violence that had hit other American cities could not hit Washington, D. C., but now it has. She attributed the violence here to Stokely Carmichael. She said anyone who can run around near 14th and U waving a gun as Carmichael did should be arrested.

[redacted] further stated that she believes Carmichael violated the Sedition Statutes when he advocated burning American cities. She closed her remarks by stating "For God's sake get that man off the street."

[redacted] said she is a Negro. [redacted]

ACTION:

[redacted] of the Inter-Division Information Unit of the Department was advised. In view of the above information it would appear that [redacted]

and the above information will be furnished to the Washington Field Office for consideration in that regard.

- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Sizoo
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - [redacted]
- 1 - [redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

APR 23 1968

CAP:as:djf
(6)

MAY 2 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-11-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

FBI

Date: 4/25/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text, or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (100-6812) (P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

IS - M;
SEDITION
(OO: WFO)

Re Chicago airtel to Director 4/22/68 forwarding
to Atlanta two photographs of [redacted] which was
taken on 2/2/68 by the Police Department at Maywood, Ill.

On 4/25/68 [redacted]

The source observed the photograph of [redacted] and ad-
vised this photograph is not identical to either of the
individuals accompanying STOKELY CARMICHAEL on this parti-
cular occasion. The source added that the photograph does
not resemble anyone with whom the source is acquainted.

- ③ - Bureau (100-446080) (RM)
3 - Chicago (1 - 157-1297) (CARMICHAEL) (RM)
 (1 - 157-1653) [redacted]
 (1 - 157-2694) [redacted]
1 - WFO (Info) (100-43503) (RM)
3 - Atlanta (2 - 100-6812) [redacted]

EUC:met
(10)

APR 27 1968

C. C. Bishop

ST-119

MAY 8 1968

Approved: 326

Sent

M

Per

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-11-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

F B I

Date: 5/25/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM: SAC, COLUMBIA (100-179) (RUC)
STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INCITING TO RIOT - MISCELLANEOUS

Efforts to contact [redacted]
[redacted] S. C., on 4/19/68 were negative as no one
was at the residence.

On 4/24/68, [redacted] advised
[redacted] did not come to Anderson during the spring holidays
and remained so far as she knows in Washington, D. C. He can be
reached by telephone number [redacted] Washington, D. C.

3-Bureau (RM)
2-WFO (RM) (100-43503)
1-Columbia

FHA:pel
(6)

EX-110
REC-40

100-446080-1465

20 APR 27 1968

b6
b7C

C. C. Bishop

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

55 MAY 8 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 05-12-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

F B I

Date: 4/24/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

b6

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION
(OO:WFO)

According to an article appearing in the National Guardian, dated 4/20/68, page 14, columns 3 and 4 (bottom of page), the Southern Conference Educational Fund invited persons to dinner reportedly to pay tribute to ELLA J. BAKER. According to the article, the dinner would be held at the Grand Ball Room, Hotel Roosevelt, Madison Avenue and 45th Street, New York City, on Wednesday, April 24, 1968. The article stated that cocktails would be served at 6:00 p.m. with dinner at 7:00 p.m., and a fee of \$10.00 for admittance would be required. The article listed people expected to be present as follows: BOB ZELLNER, MRS. ROSA PARKS, STOKELY CARMICHAEL, LELA SCOTT, HOWARD ZINN.

The article further listed that for information one could call the Southern Conference Educational Fund at 212-475-8775, located 799 Broadway, Room 412, New York City.

- 3 - Bureau
- 2 - New York (100-153751) (RM)
- 1 - WFO

WWH:bjr
(6)

REC-40

100-446080-1466

4 APR 29 1968

E.C. - Bishop

EX-115

CC - 806 9+10

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

53 MAY 1968

WFO 100-43503

NY ascertain what part STOKELY CARMICHAEL will have in the above function and whether or not he is scheduled to speak. If CARMICHAEL's attendance at the function is verified, NY requested to cover activity per Bureau airtel dated 12/21/67.

NY cognizant..

TELETYPE
APR 25 1968 *Bm*
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

FBI NEW YORK

126AM4-25-68 DEFERRED WITH ENCODED 11/211
TO DIRECTOR 100-446080 (ATTENTION DID) AND WASHINGTON
WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE VIA WASHINGTON
FROM NEW YORK 10015351
STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS-MISC, SEDITION

b6
b7C

BU AGENTS OBSERVED STOKELY CARMICHAEL ARRIVE HOTEL ROOSEVELT,
MADISON AVE AND FOURTY FIFTH STREET, NEW YORK CITY AT SEVEN FIFTY FIVE
PM INSTANT DATE. APPROXIMATELY TWO HUNDRED PEOPLE , WHITE AND NEGRO,
OBSERVED IN ATTENDANCE AT SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND(SCEF)
DINNER IN MAIN BALLROOM, HOTEL ROOSEVELT.

A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE, RELIABLE, ADVISED INSTANT DATE THAT IN ATTENDANCE AT SCEF DINNER , HOTEL ROOSEVELT, WERE

STOKELY CARMICHAEL [REDACTED] ALL OF SNCC AND
[REDACTED] OF CORE [REDACTED] AND CARMICHAEL SPOKE BRIEFLY IN PRAISE
OF [REDACTED] OF THE NAACP. ,NO SEDITION STATEMENTS MADE.

b6
b7C

END PAGE ONE

EX-110

100-446080-1467

APR 29 1968

TWO COPIES TO WFO

FTD REC JAC
53 MAY -3 1968
FBI

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b6
b7C
b7D

b2
b6
b7C
b7D

--

BU AGENTS OBSERVENG SCEF DINNER INSTANT DATE WERE SAS

MENT OF
SPECIALS APP-
25 97th

RDR

7-10-68

April 29, 1968

1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
1 - Mr. Basher

Airtel

To: SAC, WFO
EX-105
From: Director, FBI

REC-40

100-446080-1468

STOKELY CARMICHAEL-
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION

ReWFOairtel 4/24/68.

Authority is granted to purchase one 60-minute reel of video tape at approximate cost of \$65 to lend to T.V. Station WFAN until such time as the original reel they furnished your office can be returned to them.

1 - [REDACTED] 6221 IB)

b6
b7C

PTB:ekw
(6)

NOTE: In connection with a Sedition investigation of Stokely Carmichael, WFO obtained a reel of video tape made by T.V. Station WFAN, Channel 14, of an appearance by Stokely Carmichael on that Station on 3/20/68. This tape is being retained for possible evidentiary use. When it is determined the tape furnished by WFAN has no evidentiary value, it will be returned to them at which time the reel of tape loaned to the Station would be returned to WFO where it will be used in our video coverage and in certain of our intelligence operations.

MAILED 6

APR 26 1968

COMM-FBI

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

53 MAY - 6 1968

b6
b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-12-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

F B I

Date: 4/24/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - M
SEDITION

ReWFOlet 4/22/68 forwarding reel of video tape made by T.V. station WFAN, Channel 14, of an appearance by STOKELY CARMICHAEL and others on that station on the evening of 3/20/68.

T.V. station WFAN has advised that they maintain only a very limited supply of video tape and that they have a need for the above-mentioned tape in order to erase and re-use it. They are entirely willing to accept a substitute reel of blank tape for use until such time as the original reel can be returned to them.

WFO requests authority to purchase one sixty-minute reel of video tape, at an approximate cost of \$65 to lend to T.V. station WFAN until such time as this original reel can be returned to them. The reel of tape loaned to the station would then be returned to WFO, where it would be used in our video coverage in certain of our intelligence operations.

3 - Bureau
1 - WFO

EHB:ead
(4)

AIRTEL

C. C. Bishop

REC-40

100-446080-1468

EX-105

2 APR 24 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

VIA TELETYPE

APR 25 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson_____
Mr. DeLoach_____
Mr. Mohr_____
Mr. Bishop_____
Mr. Casper_____
Mr. Callahan_____
Mr. Conrad_____
Mr. Felt_____
Mr. Gale_____
Mr. Rosen_____
Mr. Sullivan_____
Mr. Tavel_____
Mr. Trotter_____
Tele. Room_____
Miss Holmes_____
Miss Gandy_____

WASHINGTON--05--
NEW YORK--03--

10:03 PM URGENT 04/25/68/ JPK

TO DIRECTOR, WASHINGTON FIELD, AND NEW YORK (CODE)

(ATTN DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION)

FROM NEWARK (100-49533)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; IS - MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION.

SURVEILLANCE NEIGHBORHOOD OF [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] NJ, EVENING OF THIS DATE DID NOT DISCLOSE PRESENCE OF

SUBJECT AND/OR AUTOMOBILE USED BY SUBJECT FOR TRANSPORTATION

PAST.

SURVEILLANCE CONTINUES. RESULTS FOLLOW.

-----ADMINISTRATIVE-----

RENYTEL AND TELCALL TO NK FOUR TWENTY FIVE SIXTY EIGHT.

E N D

WASH.....LRC R RELAY

FBI WASH DC

TAP FBI FTB

TWO COPIES TO WFO

REC-7

SI-119

2 APR 30 1968

324
70 MAY 8 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 05-12-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

VIA TELETYPE

APR 26 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

WASHINGTON--02--
NEW YORK--02--1258PM ELF

URGENT 4-26-68

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080)

ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

WASHINGTON FIELD (100-43503), NEW YORK(100-153751) PLAINTEXT
FROM NEWARK(100-49533)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; IS-MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION.

NJ, ADVISED

TODAY THAT PROPERTY AT

NJ, WAS SOLD BY IN AUGUST, NINETEEN SIXTY SEVEN

TO NOT FURTHER IDENTIFIED.

ADMINISTRATIVE

RE NEW YORK AND NEWARK TELS, FOUR TWENTY FIVE SIXTY EIGHT.

SURVEILLANCE DISCONTINUED AT

END

HWL

R RELAY FBI WASH DC

SAL FTB ACK 02ST-119

REC-7

100-446080-1470

2 APR 30 1968

RELAYED TO

WFO

70 MAY 8 1968

324

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-12-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls

F B I

Date: 4/28/68

Transmit the following in _____

PLAINTEXT

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE

URGENT

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

b6

b7C

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC; SEDITION

REWFO TEL APRIL TWENTY SEVEN LAST.

ON THE MORNING OF APRIL TWENTY EIGHT INSTANT, SUBJECT WAS AT HIS RESIDENCE, FIVE ZERO ONE FIVE SIXTEENTH ST. NW, WDC. IN THE AFTERNOON SUBJECT DEPARTED ABOVE ADDRESS IN A LATE MODEL YELLOW STATION WAGON BEARING NEW YORK LICENSE FIVE Z DASH TWO EIGHT ZERO SIX AND WENT TO SNCC HEADQUARTERS, WDC.

FROM ABOUT FOUR TO SIX PM SUBJECT WALKED CAUSALLY ABOUT VICINITY OF FOURTEENTH AND U STREETS, NW, GREETING AND BEING GREETED BY PERSONS STROLLING IN THE AREA. SUBJECT LATER RETURNED TO ABOVE RESIDENCE.

b6

b7C

REC-12

EX-116

100-446080-197

2 APR 30 1968

3-Bureau
1-WFOWWH:rmj
(4)

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

ATTENTION

The following documents appearing in FBI files have been reviewed under the provisions of The Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) (Title 5, United States Code, Section 552); Privacy Act of 1974 (PA) (Title 5, United States Code, Section 552a); and/or Litigation.

☐ FOIA/PA☐ Litigation☐ Executive Order Applied

Requester: _____

Subject: _____

Computer or Case Identification Number: _____

Title of Case: _____ Section _____

* File _____

Serials Reviewed: _____

Release Location: *File _____

b2 _____

Section _____

This file section has been scanned into the FOIPA Document Processing System (FDPS) prior to National Security Classification review. Please see the documents located in the FDPS for current classification action, if warranted. Direct inquiries about the FDPS to RIDS Service Request Unit

File Number: _____

Serial(s) Reviewed: _____

100 - 40 - 466080
All

Section _____

32

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: _____

983317

File Number: _____

Serial(s) Reviewed: _____

Section _____

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: _____

File Number: _____

Serial(s) Reviewed: _____

Section _____

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 06-01-2006 BY 60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

THIS FORM IS TO BE MAINTAINED AS THE TOP SERIAL OF THE FILE, BUT NOT SERIALIZED.

SCANNED BY DocLab (RMD)

DATE: _____

7/31/05

ATTENTION

LAST SERIAL: _____

1480

DO NOT REMOVE FROM FILE

F B I

Date: 4/23/68

PLAINTEXT

Transmitted in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, MEMPHIS (100-4492) (RUC)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - M
SEDITION

OO: WFO

Re WFO airtel to Bureau, 4/16/68.

On 4/18/68, [redacted] Temporary Licensing Department, Tennessee Bureau of Motor Vehicles, Nashville, Tennessee, advised that temporary license [redacted] Import Motors, 1310 Broadway, Nashville, and temporary license [redacted] was issued to Sadler Moore Motors, Gallatin, Tennessee. It is pointed out in retel that temporary Tennessee license furnished by WFO was 089703 with no additional letter following the number.

On 4/18/68, [redacted] Tune Import Motors, was interviewed concerning his company's issuance of temporary Tennessee license [redacted] [redacted] stated that he would check his records relating to the issuance of said license plate. Upon reviewing his records, [redacted] stated that these records show

- 2-Bureau (RM)
4-WFO (RM)
 (2 - 100-43503)
 (2 - 25-32120)
1-Detroit (25-34618) (RM) (INFO)
4-Memphis
 (1 - 100-4492)
 (1 - 25-14444)
 (2 - 100-4415)

WDM:PEE
(12)

A. C. Bishop

cc 806 949

REC-40

8 APR 25 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.

MAY 11 1968

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

Negro male using the name [redacted] brought a red Volvo sedan into his company to have a motor overhaul performed.

[redacted] advised that on 4/3/68 when the repairs were complete, [redacted] who stated his true name was [redacted] paid \$430 in cash for the engine overhaul. At the time this person visited the company, he was accompanied by three other Negro males, names unknown.

[redacted] stated that this person representing himself as [redacted] as he has seen photos of [redacted]. He stated that this person claiming to be [redacted] did all the talking concerning the transaction and had requested that Tune Motors grant him a temporary Tennessee license for the Volvo as the Alabama plates on same had expired and they would need a temporary license to return to Alabama in order to obtain re-registration for said car. [redacted] stated that temporary Tennessee license [redacted] was issued to [redacted] was questioned as to whether or not any notation was made concerning the Alabama license that was supposed to be on said Volvo. [redacted] said he cannot recall the number and that the Alabama license was not noted on the repair slip. Other than this, [redacted] could furnish no further information.

b6 b7C

For the information of all offices receiving this communication, [redacted]

[redacted]

b6 b7C

F B I

Date: 4/22/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-44680)
FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (157-1297) (P)
SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISC.; SEDITION
OO: WFO

Re Chicago airtel to Director, 4/10/68, captioned
as above.

Re airtel set out identifying information concerning
a K. O. BELL who accompanied STOKELY CARMICHAEL, [redacted]
[redacted] from Atlanta, Georgia, to Washington,
D.C., on 3/15/68.

Enclosed for Atlanta and WFO are two photos each
of [redacted] taken 2/2/68, by Maywood PD, Maywood,
Illinois. Captain BERNER KELLOUGH, Acting Chief of Police,
Maywood PD, made available a photograph from which these
were made on 4/12/68.

LEADATLANTA AND WFO

Display [redacted] photograph to sources observing
above mentioned group and determine if [redacted]
is identical to [redacted]

- 3 - Bureau (Enc. 2) (RM) REC-69
2 - Atlanta (Enc. 2) (RM) (100-6812)
2 - WFO (Enc. 2) (100-43503) (RM)
3 - Chicago
1 - 157-1653 [redacted]
1 - 157-2694 [redacted]

DEH:mr
(10)

16 APR 24 1968

b6 b7C

Approved: MWA

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per Philly

MAY 11 1968

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY-1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : MR. W. C. SULLIVAN

DATE: April 23, 1968

FROM : MR. G. C. MOORE *he*

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL -
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

By letter dated 4/6/68, the Attorney General requested the Bureau's assistance in developing information on the incidents involving Stokely Carmichael on 4/4-6/68.

My memorandum dated 4/5/68 advised we have furnished the Department two reports totaling over 300 pages from our Washington Field Office concerning this matter. Included in these reports is detailed information obtained from witnesses who observed the activities of Carmichael in the vicinity of 14th and U Streets, N.W., Washington, D. C., the evening of 4/4/68. Several witnesses saw Carmichael in the possession of a handgun and one witness stated Carmichael said, "If you don't have a gun, go home and get one." Also included in one of these reports is a transcript of highly inflammatory remarks made by Carmichael at Washington, D. C., Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee headquarters on morning of 4/5/68 and Carmichael's activities at Howard University the afternoon of 4/5/68 where several witnesses reported Carmichael exhibited a pistol to a group of students on the campus.

We have received a third report from our Washington Field Office consisting of over 200 pages which is being

PTB:ekw
(7)

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. Basher

CONTINUED - OVER

1 APR 26 1968

59 MAY 1 - 1968

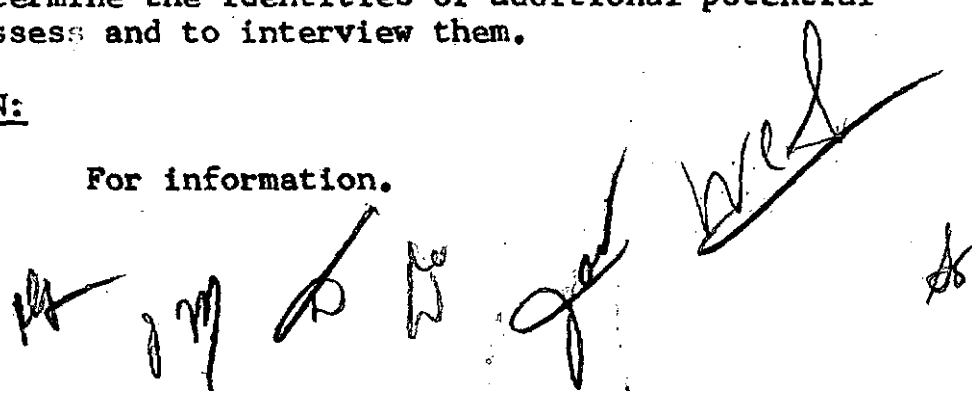
Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan
RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

furnished to the Criminal Division and to the Internal Security Division of the Department. Included in this report are the results of additional interviews with a large number of individuals. One witness stated in a signed statement he observed Carmichael on the evening of 4/4/68 as the leader of a group which requested business establishments in the area of 14th and U Streets, N.W., to close and Carmichael stated, "We don't want any violence as long as they close, but if they don't, take it." Six additional witnesses, who are students, saw Carmichael on the campus of Howard University on the afternoon of 4/5/68. One of these witnesses observed Carmichael raise a pistol over his head. A press reporter heard Carmichael state at Howard University, "If you don't have a gun, go home." This report also contains the transcript of Radio Havana broadcast of Carmichael's telephone interview on 4/5/68 wherein Carmichael commented that as a result of the death of Martin Luther King, Jr., "more people are now beginning to plan seriously a major urban guerrilla warfare where we can begin to retaliate not only for the death of Dr. King but where we can move seriously to ... serious revolutions with this country to bring it to its knees."

We are continuing to press this investigation to determine the identities of additional potential witnesses and to interview them.

ACTION:

For information.

A series of handwritten signatures and initials are present below the 'ACTION' section. From left to right, they include: a signature that appears to be 'H', a signature that appears to be 'J.M.', a signature that appears to be 'B', a signature that appears to be 'H', a large signature that appears to be 'Jal', a signature that appears to be 'WEL', and a signature that appears to be 'H'.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-01-2006 BY 60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

FBI

Date: 4/19/68

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

Transmit the following in PLAINTEXT
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI, AND SAC BALTIMORE
FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)
STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC.; SEDITION
RE WFO TEL FOUR NINETEEN SIXTYEIGHT.
SUBJECT WITH [REDACTED]

DEPARTED FIVE ZERO ONE FIVE SIXTEENTH ST. NW, ELEVEN ZERO FIVE AM
PROCEEDED TO NATIONAL AIRPORT WHERE [REDACTED] TOOK
NOON EAL SHUTTLE FLIGHT FOR NEW YORK CITY. [REDACTED] AND SUBJECT RETURNED
TO SNCC HDQTS. SUBJECT AND [REDACTED] DEPARTED SNCC TWO FIFTEEN PM IN
LATE MODEL DODGE BEARING D C TAG FIVE TWO FIVE DASH THREE THREE
THREE, DRIVEN BY NEGRO FEMALE, AND DROVE TO [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] MD. WASHINGTON TELEPHONE ADDRESS DIRECTORY DENOTES
ABOVE ADDRESS THAT OF [REDACTED] SUBJECT AND [REDACTED] DE-
PARTED ABOVE RESIDENCE FOUR THIRTY FIVE PM AND RETURNED TO SNCC.
SUBJECT DEPARTED SNCC EIGHT FORTY PM RETURNED TO FIVE ZERO ONE FIVE
SIXTEENTH ST. AT NINE PM. EFFORTS CONTINUING TO DETERMINE REASON

2 - Bureau
2 - Teletype Unit
2 - WFO

RFO:tkm
(6)

EX-105

19 APR 26 1968

Approved: JAP/RFO
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via _____
(Priority)

PAGE TWO
WFO 100-43503

FOR CONTACT AT [REDACTED]

WFO INDICES NEGATIVE RE

b6 b7C

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date: 4/25/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM: SAC, COLUMBIA (100-179) (P)
STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION

Re WFO teletype to Director, ET AL 4/21/68, and
Charlotte teletype to WFO and Columbia, 4/21/68.

Established sources in the Columbia Division
have furnished no information indicating that the subject
was within the Columbia Division during the weekend of
4/20-21/68.

- ③-Bureau (RM)
2-WFO (100-43503) (RM)
1-Charlotte (Info) (RM)
2-Columbia (100-179)

FHA:pel
(8)

EX-115

REC-24

100-446080-1496

20 APR 27 1968

b6 b7C

C. C. Bishop

CC 806-970

RACIAL

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

F B I

Date: 4/10/68

REC-52

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (157-1297)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - Miscellaneous;
SEDITION
OO: WFORe WFO airtel to Director, 3/29/68, captioned
as above.

b6 b7C

Re airtel set out lead to identify [redacted] who
accompanied STOKELY CARMICHAEL, [redacted] and
[redacted] from Atlanta, Georgia, to Washington, D.C. on
3/15/68.

Chicago indices contain no reference for [redacted]

Chicago file 157-2269 entitled "Racial Disturbance
Proviso East High School, First Avenue and Madison Street,
Maywood, Illinois, 9/22/67" indicates that on 2/2/68 [redacted]
[redacted] Maywood PD, Maywood, Illinois, advised that
one [redacted] male, Negro, 17 years of age, [redacted]
[redacted] is a member of the NAACP West
Suburban Branch Youth Council, Maywood. [redacted] resided at [redacted]
[redacted] Maywood, Illinois, and has been involved
in numerous racial disturbances [redacted]

EX-105

REC-52

100-446080-1477

- ③ - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - Atlanta (100-6812) (Info) (RM)
- 2 - WFO (100-43503) (RM)
- 2 - Chicago
(1 - 157-1653) [redacted]

10 APR 12 1968

b6 b7C

DEH:bjo
(9)

100-806900

RACIAL INT. SECT.

C. C.

Bishop

Approved: [Signature]

Sent _____ M Per _____

INT. SEC.

MAY 6 1968

Special Agent in Charge

CG 157-1297

On 3/22/68, [REDACTED] PRI, protect, reliable,
advised that [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

On 4/8/68, [REDACTED] (PROB), reliable, advised that
[REDACTED] has been
associated with members of the Maywood NAACP Youth Council.
Source had no personal knowledge of [REDACTED]

b6 b7C

b7D

Chicago is of the opinion [REDACTED] is
probably identical to [REDACTED] on the basis that [REDACTED]
association with Maywood Youth Council.

LEAD

CHICAGO

AT MAYWOOD, ILLINOIS. Contact Maywood PD and determine
if photograph of [REDACTED] is available, if so obtain
copies to be sent to Atlanta and WFO.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-01-2006 BY 60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

FBI

Date: 4/10/68

PLAINTEXT

11:30 AM

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE

URGENT

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR AND SAC ATLANTA

b6 b7C

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, INTERNAL SECURITY DASH MISCELLANEOUS;
SEDITION

RE ATLANTA TELETYPE THIS DATE.

WFO RECEIVING INQUIRIES FROM OTHER OFFICES AS TO
WHEREABOUTS OF CARMICHAEL AND ACCORDING TO RUMORS MAY VISIT
THEIR AREAS.

ATLANTA ASCERTAIN CURRENT WHEREABOUTS OF CARMICHAEL
AND TRAVEL PLANS, NOTIFYING APPROPRIATE OFFICES PROMPTLY.

2-Bureau
2-Teletype Unit
2-WFO

WWH:llw
(6)

REC-4

100-446080-1477X

100-439140-1613

APR 12 1968

Approved: *Jos. R. Purvis*

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

17 1968

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Bishop	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

Mr. Tolson.....
Mr. DeLoach.....
Mr. Mohr.....
Mr. Bishop.....
Mr. Casper.....
Mr. Callahan.....
Mr. Conrad.....
Mr. Felt.....
Mr. Gale.....
Mr. Rosen.....
Mr. Sullivan.....
Mr. Tavel.....
Mr. Trotter.....
Tele. Room.....
Miss Holmes.....
Miss Gandy.....

b2 b6

b7C

b7D

FBI

Date: 4/18/68

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via

AIRTEL

(Pri

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (64-45716)
FROM: SAC, MIAMI (105-2138)(P)
SUBJECT: CUBAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES

Enclosed herewith are 21 copies of a letterhead memorandum, dated and captioned as above, suitable for dissemination.

ENCLOSURE

15 - Bureau (Encs. 21)(RM)

(1 - Legat, Bern)

(1 - Legat, Bonn)

(1 - Legat, Buenos Aires)

(1 - Legat, Hong Kong)

(1 - Legat, London)

(1 - Legat, Manila)

(1 - Legat, Mexico)

(1 - Legat, Ottawa)

(1 - Legat, Paris)

(1 - Legat, Rome)

(1 - Legat, Santo Domin

(1 - Legat, Tokyo)

2 - Atlanta (Encs. 2)(RM)

1 - Birmingham (Enc. 1)(RM)

1 - Jacksonville (Enc. 1)(RM)

1 - Memphis (Enc. 1)(RM)

1 - Newark (Enc. 1)(RM)

2 - New York (Encs. 2)(RM)

1 - San Francisco (Enc. 1)(RM)

2 - San Juan (Encs. 2)(RM)

1 - Tampa (Enc. 1)(R

2 - Washington Field

(Encs. 2)(RM)

13 - Miami

(1 - 105-11500)(Radio Havana)

(1 - 44-1854)(Murkin)

(1 - 157-2354)(Poor People's Campaign)

(1 - 105-14836)(Trainings of Negroes)

(1 - 100-15451)(Stokely Carmichael)

(1 - 100-15068)(SNCC)

(1 - 157-1087)(PRV)

(1 - 105-11010)(OSPAAAL)

(1 - 100-15392)(CORE)

(1 - 157-489)(SCLC)

(1 - 105-9843)(VIDEM)

Copy to: CIA/State/RAO-ISO

REC/OSI/ASCI/ASIA

by routing slip for info.

Date 4/23/68 by RAN: gmc

1 MAY 1968

54 MAY 17 1968

C. C. = Bishop

ENCLOSURE

Approved: _____

Sent _____

M _____

Per _____

100-446080

NOT RECORDED

180 MAY 8 1968

MM 105-2138

Extra copies are being furnished the Bureau for transmittal to the Legats noted.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b6 b7C

b2 b7D

On 4/15/68 and 4/16/68, [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Miami, Florida, advised that he was unable to ascertain the extent of distribution of the "Black Power" poster received from Cuba. He stated he was still attempting to ascertain the extent of distribution, as well as specific localities to which this mail had been distributed. He advised that mail is received weekly from Cuba each Tuesday and is generally distributed in the Miami area on Thursday.

Copies of the enclosed letterhead memorandum have been furnished locally to INS, CIA, Coast Guard, Customs, Border Patrol, USAFAD, State Department (Cuban Affairs), [REDACTED] and Secret Service, Miami, Florida, and to the 111th M. I. Group, Orlando, Florida, NISO, Charleston, S. C., and OSI, Robins AFB, Georgia.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ The enclosed letterhead memorandum has been classified in order to protect the identity of a security informant of continuing value.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Miami, Florida
April 18, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 105-2138

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CUBAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES

On April 4, 1968, Martin Luther King, Jr., President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), was assassinated in Memphis, Tennessee. Prior to his death, King, as President of the SCLC, publicly announced that he would conduct a massive civil disobedience campaign in the nation's capital in the spring of 1968, in an effort to pressure Congress into passing legislation favorable to the Negro.

Statements by Stokely Carmichael

On April 3, 1968, [] an individual acquainted with certain phases of both pro and anti-Fidel Castro activities in Cuba and in the United States, furnished the following information:

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b7D

On April 5, 1968, Radio Liberacion, Havana, Cuba, broadcast a statement by Stokely Carmichael that the Negroes should arm themselves with rifles and pistols and take the city streets in the United States by assault. Carmichael was described in the broadcast as the leader of Black Power. He was reported as blaming both Presidential Candidate Robert Kennedy and President Lyndon B. Johnson for the death of Martin Luther King. During this broadcast, Carmichael predicted that as a consequence of the killing of King, there would be executions in the streets and he warned that the violence unleashed by the Negroes because of King's death was meager compared with what will and must occur in other cities of the United States.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~Group 1
Excluded from Automatic
Downgrading and Declassification~~

ENCLOSURE 100-446080

ENCLOSURE

64-45716

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CUBAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES

Telephone Interview with Stokely Carmichael by Radio Havana, Cuba

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According to [] on April 5, 1968, Radio Progreso, Havana, Cuba, made a broadcast in Spanish of a telephone interview by Radio Havana, Cuba, with Stokely Carmichael concerning the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. A summary translation of the broadcast is set forth below:

"White America has Rap Brown in jail, and last night they killed Martin Luther King. In murdering Dr. King, they have made a serious mistake, because he had been the leader of a movement which urged United States Negroes not to burn the cities, not to commit acts of violence. Now that King has been murdered, there will be no other Negro leader who can tell his brothers not to burn the cities. This means entering fully into the revolution.

"Last night, there were serious incidents in 35 cities, fires, shooting, fighting and killing, as a consequence of the crime committed against Dr. King. It is clear that other events like these will take place. The guerrilla warfare in the cities will develop rapidly, now that it is evident that we cannot face the police in open rebellion.

"Now there are many people who will support this method of fighting, because it is the only way in which we can answer the violence unleashed against us. With the death of Martin Luther King, we can seriously take the road to revolution, in order to bring about the fall of this system in the United States, so that humanity can live in peace. And we will dedicate our energies to this battle."

Stokely Carmichael ended his statement by sending affectionate regards to the revolutionary people of Cuba and their leader, Fidel Castro.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CUBAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES

According to [] Radio Progreso and Radio Liberacion, Havana, Cuba, repeated many times the statement of Carmichael and added that Carmichael had said it would have been better to have killed Rap Brown than King because then "they would have been able to say 'he who lives by the sword will die by the sword.'" These broadcasts also reported that Carmichael had said it was necessary for the United States to be completely demolished so that the Negroes could survive.

Statement by Puerto Rican Representative in Cuba

On April 5, 1968, according to [] Radio Havana, Cuba broadcast a statement by Carlos Padilla, head of the Puerto Rican Independence Movement Mission in Havana, Cuba. Padilla stated that with the assassination of King, "the racists in the United States, placed in the highest government ranks in Washington, D. C., had committed one of the most repugnant crimes in recent times." Padilla added that the life of King and above all King's death eloquently displayed that the Negro in the United States could not gain freedom except by destroying the system which oppresses him, "the white power structure." He concluded by affirming that the murder of King exhibited to the Puerto Rican independence supporters how far the Yankee imperialists were willing to go when it was a question of liberating the oppressed.

Statement by the Dominican Communist Party

On April 6, 1968, according to [] Radio Liberacion, Havana, Cuba, announced that the Dominican Communist Party had expressed its shock at the assassination of King and urged support of the Negro war of emancipation in the United States. The Dominican Communist Party was reported to be supporting the statements of Stokely Carmichael.

Statement by Floyd McKissick

According to [] Radio Havana, Cuba broadcast in Spanish on April 8, 1968, a telephone interview with Floyd McKissick, national leader of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). A summary translation of the broadcast is set forth below.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CUBAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES

"The National Board of CORE was horrified and saddened at learning of the death of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. in Memphis, Tennessee. The death of Dr. King is a tragedy and horror for all Americans. That this Negro leader, winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, and the most outstanding apostle of nonviolence, was shot in the heart of an American city is a sad proof of the racism existing in our present society.

"Dr. King was the last apostle of nonviolence and with his death the ideology of nonviolence has also died. It was not Negroes who killed him; it was white violence and racism. It was the shot in Dallas, repeated in Memphis. Once more, the United States has shown the world that this is a violent nation. With the assassination of a president and now the assassination of a man of peace, dedicated to God, in the same decade, racism and white violence have produced not the American Dream but the American Nightmare.

"I am astonished that the murderer of Dr. King was able to escape so quickly through the ring of police around the motel at the time the crime was committed; and it is still more unusual that the suspected assassin was able to flee in a city like Memphis, which was already on the alert. It is ironic that President Johnson does not mention racism as the root of the problem which provoked the murder of Dr. King. Tragic as it is, the death of Dr. King points up the importance of unity among all segments of the Negro community. We are not warning, we are not predicting, but the American Negroes will not remain as impassive witnesses to the brutal murder of our leaders, our heroes, our people."

When questioned by Radio Havana, McKissick said: "We cannot teach the people not to be violent while we are involved in a violent war in Vietnam; we cannot preach non-

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CUBAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES

"violence to the Negro people who must face violence in United States streets every day."

Finally, MacKissick told Radio Havana that nobody can predict events in the United States in the next few days.

Statement by Vietnam
Representative in Cuba

On April 6, 1968, according to [redacted] Radio Liberacion, Havana, announced that Juan Vin Son, head of the Mission of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam in Cuba, had sent a message to Afro-Americans, expressing sorrow and indignation at the assassination of Martin Luther King. He said this crime had shown the truth about the government and racists in the United States, since "Johnson's crocodile tears fooled nobody" and they cannot put down the indignation felt by the Afro-Americans and the honorable people throughout the world. The broadcast also indicated that since Vietnam was a victim of the imperialistic policies of aggression and exploitation, the people of South Vietnam understood very well the situation of the Afro-Americans who suffered today under the cruel segregation policy of the United States. He said the South Vietnam National Liberation Front was resolved to intensify its offensive against the Yankees in order to honor the memory of King.

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Statement by Representative
of Black Panther Party (BPP)

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On April 12, 1968, radio Liberacion, Havana, according to [redacted] broadcast in Spanish a telephone interview between Bobby Silk (phonetic), official spokesman for the Black Panther Party (BPP) in the United States, and Radio Havana, Cuba. A summary translation of this broadcast disclosed that Silk reported on the health of Averill Clivers (phonetic), described as a leader of the BPP, who was seriously wounded a week previously by the Oakland, California Police Department. Silk alleged that there was still some remains of tear gas in Clivers' lungs and that Clivers had been brutally beaten in

ELDRIDGE CLEVER

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CUBAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES

jail, although he had been seriously wounded by a gunshot in the leg. Silk alleged that Clivers "was the victim of the same kind of brutal treatment given to all the Negroes in the United States by the white racist policemen." During the broadcast, it was explained that Clivers had been arrested while members of the BPP were distributing arms to members of the Negro community in order that the latter could defend themselves from racist attacks by the police. Those arrested were ordered to remove their clothing and at the same time Bobby Houston was shot while proceeding to a police car. Further, other Negroes were tortured and brutally mistreated by the police during these arrests. Silk furnished plans for the funeral service of Houston to be held that same day, after which a planned demonstration would take place in front of the jail where Clivers was being detained. Silk also mentioned Huey Newton (phonetic), described as a top leader of the BPP, was also under arrest in Oakland. *silf* *HUTTON* *HUEY*

According to the broadcast, when questioned about the assassination of Martin Luther King, Silk said that in spite of differences in philosophy, the BPP believed King was brutally murdered by racists. He said they had information that King never told anyone privately he would not defend himself, and he only supported nonviolence publicly but privately believed everyone had the right to defend himself from racist attacks. He said he attended the funeral of King in Atlanta, Georgia, and believed the racist who murdered King was part of a plan of the "racist power structure" to eliminate him.

With regard to the civil rights legislation which had been approved by the United States Congress, Silk stated the BPP did not consider it effective in solving their problems. He said none of the laws were valid, because they could not be enforced, and for this reason, the Negroes should arm themselves in order to defend themselves. He stated the fight for liberation was intended to bring about the necessary economic and political changes in the decadent and racist capitalist system.

In conclusion, Radio Havana announced that they in Cuba support the fight of the BPP.

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CUBAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES

Black Power Posters Sent to the United States by Cuba

To whom? On April 13, 1968, "The Miami Herald," a daily newspaper published at Miami, Florida, contained an article by William Montalbano, Herald Latin America Correspondent, entitled "Black Power Posters Sent to U. S. by Cuba." This article stated Cuba was mailing to the United States Black Power posters, urging Negroes to initiate "revolutionary violence" in retaliation for the assassination of Martin Luther King. Copies of the poster showing a panther with flaming red eyes, its fangs bared, with the words "Black Power" inset in its mouth, were received by mail in Miami. A slogan, in English, French, Spanish and Arabic appears in the poster's lower left corner and reads: "Retaliation to Crime: Revolutionary Violence" (Response to the Assassination: Violent Revolution.) These posters were being distributed under the auspices of the Tricontinental Peoples Solidarity Organization, a communist group with headquarters in Havana. Accompanying the poster was a mimeographed message, signed by the Executive Secretariat of the OSPAAAL, which reads as follows: "On the occasion of Dr. Martin Luther King's assassination we have published a poster that is now being circulated all over the world. We are sending you here-with a certain amount of these posters, which may be used in your country for the activities to be carried out in this regard."

The article continued that the OSPAAAL Secretariat is an outgrowth of a meeting of revolutionaries from Africa, Asia and Latin America held in Havana in January, 1966. A "spin-off" group called LASO (Latin American Solidarity Organization) met in Havana last summer in a conference attended by several hundred Latin American revolutionaries. American Black Power leader, Stokely Carmichael, was among the honored guests.

On April 12, 1968, [] an individual acquainted with certain phases of both pro and anti-Fidel Castro activities in Cuba and in the United States, furnished a plain brown manila envelope, approximately 7½ inches by 10½

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CUBAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES

inches, which had been delivered via the U. S. Mail. This envelope bore the return address on the flap of the envelope:

[redacted] -Cuba" [redacted]
Havana, Cuba.) This envelope did not contain any postage, but the words "Port (illegible--possibly paye)" (Postage Prepaid) were rubber stamped in the upper right hand corner on the face of the envelope.

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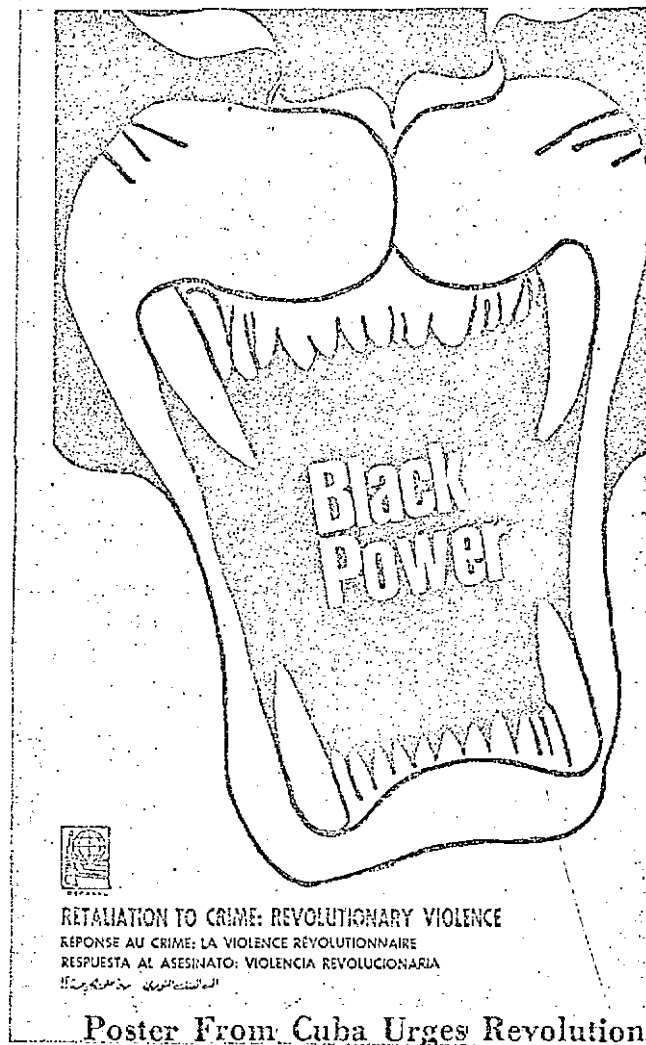
b7C

Enclosed in this envelope was a copy of the aforementioned poster, which is approximately 13 inches by 22 inches. A reproduction of this poster is as follows:

- 8 -

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CUBAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES

Additional Statements from Cuba
Inciting Racial Violence in
Imperialist Countries of the World

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On April 15, 1968, [] reported Cuban radio stations have continuously repeated messages from various parts of the world concerning the death of Martin Luther King.

A message from the Joint Committee of the Union of Communist Youth (UJC) and the Federation of University Students (FEU), signed by their Presidents, Julio Cesar Castro Palomino and Jaime Crombet Baquero, stated they supported the just decision of the Negro movement to answer the reactionary repression of Yankee racist imperialism with revolutionary violence. This message was sent by the Cuban youth to the Negro youth of the United States through the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

The message also related that the assassination of King had served to show that Yankee imperialism did not differentiate at the hour of treacherous assassination between a fighter, who preached a violent fight like Malcolm X, and a person like King, who adopted a position of peaceful resistance. The message referred to inciting racial violence in imperialist countries throughout the world.

Message from Cuban Women to Negro Women of the United States

On April 15, 1968, an article appeared in "Granma," official organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, printed daily in Havana, Cuba, captioned: "Message of the FMC to the Negro Women of the U. S." This article indicated the Cuban women, members of the Federation of Cuban Women, had watched with fervor the growing progress of the fight of the Negro in the United States. It reflected the Negroes were recruited to serve as cannon fodder for the most unjust and criminal war being waged by the United States Government against the people of Vietnam, as well as the

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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CUBAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES

merciless exploitation of the Negro.

Vilma Espin, wife of Raul Castro, Vice Minister of Cuba, is a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba and the organizer and leader of the FMC. *Cuba*

Cuban Propaganda in the United States and Throughout the World

[] advised that since the first part of January, 1968, Radio Progreso, Radio Havana and other radio stations in Havana, Cuba, have continuously reported on activities concerning Vietnamese in Cuba and Cubans in Vietnam. He noted a scheduled air flight travels between Vietnam and Cuba weekly.

[] further stated that Radio Havana, Cuba transmits a program in English on the 49 meter band, 7150 kcs., called "The Voice of Vietnam." He stated this program can be heard nightly in the United States and in northern Europe. He also advised that Radio Havana broadcasts this program in various languages to all parts of the world at various times throughout the day and night, including Guarani, Quechuan, Portuguese, Spanish and Creole to the Caribbean and South America; in Arabic to the Mediterranean; and in French to the Mediterranean, Europe and Canada. [] described Radio Havana as a very powerful radio station, having 100,000 watts, which transmits via short wave throughout the world in various languages violent anti-United States propaganda. It is the official voice of the Fidel Castro communist government of Cuba.

With respect to "The Voice of Vietnam" program, Radio Havana also transmits this broadcast at 9:10 p.m. and 10:00 p.m. on the 31 meter band, 9525 kcs., at 11:40 p.m. on the 49 meter band, 6130 kcs., and at 2:40 a.m. on the 31 meter band, 9655 kcs.

A representative of the United States Post Office, Miami, Florida, has advised that mail arrives from Cuba via Mexico weekly, generally on Tuesday. He stated that in

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CUBAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES

accordance with postal union agreements with practically all nations of the world, mail is accepted and delivered if received from a country which is a member of this union. He advised Cuba is a member of this union, as well as the United States, and therefore all mail received in the United States from Cuba is accepted and delivered. There is no additional postage required once Cuban mail has been received in the United States. Concerning the afore-mentioned Black Power poster, he advised the United States Post Office had received word this poster had been sent to the United States from Cuba via the mail system. However, he was unable to state the extent of its distribution.

On April 16, 1968, [] reiterated that Radio Havana, Cuba and "Granma" have repeatedly announced statements by Stokely Carmichael that there should be many "Vietnams" in all major cities in the United States. Also, after the death of Martin Luther King, the Negroes were again instructed by Carmichael to make violent revolution throughout the imperialist nations of the world. It is noted the great activity of burning and looting occurred in the United States after the Carmichael statements broadcast by Radio Havana, Cuba. [] also speculated it was not outside the realm of possibility that the assassination of Martin Luther King was possibly planned and perpetrated by anti-democratic factions outside the United States. b2 b7D

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Miami, Florida
April 18, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 105-2138

Title CUBAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES

Character

Reference Memorandum, dated and captioned
as above, at Miami, Florida

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.

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[REDACTED] has not furnished sufficient information
to determine his reliability.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

APR 8 1968

FBI WASH DC*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-01-2006 BY 60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

FBI RICHMOND

635PM URGENT 4/8/68 ECS

TO DIRECTOR, (100-439190, WFO (100-41626), ATLANTA (100-7098).

AND MEMPHIS

FROM RICHMOND (100-10492) 1P

INTERNAL SECURITY - STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
[REDACTED] IS-SNCC; STOKELY CARMICHAEL, *Also known AS* AKA, IS-M, SEDITION;
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS
ASSASSINATION OF DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., RM.

REFERENCE ATLANTA TELETYPE
RE AT TEL TODAY.

CARMICHAEL EARLIER THIS DATE REPORTEDLY ON WAY TO RICHMOND
HOWEVER NO INFO DEVELOPED TO SUBSTANTIATE THIS.

U.S. District Court
[REDACTED] APPEARED USDC, RICHMOND, TODAY. HE WAS DENIED
BOND PENDING RECEIPT OF OPINION OF US, COURT OF APPEALS FOR THE
FOURTH DISTRICT IN CONNECTION WITH THE REVOCATION OF BROWN'S BOND
IN USDC, *Eastern District Virginia* EDVA. COURT ALSO ISSUED STAY IN CONNECTION WITH THE ABOVE
TEN THOUSAND DOLLAR BOND FORFEITED. JUDGE MERHIGE HEARD ARGUMENTS
ON WHETHER PRELIMINARY HEARING SHOULD BE GRANTED ON WRIT OF HABEAS
CORPUS AND DECISION WILL BE RENDERED APRIL NINE NEXT. [REDACTED]
RETURNED TO FEDERAL PENITENTIARY. PETERSBURG, VA.

END.

LCC, MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 92D
FBI WASH DC*

1 APR 11 1968
100-446080-
NOT RECORDED
71 MAY 3 1968

RELAYED TO WFO

MAY 17 1968

ORIGINAL FILED IN 105-168197-6298

F B I

Date: 4/24/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (157-1297) (P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL,
IS - BN; SEDITION
OO: WFO

Re Chicago airtel and LHM to Director, dated
4/1/68, captioned as above.

Referenced airtel indicated Chicago would determine
if a tape recording was made of subject's speech, 3/24/68,
at St. Margaret's Episcopal Church, 2555 East 73rd Street,
Chicago, Illinois. The LHM also reported that a [redacted]
introduced CARMICHAEL at this meeting. It was believed that
this individual was identical to [redacted]

On 4/22/68, [redacted]

[redacted] Chicago, Illinois,
residence 2860 East 76th Street. Chicago, Illinois, advised
[redacted]

He determined that none of
the parishioners present at CARMICHAEL's speech made a tape
recording of it.

On 4/2/68, [redacted]

Chicago, Illinois, who was present at CARMICHAEL's speech, viewed
a photograph of [redacted] taken 2/9/68, and she could
only comment that the side view resembles that of [redacted]
[redacted] first speaker at St. Margaret's Episcopal Church, on
3/24/68. She could not see any resemblance to BROWN in viewing
the front face of the [redacted] photograph.

This case is continued in a pending status to determine

- 3 - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - Atlanta (100-6488) (RM)
- 2 - Columbia (RM)
- 2 - WFO (100-43503) (RM)
- 2 - Chicago
- (1 - 100-40342) (SNCC)

DEH/vel

(11)

REC-19

EX-101

100-806940

APR 26 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Approved: _____

Sent _____

M

P

INT. SECT.

MAY 6 1968

Special Agent in Charge

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b6

b7C

CG 157-1297

ownership of cars with Illinois licenses at CARMICHAEL's
Gary. Indiana speech on 3/24/68 also to resolve if [redacted]
[redacted] an individual who
accompanied CARMICHAEL from Atlanta to Washington, D.C. on
3/15/68.

b6

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-01-2006 BY 60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

F B I

Date: 4/23/68

Transmit the following in PLAINTEXT
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan ☒ _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI, SAC, NEW YORK

FM: SAC, WFO

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC; SEDITION

RE WFOTEL 4/22/68

SUBJ AND [REDACTED] DEPARTED FIVE ZERO ONE FIVE SIXTEENTH ST.,
NW, SHORTLY BEFORE ELEVEN AM AND PROCEEDED TO MIDTOWN AREA WHERE
THEY WERE OBSERVED WALKING. IN EARLY AFTERNOON SUBJ OBSERVED ENTER-
ING SNCC HDQTS. SOURCE MPD ADVISED THAT SUBJ POSSIBLY DEPARTED FOR
NEW YORK CITY EVENING OF THIS DATE. MODE OF AND PURPOSE OF TRAVEL
UNKNOWN TO MPD SOURCE.

WFO ATTEMPTING TO VERIFY. NEW YORK COGNIZANT.

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b7c

Bureau
Teletype
WFO
mmh

EX-115

REC-71

100-446080-1479

ved:

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

LIMITED CLASSIFICATION REVIEW

This document was not
reviewed in its entirety.
Classification review was
limited to:

Page Paragraph Page Paragraph

126 All

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-01-2006 BY 60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

by

File #

Serial

125929P/PJ
158-446080
1480

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-01-2006 BY 60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

TO : SAC, Chicago (Your file 157-1297) DATE: 4/22/68

FROM : Director, FBI (Bufile and Serial 100-446080)
~~Room 200~~ ☒ Post in file and
destroy 0-1
(For SOG use
only)

SUBJECT : STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION

Re your airtel and LHM dated 4/1/68.

- ☐ 1. Bufiles indicate this case is delinquent. Give specific reason for delinquency.

☐

AIRTEL SUBMITTED 4/24/68

- ☐ 2. DATE ☐ airtel ☐ letterhead memo ☐ submitted
☐ report
☐ letter ☐ 90-day progress letter ☐ will be submitted

Reporting employee _____

- ☐ 3. If valid reason exists for not submitting report at this time, state reason specifically and when report will be submitted _____

- ☒ 4. Status of ☐ Appeal ☒ Inquiry ☐ Investigation ☐ Prosecution
☐ airtel ☐ letterhead memo
☐ 5. Submit ☐ report ☐ letter ☐ 90-day progress letter
by _____
(Date)

Re lead to obtain a tape recording
of CARMICHAEL's speech on 3/24/68

(Place reply hereon and return to Bureau. Note receipt and acknowledgment on top serial in case file.)

BACK OF PAGE

APR 26 10 21 AM '68

REC'D
INTELL DIV.

157-1297

SEARCHED _____	INDEXED _____
SERIALIZED _____	FILED _____
APR 23 1968	
FBI - CHICAGO	

F B I

Date: 4/25/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM: SAC, NORFOLK (100-6592)(RUC)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INCITING TO RIOT - MISCELLANEOUS
OO: WFO

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Re Norfolk airtel to Bureau, 4/23/68, forwarding
copies of FD 302 reporting results of interview with
[redacted] Virginia.

Upon first reading of FD 302, it was noted
in last paragraph that the word "NOT" was inadvertently
omitted from first line of last paragraph. The last
paragraph of the FD 302 should read as: "ROZAR said he
did not see or hear Carmichael -----."

Norfolk has changed the original FD 302 and
file copies.

Bureau and WFO are requested to make necessary
changes in Bureau and WFO copies.

2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - WFO (62-9737)(RM)
1 - Norfolk
LWK:jbd
(5)

100-446080
NOT RECORDED

1 APR 26 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.

51 MAY - 1 1968

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

COMMUNICATION

M Per

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE WASHINGTON FIELD	OFFICE OF ORIGIN WASHINGTON FIELD	DATE 4/30/68	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 4/19-30/68
TITLE OF CASE STOKELY CARMICHAEL		REPORT MADE BY SA [REDACTED]	FILED BY tid
		CHARACTER OF CASE INCITING TO RIOT-MISCELLANEOUS	

REFERENCE: WFO report of SA [REDACTED] dated 4/19/68.

- P -

CC TO: **HUO**
REQ. REC'D **322-7**
MAR 26 1971
ANS. BY: **ED ACH**

#246,524 #368370
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE **7/23/84** BY **8209 web-lmw**
1-15-97 SP4BJA/TLS

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED None						ACQUIT- TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐ YES ☒ NO
							PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS ☐ YES ☒ NO

APPROVED **[Signature]**
COPIES MADE
SPECIAL AGENT
IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

- Bureau (100-446080)
(ATTN: Domestic Intelligence Division)
- USA, Washington, D. C.
- WFO (62-9737)

100-446080-148 REC-44

REC 22

MAY 1 1968

EX-114

Agency	Request Recd	Date Fwd	How Fwd	By
DEPT	him: allen	5/2/68	145	PTB/del

RACIAL INT. SECT

55 MAY 3 1 1968

WFO 62-9737

ECR:skt

1

The information which appears in this report relating to the alleged telegram from STOKELY CARMICHAEL to the Black Students Union at San Francisco State College was previously furnished the Bureau and the San Francisco Office by WFO airtel and LHM dated April 25, 1968.

WFO by airtel dated April 26, 1968, to the Bureau and Atlanta has requested the Atlanta Office to attempt to develop specific information regarding all inflammatory statements made by CARMICHAEL while in Atlanta during the period April 8 through 10, 1968, in an effort to show continuity on CARMICHAEL's part to incite.

Concerning [redacted] who was interviewed on April 8, 1968, in connection with instant case, it is pointed out that [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

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B
COVER PAGE

WFO 62-9737

ECR:skt

1

The following investigation was conducted as a result of lead number fifteen set forth in Washington Field Office's (WFO's) report dated April 19, 1968. This information is being included on the administrative pages of this report since the data was furnished on a confidential basis by the Metropolitan Police Department (MPD) with a request that it be maintained in that manner.

On April 11, 1968, Communi-
cations Division, MPD, made available to Special Agent (SA)

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b7D

WFO 62-9737

ECR:dan

1

LEADS

WASHINGTON FIELD

AT WASHINGTON, D.C.

* 1) Will attempt to locate and interview any other owners and/or employees of business establishments in the 14th and U Streets, N.W. area.

2) Will contact and interview members of the news media concerning their dissemination of the 4/5/68 SNCC press conference as to precise time dissemination was made and number of people this dissemination reached.

b6 b7C

* 3) Will locate and interview [redacted] mentioned by Private [redacted] MPD, as being in the 14th and U Streets area the night of 4/4/68.

* 4) Will await results of investigation on leads set out in WFO airtel to the Bureau, 4/16/68, regarding the interviews of vacationing Howard University students possibly present during CARMICHAEL's remarks the afternoon of 4/5/68.

* 5) Will continue attempts to locate and interview high school students present at Howard University during CARMICHAEL's remarks on 4/5/68.

* 6) Will continue to attempt to identify those students arrested during disturbance and interview to determine their knowledge, if any, of CARMICHAEL's activities during pertinent period.

7) Will interview [redacted] in accordance with instructions in Buairtel, 4/26/68, concerning any information they may have concerning activities of CARMICHAEL during period 4/4/68 through 4/7/68.

[REDACTED]

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9) Will locate and interview [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

10) Will attempt to locate additional employees of the Wheeler Ford Center, Inc., 4139 Wheeler Road, S.E., to ascertain extent and nature of CARMICHAEL's activities in that area on the afternoon of 4/5/68.

11) Will interview [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] of the Community Relations Service, for any information they may have concerning CARMICHAEL's activities on the streets of Washington, D.C. during the pertinent period.

12) Will attempt to identify, locate and interview [REDACTED] who was reportedly active in the area of 14th and U Streets, N.W., Washington, D.C., on the evening of 4/4/68.

13) Will attempt to locate and interview any other individuals present at SCLC headquarters the evening of 4/4/68 relative to their knowledge of CARMICHAEL's activities.

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14) Will report any information developed by the Atlanta Office regarding inflammatory statements made by CARMICHAEL while in that area, 4/8/68 through 4/10/68.

[REDACTED]

E*

COVER PAGE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to: 2-USA, Washington, D.C.

Report of: SA [REDACTED]
Date: 4/30/68

Office: Washington, D.C.

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Field Office File #: 62-9737

Bureau File #: 100-446080

Title: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

24,524

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

Character: INCITING TO RIOT - MISCELLANEOUS

DATE 7/23/84 BY SP4JAK/KD
1-16-97

Synopsis: [REDACTED] advised that on evening of 4/4/68, STOKELY CARMICHAEL led a group of 50 - 60 predominantly young people in the vicinity of 14th and U Streets, N.W., Washington, D.C. [REDACTED]

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the evening of 4/4/68. Representatives of Columbia Broadcasting System advised CARMICHAEL's remarks at Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee press conference on 4/5/68 deemed too inflammatory to be broadcast on television. "The Washington Post," in all editions of 4/6/68, printed accounts of CARMICHAEL's remarks at the 4/5/68 press conference and the circulation of these editions was estimated to have been between 410,000 to 414,000 copies. One Howard University student recalls

WFO 62-9737

CARMICHAEL appearing angry on Howard University campus on afternoon of 4/5/68 and making vehement remarks to get something going. This student stated CARMICHAEL pulled out what appeared to be a pistol and held it up. Another Howard University student who observed CARMICHAEL at that time felt he was not trying to incite the crowd to violence but was only trying to urge the audience not to come out on the streets if they wanted to be safe or were not willing and ready to kill. CARMICHAEL reported in the 4100 block of Wheeler Road, S.E., Washington, D.C., on the afternoon of 4/5/68 and allegedly stated "We are going to get this area." Subsequent looting and destruction by fire of several business establishments in this neighborhood took place. ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

- P -

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DETAILS: AT WASHINGTON, D.C.

WFO 62-9737

I. EVENTS INVOLVING STOKELY CARMICHAEL
ON EVENING OF APRIL 4, 1968

WFO 62-9737

A. INTERVIEWS OF

[REDACTED]

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date 4/19/68

[REDACTED]

(SCLC), furnished the following information:

[REDACTED] a volunteer worker at the SCLC Office
at 14th and U Street, N.W., [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] he noticed no large crowds or gathering. He observed small groups of approximately eight people but commented that he did not know whether they were waiting for transportation at the bus stops or not. He observed no unusual conduct by anyone in the area of 14th and U Streets.

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] some priests, and other SCLC workers were present. He said that all in attendance on the second floor were in a dazed and stunned condition in view of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING's death. Their comments were incoherent. He recalled that [REDACTED]

On 4/18/68 at Washington, D.C.

File# WFO 62-9737

SAs [REDACTED]

by [REDACTED] ASB:skt

Date dictated 4/19/68

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] he heard people shouting on the street and milling around. He thought there might be fighting on the street. He looked out the office window and saw STOKELY CARMICHAEL leading fifty or sixty predominantly young people from the N.E. corner of 14th and U Streets to the S.W. corner. He thought that this group, led by CARMICHAEL, might lead to violence, break-ins, and shooting

[REDACTED]

At this time, he noticed that CARMICHAEL and the group stood in front of the Safeway Grocery Store located on the S.E. corner at 14th and U Streets.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] related that he saw no sticks, bricks, or guns as he surveyed CARMICHAEL and the group;

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] commented that he last saw STOKELY CARMICHAEL from the SCLC Office window. At this time, CARMICHAEL was leading a group east in the 1300 block of U Street, N.W.

[REDACTED] advised that he wanted to make it clear that he did not observe any violence or disruptive tactics by CARMICHAEL or members of the group following CARMICHAEL

[REDACTED]

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date 4/24/68

[REDACTED]

provided the following information regarding STOKELY CARMICHAEL:

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

his recollection that CARMICHAEL had worked several years in the South assisting voter registrations and the Negroes in other matters. CARMICHAEL had seen Negroes beaten.

On 4/23/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737

SAS

[REDACTED]

Date dictated 4/24/68

[redacted] believed CARMICHAEL's experience in the South during those several years caused him to become an advocate of violent tactics. He advised that [redacted]

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[redacted] he believes subject is a militant extremist who believes in violence. CARMICHAEL advocates violence "to protect yourself against the honky". He does not recall subject saying this in these words but this is what [redacted] has understood CARMICHAEL to mean. At this point [redacted] referred to CARMICHAEL's statements made at subject's April 5, 1968, press conference where he advocated Negroes get guns and fight the white people.

[redacted]
[redacted] the SCLC office, 14th and U Streets, N. W., on the night of April 4, 1968, he heard the noise of a crowd outside on 14th Street. When he looked out of the third floor office window (not the second floor as [redacted] previously stated), he saw CARMICHAEL leading a crowd of 50 to 60 predominantly young people south on 14th Street at U Street. He recognized CARMICHAEL because of his walk, his familiarity with the army hood-type jacket CARMICHAEL was wearing, [redacted] He believed CARMICHAEL was leading the group because CARMICHAEL was in the front center ranks of the group. [redacted] stated that he did not hear any shouting or other remarks made by members of the group subject was leading.

Upon reviewing CARMICHAEL and his followers, [redacted]

[redacted]

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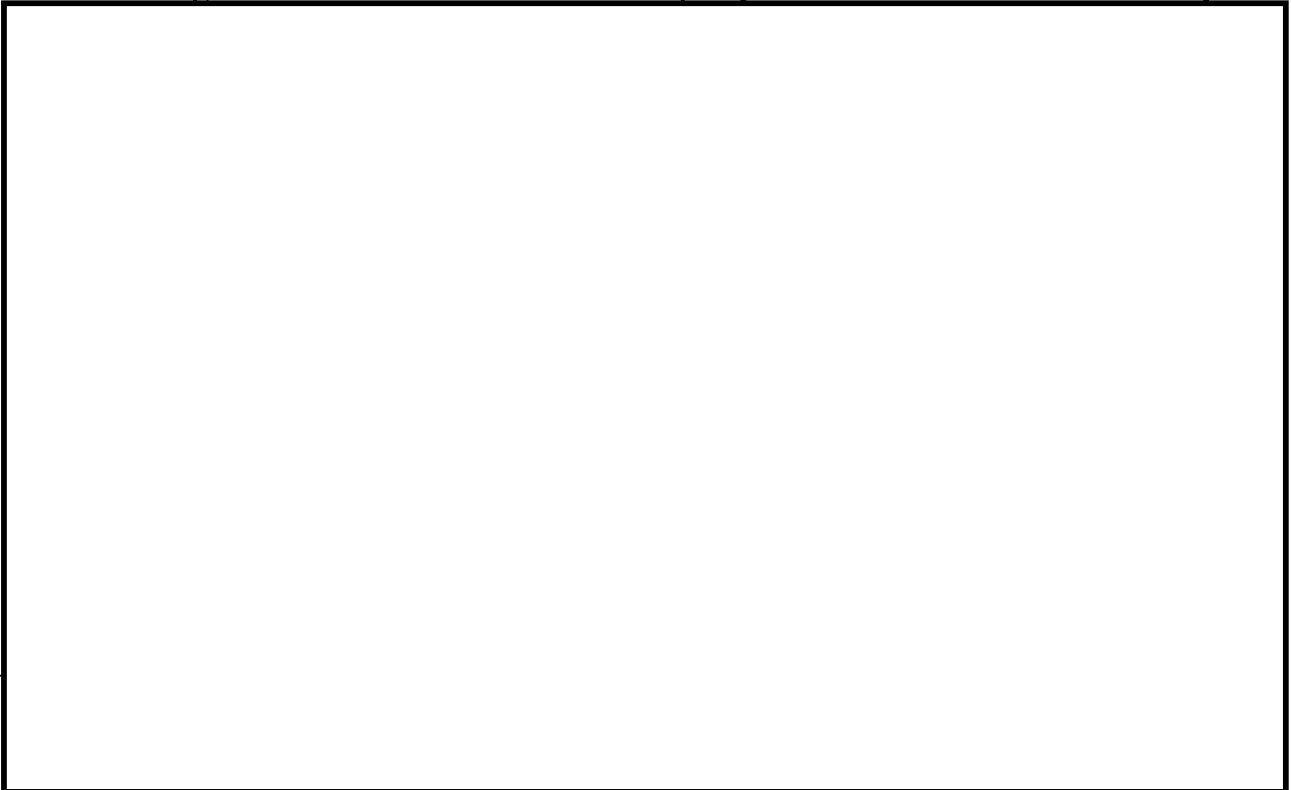
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3



[redacted] informed that [redacted]
[redacted] he observed CARMICHAEL go to the doors of the
Safeway Store and Wings and Things in the 1900 block of 14th
Street, N.W., and wave his arms in front of him in a criss-cross
manner which indicated to [redacted] that CARMICHAEL was asking
or telling these stores to close up. [redacted]



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WFO 62-9737

4

He first thought that it was CARMICHAEL's purpose that night to lead a civil disturbance [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

He was of the opinion CARMICHAEL had complete control over the crowd he was leading and was in a position to prevent or incite violence. He did not believe from what he observed that CARMICHAEL's actions would lead to violence and civil disorder. [REDACTED] commented that he did not believe CARMICHAEL's request for the stores to close in respect to Dr. KING was improper; however, he would not have asked the store merchants to close on the night of April 4, 1968, as CARMICHAEL did. [REDACTED] did not know who or where the idea to request the stores to close originated.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] explained that CARMICHAEL exhibits at times a dual personality. CARMICHAEL believes in violence but at the same time has compassion for the conditions resulting from violence. He is of the opinion CARMICHAEL believes in the efficacy of civil disorder and is influenced by some people who are very much anti-American. He did not

know how far CARMICHAEL would go or participate in a riot or civil disorder. When asked to identify the people who influenced CARMICHAEL, [redacted] furnished the following information: He believes that CARMICHAEL is influenced primarily by [redacted] who is connected with the SNCC New York City office. [redacted] said that [redacted] hates the United States and white people. He advised that he believed between the night of April 4, 1968, and the time of CARMICHAEL's press conference at the SNCC Headquarters office, 2208 14th Street, N.W., on April 5, 1968, CARMICHAEL received information from someone, possibly [redacted] or other unidentified individuals around SNCC, because CARMICHAEL changed his tactics. [redacted] believes that CARMICHAEL's statements at his press conference influenced some people to violence. He noted that this conclusion was mere conjecture on his, [redacted] part for he had not talked to anyone who said they looted, etc. because of what CARMICHAEL said and [redacted] had no proof CARMICHAEL's statements at the press conference incited anyone to riot or civil disturbance. [redacted] remarked that at his press conference on April 5, 1968, CARMICHAEL was calling for civil disturbance. The remarks CARMICHAEL made would incite angry people. CARMICHAEL's remarks were an open articulation of a cause of action that was not justified. [redacted] was unable to provide the names of any other individuals who could have possibly influenced CARMICHAEL to make his press conference statement.

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[redacted] was referred to his participation

[redacted] stated that to his knowledge STOKELY CARMICHAEL was not in the SCLC office at 14th and U Streets, N. W. at anytime on the night of April 4, 1968. [redacted] does not know of anyone who can furnish information regarding CARMICHAEL's activities on April 4 or 5, 1968. He has no information that STOKELY CARMICHAEL incited anyone to riot by his statements or actions on April 4 or 5, 1968.

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[redacted] commented that he had seen STOKELY CARMICHAEL twice since April 4, 1968; once at Dr. KING's funeral at Atlanta, Georgia. The second time was in Atlanta, Georgia when CARMICHAEL was in a car which passed the West Hunter St. Baptist Church in Atlanta the day after Dr. KING's funeral. [redacted]

[redacted] stated that the press conference remarks made by STOKELY CARMICHAEL on April 5, 1968, could have incited a riot but he has no proof that CARMICHAEL did incite a riot and knew of no individual who could furnish such information. Although it was his observation that CARMICHAEL could have lead the crowd following him on the night of April 4, 1968, to violence, he did not, while [redacted] was in the vicinity of CARMICHAEL's activities with the crowd in the 14th and U Streets, N. W. area.

[redacted] advised after having observed CARMICHAEL proceeding east in the 1300 block of U Street, he never saw him again, and could provide no information as to how CARMICHAEL might have departed the area of 14th and U Streets on the night of April 4, 1968.

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WFO 62-9737

C. SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP
CONFERENCE HEADQUARTERS

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 4/22/68

[redacted] Pride Incorporated, 1534 U
Street, N. W., telephonically advised that [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] She advised that a person would have to be a sociologist to determine if CARMICHAEL had incited a riot by what he said. She stated that she observed CARMICHAEL on 14th Street but would not be able to say if CARMICHAEL was leading any crowds. She advised that the crowds she observed were orderly.

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[redacted] continued that people in the community would not furnish any information to the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) since whatever is said to the FBI usually returns to the streets and is public information. When asked by the interviewing agent of some examples of information not being handled in the strictest confidence by the FBI, she was unable to furnish any. She was evasive in her answers to questions and did not sound as though she wanted to be cooperative.

On 4/18/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737

by SA [redacted] aa Date dictated 4/18/68

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date April 26, 1968

[redacted]
[redacted] Maryland, advised that on April 4, 1968, he had gone to the building which houses the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) 14th and U Streets, N.W., Washington, D.C., [redacted] who is a volunteer. He arrived at approximately [redacted] They left the building for a short time around [redacted], and heard about the assassination of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. when they returned at about [redacted]

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[redacted]

He recalled either seeing or being told that CARMICHAEL had taken a black and silver transistor radio, which belonged to someone working at the SCLC, and felt this might be the "gun" that some people thought they saw in CARMICHAEL's hand that night.

He was not able to furnish any additional information.

On 4/25/68 at Washington, D.C. File # WFO 62-9737
by SA [redacted] Date dictated 4/26/68

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date April 23, 1968

[redacted] was interviewed at the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) Office, 14th and U Streets, N.W., Washington, D.C. He advised that he was at the SCLC Office on the evening of April 4, 1968, the night that Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING was killed. He said he saw STOKELY CARMICHAEL in the SCLC Office that evening but did not see or hear anything that CARMICHAEL did. He terminated the interview by stating, "I don't have time to talk to white people." He then abruptly stood up and walked away.

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On 4/22/68 at Washington, D.C. File # WFO 62-9737
by SA [redacted] Date dictated 4/23/68

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/19/68B. APPROX 19/10

JOHN EDWARD ~~STEWART~~, [REDACTED]
Washington, D. C. [REDACTED] advised that he is affiliated with
the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), now inactive in
Washington, D. C., and has been active in the civil rights
movement [REDACTED] He stated he subscribes to the
nonviolent approach to the attainment of equal rights for Negroes.
[REDACTED] stated that on the evening of April 4, 1968, sometime
before 8:00 p.m., he learned of the assassination of Dr. MARTIN
LUTHER KING, JR., [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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On 4/18/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737by SA [REDACTED] Date dictated 4/18/68

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 4/22/68

[redacted] Howard University Law
School, Washington, D. C., residing at [redacted]
[redacted] Washington, D. C., furnished the following information:

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On the night of April 4, 1968, after learning that Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING had been killed, he went to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference Office (SCLC), 14th and U Streets, N. W., Washington, D. C., arriving at approximately

[redacted]

When he arrived at the intersection of 14th and U Streets, N. W., he observed large crowds assembled, and evidence of looting and property destruction. He remained in the area for about 30 minutes, and left after he learned that the SCLC office had been closed.

He advised that he did not observe STOKELY CARMICHAEL during the entire course of the evening of April 4, 1968, or during the afternoon of April 5, 1968, when CARMICHAEL allegedly made a speech at Howard University. He stated he was present on campus that day, and attended inside memorial services for Dr. KING, but he only observed the crowd around Douglas Hall, and not CARMICHAEL.

[redacted] advised that, while in the vicinity of 14th and U Streets, N. W., on April 4, 1968, [redacted]

[redacted]

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On 4/18/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737

by SA [redacted] JTA:nlr Date dictated 4/19/68

WFO 62-9737

D. PEOPLE'S DRUG STORE

WFO 62-9737

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date 4/29/68

[REDACTED]
 [REDACTED]
 [REDACTED]
 WDC, furnished the following information concerning the activities of STOKELY CARMICHAEL at the Peoples Drug Store Number 3, 2002 14th Street, N.W., WDC, on Thursday, April 4, 1968, as well as other activities deemed pertinent to this investigation:

Washington DC

At approximately 9:00 p.m. on April 4, 1968.

[REDACTED] observed STOKELY CARMICHAEL walking from the entrance of the store toward the rear of the store and heard him remarking repeatedly and in a loud voice, "Lets close this store. Show some respect for Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING." CARMICHAEL appeared to be looking for [REDACTED] and upon

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locating him immediately appeared to direct his remarks to [REDACTED] CARMICHAEL appeared angered. He was accompanied by two or three adult males and what appeared to be a small group of children who had followed him to the rear of the store. According to [REDACTED] CARMICHAEL remarked that the store had been closed following the assassination of President KENNEDY.

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[REDACTED] by this time the small number of customers who had been in the store had departed [REDACTED] was observed following CARMICHAEL toward the front of the store. CARMICHAEL and followers departed the store, having been in the store for only two or three minutes. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] offered no resistance regarding CARMICHAEL's request that the store be closed.

On 4/25/68 at Washington, D.C. File# WFO 62-9737

SAs [REDACTED]

by [REDACTED] T:skt Date dictated 4/29/68

WFO 62-9737

2.



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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/23/68

[redacted]
[redacted] advised he probably was in error when he advised that
on the evening of April 4, 1968, he was accompanied by [redacted]
[redacted]

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In connection with STOKELY CARMICHAEL holding two
hand weapons on April 4, 1968 [redacted]

[redacted] advised CARMICHAEL was
directly alongside of the automobile and could not have been
more than five feet distance from [redacted] is willing
to testify to all events he witnessed during the evenings of
April 2 and 4, 1968.

On 4/18/68 at Washington, D.C. File # WFO 62-9737

b6

by SA [redacted] WBS:rmh b7C Date dictated 4/22/68

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date 4/23/68 b6

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[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] En route he noted a large, unruly crowd assembled along the sidewalk in the vicinity of a moving picture theater on U Street. He noted an individual he identified as STOKELY CARMICHAEL appeared to be leading this crowd at the theater. He can furnish no additional details as to the activities of STOKELY CARMICHAEL or anyone else in this crowd. [redacted]

[redacted]

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On 4/22/68 at Washington, D.C. File # WFO 62-9737by SA [redacted] WBS:rmh Date dictated 4/22/68

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[redacted]
[redacted] does not recall
STOKELY CARMICHAEL being in this crowd, but it is entirely
possible he was present and it is possible CARMICHAEL could
[redacted]

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On the previous Tuesday, April 2, 1968, [redacted]
[redacted] just after a crowd had attempted to
cause a disturbance after a guard at that store had held a
youth for a violation of the law. The store was closed when
STOKELY CARMICHAEL entered the store and made a statement
after entering he was "fed up" with things at the store. As
he made the statement, he motioned with his hands to his
throat indicated he was fed up. [redacted] did not understand what
CARMICHAEL was fed up with but presumed he was dissatisfied
with the manner the drug store was being managed. CARMICHAEL
left the store and made some sort of speech outside the store
to a crowd which was gathered. He can furnish no information
as to what CARMICHAEL said outside of the store.

A photograph of STOKELY CARMICHAEL was exhibited to
[redacted] who identified CARMICHAEL from the photograph. This
photograph included [redacted]

DC ✓

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 4/22/68

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] An individual he later learned was STOKELY CARMICHAEL appeared at about 9:30

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] After leaving the store, CARMICHAEL talked briefly with the crowd outside of the store. [REDACTED] does not know the tenure of the talk except at one point he heard CARMICHAEL advise the crowd to go home.

On the evening of April 4, 1968, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

store was closed and arriving he noted a large crowd assembled at 14th and U Streets, N.W., [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] does not recall seeing STOKELY CARMICHAEL during the evening of April 4.

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On 4/18/68 at Washington, D.C.

File # WFO 62-9737

by SA [REDACTED]

WBS:rmh

Date dictated 4/22/68

WFO 62-9737

ECR:dan

1

The following investigation was conducted by SA [redacted] as a result of information set forth on page 59 of the April 19, 1968 report in this matter regarding the possibility of a note from CARMICHAEL being delivered to the guards assigned to Peoples Drug Store Number 3 warning them that the store would be burned down:

On April 25, 1968, [redacted]

[redacted]
Washington, D.C., advised he had no knowledge of any guards at Peoples Drug Store Number 3 receiving a note from STOKELY CARMICHAEL at any time during the recent civil disorders in Washington, D.C. [redacted]
[redacted]

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In addition to the above, the following individuals were contacted by SA [redacted] between April 25 and April 26, 1968, and specific inquiry was made regarding the existence of the alleged note in question but with negative results:



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05/21/68

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D.C.

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6/12
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WFO 62-9737

E. BUSINESSES ON 14TH
STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date April 24, 1968

[redacted]
[redacted] N.W. Washington, D.C.
[redacted] telephone [redacted]
[redacted] residence telephone [redacted] furnished the following information concerning events supplemental to the activities of the night of April 4, 1968, as related by her during previous interviews, which she considered might have bearing on the rioting in Washington, D.C. during April 4-6, 1968:

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On about Monday, April 1, 1968, or Tuesday, April 2, 1968, an adult Negro male individual, whose identity was not known to [redacted]

[redacted]

On the night of Tuesday, April 2, 1968, after an incident occurred at the Peoples Drug Store Number 3 in the same block of 14th Street, an adult Negro male individual not known to [redacted]

[redacted]

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On 4/19/68 at Washington, D.C. File # WFO 62-9737
by SAs [redacted] LCG:tjd Date dictated 4/22/68

[redacted]
[redacted] believed she had seen this man on one occasion since her receipt of this warning, which was a daytime occasion when he walked alone down the block
[redacted]

On the night of Thursday, April 4, 1968, between 8:30 p.m. and 9:00 p.m., after the death of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, an adult Negro male individual not known to [redacted]
[redacted]

[redacted] This man was Negro, male, about 39-40 years of age, about five feet nine and one-half inches tall, with a medium build, sharp features and a very dark complexion. He was clean shaven rather than bearded as most of the black power activists appear to be. He appeared well dressed in a dark suit and a gray felt snapbrim hat. [redacted]

[redacted] could not recall whether or not he had been wearing a mustache or necktie. [redacted] has not seen this man since that date. The only other persons [redacted]
[redacted]

During the day of Friday, April 5, 1968, [redacted]
[redacted]

[redacted] two Negro male individuals not known to her who were 19 to 21 years of age, about six feet tall with medium builds and medium brown complexions. One of them was clean shaven, whereas the other was bearded. [redacted] has not seen them since that date.

All of the persons who had visited [redacted] as reflected above, were separate individuals and none of them were identical with the persons portrayed on the photographs displayed to her on April 10, 1968. It is noted that photographs of the following persons had been displayed to her on April 10, 1968:

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, *All*

[redacted]

H. RAP BROWN, *Washington DC*

[redacted]

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Washington DC

Washington DC

It is further noted that [redacted]

[redacted]

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/18/68

[redacted] Washington, D. C., was interviewed and furnished the following information concerning events occurring on the night of April 4, 1968. He

[redacted]
Washington, D. C., [redacted]

[redacted] At approximately 8:00 p.m. a group of seven or eight Negro males came to the door of the

[redacted]
South on 14th Street toward U Street. [redacted]

[redacted] About five minutes later [redacted] observed a group of 75 or 80 men proceeding North on 14th Street from U Street, coming in the direction [redacted]

[redacted] advised that he does not know STOKELY CARMICHAEL. A photograph of STOKELY CARMICHAEL was exhibited to [redacted] but he could not identify CARMICHAEL as being one of the group [redacted] or as being in the larger group that [redacted]

On 4/18/68 at Washington, D. C.

File # WFO 62-9737

by SA [redacted]

Date dictated 4/18/68

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date April 22, 1968*Washington DC*
On April 18, 1968, [REDACTED]

N.W. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] N.W., furnished the following information regarding the evening of Thursday, April 4, 1968:

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] was aware that there was some commotion on 14th Street [REDACTED][REDACTED]
[REDACTED] vised that he did not recognize any of the eight or nine men who [REDACTED]A photograph of STOKELY CARMICHAEL was displayed to [REDACTED] and he advised that he did not recognize CARMICHAEL as being identical with [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]On 4/18/68 at Washington, D. C.File # WFO 62-9737

SAs [REDACTED]

by [REDACTED]

Date dictated 4/18/68

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/22/68

On April 17, 1968, [redacted]
[redacted] Washington, D. C., advised that she is employed at [redacted]

[redacted] stated that KING (Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, Jr.) is [redacted]

dead. [redacted]

[redacted] however, she identified an individual unknown to her (STOKELY CARMICHAEL) from a group photo as one of the two men [redacted]. She advised she was not acquainted with CARMICHAEL nor would she recognize a picture of CARMICHAEL. Two to three minutes later a mob of about 50 people crowded into the restaurant. Persons from the mob stated they were asking stores in the area to close. [redacted]

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On 4/17/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737

SAs [redacted]

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by [redacted] Date dictated 4/19/68

b7C

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

WFO 62-9737

RCC:ead

1

On April 24 1968 [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Washington, D. C., advised

SA [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] told her that Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING,

Jr., was dead. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] heard nothing about STOKELY CARMICHAEL or his activities. She advised she did not know CARMICHAEL nor did she recognize a picture of him. [REDACTED]

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/22/68

On April 17, 1968, [REDACTED]

b6 b7C
b7D[REDACTED] Washington, D. C.,
advised that on the evening of April 4, 1968, a group of
unidentified Negro men [REDACTED][REDACTED] Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING,
Jr., had been killed. [REDACTED][REDACTED] He advised he was not familiar with
STOKELY CARMICHAEL. He could not identify CARMICHAEL from
the photos showed him. He felt that the photo of CARMICHAEL
was not identical with any of the persons [REDACTED][REDACTED]
It was noted that throughout this interview [REDACTED]
appeared frightened and nervous and only spoke reluctantly.On 4/17/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737

SAs [REDACTED]

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by [REDACTED]

b7C

Date dictated 4/19/68

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/22/68

On April 17, 1968

[redacted] advised [redacted]
[redacted]

b6 b7C

b7D

[redacted] did not recognize a photo of STOKELY CARMICHAEL showed to him. Despite the presence of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee Headquarters [redacted] he had not heard of STOKELY CARMICHAEL.

It is noted that [redacted] trembled throughout the interview. In spite of attempts to put him at ease, he appeared frightened and spoke only reluctantly.

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On 4/17/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737

SAs [redacted]

by [redacted] Date dictated 4/19/68

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WFO 62-9737

WPH:laa

1

On April 8, 1968, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] N. W.,

Washington, D. C., advised SA [REDACTED] he
was not in the area of 14th Street, N. W., the night of
April 4, 1968, and could furnish no information concerning
any events of that evening.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 4/22/68

[redacted]
[redacted] advised that he had never met STOKELY CARMICHAEL and had never seen him other than on television or in the newspapers. *Washington D C*

[redacted]

following the death of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING.

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He said he did not know of any person or persons contacting any stores in the area with regard to closing and did not know the identity of any persons who had looted or destroyed stores in the area.

A photograph of STOKELY CARMICHAEL was exhibited to [redacted] and he advised that he recognized CARMICHAEL from the photograph, however, he reiterated that he had never met him or seen him other than in the news media.

On 4/18/68 at Washington, D. C.
by SA [redacted]

File # WFO 62-9737

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4/19/68

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Date dictated

WFO 62-9737

LEB:cjb

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D.C.

[redacted] 1968, [redacted]
[redacted] Maryland. and [redacted]

[redacted] advised SA [redacted]

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Neither observed any marching or looting.

SA [redacted] on April 12, 1968, they did not observe any marching or destruction of property in Washington, D.C., on April 4, 1968, as they had each returned to their respective residences after leaving work, and did not return until April 5, 1968.

[redacted] advised
[redacted] he did not observe the disturbance in this area April 4, 1968, as he was at his residence.

Washington DC

WFO 62-9737

HEF:tjd

1

On April 9, 1968, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] was interviewed at his residence [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Maryland, [REDACTED]

SA [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised that [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING. He did not observe any processions, marches nor did he notice anyone who tried to incite others in any manner during his trip home.

[REDACTED]

that, while the crowd was unruly and milling about and he feared for his safety, he did not notice that the crowd was under any leadership.

The following investigation was conducted on the dates indicated by SAs [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

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WFO 62-9737

2

On April 12, 1968, [redacted] advised that his

[redacted]

On April 12, 1968, [redacted]

[redacted]

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[redacted] advised on April 12, 1968, that

[redacted]

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[redacted]
Maryland, advised on April 12, 1968, that he is normally

[redacted]

48
5/5

[REDACTED]
a great deal of pedestrian traffic on the street and [REDACTED]
heard comments from the crowd to the effect that [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
similar remarks implying that damage was to be expected
but there were no threats directed to him personally.

[REDACTED] tried to ignore the comments, did not look around and
could not identify anyone in the groups which passed by or
[REDACTED] did get increasingly
nervous and, when a Metropolitan Police Department officer
passed by, [REDACTED]

b6 b7C

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] repeated he had avoided looking at the group
and could not identify any of the participants in the taunting.
He said he saw no weapons of any kind exhibited and he and
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
unable to identify a photograph of STOKELY CARMICHAEL as any-
one he had seen on that Friday morning.

On April 16, 1968, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Silver Spring, Maryland, advised
that at about 9:30 a.m. on Friday, April 5, 1968, he together

b6 b7C

WFO 62-9737

4

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] could not attribute these remarks to any specific persons as he did not look around and attempted to give the impression he was ignoring them. He did not recognize anyone in the crowd and could not identify anyone as a leader. When shown a photograph of STOKELY CARMICHAEL, he stated he recognized him from pictures he had previously seen; however, he had not seen him on Friday, April 5, 1968. [REDACTED] said

b6 b7C

[REDACTED]

He recalled that they talked to a policeman who advised them

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Silver Spring, Maryland, advised on April 16, 1968, that he,

[REDACTED]

b6 b7C

108

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] He tried to ignore them and deliberately did not look at them but did hear them make remarks [REDACTED] He did not specifically recall what was said but it was to the effect that [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b6 b7C

[REDACTED] said he does not know STOKELY CARMICHAEL although he has seen pictures of him and did not recognize him from a photograph as anyone he had seen in the vicinity of the [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] District Heights, Maryland, advised on April 17, 1968, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b6 b7C

DC

[REDACTED] someone, he believed it was [REDACTED] said "there goes CARMICHAEL". [REDACTED] looked around and saw a group of [REDACTED]

about 20 Negro men walking south on 14th Street on the [redacted]

They appeared excited, were jumping up and down and were shouting but he saw no specific act of destruction. One Negro man seemed to maintain a distance of one or two steps ahead of the group and this man periodically turned around to talk to the group but [redacted] could not hear what was said. The crowd in the area were yelling "Yeah STOKELY" or words to that effect and [redacted] felt that he was perhaps swayed by this in thinking the leader of the group was STOKELY CARMICHAEL, whose picture he had previously seen. He was shown a photograph of CARMICHAEL but he was unable to identify this individual as the person who led the group down 14th Street and he pointed out he only had a brief glimpse of this man [redacted]

b6 b7C

Prior to this, people in the crowd, which was on 14th Street, [redacted]

[redacted] he could not attribute these remarks to any specific people. [redacted] was aware at the time there appeared to be numerous fires in the neighborhood and about 30 minutes later, he observed a large crowd on both sides of 14th Street and [redacted]

[redacted] could not identify anyone from this crowd.

[redacted] Hyattsville, Maryland, advised on April 17, 1968, [redacted]

[redacted] he could not recall specifically what was said. He said

b6 b7C

WFO 62-9737

7

[redacted]
[redacted] the crowd consisted of 50 or more Negro men and it was chanting although the words could not be understood by him. He said he did not see any leaders in the group, did not hear the name STOKELY CARMICHAEL mentioned and when shown a photograph of CARMICHAEL, advised he had not seen this man as a member of the crowd. [redacted] pointed out that fire engines and ambulances were running around, there was very much excitement and he made a definite effort not to stare at the crowd. He said when the situation got very tense.

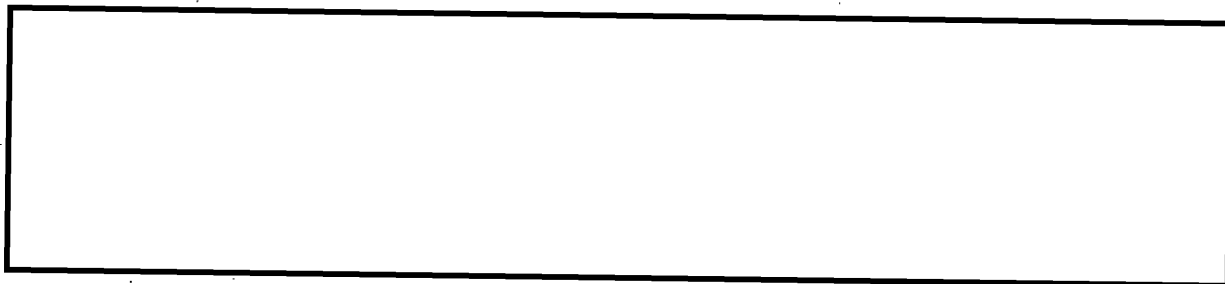
b6 b7C

[redacted]
[redacted] Rockville, Maryland, advised on April 17, 1968. [redacted] a

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WFO 62-9737

8



b6 b7C

WFO 62-9737

F. BUSINESSES ON U STREET,
N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C.

WFO 62-9737

ECR:dan

1

The following investigation was conducted as a result of information contained in "The Washington Post" article of April 14, 1968, a portion of which appears on page 19 of the April 19, 1968 report in this matter. This article indicates the Success Cafe was one of the businesses ordered to close during the course of events on the evening of April 4, 1968:

WFO 62-9737

ECR:dan

1

[REDACTED]
Success Cafe, 1357 U Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.,
advised on April 11, 1968, that on the evening of
April 4, 1968, he was at his residence. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] stated that at approximately 9:00 p.m., he
learned of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.'s death on tele-
vision and he felt that because of this, there was a
possibility of unrest in the neighborhood where [REDACTED]
is located. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED], Success Cafe,
1357 U Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., advised that on
the evening of April 4, 1968, STOKELY CARMICHAEL did
not enter the Success Cafe and further advised that no

b6 b7C

The above investigation was conducted by SAs
[REDACTED]

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date April 24, 1968

[redacted] the Success Cafe, which is located in the vicinity of 14th Street and U Street, N.W., was interviewed at his residence, [redacted] Washington, D.C., and advised that he was in the bar on the evening of April 4, 1968. He continued that sometime around 9:00 p.m., he noticed a large crowd of people across the street from the bar and immediately went to the doorway of the bar to get some idea of what was happening. About this time, according to [redacted] the crowd headed toward the Success Cafe [redacted]

[redacted]

b6 b7C

[redacted] stated that he did not recognize any of the members of the crowd and since he does not know STOKELY CARMICHAEL, he could not say if he was present. [redacted] at this time was shown a photograph of CARMICHAEL but could not identify him as being among those in the crowd that advanced on the Success Cafe.

[redacted] stated that there is an individual who frequents the Success Cafe who is named [redacted]

[redacted]

his knowledge, CARMICHAEL does not frequent the bar.

On 4/18/68 at Washington, D.C. File # WFO 62-9737

SA [redacted]

b6 b7C

by [redacted] Date dictated 4/22/68

WFO 62-9737

G. COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE

WFO 62-9737

DRK:tjd

1

On April 26, 1968, [redacted]

[redacted] Community Relations Service (CRS), United States Department of Justice, Washington, D.C., furnished the following information to SA [redacted] concerning activities of STOKELY CARMICHAEL during the violence in Washington, D.C., April 4-6, 1968:

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[redacted] pointed out his functions as [redacted]

[redacted] therefore, information received by him is second hand. [redacted] said, however, his over-all impression of information received tended to reveal STOKELY CARMICHAEL was active in trying to "cool things down" during the pertinent period. Also, that CARMICHAEL is "too smart" to take overt action and riot with gun in hand as reported in the "New York Times".

[redacted] related that a look at the arrest records for the pertinent period shows no particular group, organization, or individual was involved in the looting and burning, but rather a cross section of individuals within the community.

[redacted] volunteered that in connection with his employment, he has made a study of STOKELY CARMICHAEL and his strategy. According to [redacted] CARMICHAEL is not a violent insurrectionist who would advocate guerilla warfare backed by communist forces inside or outside the United States. He believes CARMICHAEL to be an intelligent person who knows full well he cannot push "white America" too far. CARMICHAEL, therefore, desires to cause "alarm" rather than "panic" in the "whites" to get them to take action on Negro grievances. In the event of "white panic", [redacted] believes CARMICHAEL understands the Negro would lose to an overwhelming white population. Also, that CARMICHAEL has taken note of violent action on the part of [redacted] which resulted in [redacted] jailing and CARMICHAEL does not desire this to happen to him.

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In [] opinion, CARMICHAEL will talk less violently in the future and will move the Negro communities to take action on Negro problems through registration of more Negro voters.

Concerning specific details of activities during April 4-6, 1968, including CARMICHAEL's press conference at 10:00 a.m. on April 5, 1968, [] suggested that the following individuals of CRS would probably be in a better position to comment concerning details:

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[]

[]

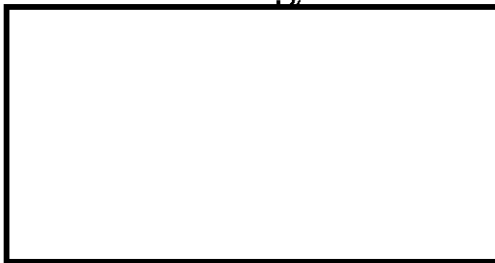
During the interview, [] made particular note of the confidential nature of CRS information and work, especially in connection with the activities of employees such as []. He said the confidential clause was written into the law when CRS was founded. He mentioned that because of this, CRS reports are furnished directly to the Attorney General of the United States and that without the observance of the confidential rule, the individual CRS field personnel would be unable to effectively operate within the community.

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WFO 62-9737

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The following CRS personnel were also interviewed by SA [redacted] on April 26, 1968. ²¹¹ They stated they have no detailed knowledge of the events in Washington, D.C., April 4-6, 1968, other than what they saw in the newspapers and television or heard through radio:



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Both [redacted] suggested that [redacted] would be in a better position to relate specifics concerning April 4-6, 1968.

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WFO 62-9737

H. AMERICAN DISTRICT TELEGRAPH COMPANY

WFO 62-9737

ECR:dan

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[redacted] Central Office, American District Telegraph Company (ADT), 1012 14th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., stated that the first alarm received at the Central Office of ADT relating to the recent civil disturbance in Washington, D.C. was at 9:08 p.m., Thursday, April 4, 1968, reflecting trouble at the H and T Furniture and Appliance Company, 2811 14th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. [redacted] stated that ADT employee [redacted] responded to the alarm. [redacted] related that reports began coming in of crowds gathering and trouble brewing in the 14th Street, N.W. area and shortly thereafter, the ADT Central Office received a telephone call from the Metropolitan Police Department advising ADT not to send any more cars into the 14th Street, N.W. area. [redacted] said ADT complied with this request.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date April 22, 1968

[redacted] (white), Serviceman, American District Telegraph Company (ADT), Central Office, 1012 14th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., telephone [redacted] who resides at [redacted] Arlington, Virginia, telephone [redacted] furnished the following information:

[redacted] was on duty at the Central Office, ADT, on the night of Thursday, April 4, 1968. At 9:08 p.m., April 4, 1968, the ADT burglar alarm located at the H and T Furniture Company, 2811 14th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., sounded and [redacted] was immediately dispatched to the scene in a marked automobile of ADT. The Metropolitan Police Department (MPD), Washington, D.C., had been simultaneously notified of the sounded alarm and officers of the MPD were already there when [redacted] arrived at the H and T Furniture Company at 9:17 p.m. Inspection of the outside of the front of the store by the police and [redacted] failed to reveal evidence of forcible entry into the store or evidence that the store premises had been vandalized in any manner.

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At that time, [redacted] noticed a crowd of Negro people had congregated on the sidewalk in front of the Rio Club located directly across 14th Street from the H and T Furniture Company. He also noticed a crowd of Negro people was also forming around the outside of another bar at the intersection of 14th and Harvard Streets, N.W. He heard the people across 14th Street commenting that Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING had died. Several automobiles traveling north on 14th Street, N.W. then stopped near the H and T Furniture Company and the occupants of these automobiles informed the police officers that crowds were forming farther south on 14th Street, N.W. [redacted] also received

b6 b7C

On 4/19/68 at Washington, D.C. File # WFO 62-9737

SA: [redacted]

by [redacted] Date dictated 4/22/68

this type of information via the MPD radio. The police officers who had answered the call to the H and T Furniture Company then equipped themselves with helmets and billy clubs and departed the area in their automobiles headed south on 14th Street, N.W.

At that point, [] was left alone at the premises of the H and T Furniture Company until he received further instructions as to whether or not a representative of that store intended to visit the premises for inspection purposes. [] waited in front of the store for about fifteen minutes in this regard and he then decided to inspect the back entrance to the store. He entered his automobile and proceeded to the vicinity of the alley behind the building, but due to the lack of satisfactory lighting, he was unable to determine the exact location of this rear door. He decided that due to the inflammatory conditions created by the death of Dr. KING, he would not leave his automobile in the further pursuit of this matter.

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[] then elected to drive around the local area of the store while awaiting further instructions from his office. During this tour, he proceeded south on 14th Street, N.W. to U Street, east on U Street to 13th Street, north on 13th Street to Harvard Street, and west on Harvard Street to 14th Street, N.W.

During his described automotive tour, [] noticed that 14th Street was unusually crowded with Negro people, both males and females but primarily males. He arrived at the intersection of 14th and U Streets at about 9:40 p.m. While waiting for the traffic control signal to change color, he saw an object of some nature shatter a plate glass front window of the Peoples Drug Store on 14th Street in that vicinity (Peoples Drug Store Number 3). He also saw the plate glass window to a variety store immediately to the north of the drug store also shatter.

b6 b7C

This store had mannequins in its window. He saw looters enter these windows and steal merchandise from within. He also heard members of a group of Negroes in the area yelling, "Get that honky !" There were about five automobiles in the area at the time, one of which might also have been driven by a white person, so [redacted] was uncertain as to whether the "honky " comment had been directed toward him.

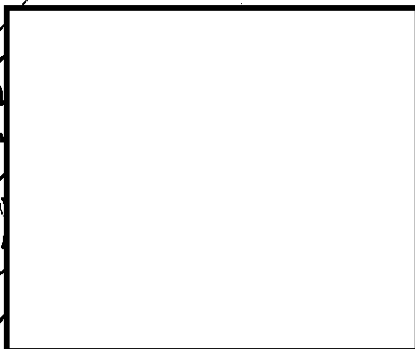
b6 b7C

[redacted] continued on his described course without further incident. Shortly after returning to the vicinity of the H and T Furniture Company store, [redacted] was ordered by radio to return to his office via a route other than 14th Street. He returned via 13th Street to Thomas Circle and then along lower 14th Street to his office, where he arrived at 10:05 p.m.

BELONCIS remained on duty that night and during the subsequent nights of the rioting in Washington, D.C. While on duty, he witnessed various instances of looting but did not see any firearms or other lethal weapons in possession of any of the rioters. He was unable to identify any of the rioters, although he stated that numerous of them wore mustaches and goatees.

Photographs of the following persons were displayed to [redacted] for inspection:

STOKELY CARMICHAEL



b6 b7C

WFO 62-9737

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[redacted] immediately recognized the photographs of CARMICHAEL and [redacted] but he was unable to identify them, or any of the persons portrayed in the other photographs, as persons seen by him during the rioting.

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WFO 62-9737

I. MISCELLANEOUS

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/25/68

[redacted]
[redacted] N.W., related the following information concerning his activities on Thursday, April 4, 1968 and on Friday, April 5, 1968:

Washington D.C.

b6 b7C He reported for work at his place of employment, The Cannon Shoe Store, 7th Street and Florida Avenue, N.W., at 11 a.m. on April 4, 1968. The store closed at 8 p.m. to customers but he did not leave the store until 8:30 or 8:45 p.m. because of the additional work required to straighten up the store. Upon leaving the store, he walked to 14th and U Streets, N.W., arriving in this area about 9:15 p.m. [redacted] said when he arrived at the area of 14th and U Streets, N.W., he observed a crowd of people and that he observed STOKELY CARMICHAEL also with the crowd. At this time, they were coming south on 14th Street between U and V Streets. [redacted] said he joined the crowd as they continued marching south to Peoples Drug Store, located at the corner of 14th and U Streets, N.W., whereupon CARMICHAEL went into the drugstore with some of the "brothers" and asked the store to close out of respect for Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING. [redacted] said he believed CARMICHAEL talked to the manager of this Peoples Drug Store. The crowd then continued south on 14th Street for about one block below U Street, asking that the various business houses close out of respect for the death of Dr. KING. The crowd reversed itself and went north on 14th Street to U Street, then east on U Street for about two blocks, asking the business establishments on U Street to close out of respect for Dr. KING. The crowd reversing themselves walked west on U Street, back to 14th Street. They then marched north on 14th Street. It was only after the crowd went north on 14th Street that some "brothers" began breaking glass windows. When this breaking of glass windows started, CARMICHAEL asked the crowd to stop, telling them to go home, "that this was not what we want." The march

b6 b7C

On 4/18/68 at Washington, D.C. File # WFO 62-9737

SAs [redacted]

by [redacted]

CCC:sas

Date dictated 4/19/68

continued north on 14th Street to near Euclid Street, when CARMICHAEL made his final appeal for the "brothers" to stop breaking windows and go home. [redacted] said he estimated this time to be 9:45 p.m. CARMICHAEL, [redacted] related, after making this final appeal left the crowd. [redacted] said that he, himself, also left at this time returning to the Dunbar Hotel. [redacted] stated that at no time did CARMICHAEL say anything in the way of encouragement to the crowd for them to break windows or engage in other actions of violence.

[redacted] stated that during the march north on 14th Street, someone in the crowd fired two shots from a firearm. He did not see the firearm but other "brothers" said it was a pistol. [redacted] said he could not identify the "brother" who discharged the pistol and quoted CARMICHAEL as saying "Don't do that for that is not what we want." [redacted] declared that at no time did he see CARMICHAEL display or in possession of a firearm of any kind. b6 b7C

[redacted] specifically stated that he, at times,
[redacted]

With respect to his own activities, on the following day, April 5, 1968, [redacted] said he reported for work at The Cannon Shoe Store, 7th Street and Florida Avenue, N.W., about 12 o'clock noon. When he arrived at the store, he noticed that the showcase windows had been broken but the store was in operation. The store remained open until between 3 and 4 p.m. Immediately after closing, [redacted] said he went directly to the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) Headquarters where he stayed for about 20 minutes. [redacted]

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[redacted]
time between 7 and 8 p.m. He went directly to SNCC Headquarters again where he stayed only a few minutes, thereafter, going "Uptown." [redacted] said he was referring to the area of 14th

WFO 62-9737

Street and Euclid Street as "Uptown." [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

In addition to the above information, [REDACTED] stated that although he is not a formal member of SNCC or The Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) he has associated with members of both groups. In this regard, [REDACTED]

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 4/23/68

[redacted] "The New Thing" Art and Architecture Center, 2335 18th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., residence [redacted] Washington, D. C., furnished the below information. [redacted] desired to be interviewed in the presence of his associate, [redacted] Washington, D. C.:

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On the night of April 4, 1968, at approximately 8:00 p. m. [redacted] was with friends on Connecticut Avenue, N. W., when he learned that Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING had been shot and that crowds were forming in the vicinity of 14th and U Streets, N. W., Washington, D. C. He immediately proceeded to this intersection. As he approached, walking east on U Street he observed several large groups of people in the vicinity of 14th Street. He stopped at this intersection and watched as STOKELY CARMICHAEL and a large group of individuals walked down U Street. He believed that CARMICHAEL and his group were entering various businesses, telling them to close immediately in memory of Dr. KING.

[redacted] advised that he was in this area for approximately two hours, 9:00 p. m. to 11:00 p. m., and during this period saw CARMICHAEL about three or four times. He stated that on each occasion he observed CARMICHAEL from a distance, and could barely hear what CARMICHAEL was saying. He believed that CARMICHAEL was urging the crowd to return to their homes. At no time did he see CARMICHAEL in possession of a gun, and he did not hear anyone, including CARMICHAEL mention guns.

[redacted] stated that during the time he was at 14th and U Streets that night, he observed some looting and damage to property. He believed that feelings of the crowd were running strong because of Dr. KING's death, and that the looting and disturbance were going to increase. He claimed that he left the area at approximately 11:00 p. m.

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On 4/17/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737

by SAs [redacted] JTA:nlr Date dictated 4/17/68

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date April 23, 1968

[redacted] Reporter, "Afro-American and Washington Tribune" newspaper, 1800 11th Street, N.W., advised as follows:

On the evening of April 4, 1968, [redacted] had attended a dinner party at the Ivory Coast Embassy, Washington, D. C., from approximately 6:50 p.m. to 9:30 p.m. Shortly after 10:00 p.m., [redacted] drove to the vicinity of 15th and U Streets, N.W., where she parked her car. [redacted] then walked to 14th Street, N.W., and thereafter observed looting and destruction of property on 14th Street in the general area of Fairmount, Euclid and Clifton Streets, N.W. Later she visited the area of 7th and N Streets, N.W. She remained on the street, on assignment for her newspaper, until approximately 6:00 a.m. b6 b7C

[redacted] stated that the violence was well under way by the time she had arrived on the scene shortly after 10:00 p.m. [redacted] observed nothing which would indicate that the looting and destruction were organized or were directed by any individual or individuals. [redacted] said she did not see STOKELY CARMICHAEL that night.

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On 4/18/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737

by SAs [redacted]

by [redacted] Date dictated 4/19/68

WFO 62-9737

ECR:skt

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The following investigation was conducted in an attempt to identify [redacted] previously mentioned by [redacted] volunteer worker for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), Washington, D.C. (WDC), as a person who had told him, [redacted] that he had seen CARMICHAEL on the street after KING's death. This information appeared on Page 49 of the April 19, 1968, report in this matter:

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WFO 62-9737

RET:skt

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On April 26, 1968, [redacted] advised Special Agent (SA) [redacted] that on April 24, 1968, he was talking to an acquaintance of his, whose name he does not know, about the events of the night of April 4, 1968.

During the course of the conversation, he asked his friend if he had seen [redacted] a mutual acquaintance of theirs, whom he thought may have some information about STOKELY CARMICHAEL's actions on April 4, 1968.

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The man asked if he meant the [redacted] who had the goatee; and when answered in the affirmative, the man said that [redacted]

[redacted]

WFO 62-9737

CWB:jle

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In regard to the interview with [redacted]
[redacted] Seaboard Service System, Limited, Washington, D. C.,
on April 11, 1968 which appeared on page 46 of report dated
April 12, 1968 in this matter. [redacted] recalls seeing an
unidentified mailman in uniform at Peoples Drug Store #8
(14th and Park Road, N. W.), who reportedly observed [redacted]
with a gun in his hand on the evening of April 4, 1968, the
following investigation was conducted:

On April 16, 1968, [redacted]
[redacted] South Columbia Heights Station, 961-8561. U. S. Post
Office, Irving Street, N. W., advised SAs [redacted]
[redacted] that the letter carriers from the 14th and
Park Road area, N. W. are:

[redacted] advised that postal employees are not allowed
to wear uniforms unless on duty, however this regulation is
not enforced.

If a post office employee was observed in the 14th
and Park Road area it could be one of the three carriers men-
tioned above. It could also be any of the pickup men who work
out of the Main Post Office, and it could be any post office b6
employees who happened to be in that area. [redacted] stated it is b7C
possible the uniformed carrier could have been off duty.

On April 17, 1968, [redacted] Letter carrier, [redacted]

[redacted], on April 6, 1968, there was no delivery to Peoples Drug Store Number Eight because of the riot conditions. On the evening of April 4, 1968, [redacted] said he was not in the vicinity of 14th and U Streets, N. W. He also said that he had never seen STOKELY CARMICHAEL. b6

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On April 17, 1968, [redacted] Letter carrier, [redacted] advised that on April 4, 1968, he left the post office building on Irving Street, N. W., at approximately 2:00 p.m. and went to his residence 4831 Jefferson Street, Lanham, Maryland, where he remained until the following morning, when he returned to work. [redacted] said he had never seen STOKELY CARMICHAEL.

On April 17, 1968, [redacted] Letter carrier, [redacted] advised that during the evening of April 4, 1968, he was at his residence, [redacted] and was not in the vicinity of 14th and U Streets, N. W. [redacted] said that he does know STOKELY CARMICHAEL but that he did not see him on April 4, 1968.

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WFO 62-9737

ECR:dan

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ALL
[REDACTED] Roving Leader
Program, District of Columbia (D.C.) Recreation Depart-
ment, Washington, D.C., advised SA [REDACTED]
on April 25, 1968, that of the 17 Roving Leaders who are
utilized in various parts of Washington, D.C. by the D.C.
Recreation Department, the only ones who might logically
have been on the streets in the riot-torn areas during the
crucial time were [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

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WFO 62-9737

II. PRESS CONFERENCE HELD
APRIL 5, 1968

WFO 62-9737

A. COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date April 26, 1968

1

[redacted]
Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) News, was interviewed at his office, [redacted] Washington, D.C. [redacted]

[redacted] related that with reference to the CBS coverage of the STOKELY CARMICHAEL news conference at the headquarters of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) on Friday morning, April 5, 1968, he viewed the material which consisted of approximately 500 feet of sound film as soon as it was processed.

[redacted] said he felt the material was too inflammatory for use that day in a television broadcast and so transmitted the material by wire to New York, requesting confirmation of his decision in this regard. He said the people in New York agreed with him that the material should not be used on the CBS news roundup that date. [redacted] stated that on the CBS news roundup featuring WALTER CRONKITE, broadcasted on CBS network, 7:00 p.m. to 7:30 p.m., there was brief mention by CRONKITE of the CARMICHAEL press conference and CRONKITE used about one or two sentences of CARMICHAEL's remarks. [redacted] stated he does not have a recording of the CRONKITE broadcast but that such material as was used by CRONKITE relating to this press conference would be readily available at New York City Headquarters of CBS. [redacted] stated the CBS news roundup has a regular television audience estimated to range between 17 and 20 million viewers. [redacted] stated that the Friday, April 5, 1968, news coverage of STOKELY CARMICHAEL constituted the last time the Washington, D.C. Bureau of CBS had seen CARMICHAEL. He stated CBS News did not cover CARMICHAEL's subsequent appearance on the afternoon of April 5, 1968, at Howard University.

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On 4/25/68 at Washington, D.C. File # WFO 62-9737
by SAs [redacted] CEG:dan Date dictated 4/26/68

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date April 26, 1968

[redacted] Sound Engineer,
Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) News, was inter-
viewed at his office, 2020 M Street, N.W., Washington,
D.C., in the presence of [redacted]

[redacted] advised
he resides at [redacted] Silver Spring, Maryland.

[redacted] related the following:

[redacted] the press conference at the head-
quarters of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
(SNCC), located on 14th Street, N.W., on Friday, April 5,
1968, scheduled for 10:00 a.m., at which time STOKELY
CARMICHAEL was to speak. [redacted]

[redacted]

when STOKELY CARMICHAEL and three other associates appeared
before the group and CARMICHAEL was introduced by a
bearded Negro male of average size, unknown by name to
[redacted] He stated he did not know any of the other
speakers with the exception of STOKELY CARMICHAEL and
is not certain he could identify photographs of these men.

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On 4/25/68 at Washington, D.C. File # WFO 62-9737
by SAs [redacted] CEG:dan Date dictated 4/26/68

[redacted] stated CARMICHAEL was introduced by the unknown person, who in a threatening manner announced that Mr. CARMICHAEL was going to have a press conference and would give the news people only five minutes time and there would be no questions. He also made a stern announcement that following the press conference, all members of the press must get out of the premises immediately and take all their equipment, dirt, trash and cigarette butts with them. Thereafter, CARMICHAEL got up to speak but then sat down at the table in front of the microphones and in substance explained the press conference initially had been called to announce their plans to go get RAP BROWN out of jail. CARMICHAEL said the assassination of Dr. KING caused cancellation of the press conference as initially scheduled, but he later rescheduled a press conference to discuss the effects of the death of Dr. KING. CARMICHAEL said it was he (CARMICHAEL) who was out on the street the previous night leading the people.

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In substance, according to [redacted] CARMICHAEL related, "This is civil war. The whites against the blacks. Negroes should get their guns. This is the only way they can get their freedom. When the whites killed Dr. KING, they declared war on the blacks."

[redacted] stated the whole air of the press conference was threatening in manner towards the press and he stated he was apprehensive. He recalled after CARMICHAEL's brief dissertation, one reporter asked a question about Governor AGNEW of Maryland and some trouble which had occurred at a small Negro college in Maryland. In response to the inquiry of the reporter, CARMICHAEL replied in substance, "If AGNEW thinks he had trouble, then he should wait until we go there. We'll tear the place up."

[redacted] recalled another reporter, in asking a question relating to the death of Dr. KING, inquired of CARMICHAEL if he was not afraid of also being killed.

[redacted] said CARMICHAEL responded in substance, "I am not afraid to die but you fellows will be afraid to die."

WFO 62-9737

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[redacted] said he agreed with CAL MARLIN,
[redacted] that the film recording of this press
conference by CARMICHAEL was too inflammatory to be
broadcast over television.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date April 26, 1968

[redacted] Columbia Broad-
casting System (CBS) News, was interviewed at his office,
2020 M Street, N.W. in the presence of [redacted]

CBS News. [redacted]

[redacted] advised that his residence address is [redacted]

[redacted] Washington DC

[redacted]
[redacted]
Friday, April 5, 1968, at the headquarters of the Student
Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), located on
14th Street, N.W. [redacted]

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[redacted] estimated there were
as many as 50 people crowded into the room, which included
representatives of various major networks, United Press
International, Associated Press, and some local repre-
sentatives from the news media. He stated also present
were quite a few Negroes who appeared to be associates
of the speakers.

[redacted]
10:00 a.m. the news conference was announced by a Negro
male whose identity was not furnished and who was unknown
to [redacted] He described this individual as a medium size
man, wearing a beard and stated he thought he might be

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On 4/25/68 at Washington, D.C. File # WFO 62-9737
by SAs [redacted] Date dictated 4/26/68

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able to identify this individual by viewing a photograph. He stated he did not think he could identify the other two participants and was not familiar with any of the names of the participants except he knew STOKELY CARMICHAEL by sight. He said the first speaker who introduced CARMICHAEL outlined the provisions of the news conference in that it would be short, not more than five minutes, and that when all persons in the news media left the premises, they were to take everything with them that they brought in. He said CARMICHAEL was then introduced and CARMICHAEL explained the news conference initially had been called for the purpose of announcing plans to get ~~RAP BROWN~~ out of jail in Richmond one way or another, and going to Richmond for that purpose, but that after the death of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., he had changed the purpose of the press conference. [redacted] said in substance CARMICHAEL related that it was he (CARMICHAEL) who was out on the street leading the crowds on the previous night. [redacted] said he believes CARMICHAEL probably mentioned 14th Street, N.W., although [redacted] could not be certain of this. He said another point made by CARMICHAEL in his utterances at the press conference was in substance, "Now is the time to use guns. The time to demonstrate is over." [redacted] also recalled CARMICHAEL made a point in substance recommending that the kids should not burn and loot but should get guns. [redacted] stated to his knowledge, CARMICHAEL did not exhibit any weapons nor did [redacted] see any weapons on CARMICHAEL or other SNCC personnel present. [redacted] stated he estimated [redacted] [redacted] did not take any other notes. [redacted] advised [redacted] when the conference began. He stated he was not certain [redacted]

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CARMICHAEL had stopped talking, MARLIN said he recalled at least one question by some unknown reporter inquiring if there was no longer any hope, to which CARMICHAEL

replied in substance since Dr. KING has been killed, there is no hope now.

[] advised that after returning to his office following the termination of the press conference on April 5, 1968, at SNCC headquarters, he made the recommendation to []

[] that the material [] on the television camera was too inflammatory to be used for broadcast purposes.

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[] said on the following Monday, April 8, 1968, he was assigned to go to Richmond to cover the hearing being held there in court relative to the removal of H. "RAP" BROWN. [] stated he did not get to

[] did not see CARMICHAEL or BROWN. MARLIN stated he had not seen CARMICHAEL since the news conference on April 5, 1968.

WFO 62-9737

B. "THE WASHINGTON POST"

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 4/29/68

[redacted]
[redacted] "The Washington Post" newspaper, Washington, D.C. (WDC), advised that the "Post" printed an account of STOKELY CARMICHAEL's press conference held at Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) headquarters at 10:00 a.m., Friday, April 5, 1968, which was covered by WTOP Television and Radio Broadcasting Station, WDC, and furnished to the "Post."

The story on the press conference appeared in the first edition of the newspaper of April 6, 1968, which reached the street about 10:45 p.m., April 5, 1968, and was carried in all subsequent editions of the paper on April 6, 1968.

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[redacted]
[redacted] A subpoena duces tecum should be addressed to [redacted] concerning the production of records relating to the above in any legal proceeding.

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On 4/25/68 at Washington, D.C. File # WFO 62-9737

by SAs [redacted] PHW:skt Date dictated 4/26/68

A16 Saturday, April 6, 1968 THE WASHINGTON POST

Carmichael
Text

'We're Not Afraid...'

'We're Gonna Die for Our People'

This is the transcribed text of nearly all of Stokely Carmichael's press conference here yesterday morning. Brief sections were inaudible and in some instances the exact wording of the speakers were obscure.

Lester McKinnie speaking:

This press conference will be for only five minutes and as soon as the press conference is over you gentlemen will not leave anything in here . . . Your films, your cigarette butts, you take them with you. You waste any water, you will have to clean it up. We will have a few questions . . . To my right, Cleveland Sellers, director of the Orangeburg, S.C., project SNCC. . . Right here, immediately, right, is Stokely Carmichael, who will start here in Washington, D.C., and to my left, Winkie Hail, who is also a member of the staff of Washington. Carmichael will speak to you five minutes.

Carmichael: You may or may not know that this press conference was called before Dr. King's murder. We called it then to deal with Brother Rap Brown because we were very upset. Brother Rap Brown had been in jail for 41 days and Gov. Agnew of Maryland still seems to persist with his nonsensical charges so the Brother can't get out of jail and we want the Brother out of jail next week when he comes to trial.

As for Dr. King's murder, I think white America made its biggest mistake when she killed Dr. King last night because when she killed Dr. King last night, she killed all reasonable hope. When she killed Dr. King last night, she killed the one man of our race that this country's older generations, the militants and the revolutionaries and the masses of black people would still listen to. Even though sometimes he did not agree with them, they would still listen to him.

When white America killed Dr. King she opened the eyes of every black man in this country. When white America got rid of Marcus Garvey, she did it and said he was an extremist, (that) he was crazy. When they got rid of brother Malcolm X, they said he was preaching hate, (that) he deserved what he got.

Then they got rid of Brother Martin Luther King

and had absolutely no reason to do so. He was the one man in our race who was trying to teach our people to have love, compassion and mercy for what white people had done. When white America killed Dr. King last night, she declared war on us. There will be no crying and there will be no funeral.

The rebellions that have been occurring around these cities and this country is just light stuff to what is about to happen.

We have to retaliate for the deaths of our leaders. The execution for those deaths will not be in the court rooms. They're going to be in the streets of the United States of America.

The kind of man that killed Dr. King last night made it a whole lot easier for a whole lot of black people today. There no longer needs to be intellectual discussion. Black people know that they have to get guns. White America will live to cry since she killed Dr. King last night. It would have been better if she killed Rap Brown and/or Stokely Carmichael. But when she killed Dr. King, she lost it.

Q. We want a statement from the organization.

McKinnie: We, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee wish to extend our condolences to the family of the late Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., who was brutally murdered in Memphis, Tenn. This is a lesson which white America has taught us many times before. This lesson was clear in the murder of our four brothers in Orangeburg. This lesson was clear in the murder of the 16-year-old Larry Payne in Memphis. This lesson was clear in the day-to-day torture of black people by white people in America and throughout the world.

It was to end this torture that Dr. King bravely faced death many times—nonviolent. Dr. King was a brother who dedicated his life to liberating his people through nonviolence. Dr. King was a symbol of nonviolence and white Americans shot him down.

Q. Mr. Carmichael don't you believe that the vast majority of Americans feel just as badly as you do about what happened to Dr. King?

Carmichael: The honky from honky Lyndon Johnson to honky Bobby Kennedy will not co-opt Dr. Martin



Carmichael (left) and McKinnie at press conference.

Luther King — Dr. Martin Luther King or black people. It was not but four weeks ago when Johnson told King that he if came marching into the District he'd need a voice because he should bring his troubles to him and now tonight he's trying to make as if Dr. King was his hero.

He fooled no one. Bobby Kennedy pulled that trigger just as well as anybody else, because when Dr. King was down south, Bobby Kennedy was Attorney General.

Every time a black person got killed Kennedy wouldn't move because he wanted votes, so he is just as guilty as all of white America who killed Dr. King. And those who feel sorry ought to feel sorry.

Q: Mr. Carmichael what do you intend to do? What action do you intend to take relative to Rap Brown?

Carmichael: We decided at our central committee meeting that if Maryland persists with this nonsensical charge, even though the reports said Rap did not incite any riot in Cambridge—well, then, Gov. Agnew—he ain't seen nothing if he thinks he's done something on that Bowie State thing.

We will take our troops back into Maryland and all of us veterans from Cambridge, Md., and from Baltimore, Md., and we will turn that State inside out and upside down, and we've got Louisiana to get.

We've got some brothers working in Florida. We've got some brothers working in Ohio and we're going to get Richmond, Va.

Q: Mr. Carmichael, what do you think will happen with the Poor People's Campaign?

Carmichael: I understand

that the Southern Christian Leadership Conference will carry it on, and as we said before we will be glad to give them any support. Whatever the Southern Christian Leadership Conference asks for today we will give to them, except our tears. We will give no more tears for any black man killed.

Q: Mr. Carmichael, do you see anybody replacing

Dr. King as a nonviolent leader.

Carmichael: NO! That's why America lost when she shot him down last night.

Q: Inaudible.

Carmichael: We're waiting for what the Southern Christian Leadership Conference wants to do.

Q: What do you say to black people who have to die to do what you say?

Carmichael: That they take as many white people with them as they can. We die every day. We die in Vietnam for the honkies. Why don't we come home and die in the streets for our people. We die every day. We die cutting and fighting each other inside our own communities. We cut and fight and kill each other off. Let's kill off the real enemies.

Black people are not afraid to die. We die all the time. We die in your jails. We die in your ghettos. We die in your rat-infested homes. We die a thousand deaths every day. We're not afraid to die, because now we're gonna die for our people.

McKinnie: On Monday our

chairman, Rap Brown, will be in Richmond, Va., according to the honky Federal Government. And there will be a car caravan with all directions leading to Richmond, Va., on Monday morning. We're urging all our black brothers and sisters to come to Richmond.

Q: Mr. Carmichael, what's the alternative to this kind of retribution in the streets that you are talking about. Is there any way to stop it?

Carmichael: I don't think so I do not think so. I think white America is incapable of dealing with the problem.

Q: How will Dr. King's death affect the leadership?

Carmichael: Dr. King's death will not affect our leadership. He will affect the black man, for he was my brother, flesh of my flesh and blood of my blood.

You see the mistake they made when they shot Dr. King was even though Dr. King felt about nonviolence, he was always in the streets ready to lead a demonstration.

All the other so-called leaders who talk about non-violence are not on the

streets with their people. Many people respected Dr. King, even though they didn't agree with his philosophy, because at least he was in the streets. But now there's really no one else to respect who talks about non-violence. The people who talk about now violence are not in the streets.

Q: Mr. Carmichael, are you declaring war on white America?

Carmichael: White America has declared war on black people. She did so when she stole the first black man from Africa. The black man has been . . . has been patient, has been resisting—and today the final show-town is coming.

That is clear. That is crystal clear. And black people are going to have to find ways to survive. The only way to survive is to get some guns. Because that's the only way white America keeps us in check, because she's got the guns.

Q: What do you see this ultimately leading to? A blood bath in which nobody wins?

Carmichael: First, my

name is Mr. Carmichael, and secondly black people will survive the bath. Last question.

Q: What accomplishments or objectives do you visualize from the encounter? What do you think you will accomplish?

Carmichael: The black man can't do nothing in this country. Then we're going to stand up on our feet and die like men. If that's our only act of manhood, then Goddammit we're going to die. We're tired of living on our stomachs.

Q: One last question: Do you fear for your life?

Carmichael: The Hell with my life! You should fear for yours. I know I'm going to die. I know I'm leaving.

(Applause.)

McKinnie: There will be a just fight throughout the United States, so that black brothers and sisters can take off that day as slaves working for the master and think about, realize what the honky is doing to the black people in this country and perhaps then something can be done. That's the end of the press conference.

WFO 62-9737

III. RESULTS OF INTERVIEWS
CONCERNING EVENTS AT
HOWARD UNIVERSITY,
AFTERNOON OF APRIL 5, 1968

WFO 62-9737

A. MC KINLEY HIGH SCHOOL

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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Date 4/22/68

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[redacted] student.
McKinley High, Washington, D. C., residing at [redacted]
[redacted] was interviewed with the permission of his mother,
[redacted]

furnished the following information:

At approximately 12:15 p. m. on April 5, 1968, he left McKinley High School and drove in his own car to the campus of Howard University to attend memorial services for Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING. He went to the area near the flag pole, which is near a building located across from the Administration Building. While in this area he joined a group of persons assembled to listen to speeches by various persons unknown to [redacted]

[redacted] stated that at approximately 1:30 p. m. he observed STOKELY CARMICHAEL walk through the crowd to the speaker's platform. [redacted] recognized CARMICHAEL because he has seen him in person before, and he has seen numerous photographs of CARMICHAEL in the newspapers. [redacted] stated he was standing in front of CARMICHAEL at a distance of about 30-40 feet when CARMICHAEL started to speak. According to [redacted] CARMICHAEL spoke for about 3-4 minutes, telling the crowd to get off the streets and to stay off them. He also said something to the effect that "now is the time" and "anything can happen." CARMICHAEL also talked about Dr. KING's death, and inquired why should KING be killed because he stood for non-violence. CARMICHAEL then stated, "They killed the wrong man," and concluding, stated, "if you don't have a gun, then there's no use coming on the streets." b6 b7C

[redacted] claimed that he did not observe a gun in the possession of CARMICHAEL, but the following Monday at school,

On 4/17/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737

by SAs [redacted]

Date dictated 4/19/68

he heard that CARMICHAEL had displayed a pistol. [] believed that his position in the crowd would have made it difficult for him to see a gun in CARMICHAEL's possession, if CARMICHAEL actually had a gun.

[] stated that, in his opinion, CARMICHAEL's remarks had no effect on the crowd, and the people slowly and quietly broke up.

[] also advised that []

[] working, but went to the area of 14th and U Streets to visit a friend, [] U Street, N. W. He arrived in the area at approximately 8:00 p. m. and went into People's Drug Store at 14th and U Streets, N. W. When he came out of the drug store, he noticed a large crowd, led by STOKELY CARMICHAEL, moving across 14th Street toward him. [] believed that CARMICHAEL was ordering stores in the area to close in memory of Dr. KING. He believed this because he was close enough to CARMICHAEL at one point to hear CARMICHAEL say he was going to close all the stores. [] stated that at this time he did not observe any looting or destruction of property in the area.

[] stated that at about 8:30 p. m. he walked to the Republic Theater and talked to [] (phonetic). [] told him that CARMICHAEL had come into the theater and said that he (CARMICHAEL) was not there to hurt anyone, but he wanted the theater closed in memory to Dr. KING. [] stated that the theater soon closed.

[] related that he left the theater and walked east on U Street to 14th Street. At the corner he observed CARMICHAEL talking to several special police guards like the kind that are hired to work in People's Drug Store. According to [] these guards had their guns drawn, but, after talking to CARMICHAEL, put their guns away, got into a car, and drove away.

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[] advised that at no time did he see CARMICHAEL in possession of a gun. He stated that about 9:30 p. m. he departed the area of 14th and U Streets.

[] stated that he would be willing to testify to the above information in a court of law.

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WFO 62-9737

JTA:nlr

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On April 16, 1968, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Washington, D. C.,
advised SAs [REDACTED] that he
is employed [REDACTED]
Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. On the night of April 4,
1968, [REDACTED] At approximately
9:00 p. m., he left the theater to get something to eat.
While on the street, he noticed large crowds of people
congregating in the vicinity of 14th and U Streets. He
stated that he did not observe STOKELY CARMICHAEL on this
particular evening, but, through a friend, he learned that
CARMICHAEL had been in the area closing down businesses in
deference to the death of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING. [REDACTED]
stated that he heard CARMICHAEL had ordered the closing of
two other theaters in the area, but to his knowledge,
CARMICHAEL did not make any appearance at the Booker T.
Theater.

[REDACTED] stated that the friend who told him
CARMICHAEL was closing down the stores is [REDACTED]

b6
b7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 4/25/68

[redacted] a student at McKinley High School, Second and T Streets, N.E., Washington, D.C. (WDC), furnished the following information:

[redacted] advised that he resides at [redacted] WDC. He stated that on April 5, 1968, he was one of approximately 150 students who departed McKinley High School about noon and proceeded to Howard University to pay tribute to MARTIN LUTHER KING. b6 b7C

[redacted] said he did not see or hear STOKELY CARMICHAEL speak on campus at Howard University on that date. He stated that he departed the campus to attend a nearby church service and did not return to McKinley High School with the above group.

[redacted] stated that in his opinion, CARMICHAEL is extreme in some ways, but believes that he has done some good things for the "black people".

On 4/11/68 at Washington, D.C. File # WFO 62-9737
by SA [redacted] AAM:rmh Date dictated 4/16/68

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 4/25/68

[redacted] a student at McKinley High School, Second and T Streets, N.E., Washington, D.C., was interviewed and the following information obtained:

[redacted] identified himself as [redacted] which he later said was his African name, and declined to furnish his place of residence. He said he was present on the campus of Howard University on April 5, 1968, with a group of students from McKinley High School, but claimed he did not pay any attention to STOKELY CARMICHAEL.

[redacted] said he could not understand why it is that when "black people" have a simple gathering, "white agents" have to come around and ask questions.

When asked if he was in sympathy with CARMICHAEL's actions, [redacted] replied that he was in sympathy with all "black people".

[redacted] was uncooperative throughout the interview and indicated that he did not care to discuss the matter any further.

On 4/11/68 at Washington, D.C. File # WFO 62-9737
by SA's [redacted] Date dictated 4/11/68

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date 4/23/68

 age 17, student, McKinley High School, Washington, D. C., residing at Washington, D. C., was interviewed in the presence of his mother, who granted permission for her son to be interviewed. furnished the following information:

On April 5, 1968, at approximately 11:00 a. m. he left school with a large group of other students to go to Howard University in deference to Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING. He remained on the campus in the vicinity of Douglas Hall until approximately 12:45 p. m. He heard various persons address the crowd but he claimed that he did not hear or see STOKELY CARMICHAEL on this occasion.

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He stated that later that day he was talking to a friend, Washington, D. C., who told him that CARMICHAEL came to the campus and had a gun in his possession.

 was unable to furnish any additional information regarding CARMICHAEL.

On 4/16/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737

by SAs :nlr Date dictated 4/19/68

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WFO 62-9737

ECR:rmh

1

On April 24, 1968, efforts were made to contact
[redacted] student, McKinley High School.

b6 b7C

[redacted] at her residence, [redacted]
[redacted] Washington, D.C. (WDC). On
this occasion, her mother, [redacted] advised
that [redacted] was not at home and that if she were home, she
would not allow Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation
(FBI) to talk to her daughter about anything. [redacted]
was extremely hostile and uncooperative, and advised that
it was none of the FBI's business regarding events that took
place on the Howard campus on April 5, 1968.

WFO 62-9737

FFB:cjb

1

The following investigation was conducted at Washington, D.C. (WDC) by SAs [redacted]
[redacted]

On April 15, 1968, [redacted] student, McKinley High School, born [redacted] residing at [redacted] advised that he left school early on April 5, 1968, but did not go to the campus at Howard University as did numerous other McKinley students.
Washington, DC

b6 b7C

On April 16, 1968, [redacted] student, McKinley High School, born [redacted] residing at [redacted] WDC, advised that on April 5, 1968, at approximately 11:00 a.m. he went from McKinley to the Howard University campus. However, he claimed he was on the campus only briefly and did not observe STOKELY CARMICHAEL.
Washington, DC

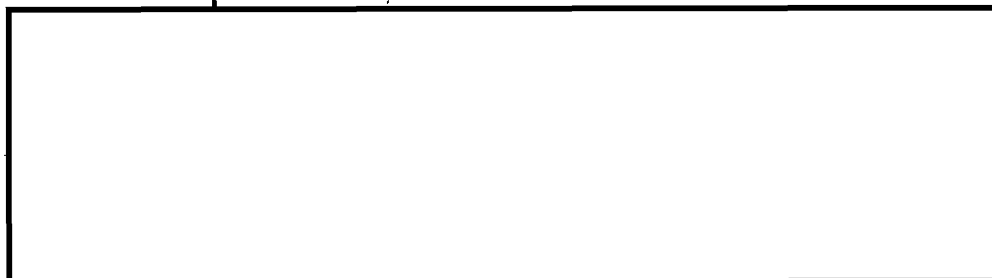
On April 17, 1968, [redacted] student, McKinley High School, residing at [redacted] WDC, advised that she was on the Howard campus on April 5, 1968, until approximately 1:30 p.m. when she left to return to her home. She stated that she did not observe STOKELY CARMICHAEL on this occasion.
Washington, DC

The below listed individuals were contacted on April 18, 1968, regarding STOKELY CARMICHAEL's speech at Howard University on April 5, 1968, but were unable to provide any positive information:
[redacted]
Washington, DC

b6 b7C

WFO 62-9737

2



Washington D.C.

WFO 62-9737

B. BALLOU HIGH SCHOOL

WFO 62-9737

WRC:tjd

1

The following investigation was conducted by SAs

On April 11, 1968, [redacted]
Ballou Senior High School, 3401 4th Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. (WDC), advised that on the morning of Friday, April 5, 1968, members of the Black Student Union, a black militant informal group not officially recognized by the school, attempted to get the students at Ballou refrain from attending classes. They suggested the students should go to Howard University for ceremonies being held there in memory of MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

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[redacted] advised that in order to keep the students in school as requested by officials of the District of Columbia Board of Education, [redacted] an assembly during the second period that day [redacted] members of the teaching staff, including a decorated veteran of the Vietnam war and an ordained minister, to speak to the student body.

During the assembly program, a small group led by [redacted] of the Black Student Union walked out of the assembly and left school indicating they were going to the campus of Howard University. [redacted] stated other students he recognized in the group which walked out of the assembly and were believed to have accompanied [redacted] to the Howard University campus were [redacted]

[redacted] All Washington DC
[redacted] stated that the group which walked out of the assembly, left the school at approximately 11:15 a.m. The rest of the student body and faculty remained at the school until 2:00 p.m. at which time school was dismissed.

b6 b7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date 4/17/68

[redacted] age 17, [redacted]
was interviewed at his residence and provided the following information:

He attended a rally and memorial services for Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING at Howard University on Friday, April 5, 1968, arriving at the rally site in front of Douglas Hall at approximately 1 p. m. He stated he was accompanied by several students of Ballou High School, but did not wish to reveal the identities of any of these students. He stated several speakers lectured on the death of Dr. KING and "ideology." He stated he left the rally at approximately 2:30 p. m. while it was still in progress.

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[redacted] advised he knows STOKELY CARMICHAEL well, and at no time during his presence at the rally at Howard University did he see CARMICHAEL. He stated he did not hear CARMICHAEL make a speech on April 5, 1968.

[redacted] advised [redacted]
[redacted] the Black Student Union (BSU), a "black awareness group" at Ballou High School. He advised "the masses of black students" at Ballou are members of BSU. He advised, to his knowledge, at least 11 public high schools have chapters of the BSU and three parochial schools, which he identified as the Academy of Our Lady, Sacred Heart and Immaculata.

[redacted] advised that [redacted]
[redacted]

b6 b7C

On 4/16/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737

by SAS [redacted] nlr Date dictated 4/17/68

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WFO 62-9737

2

A description of from interview and observation is as follows:

Name:

Race:

Sex:

Age:

Date of Birth:

Place of Birth:

b6 b7C

Height:

Weight:

Complexion:

Hair:

Eyes:

Characteristics:

Current Address:

Telephone:

WFO 62-9737

WRC:dan

1

On April 11, 1968, SAs [redacted]
[redacted] interviewed [redacted] student,
Ballou High School, Washington, D.C., at his residence,
[redacted] Washington, D.C.,
concerning Ballou students who may have attended the rally
at Howard University on the afternoon of April 5, 1968.

[redacted] stated he did not attend the rally; however, he is
aware that several students departed Ballou High School
during the morning after an assembly was held. At this
point in the interview, [redacted]

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[redacted]
D.C., arrived home and joined in the interview. The
purpose of the interview was explained to [redacted] at
which time she instructed her son that since he was not
present at the rally, he was not to become involved in
it. After this admonition from his mother, [redacted]
stated he had no further information to offer and did not
actually know who from Ballou may have attended the rally.

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WFO 62-9737

C. HOWARD UNIVERSITY

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

B. APPROX 1947

Date 4/24/68

[redacted] age 21, was interviewed at his residence, [redacted] N.W., Washington, D.C. (WDC), and advised that he is a student at Howard University and was present on campus on April 5, 1968.

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[redacted] stated that a rally was held on the steps of Douglas Hall in the upper quadrangle of the University at about 1:00 p.m. Close to 2:00 p.m. after most of the speakers had finished their remarks, STOKELY CARMICHAEL appeared and made several remarks from the steps of Douglas Hall. [redacted] stated that he believes that CARMICHAEL'S appearance was unscheduled since he did not hear anyone refer to CARMICHAEL before his appearance.

[redacted] stated that as best he can remember CARMICHAEL said "Brothers and sisters, we are going to shoot tonight." "They shot the wrong man yesterday." "They should have shot me." [redacted] continued that during these remarks CARMICHAEL pulled out what appeared to be a pistol and held it up.

[redacted] stated that CARMICHAEL was vehement in his statements and appeared to be angry. [redacted] also stated that he felt that the intent of CARMICHAEL'S remarks was to incite violence or to get something going.

[redacted] stated that there were many people and much confusion at this time, and he could not say whether anyone followed CARMICHAEL from the campus or not. [redacted] advised that he left immediately following CARMICHAEL'S statements because there were no more speakers and no reason to hang around. He stated that the crowd was still in the vicinity of Douglas Hall when he left.

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On 4/23/68 at Washington, D.C. File# WFO 62-9737

SAs [redacted]

by

WGD:skt

Date dictated 4/24/68

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 4/25/68B. APPROX 1949

DC
[redacted] age 19, a student at Howard University, was interviewed in the Office of the Dormitory Supervisor of Wheatley Hall, Howard University, and advised that her home address is [redacted] New York.

[redacted] advised that she was present at a rally held on the steps of Douglass Hall on the Howard University campus on April 5, 1968, when STOKELY CARMICHAEL appeared and made several statements.

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[redacted] advised that as best she remembers, CARMICHAEL showed up about 1:30 p.m., and said that all the girls should stay off the streets tonight because there would be trouble. He also stated according to [redacted] that the guys should not be bothered with looting, that if they were going to be on the streets, they should be prepared to kill or be killed. [redacted] continued that CARMICHAEL said the white man made his biggest mistake when he killed KING, because he should have killed RAP BROWN or STOKELY CARMICHAEL. [redacted] stated that she does not remember him using the word "gun", nor does she remember that he displayed a pistol.

[redacted] stated that she felt that CARMICHAEL was not trying to incite the crowd to violence, but was only trying to urge the audience that they should not come out on the street if they wanted to be safe, or were not willing and ready to kill.

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[redacted] stated that after his remarks, the crowd dispersed normally. She added that she did not feel that the crowd was any more excited than they had become from listening to the previous speakers.

On 4/24/68 at Washington, D.C.File # WFO 62-9737

SA' [redacted]

by [redacted] Date dictated 4/25/68

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/26/68B. APPROX 1947

[redacted] age 21, a student at Howard University, was interviewed in the lobby of the Meridian Hill Hotel, 2601 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. She advised that her home address is [redacted] Ohio.

[redacted] stated that she was present on the Howard University campus during the remarks made by STOKELY CARMICHAEL on April 5, 1968. [redacted] stated however, that she only saw CARMICHAEL when he approached the steps of Douglass Hall, which was just for a few moments. She continued that from the position in which she was standing at the time, she could not see him when he began his remarks. She could, however, hear him over the public address system, but did not pay any attention to what he was saying because she has heard him speak many times. [redacted] advised that she was standing quite a distance away from CARMICHAEL during his statements, and gauged an approximate distance in the lobby of the hotel which the interviewing agents estimated to be about 80 feet.

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[redacted] stated that the only thing she can remember CARMICHAEL saying was that they should stay off the streets because it would be dangerous. She seemed to remember him also stating that there might be some shooting, and that the white man had killed Dr. KING. She stated that she does not remember him using the word gun, and did not see him display one since she did not have him in view.

[redacted] stated that CARMICHAEL could not have spoken more than five minutes, and following his remarks she believes the crowd dispersed normally, but she is not sure because she was preoccupied with an impending trip she was supposed to take beginning at 3:00 p.m.

b6
b7COn 4/25/68 at Washington, D.C.File # WFO 62-9737

SAs [redacted]

by [redacted] Date dictated 4/26/68

WFO 62-9737

JTA:nlr

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[redacted] N. W., advised SA [redacted] on April 16, 1968, that he attends Howard University but was not on campus on April 5, 1968, and knows of nothing that happened on the evening of April 4, 1968, and the following days except that which he has read in local newspapers.

Washington DC

[redacted] stated he is a native of Kenya and is studying economics at Howard University.

[redacted] further advised that he was arrested the evening of April 5, 1968, for violating the curfew but said his arrest was due to the fact he did not understand what was happening in the city rather than a deliberate violation of the law.

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WFO 62-9737

WGD:lt

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The following individuals were interviewed by SAs [redacted] on the dates indicated regarding their knowledge of events which occurred at Howard University on April 5, 1968, with particular reference to remarks made by STOKELY CARMICHAEL. These persons indicated that although they were on campus at some time during the day, they were not present at the rally at which CARMICHAEL spoke:

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WFO 62-9737

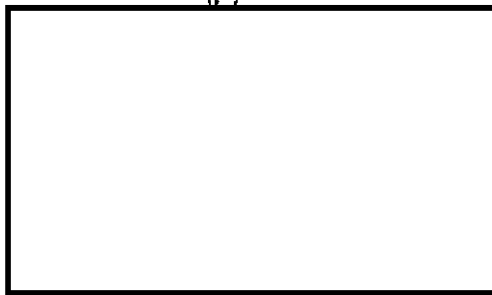
JDG:skt

1

On April 16, 1968, Special Agents [redacted] [redacted] contacted the following Howard University students who were arrested on April 5, 1968, by the Metropolitan Police Department for burglary. They advised they were not on the streets Thursday night, April 4, 1968, nor were they on Howard's campus Friday afternoon, April 5, 1968, consequently were not aware of CARMICHAEL's remarks on either date. They did not know anyone who may have heard CARMICHAEL's statements on either occasion.

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Washington D.C.

Washington D.C.

6/2/72

8-15/72

WFO 62-9737

ECR:rmh

1

On April 22, 1968, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Howard University, WDC, advised that on the afternoon of April 5, 1968, he was in his office at Howard University and was aware that a campus rally was in progress near the steps of Douglas Hall. However, [REDACTED] stated that such events are common and he did not observe the rally. He advised that he later learned from somewhere that STOKELY CARMICHAEL had appeared at this rally, but he did not see or hear CARMICHAEL on this occasion.

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DC

WFO 62-9737

D. CARDOZO HIGH SCHOOL

WFO 62-9737

ECR:dan

1

On April 11, 1968, [REDACTED]
Cardozo High School, Washington, D.C.,/advised SA
[REDACTED] he knew of no Cardozo students who
might have attended the memorial services for Dr. MARTIN
LUTHER KING, JR. held on the afternoon of April 5, 1968,
on the Howard University Campus. [REDACTED]
students were dismissed at 2:00 p.m. on April 5, 1968;
however, it would have been quite easy for a student to
leave the campus undetected before 2:00 p.m. on his free
period, lunch period, or otherwise.

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WFO 62-9737

E. MISCELLANEOUS

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date April 29, 1968

[redacted] known locally as [redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted] was interviewed on the morning of
April 26, 1968, at his office, [redacted]
resides at [redacted] Telephone
483-8710. Washington

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[redacted] was informed the inquiry concerned certain activities of STOKELY CARMICHAEL following the assassination of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., and specifically the activities and remarks of CARMICHAEL on the afternoon of April 5, 1968, during a rally at Howard University.

[redacted] advised he did not wish to discuss anything which he had observed or heard concerning STOKELY CARMICHAEL. [redacted] also stated he would not discuss anything pertaining to the riots, looting, and arson which related to the work in which his organization was engaged. [redacted] said he was acting on his own counsel in assuming this position and it was not a matter pursuant to any instructions or advice.

[redacted] stated further [redacted]
[redacted]

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On 4/26/68 at Washington, D.C. File # WFO 62-9737
by SAs [redacted] MAT:dan Date dictated 4/26/68

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[redacted] indicated his awareness of the responsibilities of the Government to inquire into riots and looting and of the duty of citizens to cooperate. [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] admitted he had attended the rally at Howard University on April 5, 1968. He arrived on the campus sometime around the noon hour and subsequent to the memorial service held earlier indoors for Dr. KING. He stated the rally was held outdoors and he was there for about one hour. He admitted being present when CARMICHAEL was on the scene but made no statements regarding any remarks or activity on the part of CARMICHAEL. In reply to query, [redacted] stated he had no personal knowledge concerning the events in Washington, D.C. on the early evening of April 4, 1968, nor was he aware of any activities of CARMICHAEL on that evening. [redacted]

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[redacted] stated he had not attended the press conference given by STOKELY CARMICHAEL on the morning of April 5, 1968, at the headquarters of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

B. APPROX

Date 4/24/68

[redacted] was interviewed in the vicinity of his residence, [redacted] Washington, D.C. (WDC), and advised that he was on the campus of Howard University on April 5, 1968, when STOKELY CARMICHAEL put in an appearance and spoke briefly from the steps of Douglas Hall.

[redacted] stated that he cannot remember CARMICHAELS' remarks verbatim but believes that CARMICHAEL stated that "It is time to get together" and not "To come out on the streets tonight unless you are prepared." He believes that CARMICHAEL continued that "They killed Dr. KING, who was the only person everyone loved." "They would have done better to kill me." "Don't come out and give the 'Man' an excuse to kill you." "Be ready to defend yourself." b6 b7C

[redacted] stated that at no time did he see CARMICHAEL with a gun nor does he remember CARMICHAEL referring to a gun, but he does remember CARMICHAEL raising his arm and at this time hearing someone else say "He has a gun."

[redacted] stated that he believes CARMICHAEL was definitely trying to incite the crowd and imply that it was time to rise up and revolt violently. [redacted] stated, however, that he does not believe that the crowd was excited by CARMICHAELS' remarks; and to his knowledge, no one proceeded to the riot area as a result of these statements. b6 b7C

On 4/23/68 at Washington, D.C. File # WFO 62-9737
by SAs [redacted] t Date dictated 4/24/68

[REDACTED] CAR-
MICHAEL began to address the crowd. At this time CARMICHAEL was standing about 15 feet away from him, but [REDACTED] was unable to listen closely to CARMICHAEL because he was conversing with [REDACTED]. He recalled CARMICHAEL to state, "I got my stuff, baby." He then heard an unknown woman in the audience say, "he's got a gun." While continuing to converse with [REDACTED], [REDACTED] overheard CARMICHAEL say, "if you are jiving, don't come out tonight. They should have killed me or RAP, and not the man who believed in non-violence."

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[REDACTED]
Building, he left the steps and entered Douglas Hall to telephone the District Building. When he left, CARMICHAEL was still on the steps. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] After approximately 15 minutes, he returned to the steps and observed that CARMICHAEL had left the area. He also did not observe [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised that he did not see CARMICHAEL with a gun in his possession, and the remark by the unknown woman was the only reason he had to believe that CARMICHAEL actually had a gun. He later heard other people say CARMICHAEL had a pistol, but he did not observe it.

[REDACTED] related that, in his opinion, the people in the crowd appeared to be frightened following CARMICHAEL's remarks. He noted no intense reaction to the speech on the part of those present and he believed the crowd to disperse quietly.

WFO 62-9737

3

[redacted] stated that [redacted] left Howard at approximately 2:30 p.m. [redacted] separated, and [redacted] drove the two students back to Eastern High School.

[redacted] advised that, in view of his position with [redacted] and his close association with young people in his assigned area, he preferred not to have to testify to the above information in a court of law.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date April 23, 1968

[redacted]
Washington, D. C., is employed in [redacted]

[redacted] Washington,
D.C., [redacted]

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b7D

[redacted] advised as follows:

Following the assassination of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING on April 4, 1968, and the looting and the ^{full} setting afire of various business and residential premises in Washington,

[redacted]

On 4/18/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737

b6 b7C

SA [redacted]

4/19/68

by _____ Date dictated _____

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] arrived on the campus of Howard University about 12:45 p.m. on April 5, 1968. There were some men and one girl, identities unknown to [REDACTED] who spoke to a crowd of approximately 400 people assembled there in front of Douglas Hall and their remarks generally extolled Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING. They spoke from the steps of this Hall. There were about 30 people standing on these steps [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] stood at the rear of these steps. STOKELY CARMICHAEL arrived there about 12:55 p.m. Shortly thereafter he took a position at the front of the steps and spoke to the assembled group. [REDACTED] [REDACTED] were standing at this time about ten feet in back of him. He was wearing a long coat with a fur collar and his

movements could not be well observed from the rear. He was not observed by [] to display a gun, although he could have done this without [] being in a position to see him do so.

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[] in Washington, D.C., while STOKELY was speaking, in an effort to get [] and CARMICHAEL []

In substance the remarks [] heard CARMICHAEL state were as follows:

The black brothers and sisters were ready but CARMICHAEL didn't specifically say what they were planning to do. He urged the people in the assembled group not to loot and to try to persuade other people not to loot. He indicated that now was the time but didn't indicate what they were planning to do. He wasn't heard by [] to make any mention of guns although he was speaking in a hostile spirit. While he was speaking, [] overheard other men, who were standing in back of CARMICHAEL and whose identities were unknown to JORDAN, to mention that they had guns and were ready; however, they did not further elaborate on these statements.

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b7D

CARMICHAEL, after concluding his speech, got into a car and left the Howard University campus; however, [] remained there.

[] departed from the Howard University in [] car accompanied by [] and the two above mentioned [] departed from them at 7th and L Streets, N.W., Washington, D.C., in order to observe what was happening in that vicinity. It was [] understanding at that time that [] back to Eastern High School.

WFO 62-9737

4

[redacted] stated he would be reluctant to testify, be-
cause as [redacted]

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[redacted]

WFO 62-9737

IV. INTERVIEWS CONCERNING CARMICHAEL'S
ACTIVITIES ON WHEELER ROAD, S.E.,
WASHINGTON, D.C., AFTERNOON OF
APRIL 5, 1968

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/23/68

[redacted]
[redacted] furnished the following information:

WASHINGTON DC

[redacted] a clerk at the Wheeler Food Center, Incorporated, [redacted] was bagging groceries at approximately 12:30 p.m. on April 5, 1968, when a group of five or six neatly dressed colored males with bush type haircuts entered the store

b6 b7C

[redacted] with CARMICHAEL. Some of CARMICHAEL's associates made purchases of small food items and the group departed the store. [redacted] did not recognize any of these individuals as coming from the Wheeler Road area; therefore, he asked a member of CARMICHAEL's party where they came from. The individual replied they all came from another section of Washington, D. C., and were merely looking over the Wheeler Road area. He stated they expected to return to their section of the city later in the day.

[redacted] viewed a photograph of STOKELY CARMICHAEL, [redacted] and identified CARMICHAEL as the individual who was in the store. [redacted] was not able to identify [redacted] as being members of CARMICHAEL's party.

[redacted] stated that [redacted] (phonetic) and [redacted] (phonetic) cashiers, were present at the time CARMICHAEL's party entered the store, he does not think they overheard his exchange with CARMICHAEL. [redacted] informed his employer, Mr. [redacted] of CARMICHAEL's visit to the store.

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On 4/16/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737
by [redacted] Date dictated 4/16/68

CARMICHAEL and his group after departing the Food Center walked down to the area of the laundry in the shopping center and for a short period of time CARMICHAEL spoke to a group of neighborhood youths in front of the laundry. [] stated that [] (phonetic) an employee of the store, walked down to the group and was there while CARMICHAEL talked with the group. According to [] upon his return stated CARMICHAEL had said, "We are going to get this area."

[] stated that shoppers were rushing in and out of the store making quick purchases when [] received a telephone call at 3:00 p.m. from an unidentified individual who informed him that "they" had just got the Sears, Roebuck Store and "they" are coming towards the shopping center.

[] stated that neither he nor [] had any idea who "they" were. Since the other stores in the shopping center were closed at this time, [] decided it best to close the Food Center.

[] stated that he and some of the other store employees []

[] Some time later they heard a commotion over towards the shopping center and went to see what was taking place. When they arrived at the shopping center they saw people running with clothing that apparently came from the cleaners. One or more individuals were breaking windows, including the Food Center windows. [] went to a nearby pay phone to call the police, but could not get through. It appeared the lines were dead. [] stated that when he first arrived on the scene, most of the individuals were passively watching the activities, but later joined the looters. [] stated he saw [] along with other looters taking [] recognized some of the looters as coming from the area, but did not know their names.) things from the stores. [] stated the drug store was set afire while the police were present. They were unable to prevent the fires or handle the crowd.

b6 b7C

All b.c.

WFO 62-9737

3

[] stated he watched the activities for a while and returned to his apartment at 4:30 p.m. or 5:00 p.m.

b6 b7C

[] stated that the cashiers, [] were present when STOKELY CARMICHAEL and his group entered the store. [] stated that [] another employee of the Food Center, was not present during CARMICHAEL's visit as he was out to lunch. [] believed [] lunch hour was from 12:00 noon to 1:00 p.m.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/23/68

[redacted]
furnished the following information:

Washington, D.C.
She stated that she was employed as a cashier at the Wheeler Food Center, Incorporated, 4139 Wheeler Road, S. E., until April 5, 1968, when the building burned down.

b6
b7C
She said that on April 5, 1968, she went to work at about 9:30 a.m. At about 1:30 p.m., she went to lunch, returning about 2:30 p.m. As she was crossing Wheeler Road, returning from lunch, a Negro male, who she did not know, asked her where she was going. She said she told him that she was going to work at the Food Center. She said the man then told her, "We're burning down all these places today". She said she continued on to the store. She advised she had never seen this man before and could not further describe him. She said she was not familiar with STOKELY CARMICHAEL and when shown a photograph of CARMICHAEL, [redacted] stated she did not recognize any of them. She said, though, that none of these individuals resembled the man who made the comment to her.

When she returned to work, [redacted] advised one of the other employees, [redacted] told her that STOKELY CARMICHAEL had been at the store while she was at lunch. She said that she understood CARMICHAEL and others, how many she does not know, came into the store and asked for something and then left. She said she does not know what he may have said while in the store or outside of it. She believes that [redacted] and another employee, [redacted] were in the store when CARMICHAEL was there, but does not know who else might have been there.

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On 4/17/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737

SA [redacted]

LBB:jle

4/22/68

by [redacted] Date dictated

WFO 62-9737

2

[redacted] said she went home from work around 3:00 p.m. on that day. She said [redacted] [redacted] decided to close early because of a crowd of strange persons outside the store and strange persons coming into the store, looking around and asking for newspapers or other such items which they did not have.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 4/26/68

[redacted] advised she was employed by the Wheeler Food Center, 4139 Wheeler Road, S.E., as a cashier and had worked in that capacity on April 5, 1968. Her recollections of that day were vague, she said, due to her preoccupation with thoughts revolving about the death of Reverend MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

She recalled that on April 5, 1968, between 12:00 noon and 1:00 p.m. she was working at her cash register and [redacted] was "bagging" groceries for her. She said that after the departure of several Negroes and whites who were strangers to her she was told by [redacted] one of them had said he was from the city (Washington, D.C.) and "There's going to be a mess over here before it ends."

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She left for her lunch at 1:00 p.m. and returned at 2:00 p.m. or 2:30 p.m. to find the store closed.

[redacted] was unable to recall the number of or physical descriptions of the strangers who had entered the store.

She observed a photograph of STOKELY CARMICHAEL, [redacted] together and was unable to identify any of them as the strangers who were in the store.

b6 b7C

On 4/25/68 at Washington, D.C. File # WFO 62-9737

SAs [redacted]
by [redacted] JFB:skt Date dictated 4/25/68

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/22/68

[redacted] Oxon Hill, Maryland,
furnished the following information:

He and [redacted]

[redacted]
[redacted] Normal business hours at
this store are from 8:30 a.m. until 6:15 p.m., Monday through
Saturday.

b6 b7C

On Thursday, April 4, 1968, business as usual was conducted at the store with no incidents. The store opened at 8:30 a.m. and closed at 6:15 p.m. as usual. The store was again opened as usual on Friday, April 5, 1968, at 8:30 a.m. He was in the store from 8:30 a.m. until approximately 2:00 p.m. that day, [redacted] eat lunch. During the period of 8:30 a.m. through 2:00 p.m. on that day [redacted]
[redacted]

During this entire period of time he noticed nothing unusual either inside the store itself or around the store outside on the street. When he left the store he was not told by [redacted] or anyone else, that anyone had entered the store [redacted]

At approximately 2:45 p.m. the same day, [redacted]
[redacted]

On 4/17/68 at Oxon Hill, Maryland File # WFO 62-9737

b6 b7C

SAs [redacted] Date dictated 4/17/68
by _____

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

[redacted]
[redacted] went immediately to [redacted] and upon arriving determined that a drug store located immediately next door had closed and was not conducting business. Also the bank, of course, closed at 3:00 p.m.- Many of the local residents, who were customers of the store, were coming in and wanting to cash checks. [redacted]

[redacted] he thought a potentially dangerous situation was developing because of the large number of people who were in the store. While the crowd was orderly and there was no trouble he thought it would take very little to set the crowd off and start them to looting because of the situation that existed elsewhere in Washington, D. C. [redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted]
[redacted] directly to his home and remained there the remainder of the evening and night.

When he left the area [redacted] he saw no looting or burning at all and everything appeared normal at that time. However, at 6:30 or 7:00 p.m. that [redacted]

48
3/1
[redacted]
He has seen STOKELY CARMICHAEL's picture in the newspapers and on television many times and is confident he would recognize him if he were to see him in person. He said he has never seen STOKELY CARMICHAEL at any time. He said he [redacted] b6 b7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/18/68

[redacted] furnished the following information [redacted] Maryland

He stated [redacted] the Wheeler Food Center, Incorporated, 4139 Wheeler Road, S. E. He said the store normally closes at 6:30 p.m., and did close at this time on Thursday, April 4, 1968. At this time he said there were no unusual incidents attached to the closing. b6 b7C

The following day, Friday, April 5, 1968, he advised he went to lunch at about 1:00 p.m. and returned about 2:15 p.m. When he returned he said a couple of the employees told him that STOKELY CARMICHAEL had been in the store shortly after he had gone to lunch. He said he understands CARMICHAEL purchased some items and was checked out by [redacted] a store employee. He said no one told him anything that CARMICHAEL said while in the store. He said CARMICHAEL was supposedly accompanied by three other persons, whose names he does not know. He said he does recall which employees furnished this information to him.

[redacted] further advised that at about 2:30 p.m. on April 5, 1968, [redacted]

[redacted] said that there is usually a crowd of young persons hanging around the front of the store, but the crowd was heavier than usual. [redacted] asked him to come to the store.

He stated [redacted] came down to the store and after hearing of incidents of store breaking and looting in the city, and seeing Special Policemen with dogs on the street in front

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On 4/17/68 [redacted] Maryland File # WFO 62-9737

SAs [redacted]

by [redacted] Date dictated 4/17/68

WFO 62-9737

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[redacted] He said that no one asked them to close. [redacted] closed the store, around 3:00 p.m. and left, he said there were numerous persons around the store. He was shown a photograph of [redacted] STOKELY CARMICHAEL and [redacted] He said he recognized CARMICHAEL and did not see him or the others around the store at the time he left.

WFO 62-9737

JMW:jle

1

The following investigation was conducted by SAs

AT FORT FOOTE VILLAGE, MARYLAND

On April 17, 1968, [redacted]

[redacted] advised [redacted] the Wheeler Food Center, Incorporated, 4139 Wheeler Road, Washington, D. C. He said that on April 5, 1968, he was working at the store and went to lunch shortly after 1:00 p.m., returning around 2:15 p.m. When he returned, he said a couple of the employees, one of them [redacted] told him that STOKELY CARMICHAEL had been in the store while he was at lunch. He said he understood CARMICHAEL purchased some items and was checked out by [redacted] another employee, but does not have any further information regarding CARMICHAEL's activities in or near the store. b6 b7C

[redacted] was shown a photograph of CARMICHAEL, [redacted] and advised he recognized CARMICHAEL, but had seen none of the three men around the store.

On April 18, 1968, [redacted]

[redacted] advised he was employed [redacted] at the Wheeler Food Center, 4139 Wheeler Road, S. E., until it burned down on April 5, 1968. He said that on April 5, 1968, he went to work at 8:30 a.m., left for lunch at 1:00 p.m. and did not return after that time. He said there was no particular reason why he did not return to work that afternoon, other than it was pay day and sometimes he does not go back to work on pay days.

Washington DC

He stated he does not know STOKELY CARMICHAEL. He was shown a photograph of CARMICHAEL, [redacted] and he advised he did not recognize any of

b6 b7C

WFO 62-9737

2

them and could not tell which one was CARMICHAEL. He said he had not seen any of them around the Food Center.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/23/68

[redacted]
Washington, D. C., furnished the following information:

[redacted] the Wheeler Road Barber Shop 4129 Wheeler Road, S. E., Washington, D. C. [redacted]

b6 b7C

[redacted] The normal business hours of this barber shop are 9:00 a.m. through 7:30 p.m., Monday through Saturday. [redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]

b6 b7C

1968. Throughout the day he heard reports of looting and burning in other parts of the city over the radio. At approximately 3:30 p.m. on Friday, April 5, 1968, someone, whom he does not recall, came into the barber shop and said that STOKELY CARMICHAEL was in the area and was at that time talking to a group of people who were gathered on Wheeler Road at the North end of the shopping center in the 4100 block of Wheeler Road. [redacted] then stepped immediately outside the shop and from that point he could see a crowd of 25 or 30 people gathered around a person he recognized as STOKELY CARMICHAEL. He did not recognize any of the other people in this crowd. [redacted] was approximately 100 or 125 feet from CARMICHAEL and he could not hear anything CARMICHAEL was saying. He watched CARMICHAEL for two or three minutes and he, [redacted] then went back into the barber shop. Shortly thereafter [redacted]

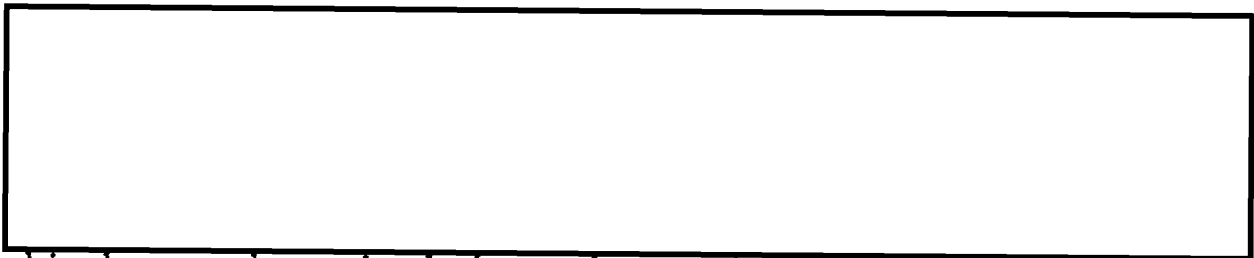
On 4/19/68 Washington, D. C.
SAs [redacted]

File # WFO 62-9737by [redacted] Date dictated 4/22/68

WFO 62-9737

2

b6 b7C



his home and remained there the remainder of the evening and night.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

4/23/68

Date

[redacted]
[redacted] Washington,
D. C., [redacted] Wheeler Road Barber
Shop, 4129 Wheeler Road, S. E., Washington, D. C., furnished
the following information:

[redacted]

b6 b7C The normal business hours of the shop are 9:00 a.m.
through 7:30 p.m., Monday through Saturday [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] There was no looting
or burning in the area up until the time [redacted] but they
heard reports of looting and burning in other parts of the
city and they were fearful that it may begin in their area so
[redacted]

b6 b7C [redacted] said that when they closed he left the
area. When he left everything appeared normal and he noticed

On 4/17/68 at Washington, D. C. File # WFO 62-9737

SAs [redacted]

JMW:jle

4/19/68

by [redacted] Date dictated

WFO 62-9737

2

nothing unusual. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] He said he does not know STOKELY CARMICHAEL and does not believe he would recognize him if he were to see him. A large photograph in which STOKELY CARMICHAEL, [REDACTED] appeared was exhibited to him. Upon viewing this photograph he said he did not recognize any of these individuals and could not recall ever having seen any of them before.

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WFO 62-9737

V. MISCELLANEOUS

WFO 62-9737

WMH:bah/tjd

1

[redacted] San Francisco, California, Police Department, advised on April 6, 1968, that he had received information from a reliable source that [redacted]

[redacted]

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b7D

[redacted] continued that about noon Pacific Standard time on April 5, 1968, the day after the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Stokely Carmichael appeared on television, believed to have originated on the East Coast, and according to [redacted], he urged black men to "hit the streets and to go and retaliate." Subsequently, the program was rebroadcast again during the day.

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WFO 62-9737

2

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b7D

A check of the San Francisco State College Student Directory for 1967 to 1968 failed to disclose a student's name

b6 b7C

The address-telephone directory of the Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone Company, Washington, D.C., disclosed address 2115 S Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., to be the location of the following:

National Students Association
United States National Students Association

No connection between the above-mentioned individuals, STOKELY CARMICHAEL or the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee was established.

On April 6, 1968, the United States Department of Justice, Washington, D.C., in an effort to ascertain if any telegrams were being sent from Washington, D.C. (WDC), by Stokely Carmichael or his associates to other parts of the United States ordering racial strife during the upheaval caused by the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, ordered a subpoena be issued and served on Western Union for any such information. The subpoena was issued by the United States District Court for the District of Columbia on behalf of the United States in regard to possible violation Title 18, United States Code 371, Section 901, Public Law Number 226, 90th Congress, 1st Session; 81 Stat. 742. It was directed to Mr. John R. Skelton, Jr., Regional Manager, Western Union Telegraph Company or other authorized representatives, 1405 G Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., and ordered him to bring all copies of all messages and/or telegrams sent by any of the following named from the District of Columbia to any other persons or organizations during the period of 8:00 p.m., April 4, 1968 to 2:00 p.m., April 6, 1968:

Stokely Carmichael

b6 b7C


Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

The subpoena was issued pursuant to authority of David G. Bress, United States Attorney for the District of Columbia and The Honorable Edward Curren, Chief Judge of the United States District Court for the District of Columbia. The subpoena was obtained from Assistant United States Attorney Al Hantman at 5:10 p.m. on April 6, 1968 and was served on Mr. Skelton at 5:35 p.m. on April 6, 1968, by Special Agents [redacted] of the Washington Field Office of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

b6 b7C

On April 9, 1968, at 8:10 a.m., [redacted] [redacted] Western Union, mentioned above, advised Special Agent [redacted] that he had caused a search to be made consistent with the above-mentioned subpoena served on him on April 6, 1968, for any messages of interest. He advised that he had been unable to locate any messages emanating from Stokely Carmichael or the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee or the other individuals mentioned in the subpoena.

WFO 62-9737

ECR:tab

1

On April 8, 1968 the Washington Field Office of the Federal Bureau of Investigation received information to the effect that [redacted] Lansburgh's Department Store, Washington, D. C. (WDC) had information in his possession regarding STOKELY CARMICHAEL which had been furnished to [redacted] by one of the employees in Lansburgh's [redacted] This information reportedly was that this employee [redacted]

On April 8, 1968 SA [redacted] contacted [redacted] Lansburgh's Department Store, WDC and [redacted] advised that the employee who had furnished the information concerning CARMICHAEL was [redacted] [redacted] added that all of his employees have been continually discussing the riotous situation in WDC; however, he does not place any credence in "their gossip". According to [redacted] he had heard so many rumors and so much gossip of late that he was confused as to who said what and could not in fact be sure that the above statement allegedly made by CARMICHAEL was furnished to him by [redacted]

On April 8, 1968 [redacted] [redacted] Lansburgh's Department Store, WDC advised SA [redacted] that she had spoken via long distance telephone [redacted]

WFO 62-9737

2

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] stated that she does not believe in violence and has never attended any SNCC meetings in WDC and has never seen CARMICHAEL in person. [REDACTED] denied making the aforementioned statement attributed to her by [REDACTED] or anyone else.

b6 b7C

WFO 62-9737

WWH:tab

1

The Federal Bureau of Investigation in Atlanta, Georgia is in possession of information that CARMICHAEL, according to an unconfirmed report, upon arrival in front of the Paschal Motor Hotel, 830 Hunter Street, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia, at about 11:40 p.m. on April 8, 1968, spoke to a crowd stating: "Brother tomorrow night we gonna burn them". Subsequently, at about 10:20 a.m. on April 9, 1968, CARMICHAEL arrived in the vicinity of the Ebenezer Baptist Church, 413 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia, where funeral services for Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. were in progress. As he proceeded in the vicinity of the church and although speaking to no one in particular he repeated time and again "black power, black power" as he held up his hands. After services at the church and while en route to memorial services at Morehouse College for Dr. KING, rumor was that CARMICHAEL had said "Play it cool and after we bury the man, then the riots can start".

Efforts are currently being made to corroborate the above information.

WFO 62-9737

DJK:cjb

1

On April 18, 1968, [redacted] National Broadcasting Company (NBC), 4001 Nebraska Avenue, N.W., was interviewed by SAs [redacted] recalled that earlier, on instant date, he had advised that he had located a video-audio tape which NBC personnel had made of the press conference held by C. SUMNER STONE at Ed Murphy's Supper Club, 2227 Georgia Avenue, N.W., the afternoon of April 7, 1968. [redacted] recalled he had stated that he was having a dubbed copy made of the audio portion of the video-audio tape, which he would make available to the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). [redacted] stated that he has since learned from [redacted] News Director, WRC Radio-Television, NBC, that it would be against NBC policy for him to make available the copy of the audio tape to anyone outside of NBC. [redacted] referred the Special Agents to MARGOLIS.

b6 b7C

On April 18, 1968, [redacted] recalled he had previously been contacted on this matter by SA [redacted] and had directed him to [redacted] stated that he had since learned from NBC officials in New York, New York, that NBC policy would be against making available the originals or copies of any NBC tapes. [redacted] stated that if a subpoena duces tecum were to be issued to produce the original video-audio tape of STONE's press conference, it should be directed to him. [redacted] noted, however, that NBC had not televised or broadcast all or any part of the tape. For this reason, [redacted] believes that NBC would regard the tape as being privileged and not subject to a subpoena.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 4/17/68

[redacted] Neighborhood Legal Services, 416 5th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. (WDC), advised that he had not seen STOKELY CARMICHAEL since Tuesday night, April 2, 1968. [redacted] further advised that he had not been present either on April 4, 1968, or April 5, 1968, when STOKELY CARMICHAEL allegedly had made certain inflammatory statements in the area of 14th Street, N.W.

[redacted] advised that he had heard that CARMICHAEL had actually attempted to "diffuse" the very tense situation that had developed shortly after the assassination of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.; that CARMICHAEL had disarmed an individual in a crowd having taken from this individual a pistol. [redacted] stated that he was unable to furnish the identity of the disarmed individual or that of anyone by name who observed this action. b6 b7C

[redacted] advised that at 3:40 a.m. April 6, 1968, he received a telephone call from [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] advised that in his opinion STOKELY CARMICHAEL was a "cut above his critics" and had a good deal to offer to the community in the way of leadership. b6 b7C

On 4/16/68 at Washington, D.C. File # WFO 62-9737
by SAs [redacted] CTC:skt Date dictated 4/17/68

WFO 62-9737

TJO:laa

1

On April 17, 1968, SA [redacted] and SA [redacted] interviewed [redacted] reporter for the "U. S. News and World Report."

On April 18, 1968, SAS [redacted] interviewed [redacted] [redacted] also of the "U. S. News and World Report."

b6

b7C

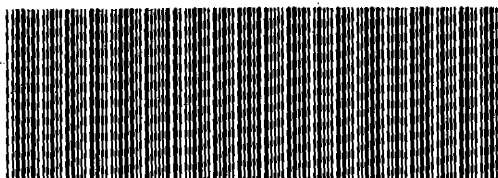
All of the above advised that they did not observe STOKELY CARMICHAEL at anytime between April 4 to 7, 1968, nor did they cover any of the meetings, press conferences or demonstrations in Washington, D.C. between the dates previously mentioned. [redacted] further advised that "U.S. News and World Report" usually relies on the Associated Press and United Press International for on-the-spot coverage of such activities.

AU Washington DC

100 - HQ- 446080

1480

EBF



100-HQ-446080-1480

246,504

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 7/23/84 BY SP9 ued-lmw

50-1480

DO NOT
DESTROY

FOIPA # 983317

2/78, /6

VIA TELETYPE

APR 24 1968

ENCIPHERED

WA -7-

931AM URGENT 4-24-68 JAM

TO DIRECTOR AND WASHINGTON FIELD (ENCODE)

ATT DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM NEW YORK 100-153751 1P

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION

AN ARTICLE APPEARING IN THE GUARDIAN, DATED
APRIL TWENTY, NINETEEN SIXTYEIGHT, STATED SOUTHERN
CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND WAS HAVING A DINNER TO
PAY TRIBUTE TO ELLA J. BAKER WITH BOB ZELLNER,
MRS. ROSA PARKS, STOKELY CARMICHAEL, LEA SCOTT,
HOWARD ZINN, AT THE GRAND BALLROOM, HOTEL ROOSEVELT,
MADISON AVENUE AT FORTY FIFTH STREET, NEW YORK CITY,
ON WEDNESDAY, APRIL TWENTYFOUR, SIXTYEIGHT.

ADMINISTRATIVE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-01-2006 BY 60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

NYO ALERTED SOURCES TO COVER APPEARANCE OF SUBJECT
AND ATTEMPT TO RECORD ANY SPEECH MADE BY SUBJECT.
NYO CONTINUING EFFORTS TO LOCATE SUBJECT.
END

MAL R RELAY

FBI WASH DC

REC-92

10 APR 29 1968

FBI FTB NY #7 SAL/mal
66 MAY 3 1968
NO COPIES TO WFO 1968

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-01-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

Date: 4/25/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (157-1297) (P)

b7C

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - M; SEDITION
(OO: WFO)

Re WFO airtel to Director 4/16/68 captioned
"STOKELY CARMICHAEL INCITING TO RIOT - MISCELLANEOUS."

Referenced airtel desired Chicago locate and
interview Howard University students home on Easter vacation
concerning an incident on Howard University campus, 4/5/68,
regarding STOKELY CARMICHAEL.

b7C

Chicago indices contain no references identifiable
with the names [redacted]

On 4/24/68, [redacted]
[redacted] Chicago, father of [redacted] advised she
had returned to Howard University, Washington, D. C. He
said his daughter did not relate any unusual incidents to
him regarding STOKELY CARMICHAEL during her Easter visit to
Chicago. He said she would cooperate if contacted by the FBI.

b7C

On 4/24/68, [redacted]
Chicago, [redacted] presently assigned to
[redacted] advised he is father of
[redacted] He said [redacted] had returned to Howard

b7C

3 - Bureau (RM)
2 - WFO (100-43503) (RM)
1 - Chicago
DEH:CMS
(6)

20 APR 27 1968

D.C. Bishop

b7C

RACIAL INT. SECT.

66 MAY 3 1968
Sent _____ M Per _____
Agent in Charge

University campus. [] did not relate any unusual incident to him regarding STOKELY CARMICHAEL during his Easter vacation to Chicago.

b7C

[] doubted if his son would truthfully respond to an interview by the FBI concerning an unusual or inflammatory exhibition by STOKELY CARMICHAEL. He thought if [] did observe CARMICHAEL's actions and truthfully reported it to the FBI, he would never testify to it in court on the behalf of the U. S. Government. He said [] is [] at Howard University and, as such, he is recognized as being part of the Howard "power structure" and his performance is approved by both faculty and students, both favoring the current policies of the "in" leadership, which reflect a "black power" position. [] said his son is a "smart, shrewd politician" and would never publicly condemn actions of CARMICHAEL and risk losing his support by the faculty and students by turning against a "brother black power advocate." [] is certain his son does not share the radical, violent views of CARMICHAEL and has never been associated with or a member of SNCC.

b7C

[] said he would call [] and tell him to contact the WFO regarding this matter. He doubts if [] will do as he desires.

It is being left to the discretion of the office of origin whether they desire to cover these leads.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-01-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

FBI

10955

Date: 4/26/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION
(OO:WFO)

b7C

ReNKteletype, 4/26/68.

b7C

Newark determine if [redacted] previously resided
at [redacted] New Jersey, and conduct
credit and criminal.

b7C

In an effort to ascertain financial data regarding
[redacted] necessary to the CARMICHAEL investigation, Newark
through established sources, attempt to ascertain financial
details of purchase and sale by [redacted] of house located at
[redacted] New Jersey. Submit LHM.

- ③ - Bureau
2 - Newark (100-49533) (RM)
1 - WFO

WWH:sas
(6)

AIRTEL

REC-33

100-446080-1483

C. C. - [redacted]

cc 806 940

J- [redacted]

Approved: [Signature] Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

3 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-01-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

10956

b7C

1 - [REDACTED]
1 - [REDACTED]
1 - Mr. J. J. Dunn

4/26/68

h
st
Airtel

**To: SAC's, Albany
Charlotte
Newark
New York
Washington Field Office (WFO)**

From: Director, FBI

(PNS) [REDACTED]
RM - NOI

b7C

b7C Enclosed for each office is a copy of a United States Army spot report. This spot report sets forth information received by the 108th Military Intelligence Group from [REDACTED] on the New York State Police, Albany, New York.

b7C ⁶Stokely Carmichael mentioned in the report is the subject of a pending investigation in the Washington Field Office and [REDACTED] mentioned in the report is probably identical with [REDACTED] New York file [REDACTED]. Bufiles contain no references identifiable with the subject.

b7C Albany should contact [REDACTED] and ascertain if any additional data has been received by him in this matter. Newark should consider itself office of origin in this case and check files and appropriate sources in an effort to identify the subject.

Enclosure

1 - [REDACTED]
(P) - 100-446080 (Carmichael)

b7C

100-446080-
NOT RECORDED

46 APR 29 1968

JJD:abb
(16)

70 MAY 1 1968 DUPLICATE YELLOW

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

9198

ORIGINAL FILED IN

10957

Airtel to SAC, Albany
RE: (FNU) [REDACTED]

b7C

b7C New York and Washington Field Office should advise of any information known regarding a meeting in Washington, D. C. as set forth in the spot report, which was attended by Carmichael, [REDACTED] and the subject.

b7C In addition to contacting [REDACTED] Albany should ascertain whether the information involved has been furnished to appropriate sources in the United States Navy and/or United States Marine Corps in order that authorities at Camp Lejeune, North Carolina, may be alerted.

NOTE:

b7C [REDACTED] received information from an informant of unknown reliability regarding a meeting allegedly held in Washington, D. C. which was attended by the subject, Carmichael, and [REDACTED]. Reportedly, the subject is expert in demolition and was responsible for many of the fires in the disturbances in Newark in 1967. Reportedly, a raid has been planned on Camp Lejeune, United States Marine Corps base in North Carolina.

~~SECRET~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE



DATE: 06-13-2006
CLASSIFIED BY 60309/TC/TAM/DCG/bls-derivative
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1) 06-13-2031

4/25/68

Airtel

b7C

1 -
1 -

To: SAC, WFO (100-43503) PERSONAL ATTENTION
From: Director, FBI (100-446080) — 1484

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS - SNCC; SEDITION



b1

For the information of New York, subject applied for a marriage license in Washington, D.C., on April 22, 1968. They intend to pick up this license on April 29, 1968.

b7C

During the continuing investigation of Carmichael, it is important for recipient offices to establish when and where Carmichael are to be married. Adequate coverage should be afforded the wedding to determine the identity of those in attendance.

b7C



b1

2 - New York (PERSONAL ATTENTION)

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

PTB:cds (7)

44-52 100-446080

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

~~SECRET~~

MAILED 27
APR 25 1968
FBI - WFO

~~SECRET~~

Airtel to SAC, WFO
RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
100-446080

The above information is to be used for lead purposes only and is not to be disseminated outside the Bureau.

~~SECRET~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-01-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

FBI

Date: 4/22/68

Transmit the following in PLAINTEXT
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC; SEDITION

SUBJ DEPARTED FIVE ZERO ONE FIVE SIXTEENTH STREET, TWELVE FORTY-FIVE PM WITH [REDACTED] AND WENT TO DIXIE REALTY CO. WHERE [REDACTED] MADE BRIEF VISIT. SUBJ [REDACTED] THEN PROCEEDED TO D.C. MARRIAGE LICENSE BUREAU WHERE APPLIED FOR MARRIAGE LIC TO BE PICKED UP FOUR TWENTYNINE NEXT. SUBJ [REDACTED] THEN DROVE TO FOURTEENTH AND F ST., NW, WHERE [REDACTED] DEPARTED AUTO. SUBJ CONTINUED TO SNCC HDQTS REMAINING INTO EVENING HOURS. SOURCE ADVISED SUBJ ATTENDED MEETING OF BLACK UNITED FRONT COMMENCING EIGHT P.M.

ADMINISTRATIVE

b2
b7D

SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

b7C

3-Bureau
1-WFO
RFO:mmh
(4)

REC 11/100-446080-1484

20 APR 30 1968

Approved: TDP/RFO
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-01-2006 BY
60307 UC/TAM/DCG/bls

F B I

Date: 4/26/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (62-9737) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INCITING TO RIOT
MISCELLANEOUS
(OO:WFO)

b7C

Re AT airtel with LHM, 4/10/68.

Investigation disclosed CARMICHAEL apparently in
Atlanta, Georgia, from 4/8 through 4/10/68.

While in Atlanta, it appears CARMICHAEL made a
number of inflammatory type statements. On 4/9/68, Atlanta
Office advised that Atlanta Police Department reported
seeing CARMICHAEL in front of Paschall's Restaurant and
Motel accompanied by three or four other unknown individuals.
Members of the Police Department reported that CARMICHAEL
stated, "tomorrow night we're gonna' burn". On 4/10/68,
Atlanta reported CARMICHAEL arrived in the vicinity of
Ebenezer Baptist Church and repeated time and time again
"Black Power" as he held up his hands. After services at
church for MARTIN LUTHER KING, rumor was that CARMICHAEL
had said "play it cool and after we bury the man, then, the
riots can start".

EX-105

REC 11

100-446080-1486

The Department has requested that specific information be developed regarding any and all inflammatory

- (3) - Bureau
2 - Atlanta (100-6812) (RM)
1 - WFO

WWH:cabb
(6)

C. C. - Bishop

CC 806 940

5-14

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

70 MAY 3 1968
F-102

WFO 62-9737

statements tending to insite made by CARMICHAEL while in Atlanta during the above period. This would include statements made to the press, newspapers, radio or TV, as well as statements made to other groups.

Attempt to determine if statements made were an organized plan of CARMICHAEL or SNCC to incite.

This information desired to show overt activities of CARMICHAEL as well as continuing disposition of CARMICHAEL after leaving Washington, D. C.

Atlanta requested to expeditiously ascertain information regarding inflammatory statments made by CARMICHAEL, while in Atlanta, develop witnesses who can corroborate such statements and set forth in FD 302 submitting same in LHM form.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-01-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/pls

F B I

Date: 4/25/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan ☒ _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (62-9737)

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INCITING TO RIOT-MISCELLANEOUS

ReSFtels 4/6/68.

b2 Enclosed herewith are eleven copies for the Bureau
b7C of LHM re above captioned subject. One copy is being furnished
b7D SF for information. The LHM is being furnished for dissemination. The source referred to in the LHM is [redacted]
contacted by SA [redacted]

1cc to Crim - Attn: [redacted]

b7C

ISD - Attn: Mr. Paul Vincent

IDIU - R/S 4/29/68

PTB/dkl

1cc of airtel + LHM
816 940

ENCLOSURE

③ - Bureau (Enc. 11)

1 - San Francisco (Enc. 1)(RM)(AM)

2 - WFO

(1-100-43503)

EX 106

WWH:bah/tjd
(6)

AIRTEL

C. C. - Bishop

CC TO: D. A. A. A.
REQ. REC'D 2-16-68
APR 30 1968
BY: B. V. H. A. S. S.

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Washington, D. C. 20535

April 25, 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-01-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INCITING TO RIOT - MISCELLANEOUS

b7C [redacted] San Francisco, California, Police Department, advised on April 6, 1968, that he had received information from a reliable source that the Black Students Union at San Francisco State College had received a telegram from Stokely Carmichael on April 5, 1968, with instructions to Black Power affiliates "to hit the streets" that night. [redacted] advised that the source of the information had not actually observed the telegram in question but had obtained the information about the receipt of the telegram from individuals connected with the Black Students Union at San Francisco State College. He stated that he understood from the source that similar telegrams had been sent to all Black Power affiliates apparently in the United States. [redacted] stated conversely the alleged receipt of the telegram from Stokely Carmichael by persons affiliated with the Black Students Union at San Francisco State College could have been made up in an effort to enhance some unidentified person's status. He also stated that the information received was that the message was a telegram; however, he acknowledged it could have been another means of communication instead.

b7C [redacted] continued that about noon Pacific Standard time on April 5, 1968, the day after the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Stokely Carmichael appeared on television, believed to have originated on the East Coast, and according to [redacted] he urged black men to "hit the streets and to go and retaliate." Subsequently, the program was rebroadcast again during the day.

COPIES DESTROYED

286 FEB 23 1971

ENCLOSURE

100-446080-1489

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

b7D



b7C



San Francisco, California

"A sick country. Despair, where is our heart? America once again destroys a beautiful human because of his blackness. Too late? Too late? Four hundred years too late? We must make a cry for life, Dr. King's cry for life. 'I have a dream'. Today we must act for black America's Life."

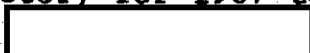
Signed by

b7C



Tutorial Assistant Center
2115 S Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

b7C

A check of the San Francisco State College Student Directory for 1967 to 1968 failed to disclose a student's name 

The address-telephone directory of the Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone Company, Washington, D.C., disclosed address 2115 S Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., to be the location of the following:

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

~~National Students Association~~ *aka*
~~United States National Students Association~~

2115 S St, N.W.
Wash. DC

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, and who is acquainted with Stokely Carmichael and some of his associates, advised on April 7, 1968, the names of the above individuals were not known to be Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee members or affiliates with Carmichael.

b3
b7C
b7D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-01-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

F B I

Date: 4/12/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via A I R T E L _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080) b7C

FROM: SAC, SAN DIEGO (100-13995) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - M; SEDITION
(OO: WFO)

San Diego informants and sources have advised that STOKELY CARMICHAEL has been invited to speak at the San Diego Committee of the California Black Conference, also known as The San Diego Black Conference, which is to be held in San Diego on 4/19, 20 and 21/68.

WFO is requested to furnish any information concerning CARMICHAEL's proposed travel to San Diego to speak and attend the above conference.

- 3 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
2 - WFO (REGISTERED)
2 - San Diego

BAS:mel
(7)

CC - Bishop
EF-110
REC 26

100-446080-1488

APR 15 1968

RACIAL ~~MA~~ SEGL

cc 806,910

Approved: F 2/83
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

VIA TELETYPE
APR 25 1968
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

WASHINGTON--01--

NEW YORK--01-- 1135 AM ELF

URGENT 4-25-68

TO DIRECTOR AND NEW YORK PLAINTEXT

ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM NEWARK (100-49533)

b7C

STOKLEY CARMICHAEL, INTERNAL SECURITY-MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION

REFERENCE WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE TELETYPE TO BUREAU
NEW YORK, AND NEWARK, APRIL TWENTYFOUR LAST.

INFORMATION FROM NEWARK CITY BOARD OF EDUCATION CONFIRMS
CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL LEASED FOR EVENING OF APRIL TWENTYSIX,
SIXTYEIGHT, [REDACTED] PRINTED FLYERS BEING DISTRIBUTED
IN NEWARK AREA STATE UNITED BROTHERS OF NEWARK PRESENTING
CARMICHAEL ALONG WITH [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] AND OTHERS, AT CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL,
FRIDAY, APRIL TWENTYSIX, SIXTYEIGHT, AT SEVEN PM.

SOURCE ADVISES CARMICHAEL TO ARRIVE NEWARK IN TIME FOR
APPEARANCE AND TO LEAVE IMMEDIATELY AFTERWARDS TO ATTEND
SOCIAL FUNCTION IN NEW YORK CITY. SOURCE FURTHER STATES
MILITANT WHITE RACIST GROUP LED BY [REDACTED] HAS

END PAGE ONE

MAY 6 - 1968

b7C

NK 100-49533

AGREED NOT ATTEMPT TO DISRUPT THE MEETING.

NEWARK POLICE DEPARTMENT INTELLIGENCE UNIT AFFORDING
COVERAGE AND WILL ATTEMPT TO TAPE RECORD STATEMENTS OF
CARMICHAEL.

ADMINISTRATIVE

SOURCE IS

INTERESTED AGENCIES ADVISED. NEWARK AFFORDING INFORMANT COVERAGE.
LETTERHEAD MEMORANDUM FOLLOWS.

END

WA PLS AC

FJB

FBI WASH DC

FTB-SAL

b7C
b7D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-01-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

4/26/68

Airtel

b7C

1 -
1 -

To: SAC, WFO (62-9737)
From: Director, FBI (100-446080) — 1490

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INCITING TO RIOT - MISCELLANEOUS

b7C

ReWFOairtel 4/22/68.

Bureau permission is granted to interview [redacted]
[redacted] for any information they may volunteer con-
cerning the activities of Carmichael during the period April 4
through 7, 1968.

The approach to these interviews should be in the nature
of securing overall information regarding the recent riots in
Washington, D.C., and their possible knowledge of any criminal
violations on the part of Carmichael or any other individual.

In view of the fact that these individuals may not be
cooperative witnesses, you should make certain the interviews
are conducted at a time and place that will not cause embarrass-
ment to the Bureau.

b7C

The Bureau agrees that in view of the current selective
Service investigation of [redacted] he should not be inter-
viewed at this time.

PTB:lst
(4)

NOTE:

At the specific request of the Attorney General we
are conducting an investigation to develop information on the
incidents involving Stokely Carmichael during the recent riots
in Washington, D.C. WFO in referenced airtel pointed out that
[redacted] have, during the period 4/4-7/68,
been observed in the company of Carmichael. [redacted]
[redacted] of the Washington, D.C. Chapter of SNCC, and [redacted] is the

b7C

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. R.
Holmes
Gandy

NOTE CONTINUED PAGE TWO

59 MAY 7 1968

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

Airtel to SAC, WFO
STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INCITING TO RIOT - MISCELLANEOUS

NOTE CONTINUED:

[redacted] of Cultural Activities for the New School of Afro-American Thought, Washington, D.C. A center for the development of Negro art and a meeting place for Black Nationalists. While it is very possible these individuals may not be cooperative, an interview with them will enable us to place on the record their attitudes and sympathies prior to any trial. b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-01-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

F B I

Date: 4/22/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via **AIRTEL** _____
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (62-9737) (P)

ATTN: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INCITING TO RIOT - MISCELLANEOUS
(OO:WFO)

b7C

b7C

ReWFOreports of SA [] dated 4/12 and 4/19/68.

During the course of the investigation of captioned
matter information has been developed that []

[] have some time during the pertinent
period of April 4 through 7, 1968, been observed in the company
of CARMICHAEL. In this regard the Bureau's consideration is
being asked as to the advisability of attempting to interview
these individuals two of whom are subjects of individual racial
matter investigations in WFO and one of whom is the subject of
a current selective service case.

[] (WFO file [] presently is
[] of Cultural Activities for the New School of Afro-
American Thought, 2115 14th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. (WDC),
a center for the development of Negro art and a meeting place
for Black Nationalists. In addition, [] is on the Agitator
Index of WFO.

3-Bureau
1-WFO

ECR:cjb
(4)

AIRTEL

C. C. Bishop

EX-110
REC-26

100-446080-1419

20 APR 30 1968

cc 806 947

5-14

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

WFO 62-9737

b7C [redacted] is presently active in the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) Anti-Draft Program in WDC. [redacted] refused induction into the U.S. Army at Fort Holabird, Maryland, and at the present time is the subject of a current selective service case (WFO file [redacted])

[redacted] (WFO file [redacted]) of the Washington Office of SNCC, 2208 14th Street, N.W., WDC. [redacted] is also on the Agitator Index of WFO.

b7C It is very unlikely that either [redacted] will be cooperative witnesses for the Government's case against CARMICHAEL; however, it is noted that when this matter comes to trial these two individuals will most likely appear as witnesses in CARMICHAEL's defense. In view of this, WFO recommends that authority be granted to contact both [redacted] and attempt to interview these individuals thereby making it possible to place on record their attitudes and sympathies prior to any trial.

In light of the current Selective Service Act investigation being conducted on [redacted] it is not felt that an attempt to interview him would be feasible at this time.

IT IS NOTED THAT CARMICHAEL IS BEING CONSIDERED ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

b7C

Date 4/24/68

Attached relates that Stokely
Carmichael, and [redacted]
[redacted] have departed
Washington, D. C. for New York
City.

Pertinent parts of attached
to be furnished Internal Security
Division of Department.

JFM:chs

*Gen**Weslor*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-01-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-01-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

Date: 4/24/68

Transmit the following in _____

PLAINTEXT

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via _____

TELETYPE

URGENT

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson ✓
Mr. DeLoach ✓
Mr. Mohr ✓
Mr. Bishop ✓
Mr. Casper ✓
Mr. Callahan ✓
Mr. Conrad ✓
Mr. Felt ✓
Mr. Gale ✓
Mr. Rosen ✓
Mr. Sullivan ✓
Mr. Tavel ✓
Mr. Trotter ✓
Tele. Room ✓
Miss Holmes ✓
Miss Gandy ✓

TO: DIRECTOR AND
SACS NEW YORK
NEWARK

b7C

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-M; SEDITION.

INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS

REWFOTEL TO BUREAU AND NEW YORK APRIL TWENTYTHREE LAST
NYAIRTEL APRIL TWENTYTHREE LAST.

[REDACTED] EASTERN AIRLINES, NATIONAL AIRPORT,
WDC, ADVISED THIS DATE SUBJECT ACCOMPANIED BY [REDACTED] AND
INDIVIDUAL BELIEVED TO BE [REDACTED] DEPARTED WDC TEN P.M.
APRIL TWENTYTHREE LAST VIA EASTERN SHUTTLE FOR LAGUARDIA AIRPORT,
NYC.

b7C

RENYAIRTEL APRIL TWENTYTHREE LAST REPORTING THAT SUBJECT WOULD
SPEAK AT CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL, NEWARK, NEW JERSEY SEVEN P.M. APRIL
TWENTYSIX NEXT.

NEWARK PROVIDE COVERAGE OF SPEECH IN ACCORDANCE WITH BUREAU
AIRTEL TO ALL OFFICES DECEMBER TWENTYONE SIXTYSEVEN. NEWARK AND NEW
YORK PROVIDE FULL COVERAGE OF SUBJECT'S ACTIVITIES WHILE IN THOSE
AREAS SUBMITTING DAILY TELETYPE SUMMARIES FOLLOWED BY LHM SUITABLE
FOR DISSEMINATION.

2 - Bureau
2 - Teletype Unit
2 - WFO

WWH:dgs

(6) Approved:
TELETYPE

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

REC 26 1010 ADV 4/25/68
100-446080-1491
b7C
5-1

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-01-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

VIA TELETYPE

APR 27 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

2/-, /6&

FBI NEW YORK

323AM DEFERRED 4-27-68 WTH

TO DIRECTOR AND WFO (ATTEN.DID)

TO WFO VIA WASHINGTON

FROM NEW YORK 100-153751

//3//

PLAINTEXT

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

IS- MISC, SEDITION

SUBJECT OBSERVED ENTERING RESIDENCE OF MOTHER ,

NY., TWO AM THIS DATE BY SAS
OF FBI. LIGHTS OF HOUSE EXTINGUISHED TWO THIRTY PM.

ADMINISTRATIVE

b7C

AGENTS OBSERVING SUBJECT WERE

END.V

RDR

FBI WASH DC

FTB ACKS JCM

59 MAY 3 1968

played to

WFO

REC-44
EX-110

100-446080-1492

b7C

20 APR 30 1968

1010 ADV
4/24/68
PIS

5-11

VIA TELETYPE

APR 26 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

WA -----

FBI NEW YORK

6-12 PM URGENT 4-26-68 AWS
TO DIRECTOR (CODE)

ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM NEW YORK 100-153751

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-01-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; IS-MISC; SEDITION.

NYCPD ADVISED THAT AT ONE PM THIS DATE, STOKELY CARMICHAEL
AND [REDACTED] BOTH OF SNCC, WENT THROUGH CAMPUS POLICE LINES
AT COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, NYC, AND ENTERED HAMILTON HALL TO MEET
WITH BLACK STUDENTS AND SIT-IN DEMONSTRATORS THEREIN. AT ABOUT
TWO TEN PM BOTH LEFT CAMPUS.

b7C

CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE ADVISED RAP BROWN READ PREPARED STATE-
MENT UPON EXIT FROM HAMILTON HALL PORTION OF WHICH WAS "WE ARE
GOING TO LET COLUMBIA KNOW THAT IF THEY DON'T DEAL WITH BLACK
BROTHERS IN HERE THEY ARE GOING TO HAVE TO DEAL WITH BLACK
BROTHERS IN HARLEM." BROWN ALSO COMMENTED SIT-IN WAS TO FIGHT
RACIAL POLICY OF THE UNIVERSITY.

EX-109
REC-31100-496080-1493
2 APR 30 1968

[REDACTED] RELIABLE IN PAST, SAID THAT AS OF THREE PM

b2

b7D

THIS DATE, CARMICHAEL AND BROWN NO LONGER ON CAMPUS AND SITUATION
WAS CALM WITH MOSTLY WHITES MILLING ABOUT CAMPUS.

b7C

END PAGE ONE

MAY 1 1968

advised

12668/an

1010 ADV
4/29/68

J-118

PAGE TWO

ADMINISTRATIVE:

INFORMATION FROM NYCPD FURNISHED BY [REDACTED]

b7C

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
(REQUEST).

b2

b7C

b7D

[REDACTED]
BUREAU WILL BE KEPT ADVISED.

LHM FOLLOWS.

END

WA...RM FBI WASH DC

DCR FTB

THIS SUB EE SHUD BE NR 11 VICE 10 RITE K

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-01-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

FBI

Date: 4/27/68

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Transmit the following in _____

PLAINTEXT

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE

URGENT

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI, AND SAC BALTIMORE, NEWARK, AND NEW YORK

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC; SEDITION

SUBJECT ACCOMPANIED BY [REDACTED] AND ANOTHER

UNKNOWN NEGRO MALE RETURNED TO WASHINGTON, D.C. EVENING OF
APRIL TWENTYSEVEN INSTANT IN LATE MODEL PLYMOUTH STATION WAGON
BEARING NEW YORK LICENSE [REDACTED] THEY WENT
TO RESIDENCE LOCATED FIVE ZERO ONE FIVE SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.,
WDC.

EX 109

REC-31

100-41000-1494

2 APR 30 1968

2 - Bureau
2 - Teletype Unit
2 - WFO

WWH:clr
(6)

b7C

10/10 AM
4/29/68 PTC

J-PS

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-01-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : MR. W. C. SULLIVAN

DATE: April 24, 1968

FROM :

b7C

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION

b7C

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

Stokely Carmichael, former chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, extreme militant black nationalist organization, is scheduled to speak this evening at a meeting in New York City of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, a mixed Negro-white group which was formed as the educational wing of an organization which has been cited as a communist front by a committee of the United States House of Representatives. We have instructions outstanding to all our offices to attempt to tape record Carmichael's speeches whenever this can be done legally and with full security assured.

On the afternoon of 4/24/68 the New York Office telephonically requested authority for an Agent to attend the above-mentioned meeting and to record Carmichael's remarks by means of a concealed tape recorder. New York has indicated this can be done with full security assured.

In view of the time element involved and after checking, New York was authorized to tape record Carmichael's remarks and it was reiterated to New York that this should be done with full security.

ACTION:

For information.

JJD:ekw (7)

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bishop
- 1 - [redacted]
- 1 - Mr. Dunn
- 1 - [redacted]

b7C

b7C

EX-115

REC-19

2 APR 30 1968

39 MAY 7 - 1968

VIA TELETYPE

APR 25 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson_____
Mr. DeLoach_____
Mr. Mohr_____
Mr. Bishop_____
Mr. Casper_____
Mr. Callahan_____
Mr. Conrad_____
Mr. Felt_____
Mr. Gale_____
Mr. Rosen_____
Mr. Sullivan_____
Mr. Tavel_____
Mr. Trotter_____
Tele. Room_____
Miss Holmes_____
Miss Gandy_____

WA...15

FBI NEW YORK

9-06 PM URGENT 4/25/68 WPK

TO DIRECTOR, WASHINGTON FIELD AND NEWARK (CODE)

ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM NEW YORK 100-153751 1P

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; IS - MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION.

RENYTEL TO BUREAU, FOUR TWENTY FOUR SIXTY EIGHT
AND NYTELCALL TO NK, FOUR TWENTY FIVE SIXTY EIGHT.

CURRENT WHEREABOUTS OF SUBJECT NOT KNOWN. SUBJECT
LAST SEEN NIGHT OF FOUR TWENTY THREE SIXTY EIGHT AT ROOSEVELT

HOTEL, NYC, IN COMPANY OF [REDACTED] CONFIDENTIAL RELIABLE
SOURCE ADVISED [REDACTED]

b7C
b7D

[REDACTED] NEW JERSEY, TELEPHONE [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

BUREAU WILL BE KEPT ADVISED.

ADMINISTRATIVE

NEWARK CONDUCT APPROPRIATE INVESTIGATION. NYO CONTINU-
ING EFFORTS TO LOCATE SUBJECT AND BUREAU WILL BE NOTIFIED.

SOURCE MENTIONED IN DETAILS IS [REDACTED]

END

EX-110

REC-19

100-446080/496

2 APR 30 1968

WA...EFH R RELAY

TWO COPIES TO WFO
FBI WASH DC

TAP FIB 15 EF10

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-01-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

Memorandum

TO : The Director

DATE: 4-22-68

FROM : N. P. Callahan

SUBJECT: The Congressional Record

Pages E3073 and E3080. Congressman Barick, (D) Louisiana, stated "Castro's No. 1 agent for the U. S. theater of action is reconfirmed as that leading civil rights advocate, Stokely Carmichael. But do not give Stokely and Castro all the credit. He has some friends in high places in our Government who must rejoice. . . . Shame on those shortsighted bureaucrats who have brought our country to the brink of fear, battle casualties and chaos here in the United States. He included an article from the Washington Evening Star written by Jeremiah O'Leary entitled "Cubans Quote Carmichael On Urban Warfare." This article stated "Carmichael's activities in Washington the night King was killed are already under federal and Washington police investigation to determine if his statements warrant prosecution under anti-riot laws." Mr. Barick also commented on a statement made by Sargent Pitcher, Jr., district attorney for the Parish of East Baton Rouge, Louisiana, during the recent threatened insurrections. He placed Mr. Pitcher's statement in the Record. Mr. Pitcher stated "Make no mistake about my position. To me a thief is a thief, and a murderer a murderer, regardless of what inspires or motivates the crime. Thus far, we have been fortunate in the responsible leadership in this parish being able to maintain relative tranquillity, but to those few who would take the law into their own hands, let me assure them at this time that their apprehension and prosecution will be swift and certain. We will not tolerate anarchy in this parish." Mr. Barick added "I trust Mr. Pitcher's remarks will inspire our dedicated law enforcement officials to speak forth and reassure the great majority of our fellow countrymen that, despite what the internationalized communications jumpers and howlers may cry and espouse, our country is not about to be turned over to the criminal element."

100-446080-
NOT RECORDED

87 APR 30 1968

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for _____ was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

MAY 9 1968

m m w s t j

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-446080-3285

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-01-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls
FBI

Date: 4/25/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority)

b7C

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM: SAC, BALTIMORE (100-24220) -P-
SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS-M; SED
OO: WFO

Re: Richmond airtel to Director, 4/10/68.

Enclosed is one copy each for the Bureau, Richmond,
and WFO of [redacted]

These records were provided on a confidential basis
to SA [redacted] and
they are not to be used without the issuance of subpoena
duces tecum directed to [redacted]

ENCLOSURE

- ③ - Bureau (Enc. 1) (REGIS.MAIL)
 - 2 - Richmond (100-10532) (Enc. 1) (REGIS.MAIL)
 - 2 - WFO (100-43503) (Enc. 1) (REGIS.MAIL)
 - 2 - Baltimore
- RGW:lel
(9)

REC 8

EX-105

b7C

C. C. Bishop

35 MAY 9 1968

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M

Per _____

100-446080-1499
51
20 APR 27 1968
RACIAL INT. SEC.

April 24, 1968

b7C

REC 5

EX-105

b7C

The Evening Sun
Baltimore, Maryland 21203

Dear [REDACTED]

In reply to your letter of April 17th, the FBI, at the request of the Attorney General, has been and is investigating the activities of Stokely Carmichael. As a matter of policy, we notify local law enforcement authorities of his presence in their area, and this was done when he traveled to Baltimore. Since data in FBI files is confidential pursuant to regulations of the Department of Justice, no information as to the purpose of his visit was disseminated except to appropriate law enforcement and intelligence authorities.

While I can certainly understand your concern, the confidential nature of our files makes it impossible for me to answer your specific inquiries.

I want to assure you, however, that the results of our investigation of Carmichael and others are promptly disseminated to the Attorney General for prosecutive consideration.

Sincerely yours, [REDACTED]

J. Edgar Hoover

MAILED 8

APR 24 1968

COMM - FBI

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

1 - Baltimore - Enclosure
ReButelcall 4-18-68

GEM:jlk (4)

See Note Page 2.

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

b7C

[REDACTED]

NOTE: Bufiles contain no record identifiable with correspondent. Our files contain no derogatory information regarding Governor Agnew. On 4-18-68 ASAC Charles D. Chapman, Baltimore Office, advised that the information regarding the whereabouts of Carmichael was disseminated to law enforcement agencies in Baltimore but that the Baltimore Office definitely furnished no such information to Governor Agnew or his aides. Carmichael was in Baltimore on April 3rd; however, there is no indication he met with any group regarding the riots. Our relations with The Evening Sun have been cordial.

MORNING

EVENING

SUNDAY

THE



SUN

THE A. S. ABELL COMPANY, PUBLISHER

BALTIMORE, MD. 21203

April 17, 1968

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Bishop	✓
Mr. Casper	✓
Mr. Callahan	✓
Mr. Conrad	✓
Mr. Felt	✓
Mr. Gale	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Miss Holmes	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

J. Edgar Hoover,
Director,
Federal Bureau of Investigation,
Washington, D.C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-02-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

Dear Mr. Hoover,

Since the end of the Baltimore riot a week ago, several public officials and officeholders have directly stated or implied that the troubles were "controlled," "organized" or "influenced" by outside agitators.

In fact, Governor Spiro T. Agnew, addressing newsmen April 11, flatly stated that Stokely Carmichael met with known criminals and civil rights militants on a visit to Baltimore prior to to start of civil disorders. The Governor quoted Carmichael as telling some of them that "black power comes from guns" and that "Bobby Kennedy is the last white hope this country has."

EX-105

REC 5

100-446080/498

22 MAY 1 1968

Mr. Agnew said he received his information from a "police agency," which one of his aides identified as the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

(more)

EXP. PROC.
APR 18 1968

24
229
24
4/24/68

MORNING

EVENING

SUNDAY

THE



SUN

THE A. S. ABELL COMPANY, PUBLISHER
BALTIMORE, MD., 21203

--2--

In light of these disclosures sir, can you, in the interest of public understanding and clarity, say:

1. Whether the FBI has any knowledge that the Baltimore riots or any others following the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., were deliberately planned and started.
2. Whether your agency has information concerning the activities of Mr. Carmichael or other out-of-State residents pertaining to the Baltimore disorders.
3. Whether the Bureau can shed any light whatsoever on statements made by Governor Agnew and or others,

b7C.

X. [redacted] that the riots were either organized or planned.

Thanking you in advance for any evidence or information you may shed, I remain, sincerely,

b7C

The Evening Sun,
Baltimore, Md. 21203
Phone: [redacted] (area code [redacted])

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-02-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/BLs

VIA TELETYPE
APR 26 1968
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

WASHINGTON--01--

NEW YORK-01-1245PM ELF

URGENT 4-26-68

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080), WFO (100-43503), NEW YORK

(100-153751), -LOS ANGELES PLAINTEXT

LOS ANGELES VIA WASHINGTON

ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM NEWARK (100-49533)

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; IS-MISC.; SEDITION

AN INDIVIDUAL WITH WHOM CONTACT HAS BEEN TOO LIMITED TO
DETERMINE RELIABILITY BUT WHO DOES HAVE CONTACTS IN THE RACIAL
FIELD ADVISED TODAY AS FOLLOWS-

STOKELY CARMICHAEL IS SCHEDULED TO BE MET BY REPRESENTATIVES
OF THE UNITED BROTHERS OF NEWARK IN NEW YORK CITY DURING THE AFTERNOON
OF APRIL TWENTYSIX SIXTYEIGHT.

FOLLOWING A SCHEDULED AFFAIR AT CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL,
NEWARK, NEW JERSEY, CARMICHAEL, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] WILL LEAVE FOR NEW YORK

b7C

CITY WHERE THEY WILL ATTEND A MEETING AT THE TANZANIAN
MISSION TO THE UNITED NATIONS AT TWO ZERO FIVE EAST FORTY
SECOND STREET, NEW YORK CITY. REC 5 100-446080-1499

END PAGE ONE

b7C

EX-105

100-446080-1499
MAY 1 1968
100-446080-1499
MAY 1 1968

2 MAY 10 1968
RELAYED TO LA-WFO

PAGE TWO

NK 100-49533

IT IS POSSIBLE THAT [REDACTED] WILL
APPEAR IN NEWARK AND AT THE TANZANIAN MISSION OR AT
THE LATTER ONLY.

b7C

SOURCE INDICATED CARMICHAEL MAY BE ARMED WITH A THIRTYEIGHT
AUTOMATIC.

SOURCE ALSO ADVISED THAT A POSSIBLE CONTACT WITH THE
TANZANIAN MISSION [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] IN NEW YORK CITY.

ADMINISTRATIVE

SOURCE [REDACTED]

b7C
b7D

END

DIEMP FBI NEW YORK

TU

RNK R RELAY

FBI WASH DC

SAL STB FBI WASH DC / RNK

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-02-2015 BY
~~Domestic Intelligence Division~~

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 4/27/68

Stokely Carmichael, former chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, has been in the New York-Newark area for the past several days. Attached relates to a speech given by Carmichael at a Newark, New Jersey, high school on 4/26/68. According to a racial source, he broke an agreement and made several inflammatory remarks, such as encouraging people to secure guns and burn out local white merchants.

This will be furnished pertinent divisions of the Department and the military.

W. J. J. *AMW*

JAM:brr

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-02-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

VIA TELETYPE
APR 27 1968
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach ✓
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop ✓
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen ✓
Mr. Sullivan ✓
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

WASHINGTON --01-- NEW YORK --01-- 4-00 AM RCM

URGENT 4-27-68

b7C

TO DIRECTOR, WFO, AND NEW YORK (PLAINTEXT)
(ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION)

FROM NEWARK (100-49533)

STOKELEY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC SEDITION

CARMICHAEL ARRIVED NEWARK, NJ, EIGHT THIRTY PM, FOUR TWENTY
SIX LAST AND WENT TO RESIDENCE OF [REDACTED] ARRIVED CENTRAL HIGH
SCHOOL, NEWARK, NINE TWENTY PM FOR SCHEDULED APPEARANCE. HE WAS
THE LAST OF FIVE SPEAKERS AND PROGRAM TERMINATED AT TWELVE TWENTY
FIVE AM, INSTANT. LEFT SCHOOL AND RETURNED TO [REDACTED] HOME.
LEFT [REDACTED] HOME ONE THIRTY AM IN LATE MODEL YELLOW PLYMOUTH
STATION WAGON WITH UNIDENTIFIED DRIVER. CAR BORE NY LICENSE [REDACTED]

END PAGE ONE

REC-97

100-446080-1500

b7C

25 MAY 1 1968

Relayed to

WFO

W.N. + A.G.
LT. 4/29/68 CAP

IDIU ADV.
4/29/68 TTB

PAGE TWO.

[REDACTED] PROCEEDED TO [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] NY AND ENTERED HOME AT THIS ADDRESS.

b7C

NEWARK PD ESTIMATES ABOUT EIGHT HUNDRED PEOPLE ATTENDED PROGRAM
AT CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL.

SOURCE WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN PAST STATES
CARMISHAEL BROKE TERMS OF AGREEMENT REGARDING HIS APPEARANCE AT
NEWARK BY MAKING SEVERAL INFLAMMATORY REMARKS SUCH AS ENCOURAGING
PEOPLE TO SECURE GUNS AND BURN OUT BUSINESS PLACES OF LOCAL WHITE
MERCHANTS.

END PAGE TWO.



PAGE THREE.

ADMINISTRATIVE-

RE ^{NEWARK} NK TELETYPE TO DIRECTOR, WFO, NY AND LA, FOUR TWENTY SIX SIXTY EIGHT.

SOURCE IS



b7C

b7D

MEMBER OF NEWARK PD INTELLIGENCE SQUAD ADVISED ARRANGEMENTS MADE WITH SOURCE OF THAT DEPT. TO RECORD CARMICHAEL'S REMARKS AND COPIES TO BE MADE AVAILABLE TO NEWARK.

^{MEMO}
LHM FOLLOWS.

END

WA...RDR

FBI WASH DC

VFTB ACKS JCM

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-02-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

WASH...4

VIA TELETYPE

APR 18 1968

ENCIPHERED

8- .7PM URGENT 4-18-68 JLN

TO DIRECTOR (100-44680) (PLAINTEXT)

WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE (VIA DIRECTOR)

FROM SAN DIEGO (100-13995)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

STOKELY CARMICHAEL. IS DASH M; SEDITION. OO: WFO.

b7C

STRONG INDICATION BASED UPON INFORMATION RECEIVED
FROM INFORMANTS, SOURCES, AND LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES ARE TO
THE EFFECT THAT STOKELY CARMICHAEL WILL APPEAR AT THE SAN
DIEGO BLACK CONFERENCE AND SPEAK AT EIGHT P.^{M.} APRIL NINETEEN,
NINETEEN SIXTY EIGHT, AT THIS CONFERENCE WHICH IS BEING HELD
AT SOUTHCREST RECREATION CENTER IN THE HEART OF SOUTHEAST
SAN DIEGO PREDOMINANTLY POPULATED BY NEGROES.

U.S. ATTORNEY, SECRET SERVICE, LOCAL MILITARY INTELLIGENCE
AGENCIES, AND LOCAL LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES HAVE ALL BEEN
ALERTED.

WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE IS REQUESTED TO FURNISH SAN DIEGO
WITH ANY SPECIFIC INFORMATION CONCERNING HIS DEPARTURE FOR
SAN DIEGO AND ESTIMATED TIME OF ARRIVAL AND MEANS OF TRAVEL.

END

EXR R RELAY

FBI WASH DC

b7C

EX-110

REC 10

25 MAY 1 1968

RELAYED TO

WFO

cc - Tamm

altered 10:30 4/18/68
B.O. memo was 10:30 4/18/68 - sample
following sent to SD & Bureau per JH

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-02-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

FBI

Date: 4/26/68

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM: *FAF* SAC, MIAMI (100-15451) (RUC)
RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION
(OO: WFO)

b7C

Enclosed herewith are 13 copies of an LHM, dated and captioned as above, suitable for dissemination. Two extra copies of the LHM are being furnished the Bureau for transmittal to Legats, Buenos Aires and Mexico City.

b7C

Source who furnished information referred to in the LHM is [redacted]

This information is being furnished as it appeared in the Cuban press, inasmuch as it is not known whether the Bureau is aware of the proposed itinerary of CARMICHAEL.

[redacted] will remain alert for any additional information concerning possible travel of CARMICHAEL.

ENCLOSURE

EX-110

REC 10

100-446080-1503

- 5 - Bureau (Enc. 13) (RM)
 - (1 - Legat, Buenos Aires)
 - (1 - Legat, Mexico City)
- 1 - Atlanta (Info) (Enc. 1) (RM)
- 1 - New York (100-153751) (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)
- 1 - WFO (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)
- 3 - Miami (1 - 100-15451)
 - (1 - 100-15068) (SNCC)
 - (1 - [redacted])

1cc of airtel + LHM to Legat, Buenos Aires + Mexico City 4/29/68 PTB/AL

8 MAY 1 1968

b7C

JDH: jgm
(11)

ISD: Attn: Paul Vincent, Conf. Attn.
AGENCY: ACSI, NIC, OSI, SEC. SERV.,
STATE: [redacted], CRD, RAO: [redacted], STATE, [redacted]
HOW FORW: 11/5
DATE FORW: 4/29/68
BY: PTB/AL

b2

62 MAY 7 1968

Approved: _____

Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Radio Liberacion is a long-wave radio station operating under complete control and direction of the communist government of FIDEL CASTRO, Havana, Cuba. Radio Havana, Cuba is a short-wave radio station beamed throughout the world in various native languages including transmissions in English to the United States propagandizing the CASTRO communist government of Cuba and violently attacking the United States.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No. 100-15451

Miami, Florida
April 26, 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-02-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION

On April 25, 1968, [redacted] an individual acquainted with certain phases of both pro and anti-FIDEL CASTRO activities in Cuba and the United States, furnished the following information:

b2
b7D

An article appeared in the April 23, 1968 issue of "Granma", official organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba (CPC), Havana, Cuba, as follows:

CARMICHAEL will Travel to Uruguay

United States Negro leader STOKELY CARMICHAEL will soon go to Uruguay, accompanying his wife MIRIAM MAKEEBA, who is making an entertainment tour throughout Latin America. She is the originator of the new musical rhythm "El Pata-Pata" and reportedly has been hired by various radio and TV stations in Latin America.

The article stated the military regime of General JUAN CARLOS ONGANIA of Argentina had forbidden CARMICHAEL to enter the country of Argentina, "so Uruguay will be the last country to be visited by the United States Negro leader".

This same announcement was broadcast over Radio Liberacion and Radio Havana, Cuba, on April 24, 1968.

[redacted] stated that no specific date for this travel of STOKELY CARMICHAEL [redacted] was mentioned.

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ENCLOSURE

100-446080-1503



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Miami, Florida
April 26, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No. 100-15451

Title STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Character INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION

Reference Memorandum, dated and captioned as
above, at Miami, Florida.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-02-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

1 - Mr. DeLoach

April 23, 1968

1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

1 - [redacted]

70
Captioned subject was born June 26, 1941, Trinidad, West Indies. He entered the United States for permanent residence in 1952 and automatically became a citizen of the United States on April 27, 1953, the date of the naturalization of his father, Adolphus Carmichael.

Carmichael has been employed by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, 360 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, for the past several years. From May, 1966, to May, 1967, he served as National Chairman and is currently employed as a field representative of this organization.

b7C

In 1966 Carmichael resided at 2222 Telhurst Street, S.W., Apartment 1A, Atlanta, Georgia. He is also known to have given his resident address as 311 Gregory Place, Tuskegee, Alabama, during 1966.

cm
In 1967, Carmichael used the addresses 535 Fairburn Road, N.W., Atlanta, and 850 West End Avenue, S.W., Apartment 12, Atlanta. During the latter part of 1967 he also resided at the residence of [redacted] New York, New York. He currently resides at 2200 12th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.

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Lo
It is requested that two uncertified copies of Federal income tax returns of Stokely Carmichael for the past three years be made available. It is also requested that the results of any investigation involving the income tax status of Carmichael be made available.

100-446080

PTB:ekw (8)

REC-19

ORIGINAL TO INTERNAL REVENUE SERVICE

NOTE: See memorandum [redacted] to Mr. W. C. Sullivan, same date, captioned [redacted] also known as, [redacted]

[redacted] Racial Matters - Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC); Stokely Carmichael, IS - Miscellaneous," prepared by DMW:ekw.

54 MAY 24 1968

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____

~~SECRET~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

DATE: 06-13-2006

CLASSIFIED BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/bls-derivative

DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1) 06-13-2031

1 - [REDACTED]
1 - [REDACTED]
1 - Mr. J. J. Dunn

b7C

SAC, WFO (100-43503)

4/30/68

Director, FBI (100-446080)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM - SNCC

PERSONAL ATTENTION

The following information has been received

[REDACTED] and must not be included in any communication prepared for dissemination. It is to be used for lead purposes only and the fact that the Bureau is in possession of such data must not be revealed to outside agencies or individuals.

b1

During the period of the recent riots which occurred in Washington, D. C. and several other cities, the telephone numbers of Stokely Carmichael in Washington, D. C., the Congress of Racial Equality in Harlem, the office of the Students for a Democratic Society, Chicago, Illinois, and the "information minister" of the Black Panthers in Oakland, California, [REDACTED]

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(S)

b1

MAILED 30
APR 30 1968

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

1 - Atlanta (PERSONAL ATTENTION)
1 - Chicago (PERSONAL ATTENTION)
1 - New York (PERSONAL ATTENTION)
1 - San Francisco (PERSONAL ATTENTION)

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

JJD:ebb(10)

~~SECRET~~

100-446080-1506
CHANGED TO
157-11544-1

DEC 10 1968

mt / Bau

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-02-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

4/19/68

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

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FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (157-1513)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; NATIONAL BLACK
ANTI-WAR DRAFT UNION (NBAWADU);

RACIAL MATTERS

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ReWFO teletype 4/16/68; Bu teletype to New York
and WFO 4/17/68.

For the information of receiving offices, on 4/10/68,
at approximately 1:30 PM, [redacted] telephonically contacted
the Washington Field Office of the FBI and advised that he had
information to furnish concerning STOKELY CARMICHAEL and the
Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). When initially
interviewed on 4/10/68 by SAs [redacted]
[redacted] identified himself as [redacted]
[redacted] which he stated had been given to him on 4/5/68
by STOKELY CARMICHAEL. He also turned over to the interviewing
agents [redacted]

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[redacted] has since been tested and it was
determined that it is capable of [redacted]
[redacted] stated that both STOKELY CARMICHAEL and
Head of SNCC in WDC, usually have one of these [redacted] on their
persons.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

b7C

- 3 - Bureau
- 2 - New York (RM)
- 2 - Detroit (RM)
- 2 - Boston (RM)
- 2 - Omaha (RM)
- 2 - Philadelphia (RM)
- 2 - Kansas City (RM)
- 3 - WFO

ECW:teb
(19)

C. C. Bishop

59 MAY 13 1968

EX-116

REC-68

100-446050-1507

MAY 2 1968

cc 806944

262

WFO

Since that time, [] has furnished additional information (to the WFO and New York offices) concerning his and CARMICHAEL's attendance at the Conference of the NBARADU which was held in NYC during the weekend of 4/12-14/68. The details of the information furnished by [] concerning this conference will be set out hereinafter.

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BACKGROUND AND PERSONAL HISTORY

The following information was taken from a psychiatric study of [] which was made by the U. S. Bureau of Prisons in 6/64, at the time he was last incarcerated. It should be pointed out that in the Bureau of Prisons summary the comment is made that since his first commitment at age seven, [] has never been out of confinement longer than six months at any one time.

[] is the only child of the union of [] and [] and never were married. He has on numerous occasions described himself as a "bastard" and a "half-breed." Official Agency reports in Staten Island indicate that [] was born on [] but in the year [] and lists him as a member of the white race. His parents are given as [] in WDC in approximately 1933, and [] is described variously as white, negro, and of Puerto Rican extraction. Another report gives his mother as [] a native of South River, New Jersey, who was employed [] As far as can be ascertained, [] has no brothers or sisters and he indicates his only relative is [] who resides in [] New Jersey.

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[] claims that he has been knocked about from pillar to post all of his life and has never had any familial affection. It should be noted that during his recent contacts with WFO, he has indicated that for the first time in his life, he is experiencing a love for another human being, []

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[] has advised interviewing Agents that at the present time, []

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During his recent contact with WFO Agents, [] stated that he is motivated in his present endeavor with the FBI by his desire to save many "young black people from being killed in the streets." He has also indicated very definitely that he will expect financial remuneration for all services rendered to the FBI.

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ASSOCIATION WITH STOKELY CARMICHAEL AND THE SNCC IN
IN WASHINGTON, D. C.

During the interview of 4/10/68, [] stated he arrived in WDC on Friday, 4/5/68, after having called STOKELY CARMICHAEL earlier that week from [] was living. He has known CARMICHAEL for about 14 years (since about 1951) when CARMICHAEL was residing in the Bronx, NYC. [] stated he was living at [] and he believes CARMICHAEL lived at [] NYC, []

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Upon his arrival at Washington National Airport on 4/5/68, he took a taxicab to the Dunbar Hotel (exact address unknown). He was met at the Dunbar Hotel by CARMICHAEL and two other negro males and was driven to within three blocks of the Pitts Hotel, where he was advised that he should register. He registered at the Pitts Hotel in Room [redacted]

Before the time of curfew, he was picked up at the Pitts Hotel by an individual whom he has come to know as [redacted]. [redacted] was driving what appeared to be a Dodge, black and red in color, with a burnt area on the trunk. He was driven to SNCC Headquarters where he remained for the remainder of the night. Most of the members, however, left the SNCC office and went out on the street where the disturbance was taking place. CARMICHAEL was on the street with the other members. [redacted] stated he stayed at the SNCC office for the next two nights (Saturday and Sunday). From time to time, he has observed individuals, approximately seven in number, enter the office with pistols. He is unable to identify these individuals.

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[redacted]

He stated that while he had been in the office, approximately three telephone calls were made from Cuba to the SNCC office for CARMICHAEL. During one of these calls, he heard CARMICHAEL say, "the revolution is on." He stated that prior to this call, there was a message from a (FNU) [redacted] on the bulletin board, advising CARMICHAEL to call Cuba immediately.

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He stated that on Tuesday, 4/9/68, four telegrams addressed to STOKELY CARMICHAEL arrived at the SNCC office from Cuba and that he signed for one of them. The contents of these telegrams are unknown to him. He further stated that on Wednesday, 4/10/68, three checks were received in the SNCC office. He was unable to describe one of the checks but he gave the following descriptions of the other two:

- (1) A check made payable to STOKELY CARMICHAEL in the amount of \$1500 (source of check unknown).

- (2) A check made payable to STOKELY CARMICHAEL in the amount of \$500. bearing the name of [REDACTED] (phonetic), [REDACTED] was unable to recall the city and state but believes it was abbreviated as "Mo." or "Md.")

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[REDACTED] has stated that the other individuals in the SNCC office have accepted him only because of the warm greeting he had received from CARMICHAEL on 4/5/68.

ACTIVITIES IN NYC AT THE CONFERENCE OF THE
NEANADU DURING WEEKEND OF 4/12-14/68

(It should be noted that on every occasion [REDACTED] has been contacted by WFO Agents, he appeared to have been drinking alcoholic beverages. During the lengthy interview which took place on 4/15/68, [REDACTED] indicated that while in NYC, he had been "partying" and "walking all over New York" trying to locate old acquaintances. It is felt that as a consequence, he has been unable to recall on what specific days the various meetings took place, the names of individuals, most of whom he encountered for the first time. Furthermore, it is speculated by the interviewing Agent that because of his long history of confinement, [REDACTED] was probably preoccupied with having a good time, and he paid no attention to specific details or what actually went on at these conferences.)

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Concerning the conference, [REDACTED] stated that during the speeches which were made by CARMICHAEL and others in the main hall, he estimated the crowd to number close to 1500. He stated that he was given the position of [REDACTED] for CARMICHAEL during the conference and he carried [REDACTED] [REDACTED] previously mentioned in this communication, while he was in attendance at these conferences.

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[REDACTED] stated that as a result of this situation, he has been accepted to a greater extent by several persons who are close to CARMICHAEL.

WFO

[] stated that in addition to the main speeches which were made, "regional cadres" met in various rooms in the Diplomat Hotel and held general discussions concerning their plans for guerrilla revolutionary action and techniques to disrupt the U. S. He stated that from time to time he, CARMICHAEL, and other leaders, would individually and sometimes collectively, visit these "cadres" and sit in on their discussions, and offer suggestions and encouragement.

[] also stated that on one occasion during the weekend (and he cannot recall on which day), a special meeting was held in the apartment of (FNU) [] (phonetic), [] NYC, near [] telephone [] which was attended by STOKELY CARMICHAEL, [] (FNU) [] (FNU) [] (phonetic), [] and several other leaders from the various groups which were in attendance at the aforementioned conference. [] states that he considered these other individuals, whose names he cannot recall, to be leaders because at most of the "regional cadres", he seems to recall that they appeared to be the leaders of the discussions.

(When interviewed on 4/18/68, [] advised that on 4/17/68, he observed a slip of paper in the SNCC office which reflected that (FNU) [] mentioned above, is [] whose apartment is on the [] floor, Apartment []

[] stated that at the address [] he visited two different apartments, one on the [] floor and one on the [] floor. When he was interviewed on 4/15/68, he was unable to recall which of the two apartments the meeting was actually held in. He stated, however, that the apartment in which the meeting took place was littered with photographs, literature and posters depicting various slogans and organizations associated with []

[] stated that at the special meeting many proposed disruptive tactics and plans of action were discussed freely among all present. In response to specific questions concerning which individuals at the meetings actually made the various statements or initiated the different topics of discussion, [] replied that

he is unable to recall exactly who led the discussions from topic to topic. He states that, to the best of his recollection, the different topics were simply mentioned by one of the individuals and everyone made whatever comment he had to offer concerning it.

According to [] the following items were discussed at the special meeting:

- (1) The preparation of smoke bombs made from a mixture of sulphur and sulphuric acid. It was mentioned that these bombs in addition to causing thick smoke, also cause a choking sensation to anyone who inhales the fumes. It was mentioned that they could be used in possible bank robberies, as well as in causing chaos in highly populated areas. During the discussion, someone mentioned that [] a high school student in WDC, who was also in attendance at the conference, but not at the special meeting, would handle the making of these bombs since he had some knowledge of the chemical ingredients which were necessary.

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- (2) Throwing dynamite on the floor of the New York Stock Exchange to cause chaos on Wall Street. [] stated that he seems to recall that someone who mentioned this specific item also said something about having been employed, or knowing someone who had been employed at the New York Stock Exchange.

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- (3) Placing dynamite in the Empire State Building.

- (4) Destroying the electrical circuits in NYC thereby causing another "blackout" situation on the eastern seaboard of the U. S.

[] stated that he is of the opinion that all, or most of the plans for violent disruptive action have originated with [] whom he described as the individual who attempted to destroy [] a few years ago. He stated that he feels he understands the mind of [] because they spent some time together in [] Pennsylvania. He

stated that [] Has always been a strong revolutionary who espoused the views of MAO TSE-TUNG and GUEVERA. [] believes that [] is probably insane because of his preoccupation with discussing acts of violence. [] also believes that in this respect, STOKELY CARMICHAEL takes orders from [] because he does not feel that CARMICHAEL is capable of planning the disruptive acts which were discussed at the special meeting.

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[] stated that the group also discussed possible retaliatory measures for the murder of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING. He stated that he recalls that the names of RICHARD NIXON, RONALD REAGAN and GEORGE WALLACE were mentioned as possible targets in this connection. [] stated that no definite plans were made concerning this.

[] stated that in his opinion much of the talk concerning these acts of violence represented nothing more than the careless boasting of young men who quite possibly may have been under the influence of alcohol. He stated, however, that their statements could not be discounted in view of the fact that men such as [] and STOKELY CARMICHAEL had participated.

[] stated that [] emphasized to the group that CASTRO had overthrown Cuba "with only nine men". [] stated that the group at one point considered very humorous the statements of WHITNEY YOUNG of the Urban League who said that CARMICHAEL had only 50 followers. [] was very impressed by the number of persons who did attend the conference and he has continually stated that he is of the opinion that CARMICHAEL does have a large following, spread across the U. S., and the backing of CASTRO and the Cuban Government.

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[] stated that throughout the special meeting, it was generally agreed by everyone that any disruptive acts which would take place, should take place within a month or two and that they should be simultaneous and nationwide.

During the interview of [] on 4/15/68, it was noted that he continually referred to various individuals as "that dude" or "this dude", and was unable to recall names, or furnish identifiable descriptions. He stated, however, that during his visits to the "regional cadres", he had on occasion approached the various individuals and asked them to write their names and addresses on a piece of paper for him for future contact purposes. [] cannot recall how many names he acquired in this manner but he stated he furnished this information to Agents of the NYO of the FBI.

WFO

[redacted] was contacted on the morning of 4/19/68, at which time he informed SAs [redacted] that he suspected there is a bit of animosity between CARMICHAEL and [redacted] the latter being the ostensible head of SNCC in WDC. He said that [redacted] buttonholed him within the past couple of days and inquired of [redacted] as to the events which transpired in NYC. It was apparent that [redacted] had been told by unnamed individual (s ?) about certain of the happenings in NYC. In the ensuing conversation between [redacted] certain information supplied by [redacted] refreshed [redacted] memory, thus allowing him to elaborate on [redacted] previous story concerning the special meeting at [redacted]

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[redacted] stated that he is now of the opinion that the special meeting took place on Sunday, 4/14/68, from approximately 6:00 PM to 9:00 PM, at the apartment of one [redacted] (phonetic), which is located on the [redacted] floor at [redacted] *W.F.O.*

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He also stated that [redacted] was apparently in attendance at the special meeting. He stated that during the weekend he had visited [redacted]'s apartment which is on the [redacted] floor; that he had described [redacted] apartment correctly when interviewed earlier; and that [redacted] apartment, to the best of his recollection, is identical, including the Cuban-type posters and literature. *W.F.O.*

OBSERVATIONS AND LEADS

On the basis of information set forth heretofore, it appears that [] is in a position to be of assistance to the FBI. His credibility and bona fides need to be corroborated. Thus, recipient offices are requested to furnish comments concerning the accuracy of the information set forth and any other pertinent observations.

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Recipient offices are requested to furnish any available photographs of individuals mentioned herein as attending, or believed to have attended the conference of the NBAWADU.

All receiving offices covering the residences of those mentioned as possible targets in retaliation for Dr. KING's murder should alert police and pertinent Federal agencies on a local level and notify individuals mentioned. In disseminating this information it should be stressed that this information has not been corroborated to date.

All receiving offices should insure that the identity of [] is protected during the investigation.

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WFO will continue contact with [] in an attempt to develop additional corroborating information concerning the statements which he has made.

KANSAS CITY

Will consider the advisability of making inquiries among the criminal element concerning [] Will cover any other leads aimed at determining his bona fides which appear practical.

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Will attempt to discreetly identify [] described as [] Will also identify the Congressman, if possible.

b7C

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-02-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls*Memorandum*

TO : The Director

DATE: *5/1/68*

FROM : N. P. Callahan

SUBJECT: The Congressional Record

Stokely Carmichael

9 Pages E3557-E3558. Congressman Broyhill, (R) Virginia, stated "I received a request from Mr. Charles D. Brown, 1721 Maxwell Court, McLean, Va., a constituent of mine, to insert an article written by Crosby S. Noyes in the Evening Star of April 25, 1968. This article is an excellent description of the deplorable situation now existing in our Nation. I believe it would be of interest to every American and should be made available to them." The article entitled "Crackdown Urged on Inciters of Violence" is set forth in the Record. The article states "The laws to put Stokely and his friends out of business are on the books. - - - But though the Justice Department has been investigating Carmichael's case for weeks, he is still very much at large. The final decision rests with Attorney General Ramsey Clark, who would be well advised to stop pussyfooting and crack down before it is too late."

ORIGINAL FILED IN
*66-1731-2288**100-446080-*
NOT RECORDED**141 MAY 9 1968**

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for *4/30/68* was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-02-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

TO : SAC, Detroit (Your file 100-34122) DATE: 5/1/68

FROM : Director, FBI (Bufile and Serial 100-446080)

Room [REDACTED]

☒ Post in file and
destroy 0-1
(For SOG use
only)

SUBJECT : STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION

☐ 1. Bufiles indicate this case is delinquent. Give specific reason for delinquency.

☒ Re Bureau airtel dated 4/9/68, concerning CARMICHAEL's speech at Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, Michigan, on 3/30/68.

☐ 2. DATE ☐ airtel ☐ letterhead memo ☐ submitted
☐ report ☐ letter ☐ 90-day progress letter ☐ will be submitted

Reporting employee. _____

☐ 3. If valid reason exists for not submitting report at this time, state reason specifically and when report will be submitted _____

☐ 4. Status of ☐ Appeal ☐ Inquiry ☐ Investigation ☐ Prosecution
☐ airtel ☐ letterhead memo
☒ 5. Submit ☐ report ☒ verbatim transcript of CARMICHAEL's speech
☐ letter ☐ 90-day progress letter by immediately
(Date)

(Place reply hereon and return to Bureau. Note receipt and acknowledgment on top serial in case file.)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-02-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

Date: 5/1/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (157-8471)

FROM: SAC, WFO (157-1426) (P)

b7C

BLACK UNITED FRONT

ReWFO airtel and LHM, 4/23/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of an LHM
dated and captioned as above. Sources mentioned in LHM are:

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The LHM is being classified "~~Confidential~~" due to
the fact that information contained therein is from sources
of continuing value and the unauthorized disclosure of this
information could compromise their future effectiveness.

LHM furnished U. S. Secret Service, AUSA and
military intelligence agencies locally.

100-446080
NOT RECORDED
183 MAY 9 1968

ENCLOSURE

- 3 - Bureau (Enc. 11)
2 - WFO
(1-100-43503) (STOKELY CARMICHAEL)

HGE:tjd
(5)

C. C. - Bishop

AGENCY: ACSI, NIC, OSI, SEC. SERV.,
ISD, CRD, RAO, CIA, IDIU, etc.

AIRTEL

ENCLOSURE

HOW FORM: 113

DATE FORM: 5/2/68

BY: P/B/212

b7C

59 MAY 17 1968

Sent

M

Per

Special Agent in Charge

ORIGINAL FILED IN 157-8471



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Washington, D.C. 20535
May 1, 1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

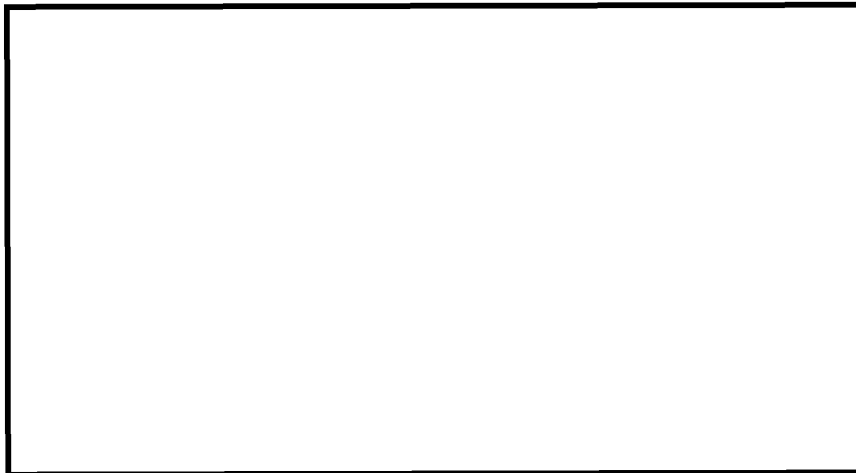
BLACK UNITED FRONT

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that on the evening of April 30, 1968, a Black United Front (BUF) meeting was held at the New School for Afro-American Thought, 2115 14th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. According to the source, approximately 70 persons were in attendance at the meeting which began shortly after 8:00 p.m. An announcement was made that Stokely Carmichael, Chairman of the meeting, had been detained but would arrive later. According to source, Carmichael arrived at approximately 8:40 p.m. and acted as Chairman for the remainder of the meeting.

Source advised that among those present at the meeting were the following:

Stokely Carmichael
Temporary Chairman, BUF

b7C



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

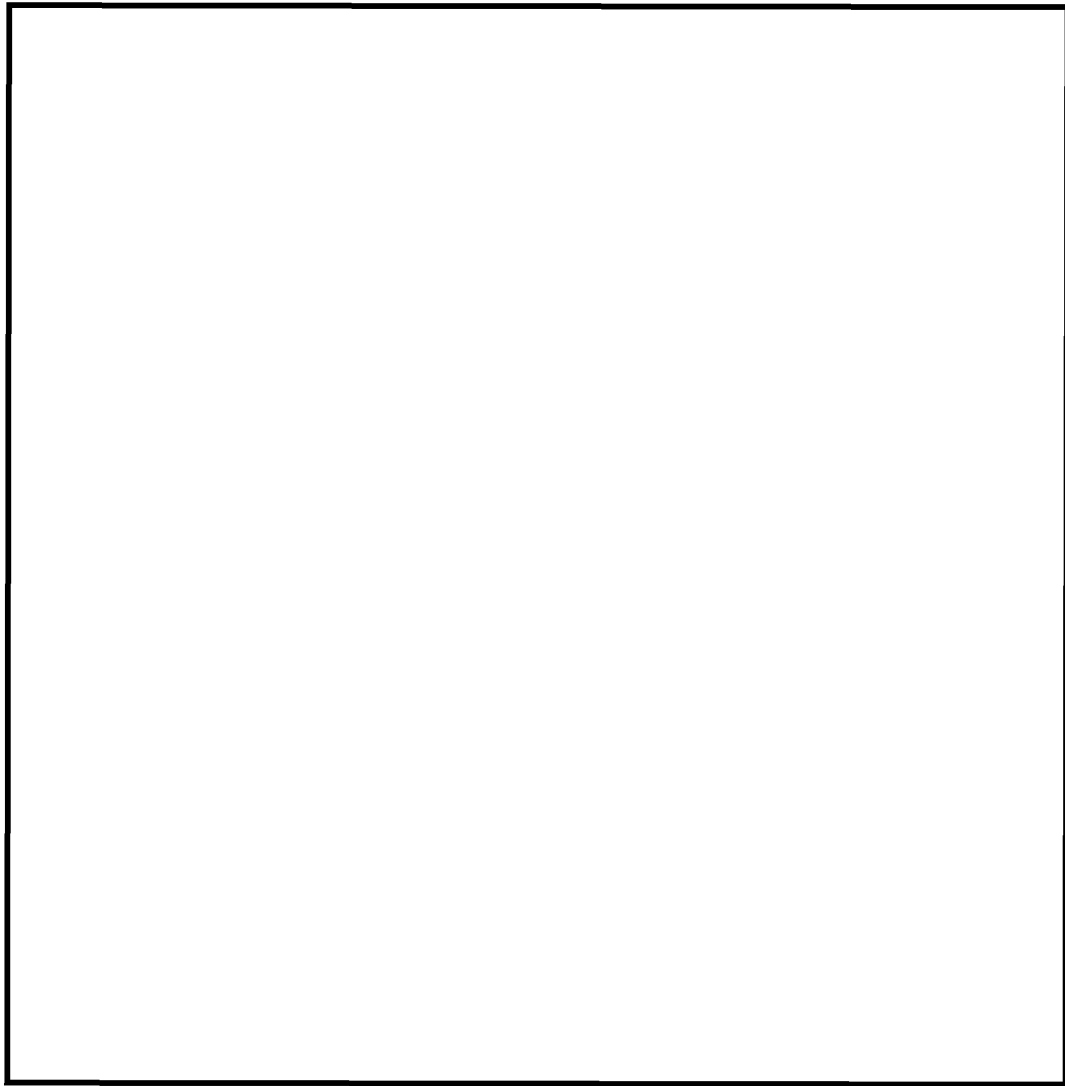
GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification.

100-446080
ENCLOSURE

*Declassified
by GTT/Alw
12-29-76*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

BLACK UNITED FRONT



b7C

b7C According to this source, [redacted] who acted [redacted] announced that after this meeting she would no longer be able to perform the duties of [redacted]

Source further advised that the main topic of discussion at this meeting was the rebuilding of the areas in Washington, D.C. which were burned out during the riots. Source stated that everyone present who wished to speak on this subject was allowed to express his thoughts.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

BLACK UNITED FRONT

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A [] confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that Stokely Carmichael did not arrive at the meeting until approximately 8:40 p.m. As soon as he assumed the chair, he called upon a young Negro male, whose name was not given but was a high school student and a member of the Black Student Union (BSU). This young man advised that the BSU is planning to celebrate May 19 and May 20, 1968, as Malcom X Days and the BSU is preparing a letter which will be sent to the District of Columbia School Board requesting that May 20, 1968, be made a school holiday. This young man requested that the BUF support the BSU in this regard and endorse the proposed letter. This young man also advised that the BSU is applying for a permit for the use of Bannaker Playground commencing at 9:00 a.m., the morning of May 20, 1968. After holding this rally at the playground, the BSU proposes to hold seminars and work shops and requested help from the BUF in obtaining permission from one of the local churches in the area to make space available for this project. Source advised that no final action was taken by the BUF in regard to the above request.

b7C

This source further advised that [] then announced that on May 30 and 31, 1968, the grand opening of the Drum and Spear Bookshop located in the 2700 block of 14th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., will be held. He described the bookshop as a project of the New School for Afro-American Thought and stated he hopes to have [] (phonetic) and [] present if at all possible. [] advised he hopes to obtain permission to rope off 14th Street, N.W., from about Florida Avenue to Fairmont Street, N.W., in order to stage a parade and show in the middle of the street. He stated in this regard that he needs money for the project and requested that any persons present who are heads of organizations sign a request which he stated he would present to proper authorities in order to obtain permission to go ahead with the above plans.

This source further advised that [] then was recognized by Stokely Carmichael and advised those present that the main topic of discussion at this meeting was the rebuilding of those areas in Washington which had been

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

BLACK UNITED FRONT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b7C [redacted] burned out during the recent riots. Source stated that one [redacted] (phonetic) inquired of [redacted] at this point if Stokely Carmichael and [redacted] were rehearsing things prior to the meeting. [redacted] stated that [redacted] apparently acts on a cue at such meetings. [redacted] and Carmichael exchanged a few words and then denied the accusation.

b7C Many speakers then talked about how to get started on rebuilding the riot torn areas, and [redacted] made a motion that BUF should request city officials including the Mayor and members of the City Council, the head of the Redevelopment Land Association, and others in authority, that a moratorium should be declared on all planning and building in the burned out areas of Washington until such time as a comprehensive plan had been developed.

This source further advised that [redacted] was then recognized and suggested that the above motion be reworded to state "rebuilding" instead of building. [redacted] accepted this change in his motion.

b7C [redacted] was then recognized and suggested that the above motion be reworded to specifically show that it applied only to riot torn areas and [redacted] also agreed to this. According to the source, [redacted] then suggested the motion be amended to state that the moratorium should apply to negotiations on rebuilding and [redacted] stated the motion should include a statement that the moratorium should stop payment of losses by the Small Business Administration to riot torn areas. [redacted] accepted both of the above changes and the motion as amended was passed by a majority vote.

According to the source, ways of enforcing the above motion were then brought up and it was agreed that a telegram should be sent to Mayor Walter E. Washington and all other city officials on either Wednesday, May 1 or Thursday, May 2, 1968, informing Mayor Washington and other officials of the above-mentioned BUF motion and requesting that all officials adhere to it. It was further agreed that after the telegram had been sent, a press conference should be called at which time the moratorium should be announced publicly. In regard

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BLACK UNITED FRONT

to enforcement, if officials choose to ignore the request for a moratorium, an unidentified individual suggested that people in the street might enforce it. Stokely Carmichael then said that the street has been enforcing everything else but now might be the proper time for the BUF to start controlling the street. He stated if this was not done and burning started again, houses might be burned instead of stores. This subject was then dropped.

According to source, an unidentified Negro male then stated the city might begin to play politics and check into the membership of BUF. This individual stated he felt if this happened, and the city officials determined that the BUF membership was no more than 100 persons and that the BUF did not have the support of people who reside in the burned out neighborhood, city officials would simply by-pass BUF. Stokely Carmichael stated it was his opinion that this is the time the BUF has to take a calculated risk and find out who is willing to support the BUF and just what individuals are afraid to take a risk, even if it means that someone would have to be indicted and go to jail. Carmichael stated this is part of the risk and he and some others are prepared to take this risk.

Source advised that another unidentified Negro male then made a motion that a committee be appointed to work out a comprehensive program for rebuilding the burned out areas of Washington. This motion was adopted and [redacted]

[redacted] was named [redacted] of the committee. [redacted] and 13 other persons were also appointed to this committee. It was further agreed that in addition to the 17 persons on the committee, all members of the BUF would be subject to call by the committee for advice.

According to the source, a committee was then appointed to set up a press conference regarding the above moratorium and [redacted] of SNCC and one person from each organization represented on the BUF was appointed to this committee.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

BLACK UNITED FRONT

b7C Source further advised that [] then stated he had learned that the United States District Attorney has subpoenaed all television film taken during the riots in order to show this film to the Grand Jury. He stated that he and three other people have protested to Mayor Walter E. Washington concerning this and have asked the Mayor to have the United States District Attorney withdraw the subpoena since he was of the opinion that some people on the film might possibly be recognized and indictments procured against them. At this point, [] stated he did not think anyone could be indicted on the basis of such pictures alone but remarked if the pictures show a person looting, it might be possible to obtain a search warrant and if stolen material was then found in an individual's home, that individual might be indicted by the Grand Jury. According to source, [] then suggested that everyone present spread the word that the Grand Jury will be reviewing television film of the riots and that if anyone believes his picture was taken, he should get rid of any loot he has at once.

b2
b7C
b7D A [] confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, stated that during the discussion on rebuilding the riot torn areas of the city, [] gained the floor and in apparent reference to the events in early April, said "You know a lot of us--some of us--got out and acted, then there are those who did not burn". This was followed by laughter. [] then stated, "We are trying to get those who did act to join in the rebuilding plan and get suggestions from them. BUF will be open to suggestions from anyone with good plans for rebuilding."

Carmichael then asked, according to the [] confidential source, if anyone would like to make a suggestion either as an individual or on behalf of an organization. One unidentified Negro male then gained the floor and suggested building high rise, low rent apartments, with stores and commercial areas located on the first floor so that there would be an incentive for businessmen to operate a variety

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

BLACK UNITED FRONT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

of businesses. He said if this could be done, with plenty of good business opportunities available, there would be no incentive for any further burning in the ghetto areas. This individual further remarked that it was impossible to ignore white investors or the backing of white people as it simply would not be good business to ignore this segment of the community. Another individual then advised that one obstacle in the rebuilding in the areas would undoubtedly be the extremely high cost of insurance.

b7C The source further advised that announcements were passed out at this meeting with reference to the appearance of [] in the Court of General Sessions [] asking that those present support [] who was arrested in the vicinity of 14th and U Streets recently on a narcotics charge. According to source, the leaflets passed out made reference to the dangerous honky gestapo cop who arrested []

b2
b7D A [] confidential informant, who has furnished reliable information in the past, and who was present at this meeting, advised that at one point Carmichael became impatient with a speaker who stated that he feared another wave of burning might hit the city. According to the source, the speaker was objecting to the fact that sites were being cleared by the ABC Wrecking Company and that they would not desist in this operation. Source advised Carmichael stated that random burning was not effective.

Source advised that Carmichael closed the meeting shortly before 11:00 p.m. by stating that any and all proposals for the rebuilding of the city by members of BUF would be given careful consideration. He announced that the next meeting of the BUF would take place on May 22, 1968, at the New School for Afro-American Thought at 8:00 p.m. that evening.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-02-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (157-8982)

DATE: 5/2/68

FROM : SAC, MOBILE (105-772)(P)

SUBJECT:

CHANGED
THE YOUNG MEN FREEDOM MOVEMENT,
FORMERLY KNOWN AS THE YOUNG MEN'S
PROGRESSIVE COMMITTEE
INTERNAL SECURITY

The title of this case is marked changed to reflect the change in name of the Young Men's Progressive Committee to the Young Men Freedom Movement, as furnished by [REDACTED] on 4/18/67.

ReMOairtel to Bureau, 4/9/68.

[REDACTED] was con-
tacted on 4/18/68, at which time he advised the following:

He stated that a meeting was called on Tuesday.

[REDACTED] who according to the informant, is a SNCC worker or organizer [REDACTED] He stated that the

- ④ - Bureau (RM)
(2-157-8982)(1-100-STOKELY CARMICHAEL)
(1-100-439190)
- 1 - WFO (Info)(RM)(STOKELY CARMICHAEL)
- 1 - Atlanta (Info)(RM)(100-SNCC)
- 11 - Mobile (2-105-772)

b2
b7C
b7D

CG/agf
(17)

NOT RECORDED
29 MAY 9 1968

51 MAY 21 1968

ORIGINAL FILED IN 157-8982-157

MO 105-772

following persons were in attendance at this meeting:

b7C

b7D

[REDACTED]

He advised that the purpose of the meeting was to discuss what was to be done about [REDACTED]. According to the informant, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] for the purpose of organizing The Young Men's Progressive Committee. It was brought out at the meeting that [REDACTED] could not be accounted for by [REDACTED] and it was the belief of those present that [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] made a motion to vote on whether or not to allow [REDACTED] to continue as a member of The Young Men's Progressive Committee. A vote was taken, and [REDACTED] was ousted from the organization. [REDACTED] left the meeting and stated he would form his own group. It was further suggested by [REDACTED] this organization, that the name of the organization be changed to The Young Men Freedom Movement. This was agreed upon.

It was learned at this meeting that [REDACTED] who is a representative of SNCC, has been in contact with STOKELY CARMICHAEL and calls him by the nickname "SAM". She stated she was responsible for getting STOKELY CARMICHAEL to come to the Beulah Baptist Church on 3/14/68.

At this meeting a rough draft of a leaflet to be printed and distributed by The Young Men Freedom Movement was prepared by [REDACTED]. [REDACTED] furnished a rough draft of the proposed leaflet, which reads as follows:

"April 4, 1968 will be a day for every black Negro to remember, on this day MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. was shot down by an assassin's bullet.

"The white man had committed another murder to prove to the black man and woman that the establishment is still in control. The lone gunman did not kill Dr. KING that night in Memphis, but he had the backing of a million people.

MO 105-772

"A letter on the editorial page in the Birmingham News, from a white lady, supported the killer when she said in writing, 'It's good Dr. KING is dead, but I would like to say to you, my friend, did the shot that rang out open your eyes?'

"Have you ever wondered why it is so hard for some schools to teach Negro history. There are a lot of white people who think and act like white men.

"The American Indians, the true founder of this country, have been saying for years the white men speaks with forked tongue. The true American Negro have been denied from our history books. Do you know that actually nearly 200,000 black soldiers died during the Civil War? Do you know that a black man was among the first to set foot upon the North Pole? Do you know that during Columbus's discovery of the New World that a black man shouted out, Master, I see land?

"Think of the feats of GEORGE WASHINGTON CARVER; the wonders he did with the peanut. If he had been a white man like Dr. ALBERT EINSTEIN, he would have been called a genius.

"Wake up, my black brothers, and see the light because the white man still has most of you blind.

"What other crime does he have to do - kill every black man in America? Black soldiers are dying every day in Vietnam for the freedom of the country, but in their freedom they have been long overdue.

"It is high time for all black men to organize to live up to their heritage or go back to being slaves.

"My brothers, in order to become free we must seek it ourselves by all possible means, so consider this pamphlet and ask yourself, Do I want to participate or do I still want to be unfree.

"/S/ The Young Men Freedom Movement"

MO 105-772

b7C
b7D

According to the informant, this pamphlet is going to be produced by [redacted] and distributed in the Negro community in Montgomery and on the campus of Alabama State College. This informant advised that [redacted] stated at this meeting that not all the money necessary to incorporate The Young Men's Progressive Committee was [redacted] but that [redacted] and that The Young Men's Progressive Committee is therefore not incorporated. A case has been opened on [redacted] by the Mobile Office, and the Mobile Office will continue to follow the activities of The Young Men Freedom Movement through the informant [redacted]
[redacted]

b7C
b7D

The informant has been instructed to maintain his friendship with [redacted] in order to attempt to obtain information regarding the source of the [redacted] [redacted] and in order to follow the possibility of [redacted] starting another organization along the lines previously outlined of The Young Men's Progressive Committee.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-02-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls
FBI

Date: 5/1/68

Transmit the following in PLAINTEXT
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

b7C

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC.; SEDITION

RE WFOTEL FOUR THIRTY SIXTYEIGHT.

SUBJECT LEFT FIVE ZERO ONE FIVE SIXTEENTH ST. N.W., WDC, AT
NINE THIRTY TWO AM, FIVE ONE SIXTYEIGHT, WITH [REDACTED] AND ENTERED
PLYMOUTH STATION WAGON BEARING NEW YORK LICENSE [REDACTED]

b7C

b7D

[REDACTED] AND DROVE TO SNCC HDQTS WHERE THEY WERE JOINED BY
[REDACTED] THEY THEN DROVE TO D. C. COURT OF GENERAL SESSIONS
WHERE, ACCORDING TO WFO SOURCE, THEY ATTENDED COURT APPEARANCE OF
[REDACTED] WHO WAS ARRESTED [REDACTED] BY
MPD ON NARCOTICS CHARGE. CASE AGAINST [REDACTED] NOLLE PROSSED.

CARMICHAEL AND COMPANIONS LATER RETURNED TO SNCC HDQTS, AND
ABOUT NOON SUBJECT RETURNED TO RESIDENCE.

b7C

b7D

AT TWO ZERO SEVEN PM, SUBJECT AND [REDACTED] DEPARTED
RESIDENCE AND DROVE TO VICINITY OF [REDACTED] WHERE [REDACTED]
LEFT CAR. SUBJECT CONTINUED TO SNCC HDQTS. LATER IN THE AFTERNOON

3 - Bureau
1 - WFO

WWH:tkm
(4)

b7C

b7C

100-446080-1508
REC 16
EX 106

100-446080-1508

MAY 3 1968

Approved: [Signature]
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via _____
(Priority)

PAGE TWO
WFO 100-43503

SUBJECT AND [] RETURNED TO RESIDENCE.

b7C ABOVE SOURCE ADVISED THAT SUBJECT MET WITH [] ON
b7D THE EVENING OF FOUR THIRTY SIXTYEIGHT PRIOR TO BLACK UNITED FRONT
MEETING, AND WAS SCHEDULED TO MEET AGAIN WITH [] ON EVEING OF
FIVE ONE SIXTYEIGHT.

b7C
b7D

THIS SOURCE ALSO ADVISED THAT SUBJECT [] LIVING
TOGETHER AND CLAIM TO BE MARRIED, DATE AND PLACE OF MARRIAGE UN-
KNOWN TO SOURCE. SOURCE ADVISED THEY PLAN ADDITIONAL FORMAL
MARRIAGE CEREMONY WITH IMPRESSIVE RECEPTION, BUT DATE AND PLACE NOT
SET.

b7C

[] ADVISED
D. C. MARRIAGE LICENSE OBTAINED ON FOUR TWENTYNINE SIXTYEIGHT GOOD
FOR ONLY FIVE DAYS, AND IF NOT USED WITHIN THAT TIME WILL LAPSE.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

SOURCE UTILIZED IS []

b7C
b7D

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-02-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

Date: 4/30/68

Transmit the following in PLAINTEXT
(Type in plaintext or code)Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI AND SAC NEW YORK

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; IS-MISC.; SEDITION

SUBJECT USING YELLOW PLYMOUTH STATION WAGON BEARING NEW
YORK LICENSE b7C

NEW YORK SUTEL REGISTRATION DATA RE ABOVE LICENSE.

2 - Bureau
2 - Teletype Unit
2 - WFO

WWH:tkm
(6)

REC 16

EX 106

100-446080-1509

25 MAY 3 1968

55

Approved:

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

MR. W. C. SULLIVAN

April 23, 1968

b7C

[REDACTED]

b7C

[REDACTED]

also known as,

RACIAL MATTERS - STUDENT NONVIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS

b7C

This recommends we obtain the Federal income
tax returns for the past three years for Stokely Carmichael
as well as the Federal income tax returns for [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] of the
Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, (SNCC).

BACKGROUND:

Stokely Carmichael was born in Port of Spain,
Trinidad, West Indies, but is a United States citizen through
his father's naturalization. He has been a dominant figure
in SNCC since 1966 and served as its chairman from May, 1966,
to May, 1967. He popularized the term "black power" which
to him signifies "bringing this country to its knees" and
"using any force necessary" to attain Negro goals. He
has traveled throughout the country making highly
inflammatory speeches on college campuses and elsewhere
advocating guerrilla warfare and urging Negroes in this
country to prepare for a bloody revolution.

Enclosures - 2

PTB:ekw (7)

[REDACTED]

(100-446080) (Carmichael)

1 - Mr. DeLoach

1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan

1 -

1 -

1 -

[REDACTED]

b7C

CONTINUED - OVER

100-446080 -

NOT RECORDED

199 MAY 1 1968

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-446080-651

39 MAY 2 1968 3-3

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan

RE: [REDACTED]

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

b7C



b7C

Both of these individuals charged large fees as speakers. In the case of Carmichael, he reportedly gave many speeches during 1966-67 charging a fee ranging from \$1,000 to \$1,800.

It is felt that a review of Carmichael's and [REDACTED] income tax returns might reveal violations of the law.

b7C

RECOMMENDATION:

That Liaison deliver the attached memoranda to Internal Revenue Service for the purpose of obtaining Federal income tax returns for Stokely Carmichael [REDACTED] [REDACTED] for the past three years.

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-02-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

VIA TELETYPE

MAY 1 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

WA...9
FBI NEW YORK

5:05 PM URGENT 5/1/68 WPK

TO DIRECTOR AND WASHINGTON FIELD PLAIN

ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

WFO VIA WASHINGTON

FROM NEW YORK 100-153751 1P

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; IS-MISC; SEDITION.

[REDACTED] AVIS-RENT-A-CAR, NINTY SEVEN DASH

FORTY FIVE QUEENS BLVD., QUEENS, NEW YORK, ADVISED THIS DATE
THAT PLYMOUTH STATION WAGON BEARING NEW YORK LICENSE [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] WAS LEADED TO [REDACTED] ON APRIL TWENTY
SIX LAST, AT NYC. [REDACTED] ADVISED THAT [REDACTED] WAS SCHEDULED TO
RETURN THE VEHICLE TO WDC ON MAY THREE NEXT.

[REDACTED] ADVISED THAT [REDACTED] LISTED STOKELY CARMICHAEL AS
INDIVIDUAL WHO WOULD DRIVE VEHICLE.

END

WA...EFH R RELAY

FBI WASH DC

DCD FTB 9 (EFH)

REC 16

EX 106

25 MAY 3 1968

55 MAY 9 1968
RELAYED TO WFO

cc - Tramm

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-02-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls
FBI

Date: 4/23/68

PLAINTEXT

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080) (ATT: DID)
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-153751)
SUBJECT : STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS-MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION

ReNYphone call to NK, 4/22/68.

On 4/22/68, [redacted] reliable in past, advised from information developed at SNCC headquarters, NYC, on 4/22/68, STOKELY CARMICHAEL is listed as scheduled to appear, with others, at Central High School, 345 High St., Newark, NJ, at 7:00 p.m., Friday, 4/26/68.

On 4/23/68, [redacted] reliable in past, advised it is understood subject is scheduled to appear at Central High School, Newark, NJ, at 7:00 p.m., 4/26/68. and that subject supposedly plans to be married soon [redacted]

Above being submitted for information purposes.

- 3- Bureau (RM)
1- Atlanta (INFO) (RM)
2- Newark (RM) (INFO)
2- Washington Field (INFO) (RM)
1- New York (100-147963) (SNCC)
1- New York [redacted]
1- New York [redacted]
1- New York [redacted]

LGB: amb
(13)

REC-41

EX-110

APR 24 1968

cc 806940

INVEST. SECT.

62 MAY 1968

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-02-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls
FBI

Date: 4/30/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS;
SEDITION
(OO:WFO)

ReCGat, 4/22/68.

The photographs of [redacted] were
shown to WFO sources observing [redacted] with
STOKELY CARMICHAEL on 3/15/68 and these sources advised
they do not appear identical.

REC- 19

- (3) Bureau
1- Atlanta (100-6812) (Info) (RM)
3- Chicago (RM)
 (1 - [redacted])
 (1 - [redacted])
1- WFO

WWH:bdc
(8)
AIRTEL

15 MAY 3 1968

Approved: [Signature]

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-02-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

F B I

Date: 4/25/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: *W/H* SAC, ATLANTA (100-6812) (P)SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - M; SEDITION
(OO: WFO)

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of an LHM
captioned "STOKELY CARMICHAEL", prepared at Atlanta on
4/25/68.

1cc Phoe 8/4 D
[redacted] referred to in enclosed LHM is [redacted]
[redacted]

b2
b7C
b7D

ENCLOSURE
③ - Bureau (Enc. 11) (RM)
2 - Atlanta
ALM:met
(5)
*1 copy of airtel +
1cc of LHM
806 948*

REG-44
ST-103

FSD - Attn: Paul Vincent, Crim. Attn: [redacted]

APR 30 1968

b7C

IDIU, See Sams.

R/S 5/2/68

C. C. Bishop

*1cc of airtel + LHM to WFO (Attn: [redacted])
for info.*

R/S to AT for info

b7C

PTB/jkt

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Approved: _____

66 MAY 10 1968

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Atlanta, Georgia
April 25, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-02-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

b2
b7D

[redacted] who has furnished insufficient information to establish his reliability, furnished the following information:

He has known Stokely Carmichael for a long time, and on the night Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. was killed in Memphis, Tennessee, this source left his hotel and went to the vicinity of 14th and U Streets in Washington, D.C., where the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) had headquarters for the "Poor Peoples March." The source said that while en route he heard of Dr. King's death, and when he arrived at the SCLC office Carmichael was there and had just heard of King's death. He said Carmichael was in a condition of complete shock, as were all the others present. He said that Carmichael's reactions, both on this occasion and other occasions when he has been with him, were that of a person very much dedicated to the black man's cause, but that they have been completely normal reactions when considered in the light of Carmichael's convictions.

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b7C
b7D

[redacted] digressed from Carmichael at this point to mention that this was not the case with [redacted]. He stated he regards [redacted] as "crazy."

[redacted] said he saw Stokely Carmichael again on the day King was buried in Atlanta, April 9, 1968, and that following the funeral of King he attended a meeting in Apartment [redacted] in Atlanta, which meeting was held mainly for the purpose of talking to Carmichael and finding out what he intended to do following the death of King.

In conversation with Carmichael at this meeting, this source was told by Carmichael that "money is no problem to me, I could make all the money I want simply by working for one political group or another, but this is not what I would want to do." At this point, the source stated there were three main forces to be considered in determining Carmichael's motivation, and they are:

COPIES DESTROYED

286 FEE 23 1971

ENCLOSURE

100-446080-1513

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

- (1) Love of one's brother
- (2) A desire to make every Negro a black man
- (3) Total commitment

b2
b7D [] stated that concerning number one above he has talked to Carmichael about this very subject and that Carmichael's feeling is that love of one's brother does include all men, and that Carmichael has remarked to him, "You can love one without liking him." The source stated that Carmichael has told him he feels the Negro is in an oppressed position and that the Negro must obtain his stature in society first before he can enter into a full relationship of love with the white man.

[] noted that Carmichael used the phrase "If they put their hands on me" quite frequently, and said that in talking with Carmichael he has learned that this phrase to Carmichael has a real meaning that his person must be respected equally as much as a white person, and that if his person was violated in any way he would have to resort to violence in defense of his ideals.

b2
b7D In regard to number two above, [] stated that Carmichael's feelings are that every Negro in America must come to feel that in relation to his contacts with others he should give no consideration at all to the color of his skin, but should feel completely equal and should demand that the whites or others accord him absolute equality even in the processes of their thought, if they intend to have the confidence and love of the black man.

[] stated, in regard to number three above, that Stokely feels the Negro has to become an integral part of American society in every phase of life. He said for example that the 18 million black people in America had to have the same weight in guiding society that any other group of 18 million people would have. This meant that the black man would have to be represented on boards of directors, school boards, city councils, and so forth, in direct proportion to their number, and that until then total commitment would not have been accomplished.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

b2
b7D [] said that when Carmichael talks about "freedom now", he means that all the various shackles which hold the Negro would have to be removed now, and not that there has to be some miraculous change in the personal welfare of each Negro. He stated that some of this talk is directed to the Negro himself, in that Carmichael means that the Negro must develop the mental attitude of a free man. He said in talks with Carmichael he has learned Carmichael admits that there will be, as far into the future as any of us can see, certain mental shackles in the minds of both black and white men that will be a hindrance to bringing about full commitment, but that freedom now means that all the artificial shackles must be removed now.

This source commented that in his talks with Carmichael on the day King was buried, he got the impression Carmichael is becoming a very tired revolutionary at an early age. He pointed out that Carmichael is middle-class, not ghetto.

b2
b7D [] said that when the conference got under way, Carmichael was asked what he planned to do in the immediate future, and Carmichael replied that he would support Reverend Ralph Abernathy as the new head of the SCLC. He noted that Carmichael has, to his knowledge, never opposed the black man directly, and that he would be very much surprised if Carmichael would make a play for power which would handicap the work of other black peoples organizations.

b2
b7D [] stated that Carmichael has had many white friends in the past, and that he has on occasion dated white women. For this reason, [] does not feel that Carmichael could ever support a complete separatist theory.

The source stated that he feels sure Carmichael's energies could be channeled quite easily into constructive fields, if the proper approach was made. He stated that first one should review the manner in which King came to a position of prominence in the black community.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

b2
b7D [] pointed out that King was reluctant to support the bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama, several years ago, and that it was only after urging by many people who knew him and after considerable delay that he finally decided to support the boycott. He pointed out that the history of King's development was one of his responding to the urgings of the crowd, or to put it another way to the needs of his people. He said King did not start off with a set plan as to what he was going to accomplish.

b2
b7D [] said that Carmichael resembles King in his persuasive manner of speech, intellectual bent, and desire for leadership; however, Carmichael has one trait which the source felt King lacked, and that is a genius for organization.

[] again stressed the idea that King's development was one of chance and that the opportunities open to him indicated the direction which he would move. The source said that one thing which should be remembered about both King and Carmichael was that they both must lead, but that if Carmichael was given the opportunity to lead it would not matter too much what the direction was, as long as it resulted in bettering the lot of the black man.

b2
b7D [] stated that in his opinion the proper way to handle Carmichael would be to get him involved in a philanthropically financed project which would captivate his mind and tie him up in administrative details, and then place persons close to him who could gradually move him in whatever direction would benefit those who were manipulating him.

[] stated that if he were working for a philanthropic group and had enough latitude to request that Carmichael submit a detailed plan of some program which he would like to head up for the purpose of benefiting the black man, he feels sure that Carmichael would take the bait and would offer a constructive program. He said that he would then surround Carmichael with individuals whose purpose it would be to guide him, and at the same time use his organizational ability and his persuasiveness with ghetto Negroes in order to carry out a constructive plan.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

[] was asked at this point if, in the light of some of the extreme anti-American statements Carmichael had made, he did not think Carmichael would be uncontrollable. He insisted that the statements, such as the one Carmichael made while in Hanoi about wishing America would be defeated in the Vietnam war, were calculated statements made to galvanize the following Carmichael has, and that he does not actually believe Carmichael would want a defeat of the United States.

[] stated he does not believe for several reasons that Carmichael would ever become committed to world communism as a cause. He said that for one thing Carmichael returned to this country broke, and he said he believes Carmichael was actually broke when he returned.

Secondly, source stated that he has talked on many occasions with Carmichael about communism, and that he can recall some actual quotes of Carmichael, such as: "Communism may be okay for some white nations, but it is no good for black men in America. What we want is a part of this system. We are capitalists and we need to work within the capitalistic structure." "Communism is a system of exploitation in which the peasants are exploited from the top by government people."

[] said that Carmichael always couples the second statement above with a statement to the effect that what needs to be done is that all exploitation must be stopped.

[] said that finally he would conclude that Carmichael would not be a communist for a very practical reason, and that would be that Carmichael realizes that if he attempted to be a leader of a communist movement in this country, he would be dead, and the source said he has often heard Carmichael remark that a corpse cannot lead.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-02-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls
FBI

Date: 5/1/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

b7C

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS-M; SEDITION
(OO:WFO)

b7C

Records Central Files. INS, WDC, disclose INS file
[redacted] regarding [redacted] charged to INS, New
York City.

b7C

New York Office locate and review above INS file
regarding [redacted] and set forth results in LHM under
CARMICHAEL caption.

EX 109

- ③ - Bureau
- 2 - New York (RM)
- 1 - WFO

WWH;ska
(6)

AIRTEL

C. C. Bishop

REC-43
100-446080-1514
100-806 929
J-124

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-02-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM : *5/8* SAC, SAN DIEGO (100-13995) (RUC)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - M; SEDITION
(OO: WFO)

DATE: 5/2/68

ReSDtel to Bureau and WFO 4/18/68.

b2
b7C
b7D

7
re
[redacted] all of whom have furnished reliable information in the past and are conversant with various phases of racial activity, advised SA [redacted] between 4/19 and 22/68 that STOKELY CARMICHAEL did not appear as scheduled at the San Diego Annual Black Conference held 4/19, 20 and 21/68 at Southcrest Recreational Center, 40th and Keeler Streets, San Diego, California, in Southeast San Diego, which is predominantly populated by Negroes.

- ② - Bureau (REGISTERED)
- 2 - Washington Field (REGISTERED)
- 1 - San Diego

BAS:mel
(5)

B

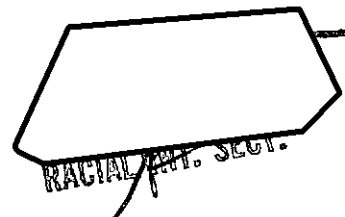
1cc 806920

REC 13
EX-1005

100-446080-1515

1 MAY 6 1968

b7C



[Signature]
70 MAY 22 1968

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DATE 06-02-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/PCG/bls
FBI

Date: 5/2/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P) b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - M;
SEDITION

SA [redacted] observed white Chrysler bearing
Michigan license [redacted] parked in front of subject's residence
in WDC at 6:45 p.m. on 4/30/68.

Detroit ascertain to whom above car registered,
conduct credit and criminal and check indices.

REC-18

100-446080-1516

100-446080-1516 EX 109

15 MAY 6 1968

- 3 - Bureau
2 - Detroit (RM)
1 - WFO

WWH:tab
(6)

G. C. Bishop

AIRTEL

51 MAY 13 1968

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-02-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bjs

F B I

Date: 5/4/68

Mr. Telsen	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Transmit the following in PLAINTEXT
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC.; SEDITION
RE WFOTEL FIVE THREE SIXTYEIGHT.

ON MORNING OF FIVE FOUR SIXTYEIGHT SUBJECT WAS AT RESIDENCE
FIVE ZERO ONE FIVE SIXTEENTH ST. N.W., WDC. IN AFTERNOON HE VISITED
SNCC HDQTS. AND WHILE IN AREA STROLLED ABOUT FOURTEENTH AND U STS.
N.W. SHAKING HANDS AND GREETING PEOPLE.

A SOURCE ADVISED SUBJECT WAS TO ATTEND A SNCC SPONSORED PARTY
DURING EVENING OF FIVE FOUR SIXTYEIGHT AT THE FLAMINGO CLUB, WDC.
SOURCE ALSO ADVISED SUBJECT TALKING VERY GENERALLY ABOUT TAKING A
TRIP, BUT NOTHING SPECIFIC.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

b7C
b7D

3 - Bureau
1 - WFO

WWH:tkm
(4)

REC-104

100-446080-1517

b7C

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

0 MAY 10 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-02-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

MAY 3 1968

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

FBI WASH DC*

b7C

FBI CHICAGO

846PM URGENT 5-3-68 RFJ

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080) AND WASHINGTON FIELD (100-43503)
WASHINGTON FIELD VIA WASHINGTON
FROM CHICAGO (100-1297)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS - M; SEDITION, OO: WFO.

b7C

SOURCE, WITH WHOM CONTACT INSUFFICIENT TO DETERMINE
RELIABILITY, ADVISED THIS DATE THAT CARMICHAEL MAY POSSIBLY
MAKE APPEARANCE ON CAMPUS OF NORTHERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY,
DE KALB, ILLINOIS, WEEKEND MAY FOUR - FIVE NEXT.

[REDACTED] RELIABLE IN PAST, AND WHO IS IN POSITION
TO KNOW OF CAMPUS ACTIVITIES, ADVISED INSTANT DATE HE HAS NO
INFORMATION INDICATING CARMICHAEL IS TO APPEAR ON CAMPUS WEEKEND NEXT.

DE KALB POLICE DEPARTMENT COGNIZANT.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

b7C

[REDACTED] IS INDIVIDUAL CONNECTED WITH NORTHERN ILLINOIS
UNIVERSITY WHO HAS BEEN CONTACTED IN PAST.

END: 80 MAY 16 1968
Relayed to WFO

b7C

advised
9:30 AM 5/4/68

PAGE TWO

MILITARY, SECRET SERVICE AND USA ADVISED.

WFO ADVISE IF ANY KNOWN ITINERARY OF SUBJECT INDICATES
TRAVEL TO CHICAGO DIVISION WEEKEND MAY FOUR-FIVE
NEXT.

CHICAGO FOLLOWING. BUREAU AND WFO WILL BE ADVISED AND
LHM SUBMITTED ONLY IF CARMICHAEL MAKES APPEARANCE.

END

WPK

FBI WASH DC*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-02-2006 BY
60305/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 5/1/68

The attached summarizes yesterday's activities of Stokely Carmichael, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). The Washington Spring Project is another name used by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) for its Poor People's Campaign.

We are continuing to furnish pertinent information developed concerning subject to the Internal Security Division and other Divisions of the Department.

WLS:lrb

ge

wcs/mst

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-02-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

FBI

Date: 4/30/68

Transmit the following in PLAINTEXT
(Type in plaintext or code)Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, ^{INTERNAL SECURITY} IS-MISC.; SEDITION

RE WFO TEL FOUR TWENTYNINE SIXTYEIGHT.

SUBJECT AND UNKNOWN MALE DEPARTED FIVE ZERO ONE FIVE SIX-
TEENTH ST, N.W., ^{WASHINGTON} WDC, ELEVEN THIRTYEIGHT AM FOUR THIRTY SIXTYEIGHT,
^{Headquarters} AND WENT TO SNCC HQTS, IN YELLOW PLYMOUTH STATION WAGON BEARING
NEW YORK LICENSE [REDACTED] AFTER A SHORT STOP
AT INDUSTRIAL BANK OF WASHINGTON.

SUBJECT MADE A VISIT TO LOCAL RESTAURANT, A CLEANING ESTAB-
LISHMENT, AND A BRIEF STOP AT SCLC WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT OFFICE
NEARBY BEFORE RETURNING TO SNCC WHERE HE WAS PRESENT INTO THE AFTER-
NOON.

A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE ADVISED THAT ON THE AFTERNOON OF FOUR
THIRTY SIXTYEIGHT SUBJECT MIGHT GET TOGETHER WITH [REDACTED]
REPORTEDLY CURRENTLY IN WDC, IF POSSIBLE.

DURING EVENING OF FOUR THIRTY SIXTYEIGHT, SUBJECT ATTENDED

2 - Bureau
1 - WFO

WWH:tkm
(4)

b7C

100-446080-1519
MAY 6 1968

WFO LHM TO SD, CRR, GMM

1910, SS, PM 11.
5/2/68

Approved: JDR/wwh

55 MAY 13 1968

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)PAGE TWO
WFO 100-43503MEETING OF BLACK UNITED FRONT HELD AT NEW SCHOOL OF AFRO-AMERICAN
THOUGHT, TWO ONE ONE FIVE FOURTEENTH ST. N.W., WDC.

b2
b7D A [] CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE ADVISED SUBJECT ACTED AS CHAIR-
MAN OF THE ABOVE MEETING WHICH LASTED UNTIL ABOUT ELEVEN PM, AND
CONSISTED PRIMARILY OF DISCUSSION ABOUT HOW TO REBUILD RIOT TORN
AREAS OF WDC.

A [] CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE HAS NO ADDITIONAL INFORMATION
REGARDING SUBJECT'S MARITAL STATUS BUT STATES THAT SUBJECT HAS
STATED HE [] MARRIED AND ARE APPARENTLY LIVING
TOGETHER AT FIVE ZERO ONE FIVE SIXTEENTH ST., N.W., WDC.

b2
b7C
b7D

A SOURCE OF THE MPD ADVISED SUBJECT [] BELIEVED TO
HAVE ALREADY BEEN MARRIED FOR SOME TIME AND CONTINUE TO REFER TO
THEIR EXPECTED MARRIAGE AND HAVE GOTTEN ADDITIONAL MARRIAGE LICENSE
IN WDC FOR PUBLICITY PURPOSES.

ADMINISTRATIVE

Me 7/10
LHM RE BLACK UNITED FRONT MEETING FOLLOWS.

b2
b7C
b7D

[]

[]

[]

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-02-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

FBI

Date: 5/1/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM: SAC, KANSAS CITY (100-12347) (RUC)
RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL;
NATIONAL BLACK ANTI-WAR,
ANTI-DRAFT UNION (NBAWADU);
[REDACTED]
RACIAL MATTERS

b7C

100-446080-1520 4-17-68
Re Washington Field Office airtel to Bureau, 3/19/68,
copies to various offices including Kansas City, requesting
Kansas City to (1) make inquiries to determine the bona fides
of [REDACTED] and (2) identify [REDACTED] and her
employer, [REDACTED] although no circumstances or back-
ground is set out in referenced airtel explaining the reason
for identifying [REDACTED] and her employer.

KANSAS CITY INQUIRIES AS TO BONA FIDES OF [REDACTED]

Pursuant to Washington Field Office telephonic
request 4/12/68, Kansas City memo, 4/12/68, to Washington
Field captioned [REDACTED] furnished
to Washington Field [REDACTED]

- 3 - Bureau (RM)
3 - WFO (1 - 100-43503) (1 - 157-1513) (1 - [REDACTED]) (RM)
4 - Kansas City (1 - 100-12347) (1 - 157-792) (1 - 157-771)
(1 - 87-21786)

HKJ:gah
(10)

b2
b7D

b7C

Approved: [Signature]
66 MAY 1 1968 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

Although Washington Field has undoubtedly thoroughly reviewed the above [redacted] it is pointed out that [redacted]

b7C

Kansas City letter to Bureau, 7/12/67, captioned "Suspects Program, Bank Robbery Matters," "Re [redacted] - BR Suspect," reflects that [redacted] had a mandatory release plan from the U. S. Penitentiary, [redacted] as follows:

b7C

"U. S. Probation Office

[redacted]
Kansas City, Kansas

Residence

Kansas City, Kansas - pending

With Whom

Alone

Employment

Pending

Advisor

U. S. Probation Office

Supervision Expires

Full Term Expires

Type of Release

[redacted]
Mandatory Release"

b7C

In the same matter, Kansas City memo of 7/30/67, reflects during U. S. Probation Office supervision of [redacted] at Kansas City, Kansas, [redacted] was employed by [redacted] [redacted] Kansas City, Kansas, as [redacted]

[redacted] lived at [redacted] Kansas City, Kansas, until [redacted] when he moved to [redacted] Kansas City, Kansas. Memo dated 9/26/67, indicated [redacted] was adhering to the terms of his supervision with no indication of being engaged in criminal activities.

KC 100-12347

On 4/29/68, [redacted]
Kansas City, Kansas, informed that [redacted]

b7C [redacted] is no longer available for
interview. However, [redacted] well recalled [redacted] as a "loud
mouth," who frequently claimed and boasted of his "white"
girl friends. After his release supervision expired, late
[redacted] on several occasions, saw [redacted]
in the New Federal Building, Kansas City, Kansas, where
[redacted] was trying to [redacted]
Possibly early in February, 1968, [redacted] told [redacted] that
three lawyers were fighting (competing) to represent [redacted]
in a million dollar damage suit against authorities for
illegally holding [redacted] in the Johnson County, Kansas,
Jail overnight on some charges. [redacted] said this was
obviously a "lie," that [redacted] exaggerated or lied to [redacted]
on several other occasions unrecalled. [redacted] said [redacted]
U. S. Probation Office file has been forwarded to Wichita,
Kansas.

b7C [redacted] Kansas,
Police Department, informed on 4/29/68, that [redacted] was
arrested [redacted] both
Negro males, in [redacted] Kansas, [redacted]
[redacted] The arresting officer in
chasing [redacted] vehicle observed one of the occupants
[redacted] from the vehicle. In the car was found an
18" black wood-handle screwdriver. The charges were dis-
missed 1/24/68.

b7C [redacted]
[redacted]
On 5/1/68, [redacted]
Kansas Police Department, said he well recalls the arrest
of [redacted] about mid-January, 1968. [redacted] b7C
[redacted] said no suit has ever been filed or indicated by
[redacted] against [redacted] Kansas, authorities in con-
nection with his arrest or detention. Apparently to seek

KC 100-12347

b7C favor, [] told enforcement officers during his detention in January, 1968, that [] had been contacted by one of two white subjects prior to their []

[] said police carefully checked [] story and were certain he "lied" about being contacted by one of the subjects, although he possibly knew the subjects as fellow inmates at the U. S. Penitentiary, Leavenworth, Kansas.

b7C On 5/1/68, [] informed no suit was ever indicated or filed against [] authorities relative to arrest or detention of []

b7C On 4/29/68, [] Kansas City, Kansas, Police Department, said she had no identifiable record of []

On 4/29/68, [] Kansas City, Missouri, Police Department, informed her only record of [] reflects a city warrant was filed for his arrest 12/4/67, for stealing personal property based on complaint of [] apparently residence was indicated as [] Kansas City, Missouri.

[] also informed that [] Negro male, Kansas City, Missouri, Police Department last indicated residence [] has a record of possibly 70 prior arrests, many of which are for burglary and narcotics. His last arrest for traffic violation was 4/19/67, after which bench warrants were issued.

[] was unable to find current outstanding bench warrants for either []

[] Credit Bureau of Greater Kansas City, informed on 5/1/68, she had no identifiable record of []

b7C

Inquiry on 4/29/68, at [redacted] an apartment complex for Negro tenants, developed that [redacted] was confined in a hospital and unavailable for interview. A Negro mail carrier serving those addresses informed on 4/29/68, that he recalled [redacted] as a tenant at [redacted] who left Kansas City several weeks ago, leaving no forwarding address. One [redacted] an acquaintance of [redacted] moved several months ago from the apartments to an unknown address. Shortly after [redacted] left Kansas City, a girl friend, possibly white, from New York, picked up a television set at [redacted] apartment. The mail carrier had no additional information.

b7C

Reference is made to Washington Field letter 4/26/68 (WFO file 157-0) to Kansas City (KC file [redacted] captioned [redacted] RM (OO: KANSAS CITY)," based on information furnished by [redacted] to FBI Agents in Washington, D. C.

b7C

The non-specific generalities in that letter, attributed to [redacted] appear questionable for the following reasons:

b7C

Based on intensive inquiry in Kansas City, Kansas, 4/30/68, the [redacted] if one exists, is apparently [redacted] a Negro juvenile, age 16, residence [redacted] Kansas City, Kansas, who has been arrested several times by the Kansas City, Kansas, Police Department Youth Bureau, and supervised by Juvenile Court. He was carrying a "cap" pistol 11/4/67.

b7C

Since [redacted] was released from the U. S. Penitentiary, Leavenworth, Kansas, in June, 1967, and under supervision of the U. S. Probation Office, Kansas City, Kansas, until December, 1967, it is difficult to understand how he heard a rumor "in the street" while at Leavenworth that [redacted] had bought rifles from an unknown white male stolen from Gateway Sporting Goods Company, Kansas City, Missouri, in late 1967. (The burglary was actually of a main warehouse over Christmas holidays, 1967--the taking of numerous weapons, rifles and stock was publicized in the news.) The Kansas City Division conducted intensive investigation of this burglary

KC 100-12347

b7C (KC file [redacted] The burglary was undoubtedly committed by white male adults who sold many weapons recovered at Columbia, Missouri, for \$5,000, subjects undoubtedly being the fences which are pending state prosecution. Although all rifles were not recovered, it appears highly unlikely any were sold to a Negro juvenile in Kansas City, Kansas, when markets were readily available for valuable weapons at a lower but still "good" price. In any event, it is anticipated [redacted] will be interviewed in Kansas City file [redacted] Any pertinent developments will be notified to Washington Field in instant matter.

b7C It is noted [redacted] does not connect [redacted] with SNCC--only that [redacted] heard at the same time he heard about [redacted] there was a rumor a SNCC group was under development in Kansas City, Kansas. For the information of Washington Field, the only specific rumor and/or indication of a SNCC group in the Kansas City Division followed appearance of a news item 3/31/68, that a representative of SNCC was at an "open house" at a new Kansas City, Kansas, Police store-front center. This article was based on one [redacted] wearing a SNCC lettered jacket. Numerous sources, including knowledgeable Kansas City, Kansas, Negro police officials, doubt [redacted] claim that a SNCC group exists in Kansas City, Kansas, as [redacted] is a known "liar" and publicity seeker. Current inquiry has been underway regarding such a possible SNCC group.

b7C Based on the above, [redacted] veracity would appear highly questionable, at least during his presence in the Kansas City Division. No further inquiry is being made by the Kansas City Division in the absence of specific request from Washington Field. Should Washington Field develop specific information from [redacted] such as the time, date and circumstances of his alleged telephone call to STOKELY CARMICHAEL and [redacted] plane flight from Kansas City, Missouri, to Washington, the Kansas City Division could probably verify or negate such claims by [redacted]

KC 100-12347

Personal observation on 4/30/68, of the offices of [redacted] in the New Federal Building, Kansas City, Kansas, reflected the presence of a young Negro female [redacted] whose desk bore the name sign [redacted] who apparently has been [redacted] since early 1967. Since [redacted] frequented the New Federal Building during his U. S. Probation Office supervision and later, he undoubtedly knew [redacted] office.

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-02-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

FBI

Date: 4/29/68

Transmit the following in PLAINTEXT
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080) b7C

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC.; SEDITION

RE WFOTEL APRIL TWENTYEIGHT LAST.

SUBJECT AT FIVE ZERO ONE FIVE SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W., WDC,
MORNING OF APRIL TWENTY NINE INSTANT. IN AFTERNOON SUBJECT ENTERED
LATE MODEL YELLOW PLYMOUTH STATION WAGON, N.Y. LICENSE [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] ACCOMPANIED BY [REDACTED] AND
HIS WIFE, [REDACTED] AND UNIDENTIFIED NEGRO MALE AND FEMALE. DROVE
TO SNCC HDQTS. WHERE [REDACTED] LEFT CAR. SUBJECT AND OTHER COMPAN-
IONS DROVE TO NORWOOD STUDIOS, NEW JERSEY AVE. AND I STREET, N.W.,
WDC, WHERE ANOTHER UNKNOWN NEGRO MALE JOINED GROUP. [REDACTED] LEFT
GROUP AND ENTERED BLUE VOLKSWAGEN, D.C. LICENSE [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] REGISTERED TO [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] WDC, WHICH DEPARTED AREA. SUBJECT AND
GROUP CONTINUED TO D.C. MARRIAGE LICENSE BUREAU WHERE ALL ENTERED.

[REDACTED] INTELLIGENCE DIVISION, MPD, WDC, ADVISED SUBJECT

[REDACTED] FORMALLY ATTIRE, APPEARED AT MARRIAGE LICENSE BUREAU

3 - Bureau
1 - WFO

WWH:tkm
(4)

2 MAY 10 1968
150c Air

Approved: ADD/WWH

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)PAGE TWO
WFO 100-43503

b7C

WITH COMPANIONS AND SECURED MARRIAGE LICENSE APPLIED FOR THE PREVIOUS WEEK. CARMICHAEL AND GROUP RETURNED TO FIVE ZERO ONE FIVE SIXTEENTH ST. N.W., WDC, WHERE [REDACTED] CAR OBSERVED PARKED IN DRIVEWAY. ABOUT THIRTY MINUTES LATER [REDACTED] AND SEVERAL OTHERS DEPARTED RESIDENCE. WFO ATTEMPTING TO VERIFY IF CARMICHAEL [REDACTED] [REDACTED] MARRIED DURING ABOVE TIME BY [REDACTED] AT RESIDENCE.

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-02-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

F B I

Date: 5/2/68

Transmit the following in PLAINTEXT
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC.; SEDITION

RE WFOTEL MAY TWO LAST.

SUBJECT, [REDACTED] DEPARTED FIVE ZERO

ONE FIVE SIXTEENTH ST. N.W., WDC, AT ONE TWENTYFIVE PM, MAY TWO
INSTANT IN A PLYMOUTH STATION WAGON BEARING NEW YORK LICENSE [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] AFTER SHORT STOPS AT A BANK AND A
RESTAURANT SUBJECT WENT TO SNCC HDQTS, WDC.

LATER IN THE AFTERNOON SUBJECT AND TWO UNKNOWN MALES DROVE
FROM SNCC TO THE THIRTEENTH PRECINCT, MPD, IN THE SIXTEEN HUNDRED
BLOCK OF V STREET, N. W..

[REDACTED] INTELLIGENCE DIVISION, MPD, ADVISED
CARMICHAEL WITH FNU [REDACTED] APPEARED AT THIRTEENTH PRECINCT WHERE

[REDACTED] EXPLAINED TO THE PRECINCT CAPTAIN THAT HE HAD A VEHICULAR
MOVING VIOLATION OUTSTANDING AGAINST HIM. [REDACTED] WANTED TO TURN
HIMSELF IN, BUT PLANNED TO RESIST OR NOT APPEAR WHEN CHARGE BROUGHT

3 - Bureau
1 - WFO

WWH:tkm
(4)

b7C

REC-12

100-446080-1522
MAY 6 1968

Approved: [Signature]
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

82 MAY 10 1968

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

PAGE TWO
WFO 100-43503

UP FORMALLY AT A LATER DATE.

PRECINCT CAPTAIN POLITELY EXPLAINED TO [] HOW CASE
WOULD PROCEED FORMALLY WHETHER [] DECIDED TO APPEAR OR NOT.

b7C

[] STATED CARMICHAEL PRESENT DURING ABOVE DISCUSSION,
BUT DID NOT SAY ANYTHING.

[] CONFIDENTIALLY ADVISED THAT THE PRECINCT CAPTAIN FELT
[] PROBABLY THOUGHT THAT BY VISITING THE PRECINCT HE COULD
GET THE CASE DISPOSED OF ON THE PRECINCT LEVEL, AND THAT CARMICHAEL'S
PRESENCE WAS A FORM OF ATTEMPTED SUBTLE INTIMIDATION.

b7C

[] NOTED THAT THE THIRTEENTH PRECINCT WAS ALSO INVOLVED
IN THE ARREST OF [] ON FOUR SEVENTEEN SIXTYEIGHT.
CARMICHAEL WAS ACTIVE IN THE AREA DURING THE ARREST AND WAS PRESENT
IN COURT ON FIVE ONE SIXTYEIGHT WHEN THE [] CASE WAS NOLLE
PROSSED. [] SUGGESTED THAT THE [] CASE MAY HAVE GIVEN
THEM THE IDEA THAT [] VIOLATION COULD BE DISPOSED OF IN A
SIMILAR MANNER.

b7C

ACCORDING TO LOCAL NEWS REPORTS CARMICHAEL AND THE BLACK
UNITED FRONT HAVE CALLED FOR A PRESS CONFERENCE ON MAY THREE INSTANT
TO BE HELD AT SEVENTH AND T STREETS, N.W., TO DISCUSS REDEVELOPMENT

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

PAGE THREE
WFO 100-43503

OF BURNED OUT AREAS OF THE CITY. IT WAS STATED THAT HOWARD UNIVER-
SITY STUDENTS WILL PARTICIPATE. CARMICHAEL REPROTELY HAS STATED
THAT TENSION IN THE GHETTO AREAS IS INCRESSING AND THAT THIS FACT
SHOULD BE BROUGHT TO THE ATTENTION OF AUTHORITES. NO TIME WAS GIVEN
FOR THE PRESS CONFERENCE.

ADMINISTRATIVE

WFO WILL PROVIDE COVERAGE OF THE PRESS CONFERENCE ON MAY
THREE INSTANT.

b7C

EFFORTS ARE BEING MADE TO FURTHER IDENTIFY FNU

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-02-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

FBI

Date: 4/18/68

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

Transmit the following in CODE
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI, SAC LOS ANGELES
SAN DIEGO

b7C

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC.; SEDITION
RE WFOTEL FOUR EIGHTEEN SIXTYEIGHT.

SUBJECT DEPARTED FIVE ZERO ONE FIVE SIXTEENTH ST. NW ELEVEN
TWENTY AM AND WENT TO SNCC HDQTS. SOURCE WITH WHOM CONTACT INSUF-
FICIENT TO DETERMINE RELIABILITY ADVISED THIS DATE SUBJECT SPENT
MOST OF AFTERNOON AND EVENING AT SNCC HDQTS. SUBJECT DISCUSSED
POSSIBILITY OF GOING TO SAN DIEGO TO ATTEND BLACK CONFERENCE BEING
HELD FOUR NINETEEN DASH TWENTYONE NEXT IN SAN DIEGO. SOURCE SAID
SUBJECT DID NOT DISCLOSE ITINERARY FOR NEXT SEVERAL DAYS AND NO
DECISION MADE RE SAN DIEGO TRAVEL.

b7C

ADMINISTRATIVE

b7C

b7D

SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

- 2 - Bureau
- 2 - Teletype Unit
- 2 - WFO

RFO:tkm
(6)

REC-116

100-446086-1523

15 MAY 8 1968

Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-02-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

F B I

Date: 5/3/68

Transmit the following in PLAINTEXT
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR AND CHICAGO

FROM: WASHINGTON FIELD (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS - M; SEDITION; OO:WFO
RE CHICAGO TEL INSTANT DATE.

WFO SOURCES REPORT NO INFORMATION SUBJECT PLANS TO
VISIT CAMPUS OF NORTHERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY, DE KALB, ILLINOIS,
WEEKEND MAY FOUR DASH FIVE NEXT.

b7C

b7C

EX 109

REC-52

700-446

1524

1 MAY 6 1968

2 - Bureau
2 - Teletype Unit
2 - WFO
WWH:rhs
(6)

b7C

TELETYPE

51 MAY 13 1968
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-02-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM : *EDM* SAC, PITTSBURGH (100-15615) (RUC)

SUBJECT: *0* STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INCITING TO RIOT - MISCELLANEOUS

DATE: 5/2/68

Re Washington Field airtel to the Bureau dated 4/16/68.

b7C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau is one copy of an FD-302 and for Washington Field seven copies of same FD-302, reflecting interview with [redacted] at [redacted]

In view of the fact that no further investigation remains at Pittsburgh, this case is being considered RUC'd.

CARMICHAEL SHOULD BE CONSIDERED ARMED AND DANGEROUS SINCE INDIVIDUALS HAVE REPORTED HIM IN POSSESSION OF A GUN ON THE EVENING OF 4/4/68, IN THE VICINITY OF 14th AND U STREETS, N.W., AND AGAIN ON THE AFTERNOON OF 4/5/68, AT HOWARD UNIVERSITY.

ENCLOSURE

- 2 - Bureau (100-446080) (Enc. - 1)
- 2 - Washington Field (62-9737) (Enc. - 7)
- 1 - Pittsburgh

GGM/nju
(5)

REC- 69

100-446080-1525

12 MAY 7 1968

b7C

*1 copy sent to
1 Xerox of FD 302
804 920*

MAY 2 2 27 PM '68

ON INLET DIA
REC'D

54 MAY 17 1968



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-02-2006 BY
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

4/29/68

Date

b7C

[redacted] telephone [redacted] was interviewed at his home, and he advised he is a freshman at Howard University, and resides at [redacted] at Howard University in Washington, D. C.

b7C

On April 5, 1968, a Friday afternoon, about 1:30, he went to a meeting at Douglas Hall on the campus of Howard University, where a group of students, campus leaders, were meeting and discussing Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.'s, assassination. When he arrived at 1:30 p.m., the meeting was already underway, and nearing completion. At about 1:40 p.m., STOKELY CARMICHAEL came into the hall and began making a speech. [redacted] stated that to the best of his knowledge, CARMICHAEL was not expected and was not brought there by any group. To the best of his knowledge, the following is a description of his talk, which lasted five or ten minutes:

"We lost our only non-violence leader, Dr. King. There was no reason for killing Dr. King, and you should tell your brothers and sisters (colored people) to stop looting at night. If you are going to loot, do it in the daytime as whitey will be shooting at night. If you ain't got no gun, you shouldn't be out on the streets at all."

b7C

During this speech, CARMICHAEL waved or displayed a gun, which [redacted] believes was a .38 caliber revolver, and described it as looking like the type of weapon carried by police officers. CARMICHAEL said in his speech, "If you ain't got a gun, don't be on the street. I got mine and I can use it."

[redacted] believes that CARMICHAEL left Howard campus right after speaking. He described CARMICHAEL's speech as being an emotional one, and the reaction of the students was one of cheering and clapping. The general consensus seemed to be they were all going to stay in their rooms, especially since stores where they might obtain guns were closed.

Bureau 100-446080

b7C

On 4/22/68

at

File # Pittsburgh 100-15615

b7C

SA

and SA

by

RLH/sms

Date dictated 4/23/68

ENCLOSURE

Bureau 100-446080

PG 100-15615

2

[] believed CARMICHAEL had been on the campus at least two times previously; however, this was the first time [] had heard CARMICHAEL speak.

[] stated that in his opinion, CARMICHAEL is an intelligent and conscientious leader of the Negro people and that he generally supports CARMICHAEL's stand, with the exception that [] does not approve of violence.

[] advised he expected to leave [] for Washington, D. C., April 23, 1968.

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-02-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

Date: 5/3/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	☒
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS-M; SEDITION
(OO:WFO)

SA [] observed unidentified
Negro, female, about 30 years of age, well dressed,
park yellow Datsun convertible bearing Alabama
License [] and enter SNCC, 2208 14th Street,
N.W., WDC, the headquarters of STOKELY CARMICHAEL
at about 3:30 p.m. on 5/2/68.

Mobile ascertain to whom above car
registered, conduct credit, criminal and check
indices.

EX-116

REC-19 100-446080-1526

12 MAY 8 1968

3 - Bureau
2 - Mobile (RM)
1 - WFO

WWH:d1j
(6)

AIRTEL C. C. - Bishop

Approved: *[Signature]*
70 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

[Handwritten signature]

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

ST
usa
Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-02-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

TO : Director, FBI (Bufile- **100-446080**)

DATE: **5/6/68**

FROM : SAC, **WFO (100-43503) (P)**

SUBJECT: **STOKELY CARMICHAEL, aka
IS - M; SEDITION**

Card&UTD
Card sent OO

*W/1 atchd
5/13/68 bjc*

RABBLE ROUSER INDEX

☐ New Subject

☒ Change

☐ Delete

Name		FBI Number																									
Aliases																											
Citizenship ☐ Native Born ☒ Naturalized ☐ Alien																											
Subject also on ☐ SI ☐ RI		Race	Sex ☐ Male ☐ Female																								
Organizational Affiliation <table border="0"><tr><td>☐ 01 ANP</td><td>☐ 07 KLAN</td><td>☐ 12 PLP</td><td>☐ 17 SNCC</td></tr><tr><td>☐ 02 AVN</td><td>☐ 08 LA</td><td>☐ 13 PRN</td><td>☐ 18 SWP</td></tr><tr><td>☐ 03 BNAT</td><td>☐ 09 MIN</td><td>☐ 14 RAM</td><td>☐ 19 WWP</td></tr><tr><td>☐ 04 BPP</td><td>☐ 10 NOI</td><td>☐ 15 SCLC</td><td>☐ 99 MISC</td></tr><tr><td>☐ 05 COM</td><td>☐ 11 NSRP</td><td>☐ 16 SDS</td><td>(Specify)</td></tr><tr><td>☐ 06 CORE</td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr></table>				☐ 01 ANP	☐ 07 KLAN	☐ 12 PLP	☐ 17 SNCC	☐ 02 AVN	☐ 08 LA	☐ 13 PRN	☐ 18 SWP	☐ 03 BNAT	☐ 09 MIN	☐ 14 RAM	☐ 19 WWP	☐ 04 BPP	☐ 10 NOI	☐ 15 SCLC	☐ 99 MISC	☐ 05 COM	☐ 11 NSRP	☐ 16 SDS	(Specify)	☐ 06 CORE			
☐ 01 ANP	☐ 07 KLAN	☐ 12 PLP	☐ 17 SNCC																								
☐ 02 AVN	☐ 08 LA	☐ 13 PRN	☐ 18 SWP																								
☐ 03 BNAT	☐ 09 MIN	☐ 14 RAM	☐ 19 WWP																								
☐ 04 BPP	☐ 10 NOI	☐ 15 SCLC	☐ 99 MISC																								
☐ 05 COM	☐ 11 NSRP	☐ 16 SDS	(Specify)																								
☐ 06 CORE																											
Date of Birth		Place of Birth																									
Position in Organization		Occupation, Business Address (Show Name of Employing Concern)																									
Residence Address 5015 16th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.																											

REGISTERED MAIL

**② - Bureau
1 - WFO
WWH;dab
(3)**

70 MAY 22 1968

15 MAY 7 1968

b7C

RACIAL INT. SECT.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-02-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/PCG/bls
FBI

Date: 5/6/68

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

b7C

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - M; (SEDITION)
(OO:WFO)

On 5/3/68, SA [redacted] observed two young negro females enter the headquarters of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, 2208 14th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. at 2:10 P.M. They arrived in a red Volkswagon, bearing Florida License [redacted]. The above address is the headquarters of STOKELY CARMICHAEL in Washington, D. C.

Jacksonville ascertain to whom above car is registered, conduct credit and criminal investigation, and check office indices.

b7C

- 3 - Bureau
2 - Jacksonville (RM)
1 - WFO

WWH:cabb
(6)

C. C. = Bishop

100-446080-1527

MAY 8 1968

54 MAY 15 1968

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-02-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

F B I

Date: 5/2/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via A I R T E L _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM: SAC, PITTSBURGH (100-15615) (P)
SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS;
SEDITION
OO: WASHINGTON FIELD

b7C

b7C

b7D

(both reliable - conceal) have advised that the subject will be in Pittsburgh on 6/1/68, to speak before a convention of Negro organizations in the predominately Negro Homewood-Brushton section of Pittsburgh. The convention is being sponsored by a newly formed civil rights organization known as Unity, Inc., and will be held from 5/31 - 6/1/68.

b7C

[redacted] who is on the Agitator Index of the Pittsburgh Office. This organization acts as a coordinating body for Negro groups in the Homewood-Brushton area, both militant and nonmilitant in nature.

Pittsburgh has arranged for informant coverage of the aforesaid convention.

LEADWASHINGTON FIELDAT WASHINGTON, D. C.

Will advise if the subject plans to travel to Pittsburgh to attend the convention being sponsored by Unity, Inc.

- 3 - Bureau (RM) EX-116 REC-19
2 - Washington Field (100-43503) (RM)
5 - Pittsburgh

b2

b7C

b7D

- (1 - [redacted])
(1 - [redacted])
(1 - 157-662) (Unity, Inc.)
(1 - [redacted])

FFK/emq

Approved: (10)

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M

Per

RACIAL INT. SECT.
FBI-DC

b7C

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-05-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM : SAC, BALTIMORE (100-24220)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS-SNCC
OO:WFO

DATE: 5/2/68

On 4/18/68

[redacted] Maryland, advised that on 4/7/68 about 9 to 9:30 PM he picked up a Cuban Radio Broadcast on the shortwave band of his portable radio receiver. On this program the comments of a number of individuals, including those of STOKELY CARMICHAEL, were broadcast. [redacted] said he made a tape recording of this broadcast. CARMICHAEL's name is mentioned at the beginning of the broadcast, but [redacted] inadvertently erased the announcer's introduction of CARMICHAEL at the beginning of CARMICHAEL's remarks.

The following is a transcript of that portion of the tape dealing with CARMICHAEL's remarks:

SPEECH MADE BY STOKELY CARMICHAEL AFTER THE DEATH OF DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

"Because Dr. KING was the one man who was trying to ask black people not to burn down the cities. Now that they've killed Dr. KING there is no black men who will ask black people not to burn down the cities. What it means is that we've gone full swing into the revolution. Last night 35 cities had major incidents. That was last night - 35 cities in the United States where there was burning and shooting and killing over the death of Dr. KING. It is clear that more of this will continue. It is going to become more and more a guerrilla, urban guerrilla warfare because it is clear that we cannot fend with the police in open rebellion. More people are now beginning to think seriously

- 2-Bureau (Registered Mail)
- 2-WFO (Registered Mail)
(100-43503)
- 1-Baltimore
- JJG:mk
- (5)

REC 99

25 MAY 8 1968



54 MAY 13 1968

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RACIAL INT. SECT.

of major urban guerrilla warfare where we can begin to retaliate, not only for the death of Dr. KING but where they can move seriously revolutions with this country and bring it to its feet. It is crystal clear to us that the United States of America must fall in order for humanity to live and we are going to give our lives to that cause and to our brothers and sisters in Cuba we'd like to say hello and its good to see you all."

b7C

The original tape is being retained in the Baltimore Office file on CARMICHAEL and will be returned to [redacted] in the event it is not desired for future use by WFO.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-05-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls
FBI

Date: 5/5/68

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

Transmit the following in PLAINTEXT
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080) b7C
FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)
STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC.; SEDITION
RE WFOTEL FIVE FOUR SIXTYEIGHT.

IN MORNING OF FIVE FIVE SIXTYEIGHT SUBJECT WAS AT RESIDENCE.
IN MIDAFTERNOON HE WENT TO SNCC HDQTS WHERE HE REMAINED INTO EVENING.
HE SPENT CONSIDERABLE TIME OUTSIDE SNCC OFFICE ON FOURTEENTH ST
TALKING TO PEOPLE IN AREA PASSING BY. LATER HE RETURNED TO RESI-
DENCE.

A SOURCE ADVISED THAT FIVE ZERO ONE FIVE SIXTEENTH ST. RESIDENCE
FURNISHED WHEN OCCUPANCY OBTAINED BY SUBJECT [REDACTED]
HOWEVER [REDACTED] TOLD PREVIOUS OWNER TO REMOVE FURNISHINGS AS SHE WAS
GOING TO SELECT COMPLETE NEW FURNITURE THROUGHOUT. PRIOR OWNER
REFUSED TO DO SO AND [REDACTED] SAID SHE WAS GOING TO STORE THEM EN-
TIRELY IN BASEMENT WHEN NEW FURNISHINGS ACQUIRED. 100-446080-1530

ADMINISTRATIVE:

ABOVE SOURCE IS [REDACTED] b7C
b7D

3 - Bureau
1 - WFO

WWH:tkm
(4)

REC-1A

b7C

Approved: [Signature] Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-05-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : The Director

DATE: 5-9-68

FROM : N. P. Callahan

SUBJECT: The Congressional Record

Pages S4978-S4991. Senator Byrd, (D) West Virginia, spoke concerning riots and civil disobedience and commented on the recent riots in Washington. He inserted in the Record various articles and editorials on

this subject. Mr. Byrd made reference to the recent crime wave here and urged "that adequate steps be taken now by Mayor Walter Washington to restore order and a respect for law in the Nation's Capital City. I urge that the Justice Department take action against Stokely Carmichael and other revolutionists who incite to riot. I urge, most respectfully, that the President of the United States take a firm stand against those who intimidate peace-loving citizens and who commit crimes against persons and property. There is no reason to temporize with criminals, - - - -. It is time that we stop making excuses for the criminals - - - -. The excuses of unemployment and poverty have become hackneyed and they have never been truly relevant - - - -." Several other Senators joined Mr. Byrd in his remarks.

100-446080-
NOT RECORDED

87 MAY 16 1968

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for 5-1-68 was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau file on subject matter files.

55 MAY 22 1968

ORIGINAL FILED IN
66-1721-3991

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-05-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

F B I

Date: 5/6/68

Transmit the following in _____

CODE

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TEL _____

URGENT

(Priority)

b7C

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. T	_____
Tele. Room	_____
M	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR AND SACS JACKSONVILLE
SAN FRANCISCO

FROM: WASHINGTON FIELD

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; IS - M; SEDITION; OO:WFO

RE JACKSONVILLE AIRTEL TO WFO MAY FOUR LAST ENTITLED

QUOTE [REDACTED] AKA, ET AL, RM, ENQUOTE, AND WFO TEL TO
BUREAU MAY FIVE LAST.

SUBJECT, ACCOMPANIED BY [REDACTED]

DEPARTED RESIDENCE, FIVE ZERO ONE FIVE SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.,
WASHINGTON, D.C. (WDC), EARLY AFTERNOON INSTANT DATE AND WENT TO

[REDACTED] WDC. AFTER DEPARTING

LATTER ADDRESS SUBJECT [REDACTED] WENT TO INDUSTRIAL BANK, ELEVENTH
AND U STREETS, N. W., WDC. THEY LATER RETURNED TO THEIR RESIDENCE.
SUBSEQUENTLY, SUBJECT RETURNED TO SNCC HEADQUARTERS WHERE REMAINED
INTO THE EVENING.

A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE ADVISED SEVERAL FEMALES ASSOCIATED

WITH [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] WDC, AND APPARENTLY [REDACTED] THERE. A [REDACTED]

CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE ADVISED SOURCE HAD OPPORTUNITY TO OBSERVE

2 - Bureau
2 - Teletype Unit
2 - WFO (100-43503)
WWH:rhs
(6)

REC-14

EX-116

22 MAY 8 1968

54 MAY 15 1968

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

3/3
2/4
JACKSONVILLE 5/7/68

100-446090-1531

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)WFO 100-43503
PAGE TWO

SUBJECT'S DATE BOOK, WHICH INDICATED HE WOULD TRAVEL SOMETIME THIS WEEK TO GAINESVILLE, FLORIDA, TO FILL SPEAKING ENGAGEMENT. EXACT NATURE OF ENGAGEMENT OR TIME NOT DISCLOSED. THEREAFTER HE IS LISTED AS SCHEDULED TO TRAVEL TO CALIFORNIA FOR TRIAL OF BLACK PANTHER LEADER HUEY NEWTON. SOURCE ALSO ADVISED SUBJECT'S SCHEDULE AFTER NEWTON'S TRIAL NOT KNOWN. HOWEVER HE INDICATED TO SOURCE HE MAY BE GONE FROM WDC UNTIL JUNE FIVE NEXT.

ADMINISTRATIVE

JACKSONVILLE ASCERTAIN NATURE OF SUBJECT'S PLANNED VISIT TO GAINESVILLE AND IF SPEECH BEING MADE. SUTEL WFO AND BUREAU ARRANGEMENTS BEING MADE FOR COVERAGE IN EVENT HE DOES APPEAR, PERSUANT TO BUREAU AIRTEL DATED DECEMBER TWENTYONE SIXTYSEVEN.

WFO HAS NO INFORMATION SUBJECT CONTEMPLATES QUOTE TESTING ENQUOTE NEWLY ENACTED FEDERAL ANTI-RIOT LEGISLATION.

SAN FRANCISCO ASCERTAIN EXPECTED DATE OF TRIAL OF HUEY NEWTON AND IF ANY INFO AVAILABLE SUBJECT PLANS TO BE PRESENT.

WFO WILL ATTEMPT TO VERIFY DEPARTURE OF SUBJECT FROM WDC AND NOTIFY APPROPRIATE OFFICES. WFO ATTEMPTING TO ASCERTAIN IF SUBJECT OPENED ACCOUNT INDUSTRIAL BANK, WDC. b7C

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via _____
(Priority)

WFO 100-43503
PAGE THREE

b2
b7C
b7D



Approved: _____ Sent: _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

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DATE 06-05-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

APR 12 1968

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan ✓
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

FBI WASH DC*

FBI ATLANTA

9 14 AM

URGENT 4/12/68 HJM

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080), WFO (100-43503), SAN FRANCISCO (157-721)
FROM ATLANTA (100-6812)

b7C

STOKLEY CARMICHAEL; IS-M; SEDITION

RE SAN FRANCISCO TEL APRIL TWELVE SIXTY EIGHT.

SUBJECT REPORTED TO HAVE BEEN IN ATLANTA UNTIL HE AND

[REDACTED] OF SNCC, DEPARTED

b7C

BETWEEN SEVEN AND EIGHT PM APRIL TEN LAST FOR WASHINGTON, D.C.

FUTURE ITINERARY OF SUBJECT UNKNOWN TO ATLANTA.

WFO ADVISED BY TEL APRIL ELEVEN THAT SUBJECT RETURNED
WASHINGTON, D. C. THAT DATE ARRIVING AT FIVE FORTYFIVE PM EST.

END

WPK

FBI WASH DC*

70 APR 23 1968

~~70 APR 23 1968~~

RELAYED TO

EX-102

REC-9

100-446080-1532

5-18

APR 15 10 02 AM '68

5-18

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 06-05-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

F B I

Date: 4/12/68

PLAINTEXT

Transmit the following in

(Type in plaintext or code)

TELETYPE

URGENT

Via

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, AND SACs, TAMPA AND JACKSON

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS.

SEDITION, OO:WFO.

RE TAMPA AND JACKSON TELETYPES APRIL TWELVE SIXTYEIGHT.

CARMICHAEL DEPARTED WDC NINE THIRTY A.M. THIS DATE
EN ROUTE TO NYC WHERE HE IS EXPECTED TO ATTEND A CONFERENCE
APRIL TWELVE THROUGH FOURTEEN. WFO SOURCES HAVE NO INFO
CARMICHAEL PLANS TRAVELLING TO TAMPA AND JACKSON AREAS. P.

b7C

2 - Bureau
2 - Teletype Unit
2 - WFO

WJH:meh
(6)

REC-9

100-446080-1533

44-1987-547

5-14

Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 06-05-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

5/9/68

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Bishop
1 - Mr. Rosen
1 -
1 -

b7C

airtel

To: SAC, WFO (62-9737)

PERSONAL ATTENTION

From: Director, FBI (100-446080) - 1534

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS - STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)
SEDITION
BUDED 5/15/68

Reurrep dated April 30, 1968.

You should make certain all outstanding leads in this matter are expeditiously brought to a logical conclusion to insure that the results of your investigation are received at the Bureau no later than May 15, 1968. This deadline must be met without fail.

PTB:lmr
(9) *lmr*

NOTE:

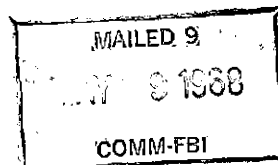
See memorandum to W. C. Sullivan, captioned as above, dated 5/8/68, prepared by PTB:bff.

b7C

Red

~~ENCLOSURE~~

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____



50 MAY 20 1968
MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

✓

EST
DE LOACH
MAY 8 4 52 PM '68

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : MR. W. C. SULLIVAN *wey*

DATE: May 8, 1968

FROM : *new*

b7C

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

RACIAL MATTERS - STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
SEDITION

By letter dated 4/6/68 the Attorney General requested the Bureau's assistance in developing information on the incidents involving Stokely Carmichael during the recent riots in Washington, D. C. The Director inquired, "What is status of our investigation of Carmichael which Department requested?"

To date we have furnished four reports to the Department totaling 675 pages containing the results of approximately 600 interviews. Included in these reports is detailed information obtained from witnesses who observed the activities of Carmichael in the vicinity of 14th and U Streets, N.W., Washington, D. C., the evening of 4/4/68. Several witnesses saw Carmichael in the possession of a handgun and one witness stated Carmichael said, "If you don't have a gun, go home and get one." Another witness stated he observed Carmichael on the evening of 4/4/68 as the leader of a group which requested business establishments in the area of 14th and U Streets, N.W., to close and Carmichael stated, "We don't want any violence as long as they close but if they don't, take it." Also included is a transcript of highly inflammatory remarks made by Carmichael at a press conference held at Washington, D. C., at Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee headquarters, the morning of 4/5/68, and the coverage given by the news media of this press conference.

Extensive information is set forth in these reports concerning Carmichael's activities at Howard University the afternoon of 4/5/68 where several witnesses reported

BTB:ekw

(7)

CONTINUED OVER

b7C

- ENCLOSURE
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
 - 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
 - 1 - Mr. Bishop
 - 1 - Mr. Rosen
 - 1 -
 - 1 -

b7C

COPY MADE FOR MR. TOLSON

Viper

- Tolson _____
- DeLoach _____
- Mohr _____
- Bishop _____
- Casper _____
- Callahan _____
- Conrad _____
- Felt _____
- Gale _____
- Rosen _____
- Sullivan _____
- Tavel _____
- Trotter _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holmes _____
- Gandy _____

*Memorandum to Sullivan
5/8/68 + Airtel to WFO
5/8/68 PTB:ekw*

25 MAY 20 1968

RACIAL MATTERS

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan
RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Carmichael exhibited a pistol to a group of students on the campus. Other information reported is a transcript of Radio Havana, Cuba, broadcast of Carmichael's telephone interview on 4/5/68 wherein Carmichael in commenting on the death of Martin Luther King stated more people are now beginning to plan a major urban guerrilla warfare "where we can move seriously to...serious revolutions with this country to bring it to its knees." Activities of Carmichael in the vicinity of the 4100 block of Wheeler Road, S.E., on the afternoon of 4/5/68 are set forth where he reportedly stated "We are going to get this area." Subsequent looting and destruction of business establishments took place in this neighborhood.

Our Washington Field Office has advised they have approximately 25 interviews remaining consisting primarily of Howard University students who have been out of town during school vacation. It is expected that these interviews will be completed in the immediate future.

It is noted that in addition to our specific investigation of Carmichael's activities during the recent riots, we have been conducting an extensive investigation of Carmichael's activities for possible violation of sedition statutes. In this regard we have furnished the Department voluminous information including over 30 verbatim transcripts of speeches containing highly inflammatory statements made by Carmichael.

We are continuing to press vigorously all phases of the investigation of Carmichael.

ACTION:

The above is being submitted in response to the Director's request.

9 M pk *V.* *W. S. G. P.*
Expedite & set a date
for dead line. *X*

bs
nm

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 06-05-2006 BY

OFFICE OF DIRECTOR, FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

TO

OFFICIAL INDICATED BELOW BY CHECK MARK

MR. TOLSON _____

MR. DELOACH _____

MR. MOHR _____

MR. BISHOP _____

MR. CASPER _____

MR. CALLAHAN _____

MR. CONRAD _____

MR. FELT _____

MR. GALE _____

MR. ROSEN _____

MR. SULLIVAN _____

MR. TAVEL _____

MR. TROTTER _____

MISS HOLMES _____

MISS GANDY _____

SEE ME _____

NOTE AND RETURN _____

PREPARE REPLY _____

SEND MEMO TO ATTORNEY GENERAL _____

FOR YOUR RECOMMENDATION _____

WHAT ARE THE FACTS? _____

HOLD _____

REMARKS:

*What is
status of
our investiga-
tion of
Carmichael
which Dept.
requested?
H*

100-446080-1534
PTB: ekw.
7/8/68
Remon + Sullivan

COPY MADE FOR MR. TOLSON

100-446080-1534

ENCLOSURE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-05-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

F B I

Date: 4/29/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

To: Director, FBI (100-446080) ATTENTION: TDR
From: SAC, NEWARK (100-49533) ☐ CIVIL RIGHTS SECTION
GENERAL INVEST. DIV.
Subject: STOKELY CARMICHAEL ☒ DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIV.
IS-MISC
SEDITION DUM
pg 1

☐ CR ☐ EL ☐ VRA-65 ☐ CRA-64 b7C
☐ PA ☐ PE ☐ PF
☐ BM ☐ BM-Threats ☐ Racial Matters
☐ Klan ☐ Organization

Re Newark tel to Bureau, WFO, and NY, 4/27/68
Summary of Complaint:

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of LHM dated and captioned as above. Four copies being furnished to USA, Newark; two copies to 108th MI GP, Newark, and one copy each to NISO, NY and Philadelphia, OSI, Newark and Secret Service, Newark. Information copies being furnished to WFO and NY in view of their interest in this matter. b7C
b7D

advised 4/29/68 that a copy of a tape recording of CARMICHAEL's speech at Newark on 4/26/68 will be made available to the Newark Division. b2
b7C
b7D

source in LHM is _____ under development at Newark as _____ sources are _____ both under development at Newark _____

ACTION: UACB

- 1-Bureau (enc. 1) (RM) (RM) action being taken and 10 APR 30 1968
1-WFO (enc. 1) (RM) LHM enclosed ☐ Copy furnished to USA
1-New York (enc. 1) (RM) LHM being submitted
3-Newark ☐ Report being submitted b7C
JWB/mp
(5) ☐ Preliminary investigation instituted
☐ Limited investigation instituted

App

66 MAY 17 1968

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

RACIAL INT. SECT.

750-Adm: Paul, Vincent, Caiman - Attn: Acct, NYC, OST
EXP. I.D. 55, STATE, 5/2/68
P/S 5/2/68
PTB/pdt

EX-110 ENCLOSURE

REC-21 101-446080-1535

NK 100-49533

were SA [redacted] Special Agents observing CARMICHAEL's activities
and SA [redacted]

b7C



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Newark, New Jersey

April 29, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-05-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

**STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION**

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on April 27, 1968, that Stokely Carmichael made a scheduled speech appearance at Newark, New Jersey, Central High School on Friday evening, April 26, 1968. His appearance was sponsored by the United Brothers of Newark, an organization which claims to be an alliance of Negroes in the Newark area for economic and political progress. Speaking for the United Brothers, John Henrik Clarke announced plans for a political convention of black people to be held in June, 1968, at Newark to select Negro candidates for available city elected positions. Clarke urged the audience to join United Brothers Party and stated there were membership applications available in the main lobby of the school.

Charles Kenyatta of New York City spoke in general terms regarding the desirability of black people taking over political offices in the United States.

Phil Butchings, Newark Area Coordinator for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, urged the audience to support the United Brothers.

A characterization of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee is contained in the appendix hereto.

Kenneth Gibson, who unsuccessfully ran for Mayor of Newark in 1966, announced he would seek the nomination and support of the United Brothers for the same office in 1970.

Rev. Horace Sharper, Pastor, Abyssinian Baptist Church, Newark, spoke in general terms of Negro problems in Newark and urged support of the United Brothers.

Stokely Carmichael spoke for almost two hours. He spoke of experiences and talks he has held with officials in

100-456000-1532
ENCLOSURE

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Havana, Cuba, and in China which have confirmed his belief that survival of black people in the United States can only be assured through Negro armament and destruction of white businesses. Carmichael's speech terminated the program at 12:25 a.m., April 27, 1968. He left Central High School and went to the residence of [redacted] Newark, New Jersey. At [redacted] residence members of the United Brothers and Carmichael held a conference. Their talks were concerned with Carmichael's having reneged on a prior agreement with the United Brothers not to make inflammatory statements during his speech or to urge Negroes of Newark to adopt a policy of violence and hatred. The United Brothers believe Carmichael was influenced by unknown personal reasons to make such statements. The source who furnished this information stated that the audience at Central High School did not respond enthusiastically to Carmichael's remarks promoting violence. b7C

b7C At about 1:30 a.m., April 27, 1968, Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation observed Carmichael and an unidentified driver leave [redacted] residence in a late model yellow Plymouth station wagon bearing New York license [redacted]. They proceeded to [redacted] New York. Carmichael entered the house at this address, and the driver left.

Page 3 of the July 19, 1967, edition of the "Newark Evening News," a Newark, New Jersey, daily newspaper, reflected LeRoi Jones and two other men were indicted by an Essex County Grand Jury in Newark on July 18, 1967, and they were charged with having two revolvers in their possession when they were arrested on July 14, 1967, during the Newark riots. Jones was freed on \$25,000 bail.

On January 4, 1968, Jones was sentenced to two and a half to three years in prison. He and his two companions, who were also convicted on weapons charges, were subsequently released on bail pending an appeal of their conviction. They have filed suit against Newark Police Director Dominick A. Spina and seven police officers on grounds of alleged police brutality in connection with their arrest on July 14, 1967. In turn, Spina and the officers are countersuing the trio for alleged slander and libel.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

b7C

On April 29, 1968, [REDACTED] Newark, New Jersey, Police Department, estimated the number of persons in attendance at Central High School on the evening of April 26, 1968, at between 800 and 900 people. The crowd was orderly, and there were no incidents of disorder.

Two additional sources of the FBI, with whom sufficient contact has not been had to establish reliability, advised on April 27, 1968, that Stokely Carmichael appeared at Central High School on April 26, 1968.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Literature distributed by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, describes itself as not being a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements. SNCC was born out of the sit-in movement which erupted across the South beginning on February 1, 1960. A conference at Raleigh, North Carolina, that spring, brought together many of the demonstrating Southern students in a loose network of militant youth which was officially named SNCC in October, 1960.

b7C A source has advised that in May, 1966, Stokely Carmichael was elected National Chairman by the Central Committee. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced as Chairman [redacted] with Carmichael assuming the position of Recruiter and Organizer for the SNCC. In August, 1967, at the invitation of [redacted] Carmichael participated in the Organization of Latin American Solidarity Conference which was held in Havana, Cuba. Subsequent thereto, Carmichael traveled to Hanoi and other sections of North Vietnam. He returned to the United States in December, 1967, at which time his passport was picked up because of travel to unauthorized countries.

b7C A source advised that when Carmichael was elected Chairman of SNCC, the organization embarked on a program of eliminating Caucasians from its ranks. With the election of [redacted] in 1967, it embarked on a world-wide struggle for human rights and to take a firm stand against violations of these rights by the American Government and to strengthen its programs of opposition to the draft and to the United States involvement in Vietnam.

Literature distributed in February, 1968, identifies SNCC as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

On August 13, 1967, while addressing a group in the Watts area of Los Angeles, California, H. Rap Brown said "You better shape up America, or we'll burn you down." Later in February, 1968, in a publicized note, Brown wrote, "America, if it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you and to organize your jails to revolt against you and to organize your children, your God, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here's my life."

The above sources have furnished reliable information in the past.

~~SECRET~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

RA
Memorandum

DATE: 06-13-2006

CLASSIFIED BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/ [redacted] derivative
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1) 06-13-2051

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

TO : Mr. Sullivan *W*

b7C

DATE: 5/6/68

FROM : [redacted] *Oh*

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bishop
- 1 - [redacted]
- 1 - [redacted]

b7C

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS - STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
SEDITION

b7C

b1

(S)

b1

(S)

(S)

b1

REC-23

MAY 9 1968
100-446080-1536
mr

ACTION:

For information.

100-446080

PTB:ekw:fhd (6)

66 MAY 14 1968

b7C

~~SECRET~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-05-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

FBI

Date: 5/6/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43505) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - M
SEDITION
(OO:WFO)

Re Pittsburgh airtel 5/2/68.

Pittsburg submit to Bureau and WFO
arrangements being made to cover subject's speech
sponsored by Unity, Inc., on 4/1/68, pursuant to
Bureau airtel 12/21/67, in the event he does
appear.

WFO will advise of any information
developed regarding his plans to travel to
Pittsburg for the above appearance.

- 3- Bureau
- 2- Pittsburg (100-15615) (RM)
- 1- WFO

WWH:bfm
(6)

AIRTEL

C. C. Bishop

b7C

REC-59

EX-110

100-446080-1537

J-AD

Approved: _____

55 MAY 1968

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-05-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

b
S
SAC, Knoxville

b7C

May 10, 1968

Director, FBI (100-446080)

1 -

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

According to a United Press International release dated 4/15/68 the current issue of the Knoxville College student newspaper, "The Aurora," carried an article by Stokely Carmichael. It was reported in the press release, that Carmichael stated the civil rights movement has failed to achieve goals more rapidly because it operates "from a position of weakness."

You should promptly obtain a copy of this article and submit it to the Bureau in a form suitable for dissemination. Include any pertinent information developed concerning the circumstances as to the publishing of this article in "The Aurora."

PTB:ekw *ekw*
(4)

EX-110

REC- 69

100-446080-1538

19 MAY 10 1968

MAILED 19

MAY 10 1968

COMM - FBI

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

55 MAY 13 1968

MAIL ROOM ☐

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-05-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls
FBI

Date: 5/3/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

b7C

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - M; SEDITION
(OO:WFO)

ReCGtel 5/1/68 and SItel 5/2/68.

Regarding possible appearances of subject on
5/18/68 at Black Consortium (BC) in Chicago and at Southern
Illinois University, Carbondale, Illinois on 5/19/68, Chicago
and Springfield submit to Bureau and WFO arrangements being
made for coverage in event he does appear, pursuant to Bureau
airtel /12/21/67.

b7C

EX-110

REC- 69

- ③ - Bureau
2 - Chicago (RM)
2 - Springfield (RM)
1 - WFO

WWH:tab
(8)

AIRTEL

C. C. Bishop

16 MAY 10 1968

Approved: **55 MAY 16 1968**

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-05-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

VIA TELETYPE

APR 27 1968

ENCIPHERED

2/7&, /6

835 WA 9
PM PM

835 PM 4 27 68 RDS

TO DIRECTOR PLAINTEXT

ATTENTION: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION
FROM NEW YORK 100 153751

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL INTERNAL SECURITY- MISCELLANEOUS;
SEDITION.

ON INSTANT DATE, BUREAU AGENTS OBSERVED SUBJECT,

[REDACTED] AND UNIDENTIFIED NEGRO MALE DEPART HOME OF

[REDACTED] NEW YORK, AT ELEVEN A.M. THEY WENT TO APARTMENT OF

[REDACTED] NYC, THEN

DID SOME SHOPPING AND DEPARTED NYC. AT ONE FORTY-FIVE

P.M. THROUGH THE HOLLAND TUNNEL. SUBJECT RIDING IN

A NINETEEN SIXTY-EIGHT PLYMOUTH STATION WAGON, COLOR

YELLOW, BEARING NEW YORK LICENSE PLATE [REDACTED]

ADMINISTRATION:

REFERENCE NEW YORK TELEPHONE CALLS TO NEWARK.

BALTIMORE AND BUREAU THIS DATE.

END PAGE ONE

70 MAY 17 1968

100-446080-1590
100-446080-1590
20 APR 30 1968

b7C

COPIES MAIL

NEW 3 23 00

PAGE TWO

BUREAU AGENTS OBSERVING SUBJECT ARE SPECIAL AGENTS

b7C

INFORMATION FURNISHED TO BSS, NYCPP. COPIES OF TELETYPE
MAILED TO NEWARK, BALTIMORE AND WFO.

END

EFH

FBI WASH DC

FBI WASH DC

V DCR FTB 9 (EFH)

NEW 7 10 17 33

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-05-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

b7C

Tolson ☒
DeLoach ☒
Mohr ☒
Bishop ☒
Casper ☒
Callahan ☒
Conrad ☒
Felt ☒
Gale ☒
Rosen ☒
Sullivan ☒
Tavel ☒
Trotter ☒
Tele. Room ☒
Holmes ☒
Gandy ☒

MEMO  to W. E. Sullivan
5-6-68 P73:ekw:7hd

The Washington Merry-Go-Round

Stokely Told Cubans of Guerrilla Plan

By Drew Pearson and
Jack Anderson

Here is the record of the amazing telephone conversation between Stokely Carmichael, the Negro rabble-rouser, and Havana, Cuba, at the height of the recent Washington race riots.

Carmichael had just come in from the streets where he had been crying for Negroes to get their guns. He was summoned to the overseas telephone by Mike Laguardia, a commentator for Radio Havana. This conversation follows:

"Stokely?"

"Yes."

"Oh, this is Mike Laguardia from Radio Havana Cuba."

"Hello," Carmichael greeted him cordially.

"Hello, sir," replied Laguardia.

"Say, Stokely," he said.

"Si."

"We would like to have a statement from you on Martin Luther King's assassination."

"Right."

"And what has been the reaction of the Afro-Americans in the face of this crime?"

"Right," repeated Carmichael. "A white America has Rap Brown (another black militant leader) in jail right now. An American killed Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. last night. When they killed Dr. King, they made a mistake, because Dr. King was the one man who

was trying to ask, uh, black people not to burn down the cities. Now that they have killed Dr. King, there is no black man who will ask black people not to burn down the cities. What it means is that we've gone full swing into the revolution.

"Last night," Carmichael spoke on, "35 cities had major incidents. That was last night—35 cities of the United States where there was burning and shooting and killing over the death of Dr. King. It is clear, uh, more of this will continue. It is going to become more and more a guerrilla—urban guerrilla—warfare, because it is clear that we cannot win with the, uh, with the police, in an open rebellion.

"So," he continued, "More people are now beginning to plan seriously a major urban guerrilla warfare, where we can begin to retaliate not only for the death of Dr. King, but where we can move seriously to . . ." His next few words were indistinct. " . . . serious revolutions with this country to bring it to its knees.

"It is crystal clear to us," he declared, "that the United States of America must fall in order for humanity to live, and we are going to give our lives to that cause. To our brothers and sisters in Cuba, we want to say: 'Hello, my respects to you all.'"

"Thanks very much, Stokely," said Laguardia.

"We'll be coming back to you again in case something more shows up."

"Very good."

"Au revoir."

"Au revoir," said Carmichael. "Tell Prime Minister Fidel (Fidel Castro) I said hello."

"All right," promised Laguardia. "Bye, Stokely."

State Level Politics

The high-powered lobbying pressures brought on state legislators is illustrated in an election now taking place in the Cleveland suburbs. The race is between Ron Mottl, a member of the Ohio legislature, and State Sen. Francis Sullivan, whom Mottl seeks to replace. Both are Democrats.

Last year Mottl took a courageous stand against the most powerful bank in Ohio, the Cleveland Trust Company. He supported a law requiring cumulative stock voting which would have permitted minority stockholders to elect directors to the Cleveland Trust's Board.

It was a bitter battle in which the trust company retained as its attorney Dan Duffy, vice chairman of the Democratic Party in Cleveland. He registered the fact that he was paid \$12,000.

Afterward Duffy moved to bar Mottl from the ballot in the upcoming Ohio primary. Duffy is a member of the board of elections as well as being vice chairman of the

b7C

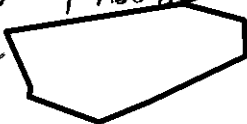
The Washington Post Times Herald 0-19
The Washington Daily News _____
The Evening Star (Washington) _____
The Sunday Star (Washington) _____
Daily News (New York) _____
Sunday News (New York) _____
New York Post _____
The New York Times _____
The Sun (Baltimore) _____
The Worker _____
The New Leader _____
The Wall Street Journal _____
The National Observer _____
People's World _____
Date 100-446080-1541 MAY 14 1968

MAY 14 1968

b7C

79 MAY 15 1968

Have me authentication of
this conversation? &

100-446080
5- 

Democratic Party, and used this position of influence to strike Mottl's name. Mottl had declared as a candidate for the Senate against incumbent Sen. Francis Sullivan, who is regularly employed by Republic Steel at a salary of \$9000.

Ted Brown, Ohio Secretary of State and a Republican, criticized the board of elections for its action. Mottl went to court and secured a ruling putting his name back on the ballot. It's there today.

Meanwhile, two interesting candidates announced that they were running against him under circumstances which looked as if friends of Sen. Sullivan or friends of the Cleveland Trust Company might have induced them to run.

The Parma election district outside of Cleveland is largely populated by Czechs, Slavs and Ukrainians, mixed with Irish. Sullivan automatically gets the Irish vote and Mottl, a Czech-American, was due to get the Slav vote.

But Michael Zaderecky, a Ukrainian, suddenly entered the Democratic primary, together with Richard Motousek, a Czech. Obviously they will siphon votes away from Ron Mottl rather than from Francis Sullivan, the Irishman.

© 1968, Bell-McClure Syndicate, Inc.

Drew Pearson will predict the outcome of the Indiana primary in his broadcast with Jack Anderson over radio WTOP, at 6:40 p.m.

FBI WASH DC*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 06-05-2006 BY
60309 UC/TAM/DCG/bls

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

MAY 11 1968

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

7:06 PM EDT URGENT 5-11-68 IN **TELETYPE**

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080) AND WASHINGTON FIELD (100-43503)

FROM JACKSONVILLE (100-870)

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL. IS-M; (SEDITION). 00:WFO.

GAINESVILLE, FLORIDA, ADVISED FIVE ELEVEN SIXTYEIGHT HE RECEIVED
INFORMATION THAT [REDACTED] RECEIVED A TELEGRAM FROM STOKELY CAR-
MICHAEL ON MAY TEN, STATING TO THE EFFECT HE CARMICHAEL WILL ARRIVE
AS SCHEDULED AND ANTICIPATES STAYING AS LONG AS NECESSARY. TELEGRAM
ALSO STATED CARMICHAEL COUNTING ON STUDENT PARTICIPATION.

b7C

[REDACTED] OF SOUTHERN STUDENT ORGANIZING
COMMITTEE.

[REDACTED] ADVISED HE RECEIVED FROM [REDACTED] WHITE
FEMALE, BLACK POWER ADVOCATE, A LEAFLET WHICH SHE HAD DISTRIBUTED
THROUGH OUT GAINESVILLE ON MAY ELEVEN WHICH STATES CARMICHAEL WILL
GIVE A MAJOR SPEECH IN GAINESVILLE MAY THIRTEEN, TIME AND PLACE TO
BE ANNOUNCED A FEW HOURS BEFORE SPEECH.

b7C

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RE WFO TEL FIVE ELEVEN SIXTYEIGHT.

MI, GAINESVILLE AND SECRET SERVICE, JACKSONVILLE ADVISED 1968

BUREAU AND WFO WILL BE KEPT ADVISED OF ALL PERTINENT DEVELOPMENTS.

54 TELETYPE 1968

SVW

FBI WASH DC*

EX 101

REC 69
68

100-446080-1542

MAY 11 1968

b7C

VIA TELETYPE
MAY 10 1968
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson.....
Mr. DeLoach.....
Mr. Mohr.....
Mr. Bishop.....
Mr. Casper.....
Mr. Callahan.....
Mr. Conrad.....
Mr. Felt.....
Mr. Gale.....
Mr. Rosen.....
Mr. Sullivan.....
Mr. Tavel.....
Mr. Trotter.....
Tele. Room.....
Miss Holmes.....
Miss Gandy.....

R-19.

URGENT 5-10-68

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-05-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

TO DIRECTOR AND WASHINGTON FIELD CODE
FROM JACKSONVILLE

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL IS-M (SEDITION) OO: WFO.

SOURCE AT GAINESVILLE, FLORIDA, WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE
INFORMATION ADVISED THAT AT APPROXIMATELY ELEVEN A. M., MAY TEN, INSTANT,
[REDACTED] ACCOMPANIED BY THREE
COLORED ATHLETES FROM FLORIDA A AND M UNIVERSITY,
TALLAHASSEE, WILL ARRIVE GAINESVILLE, FLORIDA, FOR THE PURPOSE OF TAKING
A "WALK" THROUGH THE GHETTO AREA OF GAINESVILLE AND VISIT AND TALK
WITH PRISONERS IN THE ALACHUA COUNTY JAIL AS WELL AS THE GAINESVILLE
CITY JAIL, GAINESVILLE, FLORIDA.

b7C

[REDACTED] HAD INSTRUCTED HIS AID TO AFFORD NO ADVANCED PUBLICITY TO
END PAGE ONE

b7C

TWO CC'S WASHINGTON FIELD

REC-69

12 MAY 14 1968

51 MAY 21 1968

PAGE TWO

THIS TRAVEL AND GAINESVILLE ACTIVITY.

SOURCE STATED [REDACTED] EXPRESSED NO REASON OR MOTIVE FOR b7C
MAKING THIS TRIP OTHER THAN HAVING EXPRESSED PARTICULARLY KEEN
INTEREST AND CONCERN RELATIVE TO THE PLANNED VISIT OF STOKELY CARMICHAEL
TO GAINESVILLE, FLORIDA THIS WEEKEND.

ADMINISTRATIVE: RE PREVIOUS TELETYPES JACKSONVILLE TO BUREAU AND
WFO, AS CAPTIONED, ^{DATED} MAY NINE AND TEN, SIXTYEIGHT.

SOURCE REFERRED TO ABOVE IS [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] AT GAINESVILLE, FLORIDA.

b7C
b7D

RECEIVED: 2:16 PM MAL/MKP

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-05-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

5/9/68

b7C

AIRTEL

1 -
1 -



To: SAC, Seattle (44-371)

From: Director, FBI (44-38861)

100-446080

MURKIN

ReSEairtel and LHM dated 5/1/68, captioned
[redacted] Senator Robert Kennedy - Victim,
[redacted] - Victim, Stokely Carmichael - Victim,
Information Concerning."

b7C

Referenced LHM contains statement allegedly
attributed to [redacted] that four or five years ago he had
been offered \$5,000 to kill Martin Luther King, Jr.
[redacted] is also reported to have made an offer of \$10,000
to [redacted] to kill [redacted] or Stokely Carmichael.

b7C

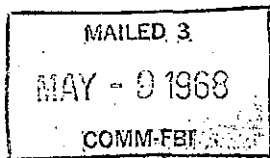
[redacted] should be located and interviewed to deter-
mine if he possesses any information pertaining to the
slaying of King or if he is in any way implicated in this
slaying. Submit results of interview with [redacted] in form
suitable for dissemination and based upon results of
interview with him, take any appropriate action warranted.

b7C

RFB:rpr
(5)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO...

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____



25 MAY 10 1968

70 MAY 17 1968

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

ORIGINAL FILED IN

44-38861-3341

NOTE:

The employer of [redacted] Washington, advised that [redacted] is a "blow hard" and he recalls that when King was killed, [redacted] remarked he had been offered \$5,000 to do this job four or five years ago. Seattle being instructed to locate and interview [redacted] to determine any information he may have regarding any plot to kill King.

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-05-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

FBI

Date: 5/1/68

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	✓
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

AIRMAIL

(Priority)

b7C

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM : SAC, SEATTLE (175-
SUBJECT: [REDACTED]

b7C

SENATOR ROBERT KENNEDY - VICTIM
[REDACTED] - VICTIM
STOKELY CARMICHAEL - VICTIM
INFORMATION CONCERNING

Enclosed for the Bureau are the original and three
copies of a letterhead memorandum suitable for dissemination.

b7C

Enclosed for WFO are two copies of this LHM.

[REDACTED] Secret
Service, Spokane, Washington, was orally advised of this
information on 5/1/68 at 8:30 AM and a copy of this LHM
has been forwarded to his office.

The Spokane Police Department and Spokane County
Sheriff's Office have been advised.

The Bureau is requested to advise Senator KENNEDY's
headquarters in Washington, D.C.

The WFO is requested to advise appropriate local
authorities in Washington, D.C.

3 - Bureau (Encl 4)
2 - WFO (Encl 2)
1 - Seattle
TBW:klb
(6)

b7C

ENCLOSURE

44-38861-

100-446680-

1cc 2H MESS

FD376

5-6-68

25 MAY 10 1968

C.C. Bishop

NOT RECORDED
162 MAY 14 1968

ENCLOSURE

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

Airtel to SE
RFB: 1/7
5/9/68

ORIGINAL FILED IN 44-38861-3371



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Seattle, Washington
May 1, 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-05-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

b7C

Re:

[REDACTED]
SENATOR ROBERT KENNEDY - VICTIM;
[REDACTED] - VICTIM
STOKELY CARMICHAEL - VICTIM

On April 30, 1968, [REDACTED] residence address

[REDACTED] and engaged in a conversation and had a few drinks with an individual who identified himself as [REDACTED]. The conversation got around to racial problems in the United States and [REDACTED] indicated he was from the South and subsequently said he would pay [REDACTED] \$10,000 to kill [REDACTED] or STOKELY CARMICHAEL. He mentioned the Ku Klux Klan and the Minutemen and said "we" will furnish cars or planes for carrying this out and any kind of gun wanted. [REDACTED] then said "The mark has been put on [REDACTED] STOKELY CARMICHAEL and ROBERT KENNEDY." He then gave [REDACTED] a business card from [REDACTED] and on the back wrote [REDACTED] then "Yes", "No" and "Where". [REDACTED] said he could be called at that place and that [REDACTED] was simply to answer "Yes or No" and where he could be contacted.

[REDACTED] said [REDACTED] had been drinking but did not appear to be drunk. [REDACTED] reported this matter several hours later and admitted he had been drinking.

[REDACTED] advised [REDACTED] was employed by him as [REDACTED] but that he has not seen him for about a week, that [REDACTED] owes him about \$150.00 for merchandise, and reportedly is doing a lot of drinking. He said [REDACTED] is a "blow hard" and that he recalls that when Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., was killed [REDACTED] had remarked that he had been offered \$5,000.00 to do this job four or five years ago. [REDACTED] said [REDACTED] had previously been employed by [REDACTED]

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ENCLOSURE

100-446080-

b7C

RE: [REDACTED]

SENATOR ROBERT KENNEDY - VICTIM;

[REDACTED] - VICTIM

STOKELY CARMICHAEL - VICTIM

It was subsequently determined that [REDACTED] worked for [REDACTED] only a month and had been terminated. He was employed there through [REDACTED]

b7C

Records of [REDACTED] showed his address as [REDACTED] wife [REDACTED] and a daughter, 13, and a daughter 19. He showed employment in October, 1967, at [REDACTED] in May, 1967, with [REDACTED] May, 1965 to February, 1967, with [REDACTED] San Francisco, California; January, 1960 to May 1965, with [REDACTED] Los Angeles, and from 1954 to 1960 with [REDACTED] Los Angeles. [REDACTED] claimed two years college at the University of Alabama from 1957 to 1969 and service in the U.S. Navy from 1948 to 1952.

b7C

[REDACTED] advised they have been unable to collect their fee for placing [REDACTED] and that collection agencies have been trying to secure information concerning him.

[REDACTED] is described as a white, male, about 35 to 38 years of age, 5'7" tall, 140 pounds, brown hair.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 06-05-2006 BY

60388/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

MAY 10 1968

FBI ATLANTA

TELETYPE

835PM URGENT 5-10-68 LCS

TO DIRECTOR, JACKSONVILLE, KNOXVILLE, AND WFO

FROM ATLANTA 100-6812

b7C

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

STOKELY CARMICHAEL. IS-M; SEDITION.

RE WFO TEL TO DIRECTOR, ATLANTA, AND JACKSONVILLE MAY
TEN SIXTYEIGHT.

FOR INFORMATION OF KNOXVILLE, RE TEL STATES AS FOLLOWS:

"RE JACKSONVILLE TELETYPE MAY NINE LAST.

"FOR INFORMATION ATLANTA, RE JACKSONVILLE TEL REPORTED
AS FOLLOWS:

"RE PRIOR COMMUNICATIONS CONCERNING VISIT OF CARMICHAEL
TO GAINESVILLE, FLORIDA, WEEKEND MAY ELEVEN NEXT AND
JACKSONVILLE CALL TO THE BUREAU THIS DATE.

b7C

[REDACTED] JACKSONVILLE OFFICE
OF ALCOHOL, TOBACCO AND TAX UNIT, U.S. TREASURY, CONTACTED
THIS OFFICE THIS AFTERNOON TO SEEK OUR ASSISTANCE AND HELP
IN FURNISHING ATTU INFORMATION REGARDING CONTEMPLATED TRIAL MAY 14 1968
OF CARMICHAEL TO GAINESVILLE, FLA. HE FURTHER INQUIRED AS
TO ANY ADDITIONAL INFORMATION THIS OFFICE MIGHT HAVE CONCERNING
'THE GUN MATTER'. HE WAS ASKED WHAT HE WAS REFERRING TO
AND HE ADVISED HE HAD BEEN INFORMED BY HIS REGIONAL OFFICE,
END PAGE ONE

TELETYPED TO: WASH + A.C.

51 MAY 28 1968

Summary 5/10/68

PAGE TWO

DC
Fla.
TENN.
[REDACTED]
ATLANTA, GA., THAT CARMICHAEL IN HIS TRAVELS IS ACCOMPANIED
BY ONE [REDACTED] AND PURSUANT TO CARMICHAEL'S INSTRUCTIONS,

b7C

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
"THE INFORMATION AVAILABLE TO [REDACTED] IS EXTREMELY
DETAILED RELATIVE TO THE DESCRIPTION OF [REDACTED] EVEN

b7C

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] ETC. [REDACTED] ADVISED HE HAS BEEN IN CONTACT WITH
ATTU REGIONAL COUNSEL AND USA, NDF, TALLAHASSEE, AND
THEY ARE BOTH IN AGREEMENT THAT IF [REDACTED] AND CARMICHAEL
ARRIVE IN FLORIDA WITH [REDACTED] AS DESCRIBED
THE ATTU AGENTS SHOULD INTERCEPT THEM, SEARCH [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] IS FOUND, MAKE AN ON-THE-SCENE
ARREST OF CARMICHAEL [REDACTED] FOR VIOLATION OF NATIONAL FIREARMS
ACT.

"[REDACTED] SPECIFICALLY REQUESTED IN VIEW OF THE BACK-
GROUND OF CARMICHAEL AND [REDACTED] THAT FBI AGENTS BE READILY
AVAILABLE AT SUCH CONFRONTATION SO IF [REDACTED] AND OR
CARMICHAEL ATTEMPTED ANY ASSAULT ON THE ATTU AGENTS, THE
FBI COULD IMMEDIATELY ARREST BOTH INDIVIDUALS ON A CHARGE OF
ASSAULTING A FEDERAL OFFICER. [REDACTED] STATED INFORMATION
IN POSSESSION OF ATTU AND WHICH IS THE BASIS FOR THEIR
END PAGE TWO

b7C

PAGE THREE

CONTEMPLATED SEARCH AND POSSIBLE ARREST IS INFORMATION
FURNISHED BY 'THE FBI IN WASHINGTON, D.C.'

"AT PRESENT, WFO IS FURNISHING INFORMATION
CONCERNING ACTIONS OF CARMICHAEL IN WASHINGTON AREA. IT
IS REQUESTED WFO MAINTAIN CLOSE SURVEILLANCE OF CARMICHAEL
AND OR [REDACTED] AND TELEPHONICALLY ADVISE JACKSONVILLE IF AND
WHEN TRAVEL PLANS OF THESE TWO INDIVIDUALS BECOME KNOWN,
PARTICULARLY IF [REDACTED] IS OBSERVED IN POSSESSION OF [REDACTED]
AND OR CARMICHAEL. SUCH INFORMATION WILL BE FURNISHED
TO ATTU.

b7C

"JACKSONVILLE RECOMMENDATION, UACB, FBI AGENTS WILL
ACT AS OBSERVERS AT SCENE OF CONFRONTATION BY ATTU WITH
[REDACTED] AND OR CARMICHAEL AND THEN IN EVENT ASSAULT IS MADE
THEY WILL BE APPROPRIATELY ARRESTED BY FBI FOR ASSAULTING
A FEDERAL OFFICER.'

b7C

"FOR FURTHER INFORMATION OF ATLANTA, CARMICHAEL
PRESENTLY IN WASHINGTON, D.C. AND FROM INFO RECEIVED FROM
SOURCES, HE IS SCHEDULED TO TRAVEL TO GAINESVILLE, FLORIDA
ON OR ABOUT WEEKEND OF MAY TEN THROUGH THIRTEEN NEXT
IN CONNECTION WITH FUND RAISING FOR SEVERAL INDIVIDUALS
INCARCERATED THERE ON INCITING TO RIOT OR SIMILAR CHARGES.
HIS EXACT ACTIVITIES WHILE IN GAINESVILLE ARE NOT KNOWN.
END PAGE THREE

PAGE FOUR

CARMICHAEL CURRENTLY HAS RESERVATIONS TO PICK UP RENTED STATION WAGON, WDC, ON MAY ELEVEN NEXT, REPORTEDLY TO USE FOR TRIP TO FLORIDA. WFO HAS NO INFORMATION ABOUT PRESENT LOCATION OF [REDACTED] OR IF HE PLANS TO JOIN CARMICHAEL ON TRIP TO GAINESVILLE AS MENTIONED IN RE TEL.

"ATLANTA EXPEDITIOUSLY CONTACT SOURCES AND CONDUCT INVESTIGATION TO ASCERTAIN WHEREABOUTS OF [REDACTED] b7C
ATTEMPT TO ASCERTAIN IF HE CONTEMPLATES TRAVELLING TO GAINESVILLE WITH CARMICHAEL. FURNISHED ANY CURRENT INFORMATION AS TO WHETHER HE POSSESSES A FIREARM AS MENTIONED BY JACKSONVILLE. IF [REDACTED] WHEREABOUTS NOT LOCATED, ATLANTA SET OUT LEADS TO LOCATE WITH ATTEMPT TO VERIFY ABOVE INFORMATION. WFO WILL CONTINUE TO FOLLOW CARMICHAEL'S ACTIVITIES AND REPORT PERTINENT INFORMATION DEVELOPED TO INTERESTED OFFICES." b7C

ATLANTA SOURCES ADVISE [REDACTED] REPORTEDLY VISITING HIS RESIDENCE AT [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] ATLANTA SOURCES HAVE NO INFORMATION AS TO WHETHER [REDACTED] IN POSSESSION OF A FIREARM AS MENTIONED IN RE TEL.

END PAGE FOUR

PAGE FIVE

KNOXVILLE ATTEMPT TO DETERMINE WHETHER [REDACTED] AT PARENTS'
RESIDENCE IN [REDACTED] AND WHETHER HE HAS INTENTIONS OF
TRAVELLING TO GAINESVILLE, FLA. P.

b7C

END

MXS

FBI WASH DC*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-05-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls
F B I

Date: 5/10/68

Transmit the following in CODE

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE

URGENT

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

TO: DIRECTOR AND SAC, JACKSONVILLE b7C
(100-446080)
FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS - M; SEDITION

RE WFO TELETYPE MAY EIGHT LAST.

SUBJECT NOT OBSERVED AT RESIDENCE MORNING OF MAY NINE
LAST, HOWEVER, WAS LATER OBSERVED AT SNCC HEADQUARTERS IN
AFTERNOON.

CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE ADVISED CARMICHAEL STILL AT SNCC
HEADQUARTERS EARLY EVENING. SOURCE ALSO ADVISED SUBJECT
MADE ARRANGEMENTS TO RENT A CAR FOR A TRIP TO FLORIDA.

[REDACTED] ADVISED CARMICHAEL SCHEDULED
TO ATTEND SNCC OFFICE STAFF MEETING EIGHT PM, MAY NINE
LAST HELD AT HOME OF SNCC MEMBER [REDACTED]

WDC.

2-Bureau
2-Teletype Unit
2-WFO

WWH:11w
(6)

REC-69

100-446080-1545

MAY 13 1968

Approved: WWH
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

PAGE TWO

ADMINISTRATIVE

MARRIAGE RECORDS FOR D. C. DISCLOSED IN A RETURNED
LICENSE THAT [REDACTED] CERTIFIED THAT HE
SOLEMNIZED THE MARRIAGE OF CARMICHAEL [REDACTED] ON
APRIL TWENTY NINE LAST AT [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] WDC.

b7C

CHECK OF CAR RENTAL AGENCIES, WDC, DISCLOSED CARMICHAEL
HAS RESERVATIONS MADE TELEPHONICALLY FOR RENTAL OF NEW FORD
STATION WAGON FROM JET RENT O CAR, TWELFTH AND K STREETS,
N. W., WDC, IN NAME OF SNCC ASSOCIATE [REDACTED] FOR
TRIP TO FLORIDA. CARMICHAEL TO BE PICKED UP SATURDAY,
MAY ELEVEN NEXT, REQUIRING DEPOSIT OF ONE HUNDRED FIFTY
DOLLARS.

b7C

JACKSONVILLE WILL BE ADVISED OF FURTHER TRAVEL
ARRANGEMENTS DEVELOPED.

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via _____
(Priority)

PAGE THREE

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

WFO HAS ACTIVE CASES

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

END.

b2
b7C
b7D

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-05-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

FBI

Date: 5/8/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

b7C

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - M SEDITION
(OO:WFO)

b7C

Subject currently using a red Volvo Sedan
bearing Georgia license [REDACTED] This vehicle
previously bore a temporary Tennessee license.

b7C

Atlanta requested to ascertain to whom Georgia
license [REDACTED] registered and advise WFO.

- (3) Bureau
2- Atlanta (RM)
1- WFO

REC-44

101

100-446080-1546

WWH:bdc
(6)

AIRTEL

22 MAY 13 1968

5-12A

cc 806 910

Approved: *[Signature]*
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-05-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

FBI

Date: 5/7/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (62-9737) (P)

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INCITING TO RIOT - MISC.
(OO:WFO)

ReATairtel with LHM 4/25/68, captioned "STOKELY
CARMICHAEL, IS-M; SEDITION."

In referenced LHM information is set forth indicating
that [redacted] was in CARMICHAEL's presence
the evening of April 4, 1968, at the Southern Christian
Leadership Conference (SCLC) headquarters in the vicinity of
14th and U Streets, N.W., Washington, D. C. (WDC) subsequent to
the death of MARTIN LUTHER KING.

As the Atlanta Office is aware, WFO is currently
conducting an extensive investigation to develop details of a
possible violation by CARMICHAEL of a D.C. statute on willfully
inciting to riot. The U.S. Attorney has requested the develop-
ment of full facts surrounding CARMICHAEL's activities on the
evening of 4/4/68, when he reportedly led a group of individuals
in the vicinity of 14th and U Streets, N.W., WDC and spoke to
various merchants in that area asking them to close their
business in respect to Dr. KING and on occasion was observed to
have brandished a weapon. This inquiry also embraces statements
made by CARMICHAEL at a SNCC press conference the morning of
4/5/68, and facts surrounding his appearance, statements and
actions on the Howard University campus the afternoon of 4/5/68.

- 3 - Bureau
2 - Atlanta (100-6812) (RM)
1 - WFO

REC-44

100-446080-1547

MAY 28 1968

ECR:dgp
(6)

EX 107

AIRTEL

cc 806 947

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

WFO 62-9737

b7C The Atlanta Office is requested to expeditiously re-
b7D contact [REDACTED] regarding his detailed knowledge of
CARMICHAEL's activities the evening of 4/4/68, in addition to
any other information he may have relative to the other
aspects of this inquiry as set forth above and include this
information in an FD 302 suitable for inclusion in the next
investigative report.

ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-05-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

F B I

Date: 5/12/68

Transmit the following in PLAIN TEXT
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan ☒
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
SAC, JACKSONVILLE

b7C

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-M; SEDITION, OO:WFO
REWFOTEL MAY ELEVEN LAST.

SUBJECT AT RESIDENCE, WASHINGTON, D.C. MORNING

MAY ELEVEN LAST. IN AFTERNOON DEPARTED RESIDENCE WITH

[REDACTED] AND WENT TO [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] WASHINGTON, D.C. WHERE A SOCIAL APPEARED IN
PROGRESS. LATER WENT FOR WALK WITH ANOTHER UNIDENTIFIED
INDIVIDUAL RETURNING TO [REDACTED] ADDRESS. SUBJECT [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] SUBSEQUENTLY RETURNED TO THEIR RESIDENCE. THEY LATER
DEPARTED RESIDENCE AND VISITED A NEARBY RESTAURANT. THEY
RETURNED TO RESIDENCE LATER IN THE AFTERNOON AND SUBJECT NOT
AGAIN OBSERVED MAY ELEVEN LAST.

ADMINISTRATIVE

12 MAY 14 1968

INQUIRY JET-RENT-O-CAR, TWELFTH AND K STREETS, NORTHWEST,

- 2 - Teletype Unit
- 2 - Bureau
- 2 - WFO

WWH:ssb
(6)

cc 106-43503
5/12/68
200

54 MAY 17 1968

Approved: J. J. [Signature] Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

b7C

WFO 100-43503
PAGE TWO

WASHINGTON, D.C., DISCLOSED [REDACTED] AT THREE PM
TELEPHONICALLY CANCELLED RESERVATIONS BEING HELD FOR
STATION WAGON FOR SUBJECT TO HAVE BEEN PICKED UP AT SIX PM
MAY ELEVEN LAST.

CHECK OF OTHER CAR RENTAL AGENCIES DETERMINED NO
RESERVATION FOR SUBJECT.

EFFORTS MADE TO LOCATE AIRLINES RESERVATIONS FOR
SUBJECT TO GAINESVILLE PRESENTLY NEGATIVE.

JACKSONVILLE WILL BE ADVISED OF ANY FURTHER TRAVEL
DATA DEVELOPED. JACKSONVILLE ALERT SOURCES TO DETERMINE
FURTHER TRAVEL PLANS OF CARMICHAEL. EFFORTS BEING MADE
TO ASCERTAIN RESIDENCE [REDACTED]
WASHINGTON, D.C. P.

b7C

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 06-05-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

FBI

Date: 5/7/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority)

TO DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM SAC, INDIANAPOLIS (100-15504) (RUC)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INCITING TO RIOT - MISCELLANEOUS

OO: Washington Field Office

Re Washington Field Office airtel to Director,
4/16/68.

b7C The following investigation was conducted by
SA [REDACTED]

Numerous negative attempts were made between
4/22/68 and 5/2/68 to contact anyone at [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] in an effort to contact [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] It will be noted that address is in a run down
b7C area with several vacant houses.

On 4/22/68, [REDACTED] Greater Gary,
Indiana Credit Bureau, advised that agency has no record for
[REDACTED]

b7C On 4/22/68, [REDACTED] Records
Office, Gary, Indiana Police Department, advised that
department has no arrest record for [REDACTED]

b2 On 4/26/68, [REDACTED] advised he could provide no
b7C information regarding [REDACTED]
b7D

- 3 - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - Washington Field Office (RM) (62-9737)
- 1 - Indianapolis

ECW/plp
(6)

EX-102

REC-52

100-446080-1549

OC 806 940

MAY 9 1968

b7C

51 MAY 21 1968
Special Agent in Charge

Sent

RACIAL INT. SEC.
RACIAL INT. SEC.

IP 100-15504

b2

b7C

b7D

On 4/26/68, [redacted] advised he could provide no information regarding [redacted]

b7C

Inasmuch as referenced communication advised [redacted] was a Howard University student, and that classes were to resume on 4/22/68, Indianapolis Division believes Washington Field Office should attempt to contact [redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-05-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

FBI

Date: 5/14/68

Transmit the following in _____ (Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority)

To: Director, FBI

ATTENTION:

From: SAC, NEWARK (157-2596)

☐ CIVIL RIGHTS SECTION

GENERAL INVEST. DIV.

DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIV.

Subject: **BLACK CAUCUS**
5/17, 18, 19/68
BROOKLYN, N.Y.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

☐ CR ☐ EL ☐ VRA-65 ☐ CRA-64
 ☐ PA ☐ PE ☐ PF
☐ BM ☐ BM-Threats ☒ Racial Matters
 ☐ Klan ☐ Organization

Re NK airtel with LHM dated 5/10/68 & NK teletype
5/13/68. Summary of Complaint:

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of an LHM in captioned matter. Copies being furnished to offices where individuals mentioned are known to reside. No local dissemination is being made of this information in view of the fact that meeting is tentatively set for New York City and the nature of the informant.

100-446080-

NOT RECORDED
136 MAY 21 1968

1 - Bureau (Enc. 11) (RM)

2 - Los Angeles (Enc. 2) (RM)

(1-

3 - New York (Enc. 2) (RM)

(11-

2 - San Francisco (Enc. 2) (RM)

(1-

- 2 - WFO (Enc. 2) (RM)

(1-100-42503)

(STONELY CARMICHAEL)

4 - Newark

(1-

(1-

(1-

MLC: sah
(14)

ACTION: UACB:

☐ No further action being taken and
☐ LHM enclosed ☐ Copy furnished to USA
☐ LHM being submitted
☐ Report being submitted
☐ Preliminary investigation instituted
☐ Limited investigation instituted

2 APR 75 1952

54 MAY 24 1968

Sent

M

Per

Special Agent in Charge

886L

ORIGINAL FILED IN 105-17208-30

NK 157-2596)

Source utilized in attached is [redacted]
[redacted] New Jersey,
who is active in [redacted] and is under
development as a racial informant.

b7C

b7D

The attached LHM is classified "~~confidential~~" in order to protect the source. This information, if revealed, could identify the source.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Newark, New Jersey

May 14, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls
ON 06-05-2006

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

BLACK CAUCUS
MAY 17, 18, 19, 1968
BROOKLYN, NEW YORK

RACIAL MATTERS

b7C On May 13, 1968, a source, with whom contact has been insufficient to determine the reliability of information furnished, advised that date and place of above meeting had not been set. Source indicated that there were an unknown number of Negro athletes who had been invited to attend the meeting, with the purpose to instruct these athletes to enter the coming Olympic Games. The black athletes were to receive instruction in their black heritage, and source stated that the following individuals were to instruct the athletes on that heritage:

Stokely Carmichael, according to the source, is to attend the meeting, but he thinks all black athletes should boycott the Olympic Games.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency: it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

1*

GROUP 1

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

100-446080-

ENCLOSURE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-05-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

8/5

10:04 PM URGENT 5-14-68 CDC
TO DIRECTOR AND WASHINGTON FIELD
FROM NEW ORLEANS

b7C

b7C

[REDACTED] AKA RM SNCC.

b2

b7C

b7D

ON FIVE FOURTEEN INSTANT, [REDACTED]

ADVISED [REDACTED] FOLLOWERS IN NEW ORLEANS HAVE MADE CONTACT WITH
STOKELY CARMICHAEL IN WASHINGTON D. C. AND CARMICHAEL WILL TRAVEL TO
NEW ORLEANS ON FIVE FIFTEEN NEXT.

W. F. O. REQUESTED TO CONDUCT SURVEILLANCE OF CARMICHAEL,
ALERT APPROPRIATE AIRLINES AND SOURCES RE POSSIBLE TRAVEL BY
CARMICHAEL TO NEW ORLEANS.

LHM TO FOLLOW.

RECEIVED: 11:13 PM RNK

CC-ROSEN

MAY 15 1968

TWO COPIES TO WFO

NOT RECORDED

141 MAY 17 1968

WFO

ENRICH
11540

54 MAY 22 1968

ORIGINAL FILED

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-05-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

TO : Director, FBI (Bufile- 100-446080)

DATE: 5/6/68

FROM : SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL, aka
IS - M; SEDITION

Cards UTD
Cards Sent 00
5/10/68
Hav

Re:

☐ It is recommended that a Security Index Card be prepared on the above-captioned individual.

☒ The Security Index Card on the captioned individual should be changed as follows (specify change only):

Name	
Aliases	
☐ Native Born ☐ Tab Detcom ☐ Naturalized ☐ Delete Detcom ☐ Alien	
☐ Communist ☐ SWP ☐ JFG ☐ SPL ☐ POC ☐ PPA ☐ WWP ☐ SDS ☐ PLP ☐ ANA ☐ PRN ☐ BNT ☐ NOI ☐ RAM ☐ SNC ☐ Miscellaneous (specify)	
Date of Birth	Place of Birth
Business Address, Name of Employing Concern and Address, Nature of Employment, and Union Affiliation, if any. 2208 14th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. <i>Field Representative, Student non-Violent Coordinating Committee</i>	
Residence Address 5015 16th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.	
Race ☐ Male ☐ Female	
Key Facility Data	
Geographical Reference Number	
Responsibility	

REGISTERED MAIL

② - Bureau (Encl. 2)
1 - WFO
WWH:dab
(3)

ENCLOSURE DETACHED AND
HANDLED SEPARATELY.

NOT RECORDED

15 MAY 7 1968

b7C

66 MAY 14 1968
F98

INV. 306
RACIAL INT.
M. E. ROW



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C. 20535

May 6, 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-05-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

*ST
esa*
SUBJECT: **STOKELY CARMICHAEL**

REFERENCE: **Letterhead memorandum dated
March 27, 1968 at Washington, D. C.**

Referenced communication contained subject's residence and/or employment address. A recent change has been determined and is being set forth below (change only specified):

Residence: **5015 16th Street, N. W.,
Washington, D. C.**

Employment: **2208 14th Street, N. W.,
Washington, D. C.**

*1cc to SS by
HS 5/9/68
PTB/dkt*

FD-122 DETACHED

100-446080-

NOT RECORDED

15 MAY 7 1968

b7C

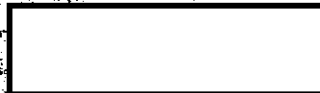
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55 MAY 13 1968

262

b7C

1-
1-



CODE

May 7, 1968

1-



TELETYPE

URGENT

gm
LS
TO SAC JACKSONVILLE (157-1520)

FROM DIRECTOR FBI (157-8924)

b7C



RM - SNCC

REURAIRTEL MAY FOUR ONE NINE SIX EIGHT.

INSTRUCTIONS CONCERNING THE RECENTLY-PASSED FEDERAL ANTI-
RIOT LAWS ARE CONTAINED IN BUREAU AIRTEL TO ALL OFFICES DATED
APRIL TWENTY-FIVE ONE NINE SIX EIGHT CAPTIONED "ANTIRIOT LAWS."
IMMEDIATELY SUBMIT LETTERHEAD MEMORANDUM BY RETURN AIRTEL
CONCERNING INFORMATION CONTAINED IN REAIRTEL. IN ADDITION,
CONTACT REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SHERIFF'S OFFICE WHO FURNISHED
THE INFORMATION THAT STOKELY CARMICHAEL WOULD TEST FEDERAL
ANTIRIOT LAWS AND DETERMINE IF HE OBJECTS TO BUREAU CONTACTING
HIS SOURCE OF THIS INFORMATION. IF NOT, SET FORTH APPROPRIATE
LEADS ON EXPEDITE BASIS TO CONFIRM THIS INFORMATION AND HOW
CARMICHAEL PLANS TO VIOLATE THIS LAW. SUTEL RESULTS. COPY

SENT BY MAIL-TO WFO.

1 - WFO-(100-43503) (STOKELY CARMICHAEL)

① - 100-446080 (Stokely Carmichael)

ABF:ekw (7)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

NOT RECORDED

47 MAY 10 1968

DUPLICATE YELLOW OF
WIRE TRANSMITTED

80 MAY 15 1968

TELETYPE TO SAC, JACKSONVILLE

[REDACTED] b7C

NOTE:

Jacksonville advised that Stokely Carmichael of SNCC is scheduled to speak at Gainesville, Florida, on 5/11/68 to raise bond money for [REDACTED] and other jailed civil rights activists. [REDACTED] is under investigation for SNCC activity. Reairtel indicated that Carmichael plans to test recently-passed Federal antiriot laws. The Department is being advised. To date the Department has not issued policy instructions on these new laws and all offices are under instruction to promptly advise the Bureau of any violations followed by an LHM and to advise local authorities if local violation involved. WFO by teletype dated 5/6/68 has confirmed that Carmichael is scheduled to go to Gainesville and they have issued instructions to Jacksonville to cover Carmichael while there. WFO has no information that Carmichael intends to test the antiriot laws.

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-05-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

VIA TELETYPE

MAY 11 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

WASH DC ---2---

9-12 PM DEFERRED 5-10-68 VLB

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080) AND WASHINGTON FIELD (100-43503) -PLAIN-

/WASHINGTON FIELD VIA WASHINGTON/

FROM LOS ANGELES (100-68783) 1P

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; IS - MISCELLANEOUS, SEDITION.

[REDACTED] VAN NUYS DIVISION,

VAN NUYS, CALIFORNIA, ADVISED THIS DATE THAT THE BLACK STUDENT
UNION, LOS ANGELES VALLEY JUNIOR COLLEGE, VAN NUYS, CALIFORNIA,
ATTEMPTED TO OBTAIN STOKELY CARMICHAEL AS FEATURED SPEAKER FOR BSU RALLY
AT VALLEY JUNIOR COLLEGE MAY TWENTY THREE NEXT, DUE
TO FACT CARMICHAEL TO BE IN LOS ANGELES AREA ON THAT DATE.
CARMICHAEL REQUESTED ONE THOUSAND DOLLARS FOR APPEARANCE AT RALLY
WHICH BSU UNABLE TO RAISE. CARMICHAEL DELETED AS FEATURED SPEAKER
FOR RALLY.

LOS ANGELES SOURCES UNAWARE AN CARMICHAEL'S PLANS ~~AND ITINERARY~~
CONCERNING TRAVEL LOS ANGELES.

12 MAY 14 1968

WASHINGTON FIELD IS REQUESTED TO VERIFY CARMICHAEL'S ~~PROPOSED~~
TRAVEL LOS ANGELES AND OBTAIN ITINERARY.

END

RM R RELAY

FBI WASH DC

TELETYPED TO:

57 MAY 20 1968

EX-110

REC-52

1550

5-11

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: May 8, 1968

FROM :

[Redacted]

b7C

b7C

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS - STUDENT NONVIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE
SEDITION

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

My memorandum this date (attached) sets forth the status of the investigation involving Stokely Carmichael's activities during the recent Washington, D. C., riots as requested by the Director.

It was noted that our Washington Field Office (WFO) has advised they have approximately 25 interviews remaining consisting primarily of Howard University students who have been out of town during school vacation. The Director instructed "Expedite and set a date for deadline."

The interviews of these students are delicate and must be conducted off campus. In view of the fact that most of these students have an extremely militant attitude toward the white race as indicated by their recent take-over of the Howard University Administration Building, our Washington Field Office has been utilizing Negro Agents to conduct these interviews. It is felt all these interviews can be satisfactorily conducted in time to meet a deadline of May 15, 1968.

ACTION:

That the attached airtel be approved instructing WFO to complete its investigation of this matter and to submit the results to reach the Bureau no later than May 15, 1968.

Enclosures *sent 5-8-68*

PTB:bff

(7)

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. Rosen

1 - [Redacted]

1 - [Redacted]

54 MAY 17 1968

REC-8

MAY 13 1968

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-05-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

F B I

Date: 5/9/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (157-1297) (P)
SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS-M; SEDITION
OO: WFO

Re Bureau airtel to WFO and Chicago 5/3/68.

Referenced airtel desired to know of the
arrangements Chicago, Springfield and WFO are making for
subject's coverage in these areas during May, 1968.

Chicago sources had not determined location of
Black Consortium (BC) black tribunal other than [redacted]
[redacted] of BC is trying to find a church in the Chicago
south side for the hearing. When this information is
obtained, Chicago sources will be directed to attend.
The tentative date has been set for 5/18/68 this is the
only meeting CARMICHAEL is expected to address in the
Chicago area known at this time.

Chicago is presently contacting [redacted]
[redacted] Chicago branch of SNCC as possible PRI. His
monetary demands appear unreasonable at this time; however,
if he is cooperative, he will be able to give detailed
information concerning CARMICHAEL's itinerary and

- 3 - Bureau (RM)
2 - WFO
 (1 - 100-43503) (RM)
2 - Chicago
 (1 - 100-40342) (SNCC)

DEH:dmv
(7)

Approved: [Signature]
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

Per _____

57 MAY 20 1968

REC-59 / 100-446080-1552

EX 101

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68

CC 806 940

CG 157-1297

activities. To date [] has made available the only known tape recording of STOKELY CARMICHAEL's speech on 3/25/68 at the Afro-Arts Theater, Chicago. This tape is being transcribed and will shortly be furnished to the Bureau.

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-05-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls
FBI

Date: 5/11/68

Transmit the following in _____

PLAINTEXT

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via **TELETYPE****URGENT**

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI AND SAC, JACKSONVILLE

b7C

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, INTERNAL SECURITY - M, SEDITION.

REWFO TELETYPE, MAY NINE LAST.

ON MORNING OF MAY TEN LAST, SUBJECT IN RESIDENCE. LATER
HE WENT TO EASTERN HIGH SCHOOL, WDC, WHERE HE REMAINED FOR
ABOUT ONE HOUR. IN AFTERNOON HE WENT TO HOWARD UNIVERSITY,
THEN TO SNCC HEADQUARTERS WHERE HE REMAINED UNTIL THE EVENING.

A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE ADVISED AN IMPROMPTU JAM SESSION
WAS HELD AT HOWARD UNIVERSITY FROM ABOUT ONE P.M. TO ONE
FORTYFIVE P.M. UNDER SPONSORSHIP OF UJAMAA, A MILITANT STUDENT
GROUP AT HOWARD. THE GROUP DISPERSED AT THE REQUEST OF
SCHOOL AUTHORITIES, AND NO INCIDENTS WERE REPORTED.

- 2 - Bureau
- 2 - Teletype Unit
- 1 - Jacksonville
- 2 - WFO

b7C

REC-52

EX

100-446080-1553

WWH:rmh
(7)

MAY 14 1968

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

WFO 100-43503

PAGE TWO

ACCORDING TO SOURCE, CARMICHAEL WAS PRESENT DURING THE SESSION.

[REDACTED] LEARNED THAT THE SECRETARY
OF SUBJECT MADE A NOTE REGARDING HIS SCHEDULED TRIP TO
GAINESVILLE, FLORIDA, TO CONTACT AAA IN WDC FOR TRAVEL INFOR-
MATION.

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AAA, WDC, UNABLE TO VERIFY IF INQUIRY REGARDING TRAVEL
TO GAINESVILLE ACTUALLY MADE, HOWEVER, ADVISED THAT AAA
RECOMMENDS TO ALL WASHINGTON INQUIRIES REGARDING TRAVEL TO
GAINESVILLE THAT UNITED STATES NINE FIVE AND THREE ZERO ONE
BE USED TO WALDO, FLORIDA, THEN STATE HIGHWAY TWO FOUR TO
GAINESVILLE.

ADMINISTRATIVE

EFFORTS BEING MADE TO ASCERTAIN REASON FOR SUBJECT'S
VISIT TO EASTERN HIGH SCHOOL.

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[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE.
[REDACTED]

WFO WILL ATTEMPT TO VERIFY SUBJECT'S DEPARTURE, WDC, AND
NOTIFY JACKSONVILLE. P

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DATE 06-05-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

F B I

Date: 5/8/68

Transmit the following in PLAINTEXT
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-153751) (P)
SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INCITING TO RIOT-MISC

ReWFOairtel to Bu, 4/16/68.

Several attempts to contact [redacted]
[redacted] while on spring vacation were not productive.
NYO indices negative re [redacted]

LEADS:WASHINGTON FIELD

AT WASHINGTON, D.C. Attempt to contact [redacted]
[redacted] at WDC.

- EX-110
3- Bureau (RM)
2- Washington Field (RM) REC-52
1- New York

BJW:amb
(7)

100-446080-1554

11 MAY 9 1968

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Approved: 97 m

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

ATTENTION

The following documents appearing in FBI files have been reviewed under the provisions of The Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) (Title 5, United States Code, Section 552); Privacy Act of 1974 (PA) (Title 5, United States Code, Section 552a); and/or Litigation.

☐ FOIA/PA☐ Litigation☐ Executive Order Applied

Requester: _____

Subject: _____

Computer or Case Identification Number: _____

Title of Case: _____ Section _____

* File _____

Serials Reviewed: _____

Release Location: *File _____ Section _____

This file section has been scanned into the FOIPA Document Processing System (FDPS) prior to National Security Classification review. Please see the documents located in the FDPS for current classification action, if warranted. Direct inquiries about the FDPS to RIDS Service Request Unit

b2

File Number: 100-HQ-466080 Section 35Serial(s) Reviewed: All

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: 983317

File Number: _____ Section _____

Serial(s) Reviewed: _____

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: _____

File Number: _____ Section _____

Serial(s) Reviewed: _____

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: _____

THIS FORM IS TO BE MAINTAINED AS THE TOP SERIAL OF THE FILE, BUT NOT SERIALIZED.

SCANNED BY DocLab (RMD)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 06-12-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/blsDATE: 8/1/05

ATTENTION

LAST SERIAL: 1613 DO NOT REMOVE FROM FILE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-12-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

FBI

Date: 5/2/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (100-6812) (P)
SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - M
SEDITION

Re WFO airtel, dated 4/26/68 and Atlanta airtel, dated 4/30/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are eleven copies of LHM and for WFO are two copies of LHM containing information secured from [redacted] on 4/9/68:

On 5/1/68 [redacted]

[redacted] was recontacted relative to information attributed to [redacted] in the LHM of 4/10/68. [redacted] pointed out, as that in the first instance, that [redacted] advised they were unable to attribute the statement of "Brother, tomorrow night we're gonna burn them" to any one particular individual in the crowd clustered around the automobile from which CARMICHAEL alighted in front of Paschal's Motor Motel on 4/9/68.

In addition, [redacted] advised that they are not acquainted with or no the identity of any of the other individuals who were accompanying CARMICHAEL. Inasmuch as [redacted] are not able to definitely say that CARMICHAEL made foregoing statement, an FD-302 is not being submitted on information attributed to [redacted]

3-Bureau (Enc. 11) ENCLOSURE

2-WFO (Enc. 2)

2-Atlanta

EUC:sja

(7)

NOT NECESSARY 48

Approved: [Signature]
Special Agent in Charge

Sent [Signature] ON CARMICHAEL

Per [Signature]

RACIAL INT. SECT.

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0-7 to Atlanta by 11/5/5/68
This information is to be used in preparation of LHM and is not to be disseminated to other offices without prior approval of the Bureau.

Received
100-446080-1557

REC-102
EX-102
100-446080-1557
12 MAY 14 1968

DISSEMINATE RESTRICTED
INFO BEING DISSEMINATED IN WFO RPT

AT 100-6812

It is noted that Paschal's Motor Lodge is located in a predominately Negro neighborhood and the conducting of investigation in that area to develop witnesses relative to CARMICHAEL's arrival in that area on 4/9/68 is not feasible.

Information secured from [] regarding CARMICHAEL's statement in the vicinity of the Ebenezer Baptist Church is included in enclosed LHM.

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It is noted further that [] advised that after the services at Ebenezer Baptist Church and while the procession was en route to the memorial services for Dr. KING at Morehouse College, the rumor passing through the crowd was that CARMICHAEL had said, "Play it cool, after we bury the man then the riots will start".

On 5/1/68 this source was contacted relative to the possible identity of the individual passing this rumor around and the source advised that she attended the service alone and was not acquainted with or in a position at this time to identify any individual who might have passed this rumor on to her.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-6812

Atlanta, Georgia
May 2, 1968

Stokely Carmichael
Internal Security -
Miscellaneous
Sedition

The following information was secured in
Atlanta on April 9, 1968:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-12-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

- 1 -

COPIES DESTROYED
286 FEB 23 1971

100-446080-1557
ENCLOSURE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date May 2, 1968b2
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1

[] advised that STOKELY CARMICHAEL arrived in the vicinity of the Ebenezer Baptist Church, 413 Auburn Avenue, NE, at approximately 10:20 a.m. on April 9, 1968. The funeral services for Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., were already in progress. As CARMICHAEL walked toward the entrance to the church, and although not appearing to speak to anyone in particular, he repeated time and time again as he held up his hands, "Black Power, Black Power".

CARMICHAEL was dressed neatly in a black business suit and upon reaching the entrance to the Ebenezer Baptist Church found the doors had been locked on the inside.

After the crowd had shouted, "Let him in!" several times the doors were opened and CARMICHAEL entered the church.

2

On 4/9/68 at Atlanta, Georgia File # Atlanta 100-6812

by SA [] :sja Date dictated 5/2/68

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b7C

Stokely Carmichael

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-12-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

TO : Director, FBI (157-8860) DATE: 4/26/68

FROM : SAC, Buffalo (157-213) (P)

SUBJECT: NATIONAL BLACK ANTI-WAR
ANTI-DRAFT UNION
APRIL 12 to 14, 1968
RM

gmr
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AFB

Remyairtel, 3/23/68, and mytel, 4/17/68.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are eleven (11) copies of a letterhead memorandum (LHM) concerning the above-captioned organization and its conference held in New York City on 4/12-16/68. Extra copies are being furnished the New York Office for dissemination to Military Intelligence, Secret Service, and the United States Attorney, SDNY, in view of the fact the conference took place in that city.

- ② - Bureau (Encs. 11) (RM)
- 2 - Albany (100-19134) (Encs. 2) (RM)
- 2 - Atlanta (100-6488) (Encs. 2) (RM)
- 2 - Baltimore (Encs. 2) (RM)
- 2 - Boston (100-35267) (Encs. 2) (RM)
- 2 - Chicago (100-40342) (Encs. 2) (RM)
- 2 - New York (157-2085) (Encs. 7) (RM)
- 2 - Newark (100-47818) (Encs. 2) (RM)
- 2 - Philadelphia (100-46820) (Encs. 2) (RM)
- 2 - Washington Field (157-1513) (Encs. 2) (RM)
- 2 - Buffalo
- (1 -)

CES:bmp
(22)

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b7D

100-446080
NOT RECORDED
180 MAY 16 1968

70 MAY 23 1968

ORIGINAL FILED IN 157-8860-11

BU 157-213

Two (2) copies each are being furnished to designated offices since information is contained in the LHM pertaining to specific individuals who are listed as in attendance at one of the workshops which took place during the conference. Appropriate action with respect to the names listed in this attendance roster is being left to the discretion of appropriate offices.

Also enclosed herewith for the New York Office is a mimeographed five-page document entitled, "The Official Position Paper of the Harlem Black Anti-Draft Union, 1968" and a one-page mimeographed leaflet captioned, "The Position Paper of the Harlem Black Anti-Draft Union." These documents are not set forth in instant LHM since the New York Office may have already obtained copies of these documents since their contents pertain to a branch of captioned organization which is of particular interest to the New York Office. If not already obtained by the New York Office from other sources, that office may wish to treat this material in its own communication in this case.

The source used in instant LHM is [REDACTED]
Contact with him for the purpose of debriefing him concerning the Anti-Draft Conference was possible only [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised he obtained a list of persons attending captioned conference from Washington, D.C. He stated this contingent was a most militant one and although they did not arrive at the conference with STOKELEY CAR-MICHAEL, they were well organized and supported him enthusiastically. This list will be obtained from informant in the next several days and will be made available to the Washington Field Office.

Informant further advised that there was an attendance list kept at the conference, and he hopes to obtain

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BU 157-213

same in the near future [redacted]

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With respect to information furnished from other sources that private meetings were held in areas other than the Ballroom of the Diplomat Hotel in New York City at which general discussion of dynamiting and other acts of disruption were discussed, [redacted] advised he was unaware of any such meetings. [redacted]

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Informant said he overheard some casual "bull session" talk during the conference about dynamiting Wall Street and the Empira State Building and taking some kind of action in the event Presidential aspirant GEORGE WALLACE should become a frontrunner. He thought the persons making these remarks were joking and did not listen to the remarks seriously and he paid little attention to them.

Informant pointed out that the general conference area in the Ballroom of the hotel was in a constant state of general disorder and confusion due particularly to the lack of organization and particularly because those present were permitted to wander about and attend any of the workshops being held in the Ballroom area. As a result, there was a great deal of conversation at all times of one type or another.

In order to protect the identity of [redacted]

BU 157-213

The enclosed LHM is classified "~~Confidential~~" since it contains information from a confidential informant of continuing value whose identity could be revealed and future effectiveness compromised.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Buffalo, New York
April 26, 1968

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls
ON 06-12-2006

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL BLACK ANTI-WAR
ANTI-DRAFT UNION
(NBAWADU)

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on April 16 and 24, 1968 that he attended the National Conference of the above-captioned organization held at the Hotel Diplomat, 108 W. 43rd Street, New York City, New York, from noon on April 12, 1968 until the evening of April 14, 1968.

This source described the conference as follows:

Approximately 500 persons were present during the course of this conference although this number was not all present at any one time. A large number of persons were present at the opening session at noon on April 12, 1968 but were not observed to be present during sessions held on the following two days. Source noted there were about 25 guards, all young Negro males, designated to maintain order at the conference; but they were not required to perform any special services since the conferences did not get out of hand.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~GROUP I
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

ENCLOSURE

100-446080

NATIONAL BLACK ANTI-WAR
ANTI-DRAFT UNION
(NBAWADU)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The conference generally was poorly organized and much confusion existed during the sessions because the three or four work shops being conducted at the conference were all held on the floor of the Ballroom, and individuals were permitted to enter and leave workshop sessions at will and many did so.

The first session was highlighted by a more than two hour speech given by the former Chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) STOKELY CARMICHAEL who came to the meeting from Washington, D.C. His speech was conducted generally in a much milder tone than some of his former speeches, and it was the impression of source that CARMICHAEL is now much less militant probably due to his marriage.

CARMICHAEL spoke of the role of SNCC in supporting the need for unity among black people and the need for better self-defense tactics. He said it was the responsibility of every Negro to obtain a gun to defend himself because it was obvious that the assassination of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. is evidence that the white race will eventually try to exterminate Negroes. He called the war in Viet Nam a system whereby the white were sending Negroes into combat to fight for the white people and that this was another method of race genocide. He called upon the Black people to resist military service and told them that they have the alternative of going to jail rather than to fight the war for the white race. He said a person going to jail will at least come out in one piece.

Although CARMICHAEL was not as militant as he has been in the past, he spoke of the need for Black people to "destroy the system," which was taken by source to mean the system of racism in the United States. Source pointed out that he did not understand CARMICHAEL to mean that the Negro should destroy the system of government or democracy in the United States. Source was also of the opinion that

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL BLACK ANTI-WAR
ANTI-DRAFT UNION
(NBAWADU)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CARMICHAEL's mild manner of speaking is losing him many militant followers.

A characterization of SNCC appears in the Appendix attached hereto.

After the speech by CARMICHAEL, the conference broke up into a number of workshops all held in the Ballroom area dealing with Black Resistance to the Draft, the Role of Black Women in the Liberation Struggle, How to Relate the Nature of the War to the Black Community, and High Schools and Colleges. These workshops continued through Saturday. [redacted]

[redacted] served as Chairman of the Workshop relating to women. [redacted] was the workshop leader on the nature of the war, and [redacted] and an assistant led the Draft resistance workshop.

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Source obtained several documents which were hastily printed and run off at SNCC Headquarters in New York City for distribution on the final day of the conference. One document is headed, "Workshop: High Schools and Colleges." A reproduction of this document is contained in this report. A second document is page two of a workshop report on "How to Relate the Nature of the War to the Black Community" and set forth the resolution agreed upon by the workshop to present to the assembly on the final day. A copy of this document is included in this report. A third document captioned, "Role of Women in the Liberation Struggle," which is a six-page report, was also obtained. A copy is included in instant report.

Source advised it was his impression that the workshop on the "Role of Women" was the best organized and most militant of the workshops. This is borne out by the type of report submitted by this group to the convention. The workshop on Draft resistance, led by [redacted] was, for the most part, a presentation of Draft

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NATIONAL BLACK ANTI-WAR
ANTI-DRAFT UNION
(NBAWADU)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

alternatives available to Selective Service registrants. Informant observed no effort on the part of workshop leaders to counsel Draft evasion or to go beyond the law but it was made clear to registrants what alternatives they might have.

There was distributed during this workshop a leaflet entitled "Hell No!" distributed by NBAWADU which outlined various deferments and alternatives open to registrants. A copy of this leaflet is attached as a part of this report.

The key speaker at the opening of the Saturday, April 13, 1968, session was [REDACTED] Source did not hear the opening part of this speech but recalled [REDACTED] urged Negroes to stop paying income taxes as a means of stopping the assistance the United States is rendering in the Viet Nam War.

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After the workshops on the afternoon of this date, a speech was given by [REDACTED] who tried to wrap up the work of the workshops. He talked generally about the role of Black people in opposing the Draft and the Viet Nam War.

The conference resumed again on Sunday, April 14, 1968, shortly after noon and various proposals coming from each workshop were presented to the convention. This portion of the meeting seemed to be confused and disorganized, and very little positive action was taken on any of the resolutions. One particular proposal dealing with Black resistance to the Draft concerned the contacting of former servicemen, setting up training camps for Black people, and guerrilla warfare was regarded as too radical and was greatly watered down before it was accepted by the conference.

Source also noted the most militant group at the conference was the Harlem Black Anti-Draft Union.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL BLACK ANTI-WAR
ANTI-DRAFT UNION
(NBAWADU)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

During the course of the convention, there were films from North Viet Nam which informant learned were furnished by "The Resistance" from New York City.

The conference ended at about 7:00 p.m. on April 14, 1968. There were no violent incidents which required any kind of police action during the course of the conference.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HIGH SCHOOLS:

I. ROTC in first year for most U.S. Boys

Educating the H.S. Community

A. Educational Gap in Black Community--

1. Go inside schools to counsel, don't ask them to come to you
2. Organization can begin over issues like Black History Courses
3. Train High School students as organizers for their own schools
 - a-Leaflets
 - b-Rallies
 - c-Speaking Engagements invited by some club at school
 - d-Debate between an NBAWADU student and a teacher
 - e-Felix Greene, Charles Douglass, have books on Vietnam
4. A bibliography of anti war, anti-draft books, etc.

Organizational Procedures for People---

1. Propaganda- to mobilize a community (the largest body therein)
Education-pick key people and train on subject
Organization-Structure group of people and move out.
2. Should we separate racial question from draft? NO!! The exact way it's used is a tactical question
3. The "group" must react on and deal with everything in school.

COLLEGES:

1. Relationship between students and DRAFT
2. Relationship between students and ROTC
3. Relationship between students and community, in dealing with the Draft.

The question isn't students relating to draft: they acknowledge it -it's a question of dealing with the community, etc.

A. ROTC - Must be wiped out

B. Making graduates relate to the community--

1. In all black schools
2. In integrated, northern schools

Students must be made to acknowledge that they come from the Black Community.

What is our relationship to the negative aspects of Black College Life/ Fraternities....

HIGH SCHOOL AND COLLEGE:

- A. Lack of campus-community relationship
- B. Colleges must be organized before kids can deal with the community
- C. How a resister should deal with his parents
- D. Different approaches for campuses of different natures
- E. Legal Rights of High Schools Students
- F. Information exchange between HS and Colleges
- G. ROTC program

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

- b) Tell them it is ungodly
4. Relate the War to the black community
 - a) They are making it easier for us to get killed.
5. Total commitment is not logical now
 - a) We have to get organized
6. Reconstruct the system in the black community
7. Constantly remind the black people that they are niggers and subserviant people.
8. Remind the people that their children are going to school to learn lies.
9. Address yourself to the needs of the people - talk Vietnam on their level, how it effects them personally.
10. Find the interest of the Black Community
 - a) The people will be more willing to work with you
11. Be in the streets but BE ORGANIZED
12. Use the newspapers to write about Vietnam
13. Suggest people should make trips around the world
 - a) Raise money for folks to go
14. Talk to people that have made trips to Asia and Africa

RESOLVED:

That the interest of Black African-Americans requires strong independent colored nations in Africa and Asia for our own protection and survival; That is the Black man's stake in Vietnam and in the Third World, What we have in common with colored nations elsewhere is the need to over throw white supremacy whether in Vietnam, South Africa or Newark, New Jersey.

The above was not voted upon but it was the general consensus of the workshop.

Workshop Leader --- Phil Betching

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Black women must play a definite role in the liberation struggle. Women are the ones who set the value system for the society and most important of all they help shape and status of our black brothers. If sisters make it a thing to praise the soldier with the uniform, then the brothers will wear the uniform; however if sisters move to the position that brothers must join the liberation army, then the brothers will move to do that. It is also important for black women to gather the will, return to our heritage and culture, go on back home, and then unveil for our people, unveil for the revolution. To help develop this attitude, to develop a revolutionary outlook for women, these references may be helpful:

Vietnamese Women--(Vietnam Studies)
 KUNHASABA HANOI
 32 Hai Ba Trung--Hanoi--Vietnam
 Red Women's Detachment (Army)--The People's China
 Lenin and the Women Question--Clara Zetkin
 Guerrilla and Counter Guerrilla--William Pomeroy
 A Dying Colonialism--Frans Fanon

Program #1:

Survival Kits:

I. There should be a list of medical supplies which should be in all homes, not only for rebellion periods, but also for everyday living because the system is now trying to close in on the black community at every opportunity. We must at all times have emergency supplies in the home...aspirins, bandages, alcohol, ect.

II. Efforts should be made to contact black doctors to deal with this question, and if they should refuse we should move to boycott, "ice" these doctors. We need to move to learn how to remove bullets from the less sensitive parts of the body and the need of midwife techniques.

III. A group of women can ask the red cross to come into the community to have classes on simple first-aid techniques.

IV. GI's and black nurses who have been in Vietnam should have a responsibility to the black community. Efforts should be made to contact them.

V. The need to store large quantities of can goods, powdered milk, and food supplies. Where to store such goods is at the discretion of the sisters and brothers for safety reasons.

VI. Begin to check what medical supplies and medicines are in the local drug store. Ask doctors if you may have the samples they get free. Sisters must wage a propaganda campaign in terms of black people survival. Every day in the black community they should read leaflets, literature on the necessity of first aid for survival. We must saturate the community with this propaganda so when the shit hits the fan black people will realize the need for getting medical supplies when they get the colored TV. Our responsibility should also be in how do we STORE these supplies. Individual communities or persons, will have to make that decision.

Program #E

Communications: We must move to be of the people. We must move to do effectively grassroots organizing in the urban community. A BLACK PHONE** In each community a phone with a tape can be installed which can tell all people who call the times, dates, and nature of events in the black community. This should be done in every black community. We must strengthen the grapevine in our community. Certain people should be responsible for passing on information via phone or mouth. We must perfect this great asset.

Home and Family Life: Program #3

WALL of RESPECT in every home, especially homes with children. Black people doing things, photographs, newspaper clippings, ect. and children should be educated around this. Children should be entertained by black events (Black Phone will do the communication of these events.) Because we have not been able to build schools, children on Saturdays should be gathered to have lessons on and in blackness. Those mothers who are moving in the revolution stage should write a handbook for mass dissemination on: "How To Raise Black Children"

Program #4--Dope:

We must move to picket and use other means to awaken the community about

the dope and our children. There must be a concerted effort to deal with dope pushers in our community and with dope owners at city hall.

Education and Culture. Program #5

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

I. When black college students return home for the summer they should be mandated to hold classes (that is, if they have a proper perspective) for the young people.

II. Quan Mother Moore has donated her land in the Catskills to black children. We will organize young children (3+ on up) from across the country to visit the Mountain. (We must map out a program for culture, ect. for the children. This should happen every year when school is out: Black Children's Camp. A sub-committee will work out the details.

Program #6 Organizing other women:

We must move from the "cliche" stage of the movement. Our whole lives and social life must be within the framework of the revolution. Sisters must even at risks talk to people at the laundry mats, in the grocery stores, ect. We can organize sewing classes for older ladies and educated within that framework.

We must learn to be patient with those who do not yet understand. We must at all times show love for the misguided brother or sister, but refuse to deal with those when it may not result into something meaningful.

Vietnam and the Drafts Program #7

We must move from being against the racist, aggressive war in Vietnam by the U.S. to a position of supporting a victory for the National Liberation Front. Sisters who have dedicated themselves for the making of the revolution must at all times move in the black community and where there are brothers in army suits or police suits they should exclaim: SHAME! SHAME! SHAME! or the like. This may have repercussions, but in the long run it will serve as a propaganda tool.

Families who have lost sons in the war, sisters should go to the family for a visit. Help out in any way possible and at the same time talk to them about why their sons were killed. Our complete lives are political, even our deaths. At funerals for the brothers who have died we should attend, and quietly give out

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

propaganda around their political deaths.

Mothers should go to the draft boards and tell the registrars that they

are responsible for their sons, and it will be irresponsible to send them off to

to death for nothing. Mothers can disrupt the draft boards on many levels. (In-

ciat that they will be drafted in their sons' places, etc.)

Sisters must move to provide refuge for the brothers who are on the run.

We must open up our homes for them when the man is after them. We must organize

how brothers can be rotated from one place to another. We must have

events for money for the brothers to help defray legal expenses (fashion shows)

We need to get next to the sisters who are in the armed forces or who are in

in the red cross in Vietnam. We have talked too much about the brother who is

a soldier and have not criticized the sister who is doing the same thing in Viet-

nam.

Sisters must begin to take classes for draft counselling. Mothers must

also take classes in draft counselling, and then move to counsel our brothers

who do not want to go into the army. This can be educational propaganda.

Program #8: Self-Defense, Armed Struggle

Sisters must understand that the system is also their enemy. We must move

to support our men on all levels to fight the enemy. We must have mass propa-

ganda in the black community about the need for self-defense, so again when the

shit hit the fans important items will be liberated and properly confiscated.

Again, we must have an understanding of how and where we store guns. This can

not be discussed here, but each community must deal with this problem.

Sisters must attend classes on judo, karate, with the realization that this

may not work in all cases when the man has a .38 revolver; however, for some

poses this knowledge is necessary. We must also learn archery (bow and arrow)

within a revolutionary framework. We must move to get information on the gun

laws in every city and state and get information from the National Rifle Associa-

tion. Sisters must realize that they will ultimately be engaged in the armed

struggle, and if they are not prepared to do so, then they must be prepared to

get the ammunition.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Sisters must attend court sessions for brothers to strengthen moral help. We must also raise money to have with the defense. We also must begin to move and demonstrate around the country when brothers are locked up for struggling for black people's demonstration. We must have effective propaganda for great dissemination so that we can raise the level of consciousness to our people. We must move to allow them to feel the jailing of Rap, Herman Ferguson, Max Stanford, etc. We must through propaganda make our people respond to deaths and probability of deaths as with the cases of Huey Newton, Bobby Hutton, and other brothers.

Program # 2: Sterilization, Birth Control Pills, Genocide

The sterilization program carried on by the U.S. is a political decision to exterminate the world or those people who refuse to fall in line with a racist, aggressive policy. It is indeed a fact of genocide on the colored peoples of the world. The birth control pill was not discussed but it was mandated that brothers and sisters on local fully discuss the pill, and at the same time talk about the redefining of values of love, of life, of togetherness.

These programs are long-ranged programs which will take detail organization. Sub-committees have been set up to deal with the details on some of these programs. This means that each program in its final form will be an elaborated report for propaganda purposes for mass distribution. Each community is mandated to take on these programs and implement these programs within the context of their community. This is for the purpose of decentralization. Each community will send to the National Office a report of the actions from the programs and the National Office will in turn correlate this information for mass dissemination and for mass communication. 12-

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1968
NBAWADU National Conference, April 12-14, 1968 in New York City

Workshop: ROLE OF BLACK WOMEN IN THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE

1. Carolyn Anderson - 412 West 147th St., New York, N.Y.
2. Pat Haynes - 385 East 85th St., New York, N.Y.
3. Chere Kinari - 112-22 Francis Lewis Blvd., Hollis, N.Y.
4. Barbara Key - 143 Belmont St., Englewood, N. Jersey 07631
5. Constance Lacey - 635 East 5th Street #4B, New York, N.Y.
6. Doris Hall - 2309 Harlem Avenue, Baltimore, Md. 21216
7. Karen House - 2515 13th St. NW, #404, Washington, D.C. 20009
8. Alberto Grove - 1323 Clifton St., N.W. #24, Washington, D.C. 20009
9. Dorothy Hamister - 1305 Amsterdam Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10027
10. Antoinette Reid - 2593 Aqueduct Rd., Schenectady, N.Y. 12309
11. Dorine Keith - Swathmore College, Swathmore, Penn. 19081
12. Jeanette Domingo - Swathmore College, Swathmore, Penn. 19081
13. Lawry P. Watts - Robinson Hall, Cheyney State College, Cheyney, Pa. Box 2
14. Brenda Tyson - 138 East 91st Street, Brooklyn, N.Y.
15. Deborah Jay - 2424 North 32nd St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19132
16. Marge Jennings - 153 Avenue C, New York, N.Y. 10004
17. Lynette Jones - 69 Eldert Street, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11207
18. Charlotte Orange - 9 Second Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10003
19. Sandra Hudson - 2424 N. 32nd Street, Phila, Pa. 19132
20. Veda Wilson - 2424 N. 32nd Street, Phila, Pa. 19132
21. Dolores Costello - 268 East 4th Street, New York, N.Y.
22. Mae Jackson - 100 Fifth Avenue, Suite 803, New York, N.Y.
23. Charlene Williams - 537 N. Kentucky, Atlantic City, N. Jersey
24. Evelyn Thompson - 91 Bay State Road, Boston University, Boston, Mass.
25. Aundrea White - Swathmore College, Swathmore, Pa.
26. Bettye Carter - 215 Orange Road, Montclair, N. Jersey
27. Margie Harris - 31-84 51st Street, Woodside, N.Y.
28. Charlotte Dickerson - 524 East 12th Street, New York, N.Y. 10009
29. Mary K. Dalany - 70 LaSalle Street, New York, N.Y. 10027
30. Mattie Mangrum - 110 Dartmouth Street, Boston, Mass.
31. Sondra Oglesby - 530 Bridgeview Road, Baltimore, Md. 21225
32. Mary Jane Barthwell - 616 West 116th Street, New York, N.Y. 10027
33. Grace C. Gary - 225 West 127th Street, New York, N.Y. 10027
34. Judith Bailey - 104-34 199th Street, Hollis, N.Y. 11422
35. Flora Hall - 26 Walden Street, Apt. 68, Jamaica Plain, Mass. 02138
36. Jackie Phillips - 110 Dartmouth Street, Boston, Mass. 02116
37. Gayleatha Brown - 307 Truth Hall - Howard Univer., Washington, D.C. 20001
38. Jean Phillips - 1694 Eastern Pkwy., Brooklyn, N.Y. 11213
39. Fran Beal - 110-19 Francis Lewis Blvd., Hollis, N.Y. 11422

to the context of the programs and implementation of these programs within the community. This is for the purpose of decentralization. Each community will send to the National Office a report of the actions from the programs and the National Office will in turn correlate this information for mass dissemination.

We of NBAWADU feel that the draft is unjust because it binds the individual to action which may be contrary to his personal beliefs. Many American men are being drafted and forced to die and kill in unjust wars. Therefore we are making available all the information we have on draft alternatives in the hope that draft age men may benefit. Our fight is at home.

Although we will counsel you on any of the alternatives, the final decision rests with you.

For counseling or information on the draft Please write or call:

NATIONAL BLACK ANTI-WAR

ANTI-DRAFT UNION

100-5th Avenue

Room 803

New York, New York

YU 9-1313

CONFIDENTIAL

OUR
FIGHT
IS
AT
HOME

HELL NO!

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NATIONAL BLACK ANTI-WAR
ANTI-DRAFT UNION

SOME ALTERNATIVES

ALWAYS REMEMBER

1. Before choosing a course of action seek expert draft counseling. Do not substitute neighborhood hear-say for valid information.
2. Never wait until the last minute to take action on your draft situation. The sooner you plan a course of action the more secure your plans.
3. Do not forget about the draft because it will not forget about you. Think of the draft as a reality in your life. You have as much right to plan your future as the draft board does. Remember there are alternatives to the draft.
4. Never assume you cannot be helped without receiving expert counseling.

1. You have the right to appeal the loss of any classification (2-S, 1-S, 1-Y etc.)
2. Conscientious objection (C.O.) classification. Being a C.O. means you feel that war is wrong. Do not believe gossip about the C.O. position; contrary to popular belief the C.O. deferment is open to both religious and non-religious.
3. There are 13 legal deferments to the draft - do not assume without having the benefit of draft counseling that you do not qualify for one or more of these deferments.
4. Hundreds of men refused induction into the armed forces last year - you should know the legal status and legal defenses of induction refusal.

SELECTIVE SERVICE

DEFERMENTS

- 1.) 1-A-O available for noncombatant duty only.
- 2.) 1-O-C.O. available for civilian work only
- 3.) 1-S - Deferred to end of school year.
- 4.) 1-Y - Physical or Mental Deferment.
- 5.) IIA - Occupational Deferment.
- 6.) IIC - Agricultural Deferment.
- 7.) IIS - Student Deferment.
- 8.) IIIA - Deferred because of dependents.
- 9.) IIB - Officials deferred by law.
- 10.) IVC - Alien deferment.
- 11.) IVD - Minister or Ministerial Student.
- 12.) IVF - Not qualified for any service.
- 13.) V-A - Overage.

NATIONAL BLACK ANTI-WAR
ANTI-DRAFT UNION
(NBAWADU)

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APPENDIX

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Literature distributed by the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, describes itself as not being a membership organization but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements. SNCC was born out of the sit-in movement which erupted across the South beginning on February 1, 1960. A conference at Raleigh, North Carolina, that spring brought together many of the demonstrating Southern students in a loose network of militant youth which was officially named SNCC in October, 1960.

A source has advised that in May, 1966, STOKELY CARMICHAEL was elected National Chairman by the Central Committee. In May, 1967, CARMICHAEL was replaced as Chairman by H. RAP BROWN with CARMICHAEL assuming the position of Recruiter and Organizer for SNCC. In August, 1967, at the invitation of FIDEL CASTRO, CARMICHAEL participated in the Organization of Latin America Solidarity Conference which was held in Havana, Cuba. Subsequent thereto, CARMICHAEL traveled to Hanoi and other sections of North Viet Nam. He returned to the United States in December, 1967, at which time his passport was picked up because of travel to unauthorized countries.

A source advised when CARMICHAEL was elected Chairman of SNCC, the organization embarked on a program of eliminating Caucasians from its ranks. With the election of H. RAP BROWN as Chairman in 1967, it embarked on a world-wide struggle for human rights and to take a firm stand against violations of these rights by the American Government and to strengthen its programs of opposition to the Draft and United States involvement in Viet Nam.

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ANTI-DRAFT UNION
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APPENDIX

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING
COMMITTEE (Cont'd)

Literature distributed in February, 1968, identified SNCC as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates to be successful, it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

On August 13, 1967, while addressing a group in the Watts Area of Los Angeles, California, H. RAP BROWN said, "You better shape up America, or we'll burn you down." Later in February, 1968, in a publicized note BROWN wrote, "America, it if takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you and to organize your jails to revolt against you and to organize your children, your God, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here's my life."

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NATIONAL BLACK ANTI-WAR
ANTI-DRAFT UNION
(NBAWADU)

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

MAY 10 1968

TELETYPE

REC 5

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

FBI WASH DC*

FBI SPRNGFLD

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DATE 06-12-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

440PM URGENT 5/10/68 MAL

TO DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080) AND WFO (100-43503)
FROM SPRINGFIELD (100-10697)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS - M; SEDITION, OO: WFO.

RE SI TEL TO BUREAU MAY NINE SIXTYEIGHT, CAPTIONED
"STUDENT UNREST, SOUTHERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY, CARBONDALE,
ILLINOIS, MAY EIGHT SIXTYEIGHT, INFORMATION CONCERNING."

BUREAU HAS BEEN ADVISED IN THE ABOVE CAPTION AND
BY OTHER COMMUNICATIONS CONCERNING UNREST AT SOUTHERN
ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY, CARBONDALE, ILLINOIS.

FOR INFORMATION OF WFO, THE UNREST AMONG A SMALL
MAJORITY OF WHITE PROTESTORS AND NEGRO STUDENTS AT SIU DURING
THE PAST WEEK HAS BEEN SPONSORED BY A GROUP KNOWN AS "COALITION
REFORM," WHICH DESIRES TO TAKE OVER UNIVERSITY, ANOTHER GROUP
CALLING ITSELF SOUTHERN ILLINOIS PEACE COMMITTEE ON APRIL
TWENTYSEVEN SIXTYEIGHT STAGED PROTEST MARCH ON VIET NAM
ON MAY SEVEN, A BOMB WAS EXPLODED IN THE AGRICULTURE BUILDING
CAUSING OVER FIFTY THOUSAND DOLLARS DAMAGES AND ON MAY EIGHT,

END PAGE
85 MAY 21 1968
TELETYPED TO:
WFO

REC 5 100-446080-1558
MAY 15 1968

PAGE TWO

SIXTYEIGHT, UNIVERSITY POLICE QUELLED AN ATTEMPTED SIT-IN IN PRESIDENTS OFFICE FOLLOWING DAMAGE TO BUILDING BY STUDENTS RESULTING IN SEVERAL STUDENTS BEING EXPELLED AND OTHERS CHARGED WITH DISORDERLY CONDUCT. AN UNCOOPERATIVE STUDENT SENATE FIGHTING ADMINISTRATION VOTED TO INVITE CARMICHAEL TO SPEAK ON THE CAMPUS MAY NINETEEN SIXTYEIGHT, HOWEVER, DUE TO PAST WEEK'S UNREST, UNIVERSITY OFFICIALS REFUSED TO PERMIT CARMICHAEL TO APPEAR.

[REDACTED] SOUTHERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY SECURITY DEPARTMENT, REPORTED TODAY THAT UNFOUNDED RUMORS PERSIST THAT CARMICHAEL MAY APPEAR AT SIU IN DEFIANCE OF UNIVERSITY POLICY. THE APPEARANCE OF CARMICHAEL WOULD MATERIALLY CHANGE THE RELATIVELY QUIET WHICH NOW HAS BEEN ACHIEVED ON THE CAMPUS ACCORDING TO [REDACTED] AND THEREFORE, WFO IS REQUESTED TO ADVISE WHETHER OR NOT ANY INFORMATION HAS COME TO THEIR ATTENTION INDICATING TRAVEL BY CARMICHAEL TO CARBONDALE, ILLINOIS. WFO SHOULD ADVISE IMMEDIATELY IF

END PAGE TWO

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b7C

PAGE THREE

INFORMATION DEVELOPS ALONG THIS LINE IN ORDER THAT AUTHORITIES
IN CARBONDALE, ILLINOIS AND SIU CAN BE ALERTED FOR POSSIBLE
TROUBLE.

SI WILL FOLLOW. P.

END

LCC

FBI WASH DC*

P

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May 13, 1968

Airtel

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Bishop
1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
1 - [REDACTED]

b6
b7C

To: SAC, WFO (100-41626) (100-43503)
From: Director, FBI (100-439190) (100-446080)

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)
RACIAL MATTERS - SNCC
SEDITION

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS - SNCC
SEDITION

Bureau authority is granted to [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] as an
observation post in connection with your coverage of
Stokely Carmichael and Washington, D. C., SNCC activities.

You must personally insure that this observation
post is effected with full security. You must also make
certain [REDACTED] fully understands the need to
keep this matter strictly confidential.

1 - M. F. Row (6221 IB)

b6
b7C

PTB:ekw
(11)

NOTE: See memorandum G. C. Moore to W. C. Sullivan,
dated 5/10/68, captioned as above, prepared by PTB:ekw.

DUPLICATE YELLOW

ORIGINAL FILED IN

57 MAY 21 1968

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-12-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

5/7/68

AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, WFO

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM - SEDITION; MISCELLANEOUS
(Bufile 100-446080)
(WFO 100-43503)

SNCC
RM - SNCC
(Bufile 100-439190)
(WFO 100-41626)

In connection with the coverage of captioned matters,
WFO has been conducting a continuing survey to locate an
observation point [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] As the Bureau
is aware, SNCC is in the heart of the ghetto area. [REDACTED]

b2
b6
b7C
b7E

b2
b7E

4 - Bureau
2 - WFO
CJJ:teb
(6)

100-446080-
NOT RECORDED
170 MAY 16 1968

ORIGINAL FILED IN

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60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

SAC, WFO (100-43503)

5/13/68

REC-69
Director, FBI (100-446080) -1559

1 -
1 -

b6
b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS - STUDENT NONVIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)
SEDITION

On 5/2/68, [redacted] former Special Agent,
now employed as [redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

[redacted] advised Inspector [redacted] at the Bureau that
he had received the following information from an informant.

[redacted]
[redacted] in a plan to ship rifles to
Chicago where they will be secretly stored for an impending
riot in that area. [redacted] is shipping the rifles. He has an
arrest record in [redacted] reportedly for
[redacted]

b2
b6
b7C
b7D

Based on available identifying data a review of
Bureau files indicates that one [redacted]
[redacted]

WFO promptly endeavor to determine whether or
not there is any individual by the name of [redacted] who
is currently associated with Stokely Carmichael and whether
there is any validity to the information furnished by [redacted]
informant.

b6
b7C
b7D

Chicago should contact informants and sources
regarding knowledge of any rifles being shipped to Chicago
and secretly stored for an impending riot in that area.

2 - Chicago

PTB:cng
(7)

MAILED 23
MAY 14 1968
COMM-FBI

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Base 1006 D St

4 MAY 15 1968

ge

9 m
RIS

Letter to SAC, WFO
RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
100-446080

Receipient offices should be alert to the fact that it is a violation under the Federal Firearms Act for any individual who is under indictment or who has been convicted of a crime punishable by imprisonment for a term exceeding one year to transport or cause to be shipped or transported in interstate or foreign commerce any firearm or ammunition. Receipient offices should also be alert to the possibility that if there is any validity to this allegation such rifles could be stolen from the Government thereby creating a possible violation of the Theft of Government Property Statute.

Pertinent information developed should be promptly submitted in a form suitable for dissemination.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-12-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/BL

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

TO : Mr. Mohr

DATE: May 2, 1968

FROM : J. J. Casper

SUBJECT: [REDACTED]

RIOTS [REDACTED]

The following information was received on 5/2/68 by
Inspector [REDACTED] from [REDACTED] former Bureau Agent,
now employed as [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] said he received
the information from an informant.

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] in a plan to ship rifles to Chicago where they will be
secretly stored for an impending riot in that area [REDACTED] is shipping the
rifles. He has an arrest record in [REDACTED] reportedly
for [REDACTED]

RECOMMENDATION:

For such action as seems appropriate.

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. Gale
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan

BJD/pal

SEE ADDENDUM - GENERAL
INVESTIGATIVE DIVISION - PAGE 2

REC-69/50-446080-1559

4 MAY 15 1968

Let to SAC, WFO
5/13/68

Memorandum to Mr. Mohr

Re:

b6
b7C

ADDENDUM: GENERAL INVESTIGATIVE DIVISION: RIS:hcs, 5-3-68:

Based upon the information furnished, there appears to be no Federal violation over which we have jurisdiction. It should be noted, however, that it is a violation under the Federal Firearms Act for any individual who is under indictment or who has been convicted of a crime punishable by imprisonment for a term exceeding one year to transport or cause to be shipped or transported in interstate or foreign commerce any firearm or ammunition.

The Domestic Intelligence Division in connection with its investigation of Carmichael should keep this statute in mind with a view toward possibly developing a violation provided the facts can be substantiated. It is also possible that such rifles could be stolen from the Government, thereby creating a possible violation of the Theft of Government Property Statute.



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-12-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

VIA TELETYPE
MAY 7 1968
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson_____
Mr. DeLoach_____
Mr. Mohr_____
Mr. Bishop_____
Mr. Casper_____
Mr. Callahan_____
Mr. Conrad_____
Mr. Felt_____
Mr. Gale_____
Mr. Rosen_____
Mr. Sullivan_____
Mr. Tavel_____
Mr. Trotter_____
Tele. Room_____
Miss Holmes_____
Miss Gandy_____

R38

URGENT 5-7-68

TO DIRECTOR AND WASHINGTON FIELD
FROM JACKSONVILLE

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; IS-M; SEDITION OO: WFO.

CONCERNING VISIT OF STOKELY CARMICHAEL TO GAINESVILLE, FLORIDA,
SOME TIME THIS WEEK, ALL SOURCES, [REDACTED] INCLUDING
BUREAU, [REDACTED] WHO HAVE MADE
CONTACT WITH PROMOTERS OF CARMICHAEL VISIT, ADVISE NO DETAILS ARE
BEING RELEASED CONCERNING CARMICHAEL'S ITINERARY OR PLANS IN
GAINESVILLE AFTER ARRIVAL. NO PARADE PERMITS HAVE BEEN REQUESTED;
NO SPEECH LOCATION REQUESTED OR ANNOUNCED AT THIS TIME.

[REDACTED] ALL MILITANT
BLACK POWER ADVOCATES, ARE STILL IN CUSTODY ALACHUA COUNTY JAIL,
GAINESVILLE, FLORIDA.

NEGRO MALE, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] IS IN CUSTODY IN LIEU OF FIVE THOUSAND DOLLAR
BOND ON CHARGE OF INCITING A RIOT IN GAINESVILLE, APRIL SIX LAST.

NEGRO MALE, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] IS IN CUSTODY IN LIEU OF BONDS
TOTALING SEVEN THOUSAND FIVE HUNDRED DOLLARS ON CHARGES OF INCITING
A RIOT IN GAINESVILLE, FLORIDA, APRIL SIX LAST AND IS ALSO UNDER

51 MAY 21 1968
END PAGE ONE
TWO COPIES TO WFO

cc - Train

b6
b7C

REC 5 100-4461-1560
MAY 15 1968

PAGE TWO

CONVICTION APPEAL FROM ST. PETERSBURG, FLORIDA, ON GRAND LARCENY CHARGE ARISING OUT OF RACIAL INCIDENT, ST. PETERSBURG.

[REDACTED] NEGRO MALE, [REDACTED]

b6
b7C

[REDACTED] IN CUSTODY IN LIEU OF SEVEN THOUSAND FIVE HUNDRED DOLLAR BOND ON ARSON CHARGE RESULTING FROM RACIAL DISTURBANCE, GAINESVILLE, FLORIDA.

SYMPATHIZERS OF ABOVE PERSONS ARE THE PROMOTERS OF THIS CARMICHAEL VISIT. GAINESVILLE, FLORIDA, [REDACTED] REPORTS PURPOSE OF CARMICHAEL'S VISIT IS TO RAISE BOND MONEY FOR THESE THREE PRISONERS.

ADMINISTRATIVE.

REBUTEL MAY SIX LAST.

COVERAGE OF ABOVE VISIT OF CARMICHAEL AND ANY SPEECHES WHICH MAY RESULT BEING PROVIDED BY [REDACTED]

b6
b7C
b7D

[REDACTED] OF KNOWN RELIABILITY WHO HAS PREVIOUSLY FURNISHED

[REDACTED] SPEECHES BY [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] OF KNOWN RELIABILITY.

SPECIAL AGENT PERSONNEL WILL FURTHER AFFORD PERSONAL COVERAGE.

RECEIVED: 4:39 PM JDR

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-12-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

MAY 9 1968

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

FBI WASH DC*

FBI JACKSVLE

9:53 PM EDT URGENT 5/9/68 JLC

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080) AND WASHINGTON FIELD (100-43503)
FROM JACKSONVILLE (100-870) 2P

STOKELY CARMICHAEL. IS-M; (SEDITION). OO: WFO.

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] ADVISED MAY NINE SIXTYEIGHT THAT
STOKELY CARMICHAEL IS DEFINITELY COMING TO GAINESVILLE, FLORIDA
SOMETIME BETWEEN MAY ELEVEN AND FOURTEEN SIXTYEIGHT. HE ADVISED
THAT CARMICHAEL IS SUPPOSED TO GIVE A SPEECH AT ONE OF THE
COMMUNITY CHURCHES, NAME OF CHURCH UNKNOWN TO [REDACTED]
ADVISED THAT [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] IS IN CHARGE OF THE ARRANGEMENTS FOR CARMICHAEL IN
GAINESVILLE.

REC-25

SI-116

A SOURCE WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST
ADVISED ON MAY NINE SIXTYEIGHT THAT CARMICHAEL IS SUPPOSED TO
ATTEND A DANCE, A RALLY AND A BARBECUE WHILE IN GAINESVILLE, AS
WELL AS GIVE A SPEECH AT AN UNKNOWN CHURCH. SOURCE ADVISED THAT
PLANS ARE NOT FOR CARMICHAEL TO SPEAK ON THE UNIVERSITY CAMPUS.

END PAGE ONE

TELETYPE TO:

INCLUDED IN SUMMARY

51 MAY 21 1968

W.H. & A.G. 5/10/68

b6
b7C
b7D

1561

MAY 15 1968

5/11

PAGE TWO

b6
b7C

[REDACTED]
ADVISED MAY NINE SIXTYEIGHT HE RECEIVED INFORMATION THAT [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] MADE A NEWS RELEASE TO ASSOCIATED PRESS IN MIAMI ON MAY NINE SIXTYEIGHT THAT CARMICHAEL WOULD BE IN GAINESVILLE TO RAISE BAIL MONEY AND "TO HELP THE BLACK COMMUNITY IN ANY OTHER WAY."

[REDACTED] ADVISED THAT THE CITY OF GAINESVILLE IS HAVING A BARBECUE FOR THE NEGRO CITY EMPLOYEES ON THE NIGHT OF MAY TEN SIXTYEIGHT.

[REDACTED] ALSO ADVISED THAT A DANCE HAS BEEN SCHEDULED TO BE HELD ON NIGHT OF MAY ELEVEN SIXTYEIGHT AT THE VILLAGE GATE, A NEGRO NIGHT CLUB IN GAINESVILLE. [REDACTED] ADVISED THAT INFORMATION HE RECEIVED IS THAT THIS DANCE IS TO RAISE BAIL MONEY.

ADMINISTRATIVE

RE PRIOR COMMUNICATIONS CONCERNING VISIT OF CARMICHAEL TO GAINESVILLE, FLA., WEEKEND MAY ELEVEN NEXT.

SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

b6
b7C
b7D

[REDACTED] WHO OBTAINED INFORMATION FROM A MEMBER OF THE [REDACTED]

SECRET SERVICE, JACKSONVILLE AND MI, GAINESVILLE ADVISED. THIS MATTER BEING CLOSELY FOLLOWED AND THE BUREAU AND WFO WILL BE KEPT ADVISED.

END

CAB

FBI WASH DC*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-12-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

F B I

Date: 5/10/68

Transmit the following in **PLAINTEXT**
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via **TELETYPE** **URGENT**
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI AND SAC SPRINGFIELD

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; IS - M; SEDITION.

RE SPRINGFIELD TEL MAY TEN INSTANT.

WFO SOURCES HAVE REPORTED NO INFORMATION SUBJECT PLANS
TO VISIT SOUTHERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY. P

Handwritten: 5- B/AS her
S/ATK
(1000)

Stamp: REC-59 100-446080-1562

- ② - Bureau
- 2 - Teletype Unit
- 2 - WFO

10 MAY 15 1968

WWH:tab
(6)

Approved: *[Signature]*
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-12-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 5/10/68

We have previously furnished Alcohol and Tobacco Tax Division information regarding

[redacted]
displaying a broken-down machine gun and carrying case in Alabama. Carmichael is renting a car for travel to Florida this weekend. However, it is not known that [redacted]

[redacted] is traveling with him on this trip. Atlanta and Washington Field are attempting to determine [redacted] plans and will keep Jacksonville advised.

Should [redacted] travel with Carmichael with the black bag mentioned herein, it is believed that we should comply with the request of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Tax Unit with respect to having Agents act as observers at scene of the confrontation.

TDR:lrb

pd
4a
D

WCS/
msh

b6
b7C

VIA TELETYPE

MAY 9 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson ✓
Mr. DeLoach ✓
Mr. Mohr ✓
Mr. Bishop ✓
Mr. Casper ✓
Mr. Callahan ✓
Mr. Conrad ✓
Mr. Felt ✓
Mr. Gale ✓
Mr. Rosen ✓
Mr. Sullivan ✓
Mr. Tavel ✓
Mr. Trotter ✓
Tele. Room ✓
Miss Holmes ✓
Miss Gandy ✓

9:07 PM EDT URGENT 5-9-68 JLC
TO DIRECTOR AND WASHINGTON FIELD
FROM JACKSONVILLE

INTERNAL SECURITY - Miscellaneous
STOKELY CARMICHAEL IS-M; (SEDITION) OFFICE OF ORIGIN: WFO.

RE PRIOR COMMUNICATIONS CONCERNING VISIT OF CARMICHAEL TO
GAINESVILLE, FLORIDA, WEEKEND MAY ELEVEN NEXT AND JACKSONVILLE
CALL TO THE BUREAU THIS DATE.

[REDACTED] AGENT IN CHARGE, JACKSONVILLE OFFICE OF
ALCOHOL AND TOBACCO TAX DIVISION
~~ALCOHOL, TOBACCO AND TAX DIVISION~~, U.S. TREASURY, CONTACTED THIS
OFFICE THIS AFTERNOON TO SEEK OUR ASSISTANCE AND HELP IN FURNISHING
ATTU INFORMATION REGARDING CONTEMPLATED TRIP OF CARMICHAEL TO
GAINESVILLE, FLA. HE FURTHER INQUIRED AS TO ANY ADDITIONAL
INFORMATION THIS OFFICE MIGHT HAVE CONCERNING "THE GUN MATTER."
HE WAS ASKED WHAT HE WAS REFERRING TO AND HE ADVISED HE HAD BEEN
INFORMED BY HIS REGIONAL OFFICE, ATLANTA, GA., THAT CARMICHAEL
IN HIS TRAVELS IS ACCOMPANIED BY ONE [REDACTED] AND PURSUANT
CARMICHAEL'S INSTRUCTIONS, [REDACTED] CARRIES A "BLACK BAG" WHICH
CONTAINS A "BROKEN DOWN" MACHINE GUN.

TWO COPIES TO WFO

INCLUDED SUMMARY W.H. 4A

MR. DELOACH FOR THE DIRECTOR

33 MAY 21 1968

PAGE TWO

THE INFORMATION AVAILABLE TO [] IS EXTREMELY DETAILED
RELATIVE TO THE DESCRIPTION OF THE BLACK BAG EVEN TO EXACT
DIMENSIONS OF HEIGHT, WIDTH AND DEPTH, NUMBER OF STRAPS, ETC.

b6
b7C

[] ADVISED HE HAS BEEN IN CONTACT WITH THE ATTU REGIONAL
COUNSEL AND ^{U.S. ATTORNEY NORTHERN DISTRICT FLORIDA} ~~USA~~, ~~NDF~~, TALLAHASSEE, AND THEY ARE BOTH IN AGREEMENT
THAT IF [] AND CARMICHAEL ARRIVE IN FLORIDA WITH THE "BLACK
BAG" AS DESCRIBED THE ATTU AGENTS SHOULD INTERCEPT THEM, SEARCH
THE BAG AND IF THE AUTOMATIC WEAPON IS FOUND, MAKE AN ON-THE-SCENE
ARREST OF CARMICHAEL AND [] FOR VIOLATION OF NATIONAL FIREARMS
ACT.

[] SPECIFICALLY REQUESTED IN VIEW OF THE BACKGROUND OF
CARMICHAEL AND [] THAT FBI AGENTS BE READILY AVAILABLE AT
SUCH CONFRONTATION SO IF [] AND OR CARMICHAEL ATTEMPTED
ANY ASSAULT ON THE ATTU AGENTS THE FBI COULD IMMEDIATELY ARREST
BOTH INDIVIDUALS ON A CHARGE OF ASSAULTING A FEDERAL OFFICER.

[] STATED INFORMATION IN POSSESSION OF ATTU AND WHICH IS THE
BASIS FOR THEIR CONTEMPLATED SEARCH AND POSSIBLE ARREST IS
INFORMATION FURNISHED BY "THE FBI IN WASHINGTON, D.C."

PAGE THREE

AT PRESENT WFO IS FURNISHING INFORMATION CONCERNING ACTIONS OF CARMICHAEL IN WASHINGTON AREA. IT IS REQUESTED WFO MAINTAIN CLOSE SURVEILLANCE OF CARMICHAEL AND OR [] AND TELEPHONICALLY ADVISE JACKSONVILLE IF AND WHEN TRAVEL PLANS OF THESE TWO INDIVIDUALS BECOME KNOWN, PARTICULARLY IF "BLACK BAG" IS OBSERVED IN POSSESSION OF [] AND OR CARMICHAEL. SUCH INFORMATION WILL BE FURNISHED TO ATTU.

b6
b7C

Unless Advised To Contrary By Bureau
JACKSONVILLE RECOMMENDATION, ~~HACB~~, FBI AGENTS WILL ACT AS OBSERVERS AT SCENE OF CONFRONTATION BY ATTU WITH [] AND OR CARMICHAEL AND THEN IN EVENT ASSAULT IS MADE THEY WILL BE APPROPRIATELY ARRESTED BY FBI FOR ASSAULTING A FEDERAL OFFICER.

RECEIVED: 9:28 PM LRC

CC- MR. SULLIVAN

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-12-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

F B I

Date: 5/9/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM: SAC, DETROIT (100-34122)
SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - M;
SEDITION

Re WFO airtel dated 5/2/68.

Records at the Secretary of State's Office, Michigan
Department of State, East Lansing, Michigan, disclose that
1968 Michigan license [redacted] is registered to [redacted]

[redacted] is [redacted]

3 - Bureau (RM)
2 - WFO (100-43503) (RM)
2 - Detroit
JEK/cmt
(7)

E.C. Bishop

EX-110

REC 10

100-446080-1564
MAY 15 1968

J-PM

CC 866 940

66 MAY 17 1968

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

b6
b7c

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-12-2006 BY
60309 UC/TAM/DCG/bls

F B I

Date: 5/7/68

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Transmit the following in PLAINTEXT
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC.; SEDITION

RE WFOTEL FIVE SIX LAST

SUBJ AT RESIDENCE MORNING AND EARLY AFTERNOON FIVE SEVEN INSTANT
WHILE MOVING VAN UNLOADED FURNITURE POSSIBLY BELONGING TO [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] LATER SUBJ VISITED LAUNDRY WITH [REDACTED] AND SUBJ THEN WENT
TO ED MURPHY'S SUPPER CLUB, GEORGIA AVE, NW, WHERE HE REMAINED FOR
ABOUT AN HOUR. HE THEN WENT TO SNCC HDQTS. ARRIVING AT TWO TWENTY
P.M.

SOURCE ADVISED SUBJ OBSERVED STILL HANGING AROUND SNCC HDQTS.
AT SIX THIRTY P.M. SUBJ NOT FURTHER OBSERVED DURING REMAINDER OF
EVENING.

ADMINISTRATIVE

ABOVE SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] ADVISED YELLOW PLYMOUTH STATION
WAGON PREVIOUSLY RENTED BY [REDACTED] AT NEW YORK CITY TURNED IN NATIONAL
AIRPORT, WDC, FIVE THREE PAST.

3-Bureau
1-WFO
WWH:mmh
(4)

REC 10

6 MAY 15 1968

b6
b7Cb6
b7C
b7D

Approved: [Signature]

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-12-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

MAY 2 1968

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

FBI WASH DC*

FBI SPRNGFLD

532 PM 5/2/68 URGENT CEK

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080) AND WFO (100-43503) AND
CHICAGO (157-1207)
FROM SPRINGFIELD (100-10697)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL. IS-MISCELLANEOUS, SEDITION.

SOURCE

b7D

ADVISED DATE SIU STUDENT SENATE AGREED TO SPONSOR A MAY
NINETEEN SIXTYEIGHT SIU APPEARANCE OF STOKELY CARMICHAEL,
AND TO ASK THAT SIU ADMINISTRATION PROVIDE THE FIFTEEN HUNDRED
DOLLAR FEE CARMICHAEL IS ASKING. NOT DETERMINED THIS DATE IF
ADMINISTRATION TO GRANT THIS MONEY OR THAT CARMICHAEL WILL
APPEAR.

WILL FOLLOW AND ADVISE OF DETAILS.

BUREAU WILL BE KEPT ADVISED.

EX-115

REC 10

100-446080 1566

MAY 15 1968

P.

END

WPK

FBI WASH DC*

54 MAY 21 1968

Relayed to

WFO

cc-trainor

J-H

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-12-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

FBI

Date: 5/13/68

Transmit the following in **PLAINTEXT**

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via **TELETYPE****URGENT**

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR AND SACS JACKSONVILLE AND NEW ORLEANS

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS - M; SEDITION.

REWFOTEL TO BUREAU AND JACKSONVILLE MAY TWELVE, PAST.

SUBJECT NOT OBSERVED TO DEPART RESIDENCE MAY TWELVE, PAST.

CHECK OF SNCC HEADQUARTERS AND OTHER PLACES HE FREQUENTS FOR
INFORMATION NEGATIVE. COVERAGE OF AIRPORTS FOR FLIGHT OR

RESERVATIONS FOR SUBJECT DISCLOSE NO TRAVEL DATA. NO RECORD

LOCATED OF SUBJECT HAVING RENTED A CAR SINCE CANCELLING PREVIOUS
RESERVATION FOR RENTAL OF STATION WAGON ON MAY ELEVEN, PAST.

PRIVATE VEHICLE USED BY SUBJECT RECENTLY FOR TRAVEL WDC
MECHANICALLY INOPERATIVE.

CONFIDENTIAL SOURCES ADVISE NO INFORMATION SUBJECT
ACTUALLY LEFT WDC THIS DATE. ANOTHER CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE
ADVISED NO INFORMATION SUBJECT DEPARTED BUT THAT SUBJECT WAS

② - Bureau
2 - Teletype Unit
2 - WFO

WWH:tjd
(6)

REC-20

100-446080 1562
5-111
6 MAY 15 1968

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

57 MAY 20 1968

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

WFO 100-43503

PAGE TWO

PREVIOUSLY TALKING ABOUT TRAVELING TO GAINESVILLE, FLORIDA.

FOR INFORMATION OF NEW ORLEANS, JACKSONVILLE ADVISED
TELEPHONICALLY ACCORDING TO INFORMATION RECEIVED FROM THE
ATTU, IRS, JACKSONVILLE, SUBJECT DUE IN NEW ORLEANS MAY
THIRTEEN, PRESENT. NO CONFIRMING INFORMATION AVAILABLE.

ADMINISTRATIVE

JACKSONVILLE AND NEW ORLEANS ALERT SOURCES FOR TRAVEL
DATA REGARDING SUBJECT. WFO WILL FURNISH ANY ADDITIONAL
INFORMATION DEVELOPED. ABOVE SOURCES ARE [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] THE OTHER SOURCE
LISTED IS [REDACTED]

b2
b6
b7C
b7D

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-12-2006 BY
60309/UCP/BAW/DCG/bls

Date: 5/3/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

To: Director, FBI
ATTENTION:
☐ CIVIL RIGHTS SECTION
From: SAC, SPRINGFIELD (100-10697) GENERAL INVEST. DIV.
☐ DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIV.
Subject: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION

☐ CR ☐ EL ☐ VRA-65 ☐ CRA-64
☐ PA ☐ PE ☐ PF
☐ BM ☐ BM-Threats ☐ Racial Matters
☐ Klan ☐ Organization

Summary of Complaint:

Re SI tel to Bureau, WFI and Chicago, 5/2/68.

Forwarded herewith are the original and 10 copies
of LHM captioned as above, setting forth investigation
conducted by SA [REDACTED] Also enclosed are 2
copies of FD-376.

Copies of the LHM have been disseminated to USA,
EDI, East St. Louis, Illinois; Secret Service, Springfield,
Illinois; OSI, Chanute AFB, Illinois; MI, Evanston, Illinois
and NIS, Chicago, Illinois.

Springfield will follow and the Bureau will be
advised of pertinent developments.

1 - Bureau (Encls. 13) (RM) RWB:sjs 2 - Washington Field (Enc.-2) RM
2 - Springfield (100-10697) (5)
ACTION: UACB:

- ☐ No further action being taken and
☒ LHM enclosed ☐ Copy furnished to USA East St. Louis
☐ LHM being submitted
☐ Report being submitted
☐ Preliminary investigation instituted
☐ Limited investigation instituted

12 MAY 7 1968

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

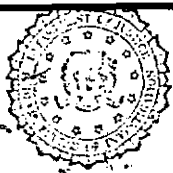
Sent _____ M Per _____

RACIAL INT. SECT.

AGENCY: ACBI, OSI, SEC. SERV. (FD 376 #34546)
DEPT: ISD, CRD, RAQ, CAIN, IDZU
HOW FORW: 11/5 5/13/68
DATE FORW: 5/13/68
BY: PFB/def

b6
b7C

REC-106/100-446080 1568



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No.

May 3, 1968

Director
United States Secret Service
Department of the Treasury
Washington, D. C. 20220

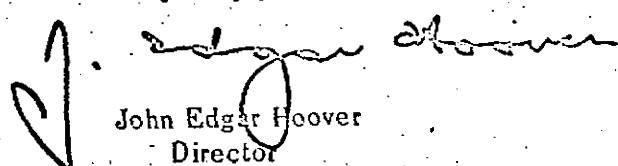
Dear Sir:

The information furnished herewith concerns an individual who is believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning Presidential protection, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

1. ☐ Has attempted or threatened bodily harm to any government official or employee, including foreign government officials residing in or planning an imminent visit to the U. S., because of his official status.
2. ☐ Has attempted or threatened to redress a grievance against any public official by other than legal means.
3. ☒ Because of background is potentially dangerous; or has been identified as member or participant in communist movement; or has been under active investigation as member of other group or organization inimical to U. S.
4. ☐ U. S. citizens or residents who defect from the U. S. to countries in the Soviet or Chinese Communist blocs and return.
5. ☒ Subversives, ultrarightists, racists and fascists who meet one or more of the following criteria:
 - (a) ☐ Evidence of emotional instability (including unstable residence and employment record) or irrational or suicidal behavior;
 - (b) ☒ Expressions of strong or violent anti-U. S. sentiment;
 - (c) ☐ Prior acts (including arrests or convictions) or conduct or statements indicating a propensity for violence and antipathy toward good order and government.
6. ☐ Individuals involved in illegal bombing or illegal bomb-making.

Photograph ☐ has been furnished ☐ enclosed ☐ is not available
☐ may be available through _____

Very truly yours,


John Edgar Hoover
Director

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s))
U. S. Secret Service

- 2 -

Enclosure(s)

(Upon removal of classified enclosures, if any, this transmittal form becomes UNCLASSIFIED.)



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Springfield, Illinois

May 3, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-12-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

[redacted] advised on May 2, 1968, that Southern Illinois University Student Senate has agreed to sponsor a May 19, 1968 Southern Illinois University appearance of STOKELY CARMICHAEL. The Student Senate is asking that the Southern Illinois University Administration provide the \$1500 fee that CARMICHAEL is asking for this appearance. As of this date, it has not been determined if the administration will grant this money or that he will appear at all. The appearance has been arranged by [redacted]

b6
b7C

The following were advised of the above information:

[redacted]
Secret Service,
Springfield, Illinois;

[redacted]
113th Military Intelligence Group,
Carbondale, Illinois;

ARTHUR GINSBERG,
Assistant United States Attorney,
Eastern District of Illinois,
East St. Louis, Illinois.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

- 1* -

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288 FEB 23 1971

ENCLOSURE

100-446080-156

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-12-2006 BY FBI
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

Date: 5/6/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-153751) (P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS-MISC;
SEDITION

Enclosed herewith are 11 copies of an LHM,
dated and captioned as above. Also enclosed is a copy
of the tape reflecting an press conference with STOKELY
CARMICHAEL on 4/12/68, at the Hotel Diplomat, NYC.

The first source referred to in the LHM
is [REDACTED]

The transcript of the enclosed tape was typed
by SA [REDACTED] on 4/18/68.

The agents that observed CARMICHAEL while
in NYC were SAS [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] and [REDACTED]

A second confidential source referred to in
LHM is [REDACTED]

3-Bureau (Encl. 12) (RM)
2-Washington Field (Encl. 2) (RM)
2-Newark (Encl. 2) (RM)
1-Atlanta (Encl. 1) (Info) (RM)
1-New York

BJW:iah
(10)

1-Supervisor #43

"ENCLOSURE ON BULKY TAMP"
XEROX COPY IS MADE + PLACED IN 2

BULKY ENCLOSURE

8/24/68
STP

Approved: 27m Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

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NY 100-153751

A third confidential source referred to
in LHM is [redacted]

b2
b7D

A fourth confidential source referred to is
[redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

Copies of LHM are being disseminated to USA,
SDNY; USA, EDNY; 108th MI Group; Secret Service; NISO and
OSI.

This LHM is classified "~~confidential~~"
since unauthorized disclosure of information attributed
herein to the above sources might impair his future
effectiveness and such impairment could have an adverse
effect on the national defense.



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York

May 6, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309/UC/TAM/DCG/BLS
ON 06-12-2006

Stokely Carmichael

At 10:25 AM, April 12, 1968, Agents of New York Office observed Stokely Carmichael accompanied by [redacted] and two unidentified male Negroes arrived at La Guardia Airport, Queens, New York.

Carmichael and three companions departed airport and went to [redacted] residence of [redacted]

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Approximately 11:20 AM, Carmichael left [redacted] with the two unidentified males and took a taxi to the Hotel Diplomat, 108 West 43rd Street, New York City, where the National Conference of the Black Anti-War, Anti-Draft Union was underway. A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past made available a tape of Carmichael's press conference at the Hotel Diplomat. A transcript of this tape was made by a Special Agent of the New York Office and is as follows:

First Voice: The purpose of the press conference and the purpose of this conference is basically....the purpose of this conference with you is to explain basically what the conference that we are having here in the next few days is all about. The purpose of that conference is basically to begin to develop and to build the black anti-war, anti-draft base and to build a black anti-war, anti-draft base within the black community. The reason for doing that is that it's the metal (?) blow that we as a people can strike against the system. And I think that what happens is that if we able to destroy, if we able to destroy the military as far as a vast majority of black people are involved in the military, and if we are able to destroy that and compulsory (sic) constriction (sic), we'll be able to do a lot of things that the government won't like very well. And that's basically the purpose of this conference. Basically the reason why we organized this group the National Black Anti-War, Anti-Draft Union. And we have Stokely Carmichael here this afternoon, this morning, to speak to us to open the conference, he was our keynote speaker.

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GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

ENCLOSURE

Stokely Carmichael

Second voice: Mr. Carmichael....

Third Voice: Mr. (unreadable), call me Brother Stokely.
(laughter)

Second Voice: What is your reaction to some of the statements (words unreadable) about the King murder, conspiracy and the fact that there was a hot trail that now appears to be cold. What's your reaction?

Third Voice: I am amazed at the fact that...a...within hours after Dr. King was murdered, that he could come out and say it was not a conspiracy. As a matter of fact, the only statement that Honky made was that it was not a conspiracy. Which leads me to believe that there must be some specific reason why he has been trying so hard to prove that it is not a conspiracy..I have worked with Dr. King, and I know when Dr. King is in the South that he is surrounded by FBI agents. And a... it is impossible for a killer to get in, shot and get away. Where were the FBI agents? They spend 24 hours a day on my trail, doing nothing, maybe they ought to spend 24 hours a day on the trail of murderers in this country, and leave our black people alone, 'cause we haven't murdered anybody....yet.

Second Voice: Are you convinced that it probably is a conspiracy then?

Third Voice: I am totally convinced it's a conspiracy, because Dr. King's march to... aWashington D. C. his poor peoples march, was clearly going to turn this country upside down. And that march had to be stopped.

Question: On your recent trip to Hanoi....what specifically (unreadable) reforms which you got from this... as a lot of people who would normally assume that it was ideological, rather than....a....

Third Voice: No it was not only ideological, it was also emotional, I got a real sense of spirit of brotherhood with the brothers from Viet Nam. Because... a... they suffer just like us. Dr. King recognized that because as his wife said, he died not only for the garbage workers in Memphis, but for peasants in...a.... Viet Nam. And a.... the recognition is that all of us our oppressed people, are

Stokely Carmichael

are oppressed by the same structure.

Question: How do you think it would be applicable to what you got from here?

Third Voice: Oh we'll put it to use.

Question: Ramsey Clark made some statements last Sunday about you and your actions in Washington investigating and so forth. What is your reaction to this?

Third Voice: I have nothing to say...a... my people were in the streets and that's where I belong in the streets with my people. As long as they are in the streets, that's where I'll be. Ramsey Clark and all his other people can investigate until they turn blue in the face. They can bring me to courts, and they can put me in jail, they can shoot me. I have no respect for them for their system of law, for their system of justice, because it is all unjust. I pay no attention to it, I have absolutely no regard for it. I will do what is necessary for the liberation of our people.

Question: Do you think now that they have Rap in jail, and not letting him out for the time being...are trying to get others...oh....SNCC leaders, black leaders to get them all behind bars?

Third Voice: Yes, but...a...it will not stop what has to be. They can kill who they think are the revolutionaries. They can imprison Brother Rap. They can imprison the rest of us. But it will not stop it. Black people will conquer without a doubt.

Question: What effect do you think the death of Martin Luther King is going to have within the black movement as such?

Third Voice: Well, I think the country made a mistake when they killed Dr. King. It would have been far better if they had killed Rap Brown or myself. Because then they could say to the black people that...a...we are preaching guns, and he who preaches...a...who lives by the sword will die by the sword. But they couldn't do that for Dr. King. Because he preached love. There is no possible way for them to make an excuse of Dr. King's killing. So when they killed Dr. King, they just opened up the eyes of a lot of black people who were afraid to pick up guns. But now they will pick up those guns.

Stokely Carmichael

Question: In other words you think there are a lot more revolutionaries among black people today as a result....

Third Voice:of Dr. King's death.

Question: (continuing)...of the assassination of Dr. King?

Third Voice: Absolutely, and when they tried to make the carnival they did and the hypocrisy they made out of his funeral, it just brought more black people more and more aware (?).

Question: What role will you play in the poor peoples march in Washington? Will you participate in a non-violent way, or what role will you play?

Third Voice: I will play the same role as we played when we spoke to Dr. King. We will give him our moral support. We may even help in other ways. But we will not march, because we will not be non-violent. We will not disrupt his march, and we hope that the honkies don't hit the brothers too hard. Because if they hit them too hard, we might get mad.

Question: Don't you feel that a certain platform must be correlated to unite all black men, and if so what platform could do this?

Third Voice: Well, we're working on that. We have three so far. The first is that we must begin to have an undying love for our people. Where we are willing to die for our people. Not die in Viet Nam, but if we must die, let's die in the streets of our cities for our people. We also think that we must begin to advocate that every Negro is a potential black man so that we will stop the in-fighting inside our community. And Thirdly, we should begin to recognize that for black people, the question of community is not just simply a question of land but it is a question of our people and where we are. And wherever our people are, we're at home. Now we then break down the national structures that have been imposed upon us by the honkies, and we begin to see that black people are nine hundred million strong in the world. And we're part of that nine hundred million force.

Stokely Carmichael

Question: During the last few days, there have been a number of incidents in a number of American cities.... a...tenement burnings, fires that officials have said arsonists have set fires. And some people in the black communities have said that black revolutionaries are doing this. What's your reaction?

Third Voice: Well I don't know. You know, black people are basically a biblical people. The bible was handed down to us by the white man and we believe it. And the bible says that fire is a purifier. So...a...may be really, the people who are doing the burning are good Christian who recognize that...a...the country needs to be purified.

Question: What about the viewpoint taken by some black that in order for this thing to succeed it shouldn't be basically started in a black community because you're really destroying the homes that...you know...you mentioned upstairs some basic things that we needed. Shelter, food, and...a...

Third Voice: In the District of Columbia this last weekend there were only 20 families that were put out of homes. And that's because those 20 families lived above stores. All of the places that were burned were white owned establishments. There were two stores of brothers that were accidentally kicked into. All the other stores that were burned belonged to people who did not live inside our comm

Question: What about those 20 people?

Third Voice: Well, we found places for those 20 people to live and all of them are in high spirits, and they (?) now are all fine. Because we will not make our people (unreadable) for this weekend. That's what the honkies want us to do. They want black people to feel sorry. We cannot feel sorry. We should be proud.

Question: Mr. Carmichael, the mayor of Newark at first said then somewhat backtracked, but at first said that possibly white racists could have been behind some of the fires in his city. Do you agree with this at all?

Third Voice: I agree wholeheartedly with him. All of the trouble in this country comes from white racists. All of it. So I agree wholeheartedly with him. I don't think

Stokely Carmichael

the specific fires may be caused by white racists, but all the trouble is from white racists.

Question: As far as the Black Anti-War, Anti-Draft Movement, is this...do you think that the war is giving the black movement a chance to get itself together. Or is the war the real issue?

Third Voice: No the war is not the real issue. The real issue is the black people being liberated. That is the only issue. The war is tangential (sic) in that it hinges upon that. The second point is that black people are now clearly fighting for their survival, because it is clear in our minds that white America intends to commit genocide against us. And the war again is very tangible in the sense that it shows very clearly that White America is preparing with (sic) her genocide.

Question: What do you think is going to happen in this country when all the black boys in Viet Nam now start coming home (words unreadable).

Third Voice: I think that's when the real revolution can get on.

Question: (Unreadable)...wouldn't it be sort of like a (unreadable) to allow black men to get into the army to get this training?

Third Voice: No we've got enough training. And there comes a time when you pull out.

Question: I mean the technical weapons...because...a you men are (unreadable).

Third Voice: We have enough training.

Several Unreadable voices.

Third Voice: We have enough training now. Yes.

Question: About...(unreadable)...like the (unreadable) structure that was able to pull up (unreadable) in Saigon, and bring (unreadable) the (unreadable) to take over the (unreadable) you know like you didn't discuss (unreadable) you know like there was no (unreadable) ideas that was

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thrown out...

Third Voice: You do not discuss organization publically. the brothers who pulled off the Tet offensive didn't talk about it publically. You prepare a people ideologically for what has to come about....and they will....

Question: What I'm trying to get at is again, you do (unreadable) most of the ideas of people who are (unreadable) blamed, you know revolutions of people...

Third Voice: I did not. I threw away the Marxist ideology.

Question: Well, what about Lenin, who inspired...

Third Voice: ...He writes.....

Question (continuing): (unreadable)...and who inspires Ho Ch~~a~~ Min? Ho Ch~~a~~ Min was an avowed Communist, and the same with Chariman...

Third Voice: Ho Ch~~a~~ Min is first a Nationalist...

Question:a Nationalist?

Third Voice:then a Communist.

Question: Right. But I'm not talking about Lenin, I...

Third Voice: Lenin was first a Communist, then....

Question:I'm talking about....

Third Voice:what are you talking about then. Are you talking about ideology? There's the ideology. There's a difference. Ho Ch~~a~~ Min is first a nationalist, then a communist, right. Lenin was first a Communist, then a nationalist. There's a difference, a big difference. I am a black nationalist....I am a black nationalist....

Question: (unreadable)....organized....

Third Voice: You do not discuss organizational tactics publically. You cannot do that.

Stokely Carmichael

Question: (unreadable) about whether you thought the killing of Dr. King would drive many people into the militants camp

Third Voice: Oh I'm sure it will, because....a...if they had killed Rap Brown or myself, then a lot of people who are still asleep, they could say to them, well a....they preached the sword, and he who lives by the sword, dies by the sword. I mean that's what they said for Brother Malcolm X. But a....when they killed Dr. King, they couldn't say that, because Dr. King preached love and forgiveness and mercy. And he was really the last to do that of any prominence.

Question: Do you feel that from here on in they will have to deal with a militant or....

Third Voice: No, No. I mean. They killed....If they... If Dr. King died by the sword, then he preached love, then you might as well preach the sword and go out and get it, you know. Because, Dr. King did all that and still got a bullet in his neck. (unreadable) is coming first. Well I know what is coming to me. Before I go I'm going to do as much as I can. It ain't going to be yelling (unreadable).

Question: Stokely, what do you think the direction of the black community should be now?

Third Voice: I think we have to begin to place each other, and look to each other for our own protection and our own survival. There is no other way.

Question: In other words armed camps?

Third Voice: We have to find liberation by any means necessary. We have advocated and still advocate that every black man in this country must have a gun. Must have many, many guns. Many, many, guns. Not only for their protection, but for the protection of their people. If you believe in equality, then you believe that black people should have guns, because white women are arming themselves. If you believe in equality, if white women got guns, black women should have guns. That's equality.

Stokely Carmichael

Question: Stokely, many of us black college students are convinced that this was a conspiracy. Now we find Medgar Evers was killed before he started into Mississippi. We find that Malcolm X was killed in 1964 before he could form a black political party. And we now find that Dr. Martin Luther King has been killed before he turned the economic of the system upside down. Would you address yourself to that particular problem? The problem of conspiracy. How Americans are afraid, particularly about the conspiracy.

Third Voice: Well, I think it's clear. I mean our remarks earlier prove that. The very first thing they said about Dr. King's death, before they said anything was that it was not a conspiracy. And I was very amazed to find out, without even finding the killer or finding anything, how could they first come up with the fact that it was not a conspiracy. How could they possibly come up with the fact that it was not a conspiracy?

Question: Are there any implications that the United States Government in any way shape or form has had anything to do with the killing of Dr. King?

Third Voice: Well, seeing that the United States Government kills people wherever it goes, just murdering Viet Nameese left and right, I don't see why it would not consider killing Dr. King if he were stopping in their path. The Viet Nameese are stopping them in their path and we see what they are doing to the Viet Nameese. If Dr. King was to get in their path, I know what they would do to him. And he was getting in their path. Three weeks ago, Lyndon Johnson said very clearly, as far as he was concerned, the streets was not the place to bring, a discussion. It must be brought to him, to the courts. That's what he said.

Question: Stokely, is the non-violent movement, dead? Did it die with Martin Luther King?

Third Voice: I'm afraid I have to agree with Brother Mc Kissic. Yes. I think that Dr. King was...a...see Dr. King is different from other black people in the United States who talk about non-violence. Dr. King not only talked

Stokely Carmichael

about non-violence, but he was always on the front lines of a march, when violence was to be faced. All the black people in this country who talk about non-violence are not on the front lines. They're not willing to sacrifice. Dr. King was willing to sacrifice. So when Dr. King was on the front lines, when he talked about Mau Maus, he was on the front lines. So at least, there was respect for him, from people who did not believe in non-violence. But there is no respect for these other people jumping up on TV now, talking about non-violence. There can't be no respect for them. Because they have never been on the front lines.

Question: (unreadable).

Third Voice: Because I believe, every negro is a potential black man, and because I'm trying to have undying love for my people...and try to...a...all people who we consider Uncle Toms, give them a chance and try with love to bring them home. I'm not going to mention names.

Question: But Stokely, because by your own admission, the people you call Uncle Toms....

Third Voice: You never said that. You never heard me say that.

Question: Now, Now, the people who some call Uncle Toms are a sizable segment of the black community, still. Do you think the black community is going to (unreadable) the future, to be able to get itself together, as you would like to see it.

Third Voice: Oh yes. We are going to get ourselves together, because we are a beautiful people. And we will survive America.

Question: Two questions please, two questions.

Question: Stokely, two hundred thousand brothers and sisters were busted in the last week. That if according to the man's figures, are correct, that's one percent of the black population in the United States.

Third Voice: Two Hundred Thousand?

Stokely Carmichael

Question: Two hundred thousand. (unreadable).

Question: Unreadable.

Third Voice: No, I think you....twenty thousand.
Twenty thousand.

Question: What are your activities for the next week or so? Where do you go from here?

Third Voice: I stay in Washington, working with the Brothers and sisters.

Unreadable

Question: ~~Leroy Jones~~ is a militant, and (unreadable). Now he seemed to take a different approach. He was out in the streets trying to cool it in Newark, and he was talking about getting rid of the power (unreadable). Do you think that message would be of value over here? Do you support that type of (unreadable)?

Third Voice: I would support all types of methods that would bring our people together. As long as it's working to bring our people together, then I'm for it. I know Brother Jones. He's proven himself time and time again, to be out on the front lines whenever there's anything. If the brother was trying to cool it, then he wasn't cooling over the press, he was cooling it in the streets. He was only doing it for the protection of other brothers.

Question: Stokely, you mentioned earlier that this is not a political war, it's not an economic war, but it's a question of black and white. And you also said that the only things that are required are food, clothing and shelter. Now just how do you propose for the black community to obtain these necessities?

Third Voice: We'll find ways to obtain them. We'll have to outline a plan. But we've found ways every time we needed to before. We found ways in slavery to survive. We found ways in reconstruction to survive. When they came with their Klu Klux Klan, and their white night riders, we found ways to survive. During the depression, we

Stokely Carmichael

found ways to survive. After World War Two, when they kicked us out of the big cities, and put us on unemployment and welfare rolls, we found ways to survive. We will find ways to survive.

Question: Do you think there has to be a revision of the whole country, including the government, perhaps even the constitution.

Third Voice: There has to be a complete destruction of the American system as it now is. If black people are to live. Black Human beings.

Question: Can we cut it off here? I think (unreadable) End of reel.

At 6:25 PM April 12, 1968, Carmichael left the Diplomat Hotel with three unidentified Negro males in a 1967 Ford Mustang, blue in color. New Jersey license registered to [redacted]

[redacted] a member of the Student Non Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). Carmichael left the vehicle at [redacted]

[redacted] Carmichael later left this address and went to [redacted] residence of [redacted]

On April 13, 1968, Carmichael observed by Agents of New York Office at [redacted] during the morning. At 2:40 PM, April 13, 1968, Carmichael observed leaving residence in 1967 Plymouth Station Wagon, yellow in color, bearing 1967 New York license number [redacted] leased to [redacted] Carmichael arrived at the Hotel Diplomat and went to the conference of the National Black Anti-War, Anti-Draft Union, which was continuing at the hotel. At 6:14 PM, April 13, 1968, Carmichael observed leaving Diplomat Hotel in above mentioned Plymouth and last observed in vicinity of 120 Street and Lenox Avenue, Harlem, New York City. Carmichael observed entering residence of [redacted] at [redacted] [redacted] by New York City Police Department.

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Stokely Carmichael

On April 14, 1968, at 2:20 PM Carmichael observed with unidentified Negro male and one unidentified Negro female departing Hotel Diplomat and entering 1968 Plymouth, New York License [redacted]

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Carmichael drove to [redacted]
[redacted] and entered building.

at 6:50 PM, April 14, 1968, Stokely Carmichael, [redacted] and unidentified Negro male observed on New Jersey Turnpike heading south.

Bureau agents observed Stokely Carmichael at Hotel Roosevelt, Madison Avenue, 45th Street, New York City at 7:55 PM, April 25, 1968, and approximately 200 people, white and Negro, observed in attendance at Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF) dinner in main ballroom, Hotel Roosevelt.

RAP BROWN
A second confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past advised that the following individuals were in attendance:

NY
Stokely Carmichael [redacted]
[redacted] all of SNCC and Floyd Mc Kissick, of Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). The source advised that [redacted] and Carmichael spoke briefly in praise of [redacted] of the NAACP. Bureau agents observed many Negro males strategically placed about main ballroom adjacent areas of Hotel Roosevelt prior to commencement of speeches. *U.S.A.*

On April 26, 1968, [redacted] New York City Police Department advised that at 1:00 PM, April 26, 1968, Stokely Carmichael and [redacted] went through campus police lines at Columbia University, New York City and entered Hamilton Hall to meet with Black students and sit-in demonstration therein. At approximately 2:10 PM both left the campus.

Confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in past, advised [redacted] read prepared statement upon exit from Hamilton Hall, a portion of which was "We was going to let Columbia know that if they don't deal with black brothers in here they are going to have to

Stokely Carmichael

deal with black brothers in Harlem". Brown also commented that the sit-in was to fight the racial policy of the university.

A fourth confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, said that as of 3:00 PM April 26, 1968, Carmichael and [redacted] were no longer on campus and situation was calm with mostly whites milling about campus.

At 2:10 AM April 27, 1968, Carmichael observed at [redacted] At 11:15 AM, April 27, 1968, Carmichael, [redacted] and a unknown Negro male departed in 1968 Plymouth wagon and drove to [redacted] where they placed household goods in vehicle. At 2:45 they were observed driving through Holland Tunnel into New Jersey.

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APPENDIX

1.

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Literature distributed by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, describes itself as not being a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements. SNCC was born out of the sit-in movement which erupted across the South beginning on February 1, 1960. A conference at Raleigh, North Carolina, that Spring, brought together many of the demonstrating Southern students in a loose network of militant youth which was officially named SNCC in October, 1960.

A source has advised that in May, 1966, STOKELY CARMICHAEL was elected National Chairman by the Central Committee. In May, 1967, CARMICHAEL was replaced as Chairman by H. RAPP BROWN, with CARMICHAEL assuming the position of Recruiter and Organizer for the SNCC. In August, 1967, at the invitation of FIDEL CASTRO, CARMICHAEL participated in the Organization of Latin American Solidarity Conference which was held in Havana, Cuba. Subsequent thereto, CARMICHAEL traveled to Hanoi and other sections of North Vietnam. He returned to the United States in December, 1967, at which time his passport was picked up because of travel to unauthorized countries.

A source advised that when CARMICHAEL was elected Chairman of SNCC, the organization embarked on a program of eliminating Caucasians from its ranks. With the election of H. RAP BROWN as Chairman in 1967, it embarked on a worldwide struggle for human rights and to take a firm stand against violations of these rights by the American Government and to strengthen its programs of opposition to the draft and to the United States involvement in Vietnam.

Literature distributed in February, 1968, identifies SNCC as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

On August 13, 1967, while addressing a group in the Watts area of Los Angeles, California, H. RAP BROWN said "You better shape up America, or we'll burn you down." Later in February, 1968, in a publicized note BROWN wrote, "America, if it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you and to organize your jails to revolt against you and to organize your children, your God, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here's my life"

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APPENDIX

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.

"The Southern Patriot," a monthly publication, shows that it is published by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. (SCEF).

"The Southern Patriot" was cited as an "organ" of the Southern Conference For Human Welfare (SCHW) by the Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 592, on the SCHW, June 12, 1947.

The SCHW was cited as a communist front by the Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 592, June 12, 1947.

An amendment to the charter of the SCHW changed the name of that organization to the SCEF, and listed its purpose as being to improve the educational and cultural standards of the Southern people in accordance with the highest American democratic institutions, traditions, and ideals. The amendment was dated April 26, 1946.

A source advised on March 2, 1961, that CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, a Communist Party functionary, stated at a meeting of the Communist Party in Baltimore, Maryland, on February 25, 1961, that the Communist Party is not connected with any progressive movement but indirectly they do have some influence in the SCEF.

A second source, who is familiar with some phases of Communist Party activity in the New Orleans area, advised on May 28, 1965, that during the time the SCHW was in existence, Communist Party (CP) members have not been encouraged to work in the SCEF. The source stated the SCEF is a progressive, liberal organization, which he considers a CP front organization because it has gone along with the Communist Party on certain issues, particularly on the racial question.

On May 28, 1965, the second source advised that in the past he has considered [redacted] of the SCEF, to be a communist, if not an actual Communist Party member, because he followed communist principles.

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The second source also advised on May 28, 1965, that many people who are officials and members of the SCEF, while liberal in their views, are by no means communists.

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STOKELY

*Duplicate of tape of Stokely
Carmichael Press Conference
4-12-68, Diplomat Hotel, N.Y.C.*

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(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR AND SAC, NEW ORLEANS

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS - MISC; SEDITION.

RE NEW ORLEANS TEL MAY FOURTEEN, PAST.

WFO SOURCES REPORT NO INFORMATION SUBJECT PLANS TO VISIT
NEW ORLEANS, MAY FIFTEEN, INSTANT. P.

- ② - Bureau
3 - Teletype Unit
2 - WFO

WWH:tjd
(7)

TELETYPE

REC-69

100-441-1570
12 MAY 15 1968

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

DATE: 5/13/68

FROM : SAC, DETROIT (100-34122)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-12-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - M;
SEDITION

Detroit presently in process of
transcribing STOKELY CARMICHAEL's speech at Western
Michigan University, Kalamazoo, Michigan, on 3/30/68.
Completion of this matter is expected by 5/17/68.

TRANSCRIPTION IS VERY LENGTHY. TOOK WEEK TO

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - Detroit
JEK/cmt
(3)

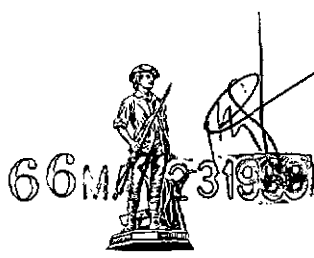
HANDLE 1/3 OF SPEECH.

REC 109

100-446080-1571

12 MAY 16 1968

100-446080-1571



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

RACIAL INT. SECT.
B. J. [signature]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-12-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 5/14/68

Stokely Carmichael, former Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, was scheduled to visit Gainesville, Florida, May 11-13, 1968, to raise funds for three jailed militant black nationalists.

Information in the attached indicates Governor of Florida declared that if Carmichael visited Florida he would be arrested for sedition. As a result of this, Carmichael upon the advice of his attorney William N. Kuntsler cancelled his trip to Florida.

Information in the attached will be furnished to the Inter-Division Information Unit and the Internal Security and Criminal Divisions of the Department.

PTB:bjr

*Gen pth**WCS/mf**D*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-12-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

F B I

Date: 5/14/68

Transmit the following in CODE

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE URGENT

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Bishop	✓
Mr. Casper	✓
Mr. Callahan	✓
Mr. Conrad	✓
Mr. Felt	✓
Mr. Gale	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Miss Holmes	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

TO: DIRECTOR AND SACS JACKSONVILLE AND NEW ORLEANS

FROM: SAC, WFO

INTERNAL SECURITY
STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS - MISC; SEDITION.

REWFOTEL MAY THIRTEEN, PAST.

STUDENT NONVIOLENCE COORDINATING
SOURCE ADVISED SUBJECT VISITED (SNCC) HEADQUARTERS, WDC, *COMMITTEE*

AFTERNOON OF MAY THIRTEEN, PAST. AFTER SPENDING SOME
TIME AT SNCC HEADQUARTERS, HE THEN WENT TO HIS RESIDENCE.

SOURCE FURTHER ADVISED SUBJECT HEARD RADIO OR TELEVISION
NEWS BROADCAST EVENING OF MAY TEN OR MORNING OF MAY ELEVEN,
PAST. STATEMENT REPORTEDLY MADE BY GOVERNOR OF FLORIDA
THAT IF SUBJECT VISITED FLORIDA, HE WOULD BE ARRESTED FOR
SEDITION AND FOR THIS REASON DECIDED AGAINST MAKING THE
VISIT TO GAINESVILLE. SOURCE STATED AFTER HEARING OF
STATEMENT, SUBJECT CONSULTED ATTORNEY WILLIAM KUNTSLER AND

- ② - Bureau
2 - Teletype Unit
2 - WFO

WWH:tjd
(6)

TELETYPE

EX-115

REC-7

100-446080-1572

NFO BROWN
ADV
5/14/68

MAY 16 1968

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via _____
(Priority)

PAGE TWO

| ACCORDING TO SOURCE, KUNTSLER TOLD HIM NOT TO GO.

ADMINISTRATIVE

ABOVE SOURCE IS



b6
b7C
b7D

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAY 11 1968

TELETYPE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-12-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

FBI WASH DC*

FBI KNOXVLE

1206AM URGENT 5/11/68 DCK

TO DIRECTOR, WFO, JACKSONVILLE, AND ATLANTA
FROM KNOXVILLE

STOKELY CARMICHAEL. IS-M; SEDITION.

RE ATLANTA TEL MAY TEN LAST.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

ADVISED

NIGHT MAY TEN LAST, THAT [REDACTED] NOT KNOWN TO BE CHATTANOOGA,
TENN. WILL IMMEDIATELY ADVISE FBI IF INFORMATION [REDACTED] IN
CHATTANOOGA.

END

BJP

FBI WASH DC*

REC 107

100-446080-1573

MAY 15 1968

P

54 MAY 21 1968

TELETYPED TO:

WFO

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-12-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

F B I

Date: 5/10/68

Transmit the following in **PLAINTEXT**

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via **TELETYPE****URGENT**
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR AND SACS ATLANTA AND JACKSONVILLE

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL IS - M; SEDITION

RE JACKSONVILLE TELETYPE MAY NINE LAST.

FOR INFORMATION ATLANTA, RE JACKSONVILLE TEL REPORTED

AS FOLLOWS:

"RE PRIOR COMMUNICATIONS CONCERNING VISIT OF CARMICHAEL
TO GAINESVILLE, FLORIDA, WEEKEND MAY ELEVEN NEXT AND
JACKSONVILLE CALL TO THE BUREAU THIS DATE.

[REDACTED] AGENT IN CHARGE, JACKSONVILLE OFFICE
OF ALCOHOL, TOBACCO AND TAX UNIT, U. S. TREASURY, CONTACTED
THIS OFFICE THIS AFTERNOON TO SEEK OUR ASSISTANCE AND HELP
IN FURNISHING ATTU INFORMATION REGARDING CONTEMPLATED TRIP
OF CARMICHAEL TO GAINESVILLE, FLA. HE FURTHER INQUIRED AS

2-Bureau
2-Teletype Unit
2-WFO

WJH:11w

REC 107
INCLUDED IN SUMMARY
W.H.A.G., 5/10/68

23 MAY 15

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b7C

Approved: (6)

51 MAY 21 1968

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

PAGE TWO

TO ANY ADDITIONAL INFORMATION THIS OFFICE MIGHT HAVE CONCERNING "THE GUN MATTER." HE WAS ASKED WHAT HE WAS REFERRING TO AND HE ADVISED HE HAD BEEN INFORMED BY HIS REGIONAL OFFICE, ATLANTA, GA., THAT CARMICHAEL IN HIS TRAVELS IS ACCOMPANIED BY ONE [] AND PURSUANT TO CARMICHAEL'S INSTRUCTIONS, [] CARRIES A "BLACK BAG" WHICH CONTAINS A "BROKEN DOWN" MACHINE GUN.

"THE INFORMATION AVAILABLE TO [] IS EXTREMELY DETAILED RELATIVE TO THE DESCRIPTION OF THE BLACK BAG, EVEN TO EXACT DIMENSIONS OF HEIGHT, WIDTH AND DEPTH, NUMBER OF STRAPS, ETC. [] ADVISED HE HAS BEEN IN CONTACT WITH THE ATTU REGIONAL COUNSEL AND USA, NDF, TALLAHASSEE, AND THEY ARE BOTH IN AGREEMENT THAT IF [] AND CARMICHAEL ARRIVE IN FLORIDA WITH THE "BLACK BAG" AS DESCRIBED

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b7C

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

PAGE THREE

THE ATTU AGENTS SHOULD INTERCEPT THEM, SEARCH THE BAG AND IF THE AUTOMATIC WEAPON IS FOUND, MAKE AN ON-THE-SCENE ARREST OF CARMICHAEL AND [] FOR VIOLATION OF NATIONAL FIREARMS ACT.

[] SPECIFICALLY REQUESTED IN VIEW OF THE BACKGROUND OF CARMICHAEL AND [] THAT FBI AGENTS BE READILY AVAILABLE AT SUCH CONFRONTATION SO IF [] AND OR CARMICHAEL ATTEMPTED ANY ASSAULT ON THE ATTU AGENTS, THE FBI COULD IMMEDIATELY ARREST BOTH INDIVIDUALS ON A CHARGE OF ASSAULTING A FEDERAL OFFICER. [] STATED INFORMATION IN POSSESSION OF ATTU AND WHICH IS THE BASIS FOR THEIR CONTEMPLATED SEARCH AND POSSIBLE ARREST IS INFORMATION FURNISHED BY "THE FBI IN WASHINGTON, D. C."

"AT PRESENT, WFO IS FURNISHING INFORMATION CONCERNING ACTIONS OF CARMICHAEL IN WASHINGTON AREA. IT

b6
b7C

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

PAGE FOUR

IS REQUESTED WFO MAINTAIN CLOSE SURVEILLANCE OF CARMICHAEL
AND OR [] AND TELEPHONICALLY ADVISE JACKSONVILLE IF AND
WHEN TRAVEL PLANS OF THESE TWO INDIVIDUALS BECOME KNOWN,
PARTICULARLY IF "BLACK BAG" IS OBSERVED IN POSSESSION OF
[] AND OR CARMICHAEL. SUCH INFORMATION WILL BE
FURNISHED TO ATTU.

"JACKSONVILLE RECOMMENDATION, UACB, FBI AGENTS WILL
ACT AS OBSERVERS AT SCENE OF CONFRONTATION BY ATTU WITH
[] AND OR CARMICHAEL AND THEN IN EVENT ASSAULT IS MADE
THEY WILL BE APPROPRIATELY ARRESTED BY FBI FOR ASSAULTING
A FEDERAL OFFICER."

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION OF ATLANTA, CARMICHAEL
PRESENTLY IN WASHINGTON, D. C. AND FROM INFO RECEIVED FROM
SOURCES, HE IS SCHEDULED TO TRAVEL TO GAINESVILLE, FLORIDA

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b7C

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

PAGE FIVE

ON OR ABOUT WEEKEND OF MAY TEN THROUGH THIRTEEN NEXT
IN CONNECTION WITH FUND RAISING FOR SEVERAL INDIVIDUALS
INCARCERATED THERE ON INCITING TO RIOT OR SIMILAR CHARGES.
HIS EXACT ACTIVITIES WHILE IN GAINESVILLE ARE NOT KNOWN.
CARMICHAEL CURRENTLY HAS RESERVATIONS TO PICK UP RENTED
STATION WAGON, WDC, ON MAY ELEVEN NEXT, REPORTEDLY TO USE
FOR TRIP TO FLORIDA. WFO HAS NO INFORMATION ABOUT
PRESENT LOCATION OF [REDACTED] OR IF HE PLANS TO JOIN
CARMICHAEL ON TRIP TO GAINESVILLE AS MENTIONED IN RE TEL.

ATLANTA EXPEDITIOUSLY CONTACT SOURCES AND CONDUCT
INVESTIGATION TO ASCERTAIN WHEREABOUTS OF [REDACTED]
ATTEMPT TO ASCERTAIN IF HE CONTEMPLATES TRAVELING TO
GAINESVILLE WITH CARMICHAEL. FURNISH ANY CURRENT INFORMATION
AS TO WHETHER HE POSSESSES A FIREARM AS MENTIONED BY

b6
b7C

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via _____
(Priority)

PAGE SIX

Jacksonville
~~ATLANTA~~

IF WHEREABOUTS NOT LOCATED, ATLANTA SET
OUT LEADS TO LOCATE WITH ATTEMPT TO VERIFY ABOVE
INFORMATION. WFO WILL CONTINUE TO FOLLOW CARMICHAEL'S
ACTIVITIES AND REPORT PERTINENT INFORMATION DEVELOPED TO
INTERESTED OFFICES.

END

b6
b7C

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-12-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

F B I

Date: *May 8, 1968*

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

ST
BP

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO
SUBJECT: MALCOLM X
BLACK HAND SOCIETY OF THE WORLD, INC. (BHS)
CHICAGO FILE 157-2690
RM
(OO: CHICAGO)

BLACK CONSORTIUM OF THE BLACK UNITED
FRONT, aka, Black Consortium (BC)
CHICAGO FILE 157-2817
RM
(OO: CHICAGO)

D
STOKELY CARMICHAEL
CHICAGO FILE 157-1297
IS-M; SEDITION
(OO: WFO)
(BUREAU FILE 100-446080)

Re Chicago teletypes to Director, 5/1/68 and 5/3/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 13 copies of an LHM dated
and captioned as above. A copy of the LHM is being

- ⑤ - Bureau (Encls. 13) (RM)
(1 - ~~157-2690~~) (BC)
(1 - 100-446080) (STOKELY CARMICHAEL)
2 - Atlanta (100-6812) (Encl. 1) (Info.) (RM)
2 - WFO (100-43503) (Encls. 2) (RM)
10 - Chicago
(1 - 157-2734) [REDACTED]
(1 - 100-3752) [REDACTED]
(1 - 100-34347) [REDACTED]
(1 - 100-40342) (SNCC)
(1 - 157-413)
(1 - [REDACTED])
(1 - [REDACTED])

DEH/svm
(19)

100-446080
NOT RECORDED

20 MAY 21 1968

54 MAY 27 1968

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

ORIGINAL FILED IN 157-6-9-6668

b6
b7C

b2
b7D

furnished to the USA, Chicago, U.S. Secret Service, Chicago, Region I, 113th MI Group, Evanston, Illinois, OSI, Chicago, Illinois, and NISO, Chicago, Illinois. An information copy is being furnished the Atlanta Office which is the office of origin for the SNCC case.

Sources mentioned in LHM are:

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

(Protect - Requested)

[REDACTED]

b2
b6
b7C
b7D

Chicago following. Sources assigned. Bureau will be advised of pertinent developments.

LEAD

WASHINGTON FIELD

AT WASHINGTON FIELD, WASHINGTON. Alert appropriate sources and advise of travel to Chicago by CARMICHAEL.

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Records Branch

5/7, 1968

☐	Name Searching Unit - Room 6527	b6
☐	Service Unit - Room 6524	b7C
☐	Forward to File Review	
☐	Attention 	
☒	Return to 	804 Dist.
	Supervisor	Room Ext.

Type of References Requested:

☐ Regular Request (Analytical Search)
☐ All References (Subversive & Nonsubversive)
☒ Subversive References Only
☐ Nonsubversive References Only
☐ Main _____ References Only

Type of Search Requested:

☐ Restricted to Locality of _____
☒ Exact Name Only (On the Nose)
☐ Buildup ☐ Variations

Subject Black Consortium
 Birthdate & Place of the Black
 Address United Front

Localities

R# _____ Date 5/7 Searcher Initials Sam
Prod. _____

Prod. _____ FILE NUMBER SERIAL

1R

Black United Front
157-8421

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-12-2006 BY
60389/UC/TAM/DCG/pls



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 157-2690

Chicago, Illinois

May 8, 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-12-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

MALCOLM X
BLACK HAND SOCIETY
OF THE WORLD, INC.

BLACK CONSORTIUM OF
THE BLACK UNITED FRONT

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

A confidential source with whom contact has been insufficient to determine reliability, advised on May 3, 1968, that the Malcolm X Black Hand Society of the World, Inc. (BHS) is reportedly a member organization of Black Consortium of the Black United Front (BC). BHS will hold its first meeting May 19, 1968, at the Afro-Arts Theatre, 3947 South Drexel Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois. BHS also has a mass celebration scheduled for 7:00 PM, May 20, 1968, at the Senate Theatre, 3170 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

On May 1, 1968, an anonymous caller apparently a Negro male, who refused to identify himself further for fear of his life, although vigorously pressed to do so, and who indicated he had previously contacted the Chicago Office furnished the following information:

Stokely Carmichael, former national director of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) has been invited to attend a public hearing in Chicago on May 18, 1968, sponsored by the BC. Carmichael will be honorary chairman of this event. It is anticipated Carmichael will come to Chicago because [redacted] will be in Chicago for a singing engagement which will end on May 19, 1968.

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This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

100-446080
ENCLOSURE

MALCOLM X
BLACK HAND SOCIETY OF THE WORLD, INC.

BLACK CONSORTIUM OF
THE BLACK UNITED FRONT

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

[redacted] of BC is organizing the
public hearing.

b6
b7C

On April 19, 1968, a second confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past advised that a black power group calling themselves BC has formed as a result of the recent Chicago westside disturbances. BC is convening a black tribunal to investigate these disturbances and will hold a tribunal hearing on its findings in the latter part of May, 1968. Leading personalities in BC are [redacted] associated with the Urban Training Center, 40 North Ashland Avenue and [redacted] of ACT, inactive militant westside Negro organization.

On April 5, 1968, a third confidential source, an agency that collects security information in the Chicago area advised that the Urban Training Center at 40 North Ashland Avenue, Chicago, is a local civil rights training organization sponsored largely by the Chicago City Missionary Society. The Urban Training Center sponsored a conference in preparation for a community action training program which began January, 1968, and continued through March, 1968. They called together 60 Negro persons known for their expertise in community planning which included Negro pastors, organizers and their known activists. Their goals were to develop a comprehensive plan for the survival of black people in the ghetto as a development toward the control of the ghetto by indigenous citizens and to seek to insure that such changes would be for the good of all black people of Chicago. Also to improve relationships with black

MALCOLM X
BLACK HAND SOCIETY OF THE WORLD, INC.

BLACK CONSORTIUM OF THE
BLACK UNITED FRONT

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

people nationally and internationally. Further to establish a planning group composed of leaders of the black community who agree with the goal.

Listed as an elected member of this executive committee was [redacted] Listed as attending as a representative of an organization was [redacted] of ACT.

b6
b7C

Listed as a faculty member and director of Mission Developments was [redacted]
[redacted]

The February 15, 1966, issue of the "Chicago Daily Defender", daily newspaper oriented toward Chicago Negro community, contained an article entitled "Calvin Lockridge Tough 16th Ward Race." It stated he was a candidate for alderman from Chicago's 16th Ward. It described him as having been born in Columbia, Tennessee, and educated at Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia, Atlanta University, University of Maryland, and University of Heidelberg. He has been employed as a teacher, soldier, civil rights and youth leader and is presently a sales representative for the Charles Pfizer and Company, manufacturers of chemical products. He is a Negro, 35 years of age.

Information concerning SNCC may be found on the following attached page. Sources utilized have furnished reliable information in the past.

A copy of this memorandum is being furnished the following local agencies:

United States Attorney, Chicago

United States Secret Service, Chicago

Region I, 113th Military Intelligence Group,
Evanston

Naval Investigative Service Office, Chicago

Office of Special Investigations, Chicago

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Literature distributed by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, describes itself as not being a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements. SNCC was born out of the sit-in movement which erupted across the South beginning on February 1, 1960. A conference at Raleigh, North Carolina, that Spring, brought together many of the demonstrating Southern students in a loose network of militant youth which was officially named SNCC in October, 1960.

A source has advised that in May, 1966, Stokely Carmichael was elected National Chairman by the Central Committee. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced as Chairman by H. Rap Brown, with Carmichael assuming the position of Recruiter and Organizer for the SNCC. In August, 1967, at the invitation of Fidel Castro, Carmichael participated in the Organization of Latin American Solidarity Conference which was held in Havana, Cuba. Subsequent thereto, Carmichael traveled to Hanoi and other sections of North Vietnam. He returned to the United States in December, 1967, at which time his passport was picked up because of travel to unauthorized countries.

A source advised that when Carmichael was elected Chairman of SNCC, the organization embarked on a program of eliminating Caucasians from its ranks. With the election of H. Rap Brown as Chairman in 1967, it embarked on a worldwide struggle for human rights and to take a firm stand against violations of these rights by the American Government and to strengthen its programs of opposition to the draft and to the United States involvement in Vietnam.

Literature distributed in February, 1968, identifies SNCC as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

On August 13, 1967, while addressing a group in the Watts area of Los Angeles, California, H. Rap Brown said "You better shape up America, or we'll burn you down." Later in February, 1968, in a publicized note Brown wrote, "America, if it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you and to organize your jails to revolt against you and to organize your children, your God, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here's my life."

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-12-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 5/7/68

FROM : SAC, WFO (157-575) (C)

SUBJECT: [REDACTED]

IS - MISC

b6
b7C

Re WFO teletype to the Bureau, dated 3/2/68
entitled "STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS - MISC.; SEDITION."

[REDACTED] advised that on one occasion she
heard STOKELY CARMICHAEL advised that he was going to
visit a doctor, however, the address of the doctor is
not identical with [REDACTED] address at [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Source advised that
it is her opinion that CARMICHAEL visited [REDACTED]
offices to get a blood test in connection with his
upcoming marriage to [REDACTED] *D.C. N.Y.*

b2
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Other sources familiar with SNCC activities
were contacted and advised that they had no information
concerning CARMICHAEL's association with [REDACTED]

b6
b7C

Inasmuch as CARMICHAEL's visit to [REDACTED]
office appeared to be a professional visit and inasmuch
as he visited only on one occasion, it is recommended that
this case be closed.

2 - Bureau
3 - WFO

(1 - 100-41626)
(1 - 100-43503)

JDG:11w
(5)

ST-103

REC-1

100-446080-1575

2 MAY 17 1968

100-446080-1575



70 MAY 27 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-12-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM : SAC, KNOXVILLE (100-3623) RUC

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS;
SNCC

DATE: 5/15/68

OO: Washington Field

Re Bureau letter to Knoxville dated 5/10/68.

Enclosed to Bureau are 11 copies of letterhead memorandum pertaining to an article by STOKELY CARMICHAEL appearing in the March 8, 1968 issue of "The Aurora."

Copies have been disseminated to WFO and Atlanta. Copies have also been disseminated to local intelligence agencies and Secret Service, Nashville.

[REDACTED] stated "The Aurora" is published by the students at Knoxville College (KC) with the assistance of a faculty advisor. They are free to publish anything they desire as long as it is not detrimental to KC. Both stated that if they do not have a legitimate objection to some article, nothing is done about it, and it is their belief that if anything were brought up concerning publishing of an article in this paper, it would give the students an opportunity to create an incident. Both stated that the students connected with the newspaper are almost given complete freedom to publish what they desire.

b6
b7C

ENCLOSURE

- 2 - Bureau (Encls. 11) (RM)
- 1 - Atlanta (100-6812) (Info.) (RM) (Encl. 1)
- 2 - WFO (Encls. 2) (RM)
- 2 - Knoxville

HAM:1hm
(7)

AGENCY: ACSI, NIC, OSI, SEC. SERV. 50 374 #5 (e)

HOW FORW: NS (Handwritten)

DATE FORW: 5/24/68

BY: PTB/akt

MAY 17 1968

b2

RACIAL INT. SECT



54 MAY 27 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Director
United States Secret Service
Department of the Treasury
Washington, D. C. 20220

May 15, 1968

Dear Sir:

The information furnished herewith concerns an individual who is believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning Presidential protection, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

1. ☐ Has attempted or threatened bodily harm to any government official or employee, including foreign government officials residing in or planning an imminent visit to the U. S., because of his official status.
2. ☐ Has attempted or threatened to redress a grievance against any public official by other than legal means.
3. ☐ Because of background is potentially dangerous; or has been identified as member or participant in communist movement; or has been under active investigation as member of other group or organization inimical to U. S.
4. ☐ U. S. citizens or residents who defect from the U. S. to countries in the Soviet or Chinese Communist blocs and return.
5. ☒ Subversives, ultrarightists, racists and fascists who meet one or more of the following criteria:
 - (a) ☐ Evidence of emotional instability (including unstable residence and employment record) or irrational or suicidal behavior;
 - (b) ☐ Expressions of strong or violent anti-U. S. sentiment;
 - (c) ☒ Prior acts (including arrests or convictions) or conduct or statements indicating a propensity for violence and antipathy toward good order and government.
6. ☐ Individuals involved in illegal bombing or illegal bomb-making.

Photograph ☐ has been furnished ☐ enclosed ☐ is not available
☐ may be available through _____

Very truly yours,

J. Edgar Hoover
John Edgar Hoover
Director

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s) (2) (RM)
U. S. Secret Service, Nashville

- 2 -

Enclosure(s)

(Upon removal of classified enclosures, if any, this transmittal form
becomes UNCLASSIFIED.)



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Knoxville, Tennessee

May 15, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-12-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

STOKELY CARMICHAEL;
RACIAL MATTERS;
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING
COMMITTEE (SNCC)

[redacted] advised on May 14, 1968,
that an article captioned "What We Want," by Stokely
Carmichael appeared in the March 8, 1968 issue of "The
Aurora." [redacted] stated that "The Aurora" is a bimonthly
student publication of KC.

b6
b7C

Attached is a copy of this article.

This document contains neither recommendations
nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI
and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not
to be distributed outside your agency.

- 1* -

ENCLOSURE

100-446080 - 1571

What We Want

by Stokely Carmichael

One of the tragedies of the struggle against racism is that up to now there has been no national organization which could speak to the growing militancy of young black people in the urban ghetto. There has been only a civil right movement, whose tone of voice was adapted to an audience of liberal whites. It served as a sort of buffer zone between them and angry young blacks. None of its so-called leaders could go into a rioting community and be listened to. In a sense, I blame ourselves — together with the mass media — for what has happened in Watts, Harlem, Chicago, Cleveland, Omaha. Each time the people in those cities saw Martin Luther King get slapped, they became angry; when they saw four little black girls bombed to death, they were angrier; and when nothing happened, they were steaming. We had nothing to offer that they could see, except to go out and be beaten again. We helped to build their frustration.

For too many years, black Americans marched and had their heads broken and got shot. They were saying to the country, "Look, you guys are supposed to be nice guys and we you beat us up, why don't you give us what we ask, why don't you straighten yourselves out?" After years of this, we are at almost the same point — because we demonstrated from a position of weakness. We cannot be expected any longer to march and have our heads broken in order to say to whites: come on, you're nice guys. For you are not nice guys. We have found you out.

An organization which claims to speak for the needs of a community — as does the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee must speak in the tone of that community, not as somebody else's buffer zone. This is the significance of black power as a slogan. For once, black people are going to use the words they want to use — not just the words whites want to hear. And they will do this no matter how often the press tries to stop the use of the slogan by equating it with racism or separatism.

An organization which claims to be working for the needs of a community — as SNCC does — must work to provide that community with a position of strength from which to make its voice heard. This is the significance of black power beyond the slogan.

Black Power can be clearly defined for those who do not attach the fears of white America to their questions about it. We should begin with the basic fact that black Americans have two problems: they are poor and they are black. All other problems arise, from this two-sided reality: lack of education, the so-called apathy of black men. Any program to end racism must address itself to that double reality.

Whites will not see that I, for

can't, on p. 5, col. 3

WHAT WE WANT

can't from p. 1

example, as a person oppressed because of my blackness, have common cause with other blacks who are oppressed because of blackness. This is not to say that there are no white people who see things as I do, but that it is black people I must speak to first. It must be the oppressed to whom SNCC addresses itself primarily, not to friends from the oppressing group.

As for White America, perhaps it can stop crying out against "black supremacy," "black nationalism," "racism in reverse," and begin facing reality. The reality is that this nation, from top to bottom, is racist; that racism is not primarily a problem of "human relations" but of an exploitation maintained — either

actively or through silence — by the society as a whole. Camus and Sartre have asked, can a man condemn himself? Can whites, particularly liberal whites, condemn themselves? Can they stop blaming us, and blame their own system? Are they capable of the shame which might become a revolutionary emotion?

We have found that they usually cannot condemn themselves, and so we have done it. But the rebuilding of this society, if at all possible, is basically the responsibility of whites—not blacks. We won't fight to save the present society, in Vietnam or anywhere else. We are just going to work, in the way we see fit, and on goals we define, not for civil rights but for all our human rights.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-12-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

F B I

Date:

5/9/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM: SAC, JACKSONVILLE (100-870) (P)
RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - M; (SEDITION)
(WFO 00)

REC 8

Re WFO airtel to Bureau 5/6/68, re vehicle with
Fla. License [redacted] a copy of which is being furnished
to Tampa.

On 5/8/68, IC [redacted] at Tallahassee,
Fla., determined from records of the Bureau of Motor Vehicles
that 1967-68 Fla. License [redacted] was registered to [redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted] for use on 1967 Volkswagen, VIN [redacted]

Tampa at St. Petersburg will ascertain to whom
above car is registered, conduct credit and criminal
investigation, and check office indices.

This confirms telephonic communication to Tampa
of this information.

C. C. - Bishop

3-Bureau (RM)
2-WFO (100-43503) (RM)
2-Tampa (Enc. 1) (RM)
2-Jacksonville
FWB:bet
(9)

REC 8

100-446080-1577

12 MAY 13 1968

100-506969

MAY 13 11 10 AM '68

Baptist
INVEST. SECT.

Approved: [Signature]

Sent

M

Per

Special Agent in Charge

51 MAY 23 1968

2
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-12-2006 BY
60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

F B I

Date: 5/9/68

CODE

(Type in plaintext or code)

Transmit the following in

Via TELETYPE

URGENT

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR AND SACS, JACKSONVILLE AND NEW YORK

FROM: SAC, WFO

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS - M; SEDITION

REFERENCE WFO TELETYPE MAY SEVEN LAST.

SUBJECT AND [REDACTED] ACCOMPANIED BY [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] AND [REDACTED]

OF [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] BELIEVED PART OF

[REDACTED] MUSICAL TROUPE, WENT TO NATIONAL AIRPORT MAY EIGHT

LAST WHERE SUBJECT SAW THEM OFF ON NINE A. M. EASTERN AIRLINES
SHUTTLE FOR NEW YORK CITY. SUBJECT THEN RETURNED TO RESIDENCE.
HE LATER VISITED A CLEANERS AND A RESTAURANT. HE THEN WENT TO
SCLC POOR PEOPLES CAMPAIGN HEADQUARTERS LOCATED NEAR SNCC,
FOURTEENTH AND U STREETS, N. W., WASHINGTON, D. C., WHERE HE
REMAINED FOR ABOUT TEN MINUTES. HE THEN WENT TO SNCC HEADQUARTERS

- 2 - Bureau (100-446080)
- 2 - Teletype Unit
- 2 - WFO (100-43503)

WWH:nlr
(6)

REC-8

MAY 17 1968

Approved: [Signature]

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)WFO 100-43503
PAGE TWO

WHERE HE WAS OBSERVED SEVERAL TIMES DURING THE AFTERNOON. IN EVENING HE WAS OBSERVED IN FRONT OF SNCC OFFICE WITH ANOTHER INDIVIDUAL.

ADMINISTRATIVE

CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE ADVISED WAS ABLE TO SURREPTIOUSLY OBTAIN POSSESSION OF SEVERAL HANDWRITTEN NOTES [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] MAY EIGHT LAST. ONE NOTE STATED QUOTE STOKELY FOR TRIP TO GAINESVILLE--CABLE, JACKSONVILLE CONTACT,

[REDACTED] UNQUOTE. ANOTHER NOTE STATED QUOTE [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] SOURCE BELIEVED [REDACTED] IS THE PERSON SUBJECT IS MAKING ARRANGEMENTS THROUGH FOR TRIP TO GAINESVILLE. TIME OF DEPARTURE AND MODE OF TRAVEL NOT YET MADE KNOWN TO SOURCE; HOWEVER SUBJECT TALKING OF POSSIBLY RENTING A CAR.

JACKSONVILLE DISCREETLY ASCERTAIN BACKGROUND OF [REDACTED] AND IF SHE ACTIVE IN MAKING ARRANGEMENTS FOR CARMICHAEL'S

b6
b7C
b7D

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via _____
(Priority)

WFO 100-43503
PAGE THREE

VISIT TO GAINESVILLE. LONG DISTANCE INFORMATION OPERATOR

ADVISED

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

HAS RESIDENCE PHONE NUMBER

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

ABOVE SOURCE IS

[REDACTED]

COPY BEING FURNISHED NEW YORK FOR INFORMATION. P

b6
b7C

b6
b7C
b7D

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 06-12-2006 BY

60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

F B I

Date: 5/3/68

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS-M; SEDITION
(OO:WFO)

The "Washington-Afro American" newspaper, a semi-weekly Washington, D.C., publication, contained an article on Page 13, in the 5/4/68 edition entitled: "STOKELY WEDS SINGER MAKEBA." The article went on to state: "STOKELY CARMICHAEL, age 26, former chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and Miss MIRIAM MAKEBA, South African singer, were married Monday. The ceremony was performed by the Rev. DOUGLAS MOORE, 2628 Monroe Street, N.E., and witnessed by ARTHUR E. BROADDUS. The couple applied for the license on April 22. In answer to a question asking the color of the applicants, both wrote, 'beautiful black.' Miss MAKEBA noted a former marriage on the form and listed her age as 36. The couple will reside in the 5000 block 16th Street in upper northwest, informally called the Gold Coast."

3 - Bureau
1 - WFO

WWH:d1j
(4)

AIRTEL

C. C. - Bishop

25 MAY 20 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

WFO 100-43503

WFO will attempt to verify subject's marriage through check of records of D.C. Marriage Bureau. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] MPD, advised fact marriage performed apparently not yet filed by [REDACTED] with the Marriage License Bureau.

b6
b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-13-2008 BY
60309/TC/TAM/DCG/bls

Mr. Fred M. Vinson, Jr.
Assistant Attorney General

Director, FBI

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Bishop
May 17, 1968
1 - Mr. Rosen
1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
1 -

**STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INCITING TO RIOT - MISCELLANEOUS**

b6
b7C

Reference is made to our report captioned, "Stokely Carmichael, Inciting to Riot - Miscellaneous," dated May 15, 1968, Washington, D. C. This report completes our investigation of the incidents involving Stokely Carmichael during the recent riots in Washington, D. C.

It is requested that we be furnished a prosecutive opinion concerning this matter.

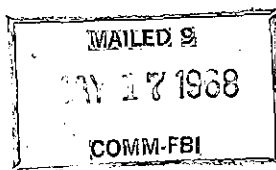
100-446080

PTB:lmr

(9) *lmr*

NOTE:

By letter dated 4/6/68 the Attorney General requested the Bureau's assistance in developing information on the incidents involving Carmichael during the recent riots in Washington, D. C. We have submitted five investigative reports to the Department totaling approximately 800 pages containing the results of over 700 interviews.



Lead

Tolson	_____
DeLoach	_____
Mohr	_____
Bishop	_____
Casper	_____
Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
Felt	_____
Gale	_____
Rosen	_____
Sullivan	_____
Tavel	_____
Trotter	_____
Tele. Rm.	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

REC 5

6 MAY 20 1968

54 MAY 24 1968

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

~~SECRET~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

DATE: 06-13-2006

CLASSIFIED BY 60309/TC/TAM/DCG/bls-derivative

DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1) 06-13-2031

May 15, 1968

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Bishop
1 - Mr. G. C. Moore b6
1 - b7C

RA
100-446080-1581
Honorable Robert P. Griffin
United States Senate
Washington, D. C. 20510

My dear Senator:

**Your letter of May 9, 1968, with enclosure
was received.**



(S)

b1

**This information, as well as voluminous
data regarding Carmichael, has been furnished to the
Attorney General for his consideration, and you may
wish to contact him regarding this matter.**

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover ✓

PTB:lmr

(7) lmr

NOTE: Senator Griffin submitted as an enclosure to his
letter an article in the Drew-Pearson-Jack Anderson
column carried in the "Washington Post" on May 4, 1968.

**The activities of Carmichael are well known to this
Bureau and he is currently under investigation.**

**We have had previous cordial correspondence with
Senator Griffin.**

and
LeB
Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

57 MAY 24 1968

~~SECRET~~

(S)

ROBERT P. GRIFFIN
MICHIGAN

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, D.C.

May 9, 1968

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-13-2006 BY
60309/TC/TAM/DCG/bls

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Bishop	✓
Mr. Casper	✓
Mr. Callahan	✓
Mr. Conrad	✓
Mr. Felt	✓
Mr. Gale	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Miss Holmes	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

The Honorable J. Edgar Hoover
Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Director:

I wish to call to your attention an article in the
Drew Pearson-Jack Anderson column carried in the Washington
Post on May 4, 1968. A copy of the article is enclosed.

The article purports to give a verbatim account of
a conversation between Stokely Carmichael and a man in
Havana, Cuba during the recent riots in Washington, D. C.

I would appreciate receiving your comments on the
article. I am particularly interested in knowing whether
the alleged conversation was monitored by the United States
Government.

With best wishes and my kind regards, I am

Sincerely,

Robert P. Griffin
Robert P. Griffin
U. S. Senator

RPG:PHg
Enclosure

ENCLOSURE

REC-9

X-115

100-446080

16 MAY 18 1968

CORRESPONDENCE

Let to Honorable Robert P. Griffin
RPG:PHg 5/15/68

PROG
MAY 13 1968

The Washington Merry-Go-Round

THE WASHINGTON POST

Saturday, May 4, 1968

D19

Stokely Told Cubans of Guerrilla Plan

By Drew Pearson and
Jack Anderson

Here is the record of the amazing telephone conversation between Stokely Carmichael, the Negro rabble-rouser, and Havana, Cuba, at the height of the recent Washington race riots.

Carmichael had just come in from the streets where he had been crying for Negroes to go get their guns. He was summoned to the overseas telephone by Mike Laguardia, a commentator for Radio Havana. This conversation follows:

"Stokely?"

"Yes."

"Oh, this is Mike Laguardia from Radio Havana Cuba."

"Hello," Carmichael greeted him cordially.

"Hello, sir," replied Laguardia.

"Say, Stokely," he said.

"Si."

"We would like to have a statement from you on Martin Luther King's assassination."

"Right."

"And what has been the reaction of the Afro-Americans in the face of this crime?"

"Right," repeated Carmichael. "A white America has Rap Brown (another black militant leader) in jail right now. An American killed Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. last night. When they killed Dr. King, they made a mistake, because Dr. King was the one man who

was trying to ask, uh, black people not to burn down the cities. Now that they have killed Dr. King, there is no black man who will ask black people not to burn down the cities. What it means is that we've gone full swing into the revolution.

"Last night," Carmichael spoke on, "35 cities had major incidents. That was last night—35 cities of the United States where there was burning and shooting and killing over the death of Dr. King. It is clear, uh, more of this will continue. It is going to become more and more a guerrilla—urban guerrilla—warfare, because it is clear that we cannot win with the, uh, with the police, in open rebellion.

"So," he continued, "More people are now beginning to plan seriously a major urban guerrilla warfare, where we can begin to retaliate not only for the death of Dr. King, but where we can move seriously to . . ." His next few words were indistinct. . . . serious revolutions with this country to bring it to its knees.

"It is crystal clear to us," he declared, "that the United States of America must fall in order for humanity to live, and we are going to give our lives to that cause. To our brothers and sisters in Cuba, we want to say: Hello, my respects to you all."

"Thanks very much, Stokely," said Laguardia.

"We'll be coming back to you again in case . . . shows up."

"Very good."

"Au revoir."

"Au revoir," said Carmichael. "Tell Prime Minister Fidel (Fidel Castro) I said hello."

"All right," promised Laguardia. "Bye, Stokely."

State Level Politics

The high-powered lobbying pressures brought on state legislators is illustrated in an election now taking place in the Cleveland suburbs. The race is between Ron Mottl, a member of the Ohio legislature, and State Sen. Francis Sullivan, whom Mottl seeks to replace. Both are Democrats.

Last year Mottl took a courageous stand against the most powerful bank in Ohio, the Cleveland Trust Company. He supported a law requiring cumulative stock voting which would have permitted minority stockholders to elect directors to the Cleveland Trust's Board.

It was a bitter battle in which the trust company retained as its attorney Dan Duffy, vice chairman of the Democratic Party in Cleveland. He registered the fact that he was paid \$12,000.

Afterward Duffy moved to bar Mottl from the ballot in the upcoming Ohio primary. Duffy is a member of the board of elections as well as being vice chairman of the

Democratic Party, and used his position of influence to strike Mottl's name. Mottl had declared as a candidate for the Senate against incumbent Sen. Francis Sullivan, who is regularly employed by Republic Steel at a salary of \$9000.

Ted Brown, Ohio Secretary of State and a Republican, criticized the board of elections for its action. Mottl went to court and secured a ruling putting his name back on the ballot. It's there today.

Meanwhile, two interesting candidates announced that they were running against him under circumstances which looked as if friends of Sen. Sullivan or friends of the Cleveland Trust Company might have induced them to run.

The Parma election district outside of Cleveland is largely populated by Czechs, Slavs and Ukrainians, mixed with Irish. Sullivan automatically gets the Irish vote and Mottl, a Czech-American, was due to get the Slav vote.

But Michael Zaderecky, a Ukrainian, suddenly entered the Democratic primary, together with Richard Motousek, a Czech. Obviously they will siphon votes away from Ron Mottl rather than from Francis Sullivan, the Irishman.

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Drew Pearson will predict the outcome of the Indiana primary in his broadcast with Jack Anderson over radio WTOP, at 6:40 p.m.

100-446080-1581

ENCLOSURE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-13-2006 BY
60309/TC/TAM/DCG/bls

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. Sullivan *MS*

FROM : G. C. Moore *GA*

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION

DATE: 5/15/68

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

"The Washington Post" dated 5/15/68, page A-14, in the "Letters to the Editor" column contained a letter from Paul Segre, Brown's Town, Jamaica, wherein Segre was critical of columnist Drew Pearson repeatedly referring to Stokely Carmichael as having been born in Jamaica, West Indies. According to Segre, Carmichael was not born in Jamaica and has never been to Jamaica. The Director inquired, "Where was Carmichael born?"

Carmichael was born 6/29/41 in Port of Spain, Trinidad, West Indies. He received derivative United States citizenship on 4/27/53 as a minor upon naturalization of his father in the United States District Court at New York, New York.

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

100-446080

PTB:fhd (6)

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. Basher

ENCLOSURE

COPY MADE FOR MR. TOLSON

67 MAY 24 1968

100-446080-1582

25 MAY 22 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-13-2006 BY
60309/TC/TAM/DCG/bls

Tolson ☒
DeLoach ☒
Mohr ☒
Bishop ☒
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen ☒
Sullivan ☒
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

Letters to The Editor

Jamaican Disclaimer

Your syndicated columnist Mr. Drew Pearson has repeatedly referred to Mr. Stokely Carmichael as having been born in Jamaica, West Indies. The qualifying epithets have usually been "Jamaican rabble-rouser," "militant Negro from Jamaica," or, most recently, "young firebrand from Jamaica who took advantage of an American college education." For Mr. Pearson's information, Mr. Carmichael was

not born in Jamaica, has never been to Jamaica, nor has he ever insinuated any comments to this effect. Jamaican students who come to your country are usually under tremendous economic and emotional pressures and should not have their hardships compounded by the assertions of irresponsible journalists who ally them with controversial personages.

PAUL SEGRE

Brown's Town, Jamaica.

Why was Carmichael born?

The Washington Post _____
Times Herald _____
The Washington Daily News _____
The Evening Star (Washington) _____
The Sunday Star (Washington) _____
Daily News (New York) _____
Sunday News (New York) _____
New York Post _____
The New York Times _____
The Sun (Baltimore) _____
The Worker _____
The New Leader _____
The Wall Street Journal _____
The National Observer _____
People's World _____
Date MAY 15 1968

REC.

ENCLOSURE

100-446080-1582

25 MAY 22 1968

COPY MADE FOR MR. TOLSON

*Memo Moore to Sullivan
PT B/ghel 5/15/68*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-13-2006 BY
60309/TC/TAM/DCG/bls

F B I

Date: 5/13/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM: SAC, PITTSBURGH (100-15615) (RUC)
SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS;
SEDITION
(OO: WASHINGTON FIELD)

Re Pittsburgh airtel to the Bureau dated 5/2/68;
Washington Field airtel to the Bureau dated 5/6/68.

[redacted] (reliable - conceal) and [redacted]
[redacted] (in a position to furnish reliable
information) have advised that [redacted] of
Unity, Inc., has announced that the subject will not be able
to attend the convention being sponsored by Unity, Inc., at
Pittsburgh, from 5/31-6/1/68. Sources said that according
to [redacted] the subject's personal plans will preclude
his visiting Pittsburgh.

CARMICHAEL SHOULD BE CONSIDERED ARMED AND DANGEROUS
SINCE INDIVIDUALS HAVE REPORTED HIM IN POSSESSION OF A GUN
ON THE EVENING OF 4/4/68, IN THE VICINITY OF 14TH AND U
STREETS, N.W., AND AGAIN ON THE AFTERNOON OF 4/5/68, AT
HOWARD UNIVERSITY.

- EX-115
- ③ - Bureau (RM)
 - 2 - Washington Field (100-43503) (RM)
 - 5 - Pittsburgh
 - (1 - [redacted])
 - (1 - [redacted])
 - (1 - 157-662) (UNITY, INC.)
 - (1 - 157-630) [redacted]

FFK:jab
(10)

REC-7 100-446080-1583
10 MAY 15 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.

C. C. Bishop
Approved: MAY 2 1968
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

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b7D

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b7C

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-13-2006 BY
60309/TC/TAM/DCG/bls

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

TO : W. C. Sullivan *WCS*

DATE: May 18, 1968

FROM : J. A. Sizoo *JAS*

SUBJECT: Stokley Carmichael
Racial Matters

100
[redacted] telephone number [redacted]
telephonically advised Extra-Duty Supervisor, Sebastian S. Mignosa
at 7:30 P.M., 5/18/68 that the Army had heard that subject was
on a bus in Baltimore with participants of the Poor Peoples
Campaign and was enroute to Washington, D. C. He allegedly was
to have left Baltimore 7:15 P.M.

A check with New York determined from Weekend Supervisor
[redacted] that subject as of 5:30 P.M. was at a reception in
Mt. Vernon, N. Y.

This information was furnished telephonically to [redacted]
[redacted] at 9:00 P.M.

ACTION

None. For information

- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. Mignosa

SSM:dcr

EX-116

REC 11

100-446080-1584
6 MAY 22 1968

JAS
59 MAY 28 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-13-2006 BY
60309/TC/TAM/DCG/bls

VIA TELETYPE
MAY 17 1968
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

WASH 20

1132PM DEFERRED 5-17-68 WMS

TO DIRECTOR (PLAINTEXT) AND WASHINGTON FIELD 100-43503

WASHINGTON FIELD VIA WASHINGTON

ATTN DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM NEW YORK 100-153751

STOKLEY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC; SEDITION OO:WFO

RENYTEL FIVE SIXTEEN SIXTY EIGHT.

AT THREE PM THIS DATE CARMICHAEL AND [REDACTED]

OBSERVED BEING PHOTOGRAPED IN AFRICAN GARMENTS IN FRONT OF

[REDACTED] RESIDENCE [REDACTED]

AT THREE THIRTY PM THIS DATE CARMICHAEL, [REDACTED] AND UNKNOWN

MALE DEPARTED IN FAMILY BLUE PLYMOUTH SEDAN FROM [REDACTED]

RESIDENCE HEADING IN DIRECTION OF MANHATTAN. DUE TO CARMICHAEL

DRIVING AT RECKLESS SPEED SURVEILLANCE DISCONTINUED. ~~REUR~~

CONTINUED IN VICINITY OF [REDACTED] HOME, SNCC

OFFICE, WITH NEGATIVE RESULTS. ~~REUR~~ DISCONTINUED ELEVEN FIFTEEN

PM THIS DATE. RECEPTION FOR CARMICHAEL SCHEDULED MAY EIGHTEEN

NEW YORK.

END

54 MAY 20 1968
FBI WASH DC

TELETYPED TO:
FTB - JCR

WFO

REC-27

100-446080-1585

4 MAY 21 1968

5-17

b6
b7C

MR. W. C. SULLIVAN

May 10, 1968

MR. G. C. MOORE

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)
RACIAL MATTERS
SEDITION

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS - SNCC
SEDITION

The Washington, D. C., Office of SNCC recently moved to a new location at 2208 14th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C., which is in the heart of the ghetto area.

Our Washington Field Office (WFO) has requested permission to [REDACTED] which will provide effective visual and photographic coverage of the new SNCC Office. [REDACTED]

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b7E

ORIGINAL FILED IN

- ① 100-446080 (Stokely Carmichael)
100-439190 (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee)

Enclosure

PTB:ekw (7)

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - [REDACTED]

100-446080
NOT RECORDED
199 MAY 22 1968

CONTINUED - OVER

b6
b7C

55 MAY 23 1968

Memorandum to W. C. Sullivan'

RE: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC);

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

100-439190 (SNCC)

100-446080 (Stokely Carmichael)

At the specific request of the Department, we are conducting an investigation of Stokely Carmichael, former chairman of SNCC, who is presently working out of the Washington, D. C., SNCC Office. Under Carmichael's direction SNCC, since early 1967, has changed from a civil rights organization to a group advocating violence and guerrilla warfare. We are currently conducting an investigation of SNCC and its members. It is believed an observation post of Washington, D. C., SNCC headquarters will provide valuable information in our coverage of Carmichael and other SNCC members in the Washington, D. C., area.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached airtel be approved authorizing WFO to [REDACTED] [REDACTED] for the purpose of establishing an observation post of Washington, D. C., SNCC headquarters with full security assured.

b2
b6
b7C
b7E

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 06-13-2006 BY

60309/TC/TAM/DCG/bls

FBI

Date: 5/17/68

Transmit the following in CODE

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE URGENT

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR AND SACS BOSTON, CHICAGO, NEW YORK AND
NEW ORLEANS

FROM: SAC, WFO

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS - MISC; SEDITION. *REC-5* *Heckler* *Doyle* *2*

REWFOTEL, MAY FIFTEEN, LAST.

SUBJECT LEFT RESIDENCE NINE FORTY A.M., MAY SIXTEEN, LAST,

WITH [REDACTED] AND [REDACTED] WITH ANOTHER *REC-5* *Heckler* *Doyle* *2*

UNIDENTIFIED COUPLE IN HERTZ RENTED WHITE MERCURY, DISTRICT

OF COLUMBIA LICENSE RA ONE FIVE ONE NINE. THEY DROVE TO

TRAILWAYS BUS DEPOT, WDC, WHERE [REDACTED] AND [REDACTED] WITH OTHER

COUPLE ALIGHTED AND ENTERED TERMINAL.

A SOURCE ADVISED BELIEVED [REDACTED] AND [REDACTED] WITH OTHER
COUPLE TRAVELED TO NEW YORK TO BE PRESENT AT CARMICHAEL RECEPTION
BEING HELD EVENING MAY EIGHTEEN, NEXT.

- (2) - Bureau
3 - Teletype Unit
2 - WFO (100-43503)

WWH:tjd
(7)

TELETYPE

REC 5

MAY 21 1968

EX-115

54 MAY 28 1968

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

PAGE TWO

SUBJECT AND [] AFTER LEAVING TRAILWAYS CONTINUED TO FRIENDSHIP AIRPORT WHERE THEY MET [] RETURNING TO RESIDENCE. IN AFTERNOON SUBJECT WITH [] AND [] LEFT RESIDENCE AND WENT TO SNCC HEADQUARTERS VIA INDUSTRIAL BANK, ELEVENTH AND U STREETS, N.W., WDC, WHERE SUBJECT AND [] ENTERED. LATER THEY DEPARTED SNCC AND WENT TO GEORGETOWN WHERE [] APPEARED TO BE SHOPPING. THEY THEN DROVE TO NATIONAL AIRPORT, WDC, WHERE WHITE MERCURY STATION WAGON TURNED IN AT HERTZ. SUBJECT, [] AND [] THEN BOARDED EASTERN AIRLINES SHUTTLE FLIGHT WHICH DEPARTED FOR LA GUARDIA AIRPORT, NEW YORK CITY AT FOUR P.M.

A SECOND CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE ADVISED SUBJECT ATTENDED MEETING OF THE STEERING COMMITTEE OF THE BLACK UNITED FRONT (BUF) ON EVENING OF MAY FIFTEEN, LAST.

LOS ANGELES ADVISED MAY SIXTEEN, LAST, [] FORMER OWNER SIXTYFIVE BLACK CADILLAC CONVERTIBLE, CALIFORNIA LICENSE [] WAS INTERVIEWED []

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

b6
b7C

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

PAGE THREE

[REDACTED] INDICATED [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] TURNED CAR OVER TO [REDACTED]

ON FEBRUARY ONE, LAST, WHO PROMISED TO SELL VEHICLE FOR HIM.

[REDACTED] HAS NOT SIGNED ANY PAPERS OR RECEIVED ANY MONEY FOR
SALE. [REDACTED] INDICATED [REDACTED] RELATED TO HIM SHE HAD SOLD
AUTOMOBILE; HOWEVER, PRESENT OWNER UNKNOWN TO [REDACTED]

VEHICLE FINANCED THROUGH [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] ADVISED MAY SIXTEEN, LAST

INSTANT VEHICLE SOLD FEBRUARY, LAST TO [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] COSIGNER [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] FORMER

OWNER OF VEHICLE, [REDACTED] AND

[REDACTED] UNKNOWN TO LOS ANGELES POLICE DEPARTMENT AND LASO.

b6
b7C

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

PAGE FOUR

LOS ANGELES SOURCES AND INDICES CONTAIN NO INFORMATION
CONCERNING [REDACTED] AND [REDACTED]

ADMINISTRATIVE

FIRST SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

SECOND SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

RE BOSTON TEL MAY SIXTEEN, LAST, ADVISING BOSTON POLICE
DEPARTMENT REPORTED SUBJECT COMING THERE LATE MAY SEVENTEEN,
INSTANT, OR EARLY MAY EIGHTEEN, NEXT, TO REUNIFY UNITED FRONT.
WFO SOURCES REPORT NO INFORMATION SUBJECT PLANS BEING IN
BOSTON ABOVE DATES. FOR INFORMATION BOSTON, SUBJECT SCHEDULED
TO ATTEND RECEPTION SIX THIRTY P.M., MAY EIGHTEEN, NEXT, MT.
VERNON, NEW YORK.

LHM FOLLOWS FOR BUREAU RE BUF MEETING ATTENDANCE.

COPY FURNISHED CHICAGO AND NEW ORLEANS FOR INFORMATION.

NEW YORK COVER SUBJECT'S PRESENCE PER BUREAU AIRTEL
DECEMBER TWENTYONE, SIXTYSEVEN. IF SUBJECT TRAVELS FROM

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

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F B I

Date: _____

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

PAGE FIVE

NEW YORK CITY AREA, NOTIFY APPROPRIATE OFFICE WITH INSTRUCTIONS
TO COVER PER ABOVE BUREAU AIRTEL. P.

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-13-2006 BY
60309/TC/TAM/DCG/bls

VIA TELETYPE
MAY 16 1968
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

WA...15

FBI NEW YORK

11-06PM URGENT 5-16-68 WPK

TO DIRECTOR (PLAINTEXT) AND WASHINGTON FIELD 100-43503

WASHINGTON FIELD VIA WASHINGTON

ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM NEW YORK 100-153751 1P

STOKLEY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC; SEDITION. OO-WFO.

RE WFO TEL TO NEW YORK THIS DATE.

BUREAU AGENTS OBSERVED SUBJECT AND [REDACTED]

AND [REDACTED] ARRIVE AT LA GUARDIA AIRPORT, NYC, FIVE PM

THIS DATE VIA EASTERN AIRLINES SHUTTLE. SUBJECT, [REDACTED] AND [REDACTED]

WERE DRIVEN IN A LIMOUSINE TO [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] WHERE [REDACTED] WAS OBSERVED LEAVING

COMPANY OF SUBJECT AND [REDACTED] SUBJECT AND [REDACTED] PROCEEDED BY

LIMOUSINE TO SUBJECT FORMER RESIDENCE [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] ARRIVING SIX FORTY FIVE PM, THIS DATE,

AND CARRIED LUGGAGE INTO RESIDENCE.

SUBJECT, [REDACTED] AND TWO UNIDENTIFIED NEGRO FEMALES

LEFT THIS RESIDENCE AT EIGHT PM IN ONE NINE SIX SEVEN PLYMOUTH

SEDAN, NY LICENSE [REDACTED] REGISTERED TO

END PAGE ONE

TELETYPED TO:
MAY 29 1968

WFO

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REC 9

100-446080/587

J-147

P

AGE TWO

[REDACTED] AT EIGHT FORTY FIVE PM SUBJECT, [REDACTED] AND THREE FEMALES ENTERED [REDACTED] WHERE NUMEROUS RECORD COMPANIES ARE LOCATED. SUBJECT ADVISED A PARKING ATTENDANT THAT HE INTENDED TO REMAIN IN BUILDING FOR THREE OR FOUR HOURS. [REDACTED] BELIEVED TO BE AT RECORD COMPANY FOR RECORDING SESSION. SUBJECT AND [REDACTED] BELIEVED TO BE STAYING AT [REDACTED]

b6
b7C

ADMINISTRATIVE

BUREAU AGENTS OBSERVING SUBJECT WERE SA'S [REDACTED] [REDACTED] AND [REDACTED] NYO WILL COVER SUBJECT WHILE IN NYC AND WILL KEEP BUREAU ADVISED.

END

WA...

RNK F R RELAY

FBI WASH DC

CHS FTB FBI WASH DC / RNK

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-13-2006 BY
60309/TC/TAM/DCG/bls

VIA TELETYPE
MAY 16 1968
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

WA -----7-----

FBI NEW YORK

5:34 PM URGENT 5-16-68 AWS

TO DIRECTOR AND WASHINGTON FIELD (100-43503) (CODE)

ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM NEW YORK 100-153751

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC: SEDITION OO: WFO.

REWFOTEL AND TEL CALL TO NY THIS DATE.

WFO REQUESTED TO HAVE THEIR SOURCE, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] COVER AND REPORT WHAT EVER ACTIVITIES OF SUBJECT

THAT ARE PERTINENT WHILE HE IS IN NEW YORK.

MENTIONED SOURCE, IF PRACTICAL, CAN CONTACT

NYO THROUGH CONFIDENTIAL TELEPHONE NUMBER, AREA CODE [REDACTED]

END

CORR L8 W8 SIX

WA...

HWL R RELAY

FBI WASH DC

TELETYPED TO:
54 MAY 28 1968

REC 8

100-4460801588

ONE COPIES WFO FIB

b2
b7D

b2
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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-13-2006 BY
60309/TC/TAM/DCG/bls

FBI

Date: 5/15/68

Transmit the following in **PLAINTEXT**

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via **TELETYPE** **URGENT**

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: **DIRECTOR, AND SACS CHICAGO AND NEW YORK**FROM: **SAC, WFO (100-43503)****STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS - MISC; SEDITION.****REWFOTEL MAY FOURTEEN, LAST.**SUBJECT DEPARTED RESIDENCE WITH AND ELEVEN FOURTEEN A.M. THEY DROVE IN RED VOLVO SEDAN VIA WHERE THEY

SPENT SEVERAL MINUTES BEFORE PROCEEDING TO NATIONAL AIRPORT.

AT NATIONAL AIRPORT, BOARDED TWELVE NOONEASTERN SHUTTLE FOR NEW YORK CITY. CARMICHAEL AND

SECURED RENTED WHITE MERCURY STATION WAGON BEARING DISTRICT

OF COLUMBIA LICENSE, ONE FIVE ONE NINE FROM HERTZ, WHICH THEY

RETURNED TO SNCC HEADQUARTERS ALONG WITH THE VOLVO. IN RENTING

CAR STATED WOULD KEEP SAME UNTIL MAY NINETEEN, NEXT. IN

- (2) - Bureau
3 - Teletype Unit
2 - WFO

WWH:tjd

(7)

TELETYPE

REC 8

Approved: Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M

Per _____

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

WFO 100-43503

PAGE TWO

AFTERNOON CARMICHAEL VISITED "RESURRECTION CITY" BEING ERECTED BY THE POOR PEOPLES CAMPAIGN AND WALKED ABOUT THE AREA TALKING WITH INDIVIDUALS. [REDACTED] COMMENTED TO PRESS ABOUT CARMICHAEL'S PRESENCE, THAT HE WAS NO STRANGER TO THEM, WAS REALLY LIKE A BROTHER, WAS ONE OF THE IMPORTANT NEGRO LEADERS IN THE U.S. TODAY AND THAT HE HAD KNOWN CARMICHAEL PERSONALLY FOR [REDACTED] YEARS. CARMICHAEL LATER IN AFTERNOON RETURNED TO SNCC HEADQUARTERS WHERE HE WAS PRESENT INTO EVENING HOURS. CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE ADVISED CARMICHAEL STATED HE AND [REDACTED] HOLDING RECEPTION IN NEW YORK CITY ON MAY EIGHTEEN, NEXT, AND WERE INVITING GUESTS TO ATTEND.

ADMINISTRATIVE

EFFORTS BEING MADE TO DETERMINE RESIDENTS OF [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]b6
b7C

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

WFO 100-43503

PAGE THREE

ABOVE SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

CHICAGO BE ALERT FOR POSSIBLE TRAVEL TO CHICAGO OF
BLACK CONSORTIUM MENTIONED IN CHICAGO AIRTEL MAY NINE, PAST,
AND COVER ACTIVITIES PER SAC LETTER DECEMBER TWENTYONE, SIXTY-
SEVEN.

NEW YORK ATTEMPT TO ASCERTAIN DETAILS OF RECEPTION BEING
HELD NEW YORK CITY MAY EIGHTEEN, NEXT. ACCORDING TO RECORDS
MARRIAGE BUREAU, WDC, CARMICHAEL AND [REDACTED] MARRIED WDC,
APRIL TWENTYNINE, PAST. ATTEMPT TO ASCERTAIN WHERE BLACK
CAUCUS BEING HELD IN BROOKLYN, NEW YORK, MAY SEVENTEEN TO
NINETTEN, NEXT, AND SUBMIT TO BUREAU AND WFO ARRANGEMENTS
BEING MADE FOR COVERAGE IN EVENT CARMICHAEL DOES APPEAR
AS MENTIONED IN NEWARK TEL MAY NINE, PAST, PER SAC LETTER
DECEMBER TWENTYONE, SIXTYSEVEN.

WFO WILL FURNISH PERTINENT TRAVEL DATA DEVELOPED. P.

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b7C

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

21-2540PM54 /7&, /6

WA 4

540PM URGENT 5-10-68 RPD

TO DIRECTOR AND WASHINGTON FIELD 100-43503 AND CHICAGO
PLAINTEXT

ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION
FROM NEW YORK 100-153751 1P

STOKLEY CARMICHAEL, IS- MISC.; SEDITION OO: WASHINGTON FIELD
RE NEW YORK TELEPHONE CALL, INSTANT.

BUREAU AGENTS OBSERVED SUBJECT AND [REDACTED]
AND UNKNOWN NEGRO MALE DEPART LA GUARDIA AIRPORT, NYC. FOUR
PM. THIS DATE VIA AMERICAN AIRLINES FLIGHT THREE ONE SEVEN
TO ARRIVE CHICAGO FIVE PM. INSTANT.

CARMICHAEL WEARING BLUE SWEATER TYPE JACKET, DARK
PANTS, WHITE SHIRT AND NO TIE. [REDACTED] WEARING WHITE COAT,
DARK DRESS AND ORANGE HEAD BAND. THIRD PERSON DESCRIBED
NEGRO MALE, AGE THIRTY ONE - THIRTY TWO, FIVE FEET TEN
INCHES, MEDIUM BUILD, WEARING LIGHT BLUE SHIRT, DARK
TROUSERS.

ADMINISTRATIVE

BUREAU AGENTS OBSERVING SUBJECT WERE SA'S [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] AND [REDACTED]

(P)

END

LRC R/RELA (WFOL)

TELETYPED TO:

54 MAY 21 1968
FBI WASH DC

FTB WFO

VIA TELETYPE
MAY 19 1968
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson_____
Mr. DeLoach_____
Mr. Mohr_____
Mr. Bishop_____
Mr. Casper_____
Mr. Callahan_____
Mr. Conrad_____
Mr. Felt_____
Mr. Gale_____
Mr. Rosen_____
Mr. Sullivan_____
Mr. Tavel_____
Mr. Trotter_____
Tele. Room_____
Miss Holmes_____
Miss Gandy_____

G. C. [REDACTED]

2 B [REDACTED]

b6
b7C

REC 8 100-446080-1590

MAY 21 1968

TO David Clark,

1P14 610 PM

5119160. [REDACTED]

5-111

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-13-2006 BY
60309/TC/TAM/DCG/bls

VIA TELETYPE
MAY 16 1968
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

WASHDC--1--

158 PM URGENT 5-15-68 LLR

TO DIRECTOR, & WASHINGTON FIELD (100-43503) PLAINTEXT
WASHINGTON FIELD VIA WASHINGTON
FROM LOS ANGELES (100-68783)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL IS - M; SEDITION

REURTEL MAY FOURTEEN LAST LOS ANGELES TEL MAY FIFTEEN
LAST, AND WASHINGTON FIELD TEL THIS DATE.

AT [REDACTED] ADVISED THIS DATE [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] BACKGROUND DATA ON [REDACTED] INDICATES BORN

[REDACTED] LISTING FORMER ADDRESS AS [REDACTED]

END OF PAGE ONE

4 MAY 21 1968

66 MAY 29 1968

b6
b7C

PAGE TWO

LA 100-68783

TWO NEGRO MALES CONSTANT COMPANIONS OF CARMICHAEL ON
MAY FOURTEEN LAST, WASHINGTON, D. C. UNKNOWN TO LOS ANGELES
RACIAL SOURCES. PERSONS DRIVING [REDACTED] AUTOMOBILE UNKNOWN
TO LOS ANGELES POLICE AGENCIES.

INVESTIGATION RE [REDACTED] CONTINUING.

END

C

MSE FBI WASH DC

b6
b7C

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-13-2006 BY
60309/TC/TAM/DCG/bls

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

DATE: 5/22/68

FROM : SAC, WFO (100-43503)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS;
SEDITION

Re Bureau airtel 2/5/68.

In view of the fact that subject no longer resides at [redacted] use of space at [redacted] as a lookout on aforementioned residence is being discontinued. Control of this space is being returned to [redacted] and the appreciation of the FBI for the cooperation [redacted] in this matter has been fully expressed.

b2
b7E

During the period this observation point was in use, it was maintained with full security and with the cooperation of [redacted] this matter was kept strictly confidential.

b2
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b7C
b7E

② - Bureau
2 - WFO
(1 - 66-4410)
WGD:wgd
(2)

REC-32

EX-106

10 MAY 22 1968

100-446080-1592



5010-108

62 MAY 31 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

RACIAL INT. SECT.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-13-2006 BY
60309/TC/TAM/DCG/bls
FBI

Date: 5/14/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via **AIRTEL** _____
(Priority)**TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)****FROM: SAC, NEWARK (100-49533)****SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION**

Re Newark teletype to Bureau, WFO, and New
York 4/27/68.
Newark airtel and LHM to Bureau 4/29/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of an LHM
dated and captioned as above. Also enclosed for the Bureau
is a copy of a tape recording of STOKELY CARMICHAEL's
remarks at Central High School, Newark, N.J., on 4/26/68.

The original tape recording of CARMICHAEL's
remarks was made on 4/26/68, by [redacted]

[redacted] The original tape was furnished
to SA [redacted] by [redacted]
[redacted] on 5/2/68. The copy
which is enclosed with this communication was made by
Newark on 5/2/68, and the original tape was returned to
[redacted] on 5/3/68. The transcript
of the tape was prepared by Newark Steno [redacted] and
SA [redacted]

REC-12

3-Bureau (Encs. 12) (RM)
2-WFO (100-43503) (Encs. 2) (RM)
1-New York (100-153751) (Enc. 1) (RM)
2-Newark
JWB:jes
(8)

C. C. Bishop

ENCLOSURE ON BULKY RAMP

13 MAY 15 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.

62 MAY 29 1968

Approved: RWB/aw Sent AS 5/10/68 M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

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NK 100-49533

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Newark, New Jersey
May 14, 1968

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DATE 06-13-2006 BY
60309/TC/TAM/DCG/bls

**STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION**

On April 26, 1968, Stokely Carmichael, of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), made a speech appearance at Central High School, Newark, New Jersey.

A characterization of SNCC is contained in the appendix hereto.

A source [redacted] [redacted] taped Carmichael's remarks. This tape was made available to the Newark Division, a transcript prepared, and is set out as follows:

b7D

100-446640-1593
ENCLOSURE

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

I know that you are tired because I am and I think you ought to forgive the people who run the program that kept you so long, but in a way you are to blame too because they feel they can't get you out and when they do, they have to give you everything at once. If you would come out all the time we could give a little at a time. (Applause) So that we ought to begin to understand that if we come out our programs would not have to be so lengthy. It is unfortunate that the program is this lengthy because we do have a lot to talk about. Before I do, I want to say something to you. Brother Rap Brown was unable to come tonight. He sends his love, he sends his good wishes, and everything else. (Noise from audience).

Tonight we want to talk about a lot of things. I hope I do not hurt anyone by what I say. Mainly I say things to help you to see this through self contradiction. I hope you just hang into the program beyond the points as they come.

Since Dr. King's death a lot of you are asking what does SNCC intend to do about it. Do they intend to fill the gap and preach nonviolence? (Laughter)

Since everybody has been quoting the Bible, I've found two quotes I'd like to give which is going to be SNCC quotes.

The first is, I come to bring you a sword not the shield. I come to bring father against son, daughter against mother, nation against nation, for where there is injustice there shall be no peace. (Applause)

The second quote is Acts 17, verse 6 or 7 depending upon which version of the Bible you read. Acts 17, verse 6 or 7 - it says, these are the men who were sent to turn the city upside down and the city authorities were afraid of us. (Applause)

I gave you the verse and the chapter because I want you to check it out yourself, so you know we're coming straight from the Bible. (Laughter and Applause)

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Now we have to begin to do a number of things in this country as a people. I want you to understand something with Dr. King's death. They've turned it into the biggest carnival and the biggest parade that this country . . . (Inaudible - Applause)

What they did to Dr. King was a clear insult to every black man in this country. Dr. King's last statement, I want to quote it to you, he said, "I have been on the mountain top, I have seen the promise land, I may not get there with you, but I tell you that we as a people are going to make it". He didn't say black people, he said we as a people are going to make it. (Applause) And that's what you've got to understand. We're talking about a people - a people. Dr. King didn't have any white followers cause if he had any they would have thrown a brick when he died. They didn't do nothing. Cause everybody did something who loved him, everybody. It's a people thing. It ain't no political thing, it's a people thing. And that's what we want to talk about.

We have to build in this country a concept of peoplehood. In order to do that we have to begin to advocate three, just three simple steps, to begin to form an ideology.

The first one is that we must have undying love for our people. Our people, not the country, our people. (Applause) We must have undying love for our people. That means we don't die in Vietnam, we die in the streets of Newark, our people. (Applause)

The next thing that comes out of that concept is first our people then and only then you and me as individuals. I want to repeat it, first - our people, then and only then you and me as individuals. That means everything goes out the window. Our People Comes First. Its About Time! (Applause)

Now then you must begin to understand that you cannot be for your people and also be for America because America is, always has been, and always will be against our people. (Applause) So that if we say we are for our people, we are against America, as hard as those words seem. (Applause)

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Now then the second concept that we have to deal with is going to be very hard. It is hard even for me. Every Negro is a potential black man. (Applause) That is very very important. Every Negro is a potential black man and if you believe every Negro is a potential black man then he's your potential ally and you will not alienate a potential ally. You work with them, you bring them home, and make them a warrior. (Applause) (Joke) (Laughter)

We've got to wake each other up, if we don't the white man will use us against each other. Every Negro Is A Potential Black Man! If you love your people you would work with them and bring them home instead of spitting on them, cursing at them, and scorning them. Every Negro is a potential black man. We've got to wake up! (Applause)

I tell you why that's hard, you see, cause sometimes I get upset myself. The weekend of Dr. King's death I really got upset. I've never seen so many Niggers run to white folks in my life who I thought would be together. I've never seen (inaudible). They running to them, begging to them, y'all do this, y'all do that, when you know damn well these Niggers (inaudible) (Applause)

But they're potential black man and we're going to talk to them, we gonna try, we gonna try, and we gonna try, and if they don't come home, we're not going to talk to them, they're traitors, we'll kill them. (Laughter and Applause)

You should not laugh very loud for killing your people because if you love them it will hurt you when you have to kill them. (Outburst from audience)

That's the problem with us, we're always so happy to jump on each other because we've been trained to hate, to cut, to kill, and to shoot each other, that the minute we get a chance to doubt each other, we do it. We must think positively as a race of people. We must! (Applause)

I'm tired hearing people get up and talk about how they gonna kill this Uncle Tom and that Uncle Tom, and they running around with governors, and presidents, and mayors and everybody else. I'm tired, I'm tired! (Applause)

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We ought not be talking about killing our people. We ought to talk about bring them home. If we love them, anybody who gets in our way gets to go, gets to go. Ain't no ifs, ands, or buts about it. Now we shouldn't talk about killing our people. If you really love somebody, you got to save them. If you got to kill them it hurts you, but you got to kill them.

Third concept. Very difficult. For black people the question of community is not simply a question of land, it is a question of our people and where we are. I'll repeat that. For black people the question of community is not simply a question of land or geography, it is a question of our people and where we are. That is to say that if I went to New York I would not be home until I was in Harlem cause that's where my people are; if I went to California, Los Angeles, I wouldn't be home until I was in Watts; Chicago - Southside; Newark - Central Ward, Washington, D.C. - the whole city. (Laughter and Applause)

Now if we begin to understand that concept then we can break down the national barriers on technical bull that the white man has thrown at us. If the question of community is wherever our people are - then if we go to Cuba, 65% of Cuba is black, we're home! If we go to Panama, 60% of Panama is black, we're home! Guatemala, 60% of Guatemala is black, we're home! Haiti, the whole island is black, we're home! The West Indies and when we get to Africa, we know we're back where we came from. (Applause)

If we can begin to understand that concept and we must, we can break down these concepts this white man talking about of American Negro, Canadian Negro, Afro-Cuban, (obscene) that. We're one people from the same person, same class, same blood. We were first. Ain't no doubt about that. We are the same people. We must understand that concept because if we do we understand that there are nine hundred million Africans in the world today and that we are 50 million apart of that nine hundred million Africans in the world today. (Applause)

We have got to understand that concept because it is for our survival. The concepts we talk about is not to build a political party, we don't want a political party, the

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concepts we talk about is for the survival of black people. Cause that is what we're faced with today. Not a mayor, not a governor, not a senator, we are faced with survival. Why are we faced with survival? We are faced with survival because the "honky" is getting ready to wipe us out once and for all. (Applause) That's the problem we're faced with. Now we say the "honky" is getting ready to commit genocide against us. The people say, oh no, he ain't going to do that. (Laughter) Alright, let us assume he is not going to do that. (Laughter) We say, it is better to be prepared than to not be prepared. (Applause) (Joke) (Laughter and Applause)

It is always better to be prepared than not be prepared. But let us examine why we must talk about survival today.

The trials and tribulations of black people in this country has been nothing, but sorrow. That's all. We were brought here for a specific purpose. To make this "honky" a country, to make him the best country in the world, and we have served him well, served him well. (Applause) Now we have served our purpose. We have built this country. They no longer need us. When you don't need something you store it. If it becomes too expensive to store it, you destroy it. Brothers right now they're getting ready to do us in. We've got to wake up! (Applause)

But still some black people will say, it is not possible, they're not going to wipe us out. Well let us check out the man and the history book. The "honky's" country was conceived in genocide. He killed the indians and took it from them, and he taught everybody about genocide. . . . (inaudible) on television, cowboys and indians, he tells you how glorious, how beautiful it was to wipe out a race of people and take the country from them. He doesn't even know what he has done. That's the type of animal we are dealing with. But let us not in America. As we begin, let us stop in South America. The Aztec Indians took him in. They thought he was a human being. (Laughter) They said come brother. Here's our silver, these are our religious monuments, these are beads our people wear. He spotted the silver, stole it, and wiped them out. He went to Africa. He spotted us. We were laying beside trees, eating, getting high, giving gold to our women. (Laughter) We said look, this is all our stuff. We ain't putting no value on nothing cause gold don't look anything as when its on somebody black. It's beautiful. (Applause) Not only did they steal our

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gold, our diamonds, our copper, our zinc, our oil, he stole us. (Laughter and Applause) He wasn't satisfied. He went to Asia. The Chinese took him in. They said dig brother, what you have? I have gun powder. They wasn't even making guns for it. They said we use this to set off fireworks on our anniversaries and festivities. He spotted it, took it back, made guns, came back and conquered Asia. Where has this white man gone where he does not rule today? I ask you to tell me one place that he has gone where he hasn't shown his true nature. (Laughter) Whether the majority or the minority, he rules! He rules in America. He rules in South Africa. He rules in Asia. He rules in Latin America. Wherever he has gone he has disrupted civilization. He has disrupted every type of nation and human rights. He has destroyed his own . . . (inaudible) Everybody bows down to him. We've had it! That's enough. Time to quit. Lets get it on. (Applause)

This is not only the concept that comes out from fanatics, extremists, etc., it is a real live problem. The world today is divided on color, nothing else. Pure-d color. In England they can't be helped. In France, where the folks began the so-called State of Israel, they're building missiles for the Zionists. Everywhere we go that white man help the white man out and trying to keep us divided. The world is divided on color.

(Long break in tape)

They went there and took the land from the Palestine Arabs. Took it! Didn't say do you want to sell it, how much money you want. Took it! Kicked them out! Kicked them out and established a state, and they want everybody to feel sorry for them cause Hitler messed over them. Cause Hitler messed over you, get your guns and fight Hitler! I ain't done nothing to you. Leave me alone! Leave me alone! Leave me alone! (Applause)

Don't let those Jews run the story down on you cause we been persecuted. Yeah we been persecuted. But who persecuted us. The white man persecuted us. We ain't never put a finger on you, not a finger! (Applause) The Russians

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persecuted them, the Germans persecuted them, the Poles persecuted them, the Americans persecuted them, the English persecuted them, the French persecuted them, but go ahead and fight them. The Arabs ain't never did nothing to them, nothing! Why they want to become the Nazis of the Middle East? Why? Can you honestly talk about you supporting Israel. You don't know what's happening. You don't know what's happening. The so-call State of Israel, they talk about Israel belongs to them according to the Proclamation of David. Egypt is over 4,000 years old. We had it then, its ours! It is ours! They ain't telling you Jewish boys they should leave America to go fight for Israel, which he said belongs to them from David's time. That Egypt been ours, been ours, was the best civilization, best civilization! If you go to Egypt, in the museums you see the 4,000 year old statutes of black men of you and me, and you've got to really fight for Egypt, they're marching on Egypt now. And we sit here talking about why those Arabs hate the Jews. Well now. (Laughter) Because they are educated! (Laughter) I'm your Nigger and I support the Arabs. (Applause)

. . . . (inaudible) It makes my heart feel so good. (Laughter) So good, so good. Yeah, I want them Palestinian Arabs to get the whole thing back. It belongs to them.

Now there's one other point we must discuss. Now you know how they confuse everybody. Now they talk about well it was like that, we didn't get the land correctly, we took it, but now that we're here we have to do something about it. Don't go for that joke. Look here. If you had a house which you built with twenty rooms in it and I come in and you have one room and lets say that your children bikes and all that junk and I threw all the bikes out and I take the room, and you come back and say I want my room, and I say no, no, before I get out we've got to discuss this. (Laughter) Before we discuss this you got to get out my room. If I want you back in I will let you back in. Let you back in. (Applause)

Don't be carried away with those intellectual arguments. Just ask if you think from the heart you won't ever go wrong. Take my word for it. Take the white man to

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talk about you got to think it out. I don't have to think nothing out, when I fall in love I'm in love. Ain't got to think nothing out. Ain't got to think nothing out. No sir! Ain't got to think it out. When you know you're right you just go ahead and you do what you're suppose, cause good thinking will always mess the black man up when its the white man doing the thinking. (Applause)

There are three more points that I wish to run through real quickly. We've got to (outburst from audience - inaudible)

Yeah, well my wife is waiting for me. (Laughter)

There is communism versus capitalism. Now we want you to understand both of them, and where each is coming from. Communism speaks to the question of people who are exploited, it does not speak to people who are colonized. You've got to understand this. Communism speaks to people who are exploited, does not speak to people who are colonized. If we are colonized people, communism does not seek of us. Understand that, now we're not against communism, it just can't help us, cause all communism says is that if there is one guy, two guys on top working everybody and they are poor and they say that poor guys ought to get together, beat up the few rich guys, and spread the money around. That will appeal to the white people, but as we said, for us it's not a question of money, it's a question of methods, so we must find an ideology with features beyond communism. Beyond communism. For we must get to the essence of that. So when they talk about are you a communist we only waste time answering any of them. Don't be getting caught in no debate with any of them, are you this, are you anything. I'm for my people that's all. Whatever they're for, I'm for. Period. Period. (Applause)

We all understand it. We don't need you. The people need you. That's why we put the press out. We're not talking to the press, we're talking to our people! The cultural revolution is a necessity for us at this point. It's a necessity because we are so confused, w are going through so many different ways. We have to keep reaching, finding out where it is. The world is moving much too fast for us to even keep up with it that we did the most technological thing. Everyday something world shaken happens. Everyday. We must have a cultural revolution that binds us closer and closer together as a people. Because in a final analysis, it will only be the love of our

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people that will save us. Undying love for my people. There are no interests in all the governments. We must be prepared for them, they are prepared for them. Outside many people crying. I'm serious! In Washington, D.C., eleven people got killed. Everybody else says look at you preaching the (inaudible). Eleven of your people are killed. Nigger you got a thousand million dollars dying everyday! They died for nething! Eleven died in D.C. and they brought the community to the government, and lets praise those eleven that gave their lives for us. (Applause)

We must . . . (inaudible) 43 people died. On any given holiday we have 800, 900 people die on highways. 43 people died to bring our people together and everybody else - don't do that no more. Don't drive on a holiday cause you're going to die. (Laughter) That's right. Y'all talk about death. But I'm not afraid to die, and if your're dying for your people you ought to say that you'll be happy to do it. We're much betteroff than white people in the country today. They have nothing to die for. We have our people to die for. We're way ahead of them. We don't (inaudible) as they do that's why they've got to turn against us. We have had over 22,000 heros in jail over the past three years. We should praise them. We should write (inaudible), and we should sing their praises for what they have done to help bring our people together. And it does bring our community together much better than a thousand Martin Luther King's speeches got us all together. Together much better than a thousand Leroi Jones or Rap Browns preaching to the same people. Those are natural facts. And we must begin to recognize that. And that is all, that is all, eleven died, and we are thankful that only eleven died for their people. More perhaps died. Let us recognize that. People just don't say, why don't you burn downtown. Nigger why don't you organize and help me burn downtown? (Applause) If you want downtown burned, I'm ready, lets organize, lets go downtown to burn. Don't come pointing your finger to me about why did you go downtown to burn, there's no need to burn. Nigger it's your fight too, it's not just mine. It's, it's all our fight. whether you want to admit it or not, it's all our fight. Cause if I go out tonight and throw a brick in a window downtown, they gonna come down on the entire

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black community. The persecution is not gonna be on me its gonna be on the entire black community. (Applause)

Now suppose for the minute that you want this. Do you understand this concept of black versus America? And that's what a lot of people going around here saying I'm an American Negro and I'm proud of it. That's okay. I can understand that. I understand it. That's okay. I remember . . . (inaudible) about young Jews who were trying to get the people awake . . . (inaudible). That's okay they woke up dead the Germans and the Jews. So you know about American Negroes, that's okay, we gonna wake up dead American Negroes. I may wake up a dead black man, but I'll have done enough that I will be satisfied with a bullet in me. (Applause)

If they kill me tomorrow I'm satisfied because I've done everything I could do until that day when they killed me, and until they kill me I'm gonna keep doing everything I can so when I go my death will be worthy of the bullet. When you get the bullet Nigger, what is it worth? What have you done to deserve the bullet. If you gonna get it, do something. If you can't do nothing Nigger, sit, sit! (Laughter and Applause)

Now as the final concept, I wanna talk about this thing love or hate. You gotta understand it very very clearly. A lot of people will say . . . (inaudible). They're preaching hate. We're not preaching hate, we're preaching love. We are preaching love for one's people. Now you got to understand it. There's two types of philosophy in this world. Y'all excuse me if I get kind of heavy. (Laughter)

There is metaphysical philosophy and there's dialectical philosophy. Metaphysical philosophy is always constant and there's this change that goes on although the changes remain constant. Dialectical philosophy sets up opposites. And as these opposites react, that's how we get the changes. Obviously dialectical philosophy is correct. There are opposites for laughter, there's crying, for joy there's sadness, for hot there's cold. There are opposites in everything. For black there's white, for love there's hate. If you say you love and you do not hate or you don't

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know about hate, you do not love. Because unless you know about hate you cannot know about love. Cannot know about love! If you don't hate then you love everybody, then you'll have to marry everybody. (Laughter) But if because you know about hate then you can distinguish between those who you like, those you like a little bit more, those you like a little bit more, and those who you finally love. But if you do not hate I'm going to tell you something, don't get upset. But if you do not hate, you do not love. When Dr. King got shot I went out and wished I could kill every God damn white man alive. I hate them! Old man downstairs said no son I don't hate. I said you don't hate cause you don't love Dr. King. Cause if you love somebody you have to destroy that which is trying to destroy the one you love. You got to do it! Your mother, your father, you got children, you love your children. If I try to destroy your children, if you love them, you'd destroy me. You said you love black people, you know God damn well . . . (inaudible) black people, you've got to hate this country for what's it doing to your people, if you love them. If you loved your people you'd have to. Don't you just go crazy seeing the way they shoot us down. If you love you'd have to go and save them. You just have to do something. But because you have no love for your people then you have no hatred for that which is destroying your people. I love my people and anything that tries to mess over my people I'll kill them. If you loved your people you'd destroy anything that tries to mess over them. Thank you. (Applause)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

APPENDIX

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Literature distributed by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, describes itself as not being a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements. SNCC was born out of the sit-in movement which erupted across the South beginning on February 1, 1960. A conference at Raleigh, North Carolina, that Spring brought together many of the demonstrating Southern students in a loose network of militant youth which was officially named SNCC in October, 1960.

A source has advised that in May, 1966, Stokely Carmichael was elected National Chairman by the Central Committee. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced as Chairman by H. Rap Brown, with Carmichael assuming the position of Recruiter and Organizer for the SNCC. In August, 1967, at the invitation of Fidel Castro, Carmichael participated in the Organization of Latin American Solidarity Conference which was held in Havana, Cuba. Subsequent thereto, Carmichael traveled to Hanoi and other sections of North Vietnam. He returned to the United States in December, 1967, at which time his passport was picked up because of travel to unauthorized countries.

A source advised that when Carmichael was elected Chairman of SNCC, the organization embarked on a program of eliminating Caucasians from its ranks. With the election of H. Rap Brown as Chairman in 1967, it embarked on a worldwide struggle for human rights and to take a firm stand against violations of these rights by the American Government and to strengthen its programs of opposition to the draft and to the United States involvement in Vietnam.

Literature distributed in February, 1968, identifies SNCC as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

On August 13, 1967, while addressing a group in the Watts area of Los Angeles, California, H. Rap Brown said "You better shape up America, or we'll burn you down." Later in February, 1968, in a publicized note Brown wrote, "America, if it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you and to organize your jails to revolt against you and to organize your children, your God, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here's my life."

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100-446080-1593 4-881

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ENCLOSURE (1)

TO DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM SAC, NEWARK (100-49533)

**Enclosed is a tape recording of
STOKELY CARMICHAEL's remarks at
Central High School, Newark, N.J.,
on 4/26/68.**



100-446080-1593

ENCLOSURE

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F B I

Date: 5/16/68

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Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
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Via TELETYPE URGENT
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TO: DIRECTOR AND SACS CHICAGO, LOS ANGELES AND NEW YORK

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS - MISC; SEDITION.

REWFOTEL TO DIRECTOR AND CHICAGO AND NEW YORK, MAY
FIFTEEN, LAST; NO COPY LOS ANGELES.

SUBJECT NOT OBSERVED TO DEPART RESIDENCE MORNING OF MAY
FIFTEEN, LAST. IN AFTERNOON, HE VISITED SNCC HEADQUARTERS
WHERE HE REMAINED INTO EVENING. IN EVENING HE WENT TO AREA
OF PHELPS STREET, N.W., WHERE SEVERAL MEMBERS OF [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] TROUPE REPORTED TO RESIDE. SUBJECT DRIVING HERTZ
RENTED WHITE MERCURY, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA LICENSE RA ONE FIVE
ONE NINE. 100-446080-1594

EX-116

REC 16

MAY 22 1968

A SOURCE ADVISED [REDACTED] DOING BUSINESS AS [REDACTED]

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Special Agent in Charge

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PAGE TWO

PROPERTY AT [REDACTED] FOR
SEVENTY THOUSAND DOLLARS CASH WITH SETTLEMENT WITHIN SIXTY
DAYS. OFFER TO BUY ACCEPTED BY SELLER. [REDACTED] GAVE CHECK
OF THREE THOUSAND FIVE HUNDRED DOLLARS DOWN PAYMENT DRAWN
ON [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

A SECOND SOURCE ADVISED SOURCE RECEIVED AN INVITATION
FROM SUBJECT TO ATTEND A RECEPTION IN HIS AND [REDACTED] HONOR
MAY EIGHTEEN, NEXT, NEW YORK CITY. INVITATION, ACCORDING TO
SOURCE, STATED THAT [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] REQUESTED HONOR OF YOUR PRESENCE AT A RECEPTION TO BE
HELD IN HONOR OF THE WEDDING OF [REDACTED]
SATURDAY, SIX THIRTY P.M., AT RESIDENCE OF [REDACTED]
OF [REDACTED]

b6
b7C
b7D

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

WFO 100-43503

PAGE THREE

THE INVITATION ALSO STATED THAT [REDACTED]
WAS A CO-SPONSOR OF THE RECEPTION IN HONOR OF THE MARRIAGE
OF [REDACTED] TO STOKELY CARMICHAEL.

U. S. BORDER PATROL ON DUTY SITE OF POOR PEOPLES
CAMPAIGN (PPC), WDC, ADVISED TWO NEGRO MALES CONSTANT COMPANIONS
OF SUBJECT WHEN VISITING THAT LOCATION ON MAY FOURTEEN, LAST.
POLICE ALSO ADVISED THE INDIVIDUALS OCCUPIED A BLACK CADILLAC
CONVERTIBLE, CALIFORNIA LICENSE [REDACTED] DMV
SACRAMENTO, CALIFORNIA, REPORTED ABOVE LICENSE REGISTERED
TO [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] THE LOS ANGELES OFFICE TELEPHONICALLY
ADVISED MAY FIFTEEN, LAST, NO RECORD OF [REDACTED] LOCATED THAT
OFFICE.

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

b6
b7C

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

WFO 100-43503

PAGE FOUR

ADMINISTRATIVE

FIRST SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

PER BUREAU, WFO OPENED CASE, [REDACTED] TO ASCERTAIN
BACKGROUND AND INFORMATION REGARDING PERTINENT ACTIVITIES.
NEW YORK EXPEDITIOUSLY DEVELOP THOROUGH BACKGROUND INFORMATION
RE [REDACTED] WITH PARTICULAR EMPHASIS ON FINANCIAL STATUS.
NEW YORK CONTACT ESTABLISHED SOURCES TO ASCERTAIN FINANCIAL
DATA AT [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

ATTEMPT TO ASCERTAIN DATA RE [REDACTED]

SUBMIT RESULTS AIRTEL AND LHM EXPIDITIOUSLY.

b6
b7C
b7Db6
b7CApproved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

WFO 100-43503

PAGE FIVE

SECOND SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

NEW YORK ADVISE ON MAY SIXTEEN, INSTANT, IF SERVICES OF

[REDACTED] NEEDED TO COVER RECEPTION BEING

HELD MAY EIGHTEEN, NEXT, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
NEW YORK PLAN TO COVER SUBJECT'S ACTIVITIES WHILE IN NEW YORK.

LOS ANGELES DEVELOP BACKGROUND INFORMATION RE [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] AND SUTEL BUREAU AND WFO. ALSO CHECK INDICES [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] WHO AT PPC SITE ON MAY FOURTEEN, LAST, GREETED SUBJECT
WITH AN EMBRACE AND WHO MAY BE FROM [REDACTED]

COPY TO CHICAGO FOR INFORMATION.

WFO WILL CONTINUE TO FURNISH PERTINENT ACTIVITIES. P.

b2
b7Db6
b7CApproved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

~~SECRET~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

DATE: 06-13-2006

CLASSIFIED BY 60309/TC/TAM/DCG/bls-derivative

DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1) 06-13-2031

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan ☒ _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

TO : MR. W. C. SULLIVAN

DATE: May 15, 1968

FROM : MR. G. C. MOORE *GC Moore*

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS - STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
SEDITION

By letter dated 4/6/68 the Attorney General requested the Bureau's assistance in developing information on the incidents involving Stokely Carmichael during the recent riots in Washington, D. C.,

My memorandum dated 5/8/68 advised we have furnished four reports to the Department totaling 675 pages containing the results of approximately 600 interviews. Included in these reports are statements from witnesses who saw Carmichael in the vicinity of 14th and U Streets, N.W., Washington, D. C., the afternoon of 4/4/68 in the possession of a handgun and making inflammatory statements. Also included is a transcript of remarks made by Carmichael at a press conference on 4/5/68 in Washington, D. C. [REDACTED]

(S) [REDACTED] Both of these transcripts also contain highly inflammatory statements.

Extensive information concerning Carmichael's activities at Howard University on the afternoon of 4/5/68 where several witnesses observed him exhibit a pistol and

100-446080

PTB:ekw (7)

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. Basher

CONTINUED - OVER

EX-116
REC 16

100-446080-1595

MAY 22 1968

Enclosure sent 5-16-68

70 MAY 27 1968

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. SULLIVAN
RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
100-446080

his activities in the vicinity of the 4100 block of Wheeler Road, S. E., where he reportedly stated, "We are going to get this area" is also set forth.

Pursuant to the Director's instructions "to expedite and set a date for deadline" our WFO was instructed to complete its investigation of this matter by 5-15-68.

We have now received a fifth report from WFO completing the investigation of this matter. This report contains interviews of additional witnesses including three persons who saw Carmichael at Howard University on the afternoon of 4-5-68 displaying a handgun. Also included is information concerning the scope of news media dissemination of Carmichael's remarks at the press conference held 4-5-68, Washington, D. C. This report is being disseminated to the Internal Security Division and the Criminal Division of the Department and a prosecutive opinion is being requested of the Criminal Division.

In addition to the specific investigation of Carmichael concerning his participation in the recent riots, we have been conducting an intensive investigation of Carmichael's activities for possible violation of the Sedition statutes and have furnished the Department voluminous information in this regard. We are continuing to vigorously press the Sedition investigation of Carmichael and pertinent information developed is submitted to the Department on a daily basis.

ACTION:

For information. LETTER TO CRIMINAL DIVISION
Attached.

[Handwritten signatures and initials]
- 2 -

~~SECRET~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~SECRET~~

The Attorney General

May 21, 1968

Director, FBI

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Bishop
1 - Mr. W.C. Sullivan b6
1 - Mr. G.C. Moore b7C
1 - Mr. Wannall
1 - Mr. DeBuck

(S)

(S)

b1

The information in the memorandum has also been furnished to Mrs. Mildred Stegall at the White House.

Enclosure

(S)

1 - The Deputy Attorney General (Enclosure)

1 - 100-168197

1 - 100-446080 (Carmichael)

(S)

HLD:pag (13)

NOTE: Classified "~~Confidential~~" as unauthorized disclosure of contents could adversely affect national security interests.

100-446080
NOT RECORDED
170 MAY 22 1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

~~SECRET~~

ORIGINAL FILED IN

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~SECRET~~

DATE: 06-13-2006
CLASSIFIED BY 60309/TC/TAM/DCG/bls
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1)
06-13-2031

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

May 21, 1968

BY LIAISON

Mrs. Mildred Stegall
The White House
Washington, D. C.

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Bishop
1 - Mr. W.C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. G.C. Moore
1 - Mr. Wannall
1 - Mr. DeBuck

Dear Mrs. Stegall:

(S) [REDACTED]

b1

We have disseminated to interested agencies of
the United States Government the information reported in
the enclosed memorandum. [REDACTED]

b1

(S) The attachment is furnished in view of the
President's interest in [REDACTED] United States
racial matters. A copy of the memorandum has been forwarded
to the Attorney General.

(S) 105-80787
1 - 100-168197 [REDACTED] Sincerely yours,
1 - 100-446080 (Carmichael)
[REDACTED]

b1
b6
b7C

Enclosure

HLG:pag (11)

NOTE: Classified "~~Confidential~~" as unauthorized disclosure
of contents could adversely affect national security interests.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~Group 1~~

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

DUPLICATE YELLOW

~~SECRET~~

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-13-2006 BY
60309/TC/TAM/DCG/bls

F B I

Date: 5/17/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL (REGISTERED)
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (100-6812) (P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - M; SEDITION
(OO: WFO)

Reference is made to WFO airtel 5/8/68, advising that subject is currently using a red Volvo sedan, bearing Georgia license 1D59715.

On 5/17/68, the records of the Bureau of Motor Vehicles, Atlanta, reflected that 1968 Georgia license 1D-59715 had been issued to STOKELY CARMICHAEL, 360 Nelson Street, SW, Atlanta, for use on a 1962 Volkswagen, two-door sedan.

It is noted that this registration is for a 1968 license inasmuch as the 1967 Georgia license expired 3/20/68.

EX-115

3 - Bureau (RM)
2 - WFO (100-43503) (RM)
2 - Atlanta
EUC/pml/jlh
(7)

REC 11

100-446080-1596

10 MAY 20 1968

C. C. Bishop

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

RACIAL INT. SECT.
INT. SEC.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-13-2006 BY
60309/TC/TAM/DCG/bls
FBI

Date: 5/14/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM: SAC, KNOXVILLE (100-3623) (P)
STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS (SNCC)
(OO:WFO)

Re Knoxville teletype to Bureau, Atlanta, Jacksonville,
and WFO dated May 11, 1968.

Continued contacts with racial sources and [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] has failed to develop any information that [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] was in Chattanooga weekend May 10-13, 1968. His
current whereabouts unknown to above sources.

Chattanooga Police Officers, especially Negro
officers, who patrol E. 9th Street, Chattanooga, a Negro
business district where [REDACTED] frequents when in Chattanooga,
have not seen [REDACTED] or received any information regarding
his activities or whereabouts over past weekend. All of the
above sources will immediately advise FBI if any information
received regarding [REDACTED]

- ③ - Bureau (2 - 100-446080) (RM)
 (1 - 100-447847) [REDACTED]
3 - Atlanta (2 - STOKELY CARMICHAEL) (RM)
 (1 - 157-1799) [REDACTED]
6 - Knoxville (2 - 100-3623) [REDACTED]
 (1 - 157-1101) [REDACTED]
 (1 - 157-102) [REDACTED]
 (1 - 157-1142) [REDACTED]
 (1 - [REDACTED])

GCW/pjw
MAY 22 1968

C. C. Bishop

REC 11

EX-115

MAY 17 1968

RACIAL MAT. SECT.

Approved: [Signature]
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

b6
b7C
b7D

b6
b7C

b2
b7D

UNRECORDED COPY FILED

100-447847-

KX 100-3623

b6
b7C

During current and past investigations of [] no information has been developed regarding "Black Bag" and/or any indication weapons [] possession. If any such information is received it will be immediately furnished to the Bureau, office of origin, and interested divisions.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-13-2006 BY
60309/TC/TAM/DCG/bls

Date: 5/14/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-721) (RUC)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - M;
SEDITION

OO: WFO

Re Washington Field tel 5/7/68.

Reliable sources who are knowledgeable concerning racial matters in the San Francisco area advised they possess no information which would indicate that STOKELY CARMICHAEL intends to be present at the trial of HUEY PERCY NEWTON at Oakland, Calif., beginning 6/10/68.

If information is developed indicating that CARMICHAEL will be present in Oakland, the Bureau and WFO will be promptly advised.

EX-115
REC 11

100-446080-1598

C. C. Bishop

10 MAY 16 1968

3-Bureau (RM)
2-WFO (62-9737) (RM)
1-San Francisco
TC:kah #9
(6)

CC 806 960

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Approved: CC Bishop
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-13-2006 BY
60309/TC/TAM/DCG/bls

VIA TELETYPE

MAY 1 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

WA -2- 4-38 PM LDD

DEFERRED 5-1-68 LDD

TO DIRECTOR AND SAC WFO -VIA WASHINGTON (CODE)
FROM CHICAGO (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL. IS-M; SEDITION. OO WFO.

AT TEN FIFTEEN AM INSTANT, ANONYMOUS CALLER, APPARENTLY NEGRO

MALE, WHO REFUSED TO IDENTIFY HIMSELF FURTHER FOR FEAR OF LIFE,
ALTHOUGH VIGOROUSLY PRESSED TO DO SO AND WHO INDICATED HAD
PREVIOUSLY CONTACTED CHICAGO OFFICE, ADVISED AS FOLLOWS;

STOKELY CARMICHAEL HAS BEEN INVITED TO ATTEND PUBLIC
HEARING IN CHICAGO ON MAY EIGHTEEN NEXT SPONSORED BY BLACK
CONSORTIUM (BC.) HE WILL BE HONORARY CHAIRMAN OF THIS AFFAIR.

[REDACTED] WILL BE IN CHICAGO FOR
ENGAGEMENT ENDING MAY NINETEEN NEXT. IT IS ANTICIPATED
CARMICHAEL WILL COME TO CHICAGO. [REDACTED] BC,
IS ORGANIZING PUBLIC HEARING.

ON APRIL NINETEEN LAST, CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE, RELIABLE IN
PAST, ADVISED BLACK POWER GROUP CALLING THEMSELVES BC HAS FORMED
AS RESULT OF RECENT CHICAGO WEST SIDE RACIAL DISTURBANCES. BC IS
END PAGE ONE

EX-115 REC 11

100-446080-1599

TWO COPIES TO WFO

59 MAY 28 1968

cc-trainor

6 MAY 22 1968

PAGE TWO

CONVENING BLACK TRIBUNAL TO INVESTIGATE THESE DISTURBANCES AND
WILL HOLD TRIBUNAL HEARING ON FINDINGS LATTER PART OF MAY.

LEADING FIGURES IN BC ARE [REDACTED] ASSOCIATED
WITH [REDACTED] AND
[REDACTED]

b6

b7C

del

ADMINISTRATIVE;

CHICAGO SOURCE IS [REDACTED] USA,
SECRET SERVICE AN MILITARY ADVISED. LHM FOLLOWS. CHICAGO FOLLOWING.
SOURCES ASSIGNED. BUREAU WILL BE KEPT ADVISED OF PERTINENT
DETAILS.

b2

b7D

WFO ALERT SOURCES. IMMEDIATELY ADVISE ANY TRAVEL TO CHICAGO
BY CARMICHAEL.

END

W

XXXXXXXXXXXX

MKP

FBI WASH DC R RELAY

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-13-2006 BY
60304/2/TAM/DCG/BL

VIA TELETYPE

MAY 19 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

217AM URGENT 5-19-68 JXM

TO DIRECTOR AND WFO, WFO VIA WASHINGTON

(ATT. DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION) PLAINTEXT

FROM NEW YORKV(100-153751) 2P

STOKELY CARMICHEAL; IS-MISC, SEDITION

SUBJECT AND [REDACTED] OBSERVED DURING

INSTANT DATE OF MAY EIGHTEENTH SIXTY EIGHT AT [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] RESIDENCE [REDACTED]

SUBJECT AND [REDACTED] DROVE TO [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] RESIDENCE OF [REDACTED] SIXTY SEVEN PLYMOUTH

NY LICENSE [REDACTED] SUBJECT

OBSERVED ENTERING [REDACTED]

PM AFTERNOON AT RESIDENCE OF [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] IN TAN

BUICK NY PLATES [REDACTED]

THIS VEHICLE LEFT

AT SIX PM WITHOUT SUBJECT [REDACTED] SOURCE ADVISED

SHE WAS CONVERSING UNTILL ELEVEN PM THIS DATE WITH STOKLEY

WHEN [REDACTED] APPEARED AND ADVISED STOKELY THAT THE

PEOPLE HE WANTED TO SEE HAD ARRIVED. HE EXCUSED

HIMSELF AND LEFT THE COMPANY OF THE SOURCE AT ELEVEN PM.

SOURCE IN TEL IS [REDACTED]

END PAGE ONE

TELETYPED TO:

WFO

59 MAY 28 1968

C. C. [Signature]

D. G. [Signature]

S. [Signature]

b2
b6
b7C
b7D

EX-115 REC 11 100-446080-1600

MAY 22 1968

cc. [Signature]
S. [Signature]

PAGE TWO

ADMINISTRATIVE

SAS [REDACTED] AND [REDACTED] OBSERVED

SUBJECT AT [REDACTED] ADDRESSES.

SAS [REDACTED] AND [REDACTED] OBSERVED SUBJECT

AT [REDACTED]

END

MSE R RELAY

FBI WASH DC

JCM-FTB

b6
b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-13-2006 BY
60309/TC/TAM/DCG/bls
FBI

Date: 5/10/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via **AIRTEL**

(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (157-1297) (P)
SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - M; SEDITION
OO: WFO

Re Chicago airtel and LHM, 3/29/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of an LHM dated and captioned as above. A copy of the LHM is being furnished USA, Secret Service, 113th MI Group, Evanston, Illinois.

A copy of LHM is being furnished Atlanta which is OO of SNCC case.

Information mentioned in LHM relating to verbatim excerpt of subject's speech _____
Source is _____

_____ who on 5/2/68, made available _____
copy of tape recording of subject's speech at Afro-Arts Theatre, Chicago, on 3/25/68. _____

Chicago following, Bureau will be advised of pertinent details.

- ③ C. C. - Bishop
③ - Bureau (Encl. 12) (RM)
2 - WFO (Encl. 12) (100-43503) (RM)
1 - Atlanta (Encl. 1) (100-6812) (RM)
5 - Chicago

1 - 100-40342 (SNCC CLOSURE ON BULKY MAIL)

11 - _____

1 - _____

1 - _____

DEH:mlb

Yeagley, Vernon, CRD, IDIU
SS, ASSE, NIC, DSE, STATE
CZA (BY L. A. G. S. O. N.)

12 MAY 15 1968

P-21-68 51P

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Per _____

b6
b7C
b7D

b2
b6
b7C
b7D

62 MAY 28 1968

CG 157-1297

The LHM is classified "Confidential" to protect the source, whose identity, if disclosed would jeopardize a possible source of importance to the Bureau and not be in the best interest of the country.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Chicago, Illinois

May 10, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 157-1297

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309/TC/TAM/DCG/bls
ON 06-13-2006

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

On May 2, 1968, a confidential source, who has not been contacted sufficiently to determine reliability, but who is known to be acquainted with the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) activists and sympathizers in Chicago, made available the following verbatim transcript of a speech by Stokely Carmichael, former National Director of SNCC made at the Afro-Arts Theatre, 3947 South Drexel Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois, on March 25, 1968.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~Group 1~~
~~Excluded from automatic~~
~~downgrading and~~
~~declassification~~

100-446080-1641

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Stokely Carmichael: Good evening brothers and sisters...I can wrap some coats on to you. We have a lot to talk about tonight. We want to take our time and understand what we have to talk about tonight. I think in part if you see any black man you see Negroes, we all the same.

Response from audience.

Carmichael: Now then tonight we have to be very very serious and we have to understand very clearly what is happening in this country. It is crystal clear that the honkies are preparing to commit genocide against this beautiful race of people.

Person from audience: Peace brother.

Carmichael: That's clear and we want to go over that because what we're talking about tonight is not political, not economic, not poverty program. We're talking about survival, survival, survival, and survival is entirely different from old, poverty program, education, and all that junk. After you have survival you can play with that, but when your talking about survival you're talking about food, shelter, clothing, that's all. Now there are some of our brothers and sisters who do not believe that white people will or getting ready to commit genocide against us. So we have to be clear in our minds when we say they are getting ready to commit genocide against us, that we can at least explain that from grounds over which they can see the light. Now it is very easy. All we have to do is to let our brothers and sisters read the man's history. If you read the honkies history you'd see wherever the honkies got they disrupted societies, disrupted societies. We can explain to brothers that the honkies came to this country. The Indians took him in and fed him, showed him how to plant corn, to hunt, fish, how to adapt to this country and when the Indians showed him that he wiped him out. We have to demonstrate to our people exactly what is going on because if we do not break off we're going to be dead. We can explain to the brother that when the honky went to South America he saw the Aztec Indians with their silver and their copper and all of their monuments. The Aztec Indians took him in showed him the silver. He fight, stole, it and wiped them out.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

We are not teaching it tonight, we're giving facts. We'll tell you what we're preaching.

The honkies went to Africa. We were milling in Africa. We were the greatest there was. He came, he got mad. He stole our gold, stole our diamonds, stole our copper, stole our zinc, and turned around and stole us as well.

He went to China. The Chinese had gunpowder. They used it for fireworks on their days of festivities. They sold it to the honkies. He refined it, made a gun, and came back, shot them all. I ask you to read the honkies' history and show me where he has gone where he has not conquered, where he is the majority or the minority.

What we're dealing with today is the final showdown, the confrontation between the black and white around the world especially inside the United States, and since we're dealing with a final confrontation of black or white, we have to ask ourselves how will we survive, but brothers and sisters you don't have to worry because we're gonna survive, and therefore he is capable of doing it. We must prepare ourselves... preparation. I always tell a little joke about the brother in Alabama. This honky came into a juke joint and just started hitting on his brother and kicked him all down the floor and the white man jumped up, he said, "Nigger if I had my gun I'd kill you. The brother said "slide up against the wall here. White man you mean to tell me you have... (rest of joke unintelligible because of large response by audience).

It is always better to be prepared than to be not prepared and it is always better to have you than caught without it, but there is another reason why we say he is getting ready to commit genocide against us. He brought us here for a specific reason to build this country. We have built this country so it is the most powerful and richest country in the world. We built it. He no longer has need of us. When you don't need something destroy it.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

If its costing you much money destroy it. You get rid of it. Now if we say that he is getting ready to do this thing to us and if we are talking about survival, then some of the conferences we lost last year, we must go beyond.

We have three very important concepts which we must all understand very clearly in our minds, and these concepts are going to help to build the type of ideology that is going to bind us together as a group..to shoot this white man once and for all, that's very important. The first concept: We must have undying love for our people. I want to repeat that we must have undying love for our people, and that's the most important thing we have. If we have undying love for our people we would not be dying in Viet Nam. We would be dying in the streets of Chicago. We do not have undying love for our people because he has transferred the love that we once had for each other for relative things like this country. So we are willing to die for his country but we are not willing to die for our people.

Response from audience.

...first our people then, and only then you and me as individuals. Our people must come first. The only thing is that an undying love of our people is going to be very hard, because we hate each other so much, and we hate each other so much because we are taught how to hate each other; and if we are talking about building an undying love for our people we must begin to want..All of those things he taught us, the first thing he taught us was to hate black because that's us. It is no accident that we have such...statements about the blacks he taught us...Even today some of our people still want to be called Negro rather than be called black. It is because we have a hatred of that which is black that we hate ourselves, because black is like us which is why we do the things we do to each other. If we are going to turn it around, we must say we love the blacks.

Response from audience.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Unless we get him to understand that concept he will continue to demind us. We must have such a strong love for our people that..cannot disrupt us, cannot disrupt us. We must have such an undying love for our people that if a brother should have to go to Viet Nam we love him so much we will break his legs,

Large response from audience.

and we must do it in a spirit of love, not hate. We must have such an undying love for our people that when a brother says he does not want to go to Viet Nam that when the MPs come to get him, he got to get all of us.

Response from audience.

We must have such an undying love for our people that we no longer say anything negative about our people. Nothing, from now on everything we say about our people must be positive. We cannot say anything, it must be positive.

The second concept which is very important, flows from the first, and says every Negro is a potential black man, and we have to work with that concept to make all our brothers who is a slipping Negro yesterday, today he's a black nationalist...if the brother is a nationalist then who should help that brother see the light and come on home. If we do not help that brother see the light the honkies are going to use him against us, but even more important than the honkies using him against us is that he is our people, flesh of our flesh, blood of our blood, and the honkies can't have any more they had enough. So we have to understand that concept. We must understand because too many people are running and talking about the toms...we never was no tom, we was a traitor not an uncle tom; but we don't have any more...we do not have it because we do not have an undying love for our people. If we had an undying love for our people there...we would say to ourselves...we would work together in a spirit of love, a total friendship, and we would work for them. If they don't come home they are traitors to...kill traitors, but we do not want to emphasize killing our own people. That is negative. We want to emphasize bring the Negro home and making him black. That is what we must emphasize because we cannot fight our people and the enemy. We cannot. That is what we must emphasize because every Negro is a potential black man and that means he is a potential ally and

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you do not alienate your potential ally. We must understand that concept. The brothers and the sisters who are still wandering. Let us take time, let us take love brother and bring them home, because if you got a converted Negro brother you got a strong black man. And let us remember that it was not too long ago that brother Malcolm X was speaking to us and we were kicking at him. Let us remember that black power is only two years old and we were kicking at that when it first came out. Let us remember where we were and we'll help everyone. We must bring all of our people home.

Now then the third concept and the most important concept and perhaps the most difficult concept is one we must spend some time with because it really is important. For black people the question of commuting is not just simply a question of land. It is a question of our people...for black people the question of commuting is not just a question of land it is a question of our color our people, and where we are, that is to say that when you go to a place you're not home until you're with your people. If you went to Los Angeles you would not be home until you moved to Watts. If you went to New York you would not be home until you moved to Harlem. If you went to Detroit, you would not be home until you were on Riverside. Chicago, you would not be home until you were on the south or the west side. Pretty soon it will be the home city, and in Washington, D. C. the whole city is our's, but now we have to understand these concepts because if we understand these concepts we can break down this giant national barrier and it is honkies...In Cuba 65% of the population is black. In Puerto Rico...In Panama 45% of the population is black. In Santo Domingo 50% of the population is black. In Guatemala 50% of the population is black. In the West Indies the whole West Indies is black and when you in Africa the whole, the whole (unintelligible due to large response by audience). If we can begin to understand that concept we break down this giant thing the honkies have...you American Negro, you Canadian Negro, you Negro Negro...all of us because if we recognize that we would recognize that the black man in the world today is 900,000,000 strong...We got 900,000,000 strategic, 900,000,000 strategic placed situations in the Western Hemisphere. The biggest mistake this white man made was to mess with the African. He's going to pay for it.

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Now then we have to talk about the concept of Negro versus African, because people are going to analyze... When we were in Africa we were Africians. We were black men. We were free. After he stole us from Africa when he brought us to the United States, we became slaves. We became Negroes. Understand this concept clearly. The Negro and the slave are the same thing. We want to work with the concept a little bit more because we have to...now he stole us from Africa and more when he says we didn't steal you, they sold you out, and then we go around saying our people sold us out. The only reason he is saying that is to keep us divided because if you believe your people sold you out wouldn't organize with them. You wouldn't organize them. We'll get the white concept out of our mind. We have to say no Africans sold anybody out, hunkies you stole us all.

Response by audience.

Now the only reason we have to say that is because we need it for our own psychological uplift. We got to say it because its true. Let me ask you a question...Africa. He ain't had nothing, nothing. Where's the gold come from, Africa. Where's the diamonds come from?

Audience: Africa.

Where's the copper come from?

Audience: Africa.

Where's the zinc come from?

Audience: Africa.

What does he have?

Audience: Nothing

The honky then have nothing, nothing at all.

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As a matter of fact he stole us to pick the...What the honky buy us with trinkets? Our women were wearing the best gold and diamonds there is to buy. What did the honky buy us with fire water? The best booze and the best pot comes from Africa. I know what I am talking about. I am just laughing (unintelligible due to audience response). It is obvious that he had no currency, nothing whatsoever to buy us with, but he had the straight attitude. Let us think: 1) that we couldn't come together because we don't trust each other if we sold each other out; and 2) He's got to say this because he can't admit that he would do all that stealing by himself. So he's got to...(unintelligible due to audience response). So we must understand that concept because if we say we're African, you say you're a free people. If you say you Negro you say to began in slavery. If you say you began in war that means you searched your ancestors back into slavery and if your beginning was..you cannot grow up to be nothing but a good slave. Because that's where you began, a slave. It follows that your going to be a slave, but if you said you were African and you would say that you went to the first university in the world, the University of Timbukto.

Large response from audience.

If you said you were an African you would come from people who are warriors like Hamibal, like (lists names of other warriors, but names unintelligible) you would be somebody.. If you want to say the blood of Africa was on you, you would have given civilization to that white man. You give it to a people who say your an African. Your civilization began in the Mesopotamian Valley and...(unintelligible due to audience response). If you ever say you're African you could say your ancestors roamed this world and all of its..and your ancestors would fight the sun before they would bow down to anyone. If you would say you're African then they would not be able to debate us the way they...jive talk about the Africans don't like you and you don't like the Africans, cause they got...If anyone say you got justice you say...people what you think about Stokely Carmichael.

Large response from audience.

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He has divided us up that we do not know who we are, where we came from, what our ancestry is. He divided us as he saw it. He dropped us in the West Indies. He dropped us in Cuba. He dropped us in Brazil. He dropped us in Guatemala. He dropped us in Panama. He dropped us in Santo Domingo. He dropped us in Puerto Rico. He dropped us in the United States, even in Canada we are..what did he do this white man wanting to do this to us as a people.

We have to understand man, and we're talking about color today and nothing else. The world is divided and the country that is pushing it the most is the United States of America. Let me say the divided of our brother. You know we came back into the country. We tried to talk to black people...don't you sit down and talk to us Stokely Carmichael...Communist. That's O.K. communism is a white thing we're coming from a straight black thing. We don't get you and immediately we got to take some time and explain alot of things to unite.

Now the honkies..responsible Negroes those.. communists blah, blah, blah. Before we left this country about 8 months ago...what a good thing it is that these white people are setting down together to return..in harmony with each other. It is the United States and Russia that are setting down today to develop...and that ain't nothing but a white fight. We must understand that all the Eastern communist world is breaking off to denounce China. So all the whites are going to come closer together. There's a direct flight from New York to Moscow right now, leaves every day. I think Pan American has got it. What we have got to understand is that white force is moving closer together. It was the United States of America that voted for South Africa to join the Olympics, the United States of America. Like I said the white man witch doctor in South Africa..He was trained in the United States of America. When they brought him over here to put him on.. telling folks we don't have to kill them we can use some of them to steer cars. It is strictly a question of power and the United States is moving closer and closer to it and we have some of our brothers and sisters who are arguing about whether or not they should run for this honky in the Olympics.

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What are you going to get from the Olympics, a gold medal. The gold is coming from South Africa, its ours. Its ours. Its ours. All he's doing is burning his heart out for gold that belongs to him. The honky stole it all, and when the honky gives him...and says thanks alot nigger, and then we people..debate about the Olympics....I'll tell you honky you'll lose and that's enough for me.

Large response from audience.

Don't be afraid to tell them, if we want you to lose, because you been using us to sin for you and you been against us and we not going to to nothing for you no more.

Response from audience.

Now then we want to move into areas specifically about trying to corrupt our movement, cause it is very clear that nowhere it is good. We know where it is going just some of us scared to get up and say so, but we going to get our people and going to get up because this is the most beautiful race of people in the world and we going to get up to kill..The United States works on what is called the 3 M's, the missionary, the money, the marine. That's right. Everywhere I've gone that's how they count it. They send the missionary...They send the money in and its fizzling out. The next comes the marines for protecting some...

Large response from audience.

That means that we are a disease to all these Hack men and all black women. You got to get...(unintelligible due to response of audience). We have got to get some guns. We have got to get some guns to the news for the benefit of our people against our enemies. We have got to get those guns. I will tell you why we have to get guns,,not only because we need protection when you..., but we need it because of all of the programs that is run by the...will not solve our problems. Because our problem is the white man..Let us examine then the...so when I couldn't stop he decided he would refine it. So he..black power. Well black power means...black power means the vote. If you

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got the vote then you going to get everything. Brothers and sisters let me tell you something. The vote now has never been, nor ever will be relevant to the survival of black people in this country,

Large response from audience.

and I'll prove it to you. We have not been able to vote in Mississippi, Alabama, South Carolina, Virginia, Georgia, North Carolina, and even Washington, D. C. We have been surviving without a vote. Not only that, the vote doesn't help us a damn....You know that beautiful man from Atlanta, Georgia...got elected to his position. They didn't like what he said. They kicked him out, and could survive for 2 years without the... You know brother Adam Clayton Powell. He's been out of office for almost 2 years now...The vote does not mean anything because of the...political power from out of the barrel of....They count everything because they... and they have us thinking enough for them. It time for us to pick up the gun for our people. It is not the question of the vote, it is the question of the gun. It is a question only of the color. If it is not a question of the gun, it is a question of the will of people to fight to the dying end.

Response from audience.

So we must understand the vote in its proper perspective. If we vote today we do it only for one reason to bring our people closer together. That's all, that's all. We do not expect a vote to win us anything because it will win us nothing in Gary, Indiana, it will win us nothing in Cleveland, but some people are going to be up or you sleep, because we are all waking up today and got to get other people to put us to sleep. We have got to wake up the Stokes and the Hatchers. The votes mean absolutely nothing unless we get the gun. Give us a pride in ourselves, tell us about our history, our culture and developing love for our people. That's what education is all about. If you had that in you, you could conquer the world. If you had that in you chemically, physically...but its because we have a sense of nothingness, cause we're Negroes, cause we're slaves. You can use slaves

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for white trash, then we are in a way completely white-washed, dehumanized, and asleep. In order to wake up we must take over the education system in our schools, and we must start off by saying to our brothers black is beautiful. It is so beautiful to be black. We must give them a feeling that they are somebody with trust and dignity. The whites boy gives it to his children and to us. Everytime he says these things he may not think the white man is superior. He doesn't have to say that. He tells you Christopher Columbus discovered America. Marco Polo discovered China. A white man discovered everything. If white people discovered everything god damnit, they got to be superior. He may not have to come out and say iheir superior, but he tells you everyday, he tells you. The most beautiful and richest country in the world is the United States of America, whose running it. White folks. So whose the most beautiful and richest in the world, white folks. Cause this ain't our country, I know we got over that.

Audience: Peace brother.

So we have to understand this concept of education...plenty.

Now the first and the last they are going to be the most difficult for us, is the one we really have to work hard on is this thing about economics. I say they got these people down...saying black power means green power, and they got all these preachers jumping up saying that's right green power first, green power, that's what we need. Now look here we don't need money all that bad, I'll tell you why, because the most materialistic concept he has is in the dollar. He will kill his mama for the dollar. and here comes some preacher...that we should fight for the dollar. He just like the monkey killing for the dollar. Ain't that some junk. We not fighting for no dollar. There's something more important than the dollar. Its our people, that's more important than the dollar. Everywhere they yell, get green power, you get green power you get black power. Black power is talking about people. What they saying is you get money you can buy bpeople. Its the same old concept. We cannot be fighting for green power. It is the poverty program that's disrupted all of our communities across the country when we were coming together.

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Response from audience

It is the poverty program that has done it. The poverty program was aimed to do two things: stop the rebellion, we'll fire the niggers, stop the rebellion we'll fire the niggers, stop the rebellion we'll fire the niggers and that's precisely what they have done, because in any race of people the warriors are your youths. The poverty program is geared for nobody but the youths. Get them off the streets, put them in the parlor, put them anywhere, get them off the streets and give them \$50 a week, give \$100 a week, give \$200 a week, keep them off the streets. But the poverty program began its concepts saying that the black family was divided. The father was unemployed. He was away and he had no moral image. Remember when they ran that junk down on us. Now they say that and when they come to solve the problem they give the money to the youths. Now think what it does to our fathers. My father 40-45 years old, I'm 17, 18, 19, 20, 21 and every week I come and through down \$70, \$90, \$100, \$200. He's sitting there. I'm supporting the family. What does that do to my father... They should give the money to our fathers who are in fact the rulers of our family and they are solving the problem.

Response from audience.

So we got to understand the poverty program. If we get involved in the poverty program we do so only because we're going to use it as an organizing tool to bring our people together.

Now we want to move in to begin to internationalize a little, and we have to talk about this thing with both sides cause a lot of people don't really understand the difference between both whites and black people. The difference is that there are two types of oppression. There is exploitation. There is colonization. Exploitation is where one race of people exploits or oppresses other people in the same race. That's to say that if I a black man who is exploiting all of you who are black people then there would be exploitation, because we're the same people and all I'm taking from you is money and I'm exploiting you. Colonization is when one race of people totally oppresses another race of people. Cause when they do that not only do they rid them of their money they rid them of their humanity. Because they have to destroy the culture, the history, the language, the ways of life of the people they oppress so the people... can you take that its very deep. We got to understand. We got to understand.

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We have to understand because there is a difference between colonization and exploitation. White people are fighting for more money. They have the same culture, the same history, the same city, the same way of life as Lyndon Johnson..Lyndon Johnson cause they not Lyndon Johnson, that's all, that's all. Black people are a colonized people. We have been dehumanized. We are fighting for our humanity..There's the difference. Its a big difference. We're fighting for our history, our culture, our own way of life. We are fighting for our humanity because we have been dehumanized. Our history is not the same as the honky's history. There is no use playing games. The history the honky can write our history because to write it for us is to admit that we gave him civilization and he will never do that.

Response from audience.

We've got to undersstand that because the fight between us and the fight between white people are two entirely different things. That is not saying we can't use their fight. Sure, when the Democratic Convention comes here I would advise every black man to sit home and fight each other, its about time that ...(unintelligible due to audience response). I don't need for any black person to get involved in that convention. It ain't going to do any good and don't let Kennedy put you to sleep. He's just a honky like all the others,

Response from audience.

and the only reason anywhere because they want to put us to sleep. That's the only reason. Kennedy ain't going to do nothing more than his brother, which was nothing more than Johnson or any other honky ever did. We have got to make a clean sweep because if we believe that Kennedy passed the civil rights bill. Kennedy did not do anything for the civil rights bill. It was the bodies of four black ladies in Birmingham, Alabama that passed the civil rights bill.

Response from audience.

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It was thousands of our young brothers and sisters out in the street...bricks and bottles that passed the civil rights bill. Kennedy didn't pass the civil rights bill. Kennedy never passed it. He was just the smart one. He recognized that if they didn't get the civil rights bill the war was going to come much sooner.

If we understand those two sides of oppression then we begin to see who are our allies. Brothers and sisters our allies are the colonized people of the world.

Response from audience.

That's to say that we are allies of the third world... (unintelligible) due to audience response), and we must be allies again because they..like us are fighting for our humanity. H-U-M-A-N-I-T-Y. Its different from money. A lot different from money. The brothers and sisters who threw bricks and bottles against tanks, they're not throwing it for a dollar they're throwing it for their humanity. Maybe all they're saying is god dammit if all I can do nigger, get off of your feet and die like a man you been living in this slum far too long. Its for humanity of our people that they threw those bricks and bottles. Can you not hear them yelling, nigger do something die like a man on your feet. If that's all you can do for them die like a man, die like a man.

Response from audience.

We must understand that concept because if the United States move to start more of a war and you going to get whipped more and more. We got to understand whose side we going to be on.

Response from audience: Negro

The next one is going to be the middle East. We must be on the side of the Arabs, of the Arabs. We cannot be on the side of the Zionist. We must be for the poor. We must be for the Arabs because there's is a just fight. They are fighting for the land that was taken from them by the Zionists, the British, and the United States of America.

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Response from audience.

We must be for the Arabs because they are fighting in Africa. Africa is our mother land. This is important. A young Jewish boy....1948 where Egypt 4,000 year ago, millions of years ago and we going to let them march into Egypt sit here and talk about them Arabs sure is bad. Them Arabs ain't done what they supposed to do. They should drop them into the sea.

Response of audience.

You've got to understand what is going on in the world today. A Zionist has no business in Palestine. The land belongs to the Arabs. The land belongs to the Arabs and the longer you sit out there before the Zionists you cutting out your own eye, because they moving into Egypt and Egypt is ours.

Now we going to come to a very very important concept. This concept of love and hate. Now you know people say that the reason all like Rap Brown is cause he preaches hate, and that's right. Now they don't understand Rap Brown, since the brother in jail and since he is my leader, I might be able tonight to explain a little to you about the brother. Brother not talking about hate. The honky recognizes what he is talking about. The honky recognizes that in every black man and every Negro there is some Rap Brown.

Response from audience.

He recognizes it, that's why he won't like Rap Brown, because he knows Rap Brown...why else does he put Rap Brown in jail. Rap ain't steal nothing. Rap ain't had..shot none of them. He ain't seen Rap lite no fires. Rap ain't broken no laws. Rap is wrapped in the truth and the trust...(unintelligible due to audience response). Now we got to understand this concept of hate, because I will tell you when those brothers... walk out of my house in Washington, D. C. and a fellow came up to me asking...I said yes, I said I him. He said, Well I don't hate nobody.

Response from audience.

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I said well I hate those white folks for what they did. He said he don't hate no white folk. He's right he doesn't hate no white folk, because he does not love his people, and I'll tell you why we cannot have such a thing as love and not have such a thing as hate. There's a thing the honkies call dialectic philosophy, which says there are opposites for everything. There's a boy; there's a girl. There's joy; there's sadness. There's laughter; there's tears; There's cold; there's hot. For everything there is an opposite, and as these opposites react that's how you get changes in the world. If you got love you got to have hate.

Response from audience.

If you got love you got to have hate cause you would not be able to differentiate. You could love, you could hate. Some people you don't like too much. Some people you dislike. Some people you hate. If you didn't have it you couldn't tell who to dislike, you couldn't tell who to marry cause you'd be in love with everybody. So there must be an opposite, but if you say you don't have no hate ;you say you don't have no love because if you love your people you would hate anybody who would try to mess with them. Yes you would.

Response from audience.

If you had an undying love for your people anybody who touched them you'd kill them on the spot, for if you a mother and a father and you have children and you love those children and somebody come to hurt your children you would want to take care of them. Even an animal would protect its own. This man has dehumanized us and...he just snaps his fingers and we come back wagging our tails. We are human beings, we're people with emotions. If we love our people and...(unintelligible due to bongo playing in audience), We cannot stand up on our feet if, god dammit, we hate you. You can say it to him, but we cannot say it to our people. (mimicing) I hate the niggers down there. I hate them all they do is shooting. I hate them, but I don't..because I don't have hate in my heart.

Response from audience.

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It is because we do not have love for our people that man do the things he does to us. If we had love, if we had undying love, if we had undying love (large amount of response from audience). If we had undying love for our people when they touch one they would have to touch all. That then say specifically some things about Chicago. There are a lot of so-called Negro leaders in Chicago. They do not care about their people. They care only about themselves and the few choice niggers around them. They do not.

Response from audience.

I will tell you why they do not care about their people. They do not care about their people because in the last week they seen 18 of our brothers and sisters have been wiped out by each other in these gangs....They have not gone down to talk to the young brothers and sisters because they are afraid of their own people. They are afraid of their own people. Rangers are fighting Disciples and fighting the Saints and fighting the Loves to fight the Viceroy's and all of these Negro leaders aaaa't got time to go out and beg them to stop killing each other.

Response from audience.

Last night when we were trying to speak to some of these gangs one of the brothers ...got shot in the face. We couldn't find one black leader to go to the hospital to meet with those gangs to stop the gang war that is going on. Couldn't find one. They didn't even know the name of the gang and they suppose to represent us in the city. Where are the ministers of our community. Where are the ministers who are quickest to condemn us when we rebel against whitey. Why can't they...when we rebel against ourselves. Why can't they do that. Where are the ministers who beg us to love the white man, but can't teach us to love ourselves. Where are the ministers. Where are the ministers. Where are the ministers, who say they are teaching the preachings of Jesus Christ. who said of all the commandments I give you this is the most important, "Love thee one another." Where are our people, where are our ministers. Where are these black men if you can find them with their pork chop faces...and when we need them we can't find them. Where are our leaders in Chicago. Where are they.

Response from audience.

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Eighteen of our people died. Eighteen of our young glorious died and they don't give a godndamn and they call themselves Negroes. They call themselves Negroes, and why aren't you talking to our young brothers and sisters. Their flesh of our flesh and blood of our blood.. They are the warriors of our race. They are the ones who never compromise. They fight that honky war every single day of their lives, every day of their lives. You want leaders. I'll give you leaders. Get the Blackstone Rangers fighting for their people and you got some leaders..(unintelligible due to audience response) You want leaders. I'll give you leaders. Get the Vice Lords, get the Roman Saints, get all those groups together to the black club to fight for their people and we got the leaders. We'll have some leaders because they will fight to the death. They fight to the death now for no reason just because they hate the white man and just because they're individually frustrated.

Response from audience.

If we can teach them to fight the white man not because they hate him but because they love their people we can have this situation lock stock and barrel, without...(unintelligible due to audience response).

What are you feeling so moral about. We know the honky got everything. He got it by stealing it. He not gonna give you anything. We got to take it. We got to take it. We got to take it.

Response from audience.

And these brothers on the streets everyday take it, but they're taking it for themselves. Lets organize them and let them take it for our people. But the preachers and the leaders are afraid of most black people in their community, The gang fighters, the gang fights, because the gang fighters may not have any politics, they may not have education, they are not glorifying the poverty program, but their hearts are black. Their hearts are black cause when something comes down they black and fight. They don't try to stop it they want to help and people we must understand that we must have an undying love for our people. We must begin to love our people so much that we will not let anyone touch one hair on their happy head.

Response from audience.

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We are not preaching about hate we are preaching about love. because if you love your people you will destroy your people's enemies.

Now there's one last thing I want to do before I leave. I want to ask you not to applaud until I raise my hands. I want you to listen very carefully to what I am going to read. Brother Rap Brown is in jail. After I read the statement you may applaud. I will not beg for any money. You will simply pass the baskets. You will give as you so desire. I am not a preacher. I don't beg for money. Rap Brown is in jail not for money but for love of his people. If you have love for you people you will put some money in the basket to help get....

Response from audience.

I want to read a statement that was written by my leader. The man I'll die for in a minute because he's ready to die for me. Rap Brown, the brother, wrote the letter while he was in jail. I want you to listen to it very closely because I don't care what you say...

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL

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Informants mentioned in attached SNCC characterization have furnished reliable information in the past.

A copy of this memorandum is being furnished the following local agencies:

United States Attorney, Chicago, Illinois
United States Secret Service, Chicago, Illinois
United States Naval Investigative Service Office,
Chicago, Illinois
Office of Special Investigations, Chicago, Illinois
Region I, 113th MI Group, Evanston, Illinois

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STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Literature distributed by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, describes itself as not being a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements. SNCC was born out of the sit-in movement which erupted across the South beginning on February 1, 1960. A conference at Raleigh, North Carolina, that Spring, brought together many of the demonstrating Southern students in a loose network of militant youth which was officially named SNCC in October, 1960.

A source has advised that in May, 1966, Stokely Carmichael was elected National Chairman by the Central Committee. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced as Chairman by H. Rap Brown, with Carmichael assuming the position of Recruiter and Organizer for the SNCC. In August, 1967, at the invitation of Fidel Castro, Carmichael participated in the Organization of Latin American Solidarity Conference which was held in Havana, Cuba. Subsequent thereto, Carmichael traveled to Hanoi and other sections of North Vietnam. He returned to the United States in December, 1967, at which time his passport was picked up because of travel to unauthorized countries.

A source advised that when Carmichael was elected Chairman of SNCC, the organization embarked on a program of eliminating Caucasians from its ranks. With the election of H. Rap Brown as Chairman in 1967, it embarked on a worldwide struggle for human rights and to take a firm stand against violations of these rights by the American Government and to strengthen its programs of opposition to the draft and to the United States involvement in Vietnam.

Literature distributed in February, 1968, identifies SNCC as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

On August 13, 1967, while addressing a group in the Watts area of Los Angeles, California, H. Rap Brown said "You better shape up America; or we'll burn you down." Later in February, 1968, in a publicized note Brown wrote, "America, if it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you and to organize your jails to revolt against you and to organize your children, your God, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here's my life."

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-15-2006 BY 60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

100-446080-1621

4-881

49-~~7~~ F

BULKY ENCLOSURE

BIN #

COPY OF
COVER LETTER

ENCLOSURE

179

ENCLOSURE TO BUREAU FROM CHICAGO (1)

BUFILE: 100-446080

CG FILE: 157-1297

AIRTEL DATED 5/10/68

on this envelope

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ENCLOSURE

100-446080-1601

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Scotch[®]

BRAND

recording tape

3M
COMPANY

100-446080-1601

ALL PURPOSE

1.5 MIL POLYESTER 1200 FEET
SPLICE FREE LUBRICATED 7" REEL

professional quality for stereo and general
recording; extra strong, weatherproof
polyester (.635 cm x 364 m)

102

TIME CHART	RECORDING ONE DIRECTION			RECORDING BOTH DIRECTIONS		
	Monophonic 1 Track	Stereophonic 2 Tracks		Monophonic 2 Tracks	Stereophonic 4 Tracks*	
	1 1/2 ips	3 3/4 ips	7 1/2 ips	1 1/2 ips	3 3/4 ips	7 1/2 ips
1200 Ft.	2 hrs.	1 hr.	30 min.	4 hrs.	2 hrs.	1 hr.
1800 Ft.	3 hrs.	1 1/2 hrs.	45 min.	6 hrs.	3 hrs.	1 1/2 hrs.
2400 Ft.	4 hrs.	2 hrs.	1 hr.	8 hrs.	4 hrs.	2 hrs.

*Double these times for 4-track monophonic recording.

(COPY)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL'S SPEECH CHICAGO

AERO-ARTS THEATRE 3/25/68.

THIS TAPE IS RECORDED:

AT ☐ 1 1/8 ☐ 3 3/4 ☐ 7 1/2

☐ MONOPHONIC

(TRACKS)

☐ STEREOPHONIC

(TRACKS)

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DATE 06-15-2006 BY 60309/UC/TAM/DUG/ELS

THE TERM "SCOTCH" AND THE PLAID DESIGN ARE REGISTERED TRADE MARKS FOR MAGNETIC TAPE MADE IN U.S.A. BY MINNESOTA MINING AND MANUFACTURING COMPANY, ST. PAUL 6, MINN.

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Magnetic Products Division

3M
COMPANY

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100-446080-1602
CHANGED TO
157-11544- 2

DEC 10 1968

mt. / Bar

C

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-15-2006 BY 60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

F B I

Date: 5/15/68

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - M; SEDITION
(OO:WFO)

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are ten copies of
an LHM regarding the above-captioned subject. Two copies
furnished New York for information.

The records of the D. C. Court of General Sessions,
WDC, were checked by SA [REDACTED]

AGENCY: ACSI, NIO, OSI, SEC. SERV.,

DATE: ISD, CRD, RAO, CTRM., 5/16/68

HOW FORW: 1/5

DATE FORW: 5/16/68

BY: 750/101

REC-40

100-446080

1603

MAY 22 1968

ENCLOSURE

- 3 - Bureau (Enc. 10)
- 2 - New York (Enc. 2) (RM)
- 1 - WFO

WWH:tab
(6)

AIRTEL

54 MAY 28 1968

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

b6
b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-15-2006 BY 60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date May 16, 1968

Attached letterhead memorandum relates to marriage license obtained by Stokely Carmichael and [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] A source has advised in another communication that Carmichael and [REDACTED] are being given a reception May 18, 1968, in honor of their wedding by [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] The reception is being held in Mt. Vernon, New York.

Information in the attached being furnished the Inter-Division Information Unit of the Department and other interested agencies. Information about the wedding reception being furnished the Department and other interested agencies, including the State Department.

TJD:ebb

880 me

fen

mcg

b6
b7C



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C. 20535

May 15, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Bishop	✓
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

The records of the District of Columbia Court of General Sessions, Washington, D. C. disclosed on May 8, 1968, that Stokely Carmichael and [redacted] filed an application for a marriage license on April 22, 1968. In applying for the license Carmichael furnished information he was a resident of Washington, D. C., twenty-six years of age, of the "black" race and had no previous marriages. [redacted] advised she was a resident of [redacted] years of age, of the "black" race and [redacted]

[redacted] The license, number 11514, was sworn and subscribed before the court clerk on April 22, 1968. The officiating clergyman was listed as [redacted]

[redacted] The marriage license authorized [redacted] to marry Carmichael and [redacted] and return the license to the court clerk within ten days. The document was subsequently returned with the certification by [redacted] that he solemnized the marriage of Carmichael and [redacted] on April 29, 1968, at [redacted]

The document contained the signature of [redacted] and the signature of [redacted] a witness.

b6
b7C

REC-D 5/24/68
L B

This document contains neither
recommendations nor conclusions of
the FBI. It is the property of
the FBI and is loaned to your agency;
it and its contents are not to be
distributed outside your agency.

REC'D 5/24/68

MAY 16 11 27 AM '68

- 1* -

100-446680-166

ENCLOSURE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-15-2006 BY 60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

F B I

Date: 5/13/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM: SAC, MOBILE (100-1858)(P)
SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - M; SEDITION
(OO: WFO)

Re WFO airtel to the Bureau, 5/3/68.

Transmitted herewith for Birmingham is a copy of reairtel for information purposes.

The following investigation was conducted telephonically by SA [redacted] at Montgomery, Ala., on 5/9/68:

[redacted] Alabama Dept. of Public Safety, advised that 1968 license was issued to [redacted] for a 1965 Mustang, two-door, VIN [redacted].
He advised that 1967 license [redacted] was issued to [redacted] for a 1947 Chevrolet, VIN [redacted].

He further advised that he was unable to locate a stolen report for above Mustang.

BIRMINGHAM AT [redacted] Will determine if [redacted] possibly identical with female described in reairtel. Will conduct other investigation requested.

- 3 - Bureau (RM)
2 - Birmingham (RM) (Enc. 1)
2 - WFO (100-43503) (RM)
2 - Mobile
DOS-agf
(9)

EX-115

4 MAY 15 1968

54 MAY 28 1968 Bishop
Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M

RACIAL INT. SEC.
Baptist

b6
b7C

100-446080-1604

100-446080-1604



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

17 MAY 1968

MEMORANDUM:

TO: FBI - [redacted] *Dir 5/16*
FROM: INR/DDC/ILS - [redacted] *1/8*
SUBJECT: Stokely Carmichael Interview in French
pro-Chinese Newspaper

b6
b7C

There is attached for your information and files a copy of a translation of the Carmichael interview which appeared in the April 25 issue of Humanite Nouvelle. The FBI received through regular distribution a copy of the airgram from Paris (A-2054 of April 30) transmitting the newspaper and summarizing the article.

Attachments:
As stated

*1 Xerox copy to WFO
for info, P/S 5/22/68
Submit in form suitable
for dissemination.
PTB/ML*

REC-97

MAY 23 1968

100-446080-1605

1 Xerox copy 806 920

ENCLOSURE

59 MAY 29 1968

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
DIVISION OF LANGUAGE SERVICES

(TRANSLATION)

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 06-15-2006 BY 60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

LS NO. 1763
T-114/R-XVIII
French

[Enclosure No. 1 to

A-2054 from Paris]

[Source: L'Humanité Nouvelle, Paris, April 25, 1968.]

EXCLUSIVE

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

"Our ultimate objective: to attack the capitalist
structure of the United States"

The Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of France lends its political support to the historic struggle being waged by the Afro-Americans against the capitalist and racist power of the United States that is exploiting and oppressing them. Even though it does not share all the present positions of the Black Power leaders, it does not thereby consider them any less authentic or valuable fighters in the worldwide struggle against American imperialism. The struggle of the American blacks is an integral part of the united worldwide struggle being waged by the peoples oppressed by imperialism and by the proletariats in the capitalist countries themselves, who are being oppressed by their own governments. It is in that spirit that we are pleased today to publish the following exclusive interview by one of our African friends, himself a militant, of the Afro-American leader Stokely Carmichael, given during his last visit to Paris.

The great wave of fighting spirit now spreading through the large American cities, arousing the great Afro-American masses in heroic combat against reactionary rifles, the victims of racism against the established capitalist order, marks, within the imperialist citadel itself, the beginning of the "final struggle." It also demonstrates the emptiness of the integrationist myth invented by the American bourgeoisie.

The outlook is now clear: Memphis has shown that non-violence by the oppressed cannot save them from the bloody violence of American capitalism. Memphis therefore marks an important milestone in the struggle of the peoples, particularly the Afro-American people, which has realized that only revolutionary violence can break the bloody cycle of counter-revolutionary violence.

But imperialism, with its back against the wall, is attempting, in a last-ditch effort, to cast discredit on the just struggle of the Afro-American people by likening it coarsely to a "dance of fires and looting," and describing its leaders as "psychopaths publicly inciting to murder" (New York Times, April 12, 1968). But the capitalists' bad faith has its limits. They are forced to acknowledge, in impotent rage, of course, that "the voice of the Stokely Carmichaels is heard even louder in the land" (The Economist, London, April 11, 1968).

What is that voice saying? What struggle is involved?
Is it a simple clash between two races, or is it important in
some other way? Why must all Marxist-Leninists and other progressives support it and publicize it?

Some answers come to light in the course of the interview recently given to us by Stokely Carmichael, which we now publish for the first time. Sometimes, his answers were awkward; but they all express unshakable faith in final victory. Other answers

will come as this struggle, now only beginning, develops. We wish to present the answers that were given in the course of the interview.

Stokely speaks as a leader. There is nothing extravagant about him, contrary to the suggestions of a certain segment of the press. He was very simply dressed. He hadn't had the time to comb his hair; we arrived just as he was getting up. On the night before, we had spent the evening together. We were five comrades in all; we spoke very freely. An Afro-American comrade, living in Paris, made sure the translation was correct. The interview lasted four hours.

Kimba

STOKELY: The situation affecting the Afro-American people appears to be mainly a new form of domestic colonialism. The situation is almost original, and it implies that our struggle has two main objectives:

Objective No. 1: To eliminate the colonial oppression that is directed at us as black people on the economic, social, and political levels;

Objective No. 2: To attack the capitalist and imperialist structure of the United States.

Obviously, objective No. 1 will basically be fought for by the Afro-Americans alone. Objective No. 2 will concern all American revolutionaries. It is a job for all.

The relation between these two objectives is expressed in two major problems, the problem of racism and the problem of exploitation.

I indicated before that objective No. 2 was a job for all, because it means solving a problem that isn't peculiar to black people--the problem of man being exploited by man. That isn't necessarily connected with skin color.

But we can say that the problem of racism is specific to the black man. We can even make the following equation: black = proletariat of the world. Just because of his color.

White Western man can't deny that he has made gains through the sweat of the black man. Take the French, Dutch, or British West Indies. They're all the same. Take the United States in past centuries. Take the United States today. Take Africa. History is eloquent on the subject.

White Western man finds his justification as a Western man in the negation of the black man as black man. They made the black man a sub-human creature so as to rationalize exploitation of the black man, so as not to be humiliated as men.

Yes, of course, there was Colbert's Code Noir [Slave Law]. But all the same, the exploitation of the black man can't just be an example of applied psychology, since racism is clearly a manifestation of the class struggle. You have only to look at the examples.

STOKELY: First, there is an immediate problem, the awakening of the victim when he faces the executioner. We intend to fight as black men.

In the United States, even a "well-to-do" black man can't escape racism. You have only to read the American press to be convinced of that. In that case, the problem of a racism isn't necessarily connected with the problem of exploitation.

Racism is part of the ideological and practical arsenal of American imperialism. The black people are more exposed because White Western man has destroyed the African cultures of the black man. The black people of the world speak the language of their masters.

As Fanon says, culture is a "cohesive force." So they have to resist this imposed culture (Pidgin English, Pidgin French).

Among the Afro-Americans, it takes the form of Christianity. Christianity is an imposed culture--that is, essentially, an imperialist culture, because it is bound up with the idea of the universal worth of the master. You must know something about that in Africa, with your history of forced conversions.

In fact, cultural liberation is a very important thing. It must aim at duplicating the master's educational system (the final stage of imposed culture). Capitalist education is intended to renew and perpetuate capitalist society.

In practice, how can all that be achieved?

By organizing the black people. Historically, we all come from Africa. By dispersing us all over his world, white Western man has taught us--negatively of course, but he has taught us--to appreciate unity. We now know that unity is power. And it was in order to fulfill the imperative of unity that we decided at an early stage to fulfill ourselves culturally by rejecting Christianity (an imposed culture, bound up with the idea of the supremacy of white Western culture).

The problem ahead of us is to create black revolutionaries.

For us, that means three objectives:

1. Adoption of an African national language, Swahili, for example;
2. The destruction of Christianity;
3. The rediscovery of Africa, but scientifically, in order to draw our own heroes from there, instead of accepting the white Western heroes.

In short, we want to re-create our culture in order to turn it into a cohesive force.

We want to develop a common political ideology. In this regard, the experience of the Chinese revolution is rich in stirring examples.

Our job is to struggle to acquire a correct ideology which can unify all black people.

The essential thing is to contribute to developing the awareness that will lead the American black man to resist. That awareness is necessary.

What kind of awareness?

It has to be a political awareness.

One of the objective limitations of the leaders who preceded us is this: they appealed to the oppressors, not to the oppressed. We appeal to the oppressed. We tell them: "If you want to be free, you must fight!" Chairman Mao Tse-tung rightly states that "power is at the end of a gun." That's right. We will match our liberating guns against the racist guns of American imperialism in its own cities.

We will force it to fight as we want to fight, as our Vietnamese comrades do. If they want to use napalm and rockets on their own cities, we have no objection to that. But we will fight; that much is understood.

Do you see any connection between your struggle and the struggle of the Vietnamese comrades and of other peoples fighting imperialism, mainly American imperialism?

Obviously, every time that the bases of imperialism are undermined abroad, our struggle gains by that much.

We would like there to be one African country that developed by its own efforts, and not by begging from white Western man.

We would have used it as a psychological and tactical model for the mobilization of the masses. But no one can say that there is any revolutionary country in Black Africa now. That is why the O.A.U. is paralyzed. If American black people today had to go into exile to Africa, no African country would accept them, for the simple reason that all those countries are under the yoke of American imperialism.

All those counter-revolutionary petty bourgeoisies in power in Africa are vassals of Johnson, and exploit their own black brothers.

What is your main job now? What takes priority?

First, eliminate our enemies--I mean all the counter-revolutionary movements that want to become integrated into white capitalist society.

Then we must organize our people so that they will develop offensive drive, an essential condition to change the present status quo.

That is all that the defensive struggle of Luther King and others was.

To win, you must attack. That is the minimum.

[Illustration: A photograph of rioters with the caption: "They are always right to revolt."]

AIRGRAM

POL 13-10 US
POL 23-8 US
CSM 6 US
FOR RM USE ONLY

ORIGIN/ACTION	REP	AF
1	5	
RA	EUR	FE
NEA	CU	INR
E	P	IO
L	3	AID
AGR	COM	FRB
INT	LAB	TAR
TR	KMB	AIR
ARMY	CIA	NAVY
3	20	5
OSD	USIA	NSA
34	10	3
1	1	6

A-2054

UNCLASSIFIED

HANDLING INDICATOR

TO : DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-15-2006 BY 60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

RECEIVED

MAY 1 12 00 PM 1968

FROM : Amembassy PARIS

DATE: 4/30/68

SUBJECT: Stokely Carmichael Interview in French pro-Chinese Newspaper

REF

Attached is the text of a purportedly exclusive interview with Stokely Carmichael that appeared in the April 25 issue of the pro-Chinese weekly newspaper Humanité Nouvelle, organ of the French Marxist-Leninist Communist Party (PCMLF). Carmichael says among other things that (a) American Negroes are subjected to "interior colonialism"; (b) racism is part of the ideological and practical arsenal of American imperialism; (c) the problem is to create "black revolutionaries" and for this three objectives are implied: (i) adoption of an African language like Swahili, (ii) the destruction of Christianity, (iii) rediscovery of Africa; (d) Mao is right in saying that "power is at the end of a gun"; (e) the first task is to eliminate enemies, that is "all the counter-revolutionary movements wishing to integrate with white capitalist society"--and to organize a "biting (mordant) offensive" to break the status quo--for it is the status quo which the defensive battle of Martin Luther King and others stands for.

Enclosure:
As stated.

UNCLASSIFIED

FOR DEPT. USE ONLY

☒ In ☐ Out

FORM 4-62 DS-323

Drafted by:

POL [] 4/29/68

Contents and Classification Approved by:

POL []

POL []

ENCLOSURE

100-446080-162

b6

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 06-15-2006 BY 60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

FBI

Date: 5/20/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS;
SEDITION
(OO:WFO)

Re WFO airtel 5/2/68 and Detroit airtel 5/9/68.

The car parked in front of subject's residence in
W.D.C. at 6:45 p.m. on 4/30/68, bearing Michigan license was a
late model white colored Chrysler, 4-door sedan. It was believed
to have bore Michigan license [REDACTED]

U.S. Capitol Police, W.D.C., advised [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] automobile bearing Michigan license [REDACTED]
listed for late model bronze colored Dodge Dart. Possibility
exists numbers were transposed and car license is [REDACTED] and
not [REDACTED]

LEADDETROIT, FIELD OFFICE

AT DETROIT, MICHIGAN. Detroit check motor vehicle
regarding Michigan license [REDACTED] to determine if registered
to a late model white Chrysler as observed in front of subject's
residence 4/30/68.

3 - Bureau
2 - Detroit (RM)
1 - WFO
WWH:lat C. C. Bishop
(6)

AIRTEL

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

b6
b7C

REC 5

REC 5

100-446080 1606

15 MAY 23 1968

100 806 920

5-27

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

FBI WASH DC*

MAY 20 1968

TELETYPE

FBI CHICAGO

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-15-2006 BY 60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

347PM URGENT PM 5/20/68 LMA

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080), NEW YORK (100-153751), WFO (100-43503) WFO VIA WASHINGTON

FROM CHICAGO (157-1297) 2P

STOKELY CARMICHAEL IS - M SEDITION OO: WFO.

CARMICHAEL AND [] ARRIVED CHICAGO
O'HARE AIRPORT BY PLANE ABOUT FIVE PM MAY NINETEEN LAST.
THEY CHECKED INTO HOLIDAY INN, VICINITY OF AIRPORT.

APPROXIMATELY TEN THIRTY PM, MAY NINETEEN LAST,
CARMICHAEL, [] AND PARTY TRAVELED BY THREE CARS TO OPERA
HOUSE, DOWNTOWN CHICAGO, WHERE [] PERFORMED.

CARMICHAEL, [] AND PARTY DEPARTED OPERA HOUSE ABOUT
MIDNIGHT, MAY NINETEEN LAST, AND DROVE TO O'HARE AIRPORT.
TWO NEGRO FEMALE ENTERTAINERS ASSOCIATED WITH [] DEPARTED
FOR NEWARK, NEW JERSEY. CARMICHAEL, [] AND PARTY THEN RETURNED
TO HOLIDAY, INN, WHERE CARMICHAEL AND [] SPENT NIGHT.

THEY DEPARTED INN SHORTLY BEFORE ELEVEN AM, MAY
TWENTY INSTANT FOR O'HARE AIRPORT. MISSED AMERICAN AIRLINES
FLIGHT THREE ONE TWO, DEPARTING ELEVEN AM FOR NEW YORK CITY.
THEY DEPARTED O'HARE AIRPORT AT TWELVE NOON, INSTANT, VIA
AMERICAN AIRLINES FLIGHT TWO ZERO SIX, SCHEDULED ARRIVAL
NEW YORK CITY LA GUARDIA AIRPORT TWO FORTY - SEVEN, INSTANT.
END PAG ONE

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

*G. G. [unclear]
D. [unclear]
B. [unclear]
S. [unclear]*

b6
b7c

*NEW BROOKLYN
1010 ADL
5/21/68*

REC 5 100-446080-1607

MAY 29 1968

TELETYPED TO: WFO cc: Bacher

I-10

PAGE TWO

CG 157-1297

CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE ADVISED [REDACTED] AND [REDACTED]

b6
b7C

[REDACTED] WHO ARRIVED CHICAGO ON SAME FLIGHT AS CARMICHAEL,
DEPARTED AS SCHEDULED ELEVEN AM, INSTANT, AMERICAN AIRLINES
FLIGHT THREE ONE TWO.

CHICAGO PD SOURCE ADVISED INSTANT NO INCIDENTS REPORTED
TO CHICAGO PD IN CONNECTION WITH CARMICHAEL'S VISIT.

ADMINISTRATIVE

REMYTEL AND TELCALL INSTANT. CARMICHAEL'S ABOVE
ACTIVITIES OBSERVED BY BUREAU AGENTS. MILITARY, USA, SECRET
SERVICE, CHICAGO PD ADVISED. LHM FOLLOWS. SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

b6
b7C
b7D

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] SOURCE IS [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

END

LCC

FBI WASH DC*

P

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-15-2006 BY 60309/UC/TAM/DCG/b13

F B I

Date: 5/16/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISC; SEDITION

Enclosed herewith are 11 copies of an LHM re
the above captioned subject. One copy is being furnished
NY for information.

The information provided by [redacted] was fur-
nished to SA [redacted] of WFO

b6
b7C
b7D

ENCLOSURE

- 3 - Bureau (Enc. 11)
1 - New York (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)
1 - WFO

WWH:bjr
(5)

C/C - Bishop

REC-100

25 MAY 24 1968

CIR (By GIBSON), STATE

AGENCY: ACSI, NIC, OSI, SEC. SERV.,

ISD, CRD, RAO, 1074, Cui

HOW FORW: R/S

DATE FORW: 5/21/68

BY: PTB/ant

Approved: [Signature]

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C. 20535

May 16, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-15-2006 BY 60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION

[redacted]
[redacted] advised on May 15,
1968, [redacted] had negotiated a contract on behalf of the
owner to sell a house at [redacted]

[redacted] to [redacted]
He advised that the arrangements for the sale of the house
had been made by the suburban office of [redacted]

[redacted] The
contract, dated May 11, 1968, stated in part that [redacted]
was received from [redacted] to be applied as
part payment of the purchase of [redacted]
[redacted] with improvements thereon known as
[redacted]

A check in
the amount of [redacted] dated May 11, 1968, made payable
to [redacted] drawn on the [redacted]

[redacted] and signed by [redacted] accompanied the contract.
The total price of the property was listed as [redacted]
which amount the purchaser agreed to pay in cash at settlement.

The contract stipulated full settlement should be
completed within 60 days from date of acceptance by the seller.
The contract contained a provision that it was contingent

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100-441680-160
ENCLOSURE

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

upon the purchaser obtaining satisfactory financing within 30 days from acceptance. If satisfactory financing not obtained within that time, the contract becomes null and void with the deposit being returned to the purchaser. The contract further stipulates wall to wall carpeting, draperies, washer, dryer, deepfreezer, and three air-conditioning units, were to be included in the purchase price. The contract was signed by [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

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It was accepted by the seller on May 13, 1968, who in a telegram to [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

stated "Contract dated May 11, 1968, is accepted by me, the seller, under the following terms. Total price of property seventy thousand dollars all cash. Settlement within 60 days after release of contingency. Property to be delivered vacant. All other contract conditions to remain the same. [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

FBI WASH DC*

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

MAY 20 1968

TELETYPE

FBI CHICAGO

307 AM URGENT 5/20/68 ERH

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080), NEW YORK (100-153751) AND WFO (100-43

WFO VIA WASHINGTON

FROM CHICAGO (157-1297) (P)

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
203 Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

STOKELY CARMICHAEL IS-M SEDITION 00: WFO

CARMICHAEL ARRIVED AT CHICAGO O'HARE INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT ABOUT FIVE PM MAY NINETEEN, LAST. HE WAS ACCOMPANIED BY [REDACTED]

AND UNIDENTIFIED NEGRO MALE. AT AIRPORT BAGGAGE ROOM HE WAS JOINED BY THREE WHITE MALES AND [REDACTED] GROUP RENTED TWO CARS FROM AVIS RENTAL AT AIRPORT. THREE WHITE MALES LEFT IN NINETEEN SIXTYEIGHT GREEN PLYMOUTH STATION WAGON, ILLINOIS LICENSE [REDACTED] CARMICHAEL. [REDACTED]

AND UNIDENTIFIED NEGRO MALE LEFT IN NINETEEN SIXTYEIGHT
YELLOW FOUR DOOR PLYMOUTH, ILLINOIS LICENSE [REDACTED]
BOTH CARS DROVE TO HOLIDAY INN MOTEL NEAR AIRPORT, THREE EIGHT
ZERO ONE NORTH MANHEIM RD.. SCHILLER PARK, ILLINOIS.

ON MAY NINETEEN, LAST, [REDACTED]
ADVISED CARMICHAEL AND [REDACTED] RENTED ROOM ONE FIVE FIVE HOLMWAY INN. MAKING RESERVATIONS FOR ONE NIGHT. HE WAS ACCOMPANIED BY [REDACTED] MAY 24 1968

END PAGE ONE

TELETYPE TO:

MAY 27 1968

5/21/68
21B

PAGE TWO

FOUR MALES WHO RENTED TWO ADDITIONAL ROOMS. [REDACTED]
AND [REDACTED] WERE ASSIGNED ROOM ONE THREE THREE. [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] AND [REDACTED] ASSIGNED ROOM ONE THREE FOUR.

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AT APPROXIMATELY SIX THIRTY PM, MAY NINETEEN, LAST, [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] AND UNIDENTIFIED NEGRO MALE OBSERVED ENTERING HOLIDAY INN
MOTEL. AT ABOUT TEN THIRTY PM, CARMICHAEL, [REDACTED] UNIDENTIFIED
NEGRO MALE, ROBERT BROWN, [REDACTED] AND SECOND UNIDENTIFIED
NEGRO MALE DEPARTED HOLIDAY INN MOTEL AND DROVE DIRECTLY TO OPERA
HOUSE, TWO ZERO NORTH WACKER DRIVE, CHICAGO, WHERE [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] IS PERFORMING.

ON MAY NINETEEN, LAST, A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE WHO HAS FURNISHED
RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST, ADVISED THAT CARMICHAEL HOLDING
RESERVATIONS TO RETURN TO NEW YORK, MAY TWENTY, INSTANT. HE IS TO
LEAVE FOR NEW YORK, AMERICAN AIRLINES, FLIGHT THREE ONE TWO,
DEPARTING O'HARE AIRPORT CHICAGO AT ELEVEN AM.

A SECOND SOURCE WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE
PAST ADVISED ROBERT BROWN IS MIDWEST DIRECTOR OF SNCC AND
RESIDENT OF CHICAGO. [REDACTED] HAS BEEN ACTIVE IN
DEACONS OF DEFENSE AND JUSTICE, INC., MILITANT NEGRO SELF DEFENSE
GROUP. [REDACTED] HAS ACTED AS [REDACTED] FOR CARMICHAEL ON CARMICHAEL'S
END PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE

PREVIOUS VISITS TO CHICAGO.

ADMINISTRATIVE;

RENYTEL FIVE NINETEEN, LAST.

MILITARY, USA AND SECRET SERVICE ADVISED. LHM FOLLOWS.

CHICAGO FOLLOWING. SOURCES ASSIGNED. INFO RE ARRIVAL AND
ACTIVITIES OF CARMICHAEL DEVELOPED FROM SURVEILLANCE. FIRST

SOURCE IN

SECOND SOURCE IS WHO WILL BE IDENTIFIED IN FOLLOWING
COMMUNICATIONS.

END

^MXS

FBI WASH DC*

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VIA TELETYPE

MAY 20 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

WA...25

FBI NEW YORK

9-18 PM URGENT 5-20-68 WPK

TO DIRECTOR AND CHICAGO AND WASHINGTON FIELD 100-43503 (PLAINTEXT)

WASHINGTON FIELD VIA WASHINGTON

ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM NEW YORK 100-153751 2P

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC; SEDITION. OO-WFO.

BUREAU AGENTS OBSERVED SUBJECT AND [REDACTED]

ARRIVE LA GUARDIA AIRPORT, NY, VIA AMERICAN AIRLINES FLIGHT

TWO ZERO SIX FROM CHICAGO, AT TWO FORTY TWO PM, FIVE TWENTY

SIXTY EIGHT. SUBJECTS WENT DIRECTLY TO [REDACTED] RESIDENCE

[REDACTED] SUBJECT LEFT

SUCH RESIDENCE AT FOUR TWENTY PM INSTANT, AND RETURNED AT SIX TWENTY

FIVE PM INSTANT, WHERE HE REMAINS WITH [REDACTED]

ADMINISTRATIVE

BUREAU AGENTS OBSERVING SUBJECT ARE [REDACTED]

END PAGE ONE

TELETYPE TO:

55 JUN 20 1968

WFO FRI

REC 8 / 100 - 446040-1610

1D1V ADV
5/21/68

5-15

PAGE TWO

AND

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NYO WILL ADVISE BUREAU OF ALL PERTINENT DEVELOPMENTS.

END

WA...LRC R RELAY

FBI WASH DC

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cc Barker

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-15-2006 BY 60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM : SAC, DETROIT (100-34122)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - M;
SEDITION

*5/22/68
ROUTING UNIT
ERROR LETTER SENT*

DATE: 5/22/68

Re Detroit letter to the Bureau, dated 5/13/68.

Detroit delay in the transcribing of STOKELY CARMICHAEL's speech at Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, Michigan, on 3/30/68, due to length of transcription and the quality of the transcription which makes it difficult to transcribe.

This matter will be completed by 5/28/68.

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - Detroit
JEK/mcm
(3)

REC-34

EX 106

100-446080-1611
MAY 27 1968

RACIAL MAT. SECT.

DRW N



5010-108-01

JUN 5 1968

1968

cc 806 910
311

U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

1968

1222PM WA EIGHT NEW YORK THREE FBI PHILA

5-9-68 URGENT ERA

PLAINTEXT

TO DIRECTOR 157-9115, SACS ATLANTA, CHICAGO, DETROIT, LOS ANGELES,

NEW YORK 157-2293, SAN FRANCISCO AND WASHINGTON FIELD 157-1436

ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE

LOS ANGELES AND WASHINGTON FIELD VIA WASHINGTON

FROM SAC PHILADELPHIA 100-48152

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RACIAL MATTER
RM-

[REDACTED] ADVISED THIS DATE HE HAD RECEIVED INFORMATION FROM AN
INFORMANT, HE CONSIDERED RELIABLE, WHO WAS IN TOUCH WITH [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] PURSUANT TO INSTRUCTIONS HE HAD RECEIVED [REDACTED] TO
REPORT TO STOKELY CARMICHAEL IN WASHINGTON, DC, ON RESULTS OF TRIP.
WITHIN TWO WEEKS OF HIS RETURN [REDACTED] WENT TO WASHINGTON, DC, ON
FIVE ONE SIXTYEIGHT. WITH HIM WERE [REDACTED]

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RESIDENCE OF [REDACTED]

AT THE

THEY MET [REDACTED]

ON FIVE TWO

SIXTYEIGHT [REDACTED] ATTEMPTED TO CONTACT CARMICHAEL BUT RECEIVED POOR
RECEPTION, SINCE ALL IN SNCC OFFICE WERE OF OPINION HE CAME TO
ASSASSINATE CARMICHAEL. CARMICHAEL AND ALL SNCC OFFICE PERSONNEL IN
DC ARE CARRYING GUNS. 100-446080-

END PAGE ONE

TELETYPED TO

NOT RECORDED
MAY 23 1968

55 JUN 3 1968

INFO. N.A.

157-9115

PAGE TWO PH 100-48152

ON FIVE THREE SIXTYEIGHT, [REDACTED] MET WITH CARMICHAEL AFTER MEETING ARRANGED TELEPHONICALLY. [REDACTED] WITH CARMICHAEL TWO AND HALF HOURS. CARMICHAEL REPORTED AS STATING TO [REDACTED] HE PLANS TO TURN POOR PEOPLES MARCH ON WASHINGTON INTO "BUCKET OF BLOOD." SNCC GROUPS WITH PRIOR ASSIGNMENTS ARE COMING TO DC FROM BALTIMORE, CHICAGO, DETROIT, NEW YORK AND CALIFORNIA. NO CITIES NAMED FOR CALIF. CONTINGENTS. NONE OF SNCC GROUPS WILL REPORT TO SNCC DC OFFICE OR CONTACT EACH OTHER IN DC, BUT WILL CARRY OUT THEIR PRIOR ASSIGNMENTS.

[REDACTED] ACCEPTED ASSIGNMENT TO SECURE DYNAMITE TO BLOW A BRIDGE IN OR NEAR WASHINGTON, DC. INFORMANT COULD NOT OBTAIN IDENTITY OF BRIDGE. [REDACTED] HAS NOT SECURED EXPLOSIVES TO DATE.

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ADMINISTRATIVE:

REMYTEL FOUR TWENTYSIX LAST AND PHONE CALL TO BUREAU FIVE NINE INSTANT. PHILA ^{Police Department} PD IS WATCHING [REDACTED] AND IF DYNAMITE IS STOLEN BY ANY OF GROUP, PD WILL MAKE ARRESTS. PHILA IS
END PAGE TWO



PAGE THREE PH 100-48152

ALERTING SOURCES RE ANY EFFORTS TO OBTAIN DYNAMITE BY ANY BLACK

NATIONALIST KNOWN TO [REDACTED] WILL FOLLOW MATTER CLOSELY WITH

Metropolitan Police Department

PHILA PD ASKED MPD, WDC, TO CHECK OUT

Washington, D.C.

ADDRESS OF [REDACTED] POSSIBLY GAVE MPD PART OF ABOVE INFO TO VALIDATE
REQUEST.

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WASHINGTON FIELD VERIFY ADDRESS OF [REDACTED] IDENTIFY HER, CHECK
INDICES AND ADVISE. CONTACT MPD FOR ANY ACTION PLANNED BY THEM.

ALL OFFICES ALERT SOURCES AND KEEP BUREAU, WFO AND PHILA
ADVISED RE PLANS OF SNCC ACTIVIST GROUPS TO TRAVEL TO WDC AND TO
ASCERTAIN TARGETS OR ASSIGNMENTS IN WASHINGTON.

PHILA HAS INVESTIGATED [REDACTED] CASES
BEING OPENED ON OTHERS NAMED.

END

WA FOR RELAYS...

IS THIS LA PLAIN OR CODE GA PLS

LPM PLAIN

PLAIN OK

R RELAY

FJB

FBI WASH DC

ma. Rosen

cc. Mr. Tolson

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-15-2006 BY 60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

F B I

Date: 5/12/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
SAC, BALTIMORE
RICHMOND
PHILADELPHIA

FROM: SAC, WFO

[REDACTED] RM, OO:PH.

REBUREAUTEL MAY TEN LAST; PHILADELPHIATELS MAY NINE, TEN,
ELEVEN LAST.

WFO IS MAINTAINING VERY CLOSE CONTACT WITH MPD,
INTELLIGENCE DIVISION, FOR ANY ADDITIONAL INFORMATION
REGARDING PRESENCE OF SUBJECT IN WASHINGTON, D.C. AND MEETS
WITH STOKELY CARMICHAEL. FURTHER, WFO THROUGH SOURCES

[REDACTED] WILL ENDEAVOR TO VERIFY
RECENT PRESENCE OF SUBJECT IN WASHINGTON, D.C. AT SNCC; ALSO
WILL DETERMINE IDENTITY OF [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] WHERE [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] ASSOCIATED WITH SUBJECT, WAS
PRESENT. WFO INDICES NEGATIVE RE [REDACTED] MAY 22 1968

- ② - Teletype Unit
2 - Bureau (157- 9115)
2 - WFO (157-1436)

JEK:ssb
(6)

NOT RECORDED

183 MAY 23 1968

b6
b7C
b7D

55 MAY 13 1968

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

ORIGINAL FILED IN 157-9115-18

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)WFO 157-1436
PAGE TWO

FOR INFO OF RICHMOND SUBJECT [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] ALLEGEDLY MET WITH STOKELY CARMICHAEL ON MAY THREE LAST, IN WASHINGTON, D.C. WHEN CARMICHAEL INDICATED HE PLANS TO TURN "POOR PEOPLE'S CAMPAIGN" INTO A "BUCKET OF BLOOD". FURTHER, THAT SNCC GROUPS FROM BALTIMORE AND OTHER CITIES ARE COMING TO WASHINGTON, D.C. WITH "PRIOR ASSIGNMENTS" TO CAUSE VIOLENCES. [REDACTED] SOURCE OF INFORMATION FURTHER STATED [REDACTED] ACCEPTED ASSIGNMENT TO SECURE DYNAMITE TO BLOW A BRIDGE IN OR NEAR WASHINGTON, D.C.

RICHMOND AND OTHER OFFICES INSURE THAT LOCAL AUTHORITIES ARE NOTIFIED. P.

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b7C
b7D

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 06-15-2008 BY 60309/UC/TAM/DCG/b1s

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

DATE: 5/23/68

FROM : SAC, KNOXVILLE (100-3623) (RUC)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM - SNCC
(OO: WFO)

Re Knoxville letter to Bureau dated 5/15/68, and
Knoxville airtel to Bureau dated 5/14/68.

No additional information developed re [redacted]
being in Chattanooga, Tenn., or of his current activities.

All other investigation in the Knoxville Division
completed.

Two copies of referenced Knoxville airtel to
Bureau dated 5/14/68, were mailed on 5/21/68, to WFO and
Jacksonville for information.

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EX-115

REC-44

100-446080-1612
2 MAY 27 1968

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - Atlanta (1 - 100-6812 - STOKELY CARMICHAEL) (RM)
(1 - 157-1799 - [redacted] (RM)
2 - WFO (RM)
2 - Knoxville (1 - 100-3623)
(1 - 157-1101 - [redacted])

GCW/jss
(8)



62 JUN 3 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

RACIAL INT. SECT.

F B I

Date: 5/23/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS;
SEDITION
(OO:WFO)

ReWFOairtel to Bureau 3/27/68 setting forth
summary of subject's activities from 3/5-22/68.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 11 copies of
an LHM suitable for dissemination setting forth a summary of
subject's activities from 3/27 - 4/15/68. One copy each
being furnished the offices listed in the copy count for
information.

The information contained in the LHM was developed
by physical surveillance, through investigation and sources
available to WFO.

The LHM is being classified "~~Confidential~~" in order
to protect sources who are furnishing information on a
continuing basis.

ENCLOSURE

- ③ - Bureau (Enc. 11)
1 - Atlanta (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)
1 - New York (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)
1 - Richmond (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)
1 - WFO

WWH:tab
(7)

AIRTEL

C. C. - Bishop

BY LTATSON
AGENCY: ACIS, NIC, OSI, SEC. SERV., CRF
DATE: ISD, CRD, RAO, 1-2-68
HOW FORW: 145
DATE FORW: 5/27/68
BY: 1073/act

b2

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

WFO 100-43503

Local dissemination made to U. S. Secret Service, AUSA and military intelligence agencies.

Since the LHM is a summary only of data gathered, the last period of investigative data is 4/15/68.

WFO will submit promptly another summary containing pertinent data subsequent to 4/15/68.



~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C. 20535

May 23, 1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

DATE: 06-15-2006

CLASSIFIED BY 60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls-derivative

DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1) 06-15-2031

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

The following summary of pertinent activities of Stokely Carmichael from March 27 to April 15, 1968, are being set forth as follows:

On Wednesday, March 27, 1968, Carmichael and [redacted] returned to Washington, D. C. (WDC) from the Chicago area where he had filled speaking engagements and she had made public appearances. Upon returning to WDC, they went to Carmichael's residence, 2200 12th Street, N. W., WDC. Subsequently in the afternoon they visited several areas of N. W., WDC, where they appeared to be looking for housing. Later they returned to his residence and in the evening, he went to the headquarters of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), 1234 U Street, N. W., WDC, where he remained into the evening hours.

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A source advised that [redacted] had previously rented a house at [redacted] through [redacted] which she and Carmichael planned to occupy [redacted]. However, the negotiations with the realtor about the house failed to materialize and as of March 27, 1968, they were again looking for a place to live.

On Thursday, March 28, 1968, Carmichael was at his residence in the morning. In the afternoon he departed his residence with [redacted] and entered a blue Opel sedan bearing Georgia license [redacted]. They drove to SNCC headquarters. [redacted] later appeared at SNCC headquarters with Carmichael. In the evening Carmichael and [redacted] left SNCC and went to an apartment building at [redacted] where they spent the evening.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~SECRET~~ ENCLOSURE

105-446080-1613

~~SECRET~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

A source advised that Carmichael and [] were believed to have visited [] during the evening of March 28, 1968, to fill a social engagement.

On Friday, March 29, 1968, Carmichael left his residence at mid-morning and entered a blue Opel sedan bearing Georgia license [] occupied by two other unidentified males. They went to 2109 14th Street, N. W., WDC, the address of the United Planning Organization - Pre-Vocational Training Center. Carmichael later returned to his residence. In the afternoon he departed his residence with [] They entered the above-described Opel occupied by two other males and drove to the vicinity of Crittenden Street, N. W., WDC, where they inspected a boarded-up house listed for rent. Later [] and Carmichael visited a grocery store before returning to his residence. Subsequently Carmichael went to SNCC headquarters. In the afternoon Carmichael, with [] and two other individuals, went to [] WDC, where they inspected a house listed for rent. Later Carmichael and [] returned to his residence.

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On Saturday, March 30, 1968, Carmichael and [] went to Friendship International Airport where they boarded United Airlines Flight number 147 bound for Chicago, due to depart at 11:15 a.m. The reservations were listed under names [] and [] They were accompanied to the airport by [] and another male and female in a rented limousine. [] also departed from Friendship on a flight to the west coast, reportedly to fill a night club engagement.

A source advised Carmichael was on his way to Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, Michigan, where he was to make a speech in the evening. Carmichael and [] arrived Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, Michigan, at 5:30 p.m. that date.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

A source further advised that [] was to open at the Coconut Grove in Los Angeles, California during the following week.

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On Sunday, March 31, 1968, Carmichael and [] returned to WDC via United Airlines Flight number 284 from Chicago, arriving at Friendship International Airport at 10:00 a.m. Upon arrival in WDC, they went to Carmichael's residence. In early afternoon he visited the New School for Afro-American Thought, 2208 14th Street, N. W., WDC. He later departed the above and went to SNCC headquarters before returning to his residence. In the evening, according to a source, he attended a party in N. W., WDC.

At 8:05 p.m., March 31, 1968, [] Metropolitan Police Department (MPD), WDC, stopped a tan Mustang bearing Ohio license 1967 [] being driven by [] for driving 35 mph in a 30 mph zone. The car contained another female and four males, one of whom was Stokely Carmichael. [] protested to [] that she was stopped because of her race. She was allowed to take the group to [] where all entered except [] and her male companion who accompanied her to the 10th Precinct where she was given a \$5 ticket for failure to have a registration card for the car in her possession. At 8:30 p.m. she and her companion returned to [] told [] that she was born in [] and attended []

On Monday, April 1, 1968, Carmichael departed his residence in the late morning and walked to SNCC headquarters. He later had lunch in the area at Ben's Chili Bowl, 1213 U Street, N. W. He then returned to SNCC headquarters. In the afternoon he left SNCC headquarters and went to the office of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), 1401 U Street, N. W., WDC, sponsor of the Poor People's Campaign.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

He later returned to SNCC headquarters. Prior to returning to his residence in the early evening, he stopped at the U Street Barber Shop, 1320 U Street, N. W., WDC.

According to a source, [redacted] opened at the Coconut Grove, Ambassador Hotel, Los Angeles, California, on the evening of April 1, 1968.

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On Tuesday, April 2, 1968, Carmichael departed his residence about noon and went to SNCC headquarters. In early afternoon he entered a 1966 Mustang with three other males and one female. They proceeded in this car into Virginia.

A source advised that Carmichael, with a total group of about 15 in several cars departed WDC 1:05 p.m., April 2, 1968, en route to Richmond, Virginia, to attend an alleged court proceeding involving a hearing for H. Rap Brown, the SNCC National Chairman. According to source, they were under the impression Brown was to be in Richmond that date.

Officials in Richmond advised that no such hearing was scheduled on that date for H. Rap Brown and that he was at that time incarcerated in New Orleans unable to make bail on charges against him. The source further advised that Carmichael and a group visited Virginia Union University in Richmond on the afternoon of April 2, 1968, where a student protest was taking place, prior to returning to WDC. Carmichael reportedly spoke to the group.

According to an article appearing in "The Evening Star", a WDC daily newspaper, dated April 3, 1968, approximately 300 students had seized the administration building, at predominantly Negro Virginia Union University, on April 2, 1968, and vowed to occupy the structure for "a long, long time". The article continued that whites were warned to stay away

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from the building by the students who enthusiastically welcomed black power advocate Stokely Carmichael as a visitor. Carmichael was reportedly in Richmond to attend a bond hearing for H. Rap Brown and remained in the administration building for about a half hour. The students reportedly took control of the building after talks between boycotting students and officials broke down.

Upon returning to WDC, Carmichael went to SNCC headquarters and then later visited the law building at Howard University in early evening.

[redacted]
[redacted] advised that at approximately 8:15 p.m., April 2, 1968,

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[redacted] a private security guard at Peoples Drug Store, 14th and U Streets, remonstrated with three juveniles who were pushing against the outside window of the drug store. The juveniles took offense to [redacted] remarks, followed him into the store and physically attacked [redacted]. Two porters in the store came to [redacted] assistance. The juveniles were taken into custody by the MPD and were later released in custody of their parents to appear in the United States Attorney's Office, WDC, for a hearing.

At about 9:00 p.m. other security officers from the [redacted] arrived on the scene and a crowd gathered. One of the crowd broke a whiskey bottle on the sidewalk. A window glass and entrance door glass were broken.

According to [redacted] Stokely Carmichael appeared on the scene about 9:30 p.m. and attempted to disperse the crowd.

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[redacted] Peoples Drug Store, 14th and U Streets, N. W., WDC, advised on April 3, 1968, that he was working in the rear of the store about 8:00 p.m. on April 2, 1968, when he noticed a uniformed store guard wrestling with a boy about 16 years of age in the front area of the store space. The guard managed to push the boy out of the store. Several minutes later, the boy returned with another boy and they engaged the guard in scuffling and pushing. Another youth appeared to join in assisting the other two. Several store porters went to the assistance of the guard. The crowd outside appeared to become boisterous and several glasses in the entrance door were broken. A general melee appeared to be erupting. The police were summoned and six or seven officers of the MPD arrived. The police took the three youths into custody and a police patrol wagon that had been summoned to transport them appeared on the scene. The police removed the youths from the area for questioning. The police urged the crowd outside to clear the area in front of the store and restored order appeared to be under way.

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Stokely Carmichael shortly thereafter entered the store and approached [redacted] appearing somewhat indignant and stated, "See man what I have been talking about. I have been trying to talk to you about this for two weeks. I have had it up to here (pointing to his neck). Now it is you." Carmichael then went back outside. [redacted] then locked the door to the store and began trying to clear out the customers. One male customer with a dog, a doberman pinscher, tried to get out of the store. As he went out, the crowd mingled near the doorway. The dog lunged as if frightened or else urged toward the crowd by the owner, which caused additional reaction from the crowd. They began throwing objects at the store front which resulted in one of the large windows being broken. At the same time, a store employee was attempting to board up the previous windows that had been broken.

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[] kept the store closed for a short period of time until such time as he thought that the crowd had dispersed. Upon unlocking the door, however, several other individuals began mingling again and attempted to force their way in. He had to again close the store. After Carmichael's visit inside the store he went back outside and urged the crowd to disperse stating that, "We will take care of it our way. No point in getting arrested." The crowd began to disperse and there were no further incidents reported. b6 b7C

[] stated Carmichael had visited the store on several different occasions in the past three weeks questioning him about store policy in keeping uniformed guards on premises. Apparently Carmichael began showing an interest in the matter after a young woman had been arrested for shoplifting earlier. Carmichael complained guards were not kept in Peoples Drug Stores in white neighborhoods. [] told Carmichael there should be, because thefts were occurring in both white and black neighborhoods.

In evaluating the matter [] stated that irrespective of the fact Carmichael had warned him previously to get rid of the special policeman he did not know whether the disturbance on the night of April 2, 1968, had been instigated by Carmichael. He stated the incident at the outset could have probably erupted without having been organized by anyone and after it had gotten under way, other individuals stepped in to foment further activities.

On Wednesday, April 3, 1968, according to a source, Carmichael traveled from WDC to Baltimore on what source described as a "pleasure trip". He left SNCC headquarters, WDC, about 10:20 a.m. with another individual by car and arrived in Baltimore about noon. In Baltimore, according to source, they went to a bar and restaurant located at 1500

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Pennsylvania Avenue where they spent most of the day. While in the bar, Carmichael reportedly met one [] and one [] last names unknown to source. Carmichael left the bar with these two individuals and returned several hours later. Upon returning, Carmichael reportedly stated they took "a ride to look over some places." [] claimed to have met Carmichael two years previously in Atlanta. Carmichael returned to WDC about 7:25 p.m. Upon his return he spent the remainder of the evening assisting others in moving the office effects of SNCC from 1234 U Street, N. W., WDC to 2208 14th Street, N. W., WDC, the previous location of the New School for Afro-American Thought, which had moved to 2115 14th Street, N. W., WDC. *md*
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A source advised Carmichael and [] agreed to take a one-year lease on a residence at 5015 16th Street, N. W., WDC, with an option to buy. The expected date of occupancy was not known. According to source they planned to rent the premises for three months at \$450 per month, and would then exercise the option to buy, paying \$48,500 cash. Source reported that [] would take title to the property in her name only and would provide the money for the purchase including \$1,000 which she put down. Source continued they reported they planned to be married in New York City in a civil ceremony on April 27, 1968.

On Thursday, April 4, 1968, Carmichael departed his residence at 2200 12th Street, N. W., WDC, in the early morning accompanied by [] They went to the new location of the SNCC office, 2208 14th Street, N. W., WDC. He remained at SNCC into the afternoon.

[] Peoples Drug Store, 14th and U Streets, N. W., WDC, mentioned previously, advised Carmichael entered his store about 3:40 p.m. and spoke to [] and the assistant manager stating, "This store seems to be causing me a lot of trouble. It is putting brother against brother" [] replied that the majority of the

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people in the neighborhood were good and only a few caused trouble. Carmichael stated, "There was a store in Chicago that burned down last week" and then he left the store.

The following is being set forth regarding reported activities of Stokely Carmichael on the night of April 4 and the afternoon of April 5, 1968, as furnished by [redacted] and [redacted] of the MPD:

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"Washington, D. C.

"I, [redacted] Metropolitan Police Department (MPD), Washington, D. C. (WDC), voluntarily make the following statement to Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation [redacted] and [redacted]

"I know that this statement may be used in a court of law. I have been on the police force approximately [redacted] years, and I am assigned to the [redacted] at the 13th Precinct.

"During the evening of Thursday, April 4, 1968, I was assigned to plain clothes duty in the vicinity of the Peoples Drug Store located in the 2000 block of 14th Street, N. W., WDC. At approximately 8:50 p.m., while sitting in a private automobile in the 2000 block of 14th Street, N. W., I was joined by [redacted] MPD, WDC.

[redacted] stated he had been inside the headquarters of Martin Luther King's Poor Peoples March, and had heard Stokely Carmichael say he was not going to wait for any verdict, but was going to get his boys.

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"Shortly thereafter, I observed Carmichael, followed by approximately fifteen to twenty unidentified persons, proceeding south on the west side of the 2000 block of 14th Street, N. W. I readily recognized Carmichael from newspaper photographs, although I have not previously observed him in person. The group entered the Peoples Drug Store in the 2000 block of 14th Street, and I observed an unidentified person or persons in conversation with the manager of the store. I was not close enough at this time to determine who talked with the manager.

"The group then exited the Peoples Drug Store and proceeded diagonally across 14th Street, N. W., to the 1900 block, where they stopped briefly at a Safeway Store. Inside the Safeway Store at this time were two or three employees and some special security officers. I did not observe the group to enter this store and do not know if any conversation ensued between the employees and members of the group.

"The group, with Carmichael in front, continued south to the Wings Carry Out located at 14th and Wallach Place, N. W. There Carmichael was confronted by an individual I believe to be [redacted] photographs of whom I had previously observed. After a brief conversation, Carmichael appeared to brush [redacted] aside and entered the Wings Carry Out Shop. At this point, the group had grown to approximately eighty to one hundred in number. A small group of individuals followed Carmichael into the Wings Carry Out Shop.

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"Shortly thereafter, the group, with Carmichael in the lead, departed the Wings Carry Out Shop. I thereupon overheard Carmichael say to the group: 'We don't want any

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violence, as long as they close. But if they don't, take it.' The group, with Carmichael still in the lead, then crossed 14th Street to the west side. The group proceeded to the Pig N' Pit Restaurant in the 1900 block of 14th Street, N. W., and a small part of the group entered this restaurant. I was unable to observe if Carmichael personally entered this restaurant. After departing the Pig N' Pit, the group continued north to the Wings and Things Restaurant, also located in the 1900 block of 14th Street. Some of the group entered this restaurant, but again I was unable to observe if Carmichael himself went in.

"Upon exiting the Wings and Things, the group proceeded north on 14th Street to U Street, crossed 14th Street and continued east on the north side of U Street. In the 1300 block of U Street, Carmichael and part of the group entered a delicatessen, the name of which I cannot recall. Upon departing the delicatessen, they proceeded to the vicinity of the Republic Theater, also located in the 1300 block of U Street.

"At the Republic Theater, Carmichael remained outside on the sidewalk, while part of the group filed through the lobby and into the theater itself. The group broke windows at the Republic Theater, and again I overheard Carmichael say: 'We don't want any violence as long as they close. But if they don't close, take it.'

"The group then proceeded east on U Street to the Lincoln Theater, located in the 1200 block of U Street. Some of the group, which now numbered approximately 150 to 200 persons, entered the Lincoln Theater. At this point, my attention was distracted by the presence of an unidentified white male, who was standing on the south side of U Street and carrying a camera and camera case. The group also spotted this individual and about eighty to one hundred members of the group rushed him, shouting 'kill him,' and 'get him.' The unidentified white male was thrown to the ground by the mob,

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and I yelled to the mob to let him go. At this point, I was identified by several persons in the crowd as a 'roller' (street language meaning policeman). I then heard someone in the mob shout, 'Get the film.' The unidentified white male thereupon opened the back of this 35 milimeter camera, and an unidentified member of the mob snatched the film from it. The white male was then assisted to his feet by an unidentified Negro male, and he and I then pushed our way through the crowd and led the white male to safety. I last saw the unidentified Negro male and white male running north across U Street and west on U Street towards 14th Street. I did not observe Carmichael as being part of the group that attacked the unidentified white male.

"At this point, I noticed that the group, now split in two sections with Carmichael leading the front section, proceeding west on U Street towards 14th Street. They went north on the west side of 14th Street and unidentified persons within the group began throwing objects, such as coke bottles and rocks, at passing automobiles bearing white persons. As these incidents occurred, I observed Carmichael to be leading the group, although I did not observe him to personally throw any objects. The group continued north on the west side of 14th Street, and some windows were broken in a drug store located at 14th and Clifton Streets and other premises, the names of which I cannot recall. I also observed unidentified persons looting the drug store window at 14th and Clifton Streets.

"Subsequently, the main part of the crowd stopped at the corner of 14th and Chapin Streets, and led by Carmichael, reversed direction and proceeded south on 14th Street. At this point, I heard two gunshots. I was, at this time, one block north of the crowd around the corner at 14th and Clifton, where I had attempted to telephone the precinct. I did not see who fired the shots, and did not at any time observe Carmichael in possession of a gun. While following the group subsequent to

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the incident in the 1200 block of U Street, I received several threats against my person from unidentified members of the group.

"After hearing the shots, I crossed to the east side of 14th Street and walked south of the group. Carmichael and the group stopped in front of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) Headquarters, 2208 14th Street, N. W., and I crossed back over 14th Street at U Street. I then walked back to the 13th Precinct and was assigned to duty in a police cruiser.

B. APPROX [REDACTED]

"The only members of the group that I recognized and knew by name is one [REDACTED] Negro male, about [REDACTED] years of age. I observed this individual outside the Peoples Drug Store with the Carmichael group, and I immediately recalled that I had arrested him Tuesday night, April 2, 1968, for throwing an object in the direction of the store.

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"At approximately 11:35 p.m. on April 4, 1968, I arrested one [REDACTED] Negro male, age [REDACTED] [REDACTED] at 14th and Belmont Road, for B. APPROX [REDACTED] looting.

"During the movement of the Carmichael led crowd on the evening of April 4, 1968, I noticed that the group engaged in much handclapping and chanting of 'black power.'

"I have read this statement, consisting of this and six other pages, and I believe it to be true and correct.

"/s/ [REDACTED]

"Washington, D. C.
April 8, 1968.

"I, [REDACTED] Metropolitan Police Department (MPD), Washington, D. C. (WDC), voluntarily make the following statement to Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation [REDACTED] and [REDACTED]

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"I know that this statement may be used in a court of law. I have been on the police force since [] and I was on an undercover assignment on the evening of April 4, 1968, in the vicinity of 14th and U Streets, N. W., WDC.

"During my undercover assignment, I was in the headquarters of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) located on the corner of 14th and U Streets, N. W., WDC. Shortly after 8 p.m., approximately fifteen to twenty persons were present in the headquarters of SCLC inasmuch as Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., had been shot in Memphis, Tennessee. At this time I observed Stokely Carmichael sitting quietly in a chair also awaiting the outcome of Dr. King's condition. I can positively identify this individual as Stokely Carmichael because in the past I have had occasion to see and listen to him when he was making speeches throughout the WDC area. In addition to Carmichael, also present at SCLC headquarters were an elderly white couple and a young white male and female and other Negro males and females, both adults and juveniles, whom I cannot identify by name.

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"Prior to the announcement on the radio that Dr. King was dead, Carmichael appeared to become impatient, got up from his seat, and said something to the effect, 'I'm not going to wait for a final verdict. I'm going to get my guys.' After Carmichael's departure, the elderly white couple in SCLC headquarters appeared to be frightened and made attempts to leave when a Negro male, whom I could not identify, advised them not to leave inasmuch as they were more welcome at SCLC than was Stokely Carmichael. The couple remained.

"Sometime after Carmichael's departure, I departed SCLC and entered the People's Drug Store located next door on 14th Street. In the People's Drug Store there were approximately twenty people listening to a radio news broadcast about Dr. King.

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"Almost immediately after the announcement that Dr. King had died, Carmichael, accompanied by ten to fifteen young Negro males, entered the People's Drug Store. Carmichael, within earshot of an employee near the front of the store, asked 'Where's the manager? We're going to close this store because when Kennedy was shot the businesses were closed and they are going to be closed now that King's dead.' Carmichael and the individuals following him then proceeded to the back of the store and after a few seconds returned and walked outside. Carmichael left People's Drug Store and I followed him and the young Negro males to the southeast corner of 14th and U Streets. They proceeded south and some of the group entered various business establishments, requesting them to close, and continued to Wallach Place, N. W. At this time, they crossed to the west side of 14th Street and proceeded north, again entering business establishments for the same purpose. At the intersection of 14th and U Streets, Carmichael and his followers crossed over to the northeast corner and proceeded in an easterly direction on the north side of U Street. Carmichael then entered a theater in the 1300 block of U Street, N. W. Upon re-appearing, his group was interspersed by a number of people who were coming out of the theater at this time. Due to this, it was impossible to estimate the size of the crowd. While the crowd was gathered in the vicinity of the theater, a plate glass door was broken; but I did not observe who had broken it or how it had been broken. Carmichael stopped and said, 'We don't want any damaging. We just want the stores to close.' He then continued east towards 13th Street and I remained in the vicinity of the theater. Shortly thereafter, Carmichael returned and then proceeded in a westerly direction on the north side of U Street, and when he and his group arrived at the intersection of 14th and U Streets, they proceeded to the side where People's Drug Store is located (west side of 14th Street) and walked north.

"At this time I observed no other destruction of property or any looting in the general area of 14th and U Streets.

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"I then left Carmichael and the group with him and made a phone call to the 13th Precinct, MPD. When I returned, the group and Carmichael were at the intersection of 14th and W Streets, N. W. As they went north on 14th Street, the crowd appeared to be approximately 200 in number and as they passed business establishments, I was at the rear of the crowd and noticed windows broken at a television and radio store along the route. Carmichael at this time was at the front of the crowd. They then proceeded to the 2400 block of 14th Street, which is located between Belmont and Chapin Streets, N. W. At the corner of 14th and Chapin, Carmichael stopped and the crowd stopped behind him. As he faced the gathering, a Negro male described as five feet ten inches, 180 to 195 pounds, approximately thirty years of age, heavy set, and wearing his hair in natural bush style, approached Carmichael and said something to the effect that he was wrong in what he was doing. Carmichael turned to this individual and asked him, 'Do you have your gun?' The individual replied, 'No,' and Carmichael then said, 'Well I have mine.' At this time Carmichael removed a small caliber handgun which appeared to be a .32 from inside his waistband and held this weapon above his head. After this, Carmichael turned and began walking south on 14th Street, on the west side, and the group, which had been with him, began going in different directions. It appeared he had no control of them. At this time I heard two shots fired, and I then observed windows being broken in a Safeway store located on the east side of 14th Street in the 2400 block. I also observed that windows of Eddie Leonard's Sandwich Shop and the Belmont Radio and Television Shop, both located on the west side of 14th Street within the 2400 block, were broken. During this period I noticed that two white males in a blue Volkswagen, who were parked in an alleyway behind Eddie Leonard's, were attacked by stones and other flying objects which hit the car as they attempted to leave the area. I further saw a Negro couple sitting in a car on the east side of 14th Street, when someone hit the windshield with a rake, smashing it and causing the Negro female to fall on the seat for protection.

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"On April 5, 1968, I was on the campus of Howard University, WDC, at approximately 1:30 p.m. A group of students numbering between 500 - 700 were gathered near the steps of Douglas Hall, where they were being addressed by a small group of young people concerning the death of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

"Stokely Carmichael appeared through the crowd and walked to the steps of Douglas Hall. He then addressed the crowd by saying, 'They should not have killed Dr. King. They have killed the wrong man, they should have killed me.' He further stated, 'Do not be out on the streets for looting tonight. We mean business. If you don't come out tonight with your gun, stay home.' While making these remarks, Carmichael waved a small caliber gun. His appearance before the group was very short in duration and at the conclusion of the above remarks, he was observed leaving the campus.

"Prior to Carmichael's appearance the mood of the crowd appeared very hostile, and when he (Carmichael) left, I heard voices in the crowd saying in effect, 'Do you have your gun?' 'I have mine or I wish I had mine.'

"During the time Carmichael made his statement I could not identify any person within the crowd; however, on the steps of Douglas Hall from which he spoke, I recognized [redacted] both Negro males. [redacted]

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"I then left the area and returned to the 13th Precinct, prior to departing I observed no fires in the immediate area where Carmichael had traveled.

"I have read this statement, consisting of this and six other pages, and I believe it to be true and correct.

"/s/ [redacted]

On Friday, April 5, 1968, Carmichael departed his residence and went to SNCC headquarters. This is prior to his appearance at Howard University in the afternoon, previously described above.

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A press conference was called for 10:00 a.m., April 5, 1968, by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) to be held at SNCC Headquarters, 2208 14th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

The following is a transcript of a tape recording of remarks made at the press conference prepared by [redacted] [redacted] at the above time and location.

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Commentator: I want you people to listen clearly. This press conference will be only five minutes. And...as soon as the press conference is over, you gentlemen will not leave anything here that you didn't bring in here. Your films, your cigarette butts, you take them to clean it up. Ah...we will have a few questions...of two minutes questions. To my right, extreme right, is Mr. Cleveland Sellers, Director of the Orangeburg, South Carolina, project of SNCC. To my right here, immediate right, is Stokely Carmichael, who is on staff here in WDC. And to my left is Mr. William Hall, who is also a member of the staff in Washington. And Lester McKinnie, Director of the Washington SNCC office. Mr. Carmichael will speak to you for five minutes.

Carmichael: As you may or may not know, this press conference was called before Dr. King was murdered. We called it then to deal with our Brother Rap Brown because we were very upset that Brother Brown had been in jail for 41 days and Governor Agnew of Maryland still seems to persist with his nonsensical charge and so the Brother can't get out of jail. Now we want the Brother out of jail...ah..next week when he comes to trial. Now, as to Dr. King's Murder, I think white America made its biggest mistake when she killed Dr. King last night, she killed all reasonable hope. When she killed Dr. King last night, she killed the one man of our race in this country, in the older generation, which the militants and also the revolutionaries and the masses of black people, would still listen to, even though sometimes he did not disagree..ah..(interrupts and says)..agree with them they would still listen to him. When...When white America

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killed Dr. King last night, she opened the eyes for every black man in this country. When white America got rid of Marcus Garvey (phonetic), she did it and she said he was an extremist, he was crazy. When they got rid of Brother Malcolm X, they said he was preaching hate, he deserved what he got. But when they got rid of Brother Martin Luther King, they had absolutely no reason to do so. He was the one man in our race who was trying to teach our people to have love, compassion, and mercy for what white people have done. When white America killed Dr. King last night, she declared war on us. There will be no crying, there will be no funerals. The rebellions that have been occurring around the cities of this country is just light stuff to what is about to happen. We have to retaliate for the death of our leaders. The execution of those deaths will not be in the court-rooms...they are going to be on the streets of the United States of America. When white America killed Dr. King last night, she made a whole lot easier for a whole lot of black people today. They no longer needs to be intellectual discussions...black people know that they have to get guns. White America will live to cry that she killed Dr. King last night. It would have been better if she had killed Rap Brown and/or Stokely Carmichael. But when she killed Dr. King, she lost. That's it.

Unidentified: Before any questions, I would like to give one statement from the organization. We the students of the Nonviolent Coordinate Committee wish to extend out condolences to the family of the late Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., who was brutally murdered today in Memphis, Tennessee. In his death there is a lesson which white America has taught us many times before. This lesson was clear in the murder of our four brothers in Orangeburg. This lesson was clear in the murder of a 16-year-old, Larry Payne (phonetic) in Memphis. This lesson is clear in the day-to-day torture of black people by white people in America and throughout the world. It was to end this torture that Dr. King bravely faced death many times, nonviolently. Dr. King was a brother who dedicated his life to liberate his peoples through nonviolence. Dr. King was a symbol of nonviolence and white America shot him down.

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Carmichael: There is one last comment about these new things-- about last night. We will tell you where we were last night. Last night, we led all of those youngsters up and down the streets to close every store in this area because Dr. King was shot and they should have closed those stores. Now, some of them kicked glass store windows in. We are not stopping them from kicking in the store windows. We are stopping them from coming out on the streets without guns. When they come out on the streets, we want them with guns. If they don't have guns, we're not gonna let 'em throw bricks and bottles at guns. But when they get guns, we'll be on the streets.

Unidentified: Question (me) if you have any questions.

Unidentified reporter: Mr. Carmichael, don't you believe the vast majority of Americans feel just as badly as you do about what happened in Memphis?

Carmichael: The white press and that's from a "honkey" Lyndon Johnson to "honkey" Bobby Kennedy will not co-opt (phonetic) Dr. Martin Luther King. Dr. Martin Luther King fought for his people. It was not but four weeks ago when Johnson told King that if he came marching into the District, he would meet a force because he should bring his troubles to him. And now tonight he is trying to make as if Dr. King was his hero. He fools no one. Bobby Kennedy pulled that trigger just as well as anybody else. Because when Dr. King was down in the South and Bobby Kennedy was Attorney General, every time a black person got killed, Kennedy would not move because he wanted votes so he is just as guilty...all of white America killed Dr. King. And those who feel sorry ought to feel sorry.

Unidentified reporter: Mr. Carmichael, what do you intend to do...what actions do you intend to take relative to Rap Brown and your intent to get him out of jail?

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Carmichael: We decided at our central committee meeting that if Maryland persists with this (nonsensical) charge, even though the reports said that Rap did not incite any riot in Cambridge. Well then Governor Agnew, he ain't seen nothing if he thinks he saw something on that Bowie State thing. We will take our troops back into Maryland and all of us are veterans from Cambridge, Maryland, and from Baltimore, Maryland, and we will turn that State inside out and upside down. And we've got Louisiana to get. We've got some brothers working in Florida. We've got some brothers working in Ohio and we are gonna get Richmond, Virginia.

Unidentified reporter: Mr. Carmichael, what do you think will happen to the poor people's campaign now?

Carmichael: I understand that the Southern Christian Leadership Conference will carry it on and as we said before we will be glad to give them any support. Whatever Southern Christian Leadership Conference asks for today, we will give to them. Except our tears. We will give no more tears for any black man killed in this country.

Unidentified reporter: Mr. Carmichael, do you see anybody replacing Dr. King as a nonviolent leader?

Carmichael: No, that's why America lost when she shot him down last night.

Unidentified reporter (woman): Mr. Carmichael, is there any truth to the rumor that you are going to call a general strike here in town?

Carmichael: We are waiting for what the Southern Christian Leadership Conference wants us to do.

Unidentified reporter: When you say the execution of those deaths will be, not in the courtroom, but in the streets, can you be a little more specific about the course of action you expect?

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Carmichael: I think that is quite explicit.

Unidentified reporter: Do you expect an organized rebellion?

Carmichael: I think it is quite explicit.

Unidentified reporter: Mr. Carmichael, suppose a lot of black people have to die...(garbled). (What would it do to please you--This is thought what the reporter said.)

Carmichael: That they take as many white people with them as they can.

Unidentified reporter: Yes, but what about the black people who have to die?

Carmichael: Ah...we die every day. We die in Vietnam for the "honkeys", why don't we come home and die in the streets for our people. We die everyday. We die cutting and fighting each other inside our own communities. Why cut and fight each other and kill each other off? Let's kill off the real enemy. Black people are not afraid to die. We die all the time. We die in your jails, we die in your ghettos, we die in your rat infested homes. We die a thousand deaths every day. So we are not afraid to die. Today we are going to die for our people.

Unidentified commentator: I would like to say this before we have any more questions, that on Monday our Chairman, H. Rap Brown, will be in Richmond, Virginia, according to "honkey", Federal Government, and there will be a car caravan from all directions leading to Richmond, Virginia, on Monday morning. We are urging all our black brothers and sisters to come to Richmond.

Unidentified reporter: Mr. Carmichael, what is the alternative to the kind of retribution in the streets that you are talking about? Is there any way to stop it?

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- 22 -
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~~SECRET~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

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Carmichael: I don't think so. I do not think so. I think white America is incapable of dealing with the problem.

Unidentified reporter: How will Dr. King's death affect your leadership as you see it, Mr. Carmichael?

Carmichael: Well Dr. King's death will not affect my leadership or affect me as a black man. Because he was my brother, flesh of my flesh and blood of my blood. You see, the mistake they made when they shot Dr. King was even though Dr. King talked about nonviolence he was always in the streets. Ready to lead a demonstration. All of the other so-called leaders who are...talk about nonviolence and are not on the streets with their people. Many people respected Dr. King even though they didn't agree with his philosophy 'cause at lease he was in the streets. So now there is really no one else to respect who talks about nonviolence because the people who talk about nonviolence are not in the streets.

Unidentified reporter: Mr. Carmichael, are you declaring war on White America?

Carmichael: White America has declared war on black people. She did so when she sold the first black man from Africa. The black man has been sufficient, has been patient, has been resisting and today the final showdown is coming. That is clear. That is crystal clear. And that black people are going to have to find ways to survive. The only way to survive is to get some guns. Cause that is the only way white America keeps us in check is because she's got the guns.

Unidentified reporter: Stokely, what do you see this ultimately leading to? A blood bath in which nobody wins?

Carmichael: First, my name is Mr. Carmichael, and secondly, black people will survive America.

Unidentified commentator: Last question.

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- 23 -

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Unidentified reporter: What accomplishment or objectives do you visualize from the retaliation that you speak? What do you think you will accomplish?

Carmichael: If black man can't do nothing in this country then we gonna stand up on our feet and die like men. If that is our only act of manhood then God dammit we gonna die. We're tired of living on our stomachs.

Unidentified reporter: Do you fear for your life?

Carmichael: Hell with my life. You should fear for yours. I know I am gonna die. I know I am gonna die. (Applause)

Unidentified commentator: There is still a possibility that there will be a general strike throughout the United States. So that our black brothers and sisters can take off that day from their slavery and working for the masters and to think about and to re-analyze what the "honkeys" are doing to the black people in this country and me. And perhaps then something can be done. That is the end of the press conference.

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL

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(S)

On Saturday, April 6, 1968, [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] advised that about 12:30 p.m., he was at the scene of a fire in a warehouse near the corner of 16th and F Streets, N. E. As he was preparing to make a live report to the station, Stokely Carmichael approached him and began a conversation.

[REDACTED] asked Carmichael if he would care to be interviewed but Carmichael declined. Carmichael then introduced a companion as [REDACTED] and said that he [REDACTED] ask the young people to stay at home.

[REDACTED] began his report and introduced [REDACTED] who said in substance the following: We have our own Urban Renewal here. We are going to burn down the slums and have a Black Urban Renewal and I think that it is wonderful.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

At this point, [] cut off the microphone and informed [] that he would lose his job if he permitted any further inflammatory statements to be made. [] said that it did not matter about the job because they were going to take over the rest of the city. [] joked that they would make [] the president of the station when they took over. [] also made a statement to the effect that the revolution has begun.

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[] said that the whole conversation lasted about ten minutes. He said that Carmichael appeared on foot in the area and that he did not see any vehicle from which Carmichael might have come.

[] also said that there was a third person with Carmichael, but that he could not identify that person.

[] identified a photograph of Carmichael and described [] as follows:

Height:	[] feet [] inches
Weight:	[] pounds
Hair:	"Natural" hair cut
Characteristics:	[] sunglasses
Attire:	Long dark rain coat, dark trousers and black shoes.

A source advised that at 5:10 p.m., April 6, 1968, he received information that Stokely Carmichael, in company with three or four other males, was at that time riding in a late model beige automobile.

According to a press report Carmichael was stopped on the late afternoon of April 6, 1968, for curfew violation. According to information available, he stated he did not know the curfew had been moved up to an hour earlier than the previous day by proclamation of the Mayor.

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

On Sunday morning, April 7, 1968, Carmichael reportedly attended church services at New Bethel Baptist Church, [REDACTED]

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On the afternoon of April 7, 1968, at 3:00 p.m., a press conference was held at Ed Murphy's Supper Club, 2227 Georgia Avenue, N. W., WDC. Among those present were [REDACTED] and [REDACTED]

At approximately 3:10 p.m., Stokely Carmichael accompanied by [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] entered. He told [REDACTED] that he was not sure if he would participate because, "too many niggers were calling for peace," and he wanted no part of any peace movement.

[REDACTED] permitted Carmichael to read a printed text of the statement and Carmichael expressed pleasure with the statement by laughing aloud and a hand slapping gesture with [REDACTED]

The conference began and Carmichael sat in with the others. Throughout the conference he made no statements. [REDACTED] introduced him as [REDACTED] of the Black United Front.

After the reading of the statement by [REDACTED] before the news cameras, Carmichael excused himself and left. [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] left with him. At that time it was 3:24 p.m.

A statement read endorsed a previous statement by Floyd McKissick, National Chairman of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) to the effect that a holiday be declared on April 9, 1968, in memory of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

On Monday, April 8, 1968, according to a source, Carmichael appeared at [REDACTED] dry cleaning establishment, WDC, for the purpose of picking up clothing previously left there. [REDACTED] told Carmichael that the only

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

piece of clothing of his remaining was a turtle neck sweater after the store had been looted during the riot. Carmichael, upon hearing that his clothing had been looted, became angry and left the store carrying only his sweater.

A source advised that Carmichael departed WDC later on April 8, 1968, in order to be in Atlanta the next day for the funeral of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. A source further reported on April 8, 1968, that Carmichael arrived in front of Paschal's Motor Motel, 830 Hunter Street, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia, in a 1965 blue and white Dodge sedan bearing an unknown South Carolina license plate, at approximately 11:40 p.m. on April 8, 1968. Immediately upon his arrival and the recognition of him by several people in the immediate vicinity, a congregation assembled around the automobile from which he was alighting, and the remark "Brother, tomorrow night we gonna burn them" was heard coming from the crowd surrounding Carmichael.

On Tuesday, April 9, 1968, a source advised Carmichael arrived in the vicinity of the Ebenezer Baptist Church, 413 Auburn Avenue, N. E., at approximately 10:20 a.m., where the funeral services for Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. were in progress. As Carmichael walked toward the entrance to the church, and although not appearing to speak to anyone in particular, he repeated time and time again, as he held up his hands, "black power, black power."

Carmichael was dressed neatly in a black business suit, and upon reaching the entrance to the Ebenezer Baptist Church found that the doors had been locked on the inside. After the crowd had shouted "let him in" several times, the doors were opened and Carmichael entered the church.

According to a source, after the services at the Ebenezer Baptist Church and while en route to memorial services for Dr. King which were to be held on the campus of Morehouse College, the rumor through the crowd was that Carmichael had said, "Play it cool, and after we bury the man, then the riots can start."

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

A source advised that Carmichael, while standing close to the casket of Dr. King at the Morehouse College campus at approximately 2:00 or 3:00 p.m., made no speeches or comments.

Other sources advised on April 9, 1968, that at approximately 9:30 p.m. on that date a crowd of around 250 to 350 persons gathered in front of Paschal's Motor Motel, and Carmichael was inside the motel having dinner with several known associates of the SNCC.

At approximately 10:35 p.m. on April 9, 1968, the crowd in front of Paschal's dispersed and Carmichael was not known to have engaged in any activity or speech making up to that time.

On Wednesday, April 10, 1968, sources in Atlanta advised Carmichael had departed to return to WDC, believed to be by auto.

On Thursday, April 11, 1968, Carmichael and several companions returned to WDC by automobile. En route they visited Richmond, Virginia, where a hearing was taking place on April 11, 1968, involving H. Rap Brown, the SNCC National Chairman before the U. S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals concerning Brown's request for setting of new bond and a request for issuance of a writ of habeas corpus. Near the end of the hearing Carmichael appeared in the courtroom. The court affirmed the previous judgments of the U. S. District Court, Eastern District of Virginia, concerning refusal of new bond and refusal to grant a writ of habeas corpus. The court granted leave for the U. S. District Court to reconsider the amount of the existing bond.

After the hearing adjourned, Carmichael and four companions, together with Brown's attorney, [redacted] drove to the Federal Reformatory, Petersburg, Virginia, where authorities allowed only attorney [redacted] to visit Brown.

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- 30 -

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Carmichael and his companions returned to Richmond where [] proceeded to the airport. Carmichael and his companions continued via auto to WDC.

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Upon returning to WDC, Carmichael met []

According to a source, Carmichael and [] visited a local realtor and finalized arrangements for a one-year lease of a house located at 5015 16th Street, WDC, with an option to buy within three months. They indicated their marriage plans for April 27, 1968, in New York City were still in effect and that they would exercise the option to purchase the above property in three months, with furnishings, paying cash of \$48,500. [] indicated she planned to replace the existing furnishings in the house throughout. According to source, they took legal possession of the property as of that date; however, the date they actually planned to occupy the premises was not known.

According to another source, Carmichael and [] appeared at SNCC headquarters on April 11, 1968, where they discussed traveling to New York. While talking to others at SNCC with [] present, Carmichael stated "we're married" and regarding this topic made no further comment.

On Friday, April 12, 1968, Carmichael departed WDC at 9:30 a.m. at National Airport via American Airlines Flight number 248 en route to New York City. He was accompanied by [] and []

According to a source, Carmichael was scheduled to attend and speak at a conference of the National Black Anti-War Anti-Draft Union (NBAWDU) in New York City being held April 12-14, 1968.

On Sunday, April 14, 1968, during the evening Carmichael, accompanied by [] and another unidentified male returned to WDC via a yellow Plymouth station wagon

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

bearing New York license 5Z2693 that they had previously rented from Hertz, Inc. at New York City in the name of [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

The Friendship International Airport Police advised the above car was turned in at Hertz, Inc., Friendship International Airport, Maryland, 3:30 a.m., April 15, 1968.

On Monday, April 15, 1968, Carmichael, according to a source, appeared at SNCC headquarters in the early afternoon. According to source he remained at SNCC headquarters into the evening hours. While there he was not working on any particular matters and spent time talking casually with visitors to the SNCC office. Source reported that mention was made by Carmichael of holding a meeting of the Black United Front in the near future.

This document contains neither
recommendations nor conclusions of
the FBI. It is the property of
the FBI and is loaned to your agency;
it and its contents are not to be
distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

- 32 * -

~~SECRET~~

ATTENTION

The following documents appearing in FBI files have been reviewed under the provisions of The Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) (Title 5, United States Code, Section 552); Privacy Act of 1974 (PA) (Title 5, United States Code, Section 552a); and/or Litigation.

☐ FOIA/PA☐ Litigation☐ Executive Order Applied

Requester: _____

Subject: _____

Computer or Case Identification Number: _____

Title of Case: _____ Section _____

* File _____

Serials Reviewed: _____

Release Location: *File _____ Section _____

This file section has been scanned into the FOIPA Document Processing System (FDPS) prior to National Security Classification review. Please see the documents located in the FDPS for current classification action, if warranted. Direct inquiries about the FDPS to RIDS Service Request Unit b2

File Number: 100-40-446080 Section 38Serial(s) Reviewed: ALL

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: 983,317

File Number: _____ Section _____

Serial(s) Reviewed: _____

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: _____

File Number: _____ Section _____

Serial(s) Reviewed: _____

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 07-24-2006 BY 60309/TC/TAM/DCC/bls

THIS FORM IS TO BE MAINTAINED AS THE TOP SERIAL OF THE FILE, BUT NOT SERIALIZED.

SCANNED BY DocLab (RMD)

DATE: 8-1-05

ATTENTION

LAST SERIAL: 1817 DO NOT REMOVE FROM FILE

F B I

Date: 6/26/68

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

ST
Via ~~mail~~
AIRTEL

AIRMAIL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM: SAC, MOBILE (100-1858) (P)
SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM - SNCC
SEDITION
(OO: WFO)

b6
b7C

ReBuAirtel to Mobile 6/21/68.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are eight copies of LHM, suitable for dissemination, concerning the possibility of STOKELY CARMICHAEL coming to Mobile, Alabama, during July 1968. Copies of this LHM are being designated for Atlanta because of their investigative interest in SNCC and CARMICHAEL.

This LHM is being disseminated locally to intelligence agencies.

The matter is being followed with racial informants and sources for verification of CARMICHAEL's visit to Mobile.

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b7D
b6
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68

G. C. T. BISH

WFO should, as requested in MoAirtel 6/13/68 advise Mobile of any information developed there concerning the possibility of CARMICHAEL visiting Mobile.

- ENCLOSURE
- (3) - Bureau (Encl. 8)
 - 2 - Atlanta (Encl. 2) (RM) (100-6812)
 - 2 - WFO (Encl. 2) (RM) (100-43503)
 - 2 - Mobile

JTB:mb

(9)

57 JUL 11 1968

Approved: _____

Sent _____

M

Per _____

Special Agent in Charge



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Mobile, Alabama

June 26, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

AT MOBILE, ALABAMA

On May 17, 1968, [redacted] made available a letter received by him from [redacted] Mobile, Alabama, dated May 14, 1968, in which [redacted] indicated STOKELY CARMICHAEL would be in Mobile some time during early part of June 1968. [redacted] inquired of [redacted] as to whether [redacted] still desired to debate with CARMICHAEL on the subject of The Constitutionality of His Words and Deeds, and stated that if [redacted] still desired to debate CARMICHAEL, he, [redacted] would contact CARMICHAEL with the proposal. [redacted] advised that during June 1967, he had discussed with [redacted] the possibility of his debating CARMICHAEL on this subject. [redacted] advised that he wrote [redacted] a few days after May 14, 1968, that he was still desirous of debating CARMICHAEL under certain specified conditions. On May 27, 1968, [redacted] advised that he had heard nothing further from [redacted]

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On May 28, 1968, [redacted] advised that he had originally conceived the idea of a debate between [redacted] and CARMICHAEL with the idea of promoting the debate and making a fee out of it. He said that during June 1967, he had been talking with [redacted] in the County Courthouse and the discussion included a public charge previously made by [redacted] indicating that CARMICHAEL was guilty of sedition. [redacted] thought that a public debate between the two would have considerable appeal. He said at that time [redacted] agreed to the debate. [redacted] envisioned promoting the debate and selling it to some broadcasting network. Nothing further developed concerning this situation during 1967.

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[redacted] advised that a few weeks prior to the date of interview, he had heard a rumor that CARMICHAEL was coming to Mobile during June 1968 and, accordingly, he

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b7C

COPIES DESTROYED

286 FEB 24 1971

100-446080-1757

ENCLOSURE

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JUN 28 1968	
FBI - WASH. F. O.	

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

wrote to [] on May 14, 1968, to see if [] were interested in the debate if CARMICHAEL came to Mobile.

[] replied that he was under certain specified conditions. [] said that he had no information to indicate that CARMICHAEL actually was coming to Mobile. He gave [] letter, however, to []

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[] of a Negro organization, Neighborhood Organized Workers (NOW) in Mobile and he suggested to [] that the latter contact CARMICHAEL and verify that CARMICHAEL was coming to Mobile and to propose the debate. A short time later, [] told [] that he had either given the letter to someone else to handle or that he had not attempted to contact CARMICHAEL.

ALA

On May 31, 1968, [] NOW advised that, during late April or early May 1968, at a Board meeting of NOW, it was decided to invite CARMICHAEL to Mobile and a letter was sent to CARMICHAEL. An answer was received advising the dates CARMICHAEL was available for the trip to Mobile but he did not recall the dates. He advised that he has no further information as he is no longer president of NOW.

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On May 31, 1968, [] advised that when he recently took over as President of NOW, he was made aware of the fact that a letter had been sent to CARMICHAEL and a reply had been received giving the dates CARMICHAEL was available for a Mobile appearance. He said the letter had been sent without the knowledge of the membership of NOW and that it had not been properly voted upon. He said that some members of NOW felt that they did not have a powerful leader or speaker in Mobile who could unify the Negroes and wanted an outsider to come in. [] and another group felt that calling in an outsider would be considered only if all else failed. [] said that as of May 31, 1968, CARMICHAEL had not been invited to Mobile and there were no plans to invite him.

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On June 11, 1968, a source who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised []

[]

b7D

A second source who has furnished reliable information in the past advised on []

ALA

[]

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b7C
b7D

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

FBI

Date: June 28, 1968

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority)

b6
b7C

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, LOUISVILLE (157-431) P

SUBJECT: RACIAL VIOLENCE
LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY
MAY 27 - 31, 1968
RM

b6
b7C

On the morning of 6/28/68, [redacted]
was in the hold-over of the Louisville Police Department in
connection with his appearance on 6/28/68, in Louisville
Police Court on a charge relating to alleged plot to dynamite
some oil storage tank in the West End of Louisville. A

b6
b7C

3 - Bureau (RM)
2 - Atlanta (RM)
2 - New York (RM)
2 - WFO (RM)
2 - Louisville
WLW:pab
(11)

100-446080-
NOT RECORDED
136 JUL 12 1968

JUL 11 1968

b2
b7D

b6
b7C

57 JUL 17 1968

Approved: _____

Sent _____

M

Per _____

G. C. [redacted] Special Agent in Charge

ORIGINAL FILED IN 157

LS 157-431

b6
b7C
b7D

Local authorities are cognizant of the above information.

LEADS:

ATLANTA DIVISION:

Promptly advise Louisville in the event any information received that SNCC personnel plan to come to Louisville, Kentucky.

NEW YORK DIVISION:

Promptly advise Louisville in the event any information received that SNCC personnel plan to come to Louisville, Kentucky.

Also advise Louisville if the individuals referred to as [redacted] (phonetic) are known to New York Office.

b6
b7C

LS 157-431

WFO:

Promptly advise Louisville in the event any information received that SNCC personnel plan to come to Louisville, Kentucky.

VIA TELETYPE

JUL 3 1968

ENCIPHERED

(CODE)

b6
b7C

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach

WASH 5 703PM WJH

DEFERRED 7/3/68 WJH

TO DIRECTOR AND WFO

ATTN. DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM BALTIMORE (100-24220)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL. RM.

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ON JULY TWO LAST A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE ADVISED SUBJECT ARRIVED

b6
b7D
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b6
b7C

ADMINISTRATIVE

EX-103

REC-30

100-446080/752

12 JUL 9 1968

SOURCE IS

CONFIDENTIAL BY REQUEST.

WFO WAS TELEPHONICALLY ADVISED OF ABOVE.

RE WFO TEL JULY TWO.

END

WA...JWPCR RELAY

FBI WASH DC

54 JUL 15 1968

TWO COPIES TO WFO

b6
b7C

5-11

b6
b7C

FBI

Date: 7/4/68

Transmit the following in

PLAINTEXT

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE

URGENT

(Priority)

Mr. Sullivan

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, WFO

STOKELY CARMICHAEL. RM.

RE WFO TELETYPE JULY 3 LAST.

SUBJECT DEPARTED RESIDENCE IN AFTERNOON AND VISITED SNCC
HEADQUARTERS. IN THE EVENING HE ATTENDED A MEETING OF THE
BLACK UNITED FRONT HELD AT THE DOUGLAS MEMORIAL METHODIST
CHURCH, ELEVENTH AND H STREETS, N.E., WASHINGTON, D.C.

ADMINISTRATIVE

LHM FOLLOWS RE BUF MEETING.

4 - Bureau
1 - WFO

WWH:bah
(5)

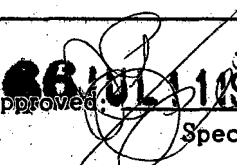
TELETYPE

REC-10 100-446080-1753

EX 106

8 JUL 9 1968

ROOM 836 9&D

b6
b7CApproved: 

JUL 11 1968

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 07-24-2006 BY 60309/TC/TAM/DCG/BLs

b6
b7C

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____

F B I

Date: 7/5/68

Transmit the following in _____

PLAINTEXT

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE

URGENT

(Priority)

Mr. Sullivan _____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

b6
b7C

FROM: SAC, WFO

STOKELY CARMICHAEL. RM.

RE WFO TELETYPE JULY FOUR LAST.

SUBJECT AT RESIDENCE MORNING OF JULY FOUR LAST. IN EARLY
AFTERNOON HE ENTERED CAR BELONGING TO [REDACTED]
WITH FEMALE BELIEVED TO BE [REDACTED] THEY WENT TO NINE HUNDRED
FLORIDA AVENUE, NORTHWEST, WASHINGTON, D.C., TEMPORARY OFFICE
OF BLACK UNITED FRONT. SUBJECT IN LATE AFTERNOON VISITED
OFFICE OF SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE FOURTEENTH
AND U STREETS, NORTHWEST, WASHINGTON, D.C. BEFORE RETURNING
TO RESIDENCE.

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b6
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REC-10

EX 106

④ - Bureau

1 - WFO

1 - WFO

WWH:bah

(5)

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b7C

ROOM 836 920

JUL 9 1968

TELETYPE
Approved: [Signature] JUL 11 1968
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

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DATE 07-24-2006 BY 60309/TC/TAM/DCG/bls

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach

b6
b7C

b6
b7C

F B I

Date: 7/2/68

CODED

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR AND SACS BALTIMORE,
BOSTON
NEW YORK AND
SAN FRANCISCO

b6
b7C

FROM: SAC, WFO

STOKELY CARMICHAEL. RM.

RE WFO TELETYPE TO BUREAU JUNE TWENTY-NINE LAST.

SOURCE ADVISED SUBJECT WAS [REDACTED]

SUBJECT WITH TWO UNIDENTIFIED FEMALES AND [REDACTED]

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b7D

DEPARTED HIS RESIDENCE TWELVE FIFTEEN P.M., JULY ONE LAST AND
ENTERED WHITE BUICK CONVERTIBLE. THEY PROCEEDED TO SIXTEENTH
AND FULLER STREETS, NORTHWEST, WASHINGTON, D.C. WHERE ONE OF
THE UNKNOWN FEMALES DEPARTED THE VEHICLE. THEY CONTINUED TO
SNCC HEADQUARTERS WHERE ALL ENTERED.

THE ABOVE SOURCE [REDACTED]

15 JUL 9 1968

- 2 - Bureau
3 - Teletype Unit
2 - WFO

b6
b7C

Approved: [Signature]

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

61 JUL 16 1968

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

PAGE TWO

md

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SUBJECT WAS NOT AGAIN OBSERVED TO DEPART HIS RESIDENCE
DURING EVENING.

ADMINISTRATIVE.

BALTIMORE VERIFY SUBJECT'S VISIT JULY ONE LAST.

BOSTON VERIFY SUBJECT'S ACTIVITIES DURING VISIT SUBMIT LHM.

NY AND SAN FRANCISCO INFORMATION.

b6
b7C

ROOM 836 9&D

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 07-24-2006 BY 60309/TC/TAM/DCG/bls

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____

F B I

b6
b7C

Date: 7/7/68

Transmit the following in _____

PLAIN TEXT

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE

URGENT

(Priority)

Mr. Sullivan

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RM, OO:WFO

REWFOTEL JULY SIX LAST.

SUBJECT NOT OBSERVED TO LEAVE RESIDENCE DURING MORNING OF
JULY SIX LAST.

SOURCE ADVISED

ADMINISTRATIVE

ABOVE SOURCE

④ - Bureau
1 - WFO

WWH:ssb
(5)

ROOM 836 9&D

EX-116

REC-39

100-446080 1756

12 JUL 9 1968

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

56 JUL 12 1968

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b7C

FBI

Date: 7/9/68

Transmit the following in PLAINTEXT

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE URGENT

(Priority)

TO: ~~DIRECTOR~~ AND SACS BALTIMORE
NEW ORLEANS
NEW YORK
SAN FRANCISCO

b6
b7C

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RM - SNCC; [REDACTED]

RM - SNCC.

RE SAN FRANCISCO TEL TO BUREAU, JULY FIVE, LAST.

CARMICHAEL'S PRESENCE WDC EVENING OF JULY EIGHT, LAST,
VERIFIED.

BALTIMORE ADVISED [REDACTED] APPEARED DORCHESTER COUNTY,
MARYLAND, CIRCUIT COURT, CAMBRIDGE, MARYLAND, JULY EIGHT, LAST,
ON CHANGE OF VENUE HEARING ON INCITING TO RIOT CHARGE. LATER,
ACCORDING TO MARYLAND STATE POLICE, [REDACTED] BELIEVED RETURNING
TO NEW YORK CITY.

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NO CONFIRMING INFORMATION RECEIVED FROM SOURCES CARMICHAEL
AND [REDACTED] TRAVELING TO SAN FRANCISCO INSTANT DATE ~~OR~~ IMMEDIATE
FUTURE.

- ② - Bureau
3 - Teletype Unit
2 - WFO

b6
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WWH:t

5704
Approved:b6
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Sent _____ M Per _____

UNREC COPY FILED IN

100-446080-1757

REC-28

EX-110

JUL 9 1968

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5-14

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via _____
(Priority)

WFO 100-43503

PAGE TWO

ADMINISTRATIVE

ANY TRAVEL DATA RECEIVED WILL BE FURNISHED INTERESTED
OFFICES. P.

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C ROOM 836 9&D

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M

Per _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 07-24-2006 BY 60309/TC/TAM/DCG/pls

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____

FBI

b6
b7C

Date: 7/3/68

PLAINTEXT

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, WFO

STOKELY CARMICHAEL. RM.

RE WFO TELETYPE JULY TWO LAST.

SUBJECT NOT OBSERVED TO DEPART RESIDENCE MORNING OF JULY
TWO LAST. IN AFTERNOON SUBJECT ACCOMPANIED BY [REDACTED]
ANOTHER UNIDENTIFIED MALE, AND TWO UNIDENTIFIED FEMALES WENT
TO HAWAIIAN APARTMENTS, FORT TOTTEN DRIVE AND BATES ROAD,
NORTHEAST, WASHINGTON, D.C. SAME GROUP LATER WENT TO PLEA-
SANT GARDEN HOUSE APARTMENTS, HILL ROAD AND F STREET, SEAT
PLEASANT MARYLAND.

b6
b7C

REC 26

100-446080-1758

EX 109

IN EARLY EVENING SUBJECT RETURNED TO HIS RESIDENCE AND
WAS NOT AGAIN OBSERVED TO DEPART.

ADMINISTRATIVE

16 JUL 9 1968

EFFORTS BEING MADE TO DETERMINE REASON FOR VISITS TO
HAWAIIAN APARTMENTS AND PLEASANT HOUSE GARDEN APARTMENTS.

- ④ - Bureau
1 - WFO

WWH:bah
(5)

ROOM 836 9&D

b6
b7C

TELETYPE

Approved: _____

Sent _____

M

Per _____

59 JUL 15 1968

Special Agent in Charge

7/15/68

Airtel

1 - C. D. DeLoach

To: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

From: Director, FBI (100-446080) -1757

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
SEDITION

ReWFOairtel 7/11/68.

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b6
b7C
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b6
b7C

b6
b7C

1 [redacted] (6221 IB)

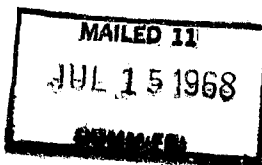
PTB:ang
(9)

NOTE:

See memorandum [redacted]
captioned as above, dated 7/12/68, prepared by PTB:ang.

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Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____



56 AUG 2 1968 MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT ☐

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 07-24-2006 BY 60309/TC/TAM/DCG/bls

FBI

Date: 7/11/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

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FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM - SNCC

ReWFOlet 7/3/68.

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CARMICHAEL resides at 5015 16th Street, N.W., WDC, a private single family dwelling. This is traditionally a residential area except for several churches and Doctor offices. Several diplomatic establishments are located in the immediate area which is just south of the Carter Barron Amphitheatre.

CARMICHAEL spends considerable time at his residence while in WDC. He has a number of visitors at his residence.

CARMICHAEL has a red Volvo sedan he uses regularly which he parks in the vicinity of his residence. He also has several cars always seemingly available to him which are usually parked in the area. Due to the coming and going of CARMICHAEL and his acquaintances at the residence, it is felt essential to have an observation post to cover his activities.

③-Bureau
1-WFO

REC-19

100-446080-1759

H:bap

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AIRTEL

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CC 806 99D

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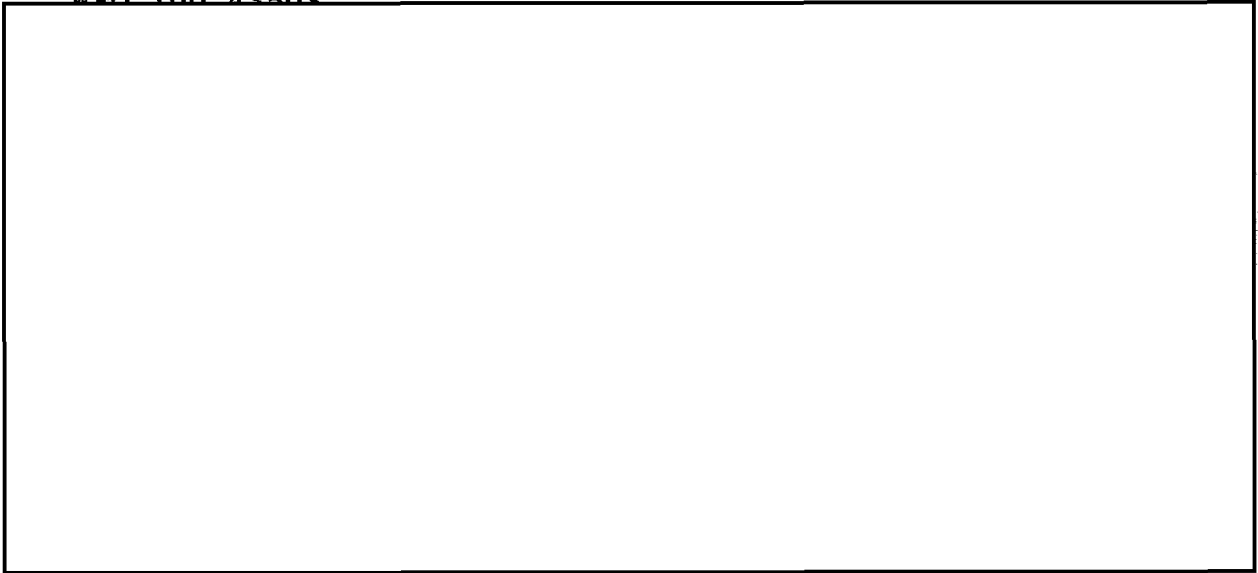
Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

WFO 100 43502



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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 07-24-2006 BY 60309/TC/TAM/DCG/BL

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b7C

Mr. Tolson

F B I

Date: 6/28/68

Transmit the following in

(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

Via

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

RM

(OO:WFO)

ReWFOairtel and LHM to Bureau, 6/11/68, setting forth summary of subject's activities from 5/1/68 to 5/11/68.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are eleven copies of an LHM suitable for dissemination, setting forth summary of subject's activities from 5/12/68 to 5/28/68.

The information contained in the LHM was developed by physical surveillance, through investigation, and sources available to WFO.

The LHM is being classified "Confidential" in order to protect sources who are furnishing valuable information on a continuing basis.

STATE, CIA (BY LIAISON)

AGENCY: ACSI, NIC, OSI, SEC. SERV.,

ISD, CRD, RAO, CRIM, JAFU

ENCLOSURE

3-Bureau (Enc. 11)

1-WFO

WWH: dan

(4)

AIRTEL

Approved:

Sent

Per

Special Agent in Charge

74 JUL 17 1968

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XEROX LHM to
IRS 8-21-69
RDP/10

HOW FORW:

DATE FORW:

BY:

VMP

446080

JUL 9 1968

WFO 100-43503

Local dissemination being made to AUSA, U.S. Secret Service, and military intelligence agencies.

Since the LHM is a summary of data gathered, the last period of investigation is 5/28/68. WFO will submit promptly another LHM containing pertinent data subsequent to 5/28/68.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Washington, D.C. 20535
June 28, 1968

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309/TC/TAM/DCG/bls
ON 07-24-2006

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

A summary of pertinent activities of Stokely Carmichael from May 12 to May 28, 1968, is being set forth as follows:

On Sunday, May 12, 1968, Carmichael was not observed to leave his residence, 5015 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. A check of the headquarters of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), 2208 14th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., and other places he frequented in the past were negative.

Sources advised they had no information Carmichael had left Washington, D.C. and were of the opinion he spent a quiet day at home with his wife.

Sources noted [redacted]

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On Monday, May 13, 1968, Carmichael was not observed to leave his residence in the morning. In the afternoon, he went to SNCC headquarters, where he spent several hours before returning to his residence.

A source advised [redacted]

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification.

ENCLOSURE

100-446080-1760

RE: STORELY CARMICHAEL

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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[REDACTED]

On Tuesday, May 14, 1968, Carmichael, accompanied by his wife [REDACTED] and a person believed to be [REDACTED] departed his residence and entered a red Volvo sedan, bearing Georgia License [REDACTED]. They drove to [REDACTED], where the person believed to be [REDACTED] entered the residence. Carmichael and his wife remained in the car.

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A source previously advised [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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Shortly thereafter, the individual believed to be [REDACTED] left [REDACTED] and reentered the vehicle. They then visited a washerette near 12th and U Streets, N.W., Washington, D.C., and later drove to National Airport. At National Airport, Carmichael and his companion, along with [REDACTED] rented a late model Mercury station wagon, bearing Washington, D.C. License RA 1519, at Hertz Rent-A-Car. They advised they would return the car on May 19, 1968. [REDACTED] signed for the car, as did Carmichael, and gave their address as 5015 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. [REDACTED] then departed National Airport via Eastern Airlines shuttle for New York City at 12:00 noon. Carmichael and his companion, with the rented station wagon and the red Volvo sedan, returned to SNCC headquarters.

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In the afternoon of May 14, 1968, Carmichael visited "Resurrection City" of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) Poor People's Campaign, then being erected at West Potomac Park, Washington, D.C.

According to a source, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

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Previously, another source had reported that

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Later in the afternoon after the visit to "Resurrection City," Carmichael returned to SNCC headquarters, where he remained into the evening hours.

Another source reported that

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On Wednesday, May 15, 1968, Carmichael was not observed to depart his residence during the morning. In the afternoon, he visited SNCC headquarters, where he remained into the evening hours. In the evening, he went to Phelps Place, N.W., where a source previously reported

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Carmichael was driving the white Mercury station

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RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

wagon he rented on May 14, 1968, from Hertz at National Airport.

Another source advised that he had learned

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RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

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DC [REDACTED]

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Source advised [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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According to source, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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Source pointed out [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



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On Thursday, May 16, 1968, during the morning, Carmichael, accompanied by [redacted] and his wife, with another unidentified couple, departed Carmichael's residence. They entered the Hertz rental white Mercury station wagon and drove to the Trailways Bus Depot, Washington, D.C. At that location, [redacted] and his wife, with the other unidentified couple, left the car and entered the terminal. ny b6 b7C

A source advised that [redacted]



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Carmichael and [redacted] departed the Trailways Bus Depot and drove to Friendship International Airport, Maryland, where they met [redacted] returning on an incoming flight. They returned to Carmichael's residence in Washington, D.C. In the afternoon, Carmichael, accompanied by [redacted] left the residence and went to the Industrial Bank, 11th and U Streets, N.W., Washington, D.C. Later they went to SNCC headquarters. Subsequently, they departed SNCC headquarters and drove to the area of Georgetown, where [redacted] appeared to be shopping. They then drove to National Airport, where they turned in the Mercury station wagon to Hertz. Carmichael, [redacted] then boarded Eastern Airlines shuttle at 4:00 p.m. for LaGuardia Airport, New York City. b6 b7C

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RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

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Washington, D.C., advised on May 8, 1968, she is a student at Howard University Law School and would graduate after another year of study.

She also stated that she was [redacted] years of age and a graduate of Brooklyn College, Brooklyn, New York.

[redacted] advised that she has known Stokely Carmichael for approximately [redacted]

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RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

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[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] stated that she knew nothing of his financial position [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

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[] stated she feels that Carmichael's new life with [] will harm his image of a person working in the ghetto for the good of the black people. She stated he now lives on 16th Street, has money, and is bound to alienate many of his followers.

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[] stated that Carmichael gets legal advice from Howard University law professors and seems pretty much aware of what he can do and not do and what he can say and not say.

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The "Washington-Afro American" newspaper, in an article dated May 21, 1968, reported as follows:

"500 SHARE JOY WITH MIRIAM, STOKELY

"Black Power, national and international politics, and the 'greatest human struggle in the history of the world' took a back seat to love and marriage here Saturday. (MT. Vernon, NY)

"While these and other topics punctuated the multi-accented words and phrases of nearly 500 people, an 'African lady' and an 'African gentleman' dominated the spotlight of adulation.

"The 'African lady' was Miriam Makeba, a daughter of South Africa.

"The 'African gentleman' was Stokely Carmichael, 'a son of Africa living in America,' as they were

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

described in the original text of the unique ceremony celebration.

"They were married in an unprecedented wedding hosted by the palatial Tanzanian Embassy nestled in the bosom of Mt. Vernon, haven of New York's power elite.

"Stokely and Miss Makeba were 'technically married' a few weeks ago, explained the Rev. Douglas Moore, who conducted the colorful ritual.

"They repeated the exchange of vows Saturday because, Stokely said, 'we wanted our friends to share in our happiness.'

"Their invitation said 'a few friends' were being invited to the 'private reception.'

"Before the downpour of rain chased guests from the rambling lawn and into the mansion-like embassy, the collection of a 'few friends' had grown to nearly 500 people, linked to nations from all points of the globe.

"Stokely, the panther-like supreme commander of the Black Movement, cut a figure of African royalty as he greeted admirers. He was regal in a flowing, brilliantly white 'grand Bu bu,' a gift from President Sekon Toire of Guinea.

"Miss Makeba, the fiery songstress dedicated to liberation of South Africans, was gowned in a radiant beige 'Bu-bu,' made by her mother-in-law, Mrs. Mabel Carmichael.

"To the howling approval of their guests, Stokely and Miriam embraced following the exchange

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

of vows and tears trickled down the glowing ebony face of the bride.

"Ambassador Marof Achkar of Guinea presented the couple to the Rev. Mr. Moore, a Methodist minister of Washington, who had earlier performed the 'technical ceremony.'

"A hush fell over the miniature United Nations assemblage at 30 Oberhill Rd. as Tanzanian Ambassador His Excellency Akili B.C. Danieli, the host, opened the proceedings.

"The ambassador lauded the 'linking of two contingent in matrimony and prophesized that it would hasten the day of freedom for 'all black people of the world.'

"Ambassador Achkar taking note of the large contingent of white guests, called the occasion the 'beginning of human brotherhood.'

"'We have given a sister to an Afro-American and we have received an Afro-American as our son,' Ambassador Achkar declared to thunderous applause.

"The Rev. Mr. Moore, who said he founded the Washington chapter of the Student Non-violence Coordination Committee, SNCC -- one chaired by Stokely, read the text of the ceremony written by the bridegroom.

"It Follows:

"'Before the first black cargo of slaves bowed its head in the restless bosom of the Atlantic, a beautiful people had made their mark on the world.

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"On those ships of agony were the best of Africa's kingly lives, royal houses, delicate craftsmen, head men of the forest, plain plain coast, weavers, drummers, and strong black women.

"The young glory of Africa was sent into a new world of terror. Black men in the bush by the muddy rivers, near the edge of the deep forest lamented for those stolen brothers and sisters. Prayers for their return were offered, but to no avail.

"And in the midst of slavery, our wish to go back found expression in "My Home Is Over Jordan."

"The blood lines of all our people flow through Stokely Carmichael from turbulent rivers; from mountains of sadness; from cities of despair.

"Now our seed of hope has come and stands before us. In him we see the beauty of our people; their comely blackness; their vibrant manhood; their audacious assault upon the order of tyranny; their indomitable spirit to survive and create new form. He is the veritable young prince, now destined to be our chief.

"He has lived and worked among us as a servant in the dusty delta of Mississippi and the black belt of Alabama. The waste places of Washington are well known to him.

"He has seen the suffering of our people. He has heard their cry. He has felt their pain and his tears for the fallen have saturated the earth.

"Now he stands as the epitome of our black manhood. And he has found a wife from the daughter

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

of Africa. She who stands beside him comes out of a noble tradition. 'A tradition that has been brutalized by a cruel satanic system. Her journey to freedom has been long and torturous.

"Armed with only the gift of songs, she has kept the fire of freedom alive. Her struggle for her people and all black people is known.

"She has not forgotten the insults, the cries of agony that come from the land of her birth. Now she comes to share a love with him and a sacred tradition with us.

"Her songs speak to us and her resources support the struggle on every front and now her love, her greatest asset, has found an intimate expression in Stokely Carmichael.

"And we, through her, with him, will re-discover and re-instate the beautiful ways of our people.

"This is a blessed day. A significant and sacred day. A day of remembrance for us -- black people of Africa and America.

"It is significant for us as a people. Their love now serves as a link between black people of two continents.

"Our common suffering, our common capacity to survive, our common culture have provided us with enduring links.

"This link of love will strengthen the unity of black people on two continents.

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"In the presence of this gathered community, they have come to say to us what they have already said to each other.

"What they will now say is an affirmation of what was first said in the presence of their God and our creator."

"At this point the Rev. Mr. Moore injected a new substitute for the traditional vows exchanged between bride and bridegroom.

"What is a wedding?" he asked Stokely.

"The bridegroom answered:

"A wedding is a time for our friends to come together and enjoy themselves. They come together to witness us publicly acknowledge our love for each other."

"When did you marry each other?" the minister intoned.

"We were married when in our hearts we recognized we loved each other," the bridegroom said quietly.

"Then why did you come here?" the Rev. Mr. Moore asked.

"We came here because we want our friends to share with us our happiness. After several years of wandering, we have finally found each other.

"Because we love our friends we want them to share our happiness. There is so little to be

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

happy about these days, we would like them to have some of this happiness.'

"The dialogue between the minister and bridegroom continued:

"Minister - 'There are many who do not want to share in this happiness. Many speak ill of you. What do you say of this?'

"Stokely - 'We wish they could find one-tenth of the happiness we have found.'

"Minister - 'Are you sure you are in love with each other?'

"Stokely - 'As sure as Mother Africa is the beginning of civilization. As sure as our ancestors are praying for the end of our oppression.

"'As sure as the gods will right the wrongs. As sure as we breathe. As sure as we live. We are quite sure we love each other.'

"Minister - 'Do you expect a happy life?'

"Stokely - 'Our lives are busy, but what little time we have will be precious and our love will grow.

"'Our love will not be selfish. We have to work for the liberation of our people -- each in his own way.

"'Because our love is so strong, our lives, when we are together or apart, will be very happy.

"'And if we grow weak, we have our family and friends to give us strength. Yes, our life, long or short, will be a happy life. '

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"'Stand now and make public to your friends your affirmation,' the clergyman instructed.

"With tears trickling down her face, Miss Makeba called 'Zanie' in the rites whispered:

"'I have found you and I need no other.'

"'I have found you and I need no other,' Stokely repeated.

"The Rev. Mr. Moore spoke again:

"'Now, in the presence of this gathered community, our ancestors and God, do you take the responsibility of loving this woman?'

"'Do you promise to protect her from fear, poverty, and loneliness?'

"'These rings that encircle your fingers are precious symbols. They symbolize that a man loves a special woman and that a woman loves a special man.

"'Beyond that it symbolizes the unity of our people,' the minister said, halting for a reply from the couple:

"'I have found a love and she wears my ring,' Stokely said solemnly.

"'I have found a love and he wears my ring,' Miss Makeba answered softly.

"A cup of wine was handed the couple by the minister who explained:

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"The cup that is before you is a cup of blessing. It is a cup of sacrifice to our ancestors. It is a cup of participation of the gathered community.

"It is the cup of love shared by Stokely and Marian and with the gathered community of love."

"A shower of applause greeted the newlyweds' mutual sips from the cup and the massive embassy echoed the sounds of gayety as the bride led the audience in an African ballad, written specifically for the occasion.

"It was past midnight when guests reluctantly made an effort to leave while the sounds of African drums drifted from the great building into the damp air of Westchester New York's most fashionable living quarters.

"It was a 'Stokely Spectacular!'"

On Wednesday, May 22, 1968, Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) observed Carmichael board Eastern Airlines 5:00 p.m. flight for Washington, D.C. at LaGuardia Airport, New York City. Carmichael was traveling alone and [redacted] who saw him off at the airport, remained in New York City. Upon arrival in Washington, D.C., Carmichael went to SNCC headquarters. b6 b7C

A source advised that a BUF meeting was held on May 22, 1968, at the New School of Afro-American Thought, 2115 14th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

According to source, approximately 120 persons were in attendance at the meeting, which began at approximately 8:45 p.m.

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

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Source advised that among those present at the meeting were the following:

Stokely Carmichael, Co-Chairman, BUF

Charles Jones, Co-Chairman, BUF: Action

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RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

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According to this source, Stokely Carmichael presided as the meeting began and Lulu Stroud was asked to read the minutes of the BUF Steering Committee meeting which was held on May 15, 1968.

According to source, these minutes disclosed that Charles Jones had been elected by the Steering Committee to serve as co-chairman of the BUF and to act as chairman in the event Carmichael is absent. Jones will also handle all administrative matters pertaining to the BUF.

These minutes also revealed that the BUF desires to set up its own office, purchase office equipment, and issue membership cards.

It was further revealed from a reading of these minutes that the Steering Committee had discussed a press conference which had been held at 7th Street and Florida Avenue several weeks ago regarding the rebuilding of the riot torn areas of Washington, D.C. and the committee which had been assigned the task of presenting a program for the rebuilding of these areas. It was pointed out that a member of this committee had arranged for a rally to be held May 18, 1968, and used the name of the BUF in connection with this rally. The Steering Committee reported it had ordered this rally cancelled and had passed a motion that no member of the BUF was to arrange for any type of a rally or call a press conference with the inference that it was being sponsored by the BUF until such a proposal had been cleared by the BUF membership as a whole.

Source advised that Charles Jones then was recognized and gave a short summary concerning the press

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

conference mentioned above. Jones stated that the members of the BUF Rebuilding Committee has had meetings with the Redevelopment Land Association (RLA), the Alcohol Beverage Commission Board (ABC), the Department of Licenses and Inspections, the Small Business Administration, a representative of Mayor Walter E. Washington's office, as well as a meeting with Mayor Washington.

According to Jones, the RLA has denied any responsibility for the riot torn areas other than 7th Street, N.W. Harry Quintana interrupted at this point to say that RLA also has jurisdiction over 16th Street and H Street, N.E. Reverend Douglas Moore and Reverend Channing Phillips both advised Quintana he was in error, according to source. Jones then continued his report by stating that the ABC Board had advised that the whole situation concerning liquor stores was under study and the ABC Board acknowledged that there were probably too many liquor stores in the ghetto areas.

Jones further stated, according to source, that the Department of Licenses and Inspections had agreed to do all in its power to see that Negro demolition get some of the work which will have to be performed in the ghetto areas before rebuilding can begin.

Source stated that Charles Cassell then remarked that Negro demolition companies would have a difficult time obtaining finances and performance bonds for this task.

Source advised that Reginald Booker then was recognized and announced that the Emergency Transportation Committee, at its last meeting, had reached the conclusion that O. Roy Chalk of the District of Columbia (D.C.) Transit Company had built a sprawling financial empire on the backs of poor black people. He stated that his committee wanted to force Chalk into bankruptcy or get him to sell the D.C. Transit Company to the city of Washington. Booker stated his committee had proposed, therefore, to begin a series

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

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of selective boycotts of the buses and he asked the BUF to support this movement.

Source advised that Carmichael refused to hear a motion regarding this, stating that Booker's proposal was too vague and indefinite. Booker then announced his committee would carry on alone. ✓

Charles Cassell was then recognized by Carmichael, according to source, and announced that his committee had received no proposals for rebuilding the city. He requested permission from the BUF to allow his committee to draw up such proposals. This was put into the form of a motion, which carried without opposition.

At this point, according to source, Reese James stated he believed the project would run into trouble. James pointed out that many neighborhoods have block leaders and small churches which have assumed leadership in the community. He said these block leaders and the members of the churches who have assumed positions of leadership would resent a BUF committee coming into the neighborhood.

After a short discussion regarding this point, according to source, Carmichael appointed the Reverend Douglas Moore to meet with all other ministers who are members of the BUF (Reverend Channing Phillips, Reverend David Eaton, Reverend Walter E. Fauntroy) to form a ministerial Alliance Committee whose purpose will be to contact all other ministers in the city so that when the BUF Rebuilding Committee has its program drawn up, these ministers will allow a representative of the BUF to come into their churches in order to outline the BUF program.

Source advised that James Moon gained the floor and announced that he had heard on a television news program that H. Rap Brown had been convicted. Moon suggested that a motion be passed to the effect that the

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

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BUF supported Brown. This set off an argument among those present with Calvin Rolark finally being recognized by Carmichael. Rolark attempted to amend the motion to include a fund-raising campaign for Brown. Marshall Brown then asked that the motion as amended be tabled, pointing out that H. Rap Brown was well aware that the black people all over the United States were behind him.

Carmichael then spoke up, according to source, and told the members of BUF to forget the whole thing because SNCC had decided to forget about the courts in the United States. Carmichael said SNCC "will do its battling elsewhere" and suggested that if the members of the BUF wanted to raise money, it should give it to him (Carmichael) so he could purchase some dynamite.

Source advised that after much discussion, a motion was finally passed calling for a rally for H. Rap Brown which would include support for Cleveland Sellers and various other "black heroes." The BUF will attempt to raise money at this rally.

Source advised Carmichael again spoke up and said that 10% of the funds raised should be turned over to him so that he could purchase dynamite.

Carmichael then went into a detailed recital of Brown's legal troubles, according to source, and advised those present that although he considers such a rally as hopeless, he would nevertheless support it. Carmichael then appointed Lester McKinnie chairman of the H. Rap Brown Rally. Roena Rand objected to McKinnie's appointment but refused to say why. Carmichael then appointed Rand chairman of this committee and she accepted the appointment. Rand, who is to appoint her own committee, instantly set the date of the rally as June 3 or 4, 1968. h.c.

Rand then gained the floor, according to source, and asked for support for "Resurrection City" and help in

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

the form of money and supplies. Carmichael objected to these, according to source, pointing out that the BUF had voted to support the Poor People's Campaign but not to participate in it. Carmichael said that support and other forms of aid by members of BUF would have to be a personal thing. He pointed out that the Reverend Ralph Abernathy had not come into the black community to ask for support, further that if the campaign is a success, Abernathy would become a big political figure and if the campaign fails, the failure will be laid to the black community and the reason for the failure will be cited as lack of support from the black community.

Robert Rippy then stated that he was living in "Resurrection City" and he confirmed that there was a need for supplies. He told those present he was working hard on this project. Source advised that Carmichael then compromised and said that as long as an individual did not use BUF's name, then that individual should be allowed to help in any manner he believed appropriate.

Julius Hobson then was recognized, according to source. After thanking the BUF for sending him fruit while he was hospitalized, he stated he was holding a rally at the Lincoln Memorial Congregational Temple for Federal Employees Against Discrimination at 8:00 p.m. on May 23, 1968. He stated he was trying to obtain sufficient information from Federal employees to establish that the United States Government discriminates against the Negro. If he is successful, he will then bring a class action into court.

Hobson also said, according to source, that he believed all the talk about building black was nonsense, pointing out he did not believe white merchants would give up valuable land or buildings they owned. Hobson expressed the view that many Negroes apparently have ideas about becoming black capitalists and replacing white capitalists, whereas they should be forgetting about capitalism altogether.

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

De
Tom Beard, who was recently fired by Safeway Stores for refusing to shave off his beard, then spoke, according to source, and told of events leading up to the loss of his job. He stated he had received no outside support in his fight. Carmichael stated he would accompany Beard to the Safeway Store, which is located at Piney Branch Road and Georgia Avenue, N.W., on May 23, 1968, to get Beard's job back if Beard wanted to go. Source advised nothing was decided on this.

On Thursday, May 23, 1968, Carmichael was not observed to depart his residence during the morning. In the afternoon, he went to SNCC headquarters. Later he went to Baltimore by car.

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A source advised that

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RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

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On Friday, May 24, 1968, during the morning, Carmichael was at his residence. In the afternoon, he went to SNCC headquarters. He later visited midtown Washington, D.C., where he appeared to be shopping and also visited a record shop. He subsequently returned to SNCC headquarters. In late afternoon, he strolled about the area of SNCC headquarters with a camera crew. It appeared that a pictorial was being made about Carmichael. He later returned to the SNCC office, where he remained into the evening hours. He returned to his residence about 10:00 p.m. with four other individuals.

A source reported that he heard Carmichael brought some marijuana back with him from New York City on May 22, 1968.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

On Saturday, May 25, 1968, Carmichael departed his residence in the afternoon and went to SNCC headquarters. He later returned to his residence. In the late afternoon, he entered a late model Chevrolet sedan containing three Negro males and one female. They drove to National Airport, Washington, D.C., where two of the above males boarded American Airlines Flight 273 bound for Chicago, using the names

[REDACTED]

According to a source, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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Carmichael and the remaining male and female departed National Airport. Carmichael later returned to SNCC headquarters, where he remained into the evening hours.

On Sunday, May 26, 1968, Carmichael was not observed to depart his residence in the morning.

A source reported [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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On Monday, May 27, 1968, Carmichael departed his residence at 11:05 a.m. and went to SNCC headquarters.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

He was accompanied by three other individuals who picked him up at his residence in a late model blue Falcon. Later he visited a restaurant in the area and then returned to SNCC headquarters. In the early afternoon, he left Washington, D.C. by automobile for Baltimore.

A source advised [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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"The Evening Star," a Washington, D.C. newspaper, in an article dated May 27, 1968, reported as follows:

"CARMICHAELS BID ON HOUSE

"Black power advocate Stokely Carmichael and his bride, African folk singer Miriam Makeba, are negotiating to buy a \$70,000 castle-like house in the verdant 'Gold Coast' area of upper Northwest Washington, on the eastern edge of Rock Creek Park.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

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"The owner of the house has accepted a written purchase offer from the Carmichaels, subject to further discussions on financing and other matters, according to sales manager Archie Kennedy of the Floyd E. Davis real estate company.

"The three-story, four-bedroom house, at 4331 Blagden Ave. NW, sits amid about an acre of well-kept gardens. City Councilman William S. Thompson lives two doors away at 4343, and prominent investment broker Belmont Ver Standig lives next door at 4329.

"The owner of the house, F. Vic Guidice, said yesterday that negotiations with 'some singer from New York' had been in progress for about a week.

"Guidice, who is retired, said he and his son have been living in the house and plan to move out of the city.

"Kennedy confirmed that the singer is Miss Makeba, 35, who was married to the 27-year-old Carmichael here early this month. Her lawyer is to contact the real estate firm tomorrow or Wednesday to discuss 'a certain situation that we have to get straightened out,' Kennedy said.

"One of the contingencies is financing,' he added, but he refused to be more specific about the tentative purchase agreement.

"It's all up in the air,' he emphasized. 'We don't know what the situation is.'

"Kennedy said the house had been on the market at \$70,000 for about six weeks. Miss

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Makeba expressed her interest in a telephone call to Kennedy about a week ago, he said, but he did not recognize the prominence of her name until later.

"The Carmichaels 'probably looked at the house one Sunday' but were not recognized by the agent, he added.

"The house, which Guidice said is about 30 years old, is just west of 16th Street NW a short distance from the Carter Barron Amphitheater, where Miss Makeba has performed.

"Carmichael, who popularized the black power ideology and became head of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, is now a Washington-based field secretary for the organization.

"There have been several recent reports that Carmichael and Miss Makeba were seeking a house in the upper 16th Street area. A recent newsletter of the GOP Congressional Committee pictured another upper Northwest house that the Carmichaels purportedly were buying.

"In New York, one of Miss Makeba's agents at Associated Booking said he knew nothing of her 'personal' business. Neither Miss Makeba nor her personal manager was available to comment on such a matter, he said.

"Carmichael reportedly was in Washington today preparing for a West Coast trip but could not immediately be reached.

"Miss Makeba, whose previous marriage to South African recording star Hugh Masakela ended

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

in divorce, has a 17-year-old daughter, Bongi.
Carmichael has not been married before."

On Tuesday, May 28, 1968, Carmichael did not depart his residence until the afternoon. In the afternoon, he traveled to Dulles International Airport, where he boarded Trans World Airlines Flight Number 63 which departed at 6:00 p.m. for San Francisco, California.

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Carmichael was accompanied by SNCC associates [redacted]
[redacted] of Washington, D.C. and [redacted] of Boston.

This document contains neither
recommendations nor conclusions of
the FBI. It is the property of
the FBI and is loaned to your agency;
it and its contents are not to be
distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

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TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *wcs*

DATE: July 6, 1968

FROM

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SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTER

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At 1:30 a.m. 7/6/68 a man who refused to identify himself other than by the last name [redacted] advised Security [redacted] as follows:

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"Stokely Carmichael is a seditionist who preaches hate and communism in the United States and abroad. He should not be allowed to live in the United States with normal people. If the lawful authorities do not take care of Carmichael somebody will. You had better take Carmichael into custody for his protection."

[redacted] hung up without answering any questions as to his residence, phone number, or full name and before the weekend duty Agent could complete a long distance call to talk to him.

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ACTION:

For information.

RCP:111
(5)

1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan

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EX-104

REC-12

100 - 446080 - 1761

6 JUL 10 1968

59 JUL 16 1968

RCP/sem

UNCLAS ICGP-C-0T-8027

ATTN: ICOP-IV

SUBJECT: CORRECTION OF SPOT REPORT

1. REF OUR MSG OT-8025 SPOT REPORT NR 111-8179-358.

2. ITEM 7 SECOND LINE SHOULD READ:

HAD AN [REDACTED] BOOKED INSTEAD OF HAD AN [REDACTED] BOOKED

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JUN 27 15 27 '68

BT

AIC AOC

AIC 116TH HQ

P 271825Z JUN 68

TO: USAINTC

INFO: MDW

Rec'd by [REDACTED]
From [REDACTED]
Office of Ass't Chief
of Staff for Intelligence
Army, PDP

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DISTRIBUTION
CI DIV -3
ODCSOPS (2-77)
NMCC(N/A DESK)
INTEL CMD LO
C.D. L. (2-77)
CDCC

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1. 116 8179 637

2. FLOYD MCKISSICK AND STOKELY CARMICHAEL

AT APPROXIMATELY 1330 HOURS, 27 JUN 68, FLOYD MCKISSICK ARRIVED AT NATIONAL AIRPORT, WASHINGTON, D.C. HE WAS MET BY STOKELY CARMICHAEL. THEY DEPARTED THE AIRPORT BY CAB, PRESUMABLY BOUND FOR DOWNTOWN WASHINGTON.

REC-42

100-446080-176

3. NATIONAL AIRPORT POLICE, WASHINGTON, D.C.

4. B-2

5. NONE

6. NONE

15 JUL 9 1968

EX-114

KYLE FOR COLE

BT

AIC 116TH HQ

61 JUL 23 1968

XEROX

JUL 10

100 to WFO By R-S for Info. 7-2-68
P.T. B. -jw-

F B I

Date: 7/3/68

REC 5

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, BOSTON (157-437)(P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM - SNCC

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Re Boston teletype to Director dated 6/29/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are eleven copies of a letterhead memorandum concerning visit of STOKELY CARMICHAEL to Boston, Mass., on 6/28/68. Copies are designated for WFO(00) and Atlanta (Info). Local dissemination is being made to NISO, OSI, 108th MI Group, and USA, Boston.

The letterhead memorandum is classified "CONFIDENTIAL" since the information it contains, furnished by the sources mentioned, could logically result in their identification and jeopardize their future activities.

4-Bureau (100-446080) (enc. 11) (RM) **ENCLOSURE**
(1 - 100-447251)
2-WFO (100-43503) (enc. 2) (RM)
1-Atlanta (100-6812) (enc. 1) (Info) (RM)
10-Boston (157-437) **EX-110**

(1 - 100-37804)

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RWK:nr
(17)

AGENCY: ACSI, NIC, OSI, SEC. SERV.,

BY: ISD, CRD, RAO, CARM, FDI

HOW FORW: NSDATE FORW: 7/9/68BY: PTB/akt

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12 JUL 5 1968

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

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Approved: _____

Sent _____

M

Per _____

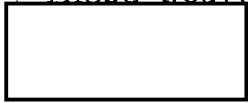
Special Agent in Charge

31 JUL 18 1968

826 940

BS 157-437

These sources are in the order mentioned:



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Surveillance was taken up at the YMCA, Roxbury, Mass., on 6/28/68. CARMICHAEL was not observed to leave the YMCA.



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Boston, Massachusetts

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

July 3, 1968

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309/TC/TAM/DCG/bls
ON 07-24-2006

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

On June 26, 1968, a source who has furnished
reliable information in the past advised that [redacted]

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Source advised that [redacted]

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b7D

A characterization of SNCC appears in the
appendix.

Source advised that [redacted]

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On June 28, 1968, Stokely Carmichael was observed
at Logan International Airport, East Boston, Massachusetts,
by [redacted] of the Massachusetts State
Police. Carmichael was observed entering a car driven by
an unidentified male Negro appearing to be between the age
of twenty-five - thirty years. The car bore Massachusetts
registration [redacted]

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

ENCLOSURE

JUL 11 1968
XEROX

100-446080 - 1763

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

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Records of the Registry of Motor Vehicles,
100 Nashua Street, Boston, Massachusetts, checked on
June 28, 1968, show this plate was issued to [redacted]

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[redacted] for
a 1965 white Plymouth sedan.

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6. APPROX. 1939

On July 2, 1968, [redacted]

identified

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a photograph of [redacted] as the driver of the
above-described 1965 white Plymouth sedan.

On July 2, 1968, the first source advised that
[redacted] is the head of the Boston branch of SNCC.

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On February 26, 1968, [redacted]

[redacted] Intelligence Unit, Oakland,
California Police Department, advised
that during the period December 12-25,
1967, a telephone call was made from the
telephone of LeRoy Eldridge Cleaver and
his [redacted]

Apartment 11, 650 Oak Street, San Francisco,
California, to [redacted] The subscriber
to this number is [redacted]

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On July 2, 1968, [redacted] was interviewed
at his place of employment, the Cambridge Research Laboratory,
Hanscom Air Force Base, Bedford, Massachusetts. He stated that
his son, [redacted] age [redacted] owns a 1965
Plymouth sedan, white, and is a friend of [redacted]
(known to him as [redacted])

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Another friend of his son is [redacted] who
attended Michigan State University, Lansing, Michigan, with
his son. [redacted] believes that [redacted] is active in SNCC
affairs and, on occasion, [redacted] stays at the [redacted] residence
when he is in Boston, Massachusetts. [redacted] believes that
[redacted] may have been staying at his residence during the
period December 12-25, 1967.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

[] stated he is not acquainted with Stokely Carmichael and that he is not involved in any way with SNCC. He described his son as a person ardently interested in civil rights for Negroes, but he was not aware b6 that his son is actively involved in SNCC or is a militant of b7C any persuasion.

On February 17, 1968, LeRoy Eldridge Cleaver was publicly identified at the Huey Newton Defense Fund rally at the Black Panther Party For Self Defense (BPPSD) held at the Oakland Municipal Auditorium, Oakland, California, as the Minister of Information of the BPPSD.

The November 23, 1967 issue of "The Black Panther Party - Black Community News Service," official publication of BPPSD, listed Kathleen Neal as the assistant editor of that publication and listed the editor of that publication as Minister of Information (Underground).

The January 25, 1968 issue of the "Daily Californian," University of California at Berkeley student newspaper, on page 3, column 1, identified Kathleen Cleaver as the Communications Secretary of the BPPSD.

A characterization of the BPPSD is found in the appendix.

On June 28, 1968, an unidentified male employee of the Roxbury YMCA, Warren Street, Roxbury, Massachusetts, advised that Stokely Carmichael had entered the YMCA about 8:15 PM on that date and was attending a meeting in one of the conference rooms in the YMCA. This meeting concluded at 10:50 PM.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX

1.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF-DEFENSE (BPPSD)

A source advised that the Black Panther Party For Self-Defense (BPPSD) was formed by HUEY PERCY NEWTON, Minister of Defense, and [redacted] in Oakland, California, in December, 1966, as a militant black nationalist political organization to combat "police brutality" to unite militant black youth, to determine the destiny of black communities, and to educate black people in African history. The political philosophy of the organization was taken from the writings of MAO Tse-tung of Communist China and black militant writers. b6 b7C

The official BPPSD publication "The Black Panther - Black Community News Service" indicates the leadership of the BPPSD advocates the use of gun and guerilla tactics in the violent revolutionary program to end oppression and to oppose the drafting of black men to fight in Vietnam.

A second source advised that in early 1967, [redacted] NEWTON, and their associates carried carbine rifles and holstered pistols in plain view on the streets of Oakland and elsewhere while on "defense patrols." b6 b7C

[redacted] was one of the persons arrested by the Sacramento, California Police Department on May 2, 1967, when members of the BPPSD invaded the California State Legislative Assembly in Sacramento while in session, carrying loaded guns to protest restrictions on the carrying of guns. b6 b7C

A Grand Jury of Alameda County, California, Oakland, California, on November 13, 1967, indicted HUEY PERCY NEWTON on charge of murder of an Oakland, California police officer on October 28, 1967, in Oakland, California.

The first source advised [redacted]

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The November 4, 1967 issue of "The Sun Reporter," a San Francisco, California Negro community newspaper, states that a HUEY PERCY NEWTON defense fund has been established and that the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the Congress on Racial Equality (CORE) through the national offices have pledged their complete and continuous support to the defense of HUEY PERCY NEWTON.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1

APPENDIX

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Literature distributed by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, described itself as not being a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements. SNCC was born out of the sit-in movement which erupted across the South beginning on February 1, 1960. A conference at Raleigh, North Carolina, that Spring, brought together many of the demonstrating Southern students in a loose network of militant youth which was officially named SNCC in October, 1960.

A source has advised that in May, 1966, Stokely Carmichael was elected National Chairman by the Central Committee. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced as Chairman by [REDACTED] with Carmichael assuming the position of Recruiter and Organizer for the SNCC. In August, 1967, at the invitation of Fidel Castro, Carmichael participated in the Organization of Latin American Solidarity Conference which was held in Havana, Cuba. Subsequent thereto, Carmichael traveled to Hanoi and other sections of North Vietnam. He returned to the United States in December, 1967, at which time his passport was picked up because of travel to unauthorized countries.

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A source advised [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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Literature distributed in February, 1968, identifies SNCC as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

On August 13, 1967, while addressing a group in the Watts area of Los Angeles, California, H. Rap Brown said "You better shape up America, or we'll burn you down." Later in February, 1968, in a publicized note Brown wrote, "America, if it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you and to organize your jails to revolt against you and to organize your children, your God, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here's my life."

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 07-24-2006 BY 60309/TC/TAM/DCG/Hls

b6
b7CMr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach

FBI

Date: 7/11/68

Transmit the following in PLAINTEXT

(Type in plaintext or code)

Mr. Sullivan

Via TELETYPE URGENT

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RM.

REWFOTEL JULY TEN, LAST.

SUBJECT BELIEVED TO BE AT RESIDENCE MORNING OF JULY TEN,
LAST. IN AFTERNOON HE DEPARTED RESIDENCE AND WENT TO SNCC
HEADQUARTERS WHERE HE REMAINED INTO EVENING HOURS.

MEETING OF BLACK UNITED FRONT (BUF) HELD EVENING OF JULY
TEN, LAST, MEREDIAN HILL PARK, WDC, REGARDING POLICE USE OF
TEAR GAS AND THE CURFEW IMPOSED ON THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA,
JUNE TWENTYFOUR, LAST.

ADMINISTRATIVE

LHM FOLLOWS.

REC 67

4 - Bureau
1 - WFO

WWH:tjd

(5)

CC ROOM 836 9&D

b6
b7C100-446000-1761
JUL 12 1968Approved: *[Signature]*

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

67 JUL 24

FBI

Date: 7/10/68

Transmit the following in PLAINTEXT

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE URGENT

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR AND SAC CINCINNATI

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RM.

REWFOTEL TO BUREAU JULY NINE, LAST.

SUBJECT, ACCOMPANIED BY [REDACTED] AND UNIDENTIFIED

MALE, DEPARTED RESIDENCE ELEVEN TWENTYFOUR A.M. AND WENT TO

UFIA BUILDING, TWENTYFIVE M STREET, S.W., WDC. THEY STOOD

IN FRONT OF THIS BUILDING ABOUT TWENTY MINUTES TALKING

INFORMALLY WITH OTHERS PRESENT THERE. THEY LATER WENT TO THE

ANACOSTIA PRINT SHOP, TWO THREE TWO ZERO NICHOLS AVENUE, S.E.,

WDC, AND THEN TO A RESTAURANT. SUBJECT DEPARTED RESTAURANT

AND ENTERED BLUE MERCURY, OHIO LICENSE [REDACTED]

PROCEEDING TO SNCC HEADQUARTERS.

ADMINISTRATIVE

CINCINNATI ASCERTAIN REGISTRATION OHIO LICENSE [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] AND SET OUT LEAD TO DEVELOP BACKGROUND INFO.

P.

- 2 - Bureau
- 3 - Teletype Unit
- 2 - WFO

WWH:tjd CC [REDACTED]

(7)

ROOM 836 9&D

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b7C

Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 07-24-2006 BY 60309/TC/TAM/DCG/ELs

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 6-28-68

Stokely Carmichael, former Chairman of Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), is now temporary Chairman of Black United Front (BUF), a pro-black nationalist coalition of Negro organizations and groups in Washington, D. C.

Attached is a summary of subject's activities for 7-27-68. Included is information that BUF is issuing statement to "Negro press" condemning Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and the Poor People's Campaign (POCAM).

Pertinent information developed concerning subject is furnished to the Internal Security Division of the Department as well as other interested agencies and officials.

WLS:lrb

GC/pe

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 07-24-2006 BY 60309/TC/TAM/DCG/BJE

b6
b7C

FBI

Date: 6/28/68

Transmit the following in CODE

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE URGENT

(Priority)

Mr. Sullivan

TO: DIRECTOR AND SACS BOSTON AND NEW YORK

FROM: SAC, WFO

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RM.

REWFOTEL JUNE TWENTYSEVEN, LAST.

SUBJECT DEPARTED RESIDENCE TWELVE ZERO FIVE P.M., JUNE TWENTYSEVEN, LAST, WITH YOUNG FEMALE BELIEVED TO BE A SISTER WHO HE PREVIOUSLY MET SEVEN P.M. NATIONAL AIRPORT ON JUNE TWENTYSIX, LAST. THEY DROVE IN LIGHT BLUE FALCON, MARYLAND LICENSE [REDACTED] TO NATIONAL AIRPORT, VIA BRIEF STOP SNGG-HEADQUARTERS, WHERE SHE BOARDED ONE P.M. EASTERN

AIRLINES SHUTTLE TO NEW YORK CITY. ABOVE CAR OWNED BY [REDACTED]

WHILE RETURNING FROM AIRPORT, SUBJECT

MET UNIDENTIFIED YOUNG FEMALE ACQUAINTANCE APPARENTLY BY CHANCE

MIDTOWN WDC AND GAVE HER A RIDE TO FOURTH AND INDEPENDENCE

AVENUE, S.W. SUBJECT THEN WENT TO NINE HUNDRED - ZERO TWO

FLORIDA AVENUE, N.W., WDC.

- ② - Bureau
- 3 - Teletype Unit
- 2 - WFO (100-43503)

WWH:tjd

(7)

Approved: [Signature] Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

EX 106

JUL 11 1968

b6
b7C

REC-69

100-446090-1766
5-14

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

PAGE TWO

b7D

A SOURCE ADVISED [REDACTED]

SUBJECT WITH [REDACTED] DEPARTED ABOVE ADDRESS AND
LATER WENT TO SIXTEENTH AND UPSHUR STREETS, N.W., WHERE
EFFORTS MADE TO START RED VOLVO SEDAN USED BY SUBJECT PARKED
THERE PAST SEVERAL DAYS. SUBJECT LATER RETURNED TO SNCC

b6
b7C

* Washington, D.C. STAFF MEMBER OF SNCC.

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

PAGE THREE

HEADQUARTERS. IN EVENING HE VISITED SEVERAL LOCAL ESTABLISHMENTS INCLUDING A RESTAURANT IN AREA OF SNCC AND THEN RETURNED TO RESIDENCE ABOUT TEN P.M.

ABOVE SOURCE ADVISED [REDACTED]

b7D

ADMINISTRATIVE

ABOVE SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

b6
b7C
b7D

BOSTON AND NEW YORK FOR INFORMATION. P.

b6
b7C

ROOM 836 9&D

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

b6
b7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FBI BOSTON

JUN 29 1968

TELETYPE

b6
b7C

102AM URGENT 6-29-68 WMG

TO DIRECTOR AND WFO

FROM BOSTON 157-437

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RM-SNCC

b6
b7C

STOKLEY CARMICHAEL ARRIVED LOGAN INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT, BOSTON
MASS. ON JUNE TWENTY EIGHT LAST ABOUT SIX PM. MET AT AIRPORT BY
MALE NEGRO DRIVING SIXTY FIVE WHITE PLYMOUTH, MASS. REG. [REDACTED]

b6
b7C

[REDACTED] REGISTERED TO [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] ATTENDED MEETING OF UNITED
FRONT AT ROXBURY YMCA, WARREN ST., ROXBURY, MASS. ARRIVING EIGHT
THIRTY PM. LEFT AT TEN PM. NOT OBSERVED AFTER LEAVING AND CURRENT
WHEREABOUTS UNCERTAIN. BOSTON POLICE ADVISE NOT ABLE TO TAPE MEETING
AS NOT FEASIBLE. SOURCES ALERTED TO ATTEMPT TO LOCATE SUBJECT.

BUREAU AND WFO WILL BE KEPT ADVISED OF ANY DEVELOPMENTS. INDICES

SHOW ONE [REDACTED]

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE HAS A TELEPHONE NUMBER CALLED BY
LE ROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, IDENTIFIED AS MINISTER OF INFORMATION OF
BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF DEFENSE, SAN FRANCISCO, CAL. [REDACTED]

MALE NEGRO BORN [REDACTED]

END

b6
b7C

SVM

~~ROOM 836 9&D~~

FBI WASH DC*

TTP

ST-120

REC 26

6 JUL 11 1968

TELETYPED TO:

WFO 57 JUL 18 1968

*Edm sent
in clu...
w/ + ...
OSI + ...*

100-446080-176

5-14

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : The Director

DATE: 6/6/68

FROM : N. P. Callahan

SUBJECT: The Congressional Record

Pages E5017-E5020. Congressman Broyhill, (R) Virginia, placed in the Record the text of a newsletter he mailed to his constituents concerning his position on Vietnam, crime and civil disorder, the economic situation, and welfare problems. Mr. Broyhill, in commenting on crime and civil disorders, stated "When Stokely Carmichael, early in the Washington riots, urged his black power followers to 'go get your guns' he was attempting to create a reign of violence. He is now under investigation by the Attorney General's office—and I must say rather half-hearted investigation, although the evidence dug up by the FBI is clear and complete."

Original filed in: 66-1731-5334

100-446080-

NOT RECORDED
191 JUL 15 1968

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for 6/5/68 was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

JUL 22 1968

7/5/68

AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (157-8471)

FROM: SAC, WFO (157-1426)

BLACK UNITED FRONT (BUF)
RM (ORGANIZATION)

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of an LHM dated and captioned as above, which has been classified "~~Confidential~~" since information contained therein was furnished by sources of continuing value, and the unauthorized disclosure of such information could compromise their future effectiveness.

The first source mentioned is [redacted] The second is [redacted] Third source is [redacted]

b2
b6
b7C
b7D

LHM furnished U.S. Secret Service, AUSA, and military intelligence agencies.

- 4 - Bureau (Enc 11)
(1 - 100-STOKELY CARMICHAEL)
2 - WFO
(1 - 100-43503) (STOKELY CARMICHAEL)

CEE:sab
(6)

AIRTEL

ENCLOSURE

59 JUL 22 1968

100-446080
NOT RECORDED
165 JUL 12 1968

offices & agencies
notified by
R/s 1-10-77
STH/lb

ORIGINAL FILED IN 157-8471-26



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D.C. 20535

July 3, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

BLACK UNITED FRONT

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on July 4, 1968, that a meeting of the Black United Front (BUF) was held on Wednesday evening, July 3, 1968, at the Douglas Memorial Methodist Church, 11th and H Streets, N.E., Washington, D.C. (WDC) from 8:30 p.m. to 11:15 p.m., attended by approximately 75 people.

According to this source, the following items were discussed:

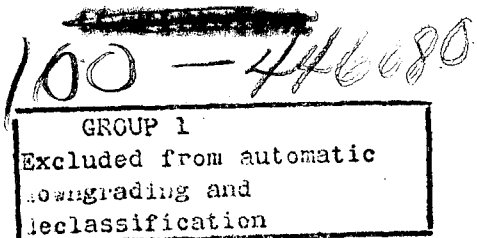
The activities of Poor People's Campaign in Washington, D.C.

The use of tear gas by Metropolitan Police Department (MPD) at 14th and U Streets, N.W., WDC, on June 24, 1968.

The proposed four percent sales tax on groceries in WDC.

The shooting of two MPD officers on July 2, 1968, and the resulting death of one of them.

A second source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, also advised on July 4, 1968, the following information in addition to that set forth above:



ENCLOSURE

Declassified
by BT/Aer
12-29-76

BLACK UNITED FRONT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In attendance at this meeting was Stokely Carmichael who stated from the floor that in regard to the shooting of the policeman on July 2, 1968, a fund should be established to raise money for the defense of the individuals accused of this shooting. According to this source, Carmichael further stated that the BUF should publicly endorse their actions as heroic, that their actions were justifiable because when white policemen shoot blacks it is always justifiable homicide, therefore it should be justifiable homicide when blacks in defense of themselves kill policemen. This source further advised that Carmichael stated that BUF should establish an educational program to arouse the people in the black community that such action was heroic and to encourage them to take the same action when white policemen come into black neighborhoods to make arrests. A vote was taken to publicly endorse the action in which the policeman were shot and resulted in five individuals dissenting. A committee of eight was then selected to draft a resolution along these lines. After retiring to a side room the committee returned with a draft stating that the action of the three individuals arrested for shooting the MPD officers was justifiable homicide, calling for Negro policemen for Negro communities and the elimination of white colonialism in Negro communities. This resolution was then unanimously adopted.

This second source also stated that the BUF will hold public hearings regarding the excessive use of tear gas of the MPD at 14th and E Streets, N.W., on June 24, 1968, sometime in the future.

A third source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that at the BUF meeting held on July 3, 1968, Stokely Carmichael was instrumental in having a resolution passed declaring that the actions of the individuals accused of shooting a policeman on July 2, 1968, should be considered justifiable homicide.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 07-24-2006 BY 60309/TC/TAM/DCG/DLS

b6
b7C

FBI

Date: 7/12/68

Transmit the following in **PLAINTEXT**

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via **TELETYPE** **URGENT**

(Priority)

Mr. Sullivan

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RM.

REWFOTEL JULY ELEVEN, LAST.

SUBJECT AND [REDACTED] DEPARTED RESIDENCE LATE MORNING

JULY ELEVEN, LAST AND WENT TO DRUM AND SPEAR BOOKSTORE, TWO
SEVEN ZERO ONE FOURTEENTH STREET, N.W., WDC. THEY LATER
DROVE TO THE AREA OF FLORIDA AVENUE AND BENNING ROAD, N.E.,
WDC. SUBSEQUENTLY, THEY RETURNED TO THEIR RESIDENCE.

b6
b7C

b6
b7C

REC 54

EX 100

25 JUL 15 1968

4 - Bureau b6
1 - WFO b7C

WWH:tjd
(5)

ROOM 836 9&D

b6
b7C

10 DIV ADV.
7/12/68
PTB

5- PIA

Approved: *[Signature]*

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

F B I

Date: 7/3/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via **AIRTEL** _____

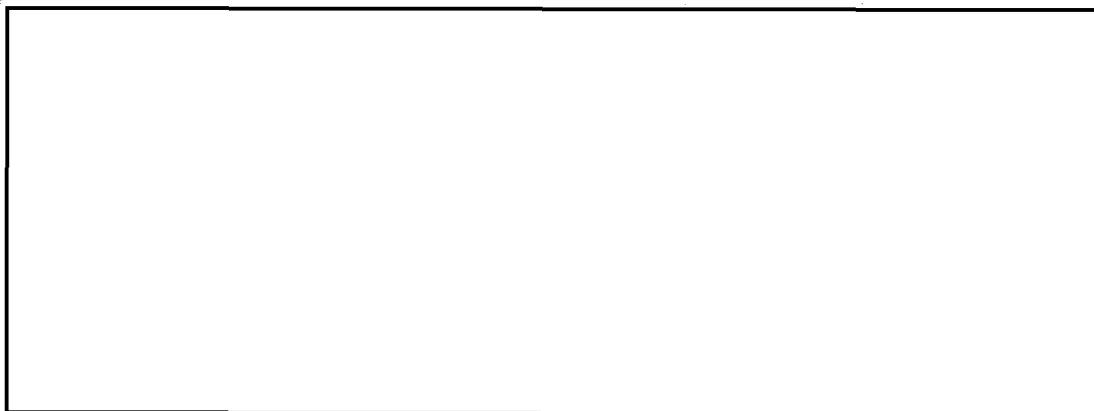
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM - SNCC
(OO:WFO)

ReWFOairtel 6/4/68 and Buairtel 6/11/68.



confidential.

In view of the fact information has been developed that subject does not plan to go through with the purchase of the property at 4331 Blagden Avenue, N.W., WDC, it appears he may remain at his current address, 5015 16th Street, N.W., WDC, for an indefinite period of time.

In view of the above, it is recommended the Bureau approve _____

3-Bureau
1-WFO

WWH:bap
(4)

AIRTEL

1 JUL 5 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.

51 JUL 23 1968

Approved _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

FBI

Date: 7/15/68

Transmit the following in CODE

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE URGENT

(Priority)

b7C
b6

Mr. Sullivan

TO: DIRECTOR AND SACS NEW YORK AND SAN FRANCISCO

FROM: SAC, WFO

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RM.

REWFOTEL TO BUREAU JULY FOURTEEN, LAST.

SUBJECT NOT OBSERVED WASHINGTON, D. C., JULY FOURTEEN, LAST.

SOURCES REPORTED RUMOR AROUND SNCC HEADQUARTERS THAT

SUBJECT IN NEW YORK CITY, TIME AND MODE OF TRAVEL UNKNOWN.

b6
b7C

ADMINISTRATIVE

ABOVE SOURCES ARE

AND SOURCE

b2
b7DNEW YORK CONTACT SOURCES AND VERIFY IF SUBJECT IN NEW
YORK CITY.

NEW YORK COGNIZANT.

INFORMATION SAN FRANCISCO.

P.

10 JUL 16 1968

- 2 - Bureau
- 3 - Teletype Unit
- 2 - WFO (100-43503)

WWH:tjd
(7)

ROOM 836 9&D

b6
b7CApproved: 75
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

b6
b7C

VIA TELETYPE
JUL 14 1968
ENCIPHERED

FBI NEW YORK

1051PM URGENT 7/14/68 JJM

TO DIRECTOR ---4---CODE AND WFO

ATT DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION
FROM NEW YORK 2P

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RM.

BUFILE 100-446080, WFO FILE 100-43505 AND NEWYORK FILE
100-153751.

ON SEVEN ONE FOUR INSTANT, A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE, RELIABLE,
ADVISED SUBJECT AND HIS WIFE OBSERVED DEPARTING IN A GREEN
AUTOMOBILE FROM THE VICINITY OF MOTHERS RESIDENCE.

b6
b7C

ABOUT THREE THIRTY

P.M., SEVEN ONE FOUR INSTANT. SOURCE UNABLE TO FURTHER DESCRIBE
GREEN AUTOMOBILE, BUT STATED SUBJECT PLACED SEVERAL PIECES OF
LUGGAGE AND ATTACHE CASES IN AUTOMOBILE BEFORE DEPARTING. SOURCE
ADVISED SUBJECT AND HIS WIFE WERE BOTH DRESSED AS THEY WERE
PLANNING TO TRAVEL AND THAT SUBJECT KISSED HIS MOTHER GOOD-BYE
END PAGE ONE

EX 100
REC-68

100 = 446080-1994
10 JUL 16 1968

TWO COPIES TO WFO

56 JUL 23 1968

PAGE TWO

UPON DEPARTING. SOURCE ADVISED ONE OTHER NEGRO MALE, DESCRIBED AS HEAVY WITH BUSHY HAIR, WAS IN AUTOMOBILE WHEN SUBJECT AND WIFE DEPARTED. SOURCE ASSUMED SUBJECT AND WIFE WERE RETURNING TO WASHINGTON, D.C.

ADMINISTRATIVE

RE NY PHONE CALL TO WFO SEVEN ONE FOUR INSTANT. SOURCE MENTIONED HEREIN IS [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] CONCEAL IDENTITY BY REQUEST. CLASSIFY ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~. NY MAINTAINING CONTACT WITH SOURCE IN THE EVENT SUBJECT REAPPEARS AT MOTHERS BRONX, NY, ADDRESS.

b6
b7C
b7D

WASHINGTON FIELD CONTACT LOGICAL SOURCES TO DETERMINE IF SUBJECT RETURNS TO WASHINGTON, D.C.

END

LRC R RELAY
FBI WASH DC

[REDACTED]
ROOM 836 9&D

b6
b7C

b6
b7C

F B I

Date: 7/6/68

Transmit the following in PLAIN TEXT
(Type in plaintext or code)Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)b6
b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RM, OO:WFO

REWFOTEL JULY FIVE, LAST.

SUBJECT BELIEVED TO BE AT RESIDENCE MORNING OF JULY FIVE,
LAST. IN AFTERNOON HE VISITED OFFICE OF BUILD BLACK, INC.,
WASHINGTON, D.C., AND THEN RETURNED TO RESIDENCE.

AT TWO TWENTY PM, SUBJECT DEPARTED RESIDENCE WITH TWO OTHER
UNIDENTIFIED NEGRO MALES. THEY DROVE IN RED VOLKSWAGEN TO
HOT SHOPPES RESTAURANT. LATER THEY WENT TO [REDACTED]

b6
b7CADMINISTRATIVE

EX-105

REC- 47

EFFORTS BEING MADE TO ASCERTAIN REASON FOR VISIT TO JUL 16 1968

b6
b7C

4 - Bureau
1 - WFO
WWH:ssb

b6
b7C

(5)

Approved: 56 JUL 25 1968
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 07-24-2006 BY 60309/TC/TAM/DCG/bl

F B I

Date: 7/8/68

b6
b7C

Transmit the following in _____

PLAINTEXT

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE

URGENT

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____

Mr. Sullivan _____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, WFO

STOKELY CARMICHAEL. RACIAL MATTER

RE WFO TELETYPE JULY SEVEN LAST.

SUBJECT BELIEVED TO BE AT RESIDENCE MORNING AND EARLY
AFTERNOON JULY SEVEN LAST.

AT TWO FIFTY FIVE P.M. SUBJECT DEPARTED RESIDENCE AND
WITH [REDACTED] ANOTHER MALE, AND FEMALE, WENT TO PITTS
MOTOR HOTEL, ONE FOUR FIVE ONE BELMONT STREET, N.W., WHERE HE
APPEARED TO SPEND THE REMAINDER OF THE AFTERNOON.

ADMINISTRATIVE

EFFORTS BEING MADE TO ASCERTAIN REASON FOR VISIT TO PITTS
MOTOR HOTEL.

4 - Bureau
1 - WFO

WWH:bah

(5)

TELETYPE

REC-47

EX-100

15 JUL 16 1968

b6
b7C

b6
b7C

56 JUL 25 1968

ROOM 836 9&D

Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

JUL 5 1968

b6
b7C

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach

FBI WASH DC*

TELETYPE

b6
b7C

FBI SAN FRAN

401PM DEFERRED 7/5/68 JOC

TO DIRECTOR, WFO AND NEW YORK

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-1204) 1P

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RM - SNCC, SEDITION, BUFILE ONE

ZERO ZERO - FOUR FOUR SIX ZERO EIGHT ZERO, WFO ONE ZERO ZERO -

FOUR THREE FIVE ZERO SEVEN.

RM - SNCC, SMITH ACT OF NINETEEN

FORTY, BUFILE ONE ZERO FIVE - ONE SIX EIGHT ONE NINE

SEVEN, NEW YORK ONE ZERO ZERO - ONE SIX ZERO SEVEN ZERO ONE.

ADVISED THIS DATE

NEW YORK AND WFO ENDEAVOR TO CONFIRM.

END

EXJ

FBI WA

P

EX-51

b6
b7C

JUL 18 1968

EX-103

TELETYPED TO:

57 JUL 26 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 07-24-2006 BY 60309/TC/TAM/DCG/bls

F B I

Date: 7/11/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM : SAC, MOBILE (100-1858) (P)
SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM - SNCC
SEDITION
(OO: WFO)

b6
b7C

Re Mobile airtel to Bureau 6/26/68, with LHM, and Mobile teletype to Bureau and WFO with air mail copy to Atlanta 7/8/68, concerning the possible appearance of STOKELY CARMICHAEL in Mobile 7/26/68.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are eight copies of LHM for dissemination, reflecting this information concerning the possible appearance of CARMICHAEL in Mobile July 26, 1968. Copies of this memo are designated for Atlanta because of their interest in SNCC and CARMICHAEL, and for WFO, office of origin. The memo is also being disseminated locally to intelligence agencies, U. S. Secret Service, Mobile, and U. S. Attorney, Mobile.

The sources used in this LHM are as follows:

- 3 - Bureau (Encs 8) (RM)
2 - Atlanta (Encs 2) (RM) (100-6812)
2 - WFO (Encs 2) (RM) (100-43503)
2 - Mobile

JTB : mrc
(6)

CAIM
AGENCY: ACSI, NIC, OSI, SEC. SERV. (FD-302 #561)
DATE: 1SD CRD, RAO, SDFL

HOW FORW: N/S
DATE FORW: 7/17/68
BY: PTB/ah M Per

b6
b7C

Special Agent in Charge

61 JUL 24 1968

RACIAL INT. SEC.

MO 100-1858

b6
b7C
b7D

WFO and ATLANTA, as requested in Mobile teletype 7/8/68, should notify Mobile concerning any information from available sources verifying CARMICHAEL's expected appearance in Mobile. WFO is requested also to advise Mobile when information is available concerning CARMICHAEL's mode of travel in connection with his appearance at Mobile.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

7/11/68

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Director
United States Secret Service
Department of the Treasury
Washington, D. C. 20220

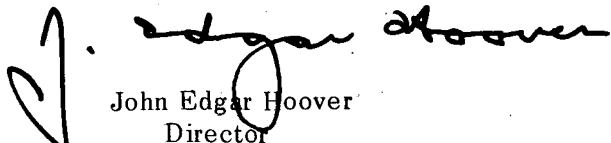
Dear Sir:

The information furnished herewith concerns an individual who is believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning Presidential protection, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

1. ☐ Has attempted or threatened bodily harm to any government official or employee, including foreign government officials residing in or planning an imminent visit to the U. S., because of his official status.
2. ☐ Has attempted or threatened to redress a grievance against any public official by other than legal means.
3. ☐ Because of background is potentially dangerous; or has been identified as member or participant in communist movement; or has been under active investigation as member of other group or organization inimical to U. S.
4. ☐ U. S. citizens or residents who defect from the U. S. to countries in the Soviet or Chinese Communist blocs and return.
5. ☒ Subversives, ultrarightists, racists and fascists who meet one or more of the following criteria:
 - (a) ☐ Evidence of emotional instability (including unstable residence and employment record) or irrational or suicidal behavior;
 - (b) ☐ Expressions of strong or violent anti-U. S. sentiment;
 - (c) ☒ Prior acts (including arrests or convictions) or conduct or statements indicating a propensity for violence and antipathy toward good order and government.
6. ☐ Individuals involved in illegal bombing or illegal bomb-making.

Photograph ☐ has been furnished ☐ enclosed ☐ is not available
☐ may be available through _____

Very truly yours,


John Edgar Hoover
Director

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s) 1)
U. S. Secret Service , Mobile, Alabama

-3-

Enclosure(s)

(Upon removal of classified enclosures, if any, this transmittal form
becomes UNCLASSIFIED.)



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Mobile, Alabama

July 11, 1968

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
AT MOBILE, ALABAMA

On July 8, 1968, a confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that



b7D

On July 8, 1968, [redacted] Mobile Municipal Auditorium, advised that [redacted] came into the auditorium that morning and arranged to rent the main municipal auditorium arena for the evening of July 26, 1968, for a political lecture. [redacted] made a cash deposit of \$250, representing one half of the base rental for the auditorium. The rental was made by Neighborhood Organized Workers, of which [redacted] listed himself as president. [redacted] said that [redacted] had originally tried to rent the auditorium for July 19, 1968, but the auditorium was booked on that date. b6 b7C

[redacted] advised that [redacted] did not identify the speakers for July 26, but said that this information would be obtained later this date. Subsequently, on July 8, 1968, [redacted] advised that [redacted] had advised that the principal speaker for this occasion would be Stokely Carmichael and that the entire program was expected to begin at about 8:30 p.m. and would last for approximately three hours. b6 b7C

ENCLOSURE

100-446000-145

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
AT MOBILE, ALABAMA

On July 8, 1968, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
were advised of the above information, reflecting Carmichael's scheduled appearance in Mobile.

b6
b7C

On July 9, 1968, [REDACTED] advised that the Mobile Auditorium Board was considering cancelling the agreement with [REDACTED] for the use of the auditorium on July 26, 1968, in view of a provision in the contract allowing for the cancellation where a speaker is considered objectionable.

b6
b7C

On July 11, 1968, the confidential source referred to above, [REDACTED]

b6
b7C
b7D

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
AT MOBILE, ALABAMA

b6
b7C
b7D

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

VIA TELETYPE
JUL 16 1968
ENCIPHERED

WA 8

407 PM URGENT 7-16-68 JAM

TO DIRECTOR 100-446080 WASHINGTON FIELD AND SAN FRANCISCO

PLAINTEXT

ATT DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

SAN FRANCISCO VIA WASHINGTON

FROM NEW YORK 100-153751 1P

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; IS-MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION

RE WASHINGTON FIELD TEL TO DIRECTOR, JULY
SIXTEEN, INSTANT.

[REDACTED] WHEELS BY KINNEY, INC.,
TEN ROCKEFELLER PLAZA, NYC, ADVISED ONE NINE SIX EIGHT
AMERICAN AMBASSADOR NEW YORK LICENSE TWO [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] WAS RENTED TO CARMICHAEL'S [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] ON JULY TWELVE LAST, UNDER A LONG TERM LEASE.

END

EFH R RELAY

F I WASH DC

X-110

REC- 71

100-446080-1776

6 JUL 18 1968

TELETYPED TO:

59 JUL 25 1968

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach

Mr. Sullivan

b6
b7C

b6
b7C

b6
b7C

b6
b7C

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 6/28/68

FROM : SAC, KANSAS CITY (100-12347) RUC

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL;
NATIONAL BLACK ANTI-WAR,
ANTI-DRAFT UNION (NBAWADU);
[REDACTED] b6
[REDACTED] b7C
RACIAL MATTERS

Re Kansas City airtels 5/1/68 and 6/13/68 to
Bureau, copy to WFO.

For the information of the Bureau and WFO, [REDACTED]

b6
b7C

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] was interviewed on 6/19/68 by SAs [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

b6
b7C

[REDACTED] said he was entirely unfamiliar with any
handguns or rifles being stolen in a burglary of Gateway
Sporting Goods warehouse during December, 1967. [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] said he has never had any weapon in his possession and was
more than willing to permit any officer to conduct a search
of his home to prove his statement.

[REDACTED] said he recalled a man named [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] mentioned something to him regarding the theft of a quantity
of guns, no further details recalled. [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] was a "big mouth", talked freely in general terms of burglaries
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

No further action is indicated in this matter for
the Kansas City office.

2-Bureau (RM)
3-WFO (1-100-43503)(RM)
(1-157-1513)(RM)

1-Kansas City

HKJ:ssc
(6)

JUL 2 1968 XEROX

REC 54

12 JUL 1 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.

61 JUL 6 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

157-8860-170/3220-10
UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b6
b7C

DATE: 07-24-2006
CLASSIFIED BY 60309/TC/TAM/DOE/Hls
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1)
07-24-2031

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

1 -
1 -
1 -

7/15/68

CLASSIFICATION PER OGA LETTER
DATED 07-31-2006

M
Airtel

EX-103

To: SAC, Washington Field Office

REC-39

**From: Director, FBI (100-446080)-1778
(105-168197)**

**STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM - STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
SEDITION**

b6
b7C

RM - STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

(C)

b1

105-168197

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

MAILED 4
JUL 12 1968

b1

PTB:ebb
(8)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

JUL 25 1968

gl
he
lt
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

AIRTEL TO SAC, WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE
RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
100-446080

(C)

b1

NOTE:

Stokely Carmichael and [REDACTED] are both the
former National Chairman of Student Nonviolent Coordinating
Committee. They are black extremists who advocate violence
and guerrilla warfare. [REDACTED]

b6

b7C

(C)

b1

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

DATE: 07-24-2006

CLASSIFIED BY 60309/TC/TAM/REG/b1s

DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1)

07-24-2031

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____

b6
b7C

TO :

[Redacted]

DATE: 7/10/68

FROM :

b6
b7C

CLASSIFICATION PER OGA LETTER
DATED 07-31-2006

Sullivan _____

[Redacted]

SUBJECT: STOKLEY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTER

b6
b7C

[Redacted]

b1

(C)

(C)

ACTION: The above is directed to the Racial Intelligence Section
for its attention.

1 -
1 -
1 -

WOC:KW (2)

b6
b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b6
b7C

FBI WASH DC*

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

JUL 8 1968

b6
b7C

FBI MOBILE

TELETYPE

4:22 PM URGENT 7/8/68 TEB

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080) AND WFO (100-43503)

FROM MOBILE (100-1858) 1P
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 07-24-2006 BY 60309/TC/TAM/DCG/bls

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RM - SNCC, SEDITION, OO: WFO.

RE MOBILE AIRTELS TO BUREAU, JUNE THIRTEEN AND TWENTY
SIX, LAST.

ON JULY EIGHT, INSTANT, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] MOBILE MUNICIPAL AUDITORIUM, ADVISED THAT ON THIS
DATE, [REDACTED] OF NEIGHBORHOOD ORGANIZED
WORKERS (NOW), MADE A TWO HUNDRED FIFTY DOLLAR DEPOSIT FOR
RENTAL OF AUDITORIUM ARENA FOR EVENING OF JULY TWENTY SIX,
NEXT, FOR A POLITICAL LECTURE SPONSORED BY NOW.

[REDACTED] THE MAIN SPEAKER WOULD BE STOKELY
CARMICHAEL AND THE PROGRAM WOULD BE ABOUT THREE HOURS DURATION
BEGINNING AT EIGHT THIRTY P.M. *REC 49 EX-10*

ATLANTA AND WFO CONTACT AVAILABLE SOURCES TO VERIFY
CARMICHAEL'S INTENDED APPEARANCE IN MOBILE, ADVISE WHEN INFORMATION
IS AVAILABLE CONCERNING CARMICHAEL'S TRAVEL TO MOBILE.

COPY AIR MAIL TO ATLANTA.

END

JTM

FBI WASH DC* **TELETYPED TO:**

54 JUL 24 1968

22 JUL 18 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 07-24-2006 BY 60309/TC/TAM/DCG/bls

b6
b7C

F B I

Date: 7/13/68

Transmit the following in

PLAIN TEXT

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via

TELETYPE

URGENT

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

b6
b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RM

REWFOTEL JULY TWELVE LAST.

SUBJECT NOT OBSERVED TO LEAVE RESIDENCE JULY TWELVE,
LAST. HOWEVER, [REDACTED] OBSERVED AT RESIDENCE DURING
DAY.

b6
b7C

SOURCES ADVISE NO REASON TO BELIEVE SUBJECT LEFT
TOWN AND THAT ACCORDING TO INFO AT SNCC OFFICE,
WASHINGTON, D.C., SUBJECT STAYING CLOSE TO RESIDENCE.

ADMINISTRATIVE

ABOVE SOURCES, [REDACTED]

b2
b7D
b6
b7C

ROOM 836 9&D

4 - Bureau
1 - WFO

WWH:ssb
(5)

EX-103

DEC 10 1968
JUL 18 1968

Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 07-24-2006 BY 60309/TC/TAM/DCG/bls

b6
b7C

F B I

Date: 7/14/68

Transmit the following in PLAIN TEXT
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RM

REWFOTEL JULY THIRTEEN LAST.

SUBJECT NOT OBSERVED TO DEPART RESIDENCE JULY THIRTEEN LAST.

SOURCES REPORT NO PERTINENT ACTIVITY REGARDING SUBJECT
FOR JULY THIRTEEN LAST, AND BELIEVE HE IS STILL IN
WASHINGTON, D.C. STAYING CLOSE TO RESIDENCE. SOURCES ADVISE

ADMINISTRATIVE

ABOVE SOURCES

ROOM 836 9&D

4 - Bureau
1 - WFO

WWH:ssb
(5)

REC 13

EX-103

22 JUL 18 1968

Approved: [Signature]
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

56 JUL 26 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 07-24-2006 BY 60309/TC/TAM/DCG/bjs

FBI

Date: 7/16/68

b6
b7CTransmit the following in **PLAINTEXT**

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via **TELETYPE** **URGENT**

(Priority)

TO: **DIRECTOR AND SACS NEW YORK AND SAN FRANCISCO**FROM: **SAC, WFO (100-43503)****STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RM.****REWFOTEL JULY FIFTEEN, LAST.****SUBJECT WITH [REDACTED] DEPARTED RESIDENCE TWO ZERO****THREE P.M., JULY FIFTEEN, LAST, AND PURCHASED GROCERIES. LATER****RETURNED TO RESIDENCE. SUBSEQUENTLY, SUBJECT AND [REDACTED]****VISITED SNCC HEADQUARTERS, LATER RETURNING TO RESIDENCE. SUBJECT****DRIVING GREEN AMERICAN AMBASSADOR NEW YORK LICENSE [REDACTED]****ADMINISTRATIVE****NEW YORK ASCERTAIN REGISTRATION DATA RE ABOVE CAR.****SAN FRANCISCO FOR INFORMATION. P.**

- ② - Bureau
3 - Teletype Unit
2 - WFO

WWH:tjd

(7)

ROOM 836 9&D

TELETYPE

EX 106

REC-75

11 JUL 18 1968

b6
b7CApproved: 50 JUL 25 1968
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 07-24-2006 BY 60309/TC/TAM/DCG/bls

b6
b7C

F B I

Date: 7/17/68

Transmit the following in **PLAINTEXT**

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via **TELETYPE** **URGENT**

(Priority)

TO: **DIRECTOR, FBI**

b6
b7C

FROM: **SAC, WFO (100-43503)****STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RM.****REWFOTEL JULY SIXTEEN, LAST.****GREEN AMBASSADOR BEARING NEW YORK LICENSE****[REDACTED] WHICH SUBJECT USED PREVIOUS DAY, PARKED AT RESIDENCE****JULY SIXTEEN, LAST. IN AFTERNOON SUBJECT AND [REDACTED]**

b6
b7C

DEPARTED RESIDENCE IN THE ABOVE CAR. THEY RETURNED TO**RESIDENCE ABOUT THREE FORTY P.M. IN THE EVENING SUBJECT****ATTENDED MEETING OF THE BLACK UNITED FRONT. LHM FOLLOWS.**

30 MA 12 P 11 JUL
FBI
REC-9

b6
b7C

ROOM 836 9&D

④ - Bureau
1 - WFO

WWH:tjd
(5)

REC-9**JUL 18 1968**

b6
b7C

59

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____b6
b7C

FBI

Date 7/9/68

Transmit the following in PLAINTEXT

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE URGENT

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RM.

REWFOTEL JULY EIGHT, LAST.

SUBJECT BELIEVED TO BE AT RESIDENCE MORNING AND EARLY
AFTERNOON OF JULY EIGHT, LAST.

SUBJECT DEPARTED RESIDENCE WITH [REDACTED]

AKA [REDACTED] MID AFTERNOON. THEY WENT TO TEMPORARY HEADQUARTERS
OF BLACK UNITED FRONT, NINE HUNDRED FLORIDA AVENUE, N.W., WDC.
LATER THEY WENT TO FAIRMONT HEIGHTS, MARYLAND, HIGH SCHOOL,
WHERE [REDACTED]UNTIL ABOUT EIGHT P.M. SUBJECT TALKED INFORMALLY TO KIDS IN
AREA OF SCHOOL PLAYGROUND. SUBSEQUENTLY, THEY WENT TO RADIO
STATION WOL, TWO THOUSAND P STREET, N.W., WDC, FOR A SHORT
VISIT. THEY RETURNED TO RESIDENCE ABOUT NINE THIRTY P.M. 16 1968④ - Bureau
1 - WFO
WWH:tjd

(5)

JUL 24 1968

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via _____
(Priority)

WFO 100-43503

PAGE TWO

ADMINISTRATIVE

EFFORTS BEING MADE TO ASCERTAIN REASON FOR VISIT TO
RADIO STATION WOL. P.

b6
b7C

REC-11 836 9&D

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WFO 100-43503
JUN 1 1964

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 07-27-2006 BY 60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

b6
b7C

Mr. Tolson_____
Mr. DeLoach_____

F B I

Date: 7/19/68

b6
b7C

Transmit the following in _____

PLAINTEXT

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE

URGENT

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI AND SACS MOBILE, NEW YORK AND SAN FRAN-
CISCO
FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RM.

SUBJECT, ACCOMPANIED BY [REDACTED] DEPARTED WASHINGTON,

b6
b7C

D. C. TWELVE NOON JULY NINETEEN INSTANT VIA EASTERN AIRLINES
SHUTTLE FOR LAGUARDIA AIRPORT, NEW YORK CITY.

ADMINISTRATIVE: NEW YORK COGNIZANT. P.

b6
b7C

REC-24

100-446080-1786

(2) Bureau
3- Teletype Unit
2- WFO

4 JUL 23 1968

WWH:age
(7)

b6
b7C

CC ROOM 836 980 13 V

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 7-18-68

Stokely Carmichael, former Chairman of Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), was leader in forming the Black United Front (BUF), a coalition of Negro organizations in Washington, D. C. Subject's passport was picked up by State Department after he had traveled in restricted areas.

Attached indicates that subject has requested that his passport be returned to him. Information concerning subject's activities is being furnished to the Internal Security Division and the Inter-Division Information Unit of the Department.

WLS:lrh

WLS/mt
GC/pe
D

F B I

Date: 7/18/68

b6
b7C

Transmit the following in PLAINTEXT
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE : URGENT
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, WFO

STOKELY CARMICHAEL. RACIAL MATTERb6
b7C

RE WFO TELETYPE JULY SEVENTEEN LAST.

SUBJECT DEPARTED RESIDENCE AT ELEVEN THIRTY FIVE AM. M

b6
b7C

JULY SEVENTEEN LAST AND VISITED [REDACTED]

LATER

HE WENT TO THE UNITED STATES PASSPORT OFFICE AND SPOKE TO AN
OFFICIAL THERE ABOUT RETURN OF HIS PASSPORT. IN SEEKING
RETURN OF PASSPORT HE SIGNED AFFIDAVIT HE WOULD NOT USE PASS-
PORT TO TRAVEL TO RESTRICTED AREAS IF RETURNED TO HIM. HE
ADVISED HE SOUGHT RETURN OF PASSPORT SO HE AND WIFE CAN TAKE
HONEYMOON TRIP TO AFRICA BEFORE END OF SUMMER.

b6
b7C

HE DESIRED TO KNOW HOW LONG IT WOULD TAKE FOR DECISION
ON RETURN OF PASSPORT AND HE WAS INFORMED WITHIN FIVE DAYS.

LATER IN THE AFTERNOON SUBJECT VISITED SNCC HEADQUARTERS.

(4) - Bureau
1 - WFO

WWH:bah
TELETYPE

INCLUDED SUMMARY TO W.H.A
+ A.G. 7/18/68

J-14

Approved: [Signature] Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

PAGE TWO

IN EVENING SUBJECT ATTENDED MEETING OF THE BLACK UNITED
(BUF)
FRONT HELD AT NEW BETHEL BAPTIST CHURCH, WASHINGTON, D.C.

ADMINISTRATIVE.*Memo*~~LHM~~ FOLLOWS REGARDING BUF MEETING.

CC-

ROOM 836 9&D

b6
b7C

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 07-27-2006 BY 60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

F B I

Date: 7/20/68

Transmit the following in _____

PLAINTEXT

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE

URGENT

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____

b6
b7C

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
SACS PHILADELPHIA
OMAHA
NEW YORK

b6
b7C

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS - MISC; SEDITION.

RE PHILADELPHIA TELETYPE JULY TWENTY INSTANT, CAPTIONED
"CENTRAL PENNSYLVANIA YOUTH CONFERENCE, HARRISBURG, PENNSYLVANIA"
JULY TWENTY ONE, NEXT". FOR INFORMATION OF OMAHA AND NEW YORK,
PHILADELPHIA REPORTS STOKELY CARMICHAEL LISTED AS PUBLIC
SPEAKER AFTERNOON OF JULY TWENTY ONE, NEXT AT RE ORGANIZATION
YOUTH CONFERENCE AT HARRISBURG, PENNSYLVANIA. FOR INFORMATION
PHILADELPHIA, CARMICHAEL CURRENTLY IN OMAHA WITH [REDACTED]

b6
b7C

[REDACTED] AND REPORTEDLY WILL RETURN TO NEW YORK CITY JULY TWENTY
ONE, NEXT, WHERE [REDACTED] IS SCHEDULED FOR PUBLIC APPEARANCE
THREE P.M. TO SIX P.M. THAT DATE IN THE BRONX. OMAHA AND
NEW YORK KEEP PHILADELPHIA INFORMED OF CARMICHAEL'S WHEREABOUTS.

② - Bureau
3 - Teletype Unit
2 - WFO
VPD:nar
(7)

b6
b7C

TELETYPE

Approved: [Signature]

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

5-14

MR. W. C. SULLIVAN

July 9, 1968

b6
b7C

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK UNITED FRONT)

This is to recommend that attached item concerning Stokely Carmichael's control and manipulation of the Black United Front (BUF) to create tension in the Washington, D. C., Negro community [REDACTED]

b7D

BACKGROUND:

Considerable publicity has been given by the press to a resolution passed by the BUF on 7/3/68 that a white policeman's slaying was "justifiable homicide." What has not been reported is the fact that the resolution was the brainchild and work of Stokely Carmichael, according to [REDACTED]

b7D

Carmichael is the individual who is responsible for changing the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) from a civil rights group to a revolutionary black nationalist organization. He has repeatedly disclaimed that the Negro must resort to violence to gain his "rights."

157-8471

Enclosure

FTB:ekw (10)

1 - Mr. DeLoach

1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan

CONTINUED - OVER

100-446080-
NOT RECORDED
199 JUL 19 1968

b6
b7C

53 JUL 12 1968 46080 (Carmichael)

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE; BLACK UNITED FRONT
157-8471

After an extensive trip abroad Carmichael established a Black United Front of militant and moderate Negro leaders in Washington, D. C. However, despite any "new look" he may endeavor to project, Carmichael remains committed to violence and irrationality. Carmichael has indicated any soft line taken on black power is merely an attempt to convert Negroes into SNCC followers but if they do not convert they will be treated and handled as traitors.

b7D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 07-27-2006 BY 60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

b6
b7C

TO : DIRECTOR

DATE: 7/12/68

FROM : CLYDE TOLSON

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL'S
BLACK UNITED FRONT

I think it would be most unwise for the Bureau to furnish this information, which came to us from highly confidential sources which we could not disclose, to news media sources in Washington, D. C.

CT:DSS

I concur -
X

(ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE

100-446080
NOT RECORDED
199 JUL 19 1968

14 JUL 18 1968

53 JUL 29 1968

ORIGINAL FILED IN

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 07-27-2006 BY 60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

F B I

Date: 7/19/68

Transmit the following in PLAINTEXT
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RM.

RE WFO TEL JULY EIGHTEEN, LAST.

SUBJECT NOT OBSERVED TO LEAVE RESIDENCE MORNING OF
JULY EIGHTEEN, LAST.

IN AFTERNOON SUBJECT VISITED SNCC HEADQUARTERS AND
LATER RETURNED TO RESIDENCE. P.

REC-24

EX-105

b6
b7C

④ - Bureau
1 - WFO

WWH:tjd
(5)

TELETYPE

ROOM 836 9&D

b6
b7C

11 JUL 23 1968

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

57 JUL 30 1968

b6
b7CMr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach

Mr. Sullivan

b6
b7Cb6
b7C

VIA TELETYPE
JUL 23 1968
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson.....
Mr. DeLoach.....

b6
b7C

Mr. Sullivan.....

WA -5-

144PM URGENT 7-23-68 JLW

TO DIRECTOR 100-446080 WASHINGTON FIELD CINCINNATI

MOBILE AND SAN FRANCISCO (PLAINTEXT)

ATT. DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM NEW YORK 100-153751 1P

b6
b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; IS - MISC; SEDITION.

BUREAU AGENTS OBSERVED SUBJECT AND

BOARD EASTERN AIRLINES SHUTTLE FLIGHT FOR WDC,

ONE O CLOCK PM THIS DATE.

b6
b7C

ADMINISTRATIVE

RE WFO TEL TO DIRECTOR, JULY TWO TWO, LAST. SAN
FRANCISCO TEL TO DIRECTOR, JULY TWO TWO, LAST. MOBILE
TEL TO NEW YORK, JULY TWO TWO, LAST. NEW YORK TEL TO DIRECTOR,
JULY TWO THREE, INSTANT.

AGENTS OBSERVING SUBJECT WERE SAS

AND

END

JDR

FBI WASH DC 148
TELETYPE TO: 7/24/68

FTB + WFO

b6
b7C

b6
b7C

100-446080-1770

REC 49

5-124

ADV 7/24/68

VIA TELETYPE

JUL 23 1968

ENCIPHERED

b6
b7C

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach

Mr. Sullivan

WASH 1 PHIL 1

1226AM DEFERRED 7-23-68WMS

TO DIRECTOR 100-446080(ENCODED) CINCINNATI PHILADELPHIA AND
WASHINGTON FIELD

ATTN DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

CINCINNATI AND WASHINGTON FIELD VIA WASHINGTON
FROM NEW YORK 100-153751

b6
b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL IS-MISC; SEDITION

b6
b7C

b6
b7C

b7D
b2
b6
b7C

1791

END

NY

JMV FBI PHILA
RM R RELAY

TWO COPIES TO WFO
TELETYPED TO

51 AUG - 1 1968

b6
b7C

ADV 7/22/68

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach

VIA TELETYPE
JUL 20 1968
ENCIPHERED

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b7C

,/62/?&

WA 7

840 PM URGENT 7-20-68 MAV

TO DIRECTOR 100-446080, WFO 100-43503, OMAHA 100-7101
ATTN. DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION CODE

FROM NEW YORK 100-153751 1P

b6
b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC. SEDITION

BUAGENTS OBSERVED STOKELY CARMICHAEL AND

b6
b7C

ARRIVE AT JFK AIRPORT, NYC, AT FIVE PM

INSTANT DATE, ABOARD UNITED AIRLINE FLIGHT THREE ZERO

FOUR. CARMICHAEL RENTED AVIS CAR AT JFK, AND PROCEEDED

TO

b6
b7C

NY. AVIS CAR IS NINETEEN SIXTY EIGHT WHITE PLYMOUTH
FOUR DOOR SEDAN, NY LICENSE EIGHT TWO DASH SEVEN FIVE

ZERO FIVE.

ADMINISTRATIVE

BUAGENTS OBSERVING ARRIVAL OF CARMICHAEL, SA'S

b6
b7C

AND

END

REC 49

EFH R RELAY

FBI WASH DC

4 JUL 24 1968

54 JUL 30 1968

TWO COPIES TO WFO

VIA TELETYPE
JUL 20 1968
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach

b6
b7C

WASH 1

1231AM DEFERRED 7-20-68 WMS

TO DIRECTOR 100-446080 (CODE) OMAHA, WASHINGTON FIELD

OMAHA AND WASHINGTON FIELD VIA WASHINGTON

ATTN DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM NEW YORK 100-153751

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC; SEDITION

CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE WHOM INSUFFICIENT CONTACT HAS BEEN
HAD TO DETERMINE RELIABILITY, ADVISED

ADMINISTRATIVE

RENYTEL SEVEN NINETEEN LAST. SOURCE IS

NY WILL COVER SUBJECT'S ACTIVITIES

ON RETURN, OMAHA ATTEMPT TO ASCERTAIN IF SUBJECT HAS RETURN
AIRLINE RESERVATIONS FOR JULY TWENTY OR TWENTY ONE NEXT.

END

RDR R RELAY

FBI WASH DC

TELETYPED TO:

21 1968M

TWO COPIES TO WFO

REC-69 60-446080-1773

b6
b7C
b7D

b6
b7C

b6
b7C
b7D

b6
b7C

CC: AG 10107-10-67
Jwldes

VIA TELETYPE
JUL 21 1968
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach

b6
b7C

WA 4

943 PM URGENT 7-21-68 MAV

TO DIRECTOR 100-446080, WFO 100-43503 CODE

ATTN. DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION, WFO VIA WASHINGTON

FROM NEW YORK 100-153751 1P

Mr. Sullivan

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC. SEDITION.

b6
b7C

b6
b7C
b7D

END

EFH R RELAY

FBI WASH DC

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 07-27-2006 BY 60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

EX 109

REC 82

100-446080-1797

JUL 24 1968

b6
b7C

b6
b7C

b6
b7C

59 JUL 31 1968
TWO COPIES TO WFO

ADV 7/22/68

VIA TELETYPE

JUL 19 1968

ENCIPHERED

b6
b7C

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____

WA...13

FBI NEW YORK

4-55 PM URGENT 7-19-68 WPK

TO DIRECTOR 100-446080, OMAHA AND WASHINGTON FIELD (PLAINTE

ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM NEW YORK 100-153751 1P

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC.; SEDITION.

b6
b7C

SUBJECT AND [REDACTED] DEPARTED UNITED
AIRLINE FLIGHT NINE ONE SEVEN, TWO PM, LA GUARDIA AIRPORT,
NEW YORK, DUE TO ARRIVE OMAHA, NEBRASKA, FOUR FOUR ZERO
PM, THIS DATE.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 07-27-2006 BY 60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

b6
b7C

ADMINISTRATIVE

RE NY TEL CALL TO OMAHA THIS DATE.

SOURCE ADVISING OF SUBJECT'S DEPARTURE WAS [REDACTED]

b6
b7C
b7D

OMAHA WILL IDENTIFY INDIVIDUALS CONTACTED BY SUBJECT,
OBSERVE SUBJECT'S ACTIVITIES WHILE IN OMAHA AND COVER
ANY SPEECHES MADE BY SUBJECT. ADVISE WFO AND INTERESTED
OFFICES OF SUBJECT'S DEPARTURE FROM OMAHA.

b6
b7C

END

JUL 24 1968

WA...
FJB

TELETYPED TO:

FBI

b6
b7C

177
b6
b7C
b7D
advised 7/19/68
7/20/68
Jm

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 07-27-2006 BY 60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

JUL 20 1968

TELETYPE

FBI WASH DC*

FBI OMAHA

303PM URGENT 7-20-68 SAC

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080) NEW YORK, WFO
FROM OMAHA (100-7101) 2P

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS DASH MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION
RE OMAHA TELEPHONE CALL TO NEW YORK THIS DATE.

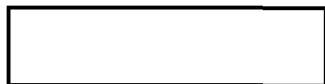
SUBJECT AND WIFE ARRIVED OMAHA ON FLIGHT NINE ONE
SEVEN, UNITED AIRLINES, AT SEVEN THIRTYEIGHT PM, JULY
NINETEEN LAST, RENTED CAR IN WIFE'S NAME AND DROVE TO
AIRPORT INN AND REGISTERED IN ROOM ONE FIVE TWO AS MAKEBA
COMPANY, FIVE SEVEN WEST FIVE SIX, NEW YORK CITY.

SUBJECT DROVE WIFE TO ROSENBLATT STADIUM WHERE SHE APPEARED
AS LAST ACT OF SCHLITZ SALUTE TO JAZZ, ATTENDED BY SEVERAL
THOUSAND PERSONS, MOSTLY NEGRO. SUBJECT AND WIFE
OBSERVED SIGNING AUTOGRAPHS AT CONCLUSION OF JAZZ FESTIVAL.

AFTER DINNER AT RESTAURANT IN SOUTH OMAHA, THEY RETURNED
TO AIRPORT INN MOTEL, TWELVE AM. SUBJECT AND WIFE LEFT
MOTEL TWELVE TWENTYTHREE PM THIS DATE, AND DROVE TO
EPPLEY AIRFIELD, WHERE THEY BOARDED UAL FLIGHT THREE ZERO FOUR

END PAGE ONE

RECEIVED 10:
WFO 57 JUL 31 1968



b6
b7C

100-446080-1791
AUG 7/22/68

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach

b6
b7C

b6
b7C

JUL 24 1968

5-14

OM 100-7101

PAGE TWO

FOR NEW YORK AT TWELVE FIFTYTHREE PM. FLIGHT THREE ZERO
FOUR DEPARTED OMAHA ONE ELEVEN PM AND SCHEDULED TO ARRIVE
KENNEDY AIRPORT FOUR FORTYFIVE PM THIS DATE. NO UNUSUAL
CONTACTS NOTED DURING SUBJECT'S STAY IN OMAHA. P.

END

CAB

FBI WASH DC*

P

~~SECRET~~

DATE: 07-27-2006
 CLASSIFIED BY 60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls
 DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(6)
 07-27-2031

F B I

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
 WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

Date: 7/18/68

Transmit the following in _____
 (Type in plaintext or code)

Via 7 AIRTEL _____
 (Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
 FROM: LEGAT, LONDON (105-2989) (P)
 STOKELY CARMICHAEL
 IS - MISC. (SEDITION)
 (OO: AT) (100-6812)

ReLonlet 2/28/68.

b1

(S)

- ③ - Bureau
 1 - Liaison (direct)
 1 - London
 ACM:cm
 (5)

103

100-446080-1797

REC-35 JUL 22 1968

1cc to WFO by R/S
 7/25/68, for info
 PTB/dkt

1 Xmas 806 900

b6
 b7C

51 AUG - 1 1968

Approved: _____
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~Federal Bureau of Investigation
Records Branch

, 19__

☐ Name Searching Unit - Room 6527
☐ Service Unit - Room 6524
☐ Forward to File Review
☐ Attention _____
☒ Return to _____ b6
 Supervisor Room Ext. b7C

Type of References Requested:

☐ Regular Request (Analytical Search)
☒ All References (Subversive & Nonsubversive)
☐ Subversive References Only
☐ Nonsubversive References Only
☐ Main _____ References Only

Type of Search Requested:

☐ Restricted to Locality of _____
☒ Exact Name Only (On the Nose)
☐ Buildup ☐ Variations

(S)

Subject _____ b1
 Birthdate & Place _____
 Address _____

Localities _____

R# _____ Date 7-23 Searcher Initials WTD

Prod. _____

FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

NR

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
 WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

DATE: 07-27-2006

CLASSIFIED BY 60389/UC/TAM/DCG/bis

DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(6)

07-27-2031

~~SECRET~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 07-27-2006 BY 60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

JUL 21 1968

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach

b6
b7C

Mr. Sullivan

FBI WASH DC*

FBI CINCINTI

816PM DEFERRED 7-21-68 WRH
TO DIRECTOR AND WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE
FROM CINCINNATI (100-16858)

b6
b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RM-SNCC

b6
b7C

RE CI TEL CALL TO WFO TODAY.

INFORMED TODAY A SOURCE OF

HIS ADVISED

b6
b7C
b7D

END

BGM

FBI WASH DC*

b6
b7C

advised

10²⁰ 7-21-68
100-446080-1793

b6
b7C

6 1 AUG 2 1968

ROOM 836 9&D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 07-27-2006 BY 60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____

b6
b7C

FBI

Date: 7/22/68

Transmit the following in PLAINTEXT
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority) b6
b7C

TO: ~~DIRECTOR~~ AND SACS, CINCINNATI, NEW YORK, PHILADELPHIA

FROM: SAC, WFO

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RM

RE CINCINNATI TELETYPE TO WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE, JULY
TWENTY-ONE, PAST.

RE CI TELETYPE ADVISED

b6
b7C

b6
b7C
b7D

2 - Bureau

2 - Bureau

3 - Teletype

2 - WFO

ROOM 836 9&D

14 JUL 24 1968

WWH:jcb

(7)

Approved: *[Signature]*
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

262
6 AUG 2 1968

J-MA

~~SECRET~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

DATE: 07-27-2006
CLASSIFIED BY 60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(6)
07-27-2031

1
1

b6
b7C

CODE

7/25/68

CABLEGRAM

URGENT

TO LEGAT LONDON (105-2989)

FROM DIRECTOR FBI (100-446080)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RACIAL MATTERS - STUDENT NONVIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE, SEDITION."

RELEGAT, LONDON CABLEGRAM NUMBER NINETY DATED JULY TWENTY
THIRD, LAST.

ON JULY SEVENTEEN LAST CARMICHAEL VISITED PASSPORT OFFICE,
WASHINGTON, D. C., AND REQUESTED RETURN OF HIS PASSPORT SO HE
AND HIS WIFE [REDACTED] COULD HONEYMOON IN AFRICA BEFORE
THE END OF SUMMER. HE SIGNED AFFIDAVIT STATING HE WOULD NOT
USE PASSPORT TO TRAVEL TO RESTRICTED AREAS.

[REDACTED] PASSPORT OFFICE,
DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, D. C., ADVISED THAT BUREAU OF
SECURITY AND CONSULAR AFFAIRS, STATE DEPARTMENT, MAILED
CARMICHAEL'S PASSPORT TO HIS RESIDENCE IN WASHINGTON, D. C., ON
JULY TWENTY THIRD, LAST.

CARMICHAEL IN WASHINGTON, D. C., AS OF

1 WFO

1 - Foreign Liaison Unit (Route through for review)
PTB:ebb
(6)

ENCIPHERED

6 JUL 26 1968

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

~~SECRET~~

140

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

57 AUG 2 - 1968

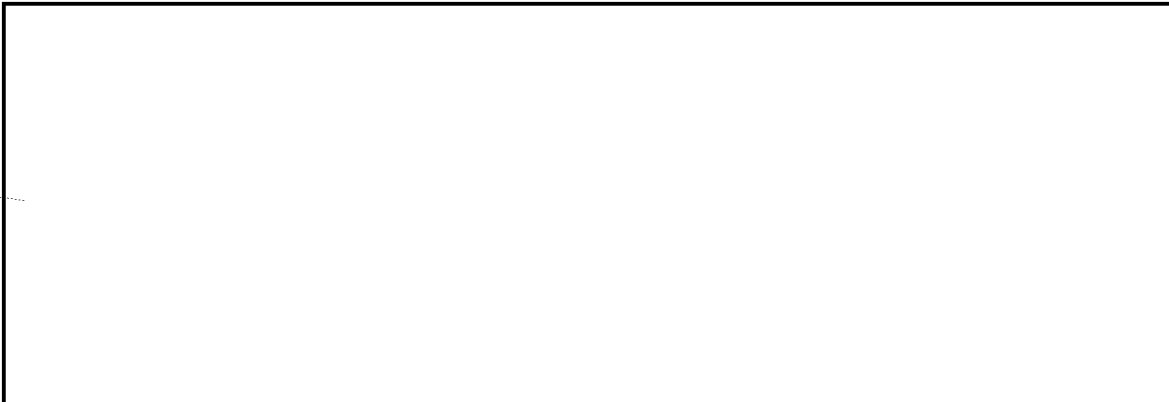
~~SECRET~~

CABLEGRAM TO LEGAT, LONDON
RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
100-446080

THIS DATE. CANVASS OF INFORMANTS, SOURCES, AND AIRLINES
REGARDING TRAVEL PLANS OF CARMICHAEL NEGATIVE. YOU WILL
BE ADVISED OF ANY PERTINENT DEVELOPMENTS.

WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE BEING ADVISED BY MAIL.

NOTE:



(S)

b1

- 2 -

~~SECRET~~

VIA TELETYPE
JUL 25 1968
ENCIPHERED

2/7&, /6

WA -11-

1128AM URGENT 7-25-68 DCC

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080) AND WASHINGTON FIELD
OFFICE (PLAINTEXT)

ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM NEW YORK (100-153751) 1P

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; IS-MISC; SEDITION.

A CANVASS OF INFORMANTS, SOURCES AND AIRLINES
AT NEW YORK REGARDING TRAVEL PLANS OF SUBJECT
NEGATIVE.

ADMINISTRATIVE..

REFERENCE WFO TELETYPE TO BUREAU AND NEW
YORK, JULY TWENTY FOUR, LAST.

NYO INDICES NEGATIVE REGARDING [REDACTED]

ST-100

REC 17

INFORMANTS, SOURCES AND AIRLINES WILL ADVISE

IF SUBJECT MAKES ARRANGEMENTS TO TRAVEL. P.

END

UNM

WLM FBI WASH DC

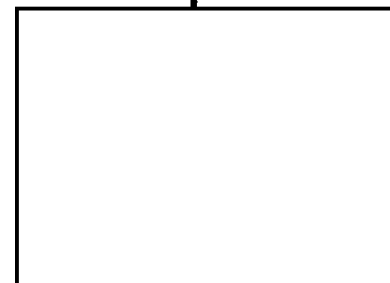
TELETYPE TO:

112
15 AUG - 1 1968
R RELAY

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach

b6
b7C

b6
b7C



b6
b7C

14 JUL 26 1968

1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan

Mr. Fred M. Vinson
Assistant Attorney General

b6
b7C

Director, FBI

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INCITING TO RIOT - MISCELLANEOUS

Reference is made to my previous letters,
the last dated June 11, 1968, requesting a
prosecutive opinion concerning captioned matter.

Please advise when such a prosecutive
opinion will be forthcoming.

100-446080

PTB:ebb
(9)

SI-112

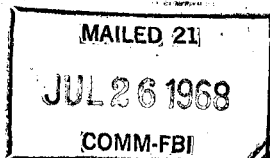
NOTE:

REC-21 100-446080-1802

By letter dated April 6, 1968, the Attorney
General requested the Bureau's assistance in developing
information on the incidents involving Carmichael during
the recent riots in Washington, D. C. We have submitted
five investigative reports to the Department totaling
approximately 800 pages containing the results of over
700 interviews. By letter dated May 17, 1968, we
advised the Department we had completed our investigation
and requested a prosecutive opinion concerning this
matter. By letter dated June 11, 1968, we again requested
the Department's prosecutive opinion. In view of the
lapse of time, we are once again asking the Department when
a prosecutive opinion will be forthcoming.

19 JUL 29 1968

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____



b6
b7C

57 AUG 2 - 1968

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT ☐

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 07-27-2006 BY 60309/UC/TAM/DCG/BL

F B I

Date: 7/25/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-153751) (P)
SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION
(OO: WFO)

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of an LHM dated and captioned as above.

A copy of this LHM is being furnished the following local agencies: USA, EDNY; USA, SDNY; 108th MI Group; Secret Service; NISO and OSI.

New York Agents observing CARMICHAEL were.

SAS [REDACTED]

b6
b7C

The LHM is being classified "~~Confidential~~" in order to protect sources who are furnishing information on a continuing basis.

New York telephonically contacted Omaha of CARMICHAEL'S departure from New York.

- ENCLOSURE
- 3 - Bureau (Encls. 11) (RM)
 - 2 - Cincinnati (Encls. 2) (RM)
 - 2 - Omaha (Encls. 2) (RM)
 - 2 - Washington Field (Encls. 2) (RM)
 - 1 - New York (#43)

REC-21

100-446080-1803

BJW:ljm
(11)

AGENCY: ACSI, OSI, SEC. SERV.,

SUBJECT: ISD, CRD, RAO, CMM, IDIU JUL 26 1968

HOW FORW: 113

DATE FORW: 7/26/68

BY: PTB/DEL

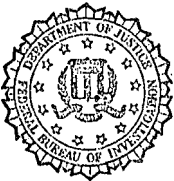
b6
b7C

O.C. - 11509

Approved: 51 AUG - 1 1968 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

100-446080-1803
806900
RACIAL INT. SEC.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. Bufile 100-446080
NYfile 100-153751

New York, New York
July 25, 1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Stokely Carmichael

On July 19, 1968, Bureau Agents of the New York Office observed Stokely Carmichael and his wife, [redacted] arrive from Washington, D. C., on Eastern Airlines Shuttle Flight Number 6 at 1:30 p.m., La Guardia Airport, New York. Carmichael and his wife departed at 2:00 p.m. aboard United Airlines Flight Number 917 for Omaha, Nebraska. b6 b7C

On July 20, 1968, Bureau Agents observed Carmichael and his wife arrive at John F. Kennedy International Airport 5:00 p.m. aboard United Airlines Flight Number 304 from Omaha, Nebraska. Carmichael rented at 1968 white Plymouth four door sedan, New York license 8Z 7505 from Avis Rent-A-Car at Kennedy Airport and proceeded to 1810 Amethyst Street, Bronx, New York.

On July 21, 1968, Carmichael and his wife observed at residence 1810 Amethyst Street, Bronx, New York.

On July 22, 1968, Carmichael observed at residence.

On July 23, 1968, at 1:00 p.m., Bureau Agents observed Carmichael and his wife, [redacted] board Eastern Airlines Shuttle Flight for Washington, D. C. b6 b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~GROUP 1
Excluded from
automatic downgrading
and declassification.~~

COPIES DESTROYED
286 FEB 24 1971

ENCLOSURE

100-446080-1803

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 7/23/68

Attached relates, that, among other things, Department of State returned Stokely Carmichael's passport to him.

Pertinent parts of attached to be furnished Internal Security Division of Department, Secret Service, and military.

JFM:chs

GC/pe WES/m

~~SECRET~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

DATE: 07-27-2006

CLASSIFIED BY 60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(6)

07-27-2031

FBI

b6
b7CCLASSIFICATION PER OGA LETTER
DATED 07-31-2006

Date: 7/23/68

Transmit the following in CODED
(Type in plaintext or code)Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI AND SAC, NEW YORK

FROM: SAC, WFO

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, INTERNAL SECURITY- MISCELLANEOUS,
SEDITION.

ON JULY TWENTYTHREE INSTANT, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] PASSPORT OFFICE, DEPARTMENT OF
STATE, WDC, ADVISED THAT THE BUREAU OF SECURITY AND
CONSULAR AFFAIRS, STATE, RETURNED SUBJECT'S PASSPORT TO
HIM ON JULY TWENTYTHREE INSTANT. PASSPORT WAS MAILED TO
HIM AT HIS WDC RESIDENCE VIA REGISTERED MAIL, RETURN
RECEIPT REQUESTED.ON JULY SEVENTEEN LAST CARMICHAEL VISITED THE PASS-
PORT OFFICE, WDC, AND REQUESTED THAT HIS PASSPORT BE
RETURNED SO THAT HE AND HIS WIFE COULD HONEYMOON IN AFRICA
BEFORE THE END OF SUMMER. ON THAT DATE HE SIGNED AN

- 2 - Bureau
- 3 - Teletype Unit
- 2 - WFO (100-43503)

JRP:rmh
(7)

REC-21 100-446080-1804

1 JUL 29 1968

EX-100
7/24/68

(C)

5-14

53 AUG 5 1968

Special Agent in Charge

Sent M Per

~~SECRET~~CAGUEGUCHA LEON
LOHON 7/21/68 RTR/jbb

~~SECRET~~

WFO 100-43503

PAGE TWO

AFFIDAVIT STATING HE WOULD NOT USE THE PASSPORT TO TRAVEL
TO RESTRICTED AREAS IF IT WAS RETURNED

(S)

b1

ADMINISTRATIVE

(S)

WFO INDICES NEGATIVE

b1

WFO CANVAS OF INFORMANTS, SOURCES, AND AIRLINES
REGARDING TRAVEL PLANS NEGATIVE ON JULY TWENTYTHREE INSTANT.
WFO WILL CONTINUE EFFORTS TO DETERMINE TRAVEL PLANS AND
OBTAIN DETAILS OF STATE DEPARTMENT LETTER TRANSMITTING
PASSPORT TO CARMICHAEL.

NEW YORK CONTACT SOURCES, INFORMANTS, AND AIRLINES
REGARDING TRAVEL PLANS AND CHECK INDICES

(S)

b1

BUREAU TELEPHONICALLY ADVISED.

~~SECRET~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 07-27-2006 BY 60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

F B I

Date: 7/22/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, BIRMINGHAM (157-2546) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - M; SEDITION
OO: WFO

ReWFOairtel to Bureau, 5/3/68, and MOairtel
to Bureau, 5/13/68.

Birmingham indices negative regarding [redacted]

b6
b7C

The following investigation was conducted by
SA [redacted] at Gadsden, Alabama:

b6
b7C

On 6/26/68, the following persons checked the
records of their departments regarding [redacted]
with negative results:

b6
b7C

C.C. - BIRMINGHAM

b6
b7C

- ③ - Bureau (RM)
 - 2 - WFO (100-43503) (RM)
 - 3 - Birmingham
 - 2 - 157-2546
 - 1 - 157-2425
- LGG:epg
(8)

REC 37

100-446080-1805

EX-105

6 JUL 25 1968

Approved: [Signature]
51 AUG 5 1968
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M

b6
b7C

BH 157-2546

On 7/8/68, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised he believed [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

b6
b7C

LEADS:

BIRMINGHAM:

AT GADSDEN, ALABAMA:

1. Will determine if [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] fits description of Negro female who
entered SNCC headquarters in Washington, D.C. on 5/2/68.

b6
b7C

2. Will conduct appropriate background inves-
tigation to determine if [REDACTED] is a member of
SNCC or any other black militant group.

b6
b7C

F B I

Date: 7/17/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (100-6812) (P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - M; SEDITION
(OO: WFO)

b6
b7C

Enclosed for the Bureau is one letter consisting of two pages written in the German language, which was forwarded to STOKELY CARMICHAEL at 360 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Ga. The envelope in which this letter was received is also being enclosed.

A xerox copy of each of the above items is enclosed herewith for WFO.

b2
b7D

The Bureau is requested to translate this letter and forward a copy of the translation to Atlanta and WFO, the office of origin in the STOKELY CARMICHAEL case.

It is also requested the letter be returned to the Atlanta Office for maintaining in the informant's file for whatever future value it may have.

NOT RECORDED

ENCLOSURE

3 - Bureau (Enc. 2) (RM)
2 - WFO (Enc. 2) (RM)

3 - Atlanta (2 - 100-6812)
EUC:met (1 - 170-287A)

Approved: (8) 7/15/68
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____
FOR LAB. ACTION AND REPORT

b6
b7C

56 AUG 6 1968

FBI

Date: 7/23/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 2-11-86 BY SP1 AG/3C

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439190)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-147963)

SUBJECT: STUDENTS NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
(SNCC) - FUNDS
RACIAL MATTERSEnclosed for the Bureau and Atlanta are
copies of an LHM incorporating current information
pertaining to SNCC funds.Sources referred to in attached LHM are
identified as follows:b2
b7DThe LHM is classified "Confidential" since
unauthorized disclosure of information attributed to
these sources might impair their future effectiveness
and such impairment could have an adverse effect on the
national defense.Dissemination of attached LHM ~~NOT RECORDED~~ made
locally to 108th MI Group, OSI and NISOL 30 JUL 1968

- 3- Bureau (Encls. 10) (RM)
- 2- Atlanta (Encls. 2) (100-6488) (RM)
- 1- New York (157-2377) (SNCC FUNDS) (43)
- 1- New York (157-2085) (NRAWADU) (43)
- 1- New York (157-2355) (SNCC-INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS) (43)
- 1- New York (157-153751) (CARMICHAEL) (43)
- 1- New York

HCOC:tf
(11)

1- Supv. #43

ENCLOSURE
AGENCY: ACSI, NIS, OSI, SEC. SERV.
BY: ISD, CRD, RAO, B

HOW FORW: P/S

DATE FORW: 7/29/68

BY: PTB/DET

JUL 24 1968

Approved: 75

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

b6
b7C

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-439190-1949

100-147963-806 92D

NY 100-147963

The SAS of the FBI who interviewed [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

b6
b7C



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

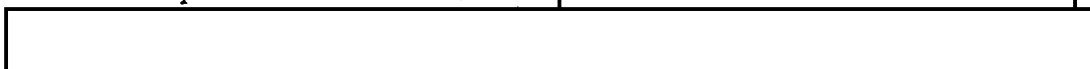
New York, New York
July 23, 1968

Students Nonviolent Coordinating
Committee (SNCC) - Funds -
Racial Matters



b6
b7C
b7D
b2

The above information is not to be made public
except in the usual proceeding following the issuance
of a subpoena duces tecum. [redacted]



A characterization of SNCC is
contained in the appendix attached
hereto.

This document contains neither
recommendations nor conclusions
of the FBI. It is the property
of the FBI and is loaned to your
agency; it and its contents are
not to be distributed outside
your agency.

GROUP I
Excluded from
automatic
downgrading and
declassification

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED BY SP1 AG/JC
ON 12-11-86
252028

100-446080

ENCLOSURE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Student Nonviolent Coordinating
Committee (SNCC) - Funds

A third confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, made available information on [REDACTED]

b7D

Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation on July 10, 1968, interviewed [REDACTED]

b6
b7C

She additionally advised that she is no longer associated with SNCC.

A fourth confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on [REDACTED]

b7D
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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Students Nonviolent Coordinating
Committee (SNCC) - Funds



b7D

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX1.STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Literature distributed by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, describes itself as not being a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements. SNCC was born out of the sit-in movement which erupted across the South beginning on February 1, 1960. A conference at Raleigh, North Carolina, that Spring, brought together many of the demonstrating Southern students in a loose network of militant youth which was officially named SNCC in October, 1960.

A source has advised [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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A source advised [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b6
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b7D

Literature distributed in February, 1968, identifies SNCC as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

On August 13, 1967, while addressing a group in the Watts area of Los Angeles, California, [REDACTED] said "You better shape up America, or we'll burn you down." Later in February, 1968, in a publicized note [REDACTED] wrote, "America, if it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you and to organize your jails to revolt against you and to organize your children, your God, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here's my life!"

b6
b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 07-27-2006 BY 60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

Mr. Tolson_____
Mr. DeLoach_____
[Redacted]
Mr. Sullivan_____
[Redacted]

b6
b7C

FBI

Date: 7/26/68

Transmit the following in PLAINTEXT

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE URGENT

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RM.

REWFOTEL JULY TWENTYFIVE, LAST.

SUBJECT NOT OBSERVED TO DEPART RESIDENCE MORNING OF
JULY TWENTYFIVE, LAST. IN LATE AFTERNOON, HE VISITED LOCAL
BANK, CLEANING ESTABLISHMENT AND SNCC HEADQUARTERS, THEN
RETURNED TO RESIDENCE.

SOURCE ADVISED [Redacted]

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b7C

b7D

ADMINISTRATIVE

ABOVE SOURCE IS [Redacted]

LHM FOLLOWS RE BUF MEETING. P.

EX-100

b7C
b6
b7D

REC-35

JUL 29 1968

4 - Bureau
1 - WFO

WWH:tjd
(5)

ROOM 836 9&D

b6
b7C

Approved: [Signature]

Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

57 AUG 6 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 07-27-2006 BY 60309/UC/TAM/DCG/b1

FBI

Date: 7/18/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM : SAC, MOBILE (100-1858) (P)
SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM - SNCC
SEDITION
(OO: WFO)

b6
b7C

b6
b7C

Re Mobile airtel to Bureau 7/11/68, with LHM.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are eight copies of LHM for dissemination, reflecting this information concerning the possible appearance of CARMICHAEL in Mobile, July 26, 1968. Copies of this memo are designated for Atlanta because of their interest in SNCC and CARMICHAEL, and for WFO, office of origin. The memo is also being disseminated locally to intelligence agencies, U. S. Secret Service, Mobile, And U. S. Attorney, Mobile.

The sources used in this LHM are as follows:

b2
b6
b7D
b7C

AGENCY: ACSI, NIC, OSI, SEC. SERV. / FD 376 (5 & 1)

HOW FORW: 4/5
DATE FORW: 7/24/68
BY: 1178/10/68

- ③ - Bureau (Encs 8) (RM) **REC 54**
2 - Atlanta (Encs 2) (RM) (100-6812)
2 - WFO (Encs 2) (RM) (100-43503)
2 - Mobile
JTB : mrc
(9)

20 JUL 20 1968

b6
b7C

C. C. - Bishop

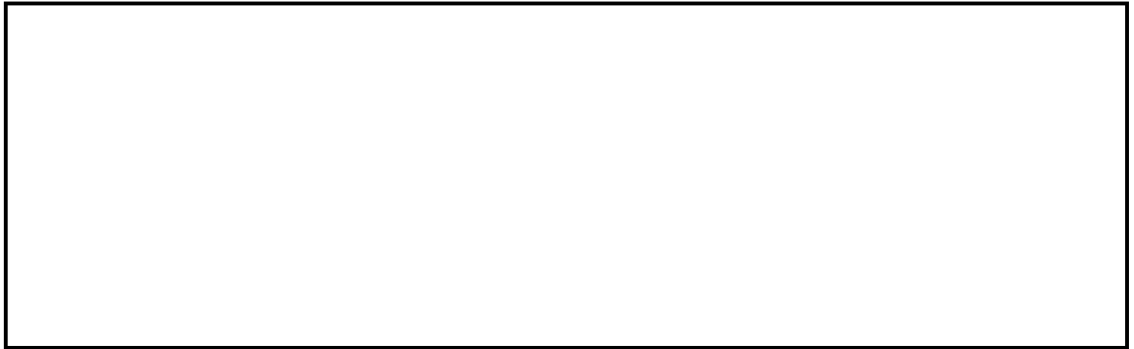
100-446080
806 900

Approved: **57 AUG 1968**
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

MO 100-1858

b2
b6
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b7D





UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

July 18, 1968

Director
United States Secret Service
Department of the Treasury
Washington, D. C. 20220

Dear Sir:

The information furnished herewith concerns an individual who is believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning Presidential protection, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

1. ☐ Has attempted or threatened bodily harm to any government official or employee, including foreign government officials residing in or planning an imminent visit to the U. S., because of his official status.
2. ☐ Has attempted or threatened to redress a grievance against any public official by other than legal means.
3. ☐ Because of background is potentially dangerous; or has been identified as member or participant in communist movement; or has been under active investigation as member of other group or organization inimical to U. S.
4. ☐ U. S. citizens or residents who defect from the U. S. to countries in the Soviet or Chinese Communist blocs and return.
5. ☒ Subversives, ultrarightists, racists and fascists who meet one or more of the following criteria:
 - (a) ☐ Evidence of emotional instability (including unstable residence and employment record) or irrational or suicidal behavior;
 - (b) ☐ Expressions of strong or violent anti-U. S. sentiment;
 - (c) ☒ Prior acts (including arrests or convictions) or conduct or statements indicating a propensity for violence and antipathy toward good order and government.
6. ☐ Individuals involved in illegal bombing or illegal bomb-making.

Photograph ☐ has been furnished ☐ enclosed ☐ is not available
☐ may be available through _____

Very truly yours,

J. Edgar Hoover
John Edgar Hoover
Director

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s) 1)
U. S. Secret Service, Mobile, Alabama

-3-

Enclosure(s)

(Upon removal of classified enclosures, if any, this transmittal form becomes UNCLASSIFIED.)



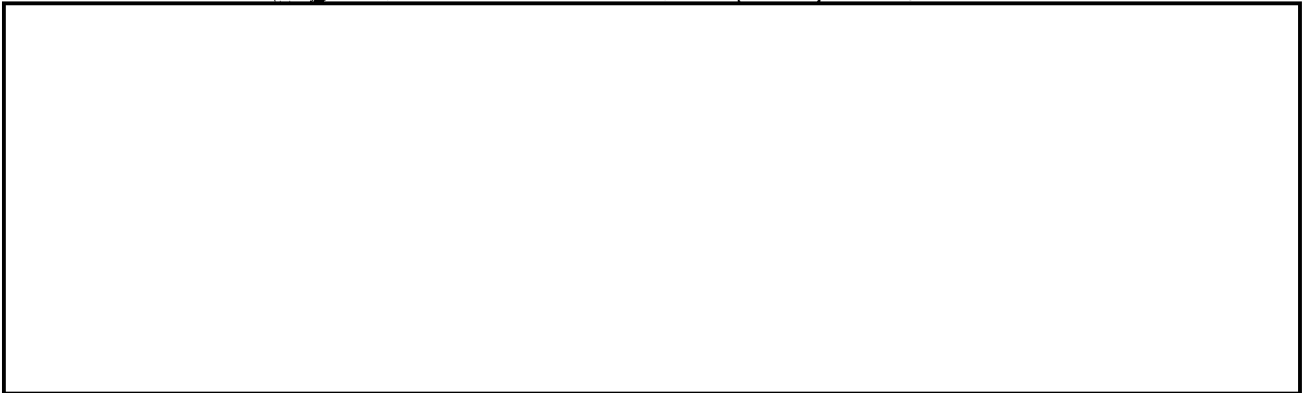
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Mobile, Alabama
July 18, 1968

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

AT MOBILE, ALABAMA

Information was set forth in memorandum dated July 11, 1968, concerning the report that Stokely Carmichael would come to Mobile on July 26, 1968.

On July 12, 1968, a confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that



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A second source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised [redacted]



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A third source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on [redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

100-446080-1807
ENCLOSURE

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

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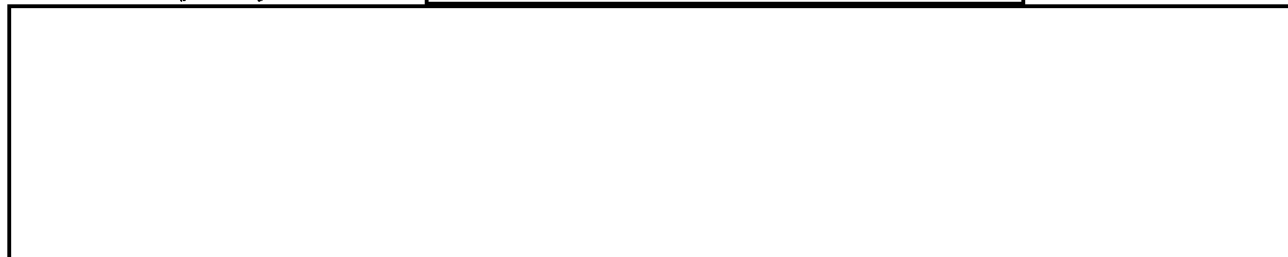
A fourth source, 

b7D



A fifth source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised 

b7D



This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

~~SECRET~~

b6
b7C

DATE: 07-27-2006
CLASSIFIED BY 60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(6)
07-27-2031

VIA TELETYPE
JUL 23 1968
ENCIPHERED

STATE 05

URGENT 7-23-68

TO DIRECTOR

FROM LEGAT LONDON NO. 90

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC. (SEDITION).

REMYAIRTEL JULY ONE EIGHT LAST.

BUREAU REQUESTED TO SUCAB ANY TRAVEL PLANS IF KNOWN.

RECEIVED: 11:42AM JDR

1cc to WFO by R/S REC. 21.
7/25/68 for info.
PTB/dkt

14 JUL 26 1968

56 AUG 2 1968

3RD CC

b6
b7C

~~SECRET~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 07-27-2006 BY 60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

b6
b7C

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach

F B I

Date: 7/25/68

Transmit the following in PLAINTEXT
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RM.

REWFOTEL JULY TWENTYFOUR, LAST.

SUBJECT NOT OBSERVED TO DEPART RESIDENCE MORNING OF
JULY TWENTYFOUR, LAST. IN LATE AFTERNOON, SUBJECT WITH []

[] LEFT RESIDENCE AND WENT TO SNCC HEADQUARTERS. SUBJECT
LATER VISITED CLEANING ESTABLISHMENT AND WITH [] WENT FOR
RIDE BEFORE RETURNING TO SNCC HEADQUARTERS WHERE HE WAS UNTIL
EVENING. HE LATER RETURNED TO HIS RESIDENCE. P.

EX-100

100-446080-1809

REC-35

④ - Bureau
1 - WFO

b6
b7C

b6
b7C

WWH:tjd
(5)

ROOM 836 9&D

1010
ADV 7/26/68
PTS

5-118

TELETYPE

57 AUG 6 1968

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

5-173 (1-10-61) ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 07-27-2006 BY 60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 7/27/68

Attached relates to a speech made by Negro militant Stokely Carmichael in Mobile, Alabama, on 7/26/68. He stated that he desired no riot while he was in town but if there was trouble after he left, he would know that he has been effective. No incidents occurred during speech.

Copy of attached furnished to Inter-Division Information Unit of the Department and the Attorney General.

JAM:jcm

[Handwritten signatures and initials: "WCS" with a large checkmark, "P", and other illegible marks]

FBI WASH DC*

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

JUL 27 1968

FBI MOBILE

TELETYPE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 07-27-2006 BY 60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

2:02 AM CDT URGENT 7/27/68 LPB
TO DIRECTOR (100-446080) WFO (100-43503)
FROM MOBILE (100-1858)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, *Racial Matter* ~~RM~~

SUBJECT ACCOMPANIED BY TWO NEGRO MALES, REPORTED AS A.

Eastern Airlines
[REDACTED] ARRIVED MOBILE ~~EAL~~ FLIGHT THREE SEVEN
SEVEN AT TWO TWENTYFIVE PM SEVEN TWENTYSIX SIXTYEIGHT. WERE
MET BY NEGRO GROUP LED BY [REDACTED] PRESIDENT LOCAL
NEGRO ORGANIZATION, NEIGHBORHOOD ORGANIZED WORKERS, SPONSOR
OF CARMICHAEL APPEARANCE.

AFTER SHORT MEETING AT [REDACTED] HOME, CARMICHAEL WAS
DRIVEN AROUND MOBILE AND ADJOINING PRICHARD, ALA. AND WENT
TO HOME OF [REDACTED] ABOUT
FIVE FORTYSEVEN PM. AT ABOUT EIGHT PM, GROUP ARRIVED AT OLD
WARREN STREET METHODIST CHURCH, THREE ZERO FOUR N. WARREN
STREET, MOBILE WHERE CARMICHAEL *REC 30 100-446080-1810* SPOKE FOR ABOUT TWO HOURS.
CHURCH WAS FILLED TO CAPACITY, ESTIMATED BY POLICE AT TWO
HUNDRED INSIDE AND ONE FIVE ZERO TO TWO HUNDRED OUTSIDE.

SOURCES AT SPEECH ADVISED THAT CARMICHAEL SPOKE OF BLACK POWER,
END PAGE ONE

TELETYPED TO:

WFO

INCLUDED IN Summary
W.H. & A. 6 7/29/68

59 AUG 8 - 1968

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach

b6
b7C

Mr. Sullivan

b6
b7C

b6
b7C

5-181

PAGE TWO

BUT STATED WAS NOT THERE TO CAUSE RIOT, URGED NO VIOLENCE BUT SAID ALL NEGROES SHOULD HAVE GUNS. SAID THERE ARE THREE WAYS TO GET THINGS - TO BEG, TO WORK OR TO TAKE THINGS, THAT FIRST TWO HAD BEEN TRIED AND IT IS TIME TO TRY SOMETHING ELSE. HIS TALK WAS ANTI-POLICE AND ANTI NEGRO POLICE. STATED DESIRES NO RIOT WHILE HE'S IN TOWN BUT IF THERE IS TROUBLE AFTER HE LEAVES HE KNOWS HE HAS BEEN EFFECTIVE.

AFTER SPEECH CONCLUDED, [] ANNOUNCED THERE WOULD BE MEETING SAME CHURCH AT TWO P M SEVEN TWENTYSEVEN SIXTYEIGHT, WHICH IS TO BE MEETING TO ORGANIZE NEGROES FOR SELF HELP. b6 b7C

ABOUT TEN THIRTY PM, CROWD DISPERSED AND CARMICHAEL GROUP WAS DRIVEN TO [] RESIDENCE.

AT TWELVE THIRTYTWO AM SEVEN TWENTYSEVEN SIXTYEIGHT, CARMICHAEL AND GROUP LEFT [] RESIDENCE BY CAR AND DROVE TO HOME OF [] WHERE CARMICHAEL WAS LOCATED AS OF ONE FIFTEEN AM. b6 b7C

NATIONAL GUARD WAS ALERTED AND WERE ON STANDBY AT FORT WHITING ARMORY. NO INCIDENTS OR DISORDERS REPORTED. MOBILE PD AND ^{Sheriff's Office} ~~SO~~ HAVE EXTRA PATROLS ON DUTY.

END PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RE WFO TEL SEVEN TWENTYSIX SIXTYEIGHT.

MILITARY INTELLIGENCE, USA AND LOCAL POLICE KEPT INFORMED.
ARRANGEMENTS HAD BEEN MADE BY MOBILE PD TO TAPE CARMICHAEL
SPEECH BUT OFFICER WAS ASKED TO LEAVE AND NO TAPE RECORDING
MADE. NEWS SOURCES REPORTED PRESENT AT SPEECH.

MEETING SEVEN TWENTYSEVEN SIXTYEIGHT TO BE COVERED AND
CARMICHAEL'S DEPARTURE REPORTED, AFTER WHICH ^{Memo} LHM TO BE SUBMITTED.

FISUR CONTINUING.

AIRMAIL COPY TO BIRMINGHAM.

END

SVM

FBI WASH DC*

@

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b7C

cc -
MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 07-27-2001 BY 60309/UC/TAM/DOG/bis

b6
b7C

Date: 7/16/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)
SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM - SNCC
(OO:WFO)

ReWFOairtel and LHM to Bureau dated 6/28/68
setting forth summary of subject's activities from 5/12/68 to
5/28/68.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are eleven
copies of an LHM suitable for dissemination setting forth summary
of subject's activities from 6/4/68 to 6/18/68.

The info contained in the LHM was developed by
physical surveillance, through investigation, and sources available
to WFO.

The LHM is being classified "Confidential" in
order to protect sources who are furnishing valuable information
on a continuing basis.

Local dissemination being made to AUSA, U.S.
Secret Service and military intelligence agencies.

Since the LHM is a summary of data gathered, the
last period of investigation is 6/18/68. WFO will submit promptly
another LHM containing pertinent data subsequent to 6/18/68.

ENCLOSURE

3 - Bureau (Enc. 11)
1 - WFO

WWH:skt
(4) C. C.

b6
b7C

AIRTEL

Ap

AUG - 6 1968

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

AGENCY: ACSI, OSI, SEC. SERV., CIA
ISD, CRD, RAO, IDIU, CRM
HOW FORM: M
DATE FORW: 7/23/68
BY: R.T.B./ab



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Washington, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

July 16 1968

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

A summary of pertinent activities of Stokely Carmichael from June 4, 1968, to June 18, 1968, is being set forth as follows:

On Tuesday, June 4, 1968, during the morning, Carmichael returned to Washington, D.C. (WDC), from a trip to California. Carmichael was met at National Airport by four unidentified males upon his arrival and was joined later by Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) associate [redacted]. They departed National Airport in a red Volvo sedan bearing Georgia License [redacted]. Later, Carmichael visited briefly the headquarters of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), 14th and U Streets, N.W., WDC, the sponsor of the Poor People's Campaign (PPC). Carmichael and [redacted] returned to National Airport where they met [redacted] at 11:00 a.m. apparently arriving on an incoming flight. [redacted] was accompanied by two females possibly members of her musical group, one of whom was believed to be [redacted]. [redacted] her husband, was also believed to be present. Carmichael, [redacted] entered the abovementioned red Volvo sedan. The other individuals mentioned above entered a late model white Dodge. Carmichael with [redacted] returned to their residence, 5015 16th Street, N.W., WDC. Carmichael was not again observed to leave his residence on that date. A source previously advised [redacted] is a SNCC associate of Carmichael.

The records of the Bureau of Motor Vehicles, Atlanta, GA. disclosed the above mentioned Georgia license ID-57915 registered to Carmichael.

GROUP 1

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ENCLOSURE

100-446080-181

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Prior to Carmichael's departure for California on May 28, 1968, a television program entitled "NET Journal" featuring Carmichael, Bobby Seale of the Black Panther Party (BPP), and Mario Savio, former leader of the Free Speech Movement at Berkeley was broadcast from 9:00 p.m. to 10:00 p.m. over WETA, Channel 26, on May 27, 1968. The program was rebroadcast on the afternoon of June 2, 1968, before his return. The comments by Carmichael which were reportedly excerpts from past speeches are being set forth hereinafter:

"TRANSCRIPTION OF STATEMENTS
BY STOKELY CARMICHAEL
TV CHANNEL 26, MAY 27, 1968
WASHINGTON, D.C.

"I was told all the time that I was an exceptional Negro. I was an intelligent boy. I had scholarships to go to all the Ivy League schools and that I could get into that society if I played by their rules, but that really bothered me because I found myself becoming less free. You see, I think that the freest people in this society are the people from Mississippi because they have not been caught up in the structure of watching your 'Ps' and 'Qs,' so I was very worried about that, so I wanted to go South just to see how free they really were and what the threat was to the whole power structure. I got caught up in the Freedom Rides and decided that Mississippi was where I'd like to stay and work. I learnt (sic) from the people in Mississippi. I learnt from the people in Mississippi what I never learnt from the most brilliant professors I've sat under. They taught me how not to be ashamed. They taught me how to say what you want to say whenever you want to say it.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

"We've been so riddled and inculcated with that American dream (and) nonsense which we were never a part of and could never hope to be a part of. I think that's what the problem with America's now facing with the youth both black and white that we're all beginning to question why is it that she's the richest country in the world. Is it that she exploits other countries, is it that she steals, murders, and plunders, or is it that she's so smart that she can develop her resources to yield the amount of productivity that it does, and I think that most of you are beginning to see that the United States has been exploiting other countries and that we have been enjoying that good life at the expense of other countries and that when you match that with the American dream which talks about honesty and equality and a fair share for everybody to recognize that you talk that nonsense at the expense of somebody in Vietnam or South Africa, or Latin America, Asia, Japan, just makes you sick to the stomach. You want to puke. it's time that you use your mouth to say no and begin to use your knowledge for the good of black people who surround your campus.

"For once they get someone who's speaking directly to them who's beginning to challenge what has been defined as success for them on their college campuses. Deep down they've always felt this, but they haven't been really sure how to express it because they were afraid they might be called racists or black nationalists. They finally begin to see that they have that release so that I think you get the catharsis there but then an awakening and a beginning to re-think what success is all about.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

"In this country you were to think that white people were God; that they had the right to give us our freedom and so what we had to do was to beg them or to act the way they want us to act before they gave us our freedom. We must stop seeking to imitate white society. We must create for ourselves to save our very humanity because the fight for black power in this country is indeed a fight to civilize a barbaric country - the United States. We have to be able to gather the strength, you must be able to get the (goods?) as the intellectuals of the black society to say: 'We are black, our noses are broad, our lips are thick, our hair is nappy, and we are beautiful - and we are beautiful - and we are beautiful - yes - yes - beautiful (speaker drowned out by applause and the taking up of the chant, "We are beautiful.")'

"I think that black students have never heard anyone tell them that they are black and beautiful. White people like Negroes, but they have a role for them. They like them like maybe they like their pet dogs, but they like them to that extent. Now they have that role. Now when they break out of that role there's a threat, I guess the sociologists would call that a threat to status, or what have you, but there is that and then they have to react to that, but that isn't just in the South, I mean it's in the whole country. It's in the whole country. It's in the whole country.

"You ought to tell 'em clear, 'If you don't want any trouble, keep your filthy white hands off our beautiful black girls - keep 'em off - keep 'em off - keep 'em off (drowned out in crowd response) ...'

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

"You want to talk about this thing called violence that everybody is so afraid about. Here you are talkin' about you afraid of violence and the Honky draftin' you out o' school to go fight in Vietnam... (drowned out by crowd). Or, you gonna sit in front of your television set and listen to LBJ tell you that violence never accomplishes anything, my fellow Americans. This is the most violent society there is.

"I think that the society is headed toward suicide, and I really don't think that America could share in the guilt. I don't think we could ever see ourselves a country, and that people have to see themselves as individuals. And that is particularly true, I think, for white America, that she must see herself as individuals. That's the death trap for most liberals. You know, the first thing they say to you is that 'Well, I'm not like the rest of them.' Like their first phrase to you, because they recognize for them to share in the collective guilt they would just have to drink themselves to death. And I think that the people who even just touch on the collective guilt of white America must drink themselves to death, just have to, cause you just woke up one morning and without any reason at all you were burning babies, and you didn't have anything to do with it, not any reason at all - burning babies, even to stop communism, burning babies, man you go crazy, you gonna blow your mind. (Speaker drowned out by miscellaneous background comments, mostly unintelligible.)

"We are not only opposed to the war in Vietnam, we are opposed to compulsory conscription, we are against the draft. Now, we are against the draft for anybody, black or white. When you are called

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

to serve you have a choice, either you say no and face the possibility of going to jail or you become a hired killer, you inflict suffering on somebody.

"It is more honorable to suffer. We must save our humanity, we cannot allow ourselves to be used as the black mercenaries in that war. You should join the greatest, Mohammed Ali, and tell them, 'Hell, no! I ain't going! Hell, no! We ain't going.'" (Drowned out by background applause.) (It appears the speaker is furthering the applause with repeated statement, 'We ain't going,' while audience repeatedly says, 'Hell, no.')"

An article appearing in "The Washington Post," a WDC daily newspaper on May 31, 1968, reported that a new book store specializing in Negro culture would be opened on that date with ceremonies at 8:00 p.m. According to the article several individuals including Stokely Carmichael were to be among the participants at the opening activities. The article continued that the book store would be named the Drum and Spear.

A source advised [REDACTED]

b7D

On Wednesday, June 5, 1968, Carmichael was not observed to leave his residence in the morning or afternoon.

A source advised [REDACTED]

b7D

At 7:15 p.m. on June 5, 1968, Carmichael and [REDACTED] departed their residence and went to the Zanzibar Restaurant, 2017 14th Street, N.W., traveling in the previous mentioned red Volvo sedan. They remained at the Zanzibar Restaurant for a short period and then went to the New School of Afro-American Thought, 2115 14th Street, N.W., WDC. b6 b7C

A source advised that a Black United Front (BUF) meeting held June 5, 1968, at the New School of Afro-American Thought, 2115 14th Street, N.W., WDC.

According to source, approximately sixty persons were in attendance at the meeting which began at approximately 8:45 p.m.

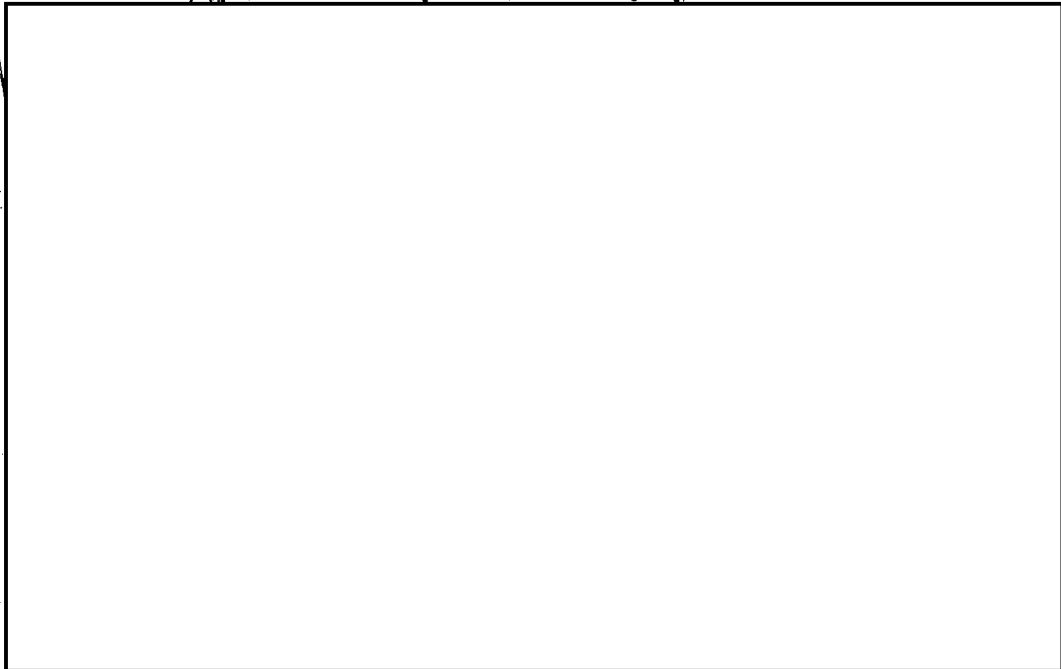
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Source advised that among those present at the meeting were the following:

Member
Stokely Carmichael, Co-Chairman, BUF



b6
b7C

non-violent

According to this source, the meeting began with a showing of a film by [redacted] stated concerned the struggle of Malcolm X to obtain freedom. After showing this film, [redacted] then introduced a Negro male, name [redacted] who was identified as the author who compiled the autobiography of Malcolm X. [redacted] told those present that he is now working on a big project which will assist Negroes in tracing their lineage back to Africa.

[redacted] who acted as Chairman at this meeting, according to source, called upon [redacted] to read the minutes of the previous meeting of the Board of Conveners but she refused and [redacted] was forced to give an oral report.

[redacted] advised those present that the following subjects had been discussed by the Board of Conveners:

- 1 - Appointment of a task force to organize and solicit membership in all black communities. [redacted] said plans were made to re-organize the whole membership procedure and to issue new applications for membership in the BUF to all present members by mail.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

- 2 - Received a report from the task force on the rebuilding of the city.
- 3 - Discussed the position BUF should take regarding the Washington Federal City College and the Washington Technical Institute.

At this point in the meeting, according to source, some "bickering" started. [] made a motion that a task force be appointed immediately to begin organizing the entire black community. This motion was seconded, according to source, but Stokely Carmichael said the BUF would have to be very careful because people would start asking questions concerning the purpose of organizing. According to source, Carmichael said his idea of organizing was to cover everything from the conservative to the revolutionary. He pointed out that in the process of soliciting memberships in the black community the people should be told they are only joining the BUF and not committing themselves to any particular ideology. The motion that was passed was worded to express the ideas set forth by Carmichael.

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According to source, approximately six people then volunteered to serve on this committee.

[] then presented a Negro male named [] (phonetic), from San Francisco, who stated that with the help of Stokely Carmichael he had just organized a BUF in San Francisco. He gave a short address on unity of the black people.

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A Negro male named [] spoke next. He stated he represented Blacks for American Dream (BAD), which is a group of professional men who live in the upper Northwest section of WDC. Source advised that it was evident from the discussion that [] and Carmichael have been talking to representatives of BAD to get them to join BUF. [] advised the BUF that BAD has not made any decision as yet in regard to joining BUF and that he was not there in any official capacity.

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Source advised that [] Build Black was recognized next and inquired about the relationship between the Board of Conveners and the total membership of the BUF. [] explained this to him whereupon [] said [] had organized about three years prior to the riots and was first known as the Cardozo Men's Council. [] said his organization had been working in the Cardozo area for a long time and was a great deal older than BUF. He said he believed that if older organizations joined BUF, they should be represented on the Board of Conveners.

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Carmichael then stated he had talked to [] three times and [] had talked to [] Carmichael accused [] "of hemming and hawing and coming in late."

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Source advised that [] tried to appease Storey, saying that as BUF went along, the Board of Conveners would be expanded. This did not satisfy Storey, according to source and he and four members of Build Black walked out of the meeting.

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A Negro female who, according to source, was on a committee headed by [] which was planning a rally for [] spoke and said that the committee had decided not to hold a local rally as such, but were searching for an appropriate day that has some significance to all Negroes. This individual said, according to source, that the committee had decided to try to get about seven cities on the East Coast to arrange and conduct one big rally at WDC. Those present agreed to accept this report.

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Source advised that an unidentified man working with the task force on rebuilding reported that this committee had had no meetings with any officials of the Government since the last BUF meeting but that the task force was still working on the rebuilding plans.

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Source advised that [] then announced that his personal office at 900 Florida Avenue, N.W., is now being used as the administrative office for BUF, and all business could be transacted through his office. He stated he is also working on a magazine which he will call "Black."

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Source stated that [] had again submitted her resignation and Carmichael made a remark to the effect forget about her and get a new secretary. A young lady named [] (phonetic) volunteered to act as a temporary secretary.

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Source advised that [] came in at the very end of the meeting and read off a list of churches who have agreed to let the BUF use their facilities for meetings. Source advised these churches are: Lincoln Memorial Congregational Temple; John Wesley AME Zion; Franklin P. Nash Memorial Methodist Church; Douglas Memorial Methodist Church and New Bethel Baptist Church. [] advised he was looking for still more churches to offer their facilities.

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Source advised that a [] agreed to let the next BUF meeting take place in his church, the Douglas Memorial Methodist Church.

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On Thursday, June 6, 1968, during the morning, Carmichael was not observed to leave his residence. In the afternoon, Carmichael accompanied by [] went to SNCC headquarters. Later, they entered the red Volvo sedan with another male and female. They visited briefly 2701 14th Street, N.W., WDC, the location of the newly established Drum and Spear book store specializing in African-type books and African culture. They later visited a grocery and liquor store before returning to their residence. Carmichael was not again observed to leave his residence on that date.

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On Friday, June 7, 1968, Carmichael went to SNCC headquarters, 2208 14th Street, N.W., WDC. He later visited the Industrial Bank, 11th and U Streets, N.W., WDC, before

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL

returning to his residence in the early afternoon. In mid-afternoon, Carmichael and [] visited the Victor Building, 724 9th Street, N.W., WDC, then returned to their residence.

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A source advised there are a number of tenants located in the Victor Building and that the reason for Carmichael and Makeba visiting there on June 7, 1968, was not established.

Another source reported a SNCC fund-raising party was held at the Flamingo Club next door to SNCC headquarters, WDC, beginning about 9:00 p.m. on June 7, 1968. According to source, about 100 persons were in attendance. Carmichael was scheduled to attend but source reported that he did not show up. Source []

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On Saturday, June 8, 1968, Carmichael with [] accompanied by [] and another unidentified couple departed their residence and went to National Airport where [] boarded the 1:00 p.m. Eastern Airlines shuttle for New York City. According to a source, she was actually going to Canada. Carmichael and [] and the unidentified couple left the airport subsequently. Later, Carmichael and [] along with two Negro males returned to the airport. They boarded Northwest Airlines Flight Number 353 which departed 2:50 p.m. for Detroit with stops in Pittsburgh and Cleveland en route. The individuals with Carmichael and [] were identified []

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An article appearing in "The Washington Post" dated June 9, 1968, reported as follows:

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL

"CARMICHAEL SAYS
SHOWDOWN HASTENED

"Detroit, June 8 - Black power advocates Stokely Carmichael said today the death of Sen. Robert F. Kennedy has hastened 'the bloody confrontation between blacks and whites.'

"Carmichael, who arrived here late this afternoon to address a rally, said Sen. Kennedy was the most popular white politician among Negroes because of the 'clever public relations job of his brother.'

"Now that Robert Kennedy is dead, Carmichael told a news conference, there is nobody who can placate Negro anger. For that reason, he said, the inevitable confrontation between blacks and whites will take place sooner. He did not say when that might be.

"Carmichael said of Sen. Kennedy, 'We call him the last of the good whiteys.' He said he doubts any other white political figure can inherit the popularity Kennedy enjoyed among black people.

"Speaking of the deaths of Sen. Kennedy and the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Carmichael said, 'The lines are now less blurred as the liberal sector disappears.'

"Urban Violence

"Carmichael also predicted that the urban violence of previous summers would not occur on as large a scale this summer.

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL

"That was something we tried and it didn't work and now it is time to try something else," he said.

"Asked what the new tactic might be, he said 'a lot of people go to jail for what they say. I am not going to jail for what I say, but for what I do.'

"Carmichael said he doubted that any conspiracy links the deaths of either of the Kennedys and Dr. King. 'The same groups could not be responsible for King's death and the Kennedys' deaths.'

"Carmichael, now a Washington field secretary of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, said he hopes the Poor People's Campaign succeeds 'because they are **our** people,' but he added:

"'If it doesn't work, then we know where we have to go.'

"No White Alliances

"He said that when the armed confrontation that he anticipates does come, black people 'have no one to rely on but ourselves.' He emphatically ruled out the possibility of white alliances.

"Asked by a reporter if his confrontation did not seem like a 'death wish,' Carmichael responded that there is a difference 'between being ready to die and wishing to die.'

"Carmichael is here to speak in support of several black nationalists groups in this city,

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL

which has many black nationalist activists and organizations.

"Appearing relaxed in a maroon cardigan and white turtleneck sweater, Carmichael said the fight in this country is not going to be along class lines. The fight is going to be clear black against white."

On Sunday, June 9, 1968, Carmichael with SNCC Associates

[redacted] returned to WDC at National Airport at 4:46 p.m. via Northwest Airlines Flight Number 338 from Detroit. Carmichael and [redacted] went to their residence at 5015 16th Street, N.W., WDC. They were not again observed to depart their residence on that date.

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On Monday, June 10, 1968, Carmichael was not observed to leave his residence during the morning. A panel truck of Lawson Brothers Carpeting was parked near the residence and two workmen were observed carrying carpeting inside. A source advised that carpeting was being installed in the Carmichael residence by the workmen.

In the late afternoon, Carmichael with [redacted] and [redacted] departed his residence and visited the location of the Drum and Spear book store, 2701 14th Street, N.W., WDC. Carmichael later went to SNCC headquarters where he remained into the evening hours.

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On Tuesday, June 11, 1968, Carmichael did not depart his residence during the morning or early afternoon. During that period, carpet workers were at his residence appearing to continue to install carpeting from the previous day. In mid-afternoon, Carmichael was seen riding in a late model Rambler bearing [redacted] in the vicinity of SNCC headquarters. In early evening, he entered a late model Imperial bearing [redacted] containing an unidentified male

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL

and female. They drove to Carmichael's residence where they entered. The car remained parked at the residence throughout the evening.

NY
[redacted] Kinny Rent-A-Car, Incorporated, New York City, advised the above Rambler bearing [redacted] had been rented to [redacted]

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[redacted] as the individual who would be using the car. According to a source, [redacted]

DC
[redacted] mentioned above for a late model Imperial was determined to be registered to [redacted]

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[redacted] whom Carmichael had visited there in the past.

On Wednesday, June 12, 1968, Carmichael accompanied by [redacted] departed their residence and went to National Airport where [redacted] attempted to board the 10:00 a.m. Eastern Airlines shuttle for New York City. Flights were reported to be grounded by bad weather, and they left the airport returning to their residence. Workmen were still at the residence appearing to continue to install carpeting.

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A source advised that over 100 yards of carpet had been installed in Carmichael's residence during the past three days, and workmen had cleaned the house throughout.

Carmichael was not again observed to depart his residence on that date.

On Thursday, June 13, 1968, Carmichael was not observed to depart his residence. SNCC associate [redacted] was observed at the residence during the day.

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL

A source advised [redacted]

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In the late evening, Carmichael, [redacted] and others traveled to Friendship International Airport. [redacted]

[redacted] advised Carmichael using ticket under name [redacted] accompanied by [redacted] and a [redacted] boarded American Airlines Flight Number 29 which departed 11:45 p.m. on June 13, 1968, for Los Angeles, California.

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According to a source, the [redacted] mentioned above is believed to be the same person as [redacted] [redacted] also mentioned previously.

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[redacted] affiliated with [redacted]

[redacted] advised on June 14, 1968, his company had previously negotiated the sale of a house at 4331 Blagden Avenue, N.W., WDC, to [redacted] of Stokely Carmichael, for \$70,000. He advised the contract closing the sale had not been completed, and negotiations were still in the preliminary stage. He continued that after the contract was signed whereby [redacted] agreed to buy the property, extensive publicity was given the sale by the news media. After the publicity, Carmichael telephonically contacted Floyd E. Davis Company and complained about the publicity, but did not say he or [redacted] would not go through with the sale. [redacted] stated since the publicity about the sale, his company has received a number of telephone calls and letters about the matter protesting the ability of Carmichael to buy a house that expensive on a cash basis. He advised that the letters and telephone calls were nonspecific in nature, but some of them alleged the house would be burned or blown up either before or after Carmichael took occupancy. He said that he dismissed the calls and letters as work of pranksters or cranks, and most of them were made by persons who did not

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL

identify themselves. He added [] a broker for the company who actually negotiated the sale to [] had also received a number of telephone calls and letters along the same line. He stated [] reported that a number of telephone calls and letters to him appeared to be authentic and were made by Negroes who expressed disapproval of Carmichael and his activities. Some, according to [] reported they had lost their jobs during the recent civil disorders in WDC and blamed Carmichael for this. b6 b7C

[] reported further he heard that [] the owner selling the house, went to Florida and intended to retire there. However, when news broke she had sold her home in WDC to Stokely Carmichael, she was ridiculed so extensively by her acquaintances there she returned to WDC. b6 b7C

[] advised he had notified the Metropolitan Police Department, WDC, about the threats received. b6 b7C

[] furnished a copy of a letter, which he stated was representative of the type of previous letters received and destroyed. b6 b7C

A copy of the letter is attached hereto.

[] advised that it was to be noted the margin on the left side of the letter to Floyd E. Davis Company which was a carbon copy is not completely discernable due to a typographical error. b6 b7C

A confidential source advised []

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On Tuesday, June 18, 1968, Carmichael and his [] turned to WDC at 7:30 p.m. from New York City b6 b7C

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL

in a 1968 blue Plymouth station wagon bearing New York License 4Z725 they had previously rented from Avis-Rent-A-Car. They went to their residence.

An article appearing in "The Washington Post" dated June 19, 1968, stated as follows:

"CARMICHAEL LETS
QUESTIONS GO BY

"Washington's snappiest young newlyweds, Mr. and Mrs. Stokely Carmichael, flew in from California last night and showed up an hour later at an Embassy of Guyana garden party.

"I'm here with my wife to enjoy myself,' the bridegroom kept telling people who kept asking him such unromantic questions as whether he has any plans for Solidarity Day today. Then he referred all questions on all subjects to his wife, folk singer Miriam Makeba.

"That's ironic for a West Indian,' said the Ambassador of Barbados, Hilton Augustus Vaughan.

"Carmichael, who was born in Trinidad, laughed and agreed and then hastily added, 'Actually, we're Africans-we were just dropped off in the West Indies.'

"Mrs. Carmichael's statement was that as a foreigner, she does not interfere in the internal affairs of the United States. A refugee from South Africa, she is now a citizen of Tanzania.

"Carmichael spent much of his time at the party signing autographs. 'SNCC could use the

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL

money,' said the former chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee when someone suggested that he could get a good price for those signatures.

"The party given by the Ambassador of Guyana and Lady Carter was in honor of the Jazz-at-Laurel Festival Aug. 2, 3 and 4 at the Laurel Race Course. Rufus Harley, with his wild bagpipes and quintet, played on the porch for the party and will perform at the festival.

"So will Miriam Makeba, although she wasn't aware of the fact until someone pointed out her name on the program. 'I can't keep up with everything,' she said.

"She was smilingly accepting bestwishes on their marriage, but was annoyed when people congratulated her on having bought a house on Blagden Avenue.

"That's all a rumor,' she said. 'We live on 16th Street.' (She wouldn't give the address.)

"Carmichael's was not the only Nehru suit at the party, but it was the only double-breasted one. And he certainly had the only shirt trimmed in velvet, gold and black braid. Mrs. Carmichael wore a flowing print dress she had designed herself and a tall black hat.

"After he had talked with the caterer's manager, Wallace Mason of the Barnett Catering Service, Carmichael was quick to point out that he knew him as a friend and not professionally. Mason added that he has catered for Carmichael as well as 'Kennedys, Senators and everybody else.'"

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL

[redacted] mentioned previously, advised on June 18, 1968, that [redacted] wife of Stokely Carmichael, had previously agreed to purchase a house at 4331 Blagden Avenue, N.W., WDC, through his company. He stated that in signing the contract to buy, [redacted] agreed that the sale would be contingent upon her being able to raise satisfactory financing within thirty days. b6 b7C

[redacted] advised that [redacted] and Carmichael had notified Floyd E. Davis Company they had been unable to raise satisfactory financing and in view of this were unable to consummate the sale. They requested that the contract be cancelled. [redacted] advised that the company agreed to this and the down payment made by [redacted] in the amount of \$3500 is being returned to her. b6 b7C

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SATURDAY JUNE 2X 1968

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[REDACTED]
FLOYD DAVIS CO.

I HAVE A SON WHO HAS JUST ABOUT GONE CRAZY BECAUSE HE LOST HIS JOB BECAUSE OF FIRE BURNING STORE DOWN WHERE HE AN A LOT OF OTHER COLORED MEN AND WOMEN WORKED FOR SEVERAL YEARS.

MY SON AND SOME OF THE OTHER MEN HAVE VOWED TO BOMB AND BLOW DOWN CARMICHAEL'S HOME AT 4331 LAGDER AVE NW WHEN HE BUYS IT OR BEFORE I SONT KNOW WHICH. MY HAD A BIG CANVAS SACK OF DYNAMITE IN MY ATTIC AND MY GASOLINE IN MY BACK BRICK SHED BUT THEY MOVED IT THIS WK. ONE OF THE MEN IS A CONSTRUCTION WORKER AND KNOWS OUT WHAT TO DO.

HERE IS AB OUT 3 of them. AND I KNOW MY SON WILL GET IN DOUBLE BECAUSE TWO OF THE MEN ARE HEAVY DRINKERS AND TALK D MUCH AND THAT MEANS TROUBLE. I DONT LIKE CARMICHAEL P ALL AND DONT CARE WHAT HAPPENS TO HIM BUT I KNOW AFTER HIS HAPPENS THOSE BIG MCUTHS ARE GOING TO GET COUGHT AND TAKE MY SON WITH THEM.

AYES IF PEOPLE CAN GET THIS NEWS THESE MEN AND MY SON WILL OP THE BOMBING AND KILLING PLAN. CAUSS THEY ALL ARE DEAD VIOUS SAYING HE CAUSED MANY THOUSANDS OF NEGRO JOBS AND TO BURNED AWAY AND MANY NEGRO HO HOMES OVER STORES TO BE ED OUT AND THEY ARE DETERMINED TO GIVE CARMACOLE THE SAME . THAT THEY HAVE SUFFERED SINCE HIS BURNING AND BOMBING.

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STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Literature distributed by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, describes itself as not being a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements. SNCC was born out of the sit-in movement which erupted across the South beginning on February 1, 1960. A conference at Raleigh, North Carolina, that Spring, brought together many of the demonstrating Southern students in a loose network of militant youth which was officially named SNCC in October, 1960.

A source has advised [REDACTED]

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A source advised [REDACTED]

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Literature distributed in February, 1968, identifies SNCC as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

On August 13, 1967, while addressing a group in the Watts area of Los Angeles, California, [REDACTED] said "You better shape up America, or we'll burn you down. Later in February, 1968, in a publicized note [REDACTED] wrote, "America, if it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you and to organize your jails to revolt against you and to organize your children, your God, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here's my life."

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BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF-DEFENSE (BPPSD)

A source advised that the Black Panther Party For Self-Defense (BPPSD) was formed by HUEY PERCY NEWTON, Minister of Defense, and [REDACTED] Chairman, in Oakland, California, in December, 1966, as a militant black nationalist political organization to combat "police brutality," to unite militant black youth, to determine the destiny of black communities, and to educate black people in African history. The political philosophy of the organization was taken from the writings of MAO TSE-TUNG of Communist China and black militant writers.

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The official BPPSD publication "The Black Panther - Black Community News Service" indicates the leadership of the BPPSD advocates the use of guns and guerilla tactics in the violent revolutionary program to end oppression and to oppose the drafting of black men to fight in Vietnam.

A second source advised that in early 1967, SEALE, NEWTON, and their associates carried carbine rifles and holstered pistols in plain view on the streets of Oakland and elsewhere while on "defense patrols."

[REDACTED] was one of the persons arrested by the Sacramento, California Police Department on May 2, 1967, when members of the BPPSD invaded the California State Legislative Assembly in Sacramento while in session, carrying loaded guns to protest restrictions on the carrying of guns.

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A Grand Jury of Alameda County, California, Oakland, California, on November 13, 1967, indicted HUEY PERCY NEWTON on charge of murder of an Oakland, California police officer on October 28, 1967, in Oakland, California.

The first source advised that the headquarters office of the BPPSD at 5624 Grove Street, Oakland, California, is closed and that no membership meetings have been held since August, 1967.

The November 4, 1967, issue of "The Sun Reporter," a San Francisco, California Negro community newspaper, states that a HUEY PERCY NEWTON defense fund has been established and that the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the Congress on Racial Equality (CORE) through the national offices have pledged their complete and continuous support to the defense of HUEY PERCY NEWTON.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 07-27-2006 BY 60309/UC/TAM/DCG/b1

b6
b7CMr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach

F B I

Date: 7/24/68

Transmit the following in PLAINTEXT
(Type in plaintext or code)Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR AND SACS CINCINNATI
NEW YORK
MOBILE
SAN FRANCISCO

b6
b7C

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RM.

SUBJECT, ACCOMPANIED BY [REDACTED] RETURNED TO

WASHINGTON, D. C., TWO FIFTEEN P.M., JULY TWENTYTHREE, LAST,
FROM NEW YORK CITY, VIA EASTERN AIRLINES SHUTTLE ARRIVING AT
NATIONAL AIRPORT. THEY WERE MET BY SNCC ASSOCIATE [REDACTED]
AND WENT TO THEIR RESIDENCE.

b6
b7C

IN EVENING, JULY TWENTYTHREE, LAST, SUBJECT DEPARTED
RESIDENCE WITH [REDACTED] THEY WENT TO JOHN WESLEY
NATIONAL AME ZION CHURCH, FOURTEENTH AND CORCORAN STREETS, N.W.,
WDC, WHERE MEETING OF BLACK UNITED FRONT (BUF) BEING HELD.

b6
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- ② - Bureau
3 - Teletype Unit
2 - WFO

WWH:tjd
(7)

REC-50

100-44610-1812

b6
b7CApproved: [Signature]
Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

JUL 26 - 1968

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via _____
(Priority)

WFO 100-43503

PAGE TWO

ADMINISTRATIVE

LHM FOLLOWS RE BUF MEETING.

FOR INFORMATION RECEIVING OFFICES. P.



ROOM 836 9&D

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Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 7/26/68

Attached relates that Stokely Carmichael and companions have departed Washington, D.C. area for Mobile, Alabama.

Information received from San Francisco Office indicates Carmichael has informed the Black Panther Party (BPP) in Oakland, California, that he will not attend rally there 7/28/68 unless he is given "bread" (money).

Pertinent parts of information received relative to Carmichael's travel has been furnished Inter-Division Information Unit of Department, and Attorney General.

JFM:chs

Wesley
JH

~~SECRET~~

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

DATE: 07-27-2006
CLASSIFIED BY 60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(6)
07-27-2031

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

Date: 7/26/68

Transmit the following in CODE

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE

URGENT
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI, AND SACS ATLANTA, MOBILE, NEW YORK
AND SAN FRANCISCO

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL (RM)

RACIAL MATTER

SUBJECT ACCOMPANIED BY SNCC ASSOCIATE

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING

AND COMMITTEE

INDIVIDUAL IDENTIFIED FROM AIRLINE TICKET AS [REDACTED] DE-

PARTED FRIENDSHIP INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT, MARYLAND, ELEVEN FORTY-
FIVE A. M., JULY TWENTY-SIX, INSTANT, VIA EASTERN AIRLINES

FLIGHT NUMBER ONE FOUR SEVEN ENROUTE TO MOBILE, ALABAMA, WITH
STOPOVER IN ATLANTA. IN ATLANTA SCHEDULED TO CHANGE TO EASTERN
AIRLINES FLIGHT NUMBER THREE SEVEN SEVEN DUE TO ARRIVE IN MOBILE
TWO TEN PM CST.

ADMINISTRATIVE

12 AUG 1 1968

MOBILE COGNIZANT TO COVER SUBJECT PER BUREAU AIRTEL

DECEMBER TWENTY-ONE, SIXTY-SEVEN. FOR INFORMATION, MOBILE, BE

- 2 - Bureau
- 3 - Teletype Unit
- 2 - WFO

WWH:slb
(7)

*Not sent up
later tel sent up
which reported
on mobile activity*

Approved: *[Signature]*
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

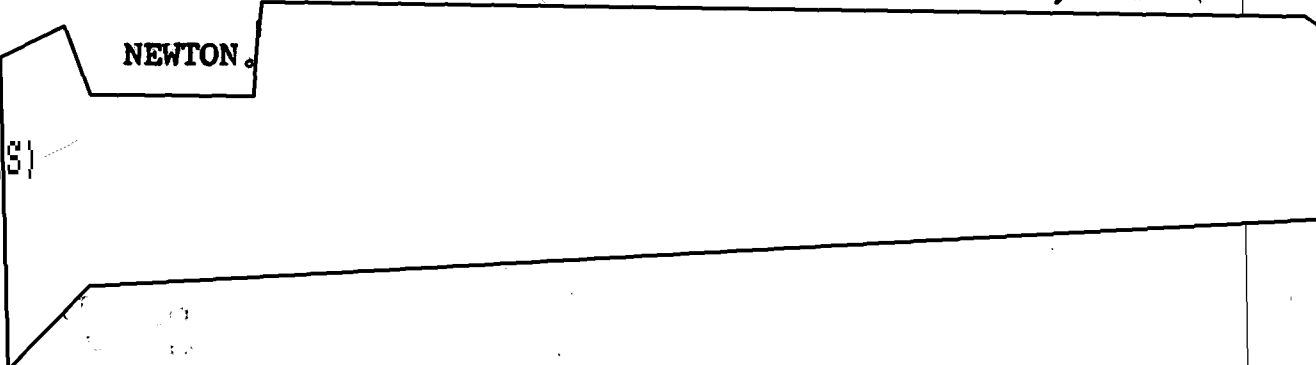
~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

WFO 100-43503

ALERT FOR TRAVEL OF SUBJECT AFTER STAY IN MOBILE. SAN
FRANCISCO ADVISED PREVIOUSLY SUBJECT SCHEDULED TO BE IN
SAN FRANCISCO AREA ON OR ABOUT JULY TWENTY-EIGHT, NEXT,
IN CONNECTION WITH TRIAL OF BLACK PANTHER LEADER, HUEY

NEWTON.



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ROOM 836 9&D

~~SECRET~~

August 1, 1968

REC-39/00-446080-1814

[Redacted]

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Dear [Redacted]

Your letter of July 28th, with enclosure, has been received and the interest which prompted you to write is appreciated.

Regarding your comments concerning Stokely Carmichael, the FBI is strictly an investigative agency of the Federal Government and, as such, does not determine whether prosecutive action will be undertaken in any situation. Such decisions concerning violations of Federal law are within the province of the Attorney General. Voluminous data regarding this individual has been furnished to the Attorney General and you may wish to contact him.

I can assure you, however, the FBI is aware of its responsibilities with respect to the internal security of our country. We will continue to make every effort to carry out our duties with the greatest thoroughness and efficiency.

Sincerely yours,
J. Edgar Hoover

NOTE: Correspondent is not identifiable in Bufiles.

MHB:cao (3)

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

TRUE COPY

Balt. County, Md.

Sunday, July 28 - 1968

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Stokely Carmichael

With all due respects, sir, for you & your position as head of the country's law enforcement agency, the F.B.I. - Can you please tell me truthfully, why, just why, this revolutionary, this traitor, this anarchist, this thing, is not imprisoned? As a loyal American, a former soldier, a government employee, and just plain John ^Q citizen & taxpayer, what in the hell, may I ask, is going on?

Do you people have to wait until the revolution this man urges, actually happens? Do thousands have to die & suffer before you can take action. I admit that I am highly incensed. What decent person wouldn't be? Can't law & order prevail anymore? In the name of God, what goes on? I am concerned for this country believe me. Please tell me the truth, on why this man Carmichael is still walking around free.

Respectfully

/s/



b7C
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K
ENCLOSURE

REC-39

100-446080-1814

2 AUG 2 1968

17C
7-31-68

awb
8-1-68
MHB: mao
mhb

Shank

Baltimore County, Md. Sunday, July 28-1968

Dear Mr. Hoover:

With all due respects, sir, for
you + your position as head of
the country's law enforcement agency,
the F.B.I. - Can you please tell
me truthfully, why, just why,
this revolutionary, this traitor,
this anarchist, this thing, is
not imprisoned? As a loyal
American, a former soldier,
a government employee, and
just plain John A. citizen
& taxpayer, what in the hell
may I ask, is going on?

Do you people have to (over)

standing outside an Afro-Ameri-
can school in the Mobile's pre-
dominantly Negro North Side.
About twenty white persons at-
tended.

"Black people are not in a
revolution here (in the United
States), it hasn't started yet,"
Carmichael said. "We are only
at the beginning of a revolution
- the armed stage."

CORRESPONDENCE →

1 TC
7-31-68
ers
ack
8-1-68
MHB:caop
mmf

100-446080-1814
ENCLOSURE

2.) wait until the revolution
this man urges, actually
happens? Do thousands have
to die & suffer before you
can take action. I admit
that I am highly incensed.
What decent person wouldn't
be? Can't law & order prevail
anymore? In the name of
God, what goes on? I am
concerned for this country
believe me. Please tell me
the truth, on why this man
Carmichael is still walking
around free. Respectfully

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 07-27-2006 BY 60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

Stokely Urges Guerrilla War

Mobile, Ala. (AP)—Black power advocate Stokely Carmichael said Friday night that Negroes should wage guerrilla warfare to cause maximum damage with a minimum loss of black lives.

At a rally sponsored by the Neighborhood Organized Workers, N.O.W., Carmichael shouted, "Don't pray for power, don't beg for power, take it with a gun barrel."

The remark received resounding applause from the estimated 600 persons packed into and standing outside an Afro-American school in the Mobile's predominantly Negro North Side. About twenty white persons attended.

"Black people are not in a revolution here (in the United States), it hasn't started yet," Carmichael said. "We are only at the beginning of a revolution—the armed stage."

100-446080-1814
ENCLOSURE

17C
7-31-68
lis
ack
8-1-68
MHB: cao
mmf

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 07-27-2006 BY 60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____b6
b7C

F B I

Date: 7/29/68

Transmit the following in _____

CODED

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE

URGENT

(Priority)

b6
b7C

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI AND SACS ATLANTA
MOBILE
NEW YORK AND
SAN FRANCISCO

b6
b7C

FROM: SAC, WFO

STOKELY CARMICHAEL. RM

SUBJECT ARRIVED WDC VIA EASTERN AIRLINES FLIGHT NUMBER
ONE FOUR SIX AT TWO TWENTY P.M. AT NATIONAL AIRPORT JULY
TWENTY EIGHT LAST. HE WAS ACCOMPANIED BY [REDACTED] THEY
DEPARTED NATIONAL AIRPORT BY CAB AND WENT TO SUBJECT'S
RESIDENCE.

b6
b7C

- (2) - Bureau
3 - Teletype Unit
2 - WFO

WWH:bah
(7)TELETYPE

ROOM 836 9&D

b6
b7C

REC-9

22 AUG 1, 1968

Approved: [Signature]
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 07-27-2006 BY 60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

b6
b7CMr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____

FBI

Date: 7/30/68

Transmit the following in PLAINTEXT
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____ URGENT _____
(Priority)b6
b7C

Mr. Sullivan _____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

b6
b7C

FROM: SAC, WFO

STOKELY CARMICHAEL. RM.

RE WFO TELETYPE JULY TWENTY NINE LAST.

SUBJECT NOT OBSERVED TO DEPART RESIDENCE JULY TWENTY
NINE LAST. HOWEVER, [REDACTED] OBSERVED
SPORADICALLY DURING DAY AT RESIDENCE AND CARMICHAEL BELIEVED
BY SAS TO BE THERE ALSO.

b6
b7C

SOURCE REPORTED NO PERTINENT INFORMATION OR TRAVEL DATA
REGARDING SUBJECT ON JULY TWENTY NINE.

ADMINISTRATIVE

SOURCES ARE [REDACTED]

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b6
b7C
b7D

REC-9

100-446080-1810
22 AUG 1 1968(4) - Bureau
1 - WFO

WWH:bah

b6
b7C

ROD

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

82 AUG 1 1968

BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
PARTMENT OF JUSTICE
INICATION SECTION

JUL 28 1968

b6
b7C

FBI WASH DC*

TELETYPE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 07-27-2006 BY 60309/UC/TAM/DCG/bls

FBI ATLANTA

2:27 PM URGENT 7/28/68 LBN

TO DIRECTOR AND WFO

FROM ATLANTA (100-6812)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL IS-M

REC 45

SUBJECT, TRAVELING IN PARTY OF THREE USING NAMES OF [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] ARRIVED ATLANTA VIA EASTERN AIRLINES

(EAL) FLIGHT NUMBER THREE NINE ZERO FROM MOBILE AT NINE ZERO SIX AM
JULY TWENTYEIGHT INSTANT. ONE TRAVELING COMPANION USING NAME [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] MADE REVERSATION ON DELTA FLIGHT EIGHT NINE SEVEN TO SAN FRAN-
CISCO DEPARTING ATLANTA TWELVE TEN PM JULY TWENTYEIGHT INSTANT.

GA. WASH. D.C. OTHER TRAVELING COMPANION MADE REVERSATION IN NAME OF [REDACTED]

AND [REDACTED] FOR SUBJECT AND HIMSELF DEPARTING ATLANTA EAL
FLIGHT ONE FOUR SIX AT TWELVE FIFTY PM ARRIVING WASHINGTON NATIONAL
AIRPORT TWO ELEVEN PM JULY TWENTYEIGHT INSTANT. 16 AUG 1 1968

ABOVE THREE INDIVIDUALS MEET [REDACTED] NAACP WHO RENTED
AUTO AND CARRIED ABOVE THREE INDIVIDUALS TO PASCHAL'S MOTOR LODGE
ON HUNTER ST. WHERE THEY HAD BREAKFAST. AT ELEVEN TWENTY AM ABOVE
THREE SUBJECT'S EXCORTEED BACK TO ATLANTA AIRPORT BY [REDACTED]
NEGRO ATLANTA ATTORNEY.

COPY SENT AG AND IDIU
7/28/68 ECP/bls

61 AUG 23 1968 TELETYPE TO:
57 AUG 3 1968 WFO

Mr. Sullivan

b6
b7C

b6
b7C

7/27/68
b6
b7C

PAGE TWO

[REDACTED] DEPARTED ATLANTA AS PREVIOUSLY MENTIONED AND [REDACTED]
AND [REDACTED] OBSERVED BOARDING EAL FLIGHT ONE FOUR SIX AT
TWELVE FIFTY PM.

b6
b7C

LHM FOLLOWS.

AIRMAIL COPIES TO SAN FRANCISCO AND MOBILE.

END.

GJM

FBI WASH DC*

*WFO advised by AT telecall, S&F
& have subject*

T

U

ATTENTION

The following documents appearing in FBI files have been reviewed under the provisions of The Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) (Title 5, United States Code, Section 552); Privacy Act of 1974 (PA) (Title 5, United States Code, Section 552a); and/or Litigation.

☐ FOIA/PA☐ Litigation☐ Executive Order Applied

Requester: _____

Subject: _____

Computer or Case Identification Number: _____

Title of Case: _____ Section _____

* File _____

Serials Reviewed: _____

Release Location: *File _____ Section _____

b2

This file section has been scanned into the FOIPA Document Processing System (FDPS) prior to National Security Classification review. Please see the documents located in the FDPS for current classification action, if warranted. Direct inquiries about the FDPS to RIDS Service Request Unit,

File Number: 100-HQ-446080 Section 39Serial(s) Reviewed: ALL

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: 983,317

File Number: _____ Section _____

Serial(s) Reviewed: _____

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: _____

File Number: _____ Section _____

Serial(s) Reviewed: _____

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: _____

THIS FORM IS TO BE MAINTAINED AS THE TOP SERIAL OF THE FILE, BUT NOT SERIALIZED.

SCANNED BY DocLab (RMD)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-09-2005 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

ATTENTION

983317

DATE: 8-1-05

DO NOT REMOVE FROM FILE

LAST SERIAL: 1818

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE WASHINGTON FIELD	OFFICE OF ORIGIN WASHINGTON FIELD	DATE 7/30/68	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 1/4/68 - 7/28/68
TITLE OF CASE CHANGED STOKELY CARMICHAEL, aka V. Welch "Mr. Webster" V. Welcher A. Kuttati V. Walcher J. Walsher Bill Hall		REPORT MADE BY SA [redacted] b7C	TYPED BY njs
		CHARACTER OF CASE RM - SNCC - SEDITION	

^{p18} Title marked "Changed" to include aliases, V. WELCH, ^{p75}
^{p151} "Mr. WEBSTER", V. WELCHER, A. KUTTATI, V. WALCHER, J. WALSHER
 and BILL HALL, used by subject as set forth in instant report.

^{b7C} REFERENCE: Report of SA [redacted] dated 3/13/68, at
 Atlanta.

- P -

b2

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED

CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES

ACQUIT-
TALS

CASE HAS BEEN:

PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐ YES ☐ NO
 PENDING PROSECUTION
 OVER SIX MONTHS ☐ YES ☐ NO

APPROVED

SPECIAL AGENT
IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

COPIES MADE:

- 5 - Bureau (100-446080)
 - 1 - USA, Washington, D. C.
 - 1 - U. S. Secret Service, WDC
 - 1 - NISO, Washington, D. C.
 - 1 - OSI, Washington, D. C.
 - 2 - Washington Field (100-43503)
- (Copy Count Continued on Page B)

100-446080-1818 MCT-33

15 AUG 1968

REC-63

EX 110

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Notations

Agency	RAO: IDEL CRD ISD-Attn:	
Request Recd.	Crim - Attn:	SS, ACSI, OSI, (By Liaison)
Date Fwd.	8/9/68	STATE
How Fwd.	AS	
By	8/14/68	A

6 Xerox copies of report 806 980

WFO 100-43503

(Copy count continued)

- 1 - 116th MIG, Washington, D. C.
- 2 - Atlanta (100-6812) (RM)
- 2 - Baltimore (100-24220) (RM)
- 2 - Birmingham (157-2546) (RM)
- 2 - Boston (157-347) (RM)
- 2 - Chicago (157-1279) (RM)
- 2 - Cincinnati (100-16858) (RM)
- 2 - Detroit (100-34122) (RM)
- 2 - Indianapolis (100-15504) (RM)
- 2 - Los Angeles (100-68783) (RM)
- 2 - Mobile (100-1858) (RM)
- 2 - New York (100-153751) (RM)
- 2 - Newark (100-49533) (RM)
- 2 - Richmond (100-10532) (RM)
- 2 - San Francisco (157-721) (RM)

WFO 100-43503

ADMINISTRATIVE

This report carries subject as ARMED AND DANGEROUS, since he is known to have possessed firearms in the past and in view of the national posture of SNCC advocating a policy of violence in racial matters. He is maintained on both the Security Index and the Agitator Index of WFO.

INFORMANTS:

Identity of Source

File Where Located

[Redacted]

100-43503 and [Redacted]

100-43503

100-43503 and [Redacted]

100-43503

100-43503

[Redacted]

[Redacted] (by request)

100-43503

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted] and 100-43503

[Redacted]

[Redacted] and 100-43503

[Redacted]

105-87831 and 100-43503

[Redacted]

157-1426

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b7D

WFO 100-43503

LEADS:

ALL OFFICES RECEIVING COPIES OF INSTANT REPORT.

(1). Review investigative data available and submit current report where appropriate setting forth particularly information of an evidentiary nature.

(2). Offices continue to cover subject's activities per Bureau airtel 12/21/67.

WASHINGTON FIELD

AT WASHINGTON, D. C. Will continue to follow and report pertinent activities of subject.

1. ☒ Subject's name is included in the Security Index.
2. ☒ The data appearing on the Security Index card are current.
3. ☐ Changes on the Security Index card are necessary and Form FD-122 has been submitted to the Bureau.
4. ☒ A suitable photograph ☒ is ☐ is not available.
Date photograph was taken 1/5/67.
5. ☐ Subject is employed in a key facility and _____ is charged with security responsibility. Interested agencies are _____.
6. ☒ This report is classified Confidential because
(state reason) data reported by confidential informants
_____ could reasonably result in
identification of informants of continuing value and
compromise their future effectiveness.
7. ☐ Subject previously interviewed (dates) _____.
- ☒ Subject was not reinterviewed because (state reason)
CARMICHAEL has over a period of time displayed an attitude of defiance and indifference to established law and order. He refers to white people as "honkys" and has been reported as being of a volatile and unpredictable nature. If interviewed he could well attempt to create an incident designed to embarrass the U.S. Government and embellish his importance in the Black Community. (Continued)
8. ☐ This case no longer meets the Security Index criteria and a letter has been directed to the Bureau recommending cancellation of the Security Index card.
9. ☒ This case has been re-evaluated in the light of the Security Index criteria and it continues to fall within such criteria because (state reason) Subject has demonstrated that he is an extremist in the racial field and has a propensity for violence. As a racial militant, he has repeatedly advocated violence and urged Negroes to get arms. In addition, he is an activist in the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), an organization advocating racial violence in racial matters.
10. ☒ Subject's SI card ☐ is ☒ is not tabbed Detcom.
☐ Subject's activities warrant Detcom tabbing because (state reasons)

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E*

COVER PAGE

WFO 100-43503

(Continued)

7. Further, there is under consideration, legal action against CARMICHAEL involving Inciting To Riot and Sedition.

E*(Continued)
COVER PAGE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:

1 - USA, Washington, D. C.
1 - U. S. Secret Service, Washington, D.C.
1 - NISO, Washington, D. C.
1 - OSI, Washington, D. C.
1 - 116th MIG, Washington, D. C.

Report of:

b7C

SA [REDACTED]

Office: Washington, D. C.

Date:

7/30/68

Field Office File #:

100-43503

Bureau File #: 100-446080

Title:

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg
ON 11-09-2005

983317

Character:

RACIAL MATTERS - STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING
COMMITTEE - SEDITION

Synopsis:

CARMICHAEL established residence, Washington, D. C., on January 4, 1968, and continued affiliation with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) as an "organizer," using Washington, D. C., SNCC Office as headquarters. CARMICHAEL sponsored establishment of Black United Front (BUF), Washington, D. C. (WDC), January 9, 1968, an organization of representatives of black organizations and individual memberships to effect unity among black people. CARMICHAEL was appointed temporary chairman of the BUF. As an activist in SNCC and the BUF, he has participated in various activities in those organizations as well as appearing to act independently. CARMICHAEL has made speeches and public appearances condemning the United States and its history, particularly about the race question, the war in Vietnam, public officials and racial problems. CARMICHAEL has castigated the white race referring to them as "honkies," and reportedly urged Negroes to get guns and arm themselves. CARMICHAEL has accused the United States and white Americans with racial prejudice, speaking often of violence in connection therewith and alleging it to be inevitable. CARMICHAEL participated in racial disturbances in WDC following the assassination of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., during April, 1968. [REDACTED]

b7C

[REDACTED] In connection with activities, CARMICHAEL has traveled to other United States cities since establishing residence WDC. CARMICHAEL CONSIDERED ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

- P -

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TABLE OF CONTENTS

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B. Affiliation with Black United Front (BUF).10	
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WFO 100-43503

DETAILS: AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

I. BACKGROUND

A. Employment and Residence

CARMICHAEL is affiliated with the Washington, D. C., office of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), 2208 14th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., as an "organizer," with national headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia. Prior to April, 1968, the Washington, D. C., office of SNCC was located at 1234 U Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. [REDACTED]

b7C
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[REDACTED] CARMICHAEL's duties at SNCC are not specifically defined. He appears to act on his own volition and does not appear to take orders from any specific SNCC official, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Similarly, the duties of SNCC are not clearly defined and the term "SNCC" representing Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee is no longer descriptively accurate as there are few actual legitimate students left in the organization.

CARMICHAEL is also affiliated with the Black United Front (BUF) with temporary offices at 900 Florida Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C., as temporary chairman. The office functions and meetings of the BUF were carried out previously utilizing SNCC headquarters, the premises of the New School for Afro-American Thought, and other premises including churches and private residences made available to the BUF. CARMICHAEL presides over general meetings of the BUF, attends meetings of the Steering Committee and handles other administrative functions.

CARMICHAEL is not known to be gainfully employed otherwise. He is not known to receive any salary of significant proportion from SNCC or the BUF.

b2 [REDACTED]

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WFO 100-43503

CARMICHAEL resides with his wife, [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] Washington, D. C. He previously resided while unmarried at 2200 12th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., a residence he acquired on January 4, 1968, when he came to Washington, D. C., to live.

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[REDACTED]
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B. Record Checks

The files of the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), Washington, D.C. (WDC), disclosed STOKELY CARMICHAEL was born June 29, 1941, at Port of Spain, Trinidad, British West Indies. His father, ADOLPHUS STANDIFORD CARMICHAEL, now deceased, was born in Port of Spain, Trinidad, British West Indies (BWI) on February 1, 1913. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b7C

[REDACTED] ADOLPHUS STANDIFORD CARMICHAEL entered the United States at New York, New York, on July 15, 1945, as a transient to the BWI and on March 28, 1951, an order by the Assistant Commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service that his deportation as an alien who had remained for a longer period than authorized be suspended and that his case be referred to Congress. The suspension was based on a finding of economic detriment to his lawful resident alien wife, should he be deported. A Concurrent Resolution of Congress, CR-29892, approved the action. A record of entry for permanent residence, retroactive to July 16, 1946, was created on January 28, 1952.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL entered the United States for permanent residence on June 15, 1952, and was destined to his father. STOKELY CARMICHAEL automatically became a citizen of the United States on April 27, 1953, the date of the naturalization of his second parent under provisions of Section 321 (a) of the Immigration and Naturalization Act.

WFO 100-43503

CARMICHAEL applied for a derivative certificate of citizenship and after being interviewed with his parents, was issued Certificate A338082 on April 17, 1958, by Immigration and Naturalization Service at New York, New York.

The files of the United States INS, 20 West Broadway, New York City, [redacted] U. S. Immigration and Naturalization Service file number [redacted]

[redacted]

The records of the District of Columbia Court of General Sessions, WDC, disclosed that STOKELY CARMICHAEL [redacted] [redacted] filed an application for a marriage license on April 22, 1968. In applying for the license CARMICHAEL furnished information he was a resident of WDC, twenty-six years of age, of the "black" race and had no previous marriages. [redacted]

[redacted]

WFO 100-43503

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[REDACTED]

The records of the Bergen County Clerk's Office,
Hackensack, New Jersey, [REDACTED]

b7C

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

b7C

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

The records of the Bergen County Clerk's Office
further disclosed [REDACTED]

b7C

[REDACTED]

b7C

[REDACTED]

b7C

[REDACTED]

b7C

[REDACTED]

b7D

[REDACTED] New Jersey, which
covers Englewood, New Jersey, advised that the records of
that agency did not disclose a record for [REDACTED]

WFO 100-43503

C. Description

STOKELY CARMICHAEL is further described as follows:

Name:	STOKELY CARMICHAEL
Date and Place of Birth:	June 29, 1941, Port of Spain, Trinidad, British West Indies.
Naturalization:	Naturalized a United States citizen, April 27, 1953, Certificate Number A 338082
Race:	Negro
Sex:	Male
Height:	6 feet 1 inch
Weight:	160 - 170 pounds
Eyes:	Brown
Hair:	Black
Build:	Medium
Complexion:	Medium Brown
Scars and Marks:	1 inch scar under chin
Marital Status:	Married;
Education:	Graduated from Bronx High School of Science, Bronx, New York, June, 1960 Graduated from Howard University, Washington, D.C., June 5, 1964, receiving B. A. degree in Philosophy.
Current Residence:	5015 16th Street, N.W., WDC.
Present Employment:	"Organizer" SNCC, 2208 14th Street, N.W., WDC.
Parents:	ADOLPHUS STANDIFORD CARMICHAEL, father (deceased)

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FBI Number:

853121D

II. ORGANIZATION AFFILIATION

A. Affiliation with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

CARMICHAEL was previously the national chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), 1966-1967, with headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia. He was replaced by H. RAP BROWN as national chairman in May, 1967. He then did "organizing" work for SNCC in Lowndes County, Alabama. From July, 1967, to December, 1967, he visited Cuba, North Vietnam, and other Communist countries, in addition to other Asian countries, Europe, Africa and the Middle East. During these visits, according to news accounts, by exploiting the race issue in the United States, he made numerous speeches and comments highly inflammatory and critical of the United States, including statements against the war in Vietnam. He met numerous Communist officials in the countries visited, including Cuban Premier FIDEL CASTRO. He returned to the United States in December, 1967, at John F. Kennedy International Airport, New York City.

In January, 1968, CARMICHAEL established residence in Washington, D. C. Since his arrival in Washington, D. C., he has continued an active affiliation with SNCC on a local and national level.



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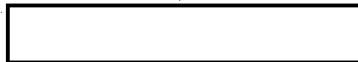
A characterization of SNCC is set forth hereinafter in the Appendix.

"The Evening Star," a Washington, D. C., daily newspaper reported in an article, dated December 12, 1967, that STOKELY CARMICHAEL returned to the United States on December 11, 1967, and was met by U. S. Marshals who confiscated his passport for traveling to Communist countries without authorization. During his trip, which began July, 1967, CARMICHAEL reportedly visited Czechoslovakia, Sweden, France, England, Tanzania, Egypt, Algeria, Spain, Cuba, Guinea, and

North Vietnam. CARMICHAEL's passport was revoked according to U. S. Government spokesmen because he violated a section of the U. S. Code forbidding unauthorized travel to Cuba, North Vietnam, North Korea, Communist China, and Syria.

B. Affiliation with the Black United Front

In addition to being active in the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), CARMICHAEL is also affiliated with the Black United Front (BUF), an organization established under his sponsorship since taking up residence in Washington, D. C.



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A characterization of the BUF is set forth hereinafter in the Appendix.

III. ACTIVITIES

The following includes pertinent activities of CARMICHAEL from January 4, 1968, to July 1, 1968.

In connection with and in addition to being active in SNCC and the BUF, CARMICHAEL has continued to make statements as well as speeches of an inflammatory nature about the United States and its history, especially the race question, public officials, the war in Vietnam, and current racial problems. He has castigated the "white race," referring to them as "honkies," and has repeatedly urged Negroes to get guns and arm themselves. He has repeatedly accused the United States and white Americans of racial prejudice. He has spoken of violence frequently in discussing the racial question, alleging it to be inevitable. In connection with CARMICHAEL's activities and statements, he has traveled to various parts of the U. S. while using Washington, D. C., apparently as a base of operation.



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According to an article appearing in "The Evening Star," dated December 15, 1967, CARMICHAEL stated that while

WFO 100-43503

on a visit to Howard University, WDC, that he was planning to make Washington his home. He reportedly stated to students present that he would return in two or three weeks to live and commented, "I'm coming back to Washington to stay, baby. This is our town, our town." He stated during the visit that his plans were indefinite. He added "The whole world is moving against the honkie."

On January 4, 1968, Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) observed CARMICHAEL arrive in WDC in a 1967 blue Dodge sedan, bearing New York license

[redacted] The vehicle was determined to be registered to [redacted]

[redacted] He

was accompanied by [redacted]

[redacted] as well as three other unidentified Negro males who returned to New York City. Upon arrival, Special Agents observed CARMICHAEL to unload luggage into SNCC headquarters then located at 1234 U Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. Subsequently that date he moved the luggage to 2200 12th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., where he established residence.

Subsequent to his arrival in WDC on January 4, 1968, he has been observed at the headquarters of SNCC by Special Agents of the FBI on numerous occasions. This includes the current location of SNCC, 2208 14th Street, N. W., as well as the former location, 1234 U Street, N. W., WDC. He has also been observed on numerous occasions at the temporary headquarters of the BUF, 900 Florida Avenue, N. W., WDC. He has also been observed at his current residence 5015 16th Street, N. W., WDC, as well as his former residence, 2200 12th Street, N. W., WDC.

The "Washington Post and Times Herald," a daily WDC newspaper, in its issue of January 9, 1968, reported that STOKELY CARMICHAEL would hold a meeting of local Negro leaders on January 9, 1968, at the New School for Afro-American Thought, 2208 14th Street, N. W., WDC. According to the news account, CARMICHAEL stated the purpose of the meeting was to unite Negro organizations in WDC into a solid, unified Black Front in connection with civil rights.

On January 9, 1968.

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[redacted] advised that he attended the above-described meeting at the New School for Afro-American Thought held on January 9, 1968. He advised the meeting commenced at approximately 9:20 p. m. after the press and other individuals not invited to attend the meeting were excluded. There were approximately twenty individuals present at the meeting representing civil rights organizations and about 80 other persons who were vouched for by officials of the New School for Afro-American Thought.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL was the chairman of the meeting who outlined the purpose of the meeting which was to formulate an organization to unite the black community in the WDC area. CARMICHAEL stated at the outset of the meeting he desired the meeting to be an orderly one with no name calling, bickering or in-fighting. He stated that further meetings were contemplated; the purpose of which would be to implement the plans of the new organization and these meetings would be scheduled in the future.

Following CARMICHAEL's introductory remarks, various comments were made by other individuals present. The substance of the remarks by the other individuals dealt with the problems involved in forming a United Black Front as proposed by CARMICHAEL. Questions were raised regarding the role each individual civil rights organization would play in the Black Front and who would be chosen and how they would be chosen to run the new organization. Comments were also made as to whether the represented civil rights organizations would be willing to participate in the BUF.

During the meeting a Steering Committee was formed from nominations from the floor whose specific task was to check with their own organizations to determine their willingness to participate in the new organization.

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During the meeting on January 9, 1968, mentioned above, minutes of what had transpired were prepared. According to the minutes, CARMICHAEL stated at the outset that the object of the meeting was to unite all organizations into a united front. In the united front anyone aside from the militants and revolutionaries would retain their own ideology. CARMICHAEL stated that out of necessity the militants and revolutionaries must be willing to forego their own ideologies and let collective conservative ideology dominate at the present.

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He stated everyone must be clear about the fact that without militants and revolutionaries in the racial movement, there would be no poverty programs. The poverty programs need the militants and revolutionaries just as the militants and revolutionaries need the conservatives. Without one there is no other. CARMICHAEL then stated that one of the reasons a united front is needed is because it tends to act as an umbrella for the organizations within; if the police move against one who is in a united front, the others will react. In this front they want to pull together the black bourgeois and the black militant. He stated that they should not waste their energies fighting each other but come together. CARMICHAEL then stated a second reason for the united front is to show the black community one positive aspect of black people unifying their forces; that they must show their own people that on this level they are talking about organizing for the right to live as human beings with self-determination. He added that the white man has pitted Negroes always against each other and this has kept them continuously divided. He stated that when one black man is against another, he has to be stopped at any cost. He added that if they were united they could stand together in resistance of a new proposed anti-crime law; adding that they could begin to move in force against the racist influences and stop the "police brutality" that exists.

Before finishing CARMICHAEL emphasized that he did not want organizations attacking each other and that they merely state what the organization planned to do or what the organization might be pointing out; if one group said it is for integration and there is opposition, there should not be any arguments.

A discussion was held about the establishment of the new organization, and it was agreed that the past should be forgotten in respect to individuals and organizations fighting each other; that the first step in forming the united front was trust in each other.

Other comments were made by CARMICHAEL which were that the pressure of the united front would force the black

businessman to support the black community. When CARMICHAEL was asked how he envisioned the united front with respect to structure and so forth he replied by stating that he did not intend to impose his ideology on the group but rather sought their views. Following the above discussion CARMICHAEL again spoke at length. He stated that their major enemy is white America, its organization is racist, that they could not fight the real enemy if they are fighting each other. He stated the white manifestations of power in black communities are the enemies; that the black man who is against them, has been mesmerized by the white man. He stated that this particular black man had to be led and shown the right way. He added that among those present at the meeting were many individuals representing different organizations; that there were four or five organizations geared toward the cultural aspect of black people; that the one that gets the most following will move to control.

Included in the discussion of whether a united front should be established CARMICHAEL said that everyone present at the meeting felt that what they were doing was worth doing and that what they must be concerned about are the masses of black people who were not present. Further that if a united front is acceptable they will want a collective ideology, black in structure to propagate as they become more established. A Steering Committee was established to call meetings, plan the agenda, issue statements and guide the organization toward a permanent structure. STOKELY CARMICHAEL was made temporary chairman of the Steering Committee.

Before the meeting adjourned, CARMICHAEL requested every organization represented that wanted to be included in the Black United Front to mail a prospectus and program about what it had been doing to the SNCC headquarters, 1234 U Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. He stated that by February 9, 1968, all individuals and organizations wishing to join the Black United Front must have so indicated.

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An article appearing in the "Washington Post and Times Herald," dated January 11, 1968, reported leaders of

Negro groups in Washington, D. C., had formed a "Black United Front which would begin a massive campaign to organize all Negroes in the city." The coalition was "prodded" into being by civil rights activist STOKELY CARMICHAEL at a meeting held on the night of January 9, 1968. The article reported that as details of the proceedings seeped out, CARMICHAEL made it clear to the 100 or so who attended - all Negroes - that they and their organizations represented but a tiny fraction of the city's Negroes and that they must get together first then organize all the city's black people to preserve the cause of advancing civil rights. The article reported a diverse group of leaders were called together ranging from his militant SNCC to the Urban League and the NAACP. The article also reported CARMICHAEL who arrived in Washington, D. C., the previous week almost began immediately to assemble the meeting. In addition, other SNCC leaders reportedly had been gathering in Washington during the past few months to get ready for the organizing effort. CARMICHAEL according to the article, reported "it was a beautiful meeting--- we were really together."

The "Washington Afro-American," a Washington, D. C., semi-weekly publication, dated January 13, 1968, reported that STOKELY CARMICHAEL in his first public statement about his two week trip to North Vietnam told a small group before his "black unity" meeting that he was impressed by the great concern the North Vietnamese had for black people in the U. S. "We are upset about what the whites are doing to your people," CARMICHAEL quoted them as saying. "Even amidst the bombing and wanton murder, they were concerned with oppressed peoples around the world," CARMICHAEL said. The article stated CARMICHAEL gave his impressions of North Vietnam at the New School for Afro-American Thought before he convened the meeting of the "Black United Front," a coalition of the city's black leaders. He also stated that he was impressed by the organization, the willingness to fight and the optimism of the North Vietnamese. He stated that everywhere in Vietnam, everyone is organized doing something. "They work close to the earth. It is said that the poor can never be crushed because they work close to the earth." He emphasized the ability of the North Vietnamese to combine

modern techonology with their own type of medicine. He said they could cure bomb victims within a period of two months using their hybrid form of medicine. "In Vietnam, you never see death," said CARMICHAEL passionately. "With the North Vietnamese, you see life," he said. He said he was impressed by the efficiency of the North Vietnamese in rebuilding a hospital in an area he was visiting.

[redacted] advised a meeting of the Steering Committee of the BUF was held [redacted]

[redacted] Washington, D. C., which was attended by STOKELY CARMICHAEL along with about ten members of the BUF Steering Committee. A discussion was held during the meeting concerning the possibility of creating a 21 member board to run the BUF organization; the creation of a rotating organizational chairman to serve for a one month duration. In addition to this, a discussion was held regarding whether individuals without organizational attachment should be allowed to participate and belong to the BUF. The above matter was not settled; however, it was agreed that if such membership was permitted these individuals could not hold executive positions.

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Radio station WOL, Washington, D. C., on its program, "Speak up," moderated by Dr. DAVID EATON, had as its guests STOKELY CARMICHAEL, LESTER MC KINNIE, Washington Director of SNCC, and COURTLAND COX of SNCC. The program was on the air from 11:00 p. m., Sunday evening, January 14, 1968, to 1:00 a. m., Monday morning, January 15, 1968.

Dr. EATON began the program with a brief interview of his guests, with emphasis on how they became acquainted with each other and how they became involved in the civil rights movement. The questions and answers then began. The following is a verbatim transcript of the comments of CARMICHAEL in response to questions asked him:

EATON:

Listening audience the phone number is 462-8150. And tonight we're interviewing Mr. Stokely Carmichael, Mr. Lester McKinney and Mr. Cortland Cox. Let me throw this question to you, all of you have in common, being at Howard University and on this program we have had several of the Professors who have been kicked out of Howard and one of the student, student at law school. What was his name? Green I think and now he is at Yale. Let me ask you this question? What help if any, in formulating your opinions about life, what was some of your more positive impressions of Howard University? Or what is your critique, that's a better idea of Howard University. How would you answer that?

CARMICHAEL:

Well, I think it is changing a little at Howard University, my biggest problem at Howard University is that it was trying too much imitate white society. I mean all of its criterion came all from white society. It was so caught up in imitating white society, it never took time to look at their own people, their own culture. I mean they just never really questioned things. They don't today, I mean they talk about education. It is crystal clear to me, education means being able to fit into your community. And Howard University is incapable of doing that, I mean the students who attend Howard University can't even mix who surround their very community. They got to have police dogs to fight what they call block boys, and that's just absurd to me, because that's the same people, same black people, flesh of the same flesh and blood of the same blood. And if Howard University couldn't prepare me to help live in that community or change that community, then that education was absolutely wasted. I think that more than anything else (garbled) with Howard, I mean I

I am not even going into the petty nonsense of the administration, they are trying to be so white and the petty nonsense of some faculty members. The whole institution just in its attempt to imitate lock-stock and barrel, white society and to make us white. I think what caused to rebel, cause were all first generation college, you know our parents didn't go to college, they didn't even finish high school. And if we didn't get scholarships, we wouldn't be able to go to college.

EATON: You got a good point, let me put it this way. You say, it is not only true of Howard, I don't think also, the whole educational system.

CARMICHAEL: Right.

EATON: But isn't it natural if the black man finds himself the minority, the largest minority in a seas of whiteness or the white majority. Is it not natural to have this type of imitation? What is your feeling about that?

CARMICHAEL: Man, I just want to pick up on that. I think that's a line the Honkies just use, you know telling us that we're not any relationship to Africa, man that's not true. First of all for black people the question of a community is not geography it is a question of color, that happens to be a fact, I mean you go in this country, wherever you go, if your black you're going to the same community, it doesn't make a difference where its located, if its in Washington, D. C., if its in Harlem, if its in Southside Chicago, if its in Watts in Los Angeles, wherever the brothers are thats naturally where you're going to be. And the same thing is true outside of the country, the same is true for example in the West Indies, the same thing is true in Africa. Well now the white folks got to say that nonsense because look what they've done to us. They have scattered us all over the Western

society because they felt like it. They came to Africa they took us, they dropped some of us in the West Indies, they dropped some of us in Cuba, they dropped some of us in Brazil, they dropped some of us in Columbia, in Peru, in Panama, in Santa Domingo, in Puerto Rico, in the United States, and they just scattered us as their will, I mean we're 900 million strong in the world today and if the black man ever recognized that he was 900 million strong in the world today and recognized that we're flesh of the same flesh and blood of the same blood because we are...

EATON: He'd probably faint.

CARMICHAEL: No, he wouldn't faint, the Honkie would faint. If the black man recognized that the Honkie would faint.

EATON: Okay, lets take a few calls, the number is 462-8150, and we're having a informal discussion here tonight with Mr. Stokely Carmichael, Mr. Lester McKinnie and Mr. Courtland Cox. If you care to join it they are willing to answer any questions that you put to them other than those they rule out of bounds and we decided that when we went on the air. Lets take a couple of calls, gentlemen. WOL speak-up please.

CALLER: Alright, well may I just say you have such lovely participants on there I would love to hear them talk much more to the community, you know, rather than asking so many questions at first. And I agree with these gentlemen. I just wish they could give us a better education, black people, I'm not concerned about what white people think about us. I think if we could do one of these things to more educate the black people that they are black and what they are, I would appreciate any comment anybody has about that. We're going to waste our time trying

to teach the white man that we're black and we're Africans we can forget it because its going to take too long.

EATON: OK. Thanks very much. Any of you care to react to that?

CARMICHAEL: Let me just pick up on that because I think a point that the lady I think the point that the sister made was very important. Because every time black people move in this country the first thing they decide is what is the white man going to say about this.

COX (?): You're right.

CARMICHAEL: Yeah. And we have to change our entire way of thinking. We must begin to say first our people, first our people, we are concerned with what is good for our people, and later for anybody else.

CALLER: Stokely at one of your meetings, you know, I was there and you said that ah...never knock your brother or never knock your brother's organization. There's another organization (around)....in the (), you know. But suppose your brother knocked you, you know, knowing its gonna hurt you, you know, what actions should he take behind that?

CARMICHAEL: OK, now understand this, we gotta understand this its very, very important. Look I'm gonna tell you something brother if we don't understand it all of us are gonna be wasted. Now dig, if a brother attacks another brother and the other brother's mind is messed up, his mind is messed up because the white man messed his mind up. Right?

CALLER: True.

CARMICHAEL: So that means our primary enemy is the white man who has messed up our brothers mind. Our job is to begin to be as humble as we can with our own people, to try and bring them along to the point where we have reached because look a lot of people talking black now but remember when brother Malcolm was talking about black just think where we were.

CALLER: Yeah.

CARMICHAEL: And all of us have to grow to that point. And if people are not willing to help the brothers and sisters who are behind we're going to get wasted because they'll be able to divide us. We have to give our brothers all the slack in the world, I mean cut them a whole lot of slack to bring them along slowly. Use any methods necessary to bring them along except force. We must begin to...begin to use as a law that we do not use force on our own people, as a matter of fact when they insult us we just go to them and take the insults and just keep going slowly. I mean wherever our people are thats where we go and thats how we try and move against them so that we begin to unite everybody in our community, I mean everybody in our community got to be united, from kids six years old all the way up to the old folk we people say minds cannot be changed but thats not true, we got to work..... with them because unless we have a totally united community (isn't ?) going to be able to get us. But if we take our time with our brothers and when they make the mistakes we just go on after them, you know, like we all grow up in the church, remember Jesus Christ went after the one lost lamb, and thats who we got to go after, we got to go after our lost brothers whose minds are not straight,

who are fighting us every time we say the word black, who are getting upset every time they hear Black Power, and take time out to un-brainwash what the Honkie did to them. Now it offers a challenge for us because the challenge is can we ...are we better and are we smarter with our own people than the white man? If the white man brainwashed our people can we un-brainwash our people and bring them home? And I think we're bad enough to do it. And that's what we have to do. And that's why we have to take time and don't get upset, you know, when brothers say things that we know they don't really mean because they don't know what they're talking about, and cut them all the slack in the world to bring them home. We got to bring our people home and you got to remember that every Negro is a potential black man. I job is to make black man.

CALLER: Why can't Stokely Carmichael tell us his real name: And who is paying him?

EATON: (to CARMICHAEL) The question is why can't you tell us your real name? And who is paying you?

CARMICHAEL: My real name is Stokely Carmichael and I'm paid by the Student Non-violent Co-ordinating Committee when I get paid.

EATON: (to caller) Alright, thanks very much.

EATON: WOL, speak-up, please.

CALLER: So mighty glad to see that Mr. Carmichael come speaking to the community because I feel the community needs to be educated, expecially or even our so called upper class. We are all nothing but Negroes.

Some of them there seems to be indifferent or (). What makes the white man mad is when we are united and solid unity and speaking the things that should be spoken. And I think this is a very good idea.

EATON: OK, thanks very much. There is one question that comes out of two or three of the listeners and I would like to throw open and also get the listeners reaction. Should the black man become involved, not only in the destiny of his own community but the destiny of America, and if so, why? (Cox answered - Carmichael continued the answer.)

CARMICHAEL: I mean you could carry it to the present date.

EATON: Mr. Carmichael.

CARMICHAEL: We do not want to get involved in a black united front but lets use that as an example. Now, we got together in D.C. We said, alright, we're living in a black community. We have different ideologies, you know, we have different organizations but we're all working for the benefit of the black man, why don't all of us get together, sit down and try and work out areas where we can work together and stop fighting each other. Now that seems to.....me to be what anybody would be happy to have done. But every white newspaper, every white television station, every white radio station in this city came out against such a move. They don't even want the black man to get together. Didn't any body say anything about what they're were going to do, all they said was we're calling a unity meeting, we discuss things by ourselves away from the press because we know what they do to everything we do, they always misinterpret and continue to mess up the minds of our people. And yet even something as simple as having a unity meeting among black people,

and white people are trying to destroy it. The press is making all these stories about whats going on, who's fighting who and all that nonsense, and the reason they are doing this is because they don't want the black man to come together because they know if the black man comes together its all over for them.

EATON: OK. Lets take a few more calls. In other words what you are simple saying is that if the black man looks after his...own..best interests in becoming a better individual in terms of ownership of property, being responsible for the property he owns, developing businesses and sharing that this....by the very act of doing this will have meaningful consequences on the statue and the position of America.

CARMICHAEL:(?) Yeah, but not only that see....if the black man becomes....

EATON: In other words some basic changes will have to be made.

CARMICHAEL(?): Yeah, but look if the black man just began to think for himself then they couldn't control us anymore. For example if any serious black man started to think for himself he knows he has no business in Vietnam. He's not going to Vietnam, if the black man don't go to Vietnam then this country is messed up.

EATON: Right. Ok, lets take a few more calls and gear in on some of the areas that we've just discussed.

CALLER: I would like to ask my black brother, Carmichael, a couple of questions.

EATON: Ok, go ahead. He is listening.

CALLER: When he was over in North Vietnam what did the leader over there think about our black brothers, boys over there fighting, our black brothers whom they are fighting with. What did they think and what did they say about them?

EATON: I think the question is, When you visited North Vietnam what did some of the leaders think about the black men in America?

CALLER: Fighting over there?

CARMICHAEL: I think that they recognize the black man is being used in that war. I think they recognize it very clearly. They recognize it for a number of reasons. Now before the United States moved in against Vietnam, the Vietnamese were fighting the French used to take the Algerians, Algeria is in North Africa, and they used to make the Algerians fight in Viet Nam against the Vietnamese. Now what the Vietnamese would do, when they captured an Algerian prisoner, they would take him and put him in a separate cell from a French prisoner and they would begin to talk to the Algerian prisoner and they would say, now look brother, why are you fighting us? This man in France has got your country up tight, you can't move out of the country, you can't own anything in the country. He owns everything and he makes you come and fight me and I haven't done anything to you. I haven't tried to take your country. I don't rape your women. I don't make them....prostitutes. So why are you fighting me? And they would begin to work a re-educational program on the Algerians. So what happened was that all the Algerians when they got out of jail from Vietnam, they formed the inner left, the National Liberation Front. And they are the ones who carried on the long guerrilla warfare in Algeria against France.

EATON: Thanks very much for your call.

CALLER: Can I ask one more?

CALLER: This is very important, Dave.

EATON: Ok, go ahead.

CALLER: Actually, I want to ask him, did he read this statement when he was over there, he would like to see United States get defeated?

EATON: Let me tell you, one ground rule we have established at the beginning, we don't want to get in one of these type of controversies, so I am not going to allow any question did he say or didn't he say. We won't get too much accomplished then, OK?

CALLER: OK.

EATON: We are trying to share thoughts, trying to find out who these people are, these three individuals. OK? Thanks very much. WOL, speak up please.

CALLER: I would like to ask Stokely who helped finance his trip abroad?

EATON: Mr. Carmichael, who helped finance your trip abroad?

CARMICHAEL: Different peoples.

EATON: Mr. Carmichael's response, did you hear?

CALLER: Different peoples.

EATON: WOL, speak up please. Your on the air.

CALLER: I would like to ask Stokely Carmichael and the

rest of the men who are there why aren't they doing anything about the right of Negroes to vote in Washington, D. C.? Because I am pretty sure that the reason is because the majority....of the people in Washington are Negroes and eighty percent of the home population would be Negroes, and thats the reason we are not allowed to vote. I mean I agree with all these other things that are going on, you know, and I know (garbled) Negroes (garbled) D. ? C. should have the right to vote. So why aren't (?) we doing anything about this?

CARMICHAEL(?): OK. I think that COX is going to take that question. (Cox answered-Carmichael continued.)

CARMICHAEL: Yeh, but there's another follow up to that brother. Number one, you just don't wanna get the vote, just like that, see. Cause you get the vote then the man mess you up with that vote, see.

CALLER: Yeh, I agree brother.

CARMICHAEL: Yeh, what we want to do is to begin to rebuild a community feeling in our community which has been broken down by all of the forces that work against us, that are put on us from white society. Like, for example, now you walk on down 7th and T or you walk on down 14th and U, you see us out there fighting each other, cutting each other, shooting each other. We have to begin to address ourselves to problems where black people stop taking out their hatred on each other, where we begin to build a feeling of community where we'll hustle on each other. So that when we get the vote, cause we gonna take the city, I mean there aint no if, ands or buts about that, but when we get the city we will have developed a feeling of community. So that whatever we use the city for it will help the community, the masses of our people, not just a few people who are running

for offices and fighting each other. And that's more important for us than the vote. The vote is a trick bag the white man put out here brother.

CALLER: Will I (garbled) saying, if we had the vote and (unintelligible) elect our school board, I mean, don't you think we could start educating Negro children like, you know, show them the part that Negroes, black Americans, did play in this country.

CARMICHAEL OK, dig brother, See, if you go elect somebody to the school board, they gonna function the way the school board functions now. It's not gonna work. You got to talk about changing the whole education system in this country. Now I'll tell you why. An education, see, it's supposed to prepare you to live in your community, right.

CALLER: The white community.

CARMICHAEL: Yeh, that's what it's doing now. It's preparing us to live in the white community, cause it doesn't speak to the problems of our community. Let's look at our community. Our community is full of rats, roaches, prostitutes, dope addicts, preachers, gamblers; it's also full of maids, it's full of gangs, it's full of young fellas out on the street fighting each other. Now if I go to school, see, if that's the community I live in, that school should teach me to be a good prostitute or a good dope addict or a good preacher or a good whatever in my community. If it can't teach me that, then it's got to teach me how to change my community. And the schools aren't doing any of these things man. It's teaching.....

EATON(?): Not where it's not teaching you how to live and it's not teaching you how to change.

CARMICHAEL: Right. It's not teaching you how to live in our community, it's not teaching you how to change our community. What's it teachin us to do is to perpetuate the system that we live under and that's why electin a black man to the board is not going to begin to solve our problems. We have to talk about our parents takin over the schools, takin over the school boards, and dictating to schools the type of education that our children get. Cause that's the only solution to the problem brother.

EATON: OK, thanks very much for you call, we're moving on.

CALLER: Radicate (ph) among us, you know, among, I call myself an American now, of course I'm not, but since I'm here it's been a benefit, and I'm definitely Negro (----?), I don't hesitate to say it. And it just burns we up when another Negro or soul brother or black man (looks it??). I have so much of Indian in me, you know, it's an instinction (??), you know, you really get mad.

CARMICHAEL: Look here sister.

CALLER: You have to club these people into.....

CARMICHAEL: Look here sister, that's true, what you say it true. It's just our job to begin to help them. There's not need to get.....They're our people. They're flesh of our flesh and they're blood of our blood and we've got to help them, no matter how long it takes, no matter how tired we get we've got to keep goin. I mean, let's just remember again brother Malcolm X when he first started about black. everybody said, man shutup, we don't want to hear that nonsense. He kept pushing. He kept plugging. He kept pushing along and he kept pluggin till a lot of us began to open our eyes and we have to do the same thing with our brothers and sisters. And we cannot afford to get hostile with them because

when we get mad with them they gonna run to the white man and that's another one we lost. We got to be....

CALLER: (Interrupts) That's a good point and it really takes a lot of patience. You see (unintelligible).

CARMICHAEL: (Interrupts) The black man is the most patient man in the world. We been patient for 400 years. We can take patience with our own people if we took all that patience from the white man. (Woman caller was trying to talk at same time Stokely was.)

CALLER: Yes, I'd like to ask Stokely your doing all this talk about black power has he stopped to think just where will be get, once he get this black power, how many of our people own (?) any shares in the utilities here in the District? Have you stopped to think about that yet?

CARMICHAEL: I'm sorry ...

EATON: We didn't quite understand the latter part of your statement, would you repeat it?

CALLER: Of all these utilities here in the District has he stopped to think how many people, how many Negroes, own shares in this? If we were to get the black power, where do we go from there?

EATON: Right, the word that we are missing is utopia something, what was that word?

CALLER: The utilities here.

EATON: Utilities, right?

CALLER: That's right, the water, the electricity, all of these. Where we going from there, once we get the

black power? How're we going to maintain it?
Now you doin all this kickin (?) about black
power, now how is he going to maintain once he gets
the black power?

CARMICHAEL: See brother, you saying the white man is the only
man who can maintain a water system and all that
other utility stuff you talk about?

CALLER: No. (both talk) How you going to maintain it?
How many Negroes in the District own any shares
in anything?

CARMICHAEL: I don't think many of us own any shares in any-
thing. Why don't we own it? That's a question
you ought to ask yourself. Why don't we own shares
in it?

CALLER: Why because we haven't (?) stopped (?) long (?)
enough (?) to train this ignorant Negroes that
really need the training. The only (Stokely
interrupts).

CARMICHAEL: Brother, there are no ignorant black people,
there are no ignorant black people.

CALLER: Have you stopped to think about all the black (?)
of ourselves who haven't been (----?) that you really
haven't....

EATON: (Interrupts) I think maybe that---let me interrupt
and see if I can clarify this. Correct me if I'm
wrong, but what you three gentlemen are talking
about in terms of the black community and black
people playing the major or proportionate share of
the decision making process including in the black
community. This is not negating, as I understand
it, and association in terms of dialogue and

communication with whites, I don't think we're talking, and correct me if I'm wrong, about some type of black enclave within America. Are we not talking about a type of real equality rather than the facade of equality in terms of communication and stature.

CARMICHAEL: I don't think that...

EATON: (Interrupts) I think that's what, you know, cause he assumes that white people won't be working and, you know.

CARMICHAEL: Yeh, but that is not the way we should go to the question. I mean, why is it that whenever we talk about our people we got to go back and talk about white people? Does it necessarily mean that, if you do things for black people, you have to step on white people? We're concerned with our people. We're not saying we don't step on white people. I mean but the...

(Someone says OK and Eaton said, that's what I wanted you to clarify)

Stokely continues with--No brother, no. See I don't waste my time talking about that. We're talkin about gettin black people together, organized, united, so we can have the power that was stolen from us by the white man. That's all we're talking about.

CALLER: What did you have stolen from ya?

CARMICHAEL: My life, he stole me from Africa, git to that.

CALLER: So you free to go back why don'tcha go back?

EATON: OK, rather than debate this one moot point, we're going to have to move on because we have five more minutes before the news break. OK,

thanks very much.

CALLER: Yes, I would like to direct this call to Mr. Carmichael.

EATON: Go right ahead, he's listening.

CALLER: All right, I was thinking, I been thinking this (?) ever (?) since (?) the program came on the woman from the West Indies more or less, you know, kinda brought it home. Don't you find that women as a whole are more hard to understand, you know the problems. I think women are...well I think that this is where the big problem comes in at.....

EATON: OK. While he's.....

CALLER: Probably but, you know men, they and...they have more foresight they can look further into the future and the women just wants to argue all the time. And another thing that I'd like to know, what can women who is really interested in going to, you know, get our people together.

CARMICHAEL: I'm not sure that's true because I think that the person who has carried the bulk of the black race in certainly the centuries before, has been the black women. I mean that I just don't think that's true. I mean that it was my black mother who had to carry me when my father couldn't get a job and carry the five of us, you know, all five of us, so I just don't think that's true. I think that our young men ought to be thankful for our black mothers that they were able to survive through all the crap that they had to take from the white folks. I'm thankful for black women, I think that they are the most beautiful women on the earth, because they were

.....able to survive through what no other race of people would have been able to survive through. They not only took care of white people's children they took care of their own children. They fed their own and they breast fed white people, they clean their own houses and clean white people's houses, they cook supper for their children and cook supper for white people's children and they were still able to give us a feelin of humanity through all of that nonsense. Be thankful for the black woman sister.

EATON: OK, thank you very much.

EATON: The thing that is puzzling me, I'd like to get your reactions on this, and this is a genuine puzzle I had. I can't see, and I'm speaking ---I'm trying to speak objectively, I can't see why persons in America, I don't care whether they're black, white or green, can't see the value and real contribution to this country that can be made if the black man becomes more solid more united in his efforts. And I really can't understand why people can't understand this. Can you speak to that? In other words, I know that the white community has traditionally attempted to fragmentize the black community and has succeeded, but looking at it as objectively as possible, I can't understand why people don't realize that by the black community coming closer together, having more genuine communication, have more real understanding of each other how that cannot be a more positive contribution to America. Can you enlighten me?

CARMICHAEL: Well I think David that it's just a known fact, the white man recognizes that if the black man gets together there's going to be trouble because the

whole system of this country is based upon keepin the black man where he is. So if he gets together he's, it means, automatically, he's gonna upset the applecart. Cause the way the country is fitted now, the black man is programmed in every area of his life.

EATON: OK

CARMICHAEL: And with the program goin.....

EATON: Now I want you to challenge me, as I know you will, but here's what I'm saying. My fervent feeling is that if America is to be saved then the black man has to save her. That's my feeling. If America is to be saved, the black man has to save her. Now, speaking purely in a humanitarian way and trying to be objective, if the value system in America can be changed by the black man, being concerned with his blackness and accepting it and loving it, then ostensibly, oh that's a big word, then this would have in a final form a positive input to the whole American system.

CARMICHAEL: I got to do it brother. You my (.....) boy, you know, but we got to go.

CARMICHAEL: The black man cannot be concerned with America. He must be concerned with his people. To be concerned with black people in this country is not to be concerned with America. It is to be the opposite of America.

CALLER: I'd like to ask Mr. Carmichael a question in regards to his connection with the Nation (ph) of Islam (ph). I have been listening to him tonight and I've been keeping up with him for some time. I'm a student of

the black revolution here in America and I noticed that many of the things he is saying and teachin was taught in the Nation of Islam, I believe, even before Mr. Carmichael was born, so I was wondering what connection, if any, he has with the Nation of Islam and, if no connection, what are his thoughts and views on the Nation of Islam here in America.

EATON: Mr. Carmichael, you got that?

CARMICHAEL: Yes I did. Brother, I'm not a member of the Nation of Islam, but I have the highest respect and regard for the Nation of Islam because I think that they were one of the first organized groups in our period, our lifetime, to begin to really organize our people and begin to teach them self respect and a dignity and to begin to uplift our (?) system (?), face of the whole confrontation with white society that they have to face. I have nothing but a great deal of respect for the Nation of Islam.

EATON: OK, thanks very much.

CALLER: I'd like to know, can you tell me exactly what happened on (?) thata Rufus Mayfield and that meeting?

EATON: I'm sorry but I don't know anything about that, does any of you gentlemen know? What meeting, I don't know what she's referring....

CALLER: Unity meeting, with Rufus Mayfield, when he was there exactly what happened?

CARMICHAEL: That was a.....

EATON: That was a no comment, I think wouldn't it?

CARMICHAEL: Yes, no comment.

CALLER: I can't tell you how happy I am that I heard the program this evening because now that I hear these gentlemen especially Carmichael, at first hand. I can see that the white community has nothing to fear, just nothing at all. They want much better housing, they want better education, they want this and that and who are they going to get it from,....from the white community. You know it is too bad that Carmichael instead of going over to North Vietnam and getting his information over there, he should have taken a walk over to Chinatown, to see first hand how a non-white community is able to educate themselves, make themselves prosperous and live with peace and harmony with everyone around them. Now would they like to comment about that?

EATON: On what, anybody want to comment? I don't think about an answer forth coming.

CALLER: Well why not?

EATON: I said no one seems to want to comment.

CALLER: They're three articulate gentlemen.....

EATON: Nobody cares to comment.

CALLER:(something?) in their own defense.

CARMICHAEL: There is no defense. I mean what you mean in my own defense, what defense? I'm not defensive about anything.

CALLER:You know you three people have been played up as () in the newspapers.

CARMICHAEL: As what?

CALLER: You've been played up as (olgies??), actually the three of you have no power, the newspapers have built you up, you are what the Chinese would call a Paper Tiger. You can form your fronts from now until dooms day and you'll never get anywhere because this is a white man's country, the white man had the dream, built the industries and employed the Negro, and until you do something on your own, which I doubt you ever will do, you'll never get anywhere.

CARMICHAEL: OK, now dig this.

CALLER: (if you are....)

EATON: OK, let him react to your quarry.

CARMICHAEL: Alright now dig this, Honkie, I'm going to tell you how you Honkies built this country. You came to America....

EATON: Let's take it in order now, let Mr. Carmichael speak and if you want to come back then after we leave you can call in again.

CARMICHAEL: Be cool, if you listen you might learn something. Now dig this, you came to the United States of America, the Indians were here, you landed on Plymouth Rock, the man took you in he showed you how to grow corn, he showed you how to live in this country and after he showed you all that you wiped him out. You went to South America.....

CALLER: Now let me tell you this.

EATON: Listen he's got to finish.....

CARMICHAEL: You went to South America, the Indians showed you their gold, the Aztecs showed you their gold, their silver, their copper, you stole it, you wiped them out. You went to Africa, our brothers, our sisters took you in, you came in there we showed you the happy life we had, you took us, you put us in chains, you brought us here. You went to China, the chinese took you in, they showed you what they had in Asia, you went you stole what they had and you enslaved them, and you talk about what you did. All you've ever done is rotten through and through, you have stole, you have cheated, you have killed, you have murdered, you have plundered, you have raped. And you have the dastardly courage to sit there and talk about what you have built. You built off of the sweat of other people, and baby what you sow, that you shall reap.

CALLER: My question is directed to Stokely Carmichael or either one of the others.

EATON: OK, go right ahead.

CALLER: I want to ask about how is his new coalition group, Black Leaders, going to co-ordinate with the coming of Martin Luther King in April?

CARMICHAEL: Dr. King is flesh of our flesh, blood of our blood, he's our brother and we're working with every brother who is out there.

CALLER: I would like to answer the white man's quarry to the three guest you have. Remember this now, everything this country has built up () Negro blood. Back in the 1800s even the 1700s

this whole country's economy was built on cotton, who picked that cotton? Who had the stamina and the ability to go out there and pick that cotton, while they were in chains, while being beaten and driven by slave masters? The Negro has done something in this country and the white man is trying to, right now, is trying to hide it under stones and rocks. And any Negro who tries to bring this up to his black bosses that the black man has built this country, his blood is in France, his blood is in Germany, his blood is in Japan, its everywhere, its in Korea, its strung in the Hawaii Islands, and this white man has the audacity to call up and say the Negro can't do anything for himself. Look at the city, man, who laid out the water pipes, I've never seen a white man in a ditch in this city, he stands over the ditches in this city and he tells the Negro what to do, who has the know how? Who laid out this great city of Washington" A black man. I mean a black man laid this city out. And a white man's going to call in and ask your three () did they want to answer it. Why can't they answer this man?

EATON: They did answer him, brother, but I think also that they preferred a man like you to call in and and talk to him. And thanks very much for calling.

CALLER: Thank you, brother.

CARMICHAEL: Keep on preaching, brother, we gonna get it up tight, we gonna get it because we gonna survive.

CALLER: I have a couple of statements I would like to make and I'd like to direct them at Mr. Carmichael. First of all I want to ask him if I'm correct in

saying that it was a white man who got up off of the black man's neck, I know he bought us as slaves, but I want him to answer yes or no did the white man get up off the black man's neck or did he take his freedom?

EATON: The question is did the white man get off the black man's neck or did the black man take his freedom?

CARMICHAEL: The white man is still on his neck.

EATON: (to caller) Did you hear that response?

CALLER: No, I didn't hear it.

CARMICHAEL: The white man is still on our necks.

CALLER: OK, now I'm going to ask another question. Isn't it a fact that he can take a hundred dollars in his hand right now and go to Africa and buy his cousin from Africans right now?

CARMICHAEL: No that is not a fact.

CALLER: Well then why do the United Nations have twenty different countries on their agenda in trying to get them to consider...ah reconsider abolishing slavery in () right now.

CARMICHAEL: Oh, you see, you don't understand, the countries they are talking about are countries that are still controlled today by the white man. I mean, you have all of South Africa today, brother, where our brothers and sisters are enslaved by the white man, you've got Zimbabwe, you've got Angola, you've got Mozambique, you got South Africa, you've got South-west Africa, you got Portugese Guinea, all of those

countries, brother, today are controlled by white men who walk around.....

CALLER: (Interrupting) I'm talking about the West Africa, in West Africa in fact...

CARMICHAEL: Like where?

CALLER: On the network here...whose that...one of the radio networks they had a documentary, a film documentary and you could write to the United Nations and get facts and figures, the fact is that in Africa the descendents, the children of the slaves who sold your mother, my mother, into slavery are still selling slaves, the white man do not have no control over them, its the understanding that the government, even the government of that particular part of Africa (has) been because of the fear of losing out (in some sort of an interest there).

EATON: (Interrupting) Alright let me ask you this question, this is Eaton, the moderator, since we are questing for truth here in all dimensions let me ask you this, do you know the countries in which you are talking about?

CALLER: I know its in West Africa. I can find out.

CALLER: I'd like to tell Mr. Carmichael how beautiful I think that his movement is. His actions are in this black movement in America, that I'm a young 21 year old Negro myself, fellow and really believe in all his (band), and I have....I know all my friends feel the same way that I do when I....that if Mr. Carmichael wants this United States to be straight I think that by him being educated the way that he is that he know the proper way for us to do it and

I say that I follow him and back him up all the way.

EATON: Mr. Carmichael

CARMICHAEL: Brother thank you, but don't follow me and back me up all the way, you just come on along up here beside of me because we got to do it together.

CALLER: Don't you feel that in the way that the Negroes are trying to prove their peace by riots and all are hurting them?

EATON: Who would like to get to that?

CARMICHAEL: Let me get the Honkie.

EATON: Right, Mr. Carmichael wants to.....

CARMICHAEL: Look here Honkie, what are you doing in Vietnam?

CALLER: Well, we're trying to help the Vietnamese.....

CARMICHAEL: You are rioting, you are burning down their houses, you are shooting their babies, you're bombing their hospitals, you're killing their children. Why are you rioting in Vietnam?

CALLER: I beg your pardon.

CARMICHAEL: Why are you rioting in Vietnam?

CALLER: Well we really feel that the Vietnam war is helping the United States in any way.

CALLER: Good evening, I want to say....I want to compliment Mr. Carmichael because I really think that he is doing a good job and what he said to a certain extent, that slavery is not completely over because Negroes today, this minute, are being

exploited in this city, and I'm a living proof of it. I have two young men here now, that two weeks ago went out to find a job, and honest young men and they got this job and they..... salesmen, and they were told that they would get a certain amount over what they sold. Two weeks of labor they used their own time and car fare and they still have not got a cent you see but all this () and it really burns me up just to hear other people who don't know the inside of what's actually happening and.....

EATON: Thanks very much for your comments, WOL speak up.

CALLER: I'd like to ask brother CARMICHAEL what does he think personally about the way Rap Brown had people doing in the summer burning down their homes.

CARMICHAEL: Brother I don't think that my good brother and my leader and the chairman, Rap Brown, had anybody burning down their houses.

CALLER: Well in his speeches he had the black man out here burning.....in these riots their own houses instead of going out and burning up the white man's houses that should have been burned down.

CARMICHAEL: I don't think that Brother Rap had anybody burning down anybody's houses.

CALLER: Well why did the black man burn down his own house then?

CARMICHAEL: I don't think the black man burned down his own house. He don't own no house.

CALLER: I'll put it this way, the houses that he lived in why did he burn them down that puts him out on the street.

CARMICHAEL: OK, look here buddy, do you ever read the Bible?

CALLER: Yes, I do.

CARMICHAEL: Then if you read the Bible then you know that the Bible says that fire is a purifier, it cleanses, it cleans, that when things have become so crummed up so that the only thing you can do is just cleanse it and fire is a cleansing agent sometimes.

EATON: You're really taking that out context, brother Stokely, now you know if we're going to get into scripture here tonight I want to go into Biblical criticism.....

EATON: (to caller) Thank you very much for your call.

CARMICHAEL: The Bible does say that doesn't it brother.

EATON: Right, WOL speak up please.

CALLER: Mr. Carmichael.

EATON: Right, he's listening, go right ahead.

CALLER: I'm glad your here and I'd like to know something. Are you going to put some protection on yourself? Cause you know what happened to ---- you know, brother Malcolm(ph) ah Malcolm.

CARMICHAEL: Brother the Lord is with me at all times.

CALLER: Well I'm glad to hear that and I'm gonna keep fighting for my people all I can.

CARMICHAEL: You got to do it brother. Remember, our people are the most important thing to us. Our people first.

CALLER: Mr. Carmichael?

CARMICHAEL: Yes sir.

CALLER: Did you see the game today?

CARMICHAEL: We was together brother. I didn't.....I had to miss it because we had a meeting (?). It (?) was together.

CALLER: Did you see Bob (?) Adderly (PH)? What did he do to the honky?

EATON: Thanks very much for your call, sir.

CALLER: Hello, I'd like to address this question to Carmichael, please.

EATON: Right, he's listening, go right ahead.

CALLER: The answer to his definition of a radical today. I hear, often hear, conflicting views about what a radical is. Could you define that term for me, please?

CARMICHAEL: I don't know brother, the only definition I can think of is the classical definition, radical comes from latin word which means root, that is to get to the root of the problem. But I'm not sure that a definition used today to describe a radical is really a radical.

CALLER: Yeh, but this is what I'm referring to, when you had the conference in New Jersey you said there were only two sides to the question, your either radical or your the Uncle Tom. Now you moved from the side of radical and by the definition in New Jersey you moved toward the Uncle Tom side.

CARMICHAEL: I'm sorry brother, I wasn't.....

CALLER: Wait a minute, now hold it, hold it. I've read every manuscript that've been put out by you, I think you movin, I think the white man, as you know, is sort of usin you now. Don't allow yourself to be used at this point, your doin good my man, but keep it up. Don't be like Marion Barry he took Rufus Mayfield's job, which is very dirty lowdown, took his job from him.

EATON: OK, thanks very much for your comments. We gonna....

CALLER:I continue....

EATON: Right. We gonna try to move on, if you.....

CALLER: Wait a minute. You won't let me continue fact I'm tellin the truth.

CALLER: Let me rap (??) (or) rat (??). Let me rap (??).

EATON: Go ahead, rap (?).

CALLER: OK, I'll think of a very dirty--ah--what Marion Barry did. He took Rufus Mayfield's job. Just like in all revolutions middle class has already benefited from (?) the (?) lower class. Carmichael I hope you will keep these people in (?) line (?) and help the lower classes to progress, not the middle class.

EATON: Mr. Carmichael please respond to that one.

CARMICHAEL: Brother we got to understand what we're trying to do in this city. We're trying to organize everybody in our community from the man in the streets to the

black bourgeoisie. That is the only way we're gonna survive as a people, when all of us are organized. Now we have to understand what we're working against. We're working against 400 years of brainwash, all of us suffer from brainwashin brother, all of us do. We're trying to help each other as we try to clear up our minds and get ourselves together. That means that as we go along there're gonna be people who're gonna make mistakes. I don't think, brother, that you should depend upon me to keep everybody in line. You a black man, you should be out here with us fightin and tryin to strai...and keep it straight.

CALLER: I'm over here witcha, I'm witcha baby, all the way.

CARMICHAEL: Well, brother, if you with me, together we gonna do it.

CARMICHAEL(?): I know we gonna do it.

CALLER: If you keep people like, you happen to keep people like Marion Barry in their place and won't (?) try to use the lit.....I mean, exploit the little people like Rufus Mayfield. We shoulda joined on to the round up and marched to the Capitol and told Broyhill (??) to have seen that we gonna keep Rufus Mayfield and Marion Barry wasn't gonna git his job. I think it was a very low-down dirty thing we allowed him to do.

WFO 100-43503

CALLER: I'd like to ask him why he goes into an area and incites (?) a riot and leaves and people that he leaves are the Negro that he ahh.....the people that he gets together, they are without jobs?

CARMICHAEL: Well, they have to show me where I incited to riot and where I ran away and caused all the problems you say I caused.

EATON: Do you know of any instances where Mr. Carmichael has done this?

CALLER: Well, he went into Nashville, Tennessee.

EATON: Did they have a riot in Nashville?

CALLER: Yes they had a riot at Fisk University and Tennessee State University.

CARMICHAEL: And who started the riot, as you call it, brother?

EATON: He started it.

CARMICHAEL: He who?

CALLER: Stokely started it.

CARMICHAEL: Well, that's whose talking.

CALLER: He instigated the students at Fisk University and Tennessee State University.

CARMICHAEL: I did?

CALLER: Some of them were kicked out of school. Some of them had to go home and what not. I just wanted his comment on that.

CARMICHAEL: Let me give you the comment but let me include to you some facts which you don't know anything about concerning the Nashville incident. Number one, the people who incited that rebellion as has been the case of all the rebellions in the major cities are the policemen..The policemen are the ones who create rebellion.

CALLER: I see.

CARMICHAEL: Brother, I can't create a rebellion. If you lived in a good house and you know, you livin a good life and I came and talked to you about gettin together to take care of business, what would you do?

CALLER: Probably tell you come in an have a coke.

CARMICHAEL: Of course (?). I don't create rebellions. It is the system under which we live that creates....

CALLER: All right (?)

CALLER: I would like to direct my questions to Mr. Carmichael.

EATON: He's listening, go right ahead.

CALLER: I'd like to know (?), do he know anything about the black political party called Slant (ph) and another party called Us (ph).

CARMICHAEL: Yes, Slant (ph) is headed by my good brother, Tommy (ph) Jeket (ph), and Us is headed by another good brother, Ron Coringa (ph), out in Los Angeles.

CALLER: And...Is there any way of gettin in touch with these people?

CARMICHAEL: Yes, I'm afraid I don't have the address with me but I'm fairly sure you could get it if you just call information and ask for it in Los Angeles, Us and Slant.

CALLER: I see, all right, thank you very much.

CARMICHAEL: OK, brother. It's good that you get in contact with them, we need to contact other brothers who, you know, doin other things around the country so we can begin to move to get a national organization going so we can take care of business.

CALLER: I see, thanks a lot.

EATON: WOL, speak up please.

CALLER: Yes, Stokely, don't you think that possibly a fear of mine (?) that the ninety percent of the white community is going to be against people who ah, incidents, really I should say, of burning and of violent speech and of your use, a couple of times, of the word honky. They don't like that and they're going to react to it. Probably they're numerically more, all because you say, they're more powerful. So just by (?) chance, I think that your taking a chance on ruining yourself when you (garbled) the black community as a rule (?).step up and refuse to harbor people who say honky, well that's not too bad, but people who really thought burning down houses and other things like that. Doesn't seem right to me. Your going to alienate all this white community, I don't think you want that. I think you need their help.

CARMICHAEL: Well, I don't need any help. The people who need help in this country are white people. The white people need help in straightenin out themselves

for what they have done to us. That's who needs help. I don't need any help. All I need is the white man to get off of our backs and we will go ahead. Now you talk about the ninety percent gettin upset just because we say honky, don't you think we should get upset for what they have done to us for 400 years.

CALLER: Yeh, but none of those people are still alive, that's why they don't want to pay you. It's very hard to find a white man whose willing to admit in the first place and, in the second place, it's very hard to find a white man who is alive and who owned slaves for some time, see. That's why he doesn't feel he owes you a debt.

CARMICHAEL: Is it hard to find a white man today whose a racist in the United States?

CALLER: Well, I don't think it's too terribly easy, I doubt that most white people are racist. I don't think they are.

CARMICHAEL: You don't think they are. Do you think the institutions.....

CALLER: I think the white people who passed the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and 1965 aren't racists.

CARMICHAEL: Why did they need to pass a Civil Rights Act if we were citizens?

CALLER: Got (?) to one of their problems.

CARMICHAEL: Of course, their problem, not mine.

CALLER: I'd like to speak to Stokely Carmichael. Stokely, I was listening to you a few minutes ago when you

mentioned that interpretation about the Bible. I think that Jesus stressed that more because I read the Bible a couple of time myself and the interpretation of the Bible is strickly under the white man's influence. This all....., I believe this to be a part of the reason for the New Testament coming about, you know, and I'd like to ask some kind of way that I can get into contact with you, you know face to face because there are a lot things that I's like to ask you about.

CARMICHAEL: Well brother I'm usually right around the corner 1234 U Street at the SNCC office.

CALLER: 12 what?

CARMICHAEL: 1234 U Street, N.W.

CALLER: What time are you there usually?

CARMICHAEL: Well, I'm in and out because I'm doing a lot of work you know, but if you call the number is 387-7445, you know maybe we can get together but now in order for us to get together now you got to be doing something because we just can't.....

CALLER: I beg your pardon.

CARMICHAEL: 387-

CALLER: I'm talking about in order for us to get together.

CARMICHAEL: In order for us to get together you got to be doing something now because the time for talking is over. We got to move now in order to organize our people.

CALLER: Yes, well you see, I'm ready to make my move. I've been ready you know.

WFO 100-43503

CARMICHAEL: Beautiful, beautiful, then we can get together.

CALLER: I'd like to direct my question to Carmichael.

EATON: Go right ahead he's listening.

CALLER: I'd like to know----enough of this philosophical dissertation, as a black woman I'd like to know what is his program specifically advocate that black people do now that all other efforts have failed. I'd like to know what he really would like for us to do. Just what does he advocate specifically for the black man to do?

CARMICHAEL: Well, in the first place I don't think that all efforts have failed, sister. Number one, I think that the first thing we have to do as a people is to begin to understand how we have been divided. That's first and foremost. And that we must begin to organize all sections of our community to come together, to aid each other, that's first. Once we begin to do that then secondly we can move to take over those institutions which are inside our community which we do not control. We should start first with the police force. We don't control the police force, that's why there's so much police brutality. If we controlled the police force, there would be no police brutality. We have to move to control the Board of Educations in our community. We do not control them, that's why the schools are in such conditions. We have to move to control the Welfare Department. We do not control them, that's why our mothers on welfare get the treatment they get. We have to move to control all of the institutions inside our community which are manifestations of the white power structure. We have to control and own them. Then we also have to move to take over the ownership of all of the economic industries inside our communities from the local five and ten cent

store all the way up to the big industrial complexes in Watts.

CALLER: Hello Americans to you Africans (garbled) teaching (?) in America. A man came on this show and he said that average----the American Negroes live better than any other black people in the world and I want to tell him that it is completely false. We people in Africa are free, we want those here to be free too. But if those among the American Negroes down here (?), they do not kid (?) themselves that there's freedom somewhere, they'll never get freedom here because they are being destroyed by the whites and they still think that Africa is jungles and (-----garbled-----). I think Stokely Carmichael should go out and teach his people that Africa is free, it is not as bad as some people say. And I think that wherever those Negroes in United States want to be free they should fight for it. This is the time to fight for it. They should go out and fight. Just (?) don't (?) sit down and talk.

CARMICHAEL: And brother there's only one thing I'd like to say and that is don't call us American Negroes because we're flesh of the same flesh and blood of the same blood. You my brother and I'd die in the streets of Philadelphia or Washington, D. C., just as quick as I'd die in the streets of Angola (ph), Mosambique (ph) or South Africa.

CALLER: Well, we are all the same. I agree with you but the colored man in United States say he is different. He say he is more civilized than those in Africa and, therefore (?), that's why I said American Negroes. But they think they are different, but (?) we are all the same.

CARMICHAEL: Your right brother and that's the brainwashing that

the white man has whipped on us. That's the game (?) that he put on us but today we are beginning to recognize that we are all the same and no matter how many trips Humphrey takes to Africa to try and clean up, it ain't goin to work because today black people are coming together around the world..

CALLER: Yeh, we all the same but lets go out and teach other peoples, the other blacks, that we are the same. They do not understand. They don't know what they are about.

CARMICHAEL: It's true brother, it's going to take a long time but a lot of us are out here fighting and I want you, since you're from Africa, cause when every time you walk the streets don't be runnin near those white folk. You come on into the community and you walk down the streets, you just grab a brother. You say I'm from Africa, I'm your flesh and I'm your blood and you just keep on talking to him and we goin to get it on.

EATON: OK gentlemen, thank you very much, we have about five more minutes and I'd like, if you wish, to have a closing statement or something that you would like to say. Mr. Carmichael.

CARMICHAEL: Well, I just got the address for the brother who called in earlier for ask(?) for Slant (ph). I just got a card with the address on it. The address is 1673 East 108th Street, Los Angeles, California 90002. In closing I just think that, well, we have to recognize there are a number of things. The first is that we lost brother Malcolm (ph). Now we lost brother Malcolm not because of what he was doing but because of what he was saying. If we are going to move on today, we cannot allow

the honkies to waste us for what we're saying. We must be wasted today, if we are going to be wasted, for what we're doing and what we must be doing is getting our people together to survive inside this hell hole. That's what we have to be doing. That must be our major concentration today, getting our people together. All of our people beginning to teach love, beginning to teach respect for each other. The love and respect that has been broken down, that's been trampled upon in our community for 400 years. Our concern must always be our people first. First our people, first our people, then and only then me and you. We must begin to recognize that individualism is a luxury that black people can no longer afford. Secondly, we must begin to recognize that in coming together many of us are going to have to go. That's just a fact of life, but we must be willing to shed our blood for our people. That is the only way we're going to come together to survive in this country, and, lastly, we don't have anything to worry about for a black man has survived, the black man will survive. After all they've done to us we still here, we will be around. You don't have to worry, black people will survive America, black people will survive America. And like Curtis (ph) Mayfield say --- Our blessed day has come, we don't care where you come from we just go moving up because we are winners.

WFO 100-43503

On January 17, 1968, CARMICHAEL visited Radio station WOL, 2000 P Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

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[REDACTED]

"The Evening Star", article of January 17, 1968, reported STOKELY CARMICHAEL who had formed a coalition of District moderates and militants said he expected to meet Mr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., within a month to discuss KING's plans for a "massive civil disobedience campaign" in Washington, D. C., for income and jobs. According to spokesmen, KING was coming to Washington, D. C., from Atlanta and would meet with leaders of the black community including CARMICHAEL. CARMICHAEL stated "Dr. KING and I are going to have a long talk about the problems in Washington, D. C." The article stated a 17 member Steering Committee of the newly formed Black United Front (BUF) met for the first time to map strategy on how to organize the black community around the Front. A tight lid of secrecy had reportedly been kept on their activities, according to the article.

On January 19, 1968, CARMICHAEL visited National Airport, Washington, D. C., [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] They departed National Airport and drove by limousine to Dulles Airport where CARMICHAEL saw her off on a flight to San Francisco. On the evening of January 19, 1968, CARMICHAEL boarded the Eastern Airlines shuttle at National Airport [REDACTED] bound for New York City. He returned to Washington, D. C., on January 20, 1968.

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WFO 100-43503

Radio Station WOL, Washington, D.C., on a special recorded program, moderated by WOL News Director, Ron Pinkney, had as its guests Stokely Carmichael and Rufus "Catfish" Mayfield, former Chairman of PRIDE, Inc. The program was reportedly taped on January 17, 1968, at WOL Studios, 2000 P Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., and was broadcast from 7:30 p.m. to 8:00 p.m. on January 21, 1968.

Also on the program were Robert Maynard of the "Washington Post", John Lewis of Afro-American and Bernard Garnett of Johnson's Publications, which includes "Jet" and "Ebony", magazines, who acted as interviewing panel of Carmichael and Mayfield.

The following is a verbatim transcript of the comments of Carmichael and response to questions by the interviewing panel:

OPENING BY PINKNEY - "Mr. Carmichael is making his second trip to WOL in about a week; he appeared here last Sunday on WOL's Speak-Up. Mr. Carmichael recently returned from what has been called, 'unauthorized trips to Cuba, Hanoi, Sweden and France' and here in Washington, he has started an organization called the Black United Front. He is former chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and graduate of Howard University."

MR. MAYNARD (Q) - "Mr. Carmichael, would you be willing to outline some of your plans for the Black United Front and SNCC here in Washington?"

CARMICHAEL (A) - "No sir, I am unable to do that at this time."

MR. LEWIS (Q) - "Mr. Carmichael, when I saw you last winter, you indicated that you were going to be organizing in one of the major cities in this country; you came here recently to begin organizing in Washington. What made you pick Washington as a target city?"

CARMICHAEL (A) - "Well, there are a number of reasons; seems to me that Washington represents the clearest contradictions of black and white in this country, maybe because black people are a majority in this city and all of the institutions of power in the city are run by whites, controlled by whites and for benefits of whites. Washington is the nation's capitol; it seems to me it must begin to represent clearly in the minds of people around the world, precisely what this country is about, its relationship to the internal colonies, black people inside the country, so that we can hook up and develop strength with our brothers in the third world. So that they will not be brainwashed by the United States, for example, Humphrey just took a trip to Africa, his job was once again to fool our brothers in Africa and if in Washington, D.C. the contradictions are hiding my brothers in Africa will see through all that nonsense that the Honky's are trying to put down."

GARNETT (Q) - "Yes, is Washington then supposed to be a springboard for maybe moving out in other cities eventually with similar Black United Fronts?"

CARMICHAEL (A) - "No I think there will be a coordinated effort around the country today because black people recognize more and more the necessity for unity if we are going to survive in what Rev. King calls Babalon."

QUESTIONER

UNKNOWN (Q) - "Speaking of Rev. King, Mr. C., you might have noticed recently in the press the stories about his camp-in in Washington in the first week of April. Do you see a role in your organizing effort coinciding with his?"

CARMICHAEL (A) - "Dr. King is a black man, he is flesh of my flesh and blood of my blood. Dr. King is working for the betterment of the black man and anybody who is working for the betterment of the black man, our organization is more than happy to work with.....we have worked with brother King in the past and we will continue to work with brother King because we are all trying to find the solution for our people to live with a decent life as human beings."

QUESTIONER

UNKNOWN (Q) - "Mr. C. as organizer of the Black United Front here in Washington, D.C., so far nothing has come up of your meeting to the public newspapers, reporters, radio and T.V. reporters have tried in vain to just find out what you are doing. Why is it that you don't want to display what is happening in these meetings to the public that you feel that the average citizen would like to know just what is going on, especially the black citizens in the city?"

CARMICHAEL (A) - "Mr. Pinkney it is a fact that the average black man needs to know precisely what is going on in the city as with the Black United Front, unfortunately for the black man, the way that

CARMICHAEL

CONTINUED (A) - "we communicate is controlled by the white man and he never represents truly what we are trying to do, every movement that we start the Honkies have always disrupted it. Let us go back for example, when Black Power first came up; when Black Power first came up, every Honkey and his momma was interpreting it telling people what it meant so that they could divide black people and keep them apart. Now fortunately for us the Black Power Slogan was strong enough to go over that, so that the Honky has to develop new tricks, but everytime we say something he takes it and tries to keep us divided. In an attempt to stop that division, we must find new ways of communicating directly to our people what we are doing. In order to do that, we must isolate the Honky on what is going on, and since they control the press media, it means they have to be isolated. While we develop some way of getting it to our people."

MR. GARNETT - "Mr. Carmichael, I go back....."

CARMICHAEL - "We are brothers, just call me Stokely, O.K.?"

MR. GARNETT (Q) - "Oh, O.K. I would like to go back, something you said a few minutes ago, about the reason about the present time that nothing the Black United Front does behind closed doors is being told to the press, you mentioned that you don't want to take the chance of giving the white press something to distort, how does this relate to the black press, which is black controlled? Do you feel that some kind of distortion on this interpretation?"

CARMICHAEL (A) - "The only black control press we have in Washington is the Afro."

MR. GARNETT - "We have a () of another one."

CARMICHAEL - "Which is the Bureau in other words. . . .? Johnson's Publications."

MR. GARNETT (Q) - "Yes, these are two black controlled. . . . What qualms would you have, say talking to the.... even just to the Afro?"

CARMICHAEL (A) - "If you can begin to isolate the white press and keep everybody isolated for a while, then you can move in with the solid black press, you can begin to build that black press inside our community where it becomes a real voice for the community. That is a fact that the only black controlled paper in this country that focuses through the masses of black people in this country is Mohammed Speaks. Whether one agrees or disagrees with the ideology is irrelevant it is the only newspaper where the masses of black people can read the type of ideology where they are not afraid to say what they have to say to the black man in this country. And until we can build up other press agencies which are willing to do precisely that. So even though there are some black controlled agencies, they do not speak to the black man the way that they have to speak to the black man, they know it, I know it and we all know it. And we have to build up a black press which are going to speak to the needs of the black people and tell it like it is."

MR. PINKNEY (Q) - "Do you think that these publisher and editors could be persuaded in one way or another by you or the reporter to bring it down here to the..?"

CARMICHAEL (A) - "No, they have to be persuaded by the masses of our people and they will only be persuaded by the

CARMICHAEL

CONTINUED (A) - "by the masses of our people when the masses of our people begin to look for the stuff that should be said, when that stuff is not there, they stop buying those papers."

MR. PINKNEY (Q) - "Stokely, I would like to follow up that question about the black press. When you held the initial meeting of the Black United Front, as I understand it, you made arrangements to sell pictures to a daily paper at a high price. It was not that daily paper but another daily paper that broke the original story about the Black United Front, would serve to give the Black Unity meeting a kind of publicity that I understand that you do not want it to have. Why did you exclude the black media from the Black Unity meeting and then turn around and sell photographs to the white press?"

CARMICHAEL (A) - "We are trying to do two things. We are trying number one to begin to control all of the press that comes out, all of the news media that comes out of our community. We are incapable of doing that at this point, for example, the leaks in those stories that were not really leaks you see because most of all of the leaks were incorrect, but that there were reporters who do what you call speculative reporting, what they think is going on they write down so that they can have something to say but they.... no, no, there were no leaks because all of the information was incorrect, for example, the Post ran a story about the fifteen member of the (steering)??? committee and a lot of them were incorrect completely incorrect, a lot people who they said were on that fifteen were not even on the steering committee and they left out a lot of other people, people who are unknown to the public, but people who were powerful

CARMICHAEL

CONTINUED (A) - "within their own section of the Washington area. So that those stories were incorrect. Now what we want to do is to begin to play those press against the other. I mean that is what the Honkies have been doing to us and now we are just going to organize and do the same thing, play them against each other. We want again to exclude the black press at this time until we begin to build up a strong communication where we can also begin to dictate to the black press what should be said. I mean that it is a fact that in many cases the black press takes its stories from AP and UPI about the black community and AP and UPI are Honky controlled, Honky written and here is a black press who comes back and takes these stories as they appear on the Honkies press and put it in the black press without giving an interpretation to the black community of what all those things are about, and when we begin to build stronger and stronger we can begin to force those black newspapers to come around because they are being held down too. We have more control over the black press than we do over the white press."

MR. PINKNEY (Q) - "Of course, but what is the reason for denying black papers entrance into the meeting and then selling photographs to a white paper at a price a black paper could not afford?"

CARMICHAEL (A) - "We would sell them to black papers, too. We contacted many of the publications in here and a lot of them said that they were not interested."

QUESTIONER

UNKNOWN (Q) - "I was at the beginning of the meeting when you made a short talk on you impressions of North Vietnam. I talked with some of the photographers there, I asked for photographs for my paper. Later I was told that these photographs were sold, were given at that point to a daily paper. A

UNKNOWN

CONTINUED (Q) - "few days ago the same photographer as I understand it, that sold the photographs to the daily paper through of SNCC and the Black United Front called up and offered the same photographs, six days later, to the paper that I represent."

CARMICHAEL (A) - "Now that was a misunderstanding. He was not offering the same photographs, he was offering other photographs. However, if we made an error, I apologize to you brother John, and I promise you that from now on the black press will have priority on these pictures."

MR. PINKNEY (Q) - "Stokely, how do you feel, do you feel that you have a task ahead of you? You are trying to bring together Black Unity in the city, do you feel that you have a task ahead of you swaying the moderates to your side or having the moderates go to the militants side? How do you feel about this?"

CARMICHAEL (A) - "My feeling is that we are a people wherever we are. We are a beautiful black people, now some of us are more black than others and there are a lot of us who are brainwashed, but all of us were brainwashed at one time, so that some of us who are no longer brainwashed must begin to help those who are brainwashed by the white man. Now they are brainwashed by the white man so our real enemy is not our brother, but the white man who has brainwashed our brother. So we are going to have to take time with our brothers who are what the white man call moderate and begin to bring them into our community so that they can begin to see and work for the benefit of our community and not for the white man. That means that it will be time but I think that slowly and slowly, our people will come along and begin to see the light."

QUESTIONER

UNKNOWN (Q) - "Can you give us any idea why you are trying to get some sort of overall organization that involves both the moderate and militants. I understand that this is caused a fair amount of difficulty for some of the so-called moderates and allegedly there are some (strains?) within the coalition. First of all, do you concede that there are such (strains?) and secondly, can you tell us something of the philosophy that went into the establishing of such a coalition here?"

CARMICHAEL (A) - "There are no (strings?) at all. It is important to note that where the black people get together, white people begin to condemn that unity. Yet white people get together, George Wallace can have a meeting with Lyndon Johnson; James O. Eastland can have a meeting and set up some sort of coalition with any other 'Honkey' and nobody in the black community ever questions their right to come together and sit with whom they will please. Johnson has a meeting with Grynoko (ph), nobody in the black community says you can have a meeting with Grynoko, because he is a Communist, but they have a meeting, they sit for hours, they talk about setting up a direct flight from Moscow to New York. Black people can't say anything about it. Why in the hell does the Honkey think he has the right to say something about when we get together. Who is he? What right does he have to condemn us if we get together? All of the people in this community are the flesh and my flesh and blood and my blood. And we have to live in this community. This is ours. When that white man comes into this community he doesn't see a moderate, a revolutionary, a radical, a conservative, he sees a black man! That's all he sees! And because of that, we have to come together. That is the philosophy for the Black

CARMICHAEL

CONTINUED (A) - "United Front, unless we unite we are not going to be saved. They are meeting 100 police chiefs - are meeting in March in this country. I have never known a black man to condemn the fact that 100 police chiefs are going to meet together and decide how to wipe our race. Yet when we meet together, they scream for holy hell that we should meet together. The only reason they scream is because they do not want Black Unity. Because they recognize that Black Unity is going to mess up their entire system and allow black people to live like human beings."

QUESTIONER

UNKNOWN (Q) - "Do you plan to go in with Dr. Martin Luther King and his civil disobedience plan on the first of April? The first week in April?"

CARMICHAEL (A) - "As we said before, Dr. King is flesh of our flesh and blood and blood. We have been talking and will continue to talk with Dr. King and we will work out all of these things when we get to that bridge we will cross it. I will say this we will never publicly attack or publicly oppose Dr. King. Never."

QUESTIONER

UNKNOWN (Q) - "Well, Stokely, some of my observations, I have noticed that one reason that people, I am not talking about our people now, still don't go with these black power or anything, or any of its connotations, is that they sort of see it as some hairy animal. I would like to ask you on thisdo you think that such things as your being seen going to church in public a few days ago here, that if more of this was seen that people would not see black power as some black immoral hippy movement or whatever they...? What do you think you could do about the black power image, in other words?"

CARMICHAEL (A) - I don't think that people could see black power in terms of my image because black power is not my image. Black power is the image of 15 million black people in this country. My image is totally irrelevant to the image of black power and so that is what the white person done. The Honkeys have tried to make black power my image, but it can not be done. I mean black power to me is a (wreath of Franklin?), Black Power is () of impressions () moving on up. Black Power is James Brown dancing on stage. Black power is Jimmy Brown running a hundred yards. Black power is Mohammed Ali in the ring. Black power is a beautiful black scientist developing things, like Dr. Reed. I mean black power is all the assemblance of the creativity and the skills that black people have put together to make us live like human beings. I...the press doesn't know when I go to church, it is none of their business if I go to church. That's totally irrelevant to the image of black power. Everywhere I organize I go to church because black people are in the churches. It happens to be the one collective place that our people are. If one is organizing one must be where ones people are. I go to church. I went to the Howard theatre last night. That's none of their business of the press. And I will go again, when Smokey and the Robinsons are coming because that's black power. That's part of our culture and that's where our people are. I don't think my image is important."

QUESTIONER

UNKNOWN (Q) - "How about the middle class Negro working in the government? The middle class Negro in the White House or Capitol Hill? Do you consider that black power?"

CARMICHAEL (A) - I consider the creative skills of those black people a part of black power. I think of what

CARMICHAEL

CONTINUED (A) - "they produce, however, goes to serve as white society and therefore, cannot be considered part of black power."

MR. LEWIS (Q) - "Stokely, I would like to read something to you that appeared in the December 5th edition of the National Guardian. Now this was a conversation that you had in a hotel there with a representative of the Guardian and the representative of an Italian monthly newspaper. This is a quote from that article, "Before you create revolution you got to heighten contradictions. As long as there is hope, people are not going to fight. They won't fight unless you push. So push. You create disturbances. You keep pushing the system. You keep drawing off the contradictions until they have to get back." This is where I would like to ask you, Stokely, when you created the Black United Front, when you convene the conference, was part of your thinking to get the moderate leadership in this city to understand what happens when you keep pushing?"

CARMICHAEL (A) - "I think it is pretty clever brother John.... That is very sharp.....very sharp. It is crystal clear as a matter of fact..... That maybe some of the people who represent us do not really see clearly the contradictions.... and if you can get them more and more involved with the matters of our people then they can see the contradictions clearer, then they must decide. You see there is no doubt there are some black traitors in our community. There are an awful lot of black traitors in our community. But I think there are a lot of people who say things that traitors would say, are really genuinely confused. They think that they are doing the right thing. For example, many people felt

CARMICHAEL

CONTINUED (A) - Integration was the best way to solve the problems of the black people several years ago. They genuinely thought this was the solution until they...many of them have found out that this not the solution. Some of them still have not found out.... So that those people may be genuinely confused. They believed they are doing something to benefit the black man but in fact they are not. So that our job is to slowly begin to bring those people together and heighten the contradictions so they can see clearly. I mean it can be done very easy in the District of Columbia. The official figures by the Honkeys say that 93% of this community is black in the elementary schools. That means, according to their figures, 7% are white. You can't talk about integration in Washington, D.C. unless you talk about getting your children up at 6:00 a.m. and sending them to Virginia or to Maryland... Which we know is not going to happen. What we must be concerned with is how we conduct schools. Schools which are going to teach our children what we wish to teach them. That simply means we have to take over the schools. Our parents have to take over the schools and begin to teach the things that are necessary to be taught to our children. The education that they have been getting has been hindering them. That's correct. Our community is loaded with pimps, hustlers, preachers, an gangsters, gangs, prostitutes and people who work in factories. If I go to high school, that high school must either teach me how to be a good pimp, good hustler, a good gangster, a good preacher, a good factory worker, a good maid or a good whatever that come out of my community. It is not going to teach me how to be one of those things then it must teach me how to change my community so that it becomes

CARMICHAEL

CONTINUED (A) - "better. Our high schools are not getting near that problem. They don't even teach kids how to be good hustlers. And they don't teach them how to change the community so that people don't have to live as hustlers. Therefore, we have to junk the entire education program and our parents must be ready to take them over so that our children can be taught how to change our community."

QUESTIONER

UNKNOWN (Q) - "How do you compare the school system here in the years that you have been here, to that of other cities? Do you see any difference or is it worse?"

CARMICHAEL (A) - "It is the same for the black man. The question of community is not a question of geography. It is simply a question of color. Wherever you are, if you are black, you make up a community and therefore, you would suffer the same indignities no matter what part of the country you live in.... But for us, the question of community has never been geography, it has been a question of color. If you go to Africa today and you sit with black people, you feel at home. If you go to England or France and you see the white people there, you feel uncomfortable, but when you get and when you meet some other Africans you feel once again at home. Because for us the question of community has never been geography, it has always been the question of being with our people."

QUESTIONER

UNKNOWN (Q) - "Stokely, the first time I saw you here was in 1966, you were conducting a rally at 10th and U. One of the things that impressed me, that I never had read this anywhere before you mentioned that

UNKNOWN

CONTINUED (Q) - "you advised the people who were there at the rally, along with the black power thing, at least along with the black power thing as it is recorded politically and economically, etc. To also clean their neighborhoods and quit, I think your phrase was quoted something like ah... quit cutting your brothers on Friday and Saturday night and let's get together. What do you think it is that the other side is reporting more than this side?"

CARMICHAEL (A) - "Well, it is clear that the white press is not going to talk or to give any advertisement that is going to help bring the black community together. I mean every one knows that...they started off their petty anti-nonsensical poverty program which was aimed at doing precisely what it has done in the community, split it. You have now factions fighting over factions, the crumbs and that is precisely what they meant to do. They have no intention of uniting the black community and everyone who thinks they do is absolutely absurd. It is clear that whenever a poverty program moves within the masses of our people that program is always cut off and as long as they can keep the community divided, they will continue to function and to send that money in. Now the United States works on what we call the three M's: the missionary, the money and the Marines. That's how they have worked everywhere around the world when they went to conquer people. Now they sent the missionaries into our communities. We have sent them out with all of those little white kids. Now they are sending the money in and they are beginning to draw that out. After the money, come the Marines."

QUESTIONER

UNKNOWN (Q) - "Mr. Carmichael, when you...your trip abroad... the white media reported that you are going to Cuba, Hanoi and a few other places that you are planning or getting information on how to go at black guerilla warfare. How true is this? Or is this false?"

CARMICHAEL (A) - "Well, the first thing let us say Brother () is that the United States tries to tell me, a man who is born free, where I can go and where I can not go, that is absolutely absurd, I will go wherever I want to go, I will see whomever I want to see and I will talk with whomever I want to talk. So this nonsense about you're banned from going to Hanoi, you're banned from going to Cuba, you're banned from going to Egypt, you're banned from going to Algeria, you're banned from going to Syria doesn't effect me. It effects people whom the white people control, they don't control me. I will go where I want to go, when I want to go and how I want to go. And I will say what I want to say, when I want to say and where I want to say it. So I pay no attention what so ever to anything they say."

QUESTIONER

UNKNOWN (Q) - "One final question, we got about a minute. Are you going to make Washington your permanent residence?"

CARMICHAEL (A) - "It's going to be my home for a while, as long as they let me live. As long as I'm living and there's breath in my body, I'm going to work to bring our people together."

MR. PINKNEY

- "Stokely Carmichael we certainly want to thank you for being our guest on WOL. This has been a WOL Special presented by the News and Public Service Department, Stokely Carmichael in Washington."

"The preceding program was recorded Wednesday, January 17th at our studios."

WFO 100-43503

On January 25, 1968, STOKELY CARMICHAEL departed National Airport, Washington, D. C. aboard Eastern Airlines Flight 646 at 7:35 p. m. He traveled to Boston, Massachusetts, under the name of V. WFLCH. He returned to Washington, D. C., on January 28, 1968.

During January 28, 29 and 30, 1968, CARMICHAEL spent considerable time at the headquarters of SNCC, 1234 U Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. He appeared to be making the SNCC office his headquarters while residing at Apartment 3, 2200 12th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. On January 30, 1968, he also visited the Law Building of Howard University, Washington, D. C.

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The "Washington Afro-American" in an article dated January 30, 1968, reported that STOKELY CARMICHAEL wanted to get his confiscated passport returned to him. It stated lawyers were getting ready to file a suit in Federal court in New York to obtain the seized document. CARMICHAEL's attorneys reportedly stated the Government had no right to take away the passport because travel to a restricted area is not a crime. The article noted the passport was ordered seized by the U. S. Department of State because CARMICHAEL had traveled to Cuba and North Vietnam without permission.

CARMICHAEL called a meeting of the office staff members of the Washington office of SNCC to be held on February 2, 1968. CARMICHAEL announced the meeting was being held to discuss primarily SNCC fund raising programs and to set policy as to what part SNCC would play in the forthcoming Washington project of Reverend MARTIN LUTHER KING. The meeting was held at CARMICHAEL's apartment, 2200 12th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., on February 2, 1968. The meeting was informal in nature and members of the Washington SNCC Office were in attendance. A discussion was held of various things affecting the work of the local SNCC office. Specific attention was directed to matters concerning fund raising and various proposals were made as to how to raise money. It was noted that the SNCC office in Washington was three months behind in paying its rent on the office premises located at 1234 U Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., and on February 1, 1968, the SNCC office received a notice to vacate the premises within eight days. This did not appear to disturb CARMICHAEL to any extent. CARMICHAEL reportedly always seemed to have some money available to him; however, the amount of money available or the source of his funds were not known. SNCC members do not generally appear to have much money if any, but on the contrary CARMICHAEL always seems to have some money even if a small amount. The SNCC office does not apparently have a lot of money or a big bank account. They discussed the possibility of employing a full time female office worker in the local Washington SNCC Office but decided they did not have the money available at that time. CARMICHAEL then spoke about unifying the "black people" in the community. He stated that this must be done to relieve them of their economic oppression. He commented about the necessity of Negro people spending their money within the Negro community. He stated that further efforts should be made in behalf of the BUF to organize the Negro community. He did not mention, however, any specific plans for the BUF or how previously discussed plans of the front would be implemented.

CARMICHAEL also spoke of maintaining the security of information available to SNCC members and particularly the security of the Washington SNCC office. He emphasized

employees should be aware of people who visit the SNCC office and should be wary of each other. CARMICHAEL also mentioned regarding Reverend MARTIN LUTHER KING's forthcoming Washington project concerning the poor, that SNCC would not openly support KING's programs. He advised that he had heard a radio news program that when KING began his project CARMICHAEL and SNCC would work for KING. The Washington SNCC office issued a denial that SNCC would work for KING. A discussion was then held about membership in SNCC and how a person could become a staff member of the organization. CARMICHAEL stated that a staff member must have been in the organization for at least six months and have attended at least one national staff meeting usually held in Atlanta. He reported that the names of SNCC Washington staff members were being reported to the SNCC National Office in Atlanta, Georgia, for information.

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A meeting was held at the Church of the Redeemer, 15th and Girard Streets, N. W., Washington, D. C., on the evening of February 6, 1968. The meeting was held in order for Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and STOKELY CARMICHAEL of BUF to discuss matters of mutual interest and also the Washington project for the poor planned for early April, 1968, by Dr. KING and the SCLC. The meeting was presided over by KING who discussed the proposed poor peoples project explaining that Washington, D. C., residents would be called upon to provide assistance in the form of food, shelter, clothing and related support. When the initial meeting by Dr. KING was ended, the church was emptied and only those were allowed to re-enter who were personally known to representatives of the SNCC who stationed themselves at the entrance. In addition, admission was granted to a few who were vouched for or who were satisfactorily able to explain their reason for attending. Admission was denied to all representatives of the press and no tape recorders were allowed in the meeting. The meeting was held in the main portion of the building and was attended by approximately 200 persons. Of those in attendance, approximately 150 were representatives of BUF and SNCC while approximately 50 represented SCLC.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL and [redacted] of SNCC were in attendance but neither made any type of formal speech or presentation. The meeting was presided over by KING who restated what he said in the meeting earlier. In addition he said there were people in the audience who did not agree with his project for the poor and asked that these people not hinder the project even though they were not in agreement. KING then reminisced about past demonstrations and projects of the SCLC and their effect.

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"The Evening Star" in an article dated February 8, 1968, reported that the Reverend Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., met privately for two hours the previous night at a Washington motel with black power leaders, STOKELY CARMICHAEL and H. RAP BROWN to discuss plans for KING's massive civil disobedience campaign to take place in Washington during the spring. KING described the meeting as fruitful but declined to say whether he had received or even sought support from BROWN and CARMICHAEL. About twenty aides of the three civil rights leaders participated in the meeting on the second floor suite at the Pitt's Motor Hotel. "We went through our program with the leaders of SNCC," KING said. "We talked about our goals and objectives and some of our tactics. We have been doing this with a number of people. There were areas of agreement and disagreement." He refused further comment. BROWN and CARMICHAEL upon leaving the meeting declined to comment and referred all questions to Dr. KING.

On February 7, 1968, Special Agents of the FBI at approximately 11:30 p. m. observed CARMICHAEL and [redacted] arrive at Cox Municipal Airport, Dayton, Ohio. In purchasing his ticket, CARMICHAEL used name, "Mr. WEBSTER." Later, when returning to Washington by air, CARMICHAEL traveled using name, V. WELCHER.

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[redacted] meeting of the Black United Front (BUF) was held at the New School for Afro-American Thought, 2203 14th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. (WDC). Invitations were extended to most of the individuals who had been previously invited to attend the first meeting of the BUF on January 9, 1968. Approximately 100 individuals were present and all were checked at the door upon entering the building.

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL called the meeting to order at approximately 8:00 p.m. and introduced [redacted] a "Memorandum of Purpose" of the BUF that was previously prepared by the BUF Steering Committee. The "Memorandum of Purpose" stated that the BUF was formed to extend the lines of communication between black people, to obtain a proportionate share of representation in the Government of the District of Columbia and to obtain a proportionate share of economic control within the black community. The Memorandum reportedly sets out the standards for qualification for membership in the BUF and the procedures to follow in making application for membership. Further, it stated that only all black organizations working for the benefit of the black community in general were eligible for membership. Those eligible according to the Memorandum would have to furnish in writing the name of the organization, its officers and a statement regarding the purpose and program of the organization. The application would then be referred to the Steering Committee and would be voted upon by the group. The Memorandum also pointed out that members of the BUF should conduct themselves in such a manner as to bring unity to the black community.

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL then opened the meeting to discussion of further activities of the BUF and the position the BUF would take on community problems. These included a discussion regarding the proposed program of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., for the poor, welfare, rezoning and freeways and urban transportation. The group voted to extend their support to the efforts of Dr. KING in the Poor People's Campaign, then being planned to be held in the District of Columbia. After the completion of discussion on the other matters mentioned, CARMICHAEL adjourned the meeting after announcing

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the day of the next scheduled meeting to be held by the BUF.

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On February 14, 1968, Special Agents (SA) of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), observed that the BUF held a press conference at the New School for Afro-American Thought, 2208 14th Street, N.W., WDC. The conference was opened at approximately 2:15 a.m. by BUF member CALVIN POLARK who reviewed the organization since January 9, 1968, when it was began. He stated that the seventeen member Board of Conveners (Steering Committee) was selected to draft a "Statement of Purpose" of the BUF and that it had been made available in a memorandum published by the BUF. He added that STOKELY CARMICHAEL had been named Temporary Chairman of the Board of Conveners and he then distributed a memorandum to the members of the press setting forth the aims and purposes of BUF as mentioned above. CARMICHAEL was present during the above press conference, but declined to make any comment. After a discussion of other matters of BUF interest, POLARK concluded the press conference by stating that the BUF would become active in all aspects of community life.

"The Washington Post and Times Herald" in an article dated February 14, 1968, reported CARMICHAEL had discussed "Negro problems" with 600 students at Roosevelt High School the previous day. He was invited by the student council according to the article and students vied among themselves to ask questions while others giggled and CARMICHAEL's voice was drowned out in clatter. CARMICHAEL raised his voice "beseechingly" and said, "We have got to get serious, because our people are at stake." The students continued to murmur and move restlessly in their seats.

SAs of the FBI verified the departure of CARMICHAEL from Dulles International Airport via United Airlines flight number 57, at 8:45 PM on February 15, 1968, en route to San Francisco, California.

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On February 28, 1968, SAs of the FBI determined that STOKELY CARMICHAEL traveling under the name A. KUTTATI, arrived at Dulles Airport, Washington, D.C. (WDC), via Delta Airlines Flight Number 106 at 6:24 p.m. from Atlanta. Upon arrival he traveled to the headquarters of the SNCC, 1234 U Street, N.W., WDC.

During February, 1968, STOKELY CARMICHAEL, former National Chairman of SNCC, had reportedly recently indicated an interest in organizing the "Soul Brothers" in the Metropolitan Police Department (MPD), WDC. CARMICHAEL felt that in the event of trouble these "Soul Brothers" would support him.

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During February, 1968, [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] reportedly had made the statement that one of the principal themes he wanted to accomplish was to remove the Negro prostitutes from Massachusetts and Columbus Avenues in Boston. He reportedly stated it distresses him to see prostitutes selling themselves to "whitey."

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[REDACTED] claimed the prostitutes and their "pimps" were backed by mobsters. According to information, STOKELY CARMICHAEL proposed a plan which he claimed had been working successfully in WDC for about nine months and put in effect there by CARMICHAEL. This plan called for the creation of a black mafia. This group reportedly warned prostitutes to discontinue their activities. If they refused, then the "muscle boys" stepped in and taught them a lesson. According to information, this would arouse the prostitutes "pimp" to action in which case the "muscle boys" would handle him.

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[REDACTED] stated that CARMICHAEL was very pleased with the success of the plan in WDC and had found it so effective he planned to start taking a cut of local bookie profits. If this was effective and lucrative enough a certain percentage of the receipts would be used to support black power programs.

[redacted] was considering trying to put this program into effect in Boston.

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A meeting of the [redacted] BUF, was held on the evening of [redacted] with STOKELY CARMICHAEL, Temporary Chairman of BUF in attendance. There was apparently a misunderstanding about the day the meeting was to be held and only [redacted] persons showed up thereby causing it to be cancelled.

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On March 5, 1968, a meeting of the SNCC workers was held at the apartment of STOKELY CARMICHAEL. It appeared at the meeting that friction had developed and a split between CARMICHAEL and [redacted] was evident. CARMICHAEL confronted [redacted] concerning poor office administration and asked [redacted] if he could be [redacted] of the SNCC staff in Washington and administer the affairs of the office efficiently. It appeared that some SNCC members seemed to be lined up against [redacted]

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[redacted] The meeting was punctuated by arguments concerning the lack of efficient operations of the SNCC office.

[redacted]
However, as a result of the meeting a decision was made to place routine administration of the office in the hands of another SNCC office employee. A meeting was also held on March 6, 1968, at which time it was decided to release a statement about DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING's forthcoming Washington program for the poor and that SNCC had a program in Washington before KING's contemplated arrival and that they would continue to implement this program after KING's departure.

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On March 7, 1968, during the evening a meeting of the BUF Board of Conveners was held at the Lincoln Memorial Congregational Temple, 11th and M Streets, N.W., WDC. The meeting was previously scheduled for the evening of March 4, 1968, but had been cancelled due to lack of attendance. STOKELY CARMICHAEL, Temporary Chairman, suggested that another member serve in the capacity of chairman for this particular meeting which was devoted to three main issues namely, (1) membership (2) organizational procedures (3) meeting places. During the meeting CARMICHAEL objected to a proposal that a membership fee of \$10.00 be charged for each organization which wanted to become affiliated with the BUF and \$1.00 or \$2.00 for each individual. He contended this was no way to form an organization and the fact a fee was being charged would turn many individuals away from the BUF. The proposal of charging a membership fee was passed over the objection of CARMICHAEL who attempted to raise several parliamentary procedures to defeat the issue. A discussion was had regarding organizational procedure centered around whether or not the BUF was to be regarded as an organization or as a "mass movement." This issue was not settled and was held open for further discussion by the general body of BUF. A discussion was then had about meeting places and several locations for future meetings were discussed.

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The following information in summary regarding the Black United Front, The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), and STOKELY CARMICHAEL is being set forth hereinafter:

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Regarding the BUF, it was formed in Washington, D.C. on the evening of January 9, 1968, at a meeting held at the New School for Afro-American Thought, 2202 14th Street, N.W., WDC. This meeting was called by STOKELY CARMICHAEL and was attended by some 100 persons. At the outset of the meeting, CARMICHAEL explained how BUF could attain its goals and in so doing compared such organizations in the United States with the accomplishments of [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] It was highly unusual CARMICHAEL should use these two men as examples in a meeting of this matter knowing both represent communist ideologies. So far as it was ascertained, this example went unnoticed by others attending the meeting and in view of this the statement went unchallenged by anyone present. Subsequently a discussion was held about various aspects of what the BUF was to accomplish and what it was to represent. A Steering Committee composed of seventeen individuals was established which later became known as the Board of Conveners.

Regarding the SNCC and STOKELY CARMICHAEL, it was reported that CARMICHAEL was not communicating his thoughts or plans to anyone including [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] The SNCC followers are regarded as the most militant of any of the organizations affiliated with the BUF and this is due to CARMICHAEL's influence in SNCC. CARMICHAEL is associated with SNCC members in WDC and they accompany him to BUF meetings.

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With regard to CARMICHAEL's trip abroad during the summer and fall of 1967, it was impossible to understand how CARMICHAEL could have made some of the comments he did about the United States especially if he had observed some of the horrible conditions in the Socialist countries he visited. CARMICHAEL probably only saw what the leaders of these countries wanted him to see. On one occasion CARMICHAEL was observed on television while traveling abroad and the definite impression was developed that CARMICHAEL was not acting like himself and could have been under the influence of some drug.

With respect to CARMICHAEL's sources of income, he apparently received royalties from his speeches which had been released and were being sold in Europe; his books; and his speaking engagements in the United States. In the latter

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instances his expenses are paid for by the organization sponsoring his appearances which is the customary method of handling these matters. CARMICHAEL may be getting a few dollars from SNCC, but if he does so it would not amount to much since the organization is practically bankrupt.

In evaluating the BUF in its earlier stages it has taken a moderate view on most issues. It is believed the BUF would be against any form of racial violence and the BUF membership for the most part would desire to accomplish their aims through the election of black candidates to public office and economic betterment. The latter mentioned above is to be attained through ownership of business establishments and better jobs, particularly in the black community. It is absurd to think of the black man completely taking over a police or fire department in a large metropolitan area because there are just not enough qualified Negroes at this time to do so. The same principle applies to colleges and universities due to the fact there are not enough qualified black professors in the scientific and technical fields.

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On March 10, 1968, SAs of the FBI ascertained CARMICHAEL accompanied by an individual believed to be SNCC [REDACTED] departed WDC at National Airport, 8:00 a.m. via Eastern Airlines, flight number 135, en route to Montgomery, Alabama. CARMICHAEL traveled under the name V. WALCHER and his companion used the name [REDACTED]

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SAs of the FBI verified the return of CARMICHAEL from Alabama via Atlanta, Georgia, to Washington, D.C., at National Airport on Eastern Airlines flight number 136, approximately 7:40 PM, March 15, 1968. He traveled under name J. WALSH. Upon arrival he went to his residence at 2200 12th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

"The Washington Post and Times Herald", in an article dated March 15, 1968, reported as follows:

"SINGER MIRIAM MAKEBA AND STOKELY TO MARRY"

"Black Power advocate Stokely Carmichael and South African singing star Miriam Makeba are engaged to be married, it was announced today.

"A spokesman for Miss Makeba, 35, said no date has been set for the wedding. The songstress, whose latest "Top Ten" recording was popularization of the South African folk song 'Data-Data,' is currently in Nassau, the Bahamas.

"Carmichael, 27, former Chairman and now Washington-based field secretary of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), has not been married previously. Miss Makeba's marriage to Hugh Masakela, a South African recording star, terminated in divorce. She has a daughter, Bongie, 17.

"Miss Makeba came to the United States in 1959 as a protege of calypso singer Harry Belafonte."

On March 17, 1968, STOKELY CARMICHAEL appeared at the Church of the Redeemer, 15th and Girard Streets, N.E., WDC,

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at 6 p.m., where he gave a speech at the invitation of the Fellowship Forum of the Church. Approximately 350 persons were present which consisted of both Negroes and whites. The audience was composed primarily of adults with some teenagers present.

CARMICHAEL introduced his remarks by stating that what he had to say related to Black unity, black power and the survival of the black man. He commented the remarks that he would make he has made many times before and will make them many times in the future. He stated the white man and primarily white western civilization has historically and systematically "colonized" the Negro, the white man has also attempted to "dehumanize" him. He stated that the white man has always had an evil motive in dealing with black people.

He stated the black people in the United States must connect up with the other 900 million black people of the "Third World" in order to liberate themselves from the control of the white man. He described the "Third World" as including black people in Cuba, West Indies, Haiti, South America and Africa. He emphasized the survival of the Negro is at stake in America as the United States is planning genocide against them and for this reason Negroes should arm themselves. He commented he did not mean a .22 caliber either. He stated he was advocating simply that every black man in the United States get a gun and that the only reason the "honkie" is able to rule is because he has "the gun." He stated that if Negroes obtained an arsenal, relations between whites and blacks would be equal. He commented that this is "why the brothers on the block call the gun an equalizer."

CARMICHAEL stated he realizes many black people do not agree with his ideology and that there are a lot of "Uncle Toms" in the Negro community. He disclosed his group proposes that when they develop information about a person "being that way" that someone sit down and talk with them in

an attempt to get them to change their minds. After, "they call him in and talk to him, if he does not change his ways, he will be considered a traitor to his community and all traitors die."

CARMICHAEL emphasized black people must develop an undying love for their race, not their country. Further that they must be willing to die for their race and if they must die, they should die in the streets of the United States, not in Vietnam. He commented he was willing to die for his people.

CARMICHAEL further stated that the right to vote in the United States means nothing to black people and that they would not be able to develop any power through bloc voting. He stated that if "you're white, the vote means you can play games with Kennedy, Mc Carthy, Johnson and Wallace. But they're all the same when it comes to us." He quoted from Mao Tse Tung, Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party that "Political power comes out of the barrel of a gun."

CARMICHAEL also advised that black people should support the Arabs in any conflict that might develop between them and the Israelis. He stated that this stand has caused many Jewish people to call him anti-semitic but that this is not true because the Arabs are also a semitic people according to racial origins. CARMICHAEL continued that while the Negro has many problems Communism is not the answer to solve these problems because of the fact that his problem is more racial than political. CARMICHAEL stated that a lot of people questioned the need for a Black United Front (BUF) but that the need for this type of an organization was necessary regardless of ideology so that black people could sit down and talk together and reach an understanding as to their problems. He commented that the only reason the press had been barred from the past meetings was because of the fact the press has a tendency to distort the truth concerning efforts for the Negro to unify himself. He commented that the D.C. Public School System is 93 percent Negro and that the

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curriculum must be changed to be made more relative to the Negro community. He stated that "we must take over the school system," as it is not teaching what should be taught to black people.

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CARMICHAEL read a statement from [] written by him in jail. [] spoke of fasting because he had done nothing wrong but had been merely attempting to liberate his people. [] wrote that he was being held a political prisoner. CARMICHAEL stated that [] is willing to die for his people.

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CARMICHAEL also stated that on March 20, 1968, there would be an [] and at that time money would be solicited for [] legal defense.

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Regarding ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, CARMICHAEL stated that when POWELL made a mistake he was "choked out" by the white man but when [] a white man made a mistake, he was merely censured.

During an answer and question period that followed the talk, CARMICHAEL stated the United States can never win in Vietnam unless it uses the atomic bomb because of the determination of the North Vietnamese. Even if the atomic bomb were used the United States would face a more formidable foe in Red China because of its many people.

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An article appearing in the "Washington - Afro-American" dated March 19, 1968, reported as follows:

"VOTE WILL GET BLACK PEOPLE
NOWHERE, CARMICHAEL SAYS

"Some 400 persons listened Sunday night as Stokely Carmichael warned Afro-Americans: 'If you believe in the vote, you will end up in Bimini, if you can afford it!'

"Speaking on 'Black Unity and American Power,' at the monthly Fellowship Forum of the Church of the Redeemer, Carmichael further advised black people that white America is 'talking genocide' and the only way to prevent it is to be aware of the threat, and arm for it.

"Arguing that the white man has enforced his 'superiority' on non-whites the world over through force of arms, Carmichael asserted that in order to attain the 'equality' inherent in the democratic philosophy, the black people must secure the 'equalizer,' the gun.

"He pointed out that although the white man may not always have the gun, physically or visibly, 'in the final analysis it is the knowledge that he has it that gives him power.'

"Carmichael told the audience, which was about one-third white, that the white people of America are bent on the extermination of the blacks. 'The only way they can do that,' he said, 'is if we are not aware of the threat.'

"THE THREE important concepts related to the 'survival' of black Americans, he pointed out, are: an undying love for one's people; putting aside all the things that whites have used to divide blacks in the past; and for black people to realize that 'community' to them is not a question of geography, but color.

"'There is a difference between dying for our people and dying for this country. This country has been, and still is, against the blacks. We must not die in Vietnam, but in the streets of this country,' he said.

"The reason black Americans have been oppressed, CARMICHAEL proposed, is that they have not realized that one's people must come first, and only then, the individual.

"The important distinction between 'Negro' and 'Black,' he emphasized, is the fact that until they were brought here as slaves, 'Negroes' were known as Africans or Blacks. Consequently, attending to being a 'Negro' is saying that one's history begins in slavery, he said.

"Explaining 'community' as a question of color, he said: 'If you went to Los Angeles, you would not be home until you got to Watts. If you went to New York, you would not be home until you got to Harlem. If you went to Chicago, you would not be home until you got to the West Side. and here in D.C., you are home in the entire city!'

"ALL DECISIONS relevant to black people were decided by the white man, Carmichael said. 'He decided where to place us, what to call us, what our language would be. We must begin to redefine ourselves.'

"We will not get the gun just to shoot the white man - but just in case he decides to play with us. Every black man in this country must get a gun, but he must carry it for his people, not for himself!"

"If the vote were necessary for survival in the United States as so many people claim, Carmichael said, then black people would not have survived. 'If we use the vote today, we can only use it as an organizing tool to bring our people together,' he said.

"He emphasized the need for public school education which 'perpetuates our type of system.' Since the present system does not teach black students how to fit into the society they are forced to live in, nor does it teach them how to change the same unfit society, then the system must be changed.

"The Black United Front he said, is an effort to get all black people 'to sit down and discuss our problems. If we decide to integrate, or to separate, let us do it by ourselves, together.'

"The Black United Front is a necessity," he continued. "We are going to take the city. Why should we, 93 percent of the population, have somebody else run it?" "Because that sounds like hate, let's talk about hate."

"Resorting to certain principles of philosophy, he argued that since the world is made up of opposites, then, 'If you say you have no hate, you have no love. [REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED]"

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"He concluded with a Bible verse, which he said described the role of Black Power advocates: 'These are the men who were sent to turn the city upside down, and the city officials were afraid.'

"He chided black people who are afraid of the Black Power slogan, and said, 'You are not the city officials, so why are you afraid?' 'Those who are afraid realize what we have to do, but don't have the guts to face up to it.'"

On the evening of March 19, 1968, a Black United Front (BUF) meeting was held at the Lincoln Memorial Congregational Church, 11th and R Streets, N.W., WDC. STOKELY CARMICHAEL convened the meeting at approximately 8:20 p.m. During the course of the meeting a resolution was made to establish a Board of Arbitrators within the BUF to settle arguments, problems and controversies arising between black people and black organizations. In this connection considerable argument took place as to how the arbitrators should settle differences and disputes involving black people which arose. CARMICHAEL said that he believed that in order to be effective and carry out their mission, the Board of Arbitrators would have to have some kind of powers to enforce decisions. A suggestion was then made from the Board that a police committee be formed and members of this committee carry guns, since force would be needed to meet force in carrying out the decisions of

the Board of Arbitrators. The general feeling of those present was that it would be unnecessary to carry guns and that a police committee should be part of the arbitration committee and assist the committee in carrying out decisions. The matter was referred to another committee appointed to further study the matter.

In addition, at the March 19, 1968, meeting of the BUF, it was resolved that the terms of office of the members of the Board of Conveners of the BUF be for one year and that the membership of the BUF could re-elect any or all of the conveners after they had served one year's term should the members of the BUF so desire. Among the members elected by the BUF to serve on the Board of Conveners from March 19, 1968 to March 20, 1969 was STOKELY CARMICHAEL.

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[redacted] advised that on March 30, 1968, CARMICHAEL visited the office of the Dixie Realty Company, Incorporated, 1417 L Street, N.W., WDC, where a controversy developed about the leasing of a residence [redacted]. CARMICHAEL wanted additional repairs made to the premises which Dixie Realty Company declined to do. CARMICHAEL became loud and boisterous. A heated argument ensued which resulted in the police being called. CARMICHAEL demanded the deposit money placed [redacted] be returned to him which was done by the Dixie Realty Company.

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL appeared on television program "Controversy 14", broadcast from 7:00 to 10:00 PM on March 20, 1968, by station WFAN, Washington, D.C. The program was moderated by JOHN HIGHTOWER who advised it was a discussion in nature involving CARMICHAEL and others. HIGHTOWER advised the program was on the air from 7:00 to 10:00 PM, but CARMICHAEL did not appear during the full time. HIGHTOWER also advised a tape was not made of the first 15 minutes of the program due to an oversight.

Statements made by CARMICHAEL on the program are as follows:

CARMICHAEL:
(CAR:)

because in the West Indies there were more Africans than there were white folks. There were a lots of us, a lot of slaves, a few white folks, so one day in the middle 1830's all the Africans got together and wiped out the white folks and took the island. So that was that, there was no more problem, I mean there was no emancipation, we drove the white folk out of the island.

Commentator:
(COMM:)

It was like then, the take-over in Haiti.

CAR:

Right, Haiti and right on. After it spread in Haiti all around the West Indies. And so the African heritage was always stronger, it was passed down. My grandmother, on my fathers side was a Zulu and she maintains from her grandmother a lot of the Zulu's heritage which she passed on to me, so that I know that one part of me is Zulu.

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COMM: Well then how would you relate that to other people that are "hibos" (ph) or "houses" (ph) or what ever?

CAR: Well the same is true I mean, we are tribal people of African descent and Africa is the richest country in the world. It has the richest language in the world. For example, in Africa a child 6 years old speaks three different languages, by the time they are six, they speak three different languages. They are to be found in one country, as many as 30 rich languages.

COMM: Mr. Mack, you have been sitting off stage, sir, you live in the Shaw area?

ROLAND

MACK:

(MACK) Yes, I do. I'm speaking specifically for the Alabama tenant Association, the tenant group within the Shaw area.

COMM: Could you say what they had to say or have they given you a message that ought to be heard in Washington?

MACK: Well you recently heard about Sidney Brown up here at Clifton Terrace.

COMM: Yes, sir.

MACK: Now down here at the Alabama.....

COMM: Sixty days, is about a year or two or three or more than that, too light a sentence?

MACK: Would like to put the owners of our building in for a little bit longer.

COMM: Who owns your building?

MACK: This Carl S. Vollmer (ph)

COMM: Varman (ph).

MACK: Vollmer (sp).

COMM: And what are the conditions that are in your building?

MACK: Well, in 1966 we had 500 housing code violations in our building; in 1967 we had 800 housing code violations in our building. And the recent inspection which took two weeks this year, we had 1000 housing code violations....

CAR: They ain't burned that place down yet?

MACK: I don't think I have to say anything else....

COMM: What was your question, Stokely?

CAR: That place should have been burned already, fire is the purifier says the Bible, and fire would do that building some good.

COMM: And where will those people live.

MACK: I don't think we're going to burn the building down. What I think we're going to do, since we have a tenants organization that's very well organized, I have one spokesman from the tenants organization here, he's on stage right now and I am the President so I suppose I'll have to be the spokesman more or less. But we're negotiating with HDC, we're working with "Curac" (ph), with UPO and other organizations. And we would like to take over the building we live in, have it rehabilitated and turn it into....

COMM: You mean like a co-operative..

MACK: Like the co-operatives, yes.

COMM: How much money would this cost.

MACK: The estimates that I've heard so far run between 150 and 200 thousands.

COMM: Do you think that the tenants in the building are going to be able to afford this between them?

MACK: No, the thing is that the tenants will not definitely be able to afford this, we can't afford it but we would very much appreciate Federal assistance and we think that any loan or grant that the Federal government could give us, we could repay within 5 years.

COMM: Stokely, what do you think about a move like that?

CAR: Whatever the brother is doing to help our people, I am in favor of.

COMM: Does this go against your way of doing things?

CAR: We have different ways but the brother is doing it his way, I will back him one hundred percent.

COMM: This is really what you are looking for, isn't it? Self-determination on a local level.

CAR: That is absolutely correct, I'm looking for us to rule ourselves. The laws that govern black people must be made by black people. And what the brother is doing is good, if we can help in any way, we would. I think that ah....what did you say the "cats" name was?

MACK: Carl S. Vollmer.

CAR: I think that it's a crime that a man like that is able to live, you know really.

COMM: You're not advocating killing him, are you?

CAR: Let me ask you a question, man. If somebody forces somebody to live in sub-human condition like that, what would you advocate they do to him?

COMM: Well, I would imagine put him in jail as these people are undoubtedly going to attempt to do....

CAR: For 60 days?

COMM: I don't know.....

CAR: If a black man...

COMM: I'm not the () and I'm not the judge.....within a given system.

CAR: Right, let's work within this given system. If a black man 16 years old went into a store and stole 300 dollars and he got caught, do you think that they would send him to jail for 60 days?

COMM: No, I don't.

CAR: How long do you think they'd send him to jail for?

COMM: I have no idea.

CAR: Come on, take a guess.

COMM: Alright what is it, armed robbery? Strong arm robbery?

CAR: Alright, let's say it wasn't even arm robbery. Let's just say he just snatched 300 dollars out of the cash register.

COMM: He'd probably get a year.

CAR: He'd get a year. Now here's a honky, who has a 1000 violations on a house.....

COMM: How does that term come about?

CAR: Forget that. Here's this honky whose got a 1000 violations on a house and he's forcing our people to live in this house in these run down conditions, the laws hasn't picked him up, if the Judge ever picks him up he goes to jail for 60 days and comes back out and do the same thing. In order for the people to get the building they got to put up 150 or 200 thousand dollars. Now this honky has already made flat 200 thousand dollars, probably in one month off of our people. He shouldn't be walking the streets. Now, you can figure out what should be done yourself.

- COMM: What do you think about the difference one bureau wants, you know, between Marion Barry attempting to low rate Mr. Mayfield by trying to stop his press conference?
- CAR: Marion Barry is the flesh of my flesh and blood of my blood, he is my brother. Rufus "Catfish" Mayfield is flesh of my flesh and blood of my blood, he is my brother. I will not in any way encourage black people to fight. The time for us fighting each other is over, it is past, it is time that we begin to move together in a spirit of love and unity to fight our major enemy.
- COMM: Which is?
- CAR: Which is that we bury all of our differences and we begin to development an undying love for each other, which this white man has been able to push against us, make us fight each other, make us hate each other, make us hate our color. We have to override that and begin to love each other, love our color, love our heritage and have a undying love for each other where we will not fight each other, we will come together and fight our major enemy.
- COMM: Do you think or do you feel inately a hate for any white man?
- CAR: Let's get that out of the way once and for all because I'm just tired of this question of hate. Now do you believe in dialective philosophy?
- COMM: Sometime.
- CAR: Well, clearly dialective philosophy works because all it says is that there are opposites in the world, is that correct?
- COMM: I believe.
- CAR: For hot there is cold, for joy there is sadness, for laughter there is tears. Is that correct?

COMM: Right.

CAR: There are opposites for everything, is that correct? Alright you have love, then there must be hate. So now if someone says to me that they don't hate white people then it means they don't have love for their own people. Because if they had love for their own people they would have to hate white people who are trying to destroy their people. If you're a father and you have children and I came to destroy your children you'd have to hate me, wouldn't you? Or try to stop me from destroying your children, wouldn't you?

COMM: Yes.

CAR: Right, because you love your children. So you don't have to preach hate and we don't have to preach hate for white people.

COMM: I answered yes to two questions. I think I would....

CAR: Alright, clarify them.

COMM: I think that I would try to stop you from killing those people, I think that hate is on an individual basis and not.....

CAR: You're absolutely wrong...

COMM: You hate me because I'm white.

CAR: Your people hate me because I'm black, dig that. You stole me from Africa because I was black.

COMM: I didn't steal you from anywhere.

CAR: Your ancestors stole me from Africa....

COMM: So therefore I've got to pay for what they did, theoretically did to your parents.

CAR: No, it's not theoretical, it's actual, and not only do you have pay....

COMM: Yeah, but I said your parents and it wasn't even your parents, it was on before that.

CAR: No, no, no, baby, it was my ancestors, my people, my race, it is my race that has been destroyed; my race that has been destroyed, has been spattered all over this world; my race by your race, by your race. So its clearly now that we're talking about this race of people, this beautiful black race of people regaining their consciousness and taking care of business and doing what is necessary so that we will survive, because we have to survive, we can't go on the way we been going on for 400 years, I mean you just get tired of being tired and I swear black people are just tired of being tired. So you just say that well look if we come to the end of the road, this is the final showdown, let's get the confrontation on, you know,

COMM: What sort of a confrontation are you looking forward to?

CAR: The confrontation that will make black people survive. That means there can be no major rebellions in the cities because white people are prepared for major rebellion, you're not prepared for other kinds of things.

COMM: What sort of rebellion is effectual in the city?

CAR: Ha, ha, ha.

COMM: How long can you control a city if the pipelines to the food which obviously come from the country because you know they don't grow in the supermarkets.

CAR: How long can you control them if white people can't get into the cities? Where the heart of production of the cities are?

COMM: You really believe that people can just exist on machines?

CAR: That's not what I'm saying. You set up a parallel situation. We can't get food; you can't get in to produce. The heart of production of this country is where? Where your machinery is? Where your industry is?

COMM: Stokely, you can't eat machinery.

CAR: Where are your industries?

COMM: In New York, in Chicago, in Detroit.

CAR: In the cities. Where's your steel? The largest steel plants are in Gary, Indiana, 60% of that is black. You can't function without steel.

COMM: There's enough of (it) it starve you out.

CAR: Well, we could try. Better to die on my feet than live on my stomach crawling for the rest of my life. I'd rather die at 26 with a gun in my hand than live to die like my father did, because he gave all his sweat and all his blood to white folk and I ain't got nothing to show for it.

COMM: How did your father die?

CAR: Of a heart attack at a young age, working hard, working, bowing scraping, saying yas suh, yas suh. But he was an Uncle Tom, not for me to be an Uncle Tom, he was an Uncle Tom for me to be a man and I'm going to be a man one way or another.

COMM: Do you foresee what is termed a riot in Washington this summer?

CAR: No, there's not going to be any riot in Washington this summer.

COMM: A rebellion?

- CAR: There ain't gonna be no rebellion in Washington this summer. The police are gonna start their little stuff and when they do we're gonna be cool. But we gonna get them back. Its not gonna be no mass thing because they got the tanks so we not gonna go out there and meet you with the tanks but everytime a policeman gets a brother...the policeman got to ride in our community.
- COMM: So the reference is there that you're going to get a policeman?
- CAR: (laughing) Not one (laughing) One ain't gonna be enough, brother, really.
- (COMM. questions another panelist. CAR joins in.)
- CAR: See the people we've been talking to, we've been making a mistake, we've been talking to white people. They have not been listening, that is the mistake. We've got to talk to our people that is what we've got to do. Now they are out there, forget these two cats, talk to our people, tell them what we've got to do.....right on, state blowing, take the time.....
- CAR: Well I think that the problem that the brother, the brother faces a problem that we all face, that is how can black people communicate without the interpretation of the white media, because white people you know have to interpret everything that somebody says, a black man says, to black people, and what the brother is trying to do is get his own organ going where black people can talk to black people without white people saying what they doing, cause Honkies do that all the time like.....
- COMM: That would be better without saying black in it.
- CAR: Well look, I'm black and I am proud of it and I say it all the time...ah..you know I'm black and I'm beautiful and will say it a thousand times a night, that irrevelant...
- COMM: What do you want me to say that I'm white and ugly?

CAR: That's your problem, not mine, really.....ah for example when we formed the Black United Front the main honkie press in this city, the Washington Post came out and said "why all these moderates leaders like Sterling Tucker sitting down with a communist like Stokely Carmichael, bla, bla....now what they what they were trying to do was to confuse the minds of our people, that was clear. About seven months ago a honkie named Lyndon Johnson sat down with another honkie named Kosygin in Glassboro, N. J. Johnson is the leader of the white free world and we know what that means, and Kosygin is leader of the Communist world, now these two honkies can sit down for two days and they get flashed all over the T.V., the Washington Post say what a beautiful thing that it is that these leaders are coming together and working out their differences bla, bla but when two black people get down together the honkies don't want to hear it. Now, that what the brother is trying to do he is trying to get his own press so all those.....

COMM: Are you a Marxist Stokely?

CAR: Marxism, I don't.....what is a Marxist?..Man I'm going to get you good. Tell me what is a Marxist is.

COMM: If you don't know I'm not going to tell you.....

CAR: No, No you asked the question. Tell me what a Marxist is.

COMM: Go ahead.....

CAR: Tell me what a Marxist is.

COMM: I just asked you a simple question.....

CAR: Well, I don't know what it is and I want to ask you the question.

COMM: Are you a black and beautiful man?

CAR: Well I know that I am black and beautiful, that's evident, I mean.....

COMM: OK, then, don't argue a Marxist.

CAR: Ah, well no, what is a Marxist?

COMM: Stokely, I ... you and I could talk about three more hours so.... There is a caller who called in with mention to Hannibal, Hannibal did not wipe out the Roman empire. His march over the alps came to a standstill before Rome because his government would not send equipment and supplies.....

CAR: Tell the man, did you ever see a Sicilian. Look at the color of a Sicilian man he's just as dark as me. That is Hannibal.

COMM: John, did you have a question for Mr. Carmichael?

JOHN: Well yes, I want to get some figures a little later on in the show. I was just telling him that I'm sure that the Washington Post didn't call him a communist because that's a () and you would undoubtedly have had a law suit within the hour.

CAR: The Washington Post said that Stokely Carmichael who has just returned from communist country who is espousing the downfall of the United States of America, are that these responsible Negroes should not set down with him. Kosygin is a communist. He lives in a communist country. He espouses the downfall of the United States. Yet when he sat down with Johnson the Washington Post did not say that Johnson should not set down with Kosygin. What I am saying is that the world is moving closer and closer on the Comi (??) question, the white man is coming closer and closer together to wipe out the black man and what the white man fears is the black man coming together, any sign of unity by the black man and the white man get upset. Any sign of identification by the black man and the white man get upset. Can't nothing upset a honkie like a man wearing a bush. A policeman gets shaken everytime he sees three brothers walking down the street with a bush.

COMM: What is a bush natural?

CAR: Natural is our beautiful hair coming out.....

JOHN: Well wouldn't you get shook if you saw a Klansman walking through your neighborhood with a shot gun?

CAR: I most certainly would get shook, Not only would I get shook, I would blow him to kingdom come. Ah, you know I don't think a man with a bush is equivalent to a man with a gun. Especially since the klansman is in my community, the brother with the bush is in his community. The white cop ain't got no business in our community () cause the Klansman with the shotgun is the same, like the Honkie cop with the badge and the gun. make that analogy....

JOHN: It was my understanding that during the Watts riots (Carmichael corrects Rebellion) rebellion, revolution, whatever you want to call it (Carmichael rebellion moving toward revolution) That Police Chief Parker one of the things he offered to do was to withdraw the police protection from the community and he was asked definitely not "We don't want that done". Because he got tired of it Charlie we'll just draw them out of there if you don't want them. (Carmichael, he's not fooling anyone). Now this was a white press that wrote that. (garbled) lies.

CAR: (repeats) He is not fooling anybody, it is lies, he is not fooling anybody. White policemen in our community is to do one thing, to protect property, not to protect us. Everybody knows that.

JOHN: How about black policemen in your community?

CAR: Now we are not going to fight them..we are not going to fight with our black policemen. No sir, every time I walk down the street and see a black man in uniform I say hello brother because I am not going to alienate myself from that brother. But every time I see a blue eyed man wearing a cops gun in my community today when he knows he has got no business there I just look him dead in the eye and just tell him I'm waiting. I'm waiting. So you know....I not going to fight.....

JOHN: How much longer are you going to wait?

CAR: Not too much longer, baby. I can feel....

JOHN: You know Stokely I read a very interesting letter to the editor in the New York Times Magazine that pointed out the fact that you were from Trinidad... and that this type of path (?) that you are putting down makes a lot of sense to a country that has a black majority. But in a country with a white majority.....

CAR: I don't want to hear that nonsense. Wherever the white man is he rules. Whether he is the majority or the minority, he rules. In South Africa he's the minority, he rules. Wherever you go he rules. Because the white man got this superior thing that he is supposed to rule the whole world. He came to this country as the minority, as the minority. Indians told you how to adapt to this country, you wiped him out. Took the country. Came to Africa, you were the minority, stole us, brought us here. Gave us a (superiority?) complex.....

JOHN: Interrupts Carmichael and says, I think your black brothers have been selling you for a few hundred years

CAR: Carmichael interrupts and says, Wait a minute . . . Let's get to that now because I am tired of you white folks telling me how black people sold us. Now you came to Africa to steal gold. What did you buy us with? You didn't have no gold cause all the gold is in South Africa. You didn't have none.

JOHN: Some of the Soviets

CAR: Interrupting, What did you have? You didn't have . . . Don't tell me about the Soviet Union because the Czar had that up tight. What did you have? Trinkets? We had all the diamonds. You didn't have no diamonds. What did you have? Cotton? Africa's got cotton and we had to pick the cotton to develop the country. What did you buy us with? Green money? Green money aint no good unless it's backed with gold. And we go back to the gold nor for . . .

JOHN: Hold up your hand when you are through here

CAR: What did you buy us with? Tell me? What did you buy us with? What (coins?) did you use? You always say that our people sold us out . . . What did you buy us with?

JOHN: I asked you that with a question mark on the end of it. Has black people ever sold black people?

CAR: No, they have never sold black people. White people say that because they want us to divide among ourselves. No, never.

JOHN: Which you are not going to do?

CAR: We will not divide among ourselves. We are one beautiful race of people. We will unite today and take care of our

JOHN: Interrupts and asks, Do you think people like Roy Wilkins and Whitney Young see eye to eye with you? On the basic problems?

CAR: Whether or not they see eye to eye to me is irrelevant in public. They are flesh of my flesh and blood of my blood. I will sit down with them and I will talk to them and I will try to reason with them.

JOHN: Fine. Now answer the question. Do you think they see eye to eye with you? You said not in public. Have they indicated to you in private that they would like to come out and say to they are for what you . . . or would they dare

CAR: What they say in private I wouldn't tell you.

JOHN: I wouldn't expect you to but I expect you to be honest about it.

CAR: Ah well I see them in private.

JOHN: And they say different things than they say in public.

CAR: I see them in private.

UNKNOWN
INDIVID-
UAL:

Stokely ah

CAR: Let the brother talk about figures and show them to you . . .

COMM: I will . . . I have a couple of more questions . . . Do you feel that the . . .

CAR: We can get em back. Let the brother () so we can take a break . . . (garbled)

COMM: Do you feel that the black community tomorrow (garbled by Carmichael)

CAR: You are trying to split us again . . .

COMM: I am not trying to split . . .

CAR: I am like James Brown . . .

COMM: (Garbled) Do you think the black community should physically arm itself with guns, shotguns, pistols, et cetera.

CAR: I'll get back to that along thing as soon as the brother do the number because that' a long thing. We just can't answer yes or no.

COMM: Stokely, we have a question that was directed to you. I believe it said to the beautiful Stokely Carmichael where can people find out more about Black Power.

CAR: Black History.

COMM: Right, same thing isn't it?

CARM: Yes, in a sense it is. There are a lot of books that can be . . . One of them is Riches (pho) of the Earth by Franz (pho) Fanon (very pho). Brother Fanon has also written another good book called White Skin, Black Man. The story of a black man in a White Society. Another one to read which is very very good is by J. A. Rogers, which is Africa's gift to America. It is really not the right title because we didn't give anything to America. They just stole it. Another good book, of course too, is written by Brother Lerone (pho) Bennett is Before the Mayflower. Confrontation Black and White W. E. DuBois, The Brilliant Black Author, has written several books, one of the best ones, a little pocket book, The Soul of Black Folks, which is an excellent book. We also

(Continued)

CAR: have the invention of the Negro by Earl Carou (pho), which is very good to explain just how the term Negro came up and what its uses are. There are several new books on the market today that. The Crisica of the Negro Intellectual by Harold Cruise (pho). This is an excellent book to read and there are lots more coming out. What we are trying to do is compile a lot of these books and to open a black book store. As a matter of fact, we will open a black book store in the District which will be on 14th Street and Fairmont. If people want courses they can contact the New School for Afro-American Thoughts which is on 14th Street between Florida and W, which has an awful lot of information on this.

COMM: Stokely Carmichael, have you urged the black community in America to arm themselves?

CAR: Well, see I do that in the context of equality. I believe in equality.

COMM: Then again as an equalizer.

CAR: Well in a sense you see White People got guns, that's a fact. White folks got guns. Now if you believe in equality if a white man got a gun then a black man should have a gun, that being equal. But white folks got a game, if they get the gun they don't want nobody else to have the gun like the Atomic Bomb. White countries have the Atomic Bomb, the Hydrogen. Now they come up with some joke about we ought to have nuclear test treaties (long laughter). And no more testing. And no more developing of bombs, they got the bombs, if you don't have any nuclear testing it means you won't get the bomb. So they tell the rest of the Third World, Africa, Asia and Latin America, you all don't do any more testing cause we don't need no more bombs, they got all the bombs. The white folks are doing the same thing, they got all the guns, and

(Continued)

CAR: now today they talk about we got to stop the sale of guns because they got em. Did you see in the papers white women in Kansas, the police are teaching them how to shoot. Atlanta, Georgia, two months ago, the police department sold guns for a dollar a piece to white people. The necessity that black people get guns. We need em in case you come down. It's better to have your stuff than not to have it. It's always better to be prepared.

UNIDENTIFIED

MAN: To pursue this question of equalization a little bit further, as far as employment quotas are concerned, do you put any stock in those if a community is ten per cent black, that some of the businesses should employ at least ten per cent black people. Do you hold stock in that at all? Population versus percentage of employees.

CAR: I don't understand.

ANOTHER
UNIDENTIFIED

MAN: In other words if we go along with Mr. Ragland's statistics, that 90 per cent of the people in Washington are black, should 90 per cent of the job holders in Washington be black.

CAR: No, No, I'm not talking about job holders, I'm talking about ownership and control.

FIRST
UNIDENTIFIED

MAN: If there are ten per cent black people in the United
(ABOVE) States, should ten per cent of the Federal jobs be black?

CAR: Ten per cent of the ownership and control of their country should be black. Jobs don't mean nothing unless you have ownership and control. So let's talk about ownership and control. White people don't want to talk about it. They want to talk about we will give you ten per cent of the jobs.

UNIDENTIFIED

MAN: In a black community do you think things should be commonly owned?

CAR: Yes, no doubt about it. There is going to have to be in our community. This concept of private property and private ownership and profits is a strict white concept. We've never had it.

UNIDENTIFIED

MAN: That sounds a little Marxist there, doesn't it?

CAR: What's Marxist? (laughter) I'm talking about Africa that's Africa, the usual way of life - straight up African and a Marx is a white boy who came along after Africa, so you know.

UNIDENTIFIED

MAN: Where are there communal societies on the world that have worked out?

CAR: Africa, until you came along and disrupted it.

UNIDENTIFIED

MAN: What kind of standard of living do they have in Africa?

CAR: They had a beautiful standard of living. You have a standard of living now that tightens everybody up because you raped the world. You steal the gold, you steal the uranium, you steal the copper, you aint got no gold in this country.

UNIDENTIFIED

MAN: You have a warped sense of history.

CAR: You aint got no gold in this country, yet your whole country is backed by gold (?). Do you back your gold currency 25 per cent on the dollar bill for your gold, hell no, and you know it. Uranium, copper, diamonds, zinc, where do you get all these from, that's not white economics, that's black stuff that you steal. Now what about your rest of metals and materials, where does it come from?

UNIDENTIFIED

MAN: What's your point?

CAR: My point is the United States raped the rest of the world.

UNIDENTIFIED

MAN: Do you want our gold and uranium?

CAR: No, I want my gold, my gold is in South Africa, my people gonna get it.

COMM: Ends discussion, time is up.

WFO 100-43503

SAs of the FBI determined that on March 22, 1968, CARMICHAEL accompanied by another Negro male departed National Airport, WDC, via Allegheny Airlines flight number 926 en route to Boston. CARMICHAEL returned to Washington, D.C. on March 27, 1968, via Chicago, accompanied by [redacted]

b7C

On March 30, 1968, CARMICHAEL accompanied by [redacted] departed Friendship International Airport via United Airlines, flight number 147 for Chicago, en route to Kalamazoo, Michigan. They returned to WDC on March 31, 1968, arriving at Friendship via United Airlines flight number 284 from Chicago.

b7C

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b2

b7D

According to an article appearing in "The Evening Star", dated April 3, 1968, approximately 300 students seized the administration building at predominantly Negro Virginia Union University, on April 2, 1968, and vowed to occupy the structure for "a long, long time." The article continued that whites were warned to stay away from the building by the students who enthusiastically welcomed black power advocate, STOKELY CARMICHAEL, as a visitor. CARMICHAEL was reportedly in Richmond to attend a bond hearing for H. Rap Brown. The students reportedly took control of the building after talks between boycotting students and officials broke down.

WFO 100-43503

On the evening of April 3, 1968, CARMICHAEL assisted others in moving the SNCC office from 1234 U Street, N.W., WDC, to 2208 14th Street, N.W., WDC, the former location of the New School for Afro-American Thought which had moved to 2115 14th Street, N.W., WDC.

[REDACTED] b2
b7D

[REDACTED] CARMICHAEL agreed to lease a house at 5015 16th Street, N.W., WDC, which they planned to occupy in the near future.

b7C
b7D

[REDACTED] b2
b7D

The following is being set forth regarding reported activities on the night of April 4, 1968, and the afternoon of April 5, 1968, during the period following the assassination of Doctor MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., as furnished by [REDACTED]

b7C
b7D

[REDACTED] WDC:

"Washington, D.C.

"I, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Washington, D.C. (WDC), voluntarily make the following statement to Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation [REDACTED]

b7C
b7D

"I know that this statement may be used in a court of law. [REDACTED]

b7C
b7D

"During the evening of Thursday, April 4, 1968, I was [REDACTED] in the vicinity of the Peoples Drug Store located in the 2000 block of the 14th Street, N.W., WDC. At approximately 8:50 p.m., while sitting in a private automobile in the 2000 block of 14th Street, N.W., I was joined by [REDACTED] WDC.

b7C
b7D

[REDACTED] stated he had been inside the headquarters of Martin Luther King's Poor Peoples March, and had heard Stokely Carmichael say he was not going to wait for any verdict, but was going to get his boys.

b7C
b7D

"Shortly thereafter, I observed Carmichael, followed by approximately fifteen to twenty unidentified persons, proceeding south on the west side of the 2000 block of 14th Street, N. W. I readily recognized Carmichael from newspaper photographs, although I have not previously observed him in person. The group entered the Peoples Drug Store in the 2000 block of 14th Street, and I observed an unidentified person or persons in conversation with the manager of the store. I was not close enough at this time to determine who talked with the manager.

"The group then exited the Peoples Drug Store and proceeded diagonally across 14th Street, N. W., to the 1900 block, where they stopped briefly at a Safeway Store. Inside the Safeway Store at this time were two or three employees and some special security officers. I did not observe the group to enter this store and do not know if any conversation ensued between the employees and members of the group.

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b7D "The group, with Carmichael in front, continued south to the Wings Carry Out located at 14th and Wallach Place, N. W. There Carmichael was confronted by an individual I believe to be [redacted] photographs of whom I had previously observed. After a brief conversation, Carmichael appeared to brush [redacted] aside and entered the Wings Carry Out Shop. At this point, the group had grown to approximately eighty to one hundred in number. A small group of individuals followed Carmichael into the Wings Carry Out Shop.

"Shortly thereafter, the group, with Carmichael in the lead, departed the Wings Carry Out Shop. I thereupon overheard Carmichael say to the group: 'We don't want any

violence, as long as they close. But if they don't, take it.' The group, with Carmichael still in the lead, then crossed 14th Street to the west side. The group proceeded to the Pig N' Pit Restaurant in the 1900 block of 14th Street, N. W., and a small part of the group entered this restaurant. I was unable to observe if Carmichael personally entered this restaurant. After departing the Pig N' Pit, the group continued north to the Wings and Things Restaurant, also located in the 1900 block of 14th Street. Some of the group entered this restaurant, but again I was unable to observe if Carmichael himself went in.

"Upon exiting the Wings and Things, the group proceeded north on 14th Street to U Street, crossed 14th Street and continued east on the north side of U Street. In the 1300 block of U Street, Carmichael and part of the group entered a delicatessen, the name of which I cannot recall. Upon departing the delicatessen, they proceeded to the vicinity of the Republic Theater, also located in the 1300 block of U Street.

"At the Republic Theater, Carmichael remained outside on the sidewalk, while part of the group filed through the lobby and into the theater itself. The group broke windows at the Republic Theater, and again I overheard Carmichael say: 'We don't want any violence as long as they close. But if they don't close, take it.'

"The group then proceeded east on U Street to the Lincoln Theater, located in the 1200 block of U Street. Some of the group, which now numbered approximately 150 to 200 persons, entered the Lincoln Theater. At this point, my attention was distracted by the presence of an unidentified white male, who was standing on the south side of U Street and carrying a camera and camera case. The group also spotted this individual and about eighty to one hundred members of the group rushed him, shouting 'kill him,' and 'get him.' The unidentified white male was thrown to the ground by the mob,

and I yelled to the mob to let him go. At this point, I was identified by several persons in the crowd [redacted]

[redacted] I then heard someone in the mob shout, 'Get the film.' The unidentified white male thereupon opened the back of this 35 milimeter camera, and an unidentified member of the mob snatched the film from it. The white male was then assisted to his feet by an unidentified Negro male, and he and I then pushed our way through the crowd and led the white male to safety. I last saw the unidentified Negro male and white male running north across U Street and west on U Street towards 14th Street. I did not observe Carmichael as being part of the group that attacked the unidentified white male.

"At this point, I noticed that the group, now split in two sections with Carmichael leading the front section, proceeding west on U Street towards 14th Street. They went north on the west side of 14th Street and unidentified persons within the group began throwing objects, such as coke bottles and rocks, at passing automobiles bearing white persons. As these incidents occurred, I observed Carmichael to be leading the group, although I did not observe him to personally throw any objects. The group continued north on the west side of 14th Street, and some windows were broken in a drug store located at 14th and Clifton Streets and other premises, the names of which I cannot recall. I also observed unidentified persons looting the drug store window at 14th and Clifton Streets.

"Subsequently, the main part of the crowd stopped at the corner of 14th and Chapin Streets, and led by Carmichael, reversed direction and proceeded south on 14th Street. At this point, I heard two gunshots. I was, at this time, one block north of the crowd around the corner at 14th and Clifton, where I had attempted to telephone [redacted] I did not see who fired the shots, and did not at any time observe Carmichael in possession of a gun. While following the group subsequent to

the incident in the 1200 block of U Street, I received several threats against my person from unidentified members of the group.

"After hearing the shots, I crossed to the east side of 14th Street and walked south of the group. Carmichael and the group stopped in front of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) Headquarters, 2208 14th Street, N. W., and I crossed back over 14th Street at U Street. I then walked back

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"The only members of the group that I recognized and knew by name is one [redacted] Negro male, about 22 years of age. I observed this individual outside the Peoples Drug Store with the Carmichael group, and I immediately recalled that [redacted]

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[redacted] in the direction of the store.

"At approximately 11:35 p.m. on April 4, 1968, [redacted]

[redacted] Negro male, age thirty-one. [redacted]

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"During the movement of the Carmichael led crowd on the evening of April 4, 1968, I noticed that the group engaged in much handclapping and chanting of 'black power.'

"I have read this statement, consisting of this and six other pages, and I believe it to be true and correct.

"/s/ [redacted]

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"Washington, D. C.
April 8, 1968.

"I, [redacted]

[redacted] Washington, D. C. (WDC), voluntarily make the following statement to Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation [redacted]

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"I know that this statement may be used in a court of law. [redacted]

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[redacted] on the evening of April 4, 1968, in the vicinity of 14th and U Streets, N. W., WDC.

[redacted] I was in the headquarters of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) located on the corner of 14th and U Streets, N. W., WDC. Shortly after 8 p.m., approximately fifteen to twenty persons were present in the headquarters of SCLC inasmuch as Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., had been shot in Memphis, Tennessee. At this time I observed Stokely Carmichael sitting quietly in a chair also awaiting the outcome of Dr. King's condition. I can positively identify this individual as Stokely Carmichael because in the past I have had occasion to see and listen to him when he was making speeches throughout the WDC area. In addition to Carmichael, also present at SCLC headquarters were an elderly white couple and a young white male and female and other Negro males and females, both adults and juveniles, whom I cannot identify by name.

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"Prior to the announcement on the radio that Dr. King was dead, Carmichael appeared to become impatient, got up from his seat, and said something to the effect, 'I'm not going to wait for a final verdict. I'm going to get my guys.' After Carmichael's departure, the elderly white couple in SCLC headquarters appeared to be frightened and made attempts to leave when a Negro male, whom I could not identify, advised them not to leave inasmuch as they were more welcome at SCLC than was Stokely Carmichael. The couple remained.

"Sometime after Carmichael's departure, I departed SCLC and entered the People's Drug Store located next door on 14th Street. In the People's Drug Store there were approximately twenty people listening to a radio news broadcast about Dr. King.

"Almost immediately after the announcement that Dr. King had died, Carmichael, accompanied by ten to fifteen young Negro males, entered the People's Drug Store. Carmichael, within earshot of an employee near the front of the store, asked 'Where's the manager? We're going to close this store because when Kennedy was shot the businesses were closed and they are going to be closed now that King's dead.' Carmichael and the individuals following him then proceeded to the back of the store and after a few seconds returned and walked outside. Carmichael left People's Drug Store and I followed him and the young Negro males to the southeast corner of 14th and U Streets. They proceeded south and some of the group entered various business establishments, requesting them to close, and continued to Wallach Place, N. W. At this time, they crossed to the west side of 14th Street and proceeded north, again entering business establishments for the same purpose. At the intersection of 14th and U Streets, Carmichael and his followers crossed over to the northeast corner and proceeded in an easterly direction on the north side of U Street. Carmichael then entered a theater in the 1300 block of U Street, N. W. Upon re-appearing, his group was interspersed by a number of people who were coming out of the theater at this time. Due to this, it was impossible to estimate the size of the crowd. While the crowd was gathered in the vicinity of the theater, a plate glass door was broken; but I did not observe who had broken it or how it had been broken. Carmichael stopped and said, 'We don't want any damaging. We just want the stores to close.' He then continued east towards 13th Street and I remained in the vicinity of the theater. Shortly thereafter, Carmichael returned and then proceeded in a westerly direction on the north side of U Street, and when he and his group arrived at the intersection of 14th and U Streets, they proceeded to the side where People's Drug Store is located (west side of 14th Street) and walked north.

"At this time I observed no other destruction of property or any looting in the general area of 14th and U Streets.

"I then left Carmichael and the group with him and made a phone call to [REDACTED] When I returned, the group and Carmichael were at the intersection of 14th and W Streets, N. W. As they went north on 14th Street, the crowd appeared to be approximately 200 in number and as they passed business establishments, I was at the rear of the crowd and noticed windows broken at a television and radio store along the route. Carmichael at this time was at the front of the crowd. They then proceeded to the 2400 block of 14th Street, which is located between Belmont and Chapin Streets, N. W. At the corner of 14th and Chapin, Carmichael stopped and the crowd stopped behind him. As he faced the gathering, a Negro male described as five feet ten inches, 180 to 195 pounds, approximately thirty years of age, heavy set, and wearing his hair in natural bush style, approached Carmichael and said something to the effect that he was wrong in what he was doing. Carmichael turned to this individual and asked him, 'Do you have your gun?' The individual replied, 'No,' and Carmichael then said, 'Well I have mine.' At this time Carmichael removed a small caliber handgun which appeared to be a .32 from inside his waistband and held this weapon above his head. After this, Carmichael turned and began walking south on 14th Street, on the west side, and the group, which had been with him, began going in different directions. It appeared he had no control of them. At this time I heard two shots fired, and I then observed windows being broken in a Safeway store located on the east side of 14th Street in the 2400 block. I also observed that windows of Eddie Leonard's Sandwich Shop and the Belmont Radio and Television Shop, both located on the west side of 14th Street within the 2400 block, were broken. During this period I noticed that two white males in a blue Volkswagen, who were parked in an alleyway behind Eddie Leonard's, were attacked by stones and other flying objects which hit the car as they attempted to leave the area. I further saw a Negro couple sitting in a car on the east side of 14th Street, when someone hit the windshield with a rake, smashing it and causing the Negro female to fall on the seat for protection.

"On April 5, 1968, I was on the campus of Howard University, WDC, at approximately 1:30 p.m. A group of students numbering between 500 - 700 were gathered near the steps of Douglas Hall, where they were being addressed by a small group of young people concerning the death of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

"Stokely Carmichael appeared through the crowd and walked to the steps of Douglas Hall. He then addressed the crowd by saying, 'They should not have killed Dr. King. They have killed the wrong man, they should have killed me.' He further stated, 'Do not be out on the streets for looting tonight. We mean business. If you don't come out tonight with your gun, stay home.' While making these remarks, Carmichael waved a small caliber gun. His appearance before the group was very short in duration and at the conclusion of the above remarks, he was observed leaving the campus.

"Prior to Carmichael's appearance the mood of the crowd appeared very hostile, and when he (Carmichael) left, I heard voices in the crowd saying in effect, 'Do you have your gun?' 'I have mine or I wish I had mine.'

"During the time Carmichael made his statement I could not identify any person within the crowd; however, on the steps of Douglas Hall from which he spoke, I recognized (First Name Unknown) [redacted] both Negro males.

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"I then left the area [redacted] [redacted] prior to departing I observed no fires in the immediate area where Carmichael had traveled.

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"I have read this statement, consisting of this and six other pages, and I believe it to be true and correct.

"/s/ [redacted]

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A press conference was called for 10:00 a.m., April 5, 1968, by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) to be held at SNCC Headquarters, 2208 14th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

The following is a transcript of a tape recording of remarks made at the press conference prepared by Ralph Webb, Radio Engineer, NBC, at the above time and location.

Commentator: I want you people to listen clearly. This press conference will be only five minutes. And...as soon as the press conference is over, you gentlemen will not leave anything here that you didn't bring in here. Your films, your cigarette butts, you take them to clean it up. Ah...we will have a few questions...of two minutes questions. To my right, extreme right, is Mr. Cleveland Sellers, Director of the Orangeburg, South Carolina, project of SNCC. To my right here, immediate right, is Stokely Carmichael, who is on staff here in WDC. And to my left is Mr. William Hall, who is also a member of the staff in Washington. And Lester McKinnie, Director of the Washington SNCC office. Mr. Carmichael will speak to you for five minutes.

Carmichael: As you may or may not know, this press conference was called before Dr. King was murdered. We called it then to deal with our Brother Rap Brown because we were very upset that Brother Brown had been in jail for 41 days and Governor Agnew of Maryland still seems to persist with his nonsensical charge and so the Brother can't get out of jail. Now we want the Brother out of jail...ah...next week when he comes to trial. Now, as to Dr. King's Murder, I think white America made its biggest mistake when she killed Dr. King last night, she killed all reasonable hope. When she killed Dr. King last night, she killed the one man of our race in this country, in the older generation, which the militants and also the revolutionaries and the masses of black people, would still listen to, even though sometimes he did not disagree...ah...(interrupts and says)...agree with them they would still listen to him. When...When white America

killed Dr. King last night, she opened the eyes for every black man in this country. When white America got rid of Marcus Garvey (phonetic), she did it and she said he was an extremist, he was crazy. When they got rid of Brother Malcolm X, they said he was preaching hate, he deserved what he got. But when they got rid of Brother Martin Luther King, they had absolutely no reason to do so. He was the one man in our race who was trying to teach our people to have love, compassion, and mercy for what white people have done. When white America killed Dr. King last night, she declared war on us. There will be no crying, there will be no funerals. The rebellions that have been occurring around the cities of this country is just light stuff to what is about to happen. We have to retaliate for the death of our leaders. The execution of those deaths will not be in the court-rooms...they are going to be on the streets of the United States of America. When white America killed Dr. King last night, she made a whole lot easier for a whole lot of black people today. They no longer needs to be intellectual discussions...black people know that they have to get guns. White America will live to cry that she killed Dr. King last night. It would have been better if she had killed Rap Brown and/or Stokely Carmichael. But when she killed Dr. King, she lost. That's it.

Unidentified: Before any questions, I would like to give one statement from the organization. We the students of the Nonviolent Coordinate Committee wish to extend out condolences to the family of the late Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., who was brutally murdered today in Memphis, Tennessee. In his death there is a lesson which white America has taught us many times before. This lesson was clear in the murder of our four brothers in Orangeburg. This lesson was clear in the murder of a 16-year-old, Larry Payne (phonetic) in Memphis. This lesson is clear in the day-to-day torture of black people by white people in America and throughout the world. It was to end this torture that Dr. King bravely faced death many times, nonviolently. Dr. King was a brother who dedicated his life to liberate his peoples through nonviolence. Dr. King was a symbol of nonviolence and white America shot him down.

Carmichael: There is one last comment about these new things-- about last night. We will tell you where we were last night. Last night, we led all of those youngsters up and down the streets to close every store in this area because Dr. King was shot and they should have closed those stores. Now, some of them kicked glass store windows in. We are not stopping them from kicking in the store windows. We are stopping them from coming out on the streets without guns. When they come out on the streets, we want them with guns. If they don't have guns, we're not gonna let 'em throw bricks and bottles at guns. But when they get guns, we'll be on the streets.

Unidentified: Question (me) if you have any questions.

Unidentified reporter: Mr. Carmichael, don't you believe the vast majority of Americans feel just as badly as you do about what happened in Memphis?

Carmichael: The white press and that's from a "honkey" Lyndon Johnson to "honkey" Bobby Kennedy will not co-opt (phonetic) Dr. Martin Luther King. Dr. Martin Luther King fought for his people. It was not but four weeks ago when Johnson told King that if he came marching into the District, he would meet a force because he should bring his troubles to him. And now tonight he is trying to make as if Dr. King was his hero. He fools no one. Bobby Kennedy pulled that trigger just as well as anybody else. Because when Dr. King was down in the South and Bobby Kennedy was Attorney General, every time a black person got killed, Kennedy would not move because he wanted votes so he is just as guilty...all of white America killed Dr. King. And those who feel sorry ought to feel sorry.

Unidentified reporter: Mr. Carmichael, what do you intend to do...what actions do you intend to take relative to Rap Brown and your intent to get him out of jail?

Carmichael: We decided at our central committee meeting that if Maryland persists with this (nonsensical) charge, even though the reports said that Rap did not incite any riot in Cambridge. Well then Governor Agnew, he ain't seen nothing if he thinks he saw something on that Bowie State thing. We will take our troops back into Maryland and all of us are veterans from Cambridge, Maryland, and from Baltimore, Maryland, and we will turn that State inside out and upside down. And we've got Louisiana to get. We've got some brothers working in Florida. We've got some brothers working in Ohio and we are gonna get Richmond, Virginia.

Unidentified reporter: Mr. Carmichael, what do you think will happen to the poor people's campaign now?

Carmichael: I understand that the Southern Christian Leadership Conference will carry it on and as we said before we will be glad to give them any support. Whatever Southern Christian Leadership Conference asks for today, we will give to them. Except our tears. We will give no more tears for any black man killed in this country.

Unidentified reporter: Mr. Carmichael, do you see anybody replacing Dr. King as a nonviolent leader?

Carmichael: No, that's why America lost when she shot him down last night.

Unidentified reporter (woman): Mr. Carmichael, is there any truth to the rumor that you are going to call a general strike here in town?

Carmichael: We are waiting for what the Southern Christian Leadership Conference wants us to do.

Unidentified reporter: When you say the execution of those deaths will be, not in the courtroom, but in the streets, can you be a little more specific about the course of action you expect?

Carmichael: I think that is quite explicit.

Unidentified reporter: Do you expect an organized rebellion?

Carmichael: I think it is quite explicit.

Unidentified reporter: Mr. Carmichael, suppose a lot of black people have to die...(garbled). (What would it do to please you--This is thought what the reporter said.)

Carmichael: That they take as many white people with them as they can.

Unidentified reporter: Yes, but what about the black people who have to die?

Carmichael: Ah...we die every day. We die in Vietnam for the "honkeys", why don't we come home and die in the streets for our people. We die everyday. We die cutting and fighting each other inside our own communities. Why cut and fight each other and kill each other off? Let's kill off the real enemy. Black people are not afraid to die. We die all the time. We die in your jails, we die in your ghettos, we die in your rat infested homes. We die a thousand deaths every day. So we are not afraid to die. Today we are going to die for our people.

Unidentified commentator: I would like to say this before we have any more questions, that on Monday our Chairman, H. Rap Brown, will be in Richmond, Virginia, according to "honkey", Federal Government, and there will be a car caravan from all directions leading to Richmond, Virginia, on Monday morning. We are urging all our black brothers and sisters to come to Richmond.

Unidentified reporter: Mr. Carmichael, what is the alternative to the kind of retribution in the streets that you are talking about? Is there any way to stop it?

Carmichael: I don't think so. I do not think so. I think white America is incapable of dealing with the problem.

Unidentified reporter: How will Dr. King's death affect your leadership as you see it, Mr. Carmichael?

Carmichael: Well Dr. King's death will not affect my leadership or affect me as a black man. Because he was my brother, flesh of my flesh and blood of my blood. You see, the mistake they made when they shot Dr. King was even though Dr. King talked about nonviolence he was always in the streets. Ready to lead a demonstration. All of the other so-called leaders who are...talk about nonviolence and are not on the streets with their people. Many people respected Dr. King even though they didn't agree with his philosophy 'cause at lease he was in the streets. So now there is really no one else to respect who talks about nonviolence because the people who talk about nonviolence are not in the streets.

Unidentified reporter: Mr. Carmichael, are you declaring war on White America?

Carmichael: White America has declared war on black people. She did so when she sold the first black man from Africa. The black man has been sufficient, has been patient, has been resisting and today the final showdown is coming. That is clear. That is crystal clear. And that black people are going to have to find ways to survive. The only way to survive is to get some guns. Cause that is the only way white America keeps us in check is because she's got the guns.

Unidentified reporter: Stokely, what do you see this ultimately leading to? A blood bath in which nobody wins?

Carmichael: First, my name is Mr. Carmichael, and secondly, black people will survive America.

Unidentified commentator: Last question.

Unidentified reporter: What accomplishment or objectives do you visualize from the retaliation that you speak? What do you think you will accomplish?

Carmichael: If black man can't do nothing in this country then we gonna stand up on our feet and die like men. If that is our only act of manhood then God dammit we gonna die. We're tired of living on our stomachs.

Unidentified reporter: Do you fear for your life?

Carmichael: Hell with my life. You should fear for yours. I know I am gonna die. I know I am gonna die. (Applause)

Unidentified commentator: There is still a possibility that there will be a general strike throughout the United States. So that our black brothers and sisters can take off that day from their slavery and working for the masters and to think about and to re-analyze what the "honkeys" are doing to the black people in this country and me. And perhaps then something can be done. That is the end of the press conference.

According to information, Carmichael was interviewed from Havana, Cuba, on the evening of April 5, 1968. The interview was over Havana radio via overseas telephone. The text of this interview is set forth hereinafter:

Question: Stokely?

Answer: Yes.

Question: Oh, this is Mike Laguardia from Radio Havana Cuba.

Answer: Hello.

Question: Hello, sir.

Answer (in Spanish): How are you?

Question (in Spanish): Very well, and you?

Answer: Uh, uh, uh...

Question: Say, Stokely?

Answer (in Spanish): Yes.

Question: We would like to have a statement from you on Martin Luther King's assassination.

Answer: Right.

Question: And what has been the reaction of the Afro-Americans in the face of this crime?

Answer: Right. A white American has Rap Brown in jail right now. And America killed Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. last night. When they killed Dr. King, they made a mistake, because Dr. King was the one man who was trying to ask, uh, black people not to burn down the cities. Now that they have killed Dr. King, there is no black man who will ask black people not to burn down the cities. What it means is that we've gone full swing into the revolution.

Last night, 35 cities had major incidents. That was last night-- 35 cities of the United States where there was burning, and shooting, and killing over the death of Dr. King. It is clear, uh, more of this will continue. It is going to become more and more a guerrilla--urban guerrilla warfare, because it is clear that we cannot win with the uh, with the police in open rebellion. So more people are now beginning to plan seriously a major urban guerrilla warfare, where we can begin to retaliate not only for the death of Dr. King, but where we can move seriously to (words indistinct) serious revolutions with this country to bring it to its knees. It is crystal clear to us that the United States of America must fall in order for humanity to live; and we are going to give our lives to that cause. To our brothers and sisters in Cuba, we want to say: "Hello--my respects to you all."

Question: Thanks very much Stokely. We'll be coming back to you again in case something more shows up.

Answer: Very good.

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Question: Au revoir.

Answer: Au revoir. Tell Prime Minister Fidel I said hello.

Question: All right (words indistinct).

Answer: (words indistinct)

Question: 'Bye Stokely.

Announcer: That was the voice of Stokely Carmichael in a statement for Radio Havana Cuba.

On Saturday, April 6, 1968, [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] advised that about 12:30 p.m., he was at the scene of a fire in a warehouse near the corner of 16th and F Streets, N. E. As he was preparing to make [REDACTED] Stokely Carmichael approached him and began a conversation.

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[REDACTED] asked Carmichael if he would care to be interviewed but Carmichael declined. Carmichael then introduced a companion as [REDACTED] (phonetic) and said that he [REDACTED] asked the young people to stay home.

[REDACTED] began his report and introduced [REDACTED] who said in substance the following: We have our own Urban Renewal here. We are going to burn down the slums and have a Black Urban Renewal and I think that it is wonderful.

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At this point, [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] said that it did not matter about the job because they were going to take over the rest of the city. [REDACTED] joked that they would make [REDACTED] when they took over.

[REDACTED] also made a statement to the effect that the revolution has begun.

[REDACTED] said that the whole conversation lasted about ten minutes. He said that Carmichael appeared on foot in the area and that he did not see any vehicle from which Carmichael might have come.

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[REDACTED] also said that there was a third person with Carmichael, but that he could not identify that person.

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[REDACTED] identified a photograph of Carmichael and described [REDACTED] as follows:

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Height:	Five feet seven or eight inches
Weight:	150 pounds
Hair:	"Natural" hair cut
Characteristics:	Full beard; sunglasses
Attire:	Long dark rain coat, dark trousers and black shoes.

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On the afternoon of April 7, 1968, at 3:00 p.m., a press conference was held at Ed Murphy's Supper Club, 2227 Georgia Avenue, N.W., WDC. [REDACTED]

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At approximately 3:10 p.m., STOKELY CARMICHAEL, accompanied by [REDACTED] entered. He told [REDACTED] that he was not sure if he would participate because, "too many niggers were calling for peace," and he wanted no part of any peace movement.

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CHUCK STONE permitted CARMICHAEL to read a printed text of the statement and CARMICHAEL expressed pleasure with the statement by laughing aloud and a hand slapping gesture with STONE.

The conference began and CARMICHAEL sat in with the others. Throughout the conference he made no statements. STONE introduced him as the Acting Chairman of the Black United Front.

After the reading of the statement by [REDACTED] before the news cameras, CARMICHAEL excused himself and left. [REDACTED] left with him. At that time it was 3:24 p.m.

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A statement read endorsed a previous statement by FLOYD MC KISSICK, National Chairman of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) to the effect that a holiday be declared on April 9, 1968, in memory of DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

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On April 8, 1968, CARMICHAEL departed WDC for Atlanta, Georgia to attend the funeral of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING on April 9, 1968. He returned to WDC on April 11, 1968, by car. On April 12, 1968, he departed WDC, at National Airport accompanied by [REDACTED] via American Airlines, Flight Number 248, for New York City. They returned to WDC by car on April 14, 1968.

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A meeting of the Black United Front (BUF) Steering Committee, was held on the evening of April 16, 1968, WDC. STOKELY CARMICHAEL, temporary Chairman of the BUF, served as Chairman of the meeting. During the course of the meeting CARMICHAEL read two letters requesting the BUF to lend support to a Malcolm X holiday in May, 1968, and to support the International Day of Protest and Student Strike. However, no decision was reached on the Malcolm X holiday. In both instances because the BUF was not aware of who was backing these movements, it was reluctant to lend its support to these causes.

In discussing the economic development of the black community and the rebuilding of the riot torn areas of the city, it was generally agreed that Negroes living in the affected areas would have to be responsible for such action. However, CARMICHAEL argued that the black community must be completely organized before the economic proposals and programs could be effective. CARMICHAEL's attitude in this regard precipitated a heated discussion and at one point he was emphatically informed that he could organize the community but that economic development would be the program of other concerned individuals and would not wait for the community to be organized.

In discussing the organization of the community, CARMICHAEL stated that he wants all people living in the community to be involved in the planning of all programs and policies affecting the community. It was pointed out to CARMICHAEL that such a feat is impossible to accomplish and CARMICHAEL admitted it will take five or ten years to organize the black community in blighted areas.

Regarding recent riots in WDC, it was proposed as a topic for discussion but the committee decided there was nothing to be discussed and the matter was passed over. CARMICHAEL did say the "Black brothers" knew exactly what they were doing during the riots and "were beautiful." He remarked that the pawn shops and furniture stores were the first places attacked. It was pointed out to him that this

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was not the situation and that the first store looted was a television repair shop and that liquor stores appeared to be high on the priority of stores looted. CARMICHAEL made no response to this contradiction to his statement.

In speaking of rebuilding the riot torn section of the city, mention was made that the white man will be reluctant to furnish financial assistance to rebuilding under black leadership. Also mentioned was the fact that Negro businessmen are motivated by profit just as are other businessmen in the community.

This prompted CARMICHAEL to state "Black police will go up against your head just as white police will." He said the only solution was to change the system but did not amplify this statement and was not questioned by any member of the Steering Committee as to just what he meant by the statement.

On several occasions when CARMICHAEL was rebuked over a statement or proposal he made, he would drop the subject and proceed to another topic. This left the impression CARMICHAEL is a "lot of rhetoric" and "a paper tiger" whose influence in the community had been blown up and out of proportion to the actual influence he wields. The Steering Committee of the BUF was characterized as a "debating society."

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[redacted] Eastern Airlines,
National Airport, WDC, advised SAs, FBI, that CARMICHAEL
accompanied by [redacted]

[redacted] departed at 10 p.m., April 23, 1968, via Eastern Airlines shuttle for New York City. Special Agents determined they returned to WDC on April 27, 1968 in a rented station wagon.

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The records of the District of Columbia Court of General Sessions, WDC, disclosed STOKELY CARMICHAEL [REDACTED]

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A meeting of the BUF was held on the evening of April 30, 1968. STOKELY CARMICHAEL was reported to have another commitment and was delayed in his arrival. Upon his arrival he acted as Chairman for the remainder of the meeting. Various items affecting the BUF and the Negro community in WDC were discussed. CARMICHAEL reportedly stated when speaking of rebuilding riot torn areas that "random burning was not effective."

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The Saturday, May 4, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther-Black Community News Service" on Page 21, reflects that STOKELY CARMICHAEL directed a telegram on April 11, 1968, to the family of BOBBY HUTTON expressing sympathy over the death of HUTTON.

This telegram is as follows:

"1038P PST APR 11 68 LD345 AA013
A 11F37 PD ATLANTA GA 12 1246A EST

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"TERRIBLY SORRY AND SADDENED THAT WE CANNOT COME TO OAKLAND FOR FUNERAL OF OUR BROTHER LITTLE BOBBY JAMES HUTTON HE WAS A BEAUTIFUL BRAVE COURAGEOUS WARRIOR WHO LIVED THIS LIFE AND FINALLY GAVE HIS LIFE FOR OUR PEOPLE. LITTLE BOBBY WAS IN THE VANGUARD OF REVOLUTIONARY BROTHERS WHO CLEARLY UNDERSTOOD THAT POWER COMES FROM A GUN. HIS DEATH PROVES THAT IF WE ARE TO SURVIVE AMERICA WE MUST FOLLOW BY THESE EXAMPLES AND PICK UP THE GUNS. THERE IS NO TIME FOR TEARS AND MOURNING THAT WE

ALL FEEL WITHIN OUR HEARTS. HE DIED FOR US LET US NOW MOVE ON AND CARRY ON HIS STRUGGLE. OUR ONLY MEMOIAL FOR HIM WILL COME ON THAT GLORIOUS DAY WHEN WE DEFEAT THE ENEMY UNTIL THEN THE LOVE THAT HE HAD FOR OUR PEOPLE AND HIS SPIRIT WILL REMAIN WITH US AND GIVE US STRENGTH TO PUSH AHEAD. IN HIS DEATH THOUSANDS OF OTHER BOBBY HUTTONS WILL RISE FROM OUR COMMUNITIES TO CARRY ON WHERE HE LEFT OFF. WHEN THEN WE SHALL CONQUER WITHOUT A DOUBT.

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"STOKELY CARMICHAEL PRIME MINISTER BPPSD SNCC

[REDACTED]

Bobby Hutton was a member of the Black Panther Party (BPP) who was killed at Oakland, California, April 6, 1968, while engaged in a gun battle with officers of the Oakland Police Department.

A characterization of the BPP is attached herewith in the appendix.

On May 7, 1968, [REDACTED] left a meeting which he had been attending at the Pan American Health Organization (PAHO) Headquarters building, WDC. This meeting, which commenced May 6, 1968, was sponsored by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations. Upon leaving the meeting, [REDACTED] went to a telephone in the lobby of the building and was overheard to call STOKELY CARMICHAEL. During conversation between CARMICHAEL and [REDACTED] they agreed to meet that night (May 7, 1968) at 8:30 p.m. According to information just prior to the conclusion of the conversation, [REDACTED] told CARMICHAEL to "continue to follow plan A five." Following the telephone call, [REDACTED] reportedly returned to the meeting which had continued to progress. No additional information was developed concerning the proposed meeting of [REDACTED] and CARMICHAEL that night.

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[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

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A staff meeting of the SNCC was held on the evening of May 9, 1968, [REDACTED] WDC. Various members of the Washington Office staff of SNCC were present including STOKELY CARMICHAEL [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] The purpose of the meeting was to discuss the reorganization of the Washington SNCC office. During the course of the discussion a number of heated arguments took place concerning who should be the actual leader of the SNCC office in WDC and the nature of this individual's duties. After a lengthy debate, one member finally said "What we are arguing about is who is going to be the big boss." All those present agreed that this was the basis of the argument. It was finally decided that STOKELY CARMICHAEL would head the overall operation of SNCC in WDC and would be given the title of Project officer or Project Chairman. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] WDC, but would actually be taking orders from STOKELY CARMICHAEL. An assignment was then made of the various duties to be performed by SNCC. After the assignment of duties was determined CARMICHAEL told those present that they would now have to stop sitting around in the office and start organizing.

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[REDACTED]

On May 14, 1968, CARMICHAEL, according to the United States Park Police, visited Resurrection City of the Poor People's Campaign being erected by the SCLC at West Potomac Park, WDC.

Previously CARMICHAEL reportedly had visited the office of the Poor People's Campaign located at 14th and U Streets, N.W., WDC, often sometimes twice a day. He reportedly "just walks in, looks around and walks out again."

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[REDACTED]

A Steering Committee meeting of the BUF was held on May 15, 1968. Among those present was STOKELY CARMICHAEL, temporary Chairman. During the course of the meeting a discussion was held concerning the election of a full time chairman. CARMICHAEL took somewhat of a "hands off" attitude and attempted to convey the impression that it really did not matter to him what decision was finally reached. No formal decision was reached.



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Special Agents of the FBI verified the departure of CARMICHAEL [redacted] at National Airport, WDC, via Eastern Airlines shuttle for New York City on May 18, 1968. On May 22, 1968, he returned to WDC at National Airport via Eastern Airlines.

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A meeting of the BUF was held on May 22, 1968, at 2115 14th Street, N.W., WDC, Headquarters of the New School for Afro-American Thought. Approximately 120 persons were in attendance, including STOKELY CARMICHAEL who presided at the meeting. During the course of the meeting, a member present gained the floor and announced that he heard on a television news program [redacted]

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It was suggested a motion be placed to the effect that the BUF support [redacted] This proposal set off an argument among those present. The motion was discussed regarding a fund raising campaign concerning [redacted] After additional discussion, it was recommended that the motion be tabled, pointing out that [redacted] was well aware that the black people all over the United States were behind him. CARMICHAEL then spoke up

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and said that 10 per cent of the funds raised should be turned over to him so he could purchase dynamite. He then went into a detailed recital of [redacted] troubles and advised those present that, although he considered such a campaign as hopeless he would nevertheless support it.

Subsequently, one of the members present asked for support at Resurrection City, the Poor People's Campaign encampment in WDC, including money for supplies. CARMICHAEL objected to these pointing out the BUF had voted to support the Poor People's Campaign but not participate in it. He said that support and other forms of aid by members of BUF would have to be a personal thing. He pointed out that the Reverend RALPH D. ABERNATHY, SCLC head, organizer of the Poor People's Campaign, had not come into the black community to ask for support and that if the campaign was a success, ABERNATHY would become a big political figure. If the Poor People's Campaign failed, failure would be laid to the black community and the reason for the failure would be sighted as lack of support of the black community. CARMICHAEL later agreed that an individual of BUF should be allowed to help the Poor People's Campaign in any manner he believed appropriate as long as the individual did not use BUF's name.

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Reverend RALPH D. ABERNATHY succeeded Reverend Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING as president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and was the leader of the Poor People's Campaign conducted by the SCLC beginning in May, 1968.

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[REDACTED]

CARMICHAEL while recently in New York City attended meetings reportedly with other SNCC leaders attempting to

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At the SNCC staff meeting in New York City, a discussion was held about the problems surrounding the conflict existing between [REDACTED] and CARMICHAEL. CARMICHAEL and [REDACTED] were both present at the meeting. As a result of the meeting, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] No new title or function was assigned to CARMICHAEL.

[REDACTED]

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A television program entitled "N.E.T. Journal" featuring STOKELY CARMICHAEL, BOBBY SEALE of the Black Panther Party (BPP) and MARIO SAVIO, former leader of the Free Speech Movement at Berkeley was broadcast from 9 p.m. to 10 p.m. over WETA, Channel 26, May 27, 1968. The program was rebroadcast on the afternoon of June 2, 1968, and comments by STOKELY CARMICHAEL which were reportedly excerpts from his past speeches are being set forth as follows:

"I was told all the time that I was an exceptional Negro. I was an intelligent boy. I had scholarships to go to all the Ivy League schools and that I could get into that society if I played by their rules, but that really bothered me because I found myself becoming less free. You see, I think that the freest people in this society are the people from Mississippi because they have not been caught up in the structure of watching your 'Ps' and 'Qs,' so I was very worried about that, so I wanted to go South just to see how free they really were and what the threat was to the whole power structure. I got caught up in the Freedom Rides and decided that Mississippi was where I'd like to stay and work. I learnt (sic) from the people in Mississippi. I learnt from the people in Mississippi what I never learnt from the most brilliant professors I've sat under. They taught me how not to be ashamed. They taught me how to say what you want to say whenever you want to say it.

"We've been so riddled and inculcated with that American dream (and) nonsense which we were never a part of and could never hope to be a part of. I think that's what the problem with America's now facing with the youth both black

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and while that we're all beginning to question why is it that she's the richest country in the world. Is it that she exploits other countries, is it that she steals, murders, and plunders, or is it that she's so smart that she can develop her resources to yield the amount of productivity that it does, and I think that most of you are beginning to see that the United States has been exploiting other countries and that we have been enjoying that good life at the expense of other countries and that when you match that with the American dream which talks about honesty and equality and a fair share for everybody to recognize that you talk that nonsense at the expense of somebody in Vietnam or South Africa, or Latin America, Asia, Japan, just makes you sick to the stomach. You want to puke. it's time that you use your mouth to say no and begin to use your knowledge for the good of black people who surround your campus.

"For once they get someone who's speaking directly to them who's beginning to challenge what has been defined as success for them on their college campuses. Deep down they've always felt this, but they haven't been really sure how to express it because they were afraid they might be called racists or black nationalists. They finally begin to see that they have that release so that I think you get the catharsis there but then an awakening and a beginning to re-think what success is all about.

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"In this country you were to think that white people were God; that they had the right to give us our freedom and so what we had to do was to beg them or to act the way they want us to act before they gave us our freedom. We must stop seeking to imitate white society. We must create for ourselves to save our very humanity because the fight for black power in this country is indeed a fight to civilize a barbaric country - the United States. We have to be able to gather the strength, you must be able to get the (goods?) as the intellectuals of the black society to say: 'We are black, our noses are broad, our lips are thick, our hair is nappy, and we are beautiful - and we are beautiful - and we are beautiful - yes - yes - beautiful (speaker drowned out by applause and the taking up of the chant, "We are beautiful.").'

"I think that black students have never heard anyone tell them that they are black and beautiful. White people like Negroes, but they have a role for them. They like them like maybe they like their pet dogs, but they like them to that extent. Now they have that role. Now when they break out of that role there's a threat, I guess the sociologists would call that a threat to status, or what have you, but there is that and then they have to react to that, but that isn't just in the South, I mean it's in the whole country. It's in the whole country. It's in the whole country.

"You ought to tell 'em clear, 'If you don't want any trouble, keep your filthy white hands off our beautiful black girls - keep 'em off - keep 'em off - keep 'em off (drowned out in crowd response) ..."

"You want to talk about this thing called violence that everybody is so afraid about. Here you are talkin' about you afraid of violence and the Honky draftin' you out o' school to go fight in Vietnam... (drowned out by crowd). Or, you gonna sit in front of your television set and listen to LBJ tell you that violence never accomplishes anything, my fellow Americans. This is the most violent society there is.

"I think that the society is headed toward suicide, and I really don't think that America could share in the guilt. I don't think we could ever see ourselves a country, and that people have to see themselves as individuals. And that is particularly true, I think, for white America, that she must see herself as individuals. That's the death trap for most liberals. You know, the first thing they say to you is that 'Well, I'm not like the rest of them.' Like their first phrase to you, because they recognize for them to share in the collective guilt they would just have to drink themselves to death. And I think that the people who even just touch on the collective guilt of white America must drink themselves to death, just have to, cause you just woke up one morning and without any reason at all you were burning bodies, and you didn't have anything

to do with it, not any reason at all - burning babies, even to stop communism, burning babies, man you go crazy, you gonna blow your mind. (Speaker drowned out by miscellaneous background comments, mostly unintelligible.)

"We are not only opposed to the war in Vietnam, we are opposed to compulsory conscription, we are against the draft. Now, we are against the draft for anybody, black or white. When you are called to serve you have a choice, either you say no and face the possibility of going to jail or you become a hired killer, you inflict suffering on somebody.

"It is more honorable to suffer. We must save our humanity, we cannot allow ourselves to be used as the black mercenaries in that war. You should join the greatest, Mohammed Ali, and tell them, 'Hell, no! I ain't going! Hell, no! We ain't going.'" (Drowned out by background applause.) (It appears the speaker is furthering the applause with repeated statement, "We ain't going," while audience repeatedly says, "Hell, no.")

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

On May 28, 1968, SAS of the FBI verified the departure of CARMICHAEL from Dulles International Airport, WDC, to San Francisco, California, via Trans-World Airlines, flight # 63, departing at 6:00 p.m. He returned to WDC on June 4, 1968.

[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted] advised on June 4, 1968, [redacted] He advised that he has seen CARMICHAEL on a few occasions since that time. In February, 1968, when he was working for the [redacted] CARMICHAEL and one of CARMICHAEL'S associates met with [redacted] in his office in [redacted] of the District of Columbia. The meeting lasted for about 2½ hours. They discussed various aspects of the racial problem and CARMICHAEL was of the opinion that nothing of a concrete nature could be accomplished through the social programs then being employed to alleviate the ghettos. During the discussion CARMICHAEL used the term "revolution" in reference to the racial situation. Once used, however, CARMICHAEL stated his definition of the term was that it was a total destruction in order to bring about a rebirth of the system. Speaking of the racial question, CARMICHAEL stated revolution has to be the answer and that he was organizing, not mobilizing. He added that this was the only salvation for the black man. [redacted] said he was concerned about the country playing into CARMICHAEL'S hands through backlash controls and suppression. CARMICHAEL stated that the white people were helping by such demonstrations by students, by hippies, and by anti-Viet Nam war demonstrations. CARMICHAEL asked [redacted] if he would be willing to help him and told [redacted] that he could use him in his efforts. CARMICHAEL added that he was winning his own war.

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[redacted] continued that CARMICHAEL does not want a viable program but wants to see polarization of the races and overreaction on the part of the whites. [redacted] stated CARMICHAEL'S only answer to the problems is revolution and has no positive program for rebuilding. In the nation's capitol, CARMICHAEL has cast a different posture in that he has given the

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indication he wants to work along with all elements of the negro social strata while setting up the Black United Front. In this connection, CARMICHAEL has adopted a moderate approach, which according to [] is just a cover.

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[] had no knowledge of CARMICHAEL receiving any assistance from outside the United States.

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[] related that about four weeks previously [] of his friends, [] drove CARMICHAEL around the area of destruction on 14th Street, N.W., WDC, which occurred after the assassination of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., and CARMICHAEL acted like a kid in delight with the ruins. CARMICHAEL told them he was preparing for revolution with guerilla warfare. He reportedly stated the white man is not convinced but during the next riot there will not be any more looting, only burning.

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A meeting of the BUF was held on June 5, 1968, at 2115 14th Street, N.W., WDC. Among those present were STOKELY CARMICHAEL. One of the members present made a motion that a task force be appointed immediately to begin organizing the entire black community. This motion was seconded, but CARMICHAEL said the BUF would have to be very careful because people would start asking questions concerning the purpose of organizing. CARMICHAEL said his idea was to cover everything from the conservative to the revolutionary. He pointed out that in the process of soliciting memberships in the black community the people should be told they are only joining the BUF not committing themselves to any particular ideology. The motion was passed and worded to express the ideas set forth by CARMICHAEL.

At the meeting on June 5, 1968, it was announced that the BUF had began to use offices at 900 Florida Avenue, N.W., WDC.

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On June 8, 1968, SAS of the FBI verified the departure of CARMICHAEL at National Airport, WDC, via Northwest Airlines, flight # 353 bound for Detroit, Michigan. He returned to WDC on June 9, 1968 via Northwest airlines,

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flight 338, from Detroit.

On June 13, 1968, [redacted]

[redacted] advised CARMICHAEL using ticket under the name BILL HALL, accompanied by [redacted] boarded American Airlines, flight # 29, for Los Angeles, California. He returned to WDC on June 18, 1968.

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A national staff meeting of SNCC was held at the Atlanta SNCC Headquarters, 360 Nelson Street, Atlanta, Georgia, from June 11 - June 14, 1968. Various members of SNCC were present from sections of the U.S. During the course of the meeting [redacted] com-

plained that STOKELY CARMICHAEL was conducting himself in a way which was detrimental to the SNCC organization in the District of Columbia. He said that CARMICHAEL was exercising a disrupting influence in the affairs of the office and seemed almost intent on destroying SNCC in Washington. [redacted] called upon others from Washington to confirm his statements. Members of the Central Committee of SNCC appeared to take [redacted] remarks lightly. They recommended that since [redacted]

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[redacted] he should return to WDC, and handle the problem of SNCC in whatever matter he could. CARMICHAEL did not attend the meeting.

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[redacted] WDC, advised on June 14, 1968, [redacted]

[redacted] He advised the contract closing the sale had not been completed and negotiations were still in the preliminary stage. He advised that after the contract was signed whereby [redacted] extensive publicity was given the sale by the news media. After the publicity CARMICHAEL telephonically contacted [redacted] and complained about the publicity. [redacted] stated that since the publicity about the sale [redacted] received a number of telephone calls and letters about the matter protesting the ability of CARMICHAEL to buy a house that expensive on a cash basis.

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He advised that the letters and telephone calls were non-specific in nature but some of them alleged the house would be burned or blown up either before or after CARMICHAEL took occupancy. He stated that he dismissed the calls and letters as the work of pranksters or cranks, and most of them were made by persons who did not identify themselves. He added [redacted]

[redacted] had also received a number of telephone calls and letters along the same line. He stated [redacted] reported that a number of telephone calls and letters to him appeared to be authentic and made by Negroes who expressed disapproval of CARMICHAEL and his activities. Some, according to [redacted] reported that they had lost their jobs during the civil disorders in WDC and blamed CARMICHAEL for this.

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Regarding the purchasing of a house, CARMICHAEL reportedly stated that he was aware of the reaction to this and that he did not care because he would never move in the house anyway as he was sure it would be bombed. He indicated that he would not go through with the purchase.

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[redacted] mentioned previously advised on June 18, 1968, that in signing the contract in purchasing the house at 4331 Blagden Avenue, N.W., WDC., [redacted]

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[redacted] advised that [redacted] CARMICHAEL had notified [redacted] had been unable to raise satisfactory financing and in view of this were unable to consummate the sale. They requested that the contract be canceled. [redacted] advised that the company agreed to this and the down payment [redacted]

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A meeting of the BUF Board of Conveners was held on June 25, 1968, in WDC. The purpose of the meeting was to draft a statement which would set out the strong feeling of the BUF about the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) having failed to establish communication between the District of Columbia black community and the SCLC and to sternly warn SCLC against further protests in WDC, which did not involve the BUF. Apparently what the BUF had in mind was the Poor Peoples Campaign which had been recently conducted in Washington by the SCLC. Among the members of the Board of Conveners present were STOKELY CARMICHAEL

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and an agreement was reached to issue a press release on June 27, 1968. The press release stated as hereinafter set forth:

"A BLACK MANIFESTO

on

"THE JUNE 24TH TRICK BAG"

from

THE BLACK UNITED FRONT
of Washington, D. C.

"On June 24th, the black people of Washington, D. C. were put in a trick bag.

"The trick bag was set up to destroy black unity and begin steps to make the D. C. black community a concentration camp.

"Because we are the black community, the Black United Front accepts its obligation to the black community to straighten our minds and get ourselves together. We ask black people to address themselves to the following 4 facts:

"1) It is a fact that when SCLC used its organizational tool of non-violence, that technique brought down massive and brutal violence by honkie cops against the entire black community. We have no quarrel with SCLC's use of non-violence as its technique to "do its thing".

"The Black United Front has never taken any position for violence or against non-violence.

"What we do reject is SCLC's refusal to accept its responsibility and the consequences for its actions as they affect the total black community. Honkie cops didn't go down against SCLC. They went down against the entire black community of Washington, D. C.

"D. C. black mothers and black children were tear-gassed for only one reason -- they were black.

"A curfew was slapped on the D. C. black community. We say the black community because only black people were arrested. Whites were permitted to pass unmolested by white cops.

"2) It is a fact that SCLC failed to honor the commitment made by our late and beloved brother, Rev. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., to involve the D. C. black community in its planning and to keep D. C. black people abreast of its plans --- step by step.

"This was not done. The black community of D. C. was totally ignored. Instead, whites took over many of the key operations of SCLC's program.

"3) It is a fact that the Black United Front, out of its deep respect for Rev. KING, initiated the meeting with SCLC, not necessarily to participate but to establish communication between the D. C. black community and SCLC.

"SCLC then chose to totally disregard the D. C. black community.

"4) It is a fact that the so-called "Solidarity Day" was a white-conceived exercise to divide the black community. District all-black organizations were not invited to participate in the "Solidarity Day" program.

"The Black United Front does not suggest that District black people would have participated in larger numbers. But they were not even asked.

"We ask: How can any "Solidarity Day" be a reality when any segment of BLACK PEOPLE is deliberately excluded?

"The Black United Front reaffirms its first loyalty to the black community.

"Black people must not be crushed by honkie racism, whether it comes in the form of honkie police brutality or misguided whites attempting to program the progress of black people by subverting our organizations.

"The Black United Front realizes that SCLC's action allowed the honkie cops to take the offensive against the entire black community.

"Because of the actions of less than 200 people connected with SCLC's program, the entire black community was placed "up tight". D. C.'s 500,000 black people themselves did nothing to bring on the curfew. In April, following our beloved brother's assassination, the total black community ran it down against white racism. We accepted our responsibility and the consequences for our actions because what was done was done in the name of blackness.

"The Black United Front hereby serves notice on ALL organizations throughout the country that no organization - black, white or inter-racial - is going to come into this city, program a protest and then expect D. C. black people to sit back and get put in a white racist trick bag.

"Unless such organizations are prepared to join with D. C. black people in helping to build a strong and viable black community, then we sternly warn against further protests which do not involve the Black United Front.

"Toward this end, the Black United Front invites its black brothers and sisters in SCLC to join with us in achieving the kind of black community that will stand as a lasting shrine to the power of blackness and the integrity of black unity.

"Our hands are extended. Our hearts are open to our black brothers and sisters in SCLC to meet with the Black United Front within the next week at a time and place of their own choosing.

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"We await their decision in the name of black unity and black progress.

"(Passed unanimously on June 25, 1968, at a meeting of the Board of Conveners of the Black United Front.)"

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advised on June 28, 1968, regarding June 24, 1968, a date mentioned in the above "manifesto", that it was on that date the police converged on "Resurrection City", the Poor Peoples Campaign encampment in WDC and made a number of arrests of inhabitants there. On the same date, Reverend RALPH D. ABERNATHY, Head of the SCLC, Poor Peoples Campaign, along with a number of his followers were arrested in WDC charged with disorderly conduct. Subsequently, on that date a crowd began gathering in the vicinity of 14th and U Streets, N.W., WDC. Later, sporadic looting in the area commenced. In order to quell the activities then underway a considerable number of policemen were sent into the area. In some instances gas was used to contain lawless activity. As a result of this activity the BUF protested the police action and issued the above mentioned "Black Manifesto".

IV MISCELLANEOUS

on May 8, 1968, she is a student at [redacted] WDC, advised [redacted] and would graduate after another year of study. She advised she worked part time as [redacted] at [redacted]

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[redacted] furnished her home address as [redacted]. She also stated that she is 24 years old, and a graduate of [redacted].

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[redacted] advised that she has known STORELY CAR-MICHAEL for approximately 8 years, having met him through mutual friends when he was a student at Bronx High School of Science and she was a student [redacted] both in New York. She continued that she has been in Washington, D.C. [redacted]

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[redacted] advised, however, that she knows nothing of CARMICHAEL's business activities as they had a strictly [redacted]

[redacted] She stated that at times they discussed the "Black Revolution" but only for therapeutic reasons. [redacted]

[redacted] advised that CARMICHAEL [redacted] of dealing with the day to day problems and tensions of trying to change his standards from those of the white world in which he had grown up, to a new world which treats the black man as equal.

[redacted] advised that when she first met him, CAR-MICHAEL was an integrationist but over the years has changed to being a "Black Power" advocate because he saw integration was not working. [redacted] stated that she is also for "Black Power" but to a different degree than CARMICHAEL, and when they did discuss "Blackness", it was a matter of what she believed in versus what he believed in. [redacted] advised that CARMICHAEL is confused regarding standards of beauty since the American Negro has all these years been taught to look at his natural state as being the epitome of ugliness and has been brainwashed to accept the white mans standards of beauty as being good for all. In order to reject the white man's standards of beauty and make the Negro proud of his natural African beauty CARMICHAEL has turned to advocating the "Natural" or "Afro" style haircut and African shirts.

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[redacted] stated that CARMICHAEL returned from his trip to Africa during December, 1967, and did not mention much except his beginning [redacted]

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[redacted] stated that she knows nothing of his financial position

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] emphasized again that the nature of their relationship was not such that she would have reason to question his political aims or means of attempting to accomplish them. She stated that he worked very hard at promoting equality for blacks and when he was worn out and tired of the "Movement". [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] advised that CARMICHAEL was always certain that he was going to be killed and did not really concern himself with it. He accepted it. Now with his new family, he is concerned about dying. He is happy for the first time and wants to complete a full family life. [REDACTED] stated that she is certain that CARMICHAEL did not just marry [REDACTED] for convenience and financial reasons but is really in love with her.

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[REDACTED] feels that CARMICHAEL'S new life [REDACTED] will harm his image of a person working in the ghetto for the good of black people. He now lives on 16th Street and has money and is bound to alienate many of his followers.

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WFO 100-43503

An article appearing in the July-August, 1967, issue of the magazine "Tri Continental" published by the Organization of People of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, contained an article appearing on Pages 15-22 entitled "The Third World-Our World", by STOKELY CARMICHAEL. The "Tri-Continental" is a bi-monthly magazine published in Havana, Cuba, and mailed from Prague, Czechoslovakia.

The foregoing is a copy of the article:

THE THIRD WORLD-OUR WORLD

By Stokely Carmichael

Black Power developed as a slogan because the African-Americans inside the United States recognized that prior to 1965, the people who were leading the struggle were not calling for power, but they were calling for other irrelevant things; they were calling for love, they were calling for non-violence, they were calling for peace, and that a clear political recognition is that if one is to implement change, one does not need love, one does not need non-violence, one does not need morality, one needs power.

So a clear understanding was that power was what the black masses of the United States need if they intend to liberate themselves, thus we call for black power.

What has happened is that living inside the United States for four hundred years, African-Americans recognized the racism of the United States and how deep it is. Unlike many peoples of the Third World who live outside of the United States, and never get a chance to really taste this racism, we have been inside the United States for four hundred years and we've recognized the depths of racism so that we have a two-front fight to wage; racism and exploitation, which happen to be by-products of a capitalistic system.

Many people who live on the outside are not so much concerned with racism as they are with exploitation, but the lines are



sharply drawn for us inside the United States for many reasons. We have an entire white society, which has for four hundred years enjoyed a luxury out of our sweat; we have been slaves and none of them protested it.

When the Civil War occurred in the 1860's, the war was not for freeing the slaves; the war was whether or not the North would control the country, or the South would control the country. The question of slavery was irrelevant. As a matter of fact the war was started in 1861 but Lincoln did not sign the Emancipation Proclamation until 1863—he himself said several times that if he could save the Union without freeing the slaves, that is what he would do, because his job was to be concerned with the United States, not with Black people.

We do not think that the people in the Third World understand the racism that we have to fight. The off-times question is why we do not join hands with white workers in the United States. Not only is it because of the subconscious racism of white workers and the white working class in particular, who think that because they are white they are better than us, but also because the white working class is part and parcel of the American capitalistic society, and it is part and parcel because when the white working class of the United States organized, its fight was not for the control of the resources of the United States, not for the redistribution of wealth in the United States; their fight was merely for more money. All they were concerned about was more money.

The United States capitalists, who were then ruling the coun-

try, in order to get more money, in order to avoid the inevitable class conflicts Marx talks about, began to exploit other countries in the Third World. Their profits

increased, they threw some of their profits to the white working class, who accepted it, so that the white working class was now enjoying the money off the sweat of the Third World, so that they became part and parcel of the system; they have to fight to maintain it, because if they do not fight to maintain it, they will have to fight for a new system.

Though we feel that a new system would be more beneficial to white working class America, we are unable to convince them of it because they are afraid to give up their economic security they now have and fight for a new type of system which would be more beneficial to them. So they throw in their lot with the white power structure inside the United States. Until they begin to develop a revolutionary consciousness, where they will begin to fight to change this system, they will not work with us—we cannot wait for them, we must struggle alone.

We automatically hook up with the peoples of the Third World, because we see ourselves, and we are in fact colonies inside the United States; the peoples of the Third World are colonies outside the United States. The same power structure that exploits and oppresses you, is the very same power structure that exploits and oppresses us. It rapes us of the resources inside the colonies where we live, it rapes you of your resources outside in the colonies where you live. So even if our goals were different, even if our aims were different, even if our ideology was different, our

enemy is the same, and the only way all of us will be liberated is when we come together and defeat our enemy. And we must come together to defeat the enemy, because we are not fighting isolated capitalism, we are fighting international capitalism; and since the imperialist powers of the world have internationalized their system, we must also internationalize our system, so that our fight will be international.

That, then, means that the importance and the significance of Che's words when he says we must create two, three, many Viet Nams has much relevance to us once we begin to recognize the importance of internationalizing our fight.

Our hooking up with the Third World also moves beyond the point of having a common enemy; therefore it is more important for us to hook up with the Third World, than it may be for the Third World to hook up with us. Because the United States has used our peoples time and time again to fight all of her imperialist wars; it is we who are the cannon fodder for all of her wars. We must develop a relationship with the Third World, so that our people will begin to recognize that their struggle is with the struggle of the Third World, and that we cannot allow white America to use us to fight imperialist wars, where she can continue to subdue peoples. Once we begin to show that relationship to our people, they will not fight in the Armed Forces of the United States. Once we have reduced the fighting power of the United States, they will have to send other people to do their fighting on the outside, we can then have our total force on the inside, we can start to wage a

fight on the inside of the United States.

We have viewed the United States as an octopus, with its tentacles reaching all across the world. The eye of the octopus is located inside the United States. Cuba has cut one of the tentacles; Viet Nam has one of the tentacles tied down; the other tentacles are loose; whenever there is trouble, the United States sends the other tentacles... If we can get the other peoples to tie down the other tentacles of the United States, while those tentacles are busy, we can stab the eye. That will be our job on the inside, so if we can make other people on the outside begin to fight the United States, while we are waging our fight inside, we can more easily defeat the octopus, and we must do that, if in fact it is going to be defeated.

If we allow the United States to keep waging one struggle and then the other, and then the other, she will continue for ever; but if she is forced to wage all the struggles at the same time, she will be defeated almost immediately. That is precisely the importance of hooking up with the Third World.

But there is another reason. What white western society has done wherever it has gone, is that it has transplanted different peoples and put them on different lands; it has taken Africans and spread us all across the Caribbean, all across South America, clear on into the United States. It has taken Indians and done the same thing; it has taken Indians from India and done that also; it has taken Chinese and has done the same thing; and what usually happens

that whenever the peoples of these countries begin to move for their liberation, the imperialist powers begin to use the question of race and culture to keep them divided. A clear example of that would be Guiana today, where you have Indians fighting blacks; an example of that would be Malaya, where the British have the Indians fighting the Chinese, fighting the Malaysians.

These tactics are very good, as far as the imperialist powers are concerned, because while they keep these races fighting each other, they are still able to exploit. If we can begin to come together, where you no longer have Indians fighting blacks in Guiana, but both of them coming together and fighting the United States. If we can do that in Malaya, where you will not have Chinese fighting Indians, fighting Malaysians, but all three coming together and fighting the British, we can more easily defeat the imperialist powers around the world. So the question of the Third World coming together as a force is very important for us, because also within the United States we have problems such as this; a clear example is the problem of blacks and Spanish-speaking people inside the United States.

For years these two groups have viewed each other with hostility, have always fought against each other, particularly Puerto Ricans and blacks inside of Harlem and Chicago; and what has happened is that while these two groups have always been fighting each other, sometimes in bloody street fights, the white power structure has sat back and laughed. Unfortunately for them, and unfortunately for us, because of some concrete organizing work that we

have done, we are getting Puerto Ricans and blacks to march in the streets together to fight the police. If that tactic can be employed successfully inside the United States, then we hope to use that as an example for our brothers around the Third World.

On the question of economics, we are somewhat behind other peoples of the Third World for a number of reasons; because we live inside the United States, it is hard for us to seize control of the United States and then have a revolution in terms of the redistribution of the wealth. Before that can come about, we need other people, particularly white people, to work with us so that we can begin to wage that struggle. We do not think, however, that white people will begin to develop a revolutionary consciousness until the profits of the Third World, the external profits of the United States, are cut off. Once those profits are cut off, and no more profits are coming into the United States, and she must begin to turn inside to find her resources and her economic way of life, then and only then will the white working class begin to develop a revolutionary consciousness. So that we must, whether we like it or not, aid the struggles of the Third World so that they can defeat imperialism in their colonies, keep the Yankees out, force them to come back home and force the white working class to develop the revolutionary consciousness, that it must develop to wage a fight to destroy the capitalistic system inside the United States.

Black Power must begin to speak specifically to the culture of black peoples around the world. Because the imperialist powers raped

Africa so bastardly, that she took us from Africa and scattered us all around the world; took us from our mother country, took us from our mothers, took us from our fathers, split up our families, took away our culture, took away our language, took away our heritage, took away our dignity. And we are beginning to understand more and more that unlike other people who have land, or countries to fight for, in a sense, Black Power is going to have to become a nationality for us, that our color in many cases is going to become our country.

The black man has been scattered all around the world, like for example, a black man in Brazil, or a black man in Mississippi, a black man in Trinidad, a black man in Guiana, we've all sprung from the same culture, and we do not know that culture. Our fight is unique because we have to fight to reclaim our culture which has been destroyed in a cold, calculated method by white western imperialist society, so that we would not feel any togetherness or any unity for each other. As because in probably every country of the Third World you find black men today; except in Asia, in every other country you find Africans in the Third World, it is because of that, more than anything else, that we will have close ties with the Third World, ties which will transcend political and intellectual ties and will become emotional ties once we begin to see ourselves as a people. So that if the United States decided to invade Brazil, if Brazil has a sizable African population, which it does — 35% —; if we recognize that those Africans are part of us, that we stem from the same country, we will not fight them, we will not fight them. This is one of the important reasons why we can develop

an emotional tie with the Africans in Brazil, the Africans in Puerto Rico, the Africans in Venezuela, the Africans in Santo Domingo, the Africans all over Africa and wherever Africans are.

Many of the African national leaders are now beginning to have an impact on us; it started with Lumumba, Patrice Lumumba, but our awareness of Lumumba did not come while he was alive unfortunately; it came after his death, and it did not come through Lumumba or through Africans; it came through our martyr brother Malcolm X, who began to explain to us that we must internationalize our struggle, that we must look beyond the United States, and we must begin to understand that we have to fight the minority complex which the United States imposes upon us; and that if we begin to internationalize our fight, we will begin to recognize that numerically the black man outnumbers the white men around the world; and that if we begin to see that, we will no longer see ourselves as a minority, but we will see ourselves, in fact, as a majority.

And if the people of color can begin to come together, all of us who have been exploited by the white man, be we Chinese, be we Indian, be we black; once we begin to recognize that WE make up the majority of the world, and the white man is in the minority in the world—particularly white western powers—we will no longer begin to be afraid of him. That, for example, would be the importance of the fight in Indochina; the French were fighting the Indochinese; the Algerians waited until the French had finished fighting in Indochina, fighting the Indochinese, before

... began their fight. If they had recognized their struggle and their unity, they would have come together and fought the French at the same time the Indochinese were fighting the French, the defeat of France would have been more quickly achieved. That could be the example to us of the Third World; the people of Malaya, the people of Somaliland, the people of Portuguese Guinea, the people of Venezuela, the people of Brazil, the people of Viet Nam—all of us—land the black people inside the United States, if we come together, we would quickly defeat all of the western powers.

White western societies have stripped the world of its humanity. It is our job to come together and save the humanity of the world. White western society has dehumanized all of us. Until recently, she had to dehumanize us to the point where we would not even rebel against the dehumanizing process; but we are now beginning to come alive; we are beginning to understand what Che talks about, when he says a man wakes up from his death and begins to love life so much that he is going to risk his life to live for it. I think that is where all of us in the Third World are; that is, where blacks inside of the United States are. And that we, more than anybody else, will recognize the dehumanizing process; and we, more than anybody else, recognize the price that we will have to pay for humanity; we, more than anybody else, have developed real hatred of the white West—the hatred that Che talks about that is going to make us effective, cold, killing machines that will transcend man, because for four hundred years we have been forced to live inside of the West, we have been forced to recognize and to under-

stand the true, imperialistic nature, and like a dog who has been trained by its master, no one can become a more vicious enemy than a dog that has been trained by a master, because the dog knows the ways of the master.

The United States cannot destroy us the way she can destroy other peoples, because she cannot drop a hydrogen bomb or an atomic bomb inside her cities. Her weapons will be of no use to her inside her cities; she will have to fight us in hand to hand combat; she will have to fight us on our terms in guerrilla warfare. She may develop chemical gases, to use inside the ghettos, but if she uses a chemical gas inside of Harlem, she's going to have to use it in all fifty of her states, because once she uses it inside of Harlem, we will start in Watts, we will start in Chicago, we will start in Cleveland, we will put the entire country on fire, and we will sit like Nero and twiddle our thumbs.

If in the final end, in order to stop the United States, we have to fight till each of us die, then our lives is not too high a price to pay for the humanity that we will render to the world, once we have destroyed the imperialistic nature of the United States. I think that the most important thing that we can do is to begin to organize and I felt that I could use myself as an example, by going back into the field and begin to organize again, perhaps other people would begin to follow the lead. As I do not think that there is any hope for us in the Third World unless we organize our people; I think too many people in the Third World want to be what we call "arm-chair revolutionaries", that is, just talk and tell people how to organize,

rather than themselves going and doing the organizing. That is one of the reasons why it is very important, and also because we want to be able to give other people a chance to move around in leadership roles, so that when the United States and the CIA arms begin to assassinate leaders, there will be a lot of other people who have been playing a leadership role, so that the struggle will continue and not depend upon one man. As you know, it has been done in the past; lots of movements have been stopped for years because they were able to kill the leaders; we want other people to get a chance

move around in leadership positions.

We have tried for four hundred years to peacefully coexist inside the United States; it has been to no avail. The oppression has not stopped. It is clear for us that we can only be on the side of those in the Third World who are for armed struggle; those who talk of peaceful coexistence, talk only of maintaining the status quo. We've already picked up arms; it's not a question any more for us of which way to go; it is merely a question of tactics. We are ready to destroy imperialism by any means necessary.

WFO 100-43503

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] advised on May 14, 1968,
that an article appeared in the March 8, 1968, issue of
"The Aurora", entitled "What We Went", by STOKELY CARMICHAEL.

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Attached is a copy of the article.:

What We Want

by Stokely Carmichael

One of the tragedies of the struggle against racism is that up to now there has been no national organization which could speak to the growing militancy of young black people in the urban ghetto. There has been only a civil right movement, whose tone of voice was adapted to an audience of liberal whites. It served as a sort of buffer zone between them and angry young blacks. None of its so-called leaders could go into a rioting community and be listened to. In a sense, I blame ourselves — together with the mass media — for what has happened in Watts, Harlem, Chicago, Cleveland, Omaha. Each time the people in those cities saw Martin Luther King get slapped, they became angry; when they saw four little black girls bombed to death, they were angrier; and when nothing happened, they were steaming. We had nothing to offer that they could see, except to go out and be beaten again. We helped to build their frustration.

For too many years, black Americans marched and had their heads broken and got shot. They were saying to the country, "Look, you guys are supposed to be nice guys and we you beat us up, why don't you give us what we ask, why don't you straighten yourselves out?" After years of this, we are at almost the same point — because we demonstrated from a position of weakness. We cannot be expected any longer to march and have our heads broken in order to say to whites: come on, you're nice guys. For you are not nice guys. We have found you out.

An organization which claims to speak for the needs of a community — as does the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee must speak in the tone of that community, not as somebody else's buffer zone. This is the significance of black power as a slogan. For once, black people are going to use the words they want to use — not just the words whites want to hear. And they will do this no matter how often the press tries to stop the use of the slogan by equating it with racism or separatism.

An organization which claims to be working for the needs of a community — as SNCC does — must work to provide that community with a position of strength from which to make its voice heard. This is the significance of black power beyond the slogan.

Black Power can be clearly defined for those who do not attach the fears of white America to their questions about it. We should begin with the basic fact that black Americans have two problems: they are poor and they are black. All other problems arise, from this two-sided reality: lack of education, the so-called apathy of black men. Any program to end racism must address itself to that double reality.

Whites will not see that I, for

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WHAT WE WANT

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example, as a person oppressed because of my blackness, have common cause with other blacks who are oppressed because of blackness. This is not to say that there are no white people who see things as I do, but that it is black people I must speak to first. It must be the oppressed to whom SNCC addresses itself primarily, not to friends from the oppressing group.

As for White America, perhaps it can stop crying out against "black supremacy," "black nationalism," "racism in reverse," and begin facing reality. The reality is that this nation, from top to bottom, is racist; that racism is not primarily a problem of "human relations" but of an exploitation maintained — either

actively or through silence — by the society as a whole. Camus and Sartre have asked, can a man condemn himself? Can whites, particularly liberal whites, condemn themselves? Can they stop blaming us, and blame their own system? Are they capable of the shame which might become a revolutionary emotion?

We have found that they usually cannot condemn themselves, and so we have done it. But the rebuilding of this society, if at all possible, is basically the responsibility of whites—not blacks. We won't fight to save the present society, in Vietnam or anywhere else. We are just going to work, in the way we see fit, and on goals we define, not for civil rights but for all our human rights.

WFO 100-43503

An article appearing in the "Washington-Afro American", dated April 23, 1968, captioned "Stokely Carmichael: How Beliefs Guide His Actions" is set out as follows:

Stokely Carmichael: How beliefs guide his actions

By MOSES J. NEWSON



STOKELY CARMICHAEL

WASHINGTON — Let militant Stokely Carmichael talk about his beliefs and the thing that's burning inside him is clear enough to be described.

It's like Paul Revere's "Redcoats are coming" warning, Patrick Henry's "give me liberty or death" militancy and George Washington's "fight if we must" courage, all churned up in a black and white kettle.

But that's the easy part, the less explosive part.

The unanswered questions are whether what the Howard University educated young black power advocate believes is true and whether the strategy he's pushing promises success or suicide.

SPEAKING IN a soft voice as he sipped a drink during a cafe interview, Carmichael first expressed his feelings about reactions to the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

"White people have been hypocritical. They hadn't expected black people to retaliate over Dr. King's

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death.

"Their reaction now is they realize the real threat that black people pose to them. . . enough to destroy their country.

"With that in mind I think they are going to prepare for the wipe-out now.

When Carmichael speaks of the wipe-out, he deals with something that is basic to his thinking and his actions.

"I start off from the assumption that white people intend to commit genocide against black people," Carmichael said.

The same day he discussed his position with the AFRO, former Congressman Adam Clayton Powell declared from Bimini: "... white racism is nothing but the attitude and framework for an ultimate policy of genocide against black people."

He asserted that with his "shoot looters" statement Chicago Mayor Richard J. Daley "has made history as the first public official to lay the administrative ground floor for the extermination of black people.

"First, we shoot to kill looters; . . and finally, we shoot n-----s for just being n-----s."

* * *

THERE IS no question at all in Carmichael's mind that white Americans prefer genocide to equality of the races.

It is from this assumption that whites intend to resort to genocide that Carmichael reasons violence must be met with violence.

Unlike the Jewish people of Germany who meekly faced the Nazi horrors, colored Americans must retaliate, even if this leads to revolution, Carmichael feels.

"They (whites) can be successful (with genocide) only if black people don't believe they mean to do genocide," he said.

Everytime there are rebellions (such as the recent disturbances across the country), it raises the realization of black people to the reality of genocide.

"For the majority of blacks, while they know the white man is mean, they don't believe yet that he is that mean.

"He's had all the time in the world to do right but he is ingrained with

that superior attitude.

"The white man is not God. We don't have to beg him for anything. He has no right to dole out rights.

"Quoting Rap (H. Rap Brown, chairman of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee), the only man holding up the world revolution is the black in the United States.

"This past weekend showed we are not far away from revolution in this country."

LOOKING AT the lopsided fatality figures and ghetto destruction of the recent outbreaks, Carmichael was asked if the colored man in this country indeed is ready for a revolution.

"I don't think people are ever ready until they have to be," he answered. "As we fight we will have to get ready. It has been this way in all revolutions.

"We have no choice. Black people will win."

Carmichael, who says what has been happening in predominately colored colleges is healthy and supported by SNCC, still feels too many students harbor fears of a physical nature.

"Most people don't know there is a bullet waiting for them. They have nothing to die for," Carmichael explained his lack of fear concerning possible death by violent means.

"I think that people who are fighting for their people have something to die for. We (Stokely and Rap) know there is a bullet waiting for us."

Carmichael, a former SNCC chairman, said he would not want that role again if it were offered him. He prefers to stick to his organizing.

* * *

HIS WORK, in organizing; his many speeches, are aimed at getting colored Americans in the mental frame of mind to start moving in the direction he feels they must go to be self reliant.

If Stokely Carmichael is assuming wrongly that whites are bent on a genocidal program, and if he is wrong about retaliation being the only way to stop such a plan, there is one other thing he said that has a message:

"One thing the white people don't know is that when they kill us (Stokely and Rap), others just like us or better will take our places."

WFO 100-43503

The information hereinafter set forth is an introduction to and translation of an interview with STOKELY CARMICHAEL which appeared in the April 25, 1968, issue of "L'Humanite Nouvelle," a French newspaper:

WFO 100-43503

"Our ultimate objective: to attack the capitalist structure of the United States"

The Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of France lends its political support to the historic struggle being waged by the Afro-Americans against the capitalist and racist power of the United States that is exploiting and oppressing them. Even though it does not share all the present positions of the Black Power leaders, it does not thereby consider them any less authentic or valuable fighters in the worldwide struggle against American imperialism. The struggle of the American blacks is an integral part of the united worldwide struggle being waged by the peoples oppressed by imperialism and by the proletariats in the capitalist countries themselves, who are being oppressed by their own governments. It is in that spirit that we are pleased today to publish the following exclusive interview by one of our African friends, himself a militant, of the Afro-American leader Stokely Carmichael, given during his last visit to Paris.

The great wave of fighting spirit now spreading through the large American cities, arousing the great Afro-American masses in heroic combat against reactionary rifles,

the victims of racism against the established capitalist order, marks, within the imperialist citadel itself, the beginning of the "final struggle." It also demonstrates the emptiness of the integrationist myth invented by the American bourgeoisie.

The outlook is now clear: Memphis has shown that non-violence by the oppressed cannot save them from the bloody violence of American capitalism. Memphis therefore marks an important milestone in the struggle of the peoples particularly the Afro-American people, which has realized that only revolutionary violence can break the bloody cycle of counter-revolutionary violence.

But imperialism, with its back against the wall, is attempting, in a last-ditch effort, to cast discredit on the just struggle of the Afro-American people by likening it coarsely to a "dance of fires and looting," and describing its leaders as "psychopaths publicly inciting to murder" (New York Times, April 12, 1968). But the capitalists' bad faith has its limits. They are forced to acknowledge, in impotent rage, of course, that "the voice of the Stokely Carmichaels is heard even louder in the land" (The Economist, London, April 11, 1968).

What is that voice saying? What struggle is involved? Is it a simple clash between two races, or is it important in some other way? Why must all Marxist-Leninists and other progressives support it and publicize it?

Some answers come to light in the course of the interview recently given to us by Stokely Carmichael, which we now publish for the first time. Sometimes, his answers were awkward; but they all express unshakable faith in final victory. Other answers will come as this struggle, now only beginning, develops. We wish to present the answers that were given in the course of the interview.

Stokely speaks as a leader. There is nothing extravagant about him, contrary to the suggestions of a certain segment of the press. He was very simply dressed. He hadn't had the time to comb his hair; we arrived just as he was getting

up. On the night before, we had spent the evening together. We were five comrades in all; we spoke very freely. An Afro-American comrade, living in Paris, made sure the translation was correct. The interview lasted four hours.

Kimba

STOKELY: The situation affecting the Afro-American people appears to be mainly a new form of domestic colonialism. The situation is almost original, and it implies that our struggle has two main objectives:

Objective No. 1: To eliminate the colonial oppression that is directed at us as black people on the economic, social, and political levels;

Objective No. 2: To attack the capitalist and imperialist structure of the United States.

Obviously, objective No. 1 will basically be fought for by the Afro-Americans alone. Objective No. 2 will concern all American revolutionaries. It is a job for all.

The relation between these two objectives is expressed in two major problems, the problem of racism and the problem of exploitation.

I indicated before that objective No. 2 was a job for all, because it means solving a problem that isn't peculiar to black people--the problem of man being exploited by man. That isn't necessarily connected with skin color.

But we can say that the problem of racism is specific to the black man. We can even make the following equation: black = proletariat of the world. Just because of his color.

White Western man can't deny that he has made gains through the sweat of the black man. Take the French, Dutch, or British West Indies. They're all the same. Take the United States in past centuries. Take the United States today. Take Africa. History is eloquent on the subject.

White Western man finds his justification as a Western man in the negation of the black man as black man. They made the black man a sub-human creature so as to rationalize exploitation of the black man, so as not to be humiliated as men.

Yes, of course, there was Colbert's Code Noir (Slave Law). But all the same, the exploitation of the black man can't just be an example of applied psychology, since racism is clearly a manifestation of the class struggle. You have only to look at the examples.

STOKELY: First, there is an immediate problem, the awakening of the victim when he faces the executioner. We intend to fight as black men.

In the United States, even a "well-to-do" black man can't escape racism. You have only to read the American press to be convinced of that. In that case, the problem of a racism isn't necessarily connected with the problem of exploitation.

Racism is part of the ideological and practical arsenal of American imperialism. The black people are more exposed because White Western man has destroyed the African cultures of the black man. The black people of the world speak the language of their masters.

As Fanon says, culture is a "cohesive force." So they have to resist this imposed culture (Pidgin English, Pidgin French).

Among the Afro-Americans, it takes the form of Christianity. Christianity is an imposed culture--that is, essentially, an imperialist culture, because it is bound up with the idea of the universal worth of the master. You must know something about that in Africa, with your history of forced conversions.

In fact, cultural liberation is a very important thing. It must aim at duplicating the master's educational system (the final stage of imposed culture). Capitalist education is intended to renew and perpetuate capitalist society.

In practice, how can all that be achieved?

By organizing the black people. Historically, we all come from Africa. By dispersing us all over his world, white Western man has taught us--negatively of course, but he has taught us--to appreciate unity. We now know that unity is power. And it was in order to fulfill the imperative of unity that we decided at an early stage to fulfill ourselves culturally by rejecting Christianity (an imposed culture, bound up with the idea of the supremacy of white Western culture).

The problem ahead of us is to create black revolutionaries. For us, that means three objectives:

1. Adoption of an African national language, Swahili, for example;
2. The destruction of Christianity;
3. The rediscovery of Africa, but scientifically, in order to draw our own heroes from there, instead of accepting the white Western heroes.

In short, we want to re-create our culture in order to turn it into a cohesive force.

We want to develop a common political ideology. In this regard, the experience of the Chinese revolution is rich in stirring examples.

Our job is to struggle to acquire a correct ideology which can unify all black people.

The essential thing is to contribute to developing the awareness that will lead the American black man to resist. That awareness is necessary.

What kind of awareness?

It has to be a political awareness.

One of the objective limitations of the leaders who preceded us is this: they appealed to the oppressors, not to the oppressed. We appeal to the oppressed. We tell them: "If you want to be free, you must fight." Chairman Mao Tse-tung rightly states that "power is at the end of a gun." That's right. We will match our liberating guns against the racist guns of American imperialism in its own cities.

We will force it to fight as we want to fight, as our Vietnamese comrades do. If they want to use napalm and rockets on their own cities, we have no objection to that. But we will fight; that much is understood.

Do you see any connection between your struggle and the struggle of the Vietnamese comrades and of other peoples fighting imperialism, mainly American imperialism?

Obviously, every time that the bases of imperialism are undermined abroad, our struggle gains by that much.

We would like there to be one African country that developed by its own efforts, and not by begging from white Western man.

We would have used it as a psychological and tactical model for the mobilization of the masses. But no one can say that there is any revolutionary country in Black Africa now. That is why the O.A.U. is paralyzed. If American black people today had to go into exile to Africa, no African country would accept them, for the simple reason that all those countries are under the yoke of American imperialism.

All those counter-revolutionary petty bourgeoisies in power in Africa are vassals of Johnson, and exploit their own black brothers.

What is your main job now? What takes priority?

First, eliminate our enemies--I mean all the counter-revolutionary movements that want to become integrated into white capitalist society.

Then we must organize our people so that they will develop offensive drive, an essential condition to change the present status quo.

That is all that the defensive struggle of Luther King and others was.

To win, you must attack. That is the minimum.

(Illustration: A photograph of rioters with the caption: "They are always right to revolt.")

WFO 100-43503

An article appearing in the "Washington-Afro American" dated May 7, 1968, captioned, "Stokely On World Issues and Marriage" is set forth as follows:

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Stokely on world issues and marriage

BY GIM OKOH

"Black Power is all the creative skills which black people can bring together for the good of the masses of black people."

Stokely Carmichael, Black Power advocate, in an AFRO interview said "James Brown will be black power, former Miss Miriam Makeba, now Mrs. Carmichael will be black power, Rap Brown will be blacker power, Muhammad Ali will be black power.

"ALL THE creative skills of colored individual persons working for the benefit of the masses of 'our people' — that is what I mean by 'black power,' he said.

"I am not concerned about how white people in-

terpret black power. I am concerned about how important it is" he remarked.

* * *

CARMICHAEL SAID he knew of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee when he was in high school.

"I came down to D.C. to picket the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and I met a lot of other colored kids who were all with SNCC.

"Since then, I have experienced that nonviolence is not going to do anything.

* *

"I THINK we are nonviolence preachers, morally. But we are not dealing with moral issues. we are dealing with political issues and you cannot deal morally within the line of politics. In politics, there is no morality."

The 26-year-old militant leader denied he has control over the man in the streets.

"It all depends on where you are. Most of the time we spend it in the streets, so we have formed the gen-

(Continued on Page 18)

—Stokely on world's issues

(Continued from Page 1)

eration and we form the streets," he asserted.

* * *

HE SAID the only advantage he has over most people is that "we could talk to each other — that is, with mutual respect."

* * *

CARMICHAEL STATED one thing bad "in our community is that colored people make references to what white people will think about anything they are doing."

He said his marriage will not interfere with his activities.

"No—I just got extra worries on my side. My wife has already been a fighter. She has given her time to every African country fighting for freedom, devoted all her time to meetings of Organization of African Unity, gave her time in the Bahamas, her money to the South African Students Association to meet college expenses for some students and she has a very close tie with all the African Freedom Fighters."

CARMICHAEL humorously remarked, "I would think the man in the street will be happy because I have found someone that I love and who loves me."

Speaking about militancy, he said the "nation will have to yield to force."

He added, the Poor Peoples Campaign has little or no meaning. "We will support them morally and spiritually, but we cannot march with them," he asserted.

Carmichael is convinced that the murder of Dr. King was as a result of conspiracy.

"High officials of this country did not want him to bring the poor people's march to the District."

* * *

"BUT THE DEATH of Dr. Martin Luther King has made black leaders more determined. As things are, they are going to be killed and we must work harder to do what we want to do before the bullet reaches us.

Carmichael stated their role is to restore humanity to the world.

"I will continue to organize the man in the streets, make them warriors, and fight for the liberation of our people."

He remarked that it does not make any difference how the war will be fought. "I think colored people will have to fight—there is no alternative."

* * *

CARMICHAEL asserted he thinks that all reasonable hopes are already exhausted.

He said it was a pity that the middle class colored person is like any other white middle class person.

* * *

"YOU SEE what happened in Addis Ababa—the students stoned the USIS; when Humphrey went to the Congo they stoned him, of course the black people are moving ahead here—white people can't fight all these people at the same time. In addition to that Europe is breaking up.

"Now there is a break up in the white world. There is a split between China and the Soviet Union. Honkies can't help it. There will not be a world War — it will be a full fledged world fight."

Carmichael concluded by saying "I am thinking that colored people in this country will be the most important. But we live inside the beast and it is going to be our job to destroy it completely."

"BUT THE REAL soul brothers and sisters would like to see this country burned down — for what has been done to our people."

He said a lot of people would like to say burn the nation down, but they won't say—it so those who can say it let them do so.

"Death means nothing to me. If you just think what this country has done to colored people, you want to kill every white person you see."

* * *

HE SAID he thinks white Americans hate his words. "if I were white I think I would hate Stokely Carmichael and Rap Brown. I have to hate them because they will be destroyed because of what I am trying to do."

Carmichael said colored people are already educated.

* * *

"I THINK the education given to us by white people is to whitewash us and I think the smartest type of colored guys are those who drop out of high school ahead of time because they recognize what the high school is trying to do to them."

He said his high school was a waste and his college useless. "I can't use it because it is not going to do me any good."

* * *

CARMICHAEL stated that when he was in high school, he used to save up 25 cents to go to a movie to yell to Tarzan to beat up all those Africans — and I would yell—kill him, Tarzan kill him.

* * *

A LOT OF US went through that but then we are coming out of it. We recognize the whole game the white man has been playing in the whole world. Now I will yell to black men to beat up Tarzan and send him to the cage."

"I think the brain wash is going away more and more and Africa is becoming more meaningful to us."

* * *

CARMICHAEL SAID the

middle class colored person is afraid because "for one reason, money has become everything to him.

To the average guy in the street, money is nothing."

He said they will try to bring them home—because, according to him, "the fight is going to be white vs. black. It is not going to be nothing else."

Carmichael warned that America will only allow so much rioting and looting "before they bring the troops in full scale — and when they do, people will fight just to live."

* * *

"I ALWAYS THOUGHT that the honkies were after Rap Brown and myself, but when they killed Dr. King they lost. There was no need to kill him — he preached peace and everything they needed.

"No matter what they do with their Poor People's Campaign, "it is going to make things worse.

"They are not going to get their demands and white folks will be pushing around all the poor people and the whole people are going to get mad and they will start blowing up all over the place.

"I think the country will be fed up with burning and looting this summer.

* * *

WFO 100-43503

An article appearing in the "Washington-Afro American" dated May 21, 1968, captioned, "500 Share Joy With Miriam, Stokely" is set forth as follows:

500 Share Joy With Miriam, Stokely

By GEORGE W. COLLINS
ATRO Staff Correspondent

MT. VERNON, N.Y. — Black Power, national and international politics, and the "greatest human struggle in the history of the world" took a back seat to love and marriage here Saturday.

While these and other topics punctuated the multi-accepted words and phrases of nearly 500 people, an 'African lady' and an 'African gentleman' dominated the spotlight of a jubilation.

The 'African lady' was Miriam Makeba, a daughter of South Africa.

The 'African gentleman' was Stokely Carmichael, "a son of Africa living in America," as they were described in the original text of the unique ceremony.

celebration.

They were married in an unprecedented wedding hosted by the palatial Tanzanian Embassy nestled in the bosom of Mt. Vernon, haven of New York's power elite.

Stokely and Miss Makeba were 'technically married' a few weeks ago, explained the Rev. Douglas Moore, who conducted the colorful

ritual.

THEY REPEATED the exchange of vows Saturday because, Stokely said, 'we wanted our friends to share in our happiness.'

Their invitation said 'a few friends' were being invited to the 'private reception.'

Before the downpour of

rain chased guests from the rambling lawn and into the mansion-like embassy, the collection of a "few friends" had grown to nearly 500 people, linked to nations from all points of the globe.

Stokely, the panther-like supreme commander of the Black Movement, cut a figure of African royalty as he greeted admirers. He was regal in a flowing, brilliantly white "grand Bubu," a gift from President Sekou Toure of Guinea.

Miss Makeba, the fiery songstress dedicated to liberation of South Africans was gowned in a radiant beige "Bu-bu," made by

(Continued on Page 18)

(Continued from Page 1)

her mother-in-law, Mrs. Mabel Carmichael.

TO THE howling approval of their guests, Stokely and Miriam embraced following the exchange of vows and tears trickled down the glowing ebony face of the bride.

Ambassador Marof Achkar of Guinea presented the couple to the Rev. Mr. Moore, a Methodist minister of Washington, who had earlier performed the "technical ceremony."

A hush fell over the miniature United Nations assemblage at 30 Oberhill Rd. as Tanzanian Ambassador His Excellency Akili B.C. Danieli, the host, opened the proceedings.

The ambassador lauded the "linking of two contingent in matrimony and prophesized that it would hasten the day of freedom for "all black people of the world."

Ambassador Achkar taking note of the large contingent of white guests, called the occasion the "beginning of human brotherhood."

"We have given a sister to an Afro-American and we have received an Afro-American as our son," Ambassador Achkar declared to thunderous applause.

The Rev. Mr. Moore, who said he founded the Washington chapter of the Student Non-violence Coordination Committee, SNCC — one chaired by Stokely,

read the text of the ceremony written by the bridegroom.

IT FOLLOWS:

"Before the first black cargo of slaves bowed its head in the restless bosom of the Atlantic, a beautiful people had made their mark on the world.

"On those ships of agony, were the best of Africa's kingly lives, royal houses, delicate craftsmen, head men of the forest, plain coast, weavers, drummers, and strong black women.

"The young glory of Africa was sent into a new world of terror. Black men in the bush by the muddy rivers, near the edge of the deep forest lamented for those stolen brothers and sisters. Prayers for their return were offered, but to no avail.

"And in the midst of slavery, our wish to go back found expression in 'My Home Is Over Jordan.'

The blood lines of all our people flow through Stokely Carmichael from turbulent rivers; from mountains of sadness; from cities of despair.

"Now our seed of hope has come and stands before us. In him we see the beauty of our people; their comely blackness; their vibrant manhood; their audacious assault upon the order of tyranny; their indomitable spirit to survive and create new form. He is the veritable young prince, now destined to be our chief.

"He has lived and worked among us as a servant in the dusty delta of Mississippi and the black belt of Alabama. The waste places of Washington, are well known to him.

"He has seen the suffering of our people. He has heard their cry. He has felt their pain and his tears for the fallen have saturated the earth.

"Now he stands as the epitome of our black man-

hood. And he has found a wife from the daughter of Africa. She who stands beside him comes out of a noble tradition. "A tradition that has been brutalized by a cruel satanic system. Her journey to freedom has been long and torturous.

"Armed with only the gift of songs, she has kept the fire of freedom alive. Her struggle for her people and all black people is known.

"She has not forgotten the the insults, the cries of agony that come from the land of her birth. Now she comes to share a love with him and a sacred tradition with us.

"Her songs speak to us and her resources support the struggle on every front and now her love, her greatest.

asset, has found an intimate expression in Stokely Carmichael.

"And we, through her, with him, will rediscover and re-instate the beautiful ways of our people.

"This is a blessed day. A significant and sacred day. A day of remembrance for us — black people of Africa and America.

"It is significant for us as a people. Their love now serves as a link between black people of two continents.

"Our common suffering, our common capacity to survive, our common culture have provided us with enduring links.

"This link of love will strengthen the unity of black people on two continents.

"In the presence of this gathered community, they have come to say to us what they have already said to each other.

"What they will now say is an affirmation of what was first said in the presence of their God and our creator."

* * *

AT THIS point the Rev. Mr. Moore injected a new substitute for the traditional vows exchanged between

bride and bridegroom.

"What is a wedding?" he asked Stokely.

The bridegroom answered:

"A wedding is a time for our friends to come together and enjoy themselves. They come together to witness us publicly acknowledge our love for each other."

"When did you marry each other?" the minister intoned.

"We were married when, in our hearts we recognized we loved each other," the bridegroom said quietly.

"Then why did you come here?" the Rev. Mr. Moore asked.

"We came here because we want our friends to share with us our happiness. After several years of wandering, we have finally found each other.

"Because we love our friends we want them to share our happiness. There is so little to be happy about these days, we would like them to have some of this happiness."

* * *

THE DIALOGUE between the minister and bridegroom continued:

MINISTER — "There are many who do not want to share in this happiness. Many speak ill of you. What do you say of this?"

STOKELY — "We wish they could find one-tenth of the happiness we have found."

MINISTER — "Are you sure you are in love with each other?"

STOKELY — "As sure as Mother Africa is the beginning of civilization. As sure as our ancestors are praying for the end of our oppression.

"As sure as the gods will right the wrongs. As sure as we breathe. As sure as we live. We are quite sure we love each other."

IS

MINISTER — "Do you expect a happy life?"

STOKELY — "Our lives are busy, but what little time we have will be precious and our love will grow.

"Our love will not be selfish. We have to work for the liberation of our people — each in his own way.

"Because our love is so strong, our lives, when we are together or apart, will be very happy.

"And if we grow weak, we have our family and friends to give us strength. Yes, our life, long or short, will be a happy life."

* * *

"STAND NOW and make public to your friends your affirmation," the clergyman instructed.

With tears trickling down her face, Miss Makeba called "Zanie" in the rites whispered:

"I have found you and I need no other."

"I have found you and I need no other," Stokely repeated.

* * *

THE REV. Mr. Moore spoke again:

"Now, in the presence of this gathered community, our ancestors and God, do you take the responsibility of loving this woman?"

"Do you promise to protect her from fear, poverty, and loneliness?"

"These rings that encircle your fingers are precious symbols. They symbolize that a man loves a special woman and that a woman loves a special man.

"Beyond that it symbolizes the unity of our people," the minister said, halting for a reply from the couple:

"I have found a love and she wears my ring," Stokely said solemnly.

"I have found a love and he wears my ring," Miss Makeba answered softly.

* * *

A CUP of wine was handed the couple by the minister.

ister who explained:

"The cup that is before you is a cup of blessing. It is a cup of sacrifice to our ancestors. It is a cup of participation of the gathered community.

"It is the cup of love shared by Stokely and Mariam and with the gathered community of love."

A shower of applause greeted the newlyweds' mutual sips from the cup and the massive embassy echoed the sounds of gayety as the bride led the audience in an African ballad, written specifically for the occasion.

* * *

IT WAS past midnight when guests reluctantly made an effort to leave while the sounds of African drums drifted from the great building into the damp air of Westchester, New York's most fashionable living quarters.

It was a "Stokely Spectacular!"

WFO 100-43503

An article appearing in "The Evening Star" dated May 27, 1968, captioned "Carmichael's Bid On House" is set forth as follows:

\$70,000 ESTATE IN NW

5

Carmichaels Bid on House

By **BARRY KALB**

Star Staff Writer

Black power advocate Stokely Carmichael and his bride, African folk singer Miriam Makeba, are negotiating to buy a \$70,000 castle-like house in the verdant "Gold Coast" area of upper Northwest Washington, on the eastern edge of Rock Creek Park.

The owner of the house has accepted a written purchase offer from the Carmichaels, subject to further discussions on financing and other matters, according to sales manager Archie Kennedy of the Floyd E. Davis real estate company.

The three-story, four-bedroom house, at 4331 Blagden Ave. NW, sits amid about an acre of well-kept gardens. City Councilman William S. Thompson lives two doors away at 4343, and prominent investment broker Belmont Ver Standig lives next door at 4329.

The owner of the house, F. Vic Guidice, said yesterday that negotiations with "some singer from New York" had been in progress for about a week.

Guidice, who is retired, said



—Star Staff

This is the house on Blagden Avenue NW the Stokely Carmichaels are interested in buying.

he and his son have been living in the house and plan to move out of the city.

Kennedy confirmed that the singer is Miss Makeba, 35, who was married to the 27-year-old

Carmichael here early this month. Her lawyer is to contact the real estate firm tomorrow or Wednesday to discuss "a certain situation that we have to get. See CARMICHAEL, Page A-13

CARMICHAEL

Continued From Page A-1

straightened out," Kennedy said.

"One of the contingencies is financing," he added, but he refused to be more specific about the tentative purchase agreement.

"It's all up in the air," he emphasized. "We don't know what the situation is."

Kennedy said the house had been on the market at \$70,000 for about six weeks. Miss Makeba expressed her interest in a telephone call to Kennedy about a week ago, he said, but he did not recognize the prominence of her name until later.

The Carmichaels "probably looked at the house one Sunday" but were not recognized by the agent, he added.

The house, which Guidice said is about 30 years old, is just west of 16th Street NW a short distance from the Carter Barron Amphitheater, where Miss Makeba has performed.

Carmichael, who popularized the black power ideology and became head of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, is now a Washington-based field secretary for the organization.

There have been several recent reports that Carmichael and Miss Makeba were seeking a house in the upper 16th Street area. A recent newsletter of the GOP Congressional Committee pictured another upper Northwest house that the Carmichaels purportedly were buying.

In New York, one of Miss Makeba's agents at Associated Booking said he knew nothing of her "personal" business. Neither Miss Makeba nor her personal manager was available to comment on such a matter, he said.

Carmichael reportedly was in Washington today preparing for a West Coast trip but could not immediately be reached.

Miss Makeba, whose previous marriage to South African recording star Hugh Masakela ended in divorce, has a 17-year-old daughter, Bongi. Carmichael has not been married before.

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Literature distributed by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, describes itself as not being a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements. SNCC was born out of the sit-in movement which erupted across the South beginning on February 1, 1960. A conference at Raleigh, North Carolina, that Spring, brought together many of the demonstrating Southern students in a loose network of militant youth which was officially named SNCC in October, 1960.

A source has advised that in May, 1966, Stokely Carmichael was elected National Chairman by the Central Committee. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced as Chairman by H. Rap Brown, with Carmichael assuming the position of Recruiter and Organizer for the SNCC. In August, 1967, at the invitation of Fidel Castro, Carmichael participated in the Organization of Latin American Solidarity Conference which was held in Havana, Cuba. Subsequent thereto, Carmichael traveled to Hanoi and other sections of North Vietnam. He returned to the United States in December, 1967, at which time his passport was picked up because of travel to unauthorized countries.

A source advised that when Carmichael was elected Chairman of SNCC, the organization embarked on a program of eliminating Caucasians from its ranks. With the election of H. Rap Brown as Chairman in 1967, it embarked on a worldwide struggle for human rights and to take a firm stand against violations of these rights by the American Government and to strengthen its programs of opposition to the draft and to the United States involvement in Vietnam.

Literature distributed in February, 1968, identifies SNCC as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

On August 13, 1967, while addressing a group in the Watts area of Los Angeles, California, H. Rap Brown said "You better shape up America, or we'll burn you down." Later in February, 1968, in a publicized note Brown wrote, "America, if it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you and to organize your jails to revolt against you and to organize your children, your God, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here's my life."

APPENDIX1BLACK UNITED FRONT (BUF)

On February 9, 1968, a meeting was held at 2208 14th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C., by STOKELY CARMICHAEL. At this meeting, the BUF, an organization consisting of representative of black organization and individual memberships of black individuals was formed in District of Columbia in order to effect operational unity among and for black people.

[REDACTED] b2

b7D

During June, 1968, the BUF in an official statement of purpose stated it was establishing for the purpose of expanding the lines of communication between, an effecting togetherness among all the black people in District of Columbia in order that they might obtain a rightful and proportionate share in the decision making councils of the District and rightful and proportionate control of the economic investigations in the black community.

The standards for qualification as a member were listed as:

1. Any black individual who has concern and interest in the black community.
2. Any organization whose primary involvement is for the benefit of black people, provided it is at least a 50 percent black constituency and its representative in the BUF is black.

[REDACTED] b2

b7D

APPENDIX

1

BLACK PANTHER PARTY, aka
Black Panther Party for
Self Defense

A source advised that the Black Panther Party for Self Defense (BPPSD) was formed by HUEY PERCY NEWTON, Minister of Defense, and BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, Chairman, in December, 1966, as a militant black nationalist political organization to combat police brutality, to unite militant black youth, and to determine the destiny of black communities. The political philosophy was taken from writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of Communist China and black militant writers.

In March, 1968, the name of the organization was changed to Black Panther Party (BPP).

The official BPP publication, "The Black Panther Party - Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates use of guns and guerrilla tactics in their violent revolutionary program to end oppression of black people.

On February 17, 1968, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister of Information, announced merger of the BPP and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and bestowed title of Minister of Justice, BPP, upon H. RAP BROWN, Chairman of SNCC.

SNCC is a militant Negro organization which preaches black supremacy.

NEWTON, aforementioned, is incarcerated in the Alameda County Jail, Oakland, California, awaiting trial on charge of murder of an Oakland police officer.

Headquarters of BPP and Huey P. Newton Defense Fund are located at 4421 Grove Street, Oakland, California.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ATTENTION

The following documents appearing in FBI files have been reviewed under the provisions of The Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) (Title 5, United States Code, Section 552); Privacy Act of 1974 (PA) (Title 5, United States Code, Section 552a); and/or Litigation.

☐ FOIA/PA☐ Litigation☐ Executive Order Applied

Requester: _____

Subject: _____

Computer or Case Identification Number: _____

Title of Case: _____ Section _____

* File _____

Serials Reviewed: _____

Release Location: *File _____ Section _____

b2

This file section has been scanned into the FOIPA Document Processing System (FDPS) prior to National Security Classification review. Please see the documents located in the FDPS for current classification action, if warranted. Direct inquiries about the FDPS to RIDS Service Request Unit.

File Number: 100-HQ-446080 Section 40Serial(s) Reviewed: ALL

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: 983,317

File Number: _____ Section _____

Serial(s) Reviewed: _____

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: 983317

File Number: _____ Section _____

Serial(s) Reviewed: _____

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 AUG TAM/MLT/TCG

THIS FORM IS TO BE MAINTAINED AS THE TOP SERIAL OF THE FILE, BUT NOT SERIALIZED.

SCANNED BY DocLab (RMD)

ATTENTION

DATE: 8-1-05

DO NOT REMOVE FROM FILE

LAST SERIAL: 1900

UNITED STATES

GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM : SAC, NEW HAVEN (100-19320) (RUC)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INCITING TO RIOT - MISCELLANEOUS

DATE: 7/31/68

Investigation in the New Haven Division has failed to reflect the subject in this area.

Informants have been contacted and alerted to report any information which would reflect his presence or the possibility that he would appear in Connecticut.

In view of this, there is no reason to maintain this case in an active status, and it is being RUC'd at this time.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/TCG

b7C

2 Bureau
2 WFO (97-9737)
1 New Haven
JAD/mm
(5)

EX 110

REC 22

25 AUG 2 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.



5010-108-01

54 AUG - 9 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

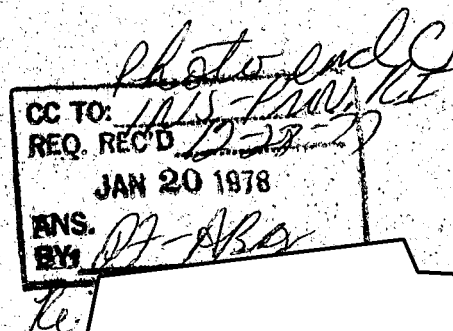
Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (100-446080)

DATE: 7/24/68

FROM : Legat, Buenos Aires (65-29) (RUC)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION
(OO:WFO)



ReBulet June 4, 1968.

Enclosed are ten copies of an LHM on captioned subject.

This LHM has been classified ~~confidential~~ to protect the identity of a source of continuing value.

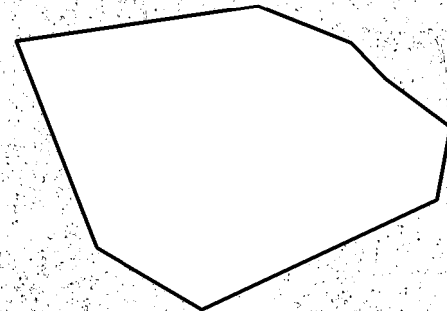
This LHM has not been disseminated locally as the information contained therein is generally known to interested agencies.

The confidential source referred to is [redacted]

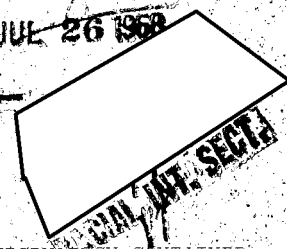
Other office sources who were alerted to our interest in this matter have furnished no information of value.

- 7 - Bureau (Encs. 10) **ENCLOSURE**
(1 - Liaison)
(1 - Miami, Info)
(1 - New York, Info) (100-153751)
(1 - WFO, Info)
1 - Buenos Aires **EX-110 REC-28**
JJW :ic
(8)

STATE, [redacted] (By Liaison)
AGENCY: ACSI, [redacted], OSI, SEC. SERV.,
[redacted]: ISD, [redacted], RAO, IDIC
HOW FORM: [redacted]
DATE FORM: 7/29/68
BY: [signature]



100-446080-100
14 JUL 26 1968



5010-108-02

1cc of LHM to
mm NY & WFO for info
8/1/68. PFB/MLT Pca 806940

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-10-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

~~SECRET~~

FBI

Date: 7/31/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, WFO

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM - STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE; SEDITION
Bufile: 100-446080
WFOfile: 100-43503

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

b7C

RM - STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Bufile: _____
WFOfile: _____

DATE: 01-25-2006
CLASSIFIED BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(6) 01-25-2031

ReBu telephone call 7/30/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are eleven copies of an
LHM dated and captioned as above pertaining to travel plans of
CARMICHAEL _____

b7C

b1

STATE, _____ (By Liaison) b2
AGENCY: ACSI, NIC, OSI, SEC. SERV. PEN Airtel
C. Richardson
ISD, CRD, RAO, Guin, IDIU
HOW FORW: N/S
DATE FORW: 7/31/68
BY: ABF/RL

b7C

3cc of LHM to Legat, London 7/31/68
NOTE: Copies furnished
Washington Liaison
representative
b1
ABF/RL
100-446080
REC-35
AUG 5 1968
JUL 31 1968

(3) - Bureau (Enc. 11)
2 - WFO

JPL:bah
(5)

54 AUG 5 1968
91268

~~SECRET~~

Sent _____

M

Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-446080-1

~~SECRET~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

July 31, 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

STOKELY CARMICHAEL;

b7C

DATE: 01-25-2006
CLASSIFIED BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(6) 01-25-2031

b3
b7C

b7C

On July 23, 1968,

[redacted] United States Department of State (USDS)
Washington, D.C., (WDC) advised that the Bureau of Security
and Consular Affairs, USDS, had returned the passport of Stokely
Carmichael to him on July 23, 1968. Carmichael's passport had
been mailed to him at his WDC residence. On July 17, 1968,
Carmichael had visited the USDS and signed an affidavit that he
would not use his passport to travel to restricted areas if it
was returned.

b7C

AUG 5 1968

~~SECRET~~

100-446050-1421
ENCLOSURE

~~SECRET~~

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL;

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b1

(S)

b7C

b7D

Confidential sources familiar with the activities of [REDACTED] and Carmichael have advised they have no knowledge of any relationship between the travels of [REDACTED] and Carmichael.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM : SAC, CINCINNATI (100-16858) (RUC)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL, Aka.
RM - SNCC; SEDITION

DATE: 8/6/68

Rerep of SA [] 7/30/68, at WFO.

b7C

Subject's last visit to the Cincinnati Division was in February, 1968. A report relative to his visit and activities while in this Division was submitted by SA [] dated 4/16/68. Cincinnati files contain no further information of an evidentiary nature.

If CARMICHAEL visits the Cincinnati Division, his activities will be covered pursuant to Buairtel 12/21/67.

CARMICHAEL SHOULD BE CONSIDERED ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - WFO (100-43503) (RM)
- 1 - Cincinnati (100-16858)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mit/tcg

CWH:jms
(5)

100-806920

REC-30

15 AUG 7 1968

REC-30

RACIAL M. SECT.



5010-108-02

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

F B I

Date: 8/4/68

Transmit the following in _____

PLAIN TEXT

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE

URGENT

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS - MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION, OO:WFO

SUBJECT NOT OBSERVED IN WASHINGTON, D.C., AUGUST

THREE, LAST. P.

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

REC 5

100-446080-1823

25 AUG 7 1968

4 - Bureau
1 - WFO

JAM:ssb
(5)

Approved: _____

56 AUG 12 1968

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

F B I

Date: 8/5/68

Transmit the following in PLAINTEXT

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE URGENT

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080) AND SAC, NEW YORK

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RM, OO: WFO.

6 SUBJECT OBSERVED AROUND RESIDENCE APPROXIMATELY NINE A.M.,
AUGUST FOUR, LAST. IN LATE AFTERNOON, SUBJECT ACCOMPANIED BY
UNIDENTIFIED NEGROES, OBSERVED DRIVING LATE MODEL FORD STATION
WAGON, BEARING CURRENT NEW YORK LICENSE [REDACTED]

b7C UNIDENTIFIED NEGRO OBSERVED TO DEPART SUBJECT'S RESIDENCE AND
ENTER BLACK THUNDERBIRD BEARING CURRENT NEW YORK LICENSE
[REDACTED]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

ADMINISTRATIVE

NEW YORK ASCERTAIN OWNERS AND CHECK INDICES RE ABOVE
AUTOS. P.

- 2 - Bureau
3 - Teletype Unit
2 - WFO

JPL:tjd
(7)

MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

5- [REDACTED]
b7C
REC 5- 100-446080-1824

25 AUG 7 1968

30 AUG 13 1968

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

VIA TELETYPE

JUL 31 1968

ENCIPHERED

WA ----24----
FBI NEW YORK

10:45 PM URGENT 7-31-68 AWS
TO DIRECTOR 100-446080 AND WFO (CODE)

WFO VIA WASHINGTON

ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM NEW YORK 100-153751

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

IS-MISC; SEDITION.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE (RELAIBLE) ADVISED EIGHT THIRTY

PM INSTANT, CAPTIONED INDIVIDUAL AND [REDACTED]

OBSERVED AT SUBJECT [REDACTED]

NEW YORK. AT SUCH TIME, SUBJECT

TRAVELING IN LATE MODEL DARK GREEN AMBASSADOR AUTOMOBILE, NY
LICENSE PLATE TWO Z NINE FOUR ZERO.

[REDACTED] ADVISED PM INSTANT

NO INFORMATION AVAILABLE CONCERNING [REDACTED]

OF STOKELY CARMICHAEL [REDACTED]

WHICH OCCASIONED HIS VIST

TO NY.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RE BUTEL CALL TO NY AND WFO TEL AND TEL CALLS TO NY

INSTANT AND NY TEL CALL TO WFO INSTANT.
CLASSIFY CONFIDENTIAL.

b7C

b7D

(PROTECT) AUG 6 1968

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES ADVISED.

NY WILL KEEP INTERESTED OFFICES ADVISED.

END

WA....LRC R RELAY

FBI WASH DC AUG 13 1968

TWO COPIES TO WFO

IDIU ADV
11/5/8 7/31/68
M.

b7C

5-24

VIA TELETYPE

AUG 1 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson_____
Mr. DeLoach_____
Mr. Mohr_____
Mr. Bishop_____
Mr. Casper_____
Mr. Callahan_____
Mr. Conrad_____
Mr. Felt_____
Mr. Gale_____
Mr. Rosen_____
Mr. Sullivan_____
Mr. Tavel_____
Mr. Trotter_____
Tele. Room_____
Miss Holmes_____
Miss Gandy_____

2/78,16

-----7-----

337 PM URGENT 8-1-68 IRR

TO DIRECTOR AND WFO

CODE

ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM NEW YORK

IP

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; IS DASH MISC; SEDITION; OO: WFO.

CONFIDENTIAL AND RELIABLE SOURCE ADVISED THIS DATE
THAT SUBJECT DEPARTED [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] NEW YORK, AT ELEVEN TEN AM WITH BAGGAGE AND LEFT

AREA IN A VEHICLE.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

REFERENCE NEW YORK TELEPHONE CALL TO WFO. CLASSIFY
CONFIDENTIAL. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] NEW YORK.

END

JDR

FBI WASH DC

TWO COPIES TO WFO

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

b7C

b7D

b7C

b7D

REC-39

100-446080-1826

15 AUG 6 1968

57 AUG 13 1968

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

JUL 28 1968

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Mr. Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

FBI WASH DC*

FBI MOBILE

853 AM

URGENT 7/28/68 VFP

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080) WFO (100-43503) AND ATLANTA (100-6812)
AND NEW YORK (100-153751).

FROM MOBILE (100-1858)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL. RM.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tca

CARMICHAEL AND ASSOCIATES REMAINED OVERNIGHT AT RESIDENCE
OF [REDACTED] MOBILE, ALABAMA. b7C

SUBJECT AND ASSOCIATES LEFT [REDACTED] RESIDENCE AT SIX TWENTYFIVE
AM IN CAR DRIVEN BY [REDACTED] THEY STOPPED AT HOME OF [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] TO MUNICIPLE AIRPORT, MOBILE, ALABAMA b7C

ARRIVING AT SIX FORTYFIVE AM SEVEN TWENTYEIGHT SIXTYEIGHT. THEY
OBTAINED TICKETS FOR CASE^H IN NAMES OF [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] AND BOARDED EASTERN AIR LINE FLIGHT THREE NINE ZERO DEPARTING
AT SEVEN AM INSTANT DATE TO ARRIVE AT ATLANTA, GEORGIA AT NINE ZERO
SIX AM EDT. SUBJECT APPARENTLY COULD NOT MAKE ANY CONNECTIONS
OUT OF ATLANTA, GA.

1X copy RM 806987

REC-39

100-446080-1827

12 AUG 6 1968

COPY SENT AG AND IDIU
7/28/68 ECP/als

ADMINISTRATIVE; b7C

REFERENCE IS MADE TO MOBILE TELETYPE OF THREE ZERO SIX AM SEVEN

TWENTYEIGHT SIXTYEIGHT. ATLANTA WAS TELEPHONICALLY ADVISED GIVING
DESCRIPTION OF CLOTHING BEING WORN BY SUBJECT AND ASSOCIATES PRIOR TO
DEPARTURE FROM MOBILE.

CITY OFFICIALS ALSO OBSERVED DEPARTURE. STATE AND MILITARY
AUTHORITIES ADVISED.

END

GCJ ~~CORR PARA TWO LINE SIX WORD FOUR SHOULD READ "CASH"~~

END

WA GJM

TELETYPED TO:

FBI WASH DC*

WFO

MR TRAMOR
ROOM 836 9&D

COPY SENT AG AND IDIU

F B I

Date: 7/31/68

Transmit the following in PLAINTEXT
(Type in plaintext or code)Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, WFO

STOKELY CARMICHAEL. RM.

RE WFO TELETYPE JULY THIRTY LAST.

SUBJECT DEPARTED RESIDENCE WITH [REDACTED] ABOUT NOON

JULY THIRTY LAST AND LATER VISITED SNCC HEADQUARTERS. SUBSE-
QUENTLY THEY WENT TO A CLEANING ESTABLISHMENT AND THEN TO A
TANZANIAN EMBASSY BEFORE RETURNING TO THEIR RESIDENCE. THEY
WERE NOT AGAIN OBSERVED TO DEPART RESIDENCE ON JULY THIRTY, LAST.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/teg

4 - Bureau
1 - WFO

WWH:bah

TELETYPE

MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

51 AUG 6 1968

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

FBI

Date: 7/31/68

Transmit the following in _____

PLAINTEXT

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via **TELETYPE****URGENT**

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR AND SAC, NEW YORK

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RM.

SUBJECT NOT OBSERVED, WASHINGTON, D.C. THIS DATE.

[REDACTED] ADVISED THEIR

SOURCES LEARNED LATE THIS DATE SUBJECT DEPARTED WDC WITH [REDACTED]

FOR NEW YORK CITY BY AUTO TO VISIT [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] NO FURTHER DETAILS AVAILABLE.

SUBJECT'S RENTED CAR, A FOREST GREEN RAMBLER AMBASSADOR BEARING
NEW YORK LICENSE TWO Z NINE FOUR ZERO HAS NOT BEEN OBSERVED AT
HIS RESIDENCE THIS DATE.

NEW YORK COGNIZANT.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 JAC/STP/tcg

- (2) - Bureau
3 - Teletype Unit
2 - WFO

CEE:lt

(7) *ce* - MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

12 AUG 6 1968

Approved: *[Signature]*

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

61 AUG 12 1968

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM : SAC, OMAHA (100-7101) (RUC)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - M; SEDITION

DATE: 8/6/68

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

OO: WFO

b7C

Re New York teletype to Bureau, 7/19/68, Omaha teletype to Bureau, 7/20/68, and New York teletype to Bureau 7/20/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of a letterhead memorandum concerning subject's trip to Omaha, Nebraska, 7/19/68. Two copies are furnished to WFO, one copy to New York and copies are also being disseminated to Secret Service, United States Attorney, and 113th MIG, all Omaha, Nebraska.

A surveillance log is being maintained in Omaha file 100-7101, 1a.

b7C

b7D

[redacted] furnished information to SA [redacted]
[redacted] furnished information
to SA [redacted]

It appeared that CARMICHAEL really attempted to travel to Omaha incognito since he did not sign the car rental, his name did not appear on the motel registration and his name did not appear on the United Airlines reservations.

No unusual contacts by CARMICHAEL were observed while he was in Omaha.

- 2 - Bureau (Enc. 1) (REGISTERED MAIL)
2 - Washington Field (Enc. 2) (REGISTERED MAIL)
1 - New York (Enc. 1) (REGISTERED MAIL)
1 - Omaha
DGH:dsa
(6)

AGENCY: ACSI, OSI, SEC. SERV.,

ISD, CRD, RAO, CROM, FOTU

HOW FORW: R/S

DATE FORW: 8/14/68

BY: PTB/dkt

b7C

AUG 7 1968

RACIAL SECT.



5010-107-02

10 AUG 20 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Omaha, Nebraska 68102
August 6, 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

[REDACTED] **STOKELY CARMICHAEL**

Carmichael

On July 19, 1968, Special Agents of the Federal
Bureau of Investigation observed Stokley Carmichael [REDACTED]

b7C

b7C

[REDACTED]

On July 19, 1968, [REDACTED] Airport
Inn Motel, advised that earlier in the evening a white male
requested reservations for four single rooms and one double
room. [REDACTED]

b7C

b7D

[REDACTED]

b7C

b7D

[REDACTED]

b7C

b7D

[REDACTED]

b7C

b7D

[REDACTED]

COPIES DESTROYED

886 17 1971

100-446080-1831
ENCLOSURE

Stokely Carmichael

b7C

b7D

[REDACTED]

On July 20, 1968, [REDACTED] Avis Rental, Omaha Airport, advised that a yellow Dodge Polara, with Nebraska license 1-X5043, was rented about 8:00 p.m., [REDACTED]

b7C

b7D

[REDACTED] The Negro male accompanying [REDACTED] at the time used his driver's license [REDACTED] no state shown. The car was returned about 12:45 p.m., on July 20, 1968. It had been driven 14 miles and the charge of \$16.73 was paid.

The Omaha World Herald, an Omaha daily newspaper, issue of July 21, 1968, set out in an article entitled "Stokely Carmichael Here For Jazz Show." The article set out that Carmichael and his wife Mariam Makeba left Omaha Saturday morning following the Friday night Schlitz Jazz Festival, at which Miss Makeba performed. "Mr. Carmichael declined interviews except with Charles Washington of the "Omaha Star," a Negro weekly. Mr. Washington said *Web* Mr. Carmichael said he decided to attend the concert because he had a night off."

This document is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

WA ----15----

FBI NEW YORK

5:20 PM URGENT 8-5-68 AWS

TO DIRECTOR 100-446080 AND WASHINGTON FIELD 100-43503 (PLAIN)

WFO AVIA WASHINGTON

ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM NEW YORK

STOKELY CARMICHAEL RM.-SNCC-SEIDTION.

A CHECK WITH MOTOR VEHICLE BUREAU REVEALED NEW
YORK LICEN [REDACTED] LISTED TO [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] NEW YORK FOR
A NINETEEN SIXTY BUICK. [REDACTED]

STOKELY CARMICHAEL RESIDING AT [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] NEW YORK.

NEW YORK LICENSE [REDACTED] IS A NEW

ISSUE AND NOT AVAILABLE AT THIS TIME.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RE WFO TEL TO BUREAU DATED AUGUST FIVE, NINETEEN
SIXTYEIGHT.

NEW YORK WILL CHECK FURTHER WITH NEW YORK STATE MOTOR
VEHICLE BUREAU AND DETERMINE OWNERSHIP OF NEW YORK LICENSE

END

WA....

TELETYPED TO:

6 AUG 14 1968

WASH DC

VIA TELETYPE

AUG 5 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

b7C

b7C

b7C

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

REC 37

100-446080-1832

AUG 7 1968

b7C

F B I

Date: 8/6/68

Transmit the following in PLAINTEXT

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE URGENT

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RM, OO: WFO.

SUBJECT OBSERVED AFTERNOON OF AUGUST FIVE, LAST AT
RESIDENCE AND DURING VISIT TO SNCC HEADQUARTERS, WDC.

DURING EVENING SUBJECT AND [] VISITED THE EBONY TABLE,
THREE EIGHT ONE FIVE GEORGIA AVENUE, N.W., WDC. P.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

REC 37

15 AUG 7 1968

CC MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

④ - Bureau
1 - WFO

JPL:tjd
(5)

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

61 AUG 14 1968

August 6, 1968

EX-110
REC 82

100-446080-1831

b7C

b7C

Dear [redacted]

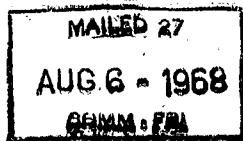
I have received your letter of July 31st, with enclosure.

With respect to your comments, the FBI is strictly an investigative agency of the Federal Government and, as such, does not determine whether prosecutive action will be undertaken in any situation. Such decisions concerning violations of Federal law are within the province of the Attorney General. Voluminous data regarding Stokely Carmichael has been furnished to the Attorney General, and you may wish to contact him.

I can certainly understand your concern and want to assure you that the FBI is aware of its responsibilities with respect to the internal security of our country. We will continue to make every effort to carry out our duties with the greatest thoroughness and efficiency.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

NOTE: No record in Bufiles of correspondent. His enclosure is an article concerning Stokely Carmichael and a speech Carmichael made in Mobile, Alabama. The article is from an unidentified newspaper. Stokely Carmichael is well known to the Bureau.

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

FMG:kce (3)

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

61 AUG 16 1968

TRUE COPY

7-31-68

Dear Mr. Hoover,

Ive always had the greatest admiration and respect for
// you personally, but it seems that the FBI or the Justice Dept. has
really fallen down on the job concerning these renegades.

Decent honest Americans are sick of long hair professors
advocating the over throw of our gov't - "Violent overthrow" that is. On
every hand people are disgusted with failure of elected officials to do
their jobs because of both political and physical fear.

This failure of duty is the answer. To the question
"What's wrong with America?"

Sincerely

[Redacted Signature]

b7C
b7D

[Redacted Box]

b7C
b7D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

ITC
8-6-68
men
Ack: 8/6/68
F m G: kee
mm

[Handwritten signature]

7-31-68

DEAR MR. HOOVER

I'VE ALWAYS HAD THE GREATEST ADMIRATION
AND RESPECT FOR YOU PERSONALLY, BUT IT SEEMS
THAT THE FBI OR THE JUSTICE DEPT. HAS
REALLY FALLEN DOWN ON THE JOB CONCERNING
THESE RENEGADES.

Stokely Carmichael

DECENT HONEST AMERICANS ARE SICK OF
LONG HAIR PROFESSORS ADVOCATING THE OVERTHROW
OF OUR GOV'T. "VIOLENT OVERTHROW" THAT IS.
ON EVERY HAND PEOPLE ARE DISGUSTED WITH FAILURE
OF ELECTED OFFICIALS TO DO THEIR JOBS BECAUSE OF
BOTH POLITICAL AND PHYSICAL FEAR.

THIS FAILURE OF DUTY IS THE ANSWER TO
THE QUESTION "WHAT'S WRONG WITH AMERICA"?

b7C

b7D

SINCERELY

b7C

b7D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

ad
ENCLOSURE

Ack 8/6/68
FBI
EX-110
REC 82

100-446080-1834

25 AUG 2 1968

ITC
8-6-68
mer

CORRESPONDENCE

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

XP: PROC

89
AUG 9 1968

How does he get away with it?

Stokely Carmichael broke a silence of several weeks with a typical "revolutionary" speech Friday night at Mobile.

The last we had heard of this devoted exponent of violence and Communist "liberation," he and his bride, an African singer, were shopping for a house in the \$75,000 range in Washington, D. C.

Carmichael apparently didn't change a bit during his quiet period.

He called Friday night for Negroes to use guns to gain political power, and said, "We must create the maximum damage with a minimum of losses of black people. And that is through guerrilla warfare."

His ultimate aim also has not changed. "To destroy this country," he said, "we must have an underlying love for each of our fellow black men."

Stokely wants to destroy this country, according to his own speeches. He wants to do it with "guerrilla warfare," which in less romanticized terms simply means murder in the streets and sustained terrorism.

And in what form would he rebuild this country if he could succeed in destroying it? Well, his political and ideological heroes include Ho Chi Minh, Fidel Castro, the late "Che" Guevara, and Mao Tse-tung, all exponents of political power from the barrel of a gun, and all practitioners of the kind of murderous terrorism Carmichael preaches.

It continues to amaze and demoralize the average law-abiding citizen to see such a person going around openly advocating these things and getting away with it.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

ENCLOSURE

8/1m
100-446080-1834

FBI

Date: 8/2/68

Transmit the following in _____

CODED

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE

URGENT

(Priority)

b7C

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, WFO

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC; SEDITION

b7C

A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST, REPORTED THAT CARMICHAEL RETURNED FROM NEW YORK CITY DURING THE EARLY EVENING OF AUGUST ONE LAST, AND ATTENDED A PRECINCT MEETING OF THE BLACK UNITED FRONT. THIS MEETING LASTED FROM APPROXIMATELY EIGHT TWENTY PM TO TEN THIRTY PM ON AUGUST ONE LAST AND WAS HELD AT THE CANAAN BAPTIST CHURCH, SIXTEEN ZERO SEVEN MONROE STREET, NW, WASHINGTON, D.C.

SUBJECT OBSERVED DEPARTING HIS RESIDENCE SHORTLY AFTER ONE PM THIS DATE AND WENT SHOPPING. HE RETURNED TO RESIDENCE AT FOUR THIRTY PM CARRYING A BOUQUET OF FLOWERS. AT FIVE PM HE DEPARTED RESIDENCE WITH [REDACTED] AND NOT FURTHER OBSERVED THIS DATE.

ADMINISTRATIVE

REC 49

EX-100

25 AUG 7 1968

4 - Bureau

1 - WFO

DJD:ssb

(5)

Approved: _____

Sent _____

M

Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

56 AUG 13 1968

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

b2

b7D

FBI

Date: 8/7/68

Transmit the following in **PLAINTEXT**

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via **TELETYPE** **URGENT**

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Bishop	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

TO: **DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)**

b7C

FROM: **SAC, WFO (100-43503)**

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RM - SNCC; SEDITION, OO: WFO.

**SUBJECT OBSERVED DURING MORNING AND AFTERNOON HOURS
AUGUST SIX, LAST. HE ACCOMPANIED [REDACTED] TO NATIONAL AIRPORT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., [REDACTED]**

b7C

**SUBJECT SUBSEQUENTLY ATTENDED
BLACK UNITED FRONT MEETING HELD TWO TWO SIX THREE MT. PLEASANT
VIEW PLACE, S.E., WDC, DURING EVENING HOURS.**

ADMINISTRATIVE**LHM FOLLOWS.**

b7C

COPY MAILED NEW YORK. P.

**MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D**

- 4 - Bureau
1 - New York (AM) (RM)
1 - WFO**

**JPL:tjd
(6)**

TELETYPE

**EX-100
REC-1**

100-446080-1836

1 AUG 8 1968

**1010
ADV. 8/7/68
277**

3 AUG 14 1968

Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

FBI WASH DC*

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

AUG 6 1968

FBI CHICAGO

507PM DEFERRED 8-6-68 BGR

TELETYPE

TO: DIRECTOR (100-446080) AND WFO (100-43503)

WFO (VIA WASHINGTON)

FROM: CHICAGO (157-1297) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL. RM-SNCC. 00 : WFO

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

INSTANT DATE SOURCE, RELIABLE IN PAST, ADVISED STOKELY

CARMICHAEL WILL ACCOMPANY [REDACTED] TO CHICAGO,

SATURDAY, AUGUST TEN NEXT. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (RECENTLY RENAMED FROM [REDACTED] CHICAGO.

IN CHICAGO AREA, ADVISED INSTANT SUBJECT HAS TENTATIVE SPEAKING
ENGAGEMENT AT CHICAGO HOUSING AUTHORITY PROJECT, FOURTEENTH
STREET AND LOOMIS AVENUE, CHICAGO, SATURDAY EVENING, AUGUST TEN
NEXT.

[REDACTED] COGNIZANT.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

[REDACTED] (PROB).

USA, SECRET SERVICE AND MILITARY ADVISED.

LHM FOLLOWS. SOURCES ASSIGNED. BUREAU WILL BE ADVISED OF
PERTINENT DEVELOPMENTS.

WFO ADVISE CHICAGO WHEN SUBJECT'S ITINERARY KNOWN.

END
JTM 57 AUG 16 1968
TELETYPE TO:
106 ufo

FBI WASH DC*

MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

1010 ADV
8/11/68
PTS

25 AUG 9 1968

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUL 26 1968

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

FBI WASH DC

FBI SAN FRAN

315PM URGENT 7/26/68 LFH

TO DIRECTOR NEW YORK AND WASHINGTON FIELD
WASHINGTON FIELD VIA WASHINGTON
FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-721) (P) 1P

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; RM - SNCC.

ADVISED THIS DATE THAT

CARMICHAEL HAS INFORMED THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP), OAKLAND,
THAT UNLESS HE IS GIVEN THE "BREAD" IN ADVANCE HE REFUSES TO
COME TO OAKLAND FOR SUNDAY, JULY TWENTYEIGHT, NEXT, BPP RALLY
BEING STAGED IN SUPPORT OF HUEY NEWTON, CURRENTLY IN ALAMEDA
COUNTY JAIL ON MURDER CHARGE.

RECEIVING OFFICES ARE REQUESTED TO ADVISE SAN FRANCISCO IF
STOKELY LEAVES OR DOES NOT LEAVE FOR SAN FRANCISCO IN TIME FOR
RALLY ONE P.M., JULY TWENTYEIGHT, NEXT.

END

LCC cc MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

FBI WASH DC

T
TELETYPE TO 57 AUG 16 1968

COPY SENT AG AND IDIU

REC 45

100-446080-1838

6 AUG 8 1968

J-14

F B I

Date: 8/8/68

Transmit the following in **PLAINTEXT**

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via **TELETYPE****URGENT**

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: **DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)**

b7C

FROM: **SAC, WFO (100-43503)**

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RM - SNCC; SEDITION, OO: WFO.

SUBJECT OBSERVED DURING MORNING OF AUGUST SEVEN, LAST,
AT HIS RESIDENCE, FIVE ZERO ONE FIVE SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.,
WDC. AT ONE THIRTYEIGHT P.M., SUBJECT ACCOMPANIED BY

b7C

DEPARTED THEIR RESIDENCE AND PROCEEDED TO THE INDUSTRIAL
BANK OF WASHINGTON WHERE SUBJECT ENTERED. THEREAFTER, HE AND
 VISITED THE PITTS MOTOR HOTEL WHERE THEY REMAINED
UNTIL TWO TEN P.M.

b7C

SUBJECT ATTENDED BLACK UNITED FRONT (BUF) MEETING HELD
NASH METHODIST CHURCH, RHODE ISLAND AVENUE AND LINCOLN ROAD,
N.E., BETWEEN THE HOURS OF EIGHT THIRTY P.M., AUGUST SEVEN,
LAST UNTIL TWELVE THIRTY A.M., AUGUST EIGHT, INSTANT.

b7C

4 - Bureau
1 - WFO

JPL:tjd
(5)

EX-100
REC-30 100-446080-1839

25 AUG 9 1968

51 AUG 15 1968 Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

WFO 100-43503

PAGE TWO

MAIN OBJECTIVE ABOVE MEETING WAS TO DISCUSS PROPOSALS FOR
AMENDMENTS TO GUN CONTROL LAW RECENTLY PASSED BY D. C. CITY
COUNCIL. NO INCIDENTS DEVELOPED DURING ABOVE MEETING.

ADMINISTRATIVE

LHM FOLLOWS. P.

MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date: 8/7/68

Transmit the following in CODED
(Type in plaintext or code)Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

b7C

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI AND SACS, CHICAGO
NEW YORK

FROM: SAC, WFO

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; RACIAL MATTERS-SNCC; SEDITION

ON AUGUST SEVEN INSTANT A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE WHO
HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST REPORTED

CARMICHAEL STATED ON AUGUST SEVEN INSTANT THAT HE AND [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] ARE LEAVING FOR CHICAGO ON AUGUST

NINE NEXT. HE SAID THEY WILL GO TO NEW YORK FROM CHICAGO,
AND WILL RETURN TO WDC, QUOTE SOMETIME NEXT WEEK UNQUOTE.ADMINISTRATIVE

FOR THE INFO OF NEW YORK, CHICAGO TELETYPE OF AUGUST

SIX LAST ADVISED [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] CHICAGO, ON AUGUST TEN, AND THAT CARMICHAEL HAS

- 2 - Bureau
- 3 - Teletype Unit
- 2 - WFO (100-43503)

JRP:rmh
(7)

b7C

EX-100

REC-30

25 AUG 9 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

51 AUG 15 1968

Approved: [Signature]

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

b7C

b7C

b7D

1010
ADV. 8/7/68
PTB

WFO 100-43503

PAGE TWO

A TENTATIVE SPEAKING ENGAGEMENT IN CHICAGO ON THE EVENING
OF THE SAME DATE.

WFO ATTEMPTING TO OBTAIN ADDITIONAL DETAILS REGARDING
TRAVEL, AND WILL REPORT DEPARTURE.

CC- MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

66 MR. J. EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR OF F.B.I.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

DEAR MR. HOOVER

b7C

I AM SURE THAT YOUR DEPARTMENT HAS
ENOUGH ON CARMICHAEL TO PUT HIM AND MANY
OTHER CHARACTERS LIKE AWAY FOR MANY YEARS.
I WOULD LIKE TO KNOW WHY THE JUSTICE
DEPARTMENT DOES NOT DO SOMETHING ABOUT
THESE PEOPLE.

I SAW WHERE CARMICHAEL IS BUYING A HOUSE
FOR \$75,000.00. WHERE DOES THIS GUY GET THE
MONEY TO TRAVEL AROUND THE COUNTRY AND
THE WORLD.

EX-100

REC 46 100-446080-1841

I AM SURE THAT IF I MADE THE KIND OF
STATEMENTS THAT CARMICHAEL DOES I WOULD
BE IN JAIL IN FIVE MINUTES.

4 AUG 1 1968

IS THERE SOMEONE IN WASHINGTON THAT PEOPLE
CAN WRITE TO AND RAISE SOME HELL ABOUT
THIS KIND OF BUSINESS? HOW ABOUT [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]? HE HAS TIME TO WORRY ABOUT THE
APPOINTMENT OF [REDACTED] IS THIS NOT HIS
JOB?

CORRESPONDENCE

ACK
FNG:men
8-16-68
vml

ENCLOSURE ITC:8/2/68
maw

SINCERELY YOURS

EX-100 PROC.

b7C
b7D

b7C
b7D

EX-100

August 6, 1968

REC 46

100-446080-1841



b7C

Dear



I received your letter and enclosure on August 1st.

Regarding your comments concerning Stokely Carmichael, the FBI is strictly an investigative agency of the Federal Government and, as such, does not determine whether prosecutive action will be undertaken in any situation. Such decisions concerning violations of Federal law are within the province of the Attorney General. Voluminous data regarding Carmichael has been furnished to the Attorney General and you may wish to contact him.

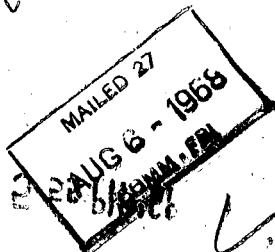
Sincerely yours,
J. Edgar Hoover

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

NOTE: On basis of available information, correspondent is not identifiable in Bufiles. Stokely Carmichael is well known to the Bureau.

FMG:mer (3)

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____



56 AUG 16 1968

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

TRUE COPY

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Director of F.B.I.

Dear Mr. Hoover

I am sure that your department has enough on Carmichael to put him and many other characters like away for many years. I would like to know why the Justice Department does not do something about these people.

I saw where Carmichael is buying a house for \$75,000⁰⁰. Where does this guy get the money to travel around the country and the world.

I am sure that if I made the kind of statements that Carmichael does I would be in jail in five minutes.

Is there someone in Washington that people can write to and raise some hell about this kind of business? How about [redacted] He has time to worry about the appointment of [redacted] Is this not his job?

b7C
b7D

Sincerely yours

/s/

b7C
b7D



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

Ack
FMG:mer
8-6-68
nmh

[Handwritten signature]

17C:8/2/68
nmh

Grab Power With Gun, Stokely Tells Negroes

MOBILE, Ala. (AP) — Black Power advocate Stokely Carmichael said Negroes should wage guerrilla warfare to cause maximum damage with a minimum loss of black lives.

At a weekend rally sponsored by the Neighborhood Organized Workers, Carmichael shouted, "Don't pray for power, don't beg for power, take it with a gun barrel."

The remark received resounding applause from the estimated 600 persons packed into and standing outside an Afro-American school in the Mobile's predominantly Negro North Side. About 20 white persons attended.

"Black people are not in a revolution here in the United States, it hasn't started yet," Carmichael said. "We are only at the beginning of a revolution—the armed stage.

We must create the maximum damage with a minimum of losses of black people. And that is through guerrilla warfare."

Referring to racial uprisings in Watts and Detroit, he praised Negroes who died there and said, "Look at Cleveland two days ago and that was even better wasn't it?" The audience roared approval.

Concerning Negro soldiers in Vietnam, Carmichael said, "they should be shooting white men and not yellow men."

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2005 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

100-446080-18411

ENCLOSURE

FBI

Date: 7/29/68
54Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority)

b7C

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
 FROM: SAC, MOBILE (100-1858) (P)
 RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
 RM
 (OO: WFO)

1-CC to Crim. Div. (attn: 6-944, 8-9-68)
 mvg:jft
 6-

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

Reference is made to Mobile teletype to Bureau dated 7/28/68, reporting STOKELY CARMICHAEL's departure from Mobile Ala.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 11 copies of letterhead memorandum reflecting information concerning CARMICHAEL's activities while in Mobile, Ala. Two (2) copies of letterhead memorandum are furnished to Atlanta, Office Of Origin in Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) Case, and one (1) copy is furnished to Birmingham for information, in view of request made by Birmingham. Four (4) copies of letterhead memorandum are furnished to Washington Field Office, which is Office Of Origin in the STOKELY CARMICHAEL Case, and also enclosed herewith to Washington Field Office are three (3) copies each of two (2) photographs taken by Military Intelligence, Mobile, Ala., as CARMICHAEL and his two (2) associates got off of the airplane in Mobile, Ala. It is suggested that the Washington Field Office properly identify the [redacted] associates of CARMICHAEL, who were referred to [redacted] and advise Mobile of the proper identifications. The Washington Field Office should then furnish one (1) copy of the enclosed photographs and one (1) copy of the enclosed letterhead memorandum to the office covering each of these [redacted] individuals.

- REC 22 100-446080 1842
 EX-100
 ③ - Bureau (Encs. 11) (RM)
 2 - Atlanta (100-6812) (Encs. 2) (RM)
 1 - Birmingham (Info) (Enc. 1) (157-2546) (RM)
 4 - WFO (Encs. 10) (100-43503) (RM)
 6 - Mobile (2 - 100-1858) (1 - 100-1693, SNCC)
 (1 - 157-2466, NOW) (1 - 157-1344, RACIAL SITUATION,)
 (PRICHARD, ALABAMA)
 (1 - 100-1396, RACIAL SITUATION, MOBILE, ALABAMA)

JTB:jcs
 (16)

b7C

25 AUG 1 1968

b7C

AUG 23 1968

RMO: ISO - AT TEN

CRIM - AT TEN

SS (FD-36) 5

Sent

PTB/def

CRD

M

RACIAL INT

Special Agent in Charge

MO 100-1858

Letterhead memorandum has also been disseminated to local military intelligence agencies, U. S. Secret Service, Mobile, Ala., and U. S. Attorney, Mobile, Ala.

During CARMICHAEL's stay in Mobile, Ala., the local police department and military intelligence agencies were kept fully advised concerning information developed.

For the information of the Bureau, investigation is being conducted on the persons whose names were mentioned in the enclosed letterhead memorandum as having been associated with CARMICHAEL in Mobile, Ala., and additional interviews will be conducted with liaison sources, informants, and other individuals to develop more information concerning CARMICHAEL's activities and statements while in Mobile, Ala., which will then be furnished to the Bureau.

The agent overhearing the remarks made by CARMICHAEL, at his talk on the night of 7/26/68 was [REDACTED] The agent overhearing the remarks made by CARMICHAEL at his talk on the afternoon of 7/27/68 was [REDACTED]

b7C

The identities of the informants used in the enclosed letterhead memorandum are:

IDENTITY OF INFORMANT OR SOURCE:

LOCATION OF INFORMATION:

[REDACTED]

Mobile File

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Mobile File

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Mobile File

[REDACTED]

b2

b7C

b7D

MO 100-1858

Arrangements had been made in advance and confirmed with [redacted] on 7/26/68 for [redacted] to tape record the speech by CARMICHAEL on the night of 7/26/68. This taping was not made; however, [redacted] who was doing the taping, was apparently detected, and he was asked to leave the building.

b7C

b7D

68
7/26/68



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

July 29, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No.

Director
United States Secret Service
Department of the Treasury
Washington, D. C. 20220

Dear Sir:

The information furnished herewith concerns an individual who is believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning Presidential protection, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

1. ☐ Has attempted or threatened bodily harm to any government official or employee, including foreign government officials residing in or planning an imminent visit to the U. S., because of his official status.
2. ☐ Has attempted or threatened to redress a grievance against any public official by other than legal means.
3. ☐ Because of background is potentially dangerous; or has been identified as member or participant in communist movement; or has been under active investigation as member of other group or organization inimical to U. S.
4. ☐ U. S. citizens or residents who defect from the U. S. to countries in the Soviet or Chinese Communist blocs and return.
5. ☒ Subversives, ultrarightists, racists and fascists who meet one or more of the following criteria:
 - (a) ☐ Evidence of emotional instability (including unstable residence and employment record) or irrational or suicidal behavior;
 - (b) ☐ Expressions of strong or violent anti-U. S. sentiment;
 - (c) ☒ Prior acts (including arrests or convictions) or conduct or statements indicating a propensity for violence and antipathy toward good order and government.
6. ☐ Individuals involved in illegal bombing or illegal bomb-making.

Photograph ☐ has been furnished ☐ enclosed ☐ is not available
☐ may be available through _____

Very truly yours,

J. Edgar Hoover
John Edgar Hoover
Director

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s) 1
U. S. Secret Service, Mobile, Alabama.

Enclosure(s) 1

(Upon removal of classified enclosures, if any, this transmittal form becomes UNCLASSIFIED.)



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Mobile, Alabama
July 29, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

AT MOBILE, ALABAMA:

b7C Special Agents of the Federal Bureau Of Investigation (FBI) observed Stokely Carmichael, accompanied by [redacted] arriving at the Mobile Municipal Airport at 2:25 P.M. on July 26, 1968 aboard Eastern Airlines Flight 377. They were met by a Negro group led by [redacted]

[redacted] which group was the sponsor of Carmichael's appearance in Mobile.

[redacted] with Carmichael and his [redacted] associates. [redacted] drove from the airport to [redacted] residence, [redacted] and, after a short stay there, the group drove around Mobile and adjoining Prichard, Alabama, before going to the home of [redacted]. [redacted] is a Negro male and [redacted] in Prichard, Alabama.

b7C They arrived at [redacted] house at about 5:47 P.M. and remained there until about 7:45 P.M., when they drove to the Old Warren Street Methodist Church, 304 North Warren Street. They arrived at this church at about 8:00 P.M., and Carmichael spoke for about two hours to a crowd estimated by the police at about 200 inside and about 150 to 200 persons outside. The Mobile Register, a daily newspaper published at Mobile, Alabama, in its issue of July 27, 1968, estimated the persons in attendance at the church at 700.

A portion of this talk was heard over a loudspeaker broadcast to those outside, and Carmichael was heard to say several times that political power comes from the barrels of guns, and all Negroes should get guns. He said there are three

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

100-446080-1842

ENCLOSURE

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

ways to get things, to beg, to work, or to take them, and the first two had been tried, and it is time to try something else. His talk was anti-police and anti-Negro police.

On July 27, 1968, [] who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised he had attended the speech the night before by Carmichael. He recalls Carmichael said the white men never knew anything but violence and had been taught to kill. He said it would be impossible for the black man to get guns and fight the white man, as the whites have had guns all of their lives. He said the only thing blacks can afford is a box of matches. He said Russia, Cuba, and North Vietnam were standing up to the United States, but he did not specifically praise these countries. Carmichael did not specifically urge any violence, but he said blacks have to try and stick together.

b2

b7D

On July 29, 1968, [] who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised he had heard Carmichael's speech on the night of July 26, 1968. Carmichael said the black man needs to have a gun and needs to take what he wants, and the black people in the penitentiaries should be admired because they took what they wanted. Carmichael said non-violence died with Martin Luther King, Jr., and Negro police are tools of the white man.

b2

b7D

9/21
The July 27, 1968 issue of The Mobile Register reported Carmichael argued the only way Negroes can achieve equal status in the United States is through armed insurrection. It is reported Carmichael was flanked by an aide, Bill Hall, and West Coast Black Panther Field Marshal Donald Cox, and Carmichael said Negroes are in the first phase in an uprising against the white power structure, and the black revolution will come after Negroes seize power in this country. The article reported Carmichael had said blacks have a right to stop police officers from invading Negro areas, and Carmichael spoke approvingly of arson, looting, and murder taking place in America's major cities.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

b7C On July 29, 1968, [redacted] advised [redacted] had attended Carmichael's
b7D talk of Friday Night, July 26, 1968, and [redacted] in which he wrote Carmichael had urged Mobile Negroes to take political power away from whites with a gun. He wrote Carmichael criticized Negro soldiers who are fighting in Vietnam, and had said "They should be shooting white men and not yellow men". He wrote Carmichael said the Vietcong would rather die than give their country to the white man and added that so, too, must the black man.

b7C Following the talk on Friday Night, July 26, 1968, Carmichael and his associates were driven to the home of [redacted]
b7D [redacted] arriving at about 10:45 P.M. At about 12:30 A.M., July 27, 1968, they went to [redacted] the residence of [redacted] where Carmichael and his [redacted] associates spent the night.

b7C On July 27, 1968, Carmichael and his associates left the residence of [redacted] at about noon and drove to the office
b7D of [redacted] where they met with local Negroes until about 2:30 P.M. *Ala*

b2 Confidential Source [redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, was present during this meeting.
b7D Carmichael was asked if he advocates violence, and he replied he advocates settling problems by whatever means are available. Carmichael said he could not accept the theory that system of law and order had benefited the Negro Minority, as Negroes have not obtained full freedom. Carmichael was asked if he thought the Negro revolt would succeed, noting the Hungarian Revolt had been a failure, and Carmichael replied he would not advocate confrontation with the military.

b7C Following the meeting at the office of [redacted] Carmichael and his associates drove to the Old Warren Street
b7D Methodist Church, arriving at about 3:00 P.M., a meeting already being in progress. At the entrance to the church, Carmichael talked to [redacted]
On July 29, 1968, [redacted] advised he had been present at the time Carmichael spoke with [redacted] on July 27, 1968. He said Carmichael

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

b7C
b7D questioned [] about the arrest the previous night of two (2) Negroes on a speeding charge, and Carmichael told [] they had better not have anymore of it. [] told Carmichael if he had a gripe, "take it downtown". Carmichael then asked [] if he was not [] replied "Yes", and [] told Carmichael [] is downtown, and he is [] Carmichael then told [] if they had anymore such arrests, "Cleveland, Ohio would seem like a picnic compared to what would be done to Mobile". [] advised Carmichael appeared to be trying to goad [] into taking some form of action, but [] did not do so, and Carmichael then went on in the church.

Carmichael spoke to a crowd of approximately 400 people at this meeting on the afternoon of July 27, 1968, the meeting breaking up at about 4:30 P.M. Portions of Carmichael's talk was broadcast over a loudspeaker to those on the outside, and he talked about Negro history, and he was overheard to tell the crowd "It's your town. If you want to burn it, burn it".

b2
b7D Confidential Source [] on July 29, 1968, advised he had been present at the talk by Carmichael on the afternoon of July 27, 1968, which talk concerned the history of Negroes. Carmichael said the black people are now ready to fight fire with fire and take what they want. He said Negroes should not fight the Vietcong, but should shoot the white people beside them. He said Negroes ought to join the communists, as the communists are better to the Negroes. Carmichael said he hopes George Wallace is elected President, as that would make Stokely a bigger man. He said if the Mobile Municipal Auditorium and the ILA Hall were not good enough for him to speak in, they were not good enough for anybody, but Carmichael did not specifically urge any type of action against these two buildings.

b7C
b7D On July 29, 1968, [] advised that during this afternoon speech by Carmichael on July 27, 1968, [] left the meeting and went next door to 308 North Warrent Street, where he talked to a group of young boys, having said he was going to teach these boys how to organize. There were about 20 to 25 Negro boys who went next door with [] and [] remained there about 35 minutes. Police were barred from this meeting.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Carmichael and his associates left the church area at 5:12 P.M. by automobile, going to the residence of [redacted]

Co 3
They remained there until about 7:20 P.M. and then they went to the residence of [redacted] where they remained until about 8:30 P.M., returning then to the [redacted] residence. They left the [redacted] residence at about 11:08 P.M. and rode around Mobile and nearby Prichard, making short stops at several Negro clubs before returning to the [redacted] residence at about 12:30 A.M. on July 28, 1968. At 2:30 A.M., Carmichael and his [redacted] associates then went to the residence of [redacted] where they spent the balance of the night.

b7C

b7D

Pickets were at the Mobile Municipal Auditorium on the night of July 27, 1968 during the performance of a singing group, "The Young Rascals". These pickets had been ordered by NOW, which group was the sponsor of Carmichael's appearance in Mobile. NOW had ordered the pickets, because the use of the Mobile Municipal Auditorium had been denied for the Carmichael speech.

Carmichael and his [redacted] associates left the [redacted] residence at 6:25 A.M. on July 28, 1968 and rode in a car driven by [redacted] to the residence of [redacted] who joined them in his own car. They then drove to the Mobile Municipal Airport, where Carmichael and his [redacted] associates obtained tickets under the names of [redacted]

b7C

b7D

[redacted] and boarded Eastern Airlines Flight 390 departing Mobile, Alabama at 7:00 A.M. for Atlanta, Georgia, to arrive in Atlanta, Georgia at 9:06 A.M., Eastern Daylight Time, July 28, 1968.

No serious incidents or disturbances were reported during the appearance of Carmichael in Mobile, Alabama.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

August 9, 1968

REC 49

100-446080-1843

EX-104



b7C

Dear [redacted]

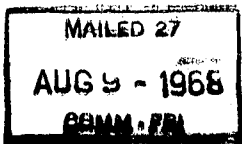
I have received your letter of August 5th, with enclosure, and understand the concern which prompted you to contact me.

Regarding your inquiry concerning Stokely Carmichael, the FBI is strictly an investigative agency of the Federal Government and, as such, does not determine whether prosecutive action will be undertaken in any situation. Such decisions concerning violations of Federal law are within the province of the Attorney General. Voluminous data regarding Carmichael has been furnished to the Attorney General and you may wish to contact him.

I want to assure you that the FBI is aware of its responsibilities with respect to the internal security of our country. We will continue to make every effort to carry out our duties with the highest degree of thoroughness and dispatch.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover



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DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

b7C

NOTE: Bufiles disclose in 1936 and in 1941, [redacted] was contacted by the Bureau on an information basis only. No previous correspondence and nothing derogatory concerning him. His enclosure is a clipping from an unidentified newspaper concerning a recent speech of Stokely Carmichael in Mobile, Alabama.

FMG:mer (3)

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

57 AUG 23 1968

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT ☐

b7C



b7C

August 5, 1968

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I am attaching hereto a clipping taken from our local morning newspaper which is self-explanatory.

I am writing to ask you why and how long are we the people of this great Nation of ours going to have to tolerate such charges against our Government? When a challenge like this is made publicly, I thought it would be considered an act of treason against our Nation when he says, "To destroy this Country we must have an undying love for each of our Black'men". If a man challenges the destruction of this Country to me that means a destruction of our Government and, therefore, it is an act of treason in making such a statement. If this man was any other color than what he is, I believe he would have been placed where he belongs, namely, in the jail where his teachings and charges would be under control. Putting it mildly, I think it is a sin and a shame that the American people have to put up with such a character loose going from State to State over our Nation preaching such philosophy.

Do you have an answer or an explanation why Stokely Carmichael is permitted to go about the Country making these terrible accusations?

Yours very truly,

b7C

b7D

EX-104

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

FWC/sk
ENCLOSURE

2 AUG 12 1968

b7C

b7D

114-446080-1843
CORRESPONDENCE

ack 8/9/68
meb/men

DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tc

Carmichael Seeks Power By the Gun

MOBILE, Ala. (AP) — Black power advocate Stokely Carmichael urged a crowd of Mobile Negroes Friday night to take political power away from the whites with a gun.

"Don't pray for power, don't beg for power, take it with a gun barrel," he shouted. The Negroes applauded enthusiastically.

Police estimated that the gathering numbered about 600. About 20 whites, including several Catholic priests, were among them.

"We must create the maximum damage with a minimum of losses of black people. And that is through guerrilla warfare," Carmichael added.

He referred to the armed state of the black revolution, citing such places as Watts and Detroit, praised the Negroes who had died there and said, "Look at Cleveland two days ago and that was even better, wasn't it?"

"To destroy this country we must have an underlying love for each of our fellow black men," he declared.

100-446000-1843

VIA TELETYPE

AUG 12 1968

ENCIPHERED

YL027, /6&

FBI NEW YORK

805PM URGENT 8-12-68 CODE 9 XXXX 12

TO DIRECTOR 100-446080

ARR: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION AND WASHINGTON FIELD

WASHINGTON FIELD VIA WASHINGTON

b7C

FROM NEW YORK 100-153751

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; IS-MISC; SEDITION; OO; WFO.

b7C

b7D

CONFIDENTIAL AND RELIABLE SOURCE ADVISED THIS DATE

THAT SUBJECT AND [REDACTED] OBSERVED AT [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] NEW YORK AT TWO PM.

ADMINISTRATIVE

CLASSIFY CONFIDENTIAL. [REDACTED]

NEW YORK.

b7C

b7D

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DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

END

MSE R RELAY

FBI WASH DC

EX-100

b7C

REC- 38

4 AUG 13 1968

54 AUG 20 1968

TWO COPIES TO

COPY SENT AG AND IDIU

Xerox Rosen

Mr. Tolson_____
Mr. DeLoach_____
Mr. Mohr_____
Mr. Bishop_____
Mr. Casper_____
Mr. Callahan_____
Mr. Conrad_____
Mr. Felt_____
Mr. Gale_____
Mr. Rosen_____
Mr. Sullivan_____
Mr. Tavel_____
Mr. Trotter_____
Tele. Room_____
Miss Holmes_____
Miss Gandy_____

8/13/68

Airtel

b7C

1 -
1 -
1 -



To: SAC, Mobile (100-1858)
From: Director, FBI (100-446080)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS - SNCC

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

ReMOairtel and LHM both dated July 29, 1968.

Referenced LHM indicates that when Stokely Carmichael spoke at Mobile, Alabama, on 7/26 and 27/68 at the Old Warren Street Methodist Church, portions of his speeches were broadcasted over a loudspeaker to those who were outside the church.

In your investigation of Carmichael's activities at Mobile, efforts should be made to determine if any recording was made of those portions of Carmichael's speeches that were broadcasted. The investigation of your activities concerning Carmichael's recent visit to Mobile should be handled expeditiously and results promptly submitted to the Bureau in report form.

1 - WFO (100-43503)

PTB:lst
(7)

REC-21

100-446080-1845

EX-103

19 AUG 14 1968

NOTE:

Stokely Carmichael, black ~~extremist~~ who is on the Security Index and Agitator Index, gave highly inflammatory talks on 7/26 and 27/68 at Mobile. Efforts to record these talks inside the church were unsuccessful. Inasmuch as certain portions of the talks were broadcasted outside the church, Mobile is being instructed to determine if any recordings were made of these portions of Carmichael's speeches.

MAILED 7
AUG 13 1968
COMM-FBI

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

53 AUG 21 1968

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

ge 87 14

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

AUG 11 1968

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

FBI WASH DC*

FBI CHICAGO

212PM URGENT RSM 8-11-68

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

TO: DIRECTOR (100-446080), WFO (100-43403) NEW YORK

WFO VIA BUREAU

FROM: CHICAGO (157-1297)(P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL RM-SNCC; SEDITION 00: WFO

[REDACTED] ADVISED INSTANT DATE STOKELY CARMICHAEL
AND [REDACTED] DEPARTED O'HARE AIRPORT, CHICAGO, ONE
PM INSTANT, VIA UNITED AIRLINES FLIGHT NINE ONE TWO, SCHEDULED
TO ARRIVE LAGUARDIA AIRPORT, NEW YORK, THREE FIFTY-FIVE PM EDT.
CARMICHAEL WEARING DARK BLUE SPORTS SUIT. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] PREVIOUS INFORMATION INDICATES [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] IN NEW YORK AREA.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

REMYTEL THIS DATE AND CG TELEPHONE CALL TO NY INSTANT. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] USA, SECRET SERVICE AND MILITARY ADVISED.

LHM FOLLOWS.

END

SAA

FBI WASH DC*

EX 110

REC-3500

446080-1847

Telephonically

advised 3:30 PM 8/11/68

4 AUG 14 1968

[COPY SENT AG AND IDIU]

TELETYPED TO:

59 AUG 19 1968

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

DATE: 8/15/68

FROM : SAC, WFO (100-43503)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM - SNCC
SEDITION

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

[REDACTED]
RM - SNCC

b7C

b7C

ReBuairtel to WFO dated 7/15/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are eleven copies of an
LHM entitled "STOKELY CARMICHAEL; [REDACTED]

b7C

[REDACTED] was interviewed on 8/1/68

by SAs [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

b7C

b7D

The pretext employed in contacting [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] was based on her father's friendship with the late
Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING. When asked whether she subscribed
to the nonviolent principles of Dr. KING and her father,
[REDACTED] answered in the affirmative and criticized the
activities of certain black militants, notably STOKELY
CARMICHAEL. The interview was then centered on her knowledge
of CARMICHAEL's activities. This interview was conducted
on 8/7/68 by SAs [REDACTED]

b7C

b7D

ENCLOSURE

- ③ - Bureau (Enc. 11)
(1 - 105-168197)
2 - WFO
(1 - 100-46722)

REC-75/00-446080-1848

EX-100

22 AUG 15 1968

RCQ:skt
(5)

AGENCY: ACSI, ~~CHI~~, OSI; SEC. SER:
Crim. Div. ~~DET~~: ISD, CRD, RAO ~~John~~
DATE FORW: 8/23/68
HOW FORW: 15
BY: PJB/c
100-446080-806940

AUG 27 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



UNRECORDED COPY AND COPY OF ENCL FILED IN
100-168197-

RACIAL INT. SECT.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

August 15, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL;

[redacted] b7C
[redacted]
[redacted] advised on August 1, 1968, that she is married to [redacted] and that she is currently employed as [redacted]
[redacted] stated that on occasion at [redacted] she conversed with [redacted] on various aspects of the civil rights movement. She recalled one particular conversation with [redacted] in late May, 1968, shortly after a photograph of Stokely Carmichael's proposed Washington, D.C. (WDC), residence was published in the local newspapers. [redacted] told her that it was rumored in the Negro community that Carmichael was purchasing a \$50,000 home in WDC with funds which he received from the Communist Party (CP). She stated that it was also rumored that the CP had raised Carmichael's salary from \$18,000 per annum to \$20,000 per annum as a reward for his delivery of inflammatory anti-American speeches while in North Vietnam and Cuba. [redacted] also indicated that [redacted] might also be salaried by the CP. b7C b7D

On August 7, 1968, representatives of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), using a suitable pretext, interviewed [redacted]

[redacted] advised that she has been employed by [redacted] for approximately three years. She said that her father, [redacted] was a friend of the late Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., but she emphasized that this friendship was based on a religious bond and was in no way b7C b7D

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286 FEB 24 1971

ENCLOSURE

100-446080-1848

STOKELY CARMICHAEL;

b7C

[redacted]
connected to the civil rights movement. She advised that her family had confidence in the nonviolent method of attaining goals in the area of civil rights and she emphatically rejected the philosophy and tactics of militants, such as Stokely Carmichael. [redacted] mentioned that she did not know Carmichael personally and that her knowledge of his activities was confined to reports published in the local WDC newspapers. She assumed that individuals such as Carmichael and [redacted] must be backed financially by the CP. She based this assumption on the fact that neither individual has any visible means of support and both call for a radical change in the current system of Government in the United States. She said that she could not understand how Carmichael could afford to purchase a \$50,000 home without being employed. [redacted] stated that she did not know whether these individuals were actually salaried by any organizations and emphasized that her assumptions were based entirely on reports furnished by the national news media.

b7C

b7D

This document contains neither
recommendations nor conclusions of
the FBI. It is the property of
the FBI and is loaned to your agency;
it and its contents are not to be
distributed outside your agency.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

AUG 10 1968

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

FBI WASH DC*

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DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

FBI CHICAGO

846PM URGENT 8-10-68 TAB

TO: DIRECTOR (100-446080) SPRINGFIELD , WASHINGTON FIELD (100-)
WFO VIA BUREAU.

FROM: CHICAGO (157-1297)(157-3063)(P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL RM-SNCC; SEDITION OO: WFO.

RACIAL TENSIONS, HARVEY, ILLINOIS, AUGUST , NINETEEN SIXTY EIGHT RM.

[REDACTED] ADVISED INSTANT DATE [REDACTED] WAS
CONTACTED BY [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] WHO REQUESTED MEETING SEVEN PM INSTANT AT MC KINLEY SCHOOL,
ONE HUNDRED FORTY SEVENTH AND ROBEY STREETS, HARVEY, ILLINOS FOR PURPOSE
OF PROMOTING PEACE BETWEEN PD AND NEGRO YOUTH IN HARVEY. [REDACTED] INDICATED
ONE OR TWO YOUTHS INVOLVED IN RACIAL DISTURBANCE HARVEY-DIXMOOR AREA
AUGUST SIX LAST WOULD BE AGREEABLE TO SURRENDER TO PD IF ACCORD REACHED.

[REDACTED] STATED HE WOULD BE ACCOMPANIED BY [REDACTED] AND A FEW OTHER
MEMBERS OF BLACKSTONE RANGERS, A LARGE NEGRO YOUTH GANG ON CHICAGO'S
SOUTH SIDE. [REDACTED] ADVISED HE WAS AGREEABLE TO MEETING.

MC KINLEY SCHOOL WAS CONGREGATING POINT BY NEGRO YOUTHS IN HARVEY
WHERE DISTURBANCE BROKE OUT NIGHT AUGUST SEVEN - EIGHT LAST.

55 AU 21 TELETYPE TO: [REDACTED]

END PAGE 1
WFO

10:10 advised

b7C

PAGE TWO

PREVIOUS INFORMATION REPORTED CARMICHAEL WAS TO APPEAR IRVING SCHOOL MAYWOOD, ILLINOIS SIX /PM INSTANT WHICH HAS BEEN MEETING PLACE UTILIZED BY [REDACTED]

b7C

b7D

[REDACTED] HAS BEEN DESCRIBED BY SOURCE RELIABLE IN PAST AS PRIME AGITATOR OF RACIAL DISTURBANCES WHICH HAVE OCCURRED IN MAYWOOD DURING PAST TWO YEARS.

b7C

b7D

CHICAGO SOURCE , RELIABLE IN PAST ADVISED AS OF SIX PM INSTANT ONLY FEW PERSONS AT IRVING SCHOOL AND LEARNED CARMICHAEL NOT TO APPEAR IN MAYWOOD THIS DATE BUT REPORTEDLY WOULD BE IN HARVEY AREA.

[REDACTED] ADVISED INSTANT AS OF SIX PM INSTANT CARMICHAEL AT EXECUTIVE HOUSE (HOTEL) IN DOWNTOWN CHICAGO LOOP AREA WHERE STAYING WITH [REDACTED] SAME SOURCE ADVISED [REDACTED] MENTIONED ABOVE, IS REPORTEDLY ASSOCIATE OF CARMICHAEL.

b7C

b7D

HARVEY PD AND COOK COUNTY SHERIFF'S OFFICE HAVE PERSONNEL STANDING BY RE POSSIBLE MEET TONIGHT DESCRIBED ABOVE IN HARVEY.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

REMYTEL AUGUST NINE- TEN INSTANT. [REDACTED]

b2

b7D

WHO

END PAGE TWO

2

PAGE THREE

IS MAINTAINING SURVEILLANCE OF CARMICHAEL. CHICAGO MAINTAINING CLOSE
LIAISON WITH CHICAGO PD, HARVEY PD, MAYWOOD PD AND COOK COUNTY SO.
MILITARY SECRET SERVICE, USA ADVISED. BUREAU WILL BE KEPT ADVISED.

END

LLD

FBI WASH DC*

cc. XEROX - MR. ROSEN
MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

COPY SENT AG AND IDIU

3

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FBI WASH DC*

AUG 10 1968

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

FBI CHICAGO

1251AM URGENT 8/10/68 RSM

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080) AND WFO (100-43403)

(WFO VIA BUREAU)

FROM CHICAGO (157-1297) (P) (157-2269) (P)

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL. RM - SNCC; SEDITION OO: WFO;
RACIAL TENSIONS, MAYWOOD, ILLINOIS, NINETEEN SIXTYEIGHT
OO: CHICAGO.

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DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

b7C

b7D

SOURCE, RELIABLE IN PAST ADVISED PM AUGUST NINE LAST

CARMICHAEL TOLD [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] MAYWOOD, AND DESCRIBED BY SOURCE AS PRIME

INSTIGATOR OF RACIAL DISTURBANCES IN MAYWOOD DURING PAST TWO
YEARS, THAT HE WOULD BE UNABLE TO ATTEND THE MEETING OF MAYWOOD
YOUTHS TO BE HELD IRVING SCHOOL, SIXTEENTH AVENUE AND
WARREN STREET, MAYWOOD AUGUST NINE LAST, HOWEVER HE WILL
ATTEND MEETING TO BE HELD AT IRVING SCHOOL SIX PM
AUGUST TEN NEXT.

b7D

[REDACTED] ADVISED AREA CALM AS OF ELEVEN THIRTY PM

AUGUST NINE LAST.

b7D

[REDACTED] SOURCE ADVISED ELEVEN THIRTY FIVE PM

END PAGE ONE

*Included in note
on previous G to re
my in G. [initials]*

J-14

53 AUG 21 1968

PAGE TWO

EIGHT NINE LAST CARMICHAEL PRESENTLY SPEAKING TO GROUP APPROXIMATELY SIX HUNDRED PERSONS AT AFRO ARTS THEATER, CHICAGO. AREA PRESENTLY CALM.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RE MY TEL AUGUST NINE LAST.

MILITARY, SECRET

SERVICE, USA AND MAYWOOD PD ADVISED. CHICAGO FOLLOWING, BUREAU WILL BE KEPT ADVISED.

END

SVM

FBI WASH DC*

TU@

b7C

INU 220/8/10/18
SS 220/8/10/18
AES 220/8/10/18
SVM
Spec

CC-MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

FBI WASH DC*

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

AUG 11 1968

TELETYPE

FBI CHICAGO

719 AM URGNET 8/11/68 ERH

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080) AND WFO (100-43403)

WFO VIA WASHINGTON

FROM CHICAGO (157-1297)

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

WCS
Pen

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL RM-SNCC; SEDITION OO:WFO

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

b7C

b7D

[REDACTED] ADVISED AUGUST TEN, LAST, STOKELY CARMICHAEL

b7C

HAD REMAINED AT EXECUTIVE HOUSE (HOTEL), AUGUST TEN, LAST, UNTIL
APPROXIMATELY EIGHT PM. [REDACTED]

AT THREE AM, INSTANT, [REDACTED] ADVISED CARMICHAEL

AND [REDACTED] RETURNED EXECUTIVE HOUSE (HOTEL).

b7C

b7D

AT FIVE THIRTY AM, INSTANT, [REDACTED] ADVISED CARMICHAEL

b7C

b7D

AND [REDACTED] NOT OBSERVED DEPARTING EXECUTIVE HOUSE (HOTEL) SINCE THERE
RETURN.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

REMYTELS AUGUST TEN, LAST.

EX-104

REC-47/00-4460801851

b7D

[REDACTED] - MILITARY, STOKELY CARMICHAEL

AND USA ADVISED. CHICAGO FOLLOWING. SOURCES ASSIGNED AND BUREAU
WILL BE KEPT ADVISED.

END TELETYPE TO:

55 AUG 21 1968

FBI WASH DC

advised 11:10 am 8/11/68

b7C

advised 11:13 am 8/11/68

ONLY SENT AG AND IDIU

PLM

cc - Mr. Trainor

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FBI WASH DC*

AUG 10 1968

TELETYPE

FBI CHICAGO

452AM URGENT 8/10/68 RSH

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080) AND WFO (100-43403)

WFO VIA WASHINGTON

FROM CHICAGO (157-1297)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

STOKELY CARMICHAEL RN-SNCC; SEDITION OO:WFO;

b7D

b7C

[REDACTED] ADVISED THIS DATE APPROXIMATELY SEVEN HUNDRED PEOPLE ATTENDED MEETING AT AFRO ARTS THEATER ON AUGUST NINE LAST WHICH WAS HELD TO RAISE FUNDS FOR PERSONS ARRESTED DURING WEST SIDE RIOT FOLLOWING DEATH OF MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. KNOWN SPEAKERS WERE JORJA ENGLISH, CORE, STOKELY CARMICHAEL, PAUL MARTIN, MEMBER OF BLACKSTONE RANGERS AND PHIL COHRAN, OWNER OF THEATER. SOURCE ADVISED TOPIC DISCUSSED BY SPEAKERS WAS PROMOTION OF BLACK POWER AND HOW NEGRO HAS BEEN SUPPRESSED. SOURCE ADVISED APPROXIMATELY TWENTY FIVE MEMBERS OF BLACKSTONE RANGERS ATTENDED.

REC-47 100-446080-1852

16 AUG 15 1968

CHICAGO SOURCE, WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST, ADVISED INSTANT DATE, APPROXIMATELY ONE THOUSAND PERSONS ATTENDED MEETING AT AFRO ARTS THEATER AUGUST NINE LAST. PERSONS IN ATTENDANCE INCLUDED [REDACTED]

END PAGE ONE

INCLUDED IN
W.A. Summary
+ AB 8/12/68

TELETYPE TO:
51 AUG 21 1968

Information included
in note being sent up on 6-
earlier teletype from G.
R.V.

b7C

PAGE TWO

[REDACTED] AND STOKELY CARMICHAEL. MAIN SPEAKER, CARMICHAEL, URGED ARMING OF BLACK COMMUNITY TO PREVENT GENOCIDE OF NEGRO RACE AND TO PREPARE FOR "THE REVOLUTION".

b7C
b7D

URGED SUPPORT OF MAO TSE TUNG AND URGED NEGROS GOING TO VIET NAM TO KILL AMERICAN SOLDIERS NOT NORTH VIETNAMESE. STATED NEGRO COMMUNITY SHOULD MATCH FORCES WITH FBI AND LOCAL LAW ENFORCEMENT AND KEEP OFFICERS OUT OF BLACK COMMUNITIES. STATED NEGRO INFORMANTS SHOULD NOT BE KILLED BUT POLICE WHO THEY INFORM FOR SHOULD BE KILLED. SOURCE ADVISED AFTER SPEECH CARMICHAEL LEFT THEATER TO RETURN TO UNKNOWN HOTEL ROOM.

ADMINISTRATIVE

REMYTEL INSTANT [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] MILITARY, SECRET

b2
b7D

SERVICE, USA ADVISED. CHICAGO FOLLOWING, SOURCES ASSIGNED, BUREAU WILL BE KEPT ADVISED.

END

SVM

FBI WASH DC*

TU@

CC - MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

F B I

Date: 8/9/68

Transmit the following in CODE

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE URGENT

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Bishop	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI AND SACS CHICAGO AND NEW YORK

FROM: SAC, WFO

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RM - SNCC; SEDITION.

A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE, WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST, REPORTED THAT ON THE EVENING OF AUGUST SEVEN, LAST, CARMICHAEL AGAIN STATED HE AND [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] WILL TRAVEL TO CHICAGO ON AUGUST NINE, INSTANT.

CARMICHAEL INDICATED THEY WILL DEPART CHICAGO FOR NEW YORK CITY ON SUNDAY, AUGUST ELEVEN, NEXT TO ATTEND A JAZZ FESTIVAL IN THAT CITY. CARMICHAEL DID NOT INDICATE WHEN THEY INTEND TO RETURN TO WDC.

CARMICHAEL WAS OBSERVED AT HIS RESIDENCE DURING THE AFTERNOON OF AUGUST EIGHT, LAST, AND LATER ATTENDED BLACK UNITED FRONT (BUF) MEETING HELD CHURCH OF THE REDEEMER, FIFTEENTH AND GIRARD STREETS, N.E., BETWEEN EIGHT THIRTY P.M.

- ② - Bureau (100-446080)
- 3 - Teletype Unit
- 2 - WFO (100-43503)

JPL:tjd
(7)

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

Approved: _____

Sent _____

M

Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

70 AUG 22 1968

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

PAGE TWO

AND TEN P.M. MEETING HELD FOR RESIDENTS OF TWELTH PRECINCT
TO DISCUSS BUF PROPOSALS PERTAINING TO POLICE-COMMUNITY
RELATIONS. NO INCIDENTS REPORTED DURING MEETING.

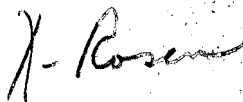
ADMINISTRATIVE

REWFOTEL AUGUST SEVEN, LAST.

b2

b7D

WFO WILL REPORT DEPARTURE FOR CHICAGO. P.



MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

b7C

8/14/68

Airtel

To: SAC, Chicago (157-1297)
From: Director, FBI (100-446080)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS - STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
SEDITION

Jan
ReCGtel 8/10/68 wherein it was reported that Carmichael made inflammatory statements at a meeting at the Afro-Arts Theater, Chicago, Illinois, on 8/9/68.

You should by return mail submit in form suitable for dissemination pertinent information developed concerning this meeting and, in particular, the statements made by Carmichael. If not already handled, appropriate investigation should be conducted to determine if a tape-recording was made of Carmichael's remarks and, if so, they should be expeditiously transcribed and forwarded to the Bureau for dissemination. It is noted that Carmichael in his speech urged Negroes going to Vietnam to kill American soldiers, not Vietnamese. In view of this comment, it should be determined whether or not any military personnel were in attendance and heard Carmichael make this statement.

EX-100 REC-71

100-446080-1854

You should also include the identities of individuals who can testify to the comments made by Carmichael as reported in retel.

1 - WFO (100-43403)

PTB:ebb
(6)

19 AUG 15 1968

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

53 AUG 22 1968

MAIL ROOM ☐

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Airtel to SAC, Chicago
RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
100-446080

NOTE:

Carmichael, a black extremist, is currently under investigation at the specific request of the Department for possible violation of the Sedition statutes. In view of the inflammatory statements made by him on 8/9/68, Chicago being instructed to conduct necessary investigation concerning this activity for presentation to the Department for their prosecutive opinion.

FBI

Date: 8/9/68

Transmit the following in PLAIN
(Type in plaintext or code)Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR AND SACS CHICAGO
NEW YORK

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

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DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; RM - SNCC, SEDITION.

CARMICHAEL DEPARTED WASHINGTON, D. C., VIA AMERICAN AIRLINES
FLIGHT NUMBER TWO EIGHTY THREE AT SIX FIFTEEN P.M., AUGUST
NINE INSTANT. SCHEDULED TO ARRIVE CHICAGO AT SEVEN FIFTEEN
INSTANT DATE.

CARMICHAEL ACCOMPANIED BY [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] SUBJECT WEARING YELLOW AFRICAN SHIRT

WITH GREEN DESIGN AND TAN TROUSERS. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] WEARING

BLACK SUIT WITH BLUE SHIRT AND TIE. [REDACTED] ON WDC STAFF OF

SNCC AND CLOSE ASSOCIATE OF CARMICHAEL.

ADMINISTRATIVE

CHICAGO TELEPHONICALLY ADVISED.

- (2) - Bureau
3 - Teletype Unit
2 - WFO

JRP:lt MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

12 AUG 16 1968

Approved: [Signature] Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

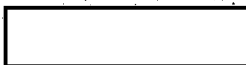
58 AUG 22 1968

August 13, 1968

REC-75
EX 110 100-446080-1853



Dear



Regarding your comments concerning Stokely Carmichael in your note of August 5th, with enclosure, the FBI is strictly an investigative agency of the Federal Government and, as such, does not determine whether prosecutive action will be undertaken in any situation. Such decisions concerning violations of Federal law are within the province of the Attorney General. Voluminous data regarding Carmichael has been furnished to the Attorney General and you may wish to contact him.

I can certainly understand your concern about the matters you mentioned and want to assure you that the FBI is aware of its responsibilities with respect to the internal security of our country. We will continue to make every effort to carry out our duties with the greatest thoroughness and efficiency.

Sincerely yours,

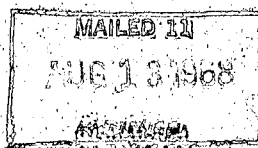
J. Edgar Hoover

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 68309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

NOTE: Bufiles contain no record of correspondent.

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

JBT:jas (3)



MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

14

13

[Redacted]

b7C

AUGUST 5, 1968

(for on
yellow)

MR. J. EDGAR HOOVER
F.B.I. DEPT.
WASHINGTON, D.C.

DEAR MR. HOOVER:

TWO WEEKS AGO STOKLEY CARMICHAEL CAME TO MOBILE, ALA.
AND TALKED TO THE BLACK PEOPLE. HE ADVISED THEM TO
STOP TALKING AND START SHOOTING.

THIS WEEK, FOUR BUILDINGS WERE BURNED DOWN BY FIRE
BOMBS.

IS THERE NO LAW IN THIS COUNTRY TO STOP SOME ONE
LIKE CARMICHAEL FROM STARTING THESE BURNINGS AND
RIOTS ? PLEASE HELP US.

B

SINCERELY,

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

b7C

b7D

[Redacted]

b7D

[Redacted]

EX 110

REC-75

100-446080-

1856

4 AUG 16 1968

ENCLOSURE

ack JBT/gas
8/13/68
mmh

~~802~~

Why Renew Carmichael's Passport?

By ROBERT S. ALLEN
and JOHN A. GOLDSMITH

WASHINGTON — Sen. Harry Byrd, D-Va., is demanding an explanation from the State Department for the restoration of Stokely Carmichael's passport.

It was revoked last December after the strife-agitating former head of the militant leftist-leaning Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) returned from an extended tour of Communist countries during which he repeatedly excoriated the United States along party lines.

The State Department gave no explanation for reinstatement of Carmichael's passport. In fact, there was no announcement about it. It was done virtually surreptitiously.

Senator Byrd formally called the Senate's attention to the matter with a blistering denunciation of Carmichael and the State Department.

"Carmichael's passport was revoked," pointed out Byrd, "because he traveled to restricted areas, specifically to Castro's Cuba and to North Vietnam, a nation at whose hands the American people have suffered 191,328 casualties, 38 per cent of those casualties having occurred during the past six months. Yet the State Department has restored his passport, thus making possible other such trips and other such denunciations of the American people and American soldiers in Vietnam.

"We hear a great deal today about people losing confidence in their government. Is there any wonder that more and more citizens are losing confidence in their government when the government acts in such a foolish, absurd and pusillanimous manner as it has in pampering Stokely Carmichael, not only by permitting him to make treasonable statements on foreign soil, but also permitting him to



(Selected by Rev. G. C. Reynolds, Church of Christ)

Neither pray I for these (Apostles) alone, but for them also which shall believe on me through their words; That they all may be one; as thou Father, art in me, and I in Thee, that they also may be one in us; That the world may believe that Thou hast sent me.—John 17:20, 21.

incite rioting in this country, without penalty."

For some time, the Justice Department reportedly has been investigating Carmichael for possible prosecution. But repeated inquiries about this by reporters and others have brought no information.

One Justice Department official is credited with saying, "So far we have been unable to put together a case that would hold water legally. We have published accounts of what Carmichael is quoted as having said, but we have been unable to get any witnesses to support these reports. Without witnesses we don't have a case."

Since early this year, Carmichael has been active in Washington's predominant Negro population organizing and manipulating from behind the scenes a so-called Black United Front.

While he has cannily kept in the background, he has used various prominent moderate Negro clergymen to spearhead his policies and tactics.

Foremost among Carmichael's aims in Negro control of the capital's 3,100-member police force, which President Johnson has recommended be increased to 4,100. Carmichael's scheme is so-called "community control"

of the police; that is, the residents of each district would determine the personnel of the local police force and its officers.

Another Carmichael-inspired maneuver was the claimed unanimous adoption of a resolution by the Black United Front declaring that the slaying of one policeman and the serious wounding of another by three Negroes charged with robbery whom they attempted to arrest was "justifiable homicide."

This deliberately provocative pronouncement evoked a storm of outraged protests in Congress and the press. But the Black Front leaders, under Carmichael's backstage spurring, refused to retract.

This and other truculently militant activities have doomed any chance of this Congress' considering the long-pending legislation to give the District of Columbia either home rule and/or representation in the House and Senate. Last year, the prospects of this being done appeared promising.

But since the violent riots here last April, following the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, and Carmichael's undercover machinations through his creation, the Black United Front, Congress has become strongly opposed to relinquishing any direct control over the capital and its affairs.

There isn't a chance of the District of Columbia gaining home rule in the foreseeable future.

Being widely circulated on Capitol Hill are copies of an interview by Carmichael published in *Sucesos* (Events) while attending the Conference of the Latin American Solidarity Organization in Cuba as the fan-fared guest of Fidel Castro. Following are highlights of the turbulent Negro activist's incendiary remarks:

"We want power not only to control the wealth within our community but to divide up this wealth according to the needs of each community. We don't want to establish a black capitalist system; on the contrary, we want to destroy capitalism economically because this system always goes hand in hand with

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100-446080-1856
ENCLOSURE

Senator Byrd formally called the Senate's attention to the matter with a blistering denunciation of Carmichael and the State Department.

"Carmichael's passport was revoked," pointed out Byrd, "because he traveled to restricted areas, specifically to Castro's Cuba and to North Vietnam, a nation at whose hands the American people have suffered 191,328 casualties, 38 per cent of those casualties having occurred during the past six months. Yet the State Department has restored his passport, thus making possible other such trips and other such denunciations of the American people and American soldiers in Vietnam."

"We hear a great deal today about people losing confidence in their government. Is there any wonder that more and more citizens are losing confidence in their government when the government acts in such a foolish, absurd and pusillanimous manner as it has in pampering Stokely Carmichael, not only by permitting him to make treasonable statements on foreign soil, but also permitting him to

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"We want power not only to control the wealth within our community but to divide up this wealth according to the needs of each community. We don't want to establish a black capitalist system; on the contrary, we want to destroy capitalism economically because this system always goes hand in hand with racism and exploitation.

"At present, in order not to divide those participating in the struggle for the demands of the black race, we support a united front. But the time will come very soon when there will be no reason to discuss and nothing to discuss, and then we will simply eliminate all those who put obstacles in the way of the real liberation of the black people.

"We are moving towards guerrilla warfare in the United States. We are going to develop urban guerrilla warfare and we are going to beat them (the whites) in this field because there is one thing they do not have; their men don't want to fight what they call guerrilla warfare, which is really hand-to-hand combat. You see, their men are cowards. White America is the most cowardly nation in the world.

"The question is simply when to employ urban guerrilla warfare. It is the only means by which we can win in the United States because they cannot use bombs against us, since we are inside their country. They will have to fight us hand-to-hand and we will defeat them."

EX 110
REC- 78

August 15, 1968

100-446080-1857



Dear



b7C

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DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

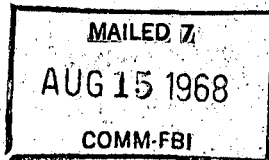
I can certainly understand the concern which prompted your letter of August 9th enclosing a newspaper clipping concerning Stokely Carmichael.

Insofar as the granting or revocation of passports is concerned, this is a matter within the purview of the State Department and is not within the jurisdiction of the FBI.

With respect to his other activities, the FBI is strictly an investigative agency of the Federal Government and, as such, does not determine whether prosecutive action will be undertaken in any situation. Such decisions concerning violations of Federal law are within the province of the Attorney General. Voluminous data regarding Carmichael has been furnished to the Attorney General and you may wish to contact him.

I want to assure you that the FBI is aware of its responsibilities with respect to the internal security of our country. We will continue to make every effort to carry out our duties with the greatest thoroughness and efficiency.

Sincerely yours,
J. Edgar Hoover



REC'D DE LOACH

AUG 12 10 32 AM '68

NOTE: Bufiles indicate one prior letter to her dated 3-27-61 in response to her inquiry regarding the National Council of Churches.

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

JBT:mk

57 AUG 22 1968

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Handwritten signatures and initials

Handwritten signatures and initials

TY
12

8-9-68

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Bishop	✓
Mr. Casper	✓
Mr. Callahan	✓
Mr. Conrad	✓
Mr. Felt	✓
Mr. Gale	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Miss Holmes	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Enclosed is an article from our daily paper, Albany Herald, which has shocked and dismayed me NO END!

Please write and tell me just why or on what grounds this character would be permitted to returned to the United States after denouncing our country and disobeying all rules and regulations of the pass port office by going into and aiding and abetting Communist nations. I simply do not understand it and I think you and [redacted] of the pass port office are due me an explanation. After all, I am a tax payer and a law abiding citizen.

b7C
b7D

Please answer this letter. Thanking you,
I am

Sincerely yours

b7C
b7D

EXP. PROC.
39 JUL 12 1968

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

EX 110

REC-78

100-446080-1857

19
10 AUG 12 1968

8/15/68
ack
JBT/mk
ENCLOSURE
nme

CORRESPONDENCE

Carmichael Gets Passport Back; Wants 'War' in U.S.

By ROBERT S. ALLEN
And JOHN A. GOLDSMITH
Herald Correspondents

WASHINGTON — Sen. Harry Byrd, D-Va., is demanding an explanation from the State Department for the restoration of Stokely Carmichael's passport.

It was revoked last December after the strife-agitating former head of the militant leftist - leaning Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) returned from an extended tour of Communist coun-

tries during which he repeatedly excoriated the U.S. along party lines.

The State Department gave no explanation for reinstatement of Carmichael's passport. In fact, there was no announcement about it. It was done virtually surreptitiously.

Senator Byrd formally called the Senate's attention to the matter with a blistering denunciation of Carmichael and the State Department.

"Carmichael's passport was revoked," pointed out Byrd, "because he traveled to restricted areas, specifically to Castro's Cuba and to North Vietnam. In each country he publicly and violently attacked the United States and our troops.

Aids Enemy

"Carmichael obviously gave aid and comfort to North Vietnam, a nation at whose hands the American people have suffered 191,328 casualties, 38 per cent of those casualties having occurred during the past six months. Yet the State Department has restored his passport, thus making possible other such trips and other such denunciations of the American people and American soldiers in Vietnam.

"We hear a great deal today about people losing confidence in their government. Is there any wonder that more and more citizens are losing confidence in their government when the government acts in such a foolish, absurd and pusillanimous manner as it has in pampering Stokely Carmichael, not only by permitting him to make treasonable statements on foreign soil, but also permitting him to incite rioting in this country, without penalty."

For some time, the Justice Department reportedly has been investigating Carmichael for possible prosecution. But repeated inquiries about this by reporters and others have brought no information.

An Explanation

One Justice Department official is credited with saying, "So far we have been unable to put together a case that would hold water legally. We have published accounts of what Carmichael is quoted as having said, but we have been unable to get any witnesses to support these reports. Without witnesses we don't have a case."

b7C

b7D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcc

ENCLOSURE

100 - 446080 - 1857

Since ~~early~~ this year, Carmichael has ~~been~~ active in Washington's predominant Negro population organizing and manipulating from behind the scenes a so-called Black United Front.

While he has cannily kept in the background, he has used various prominent moderate Negro clergymen to spearhead his policies and tactics.

Foremost among Carmichael's aims is Negro control of the capital's 3,100 - member police force, which President Johnson has recommended be increased to 4,100. Carmichael's scheme is so-called "community control" of the police; that is, the residents of each district would determine the personnel of the local police force and its officers.

Likes Violence

Another Carmichael - inspired maneuver was the claimed unanimous adoption of a resolution by the Black United Front declaring that the slaying of one policeman and the serious wounding of another by three Negroes charged with robbery whom they attempted to arrest was "justifiable homicide."

This deliberately provocative pronouncement evoked a storm of outraged protests in Congress and the press. But the Black Front leaders, under Carmichael's backstage spurring, refused to retract.

This and other truculently militant activities have doomed any chance of this Congress' considering the long - pending legislation to give the District of Columbia either home rule and - or representation in the House and Senate. Last year,

the prospects of this being appeared promising.

But since the violent riots here last April, following the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, and Carmichael's undercover machinations through his creation, the Black United Front, Congress has become strongly opposed to relinquishing any direct control over the capital and its affairs.

No Home Rule

There isn't a chance of the District of Columbia gaining home rule in the foreseeable future.

Being widely circulated on Capitol Hill are copies of an interview by Carmichael published in *Sucesos* (Events) while attending the Conference of the Latin American Solidarity Organization in Cuba as the fan-fared guest of Fidel Castro. Following are highlights of the turbulent Negro activist's incendiary remarks:

"We want power not only to control the wealth within our community but to divide up this wealth according to the needs of each community. We don't want to establish a black capitalist system; on the contrary we want to destroy capitalism economically because this system always goes hand in hand with racism and exploitation.

"At present, in order not to divide those participating in the struggle for the demands of the black race, we support a united front. But the time will come very soon when there will be no reason to discuss and nothing to discuss, and then we will simply eliminate all those who put obstacles in the way of the real liberation of the black people.

"We are moving toward guerrilla warfare in the United States. We are going to develop urban guerrilla warfare and we are going to beat them (the whites) in this field because there is one thing they do not have; their men don't want to fight what they call guerrilla warfare, which is really hand-to-hand combat. You see, their men are cowards. White America is the most cowardly nation in the world.

"The question is simply when to employ guerrilla warfare. It is the only means by which we can win in the United States because they cannot use bombs against us, since we are inside their country. They will have to fight us hand-to-hand and we will defeat them."

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 7/29/68

Stokely Carmichael, Negro militant, arrived in Mobile, Alabama, 7/26/68. In speech stated he desired no riot while he was in Mobile but if there was trouble after he left he would know he has been effective. Attached relates to subject's activities in Mobile 7/27/68. Subject made statement "it's your town, if you want to burn it, burn it". Carmichael referred to Negroes arrested for traffic violations in Mobile 7/26/68, and reportedly stated if arrests continue, "Cleveland, Ohio, would seem like a picnic compared to what would be done to Mobile".

Subsequent information received disclosed Carmichael and associates departed Mobile by airplane 7:00 a.m., 7/28/68, arriving Atlanta, Georgia, 9:06 a.m., and Washington, D. C., at 2:20 p.m., 7/28/68.

Copies of attached and subsequent teletype furnished to Inter-Division Information Unit of the Department and the Attorney General. Will be included in summary teletype for White House.

PFS:BMS:jcm

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

FBI WASH DC*

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

JUL 28 1968

FBI MOBILE

TELETYPE

3:06

FBI MOBILE

AM 7-28-68 MMA

URGENT
TO DIRECTOR, AND WFO

FROM MOBILE 100-1858

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RM.

Racial Matter

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/bcg

CARMICHAEL AND ASSOCIATES REMAINED OVERNIGHT IN RESIDENCE

OF [REDACTED] MOBILE. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] ARRIVED AT ELEVEN FORTYNINE AM, JULY TWENTYSEVEN INSTANT

AND CARMICHAEL LEFT WITH [REDACTED] SHORTLY AFTER NOON. THEY DROVE TO [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] WHERE CARMICHAEL AND ASSOCIATES MET WITH LOCAL

NEGROES UNTIL ABOUT TWO THIRTY PM,. SOURCE WHO WAS AT THIS
MEETING STATED CARMICHAEL ANSWERED QUESTIONS PUT TO HIM. HE
WAS ASKED IF HE ADVOCATES VIOLENCE AND REPLIED THAT HE ADVOCATES
SETTLING PROBLEMS BY WHATEVER MEANS ARE AVAILABLE.

CARMICHAEL SAID HE COULDN'T ACCEPT THEORY THAT SYSTEM OF LAW
AND ORDER HAD BENEFITTED NEGRO MINORITY AS NEGROES HAVE NOT
OBTAINED FULL FREEDOM.

END PAGE ONE

TELETYPE TO:

WFO 70 AUG 21 1968

REC-78 / 100-446080-1858
EX-100

11 AUG 16 1968

PAGE TWO

CARMICHAEL'S GROUP THEN PROCEEDED TO OLD WARREN ST. METHODIST CHURCH WHERE MEETING WAS IN PROGRESS, ARRIVING ABOUT THREE PM AT ENTRANCE TO CHURCH, CARMICHAEL TALKED TO [REDACTED]

b7C
b7D

[REDACTED] ABOUT ARRESTS LAST NIGHT OF NEGROES ON TRAFFIC VIOLATIONS AND REPORTEDLY SAID THAT IF THERE WERE MORE SUCH ARRESTS, CLEVELAND, OHIO WOULD SEEM LIKE A PICNIC COMPARED TO WHAT WOULD BE DONE TO MOBILE.

CARMICHAEL SPOKE TO ABOUT FOUR HUNDRED PERSONS AT MEETING WHICH BROKE UP ABOUT FOUR THIRTY PM, TALKING ABOUT NEGRO HISTORY AND SAYING " ITS YOUR TOWN, IF YOU WANT TO BURN IT, BURN IT".

CARMICHAEL LEFT CHURCH AREA ABOUT FIVE TWELVE PM BY AUTO GOING TO RESIDENCE OF [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
WHERE HE REMAINED UNTIL SEVEN TWENTY PM. CARMICHAEL THEN WENT TO RESIDENCE OF [REDACTED]

b7C
b7D

[REDACTED] WHERE HE REMAINED UNTIL ABOUT EIGHT THIRTY PM, WHEN HE RETURNED TO [REDACTED] RESIDENCE.

PICKETS WERE AT MOBILE MUNICIPAL AUDITORIUM TONIGHT AT PERFORMANCE OF A SINGING GROUP. NEIGHBORHOOD ORGANIZED WORKERS(NOW) THE NEGRO GROUP SPONSORING CARMICHAEL APPEARANCE, ORDERED PICKETING BECAUSE OF DENIAL OF USE OF AUDITORIUM TO NOW FOR CARMICHAEL SPEECH. NO INCIDENTS REPORTED IN CONNECTION WITH PICKET ACTIVITY.
ENDPAGE TWO

PAGE THREE

CARMICHAEL AND PARTY REMAINED AT [] RESIDENCE UNTIL ELEVEN
ZERO EIGHT PM WHEN THEY LEFT IN AUTOMOBILES OF []

[] RODE AROUND MOBILE AND NEARBY PRICHARD, MAKING
SHORT STOPS AT SEVERAL NEGRO CLUBS, RETURNING TO [] RESIDENCE

b7C

b7D

[] ABOUT TWELVE THIRTY AM SEVEN
TWENTYEIGHT SIXTYEIGHT. AT TWO THIRTY AM CARMICHAEL AND []
ASSOCIATES LEFT [] RESIDENCE IN [] AUTO, TO []
RESIDENCE [] WHERE THEY SPENT LAST
NIGHT.

NO INCIDENTS OR DISTURBANCES WHERE REPORTED DURING DAY
OR NIGHT.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RE MOTEL SEVEN TWENTYSEVEN SIXTYEIGHT.

MILITARY INTELLIGENCE AND LOCAL POLICE KEPT AWARE OF
DEVELOPMENTS.

SOURCE WHO FURNISHED INFO RE MEETING AT []

b7C

b7D

PHYSICAL SURVEILLANCE

~~FISUR~~ WILL BE CONDUCTED TO COVER ACTIVITIES SEVEN TWENTYEIGHT
SIXTYEIGHT.

At Mo. 1
AM COPY TO BH.

END

SVM

FBI WASH DC*

P

MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

cc Div. 6

VIA TELETYPE

AUG 14 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson_____
Mr. DeLoach_____
Mr. Mohr_____
Mr. Bishop_____
Mr. Casper_____
Mr. Callahan_____
Mr. Conrad_____
Mr. Felt_____
Mr. Gale_____
Mr. Rosen_____
Mr. Sullivan✓
Mr. Tavel_____
Mr. Trotter_____
Tele. Room_____
Miss Holmes_____
Miss Gandy_____

WA ----12----

FBI NEW YORK

8:05 PM URGENT 8-14-68 AWS

TO DIRECTOR 100-446080, WFO (100-43503) AND MIAMI - CODE

ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM NEW YORK 100-153751

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; RM-SNCC; SEDITION.

A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE, WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE
INFORMATION IN THE PAST, OBSERVED SUBJECT AT [REDACTED]

b7C

b7D

NEW YORK, ON

AUGUST ELEVEN AND AUGUST TWELVE, LAST.

b2

b7D

[REDACTED] WHO HAS FURNISHED
RELIABLE INFORMATION IN PAST PAST, ADVISED THAT THE SUBJECT MAY ATTEND
THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF TELEVISION AND RADIO ANNOUNCERS
CONVENTION AT THE SHERATON - FOUR AMBASSADOR HOTEL, MIAMI,
FLORIDA, AUGUST FOURTEEN, INSTANT, THROUGH AUGUST EIGHTEEN,
NEXT. SOURCE ADVISED THAT SUBJECT IS NOT EXPECTED TO SPEAK,
BUT IS SCHEDULED TO APPEAR AT THE CONVENTION.

b7C

END PAGE ONE

REC- 51

EX-105

100-446080-1859
AUG 16 1968

54 AUG 23 1968

TWO COPIES TO WFO

5640 Justice

5-11

PAGE TWO

ADMINISTRATIVE:

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b2

b7C

b7D

MIAMI, THROUGH LOGICAL SOURCES, ATTEMPT TO VERIFY
SUBJECT'S APPEARANCE IN MIAMI.

END

~~WA.....CORR PLS MAKE TEL CODE~~

WA.....MSE

FBI WASH DC

R RELAY

MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

FBI

Date: 7/29/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (100-6812) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS;
SEDITIONALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tasRe WFO teletypes, 7/26/68 and 7/29/68; Mobile tel,
7/28/68; and Atlanta tel, 7/28/68.Enclosed for the Bureau are eleven (11) copies of LHM
re visit of subject to Atlanta on 7/28/68. Appropriate copies
are enclosed for offices listed in the copy count of this airtel.Coverage of subject's activities while in Atlanta on
7/28/68, as reflected in the enclosed LHM, was covered by fisur,
conducted by SAs [redacted]

b7C

b7D

The source furnishing information re Avis auto rented
by [redacted] also known as [redacted]
[redacted] is identified as [redacted]

- 3 - Bureau (Enc. 11) (RM)
2 - Mobile (Enc. 2) (100-1858) (RM)
2 - New York (Enc. 2) (100-153751) (RM)
1 - Savannah (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)
2 - San Francisco (Enc. 2) (157-721) (RM)
2 - WFO (Enc. 2) (100-43503) (RM)
2 - Atlanta
EUC:vsc
(14)

EX 110 REC 49
AGENCY: ACSI, OSI, SEC. SERV.,
ISD, CRD, RAO, Cum, ISRU
HOW FORW: [redacted]
DATE FORW: 8/12/68
BY: [redacted]

C. C. Bishop

57 AUG 22 1968

Approved: **AUG 30 1968**
Special Agent in Charge
193 MCA

Sent _____ M Per _____

100-446080-1860

RACIAL INT. SECT.

AT 100-6812

b7C

Information copy of this LHM sent to Savannah
in view of address given by in area covered by that
office.

Copy of this LHM is being disseminated locally
to interested military agencies.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-446080
AT 100-6812

Atlanta, Georgia
July 29, 1968

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS;
SEDITION

b7C Stokely Carmichael, travelling in a group of three individuals using the names [REDACTED] was observed at 9:06 a.m. on July 28, 1968, departing *Eastern Airlines* Flight 390 at the Atlanta Municipal Airport. This flight terminated in Atlanta, Georgia. Carmichael was dressed in a light blue shirt with dark blue trousers, while one of his travelling companions (unknown subject number one) was dressed in a three-quarter length black leather coat and a red turtle-neck sweater. His other travelling companion (unknown subject number two) was wearing a dark olive-green suit.

b7C This group proceeded to the luggage claim section of the airport, where they secured their luggage and returned to the lobby of the terminal. After a short conversation in the lobby, Carmichael went to a public telephone booth and made several telephone calls. Simultaneously, unknown subject number two went to the Eastern Airlines counter where he purchased two tickets in cash for Washington, D. C., in the names of [REDACTED] for passage on Eastern Airlines Flight 146, departing Atlanta, Georgia, at 12:50 p.m., July 28, 1968, scheduled to arrive in Washington, D. C., at 2:11 p.m. Unknown subject number two did not distinguish which one of these two tickets was to be utilized by Carmichael.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

COPIES DESTROYED

286 FEB 24 1971

100-446080-1860
ENCLOSURE
- 1 -

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Unknown subject number one proceeded to Delta Airlines ticket counter where he purchased in cash a ticket in the name of [redacted] for passage on Flight 897, departing Atlanta at 12:10 p.m., July 28, 1968, for San Francisco, California. C.A.

b7C

The parties then rejoined in the lobby of the terminal with Carmichael being constantly recognized by other persons. He would talk and shake hands briefly with these individuals; however, he appeared to direct most of his conversation to a Negro male, about 5' 8" in height, weighing approximately 130 to 135 lbs., wearing a gray checked suit and carrying a briefcase. This person was later joined by a Negro female, having light complexion, being about 20 to 21 years of age, approximately 5' 6", and weighing approximately 100 lbs. These two individuals continued to converse with Carmichael. After a short conversation with this couple, Carmichael and his two companions went to the taxi-loading platform of the airlines terminal.

The Negro male and Negro female, mentioned above, proceeded to the Avis Auto Rental counter. A source, who is in a position to furnish reliable information, advised that the Negro male rented a 1968 Plymouth four-door sedan, 1968 Georgia license 1J51321 in the name of [redacted] using a credit card issued by [redacted]

[redacted] According to the source, [redacted] signed the charge card as [redacted]

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

This Negro male and Negro female then rejoined Carmichael and his companions at the taxi-loading platform. The entire group entered the above-described Plymouth and proceeded to the Paschal Motor Hotel, 830 Hunter Street, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia, which they entered at approximately 10:25 a.m. They sat at a table in the coffee shop, having breakfast, until approximately 11:15 a.m., when the aforementioned Negro couple re-entered the Plymouth automobile and left the vicinity of the Paschal Motor Hotel.

Paschal Motor Hotel is a prominent gathering place for the Negro race in Atlanta and is located in the heart of the Negro business community.

GA.
Carmichael and his two companions were met at 11:20 a.m. by [redacted] who has [redacted] in many instances and was driven to the Atlanta Airport, arriving there at approximately 11:40 a.m. The group remained apart in the "departing flight" section of the vehicle ramp until approximately 11:50 a.m., when Carmichael and his companions departed the automobile and [redacted] left the area of the airport.

Unknown subject number one proceeded to Delta Gate 45, where he boarded Flight 897 at 11:55 a.m., which flight left Atlanta at 12:10 p.m., destination San Francisco, California.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Stokely Carmichael and unknown subject number two proceeded to Eastern Airlines Gate 29, where they remained in the immediate area from approximately 12:10 p.m. until 12:35 p.m., when they boarded Eastern Airlines Flight 146, destination Washington, D. C. This flight left Atlanta at 12:50 p.m., July 28, 1968.

Date 7/30/68

To:

☒ Director

File # 100-446080 (RM)

Att.: _____ Title STOKELY CARMICHAEL

☒ SAC MOBILE (100-1858) (RM) IS-M; SEDITION

☐ ASAC SAVANNAH (RM)

☐ WFO (100-43503) (RM)

☐ Supv. NEW YORK (100-153751) (RM)

☐ Agent SAN FRANCISCO (157-721) (RM)

☐ SE _____

☐ IC _____

☐ CC _____

☐ Steno _____

☐ Clerk _____

RE: _____

☐ Rotor #: _____

ACTION DESIRED

☐ Acknowledge

☐ Assign _____ Reassign _____

☐ Bring file

☐ Call me

☐ Correct

☐ Deadline _____

☐ Deadline passed

☐ Delinquent

☐ Discontinue

☐ Expedite

☐ File

☐ For information

☐ Handle

☐ Initial & return

☐ Leads need attention

☐ Return with explanation or notation as to action taken.

☐ Open Case

☐ Prepare lead cards

☐ Prepare tickler

☐ Return assignment card

☐ Return file

☐ Search and return

☐ See me

☐ Serial # _____

☐ Post

☐ Recharge

☐ Return

☐ Send to _____

☐ Submit new charge out

☐ Submit report by _____

☐ Type

Re ATairtel & LHM 7/29/68 re CARMICHAEL's visit to Atlanta on 7/28/68. Page 1 of LHM, line 3, "Delta" should read "Eastern Airlines". Please correct.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

SAC _____

FRANK V. HITT

Office _____

Atlanta

See reverse side

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 8/10/68

Attached relates to travel of Stokely Carmichael to Chicago, Illinois, area, 8/9/68.

Subsequent information reveals Carmichael did not appear in Maywood, Illinois on 8/9/68, but does plan to appear there on 8/10/68. On the evening of 8/9/68 he did speak and make inflammatory remarks at a rally in Chicago.

Appropriate local authorities are cognizant. Information concerning Carmichael's trip and activities have been furnished to Secret Service and the Army. Copies of the attached and subsequent teletypes have been sent to the Inter-Division Information Unit of the Department and the Attorney General.

ABF;abf

*wcs/wal**[Signature]**wcs/R*

FBI WASH DC*

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

AUG 9 1968

TELETYPE

b7C

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

FBI CHICAGO

640PM URGENT 7-9-68 RMF

TO DIRECTOR AND WFO

WFO VIA WASHINGTON

FROM CHICAGO /157-1297/ /157-2969/ **ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 4-5-01 BY 60220M/PP**

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RACIAL MATTER - SNCC; SEDITION, OO: WFO; RACIAL
TENSIONS, MAYWOOD, ILLINOIS, NINETEEN SIXTYEIGHT, OO: CHICAGO.

b7C

SOURCE RELIABLE IN PAST, ADVISED INSTANT THAT

MAYWOOD, AND DESCRIBED BY SOURCE AS PRIME INSTIGATOR OF RACIAL
DISTURBANCES WHICH HAVE OCCURRED IN MAYWOOD DURING PAST TWO
YEARS, INDICATED TODAY CARMICHAEL TO BE IN CHICAGO THIS DATE AND MAY
SPEAK AT IRVING SCHOOL, SIXTEENTH AVENUE AND WARREN STREET, MAYWOOD,
THIS EVENING, TIME UNKNOWN. SOURCE STATED SPREADING WORD
TO MAYWOOD NEGRO YOUTHS TO BE AT SCHOOL TONIGHT. SOURCE ADVISED
WIELDS CONSIDERABLE INFLUENCE OVER NEGRO YOUTHS OF MAYWOOD.

b7C

ILL.,

b7C

b7D

ADVISED INSTANT PAMPHLETS WERE DISTRIBUTED THAT CITY TODAY BY UNKNOWN
NEGROES IMPRINTED "BLACK AWARENESS PRESENTS STOKELY CARMICHAEL AT DWIGHT

END PAGE ONE

EX 110 REC-39

100-446080-186

TELETYPE TO

b7C

11 AUG 16 1968

UNREG COPY FILED IN

PAGE TWO

EISENHOWER HIGH SCHOOL, ONE HUNDRED THIRTY SEVENTH STREET AND CRAWFORD ROAD, CRESTWOOD, ILL. SIX PM INSTANT. SUBSEQUENT INFO RECEIVED CRESTWOOD AUTHORITIES REFUSE TO ISSUE PERMIT TO HOLD THIS MEETING AND SAME RESCHEDULED FOR WYNN HAVEN TRAILER CT., ONE HUNDRED THREE FIVE STREET AND CLAIRE BLVD, ROBBINS, ILL. [REDACTED]

b7C

b7D

[REDACTED] ADVISED INSTANT DOES NOT INTEND TO PERMIT, MEETING IN [REDACTED] AND HAS REQUESTED ASSISTANCE OF COOK COUNTY, (SO) ON STANDBY BASIS IF NEEDED. COOK COUNTY SO TASK FORCE TO BE ON STAND BY AT HOMEWOOD, ILL. SHERIFF'S OFFICE STATION FOR THIS PURPOSE AND IN VIEW OF RACIAL DISTURBANCES WHICH OCCURRED IN HARVEY-DIXMOOR, ILL. DURING PAST WEEK. THESE TOWNS ALLOCATED IN CLOSE PROXIMITY TO EACH OTHER IN SOUTHERN PART OF COOK COUNTY.

[REDACTED] RELIABLE IN PAST, ADVISED INSTANT PAMPHLETS BEING DISTRIBUTED ON CHICAGO'S SOUTH AND WEST SIDES AFTERNOON THIS DATE STATING CARMICHAEL WAS TO APPEAR AT THREE DIFFERENT HOUSING PROJECTS DURING AFTERNOON HOURS THIS DATE, PROJECTS BEING LOCATED ON SOUTH AND WEST SIDES OF CHICAGO.

b2

b7D

~~Washington Field of File~~
FBI WFO, ADVISED LATE AFTERNOON INSTANT DATE CARMICHAEL THEN IN WASHINGTON, D.C. AND SCHEDULED TO DEPART ON AMERICAN AIRLINES FLIGHT TWO EIGHT THREE LEAVING DULLES INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT SIX FIFTEEN PM, END PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE

CDT. CARMICHAEL BOARDED THIS FLIGHT AND ENROUTE CHICAGO. THIS INFO FURNISHED APPROPRIATE AUTHORITIES IN VIEW OF ABOVE INDICATED SCHEDULED APPEARANCES BY CARMICHAEL.

b2

b7D

[REDACTED]

ADVISED INSTANT HAD RECEIVED INFO CARMICHAEL SCHEDULED TO SPEAK NINE PM TONIGHT AT AFRO-AMERICAN ARTS THEATER, THREE NINE STREET AND DREXEL BLVD, ON CG'S SOUTH SIDE IN ALL NEGRO AREA.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RE WFO TEL CALL INSTANT.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] MILITARY, SECRET SERVICE, USA AND ABOVE INDICATED LOCAL POLICE AGENCIES ADVISED. [REDACTED] ADVISED

b2

b7C

b7D

INSTANT ON BEING APPRISED ON CARMICHAELS ARRIVAL THAT HIS OFFICERS ARE BEING ASSIGNED TO MAINTAIN TWO FOUR HOUR SURVEILLANCE ON CARMICHAEL DURING HIS STAY IN CG. CG MAINTAINING CLOSE LIAISON WITH [REDACTED] [REDACTED] AND IN VIEW THEIR SURVEILLANCE CG WILL NOT MAINTAIN

END PAGE THREE

PAGE FOUR

SURVEILLANCE OF CARMICHAEL. CG SOURCES ASSIGNED TO ATTEND SCHEDULED APPEARANCE AFRRO ARTS THEATER INSTANT NIGHT AND TO IMMEDIATELY FURNISH ANY INFO RE CARMICHAEL'S STAY IN CG. BUREAU WILL BE KEPT ADVISED. BUAGENTS WILL CONFIRM CARMICHAEL'S ARRIVAL O'HARE AIRPORT INSTANT NIGHT.

END

LPT

FBI WASH DC*

P

COPY SENT AG AND IDIU

XEROX - MR. ROSEN

CC MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

~~SECRET~~

August 20, 1968

RA

Airtel

EX-103

1 -
1 -
1 -



b7C

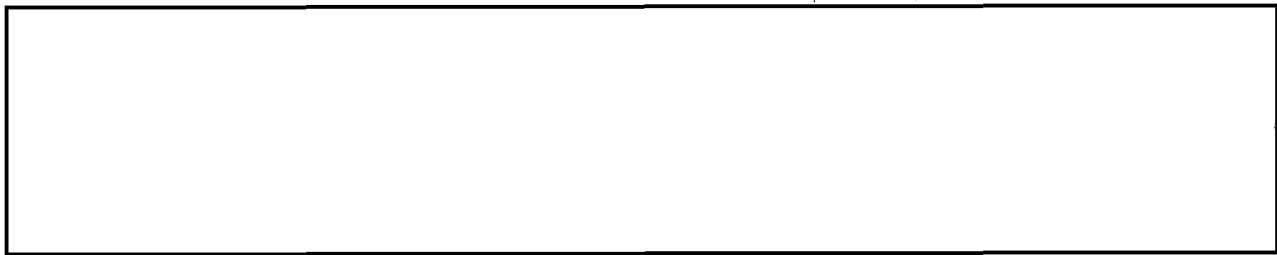
To: SACs, Atlanta (100-6812)
New York (100-153751)
WFO (100-43503)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

From: Director, FBI (100-446080) — 1862

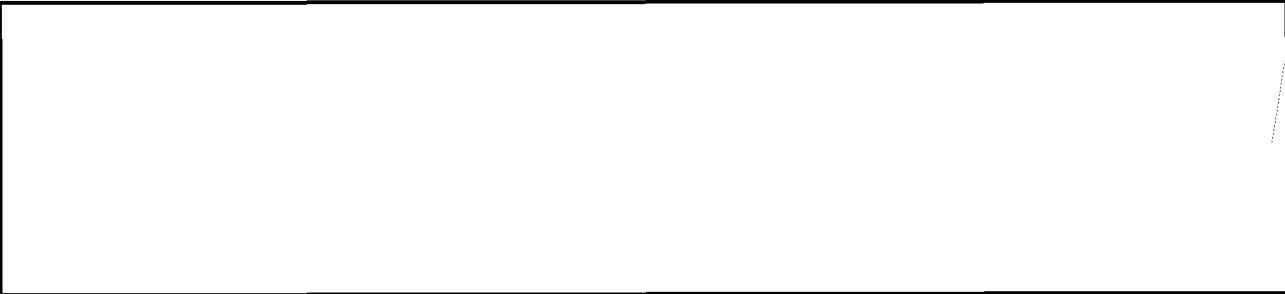
REC-75

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS - SNCC
SEDITION



(S)

b1



(S)

b1

Recipient offices should contact informants and
established sources concerning the possibility of Stokely
Carmichael being in the receipt of a large sum of money.

DATE: 01-25-2006

CLASSIFIED BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1) 01-25-2031

Classification per OGA letter dated 01-30-2006

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

MAILED 37
AUG 21 1968
COMM-FBI

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

PTB:ekw *ekw*
(10)

~~SECRET~~

6 AUG 27 1968

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

~~SECRET~~

Airtel to SACs, Atlanta, et. al.
STOKELY CARMICHAEL
100-446080

NOTE:

Stokely Carmichael, a black extremist, is on the Security Index and the Agitator Index. He currently resides in Washington, D. C., where he is active as the leader of the Black United Front, a coalition of moderate and militant Negro leaders and organizations in Washington, D. C.

(S)

b1

~~SECRET~~

8/19/68

b7C

Airtel

EX-103

1 -
1 -
1 -

(2264 J. B.)

To: SAC, Chicago (157-1297)

From: Director, FBI (100-446080) — 1813

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS - STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
SEDITION
BUDED: 8/28/68

Enclosed for information of recipient offices is a copy of a letter from J. Walter Yeagley, Assistant Attorney General, Internal Security Division of the Department, dated 8/14/68, which is self-explanatory.

It is noted that the information requested in Yeagley's letter is similar to that requested in Bureau airtel dated August 14, 1968.

Chicago should expeditiously conduct the investigation requested in the above referred to communications and submit a report to reach the Bureau by August 28, 1968.

Enclosure

1 - WFO (100-43403) (Enclosure)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

PTB:djb
(7)

Note:

Stokely Carmichael is a black extremist who is on the Security Index and the Agitator Index. At a speech in Chicago on August 9, 1968, Carmichael made highly inflammatory statements. This information has previously been furnished to the White House, Attorney General, Inter-Division Information Unit, Internal Security Division and Criminal Division of the Department, Secret Service, and military intelligence agencies. By airtel dated 8/14/68 Chicago was requested to endeavor to obtain a transcript of this speech as well as other investigation concerning the identity of the audience. Yeagley, by letter dated August 14, 1968, has made a similar request concerning Carmichael's speech. Chicago is being

SEE NOTE CONTINUED PAGE TWO

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

9 m per

Airtel to SAC, Chicago
RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
100-446080

NOTE CONTINUED:

~~Requested~~ to expedite investigation. This matter has been coordinated with Division Six. Upon receipt, the information requested from the Field will be furnished, in addition to Yeagley, to the Criminal Division of the Department in order to determine if there has been a violation of the anti-riot laws.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Memorandum

TO : Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation

DATE: August 14, 1968.

FROM: J. Walter Yeagley
Assistant Attorney General
Internal Security Division

EXP. PROC

SUBJECT: Stokely Carmichael

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tca

Reference is made to your telegram of August 12, 1968, captioned "Selected Racial Developments and Disturbances," which contained information that Stokely Carmichael was the main speaker at a meeting of about 700 Negroes at the Afro Arts Theater in Chicago, Illinois, on August 9, 1968. Carmichael allegedly urged the black community to obtain arms to prevent genocide of the Negro race and to prepare for the "revolution." Carmichael also allegedly urged Negroes going to Vietnam to kill American soldiers, not North Vietnamese, and to support the Chinese Communist leader, Mao Tse-Tung.

Since his urging Negroes to obtain arms in preparation for the "revolution" is possibly in violation of 18 U.S.C. 2385, and his urging Negroes to kill American soldiers is possibly in violation of 18 U.S.C. 2388, we would appreciate receiving a verbatim transcript of Carmichael's speech, if such is available, together with the name or names of the witness or witnesses who can testify to its accuracy. If a verbatim transcript of the entire speech is not available, we would appreciate receiving any transcripts which were made of the portions of the speech referred to above, together with the names of the individuals who made such recordings. If there are no verbatim transcripts of any portions of Carmichael's speech, we would appreciate being advised whether there were any informants, local police officers, or FBI agents present who made notes of what Carmichael said and, if so, we would like to receive copies of these notes if they cover the areas of Carmichael's speech mentioned above.

We would also like to know whether there were any American servicemen in the audience and, if so, the number and their identities if possible.

If it is available, we would also like to know the composition of the entire audience by sex and age.

We would also be interested in ascertaining who sponsored the meeting and whether Carmichael was speaking as an individual or as a member of SNCC and on behalf of that organization. We would also like to know the names of all other individuals who spoke and whether any of them gave talks in the same vein as Carmichael's.

16 ~~AUG 14~~ 1968

RECEIVED
SEP 11 1964

**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION**

AUG 10 1968

FBI CHICAGO

1139PM URGENT 8-9-68 TAB

TELETYPE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcq

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan ✓
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

TO: ~~DIRECTOR~~ (100-446080) WASHINGTON FIELD (100-43503) SPRINGFIELD
WFO VIA BUREAU.

FROM: CHICAGO (157-1297)(P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RM-SNCC; SEDITION.

BUAGENTS OBSERVED ARRIVAL CARMICHAEL O'HARE FIELD SEVEN FIFTY
PM INSTANT, AND TEN NEGROES DEPARTED FOR UNKNOWN DESTINATION IN THUNDER-
BIRD, SIXTY EIGHT ILLINOIS LICENSE [REDACTED] WHICH IS

REGISTERED TO

ILLINOIS, AND A SIXTY FOUR PONTIAC FOUR DOOR, SIXTY EIGHT ILLINOIS LICENSE

REGISTERED TO [REDACTED]
ILLINOIS.

[REDACTED] ILLINOIS ALL NEGRO COMM-
UNITY ADVISED THAT ABOUT FORTY NEGROES, VARIOUS AGES WERE DISBANDED
FROM VICINITY ONE THREE FIVE STREET AND CLAIRE WHERE THEY ATTEMPTED
TO HOLD MEETING WHICH WAS PREVIOUSLY DENIED BY CITY OFFICIALS. [REDACTED]

STATED SEVERAL YOUTHS THEN BROKE INTO LINCOLN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL, ONE HUNDRED THIRTY NINTH AND CLAIRE, TO HOLD MEETING. CITY OFFICIAL AND SCHOOL AUTHORITIES AT FIRST WANTED PERSONS REMOVED, HOWEVER CONCEDED TO LET MEETING TAKE PLACE.

END PAGE ONE

END PAGE ONE

~~PLACE cc 157-NMW~~

~~AUG 29 1968~~

Re: [redacted] *CRACIAL MATTER*

John de Carmichael

murder in G. with

as prison by

TELETYPE TO: b7C

157-NMW

Re: [redacted]

tel: 12

WFO

70 AUG 23 1968

REC 45

11 AUG 16 1968

PAGE TWO

APPROXIMATELY ONE HUNDRED FIFTY ATTENDED MEETING AND ALL SEARCHED BEFORE ENTERING MEETING. [REDACTED] STATED [REDACTED] CONSIDERED RELIABLE, ADVISED VEHICLE CARRYING CARMICHAEL TO THIS MEETING BEARS SIXTY EIGHT ILLINOIS LICENSE [REDACTED] SOURCES ALSO STATE LAST VEHICLE IN MOTORCADE IS HEAVILY ARMED.

b7C

b7D

[REDACTED] ADVISED [REDACTED] WAS INVOLVED IN DISTURBANCE WHICH TOOK PLACE IN DIXMOOR, ILLINOIS, IN NINETEEN SIXTY FOUR.

b7C

b7D

[REDACTED] STATED MARKHAM, ILLINOIS PD AND COOK COUNTY SHERIFFS OFFICE HAVE BEEN ALERTED.

HE ADVISED THAT ABOVE SOURCES REPORTED THAT PEOPLE WAITING FOR ARRIVAL OF CARMICHAEL DEPARTED SCHOOL WITHOUT INCIDENT JUST PRIOR TO CARMICHAEL'S ARRIVAL SO NO MEETING HELD. AREA IS QUIET

b7D

[REDACTED] ADVISED GROUP NUMBER UNKNOWN AWAITING CARMICHAEL AT AFRO ART THEATRE CURRENTLY.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

REFERENCE CHICAGO TEL TODAY. [REDACTED]

b7C

b7D

[REDACTED] USA, MILITARY, SECRET SERVICE ADVISED. LHM FOLLOWS. CHICAGO INDICES NEGATIVE RE [REDACTED] CASE BEING OPENED.

CHICAGO FOLLOWING CLOSELY. SOURCES ASSIGNED, BUREAU WILL BE KEPT ADVISED.

COPY SENT AG AND IDIU

END

CG MR. TRAINOR
SVM ROOM 836 9&D

FBI WASH DC*

XEROX-MR ROSEN

b7C

VIA TELETYPE
AUG 17 1968
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

WASH 1

1250AM URGENT 8-17-68 WMS

TO DIRECTOR 100-446080 (ENCODED) AND WASHINGTON FIELD 100-43503

WASHINGTON FIELD VIA WASHINGTON

ATTN DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM NEW YORK 100-153751

STOKELY CARMICHAEL IS-MISC; SEDITION OO;WFO

CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE (RELIABLE) ADVISED EIGHT SIXTEEN LAST
THAT CAPTIONED INDIVIDUAL OBSERVED IN COMPANY OF [REDACTED] AT SUBJECT'S
[REDACTED] NY AT ELEVEN

PM ON SUCH DATE.

ADMINISTRATIVE

RE WFO TELEPHONE CALL TO NY EIGHT SIXTEEN LAST AND NY TELEPHONE
CALL TO WFO EIGHT SIXTEEN LAST.

CLASSIFY CONFIDENTIAL

END
RDR

FBI WASH DC

COPY SENT AG AND IDIU

TWO COPIES TO WFO

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

EX-108

b7C
b7D

REC-47 100-446080-7865

2 AUG 21 1968

1010
AUG 8/19/68
MB

5-118

61 AUG 27 1968
EX-108 - MR. ROSEN

VIA TELETYPE

AUG 17 1968

ENCIPHERED

2/7&, /6WA 7

1046PM URGENT 8-17-68 RPD

TO DIRECTOR 100-446080 AND WASHINGTON FIELD 100-43503

ATT: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

PLAINTEXT

FROM NEW YORK 100-153751

b7C

Mr. Tolson_____
Mr. DeLoach_____
Mr. Mohr_____
Mr. Bishop_____
Mr. Casper_____
Mr. Callahan_____
Mr. Conrad_____
Mr. Felt_____
Mr. Gale_____
Mr. Rosen_____
Mr. Sullivan_____
Mr. Tavel_____
Mr. Trotter_____
Tele. Room_____
Miss Holmes_____
Miss Gandy_____

STOKELY CARMICHAEL IS- MISC; SEDITION OO: WASHINGTON FIELD

b7C

CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE, RELIABLE, ADVISED THIS DATE,
THAT SUBJECT DEPARTED RESIDENCE OF [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] NEW YORK AT THREE THIRTY FIVE
PM THIS DATE. ACCOMPANIED BY YOUNG WHITE MALE AND FEMALE
DRIVING NINETEEN SIXTY EIGHT YELLOW STATION WAGON, BEARING
NY [REDACTED] REGISTERED TO [REDACTED]

b7C

b7D

[REDACTED] NYC, ON SIXTY EIGHT
VOLVO STATION WAGON. NEW YORK OFFICE INDICIES NEGATIVE
RE [REDACTED]

NO FURTHER ACTIVITY REPORTED.

ADMINISTRATIVE

RE NEW YORK TEL, THIS DATE.

END

CODE OR PLAINTEXT??
PLAINTEXT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

LRC FBI WASH DC

61 AUG 27 1968

COPY SENT AG AND IDIU

TELETYPE TO:

TWO COPIES WFO

CC: TRAINOR
XEROX- MR. ROSEN

2 AUG 21 1968

EX-102

b7C

b7D

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

AUG 11 1968

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____
b7C

FBI WASH DC*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

FBI CHICAGO

1152PM DEFERRED 8-10-68 TAB

TO: DIRECTOR(100-446080)SPRINGFIELD, WFO(100-43403) WFO VIA BUREAU.

FROM: CHICAGO (157-1297)(157-3063)(P)

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL RM-SNCC; SEDITION 00: WFO

RACIAL TENSIONS, HARVEY, ILLINOIS, AUGUST ONE NINE SIX EIGHT RM.

[REDACTED] HARVEY, ILLINOIS PD ADVISED INSTANT DATE

MEETING TOOK PLACE INSTANT HARVEY PD BETWEEN [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] AND SEVENTY FIVE- ONE

HUNDRED OTHER NEGROES INCLUDING ABOUT FIFTEEN PERSONS BELEIVED TO BE
MEMBERS OF THE BLACKSTONE RANGERS, A LARGE NEGRO YOUTH GANG ON SOUTH
SIDE OF CHICAGO. [REDACTED] PLEDGED THAT NO FURTHUR VIOLENCE

b7C

b7D

WOULD BE CAUSED BY NEGRO YOUTH IN HARVEY AND YOUTHS ATTENDING MEETING
WOULD ATTEMPT TO LOCATE SEVEN PERSONS FOR WHOM WARRANTS HAVE BEEN
ISSUED AS RESULT OF RACIAL DISTURBANCE WHICH OCCURRED HARVEY-DIXMOOR
AREA AUGUST SIX LAST AND WHO ARE PRESENTLY BEING SOUGHT BY HARVEY PD.

REC-47

100-446080-1861

END PAGE ONE

12 AUG 20 1968

b7C

TELETYPED TO:

AUG 21 1968
XEROX

Advised
1010
ACSI
SS

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 157-6-9

PAGE TWO

[REDACTED] ADVISED ONCE ABOVE YOUTHS HAVE SURRENDERED
ADDITIONAL MEETINGS WOULD BE HELD CONCERNING NEGRO GRIEVANCES IN HARVEY.

b7C

b7D

FOLLOWING MEETING, NEGRO YOUTHS DEPARTED POLICE STATION WITHOUT
INCIDENT. HARVEY-DIXMOOR AREA PRESENTLY NORMAL ALTHOUGH HARVEY PD REMAINS
ALERT TO POSSIBLE DISTURBANCES IN VIEW OF CONTINUING TENSIONS THAT AREA.

PREVIOUS INFORMATION INDICATED STOKELY CARMICHAEL REPORTEDLY TO BE
IN HARVEY AREA INSTANT DATE BUT [REDACTED] ADVISED CARMICHAEL NOT PRESEN^{NT}
FOR ABOVE MEETING AND NOT KNOWN TO BE IN HARVEY AREA.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

REMYTEL INSTANT. MILITARY USA AND SECRET SERVICE ADVISED. CHICAGO
FOLLOWING LHM FOLLOWS. CHICAGO INDICES CHECKED RE PERSONS ARRESTED
AND FOR WHOM WARRANTS CURRENTLY OUTSTANDING IN CONNECTION WITH HARVEY
DISTURBANCES THIS WEEK AND REFLECT NO PERTINENT INFORMATION WITH EX-
CEPTION OF [REDACTED] WHO ACCORDING TO CHICAGO PD RECORDS WAS

b7C

b7D

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] IN AUGUST SIXTY-FIVE.

END

SVM

FBI WASH DC*

@

XEROX - MR. ROSEN

CC - MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

F B I

Date: 8/15/68

Transmit the following in _____

PLAIN

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE

URGENT

(Priority)

WCS

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI, AND SACS NEW YORK
MIAMI

FROM: SAC, WFO

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL. RM.

SUBJECT OBSERVED LEAVING RESIDENCE, WASHINGTON, D. C., LATE
AFTERNOON THIS DATE.

ADMINISTRATIVE

b7C

RE MY PREVIOUS TELETYPE THIS DATE.

NEW YORK AND MIAMI ADVISED BY PHONE.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

EX-100

- (2) - Bureau
- 3 - Teletype Unit
- 2 - WFO

b7C

CEE:lt
(7)

REC 46

100-44680-18

AUG 20 1968

COPY SENT AG AND IDIU
AUG 15 68 JF/0

MR. TRAINOR

ROOM 836 9&D

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

58 AUG 26 1968

VIA TELETYPE

AUG 15 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
TECODE	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

NR -----5-----4/20 PM EDT MFS

URGENT 8-15-68

TO DIRECTOR 100-446080, NEW YORK 100-153751, AND WFO 100-43503

NEW YORK AND WFO VIA WASHINGTON

FROM MIAMI 105-15451 (RUC) IP

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; RM - SNCC; SEDITION.

b7C

A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE ADVISED TODAY THAT SUBJECT HAS NOT ATTENDED THE QUOTE NATRA UNQUOTE CONVENTION AT THE SHERATON FOUR AMBASSADOR'S HOTEL. HE SAID HE RECENTLY TALKED WITH SUBJECT, AND SUBJECT HAD NOT PLANNED TO APPEAR AT CONVENTION IN MIAMI.

RECORDS, SHERATON FOUR AMBASSADOR'S NEGATIVE RE SUBJECT.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

ADMINISTRATIVE; NEW YORK WILL CONTACT SOURCE RE SUBJECT'S WHEREABOUTS.

b7C

b7D

RE NEW YORK TELETYPE AUGUST FOURTEENTH.

END

HWL

FBI WASH DC

R RELAY

CC-MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

TELETYPE TO:

TWO COPIES TO WFO

REC 44

EX-111

100-446080-12674
5-14

1 AUG 20 1968

53 AUG 20 1968
1-TB

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : The Director

DATE: 8-6-68

FROM : N. P. Callahan

SUBJECT: The Congressional Record

Page E7391. Congressman Fisher, (D) Texas, stated the press reports that the Department of State has returned to Stokely Carmichael the passport which was taken from him on December 11, 1967. Mr. Fisher cited Carmichael's tour of Communist countries also his tour of the United States and his statements urging young men to violate the laws of the land by refusing to serve in the Armed Forces. Mr. Fisher advised This was a criminal act, so described by Joseph O'Meara, dean of the Notre Dame Law School, as reported in the December 1967, issue of the American Bar Association Journal. But unfortunately, the young Attorney General did not see fit to tangle with Carmichael. Stokely Carmichael is a dangerous criminal at large. He incites riots and he promotes racial hatred. By his own conduct, and under the terms of existing law, he should be in prison today. Yet, he is running loose, avoided by the Department of Justice and favored by the Department of State.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

Original filed in: 66-1731-3559

100-446080-

NOT RECORDED
29 AUG 15 1968

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for 8-2-68 was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

8/6/68

AIRTEL

b7C

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI [REDACTED]

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO [REDACTED]

b7C

SUBJECT: [REDACTED]
IS - CR

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

Re Chicago letter to the Bureau dated 6/10/68.

b7C

b7D

On 8/5/68, source advised that subject was gradually describing to her the details of his stay [REDACTED]

b7C

b7D

Subject had also mentioned to source that during 12/67 [REDACTED]

Subject also mentioned that he was acquainted with [REDACTED] and that there were some strong differences between [REDACTED] and CHARNICKAL. Subject will remain in Chicago until 8/8/68 and source is attempting to learn more details regarding [REDACTED] CHARNICKAL, subject's stay [REDACTED] and his plans for travel in the U.S.

b7C

b7D

A detailed LHM will be submitted after subject departs from Chicago.

④ Bureau (RM)
1 - 100-446080
2 - Chicago
 (1 - 157-1297)
JMF:mkp
(6)

100-446080-
NOT RECORDED

141 AUG 9 1968

59 AUG 19 1968

ORIGINAL FILED IN

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : The Director

DATE: AUGUST 1, 1968

FROM : N. P. Callahan

SUBJECT: The Congressional Record

*not
filed*

Page 25915. Senator Byrd, (D) Virginia, advised that the State Department had restored to Stokely Carmichael the passport it took from him on December 11, 1967. Carmichael's passport was revoked because he traveled to restricted areas. Mr. Byrd stated in each country, he publicly and violently attacked the United States and our American troops. . . . We hear a great deal today, throughout our Nation, about the people losing confidence in their Government. Is there any wonder that more and more citizens are losing confidence in their Government when the Government acts in such a foolish, absurd, and pusillanimous manner as it has in pampering Stokely Carmichael, not only by permitting him to make treasonable statements on foreign soil, but also permitting him to incite to rioting in this country, all without penalty.

Original filed in: 66-1731-3358

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

100-446080-

NOT RECORDED

102 AUG 12 1968

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for JULY 31, 1968 was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

52 AUG 20 1968

DIRECTOR, FBI

SAC, WFO [redacted]

b7C

JUL 26 1968

RM - SNCC

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

Enclosed for the Bureau are eight copies of
an LHM containing information concerning [redacted]

b7C

[redacted] has been identified by reliable sources,
as STOKELY CARMICHAEL'S [redacted]

b7C

b7D

Sources mentioned in the LHM are as follows:

[redacted] contacted by SA [redacted]
as reported in [redacted] Sub A 6886.

[redacted] contacted by SA [redacted]
[redacted] as reported in [redacted] Sub A 6, 19.

[redacted] contacted by SA [redacted]
[redacted] as reported in [redacted] Sub A 21.

This LHM is classified "~~Confidential~~" because
it contains information, the disclosure of which could
result in the compromise of sources of continuing value
and reduce their future effectiveness.

WFO continuing.

- 2 - Bureau (Enc. 8)
- 4 - WFO
- (1-100-41626 SNCC)
- (1-100-43503 STOKELY CARMICHAEL)

100-446080-
NOT RECORDED
136 AUG 7 1968

51 AUG 1968
(6)

ORIGINAL FILED IN 157-9983-1



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

JUL 26 1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(U)

b7C

[redacted]

A source who has furnished reliable information in the past advised on April 23, 1968, that a Negro female named [redacted] whose true name is [redacted] recently became [redacted] at the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) Office in Washington, D.C.

b7C

b7D

The Appendix page contains a characterization of SNCC.

The source advised on May 3, 1968, that [redacted]
[redacted] Washington,
D.C.

b7C

b7D

A second source who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on May 23, 1968, that at a meeting of the Black United Front (BUF) held May 22, 1968, [redacted] who is known as [redacted] at the SNCC office said that "the women will have to stand behind the men" and that "they are part of a revolutionist organization and have to get out and help and not just sit around."

b7C

b7D

A third source who has furnished reliable information in the past advised on June 10, 1968, that at a meeting of BUF held June 5, 1968, [redacted] known to most BUF members as [redacted] offered to help [redacted] of BUF.

b7C

b7D

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg
ON 01-25-2006

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(U)

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

(U)

100-446080-

ENCLOSURE

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(U)

The first source advised June 26, 1968 that

[redacted]
at SNCC and it seems that she advises Carmichael of
the action which [redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]

b7C

b7D

The second source advised on July 6, 1968
that at a meeting of the BPP held July 3, 1968, [redacted]
[redacted]

[redacted] concerning a recent shooting incident in
which a white policeman was killed and another was
wounded. The resolution as drawn up by the committee
was read to the BPP general meeting by [redacted] It
stated in part that the White (Proper name) family
exercised self-defense in the killing of the honky
cop and it was "justifiable homicide."

b7C

b7D

[redacted]
[redacted] Washing-
ton, D.C., advised that apartment [redacted] at that address
has been rented to one [redacted] and one [redacted]
[redacted] since July 1967. She stated further that there
have been no complaints about either person and that
they have been excellent tenants in all respects.

b7C

b7D

[redacted]
[redacted] who is employed by [redacted]
[redacted]

b7C

b7D

[redacted] advised on July 15, 1968, that she shares
an apartment [redacted] Washing-
ton, D.C., with [redacted] She advised that she met
[redacted] about five years ago when [redacted] was working
for [redacted] Although
they worked for different organizations, they shared

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (U)

b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(U)

[redacted]
the same office. [redacted] stated that she knows nothing of the activities of [redacted] outside of the apartment. She stated that they keep different hours and as a result see little of each other. She said that [redacted] during the day and works [redacted]

b7C

b7D

[redacted]
[redacted] advised on July 12, 1968 that [redacted] works at the [redacted] daily from six to eight P.M. as [redacted]

b7C

b7D

[redacted] said that he believed that [redacted] is married and that her husband may be in Vietnam.

[redacted]
[redacted] Washington, D.C. advised on July 16, 1968 that the records of [redacted] contain the following information concerning [redacted]

b7C

b7D

Name:
Date of birth:
Place of birth:
Address:
Social Security Number:
Education:

b7C

b7D

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(U)

1STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Literature distributed by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, describes itself as not being a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements. SNCC was born out of the sit-in movement which erupted across the South beginning on February 1, 1960. A conference at Raleigh, North Carolina, that Spring, brought together many of the demonstrating Southern students in a loose network of militant youth which was officially named SNCC in October, 1960.

A source has advised that in May, 1966, Stokely Carmichael was elected National Chairman by the Central Committee. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced as Chairman by H. Rap Brown, with Carmichael assuming the position of Recruiter and Organizer for the SNCC. In August, 1967, at the invitation of Fidel Castro, Carmichael participated in the Organization of Latin American Solidarity Conference which was held in Havana, Cuba. Subsequent thereto, Carmichael traveled to Hanoi and other sections of North Vietnam. He returned to the United States in December, 1967, at which time his passport was picked up because of travel to unauthorized countries.

A source advised that when Carmichael was elected Chairman of SNCC, the organization embarked on a program of eliminating Caucasians from its ranks. With the election of H. Rap Brown as Chairman in 1967, it embarked on a worldwide struggle for human rights and to take a firm stand against violations of these rights by the American Government and to strengthen its programs of opposition to the draft and to the United States involvement in Vietnam.

Literature distributed in February, 1968, identifies SNCC as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

On August 13, 1967, while addressing a group in the Watts area of Los Angeles, California, H. Rap Brown said "You better shape up America, or we'll burn you down." Later in February, 1968, in a publicized note Brown wrote, "America, if it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you and to organize your jails to revolt against you and to organize your children, your God, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here's my life."

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

b7C

TO : Assistant Attorney General
Criminal Division

DATE: August 9, 1968

ATTENTION:
Room 2110 Justice Building

FROM : Director, FBI

SUBJECT: **Stokely Carmichael**
Racial Matter
Antiriot Laws

FILE COPY *file 6-A2*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

Reference is made to _____ memorandum dated _____
(your file _____).

There is enclosed one copy of the ~~REPORT OF SPECIAL~~
~~AGENCY~~ teletype dated 8/9/68
at Washington Field Office.

A. ☐ This covers the preliminary investigation and no further action concerning a full investigation will be taken by this Bureau unless the Department so directs.

B. ☐ The investigation is continuing and you will be furnished copies of reports as they are received.

C. ☐ The investigation requested by you has now been completed. Unless advised to the contrary no further inquiries will be made by this Bureau.

D. ☐ Pursuant to instructions issued by the Department, no investigation will be conducted in this matter unless specifically directed by the Department.

E. ☐ Please advise whether you desire any further investigation.

F. ☐ This is submitted for your information and you will be advised of further developments.

G. ☒ This is submitted for your information and no further investigation will be conducted unless specifically requested by the Department.

H. ☐ This covers the receipt of a complaint and no further action will be taken by this Bureau unless the Department so directs.

NOTE: This confirms the conversation between
and Special Agent on 8/9/68, at which
time stated he would take this matter under
advisement prior to making any request for investigation
under the Antiriot Laws.

Enc(1)

b7C

55 AUG 12 1968

SAC, Atlanta (100-6612)

b2

b7D

July 25, 1968

b7C

Director, FBI (100-446080)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - M; SEDITION
(OO: WFO)

REGISTERED MAIL

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

Attached is the translation which you requested by ~~XXXX~~ airtel
 dated **7/17/68.**

The contents thereof, where pertinent, must be reported
 under appropriate captions and afforded whatever investigative
 attention is necessary.

b7C

Disposition of the foreign language material submitted in
 this connection is set forth below:

Returned herewith.

MAILED 10
 JUL 26 1968
 COMM-FBI

Tolson _____
 DeLoach _____
 Mohr _____
 Bishop _____
 Casper _____
 Callahan _____
 Conrad _____
 Felt _____
 Gale _____
 Rosen _____
 Sullivan _____
 Tavel _____
 Trotter _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holmes _____
 Gandy _____

1 - Washington Field - Enclosure

1 - Mr. Sullivan (Attn.: Internal Security Section), sent direct
 with enclosure.

RAV:trs
 (6)

Enc. (5)

ENCLOSURE

NOT RECORDED

25 AUG 12 1968

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

SUMMARY FROM GERMAN

The airmail communication is addressed to Mr. Stokley Carmichael, Black Power Movement, S.N.C.C., 6 Raymond Street N.W., Atlanta, Georgia, 30314, U.S.A. This address was corrected to read: 360 Nelson Street, S.W., 30313.

The postmark reads: [REDACTED] July (?) 7, 1968.

The return address reads:



The contents of the communication consist of a two-page carbon copy of a typewritten letter addressed to Senator Edward Kennedy, United States Senate, Washington, D.C.

According to a notation appearing at the end of the letter, "28 copies were sent out," possibly to political personalities of several countries.

Congratulations are extended to Senator Edward Kennedy for his courage in "receiving the political legacy" left by his two assassinated brothers and carrying on the work that they initiated.

The writer foresees many changes in the world situation in the near future. She bemoans the travel restrictions imposed on West Germans wishing to visit West Berlin. In her opinion, Prague's rebellion to the dictates of Moscow portends a crisis in the Soviet Union.

The writer goes on to urge Senator Kennedy to seek the Presidency in 1968 or in 1972. (She points out that in 1972, Senator Kennedy will be 40 years old and perhaps stand a better chance of success.)

Presumably mindful of Senator Kennedy's past injuries, she recommends the services of a [REDACTED] who allegedly was also "known to [REDACTED]"

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

100 - 446080

TRANSLATED BY:

July 24, 1968

cjs cjs ENCLOSURE

In the remaining part of the letter, she discusses an

b7C

b7D

b7C

b7D

She urges Senator Kennedy to persuade [redacted]
[redacted] to reconcile himself to recognizing Israel.

The letter ends with best wishes for Senator Kennedy's parents and words of admiration for the Senator himself who, according to the writer, is now "the called one."

F B I

Date: 7/17/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446030)

FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (100-6812) (P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - M; SEDITION
(OO: WFO)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

Enclosed for the Bureau is one letter consisting of two pages written in the German language, which was forwarded to STOKELY CARMICHAEL at 360 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Ga. The envelope in which this letter was received is also being enclosed.

A xerox copy of each of the above items is enclosed herewith for WFO.

On 7/16/68, [] advised that on 7/15/68, while working at the SNCC Office, he observed this letter being opened by a co-worker, who realized that it was written in the German language and mentioned that although he could not read it he doubted if it contained anything important. This person then dropped the letter and envelope in the waste basket.

[] subsequently retrieved the letter and the envelope from the basket and made it available on 7/16/68.

The Bureau is requested to translate this letter and forward a copy of the translation to Atlanta and WFO, the office of origin in the STOKELY CARMICHAEL case.

It is also requested the letter be returned to the Atlanta Office for maintaining in the informant's file for whatever future value it may have.

② - Bureau (Enc. 2) (RM)
2 - WFO (Enc. 2) (RM)
3 - Atlanta (2 - 100-6812)
EUC:net (1 - [])

Approved: (8)

Sent

b2

b7D

M

Per

Special Agent in Charge.

CARBON COPY

b2
b7Db2
b7D

Let to Atlanta
w/encs (5)
(3th, 2 FLM
7-25-68
RAV-tra
FLM net.4w.

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date August 24, 1968

Attached reports that Stokely Carmichael was invited to speak at National Convention of Organization of Arab students to be held in Ann Arbor, Michigan, 8/26-31/68.

Copy of attached furnished Inter-Division Information Unit of Department and Attorney General.

Dissemination also being made the State Department, [redacted] b2
[redacted] military, and Internal Security Division of the Department.

JFM/REL:ebb

wcs
ebb
wcs

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

~~SECRET~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

F B I

Date: 8/23/68

CODE

(Type in plaintext or code)

Transmit the following in _____

URGENT

Via

TELETYPE

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Bishop	✓
Mr. Casper	✓
Mr. Callahan	✓
Mr. Conrad	✓
Mr. Felt	✓
Mr. Gale	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Miss Holmes	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI AND SACS DETROIT
LOS ANGELES
SAN FRANCISCO

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL. -RM.

racial matter

RE DETROIT TELETYPE TO BUREAU AND WFO 8/23/68.

A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION
IN THE PAST, ADVISED ON AUGUST TWENTY ONE LAST THAT HE HEARD
BROADCAST OVER RADIO HAVANA, HAVANA, CUBA, ABOUT AUGUST SIX
TEEN LAST THAT SUBJECT WAS TO SPEAK AT A CONFERENCE, NOT OTHER-
WISE IDENTIFIED, BEGINNING ON AUGUST TWENTY FIVE NEXT AT THE
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN.

b7C

Teletype Unit

AMM:bah

Approved: *Joseph A. Davis*

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

~~SECRET~~

DATE: 01-25-2006
CLASSIFIED BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1) 01-25-2031

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)PAGE TWO
WFO 100-43503

SOURCES STATED THEY ARE UNAWARE WHETHER SUBJECT HAS ACTUALLY ACCEETED INVITATION AS OF THIS DATE.

ADMINISTRATIVE

FOR INFORMATION DETROIT, SUBJECT DEPARTED WDC AUGUST TWENTY ONE, LAST FOR CALIFORNIA WHERE HE IS PRESENTLY LOCATED.

LOS ANGELES AND SAN FRANCISCO FURNISH DETROIT ANY INFORMATION DEVELOPED REGARDING TRAVEL OF SUBJECT TO ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN, TO SPEAK AT THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN ON OR ABOUT AUGUST TWENTY SIX NEXT.

IF VISIT MADE, DETROIT COVER SUBJECT. PURSUANT TO INSTRUCTIONS IN BUREAU AIRTEL DECEMBER TWENTY ONE, NINETEEN SIXTY SEVEN.

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

~~SECRET~~

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via _____
(Priority)

PAGE THREE
WFO 100-43503

DETROIT SUTEL PLANS BEING EFFECTED TO COVER SPEECH BY SUBJECT
IF ACTUALLY MADE.

b2

b7D

b1

(S)

~~SECRET~~

COPY SENT AG AND IDIU

Xerox-Rosen

MR. TRAINOR

ROOM 836 9&D

APR 22 9 50 AM '66

MAIL

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

b7C

8/20/68

Airtel

To: SAC, WFO

From: Director, FBI (100-446080) 1871

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS - STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
(SEDITION)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

Enclosed is a copy of a letter from Fred M. Vinson, Jr., Assistant Attorney General, Criminal Division of the Department dated 8/14/68. This letter is in answer to our request for a prosecutive opinion regarding the information we had furnished to the Department concerning Carmichael's activities during the riot in Washington, D. C., 4/4-7/68.

It is noted in paragraph two of Vinson's letter Vinson expressed continuing need for details on subject's interstate travel, verbatim transcripts of his statements and disorders which may occur subsequent to his visits.

Your attention is directed to previous communications to your office containing instructions regarding the coverage of Carmichael's activities; in particular, reference is made to Buairtel dated 12/21/67 to all offices and Buairtel to your office 6/14/68.

As office of origin it is essential that when information is developed indicating Carmichael may travel to another field division, that pertinent offices receive timely instructions in order that Carmichael's activities are fully covered.

Enclosure

PTB:ra/ebb
(6)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

6 AUG 27 1968

Airtel to SAC, WFO
RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
100-446080

NOTE:

Stokely Carmichael, a black extremist, is on the Security Index and Agitator Index. We conducted an extensive investigation of his participation in the riot, Washington, D. C., 4/4-7/68. Upon completion of this investigation, Department was requested their prosecutive opinion of Carmichael's activities. The enclosure is in answer to this request. In view of the recent passage of the Federal Anti-Riot Law and the request for continuing information regarding Carmichael by the Department, previous instructions to the field are being reiterated.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Memorandum

TO : Director, Federal Bureau of
Investigation

DATE:

August 14, 1968

FROM ^N: Fred M. Vinson, Jr.
Assistant Attorney General
Criminal Division

SUBJECT: Stokely Carmichael
Inciting to Riot - Miscellaneous

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Bishop	✓
Mr. Casper	✓
Mr. Callahan	✓
Mr. Conrad	✓
Mr. Felt	✓
Mr. Gale	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Miss Holmes	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

This is to advise you that the above-captioned matter is the subject of continuing consideration in this Division. All additional information, as it becomes available, should be directed to this Division in accord with prior arrangements. When a prosecutive opinion can be reached, we shall advise you.

At this time we particularly note the continuing need for details on a) subject's interstate travel, b) verbatim transcripts of his statements, and c) disorders which may occur subsequent to his visits. Federal Anti-Riot Law, Pub. L. 90-284 (April 11, 1968).

b7C

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

b7C

REC- 30

12 AUG 22 1968

EXP. PROC.

AUG 14 1968

39

initial to WFO
P.C. 9/1/68
20

F B I

Date: 8/15/68

PLAINTEXT

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

b7C

Via _____

TELETYPE

URGENT

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, AND SACS, NEW YORK AND MIAMI

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; RM-SNCC; SEDITION.

b7C

RE NEW YORK TELETYPE AUGUST FOURTEEN LAST.

MIAMI COVER SUBJECT IN ACCORDANCE WITH SAC LETTER OF
DECEMBER TWENTYONE SIXTYSEVEN AND SUBMIT DAILY TELETYPE IF
HE DOES APPEAR IN MIAMI.

b7D

[REDACTED] NOT AWARE OF ANY PLANS BY SUBJECT TO TRAVEL
FROM NEW YORK TO MIAMI.

NEW YORK KEEP MIAMI ADVISED OF ANY ADDITIONAL
INFORMATION DEVELOPED.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

2 - Bureau
3 - Teletype Unit
2 - WFO

JRP:njs
(7)

REC 37

100-446080

12 AUG 20 1968

MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

F B I

Date: 8/16/68

Transmit the following in _____

PLAIN TEXT

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via _____

TELETYPE**URGENT**

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RM, OO:WFO

SUBJECT AND [] DEPARTED WASHINGTON, D.C., VIA CAR

APPROXIMATELY FOUR PM THIS DATE. OBSERVED AT []

b7C

RESIDENCE, [] THIS EVENING.

b7C

EX-100

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

REC-7

COPY SENT AG AND IDIU

Xerox - MR ROSEN

4 - Bureau

1 - WFO

MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

HHK:ssb

(5)

AUG 21 1968

55 AUG 23 1968

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

b7C

1 -
1 -
1 -

8/22/68

CODE

TELETYPE

SENT BY CODED TELETYPE

URGENT

TO SAC'S LOS ANGELES (100-68783)
SAN FRANCISCO (157-721)
WFO (100-43503) 2 cps

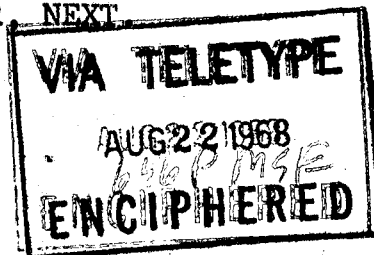
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

FROM DIRECTOR FBI (100-446080)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RACIAL MATTERS, STUDENT NONVIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE.

IN ACCORDANCE WITH INSTRUCTIONS IN BUAIRTEL TO ALL OFFICES
DECEMBER TWENTY-ONE, NINETEEN SIXTY-SEVEN, LOS ANGELES SUTEL
WHETHER ARRANGEMENTS ARE BEING EFFECTED TO RECORD CARMICHAEL'S
SPEECH SCHEDULED TO BE HELD AT WILL ROGERS PARK, LOS ANGELES,
AUGUST TWENTY-FOUR, NEXT.

PTB:ebb
(5)



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

AUG 22 1968
TELETYPE

NOTE:

Stokely Carmichael, a black extremist, is on the
Security Index and Agitator Index. He is presently in
San Francisco, California, and is scheduled to speak at
Los Angeles 8/24/68 at a Free Huey Newton Rally. Newton
is a leader of the Black Panther Party, presently on trial
in San Francisco charged with murdering a policeman.

Buairtel 12/21/67 to all offices instructs the
field to endeavor, where possible, to record Carmichael's
speeches for purpose of attaining reliable evidence concerning
his activities.

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

REC 22

SEP 22 1968

AUG 23 1968

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

61 AUG 29 1968

FBI

Date: 8/12/68

Transmit the following in _____ (Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446089)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (157-1297) (P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL, aka
RM - SNCC - SEDITION

OO: WFO

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcq

Re Chicago teletypes to Director, 8/9, 8/10, and 8/11/68; and WFO teletypes to Director, 8/9/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are eleven (11) copies of an LHM, dated and entitled as above.

A copy of this LHM is being furnished the following local agencies: USA; U.S. Secret Service; NISO; OSI, all Chicago, and Region I, 143th MI Group, Evanston, Illinois.

An information copy is being furnished to Atlanta which is the Office of Origin of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

- ③ - Bureau (Encls. 1) (RM)
1 - Atlanta (100-6812) (Encls. 1) (Info) (RM)
2 - New York (100-153751) (Encls. 2) (RM)
2 - WFO (100-43503) (Encls. 2) (RM)
12 - Chicago
 (1 - 100-40342) (SNCC)
 (1 - [REDACTED])
 (1 - [REDACTED])
 (1 - [REDACTED])
 (1 - [REDACTED])
 (1 - [REDACTED])
 (1 - 157-1143) (BLACKSTONE RANGERS)
 (1 - 100-11329) (CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUAL
 (1 - 157-NEW) [REDACTED]
 (1 - [REDACTED])
 (1 - 157-413)

HFB: new
(20)

1cc AT+cam 806972

AGENCY: ACSI, ~~CHI~~, OSI; SEC. SER:

ISD, CRD, RAO, TO

DATE FORW: - *Other: Paul Vincent 8/1-1/8*

HOW FORW: 7/26/68
25

Approved:

57 SEP 3

Special Agent

CG 157-1297

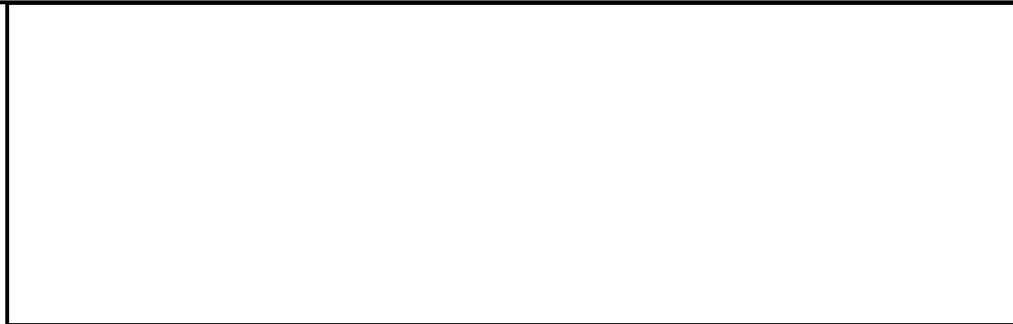
b7C

b7D



b2

b7D



Chicago has opened an investigation on [redacted] referred to in the enclosed LHM.

b7C

Chicago will follow and through sources and liaison with the Chicago PD and local agencies attempt to develop further information concerning subject's activities while in Chicago, and furnish such information to WFO.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Chicago, Illinois

August 13, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. CG 157-1297

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

~~STOKELY CARMICHAEL~~

b7C Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) observed Stokely Carmichael, former National Director of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), and [redacted] depart Washington, D.C., via American Airlines Flight Number 283, at 6:15 p.m., Eastern Standard Time, August 9, 1968, for Chicago, Illinois, scheduled to arrive O'Hare Airport, Chicago, at 7:15 p.m., Central Daylight Time.

A characterization of SNCC is attached hereto. Information comprising this characterization was obtained from sources who have furnished reliable information in the past.

b7C At 7:50 p.m., Central Daylight Time, August 9, 1968, Special Agents of the FBI observed Stokely Carmichael and [redacted] at O'Hare Airport, Chicago, Illinois. Carmichael and [redacted] were met at the airport by ten Negroes, and this group then departed O'Hare Airport in a Thunderbird, bearing 1968 Illinois license number [redacted] (registered to [redacted] Illinois), and a 1964 Pontiac, bearing 1968 Illinois license number [redacted] (registered to [redacted] Illinois).

b7C b7D [redacted] Robbins, Illinois, an all-Negro suburb on Chicago's south side, advised August 9, 1968, that approximately 40 Negroes of various ages were disbanded from the vicinity of 135th Street and Claire Avenue, Robbins, where they attempted to hold a meeting. Permission for this meeting

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ENCLOSURE

100-446080-1895

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

b7C had previously been denied by city officials. [] stated
b7D several youths then broke into the Lincoln Elementary School,
139th Street and Claire Avenue, to hold this meeting, and Robbins
city and school authorities, who at first wanted the individuals
removed from the Lincoln Elementary School, conceded to let the
meeting take place.

b7C Approximately 150 persons attended the meeting at the
b7D Lincoln Elementary School, all of whom were searched before
entering the meeting. [] advised that []
sources of his department, whom he considered reliable, advised
August 9, 1968, that the participants in the above meeting waited
for the arrival of Stokely Carmichael and when Carmichael failed
to appear at the expected time, the participants at this meeting
departed the Lincoln Elementary School without incident.

b7C [] further advised that his sources
b7D stated that Carmichael arrived at the Lincoln Elementary School
in a vehicle bearing Illinois license [] This vehicle,
according to these sources, was part of a motorcade, the last
vehicle of which was heavily armed.

"The Chicago Tribune", in an article appearing in the
Sunday issue, August 11, 1968, stated that Carmichael was an
hour late for a speaking engagement at the Lincoln Elementary
School and found an empty auditorium. Carmichael and his
entourage then returned to Chicago.

b7C [] advised [] the
b7D owner of the vehicle bearing Illinois license number []
was involved in a disturbance in [] Illinois, in 1964.

b7C [] advised August 10,
b7D 1968, that approximately 700 people attended a meeting at the
Afro-Arts Theater, South 39th Street, and Drexel Boulevard,
Chicago, on August 9, 1968. This meeting was held to raise
funds for persons arrested during the rioting on Chicago's west
side, following the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr.

[]
[]
[]
[] and Stokely Carmichael, spoke on the topic of
how the Negro has been suppressed and means of promoting black
power. Approximately 25 members of the Blackstone Rangers were
in attendance at the meeting.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

CORE is a militantly orientated civil rights group with an active membership of approximately 25 in Chicago, Illinois. CORE aims include work in independent political campaigns, concern with slum housing, education, employment and minimum wages.

STUDENT NON VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

A source of the Chicago Office, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised August 10, 1968, that approximately 1000 persons attended the above meeting at the Afro-Arts Theater. Among the individuals in attendance at this meeting were [redacted]

b7C

b7D

TAL

Stokely Carmichael was the main speaker at this meeting and urged the black community to arm themselves to prevent genocide of the Negro race and to prepare themselves for "the Revolution". Carmichael urged the support of [redacted] and urged Negroes going to Viet Nam to kill American soldiers rather than North Vietnamese soldiers. Carmichael further stated that the FBI and local law enforcement agencies should be kept out of black communities. Carmichael stated Negro informants should not be killed, but police, who they inform for, should be killed.

[redacted] of the Chicago Office, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised August 9, 1968, that Carmichael told [redacted]

b2

b7C

b7D

[redacted] Maywood, Illinois, that he would be unable to attend the meeting of Maywood youths at the Irving School, 16th Avenue and Warren Street, Maywood, on August 9, 1968; however, he would attend a meeting of Maywood youths scheduled to be held at the Irving School at 6:00 p.m., August 10, 1968.

b7C

b7D

[redacted] was described by the above source [redacted] in the Maywood area during the past two years.

b2

b7D

[redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised August 10, 1968, that the above meeting was held at the Irving School, Maywood, at 6:00 p.m.; however, only a few individuals attended and Stokely Carmichael did not appear.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

[redacted] advised that Stokely Carmichael stayed at the Executive House, a hotel in the Loop area of Chicago, while in Chicago, and was in his room at that hotel from 6:00 p.m. to 8:00 p.m., August 10, 1968, when he departed for the Regal Theater, 4700 South Parkway, Chicago. [redacted]

[redacted] Carmichael and [redacted] departed the Regal Theater, following [redacted] there, at 3:00 a.m., August 11, 1968, and returned to their room at the Executive House. Carmichael and [redacted] remained at the Executive House until their departure for the O'Hare Airport. Carmichael and [redacted] departed O'Hare Airport, Chicago, at 1:00 p.m., Central Standard Time, August 11, 1968, via United Airlines Flight number 912, scheduled to arrive at LaGuardia Airport, New York, at 3:55 p.m., Eastern Daylight Time.

[redacted] advised that Carmichael indicated on the evening of August 7, 1968, that he and [redacted] [redacted] would depart Chicago on August 11, 1968, for New York City to attend a jazz festival there.

Representatives of the Chicago, Dixmoor, Markham and Maywood Police Departments, as well as the Cook County Sheriff's Office were alerted to Stokely Carmichael's visit to the Chicago area and his probable visits and activity within their areas of jurisdiction. These Police Departments and the Cook County Sheriff's Office advised during and following Carmichael's visit to the Chicago area that their respective areas were calm and activities were normal.

A copy of this memorandum is being furnished the following agencies:

United States Attorney
Chicago, Illinois

United States Secret Service
Chicago, Illinois

Office of Special Investigations
Chicago, Illinois

United States Naval Investigative
Service Office, Chicago, Illinois

Region I, 113th MI Group
Evanston, Illinois

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

AUG 24 1968

TELETYPE

REC-9

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

FBI WASH DC*

b7C

FBI ST LOUIS

1121PM ~~URGENT~~ 8-23-68 JLS DEFERRED

TO DIRECTOR FBI (100-446089) AND WFO
FROM ST. LOUIS (100-20639)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL IS-MISC 00:WFO

ST POST-DISPATCH INSTANT DATE IN INTERVIEW WITH [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] QUOTES [REDACTED] AS STATING THAT CARMICHAEL WOULD

BE COMING TO ST. LOUIS THURSDAY AUG. TWENTY NINTH NEXT. PURPOSE OF
VISIT IS TO RAISE MONEY FOR BOND OF BLACK LIBERATOR WHO WAS ARRESTED
AUG SEVENTEENTH LAST FOR POSSESSION OF ILLEGAL ARMS.

b7C

b7D

WHO ATTEMPT TO RESOLVE WHETHER SUCH A TRIP WILL BE MADE BY SUBJECT.

SLPD, MILITARY INTELLIGENCE, USA, SECRET SERVICE NOTIFIED

E CORR. TEL SHOUD BE DEFERRED VICE URGENT.

REC-9

100-446089-1

SEVEN FIRST WORD "WFO SHXXXXXXXXXX" WHO SHOUD READ "WFO"

15 AUG 26 1968

END

SVM

FBI WASH DC*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

b7C

TELETYPED TO:
WFO SEP 4 1968

CRIM ADV. 9:30 AM
IDIU
ADV. 9:30 AM
ADV. 9:30 AM
8/26/68
PTB

SENT BY CODED TELETYPE

8/22/68

CODED

TELETYPE

URGENT

TO: DIRECTOR AND SACS ATLANTA
CHICAGO
LOS ANGELES
NEW YORK
SAN FRANCISCO

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL. RM

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE RELIABLE IN THE PAST ADVISED AUGUST
TWENTY TWO INSTANT THAT SUBJECT HAS BEEN OFFICIALLY QUOTE
FIRED UNQUOTE BY STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
(SNCC) AND THAT AN OFFICIAL ANNOUNCEMENT WAS MADE TO THIS EFFECT
IN NEW YORK CITY THIS DATE. THE ANNOUNCEMENT WAS MADE AVAILABLE
TO THE PRESS AND IS BEING REPORTED ON LOCAL NEWS FACILITIES
IN WASHINGTON, D.C. SOURCE ADVISED THREE REASONS ARE BEING GIVEN
BY SNCC LEADERSHIP WHY SUBJECT QUOTE FIRED UNQUOTE; ONE: SUBJECT
FAILED TO REPORT TO SNCC ON HIS PERSONAL LIFE; TWO: HE FAILED

- 2 - Bureau
- 3 - Teletype Unit
- 2 - WFO

AUG 23 1968

AAM: bah
(7)

TELETYPE BUREAU ADVISED

VIA TELETYPE

AUG 23 1968

1:30 AM
ENCIPHERED

61 AUG 29 1968

WFO 100-43503

PAGE TWO

TO REPORT ON HIS DAILY ACTIVITIES AS RELATED TO SNCC AND THREE:
HE HAS BEEN A THREAT TO THE SNCC LEADERSHIP IN WASHINGTON, D.C.

ACCORDING TO SOURCE, SUBJECT'S ASSOCIATE IN WASHINGTON, D.C.

[REDACTED] STATED SUBJECT'S FIRING WAS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF
JAMES FORMAN WHO FEELS NOW IS THE PROPITIOUS TIME TO OUST SUBJECT
FROM SNCC. SOURCE ADVISED SUBJECT ALREADY CLOSELY AFFILIATED
WITH THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY AND HAS SEEMINGLY SUPPORTED THE
BPP MORE THAN HE HAS SNCC IN THE RECENT PAST. SOURCE STATED
SUBJECT HAS BEEN QUOTE COURTING UNQUOTE BPP AND HAS BEEN AT
INCREASED ODDS WITH [REDACTED]

SOURCE ADDED THERE IS SPECULATION AMONG SOME SNCC INDIVI-
DUALS THAT SUBJECT COULD BE TARGET FOR ASSASSINATION BY MORE
MILITANT SNCC ADHERENTS BECAUSE OF HOSTILITY TOWARD HIM. SOURCE
EMPHASIZED THIS WAS SPECULATION ONLY AND NO OVERT EFFORTS OR
DISCUSSIONS HAVE TAKEN PLACE REGARDING THIS MATTER.

WFO 100-43503
PAGE THREE

ADMINISTRATIVE

ABOVE

LHM TO BUREAU FOLLOWS.

b2

b7D

83 MAY 01 55 AM
FBI NEW YORK

CODING UNIT

VIA TELETYPE

AUG 23 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

WASH DC ---3---

b7C

430 PM URGENT 8-23-68 SMS

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080, SAN FRANCISCO & WASHINGTON FIELD
WFO VIA WASHINGTON (PLAINTEXT)
FROM LOS ANGELES (100-68783)

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; RM.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

RE LOS ANGELES TELETYPE TO BUREAU AUGUST TWENTY TWO
LAST AND BUREAU TELETYPE TO LOS ANGELES DATED AUGUST TWENTY
TWO LAST.

LOS ANGELES WILL ATTEMPT TO MECHANICALLY RECORD
CARMICHAEL'S SPEECH AT FREE HUEY NEWTON RALLY, WILL ROGERS
PARK, LOS ANGELES, AUGUST TWENTY FOUR NEXT, SPONSORED BY
PEACE AND FREEDOM PARTY OF LOS ANGELES, IF FEASIBLE. WILL
ROGERS PARK LOCATION OF RECENT RACIAL DISTURBANCES IN
LOS ANGELES.

REC 82

100-446080-1878

b7D

ADVISED

THIS P.M. THAT FIFTY TO SEVENTY FIVE BLACK PANTHER PARTY
MEMBERS FROM LOS ANGELES AND SAN FRANCISCO TO ACT AS SECURITY
END PAGE ONE

b7C

TELETYPED TO:

FTB, WFO

6 AUG 26 1968

5-14

PAGE TWO

OFFICERS FOR RALLY. USUALLY PANTHER SECURITY FORCES SEARCH
ALL PERSONS ENTERING ~~ANY~~ ^{RALLY GR} ~~OUNDS~~ FOR RECORDING DEVICES
AND WEAPONS. LOS ANGELES POLICE DEPARTMENT AND OTHER LAW
ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES, LOS ANGELES AREA HAVE NO PLANS TO
RECORD CARMICHAEL'S SPEECH.

NEWS MEDIA BEING CONTACTED TO DETERMINE THEIR ARRANGEMENTS
TO EFFECT RECORDING OF CARMICHAEL'S SPEECH, AUGUST TWENTY
FOUR NEXT.

~~CORRECTION PG LAST WD LAT XXX~~

~~LAST WD LAST LINE SHD READ SECURITY RPT SUCURITY~~

END

JDR

FBI WASH DC

CC MR. TRAMOR
ROOM 836 9&D

~~SECRET~~

VIA TELETYPE

AUG 22 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson_____
Mr. DeLoach_____
Mr. Mohr_____
Mr. Bishop_____
Mr. Casper_____
Mr. Callahan_____
Mr. Conrad_____
Mr. Felt_____
Mr. Gale_____
Mr. Rosen_____
Mr. Sullivan_____
Mr. Tavel_____
Mr. Trotter_____
Tele. Room_____
Miss Holmes_____
Miss Gandy_____

WASHDC--4--

SAN FRAN --1--

10-41AM URGENT 8-22-68 LAC

TO DIRECTOR, (100-446080), CHICAGO, NE/694C, SAN FRANCISCO,
AND WASHINGTON FIELD

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

DATE: 01-25-2006
CLASSIFIED BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1) 01-25-2031

CHICAGO, NEW YORK, & WASHINGTON FIELD VIA WASHINGTON (PLAIN)
FROM LOS ANGELES (100-68783)

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL. RM.

b7D

RE WASHINGTON FIELD TELETYPE AUGUST TWENTY ONE LAST.

[REDACTED] ADVISED THIS DATE SUBJECT TO
ARRIVE LOS ANGELES FROM SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA, THE AM
OF SATURDAY, AUGUST TWENTY FOUR SIXTY EIGHT, TO ADDRESS
FREE HUEY NEWTON RALLY, WILL ROGERS PARK, LOS ANGELES,
CALIFORNIA, AT THREE PM THAT DATE. WHITE PEOPLE URGED TO
SUPPORT RALLY WHICH WILL FEATURE CARMICHAEL AND ADDITIONAL
BLACK NATIONALISTS LEADERS LOS ANGELES' AREA.
END PAGE ONE

25 AUG 26 1968

REC-9

TELETYPED TO:

CG + FTB, WFO

~~SECRET~~

51 AUG 30 1968

~~SECRET~~

PAGE TWO

ADMINISTRATIVE

POLICE AGENCIES, LOS ANGELES, ADVISED. MILITARY
COGNIZANT. SOURCES FURNISHING INFORMATION THIS DATE

[REDACTED] [REDACTED] (S)
[REDACTED] AND [REDACTED]

b1
b2
b7D

END

HWL R RELAY

FBI WASH DC

~~SECRET~~

CC- MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

FBI

Date: **AUG 16 1968**

Transmit the following in _____ (Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____ (Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (157-1297) (P)

**SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL, aka
RM-SNCC-SEDITION**

00: WFO

Re Chicago airtel and letterhead memorandum (LHM)
to Director dated 8/13/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of a LHM dated and captioned as above.

A copy of this LHM is being furnished to following local agencies:

USA, Chicago; U.S. Secret Service, Chicago, Illinois; Region I, 113th MI Group, Evanston, Illinois; OSI; and NISO.

An information copy is being furnished to Atlanta, which is the office of origin of the SNCC case.

Sources mentioned in LHM are:

3 - Bureau (Encls. 11) (RM) **REC-78**
1 - Atlanta (100-6812) (Encl. 1) (Info) (RM)
2 - WFO (100-43503) (Encls. 2) (RM)
7 - Chicago
(1 - 100-40342) (SNCC)
(1 - 157-1148) (BLACKSTONE RANGERS)
(1 - 
(1 - 
(1 - 
(1 - 
b2
b7D

DEH: pag
(13)

Approved: Nov 9 1947
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per 11/11/11

61 SEP 4 1968

CG 157-1297



b2
b7C
b7D



b7D

stated they had no undercover agents or officers covering the speech by STOKELY CARMICHAEL. They had no knowledge if anyone made a tape recording of Carmichael's speech.

[redacted] has no knowledge of anyone taping CARMICHAEL's speech, but is of the opinion if anyone did tape the speech, it would have been [redacted] (Agitator Index Subject). Source will attempt to determine if [redacted] did tape proceedings. Source is not personally acquainted with [redacted] to the extent that he could obtain the tape.

b2
b7C
b7D

Chicago is of opinion if tape exists, the "Chicago Defender" newspaper would have access to it. Chicago attempting at present time to determine if contact available to fully explore this possibility.

Chicago following. Bureau will be advised of pertinent developments.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Chicago, Illinois

August 16, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. CG 157-1297

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

On August 14, 1968, a confidential source, [redacted] from the Chicago area, advised that during the recent trip to Chicago, Stokely Carmichael former National Director of Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), made from August 9 through 11, 1968, the following additional details have been obtained:

b7D

Carmichael arrived in Chicago at approximately 7:30 p.m., August 9, 1968, and proceeded to the Lincoln Elementary School, 139th Street and Claire Avenue, Robbins, Illinois. He arrived there at approximately 9:10 p.m. He was met by 30 male Negroes at the rear of the school. Two of these unknown Negroes were armed with shotguns or rifles. No one was there to hear Carmichael's speech so he left. A crowd had gathered in the evening but left before he arrived.

Carmichael then proceeded to a trailer park at Kedzie Avenue and Claire Avenue, Robbins, Illinois, and arrived at 9:20 p.m. It was not determined what individual or individuals he visited. From the trailer park he proceeded to the Afro-Arts Theater, 3947 South Drexel Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois, arriving at approximately 11:10 p.m.

A characterization of SNCC is attached. Sources utilized in this characterization had furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

COPIES DESTROYED

286 MAR. 17 1971

100-446080-1880
ENCLOSURE

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

On August 14, 1968, [redacted] b2
[redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, b7D
advised that Stokely Carmichael spoke before approximately
900 people at the Afro-Arts Theater, 3947 South Drexel
Boulevard, Chicago, on the evening of August 9, 1968.
Source stated that the speech for all practical purposes
was identical to the speech Carmichael presented at Afro-
Arts Theater on March 25, 1968. Carmichael stressed
black unity as the only solution for Negroes to effectively
forestall their ultimate genocide by the white power structure.
Carmichael maintained that all black people should "love"
one another and develop the type of unity for each other
which has been displayed by the Blackstone Rangers, Chicago
Negro youth gang. He held the Blackstone Rangers up as
excellent examples that Chicago blacks should emulate. Chicago, Ill.
He believed the Blackstone Rangers were the only effective
black group working for black power in Chicago!

b2
b7D [redacted] commented that Carmichael
usually pays approximately \$350 to the four or five
Negroes, who act as his personal bodyguards. However,
on this trip he paid them \$500.

b2
b7D [redacted] stated that on one occasion
while Carmichael and his bodyguards were in a tavern on
the South Negro section of Chicago, the bodyguards wanted
to "tear up" the place. Carmichael pleaded with them not
to create any disturbance because he is convinced that if
the police arrive to enforce the law and discover that he
is on the scene, they will use this as a pretext to kill
him even though he is unarmed. He especially fears the Chicago
police and believe that they are just waiting for the chance
to kill him. He dislikes visiting Chicago and commented that
if he lives through this trip, he can see no reason why he
would ever return to this city.

On August 15, 1968, [redacted] b2
who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised b7D
that approximately 900 Negroes were in attendance at the
Afro-Arts Theater, 3947 South Drexel Boulevard, on the
evening of August 9, 1968, where Stokely Carmichael gave a
speech. The source advised that Carmichael's speech was a
typical black power speech, in which he praised the blacks
and condemned the white race.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

On August 15, 1968, [redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past advised that approximately 800 Negroes were in attendance at the Afro-Arts Theater, 3947 South Drexel Boulevard, Chicago, on August 9, 1968, where Stokely Carmichael spoke. The main theme of Carmichael's speech was that the white man is the enemy of the Negro and the "chief devil" is the police. He berated the "imperialistic capitalistic" system in the United States. He quoted favorably some writings of Ernesto Che Guevara and Mao Tse Tung.

b2
b7D [redacted] said 200 Blackstone Rangers attended the meeting and were admitted free. All other Negroes paid \$3.00 per person admission fee. It was announced that the gate receipts totalled \$1,900.

On August 12, 1968, [redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished the following information:

Stokely Carmichael was in Chicago August 9, 1968, and on that evening made an appearance at the Afro-Arts Theater, 3947 South Drexel Boulevard, Chicago. Carmichael did not arrive at the theater until approximately 11:00 p.m., at which time some 900-1000 Negroes were in attendance.

Carmichael's remarks were in large measure a call for unity within the black communities. He advised black people do not need more prostitutes, school dropouts or gangs among their number, but need more black togetherness in order to survive the oppressor. Genocide is upon us. The white man is the blacks enemy and capitalism is the system he uses to exploit blacks. Black people should not be a part of a capitalistic society but should develop a socialist society as more suitable to their needs. Colonialism, which is a part of capitalism, works against the needs of black people.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Blacks should develop an emotional love for their own people so that if one is abused or killed, the brothers will immediately rise to the situation and destroy the white man or men involved. In order to do this, guns are necessary and all blacks should have them. Even those who are not willing to fight should prepare for the revolution. They should get food, clothing and ammunition so that guerrilla warriors can have a place of refuge. Money should also be provided by those who are not willing to fight. The people today most ready to fight the white man are the hard laborers, the butchers and the ditch diggers. Carmichael urged his audience to read and listen to the teachings of Mao Tse Tung.

Black soldiers should agree to go to Vietnam, but once there, should kill American soldiers not North Vietnamese.

Blacks should control and police their own communities and not allow regular police to patrol these areas. Blacks who are police informants should not be killed, rather the police to whom they report. Black communities must be prepared to match forces with the police and the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Guns are easily obtainable by everyone, work for one or steal one. Carmichael's remarks were received by the crowd with great acclaim and applause. Some individuals became quite excited during his comments, however, the crowd generally was orderly.

On August 14, 1968, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Illinois, made available the attached leaflet which he obtained from Negro youths passing them out on August 9, 1968, in the Chicago Heights area. The leaflet announced a speech by Carmichael which did not occur. He had no idea who prepared the leaflet nor the identity of those concerned with its distribution.

b7C

b7D

BLACK AWARENESS

PRESENTS

**STOKELEY
CARMICHAEL**

at the SOUTHEAST BUILDING of
DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER HIGH SCHOOL
137th Street and Crawford Avenue

FRIDAY, AUG. 9th—6 p.m.

**OTHER GUEST SPEAKERS
and ENTERTAINMENT**

Donation \$2.00 Children (12 or under) \$1.00

WHAT COLOR IS YOUR AWARENESS?

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

This memorandum is being furnished to the following agencies:

United States Attorney, Chicago, Illinois

United States Secret Service, Chicago, Illinois

Region I, 113th Military Intelligence Group,
Evanston, Illinois

United States Naval Investigative Service
Office, Chicago, Illinois

Office of Special Intelligence

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

AUG 22 1968

TELETYPE

FBI WASH DC

FBI SAN FRAN

152AM DEFERRED 8-22-68 RLO
TO DIRECTOR, FBI, AND DENVER
FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-721)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RM.

TWA FLIGHT SIXTY-THREE, DULLES FIELD, VA. TO SAN FRANCISCO,
AUGUST TWENTY-ONE INSTANT, DAMV, INFORMATION CONCERNING.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

RE SF TEL CALL TO BUREAU AND DENVER TELETYPE AUGUST
TWENTY-ONE.

AT SIX P.M. PDT, AUGUST TWENTY-ONE, TWA RESERVATION

CALLER CALLED SF OFFICE TO ASK ABOUT BOMB SCARE ON FLIGHT SIX
THREE. OUR INFORMED HIM HE BELIEVED WE HAD
NOT RECEIVED AND HAD NOT REPORTED A BOMB SCARE FOR THIS FLIGHT.
INQUIRY OF REVEALED HE HAD EARLIER MADE
TELEPHONE CALL TO A IN TWA RESERVATIONS AND
INFORMATION, SF, AS TO ARRIVAL TIME OF FLIGHT SIXTY-THREE.

CALLER WAS INFORMED OF THIS CALL AND WHILE HE HAD FEW FACTS

ON POSSIBLE BOMB SCARE THEY WERE ENOUGH TO SUGGEST

CALLER MISCONSTRUED CALL AS CRANK CALL.

CALLER HAD MADE CALL AT FOUR FORTY-FIVE P.M.

IDENTIFYING SELF BY NAME AND AS WITH FBI, BUT NOT STATING

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 149-0-1323

REC-47 100-446080-1881

25 AUG 26 1968

EX-101

END PAGE ONE
57 SEP 3 1968

XEROX
AUG 28 1968

PAGE TWO

SF 157-721

PURPOSE OF CALL, WHICH WAS TO VERIFY ARRIVAL TIME OF STOKELY
CARMICHAEL IN PREPARATION FOR ^{PHYSICAL SURVEILLANCE} FISUR.

[] SAID HE WOULD CALL DENVER AND THE PLANE AND HAVE
PLANE CONTINUE THROUGH FLIGHT TO SF.

b7C
b7D

FURTHER INQUIRY OF OTHER FBI SUPERVISOR REVEALED PHONE
QUERY FROM [] WAS RECEIVED
BY [] ABOUT FIVE P.M. ASKING WHETHER OR NOT
OFFICE HAD RECEIVED INFORMATION RE BOMB SCARE. []
RECEIVING CALL IMMEDIATELY INQUIRED OF [] HANDLING
BOMB THREATS ON PLANES. INFORMED THAT NO THREATS HAD BEEN
RECEIVED TO HIS KNOWLEDGE, [] TOLD [] WHO SAID
"OK, YOU CAN DISREGARD THIS CALL. WE WILL HANDLE."

b7C
b7D

DENVER OFFICE ADVISED SEVEN ZERO FIVE P.M. THAT []
HAD LANDED PLANE THERE, BUT BEFORE CONTINUING WANTED TO BE
SATISFIED THERE HAD NOT BEEN ANOTHER CALL WHICH WAS A BOMB
THREAT. DENVER OFFICE CALLED LATER ADVISING [] HAD
TALKED TO TWA IN SF AND WAS SATISFIED THAT [] HAD
JUMPED TO CONCLUSION AND THERE HAD BEEN NO BOMB SCARE.

b7C
b7D

[] WHEN INTERVIEWED BY BUAGENTS,
END PAGE TWO

b7C
b7D

PAGE THREE

SF 157-721

REPORTED SHE RECEIVED CALL FROM MAN WHO IDENTIFIED HIMSELF WITH FBI, BUT WHOSE NAME SHE CANNOT REMEMBER, MAKING INQUIRY REGARDING FLIGHT SIXTY-THREE FROM WASHINGTON. SHE ADMITTED SHE WAS EXCITED AND WHILE SHE CONFIRMED ARRIVAL TIME OF FLIGHT SIXTY-THREE, SHE MAY HAVE MISCONSTRUED PURPOSE OF CALL AND THOUGHT SHE HEARD THE WORD BOMB MENTIONED. AFTER HANGING UP, IN VIEW OF EXPLICIT COMPANY INSTRUCTIONS, SHE DECIDED TO ADVISE [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] STATES NO MENTION MADE BY HIM TO [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] OF WORD BOMB.

SEVERAL PRESS INQUIRIES AS RESULT OF UNSCHEDULED STOP DENVER, BUT ALL WERE ADVISED FBI HAD NO INFORMATION RE BOMB SCARE. [REDACTED] TWA, ADVISED THAT [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] IS NEW AND RUED THAT PERHAPS COMPANY OVERTRAINS THEIR GIRLS ON PHONE THREATS. FOR INFORMATION.

END OTHER OFFICE ADVISED

JCR

FBI WASH DC

@

CC-MR. ROSEN

Xerox - TRAINOR

b7C
b7D

b7C
b7D

100-446080 - Not
Bureau let. to
Legal / Hong Kong
8/22/69

Important - Sensitive Document

Please consult

SA

before taking any action on
this document !!

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP (S) OF Class
DATE 9/16/81

~~CLASS. & EXT. BY 8383 RAM 9/16/81~~
~~REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2 2,3~~
~~DATE OF REVIEW 8/22/88~~

Victor Wong (1904-1974)

August 22, 1964

Director, FBI (~~105-124866~~)

CONFIDENTIALITY AND SPECIAL OPERATIONS
(INTELLIGENCE INTELLIGENCE)
DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg
ON 01-25-2006

Attached is a copy of a draft of a letter which at his anticipated will tacitly lead the selected four pro-Chinese residents in the United States to infer they are being invited by the Communist Party of China to attend a political meeting in China. The letter is worded so the recipient will recognize it as a Chinese invitation phrased in a thinly veiled manner to conceal its political nature.

This letter should be retyped using a typewriter typical of those used in the Hong Kong business community or commercially purchased stationary. The basic content of the letter should not be altered, although the text may be changed only to include colloquialisms typical of the Chinese.

Individual copies of the letters should be posted so they will contain a Newlon postmark. The return address on the envelope should read "CTB, 27 Main Road, Newlon, Moss Side".

With each letter a currency certificate in the lowest denominator used in Hong Kong should be enclosed. One-third of the certificate should be torn off before being enclosed. The four letters should be directed to the following:

b7C

ENCLOSURE

b7C

Exempt from GDS, e
Date of Declassification
(if any)

Exempt from GDS, Category 1
Classification Indefinite

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO.

NOT RECORDED

4 SEP 3 - 1968

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

DUPLICATE LETTER

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ORIGINAL FILED IN

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(U)

Letter Legat, Hong Kong
RE: COMINT/INTELLIGENCE AND SPECIAL OPERATIONS
100-174264

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (U)

b7C

[REDACTED]

4. S. Carmichael, 105th Avenue, Room 803,
New York, New York, 10011, USA.

Two loose copies should be made of the original letter to be mailed to Carmichael. The loose copies should clearly indicate the creases necessarily made to insert the letter in the envelope. Forward these copies to the Bureau.

The letters should be signed in ink in the handwritten name of [REDACTED]

b7C

Because of the time limitations incorporated in the alleged invitation, the four letters should be promptly prepared and posted.

NOTE:

[REDACTED] which our investigations have indicated are relatively isolated within the domestic and foreign pro-Chicom movement. Carmichael, militant black nationalist allegedly visited China in the recent past and is considered to be sympathetic to the Chicom. China Travel Service offices have been used by Chicom for intelligence purposes, but Kowloon office has not been identified specifically as involved in such use and no Bureau operations involve Kowloon office. This technique may result in the pro-Chicom traveling abroad at considerable expense and causing embarrassment for Chicom. Also, if the fictitious invitation is intercepted by an associate or a foe of the pro-Chicom it could cause disruption and embarrassment. Addresses used are public addresses of organizations of the recipients. Follow-up technique is being considered in Carmichael instance and this would involve leaking a copy of Carmichael's invitation to the Soviets in anticipation the Soviets would brand him as a Government informant. This technique can be accomplished without expenses or embarrassment to the Bureau.

b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(U)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (U)

Hong Kong
(date)

Dear Mr. _____:

You should appear at Travel Service Office, 27 Nathan Road, Kowloon, Hong Kong, on a day of the week, before 20th September, 1968. Presentation of enclosed currency certificate will serve as credential for travel extension to mainland.

Mainland travel expense will be borne by your hosts but it will be required your organisation arrange for transport to Hong Kong for which you will be reimbursed.

Visit will be for 34 days and include National Day and organised conferences of national and world representatives for purpose of coordination of world-wide struggle and to launch sustained march to greater victories.

Your visit should only be noted to trusted compatriots of your organisation and this announcement should be destroyed. No substitution or addition for this invitation is permitted.

The standard must be raised ever-higher,

Fraternally,

b7C

(signed)

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg
ON 01-25-2006

9/16/81
CLASS. & EXT. BY 8383 RAM
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2 2.3
DATE OF REVIEW 8/22/86

(U)

100-446080
ENCLOSURE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (U)

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Assistant Attorney General
Criminal Division

FROM : Director, FBI

DATE: August 27, 1968
Attn:
Room 2110 Justice Building

b7C

FILE COPY

SUBJECT: **BLACK PANTHER PARTY, RACIAL MATTERS**
STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RACIAL MATTERS
ANTIRIOT LAWS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

Reference is made to _____ memorandum dated _____
(your file _____).

There is enclosed one copy ^{each} of ~~the report of Special Agent~~
~~Teletype~~ dated 8/22/68 and 8/23/68
at San Francisco.

A. ☐ This covers the preliminary investigation and no further action concerning a full investigation will be taken by this Bureau unless the Department so directs.

B. ☐ The investigation is continuing and you will be furnished copies of reports as they are received.

C. ☐ The investigation requested by you has now been completed. Unless advised to the contrary no further inquiries will be made by this Bureau.

D. ☐ Pursuant to instructions issued by the Department, no investigation will be conducted in this matter unless specifically directed by the Department.

E. ☐ Please advise whether you desire any further investigation.

F. ☐ This is submitted for your information and you will be advised of further developments.

G. ☒ This is submitted for your information and no further investigation will be conducted unless specifically requested by the Department.

H. ☐ This covers the receipt of a complaint and no further action will be taken by this Bureau unless the Department so directs. This is to confirm conversation between SA and on 8/23/68. This matter was taken under advisement and no investigation was requested.

Enc. 2

61 SEP 3 1968

b7C

100-446082-
NOT RECORDED
102 AUG 29 1968

ORIGINAL FILED IN 105-165706-

FBI WASH DC*

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

AUG 24 1968

TELETYPE

FBI LOS ANG.

3:36PM URGENT 8-24-68 NCH

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080) AND SAN FRANCISCO, DETROIT, AND
WASHINGTON FIELD

FROM LOS ANGELES (100-63822) 1P

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RACIAL MATTER.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

REMYTELS, AUGUST TWENTY TWO AND TWENTY THREE LAST; RE
SAN FRANCISCO TELEPHONE CALL THIS DATE.

LOS ANGELES AGENT OBSERVED SUBJECT ON ARRIVAL, LOS ANGELES
INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT TWELVE THIRTY P.M., THIS DATE, VIA PSA
FLIGHT ONE THREE ZERO FROM SAN FRANCISCO, ACCOMPANIED BY THREE
MALE NEGROES.

ADVISED THIS DATE THAT ONE [REDACTED] TICKETED FOR PARTY OF FOUR
INCLUDING SUBJECT AT SAN FRANCISCO. CARMICHAEL DEPARTED SAN
FRANCISCO ON PSA FLIGHT ONE THREE ZERO TO ARRIVE LOS ANGELES
APPROXIMATELY TWELVE THIRTY P.M.. NO RETURN RESERVATIONS MADE.

FREE HYET NEWTON RALLY SPONSORED BY PEACE AND FREEDOM
PARTY FEATURING STOKELY CARMICHAEL STILL SCHEDULED FOR THREE
P.M. THIS DATE. MIG, LAPD, LACSO, SECRET SERVICE ADVISED.
AIRTEL AND LHM FOLLOWS.

END TELETYPE TO:

SAA 57 SEP 4 1968
FBI WASH DC*

FBI WASH DC*

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

REC 22

100-446080-1882
5-11

17 AUG 27 1968

EX-103

cc - Mr. Tolson

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

AUG 23 1968

TELETYPE

FBI WASH DC*

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan ✓
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

FBI DETROIT

10:54AM URGENT 8-23-68 JRK

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080) AND WFO (100-43503)

FROM DETROIT 100-34122) 1P

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

STOKELY CARMICHAEL. IS- MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION,

b7D

[REDACTED] RELIABLE IN THE PAST. ADVISED AUGUST
TWENTY TWO LAST THAT STOKELY CARMICHAEL WAS SCHEDULED TO
SPEAK BEFORE A UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN CAMPUS ORGANIZATION
AT THE MICHIGAN UNION BUILDING. UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN.
ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN, ON AUGUST TWENTY SIX NEXT, SOURCE
UNABLE TO FURNISH ANY INFORMATION RE SUBJECT'S MODE OF
TRAVEL OR LENGTH OF TIME HE PLANS TO BE IN ANN ARBOR.

MICHIGAN

REC 22

100-446080-1773

WFO REQUESTED TO FURNISH DETROIT WITH ANY AVAILABLE
INFORMATION CONCERNING INSTANT MATTER, SUBJECT CONSIDERED
TO BE ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

ADMINISTRATION:

END

GMA

FBI WASH DC*

57 SEP 4 1968

TELETYPED TO:

WFO

1010 AM
5:00 PM 8/23/68
PTB

b2

b7D

AUG 27 1968

5-ply

FBI

Date: 8/22/68

CODED

(Type in plaintext or code)

URGENT

Transmit the following in

TELETYPE

Via

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR AND SACS ATLANTA
CHICAGO
LOS ANGELES
NEW YORK
SAN FRANCISCO

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL. RM

A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE RELIABLE IN THE PAST ADVISED AUGUST TWENTY TWO INSTANT THAT SUBJECT HAS BEEN OFFICIALLY QUOTE FIRED UNQUOTE BY STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC) AND THAT AN OFFICIAL ANNOUNCEMENT WAS MADE TO THIS EFFECT IN NEW YORK CITY THIS DATE. THE ANNOUNCEMENT WAS MADE AVAILABLE TO THE PRESS AND IS BEING REPORTED ON LOCAL NEWS FACILITIES IN WASHINGTON, D.C. SOURCE ADVISED THREE REASONS ARE BEING GIVEN BY SNCC LEADERSHIP WHY SUBJECT QUOTE FIRED UNQUOTE; ONE: SUBJECT FAILED TO REPORT TO SNCC ON HIS PERSONAL LIFE; TWO: HE FAILED

- ② - Bureau
3 - Teletype Unit
2 - WFO

REC 22

17 AUG 27 1968

AAM:bah
(7)

TELETYPE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

Approved: *[Signature]*

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

57 SEP 3 1968

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

WFO 100-43503

PAGE TWO

TO REPORT ON HIS DAILY ACTIVITIES AS RELATED TO SNCC AND THREE:
HE HAS BEEN A THREAT TO THE SNCC LEADERSHIP IN WASHINGTON, D.C.

D (C) ACCORDING TO SOURCE, SUBJECT'S ASSOCIATE IN WASHINGTON, D.C.

[REDACTED] STATED SUBJECT'S FIRING WAS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF
JAMES FORMAN WHO FEELS NOW IS THE PROPITIOUS TIME TO OUST SUBJECT
FROM SNCC. SOURCE ADVISED SUBJECT ALREADY CLOSELY AFFILIATED
WITH THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY AND HAS SEEMINGLY SUPPORTED THE
BPP MORE THAN HE HAS SNCC IN THE RECENT PAST. SOURCE STATED
SUBJECT HAS BEEN QUOTE COURTING UNQUOTE BPP AND HAS BEEN AT
INCREASED ODDS WITH [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

SOURCE ADDED THERE IS SPECULATION AMONG SOME SNCC INDIVI-
DUALS THAT SUBJECT COULD BE TARGET FOR ASSASSINATION BY MORE
MILITANT SNCC ADHERENTS BECAUSE OF HOSTILITY TOWARD HIM. SOURCE
EMPHASIZED THIS WAS SPECULATION ONLY AND NO OVERT EFFORTS OR
DISCUSSIONS HAVE TAKEN PLACE REGARDING THIS MATTER.

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via _____
(Priority)

WFO 100-43503
PAGE THREE

ADMINISTRATIVE

ABOVE



b2
b7D

LHM TO BUREAU FOLLOWS.

ce - MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 830 837

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 8/26/68

Attached relates to
activities of Stokely Carmichael
and has been furnished at Seat of
Government to [redacted] b2
[redacted] State Department, and
interested Divisions of Department.

W
JFM:chs

was/m

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

AUG 26 1968

TELETYPE

FBI WASH DC*

FBI DETROIT

510PM URGENT 8-26-68 JRM

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080); SAN FRANCISCO AND WFO
FROM DETROIT (100-34122) 2P

Mr. Tolson ✓
Mr. DeLoach ✓
Mr. Mohr ✓
Mr. Bishop ✓
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen ✓
Mr. Sullivan ✓
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

D
STOKELY CARMICHAEL, ~~RM - SNEG~~ *RACIAL MATTER STUDENT NON VIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

RE DETROIT TEL, AUGUST TWENTYTHIRD LAST AND SAN FRANCISCO
AND LOS ANGELES TELS, AUGUST TWENTYFOUR LAST, CONCERNING
CAPTIONED MATTER.

b7D [REDACTED] ADVISED INSTANT

THAT SUBJECT ARRIVED AT DETROIT METROPOLITAN AIRPORT ON AMERICAN
AIRLINES FLIGHT NUMBER NINETY TWO AT APPROXIMATELY THREE FIFTY
PM THIS DATE. SUBJECT SCHEDULED TO BE KEYNOTE SPEAKER AT
MICH.
ORGANIZATION OF ARAB STUDENTS (OAS) CONVENTION AT SEVEN PM
INSTANT. SUBJECT'S SPEECH WILL BE HELD AT THE MICHIGAN UNION,
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN. SUBJECT MET AT
AIRPORT BY [REDACTED] AND IS SCHEDULED

TO PROCEED TO [REDACTED] MICHIGAN.
WHICH IS RESIDENCE OF [REDACTED] NO OTHER DETAILS AVAILABLE THIS
TIME RELATING TO SUBJECT'S TRAVEL PLANS FOR DURATION OF STAY

IN DETROIT AREA

END PAGE ONE

TELETYPE TO:

WFO

1010
645

STATE ADV
645pm

REC-7 100-446080-1886
25 AUG 28 1968

DE 100-34122

PAGE TWO

DETROIT FOLLOWING SUBJECT'S ACTIVITIES AND WILL ADVISE
BUREAU OF ALL PERTINENT DEVELOPMENTS.

AIRMAIL COPY SENT LOS ANGELES.

ADMINISTRATIVE

Army
G-TWO, SECRET SERVICE AND USA, DETROIT, ALL ADVISED OF
SUBJECT'S APPEARANCE AT ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN.

END.

SLB

FBI WASH DC*

@

CC - MR. Tamm
ROOM 836 9&D

COPY SENT AG AND IDIU *crim + internal sec. Divs.*
8/26/68 JFM/gls

F B I

Date: 8/21/68

Transmit the following in _____

PLAINTEXT

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE

URGENT

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR AND SACS CHICAGO,
LOS ANGELES
NEW YORK
SAN FRANCISCO

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL. RM.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

RE WFO TELETYPE AUGUST TWENTY ONE INSTANT.

SUBJECT DEPARTED WASHINGTON, D.C. SIX P.M. AUGUST TWENTY
ONE INSTANT AT DULLES AIRPORT, VIA TWA FLIGHT SIXTY THREE,
ONE WAY COACH, EN ROUTE TO SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA. HE WAS
ACCOMPANIED BY [REDACTED] AND ONE [REDACTED] AND DUE
TO ARRIVE EIGHT TWENTY P.M., PST. SUBJECT WEARING WHITE OPEN
NECK SHIRT WITH THREE DARK STRIPES RUNNING VERTICAL ON FRONT,
GREY SLACKS, BLACK BOOTS, SUNGLASSES, CARRYING BROWN SOFT
ATTACHE CASE AND LARGE ROLLED UP POSTER, ORANGE IN COLOR ON
INSIDE.

NUMBER ONE COMPANION TALLEST OF THREE AND WEARING AFRICAN

STYLE OPEN NECK ORANGE SHIRT, GREEN SLACKS, BLACK BOOTS, SUNGLASSES

2 - Bureau
3 - Teletype Unit
2 - WFO

AAM:bah

Appr (7) 873

Special Agent in Charge

Sen

M Per

61 SEP 3 1968

101U 9:40 AM

150 9:50 AM

4 AUG 20 1968

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)PAGE TWO
WFO 100-43503AFRICAN STYLE HAIRCUT, MUSTACHE, GOATEE AND CARRYING HARD TYPE
ATTACHE CASE.NUMBER TWO COMPANION SHORTEST OF THREE AND WEARING AFRICAN
STYLE OPEN NECK BLACK SHIRT, DARK SLACKS, SANDALS, CARRYING
SOFT TYPE ATTACHE CASE AND CLEAN SHAVEN.

TICKETS PREPAID FROM CALIFORNIA BY ONE [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] CALIFORNIA, TELEPHONE

[REDACTED] CHARGED TO ACCOUNT

OF [REDACTED]

CALIFORNIA.

ADMINISTRATIVESAN FRANCISCO COGNIZANT TO COVER SUBJECT PER BUREAU AIRTEL
DECEMBER TWENTY ONE SIXTY SEVEN.

INFORMATION COPY TO CHICAGO, LOS ANGELES, AND NEW YORK.

MR. TRAINOR

CC: ROOM 836 9&D

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent: _____ M Per: _____

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 8-20-68

Stokely Carmichael is former Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). He has had contact with members of the Black Panther Party (BPP) and has appeared at fund-raising affairs. The Black Panther Party is a militant anti-white, all-Negro extremist organization, whose members have advocated violence.

The attached pertains to Carmichael's plans to affiliate with the BPP. Pertinent information being included in today's teletype summary to White House and interested agencies and officials.

WLS:lrh

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

VIA TELETYPE

AUG 19 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson ✓
Mr. DeLoach ✓
Mr. Mohr ✓
Mr. Bishop ✓
Mr. Casper ✓
Mr. Callahan ✓
Mr. Conrad ✓
Mr. Felt ✓
Mr. Gale ✓
Mr. Rosen ✓
Mr. Sullivan ✓
Mr. Tavel ✓
Mr. Trotter ✓
Tele. Room ✓
Miss Holmes ✓
Miss Gandy ✓

WA ---19----

FBI NEW YORK

11:32 PM URGENT 8-1-68 AWS

TO DIRECTOR, SAN FRANCISCO AND WASHINGTON FIELD CODE

ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

b7C

WFO AND SF VIA WASHINGTON
FROM NEW YORK 100-153751

Racial Matter - Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
STOKELY CARMICHAEL RM-SNCC.

CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE RELIABLE IN PAST, ADVISED THIS
DATE CARMICHAEL INDICATED ON EIGHT EIGHTEEN, LAST
THAT HE WOULD BE DEPARTING WASHINGTON DC FOR OAKLAND,
CALIFORNIA SOMETIME THE LATTER PART OF THIS WEEK
TO AFFILIATE HIMSELF WITH THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY.

b7C

ACCORDING TO SOURCE CARMICHAEL STATED HE WOULD ANNOUNCE
HE WAS RESIGNING FROM SNCC IN FAVOR OF AFFILIATING HIMSELF WITH THE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY A WEST COAST MILITANT NEGRO ORGANIZATION;

HOWEVER, SOURCE ADVISES SNCC PLANS ON MAKING PRESS RELEASE PRIOR
TO CARMICHAEL'S ANNOUNCEMENT, TO THE EFFECT CARMICHAEL
WAS "FIRED" FROM SNCC BECAUSE OF HIS RACIST IDEALS

b7C

AND FACT [REDACTED] EXHIBITS IMPER-

b7D

END PAGE ONE

REC 22

EX-100

TWO COPIES TO WFO

4 AUG 26 1968

TELETYPED TO:

SF

57 SEP 3 1968

INCLUDED IN SUMMARY
W.H. + A.G. 8/20/68

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

PAGE TWO

IALISTIC TENDENCIES. PRESS RELEASE CURRENTLY BEING

PREPARED BY [REDACTED]

NATIONAL

OFFICIALS OF SNCC.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] AND UNAVAILABLE FOR

IMMEDIATELY DEBRIEFING UNTIL THIS DATE DUE TO

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] RE CARMICHAEL'S CONTEMPLATED PANTHER
AFFILIATE ANNOUNCEMENT.

ALL INFORMATION IN CONNECTION WITH [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] WILL BE FURNISHED BUREAU IN FORM SUITABLE FOR DISS-

EMINATION UPON COMPLETION OF DEBRIEFING.

END

~~NY DE WA IS THIS MESSAGE CODE OR PLAINTEXT GA~~

CODE

RNK R RELAY

FBI WASH DC

REC'D 12 1968

DEC 30 8 50 AM '68

cc - ROOM 236 2&D

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

AUG 27 1968

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

FBI WASH DC*

FBI ST LOUIS

1120AM

URGENT 8/27/68 TJB

TO DIRECTOR, WASHINGTON FIELD, AND DETROIT
FROM. ST. LOUIS (100-20639)

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-MISC. OO: WASHINGTON FIELD.

RE ST. LOUIS TEL AUG. TWENTY SIX, LAST.

INFO RECEIVED INSTANT DATE THAT [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] ADVISED THAT SUBJECT IS IN DETROIT, MICH.,

AND WILL FLY FROM DETROIT TO ST. LOUIS ON MORNING OF AUG.

TWENTY-NINE NEXT. CARMICHAEL TO SPEAK AT ST. LOUIS, MO.,

RALLY SEVEN THIRTY P.M. THAT NIGHT.

DETROIT IMMEDIATELY ADVISE IF SUBJECT IN YOUR DIVISION.

WFO ADVISE CURRENT WHEREABOUTS OF SUBJECT AND HIS ITINERY

THIS WEEK, IF KNOWN. P

END

JTM

FBI WASH DC*

REC-47/100-1146080-1889

AUG 28 1968

EX-101

TELETYPE TO:
55 SEP 9 1968

FBI

Date: 8/27/68

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

TELETYPE

CODE

URGENT

Via _____

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR AND SACS DETROIT AND ST. LOUIS

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RM.

b7C

RE ST. LOUIS TELETYPE AUGUST TWENTYSEVEN SIXTYEIGHT.

SUBJECT DEPARTED WDC AUGUST TWENTYONE LAST FOR WEST COAST

AND CURRENTLY IN DETROIT.

b7D

[REDACTED] UNABLE TO CONFIRM SUBJECT WILL SPEAK AT RALLY IN ST. LOUIS SEVENTHIRTY P.M., AUGUST TWENTYNINE NEXT.

ADMINISTRATIVE

ABOVE [REDACTED]

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DETROIT ADVISE ST. LOUIS PROMPTLY OF ANY INFO DEVELOPED REGARDING PLANS OF SUBJECT TO TRAVEL OR SPEAK IN ST. LOUIS

b7C

EX 110

- 2- Bureau
- 3- Teletype Unit
- 2- WFO

REC 49

WWH:js
(7)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

15 AUG 29 1968

Approved: [Signature]
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

55 SEP 4 1968

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)WFO 100-43503
PAGE TWO

DETROIT AND ST. LOUIS COVER SUBJECT PER BUREAU AIRTEL
DECEMBER TWENTYONE LAST. ST. LOUIS SUTEL WHETHER ARRANGEMENTS
ARE BEING EFFECTED TO RECORD SUBJECT'S SPEECH IF MADE.
STATEMENTS BY SUBJECT COULD POSSIBLY BE IN VIOLATION OF
RECENTLY ENACTED ANTI-RIOT LAW OR OTHER LAWS. NOTES OF
SPECIAL AGENTS OR INFORMANTS COVERING SUBJECT'S STATEMENTS
SHOULD BE PROPERLY PRESERVED FOR POSSIBLE FUTURE USE AS
EVIDENCE.

CC-MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&DApproved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

VIA TELETYPE

AUG 28 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson_____
Mr. DeLoach_____
Mr. Mohr_____
Mr. Bishop_____
Mr. Casper_____
Mr. Callahan_____
Mr. Conrad_____
Mr. Felt_____
Mr. Gale_____
Mr. Rosen_____
Mr. Sullivan_____
Mr. Tavel_____
Mr. Trotter_____
Tele. Room_____
Miss Holmes_____
Miss Gandy_____

WAV06

1030AM URGENT 8-28-68 MS

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080) & WASH FIELD
FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-721)

PLAINTEXT

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RACIAL MATTERS

b7C

REBUTEL CALL TO SAN FRANCISCO AND SAN FRANCISCO TEL TO BUREAU
AUGUST TWENTYSIX LAST.

SAN

FRANCISCO, INTERVIEWED LAST EVENING. SHE ADVISED ARTICLE APPEARING
IN "WASHINGTON POST", AUGUST TWENTYSIX LAST ON SUBJECT'S SPEECH AT
OAKLAND, CALIF., ON AUGUST TWENTYFIVE LAST,

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END PAGE ONE

EX 109

REC-47

446080-1891

12 AUG. 29 1968

TELETYPED TO:

ETB, WFO

56 SEP 6 1968

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DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc/tam/mlt/tcg

5-14

PAGE TWO

b7C
b7D

SAN

FRANCISCO, CALIF., WAS INTERVIEWED AUGUST TWENTYSEVEN LAST. [REDACTED]
ALSO ATTENDED BLACK PANTHER PARTY RALLY AT WHICH CARMICHAEL SPOKE ON b7C
AUGUST TWENTYFIVE LAST. [REDACTED] ADVISED CARMICHAEL SPOKE CALMLY WITH b7D
NO SHOW OF EMOTION. STARTED SPEECH BY STATING IT IS TIME TO STOP
ENTERTAINING AND TO START EDUCATING WHITE PEOPLE. CARMICHAEL
DEFINED TERMS DESCRIBING MILITANCY AND DISTINGUISHING IT FROM
REVOLUTION.

~~S~~ CARMICHAEL STATED THE U. S. HAS DECLARED WAR ON BLACK
END PAGE TWO

2

PAGE THREE

PEOPLE AND THAT HUEY NEWTON IS A PRISONER OF THAT WAR AND HE MUST BE SET FREE AND IF HE IS NOT WE MUST RETALIATE AND SKY IS THE LIMIT.

CARMICHAEL STATED WHITE PEOPLE HAVE GREAT SUPERIORITY IN NUMBERS AND WEAPONS AND ONLY RECOURSE FOR BLACKS IS GUERRILLA WARFARE. [REDACTED]

STATED CARMICHAEL'S SPEECH WAS FAIRLY WELL RECEIVED AND CARMICHAEL

DID NOT ADVOCATE ALL OUT WAR NOR, IN HIS OPINION, DID CARMICHAEL

ATTEMPT TO INCITE CROWD TO RIOT. [REDACTED] ESTIMATED CROWD AT ONE

THOUSAND, FORTY PER CENT WHITE. [REDACTED] STATED HE DOES NOT TAKE

SHORTHAND AND STATEMENTS ARE NOT DIRECT QUOTES *But*

ONLY

FROM MEMORY.

END

HWL

FBI WASH DC

CC-MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE CHICAGO	OFFICE OF ORIGIN WASHINGTON FIELD	DATE AUG 27 1968	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 8/8 - 8/23/68
TITLE OF CASE STOKELY CARMICHAEL, aka		REPORT MADE BY SA [REDACTED]	TYPED BY CMS/MDW
		CHARACTER OF CASE RM - SEDITION	

REFERENCES:

Chicago airtels and LHMS to Bureau dated 8/13 and 16/68.
Buairtels to Chicago dated 8/14 and 19/68.

- P -

b7C

LEADCHICAGO

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AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS. Will recontact sources mentioned in Administrative section to resolve if tape recording of STOKELY CARMICHAEL's speech made at Afro-Arts Theater, 8/9/68.

ADMINISTRATIVE

The following is being set forth on the administrative pages as it is felt this data should not be included in attached report.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED						ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN: PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐ YES ☐ NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS ☐ YES ☐ NO
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		

SPECIAL AGENT
IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

Copies on page ii

115WZF 1892

2/24/71

100-446080-1893	REC-19
	EX-100
AUG 29 1968	

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	Request Recd.	Date Fwd.	How Fwd.	By
ACSI	OSI	SS	RAD: IDIU, CRD	
Crim	Vinson	ISB	Jeagley	
9/10/68				
11/5				
ABE/abf				

Notations

1 Xcopy of rpt 806 940

RACIAL INT. SECT.

54 SEPT 7 1968

CG 157-1297

Copies:

- 8 - Bureau (100-446080)(RM)
- 1 - USA, Chicago (via courier)
- 1 - U.S. Secret Service, Chicago (via courier)
- 1 - NISO, Chicago (RM)
- 1 - OSI, Chicago (via courier)
- 1 - Region I, 113th MI Group, Evanston, Illinois (via courier)
- 2 - Atlanta (100-6812)(Info)(RM)
- 2 - New York (100-15371)(Info)(RM)
- 2 - WFO (100-43503)(Info)(RM)
- 2 - Chicago (157-1297)

CG 157-1297

The Bureau may desire to submit the following to the Department by letter:

Re J. WALTER YEAGLEY's letter to the Bureau dated 8/14/68 which asked the following questions:

- 1) Were tape recordings made at the Afro-Arts Theater 8/9/68?

On 8/21/68, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised no police officers or undercover officers attended the speech of STOKELY CARMICHAEL at the Afro-Arts Theater, 3947 South Drexel Boulevard, on 8/9/68. This was done to avoid any possibility of their recognition and possibly setting off a riot in that area. [REDACTED] had no information that anyone made a tape recording of CARMICHAEL's speech.

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Chicago was exploring the possibility that the [REDACTED] would have information in this regard. [REDACTED]

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As of 8/23/68, [REDACTED] had not been able to contact [REDACTED] to determine if he taped CARMICHAEL's speech.

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Informants who attended meeting did not make any notes.

Efforts will be conducted to have sources resolve above leads at earliest possible convenient time.

- 2) Were Negro servicemen in the audience?

Sources mentioned in report were recontacted and could not recall observing any Negroes in uniform at the speech, however, 200 Blackstone Rangers attended the speech and the majority of these are draft age Negroes.

- 3) What is sex and age of audience?

A poll of the sources concluded 90% were male and the average age approximately 25 years of age, all Negro.

- B -

COVER PAGE

CG 157-1297

4) Who sponsored the meeting?

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Meeting held as a benefit for [redacted]
[redacted] and sponsored by [redacted]
[redacted]

5) Who spoke besides CARMICHAEL?

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[redacted] They
spoke on suppression of Negro by whites and
means of promoting black power.

INFORMANTS

Location

[redacted]

157-1297-571 & 581

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157-1297-571

157-1297-581 & instant report

[redacted]

157-1297-571

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

- 1 - USA, Chicago
1 - U. S. Secret Service, Chicago
(via courier)
1 - NISO, Chicago (Registered Mail)
1 - OSI, Chicago (via courier)
1 - Region 1, 113th MI Group,
Evanston, Illinois (via courier)

Copy to:

b7C

Report of:

SA [REDACTED]

Office: Chicago

Date:

AUG 27 1968

Field Office File #: 157-1297

Bureau File #: 100-446080

Title:

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

Character:

RACIAL MATTERS - SEDITION

Synopsis:

Details of STOKELY CARMICHAEL's trip to Chicago
8/9 - 11/68, set forth. He spoke at a benefit
held at the Afro-Arts Theater, 3947 South Drexel
Boulevard, Chicago, 8/9/68, for purpose of raising
funds for release of [REDACTED]

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Approximately 1,000 people attended affair. 200
members of Negro youth gang called Blackstone
Rangers also attended. Theme of speech was whites
are preparing genocide of blacks so blacks must
resist. Blacks should unify and get guns. Black
soldiers should go to Vietnam but kill Americans,
not North Vietnamese soldiers.

-p-

CG 157-1297

DETAILS:

This investigation was initiated upon receipt of information advising that STOKELY CARMICHAEL, former National Director of Students Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), would accompany [redacted] to Chicago on Saturday, [redacted]

[redacted] Chicago, Illinois, on that date.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

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ILL.

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A characterization of SNCC is attached in the appendix pages of this report.

Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) observed STOKELY CARMICHAEL, former National Director of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and [redacted] depart Washington, D. C. via American Airlines Flight Number 283, at 6:15 P.M., Eastern Daylight Time, August 9, 1968, for Chicago, Illinois, scheduled to arrive O'Hare Airport, Chicago, at 7:15 P.M., Central Daylight Time.

At 7:50 P.M., Central Daylight Time, August 9, 1968, Special Agents of the FBI observed STOKELY CARMICHAEL and [redacted] at O'Hare Airport, Chicago, Illinois. CARMICHAEL and [redacted] were met at the airport by ten Negroes, and this group then departed O'Hare Airport in a Thunderbird, bearing 1968 Illinois license number [redacted] (registered to [redacted] Illinois), and a 1964 Pontiac, bearing 1968 Illinois license number [redacted] (registered to [redacted] Illinois.)

CARMICHAEL and entourage proceeded to the Lincoln Elementary School, 139th and Claire Avenue, Robbins, Illinois. CARMICHAEL [redacted] rode in the Thunderbird and left the entourage at Madison Street and J. F. Kennedy Expressway and was last observed heading east into Chicago's loop area. CARMICHAEL arrived at Robbins, Illinois at approximately 9:10 P.M. He was met by 30 male Negroes at the rear of the school. Two of these unknown Negroes were armed with shot-guns and rifles. No one was there to hear CARMICHAEL so he left.

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CG 157-1297

On August 16, 1968, [redacted]

[redacted] Chicago, Illinois, advised that CARMICHAEL had been scheduled to speak at the Dwight D. Eisenhower High School, 137th and Crawford Avenue, Blue Island, Illinois, at 6:00 P.M., Friday, August 9, 1968. However, this meeting was changed to the Wyndhaven Trailer Park, Kedzie and Claire Avenue, Robbins, Illinois. This change in CARMICHAEL's schedule was arranged by [redacted]

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On August 14, 1968, [redacted]

[redacted] made available the attached leaflet, which he obtained from Negro youths passing them out on August 9, 1968 in the Chicago Heights area. The leaflet announced a speech by CARMICHAEL at Eisenhower High School, which did not occur. [redacted] had no idea who prepared the leaflet nor the identity of those concerned with this distribution.

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[redacted] Robbins, Illinois, an all Negro suburb on Chicago's south side, advised August 9, 1968, that approximately 40 Negroes of various ages were disbanded from the vicinity of 135th Street and Claire Avenue, where they attempted to hold a meeting. Permission for this meeting had previously been denied by city officials. [redacted]

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[redacted] stated several youths then broke into the Lincoln Elementary School, 439th Street and Claire Avenue, to hold this meeting, and Robbins City and school authorities, who at first wanted the individuals removed from the Lincoln Elementary School, consented to let the meeting take place.

Approximately 150 persons attended the meeting at the Lincoln Elementary School, all of whom were searched before entering the meeting. [redacted] advised

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[redacted] whom he considered reliable, advised August 9, 1968, that the participants in the above meeting waited for the arrival of STOKELY CARMICHAEL and when CARMICHAEL failed to appear at the expected time, the participants at this meeting departed the Lincoln Elementary School without incident.

CG 157-1297

[redacted] further advised that his sources stated that CARMICHAEL arrived at the Lincoln Elementary School in a vehicle bearing Illinois license [redacted]. This vehicle, according to these sources, was part of a motorcade, the last vehicle of which was heavily armed.

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The "Chicago Tribune," a daily newspaper published in Chicago, Illinois, in an article appearing in the Sunday issue, August 11, 1968, stated that CARMICHAEL was an hour late for a speaking engagement at the Lincoln Elementary School and found an empty auditorium. CARMICHAEL and his entourage then returned to Chicago.

[redacted] advised [redacted] the owner of the vehicle bearing Illinois license number [redacted] was involved in a disturbance in [redacted] Illinois, in 1964.

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[redacted] advised that [redacted] owner of the vehicle bearing Illinois license [redacted] was involved in the racial disturbances in 1964 in [redacted] Illinois. At that time [redacted] was observed with a walkie-talkie radio unit and appeared to be directing the activities of Negro youths involved in this riot. [redacted] presently resides at [redacted] Illinois. He is a close friend of STOKELY CARMICHAEL as well as [redacted]

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[redacted] Illinois, where the 1964 riot erupted.

[redacted] previously mentioned, stated that from the Wyndhaven Trailer Park, Robbins, Illinois, CARMICHAEL proceeded to the Afro-Arts Theater, 3947 South Drexel Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois, arriving at approximately 11:10 P.M.

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Source advised that STOKELY CARMICHAEL spoke before approximately 900 people at the Afro-Arts Theater on the evening of August 9, 1968. Source stated that the speech was practically identical to the speech CARMICHAEL presented at the Afro-Arts Theater on March 25, 1968. CARMICHAEL stressed black unity as the only solution for blacks to forestall their ultimate genocide by the white power structure. CARMICHAEL maintained that all black people should "love" one another and develop the type of unity for each other which has been displayed by the Blackstone Rangers, Chicago Negro youth gang. He held the Blackstone

Rangers up as excellent examples that Chicago blacks should emulate. He believed the Blackstone Rangers were the only effective black group working for black power in Chicago.

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ILL Source said [redacted]
[redacted]
served as the master of ceremonies. She announced that \$1,900 was raised at this benefit.

UBLDF is a group established in Chicago for the purpose of assisting individuals involved in Civil Rights and related activity in obtaining legal counsel and to provide bail money for those arrested while engaged in such activity.

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Source said CARMICHAEL usually pays approximately \$350 to the four or five Negroes who act as [redacted]
[redacted] However, on this trip he paid them \$500. The following were CARMICHAEL [redacted] throughout his Chicago visit:

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SI
[redacted] Negro male, 20 years of age, resides at [redacted]
Chicago, Illinois, [redacted]
[redacted]

B. APPROX 1934
[redacted] Negro male, 34 years of age, who resides at [redacted]
Illinois, [redacted]
[redacted]

B. APPROX. 1947
[redacted] Negro male, 21 years of age, who resides at [redacted]
Chicago, [redacted]
[redacted]

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ILL
[redacted] Negro male, close associate of [redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]

ILL
[redacted] Negro male, [redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]

ILL
[redacted] Negro male, [redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted] who was recently released from [redacted]

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County Jail on bond after having been arrested [redacted] occurring during the April, 1968 riots in Chicago following the assassination of MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

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Source said CARMICHAEL's appearance was primarily a fund raising benefit to raise funds for the release of [redacted] male Negro, presently incarcerated in [redacted] for his activities in the above mentioned riot. [redacted]

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Source stated on one occasion while CARMICHAEL and [redacted] were in a tavern on the south side Negro section of Chicago, [redacted] wanted to "tear up" the place. CARMICHAEL pleaded with them not to create any disturbance because he is convinced if the police arrive to enforce the law and discover that he is on the scene, they will use this as an pretext to kill him even though he is unarmed. He especially fears the Chicago police and believe they are just waiting for the chance to kill him. He dislikes visiting Chicago and commented if he lives through this trip he can see no reason why he would return to this city.

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A characterization of the DDJ and NNRA appear in the appendix section of this report.

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that approximately 900 Negroes were in attendance at the Afro-Arts Theater, 3947 South Drexel Boulevard, on the evening of August 9, 1968, where STOKELY CARMICHAEL gave a speech. The source advised that CARMICHAEL's speech was a typical black power speech, in which he praised the blacks and condemned the white race.

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A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that approximately 800 Negroes were in attendance at the Afro-Arts Theater, 3947 South Drexel Boulevard, Chicago, on August 9, 1968, where STOKELY CARMICHAEL

CG 157-1297

spoke. The main theme of CARMICHAEL's speech was that the white man is the enemy of the Negro and the "chief devil" is the police. He berated the "imperialistic capitalistic" system in the United States. He quoted favorably some writings of ERNESTO CHE GUEVARA and MAO TSE TUNG.

This source said 200 Blackstone Rangers attended the meeting and were admitted free. All other Negroes paid \$3.00 per person admission fee. It was announced that the gate receipts totalled \$1,900.

Source advised STOKELY CARMICHAEL's Chicago business agent for his speaking engagement at Afro-Arts Theater is [REDACTED]

Chicago. [REDACTED]

(phonetic) as

CARMICHAEL [REDACTED]

Source had no additional information about these individuals.

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Source stated STOKELY CARMICHAEL was in the Chicago area August 9, 1968, and on that evening made an appearance at the Afro-Arts Theater, 3947 South Drexel Boulevard, Chicago. CARMICHAEL did not arrive at the theater until approximately 11:00 P.M., at which time some 900-1000 Negroes were in attendance.

CARMICHAEL's remarks were in large measure a call for unity within the black communities. He advised black people do not need more prostitutes, school dropouts or gangs among their number, but need more black togetherness in order to survive the oppressor. Genocide is upon us. The white man is the blacks enemy and capitalism is the system he uses to exploit blacks. Black people should not be a part of a capitalistic society, but should develop a socialist society as more suitable to their needs. Colonialism, which is a part of capitalism, works against the needs of black people.

Blacks should develop an emotional love for their own people so that if one is abused or killed, the brothers will immediately rise to the situation and destroy the white man or men involved. In order to do this, guns are necessary

CG 157-1297

and all blacks should have them. Even those who are not willing to fight should prepare for the revolution. They should get food, clothing and ammunition so that guerrilla warriors can have a place of refuge. Money should also be provided by those who are not willing to fight. The people today most ready to fight the white man are the hard laborers, the butchers and ditch diggers. CARMICHAEL urged his audience to read and listen to the teachings of MAO TSE TUNG.

Black soldiers should agree to go to Vietnam, but once there, should kill American soldiers not North Vietnamese.

Blacks should control and police their own communities and not allow regular police to patrol these areas. Blacks who are police informants should not be killed, rather the police to whom they report. Black communities must be prepared to match forces with the police and the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Guns are easily obtainable, buy one, work for one or steal one. CARMICHAEL's remarks were received by the crowd with great acclaim and applause. Some individuals became quite excited during his comments, however, the crowd generally was orderly.

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A source, advised that STOKELY CARMICHAEL stayed at the Executive House, a hotel in the loop area of Chicago, while in Chicago, and was in his room at that hotel from 6:00 P.M. to 8:00 P.M., August 10, 1968, when he departed for the Regal Theater, 4700 South Parkway, Chicago,

[redacted] CARMICHAEL [redacted] departed the Regal Theater. [redacted]

[redacted] and returned to [redacted] room at the Executive House. CARMICHAEL [redacted] remained at the Executive House until [redacted] departure for the O'Hare Airport. CARMICHAEL [redacted] departed O'Hare Airport, Chicago, at 1:00 P.M., Central Daylight Time, August 11, 1968, via United Airlines Flight Number 912, scheduled to arrive at LaGuardia Airport, New York, at 3:55 P.M., Eastern Daylight Time.

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CG 157-1297

Representatives of the Chicago, Dixmoor, Markham and Maywood Police Departments, as well as the Cook County Sheriff's Office were alerted to STOKELY CARMICHAEL's visit to the Chicago area and his probable visits and activity within their areas of jurisdiction. These Police Departments and the Cook County Sheriff's Office advised during the following CARMICHAEL's visit to the Chicago area that their respective areas were calm and activities were normal.

A source advised that CARMICHAEL indicated on the evening of August 7, 1968, that he [redacted] [redacted] would depart Chicago on August 11, 1968, for New York City to attend a jazz festival there.

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[redacted]
On August 11, 1968, at 3:15 P.M., [redacted]

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[redacted] was observed leaving the Regal Theater with subject and proceeded to the Executive House where they were observed entering the lobby.

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CARMICHAEL, during his visit to Chicago, spent some time at the residence of [redacted] previously mentioned. The purpose of the visit is not known to the source.

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Source learned that [redacted] previously mentioned, commented that SNCC would shortly merge with the Black Panther party. No more details were mentioned about this merger.

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DEACONS OF DEFENSE AND JUSTICE, INC.,
Aka. Deacons for Defense and Justice, Inc.

The Articles of Incorporation of the Deacons of Defense and Justice (DDJ) as on file with the Secretary of State for the State of Louisiana, reflect that the Deacons of Defense and Justice, Inc., is a Louisiana corporation domiciled at Jonesboro, Louisiana. The location and business office address of its registered office shall be Amos Service Station (rear), Beach Spring Road, Drawer B., Jonesboro, Louisiana.

"This corporation is organized for the following purposes and to carry on the following purposes:

"To instruct, train, teach, and educate Citizens of the United States and especially minority groups in the fundamental principles of the republican form of government and our democratic way of life; to instruct, teach, train and educate said persons in the provisions of the constitution and laws of the United States and the State of Louisiana, as well as the constitution and laws of any other state wherein this corporation may operate; to instruct, teach, train and educate said persons in the use, value, and purpose of the ballot and the right to vote; to instruct, teach, train and educate said persons as to the duties and responsibilities of good citizenship relative to the obligation and duties of the community to the citizen; to further instruct, teach, train and educate said persons in the value of economic security and in the effective use of their spending power; to inspire in said persons a sense of responsibility and to develop leadership. This corporation has for its further purpose, and is dedicated to, the defense of the civil rights, property rights and personal rights of said people and will defend said rights by any and all honorable and legal means to the end that justice may be obtained. This corporation may establish chapters and conduct its business at any place in this State and elsewhere as permitted by law."

APPENDIX

1

NATIONAL NEGRO RIFLE ASSOCIATION (NNRA)

A source advised on February 6, 1968, that during June, 1967, the National Negro Rifle Association (NNRA) was formed in Chicago, Illinois, [redacted] b7C

This association was incorporated on June 9, 1967, under certificate number 5541, as recorded with the records of the Corporation Division, Secretary of State, Springfield, Illinois.

The purpose of this association is to encourage the people of the ghetto area on Chicago's west side to arm themselves and to become proficient in the use of firearms. The NNRA was also incorporated to train men and women of all ages to participate in drill teams, color guards and parades and to teach the laws relating to the use of firearms.

The above source advised [redacted] who resides at [redacted] Chicago, is a Negro male, born [redacted] b7C He is known to possess firearms. [redacted] has stated the NNRA was formed to encourage the people of the ghetto to arm themselves for the battle to come. Source advised the NNRA exists only in [redacted] mind.

A second source advised on July 18, 1968, the NNRA is located at [redacted] and according to [redacted] the NNRA membership totals approximately 50 persons. This source advised the NNRA has been inactive since April, 1968. The source also advised the NNRA was only active in [redacted] mind and statements made by [redacted] pertaining to branch clubs; the obtaining and storage of ammunition and firearms; and the fact that regular meetings were being held, were merely ego-building boasts by [redacted] was incarcerated on charges evolving out of the April, 1968, riots on Chicago's west side following the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. As of August, 1968, [redacted] was still in jail. b7C

A Chicago Police Department source advised on July 18, 1968, the NNRA was only active in [redacted] mind and there would be no more than ten so-called members who have always associated with [redacted] This source stated [redacted] has made boastful statements in the past concerning activities of the NNRA to further his ego. Since [redacted] incarceration, the NNRA has been inactive. b7C



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Chicago, Illinois
August 27, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 157-1297

Title STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Character RACIAL MATTERS - SEDITION

Reference is made to report of
Special Agent [REDACTED]
dated and captioned as above.

b7C

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.

b2

b7D

(13)

VIA TELETYPE

AUG 25 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

WASHINGTON---02---

b7C

5-34

PM PDST 8-25-68 URGENT PLAINTEXT MXG /

TO: DIRECTOR, LOS ANGELES, SAN DIEGO, AND WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE

FROM: SAN FRANCISCO (157-721)

WASHINGTON FIELD VIA BUREAU

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL. RM

RE SAN FRANCISCO TELETYPE TO BUREAU, LOS ANGELES AND SAN DIEGO,

EIGHT TWENTYFOUR SIXTY-EIGHT.

AS OF FOUR FIFTY-FIVE, P.M. EIGHT TWENTYFIVE SIXTY-EIGHT, STOKELY CARMICHAEL SPOKE AT BLACK PANTHER SPONSORED FREE HUEY NEWTON RALLY, DEFREMERY PARK, OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA. HUEY NEWTON IS MINISTER OF DEFENSE, MLLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF DEFENSE, PRESENTLY ON TRIAL FOR MURDER OF OAKLAND POLICEMAN. SAN FRANCISCO WILL ATTEMPT TO SECURE RECORDING OF SPEECH AND WILL KEEP BUREAU AND OTHER OFFICES ADVISED

EX 110

REC-19

100-446080-1894

17 AUG 27 1968

END

R RELAY

FJB

FBI WASH DC

57 SEP 4 1968

TELETYPED TO:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

8/28/68

RJ
airtel

To: SAC's Chicago (157-1297) (Enclosure)
Mobile (100-1858) (Enclosure)
WFO (100-43403) (Enclosure)

EX-100

REC 4 From: Director, FBI (100-446080) — 1895

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS - STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
ANTI-RIOT LAWS
BUDED 9/9/68

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tgm/mlt/tcg

ReBuairtel to Mobile 8/13/68 and Buairtels to Chicago
8/14/68 and 8/19/68.

Enclosed for recipient offices is a copy of a letter
from Fred M. Vinson, Jr., Assistant Attorney General, Criminal
Division of the Department dated 8/22/68 which is self-explanatory.

WFO's attention is directed to item "c" of the enclosure
and WFO should report any information as to the names of witnesses
who could testify as to Carmichael's intent in traveling to Mobile
and/or Chicago.

Advise all persons interviewed that this investigation is
being conducted at the specific request of Assistant Attorney
General Fred M. Vinson, Jr., Criminal Division, Department of
Justice.

Recipient offices should expeditiously handle the in-
vestigation requested in Vinson's letter and promptly submit the
results to reach the Bureau by 9/9/68 in report form.

PTB:ebb
(9)

NOTE:

Stokely Carmichael, a black extremist, is on the
Security Index and the Agitator Index. In the speeches at
Mobile, Alabama, on 7/26/68 and 7/27/68 and at Chicago on
8/9/68 Carmichael made highly inflammatory statements. Mobile
and Chicago have been previously instructed to endeavor to

MAILED 27
AUG 28 1968
FBI - WFO

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

NOTE CONTINUED PAGE TWO

59 SEP 6 - 12/10/68
MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

AIRTEL TO SAC, CHICAGO ET AL
RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

NOTE CONTINUED:

obtain verbatim transcripts of Carmichael's speeches as well as to conduct additional investigation concerning Carmichael's activities in their respective territories. In Buairtel 8/19/68 a letter from Assistant Attorney General Yeagley was forwarded to Chicago requesting that office to conduct certain investigation in connection with Carmichael's speech at Chicago.

This matter has been coordinated with Division Six. Upon receipt, the information requested from the field will be furnished to both Vinson and Yeagley in order to determine if there has been any violation or any of the Federal Anti-Riot Laws or any other Federal law on the part of Carmichael.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Memorandum

TO : Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

DATE:

August 22, 1968

FROM ^{7/}: Fred M. Vinson, Jr.
Assistant Attorney General
Criminal Division

SUBJECT: Stokely Carmichael.

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

This is to request additional investigation of events in connection with Stokely Carmichael's appearances in Mobile, Alabama on July 26 and 27, 1968 and in Chicago, Illinois on August 9, 1968.

With respect to the Mobile appearances, we note that Carmichael's remarks were broadcast outside the church and that his remarks indicate possible violation of Section 104(a) of Public Law 90-284. We would appreciate receiving:

- a) A verbatim transcript of Carmichael's remarks if such can be obtained.
- b) A copy of the notes of any informants, local police officers or F.B.I. agents who were present and made notes of what Carmichael said.
- 1/c) The names of any witness who could testify to the intent with which Carmichael came to Mobile.
- d) A report on disturbances which allegedly occurred in Mobile after Carmichael's departure including names of witnesses to the events and other evidence which would connect the disturbances to the Carmichael remarks.

With respect to the Chicago appearance, we request the same information.

REC 4

EX-100

12 AUG 23 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.

37
AUG 23 1968

EXP. PROC.

b7C

As you are aware, successful prosecution under the Federal anti-riot law will require careful proof of a connection between travel in interstate commerce and events which may occur some time after the travel. We, therefore, need continuing reports on Mr. Carmichael's travels and on disturbances which occur at any time in the places to which he has travelled.

FBI WASH DC

FBI DETROIT

2:03 AM URGENT 8/27/68 ETA

TO DIRECTOR

FROM DETROIT (100-34122)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

AUG 27 1968

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, SM-SNCC.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

RE DETEL AUGUST TWENTY-SIX LAST.

SUBJECT SPOKE BEFORE THREE HUNDRED FIFTY AT ORGANIZATION
OF ARAB STUDENTS NATIONAL CONVENTION, UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
ANN ARBOR, MICH. AUGUST TWENTY-SIX LAST.

SUBJECT STATED BLACK PEOPLE AND ARABS HAVE BEEN EXPLOITED
BY WHITES AND ZIONISTS, STRIPPED OF CULTURE AND FORCED TO
SPEAK LANGUAGE OF OPPRESSOR. NEITHER RACE CAN TAKE PART IN
WHITE OR ZIONIST SOCIETY.

ARABS MUST MOVE AGGRESIVELY AGAINST OCCUPYING FORCES
AND REGAIN LAND.

SUBJECT STATED HE IS BLACK REVOLUTIONARY, NOT BLACK MILITANT.
ONLY SOLUTION FOR ARABS IS ARMED REVOLUTION.

CARMICHAEL STATED BLACKS WILL HELP ARABS IN STRUGGLE AND
WILL FIGHT IMPERIALISM ANYWHERE IN USA, ALL WHO FIGHT IMPERIALISM
ARE COMRADES IN ARMS.

RELIABLE SOURCE ADVISED SUBJECT OVERWHELMINGLY RECIEVED
BY ASSEMBLED GROUP. SOURCE STATED SUBJECT TO REMAIN ANN ARBOR,
MICH. EVENING 8/26 AND VISIT DETROIT, MICH. 8/27 AM INSTANT.

SOURCE ADVISED TRANSCRIPT OF SUBJECT'S SPEECH FROM
ANOTHER SOURCE POSSIBLE.

ADM: G- TWO, SS, USA DETROIT ADVISED.

LHM FOLLOWS.

END.

SEP 4 - 1968

WASH DC

Summary to W.H. +
AG 8/27/68

REC-41

15 AUG 29 1968

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

b7C

TO : Assistant Attorney General
Criminal Division

DATE: August 29, 1968
ATTENTION: [REDACTED]
Room 2110 Justice Building

FROM : Director, FBI

SUBJECT: *BP* Stokely Carmichael
Racial Matter
Antiriot Laws

FILE COPY

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

Reference is made to _____ memorandum dated _____
(your file _____).

There is enclosed one copy of the ~~report of Special Agent~~
~~at~~ teletype dated 8/23/68
at Washington Field Office.

A. ☐ This covers the preliminary investigation and no further action concerning a full investigation will be taken by this Bureau unless the Department so directs.

B. ☐ The investigation is continuing and you will be furnished copies of reports as they are received.

C. ☐ The investigation requested by you has now been completed. Unless advised to the contrary no further inquiries will be made by this Bureau.

D. ☐ Pursuant to instructions issued by the Department, no investigation will be conducted in this matter unless specifically directed by the Department.

E. ☐ Please advise whether you desire any further investigation.

F. ☐ This is submitted for your information and you will be advised of further developments. 100-446080

G. ☒ This is submitted for your information and no further investigation will be conducted unless specifically requested by the Department.

8 AUG 29 1968

H. ☐ This covers the receipt of a complaint and no further action will be taken by this Bureau unless the Department so directs.

NOTE: This will confirm the conversation between [REDACTED] and Special Agent [REDACTED] on 8/26/68. This matter was taken under advisement and no investigation was Requested.

56 SEP 3 1968

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
AUG 23 1968

FBI SAN FRAN

8:47PM PDST 8-22-68 DEFERRED MXG

TO: DIRECTOR (105-165706) AND WASHINGTON FIELD (100-43503),
BOSTON (100-37622).

FROM: SAN FRANCISCO (157-1204) (2-P)

WASHINGTON FIELD VIR BUREAU

BLACK PANTHER PARTY; (BPP) RACIAL MATTERS; STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RACIAL MATTERS;

BUREAU FILE ONE ZERO ZERO DASH FOUR FOUR SIX ZERO EIGHT ZERO.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

RE TRIAL HUEY P. NEWTON, MINISTER OF DEFENSE, BLACK
PANTHER PARTY.

b7C

b7C

b7D

[REDACTED] ADVISED THAT STOKELY CARMICHAEL ATTENDED TRIAL OF HUEY P. NEWTON
ON MORNING OF AUGUST TWENTY-TWO, NINETEEN SIXTY-EIGHT AND AT
TWELVE FIFTEEN PM, HELD PRESS CONFERENCE AT ALAMEDA COUNTY COURTHOUSE,
OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA. [REDACTED]

THEY

WERE DRESSED IN TYPICAL BPP ATTIRE. CARMICHAEL ANNOUNCED THAT BPP WILL
CALL PRESS CONFERENCE IN TWO DAYS TO ANNOUNCE FUTURE PLANS OF ACTION
OF BPP AND AT THAT TIME CARMICHAEL WILL ANSWER QUESTIONS AS TO HOW
LONG HE PLANS TO REMAIN IN THE SAN FRANCISCO AREA. CARMICHAEL, IN AN
AFFABLE FRAME OF MIND, CONFIRMED THE FACT THAT STUDENT NONVIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC) HAS SEVERED RELATIONS WITH HIM.

END PAGE ONE

NOT RECORDED
162 AUG 29 1968

54 SEP 5 - 1968

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

Sullivan

b7C

ORIGINAL FILED IN

PAGE TWO

SF (157-1204)

HE SAID THAT HE HAD NO HARD FEELINGS TOWARD SNCC, THAT HE HAD ENJOYED THE EXPERIENCE OF WORKING IN SNCC FOR MANY YEARS AND THAT HE WOULD NEVER SAY ANYTHING UNFAVORABLE CONCERNING THAT ORGANIZATION.

HUEY P. NEWTON TESTIFIED AT HIS TRIAL THIS DATE TRACING HISTORY OF HIS LIFE AND HIS ORGANIZATIONAL WORK WITH BPP. NEARLY ALL OF THE OBJECTIONS OF PROSECUTING ATTORNEY LOWELL JENSEN WERE SUSTAINED BY JUDGE MONROE FRIEDMAN ON THIS LINE OF TESTIMONY. APPROXIMATELY SEVENTY FIVE TO ONE HUNDRED PERSONS CARRYING SIGNS QUOTED HUEY LIVES UNQUOTE PARTICIPATED IN PEACEFUL DEMONSTRATION AT ALAMEDA COUNTY COURTHOUSE.

NEWTON TRIAL RECESSED UNTIL MONDAY, AUGUST TWENTY-SIX. COVERAGE OF CARMICHAEL'S ACTIVITIES CONTINUING.

END

LPT

FBI WASH DC*

COPY SENT AG AND IDIU

Xerox - Risen

cc-MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

VIA TELETYPE

AUG 27 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

b7C

WASH -----6-----

750AM URGENT 8/27/68 NJM

TO DIRECTOR

FROM SAN FRANCISCO /157-721/ PLAINTEXT IP

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; RM.

REMYTEL EIGHT TWENTY SIX SIXTYEIGHT. TRANSCRIPTS OF SUBJECT/S
SPEECHES AUGUST TWENTY SECOND AND TWENTY FIFTH MAILED NIGHT OF AUGUST
TWENTY SIXTH.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

END

HWL

FBI WASH DC

CC - MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

EX-104

REC- 51

100 - 446080/897
6 AUG 29 1968

F B I

Date: 8/28/68

Transmit the following in PLAIN
(Type in plaintext or code)Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Bishop	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI, AND SACS LOS ANGELES
SAN FRANCISCO

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RM.

RE SAN FRANCISCO TELETYPE TO WFO, AUGUST TWENTYEIGHT INSTANT.

IN VIEW OF POSSIBLE PROSECUTION INSTANT MATTER, LOS ANGELES AND SAN FRANCISCO IMMEDIATELY SUBMIT REPORTS COVERING PERTINENT ACTIVITIES OF SUBJECT WHILE ON THE WEST COAST AUGUST TWENTYONE TO AUGUST TWENTYSIX LAST. INCLUDE IN REPORT VERBATIM TRANSCRIPT OF SPEECHES MADE WHERE AVAILABLE PLUS OTHER PERTINENT ACTIVITIES OF A PROSECUTIVE NATURE. AVAILABILITY OF WITNESSES COVERING SPEECHES AND ANY OTHER PERTINENT WITNESSES SHOULD BE SET FORTH.

IN ADDITION, THE AVAILABILITY OF ANY PERTINENT INFORMANTS AS WELL AS SAS AS WITNESSES SHOULD BE INCLUDED IN THE REPORTS.

2 - Bureau
3 - Teletype Unit
2 - WFO

WWH:lt
(7)

CC-MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 tam/mlt/tcg

EX-109

REC-28

12 AUG 29 1968

59 SEP 5 - 1968

Approved: _____

Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

AUG 26 1968

FBI WASH DC*

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

FBI ST LOUIS

4:33 PM 8-26-68 URGENT REM

TO: DIRECTOR (100-44608) AND WFO

FROM: ST. LOUIS (100-20639) 1P

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS - MISC. OO: WFO.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

REMYTEL AUGUST TWENTY-THREE LAST.

[REDACTED] ADVISED INSTANT DATE THAT HEAD OF
BLACK LIBERATORS WAS MAKING ARRANGEMENTS TO RENT SHELDON
MEMORIAL HALL, THIRTY SIX FORTY EIGHT WASHINGTON AVE., SLMO,
FOR RALLY THE EVENING OF AUGUST TWENTYNINE NEXT. RALLY WILL
FEATURE SPEECH BY SUBJECT WHICH WILL START AT SEVEN PM.

b7D

[REDACTED] ALSO ADVISED THAT LEAFLETS ARE BEING
DISTRIBUTED ON SLMO STREETS BY BLACK LIBERATORS ADVERTISING
THE ABOVE RALLY AND SPEECH BY SUBJECT. MILITARY INTELL AND
SECRET SERVICE ADVISED LOCALLY.

WFO ADVISE IF SUCH A TRIP BY SUBJECT IS TO BE MADE AND
IF SO, PROBABLY ITINERY. P.

~~CORRECTION LAST LINE WORD THREE SHOULD BE PROBABLE~~

END

SLB

FBI WASH DC* TELETYPE TO:

89 SEP 6-1968

COPY SENT AG AND IDIU
8/26/68 JFM/gls

VIA TELETYPE
AUG 23 1968
ENCHIPHERED

WASHINGTON --02--

1237PM DEFERRED 8/23/68 JOC

TO DIRECTOR (105-165706) (100-446080)

WFO (100-43503)

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-1705) (157-721)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (U)
APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP (S) BY *etc*

DATE *12-20-78*
PLAINTEXT 2P

BLACK PANTHER PARTY, RACIAL MATTERS

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RACIAL MATTERS

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg
ON 01-25-2006

A SPECIAL AGENT OF THE FBI ATTENDED NIGHT OF EIGHT
TWENTY-TWO A "FREE HUEY RALLY" HELD AT MARIN CITY RECREATION CENTER,
MARIN CITY, CALIFORNIA, SPONSORED BY NEWLY FORMED MARIN CITY BLACK
PANTHER PARTY. RALLY WAS IN SUPPORT OF HUEY NEWTON,
MINISTER OF DEFENSE OF ~~BPP~~ *BLACK PANTHER PARTY*, PRESENTLY BEING TRIED FOR
MURDER OF AN OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA POLICE OFFICER. ATTENDANCE
APPROXIMATELY FIVE HUNDRED BY ACTUAL COUNT. SPEAKERS INCLUDED *15 AUG 29 1968*
BOBBY SEALE, CHAIRMAN OF BPP; ELDRIDGE CLEAVER,
MINISTER OF INFORMATION OF THE BPP; KATHLEEN CLEAVER, CAPTAIN OF
WOMEN OF BPP, AND STOKELY CARMICHAEL. *STUDENT NONVIOLENT*
PRIME MINISTER OF BPP AND EX-CHAIRMAN OF SNCC. *COORDINATING COMMITTEE*

SEALE READ THE TEN POINTS (AIMS AND PURPOSES OF THE BPP)
ELABORATING ON EACH.

END PAGE ONE

CLASSIFIED AND
EXTENDED BY *6076 WAH/103*
REASON FOR EXTENSION *12/11/78*
FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW FOR
DECLASSIFICATION *4/23/88*

446080

NOT RECORDED
172 AUG 30 1968

54 SEP 9-1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (U)

ORIGINAL FILED IN 105-165706-348

PAGE TWO

KATHLEEN CLEAVER SPOKE OF HUEY NEWTON TRIAL AND
DISCUSSED NEGRO HISTORY IN THE UNITED STATES.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (U)

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER SPOKE OF HIS CANDIDACY AND HOW GREAT
IT WAS FOR THE PEACE AND FREEDOM PARTY TO NOMINATE HIM, AN EX-CON,
AS THEIR CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

CARMICHAEL CALLED HUEY NEWTON A "PRISONER OF WAR" AND INDICATED
ACTION SHOULD BE TAKEN TO FREE HIM.

ALL INDIVIDUALS ENTERING THE BUILDING WERE SEARCHED. A MARIN
COUNTY SHERIFF'S DEPUTY WAS NOT ALLOWED TO ENTER BECAUSE HE WAS ARMED.
AN UNKNOWN INDIVIDUAL WITH ELECTRONIC EQUIPMENT TAPED TO HIS BACK WAS
EVICTED AS WERE THREE LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICERS RECOGNIZED IN CROWD.

ADMINISTRATIVE

memo
RE SF LET AND ~~LHM~~ CAPTIONED BPP - RM DATED EIGHT FIFTEEN SIXTY-EIGHT.

SPECIAL AGENT WHO ATTENDED RALLY WAS SA [REDACTED]

b2

b7C

b7D

b7C

☐ BOTH RECORDED PORTIONS OF THE SPEECHES AND COPIES ARE BEING OBTAINED. (X)

memo
~~LHM~~ FOLLOWS.

END

MSE

R RELAY FBI WAH DC

COPY SENT AG AND IDIU

CC - MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

Xerox-Rosen

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (U)

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: AUG 16 1968

b7C

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO [REDACTED] (P)

SUBJECT: [REDACTED]
IS - CH

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

Re Chicago letter to the Bureau dated 6/10/68;
Chicago letter to the Bureau dated 8/6/66; and telephone
conversation on 8/9/68, between Chicago SAC MARLIN W. JOHNSON
and SA [REDACTED] Nationalities Intelligence Section,
Domestic Intelligence Division, SOG.

b7C

Enclosed for the Bureau are 13 copies of a letterhead
memorandum (LHM) dated and captioned as above. The LHM
is headed Washington, D. C., to further protect the source.
Information copies are being furnished offices that have
conducted prior investigation in this matter and offices
having a general interest in Chinese matters. Also enclosed
for the Bureau are 11 copies of an LHM captioned "STOKELY
CARMICHAEL". This LHM is also captioned Washington, D.C. for
security purposes.

For the information of offices which have not
received prior correspondence in this matter, subject is a

- ⑦ -- Bureau (Enc. 24) (RM)
 (2 - Legat, Paris (Enc. 5)
 (1 - 100-446080) (STOKELY CARMICHAEL)
 (1 - 100-442715) (AD HOC)
 (1 - [REDACTED])
1 - Los Angeles (Enc. 1) (INFO) (RM)
1 - Milwaukee (Enc. 1) (INFO) (RM)
1 - New York (Enc. 1) (INFO) (RM)
1 - San Antonio (Enc. 1) (INFO) (RM)
1 - Seattle (Enc. 1) (INFO) (RM)
7 - Chicago
 1 - [REDACTED]
 1 - [REDACTED]
 1 - 100-41353 (AD HOC)
 1 - [REDACTED]
 1 - 157-1297 (STOKELY CARMICHAEL)
 1 - 105-

b2

b7C

b7D

JMF:cms
(19)

100-446080

NOT RECORDED
28 AUG 23 1968

ENCLOSURE

79 SEP 9 - 1968

ORIGINAL FILED IN 105-148570-19

b7C

[redacted]
Belgian national who maintains a permanent residence in [redacted]
and is temporarily residing at [redacted]
[redacted] telephone [redacted] Subject is employed
at [redacted]

b7C

b7C

b7D

After returning to [redacted]
[redacted] Subject recently
came to the United States and recently visited with [redacted]
[redacted] to whom he set forth the information contained
in the enclosed LHMs.

b7C

b7D

On July 31, 1968, source of information [redacted]
[redacted] (protect) advised that she had conversed telephonically
with subject and that he planned to visit her [redacted]
[redacted] Subject was to
fly to [redacted] where he would meet source at the home
of [redacted] Source and subject remained in [redacted]
until [redacted] when they were to return to [redacted]
[redacted]

b7C

b7D

On August 1, 1968, subject telephonically advised
source that he was arranging to have [redacted]
[redacted]

b7C

b7D

That same day, [redacted]
[redacted] arrived at the source's place of employment. These
[redacted]
[redacted]

[redacted] This was apparently [redacted] by subject as
he received credit for his [redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]

and a French-speaking Agent of the Chicago Office was present
at the viewing. [redacted] was found to contain nothing
subversive or detrimental to United States security.

b7C

[redacted]
On August 5, 1968, source advised that she had returned to [redacted] with subject as planned [redacted]. She stated that subject was residing in [redacted].

b7C

b7D

Subject visited with source every day during his stay in [redacted] and extended his stay until [redacted] when he departed via [redacted] at approximately 5:30 PM.

b7C

b7D

On August 6, 1968, [redacted] (protect), [redacted]

[redacted] verified subject's registration at that hotel. She said he had registered on the afternoon of [redacted]. She advised that subject had made a 19 minute telephone call on the evening of [redacted].

b7C

b7D

On August 8, 1968, [redacted] advised she had overheard subject comment to the hotel clerk that he expected [redacted].

b7C

b7D

On August 9, 1968, subject told [redacted] that [redacted] had arrived for him from his [redacted]. He indicated to her that he would check out of the hotel on the morning of [redacted] where he would continue working for two months. He would then return to [redacted].

b7C

b7D

On August 9, 1968, telephonic authority was received from the Bureau for a Chicago Special Agent to interview subject under suitable pretext. This interview was conducted by SA [redacted] on August 9, 1968, using the pretext of a professional acquaintance of source who had a keen interest in [redacted].

b7C

b7D

[redacted] The pertinent information from this interview is set forth in the LHM. At the conclusion of this conversation, subject asked for [redacted]

SA [] address. SA [] was ostensibly from [] and he gave subject the [] address of his brother. [] indicated that he would be at that address for only a short time but that any mail sent there would be forwarded to [] if he moves from []

On August 8, 1968, source discussed with the subject [redacted] When she asked how Americans were able to obtain passports valid for travel to [redacted] subject cited an example of [redacted]

Subject advised source that [redacted]
[redacted] had
already promised their positions to other westerners and no
new positions were available for them. Rather than let the
[redacted] without work, [redacted]
[redacted] This, at least, was the explanation
given to the western community [redacted] for their departure.

[redacted] This information regarding [redacted]
[redacted] is not being set forth in the LHM in view of the
sensitive nature of the Bureau's investigation of [redacted]

b7C

[REDACTED]

Information in the LHM regarding STOKELY CARMICHAEL was volunteered to source by subject. Based on subject's claimed friendship with CARMICHAEL, source advised the subject that she had heard that [REDACTED]

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b7D

[REDACTED] Subject showed some interest in this development and asked source to find out through her employment, [REDACTED] if STOKELY CARMICHAEL would also be coming to Chicago and if so where he would reside. Subject indicated he wished to contact CARMICHAEL if they were going to be in Chicago at the same time.

Source asked subject if he knew CARMICHAEL that well and subject replied that he and CARMICHAEL had developed a close friendship during CARMICHAEL's stay [REDACTED]

b7D

Source was ultimately unable to determine CARMICHAEL's residence in Chicago and subject left Chicago without seeing CARMICHAEL. On the evening before his departure subject left at source's apartment [REDACTED]

b7C

b7D

These included the following:

[REDACTED]

b7C

b7D

b7C

[redacted]

[redacted]

b7C

b7D

b7D

In addition, [redacted] was found containing the following notations:

[redacted]

b7C

b7D

On August 13, 1968, [redacted]

b7C

b7D

[redacted] advised that telephone number [redacted] was listed to [redacted]

Information furnished by source [redacted] and set forth in the LHM is necessarily sketchy and not in great detail in some areas since source felt she could not logically press subject for details on certain topics without arousing suspicion.

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b7C

b7D

[redacted] mentioned in the LHM is [redacted]
[redacted] mentioned in the LHM is SA [redacted]
[redacted] of the Chicago Office who interviewed subject under suitable pretext. [redacted] interview is described as "a source" to further protect [redacted] who was present during part of the interview. Both LHMs are classified ~~confidential~~ to protect source [redacted] who is of continuing value to the Chicago Office.

b2

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b7D

LEADS

b7C

[REDACTED]

SAN ANTONIO

AT SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS. The telephone numbers set forth above as obtained from the source do not specify a city or area code. It is therefore assumed that these are telephone numbers in the San Antonio area where subject resides and is employed.

San Antonio is requested to identify subscribers to the above numbers not already identified and to search indices on the above numbers as well as subject.

San Antonio is also requested to contact logical sources and informants at [REDACTED] or in [REDACTED] [REDACTED] to determine the scope of subject's activities in the United States.

b7C

b7D

CHICAGO

b7D

AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS. Chicago will open a new 105 case regarding the subscribers to [REDACTED] telephone number called by subject and attempt to fully identify subscribers to that number.

Chicago will maintain contact with source [REDACTED] and immediately furnish pertinent details regarding his activities and travel plans to appropriate offices.

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b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (U)

Re: [REDACTED]

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b7C

b7D

b7C

b7D

b7C

b7D

b7C

b7D

[REDACTED] Stokely Carmichael,
another American Negro leader, disagree on the proper means
for obtaining equal rights for Negroes in the United States.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (U)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (U)

b7C

Re: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
b7C

b7D

Carmichael on the other hand advocates the use of violence if necessary to obtain equal rights for Negroes but he reportedly feels that the basic principals of the present United States democratic system must be retained in any new society, [REDACTED]

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b7D

[REDACTED]
b7C

b7D

b7C

b7D

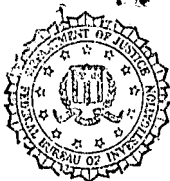
b7C

b7D

b7C

b7D

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (U)



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C.

August 16, 1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (U)

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg
ON 01-25-2006

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, recently visited with [redacted] [redacted] presently residing in [redacted] but a permanent resident of [redacted] that during December, 1967, Stokely Carmichael visited Paris at the invitation of the Paris Committee on North Viet Nam. Carmichael was apparently en route to North Viet Nam where he reportedly conversed with Ho Chi Minh.

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b7D

b7C

b7D

[redacted] described Carmichael as extremely pleasant and mild mannered. He said Carmichael was enthusiastically received everywhere in Paris as a champion of the working class. [redacted] said Carmichael was quite far left politically, but definitely not a communist. One of the things Carmichael discussed [redacted] was the best way to attain equal rights for the Negro in the United States or the best way for the Negroes to take power in the United States if equal rights could not be obtained through non-violent means.

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b7D

[redacted] told source that it is well known among Paris leftists that Carmichael [redacted]

b7C

b7D

[redacted] disagree on what means should be utilized in obtaining equal rights for the American Negro. [redacted] advocates violent overthrow of the United States Government and subsequent installation of a government similar to communism. Carmichael on the other hand agrees that violent means may be used to obtain equal rights if necessary, but Carmichael insists that the basis of the American Democratic system must be maintained in any future government.

b7C

b7D

[redacted] that he would visit Carmichael in Chicago if Carmichael was in the city at the same time as [redacted] Source advised that [redacted] before determining Carmichael's place of residence in this city.

This document contains neither recommendation nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

ENCLOSURE

FBI WASH DC*

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

AUG 27 1968

TELETYPE

FBI CHICAGO

804PM URGENT 8-27-68 EMS

TO DIRECTOR, AND SACS DETROIT, ST. LOUIS AND WFO (VIA BUREAU)
FROM CHICAGO (157-2410) (157-1297)

DEMCON.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL. SNCC; SEDITION. OO: WFO. BUFILE
ONE HUNDRED-FOUR FOUR SIX ZERO EIGHT ZERO; CHICAGO FILE ONE
FIVE SEVEN-ONE TWO NINE SEVEN.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

CHICAGO SOURCE, RELIABLE, ADVISED INSTANT STOKELY CARMICHAEL,
FORMER NATIONAL DIRECTOR OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING
COMMITTEE, SCHEDULED TO ARRIVE CHICAGO O'HARE AIRPORT FROM
DETROIT, MICHIGAN, TEN FIFTEEN PM INSTANT ON AMERICAN AIRLINES
FLIGHT THREE FOUR FIVE, IN COMPANY OF (FNU) [REDACTED] AND (FNU)
[REDACTED] DESCRIPTION UNKNOWN.

CARMICHAEL SCHEDULED TO DEPART O'HARE AIRPORT ELEVEN PM
INSTANT FOR ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI, ON DELTA AIRLINES FLIGHT FIVE
THREE. FURTHER DETAILS RE ITINERARY AND PURPOSE OF FLIGHT
UNKNOWN TO SOURCE.

ADMINISTRATIVE

DETROIT VERIFY DEPARTURE AND ADVISE. ALSO FURNISH

DESCRIPTIVE DATA RE [REDACTED] ST. LOUIS DETERMINE THROUGH
SOURCES PURPOSE OF TRIP TO ST. LOUIS AND ADVISE LOCAL AND FEDERAL

END PAGE ONE

RECEIVED TO: WFO

cc [REDACTED]

55 SEP 10 1968

746

b7C

ORIGINAL FILED IN 157-8589-1062

PAGE TWO

CG 157-2410

AUTHORITIES. SECRET SERVICE, MILITARY ADVISED BY TT. CHICAGO PD
AND USA ADVISED. CHICAGO WILL COVER LAY OVER PERIOD. [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

b7C

b7D

WFO FURNISH ANY INFO WITH DESCRIPTIONS OF [REDACTED]

END

CAB

FBI WASH DC*

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

AUG 27 1968

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan ☒ _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

FBI WASH DC*

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DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

FBI DETROIT

11:00PM URGENT 8/27/68 LPS

983317

b7C

TO: DIRECTOR (100-446080), SACS WFO, ST. LOUIS AND CHICAGO.

FROM: SAC, DETROIT (100-34122)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RM-SNCC

SUBJECT DEPARTED ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN, EARLY AM INSTANT TRAVELLING
VIA CAR TO TWO FOUR FIVE SEVEN WOODWARD AVENUE, DETROIT, MICHIGAN,
WHICH IS OFFICE OF MO-TOWN RECORD COMPANY. CARMICHAEL DEPARTED
MO-TOWN RECORD COMPANY EN ROUTE DETROIT METROPOLITAN AIRPORT WHERE HE
BOARDED AA FLIGHT THREE FOUR FIVE LEAVING DETROIT TEN TWENTY PM FOR
CHICAGO. CARMICHAEL SCHEDULED TO LEAVE CHICAGO ABOARD DELTA FLIGHT
FIVE THREE DEPARTING CHICAGO ELEVEN THIRTY PM CHICAGO TIME ENROUTE
ST. LOUIS, ARRIVING ST. LOUIS AT TWELVE TWENTY FIVE AM.

CARMICHAEL REMAINED UNDER SURVEILLANCE BY OFFICERS OF THE MICHIGAN
STATE POLICE AND SPECIAL INVESTIGATIONS BUREAU, DETROIT POLICE DEPT.
CARMICHAEL'S DEPARTURE PERSONALLY OBSERVED BY OFFICERS OF THE MSP.

CARMICHAEL DESCRIBED AS WEARING SILKY LIGHT BLUE SHIRT WITH
NEHRU COLLAR AND LIGHT BLUE OR GREY TROUSERS. CARMICHAEL ACCOMPANIED
BY TWO NEGRO MALES IDENTIFIED AS [REDACTED]
END PAGE ONE.

TELETYPE TO:

1 DIV 9 25 AM 8/28
CHIM 9 22 AM 8/28
S.S. (VIA LIAISON) [REDACTED]
ISD [REDACTED]
766

b7C

DE 100-34122

PAGE TWO

DESCRIPTION OF INDIVIDUALS ACCOMPANYING CARMICHAEL NOT AVAILABLE
DUE TO DISCREET SURVEILLANCE ON SUBJECT'S ACTIVITIES IN DETROIT.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RE DETROIT TEL TO BUREAU THIS DATE AND DETROIT PHONE CALL TO
ST. LOUIS AND CHICAGO THIS DATE.

DETAILED LHM FOLLOWS REGARDING CARMICHAEL'S SPEECH AT UNIVERSITY
OF MICHIGAN, AUGUST TWENTY SIX LAST, AND OTHER ACTIVITIES IN DETROIT
DIVISION.

END.

GMA

FBI WASH DC*

TU@@

MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

ATTENTION

The following documents appearing in FBI files have been reviewed under the provisions of The Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) (Title 5, United States Code, Section 552); Privacy Act of 1974 (PA) (Title 5, United States Code, Section 552a); and/or Litigation.

☐ FOIA/PA☐ Litigation☐ Executive Order Applied

Requester: _____

Subject: _____

Computer or Case Identification Number: _____

Title of Case: _____ Section _____

* File _____

Serials Reviewed: _____

Release Location: *File _____ Section _____

b2

This file section has been scanned into the FOIPA Document Processing System (FDPS) prior to National Security Classification review. Please see the documents located in the FDPS for current classification action, if warranted. Direct inquiries about the FDPS to RIDS Service Request Unit

File Number: 100-HQ-446080 Section 41Serial(s) Reviewed: ALL

/ FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: 983317

File Number: _____ Section _____

Serial(s) Reviewed: _____

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: _____

File Number: _____ Section _____

Serial(s) Reviewed: _____

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: _____

THIS FORM IS TO BE MAINTAINED AS THE TOP SERIAL OF THE FILE, BUT NOT SERIALIZED.

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SCANNED BY DocLab (RMD)

ATTENTION

983317

DATE: 8-1-05

DO NOT REMOVE FROM FILE

LAST SERIAL: 1931

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 8/27/68

SUMMARY

Attached pertains to speech by Stokely Carmichael at a rally in Oakland, California, 8/25/68 in support of Huey P. Newton, Black Panther Party official, on trial in Oakland for the murder of a policeman.

According to several confidential sources who attended the Rally, Carmichael urged the overthrow of the U.S. Government by armed revolution through guerrilla warfare. He stated the "black revolution is entering a period of armed struggle. In order to become a revolutionary you must pick up a gun." He described a black revolutionary as a person who wants a complete change of Governmental system without compromise and said the only way to combat opposition is through "guerrilla warfare, organization, and well-planned tactics." He said if you say "burn baby burn" it means burn down the suburbs and not your own neighborhood. He was not telling the audience to burn down the "establishment" but if they were going to do it he was outlining the way it should be done.

Copies furnished the Attorney General, Inter-Division Information Unit, Internal Security and Criminal Divisions of the Department. This information also being furnished to the military and Secret Service.

PTB:ebb

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-09-2005 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

VIA TELETYPE
AUG 26 1968
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson ✓
Mr. DeLoach ✓
Mr. Mohr ✓
Mr. Bishop ✓
Mr. Casper ✓
Mr. Callahan ✓
Mr. Conrad ✓
Mr. Felt ✓
Mr. Gale ✓
Mr. Rosen ✓
Mr. Sullivan ✓
Mr. Tavel ✓
Mr. Trotter ✓
Tele. Room ✓
Miss Holmes ✓
Miss Gandy ✓

WASHINGTON --05--

409PM URGENT 8-26-68 MS

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080) & WASH FIELD (100-43503) PLAINTEXT
FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-721)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; RACIAL MATTERS

A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE ADVISED SHE ATTENDED FREE HUEY
NEWTON RALLY AT DE FREMERY PARK, OAKLAND, SUNDAY, AUGUST
TWENTYFIVE, LAST, AND HEARD AND RECORDED SPEECH BY STOKELY
CARMICHAEL. SHE ADVISED CARMICHAEL WAS INTRODUCED AS
PRIME MINISTER OF BLACK PANTHER PARTY. SHE WAS SURPRISED
THAT STATEMENTS HE MADE WHICH INDICATED TO HER HE WAS
ESPOUSING REVOLUTION AND OVERTHROW OF THE GOVERNMENT OF
THE UNITED STATES. FROM MEMORY AND NOTES TAKEN, SHE STATED
THAT CARMICHAEL SAID "BLACK REVOLUTION IS ENTERING A PERIOD
OF ARMED STRUGGLE." "IN ORDER TO BECOME A REVOLUTIONARY
YOU MUST PICK UP A GUN." "A REVOLUTIONARY IS SOMEONE WILLING
TO KILL FOR A CHANGE FOR THE MASSES OF THE COUNTRY." 12 AUG 30 1968

WMND PAGE ONE

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TELETYPED TO:

PAGE TWO

WILL BE THREE LEVELS OF ATTACK, THE SYMBOLS OF OPPRESSION, THE TOOLS OF OPPRESSION AND ATTACK THE PEOPLE THEMSELVES."

THE SYMBOLS OF OPPRESSION ARE "WE BURN THE STORE OUT." "THE POLICE REPRESENT THE TOOLS OF OPPRESSION." "THEN WE GO TO THE OPPRESSORS THEMSELVES." "SEIZE POWER AND THEN COMES THE REVOLUTION."

"GUERRILLA WARFARE IS WHERE YOU'VE GOT TO GO. WAIT UNTIL THE SUN GOES DOWN AND THEN IT'S ZDEN-STEVEN. GUERRILLA WARFARE BECAUSE YOU CANNOT FIGHT A MILITARY FORCE SUPERIOR TO YOU. GUERRILLA WARFARE--YOU DON'T KILL TO DIE, YOU KILL TO LIVE AND YOU'RE ALWAYS FORCED UNDERGROUND BECAUSE THEY BREAK AND DESTROY ALL GROUPS ABOVE GROUND."

"POLICE ARE TO KEEP THINGS AS THEY ARE." "BY NECESSITY THE POLICE FORCE IS GOING TO INCREASE ITS HARASSMENT. WE MUST BE PREPARED FOR THAT." "DON'T WEAR A BLACK JACKET UNLESS YOU'RE READY TO KILL."

SOURCE STATED THERE WERE MANY REFERENCES IN CARMICHAEL'S SPEECH TO THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE AND THE RACIST AND IMPERIALISTIC POLICIES OF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT. THERE WAS NO DOUBT IN SOURCE'S MIND THAT HE WAS ENCOURAGING REVOLUTION AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT.

END PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE

CARMICHAEL EXPLAINED THE COALITION OF THE BPP WITH RPE PEACE AND FREEDOM PARTY AS A POLITICAL TOOL AND A POLITICAL NECESSITY IN ORDER TO GET PUBLICITY. HE TOLD THE CROWD THAT THE BLACKS MUST MOVE ON THREE LEVELS, POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND SOCIAL (OR CULTURAL). HE SAID "WE CANNOT RETREAT, WE MUST ENCOURAGE OUR PEOPLE TO GO TO CUBA. YOU CAN'T STOP US. WE ^S MUST LEARN WHAT IS GOING ON IN THOSE COUNTRIES."

#2) [REDACTED] ADVISED THAT APPROXIMATELY SEVENTEEN HUNDRED TO TWO THOUSAND PERSONS, PREDOMINANTLY NEGROES ATTENDED THE RALLY. CARMICHAEL GAVE SPEECH WHICH LASTED APPROXIMATELY FORTY-FIVE MINUTES AND COULD BEST BE DESCRIBED AS AN EDUCATIONAL LECTURE ON THE BLACK POWER CONCEPT.

CARMICHAEL FIRST TALKED ABOUT CAPITALISM, COMMUNISM AND SOCIALISM. HE TOLD DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THESE MAJOR POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES AND DESCRIBED THE "EVILS" OF EACH. CARMICHAEL SAID HE KNEW THAT HIS SPEECH, BEING OF AN EDUCATIONAL NATURE, WOULD BE BORING COMPARED TO THE USUAL FIREY SPEECHES HE HAS MADE AND AS COMPARED TO THE SPEAKERS WHICH PRECEDED HIM.

END PAGE THREE

b2

b7D

PAGE FOUR

IN TALKING ABOUT CAPITALISM HE SAID PEOPLE DO ALL WORK UNDER THIS SYSTEM AND THE GOVERNMENT TAXES THE PEOPLE'S MONEY AWAY FROM THEM.

HE DESCRIBED THE COMMUNISM SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT AS A REVOLUTIONARY OVERTHROW OF A GOVERNMENT BY "PHYSICAL EXECUTION".

HE DESCRIBED SOCIALISM AS SYSTEM WHICH ADVOCATES REVOLUTIONARY OVERTHROW OF A GOVERNMENT BY "ELECTORAL EXECUTION."

IN TALKING ABOUT BLACK POWER CONCEPTS, HE STATED IT WAS IMPORTANT TO UNDERSTAND DEFINITIONS OF BLACK MILITANCY AND BLACK REVOLUTIONARY. HE DESCRIBED BLACK MILITANT AS A PERSON WHO WANTS TO CHANGE THE "SYSTEM" BUT STILL LIVE WITH WHITE PEOPLE THROUGH COMPROMISE. HE SAID A BLACK MILITANT WILL DIE FIGHTING AND IS A PERSON WHO COULD FIGHT IN VIETNAM.

HE DESCRIBED BLACK REVOLUTIONARY AS PERSON WHO WANTS COMPLETE CHANGE OF GOVERNMENTAL SYSTEM WITHOUT COMPROMISE AND AS PERSON WHO WILL NOT FIGHT IN VIETNAM BUT WILL KILL TO LIVE. AS EXAMPLES OF LATTER, HE NAMED CHE GUEVERRA, FIDEL CASTRO AND HUEY P. NEWTON.

CARMICHAEL ALSO EXPLAINED THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN REVOLUTIONARIES AND COUNTER REVOLUTIONARIES, STATING THAT

END PAGE FOUR

PAGE FIVE

VIETCONG ARE REVOLUTIONARIES AND THE USA IS A COUNTER REVOLUTIONARY FORCE. IN THIS CONNECTION HE STATED BPP IS A REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATION AND OAKLAND POLICE DEPARTMENT IS COUNTER REVOLUTIONARY FORCE.

HE SAID CARRYING A GUN DOES NOT MAKE A PERSON A BLACK REVOLUTIONARY AND STATED IT MUST BE UNDERSTOOD IT IS THE IDEOLOGY ONE IS FIGHTING FOR THAT DETERMINES WHETHER HE IS A BLACK REVOLUTIONARY.

HE DEFINED BLACK MILITANTS AS THOSE WHO TALK OF ADVOCATING VIOLENCE BUT ARE NOT NECESSARILY AFFILIATED WITH ANY PARTICULAR BLACK NATIONALIST GROUP. HE SAID THAT BLACK NATIONALIST MAY EXPOUSE THE IDEOLOGY FOLLOWED BY SEVERAL BLACK MILITANT ORGANIZATIONS.

CARMICHAEL STATED HE IS CONDEMNING ALL SPONTANEOUS RIOTING BECAUSE BLACK MAN ALWAYS LOSES THROUGH THIS COURSE OF ACTION. HE SAID THE ONLY WAY TO COMBAT OPPRESSION IS THROUGH "GUERRILA WARFARE, ORGANIZATION AND WELL PLANNED TACTICS."

CARMICHAEL THEN CONTINUED BY CONDEMNING RIOTING IN
END PAGE FIVE

PAGE SIX

PREDOMINANTLY NEGRO NEIGHBORHOODS. HE SAID IF YOU SAY " BURN BABY BURN", THAT DOESN'T MEAN WHAT IS SOUNDS LIKE. IT MEANS BURN DOWN THE SUBURBS, NOT YOUR OWN NEIGHBORHOOD. IT MEANS BURN DOWN THE HONKIES ESTABLISHMENT. HE SAID HE WANTED TO MAKE IT CLEAR HE WAS NOT TELLING THE AUDIENCE TO BURN DOWN THE ESTABLISHMENT, BUT IF THEY WERE GOING TO DO IT HE WAS HEREBY OUTLINING THE WAY IT SHOULD BE DONE.

IN CONCLUSION CARMICHAEL STATED IF HUEY P. NEWTON, MINISTER OF DEFENSE, BPP, IS CONVICTED ON CHARGE OF MURDERING AN OAKLAND POLICE OFFICER, "THE SKY IS THE LIMIT". HE SAID THE SENTENCING OF NEWTON TO LIFE IMPRISONMENT WOULD NOT BE A "PANACEA", MEANING A CURE-ALL OR COMPROMISE AND THAT THERE WOULD STILL BE RETALIATION BY BLACK REVOLUTIONARIES AND BLACK MILITANTS.

[REDACTED] ADVISED HE HEARD CARMICHAEL SPEAK AT DE FREMERY PARK RALLY. HE SAID CARMICHAEL EXPLAINED STEP-BY-STEP PROCEDURE LEADING TO TOTAL OVERTHROW OF SYSTEM BY ARMED REVOLUTION. CARMICHAEL CALLED FOR ARMED REVOLUTION AND SAID THERE WAS NO ALTERNATIVE. BLACK PEOPLE HAVE TO LEARN TO LIVE TO KILL AND KILL TO LIVE AND THAT ONE IS NOT A TRUE REVOLUTIONARY UNTIL HE IS WILLING TO KILL.

END PAGE SIX

b2

b7D

PAGE SEVEN

CARMICHAEL STATED THAT ALL COLORED PEOPLE OF THE WORLD SUFFER AS A RESULT OF CAPITALISM AND IMPERIALISM, AND ANYONE WHO FIGHTS AGAINST THE U.S. IS "OUR ALLY." CARMICHAEL INDICATED THAT TO BRING ABOUT REVOLUTION, THREE THINGS HAVE TO BE DESTROYED--THE SYMBOLS OF THE SYSTEM--STORISUNIS THE BLACK COMMUNITIES WHICH HAVE BEEN EXPLOITING THE BLACKS--THEY HAVE TO BE BURNED; THE TOOLS OF THE SYSTEM--THE POLICE, WHO HAVE TO BE ERADICATED BY GUERILLA WARFARE METHODS AND THE OPPRESSOR WHO MUST BE TOTALLY DESTROYED BY SEIZING TYBWER, SEIZING THE BLACK COMMUNITY, BLOCKING THEM OFF AND HOLDING THEM. IN THE GUERILLA WARFARE THAT WOULD TAKE PLACE HE DID NOT WANT ANYONE TO LIVE TO DIE, BUT KILL TO LIVE BY KILLING NOT TWO BUT FIFTY POLICE.

CARMICHAEL QUOTED MALCOLM X IN SAYING THAT WHEN THE SUN GOES DOWN IT IS MAN FOR MAN AND THE GREATER FORCE HAS NO ADVANTAGE.

CARMICHAEL MAINTAINED THER IS NO OTHER SOLUTION BUT THE GUN AND REVOLUTION, THAT GUNS ALONE ARE NOT ENOUGH. SUPPORT OF THE BLACK PEOPLE, FOOD, SHELTER AND CLOTHING, ARE NECESSARY AND HE URGED THE BLACK PEOPLE TO ~~STATE~~ IMMEDIATELY THE SERIOUS PLANNING BECAUSE NOT MUCH TIME IS LEFT.

END PAGE SEVEN

~~CORR SECOND TO THE LAST LINE EIGHTH WORD TART "START"~~

b2

b7D

PAGE EIGHT

[REDACTED] ADVISED HE HEARD CARMICHAEL
SPEAK, GIVING LONG, BORING LECTURE BASED IN SOURCE'S OPINION
ON MAO'S RED BOOK, BPP BLACK BOOK, AND MALCOLM X. HE
EXPLAINED WITH SKILL AND A DEGREE OF DIGNITY THE MEANING OF
SUCH POLITICAL TERMS AS SOCIALISM, COMMUNISM, REVOLUTION,
REVOLUTIONARY, MILITANT, GUERILLA WARFARE, CAPITALISM,
IMPERIALISM, AND ECONOMIC BOYCOTT, ETC. CARMICHAEL CLAIMED
THAT HISTORY HAD PLACED THE BLACK MAN IN PERIOD OF ARMED
STRUGGLE AND THIS STRUGGLE WOULD EVENTUALLY BE FORCED
UNDERGROUND BY POLICE AND A REVOLUTION WOULD FOLLOW. HE
FELT THE PERIOD OF ARMED STRUGGLE MIGHT GO ON FOR YEARS IN
THE USA. CARMICHAEL GAVE NO TIMETABLE FOR THE "REVOLUTION."
HE CALLED FOR ALL BLACKS TO ARM THEMSELVES TO DEFEND THEMSELVES.
HE AGREED THAT HUEY NEWTON MUST BE FREED OR THE "SKY IS THE ^{LIMIT} KUNUT."
END PAGE EIGHT

PAGE NINE

ADMINISTRATIVE DATA--

RE SAN FRANCISCO TELETYPE AUGUST TWENTYFIVE AND
BUTELCALL THIS DATE.

CARMICHAEL'S SPEECH NOT RECORDED BY OAKLAND POLICE
DEPARTMENT, ALAMEDA COUNTY SHERIFF'S OFFICE OR BY SPECIAL AGENTS.
OAKLAND TRIBUNE AND BERKELEY GAZETTE HAD NO COVERAGE.

[REDACTED] WAS PRESENT, BUT WAS

[REDACTED] OUT OF HEARING AS TO SPECIFICS.

b2

b7C

b7D

[REDACTED] BELIEVES KPFA WAS PRESENT AND
RECORDED AT LEAST PART OF PROGRAM. STATION IS CONTROVERSIAL
AND WILL NOT BE CONTACTED, ^{Unless Advised To the Contrary By The Bureau} ~~HACB~~. THERE IS NO REASON, HOWEVER,
THAT SUBPOENA COULD NOT BE ISSUED TO STATION IF ADDITIONAL
TAPES NEEDED.

WASHINGTON FIELD ADVISED THAT [REDACTED] IS NOT
EMPLOYED BY [REDACTED]

b7C

b7D

[REDACTED] ADDRESS UNKNOWN TO POST. MAY BE
NOW MARRIED. UNKNOWN TO SAN FRANCISCO AREA NEWS MEDIA.
ARTICLE WHICH APPEARED IN POST AUGUST TWENTYSIX WITH HER BYLINE
WAS TELEPHONED IN FOR A FEE. FURTHER EFFORTS BEING MADE TO
LOCATE AND INTERVIEW
END PAGE NINE

PAGE TEN

[REDACTED] WAS PRESENT AT RALLY,
BUT WAS ASSIGNED TO [REDACTED] ON PERIMETER AND COULD
FURNISH NO INFORMATION ON SPEECHES.

b2
b7C
b7D

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] AND SA'S [REDACTED]

b7C
b7D

[REDACTED] WERE PRESENT IN AREA, BUT COULD NOT
SAFELY GET CLOSE ENOUGH TO OBTAIN CONTENTS OF SPEECHES.

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] SHE SAID SHE COULD NOT BE CERTAIN AS TO THE QUOTES,
BUT THAT THE TAPE SHOULD HAVE ALL THE INFORMATION TO WHICH SHE
HAD REFERENCE. THE TAPE IS BEING OBTAINED AND TRANSCRIPTION
WILL BE FURNISHED IMMEDIATELY UPON COMPLETION. THE ORIGINAL
TAPE WILL BE RETAINED BY HER. COPY WILL BE MADE BY SAN
FRANCISCO.

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b7D

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
END

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~~NO CORR PAGE EIGHT LAST WORD "LIMIT"~~

EFH

FBI WASH DC R RELAY

CC
MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

COPY SENT AG AND IDIU
Crim Div & Int. Sec.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Assistant Attorney General
Criminal Division

DATE: August 29, 1968

b7C

ATTENTION: [REDACTED]
Room 2110 Justice Building

FROM : Director, FBI

SUBJECT: Stokely Carmichael
Antiriot Laws

FILE COPY

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-09-2005 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

Reference is made to _____ memorandum dated _____
(your file _____).

mg There is enclosed one copy of the ~~PPPPPP/PP/PPPPPP~~
~~PPPP/~~ teletype dated 8/26/68
at San Francisco and one copy of a teletype dated 8/27/68 at
Detroit.

A. ☐ This covers the preliminary investigation and no further action concerning a full investigation will be taken by this Bureau unless the Department so directs.

B. ☐ The investigation is continuing and you will be furnished copies of reports as they are received.

C. ☐ The investigation requested by you has now been completed. Unless advised to the contrary no further inquiries will be made by this Bureau.

D. ☐ Pursuant to instructions issued by the Department, no investigation will be conducted in this matter unless specifically directed by the Department.

E. ☐ Please advise whether you desire any further investigation.

F. ☐ This is submitted for your information and you will be advised of further developments. *100-446080*

G. ☒ This is submitted for your information and no further investigation will be conducted unless specifically requested by the Department. *NOT RECORDED*
AUG 30 1968

H. ☐ This covers the receipt of a complaint and no further action will be taken by this Bureau unless the Department so directs.

Enc. (2) NOTE: This is to confirm the conversation between [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] and Special Agent [REDACTED] on 8/28/68. This
matter was taken under advisement and no investigation was
requested.

b7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE SAN FRANCISCO	OFFICE OF ORIGIN WASHINGTON FIELD	DATE 8/30/68	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 8/21 - 30/68
TITLE OF CASE STOKELY CARMICHAEL, aka		REPORT MADE BY 	TYPED BY jal
		CHARACTER OF CASE RM-SNCC, BPP	

REFERENCE: San Francisco airtels to Bureau, 8/26/68, enclosing transcripts of speeches by Subject delivered at Marin City on 8/22/68, in Oakland, California on 8/25/68.

Bureau teletype to San Francisco, dated 8/28/68.

- P -

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

ADMINISTRATIVE:

also attended and openly recorded speeches made at the Marin City BPP sponsored "Free Huey Rally" on 8/22/68, at Marin City. He provided a copy of this recording; however, he has steadfastly refused to make himself available to testify in the past and continues to do so. To do so would jeopardize his marriage and family life since his wife is a CP member.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED:

- A -

None.

COVER PAGE

Case has been: Pending over one year ☒ Yes ☐ No; Pending prosecution over six months ☐ Yes ☐ No

APPROVED

SPECIAL AGENT
IN CHARGE

COPIES MADE:

- 5 - Bureau (100-446080)(RM)
- 1 - Washington Field (100-43503)(RM)
 - (1 - USA, Washington, D. C.)
 - (1 - Secret Service, Washington, D. C.)
 - (1 - NISO, Washington, D. C.)
 - (1 - OSI, Washington, D. C.)
 - (1 - 116th MI Grp)
- 2 - San Francisco (157-721)

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

25 SEP 3 1968

REC- 112

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	Request Recd.	Date Fwd.	How Fwd.	Notations
ACSI	OSI	9/11/68	NIS	SS, RAC; ORD. 2 DILL. (RACIAL INT. SECT.)

Notations

RACIAL INT. SECT.

53 SEP 13 1968

SF 157-721
FL:jal

[] was present at the Oakland rally on 8/25/68 but was assigned [] and was out of hearing and inattentive to specifics of speeches.

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[] believes KPFA was present and recorded at least part of speeches at Oakland; however, this station is controversial and will not be contacted.

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b7D

Agents who observed the Subject at San Francisco International Airport on 8/21/68, were SA [] and SA []

b7C

Agents who observed Subject at Alameda County Court-house on 8/23/68, were SA [] and SA []

b7C

The Agent who observed Subject aboard PSA Flight 130 at San Francisco Airport to Los Angeles on 8/24/68, was SA []

b7C

This report is classified ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ as information received from [] if divulged, could reasonably result in the identification of confidential informants of continuing value and compromise future effectiveness thereof.

b2
b7D

LEADS:

SAN FRANCISCO

AT SAN RAFAEL, CALIFORNIA. Will interview [] concerning the Marin City speech by Subject on 8/22/68.

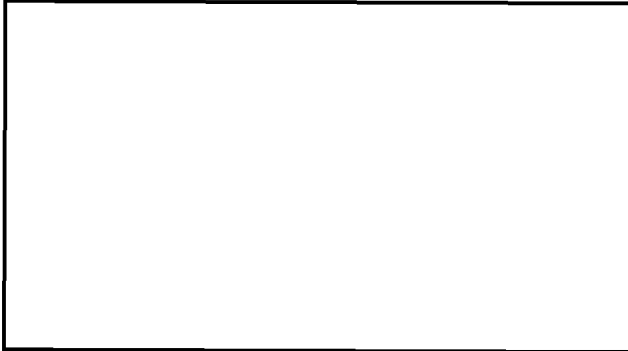
b7C

AT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA. Will make further efforts to locate individuals who heard either of the Subject's speeches and determine their willingness to testify.

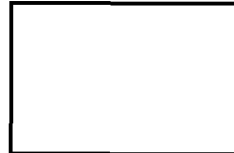
SF 157-721
FL:jal

INFORMANTS:

Identity of Source



Location



b2
b7C
b7D

**UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Copy to:

1 - USA, Washington, D. C. (RM)
 1 - Secret Service, Washington, D. C. (RM)
 1 - NISO, Washington, D. C. (RM)
 1 - OSI, Washington, D. C. (RM)
 1 - 116th MI Grp (RM)

b7C

Report of:

[REDACTED]

Office: San Francisco

Date:

8/30/68

Field Office File #:

157-721

Bureau File #: 100-446080

Title:

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Character:

RACIAL MATTER - SNCC, BPP

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg
 ON 11-09-2005

Synopsis:

Subject arrived at San Francisco, California at 11:40 p.m., 8/21/68. He attended the trial of HUEY P. NEWTON, Alameda County Courthouse, on 8/22/68, during the day and spoke at a "Free Huey Rally" in Marin City, California, during the evening hours of 8/22/68. On 8/23/68, visited HUEY P. NEWTON at the Alameda County Jail. He departed San Francisco for Los Angeles on 8/24/68, returning to San Francisco for a rally held at De Fremery Park in Oakland, California, on 8/25/68, at which he spoke. Transcriptions of speeches delivered at Marin City on 8/22/68, and at Oakland on 8/25/68, are included in this report. SUBJECT SHOULD BE CONSIDERED ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

- P -

DETAILS:

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[REDACTED] advised on August 22, 1968, that at the regular San Francisco Black Panther Party (BPP) Wednesday night meeting on August 21, 1968, at which a political education class was being taught, [REDACTED] at the

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b7D

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~~~GROUP I~~

~~Excluded from automatic
 Downgrading and
 Declassification~~

SF 157-721
FL:jal

meeting at about 8:30 p.m. for the purpose of going with him to the San Francisco Airport to meet the Subject.

A characterization of the BPP appears in the Appendix of this report.

[redacted] advised on July 15, 1968, that [redacted]
[redacted] of the BPP.

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Special Agents of the FBI observed the Subject after his arrival at the San Francisco International Airport at approximately 11:40 p.m. on August 21, 1968. He was accompanied by nine Negro males wearing typical BPP attire.

[redacted] advised that STOKELY CARMICHAEL attended the trial of HUEY P. NEWTON on the morning of August 22, 1968 and at 12:15 p.m. held a press conference at the Alameda County Courthouse, Oakland, California. CARMICHAEL was accompanied by local BPP leaders including [redacted]

[redacted] ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister of Information,

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[redacted] All were dressed in typical BPP attire. CARMICHAEL, in an affable frame of mind, confirmed the fact that the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) has severed relations with him. He stated that he had no hard feelings toward SNCC that he had enjoyed the experience of working in SNCC for many years and that he would never say anything unfavorable concerning that organization.

A characterization of SNCC is contained in the Appendix.

The Marin City BPP announced publicly a "Free Huey Rally" to be held at Marin City on August 22, 1968.

[redacted] advised on August 23, 1968, of source's attendance at the Marin City BPP sponsored "Free Huey Rally" at which this source made a tape recording of several of the speeches. This source advised batteries in the tape recorder began to lose power near the end of the Subject's speech and therefore his

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SF 157-721

FL:jal

entire speech was not recorded. This source provided the tape which has been transcribed and the following is that portion of the speech delivered by the Subject.

HUEY P. NEWTON has been publicly identified as Minister of Defense of the BPP. He is presently on trial at the Alameda County Courthouse for the murder of an Oakland police officer.

"Good evening. It is very late. I don't know how much time we have. If I had an idea then I'd know how much we could speak about. Does anyone have any ideas. It is about quarter after ten. What time do people have to leave?

I will try to be as brief as possible; however, I do think that there are a lot of things that we have to talk about. There are a lot of terms that we have to define and there's a new attitude that we have to take.

I want to begin by saying that all of the things I talk about tonight will hinge upon, center around, and the pivotal point of which will be our Minister of Defense HUEY P. NEWTON, so that no matter what I say, I'm always talking about Brother HUEY.

Now before I begin I want to explain something. I am tired of hearing, Free HUEY. I am tired of hearing that if you don't free HUEY or if you touch HUEY the sky is the limit. We're not going to say this anymore. We're a party, we're organized, and we will deliver, period.

Now then, we have said that we see brother HUEY NEWTON as a prisoner of war, and he is. Now many people say that that's not true because the United States, or white America, has not declared war on black people. I'd like to remind the people that say that that white America has not

declared war in Vietnam, yet she's killing Vietnamese. White America never declared war in Korea, but she killed thousands of Koreans; and the best example black people have in this country is the fact that white America never declared war on the Indians, she just wiped them out. And if we understand this, then we understand and we define and we say that we are at war. If we are at war, our Minister of Defense is a prisoner of war, and if he is a prisoner of war, we will do what is necessary to free him, whether we fail or we succeed. If we fail and if they kill our prisoner of war, then we have to do what we deem necessary. There is no more discussion.

Now we want to talk about colonized minds because black people inside this country are colonized people. We are. And when a colonized people begin to prepare to fight, there are a number of things that we have to do, which can be broken down into two categories: one called entertainment; the other called education. Entertainment is the first phase of a struggle, and naturally we have to tell ourselves how bad we are. We have to make fun at our oppressor just so that we can begin to feel that we are psychologically prepared to fight. Yeah, that's why we had to jump up and say we can

get the Hunkie, we can burn the city down. We had to act bad to convince ourselves because prior to that time we weren't even acting bad. We were afraid to call white folk Hunkies, we were afraid to do what we knew we had to do.

Now we have passed the stage of entertainment. It was necessary. Now we must talk about education. How we as a people educate ourselves and move forward to bring about revolution in this country. And we have to bring about revolution in this country. There is no alternative. We can do nothing else. We have to prepare for revolution in this country. So we have to define certain things. We have to define what we're fighting; what we are fighting against; what our goal is; what our aim is. We have to define words such as revolution, armed struggle, revolutionary violence, capitalism, imperialism, and civil _____. And we want to talk a little about liberals because the audience is sprinkled with members of the Peace and Freedom Party who -- liberals or radicals? -- both. Thank you. White liberals and white radicals.

Let us begin then by recognizing what our fight is. Black people in this country are fighting against two evil systems -- racism and capitalism, or imperialism. Imperialism is a higher stage of capitalism. Let us define racism; and

we just want simple definitions so we can understand it.

Racism is when one race decides to subjugate another race based solely on its race; that is to say, if white people decided to pick on black people just because we're black, then white people are racists. I do not think that we have to waste time re-defining the fact that this country is racist. We all know that. Now _____

_____. The Black Panther Party is anti-racist. Black people in the United States are anti-racist. That means that they're out to destroy racism and racists. I don't make _____ definitions anymore about people in systems.

A system is upheld by the people and the people are responsible for that system. So black people are out to destroy racists.

And if black people are out to destroy racists, that does not mean that black people themselves are racists because they're destroying racists; they're just destroying white people who think they're better than black people. That doesn't mean black people are now destroying white people because they think they're better than white people, they're destroying white people just in order for them to live.

So that we don't have to be arguing anymore about whether or not black people are racists. We're clearly anti-racist and we do not have to discuss that anymore. We must move on.

We want to talk then about capitalism because that's very important. It is important because we have to know the economic system in which we live, and the economic system in which we live is a capitalistic system which has produced most of the evil and quite a bit of the oppression and brutality that we have to suffer. A capitalist society is a society which is geared to _____.

It begins with the fact that the man who has capital has the right to invest his capital to buy the labor of another individual and to make a profit. That's it simply. It's a lot more complicated but we don't have time to go into _____. We just have to try to touch on some of these things. Now, maybe we could give examples of capitalism. That would be better. An example of capitalism would be my father. All right? My father is a carpenter, a very good carpenter. But my father does not have any capital. Capital is money. But there happens to be a rich white man who has a lot of money. Now he probably stole the money in order to accumulate it since he and my father both came into the world having no money,^{or}/having no capital. So you see if he's got more capital than my father he had to have stolen because otherwise they would all have the same amount. But he comes in having this money. He then says to my father, I want to build a house. My father builds the

house. He pays my father about \$40 or \$50 a week. He then sells the house for \$25,000 and makes all the profit. My father has nothing to show for his sweat except the fact that he can say I built that house. The same is true of my mother who is a maid. She has nothing to show except to say, I raised those children and I was, or am, a part of the family, although I ^{never} understood how.

Now then, the highest stage of capitalism is imperialism. The United States is an imperialist country. Imperialism means that this country goes to other poorer countries, takes the resources of those countries, brings them here, develops them, and then sells them back to the countries at a high rate of profit. Let me give you a concrete example. Let us take one of the most revolutionary countries in the world today. The little island of Cuba. When the United States controlled Cuba they used to get all the sugar from Cuba. They would have the Cuban people pick the sugar cane. They would pay them 40 cents a day. They would bring the sugar cane into the United States, manufacture sugar, then sell it back to the Cubans for a high price, so that all the money again was staying inside the United States. That's basically the _____ of an imperialist society, and we have to understand that we're fighting those two things, racism and imperialism. Racism and imperialism,

they are both our fight. What then is our goal? Well, our goal is a society free of racism. Whether or not we will be able to have a society free of racism with white people in it is a question which has not yet been resolved, although many people seem to think it can come about, and many people say you can't have it until you separate, etc. etc. But certainly that is one of the goals that we must have, a society free of racism. Now I'm^{not} sure I have any solutions on it, I don't know if anybody else has, but I think it's something we have to work on. But one thing is going to be clear, there is going to be a society free of racism or there will be no society and that has been resolved.

We should not be applauding when things sound bad anymore because all the bad things have been said by either RAP BROWN, HUEY P. NEWTON, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, BOBBY SEALE, or somebody. What we need today is the things that are going to help us move forward not the bad things, we done told them that we converted _____ and we done it. What else can we show them. We have to show them that we can build a revolutionary struggle. And that means hard work and not just _____ at what sounds good. O.K. We need a society that's free of capitalism. Capitalism is an economic system. There are basically three economic systems in the world today: capitalism, socialism, or communism. Since we cannot have

capitalism we need either socialism or communism. Clear. Crystal clear. There's no need to run from it. No need to run from communism or socialism. Most of us do not know anything about it and we are afraid of what we do not know. What we do know is that we live in a capitalist society, it has imprisoned us, and we can no longer have it. So we've got to break out of it, and we must look to other places and see what type of economic systems they have _____ and where it has been able to work. Now the question that's uppermost in our minds as black people is whether or not inside a communist or socialist society you will automatically eliminate racism. Many people claim so, many people claim not. I tend to think that just because one has socialism or communism does not necessarily mean you get rid of racism, and so I tend to believe that black people will have to move beyond the system other than socialism and communism.

O.K. Now we get to some of the meat of the talk. We want to begin to define _____ the terms that are being thrown around very loosely. We are not _____ a revolution because a revolution only begins when you have these powers and begin to change the system. Let me give you an example. FIDEL CASTRO fought in the _____ for a number of years, that's in the mountains. That was not the revolution. The Cuban Revolution began when FIDEL CASTRO

walked into Havana and _____ and ran.

When FIDEL CASTRO said this government belongs to me for the people, that's when the revolution began because then he began to change the entire system. For us black people our revolution will never come about until we have seized some territory inside the United States, blocked it off, are able to maintain it, hold it, and say this is our property, we will now divide it among all of the people that live here, then the revolution begins.

Then what precedes the revolution? We are in the stage that precedes the revolution, or we're beginning the stage that precedes the revolution. That stage is called armed struggle. Armed struggle is when you engage in armed conflict against the enemy for the people. And that's what we are moving into now more and more. And as we move more and more in armed conflict against the enemy, we will begin to see clearer and clearer who exactly our oppressors are. And we must begin to understand that. So we can't just be talking about we in a revolution. We are beginning armed struggle. It is important because we've got to define then what a revolutionary is. Many people think that merely because they pick up a gun they are revolutionaries. That is not true. Many black people think because they pick up a gun that makes them revolutionaries. That is not true. We have a lot of brothers who have guns in Vietnam and they are

not revolutionaries because they're killing Vietnamese. So just picking up a gun does not make you a revolutionary. The question is then, what makes you a revolutionary? In order to be a revolutionary you've got to pick up a gun. Understand that. Before you can even talk revolution you've got to be willing to kill, not just to die, but kill; because sometimes it's much easier to die than ^{it is} to kill. And when you pick up the gun, you've got to be willing to kill. Once you're willing to kill for your people then you begin to talk about revolution. Then you begin to talk about what a revolution really is. With gun in hand, once you have a ideology which says you're fighting basically for the masses of our people, then you can begin to say you are revolutionary. Too many of our people pick up guns and the beginning of _____ political groups start fighting each other saying that this one is stopping the revolution, that one is behind the revolution, that one is counter-revolutionary, this one is that kind of revolutionary. There ain't nothing revolutionary about one of those groups, niggers _____ shoot at niggers. Nigger. Ain't nothing revolutionary about that. Nothing. Nothing. Nothing. And I want you to begin to understand that before we even get on to an armed struggle against our oppressors. We we will be wasted and we cannot be wasted if we intend to build a real revolutionary struggle in this country.

Now then, there are two types of violence. I don't think we any longer need to discuss violence. Don't even waste our time with it. There can be no other solution for us but the gun. There can be no other solution for black people but the gun. That is clear. That is clear. And the party will say it over and over again, get guns, get guns, get guns, get guns. Get 'em any way you can. There are three ways you get anything; you work for it, you beg for it, or you take it. Just get 'em. Either work for it, beg for it, or take it. But we need guns. Get the guns. So we don't have to argue about that today. We don't have to argue why we need guns. If the Czechoslovakians talking bad _____ if they had guns they wouldn't be where they were today. But they were talking bad without guns. And the Russians ----- that when they got ready they showed them who really was the master. And we cannot let ourselves fall into that trap. We've got to have those guns so that when they come down on us we're going to blow them away. That's what we have to get them for so we don't even have to argue about that.

Now, people have proven a _____ to fight. They have proven a revolutionary consciousness. When a people move in a revolutionary consciousness they begin to attack in different levels three things: the first is the _____ symbols of oppression; the second is the tools of oppression;

and then the final phase is the oppressor himself. Our people, whether we recognize it or not, have attacked the symbols of oppression. The symbols of oppression happen to be the _____ stores, the stores in our community that exploit us and take advantage of us. They were the first ones that we can teach. That's why we burned them out, looted them, gutted them, and will continue to do that. We now move to the second level. This is very important, because the second level is the tools of the oppressor. I think that this is where HUEY P. NEWTON becomes very important because he was one of the first to begin to move on that level. He said very clearly that the police represented the occupied forces in our community, the police is the tool of the oppressor. If we're now on the second level, we're moving against the tool of the oppressor. We're moving against the pigs. That's who the tools of the oppressor is. But in order to begin that move we have to be very conscious. That move is a move that is now geared to clear armed struggle. Now there's very different forms of armed struggle. The one who taught us the best was brother MALCOLM X. He says, I don't remember the quote exactly but it says in essence, every time you see a white man who's come back, a Frenchman who comes from Indo-China, he shakes. Anytime you see a white man who's come back from Algeria, he shakes. Every time you see a white man who's come back from a war where there's been guerrilla

warfare, he's got the shakes, because the white man cannot deal with guerrilla warfare. That's Brother MALCOLM X. And if we had been reading Brother MALCOLM X the way we supposed to be reading him instead of being happy and clapping at the things he said bad, we would have recognized a long time ago where we should have been moving and we would have been ready today, and we have to be today not just listening to people who sound bad and clap, but listening to the direction in which we're going. The direction becomes important today. It's no longer the cat who talks the badest. It's the cat who has the correct ideology that we must follow. Because everybody is bad today. Everybody. Ask the Uncle Toms on TV. Two years ago they used to be Uncle Toms. Today they talking about my black brothers and _____ unkie, and I say wowee wow, they make me sound like an Uncle Tom. You know. So it's not any longer a question of who sounds militant, who sounds mean, who sounds bad. It's a question of who has the correct ideology. The correct political mind for our people, and that's what we must begin to sift through. Brother MALCOLM X is absolutely correct, guerrilla warfare is the answer.

Now, guerrilla warfare means a lot of things. In order to have a guerrilla warfare you must have the support of the masses of the people. You must have it. You cannot

move unless you have the support of the masses of the people because the guerrilla will need to live and sustain himself off the masses of people. This becomes especially crucial for black people because we live in the cities. You can't go out there and start no war if you don't have food for people. Because no matter how revolutionary you are, if you can't eat you can't fight. That means that we can't start open conflict with the man for a number of reasons. He out numbers us. But he can cut off our supply of food. We cannot grow food in the cities even if we _____, but if you have guerrilla warfare going on and you have support from the masses of people, the guerrilla can always be moving around, will always be fed, will always be hidden, and will always be taken care of. That's why it is important that we have the support of the masses of our people. Then how do you get the support of the masses of our people? We get it number 1 by beginning to appeal to them, to show to them and to explain to them the necessity for a revolution. We do not do it by yelling and screaming and shouting and fighting and beating them into it. You can't do that.

_____ that the people follow you for one of two reasons. Either they love you or they fear you. We want our people to love us because then they'll never turn on us. If they fear us they will turn on us. That's why the concept

of undying love is so important for black people. It becomes a total necessity, a binding force that can create the revolution. Very important.

Now, I'm so nervous about the time, you know, because I know that the people have to get up in the morning and go to work.

All right. We want to talk about how black people then can begin to move. But before we do that, we want to examine the roles of liberals because that's very important. It's very important because the roles of liberals have always been basically two in history. Number 1, the liberal always wants to avoid confrontation at any cost between the left and the right or between what he would call the two extremists. For example, the job of the white liberal in the United States is to stop a confrontation between black people and white people. The reason that they can stop us from stopping the confrontation is because the liberal enjoys the system in which he lives. He enjoys it. The liberal is differentiated from other people who enjoy the system only by what he says. Only by his philanthropic feelings. Only by his moral values. Other than that, he is no different from the Burchites because they both make a whole lot of money, most of them have a _____, they still go for the same, and enjoy the same, and oppose the same racist institutions

of the society. Their job is essentially one -- stop the confrontation at any _____. Now the mistake the liberal always makes is that the liberal is so busy trying to stop the confrontation they never build up power themselves, and while the right is building power and while the left is building power, they're busy trying to stop everybody and they usually get crushed in the middle. Crushed in the middle. If the liberals are going to be intelligent, then they must build power. For a number of reasons. It is the liberal that says to the black man, you don't need guns. But it is the liberal who is incapable of delivering the goods. Everytime. White folk will tell us all the time, you don't need guns. Don't shoot. There's a better way. We say O.K., show us how. They know there's a better way but they're incapable of showing us how. They're incapable because they have no power. And they have no power because they need no power. They need no power because they enjoy the crumbs of the system. And so while the right wing is arming, we have to arm. We have to arm, and we will arm. And we will, if we have to, move over the liberals, because they are the ones who drug us to sleep. They are the ones who tell us not to arm. They are the ones who tell us we don't need guns while the right wing arms. It is also a fact that the liberal always talks to the powerless group rather

than to the powerful group. The liberal looks to a RAP BROWN, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, HUEY P. NEWTON, and says, don't tell your people to arm, but they never look to GEORGE WALLACE and say don't tell your people to arm, and GEORGE WALLACE continues to have his people arming while they try to convince us not to arm. We cannot afford to fail because of the liberals. There is another reason which is particularly important for this country. In this country there are basically two parties, the Democratic and the Republican Party. Now the difference is none, absolutely none, because in the Republican Party you have rich people and poor people; in the Democratic Party you have rich people and poor people. In the Republican Party you have white people, black people; in the Democratic Party you have white people, black people, maybe to a lesser extent, but none the less, the basic platform of the party is always the same. I will tell you why. You cannot have in a political party people who are different economic standings, different economic groups, because they don't represent each other. If I'm making \$3 a day, I can't be in the same party with BOBBY KENNEDY who is making a million dollars a day off of my sweat. We've got to be in different parties because we're going to be fighting for different things. I'm going to be fighting for more money for me. KENNEDY will be fighting for more money for him, which

means less money for me. If I fight for more money, it's going to mean less money for KENNEDY. The mistake all the liberals make is that they tell us political equality means everything. That's not true. Political equality doesn't mean anything unless you have economic equality. And that's been the mistake that black people have been believing for all these years. And that is why the liberal never comes from the same economic standing as black people. It seems to me the most liberal people in this country should be poor white people because they would join the fight for economic equality. But the liberals in this country are rich. They are people who can afford the luxury of being liberal. They do not come from the same economic standing as black people. So we black people have to recognize we're fighting for economic equality. We're fighting for the redistribution of land in this country. That means that when a black man gets up he's got to talk about, ROCKEFELLER's got all that money, we want some. We're not asking, we're taking. Unless the white people can get up and say the same thing, we can't use him because we've got to talk about concrete things, land, economy, a way to feed and build a nation. But unless we have these things, we talk with the liberals on the abstracts, freedom, equality, justice, but it's not concrete, it's not tangible. As black people we have a responsibility to ourselves

and to our ancestors and to our generations to come to be
concrete. We can no longer talk abstractly about freedom,
justice, love, and all that nonsense. We gotta tell them
exactly what we mean. We want _____ have to tell them
and we/how we expect
to get it. ROCKefeller got so much _____ take it from
Rockefeller and divide it up. JOHNSON got a whole lot....
and divide it up. That's right. END.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 8/28/68
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At a meeting at the Manzanita Center sponsored by the Peace and Freedom Party and the Black Panther Party, (BPP) STOKELY CARMICHAEL was introduced by GEORGE GAINES, captain of the New Marin City chapter of the BPP, as the prime minister of the BPP. CARMICHAEL opened his remarks by saying that there was no point in discussing freeing HUEY NEWTON. He said that HUEY NEWTON is our minister of defense and that he is a prisoner of war and that they will do what is necessary to free him. *carif*

CARMICHAEL, in his address, said that society in this country must be free of racism and that the Panther Party is out to destroy racism and that it cannot afford to fail. CARMICHAEL said that capitalism has failed in this country, inasmuch as it enslaved and that he does not know whether they could survive under socialism or communism and they might have to go beyond those systems to eliminate racism. CARMICHAEL said that the black people have to fight as they have no place to run and he said that the other people are going to come down hard on the black people. He stated that either the capitalistic society must be destroyed or we must be destroyed.

CARMICHAEL discussed the various stages of revolution and stated that in order to be a revolutionary, a Negro has to be willing to pick up a gun and kill and that includes killing Negroes if that is required. He said that this requires a gun, that there is no solution but a gun, and he advised those in the audience to get a gun so they would be prepared when the time comes. He also said that the black community must be willing to fight guerilla warfare as the whites cannot cope with this kind of a war and such a war could go on for 20 years and such guerilla warfare must have the support of the united black community.

CARMICHAEL in his talk said that they are now in their second stage in the path towards revolution and this stage is the educational stage which black people are moving towards revolution. CARMICHAEL stated that their ultimate

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by SA b7C :cem Date dictated 8/27/68

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aim is to secure a portion of the United States which they would govern and redistribute the land. He said they have actually not left the stage of revolution and cited FIDEL CASTRO's revolution in Cuba and stated you have a revolution when you take over the government. He said in CASTRO's Cuba, CASTRO gave them the choice of joining his revolution or leaving the country or being shot if they opposed him. He said that he mentioned in his talk that in Vietnam every time an American is killed, that is one less they have to take care of.

CARMICHAEL in his talk said that the revolution would not be easy and that some times it is far easier to die than to keep on living and keep the fight going. He also stated that white liberals have to make up their minds as to whether they are going to continue talking or whether they are going to help in this fight or they will have to get out of the way.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 8/28/68

The newly organized Marin City chapter of the Black Panther Party (BPP) and the Marin County chapter of the BPP sponsored a meeting at the Manzanita Center, Marin City, California, where STOKELY CARMICHAEL, Prime Minister of the BPP, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister of Information, his wife KATHLEEN, BOBBY SEALE, Chairman of the BPP, and AL LOWRY of Homestead Valley, Marin County of the Peace and Freedom Party spoke. There were other officials of the BPP on the stage. The master of ceremonies who introduced the speakers and recited several poems was GEORGE GAINES, the head of the Marin City chapter of the BPP.

CALIF

The first speaker was AL LOWRY of the Peace and Freedom Party who stated that we live in a racist society and that the black people are oppressed and this must change and there will be no peace until there is freedom and that it is the duty of the Peace and Freedom Party to show the white community that this is the situation.

The next speaker was BOBBY SEALE, the chairman of the BPP who discussed all of the black party's ten point program and during the course of the speech, stated that they would use guns to fight for their liberty and survival. In discussing guns he stated that the Negroes should arm themselves with shotguns and they should keep them in their homes and that they are going to use double ought buckshot, which he described as being the size of nine .32 caliber bullets. He said they would use this when the pigs came into their homes and brutalized Negroes. He mentioned that the BPP must have an army to defend its program and in general discussed this program which concerned employment for black people and education excluded them from military service and freeing them from prison.

KATHLEEN CLEAVER, in her remarks, said that if HUEY NEWTON was not set free, the sky was the limit. She said that the NEWTON trial is merely an educational process in

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which they are showing the establishment the condition of the black people. She stated that there was no question they were going to get HUEY NEWTON out. KATHLEEN CLEAVER discussed the history of the Negroes in this country and oppression, and during the course of her remarks, used profanity.

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER spoke as the presidential nominee of the Peace and Freedom Party and said that it really is amazing that he is an exconvict on parole and has been nominated for the presidency. He said that there is wide dissent and upset in the United States and that the Negroes are fighting for survival and said they could not stand four more years of what they have under the present administration.

CLEAVER stated he wanted JERRY RUBIN, head of the Yippies, as his vice presidential nominee and said he would work to have him nominated to run on his ticket.

CLEAVER ridiculed Governor RONALD REAGAN and State Superintendent of Public Instruction MAX RAFFERTY.

In connection with RAFFERTY, CLEAVER stated he had been asked to appear the next day at the University of California in Berkeley to protest the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, but stated that when he found out MAX RAFFERTY was protesting the same thing, he would not come out and protest the same things that RAFFERTY would.

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RNB/rlg

The following news item appeared in the "Independent Journal", San Rafael, California, August 23, 1968, under the by line of FRANK FARRARA:

"ARMS CALL BY CARMICHAEL AT MARIN CITY PANTHER RALLEY

"Uprising Only Way Out, Asserts Leader

"STOKELY CARMICHAEL, prime minister of the Black Panther Party for Self Defense, last night saw the United States 'on the brink' of a black revolution.

"Black people in the U.S. are colonized and have to break out of a capitalistic society which is oppressive, he told an audience of about 500 persons at the Manzanita Center in Marin City.

"He issued a call to arms and predicted a long hard fight, 'a fight of a generation,' during which black people will have to integrate fighting into their way of life.

"'We have to fight. There is no place to run,' CARMICHAEL said. 'Even if we didn't want to fight they are going to kill us,' he said.

"CARMICHAEL foresaw a gloomy future for black people in the U.S. saying 'They are going to come down on us. There is no need for us in this society anyway.'

"There is no use for labor anymore and black people 'have been stored . . . that's welfare', he said. 'They can't sell us and they don't want to take care of that storage bill anymore.'

"In the style of a college lecturer, CARMICHAEL outlined the steps toward revolution and said the goal is a society free of racism.

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"Whether there can be a society free of racism with white people in it hasn't been resolved, and 'I'm not sure I have any solutions,' he said.

"There is going to be such a society or there will be no society, he warned. The capitalistic-imperialistic society must be destroyed 'or we must be destroyed . . . one of the two' he said.

"The blacks are now in the a revolution, CARMICHAEL explained. 'We are now beginning the armed stage and we'll see clearly who the oppressors are.'

To make yourself a revolutionary, you've 'got to pick up a gun and be willing to kill,' he contended, willing to kill 'one of your people' if necessary.

"There can be no other solution for you but the gun . . . get the guns,' he advised. 'So when they come down on us, we'll blow them away.'

"CARMICHAEL explained the stages of attack are against the symbols of oppression, then the tools of oppression and finally against the oppressor himself.

"He said 'the white man cannot deal with guerrilla warfare.'

"Guns only, however, is not the answer, he said. The revolution must have the support of masses of the people so guerrilla fighters can have food, clothing and shelter.

"The black community must be unified, and 'we can't have fights in the black community because we can only carry on one battle at a time,' he advised.

"We have to think about being serious. It's not just yelling "Burn, Baby, Burn" and letting it go at that, he said.

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"The first step toward revolution is making fun of the oppressor and psychologically preparing to fight, CARMICHAEL said. 'We have passed this.'

"Then there is education and black people move toward revolution, and have a revolution, he said. 'There is no alternative.'

"CARMICHAEL said, 'What makes a revolution is the time . . . the historic movement and we're on the brink.'

"Black people have to fight for economic equality, and for redistribution of the land, he said. 'We're not going to get that land with talk.'

"He described the 'major enemy' as the institutions and the white people who uphold racism and imperialism.

"'We are not in revolution' he explained. 'Revolution begins when you seize power. Our revolution won't start until we have seized something in the U.S., blocked it off and divided it.'

"CARMICHAEL said black people need to show others they can 'build a revolutionary struggle.'

"Black people living in capitalistic U.S. have to look toward other economic systems, either socialism or communism, he said.

"But, he noted, there is a question whether socialism or communism would automatically eliminate racism.

"The Black Panther Party for Self Defense is 'out to destroy racism and racists,' he explained. 'We cannot afford

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to fail.'

"CARMICHAEL warned that a revolution is "hard going . . . and it's much easier to die than live and continue working. You live to kill . . . and a lot are going to die . . . think of those already dead . . . and you might see blood in the streets.'

"Concerning the role of white liberals, CARMICHAEL said it will be up to them to decide. The liberals have no power 'because they need no power,' and there is no difference between the two major political parties, the Republicans and Democrats, he said.

"He said the Black Panther Party for Self Defense is 'at war' because its Secretary of Defense HUEY P. NEWTON is a 'prisoner of war' and the party will do what it can to free him.

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FL:jal

On August 23, 1968, Special Agents of the FBI observed the Subject arrive at the Alameda County Courthouse Oakland, California, accompanied by four other individuals. Visitors records of the Alameda County Jail reflect that the Subject registered as a visitor of HUEY P. NEWTON in the jail.

On August 24, 1968, a Special Agent of the FBI observed the Subject accompanied by three Negro males board PSA Flight 130 at San Francisco International Airport en route to Los Angeles, California, at 11:00 a.m.

On August 26, 1968, [] advised that this source attended a "Free Huey Rally" at De Fremery Park, Oakland, California on August 25, 1968, and heard and recorded a speech made by the Subject. This source advised the Subject was introduced as Prime Minister of the BPP. Source was surprised at statements the Subject made which indicate to this source that he was espousing revolution and the overthrow of the US Government. From memory and notes taken this source stated that CARMICHAEL said, "Black revolution is entering a period of armed struggle." "In order to become a revolutionary you must pick up a gun." "A revolutionary is someone willing to kill for a change for the masses of the people." "There will be three levels of attack, the symbols of oppression the tools of oppression and the people themselves."

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The symbols of oppression are, "We Burn the store out." "The police represent the tools of oppression." "Then we go to the oppressors themselves." "Seize power and then comes the revolution."

"Guerrilla warfare is where you've got to go. Wait until the sun goes down and then it's even-steven. Guerrilla warfare because you cannot fight a military force superior to you. Guerrilla warfare--you don't kill to die, you kill to live and you're always forced underground because they break and destroy all groups above ground."

"Police are to keep things as they are." "By necessity the police force is going to increase its harassment. We must be prepared for that." "Don't wear a black jacket unless you're ready to kill."

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provided the recording this source made of the Subject's speech. The Subject's speech was transcribed and is as follows:

Ladies and gentlemen, brothers and sisters (louder, louder), brothers, everywhere, we want to take time out day and speak at length about a number of things, we want to repeat basically the things that were said down at across the bay on Thursday night at Marin. We want to expand a little. Now the speech today is not going to be a rough talk, go get em speech. I think that we need something beyond that. We want and try and define a lot of the terms that the party uses and try and put them into prospective so that all of us can understand what we are talking about. It is necessary for us to be militant and to fight and to be revolutionaries but it is not sufficient unless our understanding is going to match our badness. We are bad we know that. So we must move beyond being bad. Now to begin for about 10 months now when we started the campaign for brother Huey, we have been saying Free Huey. If Huey is not free the sky is the limit, so not only does the bay area know this not only does the United States of America know this, but the entire world knows this. clapping. We have a Minister of Education in and our Captain from New York in Havana, Cuba right now and they have release through the world press through friends in Argentina and through Radio Peking the facts that if Brother Huey is not set free the sky is the limit. Since we know that there is no need for us to continue to talk about it, everybody knows it, the party is well organized, the sky

will cave in if Huey P. Newton is not set free. clapping.
And there needs to be no justification for that. We say
that Huey P. Newton is a prisoner of war and many people say
that that's not true or that the party is exaggerating. I
think it's clear, it's crystal clear that the United States
has declared war on (intelligible) people, she did that when
she took the first black man from Africa. Now of course she
never said so in words and some people expect for her to come
out and say I declare war on black people, but now the United
States to this day has not declared war on the (intelligible)
Vietnam, they have not declared war in North Korea, but they
fought in North Korea and they did not declare war on the
Indians, they just wiped them out, so we must define our
condition, we are at war. Minister of Defense is our leader
he is in jail, he is a prisoner of war, we must get him by
any name necessary if we cannot get him, we must, we must
retaliate. period. clapping. Now they're some other things
we want to talk about today are very difficult for us to grasp
we in the party have been working more and more with the
concept, there are no contradictions within the party, the
party works as the Minister of Information says on the
principle of unity, discussion, unity, so we want to make that
clear. Now we're going to talk about colonizing America,
black people inside America. We've already established the
fact that we are colonized people. Now when the colonized
people move to fight against the oppressor, there are two
levels of which we can move. First we must move like the

rocket fleet(?) That is to say we must prepare ourselves
psychologically to think that our oppressor is not as bad as
he says he is and that's important. And we've been doing
that for the last two years, for example five(?) of the last
two years, even tho we've hated the police department we
would be afraid to get up publicly and say the pigs ought to
be killed, we were afraid to do that and psychologically we
are afraid, but today we are no longer psychologically afraid
of our oppressors, not only are we not afraid of him
psychologically, we are to find for ourselves not only our
own beauty, but our own state of political, economic and
cultural affairs, so that we have started the psychological
battle, we are winning on that battle and time now to move
on to exact and correct, facing correct political ideology
and the correct tactic in order to win and that's where we
are today. Now then on those two levels, when you begin to
psychologically prepare yourselves, we call that entertainment
What we were doing in the last two years was entertaining
ourselves, we were telling ourselves that we were bad, the
honkies couldn't look that bad, he wasn't worth it, we could
take him, we could burn, baby burn, we were xxxxxx
entertaining ourselves. Today we must move from entertaining
ourselves and we must begin to educate ourselves, so we're
moving on a different level today. We're moving on the level
of education. Now on that level we have to ask ourselves
what is our fight. xxxxxx Now our fight is xxxxxx.
We are fighting against racism and we're fighting against

capitalism. ~~But~~ or imperialism, which is the highest state of capitalism. The government of the United States of American is racist and imperialist, therefore, we are fighting the government of the United States of America.

And we must understand that. clapping. But now we must define our term, we must define the term racism. What is a racist and what is racism. Racism is when one race decides to brutalize, oppress and subjugate another race of people, solely because of their race. That's not Webster's dictionary, after all we want to be able to have a working definition rather than a definition from Webster's dictionary. We can give examples to support our definition. If Jewish people decide because they are Jewish people, they are superior to the Spanish people and they subjugate, oppress and brutalize Spanish people, then the Jewish people are acting in a racist manner. If Portuguese people decided because they were Portuguese, they had the right to oppress

and suppress Arab people, then the Portuguese people are acting within a racist manner and they are racist. If White people decide, because of their color, they have the right to subjugate, brutalize black people because we are black they are acting in a racist manner and they are, in fact, racist. So, we must understand that. Now, if the people who are subjugated to racism decide to overthrow the racists then they are not acting in a racist manner nor are they reverse racists. They are moving to wipe out racism, and if they are moving to wipe out the group that acts in a racist manner they can never be called reverse racists. So, black ^{shall} people/cannot and will not defend their position when they move against racism. We are anti-racists, period. That's who we move against, racist people, period.

Now we want to talk about capitalism and imperialism.

I think in defining capitalism we run into a lot of problems, because it takes so long to define it. CARL MARX wrote a book entitled "Das Capital" which is some five (hundred?) pages talking about capitalism. Essentially we can say that in a capitalist society capital, which is money, is the prime motive and the profit motive which is the gaining of more money is what runs above everything else. That's not too good a definition, but perhaps it is the best we can do for now, as we begin to clarify more and more our position. Now, lets give some examples of capitalism, because that's perhaps much better to understand than the definitions itself.

My father was a carpenter, a very good carpenter. Now, there was a white man who lived up town somewhere. He had a lot of

capital--money. He would come to my father and say: I want you to build me a house. My father would build him the house; he would pay my father fifty dollars a week. When my father was finished building the house, he would sell the house for twenty-five thousand dollars and keep the money himself. Therefore, he was a capitalist. He was exploiting the labor of my father.

Black people in this country suffer from capitalism. Our labor is exploited. We do the work and other people walk away with the money. That's what capitalism is all about. We have to understand that. (applause). We have to understand that because what they are doing today is they are trying to tell us that our solution is that we should be called black capitalists. And if we understand that capitalism is what we are fighting against we will never become that which we have to fight against. That's what NIXON is talking about black capitalism. All he is saying is he wants, instead of a white man exploiting my father he wants a black man to do it, so that when the fight comes I'm going to have to be fighting a black man rather than having the lines drawn the way they are today. So, we've got to understand that. Got to understand that. (applause) Now, then, we want to define imperialism. Imperialism is the highest stage of capitalism. That is not only (unintelligible) is reached when a country exploits another country. Capitalism is when people inside a country exploits people inside that country. Again, these definitions are not very clear because we are trying to work them so they fit our

situation. So, we have to ask you to forgive us if they are not clear. Perhaps, as we move along in the next few months, they will become much more clear.

Let me give an example of imperialism. When the United States of America controlled the brave island of Cuba, the Cubans used to grow sugar cane. Now, the Cubans would take this sugar cane. White America would pay them forty cents a day, take the sugar cane, bring it into the United States, make sugar out of it, then sell it back to the Cubans for a profit. So, they were exploiting the entire Cuban people. The United States does this all over the World: Asia, Africa, Latin America, and black people inside the United States. Now, we must begin to understand those terms, and that's very, very important. If they are not clear, then we must do more reading and have more discussions with our people so we being to understand those terms clearly--crystal clear in our minds they must become. Otherwise, we will end up waging the wrong fight and losing the battle. You can fight, but if you're fighting the wrong thing you can't win. You can't win. If I'm playing football with somebody and a cat on the field and a cat on the bench, I'm now playing football against another team, and there are some people standing outside the field and the other football team runs them down, they may run over them, they can't win the game because they are not running against me. So, we have to understand who we are running against. We just can't run. We just can't fight.

We've got to understand who we're fighting against. If we say that's what we are fighting against, we must then define what our goals are. What we want. What we want two things. We want a society free of racism, and we want a society that is not a capitalistic society. Now, in the economy systems of the World there are basically three. Capitalism, Socialism and Communism. If we can't have capitalism, then we must want one of the other two: Socialism or Communism. We should not be afraid of those terms; we must begin to try and understand just what they mean. Now, our problem is that we do not think that Socialism and Communism, from the Western World, will fit black people; that is to say, merely because America becomes a socialist or communist state does not necessarily mean they do away with racism. So, that we will continually have to push and fight for a state, not only free of capitalism but also free of racism. And for us racism will always be primary because we are black, because we are black. Now, then, we want to begin to define some of the terms that are thrown around loosely. Terms like "revolution", terms like "armed struggle", "revolutionary violence", "counter-revolutionary violence", "defensive violence", "black militants", "black revolutionaries", and "black nationalism".

Now it is important for us to understand the word "revolution", because the word is thrown around so loosely that none of us know what it means. We are not now in the midst of a black revolution. Revolution means that total overthrow of the system.

But revolution never begins until you seize power. You've got to seize power. Once you seize power the revolution begins, because you can change things as you see fit. Let me give you an example. FIDEL CASTRO fought in the Sierra Maestras for several years. But while FIDEL and his boys were fighting they were not engaged in the revolution. When they took the city of Havana, when they took the City of Havana, they ran the (pizza) and the American lackeys out, then the revolution began. When FIDEL CASTRO said: Today this country belongs to the masses of Cubans. That's when the revolution began, because then he could do what he wanted with the country. We have to understand that, because if they throw the terms around about black revolution, we'll never get anywhere.

Now what is the period that comes before a revolution? The period coming before a revolution is called "armed struggle". That's what we are beginning to get engaged in in this country. Armed struggle is when the forces of the masses are fighting against the political structure, the powers that be, their schools, the police force, the occupied forces, to overthrow the government. So, we must be clear. We are beginning to become involved in the state of armed struggle. Armed struggle. Once we have seized power, then the revolution begins. So, we have to be clear in our minds about these terms. Now, we also want to talk about "black militancy". There's a difference between black militant and a black revolutionary.

A black militant is someone who is angry at the white society, but wants to become part of white society. A black revolutionary wants to overthrow, destroy, and re-struct (ph) new society. And we have to be clear in our minds. There are a lot of black militants running around this country; there are few black revolutionaries running the country, and we have to understand that term. You see black nationalists all the time. They get up on TV today and they talk about "We'll burn your city down, if you don't give us a poverty program", you know. They use anger and the frustration of the masses of people to benefit themselves. That's a black militant. A black revolutionary says, "We got to change the system for all of our people, and until the system is changed the struggle will continue." There can be no compromise with a revolutionary. With a militant there can always be compromises and sell-outs. We have to understand that. in our minds as we move along.

Now we want to talk about revolutionary violence and counter-revolutionary violence. Revolutionary violence is the violence that is used to destroy the status quo. That is acting and preceding and leading to a revolution. Counter-revolutionary violence is that violence which is used maintain the status quo. For example, the police department is a counter-revolutionary force, because it wants to keep things the way it is. The American forces in Vietnam are a counter-revolutionary force, because they want to keep things the way they are. A revolution-

ary force would be a force fighting to change the status quo for the benefit of the masses of the people. The Black Panther Party is a revolutionary force, because it is fighting to change the system for the masses of our people. The Viet Cong is a revolutionary force, because they are fighting to change the structure of Vietnam for the masses of their people. And we have to be clear in those terms. Now, then, the final term. What is a revolutionary? A revolutionary is someone who is willing to kill, to bring about the change for the masses of the people. That's the revolutionary. Notice I did not say someone who is willing to die, but rather someone who is willing to kill, because just willing to die don't make you a revolutionary. It makes you stupid and a martyr. (applause). I saw those white cats in Czechoslovakia lay in front of tanks. They not revolutionaries; they are stupid. They want to do something, shoot the Russians. Don't lay don't in front of their tanks. Kill the Russians, take your country and then do with it what you want, if you're revolutionary. But, now, a lot of people get confused with revolutionary, because just because you pick up a gun doesn't make you a revolutionary. Cats understand that. A lot of our brothers have guns; they are fighting in Vietnam; they are not revolutionary, they are counter-revolutionary. So, just because you pick up a gun you're not revolutionary. But in order to become revolutionary you must pick up the gun. And once you pick up the gun

armed with the correct political ideology, fighting for the benefit of the masses of our people, then you become a revolutionary. And we have to understand those terms in our minds. I know this speech is more boring than the other speeches, but I think this one is more important than the others. (applause)

Now, then, when a people begin to move in a revolutionary form there are three levels of attack. First, they attack the symbols of oppression. Second, they attack the tools of the oppressor; and, thirdly, they attack the oppressor himself. Now, our people have shown that they are moving in a revolutionary fashion. We have demonstrated that. The burning of stores represents the burning of the symbols of oppression. It is the first person that we contact on a day to day level that oppresses us--our nearby store owner, grocery store. They sell us rotten goods for highest prices; they insult our dignity; they are the symbols of oppression. So, we burn them out. Now we move against the tools of the oppressor. The tools of the oppressor are those things that the oppressor employs to keep us oppressed. The police force represents the tools of these oppressors, and consciously our people around this country are moving against the police force. They will not tell you about it on television, but just because you don't hear about it on television don't assume it's not happening. It's happening all over the country, but because it's more serious, they cannot put it on television. And that should be the sign of how serious we are, because when we were just playing, they put

it on TV, and they used to laugh. But it's becoming serious, they cannot laugh any more, so they do not put it on television. We've got to understand that. We've got to understand that. then, once we have(moved) and got to the tools of oppression, then we go to the oppressor himself, seize power and we begin the revolution. Now, as we move towards the steps of seizing power, there are a lot of political movements that we make. We have to make those political movements because they are, at that time, a political necessity, and if that's what we have to do that's what we will do. For example, the coalition with the Peace and Freedom Party to help to get the publicity for brother HUEY P. NEWTON and the freeing of HUEY P. NEWTON, was a political necessity. And we have to try and understand those political necessities and work with them within that perspective, within that given perspective.

then,
Now/if we agree that the police force represents the tool of the oppressor, that we are moving against the tool of the oppressor, our question is "How fast can we move against the oppressor?". Now, this is very simple. Uh, when brother MALCOLM X was talking and when he was educating, a lot of us were not paying very close attention to him. We paid attention to brother MALCOLM when he entertained. When he said "We gonna wipe out the white man, we gonna go down with guns and shoot them up". And everybody said yes. But when he explained what had to be done nobody was listening. If we were listening we would know where we had to go today. Let me give you a

quote from brother MALCOLM X. I don't remember it correctly, but it goes something like this: He says, "Show me a Frenchman who has fought in Indo China and I will show you a white man who's got the shakes; show me a Frenchman who's fought in Algeria, and I will show you a white man who's got the shakes". He continues: "As a matter of a fact, show me a white man who has fought in Asia or Latin America, where there has been guerrilla forces and I will show you a white man who's got the shakes". What brother MALCOLM was saying was clear. Guerrilla warfare is where you got to go. He said it, but we weren't listening to him in that time. We were listening to him when he was bad, not when he was (unintelligible), because we would understand that. And he is absolutely correct. He's absolutely correct. Brother MALCOLM says the essence of guerrilla warfare is you wait until the sun goes down and then it's even Steven, man for man. Man to man. Man to man. (laughter and applause). And if we were preparing for that today, we could be prepared for the state of guerrilla warfare. But since we were listening to entertainment, today we have to begin to educate ourselves. Guerrilla warfare. Guerrilla Warfare. Guerrilla warfare. Guerrilla warfare. Guerrilla warfare because you cannot fight an armed conflict with a force that is superior to you. Guerrilla warfare because the man does not who is doing what, when they are doing it, and he is forced to come down on the entire black community. Guerrilla warfare. We should have been listening to brother MALCOLM X. Guerrilla warfare because

in a war you don't fight to die, you kill to live. You kill to live. You don't go out in the street and shoot up and down like a hero. You're dead. (applause) If you live you could kill fifty more tomorrow night; that's fifty less that we have to worry about. But you go out there too soon and die, you aint doing nobody no good. Guerrilla warfare is where we have to go. (applause) Guerrilla warfare is where. And if (ours) is the correct political ideology we begin to employ those-- We recognize where we must move. If we were reading brother HUEY P. NEWTON he explains very clearly. He said "In the beginning there are above-ground groups. These above-ground groups are always fought underground." It is clear, as it should be clear, in all our minds, that the man is moving to break up and destroy all groups that are above ground, that we are ^{going to be,} sooner or later, pushed underground. And unless we begin to prepare ourselves now, we will find our struggle set back. Our struggle can never be set back. Our motto must be "We must always move forward; we can never move back, nor will we ever stand still; we must move forward". And we have to have to understand that as our motto. (Fight) on, brother, (fight) on.

Now, we have to talk about the levels on which we move. We move on three levels. Now, before I do that I want to talk a little about the pigs and why it is a necessity that we begin

to understand the war against them, because they will escalate their war against us. Their job is to keep things the way they are. That's what they call law and order. That's their job. And any time there are disruptive elements in the community their jobs is to destroy those disruptive elements. Therefore, by necessity, the police force is going to increase it's harrassment; it's going to increase its intimidation, and its going to increase its brutalization against us. We have to be prepared for that. If we are not prepared (then we're unprepared). Don't wear a black leather unless you are ready to kill, for they're ready to kill you. (applause) Don't wear it. Don't wear your hair natural unless you're ready, because they gonna call you a nigger agitator if your hair is natural. And you caint (fry) your hair, cause you're still a nigger and they don't trust you. (laughter) So, we have to prepare ourselves whether we like it or not. Now, as we move, we move on three levels, and we must move on those three levels: The political, the economical and the social or, as we call it, the cultural level. We have to constantly move on those three levels at the same time. We can never move on one and disregard the other two, or move on two and disregard the other one. We must always move on all three levels. Now, there has been some discussion that has developed in our community concerning the movement among the cultural nationalists. Many people feel that because they have now found out that they are black and beautiful, that they wear Afros and Digeles (ph) that they have won the battle. That is

not true. Culture, like the gun, is necessary but not sufficient. Being a cultural nationalist is necessary but it is not sufficient. Having once begun to recognize our culture, which is needed as a cohesive force for our people, we now say "I recognize I am black and beautiful; I recognize my ancestral heritage in Africa, now let us begin the political and economical struggle. We have to do that. Too many times people stop at the cultural level. And the man wants us to stop at the cultural level, because the cultural level is no threat to his political or economic system. And if we intend to be free, we've got to move against his political and economic system, not just his cultural system. Now, he can put on (deep) black programs than the cultural nationalists are. He's got a program on Tuesday night called "A Black America" which is as black nationalist as you can get. So, he wants to take over the program of cultural nationalism. He wants to co-op the program, but he can never co-op our political or economic program, if we are moving against him. And that's what we have to understand.

Now, then, we want....(a baby cries and CARMICHAEL comments: They all look so bored. applause) I'm not very good at teaching, but I think we've got to stop entertaining. We've really got to do this type of work, even though it's hard we've got to do it. (applause) Got to. Got to. And we've

got to take time out to do it now, because he's not going to let us have too many more rallies like these. What he's doing he's going to cut these rallies up and we won't be having that many of them. So, unless now that we have the chance we are able to begin to talk to each other about the correct political ideology, we will find ourselves quickly destroyed and our struggle stopped.

Now, we want to talk about the international implication of our struggle. And we must talk internationally because more and more we can move internationally against the man, because the United States is the greatest imperialist World power today. If that means she is an imperialist power, she has got to have people all over the world protecting her riches. The United States got to have faith in Latin America to protect all the resources that she steals from the people of Latin America. The United States has to have bases in Asia and Africa, because she has to protect the resources that she steals from Asia and Latin America.

Now, let me give you an example: The United States says that China is going to be their number one enemy and they must stop China. The Peoples Republic of China does not have one base outside of China. Not one-odd-ball base outside of China. The United States of America has twenty five hundred bases outside of the United States of America. Who is whose enemy and who is fighting who? How come China don't have no bases outside of China? How come Cuba don't have no bases outside of Cuba?

The United States got bases in Viet Nam. The Viet Nameese should have bases in the United States of America (applause). That's right! That's right! (applause). The United States has got a base in Cuba: Guantanamo base. The Cubans should have a naval base in the United States of America.

The United States has bases in Germany, in Africa, in Asia and Latin America. All of those countries should have bases in the United States of America. That's equality! (laughter and applause) Equality.(applause) Equality.(applause). And we've got to understand that. And we must understand this talk about Communism. The United States is not against communism. The United States wants to expand her power and conquer the World! And the one force that is stopping her is the People's Republic of China and the Black Panther Party, of course. (applause) And we must understand that expansionist theory of the United States. If the United States were against communism, Russia is communist. Russia hasn't been in Checzoslovakia.* Russia is spreading communism in Checzoslovakia.* (*spelled to proximate his pronounciation). If the United States is against communism, let her invade Checzoslovakia* and stop the Russians. Hey! Why not? Viet Nam? She says she invaded Viet Nam to stop the North Viet Nameese from coming into South Viet Nam. Why the Russians are doing the same thing in Checzoslovakia*. Go to Checzoslovakia and stop the Russians, LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON. (laughter and applause)

They will not go to Checzoslovakia* because they are not against communism, they want to expand their bases and they are not going to fight in Checzoslovakia because it is a white country! (Applause) Everybody wants to tell us that the Vietnamese war is not a racist war. Well if they are against communism, why don't they go ahead and fight in Checzoslovakia*? If I'm against my enemy, every time he moves I'm a gonna try and put him down. Why if they don't stop Checzoslovakia*, Russia might be allowed some gall (phonetic) tomorrow. The John Birch Society, the Klu Klux Klan, the Knights of America and the old women from the American daughters revolution. Go fight the Russians. And that should be our program- constantly push that. Whenever you get a chance, tell em. Go fight with Checzoslovakia*. We want you to stop communism. And lets see what their reaction will be. So, if we could get to understand the contradictions in the American system, then we will begin to educate ourselves. We have to understand Cuba. Now the little island of Cuba is one of the bravest islands in the World, and they don't play. They tell America in no uncertain terms that no matter what you do America, if you come in here, we're going to fight you. No matter how big you are America, we going to fight you. As a matter of fact, last year, when I was at the celebration, FIDEL CASTRO said, 'Let it be clear to America. This is an island. Where you invade, there is only water around us. There can be no retreat.' Yeah, and we have to say the same thing. Let it be clear, Pigs, that we are surrounded by southerners. There can be no retreat. We got to stand and fight where we are. (applause) Where we are. Where we are. Hell retreat. (applause)

And we should begin to encourage our people to travel to Cuba so that you can learn what the Cuban government is doing, how they are doing it; why they are doing it and begin to see what we can learn from them and apply to our situation. That's important. The American Government doesn't want anybody to travel to Cuba, to China, to North Korea, to North Vietnam and maybe to the Arab countries. They take passports as they see fit. They bundle people in Mexico and throw them on planes and send them back home as they see fit. So we have to tell them, the United States of America, LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON, DEAN RUSK, we will get our passports, we will go to China, Cuba, North Korea, North Vietnam, Algeria, Egypt, Syria, anywhere we want to go. You cannot stop us, we are men and we will go where we want to go. Period! Period! (applause).

They can't tell you where to go. He can give you a passport saying you cannot use this passport to go there. But if you are black, automatically they want you. You don't have to worry about that passport. And we're going to go! We've got to go to these countries because we've got to find out what is going on in these countries. The United States stopped us from going to China, Cuba, North Korea, North Viet Nam, Albania. They used to stop us from going to Russia. You can go now. It is important to note that the United States does not stop us from going through South Africa. You can go to South Africa if you've got an American passport and if you like to. I'll give you an Uncle Tom. But you can't go to any of the other countries. The United States says that she can't trade with Cuba, China, Vietnam, North Korea, but she allows people to trade with South Africa.

And then she says, well those are private people and we can't tell the private people how to trade, but they tell the private people not to trade with Cuba, China, North Vietnam and Korea. We must understand the contradictions in the world today. Now then the Black Panther Party has to go on record as moving beyond this phase of apology of we're not going to Vietnam. We have to move beyond that. Now then, we are not only going to fight in Vietnam, the Vietnamese are our comrades-in-arms. They are fighting against the United States of America. (applause) I'm against it. (applause). Anybody that fights against this country is an ally of us. The more they weaken that country, the better it is for us. If the South Vietnamese fight, the Viet Cong strikes a blow against the American Government and its forces in Vietnam, that makes us more powerful because it makes the United States weaker. When we strike a blow in the cities against the United States, its power structure and forces, the Viet Cong becomes stronger because we have weakened the United States. When the Viet Cong and the Black Panther- the black people in this country, with the Black Panther Party strikes a blow against the United States Government, the Arabs become stronger. Its a shot against world-wide imperialism. We have to understand these things. We must study them! We've got to study them! Because we can't no longer just run out and yell 'Burn baby, burn'. We've got to know how to burn baby, burn to live to burn, baby burn. And we have to know that when we burn, baby, burn, we going to come out better. Let me explain to you the difference between revolutionaries and people who just hope.

A man will get up and say 'I wish they would burn down this city' and he will yell "Burn, baby, burn". Then the people will burn it down. But then he doesn't have the forces to take over the city once its burned down. He hopes. A revolutionary plans. Once he burns the City down, he takes the City, seizes it and holds it and runs it the way he wants it run. That's a revolutionary! That's a revolutionary! (applause)

And that's where we have to go today. We cannot just be satisfied with saying "Burn", "Shoot", "Kill". We have to know who to shoot, who to kill, who to burn. Afterwards we've got to be able to seize the power, take it, hold it and give it to the masses of our people. Now we're talking revolution. (shouts of "that's right") And if you are talking revolution, you are talking about twenty four hours a day. You are talking about training, getting your guns, breaking them down at night when the guards-putting them together again, knowing a nine millemeter from a forty-five, from a forty-odd buck (phonetic) when you put it in your gun at night you can feel the sizes and tell which is which. You got to prepare to do that now, if you are talking about real revolution. You got to know that as well as you know the political ideology of the books that we must be reading, the works of Mao-Tse-Tung, the speeches of MAZCOMB X, CHE GUEVERRA, and BERNARD and HUEY B. NEWTON. You've got to read thos things, understand them and begin to apply them to our situation here. Got to do that and we've got to pick up the little black books by President QWAMI (phonetic) ENCOOMA (phonetic) and read that and understand it too.

That's beginning to talk about the coming revolutionaries. And as we begin to move our forces, we can begin to give solidarity pledges to those people, who internationally are fighting the United States as Cuba, as China and as the Arabs in the Arab world. We have to give them our solidarity pledges and begin to understand how we move with them against the United States of America. The time is fast coming when we won't have very much to say or very much to do. Our struggle is not going to be a quick or short struggle. It is going to be a long, involved and a difficult struggle. Its not going to be over in three southern, its not going to be over in five southern. The Vietnamese have been fighting for twenty-five years. Black people in this country can expect no less. Be prepared for struggle for at least twenty five years and ready to go if it takes three generations. We've got to understand that. Now revolution is not made by people talking bad. Revolution is not made by people running in the streets. Revolution is made by people armed with the correct political ideology and the correct moment in history. Black people whether we like it or not are the force, this is the precise time in history to strike to strike their revolutionary blow and whether we want it or not, history has put us in that position and we have got to fight. We cannot slow history. We've got to become that revolutionary force (applause). We can do no other. We cannot run even if we wanted to. There is no place to run, brothers and sisters, we have got to fight; And we might as well prepare for that fight. We are going to have to suffer and we might as well prepare for that suffering. Whether we like it or not, they are going to move to wipe us out.

So, just for our very survival, we have to fight. For our very survival, we have to fight. You see the goon squads they have in San Francisco, the tactical police, it is the beginning of the Gestapo forces inside our community. If we do not move now against those forces, tomorrow will be too late. We have got to move, we can't run. We've got no place to run. We can't run to Africa. They are fighting in Africa. All we can do with Africa is fight with our brothers and our sisters, that's all. You can't run and be no American negro in Africa. You get there and you are just like anybody else and they are going to put a gun in your hand and you are going to have to fight. And we can learn from Africa. We can learn the tactics that the United States uses to divide the people. Has it not always been a fact that the one thing that has kept us so rich is that we have always been as a people divided? Yes. Yes. And do they not use this tactic all over the world? Does he not pit brother against brother. Is he not making North Vietnam fight South Vietnam; North Korea fight South Korea; East Germany, West Germany. Now she's got the Afro fighting Nigeria. It is always the same thing wherever she has moved and she is going to use this more and more against us, so we must prepare. We cannot begin to fight each inside our own community. We have to understand that. And that is revolutionary. Whenever you hear the figures in the Vietnamese war, you hear Viet Cong, so many dead, American soldiers, so many dead. You very rarely hear about South Vietnamese dying. The reason is that the Viet Cong attacks the South Vietnamese soldier. They do not attack the South Vietnamese soldier because they know that the South Vietnamese soldiers are not their major enemy.

Their major enemy is the vicious forces of the Imperialist United States of America. And when they strike, they strike a blow at them. As a matter of fact, the Viet Cong told me that if the South Vietnamese attack them, they run from the South Vietnamese and they only fight them when it is absolutely necessary.

Moa-Tsi-Tung did the same thing when he split from the Kuomintang in 1927, organized the Red troops. When the forces of Chang Kai Check came after them, they pleaded with their Chinese brothers not to fight. They even retreated from several battles and only when it was absolutely necessary, did they wipe out their Chinese brothers. Did not FIDEL CASTRO do the same thing? Did he not go to the Cuban bourgeoisie and get their support. And after he seized power, he said to the bourgeoisie, this government is a government of the masses of the people of Cuba. Either you are with me, or you go against the war. If they weren't with him, he put them against the wall and he shot them. But he couldn't shoot them before he took power, because he would be fighting the bourgeoisie and BATISTA. We can't fight each other and the racist imperialist; that we have to begin to understand and fight against. We can only wage one war at the same time. One war at a time. But it is also a fact that the people who are split and divided against us are puppets of the American government. The South Vietnamese are puppets of the American Government. If the Viet Cong destroyed KEE, they would put SOU in. If they destroyed SOU, they would put DIEM in. Every time they destroy a Vietnamese, there is another puppet to be pushed. But if you destroy the puppet-holder, the puppet is cut free and you have the power to make the phenomena act in a desired manner.

And that we must understand. That we force the Uncle Toms in our community. Every time we knock them down, they put another one up. If we say that the Uncle Toms do not speak for the masses of our people, then its obvious they are in power because the United States Government supports them. So that if we fight them, we will cut the Uncle Toms loose and then the Uncle Toms can decide whichs side they are on. We'll have the power and we can move against them one way or the other. Finally, our historic moment is here. We must begin to prepareffor the struggle that is ahead of us. There were several attempts in the past in our history. The GARVEY movement was channeled to the side because GARVEY did not bring together all three political, economic and cultural. We have to begin to understand that. Religous movements in the past have brought our people together, but they have not attacked the political, economic and cultural, social structure of the society. As we move today, we must attack all three: political, economic and social and move against them. And move against them ready to win or to die. I can but take a very saying, "In a revolution, one wins or one dies". Thank you. (applause)

SF 157-721

FL:jal

An article appearing in the "Washington Post" Washington, D. C. issue of August 26, 1968, date lined Oakland, California on August 25, 1968, under by-line RASA GUSTAITIS is as follows:

"Stokely Carmichael, newly acclaimed as the Prime Minister of the Black Panther Party, told a 'Free Huey Newton' rally today that the black revolution is entering 'the period of armed struggle.' Just before there is guerrilla warfare, he predicted the Black Panthers would eventually be forced underground.

"Speaking in a park behind a guard of 50 stony-face Panthers, all dressed in black leather jackets and black berets, he, in effect, gave the crowd of 2,000 a revolutionary primer that drew on concepts of Lenin and MEO Tse-tung. Carmichael said that Huey P. Newton, the Black Panther Minister of Information now on trial in the murder of an Oakland policeman, is a 'prisoner of war' in a struggle for 'a society that is free of racism and a society that is not capitalistic.'

"We must get him out,' Carmichael said. 'If we can't get him out--we must--retaliate.' Carmichael said the Black Panther Party was revolutionary. A revolutionary differs from a militant in that he accepts no compromise with the existing system and 'must be ready to pick up a gun.'

"Don't wear a leather jacket unless you are ready to kill,' Carmichael said. The struggle against the police now underway in the black community, he said, is important in the revolution because the police's job is 'to keep things as they are--that's what they call law and order.'

SF 157-721

FL:jal

"Carmichael was recently expelled from the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee because of what he has described as 'political and ideological differences.' He has not elaborated on the nature of the disagreement.

"Carmichael said the black revolution had passed the stage of psychological preparation. Two years ago he said people would have been afraid to say openly that 'pigs must be killed.' Pigs is a Black Panther word for police and other establishment figures. The job is to educate and plan for seizing power, Carmichael said. He described the revolutionary struggle as being against the U. S. Government. 'We are fighting against racism and imperialism,' he said. 'The Government of the United States is racist and imperialist. Therefore, we are fighting against the Government of the United States.'

"He said the revolution began by moving against symbols of oppression and is now fighting against the tools of oppression, among whom are the police.

"The following stage would be movements against the oppressor himself and seizure of power.

"In a revolution one wins or one dies,' Carmichael said. "

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 8/30/681

[redacted]
advised that [redacted] concerning STOKELY CARMICHAEL's
speech at Oakland, California on August 25, 1968, as it
appeared in the "Washington Post" [redacted]

b7C
b7Db7C
b7D

She stated that CARMICHAEL never advocated getting
guns to her recollection and never advocated the violent over-
throw of the government. In her estimation CARMICHAEL's
speech was militant, but was delivered in an informational
manner and she stated that CARMICHAEL spoke in generalities.

On 8/27/68 at San Francisco, California File # SF 157-721

by SA [redacted] jal Date dictated 8/30/68

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 8/30/68

[redacted]
[redacted] San Francisco, stated that STOKELY CARMICHAEL spoke at a Black Panther Party (BPP) rally in De Fremery Park on Sunday, August 25, 1968. CARMICHAEL spoke calmly with no show of emotion. He started out by saying that it is time to stop entertaining and to start educating the white people. He went into a definition of terms, describing militancy and distinguishing it from revolution, that one must be militant first and revolutionary comes at a later stage.

b7C
b7D

According to [redacted] CARMICHAEL stated that the United States has declared war on the black people, that HUEY NEWTON is a prisoner of that war, and he must be set free, and if he is not, we must retaliate. He said the sky is the limit. He stated that the white people have great superiority in numbers and weapons to conduct this war against the black man and the only recourse left open for the blacks is guerilla warfare.

b7C
b7D

[redacted] stated that CARMICHAEL's speech was fairly well received. He did not come right out and advocate all out war, nor was he attempting to incite the crowd to riot.

b7C
b7D

[redacted] stated that about one thousand persons were present and about 40 per cent of them were white. He sat at the outer fringe of the crowd and was in no way intimidated or threatened. He stated he does not take shorthand and could not quote CARMICHAEL.

b7C
b7D

On 8/27/68 at San Francisco, California File # SF 157-721

by SA [redacted] cem Date dictated 8/28/68

b7C



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
San Francisco, California

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No.

SF 157-721

August 30, 1968

Title STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Character RACIAL MATTER-SNCC, BPP

Reference Report of SA [REDACTED]
dated and captioned as above,
at San Francisco, California.

b7C

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

F B I

Date: 8/29/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

b7C

FROM: SAC, DETROIT (100-34122)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

RM

(OO: WFO)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-09-2005 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

b7C

Re Detroit teletypes to the Bureau and other offices,
dated 8/23/68, 8/26/68, and 8/27/68.Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies, for WFO 2
copies, and for other recipient offices 1 copy of an LHM
relating to subject's appearance at Ann Arbor, Michigan on
8/26-27/68.Copies of the LHM are being disseminated to
Secret Service, G-2, and USA, all Detroit, Michigan.

Sources utilized in LHM are as follows:

b2

b7C

b7D

- 1 - Bureau (Enc.-11) (RM)
- 1 - Chicago (157-1297) (Enc.-1) (RM)
- 1 - St. Louis (100-20639) (Enc.-1) (RM)
- 1 - San Francisco (157-1204) (Enc.-1) (RM)
- 1 - Springfield (Enc.-1) (RM)
- 2 - WFO (100-43503) (Enc.-2) (RM)
- 5 - Detroit
- (1 - [redacted])
- (1 - 157-706) (POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE)
- (1 - 100-35206) (PEACE AND FREEDOM POLITICAL PARTY)

JEK/mcm
(14)

6 SEP 2 1968

EX-101

b7C

b7C

RACIAL

57 SEP 11 1968

Approved: _____

Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

DE 100-34122

[redacted]
[redacted] advised that he is endeavoring to obtain a tape recording of CARMICHAEL's speech through an undisclosed source. In the event this tape is received, it will be transcribed and submitted in form suitable for dissemination.

b7C

b7D

The LHM is classified ~~confidential~~ to protect the sources utilized.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Detroit, Michigan
August 29, 1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: Stokely Carmichael

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg
ON 11-09-2005

All sources utilized in the letterhead memorandum have furnished reliable information in the past.

b2
b7D [redacted] advised on August 22, 1968, that Stokely Carmichael, former national Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee chairman, was scheduled to be the keynote speaker at the Organization of Arab Students (OAS) Convention, Ann Arbor, Michigan, on August 26, 1968. Source further advised that the scheduled site for Carmichael's speech was the Michigan Union, University of Michigan (U of M), Ann Arbor, Michigan, and that his speech was scheduled for 6:00 PM. Source also advised that the OAS is a recognized campus organization at the U of M.

A characterization of Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) appears in the appendix attached hereto.

The following is a summary of Stokely Carmichael's activities while in the Ann Arbor and Detroit, Michigan, areas during the period August 26-27, 1968. Information herein set out contains the results of physical surveillance of Carmichael involving personnel representing the Detroit Police Department, Michigan State Police and Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI).

Subject was observed arriving at Detroit Metropolitan Airport on American Airlines Flight Number 92 at approximately 3:25 PM, August 26, 1968, on a flight from San Francisco, California.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~GROUP 1~~

~~Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

ENCLOSURE

100-446080-1904

COPIES DESTROYED

286 FEB 24 1971

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: Stokely Carmichael

At approximately 4:00 PM Carmichael was observed departing the Detroit Metropolitan Airport accompanied by three Negro males who arrived with him at the airport and also in the company of [redacted] Ann Arbor, Michigan.

b7C

b7D

At approximately 6:00 PM, August 26, 1968, Carmichael was observed entering the Michigan Union, U of M, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

[redacted] advised on August 26, 1968, that Carmichael spoke before approximately 350 people at the OAS National Convention, August 26, 1968, and summarized his speech as follows:

b2

b7D

He stated black people and Arabs have been exploited by whites and Zionists, stripped of their culture, and forced to speak the language of the oppressor. He stated neither race could take part in the white or Zionist society. He further commented that Arabs must move aggressively against occupying forces and regain land. Carmichael described himself as a black revolutionary and not a black militant. He stated the only solution for the Arabs is an armed revolution. Continuing, Carmichael stated that blacks will help Arabs in their struggle and will fight Imperialism anywhere in the United States of America and that all who fight Imperialism are comrades in arms. Source stated that Carmichael's speech was overwhelmingly received in an enthusiastic manner by the assembled group.

Following Carmichael's speech, he was observed departing the Michigan Union at approximately 9:30 PM, August 26, 1968, from where he proceeded to the headquarters of the Peace and Freedom Political Party, 109 Miller, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

At approximately 10:00 PM, August 26, 1968, Carmichael was observed departing the address of 109 Miller where they returned to the Michigan Union.

Following this, they departed the Michigan Union location at approximately 10:15 PM, August 26, 1968, when

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: Stokely Carmichael

they proceeded to [] Ann Arbor, Michigan, which is the address of [] supra.

b7C
b7D

Carmichael remained at the [] address until approximately 9:25 AM on August 27, 1968.

b7C
b7D

At approximately 9:30 AM, August 27, 1968, Carmichael and other individuals proceeded to a Howard Johnson Restaurant, Carpenter Road, near Washtenaw, where they were observed eating breakfast.

At approximately 9:43 AM, August 27, 1968, Carmichael was observed departing the Howard Johnson Restaurant area and they proceeded to drive around the Ann Arbor area.

After departing the Ann Arbor, Michigan, area at 10:15 AM, August 27, 1968, Carmichael was observed with other individuals proceeding to an address of 2457 Woodward Avenue, Detroit, Michigan, where they arrived at approximately 11:30 AM the same date.

It is to be noted the address of 2457 Woodward is the office of Mo-Town Record Company.

At approximately 4:55 PM, August 27, 1968, Carmichael and companions were observed departing the address of 2457 Woodward and at 5:10 PM, this date, he was observed being photographed at the Grace Episcopal Church, 12th Street and Virginia Park, Detroit, Michigan.

At approximately 5:25 PM, Carmichael and his party departed the area of the Grace Episcopal Church and proceeded to the area of 8333 Linwood, Detroit, Michigan, which is the location of the Green Leaf Restaurant.

At approximately 7:05 PM this date, subject and companions drove to [] Detroit, Michigan, which is the residence of []

b7C
b7D

The subject and his party departed the area of [] at approximately 9:10 PM this date where they proceeded to Detroit Metropolitan Airport.

b7C
b7D

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: Stokely Carmichael

At 10:20 PM, August 27, 1968, the subject departed Detroit, Michigan, via American Airlines Flight 345. This flight had a scheduled stopover in Chicago and at Chicago the subject was to leave American Airlines Flight 345 and board Delta Airlines Flight 53 scheduled to depart Chicago for St. Louis, Missouri.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Literature distributed by the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, describes itself as not being a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements. SNCC was born out of the sit-in movement which erupted across the South beginning on February 1, 1960. A conference at Raleigh, North Carolina, that Spring, brought together many of the demonstrating Southern students in a loose network of militant youth which was officially named SNCC in October, 1960.

A source has advised that in May, 1966, STOKELY CARMICHAEL was elected National Chairman by the Central Committee. In May, 1967, CARMICHAEL was replaced as Chairman by H. RAP BROWN, with CARMICHAEL assuming the position of Recruiter and Organizer for the SNCC. In August, 1967, at the invitation of FIDEL CASTRO, CARMICHAEL participated in the Organization of Latin American Solidarity Conference which was held in Havana, Cuba. Subsequent thereto, CARMICHAEL traveled to Hanoi and other sections of North Vietnam. He returned to the United States in December, 1967, at which time his passport was picked up because of travel to unauthorized countries.

A source advised that when CARMICHAEL was elected Chairman of SNCC, the organization embarked on a program of eliminating Caucasians from its ranks. With the election of H. RAP BROWN as Chairman in 1967, it embarked on a world-wide struggle for human rights and to take a firm stand against violations of these rights by the American Government and to strengthen its programs of opposition to the draft and to the United States involvement in Vietnam.

Literature distributed in February, 1968, identified SNCC as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

2

On August 13, 1967, while addressing a group in the Watts area of Los Angeles, California, H. RAP BROWN said "You better shape up in America, or we'll burn you down." Later in February, 1968, in a publicized note BROWN wrote, "America, if it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you and to organize your jails to revolt against you and to organize your children, your God, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here's my life."

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

- 6* -

CODE

August 30, 1968

TELETYPE

SENT BY CODED TELETYPE

URGENT

TO SAC ST. LOUIS (100-20639)

1 - Mr. Rosen

1 -

b7c

FROM DIRECTOR FBI (100-446080)

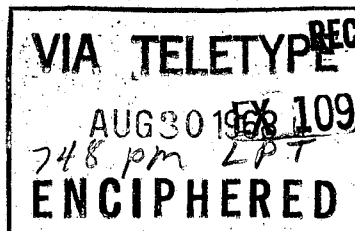
STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RM-SNCC: ANTIRIOT LAWS, BUDED 9/3/68

REURTEL AUGUST THIRTY, ONE NINE SIX EIGHT.

IMMEDIATELY OBTAIN FROM ST. LOUIS POLICE A COPY OF THE
RECORDING OF SUBJECT'S SPEECH IN ST. LOUIS ON AUGUST TWENTY-NINE,
ONE NINE SIX EIGHT AND FURNISH VERBATIM TRANSCRIPT OF THE
SPEECH IN LETTERHEAD MEMORANDUM FORM TO REACH THE BUREAU BY
SEPTEMBER THREE, ONE NINE SIX EIGHT. COPY SENT WASHINGTON
FIELD BY MAIL.

1 - WFO (100-43403)

ABF:ekw *ekw*
(5)



19 SEP 3 1968

NOTE: Subject is a black extremist who is on the Security Index and Agitator Index. He recently has been making highly inflammatory speeches and in his remarks at St. Louis, which were recorded by the St. Louis PD, he urged guerrilla warfare when blacks are sufficiently armed. In view of the possible violation of Federal Antiriot Laws and the interest of the Department, the verbatim copy of this speech should be promptly obtained.

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

56 SEP 10 1968

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-09-2005 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

REC 54

100-446070-1906

August 30, 1968

EX-101



b7C

Dear 

Your letter of August 26th has been received and I can readily understand the concern which prompted you to write.

With respect to the activities of Stokely Carmichael, the FBI is strictly an investigative agency of the Federal Government and, as such, does not determine whether prosecutive action will be undertaken in any situation. Such decisions concerning violations of Federal law are within the province of the Attorney General. Volu-
minous data regarding Carmichael have been furnished to the Attorney General and you may wish to contact him.

I want to assure you that the FBI is aware of its respon-
sibilities with respect to the internal security of our country. We will continue to make every effort to carry out our duties with the greatest thoroughness and efficiency.

Sincerely yours,
J. Edgar Hoover

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-09-2005 BY 60309 auc.tam/mlt/tcg

NOTE: Bufiles contain no information identifiable with correspondent.

 is not identifiable in Bufiles.

b7C

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

WMG:llk (3)

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

56 SEP 11 1968

www

TRUE COPY

b7C

August 26, 1968

Mr. John Edgar Hoover, Director,
Federal Bureau of Investigation,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover,

If today's Washington Post has accurately reported Stokeley Carmichael's speech in Oakland, California yesterday, he should be arrested for sedition, treason and advocating anarchy.

b7C

b7D

[redacted] the article found on page two of the paper, Quotes Stokeley Carmichael as saying, "The government of the United States is racist and imperialistic . Therefore, we are fighting against the Government of the United States." Could he possibly make his position more clear?

Is the government of the United States actually afraid of Stokeley Carmichael and his malcontents? I hear it everywhere. When I was in school, I learned that a sovereign nation admits no equals and tolerates no competitors within its borders. Is this definition no longer applicable?

Isn't it time now for the Justice Department to begin to protect the nation from its enemies rather than to tolerate them?

It is almost too late now, but would you please do something to protect our nation from anarchy? Thank you.

REC 54

Sincerely yours,

2 SEP 3 1968

EX-101

b7C

b7D

b7C

b7D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-09-2005 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

8-28-68
ack
8/30/68
wmg:ek
S/
mm

August 20, 1968

Mr. John Edgar Hoover, Director,
Federal Bureau of Investigation,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover,

If today's Washington Post has accurately reported Stokeley Carmichael's speech in Oakland, California yesterday, he should be arrested for sedition, treason and advocating anarchy.

[REDACTED]

the article found on page two of the paper, quotes Stokeley Carmichael as saying, "The government of the United States is racist and imperialistic. Therefore, we are fighting against the Government of the United States." Could he possibly make his position more clear?

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-09-2005 BY 60309 auc tam/mt/ttc

CORRESPONDENCE

Is the government of the United

ack 8/30/68
wmv:ack

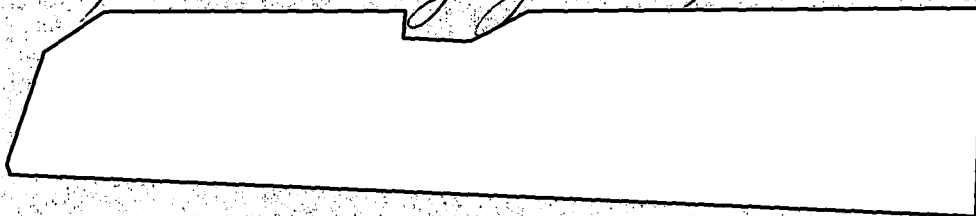
12
MAIL
8-11-68

2). States actually afraid of Stokeley Carmichael and his message?
I hear it everywhere. When I was in school, I learned that a sovereign nation admits no equals and tolerates no competitors within its borders. Is this definition no longer applicable?

Isn't it time now for the Justice Department to begin to protect the nation from its enemies rather than to tolerate them?

It is almost too late now, but would you please do something to protect our nation from anarchy?
Thank you.

Sincerely yours,



b7C

b7D

F B I

Date: 8/31/68

Transmit the following in PLAIN TEXT
(Type in plaintext or code)Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RM, OO:WFO

RE ATLANTA TELETYPE AUGUST THIRTY LAST.

SUBJECT ARRIVED NATIONAL AIRPORT, WASHINGTON, D.C., VIA
DELTA AIRLINES FLIGHT NUMBER SEVEN FIVE THREE AT FIVE FORTY
EIGHT PM, AUGUST THIRTY LAST. SUBJECT DEPARTED AIRPORT AND
WENT TO HIS RESIDENCE. P.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-09-2005 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/ecg

EX-100

REC 46

100-446080-1907

25 SEP 4 1968

CC MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

4 - Bureau
1 - WFO
RCC:ssb
(5)

100-446080

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

61 SEP 9 1968

WA -5-

741PM URGENT 9-1-68 DCC

VIA TELETYPE

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080) AND WASHINGTON FIELD
OFFICE (100-43503) (PLAINTEXT)

ENCIPHERED

WASHINGTON FIELD VIA WASHINGTON
ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM NEW YORK (100-153751) 1P

STOKLEY CARMICHAEL, RM-SNCC

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE, RELIABLE, ADVISED THIS

DATE THAT SUBJECT DEPARTED RESIDENCE OF [REDACTED]

AT FIVE FORTYFIVE PM THIS DATE, ACCOMPANIED
BY [REDACTED] DRIVING GREEN AMBASSADOR, (NO FURTHER
IDENTIFICATION) AND CARRYING A VALISE.
NO FURTHER ACTIVITY REPORTED.

ADMINISTRATIVE

WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE BEING ALERTED IN EVENT
SUBJECT IS RETURNING TO WASHINGTON, D.C.

END

IMDI

EFH R RELAY

FBI WASH DC.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

REC 46

EX-100

MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

TELETYPE TO:

61 SEP 9 1968

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 8/28/68

Attached relates to travels of Stokely Carmichael, and indicates purpose of his travel to Illinois is to attend strategy meeting regarding course of action he should take since disassociating with Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

Pertinent parts of attached to be furnished interested Divisions of the Department, Secret Service, and military. We concurred with recommendation in attached and instructed Springfield to handle same so long as full security provided. You will be kept advised of developments in this matter.

JFM:chs

D GC 7/20/68 WCS/M

OK.
H

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

AUG 28 1968

TELETYPE

FBI WASH DC*

FBI SPRNGFLD

425PM 8/28/68 IMMEDIATE PAM

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080) AND CHICAGO (157-1297),
ST. LOUIS (100-20639) WASHINGTON FIELD (100-43503)
FROM SPRINGFIELD (100-10697) 3P

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

RACIAL MATTER
STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RM. OO WASHINGTON FIELD.

RE ST. LOUIS AND SPRINGFIELD TELETYPES TODAY.

A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE AT CARBONDALE, ILLINOIS, ADVISED
TODAY HE LEARNED SUBJECT'S TRIP TO CARBONDALE WAS PLANNED
BUT A WELL-KEPT SECRET KNOWN TO ONLY A FEW PERSONS. PROPOSE
OF TRIP TO HOLD STRATEGY AND PLANNING MEETING WITH A FEW

INDIVIDUALS REGARDING COURSE OF ACTION TO BE TAKEN BY
CARMICHAEL SINCE DISASSOCIATION WITH SNCC. SOURCE BELIEVES *STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE*

HE MAY BE TRYING TO ORGANIZE HIS OWN GROUP OR ASSOCIATION
WITH "BLACK LIBERATORS", LOCAL MILITANT BLACK GROUP
HEADQUARTERED ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI, MENTIONED IN RE ST. LOUIS
TEL.

SOURCE HAS NO INFORMATION CONCERNING IDENTITIES OF _____
OTHER PERSONS CONTACTED BY CARMICHAEL AT CARBONDALE 20 SEP 4 1968
IN CONNECTION WITH INTENTION TO ORGANIZE GROUP AND UNABLE
TO PROVIDE ANY INFORMATION REGARDING DESTINATION AFTER

END OF PAGE ONE TELETYPE TO:

54 SEP 9-1968

Mr. Tolson ✓
Mr. DeLoach ✓
Mr. Mohr ✓
Mr. Bishop ✓
Mr. Casper ✓
Mr. Callahan ✓
Mr. Conrad ✓
Mr. Felt ✓
Mr. Gale ✓
Mr. Rosen ✓
Mr. Sullivan ✓
Mr. Tavel ✓
Mr. Trotter ✓
Tele. Room ✓
Miss Holmes ✓
Miss Gandy ✓

b7C

REC-65

EX-103

100-446080-101

TELETYPE TO:

WFO

SI 100-10697

PAGE TWO

VISIT TO CARBONDALE AND ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI.

b7C

b7D

[REDACTED] HAS ADVISED TELEPHONE TOLL RECORDS CAN BE MADE AVAILABLE IMMEDIATELY UNDER HIS PERSONAL SUPERVISION WITH FULL SECURITY AND FULL PROTECTION TO BUREAU'S INTERESTS.

THERE ARE CURRENTLY NO FEDERAL GRAND JURIES IN SESSION IN ENTIRE SPRINGFIELD DIVISION AND, THEREFORE, SUBPOENA FOR THIS INFORMATION NOT AVAILABLE AT PRESENT TIME.

ALTHOUGH SUBPOENA COULD UNDOUBTEDLY BE OBTAINED AT A FUTURE DATE, IN VIEW OF SUBJECT'S PROMINENCE IN BLACK MILITANT FIELD, NATIONAL IMPORTANCE OF HIS TRAVELS, DEPARTMENTAL INTEREST IN HIS SPEECHES, AND POSSIBILITY TRAVEL TO DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION, SPRINGFIELD DESIRES TO UTILIZE TELEPHONE TOLL RECORDS TO ASSIST, ONE, IN ALERTING OFFICES WHERE HE HAS CURRENT CONTACTS AND WHICH, THEREFORE, MIGHT EXPECT VISIT FROM HIM, AND TWO, TO IDENTIFY RECIPIENTS OF TOLL CALLS IN COMMUNITIES

END OF PAGE TWO

SI 100-10697

PAGE THREE

SURROUNDING CARBONDALE WHO MIGHT ATTEND STRATEGY MEETING
TONIGHT /

IN VIEW OF FULL SECURITY ASSURED BY [REDACTED]

b7C

b7D

[REDACTED] BUREAU AUTHORITY IS

REQUESTED TO OBTAIN TELEPHONE TOLL RECORDS.

END

~~CORR PAGE TWO FIETH LIEN FIFTH WORD SHOULD BE PERSONAL~~

END

SLB

FBI WASH DC*

MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 8/26/68

Stokely Carmichael was recently "expelled" from Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) before he "resigned" and affiliated with the Black Panther Party (BPP), a black extremist organization.

The attached pertains to speech by Carmichael at a Black Panther Rally, Marin City, California, 8/22/68. Carmichael spoke against capitalism and said we "need either socialism or communism." He said "we no longer need to discuss violence. Don't even waste our time with it. There can be no other solution for us but the gun." Carmichael in referring to the stores in black communities that exploit said "thats why we burn them out and will continue to do that."

Copy of attached furnished Attorney General, Inter-Division Information Unit of Department, as well as to Criminal and Internal Security Divisions of Department. To be furnished military and Secret Service.

Weslan
JFM:chs

D
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

VIA TELETYPE

AUG 26 1968

ENCIPHERED

WVA 03

258PM URGENT 8-26-68 MS
TO DIRECTOR AND WASH FIELD

CODED

FROM SAN FRANCISCO 4P

Mr. Tolson ✓
Mr. DeLoach ✓
Mr. Mohr ✓
Mr. Bishop ✓
Mr. Casper ✓
Mr. Callahan ✓
Mr. Conrad ✓
Mr. Felt ✓
Mr. Gale ✓
Mr. Rosen ✓
Mr. Sullivan ✓
Mr. Tavel ✓
Mr. Trotter ✓
Tele. Room ✓
Miss Holmes ✓
Miss Gandy ✓

STOKELY CARMICHAEL. RACIAL MATTERS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

REBUTEL CALL THIS DATE.

FOLLOWING ARE EXCERPTS OF A SPEECH DELIVERED BY SUBJECT
AT A "FREE HUEY RALLY" SPONSORED BY MARIN CITY BPP AT MARIN
CITY, CALIF., ON AUGUST TWENTYTWO LAST. HUEY NEWTON IS
DEFENSE MINISTER, BPP, PRESENTLY ON TRIAL FOR MURDER OF
OAKLAND POLICE OFFICER.

"....WE HAVE TO BRING ABOUT A REVOLUTION IN THIS COUNTRY.
THERE IS NO ALTERNATIVE...THERE IS GOING TO BE A SOCIETY FREE
OF RACISM OR THERE WILL BE NO SOCIETY.

"....CAPITALISM IS AN ECONOMIC SYSTEM. THERE ARE THREE
ECONOMIC SYSTEMS IN THE WORLD TODAY, CAPITALISM, SOCIALISM
AND COMMUNISM. SINCE WE CANNOT HAVE CAPITALISM, WE NEED
EITHER SOCIALISM OR COMMUNISM...WHAT WE DO KNOW IS THAT WE
LIVE IN A CAPITALIST SOCIETY. IT HAS IMPRISONED US AND WE
CAN NO LONGER HAVE IT, SO WE GOT TO BREAK OUT OF IT AND WE

END PAGE ONE
TELETYPE TO:

54 SEP 9-1968

TWO COPIES TO WFO

PAGE TWO

MUST LOOK TO OTHER PLACES...WE ARE NOT IN A REVOLUTION BECAUSE A REVOLUTION ONLY BEGINS WHEN YOU HAVE SEIZED POWER AND YOU BEGIN TO CHANGE THE SYSTEM...THE CUBAN REVOLUTION BEGAN WHEN FIDEL CASTRO WALKED INTO HAVANA AND BATISTA RAN...WE ARE BEGINNING THE STAGE THAT PRECEDES THE REVOLUTION CALLED ARMED STRUGGLE. ARMED STRUGGLE IS WHEN YOU ENGAGE IN ARMED CONFLICT AGAINST AN ENEMY OF THE PEOPLE...JUST PICKING UP A GUN DOES NOT MAKE YOU A REVOLUTIONARY...IN ORDER TO BE A REVOLUTIONARY YOU GOT TO PICK UP A GUN. UNDERSTAND THAT EVEN BEFORE YOU CAN TALK REVOLUTION, YOU GOT TO BE WILLING TO KILL, NOT JUST TO DIE BUT TO KILL BECAUSE SOMETIMES IT IS MUCH EASIER JUST TO DIE THAN TO KILL. AND WHEN YOU PICK UP THE GUN, YOU GOT TO BE WILLING TO KILL. ONCE YOU ARE WILLING TO KILL FOR YOUR PEOPLE, THEN YOU BEGIN TO TALK ABOUT REVOLUTION. UNLESS WE BEGIN TO UNDERSTAND THAT, WE WILL BE WASTED AND WE CANNOT BE WASTED IF WE INTEND TO BUILD A REAL REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE IN THIS COUNTRY.

"WE NO LONGER NEED TO DISCUSS VIOLENCE. DON'T EVEN WASTE OUR TIME WITH IT. THERE CAN BE NO OTHER SOLUTION FOR

END PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE

US BUT THE GUN. THERE CAN BE NO OTHER SOLUTION FOR BLACK PEOPLE BUT THE GUN. THAT'S CLASS. THAT'S CLASS. AND THE PARTY WILL SAY IT OVER AND OVER AGAIN. GET GUNS, GET GUNS, GET GUNS, GET GUNS. GET 'EM ANYWAY YOU CAN. THERE ARE THREE WAYS TO GET ANYTHING. YOU WORK FOR IT, YOU BEG FOR IT, OR YOU TAKE IT. JUST GET 'EM. EITHER WORK FOR IT, BEG FOR IT OR TAKE IT...WE DON'T NEED TO ARGUE ABOUT THAT TODAY, WE DON'T HAVE TO ARGUE WHY WE NEED GUNS...SO WHEN THEY COME DOWN ON US, WE CAN BLOW THEM AWAY...

"NOW OUR PEOPLE HAVE PROVEN A WILLINGNESS TO FIGHT. THEY HAVE PROVEN A REVOLUTIONARY CONSCIOUSNESS. WHEN A PEOPLE DEVELOP A REVOLUTIONARY CONSCIOUSNESS, THEY BEGIN TO ATTACK IN DIFFERENT LEVELS, THREE THINGS. THE FIRST IS THEY ATTACK THE SYMBOLS OF OPPRESSION. THE SECOND IS THE TOOLS OF OPPRESSION. AND THE FINAL STAGE IS THE OPPRESSOR HIMSELF. OUR PEOPLE, WHETHER THEY RECOGNIZE IT OR NOT, HAVE ATTACKED THE SYMBOLS OF OPPRESSION. THE SYMBOLS OF OPPRESSION HAPPEN TO BE THE CANDY STORE, THE STORES IN OUR COMMUNITIES, THAT EXPLOIT, THAT TAKE ADVANTAGE OF US. THEY ARE THE FIRST ONES

END PAGE THREE

PAGE FOUR

WE COULD SEE. THAT'S WHY WE BURN THEM OUT AND WE WILL
CONTINUE TO DO THAT. NOW WE MOVE TO THE SECOND LEVEL.
THIS IS VERY IMPORTANT BECAUSE THE SECOND LEVEL IS THE
TOOLS OF THE OPPRESSOR. THIS IS WHERE HUEY PERCY NEWTON
BECAME VERY IMPORTANT. BECAUSE HE WAS ONE OF THE FIRST TO
MOVE ON THAT LEVEL...THE POLICE ARE THE TOOLS OF THE OPPRESSOR...
IF WE ARE NOW ON THE SECOND LEVEL, WE ARE MOVING AGAINST THE
TOOLS OF THE OPPRESSOR. WE'RE MOVING AGAINST THE PIGS,
THAT'S WHO THE TOOLS OF THE OPPRESSOR IS. BUT IN ORDER TO
BEGIN THAT MOVE, WE HAVE TO BE VERY CONSCIENTIOUS. THAT MOVE
IS THE MOVE THAT (INAUDIBLE) AND DECLARE ARMED STRUGGLE...
GUERRILLA WARFARE IS THE THING...IN ORDER TO HAVE GUERRILLA
WARFARE, YOU MUST HAVE THE SUPPORT OF THE MASSES OF THE PEOPLE.

ADMINISTRATIVE

POTENTIAL SECURITY INFORMANT

THE SOURCE WHO RECORDED THE SUBJECT'S SPEECH IS

BATTERY-OPERATED RECORDER LOST POWER AND REMAINDER OF SPEECH
INAUDIBLE. SA ATTENDED RALLY AND
HEARD SUBJECT'S SPEECH.

END

NSM

FBI WASH DC

CC - MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

COPY SENT AG AND IDIU
Int Sec, and Comm Div

b7C
b7D

VIA TELETYPE

AUG 31 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

335AM URGENT 8-31-68 JLS

TO DIRECTOR AND WASHINGTON FIELD

FROM ST. LOUIS

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RM. OO: WASHINGTON FIELD.

ON AUGUST THIRTY, SIX EIGHT, [REDACTED]

(RELIABLE) ADVISED THAT [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] FOR SUBJECT DURING HIS SPEECH AT ST. LOUIS AUGUST
TWENTY NINE LAST ADVISED THE SOURCE THAT CARMICHAEL [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] CARMICHAEL INDICATED TO HIS CLOSE
ASSOCIATES AT ST. LOUIS MEETING THAT HE INTENDED TO [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] ACCORDING TO INFORMATION FURNISHED THE
INFORMANT BY [REDACTED] WHO IS KNOWN TO INFORMANT ONLY AS

[REDACTED] LNU. ST. LOUIS HAS NO INFORMATION TO CONFIRM OR
DENY THIS ALLEGATION, OTHER THAN ABOVE. REC 46 100-446080-1711

WASHINGTON FIELD DETERMINE IF CARMICHAEL HAS SUCH A

[REDACTED] AND ATTEMPT TO RESOLVE IF SUCH A MARRIAGE TOOK
PLACE. EXTREME CARE MUST BE UTILIZED IN ANY DISSEMINATION
OF THE ABOVE BECAUSE OF POTENTIAL DANGER OF THE INFORMANT.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

RECEIVED: 4:43AM MSE

53 SEP 10 1968

CC: MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

F B I

Date: 9/1/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM
(OO:WFO)

b7C

ReSLtel to WFO 8/31/68.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

St. Louis advised in above referenced tel that "on August 30, 1968, [redacted] (Reliable) advised that [redacted] for subject during his speech at St. Louis August 29, 1968, advised the source that CARMICHAEL [redacted]

[redacted] CARMICHAEL indicated to his close associates at St. Louis meeting that he intended to [redacted] according to information furnished the informant by [redacted] who is known to informant only as [redacted] (LNU). St. Louis has no information to confirm or deny this allegation, other than above.

Washington Field determine if CARMICHAEL has such a sister and attempt to resolve if such a marriage took place. Extreme care must be utilized in any dissemination of the above because of potential danger to the informant."

NY contact sources familiar with subject's family activities regarding above for any pertinent info.

- 3 - Bureau
- 2 - New York (RM)
- 1 - St. Louis (Info) (RM)
- 1 - WFO

WWH:pab

C. C. Bishop

REC 49

25 SEP 4 1968

54 SEP 11 1968

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FBI WASH DC*

AUG 29 1968

TELETYPE

FBI SPRNGFLD

910*AM 8/29/68 DEFERRED PAM

b7C

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080), AND WASHINGTON FIELD, CHICAGO
(157-1297) ST. LOUIS (100-20639)
FROM SPRINGFIELD (100-10697)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mt/tcd

b7C

Jaw STOKLEY CARMICHAEL, RM, OO WFO.

RE SPRINGFIELD TELETYPE. AUGUST TWENTYEIGHT, LAST.

PHYSICAL SURVEILLANCE CONDUCTED THROUGH^{OUT} NIGHT AND EARLY
MORNING HOURS, AUGUST TWENTYSEVEN TO TWENTYNINE, CARMICHAEL
OBSERVED OUTSIDE OF APARTMENT SIX FIFTEEN PM, AUGUST
TWENTYEIGHT, AND TOOK DRIVE ABOUT COMMUNITY. CARMICHAEL
RETURNED TO APARTMENT AND THROUGHOUT EVENING IT WAS NOTED
THERE WERE SOME VISITS BY NEGRO PERSONS, HOWEVER, THERE
WERE IDENTIFIED AS RELATIVES OF [REDACTED] FAMILY AND FRIENDS.
CARMICHAEL MADE NO PUBLIC APPEARANCES, MADE NO SPEECHES
AND NO DEMONSTRATIONS OR VIOLENCE OCCURRED AS RESULT OF
HIS PRESENCE. IT WAS POINTED OUT [REDACTED] INDICATED
CARMICHAEL WAS USING VISIT AS A REST AND HIS PRESENCE IN
COMMUNITY NOT PUBLICIZED TO NEGRO COMMUNITY OR PRESS.

[REDACTED] INDICATES CARMICHAEL AND ASSOCIATES
ANTICIPATE LEAVING CARBONDALE DURING A.M., AUGUST

END OF PAGE ONE

TELETYPED TO:

61 SEP 10 1968

WFO

b2

b7D

REC 13

100-446080-1113

SEP 4 1968

SI 100-10697

PAGE TWO

TWENTYNINE, SIXTYEIGHT, TO TRAVEL TO ST. LOUIS.

BUREAU AND INTERESTED OFFICES WILL BE KEPT ADVISED
OF PERINTENT DEVELOPMENTS.

AM COPY SENT BOSTON. P.

EEND

SLB

FBI WASH DC*

CC- MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

AUG 25 1968

FBI WASH DC*

REC-24

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
M. Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TELETYPE

FBI LOS ANG.

9:33PM URGENT 8-24-68 REF

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080), SAN FRANCISCO, WASHINGTON FIELD
AND DETROIT

FROM LOS ANGELES (100-68783) 4P

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; RM-SNCC.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

RELATEL THIS DATE.

LOS ANGELES COUNTY PEACE AND FREEDOM PARTY AND BLACK
PANTHER PARTY (BPP) SPONSORED RALLY TO FREE HUEY NEWTON.
HELD WILL ROGERS PARK, LOS ANGELES BETWEEN FOUR PM AND SIX
THIRTY PM THIS DATE. APPROXIMATELY FIVE HUNDRED PERSONS
ATTENDED, ALL BEING NEGRO EXCEPT FOUR WHITE PERSONS. ALL
PERSONS ENTERING PARK CHECKED FOR CAMERAS, RECORDING DEVICES
AND WEAPONS BY NEGRO MALES WEARING BLACK BERETTS, BLACK
PANTHER SWEAT SHIRTS AND JACKETS. THIS GROUP SERVED AS GUARDS
AND SECURITY FORCE AROUND PARK.

MASTER OF CEREMONIES WAS SHERMONT BANKS, BPP LEADER LOS
ANGELES, CALIFORNIA WHO INTRODUCED ALL SPEAKERS ON PROGRAM.
FIRST SPEAKER, ROBERT HALL INTRODUCED AS BEING WITH THE
BLACK NATIONALIST MOVEMENT IN NEW YORK CITY, WHO PRAISED NEWTON.

END PAGE ONE

54 SEP 11 1968
TELETYPE TO:

WFO

cc - Train

Summary
W. H. + A G
8/26/68 RMB

PAGE TWO

LA 100-68783

AND THE BLACK MILITANTS. HE CRITICIZED THE ESTABLISHMENT, THE WAR IN VIETNAM AND SPOKE CONCERNING THE NEGRO REVOLUTION.

PRENTICE CARTER, INTRODUCED AS A PANTHER SUPPORTER REITERATED THOUGHTS OF FIRST SPEAKER.

CHICO NESBITT, THIRD SPEAKER WAS NOT IDENTIFIED WITH ORGANIZATION. STRESSED NEED FOR NEGRO EMPLOYMENT, EDUCATION AND POLITICAL POWER.

THE FOURTH SPEAKER ~~MARGARET WRIGHT~~, ^{CHICK} FEMALE, ACTIVE IN BLACK NATIONALIST MOVEMENT LOS ANGELES SPOKE CONCERNING POLICE BRUTALITY; THE MAJORITY OF NEGRO SERVICEMEN WERE BEING KILLED AND NEED TO END VIETNAM WAR, WHITE RACISM.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL INTRODUCED AS LEADER AND FRIEND BPP. HE SPOKE FROM FOUR FORTY FIVE PM TO SIX TWENTY FIVE PM CONCERNING "HONKIES" WHO HAVE SUPRESSED THE NEGROES AND THE REST OF THE WORLD. THE BLACK MANS ONLY ENEMY IS THE "HONKIE". INDICATED NEED TO OBTAIN WEAPONS; PISTOLS, RIFLES ETC. CRITICIZED THE GOVERNMENT, SOCIALISM, CAPITALISM AND THE WAR OF OPRESSION IN VIETNAM. BLACK MEN MUST UNITE SOCIALLY, ECONOMICALLY AND MILITARILY TO AVOID EXTERMINATION.

END PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE

LA 100-68783

ALL SPEAKERS WERE RECEIVED ENTHUSIASTICALLY AND WITH LOUD OVATIONS. CROWD OBSERVED TO BE BOISTEROUS, NOISEY BUT ORDERLY. PREDOMINATELY YOUNG NEGROES IN ATTENDANCE. NO INCIDENTS OF VIOLENCE REPORTED AND NO ARRESTS MADE. RALLY TERMINATED SIX THIRTY PM. FEATURED SPEAKERS THEN ADJOURNED TO WAITING VEHICLES FOR A RECEPTION FOR CARMICHAEL WHEREABOUTS UNKNOWN.

RALLY OBSERVED BY SA [REDACTED] AND SA [REDACTED] b7C
MAJORITY OF LOCAL PRESS DENIED ACCESS TO PARK, BUT SELECT TWO OR THREE MEMBERS OF NEWS MEDIA GRANTED ACCESS TO RALLY AND SPEAK WITH CARMICHAEL. USE OF RECORDING DEVICES DENIED LOCAL PRESS. NO RECORDING OF PROGRAM MADE BY LAPD AND LASO. NO RECORDING MADE BY BUAGENTS DUE TO SECURITY BPP AND REQUEST OF LOCAL LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCY WHO INDICATED TIGHT SECURITY BEING MAINTAINED AND INCIDENT PROVOKING RIOT MIGHT OCCUR. CAUCASIANS WERE DISCOURAGED FROM ENTERING PARK.

CARMICHAEL TO RETURN TO SAN FRANCISCO FOR RALLY AUGUST TWENTY FIVE NEXT. MODE OF TRAVEL UNKNOWN.
END PAGE THREE

PAGE FOUR

LA 100-68783

/ADMINISTRATIVE/

CONFIDENTIAL INFORMANTS AND RACIAL SOURCES, LOS ANGELES
IN ATTENDANCE. REGION II U.S. ARMY COGNIZANT. AIRTEL AND
LHM FOLLOWS. AIR MAIL COPIES TO ATLANTA AND NEW YORK FOR
INFORMATION.

END

SVM

FBI WASH DC*

TUP

MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

F B I

Date: 8/22/68 *WCS/ymw*Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, DENVER (149-243)(RUC)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RMTWA FLIGHT 63, DULLES FIELD, VA.,
TO SAN FRANCISCO, 8/21/68
DAMV - INFORMATION CONCERNINGALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcgRe Denver teletype to Director, 8/21/68, and
San Francisco teletype to Director 8/22/68.Enclosed for the Bureau, San Francisco and
Washington Field Office is one copy each of a news article
dated 8/22/68, from the Rocky Mountain News, Denver daily
newspaper, captioned "STOKELY STOPS OVER IN DENVER AFTER BOMB
SCARE."(FNU) [redacted] Denver, Colorado,
telephonically contacted the Denver Division at about
7:00 p.m. on 8/21/68, to advise that TWA had received in-
formation of a bomb scare aboard TWA flight #63 enroute from
"Dallas" to San Francisco, and that the flight was being re-
routed to stop at Denver, Colorado, for a search. He stated
further that STOKELY CARMICHAEL was one of the passengers on
board and the plane was scheduled to arrive at Stapleton
International Airport, Denver, at 7:20 p.m.ENCLOSURE
③-Bureau (Encl-1)
1-San Francisco (Encl-1)
1-WFO (Encl-1)
2-Denver (1-149-243)
RLC:hg (1-100-9400)Carmichael
(7)

REC 4

EX-106

15 AUG 24 1968

C. G. Bishop

FOL 940 +
transferred.

RACIAL M. SECT.

Approved: *[Signature]*

Sent _____

M

Per *[Signature]*

51 SEP 11 1968 Special Agent in Charge

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 149-0-1329

DN 149-243

Denver Agents immediately proceeded to the airport for the purpose of interviewing passengers and not to search the plane.

[redacted] Denver, Colorado, advised on 8/21/68, that flight 63 originated at Dulles Field, Virginia, and was non-stop to San Francisco. He advised further that apparently the bomb scare had originated in San Francisco, California, with [redacted] who had been contacted by a San Francisco FBI Agent for the purpose of verifying the arrival time of the flight in San Francisco. He continued that [redacted] apparently construed the call as an inquiry concerning a bomb threat.

[redacted] advised on 8/21/68, that this flight originated at Dulles Field, Virginia, and was non-stop to San Francisco. He stated that at approximately 6:45 p.m. when the flight was just west of Hill City, Kansas, [redacted]

[redacted] flight plan to land at Stapleton International Airport, Denver, Colorado. [redacted]

[redacted] verify with the FBI Agent in San Francisco the facts surrounding the Agent's telephone call to [redacted] in that city.

SA [redacted] Night Supervisor, San Francisco Division, was telephonically contacted on 8/21/68, and advised that [redacted] had landed flight 63 in Denver but before continuing the flight wanted to be satisfied that there had not been another call which was a bomb threat.

The San Francisco Division was subsequently advised in another telephone call from Denver Division on 8/21/68, that [redacted] had checked with TWA personnel in San Francisco and was now satisfied that [redacted] San Francisco, had jumped to a conclusion and that there had been no bomb scare.

DN 149-243

[REDACTED] Denver, advised on 8/21/68, that all passengers from TWA flight 63 and their baggage were placed on TWA flight 709 to San Francisco, and that STOKELY CARMICHAEL and his companions were also scheduled to leave Denver on that flight at approximately 9:30 p.m., Denver time.

b7C

b7D

STOKELY CARMICHAEL and five other Negro males were observed by Denver Agents to board TWA flight 709 and that flight was observed to leave the loading area at Stapleton International Airport at 10:15 p.m.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Stokely Stops Over in Denver

After Bomb Scare

By ALAN CUNNINGHAM
Rocky Mountain News Writer

Fresh from being disowned by the Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee, Stokely Carmichael, the militants' militant, made an unscheduled and slightly zany stop at Stapleton International Airport Wednesday night.

It turned out to be a comedy of errors involving a San Francisco FBI agent, who was evidently keeping a long-distance eye on the Black Power guru, plus an inexperienced reservations clerk who got excited. What followed was a bomb scare without the faintest hint of a bomb.

Carmichael, who said he is now the prime minister of the Black Panther organization, was aboard a TWA non-stop flight from Washington to San Francisco when the pilot was told to land at Denver.

He and two fellow Panther leaders took immense delight in the queries of reporters who showed up for an impromptu interview, replying to most questions with a mocking black humor that cracked them up as quickly as they could hurl it.

Map Strategy

Carmichael said he plans to set up shop in San Francisco for awhile to map strategy for the Panthers.

But he waxed cagey when queried about reports that the Panther organization had merged with SNCC, saying the answer hinged on "internal negotiations."

Earlier in the day, SNCC's national program secretary, Phil Hutchings, had announced in a politely worded statement that SNCC had "terminated Stokely Carmichael's relationship to the organization."

Hutchings said the Trinidad-born disciple of black power had "made tremendous strides in the fight for black liberation over the past eight years," but said he and SNCC now appeared to be "moving in different directions."

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

70 Rocky Mtn News
Denver, Colorado

Date: 8-22-68
Edition: Home Final
Author:
Editor: Jack Foster
Title: TWA FLIGHT 63, FROM
DULLES FIELD, VA. TO
SAN FRANCISCO 8-21-68
Character: DAMV
or 149-243
Classification: 100-9400
Submitting Office: Denver
☐ Being Investigated

SEP 5 1968
100-1146080-16

Carmichael, along with Chico Neblett, the Panthers' East Coast field organizer, and Ron Hill, their Brooklyn section leader, were among 73 aboard the flight.

Also in the plane were a trio of young men from Ethiopia, who quickly made friends with the three militants and stayed with them as the entire group was transferred to another San Francisco-bound jet two hours later.

Misunderstanding

A TWA spokesman in San Francisco said it all came about when an FBI agent, presumably keeping tabs on Carmichael's whereabouts, called the reservations desk there to ask when his flight would arrive.

Evidently misunderstanding the reason for the call, the young clerk notified her supervisor that there might be a bomb aboard the aircraft. By the time TWA officials got the misunderstanding straightened out, the flight was on the ground here.

Firemen and members of the Denver police bomb squad rushed to the airport. Asst. Fire Chief Arthur Newman and Fire Investigator James Jordan searched the plane but found nothing unusual.

On the ground, Carmichael professed to know little about the whole incident and seemed totally disinterested as to whether his presence on the flight had anything to do with the unscheduled stopover.

When first asked his plans in California, Carmichael replied he would be "trying to free human beings by any means necessary."

Asked how many Black Panthers there are in the U.S., he tossed out an oft-quoted line from the late Malcolm X:

"Those who know don't say, and those who say don't know."

Little Interest

He insisted he and other black militants have little interest in creating a disturbance in Chicago next week during the Democratic National Convention.

"That's a white man's battle."

And the laughing black leader—his mocking face in sharp contrast to the shouting, militant countenance he wears in public speeches—made a small wager with this reporter that President Johnson will be re-nominated at that convention.

Neblett wore a button which declared, "Huey must be set free," an allusion to Huey P. Newton, the Panthers' defense minister, who is now on trial for murder in Oakland.

Wearing a bright orange shirt and long, African style hair, Neblett seemed unperturbed when a young man walked up to him, mistaking him for "acid rock" singer Jimi Hendrix, and asked for an autograph.

And the three were nearly convulsed when a reporter asked them to unroll the poster which Carmichael was carrying. It turned out to be a huge photograph of Ernesto (Che) Guevara, Fidel Castro's former military aide who has since variously been reported as dead or in hiding in South America.

Other Carmichael quips: "I'm a peace-loving man. I love peace so much I'm willing to fight for it."

"I'm not a demagog. Do I look like a demagog?"

"All the planes that are going to Cuba and we had to get on one with a bomb scare!"

Passing a Negro Marine who was on his way to catch another flight, Carmichael gave the young serviceman a hearty "Hello, brother!" The Marine ignored him and kept on walking.



ROCKY MOUNTAIN NEWS PHOTO BY BILL PEERY

Getting an immense laugh out of the whole thing, former SNCC chairman Stokely Carmichael displays a Che Guevara poster while

grounded in Denver by a bomb scare Wednesday night. At left of Carmichael is Chico Neblett; Ron Hill looks on from far left.

F B I

Date: 9/1/68

Transmit the following in CODE
(Type in plaintext or code)Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: ~~DIRECTOR~~, FBI AND SACS NEWARK AND NEW YORK

FROM: SAC, WFO

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RM.

SUBJECT'S PRESENCE AT WASHINGTON, D. C. RESIDENCE DURING
AFTERNOON AUGUST THIRTYONE LAST VERIFIED BY SAS. IN EARLY
EVENING SUBJECT WITH [REDACTED] WENT TO PITTS
MOTOR HOTEL, ONE FOUR FIVE ONE BELMONT AVENUE, N. W., WASHINGTON,
D. C.

b7C

A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMA-
TION IN THE PAST ADVISED AUGUST THIRTYONE LAST SUBJECT SCHEDULED
TO ATTEND BANQUET OF PAN AFRICAN STUDENTS ORGANIZATION IN THE
AMERICAS, INC., THAT EVENING AT PITTS MOTOR HOTEL.

SUBJECT LATER DEPARTED PITTS MOTOR HOTEL AND WENT TO THE
ENVOY TOWERS, TWO FOUR ZERO ZERO SIXTEENTH STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

- 2 - Bureau
- 3 - Teletype Unit
- 2 - WFO (100-43503)

REC-41

261 2 52 PM '68

25 SEP 4 1968

WWH:pab
(7)

REC'D NOW INLET DIA

Approved: _____

Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

WFO 100-43503

PAGE TWO

ABOVE SOURCE REPORTED SUBJECT ATTENDED FUNCTION
SPONSORED BY PAN AFRICAN STUDENTS ORGANIZATION IN THE AMERICAS,
INC., AT THE ENVOY TOWERS.

SUBJECT DEPARTED ENVOY TOWERS ELEVEN THIRTY P.M. AUGUST
THIRTYONE LAST AND WAS DRIVEN TO DULLES AIRPORT BY [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] AT DULLES SAS VERIFIED SUBJECT'S DEPARTURE FOR NEWARK,
NEW JERSEY, AIRPORT VIA EASTERN AIRLINES FLIGHT NUMBER NINE
ONE ZERO, DUE TO DEPART TWELVE TWENTYFIVE A.M. AND ARRIVE
NEWARK AIRPORT ONE TWENTYFIVE A.M. SEPTEMBER ONE INSTANT.
SUBJECT TRAVELED ALONE CARRYING BLACK BRIEF CASE AND TWO
DUFFLE-BAG TYPE SUITCASES. HE WAS WEARING OLIVE DRAB COLORED
TROUSERS AND SHIRT AND SUN GLASSES.

ABOVE SOURCE REPORTED SUBJECT WAS TRAVELING TO NEW YORK
CITY TO MEET [REDACTED] WHO ACCORDING TO THIS
SOURCE BECAME [REDACTED] AND WAS RETURNING TO THE USA.

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via _____
(Priority)

WFO 100-43503

PAGE THREE

ADMINISTRATIVE

ABOVE

[Redacted Box]

b2
b7D

NEWARK AND NEW YORK COGNIZANT TO COVER SUBJECT PER
BUREAU AIRTEL DATED DECEMBER TWENTYONE, SIXTYSEVEN. P.

MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 835 980

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

VIA TELETYPE

AUG 22 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

WASHINGTON --1--

630AM DEFERRED 8-22-68 RLO

TO DIRECTOR, FBI, AND WFO

WFO VIA WASHINGTON PLAINTEXT

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-721)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RM DASH SNCC.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

RE WFO TELEPHONE CALL TO SAN FRANCISCO, AUGUST TWENTY-
ONE LAST.

SUBJECT AND TWO COMPANIONS ARRIVED SAN FRANCISCO ON TWA
FLIGHT SEVENTY-NINE AT ELEVEN TWENTY-NINE PM, AUGUST TWENTY-
ONE LAST. THEY WERE MET BY SIX NEGROES WHO APPEARED TO BE

BPP MEMBERS, INCLUDING [REDACTED] BPP MEMBER.

SUBJECT OBSERVED TO GO DIRECTLY TO RESIDENCE OF [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] SAN FRANCISCO, AND APPEARED TO
SETTLE DOWN FOR THE NIGHT.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

SF WILL FOLLOW AND REPORT ACTIVITY OF SUBJECT AND ASSOCIATES.

END ACK AND HOLD PLS

CJD

R RELAY FBI WASH

REC-14

EX-101

b7C

TELETYPED TO:

WFO
61 SEP 12 1968

MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

100-446080-1911
ADV. 8/22/68
SEP 5 1968
5-14

FBI

Date: 8/26/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
 FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-721)
 RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
 RM

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

Re San Francisco teletype 8/26/68 and Bureau phone call 8/26/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are original and two copies of a transcript of the speech delivered by Subject at DeFremercy Park, Oakland, California, Sunday, 8/25/68, during a Free Huey rally sponsored by the Black Panther Party.

The source of the tape recording is [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] She has advised SA [REDACTED] that she will testify in Bureau cases, caption not known, at some future date at Los Angeles. She will be recontacted to determine her willingness to testify in this matter.

The original recording of this speech will be returned to the source. A copy is being retained by San Francisco.

28 Aug 1968 80697D

ENCLOSURE

- 3 - Bureau (Enc. 3) (AM-RM)
 1 - Washington Field (100-43503) (Info) (AM-RM)
 1 - San Francisco

APC/jr
 (5)

J. Walter Yeagley
 Fred M. Vinson, Jr.

RAO: IDIU, CRD, ACST, OSI, SS, STATE

[REDACTED] (BY LIAISON)

b2

13 AUG 28 1968

SEP 11 1968

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

RACIAL INT. SECT

FBI

Date: 8/30/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
(ATTN: DID)

b7C

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-153751) (P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS - SNCC
SEDITION

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcgRe Bureau to Atlanta, NY and WFO airtel dated
8/20/68, WFO teletype to Bureau and NY, dated, 8/5/68.Enclosed for Bureau are 11 copies of an LHM,
dated and captioned as above. Also enclosed are two
copies each of LHM for Washington Field Office and
Atlanta.This LHM is being classified "~~Confidential~~"
to help protect the identity of this source of con-
tinuing value, whose identity, if revealed, could have
an adverse effect upon national security.

b2

The confidential sources referred to in the
LHM are:

b2

b7D

- 3 - Bureau (Encls. 11) (RM)
- 2 - Washington Field (Encls. 2) (RM)
- 2 - Atlanta (Encls. 2) (RM)
- 1 - New York

BJW:cms

(9)

1 - Supv. #43

REC 54

6 AUG 31 1968

C. C. Bishop

100-446080-1919
806 940STATE (BY Liaison), JES-BY Bureau
AGENCY: ACSI, OSI, SEC. SERV.,
FROM: ISD, CRD, RAO, Quinn, JBL

HOW FORM: 4/5

DATE FORM: 9/4/68

BY: AEF/def

Approved: _____

56 SEP 18 1968

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

NY 100-153751

Information copies of LHM are being disseminated locally to OSI, NISO, 108th MI, Secret Service and USA, SDNY and USA, EDNY.

A check with Motor Vehicle Bureau, New York State on 8/30/68, revealed that NY license [redacted] is a 1965 Ford Station Wagon registered to [redacted] NY, and that [redacted] is employed by [redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]

b7C

NY indices negative re [redacted]

b7C



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York
August 30, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Stokely Carmichael

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised there is no information that Carmichael has been receiving large sums of money.

[redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that Carmichael has not received large sums of money.

b2
b7D

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/teg
ON 01-25-2006

~~CONFIDENTIAL .
GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

This document contains neither recommendations of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

100-446080-1919

ENCLOSURE

F B I

Date: 9/2/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

b7C

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, ST. LOUIS (100-20639) (P)

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM - SNCC; ANTIRIOT LAWS
OO: WFO

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

Re SL tel to Bureau, 8/30/68; and Bureau tel to SL,
8/30/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies, for WFO two
copies, and one copy each for Atlanta, Chicago, Mobile, and
Springfield, of LHM reflecting subject's activities in the
St. Louis area, August 28-30, 1968.

Sources in this LHM are as follows:

b2
b7C
b7D

b7C

- 3 - Bureau (Encl. 1) (RM) (AMSD)
- 2 - Washington Field (Encl. 2) (RM)
- 1 - Atlanta (Encl. 1) (RM)
- 1 - Chicago (Encl. 1) (RM)
- 1 - Mobile (Encl. 1) (RM)
- 1 - Springfield (100-10697) (Encl. 1) (RM)
- 6 - St. Louis
- (1 - 100-20639 CARMICHAEL)
- (1 - 157-5872 BLACK PANTHERS)
- (1 - 157-5958 ZULU 1200's)
- (1 - 157-5964 BLACK LIBERATORS)
- (1 - 100-20916 BLACK NATIONALISTS)
- (1 - 25-11095 NOI)

JAF:jmf
(15)

SEP 3 1968

b7C

RACIAL INT. SECT.

53 SEP 1 1968

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

AGENCY: ACIS, OSI, SEC. SERV...
HOW FORW: 9/4/68
DATE FORW: 9/4/68
BY: ABE/ldk

C.C. Bishop

2 cc 806 9+2

SL: 100-20639

[REDACTED]

b2
b7C
b7D

This LHM is being classified "~~Confidential~~" because it contains information received from confidential informant and sources of a continuing value.

Identities of Special Agents referred to in this LHM are as follows:

b7C 8/28/68: Physical surveillance of CARMICHAEL on morning of [REDACTED]

b7C and evening of 8/29/68: Physical surveillance of CARMICHAEL on [REDACTED]

Coverage of CARMICHAEL's speech in Sheldon Memorial Hall was effected by:

[REDACTED]

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b7C
b7D

SA [REDACTED] Outside coverage of Sheldon Memorial was effected by [REDACTED] In addition [REDACTED] accompanying CARMICHAEL. [REDACTED]

b2
b7C
b7D

Copies of this LHM are being disseminated locally to U. S. Attorney, Secret Service, Military Intelligence, and Alcohol and Tobacco Tax Unit of the Treasury Department.

Recording of CARMICHAEL's speech at Sheldon Memorial was effected by the SLPD, however mechanical failure of the recording device made reproduction impossible, as the Bureau has been advised. The radio station KATZ taped interview, which contained most of the pertinent statements CARMICHAEL repeated in his Sheldon Memorial speech, is in possession of the St. Louis Division and a complete transcription is being furnished the Bureau by separate communication.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

St. Louis, Missouri
August 31, 1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg
ON 01-25-2006

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

The August 23, 1968 issue of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch contained an article on page 3A which reflected an interview with Charles Koen, Self-identified head of the Black Liberators. In the article Koen stated that Stokely Carmichael would be in St. Louis, Missouri, for a fund-raising speech on August 29, 1968. Funds raised would be utilized to secure the bond of a confined member of the Black Liberators, who had been recently arrested in St. Louis on a charge of possessing illegal arms, according to Koen.

The St. Louis Post-Dispatch is a daily newspaper published in St. Louis, Missouri.

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The Black Liberators are a recently formed black militant organization headquartered at 2810 Easton, St. Louis, Missouri. Members of this organization have recently appeared in public bearing arms.

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On August 26, 1968, [] made available a leaflet which was being distributed on the streets of St. Louis by members of the Black Liberators. The leaflet read in part: "Stokely Carmichael supports the Black Liberators....Bail Bond Benefit....Sheldon Memorial Church, 3648 Washington Avenue... ..8:00 p.m.....Thursday, August 29, 1968. Advance Donation \$1.50, Donation at the door \$2.00."

COPIES DESTROYED

286 FEB 24 1971

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GROUP I

Excluded from automatic down-
grading and declassification

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

b7C At 12:25 A.M. on August 28, 1968, Carmichael and two Negro companions were observed by Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) to disembark from Delta airplane flight number 53 which had arrived at Lambert Field, St. Louis, Missouri, from Chicago, Illinois. The trio were observed to be met by about a dozen members of the Black Liberators. Carmichael and companions entered a 1967 white Chevrolet Impala, bearing Illinois license [redacted] which was subsequently determined to be registered to [redacted] Illinois.

This vehicle, accompanied by three cars containing members of the Black Liberators, proceeded from Lambert Field, St. Louis, directly to East St. Louis, Illinois. The vehicles were very briefly detained there by an officer of the East St. Louis Police but no arrests resulted and the cars were observed to continue to the Blue Flame nightclub parking lot near 43rd Street and Missouri Avenue in East St. Louis, Illinois, arriving there at approximately 1:40 A.M. After a brief exchange of vehicle occupants, Carmichael and companions proceeded south out of East St. Louis in the previously described Chevrolet and the remaining vehicles remained in the area.

b7C Special Agents of the FBI observed vehicle bearing Carmichael proceeded directly to [redacted] Illinois, frequently driving at very high speeds, and arrived in [redacted] at approximately 3:20 A.M. Upon arrival there, occupants of the car including Carmichael were observed to enter [redacted] which was later determined to be the residence of [redacted]
[redacted]

b7C On August 29, 1968, Carmichael and Negro companions were observed by Special Agents of the FBI to travel across Eads Bridge from Illinois to St. Louis, Missouri, at approximately 2:50 P.M. These individuals were driving the above described Chevrolet and were accompanied by another vehicle, a 1968 yellow Oldsmobile bearing Illinois license [redacted]

The vehicles were observed to proceed directly to the headquarters of Mid-City Community Congress, 4005 Delmar, St. Louis, where Carmichael and companions visited briefly.

Mid-City Community Congress is a church funded organization which has the stated purpose of bettering the Negro ghetto mid-city area. It is the parent organization of the Zulu 1200's, a Black militant youth organization. Several militants in the Zulu 1200's hold dual membership in the Black Liberators.

[redacted]
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STOKELY CARMICHAEL

At approximately 3:05 P.M. vehicle bearing Carmichael left Mid-City Community Congress and proceeded to 2810 Easton, St. Louis, which is the headquarters of the Black Liberators. By this time, Carmichael's vehicle was accompanied by three other vehicles occupied by members of the Zulu 1200's and the Black Liberators, who gave the impression of acting as bodyguards. After a brief tour of the area, which includes the "Wall of Respect", Carmichael's party proceeded to the Arcade Building in the 800 block of Olive Street, St. Louis.

The "Wall of Respect" is a large sign which occupies the entire side of a building at the intersection of Leffingwell and Franklin Streets in St. Louis. It was painted by local Black militants and features pictures of Black heroes. It has been a focal point of Black rallies, speeches, and "hip sessions" recently.

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Carmichael and his companions were observed to re-enter their respective vehicles about 3:20 P.M. and drive directly to the 800 block of Olive Street, St. Louis, where they entered the Arcade Building and proceeded to the offices of radio station KATZ. Four Black "bodyguards" stationed themselves at the entrance to the Arcade Building; one was observed to have a walkie-talkie.

At radio station KATZ Carmichael recorded an interview of approximately 40 minutes duration, giving his view on Black revolution, guerrilla warfare, Black militants, and United States treatment of non-whites here and abroad.

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At approximately 5:05 P.M. Carmichael and party left the Arcade Building and were observed by Special Agents of the FBI to proceed directly to a residence at [redacted] St. Louis, where the occupants vacated their cars and went inside, remaining there for about one hour. At approximately 6:20 P.M. they returned to their respective vehicles and proceeded directly to 1813-1815 North Grand, St. Louis, which is the Shabazz Restaurant, an establishment owned and operated by the Nation of Islam, Mosque Number 28.

b7C

A characterization of the Nation of Islam is attached to this memorandum.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Carmichael and companions were observed to leave the restaurant and proceed to Sheldon Memorial Hall, 3648 Washington, St. Louis, arriving there at approximately 8:10 P.M.

The program at Sheldon Memorial Hall began at approximately 8:15 P.M. Included in the audience of over 750 was a Special Agent of the FBI. Moderator of the program was Eugene B. Redmond, a Black militant affiliated with the East St. Louis Monitor, a newspaper whose offices are located at 413 St. Louis Avenue, East St. Louis, Illinois. The first portion of the program consisted of an African dance and drum troupe of about fifteen Negro boys. They were directed by Katherine Dunham.

A column on page 6 of the July 26, 1968, issue of the St. Louis Argus, a weekly newspaper published in St. Louis, Missouri, identified Katherine Dunham as a dancer and artist-in-residence in East St. Louis, Illinois, who is the Director of Performing Arts Training of Southern Illinois University Center and Dynamic Musuem.

Following this, Redmond read some of his poetry and then Charles Koen introduced Stokely Carmichael. At this time on the stage with Carmichael were several of his bodyguards, which included both Zulu 1200's and Black Liberators. Carmichael briefly introduced his two travelling bodyguards. [REDACTED]

b7C

[REDACTED]

The Black Panther Party for Self Defense is a highly militant Black organization which began in Oakland, California in 1966. Officials of the organization have publicly stated that they are a "revolutionary party" and on several occasions they have appeared in public carrying rifles, shotguns, and pistols.

Carmichael spoke for approximately two hours beginning about 9:45 P.M. His speech was frequently interrupted by loud applause and expressions of assent from the capacity crowd which contained less than ten white people.

He began his talk by speaking of the "undying love" that Blacks must have for all other Blacks which necessitated an undying hatred for all whites. He stated that all Blacks must support the Black revolutionaries even if they don't agree with their ideas. Carmichael stressed that Black organizations must stop quarelling among themselves and form one united front.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Carmichael indicated that Blacks can obtain power militarily, politically, and economically in the United States, but only if they have "the guns and bullets" to back it up. He pointed out that racism and United States imperialism can be destroyed only by "the gun" and he urged the audience to buy, steal, or beg weapons and "the bigger, the better." He cautioned his audience not to obtain fancy pearl-handled weapons of uncommon calibre, but instead concentrate on getting weapons similar to those utilized by the police and the National Guard in order that stolen ammunition may be used.

He praised the Communist countries and revolutionary leaders of Cuba, North Viet-Nam, and North Korea. He said all United States foreign policy is directed toward the exploitation of the non-white world and urged the audience to travel abroad and witness the truth of his statements. He encouraged cooperation with all countries who are fighting the United States because any enemy of the United States is a friend of the Black man.

Carmichael criticised the "Black Militants" who appear on radio and TV and protest against white oppression and then "sell out" their Black brothers by quietly accepting a high paying job with a federally funded agency. He stated such individuals should live on \$100 a week and then give the rest of their large salary to the "Black revolutionaries" so they can buy guns.

He stated that the black panther is a ideal symbol for the Black guerilla because he is quiet, cunning, kills at night and then slips away. He pointed out that Blacks should avoid getting arrested because "we are outnumbered now" and Blacks are lost to the movement if they are in jail. He told his audience if they had trouble with "honkie cop", merely get his badge number and later strike without warning when your escape is certain.

The speech terminated at approximately 11:45 P.M. ending the program. Carmichael left the hall with his party and Special Agents of the FBI observed them travel directly to the offices of the Mid-City Community Congress. Carmichael left there at approximately 12:58 A.M. in a 1966 black Cadillac bearing Missouri license [REDACTED]. It was subsequently determined that this license is issued to [REDACTED] St. Louis, Missouri.

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

This vehicle, accompanied by others occupied by members of the Zulu 1200's and Black Liberators, drove to Lambert Field, St. Louis. At the airport, Carmichael and party of four others boarded Trans-World Airlines flight number 490 at 1:22 A.M. This is a non-stop flight from St. Louis to Atlanta, Georgia.

Within a half-hour of the end of Carmichael's speech, officers of the St. Louis Police Department stopped two vehicles for traffic violations, which contained four and two occupants respectively. Four hand guns were found, two in each car, and the six, all tentatively identified as Black Liberators, were taken into custody on charges of carrying a concealed weapon.



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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

A-P-P-E-N-D-I-X

NATION OF ISLAM, Formerly Referred to as
THE MUSLIM CULT OF ISLAM, also known
as MUHAMMAD'S TEMPLES OF ISLAM

In January, 1957, a source advised Elijah Muhammad has described his organization on a nationwide basis as the "Nation of Islam" and "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

On May 5, 1967, a second source advised Elijah Muhammad is the national leader of the Nation of Islam (NOI); Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 2, 5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, is the national headquarters of the NOI; and in mid-1960 Muhammad and other NOI officials, when referring to Muhammad's organization on a nationwide basis, commenced using either "Mosque" or "Temple" when mentioning one of "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

The NOI is an all-Negro organization which was originally organized in 1930 in Detroit, Michigan. Muhammad claims to have been selected by Allah, the Supreme Being, to lead the so-called Negro race out of slavery in the wilderness of North America by establishing an independent black nation in the United States. Members following Muhammad's teachings and his interpretation of the "Koran" believe there is no such thing as a Negro; the so-called Negroes are slaves of the white race, referred to as "white devils," in the United States, and the white race, because of its exploitation of the so-called Negroes, must and will be destroyed in the approaching "War of Armageddon."

In the past, officials and members of the NOI, including Muhammad, have refused to register under the provisions of the Selective Service Acts and have declared that members owe no allegiance to the United States.

On May 5, 1958, the first source advised Muhammad had, upon advice of legal counsel, tempered his personal statements and instructions to his ministers concerning the principles of his organization in order to avoid possible prosecution by the United States Government, however, he did not indicate any fundamental changes in the teachings of his organization.

On May 2, 1966, a third source advised Muhammad had, in early July, 1958, decided to de-emphasize the religious aspects of the teachings of Islam and to stress the economic benefits to be derived by those Negroes who joined the NOI. This policy change, according to Muhammad, would help him acquire additional followers and create more interest in his programs.

1

A-P-P-E-N-D-I-X

NATION OF ISLAM (NOI)
MUHAMMAD'S MOSQUE NUMBER 28,
ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

During June, 1957, a source reported that in 1954, Elijah Muhammad, National leader of NOI, sent a representative to establish an NOI temple in the St. Louis area.

In May, 1968, a second source stated that the teachings in Mosque Number 28, 1434 North Grand Boulevard, St. Louis, Missouri, adhered to the teachings of Elijah Muhammad as they appear in various NOI publications and broadcasts. This source also stated that the Minister of Mosque Number 28 frequently contacts Elijah Muhammad concerning NOI policy and activity in St. Louis.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

*In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.*

St. Louis, Missouri

August 31, 1968

Title

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Character

RACIAL MATTERS

Reference

Letterhead memorandum dated August 31,
1968, at St. Louis

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

VIA TELETYPE
AUG 31 1968
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson_____
Mr. DeLoach_____
Mr. Mohr_____
Mr. Bishop_____
Mr. Casper_____
Mr. Callahan_____
Mr. Conrad_____
Mr. Felt_____
Mr. Gale_____
Mr. Rosen_____
Mr. Sullivan_____
Tavel_____
Trotter_____
Tele. Room_____
Miss Holmes_____
Miss Gandy_____

WCS/CH

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

9C 2 -
B-A

12:11 PM URGENT 8-31-68 DCJ/HWL
TO DIRECTOR
FROM ST. LOUIS

STOKELY CARMICHAEL - RM.

RE BUREAU TEL TO ST. LOUIS, AUGUST THIRTY LAST.
MECHANICAL FAILURE OF SLPD RECORDER RENDERED TAPE USELESS
FOR REPRODUCTION. HOWEVER ST. LOUIS HAS RADIO STATION TAPE OF
CARMICHAEL INTERVIEW ON AFTERNOON AUGUST TWENTY NINE LAST.
APPROXIMATELY FORTY MINUTES DURATION AND CONTAINS MOST OF
PERTINENT STATEMENTS CARMICHAEL REPEATED IN SPEECH AT SHELDON
MEMORIAL. THIS TAPE, TRANSCRIPTION AND LHM REFLECTING SUBJECTS
VISIT TO ST. LOUIS WILL REACH BUREAU BY SEPTEMBER THREE NEXT.

RECEIVED: 1:17 PM HWL

EX 110

REC- 76

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

100-446080-1921

25 SEP 4 1968

CC-MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

766
58 SEP 1 1968

100-506-0

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : The Director

DATE: 8-2-68

FROM : N. P. Callahan

SUBJECT: The Congressional Record

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

Pages H8072-H8073. Congressman Cross, (R) Iowa, stated "I see by the newspapers that the notorious black power fanatic, Stokely Carmichael, is out in public again advocating the overthrow by force of this Government. If we had an Attorney General worthy of the name, or an administration with the spine to back him up, Carmichael would have been in jail long ago. . . . Since Ramsey Clark is the only so-called Attorney General we have available, I am, once again, going to demand he prosecute this vicious firebrand. But I do not believe I will hold my breath awaiting for him to act." He included an article entitled "Carmichael Urges Taking Power With Guns."

100-446080-

NOT RECORDED

176 AUG 12 1968

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for 8-1-68 was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

51 AUG 13 1968

Original filed in: 66-1731-3351

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

AUG 26 1968

FBI WASH DC*

FBI SAN FRAN

117AM URGENT 8/26/68 RAL

TO DIRECTOR (105-165706), BOSTON, CHICAGO, LOS ANGELES, WASHINGTON

FIELD OFFICE, NEW YORK, SAN DIEGO

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-1204)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP), RM

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RM

DEMCON

Racial Matter
APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP (S) BY *Rtc*
DATE *12-20-74*

ADVISED THAT, BETWEEN ONE THIRTY

AND FIVE FORTY FIVE PM, AUGUST TWENTY-FIVE, NINETEEN SIXTY-EIGHT,

A RALLY WAS HELD IN SUPPORT OF HUEY P. NEWTON, MINISTER OF DEFENSE,

BPP, ON TRIAL FOR MURDER OF OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA POLICEMAN - AT

DE FREMERY PARK, OAKLAND CALIFORNIA. CROWD ESTIMATED AT BETWEEN

THIRTY FIVE HUNDRED AND FIVE THOUSAND. SEVENTY-FIVE PERCENT WERE

NEGRO. SPEECHES WERE MADE FROM APPROXIMATELY TWO THIRTY TO FIVE FORTY-

FIVE PM. SPEAKERS INCLUDED BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, CHAIRMAN, BPP;

ELDREDGE CLEAVER, MINISTER OF INFORMATION, BPP; AND STOKELEY CARMICHAEL,

PRIME MINISTER, BPP. AFTER SPEECHES, CROWD DISPERSED WITHOUT INCIDENT.

ADVISED THERE WERE NO ARRESTS AND NO REPORTS OF ANY INJURIES OR PROPERTY
DAMAGES GROWING OUT OF THIS RALLY.

END PAGE ONE

DECLASSIFIED BY 60300 aac am/mt/tcg
ON 01-25-2010

RECEIVED TO:

WFO

57 SEP 11 1968

Summary W.H + A.G.
8/26/68

NOT RECORDED

87 SEP 3 1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Mr. Tolson ☒
Mr. DeLoach ☒
Mr. Mohr ☒
Mr. Bishop ☒
Mr. Casper ☒
Mr. Callahan ☒
Mr. Conrad ☒
Mr. Felt ☒
Mr. Gale ☒
Mr. Rosen ☒
Mr. Sullivan ☒
Mr. Tavel ☒
Mr. Trotter ☒
Tele. Room ☒
Mr. Holmes ☒
Miss Gandy ☒

ORIGINAL FILED IN
105-165706-362

PAGE TWO

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (U)

b2
b7D [] ADVISED THAT THE SPEAKERS LISTED ABOVE GENERALLY DEVOTED THEIR SPEECHES TO WHAT WILL HAPPEN IF HUEY P. NEWTON IS CONVICTED AT SAID TRIAL. SEALE STATED THERE WILL BE QUOTE CATAclysmic CONSEQUENCES UNQUOTE WHEREEVER THE BPP HAS ORGANIZED BRANCHES. HE SPECIFIED THAT, IN ADDITION TO OAKLAND, THE LOS ANGELES, BOSTON, CHICAGO AND NEW YORK AREAS WOULD BE TARGETS FOR RETALIATORY MEASURES.

CARMICHAEL STATED THAT THE RETALIATORY ACTION WOULD BE BY GUERRILLA TACTICS RATHER THAN BY HUNDREDS RIOTING IN THE STREETS.

ACCORDING TO THIS SOURCE, NO MENTION WAS MADE OF ANY DEMONSTRATION BY BPP AT DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION IN CHICAGO. CARMICHAEL STATED THAT HE WILL ATTEND THE HUEY HEWTON TRIAL AT THE ALAMEDA COUNTY COURT HOUSE IN OAKLAND ON MORNING OF AUGUST TWENTY-SIX. SPEAKERS MENTIONED THAT THERE WILL BE A BPP DEMONSTRATION AUGUST TWENTY- SIX AT ALAMEDA COUNTY COURT HOUSE, BUT MADE NO EXTENSIVE PLEAS FOR AUDIENCE TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS EVENT.

[] ADVISED THAT ON THE NIGHT OF AUGUST TWENTY-FOUR LAST, A DELEGATION OF SIXTEEN BPP MEMBERS FROM SAN DIEGO ATTENDED THE BPP MEETING IN OAKLAND AND EXPRESSED THEIR INTENTION OF ATTENDING THE BPP RALLY OF AUGUST TWENTY - FIVE. (S) (U)

END PAGE TWO

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (U)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (U)

PAGE THREE

ADMINISTRATIVE: [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

b2

b7D

~~(S)~~ (U)

END

SVM

FBI WASH DC*

P

1erox - Rosen
COPY SENT AG AND IDIU
jan

CC
MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (U)

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

7/9/68

SAC, WFO (157-1292) (P*)

RA
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(STOKELY CARMICHAEL)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

ReBulet dated 7/1/68.

WFO inclined to feel the best way to implement the suggested counter-intelligence program against CARMICHAEL is by inaugurating a "whispering campaign" that he is an agent of the U. S. Government and doing organizing work among Negroes solely for the purpose of helping the government identify racial militants and future racial radicals. Further, that after these individuals are identified by the government reprisals may be taken against them by denial of government employment, social security benefits, welfare benefits, pension benefits and intensive screening of tax returns submitted by them. In addition, the impression should be created any person found associating with CARMICHAEL will be suspect. The "whispering campaign" should include overtones that CARMICHAEL is being rewarded greatly by the government for his efforts which permits him to buy a mansion type house, live lavishly, avoid military service, avoid prosecution for his activities and enjoy a regal life with women, important officials and diplomats.

It is suggested the campaign be inaugurated inferentially by SAs while interviewing sources, informants and other selected contacts and individuals who could be expected to carry the messages back to the Negro community with an aura of officiousness where CARMICHAEL has substantially all his support. This would include selected members of police departments and perhaps other government officials working in alleviating problems of the ghetto. The inference imparted should be timely, clairvoyant but shrouded with restraint so as not to create the definite impression the rumor being passed out is the official word of the FBI.

3-Bureau

(1-100-448080) (CARMICHAEL)

2-WFO

(1-100-43503) (CARMICHAEL)

AAM:bap (5)

100-446080 -
NOT RECORDED

123 JUL 15 1968

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

51 SEP 11 1968

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-448006-192

WFO 157-1292

The inference inaugurating the program could be inferred rather indirectly, while discussing other related cases, by innuendo or by rhetorical type questions.

- 2 -

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

8/28/68

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, WFO

STUDENT/ NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
(SNCC); RM

Bufile (100-439190)

WFO file (100-41626) (P)
(OO:AT)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; RM

Bufile (100-446080)

WFO file (100-43503) (P)
(OO:WFO)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

ReCNTel 8/19/68 captioned as above and WFO tel
8/22/68 captioned "STOKELY CARMICHAEL; RM."

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies and for
the Cincinnati Office, New York and Atlanta Offices two
copies of an LHM captioned as above.

b2
b7C
b7D

The LHM is being classified "~~Confidential~~" as
it contains information which could reasonably result in
the identification of confidential informants of continu-
ing value and compromise their future effectiveness.

LHM is being disseminated locally to Secret
Service, AUSA and local military intelligence agencies.

- 3 - Bureau (Enc. 11)
- 2 - Atlanta (Enc. 2) (Info) (RM)
- 2 - Cincinnati (100-14158) (Enc. 2) (RM)
- 2 - New York (Enc. 2) (RM)
- 2 - WFO
- (1 - 100-43503) (STOKELY CARMICHAEL)

HGE:pgp
(11)

ENCLOSURE

NOT RECORDED

160 AUG 30 1968

51 SEP 11 1968

100-439190-53-67
ORIGINAL FILED



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (U)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Washington, D. C. 20535

August 28, 1968

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg
ON 01-25-2006

STUDENT NONVIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)
STOKELY CARMICHAEL

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on August 22, 1968, that Stokely Carmichael had been officially "fired" by SNCC and that an official announcement had been made to this effect in New York City on August 22, 1968.

According to source, the SNCC leadership gave three reasons for the ouster of Carmichael and they were:

- (1.) Carmichael failed to report to SNCC on his personal life.
- (2.) Carmichael failed to report on his daily activities as related to SNCC.
- (3.) Carmichael has been a threat to the SNCC leadership in Washington, D. C.

According to source, Carmichael's associate in Washington, D. C., [redacted] stated that Carmichael's ouster was the responsibility of James Foreman, SNCC's International Affairs Director, who apparently believed that the propitious time to oust Carmichael from SNCC had arrived. Source learned from [redacted] that Carmichael had become closely affiliated with the Black Panther Party (BPP) and seemingly supported the BPP more in the recent past than he supported SNCC.

b7C
b7D

Source added [redacted]

[redacted] probably had a part in Carmichael's ouster as [redacted]
[redacted] to Foreman for his appointment [redacted]
[redacted]

b7C
b7D

A characterization of SNCC and the BPP appears in the appendix attached herewith.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(U)

GROUP 1

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

(U)

ENCLOSURE

100-446080

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (U)

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)
STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Source stated that Carmichael has been at increasing odds with [redacted] Washington, D. C., [redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]

according to source, had brought this matter up at the SNCC conference held at Atlanta, Georgia, in early June, 1968, but no official action had been taken at that time.

According to source, there is speculation among some SNCC individuals that Carmichael could become a target for assassination by the more militant SNCC adherents because of hostility toward him; however, source emphasized this was speculation only and no overt efforts or discussions have taken place in this regard.

[redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on August 26, 1968, that in recent discussions with SNCC affiliates the general feeling in Washington, D. C., appeared to be that Carmichael had attempted to [redacted]

[redacted] the SNCC Washington Office without the knowledge or consent of National SNCC Officials and alienated SNCC officials by this act.

This source further advised that Carmichael apparently wanted to assume a more militant posture than SNCC officials desired and had made it almost impossible for SNCC to solicit funds because of national publicity he received regarding the purchase of an expensive home in the Washington area. Source learned from Washington SNCC affiliates that since this article appeared in local newspapers their efforts to solicit funds had been rebuffed with the comment, "SNCC can't possibly need funds if Carmichael can buy a \$70,000 house. Go see Carmichael if you need money!" Source also learned that even the small contributions normally received by SNCC had also decreased.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (U)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~(U)

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)
STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Source was of the opinion that SNCC, as the result of internal friction and the adverse publicity would cease to be an effective force in the Negro community before the end of the year. This trend will be hastened by defections from the ranks of SNCC by those who will follow Carmichael and due to a total lack of any effective program by SNCC's national leadership.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (U)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

AUG 30 1968

FBI WASH DC*

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

b7C

FBI ATLANTA

817 PM URGENT 8-30-68 TXH

TO DIRECTOR AND WFO

FROM ATLANTA 100-6812

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2005 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

STOKELY CARMICHAEL. SM - SNCC.

CARMICHAEL DEPARTED ATLANTA AIRPORT VIA DELTA FLIGHT
SEVEN FIVE THREE AT FOUR ZERO FOUR P.M. THIS DATE. SCHEDULED
TO ARRIVE NATIONAL AIRPORT FIVE TWENTY-SEVEN P.M. THIS DATE.
CARMICHAEL OBSERVED BOARDING FLIGHT WEARING BROWN SHORT SLEEVE
SHIRT WITH WHITE STRIPES AND MATCHING BROWN TROUSERS.
CARMICHAEL OBSERVED CARRYING BLACK BRIEFCASE.

END

EXJ

FBI WASH DC*

REC-97

100-44608-1923

25 SEP 4 1968

TELETYPED TO:
54 SEP 11 1968

100-806-0

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM : *FJA* SAC, ATLANTA (100-6812) (P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS - STUDENT NONVIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE
SEDITION

DATE: 9/4/68

Referral/Consult

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

Re Bureau airtel. 8/20/68. [REDACTED]

b2 Per FBI
b7D

On 9/3/68, [REDACTED] advised that when STOKELY CARMICHAEL was in Atlanta on 8/30/68, he was in possession of a large sum of money but the source was unable to determine where the money had been obtained. *E*

b2 Per FBI
b7C
b7D

On 8/30/68, [REDACTED] advised that [REDACTED] had mentioned that CARMICHAEL was in Atlanta on 8/30/68 and that he, [REDACTED] had spoken to him for a few minutes while at [REDACTED] in Atlanta. [REDACTED] advised the source that CARMICHAEL had a roll of 20 dollar bills in one pocket and a roll of 100s in the other. This source said that CARMICHAEL had not volunteered any information to [REDACTED] as to how he had come in possession of this money. *GA.*

b2 Per FBI
b7C
b7D

[REDACTED] observed that since CARMICHAEL [REDACTED] he does not appear to be suffering financially and this situation has not made CARMICHAEL readily acceptable by SNCC.

b2 Per FBI
b7D

[REDACTED] advised that they have not received any information indicating that CARMICHAEL had been given a large sum of money by any individual particularly someone associated with a foreign government.

EX 110

REC-68

- ② - Bureau (RM)
2 - WFO (100-43503) (RM)
1 - New York (100-153751) (RM)
2 - Atlanta
EUC/jah
(7)

17 SEP 6 1968

cc 806 980

RACIAL INT. SECT.

61 SEP 16 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

F B I

Date: 8/26/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
 FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-721)
 RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
 RM

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

Re Bureau telephone call 8/26/68, and San Francisco teletype 8/26/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are original and two copies of a transcript of a speech delivered by the Subject at a Marin City, California, Black Panther Party-sponsored rally the evening of 8/22/68.

The source of the tape recording is [redacted]

SA [redacted] She has advised that she will testify in Bureau cases, caption not known, at some future date at Los Angeles. She will be recontacted to determine her willingness to testify in this matter.

The original recording of this speech will be returned to the source. A copy is being retained by San Francisco.

[redacted] also furnished recording of speech made by CARMICHAEL at DeFremery Park, Oakland, California, 8/25/68. This is presently being transcribed and will be provided to the Bureau upon its completion.

- ENCLOSURE**
- ③ - Bureau (Enc. 3) (AM-RM)
 - 1 - Washington Field (100-43503)(Info)(AM-RM)
 - 1 - San Francisco

FL/jr

(5)

RAO: IDIU, CRD, ACSE, OSI, SS, STAFF

b2

(BY LAMSON)
 8/28/68

PTB/dkt 29 X's 44111 806 941

Approved: **51 SEP 16 1968**
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

REC 82 100-446080-1924
 15 AUG 28 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.

VIA TELETYPE

AUG 24 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson_____
Mr. DeLoach_____
Mr. Mohr_____
Mr. Bishop_____
Mr. Casper_____
Mr. Callahan_____
Mr. Conrad_____
Mr. Felt_____
Mr. Gale_____
Mr. Rosen_____
Mr. Sullivan_____
Mr. Tavel_____
Mr. Trotter_____
Tele. Room_____
Miss Holmes_____
Miss Gandy_____

WASHINGTON---02---

8-23-68

1235PM PDST DEFERRED

MXG

TO: DIRECTOR, AND WFO

PLAINTEXT

WFO VIA WASHINGTON

b7C

FROM: SAN FRANCISCO (157-721)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RACIAL MATTER SNCC.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

CARMICHAEL, [REDACTED] LOCAL BPP MEMBER,

AND TWO UNKNOWN NEGRO MALES DEPARTED [REDACTED] RESIDENCE, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] SAN FRANCISCO, NOON THIS DATE AND ARRIVED ALAMEDA COUNTY COURT
HOUSE, OAKLAND, TWELVE TWENTY NINE PM IN SIXTY SEVEN GOLD CADILLAC
WITH BLACK VINYL TOP, CALIF LICENSE [REDACTED]

DRIVEN BY ONE OF UNKNOWN NEGROES. VEHICLE REGISTERED TO [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] SAN FRANCISCO.

THE FIVE NEGROES IMMEDIATELY WENT TO COUNTY JAIL ON TENTH FLOOR
OF COURT HOUSE TO VISIT HUEY P. NEWTON. CARMICHAEL, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] REGISTERED AS VISITORS, BUT FIFTH NEGRO APPARENTLY
WAS NOT REQUIRED TO REGISTER. HOWEVER, HE WAS REFERRED TO BY CARMICHAEL AS [REDACTED] THEREFORE, HE IS POSSIBLY IDENTICAL WITH [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] ADVISED THAT WHILE GROUP WAS
VISITING NEWTON, IT WAS DETERMINED THAT GOLD CADILLAC IN WHICH

GROUP ARRIVED, REGISTERED TO [REDACTED]

END PAGE ONE

TELETYPED TO:

WFO

22 SEP 6 1968

b7C

b7D

PAGE TWO

SF (157-721)

THE DRIVER WAS QUESTIONED AND STATED HE WAS [REDACTED] AND CAR
WAS OWNED BY [REDACTED] STATED HE HAD NO
IDENTIFICATION WHATSOEVER IN HIS POSSESSION. SO ALSO HAS [REDACTED]

b7C
b7D

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] WAS ARRESTED AND IT WAS DETERMINED HE WAS [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] SIX FEET
ONE INCH TALL, TWO HUNDRED POUNDS, [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] SAN FRANCISCO.

[REDACTED] WAS HELD BY SO AND OTHER FOUR MEMBERS OF GROUP LEFT IN THE
CADILLAC.

ADMINISTRATIVE

b7C

ACTIVITY AT [REDACTED] SAN FRANCISCO, AND ALAMEDA
COUNTY JAIL OBSERVED BY SAS [REDACTED]

END

RM FBI WASH DC

MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

COPY SENT AG AND IDIU
AUG 24 1968
REy/fo

FBI

Date: 9/2/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, ST. LOUIS (100-20939) P

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM - SMCC;
ANTI-RIOT LAWS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

b7C

Rebutel to St. Louis, 8/30/68, and St. Louis tel to the Bureau, 8/30/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are five copies of a LHM setting forth a transcript of the taped interview of STOKELY CARMICHAEL by radio station KATZ, St. Louis, Mo. Two copies are enclosed for WFO.

For the information of the Bureau, mechanical failure of the St. Louis PD recorder on the evening of August 29, 1968, rendered a tape useless for reproduction of a speech given by CARMICHAEL at the Sheldon Memorial Church, 3648 Washington Ave., St. Louis.

However, on August 30, 1968, [redacted] made available to this Office a copy of a taped interview of CARMICHAEL by radio station KATZ, St. Louis. This interview was taped on the afternoon of August 29, 1968, and was scheduled to be broadcast on Sunday afternoon, September 1, 1968, at 3:00 p.m. The interview was broadcast as scheduled.

b7D

- ③ - Bureau (Encl. 5) Am AMSD
2 - Washington Field (Encl. 2) Am AMSD
2 - St. Louis
ECW:jmb
(7)

b7C

ISD-Attn: [redacted]
AGENCY: ACSI, OSI, SEC. SERV.,

CRD, RAO, IDIU

HOW FORW:

DATE FORW: 9/5/68

BY: ABF/AT

RACIAL IN SEC

b7C

Approved: [Signature]

Special Agent in Charge

M

Per

57 SEP 12 1968



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

St. Louis, Missouri

August 31, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

TRANSCRIPT OF TAPED INTERVIEW
OF STOKELY CARMICHAEL BY
RADIO STATION KATZ, ST. LOUIS,
MISSOURI, AUGUST 29, 1968,
TO BE BROADCAST SUNDAY AFTERNOON,
SEPTEMBER 1, 1968, at 3:00 P.M.
ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

Interviewer: Brother Stokely Carmichael in St. Louis this week for a lecture. Welcome to Round Table.

Carmichael: Thank you very much, brother. It's a pleasure to be here.

Interviewer: It's a pleasure to have you, Brother Carmichael. Let me get into one thing right away. And that is your purpose, total purpose, not only for being here but your desire for black people in this country.

Carmichael: Well, the desire is only one. It seems to me that in order for black people to function in this country and live as human beings, we must completely change the entire established way of life. That is, the social, economic, political way of life. That means we must have a total revolution. However, I think that people misunderstand revolution. For example, many people are in the country now talking about a black revolution. A revolution does not begin until one sees his power. After you see his power, then you can change his structure as you see fit. And we must talk about black people seizing power in this country in areas where we can, and then changing the structure. I'll give you an example. For example, Fidel Castro fought in the Sierra Meastras for a number of years. While he was fighting, the Cuban revolution was not going on.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

100-446080-1926

ENCLOSURE

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Carmichael: The Cuban revolution started when Fidel Castro walked into Havana and chased Batista and the American lackies out. When he said, "Today I claim this island for the masses of Cuban people", then the Cuban revolution began. And before that period, there was armed struggle. Now, black people have to decide whether or not armed struggle is necessary for them to seize power to bring about a revolution in this country. Now, I think it's necessary.

Interviewer: Recently, you were in Chicago, Brother Carmichael, and you spoke and you said that it is necessary for black people to come together and show their initial strength in politics and the body politic. And how would you define this type of unity?

Carmichael: I ought to make that very clear. When I talk about conventional politics, voting and stuff like that, I don't think the black people can really show any strength, especially given the conventional political parties today - the Republican and Democratic Party. Well, we saw the Republican Party. It was totally exclusive of black people in Miami, and if anyone has been watching the Democratic Convention this past week, they see how totally relevant it is to the lives of the black people. Black people are going to be involved in conventional politics and it can be used only as an organizing tool to bring our people together. We can't really have any faith in organized politics or conventional politics because we don't have any power in there. And of course, Adam Clayton Powell showed us that most clearly when they want to get rid of him, they just did, and no body could say anything about it.

Interviewer: What type of relief would you suggest that the black man in total should take, should look forward to, as far as helping himself to relieve himself of this opposed political oppression that's placed upon him?

RE:

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Carmichael: I would say the only one is the gun. Political power comes through the barrel of a gun, and that's absolutely correct. Again, the Democratic Convention shows that most clearly. Everybody was yelling about Daley. Daley didn't have to yell. He had the power. He had the police outside and the police inside. And all the other supposed to be powerful people of the country all had to get up and yell names at him, but he had it up tight because he had guns. And whether or not people like that, it happens to be a fact. Once you've got the gun, then you can begin to decide how to move. Well, until you have that gun, you can't decide because if I have a gun and you don't have a gun, we're not equal. If black people believe in equality, white people are getting guns, we have to get guns. That's just being pragmatic about one's equality. I think that once black people have begun to get guns, then we can begin to talk about a political ideology that will bind us together as a people in order to carry on the struggle that's ahead. And our struggle is going to be a long, vicious, and hard one, and I don't think black people even thinking seriously about the struggle that comes, most people are hoping that it won't come but it's clear that it is going to come and the best we can do is to prepare ourselves for that struggle.

Interviewer: When we speak of preparation, what are the basics, the basic needs for preparation what you would suggest?

Carmichael: Well, you need three things to survive - food, shelter, and clothing. And if your going to fight, you need ammunition. So that means that black people need four things in this country - food, shelter, clothing and ammunition. Now if we begin to think seriously about fighting, about armed struggle, then we have to figure out how we can always keep our people with these four things - food, shelter, clothing and ammunition. Very few people have really thought very seriously about that. For example, if a city rebellion were to

RE:

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Carmichael: occur in St. Louis, East St. Louis, or Chicago, all the National Guard would have to do is to surround the city. Once the city was surrounded within a week, the fighting would have to subside. The fighting would have to subside Number 1 because there would be no food because in the cities we don't grow any food and Number 2 because people would run out of ammunition. So that if we're thinking seriously we have to think about how we would continue a food supply if cut off by the forces, how do we continue to fight to sustain our people. But those are the four basic things we must think about.

Interviewer: Now, I know that you had visited Newark right after the uprising that had taken place there and you had spoken to many people there and you know that in Newark the city was closed down almost immediately. They had shut down Highway 21, 22, the Parkway, and all of the major highways and traffic that helped the city to survive in itself. What do you feel we could do in order to, what do you feel could be done in this situation, in this city?

Carmichael: Well see, I'm not sure because we have not been able to work that out, but I think that our people must become conscious of those problems so we can begin to work out methods of solving them. I don't they're impossible. No problem is impossible. But I just think that once we become attuned to really what's happening and not just a murder mountain of men, I mean I think that we've murdered a mountain of hunkies enough. It's necessary. I do not downgrade that stage. That's a necessary stage; when people prepare to fight a bully, they have to convince themselves psychologically that they're as equal. I think that's what black people in this country have had to do for the past two years. But now we're psychologically equal to the hunky. So now our job now is to prepare in a cold blooded manner to move against him and to win the struggle that's ahead of us.

RE:

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Carmichael: So that I think that what I learned then from Newark was that they were still at the stage of murder mountain. That is to say, "We're going to burn them down", we're going to do this, and we're going to that, but it wasn't really serious thinking and tactics. That isn't to say cool it, because I'm not for cooling it. Rebellions may still be necessary. I'll never condemn them. If people engage in them, there must be some good to them because the majority of our people are engaged in them, so that we can't condemn them. And certainly emotionally one is involved in that. But I think there is the other level we must now move to and that is the level of slowly understanding, examining, analyzing and posing solutions to our problems.

Interviewer: May I ask you this also? Would you say in total that we have gone, in your estimation, it has gone past the stage of discussion and compromise and negotiation as far as the racial problem within this country?

Carmichael: Yes. I think that's clear. It's gone completely past that hand. I think that what's going to happen now is more black people are going to be used. And some of them are going to be used unconsciously, you know. For example, there is people always talking about black militants. Now there is a difference between a black militant and a black revolutionary. A black militant is a black man who's angry, but he just wants to get into the American piece of pie. He wants to be part of America. A black revolutionary is somebody who wants to overturn the complete system and change it. Now see, a black militant may not know that he is consciously being used against his people. You see them all time. One week a cat gets up and he'll be yelling and screaming about these dirty white folk and bla, bla, bla, and black people are going to burn the city down. And then next week he gets a big job, a Poverty Program grant or whatever, you know, and then the cat disappears. Well, he was just

RE:

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Carmichael: angry. He doesn't mind being part of the American system. He just objects to being left out. But the black revolutionary doesn't just talk about how angry people is and bla, bla, bla, and wants a job, he talks about the masses of our people, how they must be fed and recognizing that they cannot be fed and cannot live a life as human beings inside of this system, he talks about the complete overthrow of this system.

Interviewer: Who, in your estimation, would be the four most likely people to guide and direct for black people in this country to guide and direct?

Carmichael: That's very hard to say, I'll tell you why. And I know some names for example, right off my mind would come the name Huey P. Newton, Administration Defense for the Black Panther Party. It's not because the problem that black people face in this country is that our generation, this generation, the youth, are forced to lead that revolution. They're forced to lead it because we don't have anyone older than us who have the experience, or who have our trust. The only man who had that was brother Malcom X, and since there's no one else, it's just among us, the young, how we begin to grow and move and try and find methods in which to solve our solutions. Now, there are a lot of them around. Maybe some of them don't have a public name, for example. But I think definitely all of the guys out of this generation will not be capable of leading. If they are, we don't know them yet, of those that we know.

Interviewer: Would you in your thinking on this, would you think or guess or presume to place in the forefront the name of Dr. Hamilton?

Carmichael: You know, brother, I have a policy of not criticizing or condemning any black man, so I'll just say that I don't think that anybody outside of this generation has yet proven themselves capable of helping out in that.

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Interviewer: Let us go deeper into you now. You have now made your home base of operations, being your home, now in Washington, D. C. You have taken to yourself a wife, the very beautiful Miriam Makeba Carmichael.

Carmichael: Leave Carmichael out. You can't hang a slave name on an African. I let adopt Makeba.

Interviewer: Let us then say for yourself and for your wife, what do you have planned for yourself to generate from your home base out of the two of you for all of us?

Carmichael: Well, nothing except to be just part of the struggle. I mean in where we see fit, where we can help to help out. I think that it's a time for hard thinking, for serious thinking and for serious movement. And that's what we have to understand as a people. That the yelling and screaming, not only is it gone, but there's nothing new to say. I mean I've watched television ever since I've been back in the country and the black militants, or whoever they are, they're saying the exact same thing that was said two years ago. So repetition just isn't going to get anywhere. There's time for new thinking. Until people do come up with new types of thoughts and new types of ways for us to move, they should just keep their mouth shut. Now we have not been saying much because there hasn't been very much to say. That we're in a period now where we're not quite sure where to go, you know, and until people are, they should keep their mouth shut.

Interviewer: Let me also ask you this, and that is. You have to excuse my throat. It's not too with me.

Carmichael: Oh, go ahead, brother, rap on.

Interviewer: Two people whom I feel are fairly close to you have been hit with the seeds of a great many problems, Brother H. Rap Brown and Brother Huey in Oakland, California. Would you let us in on this?

Carmichael: Right. Well, everyone knows about Brother Rap's position. He's got a restriction on him. He

RE:

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Carmichael: cannot move outside of New York and he's got a five year sentence hanging over his head. My own personal feeling is that it's absolutely absurd for Brother Rap to serve five years at this time. I mean it's just absurd for speaking. I don't think the black people can go to jail for what they say. We have to go to jail for what we do because we're not fighting for free speech. That's a fight for white liberals. We're fighting for our lives. And Brother Rap, they're trying to put him in jail just over the question of free speech. So that one of things that we have to do is to organize more strongly and to organize in the manner that when we say, "If you put Rap Brown in jail for five years, well then there'll be no peace", and when we say it so insure our statement. We have to back our statements up with actions these days. In the past, we said things and we hoped, we hoped they would come true. You know, we say, "Well, if you send so and so to jail, the city will burn down", and we hoped the city would burn down. In many cases the hope came through, you know, people got on the streets. But the difference between that type of person and the real revolutionary is that the revolutionary plans so that when he says if you do x and y and z, then a, b and c will follow, he knows that it will follow. Then power structure knows that it will follow and they begin to respect his power. So we're trying now to coalesce that base moving around with Brother Rap and trying to keep it as quiet as possible so that when we say, "If you do to Brother Rap x,y,z, then a,b,c, will follow". And it will follow. Now then of Brother Huey P. Newton, the same is true. Brother Newton is a political prisoner who was arrested for the alleged murdering of a hunky policeman and the wounding of another, and it is the same thing. It is just a political arrest. Most of these arrests are political, but what the power structure tries to do is to arrest the leadership of the movement so that once having done that the movement itself will die. I mean

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Carmichael: that is the harassment, for example, this week of Brother Swede Jefferies of the Imperial War Lords. If you can harass and arrest a leadership, you hope to kill the movement.

Interviewer: I see. You are in town to speak, you spoke this Thursday, concerning the arrest of several members of black liberators here in the City of St. Louis. Now I would like to know your feeling on the organizations that are within this city or in the metro area of St. Louis and East St. Louis.

Carmichael: Well, it would be very hard for me to give an analytical description of each. All I could say is that because I move so much, it's almost impossible. If there's a black man in trouble and we feel just from the overall picture that he's doing something for the benefit for the masses of our people, then our life belongs to that people. And that's how we felt about the arrest of the black liberators. I mean they were doing something which they thought, whether it was or was not true, they thought and as long as the man feels that he is doing something for the masses of his people and he gets in trouble, then we are willing to back him up with our lives. So we feel that then most black organizations that think they are doing something for the benefit of the masses of our people, we're willing to help them.

Interviewer: Very recently travel restrictions were placed upon you. I'd like to get into this.

Carmichael: They took my passport and they gave it back. They gave it back because we organized many African nations to back the appeal for the passport. They said that when they gave me back the passport that I promised not to go to some countries, but that's a lie. I'm free man. I go where I want, I see whom I want and I go when I want. So they can't stop me. I'll go to China, I will go to North Vietnam, I will go to North Korea, I will go to Cuba, I will go anywhere I so please.

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Interviewer: Now, if I'm correct, I believe you were supposed to have visited one of the smaller South American countries.

Carmichael: Right. Venezuela. They refused me entry. Free countries I cannot go to now. Venezuela, England, and my home country, Trinidad.

Interviewer: In your opinion, why should they do this?

Carmichael: Well, I could see why they have done it in all three, especially in my home country, in Trinidad. There's the brewing of a revolution - a real revolution, a real armed struggle. And just three weeks ago they capture a truck full of guns which with some of the people I know and I met with outside of the island on my trip. So that the Prime Minister, Mr. Williams, who is a lacky of the American government, is saying I have planned with these people to overthrow the government, and that therefore, if I were to come into the island, there would definitely be the beginning of armed struggle. Now, we're going to go to Trinidad, one way or the other. People like Mr. Williams are going to have to be moved out of the way, because they do not look to us the benefit of the masses of our people but rather they look for their own self interest. And anyone that does that is indeed a traitor to black people and wherever he is, he has to be wiped out. As to Venezuela, there is a strong movement in Venezuela. Many people don't know that over forty percent of the people in Venezuela are black, and that they had asked me to come. The government, again, was afraid of the reaction, so they stopped me. England, we were put out of the country a year ago for organizing the blacks and the coloreds in England. We tried to bring together a third world.

Interviewer: There's a brother in England, I can't recall his name.

Carmichael: Michael X.

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Interviewer: Michael X, right.

Carmichael: Right, he just got of jail. I just received word. He was with us and we split the country and they picked him up and put him in jail. He just got out.

Interviewer: Now, you had, if I'm correct, had visited Hanoi.

Carmichael: Correct.

Interviewer: And on your visit there did you meet or speak with Ho Chi Minh?

Carmichael: I most certainly did. It was the most exciting moment of my life.

Interviewer: May I ask you this? Your reaction to the people within that country?

Carmichael: Of Vietnam? I was impressed with the people of Vietnam for specifically four things. The first is that the people of Vietnam are a technologically backward country. Now don't say the word backwards in the sense of the white man does. I mean they have not developed technology as rapidly as the West. I don't think that the development of technology is necessarily good.

Interviewer: Well, were they primarily an agrarian country?

Carmichael: Right. But now what little technology they have, they are using for the benefit and for the improvement of human life. And here is the great irony. America, one of the most technically developed countries in the world is using its technology for the destruction of human life. Is that amazing? So here's Vietnam and they got all these little Vietnamese and whenever they get a chance to study on the underground schools because they have to go underground because of the bombing, the people of Vietnam sit down and try to figure for example how cure napalm burns. They can cure a napalm

RE:

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Carmichael: burn in exactly two and a half months and restore the skin back to life. They combine Western technology with their own medical herbs and stuff like that. And for example, if you have a bone that is broken what the West do is that when the bone is broken, they cut another piece from another place and put it together. But in Vietnam they have a herb. And they tie that and apply it along with still some Western technology and the bone grows back. And this what they are, I mean, doing. They're wasting their time trying to figure out how to improve human life, and here's America building napalm bombs and paying scientists and universities thousands and thousands and millions of dollars to try to figure how to destroy human life. The second thing I think the thing we're going to have learn from the Vietnamese more than any other thing is the fact that they have intergrated war into their life. They have not let war defined their, they have defined their own way of life and they have fit war into it. For example in any country where there is war or where there's constant bombing, and so that means that death is eminent, it's around you all the way, where you find people who are promiscuous, you find people in gambling industries, you find people and the morales are loose because they figure well we're going to die tomorrow anyway. But in North Vietnam I saw the opposite. I saw people who were not promiscuous, who were not morally loose, who worked very hard and that they just fit war into their life. For example, when I was in Vietnam the bombing was very, very heavy, and they bombed a hospital about three blocks from where I was staying. Right after the bombing, we went to visit the hospital and they were carrying away babies, and nurses who had died. The next day when I returned to the hospital, they were clearing away the bricks. So I asked my guide I said, "What's going on, man? Are they getting more bodies?" He said, "No, they're clearing away the bricks to build again." I said, "Build again? Your crazy, man. The hunkies are bombing you out!" He said, "That's what they have to do. We have to build." I mean that's so beautiful because they consciously know, you

RE:

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Carmichael: know, that they've got to build later for this, man. And I think that's one thing the black people have to get. We have to understand that we have to build. And if every time he destroys, and we can't get him back, we build again. But whenever he tries to destroy, we can stop him, we stop him. But we've constantly got to keep in our mind that we've got to build. That's very, very impressive. The third that impressed me about the Vietnamese was the organization of the country. That country is organized into every facet, old to the young, from the 99 year old man to the nine month old baby. There's always constantly something for them to do for the benefit for their country, and the benefit for their people. And that's active in their minds, always, because they have absolutely nothing to do except to think about their people and the development of their country. And the finally fourth thing that impressed me is their awareness of the international problem. Wherever I went in Vietnam, from Ho Chi Minh to the lowest peasant, the first thing they said to me when they found out that I was a Black American was that, "Let me tell you, we are insensed what Lyndon B. Johnson is doing to you all in the cities." And I would automatically want to laugh because here the Vietnamese are getting bombed by Lyndon B. Johnson, but they had time out to think about what Lyndon B. Johnson was doing to us in the cities and they showed a great sense of humanity, a great compassion, and a recognition of World Wide Humanity, which America does not have.

Interviewer: You took part in the celebrations that took place in Havana last year.

Carmichael: That's correct.

Interviewer: I don't know whether or not you ever met Che Guevara.

Carmichael: No, I never met Che Guevara.

Interviewer: But you had met and spoke with Fidel Castro.

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Carmichael: We spent three days together up in the hills going over the fronts that he and Che had fought over.

Interviewer: Could you elaborate a bit?

Carmichael: Well, I think that Fidel represents the spirit of the oppressed today. No matter what the prices are that we have to fight, I mean, his favorite saying is to America is that, "Let me remind you, Johnson, we are an island. We're surrounded by water. For the inhabitants of this island, there can be no retreat." And the second phrase he always says is, "Let me remind the imperialist that on this island there is no such word as surrender. There's only death or life."

Interviewer: Many things have been thrown at you, Brother Carmichael.

Carmichael: That's right. They talkad about Jesus.

Interviewer: The accusation that you are communist employed. The accusation that you work for the CIA.

Carmichael: I got a \$70,000 house.

Interviewer: Would you please, on this microphone, still tongues?

Carmichael: O.K. Number 1, I wish I had a \$70,000 house because if I did, I could write off a lot of tax and use the money to buy guns for my people. I don't have a \$70,000 house. But I think that you know instead of going on to still towns to run down the lines saying I don't have this, I don't have that, I don't have this, I think that the power structure recognizes the effects of a colonized people. Now the major effect of anybody who colonizes is that they hate themselves. So that means that they automatically have distrust for each other. And the man always plays on this more than anything else. So what he does is that he puts out rumors about experts who is trying to

RE:

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Carmichael:

organize his people. And then what have is that this man is constantly trying to defend the rumors. But if you're caught up in trying to defend the rumors, you're never organized. For example, if the man gets up and says, "Well, Stokely Carmichael bought a \$70,000," then I've got to get up and say, "Look man, I didn't buy a \$70,000 house; I don't own a \$70,000 house." Well, my whole life is defending that. And when through with that, he gets up and he says, "Stokely Carmichael is running around with a Jackie Kennedy", then I've got to spend my whole life defending I'm not running around with Jackie Kennedy. And when I get through with that, he says, "Stokely Carmichael is a CIA Agent", and then I've got to spend my whole life defending. I never get any work done. But I think that the colonized people we have to recognize the trick. The man puts out these rumors to constantly keep us divided. And that we have to give each other the benefit of the doubt until proven differently. And that's why brother Malcolm X never got anywhere, because everybody believed he was shucking and jiving, and that's the best example of colonized people. They never believe that anybody's for real until their killed. So Brother Malcolm never developed until his death. Then people said, "Oh man, the cat was really serious." And as colonized people we must understand we cannot believe anything the man says about any of us because his job is to constantly to destroy us. So instead of stilling tongues by saying I'm not this, I'm not this, I'm not that, I refuse to do it. I say those people who fall for that trap, I'm sorry for them, we have to work with them, but we have to move on.

Interviewer:

My guest on Round Table has been Brother Stokely Carmichael. One thing that I'd like to get into and that is Miriam Makeba and her latest album and her latest song.

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Carmichael: Right. She has a record called Ebaba Gooni (phonetic), which is Down in the Dumps, and the record stations are trying to ice it. They won't play it.

Interviewer: Would you say that again?

Carmichael: It's called Down in the Dumps. The flip side of it is Baba Lasi. And the record stations won't play it because they're trying to ice it completely.

Interviewer: We will.

Carmichael: Thank you very much, brother.

Interviewer: I'll repeat that. We will. Thank you.

Carmichael: O.K., brother.

VIA TELETYPE
SEP 4 1968
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

WA ----17----

FBI NEW YORK

8:10 PM URGENT 9-4-68 AWS

TO DIRECTOR 100-446080 AND WASHINGTON FIELD 100-43503,

(CODE)

ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM NEW YORK 100153751

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RM.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

SUBJECT AND [REDACTED] OBSERVED AT RESIDENCE OF [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] NEW YORK,

b7C

b7D

FOUR FIFTEEN PM THIS DATE BY CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE (RELIABLE).

ADMINISTRATIVE:

CLASSIFIED

b7C

b7D

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (U)

END

WA.....JDR

FBI WASH DC

REC-8

00-446080-1927

17 SEP 6 1968

26 11 25 AM 1968

MR. TRAINOR - CC
ROOM 836 9&D
TWO COPIES TO WFO

53 SEP 12 1968 265

REC.D DOM INTELL DIA

F B I

Date: 9/3/68

Transmit the following in CODE
(Type in plaintext or code)Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR AND SAC NEW YORK

FROM: SAC, WFO

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RM.

RE NEW YORK TELETYPE SEPTEMBER ONE LAST.

A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST, ADVISED SEPTEMBER THREE INSTANT THAT SUBJECT HAS RETURNED WITH [REDACTED] TO WASHINGTON, D. C., EXACT TIME AND DATE OF RETURN NOT KNOWN. SOURCE REPORTED [REDACTED] RETURNED TO THE UNITED STATES [REDACTED] [REDACTED] AND SUBJECT MET [REDACTED] DURING PAST WEEKEND IN NEW YORK CITY RETURNING [REDACTED] TO WASHINGTON, D. C. SOURCE ADVISED SUBJECT IS REMAINING CLOSE TO HIS RESIDENCE SINCE RETURNING [REDACTED] [REDACTED] SOURCE DID NOT KNOW THE NATURE OF [REDACTED] [REDACTED] BUT BELIEVED IT TO BE MINOR IN NATURE.

ADMINISTRATIVE

EX 110

REC-52

100-446080-1928

ABOVE [REDACTED]

- (2) - Bureau
 3 - Teletype Unit
 2 - WFO (100-43503)
 WWH:lt
 (7)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

6 SEP 5 1968

Approved: _____

Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

61 SEP 12 1968

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via _____
(Priority)

WFO 100-43503
PAGE TWO

INFORMATION CLASSIFIED ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ TO PROTECT THE
IDENTITY OF THE SOURCE. P.

cc- MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M . Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

FBI

Date: 9/6/68

Transmit the following in _____

CODED

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via _____

TELETYPE

~~URGENT~~

Routine

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson _____
 Mr. DeLoach _____
 Mr. Mohr _____
 Mr. Bishop _____
 Mr. Casper _____
 Mr. Callahan _____
 Mr. Conrad _____
 Mr. Felt _____
 Mr. Gale _____
 Mr. Rosen _____
 Mr. Sullivan _____
 Mr. Tavel _____
 Mr. Trotter _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Miss Holmes _____
 Miss Gandy _____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI AND SAC, NEW YORK

FROM: SAC, WFO

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; RACIAL MATTER DASH SNCC

ON SEPTEMBER SIX INSTANT A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PASSPORT
 OFFICE, DEPARTMENT OF STATE (USDS), WDC, REPORTED USDS HAD BEEN
 INFORMED THAT CARMICHAEL AND [REDACTED] DEPARTED
 NEW YORK CITY FOR DAKAR, SENEGAL AT FIVE P.M., SEPTEMBER FIVE
 LAST VIA PAN AMERICAN FLIGHT NUMBER ONE FIVE ZERO.

ACCORDING TO INFORMATION RECEIVED BY USDS, CARMICHAEL HELD
 A ONE WAY, NO RETURN TICKET.

THE USDS REPRESENTATIVE ALSO ADVISED THAT USDS IS CONSIDERING
 REQUESTING APPROPRIATE EMBASSIES IN AFRICA TO KEEP USDS INFORMED
 OF CARMICHAEL'S ACTIVITY ABROAD.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

- 2 - Bureau
- 3 - Teletype Unit
- 2 - WFO (100-43503)

JRP:rmh
 (7)

EX 109 REC 31

23 SEP 10 1968

100-446030-1221

DO NOT INTERFERE DIA

SEP 10 1968

Approved: _____
 Special Agent in Charge

59 SEP 13 1968

Sent _____ M Per _____

L. T. O.

WFO 100-43503

PAGE TWO

ON SEPTEMBER SIX INSTANT, A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST, REPORTED THAT ASSOCIATES OF CARMICHAEL IN WDC STATE HE AND [REDACTED] HAVE DEPARTED FOR AFRICA. THESE ASSOCIATES EXPECT THEM TO REMAIN ABROAD APPROXIMATELY TEN DAYS.

b7C
b7D

ADMINISTRATIVE

THE USDS REPRESENTATIVE IS [REDACTED] SECURITY BRANCH, LEGAL DIVISION, PASSPORT OFFICE, CONTACTED BY SPECIAL AGENT [REDACTED]

b7C

THE SOURCE UTILIZED IS [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

b2
b7D

NEW YORK VERIFY DEPARTURE AND OBTAIN INFORMATION RE TICKETS HELD BY CARMICHAEL [REDACTED]

b7C

ce- 100-43503-333 [REDACTED]

F B I

Date:

9/5/68

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
 RACIAL MATTERS - SNCC
 SEDITION

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/leg

ReBuairtel, 8/20/68.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 11 copies of
 an LHM regarding the above captioned matter. One copy
 each furnished Atlanta and New York for information.

The sources contacted regarding this matter are
 as follows:

b2
 b7D

REC-78

SI-106

4 SEP 10 1968

WFO has continuously followed matters pertaining
 to CARMICHAEL's finances and no information has been
 developed he has been the recipient of any large sums of
 money.

ENCLOSURE

- 3 - Bureau (Enc. 11)
 1 - Atlanta (100-6812) (Enc. 1) (RM)
 1 - New York (100-153751) (Enc. 1) (RM)
 1 - WFO

AGENCY: ACIS, OSI, SEC. SERV.,
 ISD, CRD, RAO, IDAL

HOW FORW: NS

DATE FORW: 9/9/68

BY: ABE/dw

WWH:njs
 (5)

REC.D DOWNLET DIA

55 SEP 13 1968

Sent

M

Per

Special Agent in Charge



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C. 20535

September 5, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Confidential sources, who have furnished reliable information in the past, advised they have no information Stokely Carmichael has been the recipient of large sums of money.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

This document contains neither
recommendations nor conclusions of
the FBI. It is the property of
the FBI and is loaned to your agency;
it and its contents are not to be
distributed outside your agency.

1*

100-446080-1930

ENCLOSURE

FBI WASH DC*

FBI WASH DC

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (U)

CLASSIFIED AND EXTENDED BY 6076 WASH/103
REASON FOR EXTENSION 12/11/78 WCF

FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2

DATE OF REVIEW FOR DECLASSIFICATION 4/24/98

paramarked otherwise 4/6/98

FBI SAN FRAN

315PM URGENT 8/24/68 NJM

TO DIRECTOR, DETROIT, LOS ANGELES, WFO, AND SAN DIEGO

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-1204) (157-721) (P) 2P

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S) BY DATE 12-20-78

BLACK PANTHER PARTY, RM; STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RM.

b7C

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg
ON 01-25-2006

RE WFO TELETYPE TO BUREAU, ET AL, DATED EIGHT TWENTY-THREE LAST; SF TEL CALLS TO LA THIS DATE; AND SD TELETYPE TO BUREAU, CAPTIONED "ANTI-POLICE DEMONSTRATION," THIS DATE.

SA OF FBI OBSERVED SUBJECT BOARD PSA FLT. ONE THIRTY EN ROUTE TO LOS ANGELES WHICH DEPARTED SF AT ELEVEN TWENTY-FIVE A.M. THIS DATE. SUBJECT ACCOMPANIED BY THREE NEGRO MALES, ONE MEETING DESCRIPTION OF [REDACTED] b7C

FOR INFO OF DETROIT, [REDACTED] ADVISED EARLY THIS WEEK SUBJECT TO SPEAK AT LARGE "FREE HUEY" RALLY AND BAR-B-QUE AT DEFREMERY PARK, OAKLAND, CALIF. ON EIGHT TWENTY-FIVE, NEXT. THIS INFORMATION FURTHER SUBSTANTIATED BY [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] SUBJECT'S APPEARANCE AT RALLY PROBABLE INASMUCH AS THIS RALLY LAST ONE PRIOR TO END OF NEWTON TRIAL EXPECTED TO END EIGHT TWENTY-SIX, NEXT. A DEMONSTRATION IS ALSO PLANNED AT ALAMEDA COUNTY COURT HOUSE ON EIGHT TWENTY-SIX TO COINCIDE WITH END OF TRIAL. 22 SEP 6 1968
END OF PAGE ONE WFO 100-446080-

NOT RECORDED

160 SEP 9 1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (U)

61 SEP 12 1968

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-165906-387

b7C

b7D

PAGE TWO

SUBJECT TO APPEAR THERE ALSO PER (S) (U)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(U)

SF WILL COVER RALLY AND DEMONSTRATION WILL COVER RALLY AND
DEMONSTRATION WITH SOURCES AND ATTEMPT
WILL BE MADE TO RECORD SPEECHES.

HUEY NEWTON IS MINISTER OF DEFENSE OF BPP AND IS PRESENTLY
ON TRIAL FOR MURDER OF AN OAKLAND POLICE OFFICER.

FOR INFO OF SAN DIEGO, SUBJECT SCHEDULED TO SPEAK AT A LOS
ANGELES PARK AT THREE P.M. THIS DATE.

LA ADVISED SAN DIEGO IF ANY INFORMATION RECEIVED TO THE EFFECT
SUBJECT TO PROCEED TO SAN DIEGO THIS DATE.

SF WILL KEEP BUREAU ADVISED.

END

OTHER OFFICES ADVISED

END

SLB

FBI WASH DC*

Mr. Tamm

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (U)

DIRECTOR, FBI

9/3/68

SAC, WFO

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

RM

Bufile (100-439190)

WFOfile (100-41626) (P)

(OO:AT)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

RM

Bufile (105-165706)

WFOfile (100-45995) (RUC)

(OO:SF)

b2

ReBuairtel, 8/21/68.

b7D

[redacted] advised on 8/28/68, that according to information source has been able to pick up at SNCC Headquarters, Washington, D. C., there is a definite split between SNCC and the BPP and STOKELY CARMICHAEL will be closely associated with the BPP in the future.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

- 3 - Bureau
(1-105-165706) (BPP)
2 - New York (RM)
(1-100-161993) (BPP)
2 - WFO
(1-100-45995) (BPP)

HGE:njs
(7)

59 SEP 13 1968

100-446080-
NOT RECORDED
183 SEP 6 1968

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-439190-5368

September 9, 1968

100-446080

1 -

b7C

b7C

Dear

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

Your letter of September 2, 1968, to which was attached a newspaper clipping relating to statements made by Stokely Carmichael with respect to the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy has been received.

Your interest in bringing this to my attention is appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

MAILED 2

SEP 9 1968

COMM-FBI

1 - SAC, Los Angeles (For information) - Enclosure
NOTE TO SAC, LOS ANGELES: No further action being taken with respect to the above. No record identifiable with the correspondent could be located in Bureau files. Enclosed is copy of letter from

b7C

HAS:jls
(4)

b2

NOTE:

Re

Correspondent refers to newspaper publicity following Martin Luther King's assassination to the effect that Senator Kennedy was as responsible as others for King's death, since he had failed to push for prosecution of slayers of Negro civil rights workers. This and other remarks of a similar nature by Carmichael have previously been considered in our investigation into Kennedy's death.

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

51 SEP 12 1968

TELETYPE UNIT

ORIGINAL FILED IN 62-584-942

[Redacted]
September 2, 1968

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

(Subject: Robert F. Kennedy)

cyf
Gentlemen:

Going through some old newspapers the other day I came upon a dated issue containing an item re Martin Luther King's assassination, captioned: "Kennedy pulled trigger --Carmichael," and which clipping I enclose herewith.

Why? -- well, I read the article and then an amazing thought flashed across my mind. I thought: Stokely Carmichael speaks of avenging Martin Luther King's assassination (please refer to words in clipping underlined in red), of "retaliating" and of actually naming Robert Kennedy as the one upon whom revenge must be taken.

NOT RECORDED

145 SEP 11 1968

In view of this, I am wondering if it has come to the attention of the F.B.I. that there could perhaps be a connection between the subsequent assassination of Robert F. Kennedy and this Mr. Stokely Carmichael, using Sirhan Sirhan as their gunman?

Anyway, I thought I'd pass this thought on

for what it might be worth.

SEP 6 1968
100-446080
ORIGINAL FILED IN

2 SEP 8 1968

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ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE

nion's capital today and most units of the District of Columbia National Guard were ordered to report to their armory.

The guardsmen, most of them MPs who already received extensive riot training this year, received the call as police sealed off troubled areas in a capital city where a night of violence left one man dead, 56 persons injured and brought more than 200 arrests.

The renewed disturbances, meanwhile, spilled over at midday into Washington's downtown business district

Hanoi denounces U.S. for continued bombing

TOKYO (AP) — North Vietnam denounced the United States today, charging it "obstinately continues bombing an important part" of the North.

This was the strongest statement yet throwing doubt on the road to negotiations since Hanoi and Washington agreed to contacts earlier in the week.

It came amid an apparent clash between Moscow and Peking as to the immediate course to be followed. The Soviet gov-

ernment said it supports Hanoi's earlier statement of a willingness to talk about a complete halt in the bombing. Communist China described President Johnson's moves as "a new trick" and urged the North Vietnamese to continue fighting.

The North Vietnamese said the partial halt was not enough to testify that the United States wants peaceful settlement of the war. Peking said President Johnson's bombing order was

intended to "force the Vietnamese people to bend their knees and surrender to the aggressors by means of a new trick."

It was the first Chinese comment on President Johnson's Sunday night bomb pause announcement. Peking still withheld comment on North Vietnam's announcement Wednesday agreeing to meet with the United States to prepare for peace talks.

FBI Take Note
President to address Congress

'Kennedy pulled trigger' — Carmichael

WASHINGTON (AP)—President Johnson told the nation today he plans to address a joint session of Congress to deal with the problems stemming from the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King. The session was promptly set for 9 p.m. EST Monday night.

'Substantial leads' are developed

MEMPHIS, Tenn. (AP) — Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark said today that "substantial leads" had been developed in the hunt for the killer of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Clark said the slaying appeared to be the work of one man.

WASHINGTON (AP) — Black power advocate Stokely Carmichael urged Negroes today to arm themselves with guns and take to the streets in retaliation for the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

Carmichael told a news conference he wants black America to "kill off the real enemy."

"We have to retaliate for the death of our leaders," he said. "The execution of those debts will not be in the courtrooms. They will be in the streets of the United States of America."

He said there would be executions in the streets.

"When white America killed Dr. King she opened the eyes of every black man in this country," Carmichael said.

Carmichael blamed President Lyndon B. Johnson and Sen. Robert F. Kennedy, D-N.Y.,

along with the rest of the nation's white population for the death of the Nobel Peace Prize winner.

"Bobby Kennedy pulled that trigger as much as anyone else," Carmichael said, charging the senator had failed to push for prosecution of slayers of Negro civil rights workers when he was attorney general.

The militant Black Power leader declared that violence that erupted in city after city across the nation after King was shot in Memphis is "just light stuff" when compared with "what will happen."

"We have to retaliate," he added.

Carmichael has frequently urged violence on past occasions, in speeches and tours

around the country.

Carmichael also declared that if Gov. Spiro T. Agnew of Maryland proceeds "with this nonsensical charge against" fellow Black Power advocate H. Rap Brown, who is accused of inciting a riot last summer in Cambridge, Md., "He ain't seen nothing . . . we'll take our troops back into Maryland . . . we'll turn that state upside down and inside out."

Lester McKinnie, chairman of the Washington chapter of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, also at the news conference, said there was a possibility of a general strike throughout the United States by Negroes. He did not elaborate on this point.

SNCC's actual membership is small—it was estimated at 100 late last year. But its leaders have been among the most vocal on racial matters.

See Kennedy comment, page 12.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

100-446080-
ENCLOSURE
ENCLOSURE

UNITED STATES

MENT

Memorandum

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

TO : Mr. Sullivan

DATE: 8/26/68

FROM :

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. Rosen

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01-25-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt

This memorandum is for the purpose of recording instructions issued telephonically to the San Francisco Office this morning with respect to obtaining evidence concerning remarks of Stokely Carmichael yesterday at a rally in Oakland, California.

[redacted] of the Criminal Division in the Department called this morning and made reference to an article which appeared in today's issue of the Washington Post entitled "Guerrilla Warfare Near, Carmichael Tells Rally" written by one Rosa Gustaitas. The article contained a general run-down of remarks made by Carmichael at a "Free Huey Newton" rally held on August 25, 1968, in Oakland during which Carmichael urged the Negroes to obtain weapons and stated Negroes should take retaliatory action if Newton is convicted and Carmichael recommended guerrilla tactics rather than riots in the streets. [redacted] commented that the Department was most interested in securing specifics regarding Carmichael's speech and is particularly interested in knowing whether any recording was obtained as this may present possibility for immediate prosecutive action.

It is noted that the San Francisco Office by teletype yesterday furnished a brief run-down of Carmichael's speech as obtained by three informants who were able to attend and it was indicated that efforts were being made to ascertain if a recording was made of the speech. With respect to the request of the Department, mentioned above, Supervisor [redacted] of the Racial Intelligence Squad, San Francisco Office, was contacted. [redacted] stated that his office had

100-446080

GCM:fhd (7)

CONTINUED - OVER

51 SEP 16 1968

b7C

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan
RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
100-446080

been able to have racial informants attend Carmichael's speech but because of stringent security rules in effect at the meeting they had not been able to secure any recordings but were checking with the police department to see if they had been successful in that regard. [] was instructed to have his informants thoroughly debriefed and to furnish to the Bureau by 4:30 p.m. today a teletype summary containing specifics as to just what Carmichael said during his speech. In the event a recording could be located, San Francisco was instructed to expeditiously transcribe such and furnish promptly to the Bureau, taking steps to preserve the tape for evidentiary purposes. In line with previous instructions given to the field in connection with the Carmichael investigation, San Francisco was also instructed to contact news media to ascertain if the speech was recorded and, if so, to take steps to obtain copies of the recording. b7C

In addition, [] was instructed to have any members of the press known to have attended the meeting interviewed for any pertinent evidentiary information they may be able to provide. In addition, San Francisco was again instructed to make every effort to record any additional remarks made by Carmichael at public meetings during his current stay on the West Coast. b7C

ACTION:

This is for recording purposes. Immediately upon receipt of the teletype summary, [] of the Department will be advised for prosecutive consideration of this matter. You will be kept informed of pertinent developments. b7C

slu

W. C. P.

P

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ATTENTION

The following documents appearing in FBI files have been reviewed under the provisions of The Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) (Title 5, United States Code, Section 552); Privacy Act of 1974 (PA) (Title 5, United States Code, Section 552a); and/or Litigation.

☐ FOIA/PA☐ Litigation☐ Executive Order Applied

Requester: _____

Subject: _____

Computer or Case Identification Number: _____

Title of Case: _____ Section _____

* File _____

Serials Reviewed: _____

Release Location: *File _____ Section _____

This file section has been scanned into the FOIPA Document Processing System (FDPS) prior to National Security Classification review. Please see the documents located in the FDPS for current classification action, if warranted. Direct inquiries about the FDPS to RIDS Service Request Unit b2

File Number: 100-149-446080 Section 42Serial(s) Reviewed: ALL

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: 983,317

File Number: _____ Section _____

Serial(s) Reviewed: _____

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: _____

File Number: _____ Section _____

Serial(s) Reviewed: _____

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

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DATE 08-15-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/ELs

THIS FORM IS TO BE MAINTAINED AS THE TOP SERIAL OF THE FILE, BUT NOT SERIALIZED.

SCANNED BY DocLab (RMD)

DATE: 8-1-05

ATTENTION

DO NOT REMOVE FROM FILE

LAST SERIAL: 1975

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DATE 08-15-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/bls

F B I

Date: 9/5/68

Transmit the following in _____

CODE

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via

TELETYPE

URGENT

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR AND SACS MOBILE
NEW YORK

FROM: SAC WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RM DASH SNCC.

A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE, WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST, ADVISED SEPTEMBER FIVE INSTANT SUBJECT

NOW IN NEW YORK CITY, WILL DEPART
THIS DATE FOR AFRICA REMAIN FOR AN UNKNOWN
DURATION. SOURCE DID NOT KNOW THE MODE OF TRAVEL BUT BELIEVED
IT TO BE BY AIR. SOURCE DID NOT KNOW THE COUNTRIES IN AFRICA
TO BE VISITED.

ADMINISTRATIVEABOVE SOURCE IS NEW YORK COGNIZANT TO VERIFY DEPARTURE OF SUBJECT
INFO OF MOBILE. P

- ② - Bureau
3 - Teletype Unit
2 - WFO

WWH:skt
(7)

REC.D DOM INTELL DIV

F B I

SEP 10 1968

57 SEP 18 1968

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

JUL 501-0

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b7Cb6
b7C
b7D

1933

EX-100
9:15 pm Air Station adv.
& Tea Newbury adv. by

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 08-15-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/bls

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date September 5, 1968

Previous information received that
Stokely Carmichael [redacted]
planning a vacation to Africa for some
time. [redacted] departed at 5 p.m.,
September 5, 1968, by air for Dakar,
Senegal, duration of visit unknown.

b6
b7c

State Department and Central Intelli-
gence Agency advised. Copies sent to
Inter-Division Information Unit of
Department and Attorney General. Pertinent
parts of attached to be included in a
teletype summary to the White House and
other interested levels of the Government.

CEG:jms

by Geyon

WCS/m

DATE: 09-14-2006

CLASSIFIED BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CPB/bis

DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1)

09-13-2031

~~SECRET~~

VIA TELETYPE

SEP 5 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Bishop	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

CLASSIFICATION PER OGA LETTER
DATED 09-13-2006

WA...17
FBI NEW YORK
7-35 PM URGENT 9-5-68 WPK
TO DIRECTOR 100-446080 (PLAINTEXT)
ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION
FROM NEW YORK 100-153751 1P

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, ^{RACIAL MATTERS} RM.

ON INSTANT DATE, [REDACTED] PAN AMERICAN

AIRLINES (PAA), RESERVATIONS SUPERVISOR, JOHN F. KENNEDY

AIRPORT, NEW YORK CITY, ADVISED STOKELY CARMICHAEL [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] DEPARTED THAT AIRPORT VIA PAA FLIGHT ONE FIVE

ZERO FOR DAKAR, SENEGAL, TIME OF DEPARTURE WAS FIVE
PM THIS DATE AND ETA DAKAR IS FOUR PM, SEPTEMBER SIX NEXT
ESTIMATED TIME OF ARRIVAL

LOCAL TIME.

CARMICHAEL [REDACTED] IN POSSESSION OF ONE WAY TICKETS.

NO RETURN TRIP PLANS MADE WITH PAA.

ADMINISTRATIVE

RE BUREAU TELEPHONE CALL TO NEW YORK THIS DATE, LOCAL

INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES, SECRET SERVICE, AND NEW YORK CITY POLICE
DEPARTMENT TO BE NOTIFIED. EX-103

LETTERHEAD MEMORANDUM TO BE SUBMITTED. 100-446080-1134

END

WA...

RNK FBI WASH DC

51 SEP 16 1968

COPY SENT AG AND IDIU

300M 836 9&D

b6
b7C

~~SECRET~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-15-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CR/213

F B I

Date: 8/27/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL - REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM: SAC, BIRMINGHAM (157-2546) (P)
SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL, aka
RM - SNCC; SEDITION
(OO: WFO)

Re Birmingham airtel to Director dated 7/22/68.

3 - Bureau (AM - RM)
2 - WFO (100-43503) AM - RM
2 - Birmingham
CZR:hss
(7)

REC 13

100-446080-1935

17 AUG 29 1968

C. C. Bishop

14 SEP 1 3 1968

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

b6
b7C

BH 157-2546

LEADS:

WFO

AT WASHINGTON, D.C.

It is requested that the Agent who initially observed the unidentified Negro female at SNCC Headquarters, Washington, D.C., on 5/2/68, observe to determine whether she is identical to above-mentioned Negro female

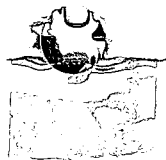
b6
b7C

on this envelope

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~~HEREIN~~ IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 08-15-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/bls



7/49

100-446080-1936

ENCLOSURE

~~SECRET~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

DATE: 09-18-2006

CLASSIFIED BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CPB/AAG

DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1)

09-18-2031

FBI

Date: 8/30/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM: SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-68783)
SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM - SNCC

Re Los Angeles teletypes to Bureau 8/22/68,
8/23/68, and 8/24/68; Bureau teletype to Los Angeles
8/22/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of an
LHM concerning Free Huey Newton rally sponsored
by the Peace and Freedom Party (PFP) and the Black
Panther Party (BPP), Los Angeles, California, at Will
Rogers Park, Los Angeles, California on 8/24/68,
featuring STOKELY CARMICHAEL.

Enclosed for Atlanta, Boston, Chicago, Detroit,
New York, San Francisco, and WFO are two copies each of an
LHM because of their interest in this matter.

- 3 - Bureau (Encls. 11) (RM)
2 - Atlanta (Encls. 2) (RM)
2 - Boston (Encls. 2) (RM)
2 - Detroit (Encls. 2) (RM)
2 - Chicago (Encls. 2) (RM)
2 - New York (Encls. 2) (RM)
2 - San Francisco (Encls. 2) (RM)
2 - Washington Field (Encls. 2) (RM)
7 - Los Angeles

- (1 - 100-63822)
(1 - 157-1618)
(1 - 157-1335)
(1 - 157-2271)
(1 - 157-943)

AGENCY: ACSI, OSI, SEC. SERV.,
DEPT: CRD, RAO, IDIU
HOW FORW: 1/5
DATE FORW: 9/9/68
BY: HBF/2kl

REC-34

EX-100

25 SEP 7 1968

JWW/Emr
(2)

BISHOP

26 1 1 12 6 1228

CL 804 940

REC'D DOH INTELL DIA

54 SEP 16 1968

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

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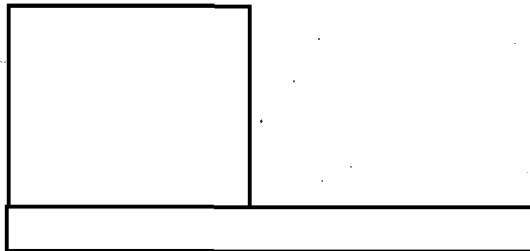
~~SECRET~~

LA 100-68783

The following sources were utilized in attached LHM:

SOURCE

(S)



b1
b2
b7D
b6
b7C

Special Agents of the FBI [redacted] and [redacted] were present and observed activities of rally mentioned above featuring STOKELY CARMICHAEL.

A mechanical recording was not made concerning CARMICHAEL's speech at the Free Huey Newton rally at Will Rogers Park, Los Angeles on 8/24/68 because members of the BPP were utilized as security force and would not permit any recording devices in the park and denied any recording devices to local press and news media.

Local law enforcement agencies indicated that tight security would be maintained at the rally and recommended that no recording devices be brought into the park which could cause an incident producing a riot in the park.

Copies of attached LHM are being furnished to Secret Service, Los Angeles; 115th MIG, Pasadena, California; ONI, San Diego; and OSI, Norton Air Force Base, San Bernardino, California.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

LA 100-68783

The enclosed LHM is classified ~~confidential~~ as information furnished by confidential sources could reasonably result in their identification and impair their future effectiveness.

- 3 -

~~SECRET~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Los Angeles, California
August 30, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

DECLASSIFIED BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/bls
ON 08-15-2006

54
14

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS -
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Sources utilized in this communication have
furnished reliable information in the past.

Source One through Source Three indicated on
August 22, 1968, that Stokely Carmichael, who is presently
in San Francisco, California, would be traveling to Los
Angeles the a.m. of August 24, 1968, to address a Free
Huey Newton Rally at Will Rogers Park, Los Angeles,
California, which will be open to the public.

Caucasians were being urged to attend the rally,
which would feature local black nationalist leaders as well
as Stokely Carmichael.

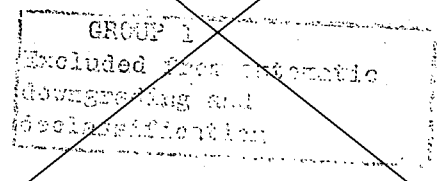
Huey P. Newton is publicly known as
the Minister of Defense for the
Black Panther Party (BPP), Oakland,
California (see appendix). Newton
is confined presently in the Alameda
City Jail for shooting a policeman.

On August 23, 1968, the Los Angeles Police
Department (LAPD), Intelligence, indicated that 50 to 75
BPP members from Los Angeles and San Francisco were appointed
to act as security officers for the Free Huey Newton Rally
at Will Rogers Park on August 24, 1968. BPP security forces
have been instructed to search all persons entering the
rally grounds for recording devices and weapons.

COPIES DESTROYED

286 FEB 24 1971

100-446080-1937
ENCLOSURE



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS -
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE

On August 24, 1968, agents of the FBI observed Stokely Carmichael upon his arrival at Los Angeles International Airport at 12:30 p.m. August 24, 1968, via Pacific Southwest Airlines (PSA) Flight 130 from San Francisco, California, accompanied by three male Negroes. He was met at the airport by four male Negroes dressed in black jackets with black berets.

On August 24, 1968, [redacted] b6
[redacted] PSA, Los Angeles, advised [redacted] at b7C
San Francisco, California, ticketed a party of four which included Stokely Carmichael, for transportation on PSA Flight 130 from San Francisco to Los Angeles. PSA Flight 130 was due to arrive Los Angeles at approximately 12:30 p.m. Carmichael and party had no return reservations to San Francisco, California.

On August 24, 1968, Special Agents of the FBI were present and observed the activities at Peace and Freedom Party (PFP) (a legally constituted political party in the State of California) and BPP sponsored rally to free Huey Newton at the Will Rogers Park, 103rd and Central, Los Angeles, California, from 4:00 p.m. to 6:30 p.m. featuring Stokely Carmichael. There were approximately 500 persons in attendance with all but four people being Negro.

Upon entering the park, it was noted that all persons entering the park carrying attache cases, purses, etcetera, were stopped and searched by Negroes wearing black berets with BPP T-shirts and jackets who served as guards and security force around the park.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS -
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Black Panther Party

Shermont Banks, leader of the BPP in Los Angeles, California, acted as Master of Ceremonies (MC) and started the rally, which was scheduled for 3:00 p.m., at 4:00 p.m. on August 24, 1968 by identifying the rally as a Free Huey P. Newton Rally being sponsored by the BPP and eulogized Newton for his heroics for the black man in that he killed "pig cops".

Calif.
The first speaker was Robert Hall of Operation Bootstrap, a self-help organization for Negroes in South Los Angeles. Hall praised Newton and the black nationalists. He indicated that the black nationalists were making the establishment change their views concerning the black man. He criticized the establishment and their war in Vietnam and spoke concerning the eventual black revolution.

Calif.
A second speaker was introduced as Prentice Carter, BPP Prime Minister for the west coast and during his speech he reiterated many of the statements of Hall. He related that the black man must be prepared to die for freedom and the freedom of the black man around the world. The BPP will protect the blacks from the "racist pig cops" and the BPP should be recognized as the police for the black community. Carter was extremely militant in his presentation.

Calif. Mass.
The third speaker was Chico Nesbitt, leader of the Boston, Massachusetts BPP. He indicated that Newton is paying the supreme price for black freedom.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS -
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Between the third and fourth speakers, Shermont Banks, MC, introduced several leading members of the black community and David Sanchez, Prime Minister of the Brown Berets, a Mexican-American militant organization located in the Mexican-American community of Los Angeles, California. Sanchez made a brief statement eulogizing Newton for his achievement in that he killed a white policeman.

The fourth was Margaret Wright, who is active in the black nationalists movement in Los Angeles, California, and associated with the Black Congress, an organization which is an amalgamation of most of the militant black nationalists organizations in Los Angeles, California. She spoke concerning police brutality, of the military draft, and poor education for the Negroes in Los Angeles, California. She related that the majority of Negro servicemen were being killed in Vietnam and encouraged the Negroes to stand out against this racist war. The black man in Los Angeles, California, is presently receiving inferior education. He is only being instructed in the white man's history and heritage. She urged the black female to fight along-side and encourage her husband in the movement and the eventual revolution.

The last speaker on the program was Stokely Carmichael who was introduced as Prime Minister of the BPP. He spoke from 4:45 p.m. to 6:25 p.m. concerning "honkies" who have suppressed the black man and the rest of the world; the U. S. are imperialistic capitalists who must be destroyed. The black man's only enemy is the "honkie".

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS -
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE

The black man must obtain weapons because "gun power is black power and is what the black man needs today". He said that there would be guerilla warfare if Newton is convicted and "pig cops" will be killed. If Newton is convicted, "it will be necessary for the Black Panthers to free him". If Newton is killed, all black nationalists and BPP leaders will be next. He criticized the government, socialism, capitalism and the war in Vietnam. He urged the black man to unite socially, economically, and militarily to avoid elimination.

All speakers were received enthusiastically and with loud ovations. The crowd was boisterous, noisy, but they were orderly. Persons in attendance were predominantly young Negroes who rapidly dispersed from the park when the rally terminated at 6:30 p.m. During the rally, a collection was taken, but the response was not enthusiastic.

Security and order were maintained by Negro males dressed in black berets, BPP T-shirts, and black leather jackets. There were no incidents of violence and no arrests were made by local authorities.

Majority of local press were denied access to park, but a selected two or three members of the news media were granted access to the rally. All news media had departed the rally before Carmichael spoke. The use of recording devices was denied to the press.

It was noted that Caucasians were discouraged from entering the park during the rally.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS -
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE

At the termination of the rally, the featured speakers adjourned to waiting vehicles for announced reception for Carmichael. The whereabouts of this reception was not made public.

A BPP rally was announced for Oakland, California on August 25, 1968, at which Stokely Carmichael would be featured.

Source Four on August 24, 1968 indicated that the BPP guard would be maintaining tight security at the Will Rogers Park Rally featuring Stokely Carmichael on this date. All persons entering the park would be frisked for recording devices, weapons, and cameras. They indicated that if anyone was found with recording devices or weapons, they would be confiscated by the BPP and would probably cause an incident provoking a riot.

All law enforcement agencies were urged to use discretion in covering the rally at Will Rogers Park.

Source Three, Four, Five, Six, and Seven were in attendance at the rally mentioned above and furnished similar information as was reported by agents of the FBI on August 24, 1968.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
Also Known As
Black Panther Party for Self Defense

A source advised that the Black Panther Party for Self Defense (BPPSD) was formed by HUEY PERCY NEWTON, Minister of Defense, and BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, Chairman, in December, 1966, as a militant black nationalist political organization to combat "police brutality", to unite militant black youth, and to determine the destiny of black communities. The political philosophy was taken from writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of Communist China and black militant writers.

In March, 1968, the name of the organization was changed to Black Panther Party (BPP).

The official BPP publication, "The Black Panther Party - Black Community News Service", states that the BPP advocates use of guns and guerrilla tactics in their violent revolutionary program to end oppression of black people.

On February 17, 1968, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister of Information, announced merger of the BPP and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and bestowed title of Minister of Justice, BPP, upon H. RAPP BROWN, Chairman of SNCC.

SNCC is a militant Negro organization which preaches black supremacy.

NEWTON, aforementioned, is incarcerated in the Alameda County Jail, Oakland, California, awaiting trial on charge of murder of an Oakland police officer.

Headquarters of BPP and Huey P. Newton Defense Fund are located at 4421 Grove Street, Oakland, California.

APPENDIX



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Los Angeles, California

August 30, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Title STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Character RACIAL MATTERS -- STUDENT NON-
VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Reference Letterhead Memorandum of
SA [redacted] dated
and captioned as above,
at Los Angeles.

b6
b7C

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 08-15-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/bls

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 8-30-68

Stokely Carmichael recently became affiliated with the Black Panther Party, black extremist group. On 8-25-68, he spoke at a rally in Oakland, California. His remarks were described as militant and advocating violence.

The attached pertains to his appearance last night at St. Louis, Missouri. Copy sent Inter-Division Information Unit of the Department and the Attorney General. Pertinent information concerning Carmichael's activities being furnished Internal Security Division of the Department, and Criminal Division of the Department.

WLS:lrh

wcsj
*msl**he*

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

AUG 30 1968

TELETYPE

FBI WASH DC*

FBI ST LOUIS

256AM URGENT 8-30-68 RJK

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080), WASHINGTON FIELD, SPRINGFIELD (100-10697) AND ATLANTA (100-6812)
FROM ST. LOUIS (100-20639)

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Bishop	✓
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

FLY (O) RACIAL MATTERS
STOKLEY CARMICHAEL. RM. 00:WFO.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-15-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/b1s

RE SL TELCON TO ATLANTA INSTANT DATE.

ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

SUBJECT ARRIVED SLMO TWO FIFTY PM, EIGHT TWENTYNINE LAST
AND PHYSICAL SURVEILLANCE TAKEN OVER BY SL BUAGENTS FROM SI BU-
AGENTS. SUBJECT BRIEFLY VISITED HEADQUARTERS OF ZULU TWELVE
HUNDREDS AND BLACK LIBERATORS, TWO LOCAL MILITANT GROUPS AND NOI
RESTURANT. VISITED LOCAL RADIO STATION AND TV STATION. ALL OF
ABOVE ACTIVITIES UNDER CONSTANT SURVEILLANCE BY BUAGENTS AND SLPD.
PROCEEDED TO SHELDON MEMORIAL HALL FOR RALLY WHICH BEGAN AT
APPROXIMATELY EIGHT TEN PM. A AFRICAN DANCE GROUP AND POETRY
READING PREDEEDED SUBJECT SPEECH.

CARMICHAEL SPOKE FOR APPROXIMATELY TWO HOURS BEGINNING AT
NINE FORTYFIVE PM. IN HIS SPEECH CARMICHAEL STRESSED BLACKS MUST
HAVE UNDYING LOVE FOR ALL BLACKS AND UNDYING HATRED FOR WHITES.

END PAGE ONE

TELETYPED TO:

58 SEP 1 1968

REC-3

EX-100

14 SEP 10 1968

PAGE TWO

URGED NECESSITY OF ALL BLACK GROUPS UNITING INTO ONE ORGANIZATION.
URGED GUERILLA WARFARE WHEN BLACKS ARE SUFFICIENTLY ARMED.
STATED BLACKS MUST STEAL, BUY OR BEG ARMS; ONLY REAL POWER RESTS
WITH THOSE WHO HAVE GUNS.

ST. LOUIS POLICE DEPARTMENT
SPEECH COVERED BY SLPD WITH RECORDER, BUAGENT AND INFORMANTS.

PROCEEDED TO LAMBERT FIELD. CARMICHAEL [REDACTED]

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b7C

[REDACTED] DEPARTED SLMO AT ONE TWENTY AM INSTANT
DATE VIA TWA FLIGHT FOUR NINE ZERO NON-STOP TO ATLANTA SCHEDULED
TO ARRIVE THERE THREE THREE THREE AM.

NO DISORDER OR RACIAL INCIDENTS WHILE IN SLMO. MILITARY
ATTORNEY *MEMO*
INTELLIGENCE, SECRET SERVICE AND USA ADVISED. LHM FOLLOWS. P..

END

JCR

FBI WASH DC*

@

CC

[REDACTED]
ROOM 836 9&D

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 08-15-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/b13

F B I

Date: 9/6/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM - SNCC

Re Saint Louis tel to Director and WFO, 8/31/68.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 11 copies of an LHM regarding the above captioned matter. Two copies each are furnished New York and Saint Louis.

The source referred to in the LHM is

The LHM is being classified "~~Confidential~~" to protect the identity of a source furnishing information of value on a continuing basis.

In furnishing the information to the Director and WFO by teletype dated 8/31/68, Saint Louis advised extreme care must be utilized in any dissemination of the information provided by because of potential danger to the informant.

AGENCY: ACSI, ~~OSI~~, OSI, SEC. SERV.,~~OSI~~: ISD, CRD, RAO, *Crim*, *Indu*HOW FORW: *RI'S*DATE FORW: *9/10/68*BY: *ABF/dkt*

ENCLOSURE

- 3 - Bureau (Enc. 11)
- 2 - New York (100-153751) (Enc. 2) (RM)
- 2 - Saint Louis (Enc. 2) (RM)
- 1 - WFO

WWH:bjr

(8)

C. C. - Bishop

REC-33
100-446080-1939
17 SEP 11 1968Approved: *[Signature]*
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

WFO 100-43503

The information is being set forth in LHM form in the event dissemination is deemed necessary in view of the importance of the allegation.

NY contact sources familiar with the CARMICHAEL family to resolve if subject [redacted] and their whereabouts.

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b7C



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

September 6, 1968

DECLASSIFIED BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/bls
ON 08-15-2006

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on August 30, 1968, that Stokely Carmichael made a speech in St. Louis, Missouri, on August 29, 1968. According to source, "one of the militants" that served as a guard for Carmichael during the speech told the source that Carmichael was very angry because his sister [redacted] had recently married a white man. Source reported that according to the guard, who source knows only by the first name [redacted]

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[redacted] Source could provide no additional information
[redacted]

This document contains neither
recommendations nor conclusions of
the FBI. It is the property of
the FBI and is loaned to your agency;
it and its contents are not to be
distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

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100-446080-1939
ENCLOSURE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-15-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CE/bbs

F B I

Date: 9/5/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (100-6812) (P)
STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - M; SEDITION

Enclosed for the Bureau are five copies and
for WFO two copies of an LHM concerning subject's
visit in Atlanta on August 30, 1968.

The first source referred to is identified
and a confidential source for the Atlanta Office.

The second source is identified as

Special Agents observing CARMICHAEL's arrival
in Atlanta at 3:33 a.m. on August 30, 1968, are
identified as SA and SA

Agents observing CARMICHAEL's departure on
August 30, 1968, are identified as SA and SA

Local and military authorities were advised
of CARMICHAEL's presence in Atlanta and a copy of this
memorandum is being furnished to Hlth MIG, Region, V
Ft. McPherson, Ga.

3 Bureau (Enc. 5) (RM)
2-WFO (Enc. 2) (RM)
2-Atlanta
BUC:bjc
(7)

EX-100

REC-33

100-446080-19410

26 1 2 ST 6W 1228

25 SEP 7 1968

REC.D DON INLETT DIA

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Sent

Per

Special Agent in Charge

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b7C

AGENCY: ACSI, OSI, SCS, SERV.
ISB, ORD, RAC, Crim, IDIU
HOW FORM: 145
DATE FORM: 9/11/68
BY: BJE/skf

3 Xerox copies
806 945

6 SEP 17 1968
Bischoff



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Atlanta, Georgia
September 5, 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-15-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/bls

**STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY-MISCELLANEOUS;
SEDITION**

Special Agents of the FBI observed STOKELY CARMICHAEL, accompanied by four individuals including one female, arrive at Atlanta at 3:33 a.m. on August 30, 1968, aboard Trans-World Airline Flight 490.

Immediately upon arrival at the airport, this group contacted various airlines at the airport and CARMICHAEL confirmed a reservation on Delta Flight 106 due to leave Atlanta at 4:00 p.m. on August 30, 1968, at 4:20 p.m., and he also made stand-by reservations on Delta Flight 753 due to leave Atlanta at 4:04 p.m. on August 30, 1968.

At 4:13 a.m. CARMICHAEL and the other individuals entered a cab and were driven to Paschal's Motor Lodge located on Hunter Street in Atlanta. They arrived there at 4:29 a.m.

On August 30, 1968, a source advised that



A second source advised that while CARMICHAEL was in Atlanta on August 30, 1968, he met with and



The source was unable to furnish any information concerning the



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100-446080-1940
ENCLOSURE

**STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY-
MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION**

Special Agents of the FBI observed that CARMICHAEL boarded Delta Flight 753 at the Atlanta Municipal Airport, which departed Atlanta at 4:04 p.m. destined for the national airport at Washington, D. C.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Literature distributed by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, describes itself as not being a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements. SNCC was born out of the sit-in movement which erupted across the South beginning on February 1, 1960. A conference at Raleigh, North Carolina, that Spring, brought together many of the demonstrating Southern students in a loose network of militant youth which was officially named SNCC in October, 1960.

A source has advised that in May, 1966, Stokely Carmichael was elected National Chairman by the Central Committee. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced as Chairman by H. Rap Brown, with Carmichael assuming the position of Recruiter and Organizer for the SNCC. In August, 1967, at the invitation of Fidel Castro, Carmichael participated in the Organization of Latin American Solidarity Conference which was held in Havana, Cuba. Subsequent thereto, Carmichael traveled to Hanoi and other sections of North Vietnam. He returned to the United States in December, 1967, at which time his passport was picked up because of travel to unauthorized countries.

A source advised that when Carmichael was elected Chairman of SNCC, the organization embarked on a program of eliminating Caucasians from its ranks. With the election of H. Rap Brown as Chairman in 1967, it embarked on a worldwide struggle for human rights and to take a firm stand against violations of these rights by the American Government and to strengthen its programs of opposition to the draft and to the United States involvement in Vietnam.

Literature distributed in February, 1968, identifies SNCC as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

On August 13, 1967, while addressing a group in the Watts area of Los Angeles, California, H. Rap Brown said "You better shape up America, or we'll burn you down." Later in February, 1968, in a publicized note Brown wrote, "America, if it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you and to organize your jails to revolt against you and to organize your children, your God, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here's my life."



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Atlanta, Georgia
September 5, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Title	STOKELY CARMICHAEL
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY-MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION
Reference	Memorandum prepared at Atlanta, dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE MOBILE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN WFO	DATE 9/9/68	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 7/8 - 9/9/68
TITLE OF CASE STOKELY CARMICHAEL, aka		REPORT MADE BY SA [redacted]	b6 b7C TYPED BY :agf
		CHARACTER OF CASE RM - SNCC - ANTI-RIOT LAWS	

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-15-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/bls

REFERENCE: Mobile airtel to Bureau, 7/29/68;
Bureau airtel to Mobile, 8/13/68;
Bureau airtel to Mobile, 8/28/68.

P

ADMINISTRATIVE:

In advance of STOKELY CARMICHAEL's appearance at Mobile, [redacted] advised that [redacted] speeches by CARMICHAEL while in Mobile, [redacted] would record the full text of CARMICHAEL's speeches. [redacted] advised on

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ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED						None	ACQUIT- TALS	CASE HAS BEEN: PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐ YES ☐ NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS ☐ YES ☐ NO
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES			

APPROVED *WMA* SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

COPIES MADE:

⑧ Bureau (100-446080) (RM)
2 - Mobile (100-1858)

(Copies continued next
page.)

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

100-446080-1942

SEP 12 1968

REC-19
EX-105SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR
ADD. DISSEMINATIONb6
b7C

REC 16

EX 106

Dissemination Record of Attached Report					Notations
Agency	ACST	DSE	SS	RAD: FDIU	
Request Recd.	CRD	CRIM			
Date Fwd.	9/13/68				
How Fwd.	45				
By	TSD / [signature]				

RACIAL INT. SECT.

STAT SECT.

79 SEP 25 1968

Kerry of rpt 8-6-68

MO 100-1858

- 1 - USA, Mobile (RM)
- 1 - NISO, 6th ND (RM)
- 1 - G-2, 3rd Army (RM)
- 2 - INTC, Mobile (RM)
- 1 - Secret Service, Mobile (RM)
- 1 - Atlanta (100-6812)(Info)(RM)
- 3 - San Francisco (2 - 157-1204 - BPP)
 - (1 - [REDACTED] (RM)
- 4 - WFO (RM)
 - (1 - USA, Washington, D.C.)
 - (2 - 100-43503-STOKELY CARMICHAEL)
 - (1 - [REDACTED])

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(24)

B
COVER PAGE

MO 100-1858

[redacted] had been detected at CARMICHAEL's speech of 7/26/68 and had been asked to leave the area and had not been able to record the talk as planned. Contact with news sources in attendance at this speech reflected that none had made tape recordings of CARMICHAEL's speech of 7/26/68, and these news sources reported that they did not cover CARMICHAEL's speech of 7/27/68.

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This report carries CARMICHAEL as armed and dangerous since he is known to have possessed firearms in the past and in view of his national posture in the Black Power Movement advocating violence and civil disobedience.

The Agents conducting physical surveillance of CARMICHAEL and associates at Mobile 7/26-28/68 were SAs

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INFORMANTS:

Identity of Source:

File Number Where Located:

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

Instant Report

(Requested)

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[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

C
COVER PAGE

MO 100-1858

LEADS:

ATLANTA (INFORMATION):

One copy of this report is designated for Atlanta in view of their interest in the activities of CARMICHAEL.

SAN FRANCISCO

AT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA. Three copies of this report are designated for San Francisco in order that copies will be available for file on Black Panther Party and their file on [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

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MOBILE

AT MOBILE, ALABAMA. Will report any additional information developed through sources concerning the activities of CARMICHAEL while in Mobile 7/26-28/68.

D*
COVER PAGE



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

September 9, 1968

Director
United States Secret Service
Department of the Treasury
Washington, D. C. 20220

Dear Sir:

The information furnished herewith concerns an individual who is believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning Presidential protection, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

1. ☐ Has attempted or threatened bodily harm to any government official or employee, including foreign government officials residing in or planning an imminent visit to the U. S., because of his official status.
2. ☐ Has attempted or threatened to redress a grievance against any public official by other than legal means.
3. ☐ Because of background is potentially dangerous; or has been identified as member or participant in communist movement; or has been under active investigation as member of other group or organization inimical to U. S.
4. ☐ U. S. citizens or residents who defect from the U. S. to countries in the Soviet or Chinese Communist blocs and return.
5. ☒ Subversives, ultrarightists, racists and fascists who meet one or more of the following criteria:
 - (a) ☐ Evidence of emotional instability (including unstable residence and employment record) or irrational or suicidal behavior;
 - (b) ☐ Expressions of strong or violent anti-U. S. sentiment;
 - (c) ☒ Prior acts (including arrests or convictions) or conduct or statements indicating a propensity for violence and antipathy toward good order and government.
6. ☐ Individuals involved in illegal bombing or illegal bomb-making.

Photograph ☐ has been furnished ☐ enclosed ☐ is not available
☐ may be available through _____

Very truly yours,

J. Edgar Hoover
John Edgar Hoover
Director

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s) 1)
U. S. Secret Service, Mobile, Alabama (RM)

-E-

Enclosure(s)

(Upon removal of classified enclosures, if any, this transmittal form
becomes UNCLASSIFIED.)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1 - USA, Washington, D.C.
1 - USA, Mobile (RM)
1 - NISO, 6th ND (RM)
1 - G-2, 3rd Army (RM)
2 - INTC, Mobile (RM)
1 - Secret Service, Mobile (RM)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-15-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/bls

Copy to:

Report of:

SA [REDACTED]

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b7C

Office:

MOBILE

Date:

9/9/68

Field Office File #:

100-1858

Bureau File #: 100-446080

Title:

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Character:

RACIAL MATTERS - STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING
COMMITTEE - ANTI-RIOT LAWS

Synopsis:

CARMICHAEL arrived Mobile, Ala., 2:25 P.M., 7/26/68, EAL,
accompanied by two Negro males, referred to as [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] CARMICHAEL spoke that night at Old Warren Street Methodist Church to a crowd estimated by news article at 700. In talk urged black men to get guns. FBI Agent from outside building overheard him say power comes from barrels of guns; that there are three ways to get things, to beg, to work and to take them, and that the first two ways had already been tried. Two news sources who heard the talk from within the church stated CARMICHAEL said blacks should take power with guns and that blacks in Vietnam should be shooting white men. CARMICHAEL, on 7/27/68, talked with local Negro leaders [REDACTED] and said he advocated settling problems by whatever means were available, and that he could not accept theory that law and order benefits minority groups. He spoke at church on 7/27/68 and was overheard by FBI Agent from outside the church tell crowd this was their town, if they wanted to burn it, to go ahead and burn it. No tape recordings of speeches available. CARMICHAEL and his two associates observed leaving Mobile 7:00 A.M., 7/28/68 by EAL for Atlanta, Ga. ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

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MO 100-1858

DETAILS:

AT MOBILE, ALABAMA:

[redacted] advised on July 8, 1968 that [redacted] a local Negro Civil Rights organization, Neighborhood Organized Workers, Inc. (NOW), had said that NOW had invited STOKELY CARMICHAEL, former chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), to speak in Mobile. (A characterization of SNCC is attached hereto.) [redacted] wanted CARMICHAEL to speak on July 19, 1968 and had tried to rent the Mobile Municipal Auditorium, which was not available for that date.

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On July 8, 1968, [redacted] Mobile Municipal Auditorium, advised [redacted] that date had requested to rent the Auditorium for July 26, 1968 for a political lecture, making a deposit of \$250 for one-half the base rental. He said that [redacted] NOW, which group was sponsoring the program. Later on that date [redacted] that the principal speaker for the occasion would be STOKELY CARMICHAEL and that the program would start at 8:30 P.M. and would last for about three hours.

On July 11, 1968, [redacted] been notified the previous date by the City Auditorium that [redacted] provide insurance in the amount of about \$21,000,000 in connection with using the Auditorium for CARMICHAEL's speech. He said that the insurance probably could not be obtained by NOW, and if it could be obtained, would cost too much for the group for the one night only.

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[redacted]
[redacted]
meeting of NOW the decision had been made to invite STOKELY CARMICHAEL to Mobile to speak since the organization felt that the racial situation in the Mobile area was very poor, particularly in the field of job opportunities for Negroes. He said that Mobile did not have any powerful speakers among the Negroes who could reach the white community or who could be used for fund raising activities. He said a letter had

MO 100-1858

been sent to CARMICHAEL inviting him to speak in Mobile on July 26, 1968 and an acceptance had been received. He said that he expected to be able to use the Mobile City Auditorium for this speech.

On July 11, 1968, [] advised that on the previous date a letter had been delivered [] from the three City Commissioners, denying the use of the City Auditorium to NOW for the speech by CARMICHAEL. Earlier on that date [] notified by the manager of the auditorium that it would be necessary to provide insurance on the auditorium in the amount of \$12,000,000, plus insurance to cover any personal damages in the amount of \$10,000,000 if the auditorium was used for a speech by CARMICHAEL. [] group had made an appointment to meet with the City Commission to discuss the question of the insurance, but this meeting was cancelled after the Commissioners notified [] the use of the auditorium was denied for a speech by CARMICHAEL.

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[] advised on July 18, 1968 [] CARMICHAEL was definitely coming to Mobile on July 26, 1968 and was expected to stay for several days and speak in several churches. He said that if CARMICHAEL had been able to use the auditorium, one appearance would have been enough, but since he will have to speak at churches, it will be necessary to make several speeches.

On July 26, 1968 the Washington Field Office advised that CARMICHAEL, accompanied by [] and an individual identified [] departed the Friendship International Airport, Maryland, at 11:45 A.M. that date by Eastern Airlines Flight 147 enroute to Mobile, Alabama, with a stop over at Atlanta, Georgia.

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Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation observed STOKELY CARMICHAEL, accompanied by two Negro males, arriving at Mobile Municipal Airport at 2:25 P.M., July 26, 1968, aboard Eastern Airlines Flight 377. They were met by a Negro group [] They were driven to []

MO 100-1858

a short stay, ^{Mobile Ala.}drove around Mobile and adjoining Prichard, Alabama, before going to the home of [REDACTED] [REDACTED] After remaining at [REDACTED] for several hours, they drove to the Old Warren Street Methodist Church, 304 N. Warren Street, arriving there at about 8:00 P.M. At this church CARMICHAEL spoke for about two hours to a group estimated by police at about 200 inside and about 150 to 200 outside. The Mobile Register, a daily newspaper published at Mobile, Alabama, in its issue of July 27, 1968 estimated the persons in attendance inside and outside the church as totaling about 700. This same news article reported that CARMICHAEL was flanked by an aide, BILL HALL, and by West Coast Black Panther Party Field Marshal DONALD COX. ^{Calif}

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Following this talk on the night of July 26, 1968 CARMICHAEL and his associates were driven to the [REDACTED] where they stayed from about 10:45 P.M. to 12:30 A.M., July 27, 1968 before going to the [REDACTED] where CARMICHAEL and his two associates spent the rest of the night.

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On July 27, 1968, CARMICHAEL and his two associates left the [REDACTED] around noon and were driven to the [REDACTED] ^{ALA}

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[REDACTED] where they met with local Negroes until around 2:30 P.M. Thereafter, CARMICHAEL and his two associates were driven again to the Old Warren Street Methodist Church, arriving about 3:00 P.M., a meeting already being in progress. At the church CARMICHAEL spoke to a crowd of approximately 400 people on the afternoon of July 27, 1968, the meeting breaking up about 4:30 P.M. During this afternoon speech by CARMICHAEL, [REDACTED]

According to [REDACTED]

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CARMICHAEL and his two associates left the church about 5:12 P.M. by automobile going to the [REDACTED]

Later that evening they visited the [REDACTED]

and rode around [REDACTED]

^{Mobile Ala}

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the Mobile and Prichard, Alabama, area, making short stops at several Negro clubs before returning to the [redacted] about 12:30 A.M., July 28, 1968. About 2:30 A.M. CARMICHAEL and his two associates went to the [redacted] where they spent the balance of the night.

At 6:25 A.M., July 28, 1968, CARMICHAEL and his two associates were observed leaving the [redacted] in a car driven [redacted]. After being joined by a car driven [redacted] the group drove to the Mobile Municipal Airport, and CARMICHAEL and his two associates obtained airline tickets [redacted] and boarded Eastern Airlines Flight 390, departing Mobile at 7:00 A.M. for Atlanta, Georgia.

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SPEECH BY CARMICHAEL
NIGHT OF JULY 26, 1968,
OLD WARREN STREET METHODIST CHURCH,
304 NORTH WARREN STREET, MOBILE, ALABAMA

On July 29, 1968, [redacted] advised that he had attended the speech by CARMICHAEL on the night of July 26, 1968, at which time CARMICHAEL spoke from about 8:05 P.M. to about 10:00 P.M. CARMICHAEL said that the black man needs to have a gun because he must take what he gets, and that the Negroes should admire other Negroes who are in penitentiaries because they had the guts to take what they wanted. CARMICHAEL said that non-violence died with MARTIN LUTHER KING. He said that CARMICHAEL told the group that if Negro policemen gave them a bad time, they (the policemen) must be gotten rid of. He said he did not want a white woman, but he wanted to go to school and study the same books in the same schools as white people.

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[redacted] advised on July 27, 1968 that he had attended the speech by CARMICHAEL the night of July 26, 1968, and that CARMICHAEL had spoken for about two hours and 45 minutes. He reported that CARMICHAEL said the white man never knew anything but violence and had been taught to kill. CARMICHAEL said that Russia, Cuba, Africa and Vietnam were standing up to the United States, but CARMICHAEL did not praise these countries.

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CARMICHAEL said that all men should be treated the same, but it was impossible for the black man to get a gun and have it out with the white men, as the whites have had guns all their lives and the Negroes cannot get enough guns to declare war on the whites. He said the only thing the blacks could afford was a box of matches. CARMICHAEL said that the black policemen should have the right to arrest all violators and not just Negroes. CARMICHAEL did not specifically urge any violence but told the black people to stick together.

On August 5, 1968, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
the speech by CARMICHAEL, July 26, 1968, [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] in attendance. This

[REDACTED] is set forth below.

[REDACTED] had been unable to make a tape recording of CARMICHAEL's speeches and had determined that no one in the Mobile area had made recordings of these speeches.

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

He (Stokley Carmichael) started talking about the black people getting together. He said, the white man thinks that when the black people get together they think in terms of a riot, of looting, but actually the white man don't want the black people to get together, because, he, the white man, has had them separated so long. They like to keep the black people apart because the white man figured if he can keep the black people apart he can conquer them or whatever he aims to do. All the time talk about black people can't be proud of themselves because they don't actually know anything about themselves. When they start talking about themselves then they would be proud of themselves or should be proud. He was talking about Africa and said if you asked the Negro where he came from then he would say, from Choctaw County, or I am an American, or I'm this or that. Actually he said, the black people really come from Africa. How they really got here was the white man went over there and took and brought the black people and made slaves out of them and made them live in this country and the way it is now. He also said about who discovered America - and they tell you Christopher Columbus discovered America when actually it wasn't Christopher Columbus because when Christopher Columbus got here the Indian was already here. He talked about when the black

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people getting together they start disturbances and violence when actually this Country was maintained by the white man through violence. That's how he maintained his Country. Said, we tell the other Countries get rid of your weapons, don't make no more atomic bombs, don't make no more of this, when actually he's got all the atomic bombs that he needs and all the weapons he needs to maintain this Country, and tells everybody else put your gun down. Actually the black people themselves are going to have to stop fighting and killing among themselves because the white man really don't care nothing about the black man when he starts fighting and killing themselves because the Police can stop and look at a group of Negroes out there fighting and cutting and killing one another and they actually don't be concerned with them until they go downtown somewhere or some white project and start doing that then he be concerned, then he start getting the tanks and the National Guard and everything in trying to suppress the Negro. He said if the black people start forgetting what the white man tells him and starts being proud of themselves then he can realize that he's got a part in this Country like anybody else because he built it. The Country was maintained with the low laborer and the Negro who works for nothing and built this Country, picked the cotton and the white man got the cotton and he actually sold it right back to the Negro for actually double for what he had to pay to go pick the cotton.

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[REDACTED] He named Communist Countries, Red China, Russia and Cuba and he said that was the three Countries that the United States did not control and that even in Vietnam today they trying to control that Country by force. They should not be over there fighting them people, the Negro in particular because they don't know how to call you a Nigger no way, and you shouldn't be over there fighting them people because them people hadn't did anything to you to fight. We don't have any reason to be over there to fight them. He went on to say his daddy, his mama, his parents were Toms in there day but he wasn't going to be no Tom today nor were his sisters. In that incident in Cleveland the two mistakes that were made were that they after they shot these policemen, instead of getting their guns they forgot, and after an act of violence they should have taken off and once after killing these policemen they should have gotten their guns because they need every gun they can get there hands on. Then he got on the teachers about the money they make and they wouldn't contribute to the cause by donating funds because a lot of times they would say some things and get themselves fired. They was afraid to speak out and they should give the money to him and he would buy more guns.

(Question asked: Did he say anything about what they were going to do with the guns after they got them?)

[REDACTED] No, he didn't make no direct remark as to what would be done but in essence he was saying, the way he talking, to measuring if the white man does something to you, use it, an

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eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth - and he made that crystal clear. And naturally the people rallied to that remark that was made by him during that type statement.

(Question asked: Did he say anything about burning?)

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[REDACTED] Well, he mentioned that in the question and answer session. Someone asked him about burning Mobile. Was Mobile ready to be burned and he said it depended on the white man whether Mobile is ready to be burned. He wouldn't just say burn anything. He said it depended on the white man, he would be the determining factor whether Mobile would be burned or not. He was also asked would he return to Mobile. He said, well, after he leaves and if the Brothers are together and he can see the results, chances are he would be willing to return but until such time, chances are that he wouldn't.

[REDACTED] He also was asked a question, would he have another speaking engagement here in Mobile, and his answer was that he would be here tomorrow at 2 o'clock, at the same church, and he would be back and get them in groups and this group he would talk to them and teach them to organize. He also told them that they was foolish if they would start burning and start throwing bricks now because they had the National Guard waiting. Wait and when they National Guard go back, then they can do what they want to do, get them a color TV and go home with it and sit down and watch it and then they would call out the National Guard back out and when they put them back in then do what you going to do again.

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(Question asked: Did he ever make any statements about what to do?)

[REDACTED] No sir, he wouldn't go that far.

(Question asked: Didn't you say he made a statement not to do anything now but wait a couple of weeks after I've gone or something like that?)

[REDACTED] No sir, he said this, he would see after he's gone whether you're taking heed to what he's talking about and then he'll read about it and he'll know what he talked about you understood. He didn't tell them to do it. He didn't, he did say he wasn't going to say anything he would be put in jail for. Yes sir, he did say that. He said when he goes to jail, he's going to jail for doing something, not talking. But he did say about the guns, he said, every black man needs a gun. He said the white man got a gun, you need a gun.

(Question asked: He didn't say what he needed it for?)

[REDACTED] No, he didn't.

(Question asked: He did say that good had come out of the burning in other cities though?)

[REDACTED] He didn't tell us directly to burn it down but he did tell us that good had come out of the burning of other cities. (In a sly way tell you it was the thing to do?)

[REDACTED] That's right.

[REDACTED] Somebody asked a question if all Negro officers resign on the police force, do you think they should or do you think that's the best thing for them to do. He said then, that

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[REDACTED]

you really didn't need no policemen in the Negro neighborhood, because you have your own police force and said when you get your own police force you don't need no other policemen come in your neighborhood. All that go on in your neighborhood and the only thing you can do yourselves in your neighborhood is fighting among yourselves and if you had your own force then you could take care of it, any disturbance that take place in your neighborhood. You wouldn't need these other people coming in. He also said about the traitors, like a you don't call them Uncle Toms, the ones that come down or go down to City Hall or go downtown and get a pat on the back and go back and tell everything's alright. When actually they do more harm to you, than actually the white man, himself. He said, actually what you ought to do, when you get somebody like that, you treat them as a traitor, you get rid of them. How he say get rid of them he wouldn't say I'll kill him or shoot him down just like they do in Cuba . In Cuba they shot their traitors. When they run downtown they are traitors.

[REDACTED] He also said the Police aren't anygood for the black people and the only thing the Police are good for is an Army for the people when you start destroying their property. They think more of the property, the protection of property, than a human life. He also stated that's when you call the National Guard out. Throw a brick through a window or start burning then you call the National Guard but not for taking a life.

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[REDACTED] He said that some would die, he stated that what-
ever took place - but, a, take Labor Day for instance, he said,
maybe 800 or 900 would die labor day, so why don't you just stop
Labor Day altogether. And fighting and fretting among yourselves,
he said, well, the white man, he's in accord with that because
you're steady destroying yourselves. What you're going to have
to do is learn to love each other. And about areas that young
girls, 15 years old, walking the streets pregnant, keeping out,
standing on corners and don't have jobs and he asked if your
heart didn't ache seeing this sort of type thing happen. Where
people stand on the corner, up and down the street, and not work-
ing.

Question asked: What did he say about preachers that wouldn't
let him have the auditorium?)

[REDACTED] He made the statement again, that is, those people that is
not in accord; well you treat them as traitors. If he ride around
in a Cadillac, then you should ride around in a Cadillac. He live
in a fine house, then he think you should live in a fine house and
he couldn't see why he have to ride around in a Cadillac and you
couldn't. And what's it boiling down to, he should not be driving
around in a Cadillac and there are ways and means to eliminate that.

[REDACTED] He said, those people, the churches actually be-
longs to the people. He said, when he's so bad, such a sinner,
the preachers should want him in church. Maybe the preachers can
straighten him out or maybe he can straighten the preachers out.

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[REDACTED]

He said, but actually the preachers, almost all the preachers in town, wouldn't want to let him use on account of what the white man would say after he's gone. Just like the ILA Hall, he said, they wouldn't let him use the ILA Hall because the white power structure got to somebody down there and wouldn't let them use that, so that's what they keep doing all the time. Keep telling other black people not to help one another. And he said those kind of people that actually not with the cause, they're nothing but traitors. He said, something should be did about them. He wouldn't say to shoot them down. He said the church belong to the people and if the people can't use the church, there wouldn't be any church.

[REDACTED] The church holds 350 and I'd say 200 was standing and crowded inside in the doorway. On the outside maybe 300 or 400 people. All ages of people, the majority were young people. About a, one-third was there that I know and [REDACTED] know was addicts and they don't mean anygood, I'll tell you that. He got this boy from this Black Panther group with him out of California. He had one big boy outside, big husky boy. [REDACTED] was with him. And this other boy that he's from California, helped organize this Panther group with this one that's in jail now for shooting these policemen in Cleveland. The, this one fellow outside, he's bigger me and [REDACTED] put together. He wouldn't introduce himself. He wanted to know who we was, why we was going in and out.

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(Question asked: What was the reaction of the crowd?)

[REDACTED] They was real responsive, very much so. Especially when he'd say, when you throw a brick and you start looting, you're taking what's yours. You're taking what the white man took from you and they respond to this. The white man beat you out of that and he took it from you so you just take it, it's yours.

Question asked: He mention the boycott?

[REDACTED] The only thing he said about the boycott was that the black people ought to keep their money in their pocket. He told, after he got through talking, that he, he said, I'll never go to jail for talking. When I go to jail I'll go for doing and eating. That's when he said, I'll see how well ya'll understand what I'm talking about tonight after I'm gone. I'll read about it. That's when somebody asked him if he had another speaking engagement here in Mobile. He said, yes, tomorrow at 2 o'clock. This will be for more serious people that want to organize. At 2 o'clock be back here in groups and we will pair you off in groups and will organize.

[REDACTED] On Communism he said he didn't know whether there could be any world worse than what we are already confronted with in the United States.

[REDACTED] He said, if the Communists took this Country over, America over, it couldn't be any worse for the black people. It probably be better because you about as low as you can go now. You can't go no lower, you probably go up.

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[REDACTED]

The way these people responded to him and the way he's saying about the National Guard and about the destruction of property it will happen, probably after he's gone. He told them this, he said, you get you a color TV and go home and enjoy it when the National Guard come out. When they go back in, they can't keep bringing them back in, just cool it, and when they go back in just loot some more. That's the only time he said about looting. And said the only mistake they made in Cleveland, the Brothers up there, was when they killed those policemen and run they didn't take their guns.

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[REDACTED] He said, what the white man tell you, we want to stop the bombing in Vietnam. From now on we going to stop making the bombs, atomic, all types of destructive weapons. He said, you got the atomic bomb, all the missiles and everything all stacked back. Then they go to the other Countries and say, we going to come to a settlement and not manufacture anymore guns. That's what he tells the other people when actually he's got all the guns to defend themselves, to keep the other people suppressed. That's what he tells the black man, you don't really need a gun. You don't really need a gun, but he's got two or three guns hanging on his side. Naturally you going to have to listen to the man because you don't have a gun and really you need a gun yourself. That would be equal. We have no reason to have no differences among ourselves, between the two of us.

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[REDACTED]

Meet him on a equal basis just like he meets me because he's
got his gun and I got mine.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 8/2/68

1

On the evening of July 26, 1968, STOKELY CARMICHAEL spoke at the old Warren Street Methodist Church, 304 North Warren Street, for approximately two hours, which rally was sponsored by the Neighborhood Organized Workers (NOW).

A portion of CARMICHAEL's speech was heard over a loud-speaker broadcast to those outside the church.

CARMICHAEL throughout his speech made statements that, "Political power comes from the barrels of guns and all black men should get guns".

He further stated the "black men" made a mistake in Cleveland, Ohio, in that they did not take the guns of the three policemen who were killed in that city in the recent past. CARMICHAEL generally characterized as heroes the snipers who ambushed and killed the three white policemen in Cleveland, Ohio. He described this as even better than what had happened previously in Watts and Detroit.

During the course of CARMICHAEL's speech he made several references to the fact that there were three ways to get things--to beg, to work or to take them. He stated the first two had been tried and now it is time to try something else.

CARMICHAEL described the United States as an imperialist country in that the U. S. stole raw products from other countries and then sold the finished products back to the countries at high prices.

He was overheard to generally praise Russia, Cuba, Red China and North Viet Nam and praise the Viet Cong for standing up to the United States.

~~He made many references to the white race as~~

On 7/26/68 at Mobile, Alabama File # MO 100-1858
by SA :lpw b6
b7C 18 Date dictated 7/29/68

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"Honkies" and accused the white man of lying and continuing to lie to the "black man".

He stated the "black soldiers" in Viet Nam should be shooting the whites and not the Viet Cong.

CARMICHAEL made many references to the fact that the "black man" must unite against the white race if they were to succeed in securing political power.

A great many of CARMICHAEL's statements could not be understood due to the poor quality of transmission from the loud-speaker, as well as the general noise coming from inside the church and from the street immediately in front of the church.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 8/16/68

1

[redacted]
[redacted]
that he had attended the speech of STOKELY CARMICHAEL at the Warren Street Methodist Church in Mobile on the night of July 26, 1968. He furnished a six-page typewritten report of excerpts from CARMICHAEL's speech which he typed from notes he had made. He advised that he had been inside the church at the time of this speech, but that he did not attend the speech made by CARMICHAEL the following date. There follows Xerox copy of the report prepared [redacted] the CARMICHAEL speech July 26, 1968.

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On 8/6/68 at Mobile, Alabama File # MO 100-1858by SA [redacted] :agf Date dictated 8/12/68b6
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This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

a speech by Black Power Exponent Stokely Carmichael at the Afro-American Training School (formerly the Warren Street Methodist Church) on north Warren Street in Mobile Friday, July 26, 1968. [REDACTED]

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EXCERPTS FROM STOKELY CARMICHAEL'S ADDRESS

(Carmichael was introduced by Noble Beasley, president of the ALA Neighborhood Organized Workers, after comments by the Rev. Nathaniel ~~CIVIL~~ ~~CLUB~~, who warned "white reporters" not to take pictures unless authorized.)

Carmichael began his address ~~by~~ with a tribute to the late Dr. Martin Luther King, saying, "Wherever he is, he's digging it."

"Dr. King would have stopped violence," the Black Power leader said. "but nonviolence died with Dr. King."

Carmichael praised Russia, Cuba, Red China, North Vietnam and the Viet Cong for "standing up" to the United States, which he described as "the monster of the world."

He lauded the North Vietnamese and the Viet Cong for preventing the ~~United~~ United States from controlling Vietnam, declaring, "They had rather die than bow down to any white man."

Turning to the U.S. domestic front, Carmichael predicted that a ~~xxx~~ "confrontation" is fast approaching between blacks and whites. The trouble is, he said, that the average Negro fears the white man. "It's much better for whites to fear us."

The Black Power leader, who was wearing what appeared to be a Mao Tse-tung shirt, paused at this juncture to assail the so-called

"honkie" (derogatory term for white) press. "You can't believe what you read in the white man's paper. He (the white man) lies and will continue to lie."

At this point Carmichael excoriated "Tarzan," calling him a figment of the white man designed to help suppress the true image of the black man. He expressed mock bewilderment as to why Edgar Rice Burroughs (creator of Tarzan) failed to choose a black man for the role of the agile jungle man.

He urged blacks (he doesn't like the term Negro) to be proud of their African heritage, ~~emphax~~ emphasizing that Africa is the richest continent in the world.

Unfortunately, Carmichael contended, the whites "are stealing it just like they stole us."

"Africa has the most beautiful women in the world," he stated ~~prxx~~ proudly.

Returning to the United States again, Carmichael lamented the fact that the "black man's mind is whitewashed. We need to tell the truth and blackwash our minds."

Commenting on the Kennedy family, he asserted that if they had to work for money, they would be the "pporest honkies in the world."

Carmichael said blacks should not "pray or beg for power, but take it ~~frxxx~~ (from the honkie power structure) with a gun." He reasoned that whites took ~~the~~ this country from the Indians with weapons and took Negroes into slavery with the same approach. "You take things with guns," he said.

"LBJ ain't taking Vietnam with nonviolence," he chuckled.

"We blacks ain't scared of ~~xxxxxx~~ violence; we're afraid of whites," he said, ~~explaining~~ explaining that by 3 a.m. Mobile jails would be filled with Negroes charged with disorderly conduct, drunkenness ~~xx~~ and assault and battery.

Carmichael, who remarked that he once lived in Selma, Ala., ranted that the white man had taught "us to hate ourselves."

Thus, it is highly important for blacks to unite and love each other. "To destroy this country we must have an undying love for each of ~~fx~~ our fellow black men," he said, encouraging listeners to follow the predicates set by Cassius Clay, ~~and~~ Rap Brown and Black Panther leader Huey Newton.

Carmichael characterized as "heroes" Negro snipers who ambushed and killed three white policemen in Cleveland, Ohio. He described the murders as even better than what happened previously in Watts and Detroit.

He then paused to ask what black soldiers ~~xxxxxx~~ are doing in Vietnam. "What are they fighting for. Those little yellow men never bought or sold us in slavery. You know who the blacks should be shooting-
whites."

He said insurrectionists learned something in Cleveland--they must obtain equipment to match armored cars used by Cleveland police.

"Every nigger is a potential black man," Carmichael said. Those who cooperate with the ~~x~~ honkie power structure are not Uncle Toms but "traitors," he said.

"You know what you have to do with traitors," Carmichael ~~xxxx~~ shouted rubbing his ~~finger~~ ~~gin~~ finger across his throat in a slashing manner.

Speaking admiringly of Cuban Dictator Fidel Castro, he pointed out that Castro has "traitors" placed against ^{the} wall and shot.

Carmichael angrily denounced Negro policemen, describing them as pawns for the "honkies." "Some try to out-honkie ~~the~~ the honkies," he said, adding that "Someone ought to talk with them."

He rapped Isom Clemon, president of the International Longshoremen's Association, for not permitting him to speak at the ILA Hall. (Firebombs were thrown at the hall several days after the Black Power leader departed.

"Some of our people try to be honkies, but can't even be good honkies," Carmichael said.

"If a white man tells you something is good for you, shoot it on sight," he said.

Carmichael quoted Chinese Communist Leader Mao ~~ix~~ Tse-tung as saying, "Political power ~~grows~~ grows out of the barrel of a gun." Therefore, for Negroes to achieve proper status in American society, they must take power from the white power structure through armed insurrection, he said.

He said Negroes ^{can} ~~could~~ keep on reading Abraham Lincoln if they want to, but he personally prefers Mao Tse-tung and North Vietnamese Leader Ho Chi Minh.

Carmichael praised Black ~~ix~~ Panther Leader Huey P. Newton, who is currently in a California jail for killing a white policeman and critically wounding another, for analyzing the presence of white policemen in Negro areas.

Newton, through a brilliant process of reasoning, concluded that ~~the~~

the white police were actually "occupation forces" sent into black sections to keep "blacks in place." He quoted Newton as saying, "While the police are patrolling us, we're going to patrol them." So Newton did with a gun, Carmichael said.

Carmichael argued that white police do not live in Negro communities; hence, they have no right to enter such areas.

The only areas in which whites excel blacks, Carmichael said, are in murdering and stealing.

Commenting again on Dr. Martin Luther ~~Kkk~~ King, he said it is no use to talk about ~~xxxxx~~ nonviolence any longer. "Ain't no use to preach it and be ~~x~~ killed," he laughed.

2 "Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth," Carmichael quoted from the Holy Bible. "It's about time we took it," he shouted.

But to take it, he said, blacks must have guns. "If you've got the gun, you've got everything," he said. "If white men have a gun, you should have one, too,"

Once Negroes obtain guns, then they can talk "business" with whites, ~~xxxxx~~ Carmichael said.

He said blacks are in the beginning phase of an armed struggle against the American government, or white ~~xxx~~ power structure. The actual revolution will take place after blacks (militants) assume control of the government, he said.

Carmichael said blacks should wage ~~xxxxxxx~~ guerrilla ~~xxxxx~~ warfare against the ~~xxxxx~~ honkie power structure in the same manner that the Viet Cong are fighting American forces in South Vietnam.

He called America an "imperialist country" that steals raw goods from the rest of the world for its own enrichment.

Carmichael expressed hope that George Wallace wins the presidency, saying that ~~this~~ this would trigger the Black Revolution earlier than anticipated.

Actually, he maintained, blacks should refrain from voting for any of the presidential candidates. ~~Thx~~

"There's no need to vote," Carmichael said. "A vote's no good unless it has a gun behind it."

2 ~~Mr~~ Elaborating on the coming Black Revolution, he informed whites, "We may die, but a whole lot of you are, ~~not~~ too."

Quoting from Ho Chi Minh, Carmichael said defeating the United States is not a question of numbers but of "the will of the people."

MO 100-1858

On July 29, 1968, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] had attended CARMICHAEL's talk the night of July 26, 1968 and had filed a story of the talk. [REDACTED] Associated Press did not cover the speech by CARMICHAEL July 27, 1968.

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[REDACTED] filed the following story with Associated Press following CARMICHAEL's speech the night of July 26, 1968.

MOBILE, ALA. (AP)-BLACK POWER ADVOCATE STOKELY CARMICHAEL URGED A CROWD OF MOBILE NEGROES FRIDAY NIGHT TO TAKE POLITICAL POWER AWAY FROM THE WHITES WITH A GUN.

"DON'T PRAY FOR POWER, DON'T BEG FOR POWER, TAKE IT WITH A GUN BARREL," HE SHOUTED. THE NEGROES APPLAUDED ENTHUSIASTICALLY.

POLICE ESTIMATED THAT THE GATHERING NUMBERED ABOUT 600. ABOUT 20 WHITES, INCLUDING SEVERAL CATHOLIC PRIESTS, WERE AMONG THEM.

"WE MUST CREAT THE MAXIMUM DAMAGE WITH A MINIMUM OF LOSSES OF BLACK PEOPLE. - AND THAT IS THROUGH GUERILLA WARFARE," CARMICHAEL ADDED.

HE REFERRED TO THE ARMED STATE OF THE BLACK REVOLUTION, CITING SUCH PLACES AS WATTS AND DETROIT, PRAISED THE NEGROES WHO HAD DIED THERE AND SAID, "LOOK AT CLEVELAND TWO DAYS AGO AND THAT WAS EVEN BETTER WASN'T IT?"

AGAIN THE NEGROES ROARED APPROVAL.

"TO DESTORY THIS COUNTRY WE MUST HAVE AN UNDERLYING LOVE FOR EACH OF OUR FELLOW BLACK MEN," HE DECLARED.

HE SAID, "AFTER ALL, EVERY 'NIGGER' IS A POTENTIAL BLACK MAN."

THE FORMER HEAD OF THE STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE SAID OF THE REVOLUTION, "A LOT OF US MAY DIE BUT A LOT OF WHITES ARE GOING TO DIE TOO."

HE TOLD THE CROWD NOT TO WORRY ABOUT NUMBERS BECAUSE THE WILL TO WIN IS WHAT COUNTS. "IF YOU DON'T BELIEVE ME, READ THE BIBLE STORY OF DAVID AND GOLIATH AND IF YOU DON'T BELIEVE THAT READ HO CHI MINH."

CARMICHAEL THEN WENT ON TO CRITICIZE NEGRO SOLDIERS WHO ARE FIGHTING IN VIETNAM.

"THEY SHOULD BE SHOOTING WHITE MEN AND NOT YELLOW MEN," HE SAID. AGAIN THE CROWD ROARED APPROVAL.

"THE VIET CONG NEVER HURT E BACK MAN." HE SAID THE VIET CONG WOULD RATHER DIE THAN GIVE THEIR COUNTRY TO THE WHITE MAN AND ADDED THAT SO TOO MUST THE BLACK MAN.

CARMICHAEL STATED THAT THE WHITE MAN DID NOT WORK TO GET AMERICA, HE DIDN'T BEG FOR AMERICA, HE SIMPLY TOOK IT FROM THE INDIANS, "JUST LIKE HE IS TRYING TO DO IN VIETNAM NOW." HE SAID THE ONLY THING THE WHITE MAN HAD DONE FOR THE BLACK MAN WAS TO SELL HIM.

THE BLACK MAN IS NOT AS LAZY AS THE WHITE-WASHERS SAY, HE CONTINUED. "WE WORK THE HARDEST FOR THE LOWEST PAY. WHO PICKS THE COTTON AND DIGS THE DITCHES FOR \$3 A DAY? WE DO. SO YOU SEE, WE HAVE WORKED THE HARDEST AND GOT NOTHING SO WE MUST TAKE WHAT WE WANT."

CARMICHAEL SPOKE FOR MORE THAN TWO HOURS AND CONCLUDED HIS APPEARANCE WITH A QUESTION AND ANSWER SESSION. THE SPEECH WAS DELIVERED IN AN AFRO-AMERICAN SCHOOL IN MOBILE'S PREDOMINANTLY NORTHSIDE SECTION.

THE BUILDING FORMERLY SERVED AS A NEGRO METHODIST CHURCH.

ABOUT 350 PERSONS JAMMED INTO THE SWELTERING SCHOOL AND ANOTHER 300 OR MORE STOOD OUTSIDE IN A HOT, WINDLESS NIGHT STRAINING TO HEAR.

CARMICHAEL WAS THE GUEST OF THE NEIGHBORHOOD ORGANIZED WORKERS (NOW) WHICH IS DEMANDING THAT THE CITY OF MOBILE CREATE A 40 PER CENT RATIO OF NEGRO TO WHITE CITY EMPLOYEES.

NOBLE BEASLEY, NOW PRESIDENT, HAS LED SEVERAL MARCHES AND DEMONSTRATIONS IN THE MOBILE AREA AND SOME NOW MEMBERS HAVE BEEN JAILED.

SOURCES IN WASHINGTON HAD SAID EARLIER FRIDAY THAT CARMICHAEL WAS EN ROUTE TO LONDON. HOWEVER, WHEN HE ARRIVED AT MOBILE AIRPORT FRIDAY AFTERNOON A LARGE CONTINGENT OF CITY POLICE, SHERIFF'S DEPUTIES, U. S. MARSHALS, ALABAMA STATE TROOPERS AND FBI AGENTS WERE ON HAND.

POLICE CHIEF JAMES J. ROBINSON SAID MOBILE'S POLICE FORCE WAS ON A 12-HOUR SHIFT BASIS. HE NOTED THAT ADDITIONAL LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICIALS ARE IN THE CITY IN CASE OF ANY DISTURBANCES. NO INCIDENTS HAD BEEN REPORTED BY MIDNIGHT FRIDAY.

CARMICHAEL, NOTABLY ABSENT FROM PUBLIC APPEARANCES SINCE HIS MARRIAGE TO FOLK SINGER MIRIAM MAKEBU, REPORTEDLY PLANNED TO LEAVE THE MOBILE AREA SATURDAY. HE DECLINED TO TELL NEWSMEN OF HIS PLANS.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 8/15/68

1

[redacted]
[redacted] reporter for the Associated Press, advised that he had attended a speech by STOKELY CARMICHAEL at the Old Warren Street Methodist Church in Mobile the night of July 26, 1968. With him had been [redacted]
[redacted]

[redacted] He said that following this speech he had filed a report with the Associated Press and stated that the report, which he had filed with the Associated Press, was an accurate report of his impression of CARMICHAEL's speech. He did not retain any notes after filing this story. He said that [redacted]

[redacted] was also present at this speech but was not present inside the church as he, [redacted] had been. [redacted] not cover the speech by CARMICHAEL on Saturday, July 27, 1968.

[redacted] since the story filed by him was his only record of his impressions of the talk by CARMICHAEL and was correctly reported by him at the time, he would at this time just reaffirm the information in the story as to its correctness.

On 8/5/68 at Mobile, Alabama File # MO 100-1858
by SA [redacted] :agf Date dictated 8/15/68

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[redacted] United Press International, Mobile, Alabama, advised on August 5, 1968 that he had not attended the STOKELY CARMICHAEL speech but that [redacted] of United Press International in Montgomery, Alabama, had been in Mobile and had attended the speech and had filed the following report. b6 b7C

"Mobile, Ala. (UPI)--Black Power Leader STOKELY CARMICHAEL told 400 Negroes Friday night that "they killed nonviolence with Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING."

"CARMICHAEL, who spoke at a Negro church after he was denied permission to use the city auditorium, told the crowd to be proud of being black and to have "undying love" for fellow Negroes.

"If we are going to build the Revolutionary Movement in this country we must have undying love -- like our brothers and sisters in Cleveland two nights ago had undying love," CARMICHAEL said, in reference to an outbreak of violence in the Ohio city which claimed 10 lives.

"CARMICHAEL flew here from New York via Raleigh, N.C., and was met by NOBLE BEASLEY, President of the Neighborhood Organized Workers (NOW) which sponsored the visit.

"Police blocked off the street by the church where CARMICHAEL spoke, but the crowd was small."

Numerous attempts were made to contact [redacted] [redacted] The Birmingham News newspaper, but he could not be contacted and did not answer any messages left with his office to contact agent. b6 b7C

On August 14, 1968 [redacted] advised that he had been present at the speech by STOKELY CARMICHAEL on the night of July 26, 1968 but stayed around only a short time and did not go inside the church. He said that he had heard a few statements but does not recall any specific statements made by CARMICHAEL and did not make any notes or a recording of the speech. He said that none of the news services who were present on the scene had made any tape recordings of the speech.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 8/19/681

[redacted] United Press International, [redacted] [redacted] advised that he had been in Mobile, Alabama, on July 26, 1968 covering a speech by STOKELY CARMICHAEL at a Negro church on Warren Street. He did not go inside the church but could hear most of the speech from outside. He left the area a couple of times to phone in information to his superior in Montgomery, [redacted]

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His notes taken at the time were thrown away. He stated that among the notes made [redacted] of the items phoned in [redacted] were the following comments by CARMICHAEL:

"If we are going to build the revolutionary movement in this country we must have undying love. -- like our brothers and sisters in Cleveland two nights ago had undying love."

"There are three ways you get things, you work for it, you beg for it or you take it. How do you take things? With guns, that's how you take it."

"U. S. 'the monster of the world. There are only three countries more powerful, Russia, Cuba and China."

He could not elaborate any further on CARMICHAEL's speech.

On 8/7/68 at Montgomery, Alabama File # MO 100-1858

by SA [redacted] JTB:agf Date dictated 8/13/68

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On August 2, 1968, [redacted] advised Special Agents [redacted] that he felt that the visit by CARMICHAEL to Mobile was good for the City of Mobile, since it enabled all Civil Rights leaders to gather together with an impartial outsider to discuss their problems. He said CARMICHAEL proposed the organization of all Civil Rights groups into a loose federation which would meet periodically to discuss problems and also had gotten the various leaders to agree that no one leader should visit City Hall to represent the Negroes of Mobile, but rather a group of three leaders representing the different groups should make the contacts with City Hall. [redacted] he knew nothing concerning any statements by CARMICHAEL favoring any Communist Governments, and in discussions with CARMICHAEL had not heard such mentioned.

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He said CARMICHAEL was strictly for the Negro race in all his conversations and did not urge any violence by Negroes in Mobile. He said that he had no plans to invite CARMICHAEL back to Mobile.

The August 3-4, 1968 issue of The Southern Courier, a weekly newspaper published at Montgomery, Alabama, reported that STOKELY CARMICHAEL had spoken in Mobile on July 26, 1968 to more than 1,000 people and had expounded the concept of Black Power. On the subject of the war, CARMICHAEL reportedly said that people of color have a common bond, and the Viet Cong will not let America control them. This article reported that CARMICHAEL made the following statement:

"We are the hardest-working people in this country, but we are the lowest paid. There are three ways to get things -- you work for it, you beg for it, or you take it. When the white man came to America, he didn't work for it, he didn't beg for it--he took it."

"You take things with guns, period. He (the white man) ain't taking Viet Nam with non-violence."

MO 100-1858

On August 13, 1968, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] he had attended the speech of
STOKELY CARMICHAEL on July 26, 1968. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] He
said that he did not feel that STOKELY CARMICHAEL's speech
had any real effect on the people of Mobile, and that he did
not consider that CARMICHAEL had made any inflammatory state-
ments during his speech. He said that CARMICHAEL had made a
statement that Negroes should get guns but he interpreted this
statment as meaning Negroes should get guns for their own
self defense. He said CARMICHAEL had not specifically urged
violence; however, some people could have gained that idea
from hearing CARMICHAEL's speech.

MO 100-1858

MEETING [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

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During this meeting, CARMICHAEL was asked a number of questions by the people present and among the questions was whether or not CARMICHAEL advocated violence. CARMICHAEL replied that he advocates settling problems by whatever means are available. CARMICHAEL also was asked if he thought that a Negro revolt could succeed, noting the failure of the Hungarian revolt. CARMICHAEL commented to this that he does not advocate confrontation with the military, as was the case in Hungary, as the Negroes certainly could not win against the military. CARMICHAEL also was asked if he felt that violence was contrary to the philosophy of the late Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, but left the matter up in the air without a definitive answer.

CARMICHAEL told the group that he could not accept the theory that the system of law and order benefits minority groups, as he does not feel it has benefitted the Negro, as Negroes do not have full freedom.

[REDACTED] CARMICHAEL appeared to be a very persuasive speaker, but source indicated that he did not feel that any serious activity would occur in Mobile as a result of CARMICHAEL's appearance in Mobile.

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[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] He said that at this time CARMICHAEL suggested that all civil rights groups in the Mobile area get together and have representatives of each group get together on a regular basis. He suggested that three members from each civil rights group be on a committee of all civil rights groups, which committee would then decide any action to be taken in the civil rights field. Source said that CARMICHAEL did not suggest any violence at this meeting, [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

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SPEECH ON THE AFTERNOON OF
JULY 27, 1968, AT THE OLD WARREN
STREET METHODIST CHURCH,
304 NORTH WARREN STREET,
MOBILE, ALABAMA

[REDACTED] CARMICHAEL spoke at the Old Warren Street Methodist Church on the afternoon of July 27, 1968, beginning about 3:15 p.m. and speaking until about 5:20 p.m. CARMICHAEL said that the black people were ready to fight fire with fire and repeated that it was time for the Negro to take what he wanted. Concerning Viet Nam, CARMICHAEL said that Negro soldiers should not shoot the Viet Cong, but should shoot the white men beside and behind them. CARMICHAEL said that the Communists were better to the Negroes than others were. Concerning the coming presidential election, CARMICHAEL said that he hoped former Alabama Governor GEORGE WALLACE was elected president, as this would make CARMICHAEL a bigger man. CARMICHAEL said that white people say Negroes are lazy, but related a story about how hard the Negro works. CARMICHAEL commented on the refusal of the city to allow him to speak in the City Auditorium and stated that if the auditorium was not good enough for STOKELY it was not good enough for anyone. He also said that if the ILA Hall in Mobile, which had been denied to CARMICHAEL for a speech, was not good enough for STOKELY the hall was no good and should be gotten rid of.

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MO 100-1848

On July 29, 1968, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] speech of STOKELY CARMICHAEL at the Old Warren Street
Methodist Church on the afternoon of July 27, 1968, [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

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is set forth as follows:

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[redacted]
[redacted] public meeting sponsored by NOW, (Neighborhood Organized Workers), at the Old Warren Street Methodist Church, 306 N. Warren Street, Mobile, Alabama, attended by Stokley Carmichael.

Prior to the arrival of Carmichael and about 2:00 P.M. the meeting was opened by an unknown minister of the NOW Organization.

[redacted] speak about the Prichard Movement and stated that the boycott was still in effect but some people have not been participating and were trying to make a deal with the Merchants; [redacted] the Merchants of Prichard would have to get with [redacted] organization before the boycott would end and no other individuals had any say so over the boycott. [redacted] told of the March (Protest) to be held in Prichard on next Saturday, August 3rd. [redacted] if people still bought in Prichard they would be taken care of. -

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Several candidates for political office made statements [redacted]
[redacted]

It was about 3:00 P.M. and Stokley Carmichael arrived [redacted]
[redacted]

Carmichael stated to the people that he wasn't expecting a crowd as large as was there (there were about 750 including those outside the Church) and that it would be much too large to break into groups to teach about organizing. He said that he would have a question and answer session instead. There were oral questions directed to him [redacted]
[redacted] from the audience.

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Some of the questions asked are as follows:

Question: Were white people setting up concentration camps for the black people?

Carmichael referred this question [redacted]

Answer: [redacted] there were 25 such camps and that these camps were from various bases that had been phased out and when black people got out of line they were put there. He said that within a 24 hour period, 50,000 black people could be put in these camps.

Question: When looting and burning happen, why in black ghettos?

Carmichael referred [redacted]

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Answer: [redacted] black people didn't own businesses as they were run by honkeys' who also held the mortgages and ran the insurance companies. It didn't make any sense to go to another neighborhood to burn and to spread out from the ghetto area and be hemmed up by the honkey and be destroyed by getting caught.

Question: Concerning the Black Panther Movement -

Answer: [redacted] it was getting better and better. The movement started in Watts and went to Detroit and then other cities. Cox also talked about Cleveland and said that the greatest mistakes made there was when they killed the police they didn't get there guns and when they hit they didn't get out but stayed.

Question: On how to get guns -

Answer: Carmichael answered and said there was only three ways to get what you want, work; beg; or take it. He said when he was in Harlem, he went to the 5 & 10¢ store and bought rubber bands, two pieces of wood and got an antenna from a car, made a gun and shot 22's from it. He said if you want guns bad enough you can get them. Carmichael said that in Vietnam when the white honkey tells you to take that arsenal, you take it, and when your black brother tells you to go to the police station, there's guns in it, you go get them. He said that the gun law won't hurt because the honkey will sell you anything for a dollar, even his mother.

[redacted]
[redacted] Carmichael addressed the group and said that any boys 16 years and above could go there and [redacted] teach them how to organize.

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Carmichael

signed autographs during the remainder of the time in the Church,
after he had spoken on Unity in the black race and among the black
people.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 8/5/68

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At approximately 3:09 p.m. on July 27, 1968, STOKELY CARMICHAEL addressed a gathering at the Old Warren Street Methodist Church in Mobile, Alabama. STOKELY CARMICHAEL told the gathering that in their struggle for power there could be no division within the ranks of the Negroes. CARMICHAEL stated, however, that presently existing in the country, which is nullifying the efforts of the Negro to achieve power, was the existence of a class of Negroes whom he termed as house Negroes as compared to the majority of Negroes whom he classified as the field Negroes.

CARMICHAEL advised that the house Negro was one who worked for the white man, received the white man's hand-me-down clothes and who, on occasion, had tea, food and drink with the white man. CARMICHAEL stated that the house Negro was one who owed everything to the white man and consequently he referred to the white man as being a good fellow and accordingly was not in sympathy with the present movement of the Negro to gain black power. CARMICHAEL referred to the house Negroes as being "Uncle Toms".

CARMICHAEL stated that the field Negroes were the ones on whose strength the success or failure of the Negro movement depended and that the field Negro should pay no heed to the advice received from the house Negro not to participate in demonstrations, marches and the like. CARMICHAEL told the gathering that if they are field Negroes and work for a house Negro and this house Negro, in the course of their work, maltreats them or issues instructions that they do not desire to do, "then kill the house Negro too." CARMICHAEL told the gathering that Mobile was not a white man's town but was the Negro's town, for the Negro built it through labor and hard work and that since Mobile was their town, if they felt that they wanted to burn it then "since it is your town, go ahead and burn it."

CARMICHAEL told the gathering that if the field Negro

On 7/27/68 at Mobile, Alabama File # MO 100-1858

by SA : mrc Date dictated 8/1/68

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MO 100-1858

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does not own a television set, portable radio, or other items that they would like to have, then he should go out and get them.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date 8/8/68

On the afternoon of July 27, 1968, STOKELY CARMICHAEL spoke at the Old Warren Street Methodist Church on Warren Street between Davis Avenue and Congress Street, a portion of which was overheard. CARMICHAEL talked about the coalition of all black civil rights groups into a general unification of pride in the black race. CARMICHAEL stated that Negroes should seek a base of political power and that they should not be afraid of violence. He said that Negroes are divided into two classes, the "house niggers" and the other type, "field niggers". CARMICHAEL stated that the "field niggers" work twelve to eighteen hours a day and are suppressed and submerged by the white power structure and have nothing to show for their existence except for the color of their black skins. On the other hand, however, the "house nigger", according to CARMICHAEL, is a favorite of the white power structure since he caters to their every wish, receiving all the hand-me-downs, for example, all old dresses plus the knowledge that all his needs will be taken care of his entire life. In return, the "house nigger" supplies information to the white man on all the "field niggers", telling the white man what the white man wants to know. He stated the "house nigger" tries to imitate the white man in speech and even "drinks tea" with the white man. As a result the "field nigger" desires what the "house nigger" has and so will eventually gang up on the "house nigger" in order to keep the unified coalition of blacks for black's good.

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b7DOn 7/27/68 at Mobile, Alabama File # MO 100-1858by SA JR:kws Date dictated 8/1/68b6
b7C

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[redacted]
[redacted]
Mobile County Civil Rights Movement, a Negro organization, advised on August 13, 1968, that he had attended the speech by CARMICHAEL on the afternoon of July 27, 1968,

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[redacted]
[redacted] He said that CARMICHAEL had not urged any violence in his talk and had not made any statement [redacted] considered to be inflammatory. [redacted]

[redacted] CARMICHAEL's visit to Mobile. [redacted] he did not recall any specific statements made by CARMICHAEL during his speech.

Local news sources at Mobile did not report coverage of the speech on July 27, 1968.

VIOLENCE OCCURRING IN THE MOBILE, ALABAMA
AREA FOLLOWING CARMICHAEL'S APPEARANCE

The August 6, 1968, issue of The Mobile Register, a daily newspaper published at Mobile, Alabama, reported that Birmingham, Alabama Fire Chief JOHN SWINDLE spoke in Mobile on August 6, 1968, before the Alabama Fire Chiefs Association meeting at the Sheraton Battle House Hotel. He criticized the U. S. Department of Justice for not prosecuting STOKELY CARMICHAEL. Chief SWINDLE exhibited to the group a copy of The Mobile Register of Monday, August 5, 1968, headlining destruction of three businesses in the Toulminville area by firebombs the previous night. Chief SWINDLE noted that the firebombings occurred a little over a week after an address by CARMICHAEL in Mobile.

News sources at Mobile have reported various fires of undetermined origin occurring in Mobile following speeches by STOKELY CARMICHAEL. A chronological list of these fires, as obtained on September 3, 1968, from [redacted]

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[redacted] Office of Mobile Fire Chief, is as follows:

1. At 11:09 p.m., July 26, 1968, a fire apparently started by a firebomb thrown into the front door slightly damaged Berman's Loan Office, a pawnshop at 1112 Davis Avenue. There was no damage to the interior and the fire was extinguished shortly.

2. At 9:26 p.m., July 29, 1968, a fire was reported at 859 Wellington Street, the address being the Art Craft Press, Inc., [redacted] The building and contents were slightly damaged and it was noted that the fire was apparently caused by arson.

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3. A report was received at 10:09 p.m. on August 4, 1968, of a fire at Gulf Furniture Store, 1634 St. Stephens Road, [redacted] The fire was of undetermined origin and was fought by the fire department for five hours and thirty-one minutes. The building and contents were a total loss.

4. The fire at Gulf Furniture Store spread next door to the building at 1632 St. Stephens Road, occupied by the Mobile Mental Health Center. This building was also a total loss.

5. The fire at 1632 St. Stephens Road on the night of August 4, 1968, also spread to the A B C Auto Parts at 1630 St. Stephens Road, destroying the business.

The report reflects that these three businesses at 1630, 1632 and 1634 St. Stephens Road were all in one large building [redacted] The building was a total loss.

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6. On the night of August 4, 1968, at 10:23 p.m., a fire was reported at Railroad Furniture Sales, 121 Beauregard Street. Witnesses had reported seeing several young Negro males running from the area after a firebomb was thrown through the front window of the building. The fire was put out shortly with very limited damage.

7. On August 7, 1968, a fire was reported at 5:12 p.m. at St. Dominic's Church, Burma Road and St. Dominic's Place, damaging a rear office. The fire was of undetermined cause.

8. A fire was reported at 9:17 p.m. on August 7, 1968, destroying the V C Fertilizer Company at the Prichard boundary and GM&O Railroad tracks. The cause of the fire was unknown and the value of the property was unknown.

9. On August 9, 1968, at 2:35 p.m., a fire was reported at the Farmers Market at 2343 Halls Mill Road. This fire was of undetermined origin and damaged an unoccupied building owned by Associated Discount Corporation, damaged a building occupied by Buddy Tillman's Produce Market and also damaged a space occupied by Ray's Sea Food. The amount of damage done to the Farmers Market was unknown.

10. On August 11, 1968, a fire was reported at 4:15 a.m. at the Riviera Lounge, 2054 St. Stephens Road, [redacted] This fire was of undetermined origin and did considerable damage to the attic of the building. The fire also spread to the space occupied by the Furniture Salvage Company, 2054 St. Stephens Road, doing some smoke damage in these places.

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On September 9, 1968, [redacted] Prichard, Alabama Fire Department, furnished the following information concerning fires in the jurisdiction of the Prichard Fire Department:

On August 8, 1968, at 9:55 p.m., fire was reported at 1117 West Main Street, Prichard, location of Prine's Grocery Store. Investigation revealed a firebomb bottle was thrown up against the building and witnesses reported seeing two or three Negro boys run from the area. The fire was extinguished without doing any damage to the building and the suspects were not identified.

On August 8, 1968, another report at 11:46 p.m., concerned a fire at Kozy Krewe Drive-In, 1212 Prichard

MO 100-1858

Street. There were two separate fires on the inside of the building and there was an odor of some flammable liquid indicating arson. The fire was put out immediately with little damage.

On the night of August 10, 1968, a firebomb was thrown at the American Legion Hall on Telegraph Road in Prichard. No damage was done, as people on the scene put out the blaze before the building was damaged. The fire department was not called.

On September 5, 1968, a call at 3:30 a.m. was received concerning a fire at an unoccupied dwelling located [redacted] The house, which belonged to [redacted] [redacted] was damaged in the amount of about \$2,000 and there was indication a firebomb had been thrown into the house.

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On September 6, 1968, a fire broke out about 12:40 a.m. at Naman's Food Store, 703 St. Stephens Road, Prichard, after a firebomb was thrown through the front window of the store, but failed to ignite after burning a small hole in the floor. The police department had detected this incident and prevented any fire from occurring. The damage to the store was about \$200.00.

[redacted] he is conducting an investigation concerning all fires occurring in the Prichard, Alabama area and works in conjunction with the Prichard Police Department. He said that the investigation has not developed information which would serve to identify the person or persons responsible for any of these fires.

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On September 6, 1968, [redacted] Mobile Police Department, advised that there had been three other fires recently in Mobile reflecting the use of firebombs. He said that on the night of September 4-5, 1968, a firebomb was thrown at the rear of Buster's Eagle Pawnshop, 650 Davis Avenue. A guard inside the building heard the noise and went to the rear where he found the firebomb and extinguished it without any damage to the building and without the fire department being called.

[redacted] on September 5, 1968, shortly after midnight, Berman's Loan Office, 1112 Davis Avenue, was slightly damaged by a firebomb which was put out immediately without the fire department being called and without any damage being done to the building.

[redacted] at about 1:00 a.m., September 5, 1968, the main building of the Ford Lumber Company, 2451 St. Stephens Road, was destroyed by fire, which reportedly was started by firebombs. He said that a witness reported seeing a flash of fire and then seeing a Negro male leave the area in an old car. Investigation has not identified the car or the Negro male. The fire was brought under control in about forty-five minutes without any injury to anyone and without damage to any other nearby property.

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[redacted] the primary responsibility for investigation of arson matters in Mobile is with the office of Fire Marshal C. W. ZUBER. Investigation by the Mobile Police Department, in conjunction with and assistance to Marshal ZUBER has been made concerning the different fires occurring in Mobile's jurisdiction and no information has been developed to identify the person or persons responsible for these fires.

APPENDIX

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Literature distributed by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia, describes itself as not being a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements. SNCC was born out of the sit-in movement which erupted across the South beginning on February 1, 1960. A conference at Raleigh, North Carolina, that Spring, brought together many of the demonstrating Southern students in a loose network of militant youth which was officially named SNCC in October, 1960.

A source has advised that in May, 1966, Stokely Carmichael was elected National Chairman by the Central Committee. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced as Chairman by H. Rap Brown, with Carmichael assuming the position of Recruiter and Organizer for the SNCC. In August, 1967, at the invitation of Fidel Castro, Carmichael participated in the Organization of Latin American Solidarity Conference which was held in Havana, Cuba. Subsequent thereto, Carmichael traveled to Hanoi and other sections of North Vietnam. He returned to the United States in December, 1967, at which time his passport was picked up because of travel to unauthorized countries.

A source advised that when Carmichael was elected Chairman of SNCC, the organization embarked on a program of eliminating Caucasians from its ranks. With the election of H. Rap Brown as Chairman in 1967, it embarked on a worldwide struggle for human rights and to take a firm stand against violations of these rights by the American Government and to strengthen its programs of opposition to the draft and to the United States involvement in Vietnam.

Literature distributed in February, 1968, identifies SNCC as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
(CONTINUED)

On August 13, 1967, while addressing a group in the Watts area of Los Angeles, California, H. Rap Brown said "you better shape up America, or we'll burn you down." Later in February, 1968, in a publicized note, Brown wrote, "America, if it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you and to organize your jails to revolt against you and to organize your children, your God, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here's my life."

APPENDIX



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Mobile, Alabama
September 9, 1968

*In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.*

Title: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Character: RACIAL MATTERS - STUDENT
NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING
COMMITTEE - ANTI-RIOT LAWS

Reference: Report of SA [REDACTED]
dated September 9, 1968, at
Mobile, Alabama.

b6
b7C

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-16-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/EB/DLS

F B I

Date: 9/9/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

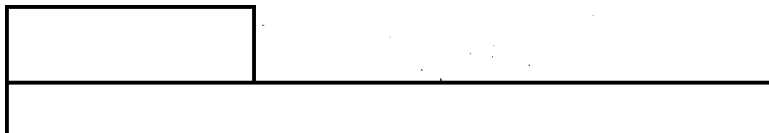
FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM - SNCC

ReBua/t, 8/28/68.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are eleven copies of an LHM regarding the above captioned subject. One copy each furnished Chicago and Mobile for information.

The sources contacted regarding this matter are as follows:



- 3- Bureau (Encl. 1) **ENCLOSURE**
1- Chicago (157-1297) (Encl. 1) (INFO) (RM)
1- Mobile (100-1858) (Encl. 1) (INFO) (RM) (AM)
1- WFO

b2
b6
b7C
b7D

WWH:age
(6)

cc to

10/15 9/12/68.

Remarks: Refer to your letter regarding Stokely Carmichael dated 8/22/68, inquiries still being conducted in this matter.

100-446080

JSD/skl

REC 44

SEP 10 1968

C.C. = Bishop

EX-101

51 SEP 18 1968

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M

Per _____
RACIAL INT. SECT.



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-16-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/LAS

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C. 20535

September 9, 1968

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Confidential sources, who have furnished reliable information in the past, and who are familiar with Stokely Carmichael's activities in Washington, D. C. (WDC), could provide no information as to his intent in leaving WDC and traveling to Mobile, Alabama on July 26, 1968, and Chicago, Illinois on August 9, 1968.

This document contains neither
recommendations nor conclusions of
the FBI. It is the property of
the FBI and is loaned to your agency;
it and its contents are not to be
distributed outside your agency.

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286 MAR 1 1971

- 1* -

ENCLOSURE

100-446080

1943



Department of State

TELEGRAM

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-16-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/b1s

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE 321

PAGE 01 DAKAR 03815 070959Z

11
ACTION AF 16

INFO PPT 02, SCA 02, SCS 04, SY 03, FBI 01, INR 07, CIAE 00, NSA 02, P 04,
USIA 12, H 02, RSR 01, RSC 01, /057 W

R 061800Z SEP 68
FM AMEMBASSY DAKAR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2884
INFO AMEMBASSY CONAKRY
STAGE GRNC

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE DAKAR 3815

REF: DAKAR 3811.
PADQM

USIS THAT STOKELY CARMICHAEL GAVE PRESS CONFERENCE THIS

AFTERNOON ATTENDED BY TWO APS CORRESPONDENTS.

2. PRINCIPAL POINTS REPORTEDLY MADE BY CARMICHAEL WERE:
A) HE HAD COME TO AFRICA TO STRENGTHEN TIES BETWEEN AFRICAN
AND AMERICAN NEGROES, AND TO STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM,
COLONIALISM, AND NEO-COLONIALISM;
B) HE WAS INVITED TO CONAKRY BY SEKOU TOURE AND WOULD
PROBABLY LEAVE FOR CONAKRY SEPTEMBER 8;
D) AMERICAN NEGROES WOULD NOT GIVE THEIR SUPPORT TO EITHER
PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE, AND WOULD BOYCOTT ELECTIONS.

b6
b7C

CC 806 940

100-446080-
NOT RECORDED

14 SEP 9 1968

CC to WFO by R/S
9/14/68, for info
ABF/dkt

Racial
INT. SEC.

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

57 SEP 18 1968

September 12, 1968

Airtel

1 -

b6
b7C

To: SAC, Chicago (157-1297)

From: Director, FBI (100-446080)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM - SEDITION

Rerep of Special Agent dated 8/27/68 at Chicago.

b6
b7C

The administrative pages of referenced report sets forth answers to specific questions requested by the Department and furnished to you by Bureau airtel of 8/14/68.

You should promptly submit the answers to these questions in letterhead memorandum (LHM) form suitable for dissemination. Four copies of the LHM should be submitted.

1 - WFO (100-43503)

EX 110

REC-12

100-446080-1944

ABF:ekw
(5)

19 SEP 12 1968

NOTE:

By Bureau airtel dated 8/14/68 Chicago was furnished the specific questions asked by the Department concerning the speech by Stokely Carmichael in Chicago on 8/9/68. Chicago set forth the answers to these questions on the administrative pages of this report and they should be set out in form suitable for dissemination.

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

53 SEP 1 1968 MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT ☐

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

AUG 28 1968

TELETYPE

FBI WASH DC*

FBI SPRNGFLD

1144AM URGENT 8-28-68 PAM

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080), WASHINGTON FIELD, CHICAGO (157-1297)

AND ST. LOUIS (100-20639)

FROM SPRINGFIELD (100-10697) 2 P

STOKLEY CARMICHAEL, RM. 00: WFO

RE ST. LOUIS TELETYPE TODAY.

AT THREE FORTYFIVE AM, TODAY, SURVEILLANCE ASSUMED FROM
ST. LOUIS AGENTS, CARBONDALE, ILLINOIS. CARMICHAEL, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] ENTERED RESIDENCE [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] THIS ADDRESS IN FEDERAL
HOUSING PROJECT, PREDOMINANTLY WHITE NEIGHBORHOOD. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] IDENTIFIED AS DRIVER

OF VEHICLE TRANSPORTING CARMICHAEL FROM ST. LOUIS TO
CARBONDALE. [REDACTED]

CITY OF CARBONDALE, ORGANIZATION ENGAGED IN EMPLOYING
POVERTY TYPES WIT JOBS. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] SI INDICIES NEGATIVE [REDACTED]

BUREAU NOTE [REDACTED]

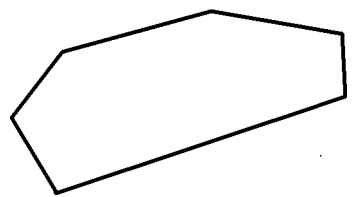
[REDACTED] HAS BEEN SUBJECT OF [REDACTED]

INVESTIGATION, OO SPRINGFIELD, BUFILE [REDACTED]

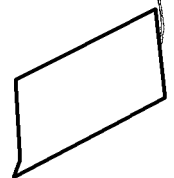
END OF PAGE ONE TELETYPE TO:

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

Scanned



B-A



b6
b7c

EX 110 RFA

100-446080-1945

b6
b7c

2 SEP 13 1968

25 SEP 19 1968

SI 100-10697

PAGE TWO

[REDACTED] RACIAL MATTERS - SNCC, OO

b6
b7C

SOURCES CONTACTED AND ASSIGNMENTS GIVEN AS TO PURPOSE OF CARMICHAEL'S VISIT CARBONDALE, ILLINOIS, AND AT EAST ST. LOUIS, ILL. RE SPEECH THURSDAY, ST. LOUIS, MO. NO INFORMATION DEVELOPED TO DATE INDICATING HE INTENDS TO MAKE SPEECH HERE. SOURCES REPORT NO RACIAL TENSION OF ANY TYPE IN EITHER CARBONDALE OR OTHER COMMUNITIES IN SOUTHERN ILLINOIS.

SPRINGFIELD WILL CONTINUE SURVEILLANCE AND CONTACT WITH LOCAL AUTHORITIES AND REPORT ALL PERTINENT DEVELOPMENTS CONCERNING ACTIVITIES OF SUBJECT. SPRINGFIELD HAS ADVISED MI GROUP AND USA. SECRET SERVICE UNAVAILABLE SPRINGFIELD, NOTIFIED AT ST. LOUIS. CHICAGO ADVISE SECRET SERVICE AND OTHER AGENCIES INVOLVED DECON

AM COPY SENT BOSTON. P.

END

SLB

FBI WASH DC*

b6
b7C

ROOM 836 9&D

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

AUG 23 1968

FBI WASH DC*

TELETYPE

FBI ST LOUIS

505AM URGENT 8-28-68 RJK

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080), SPRINGFIELD, WASHINGTON FIELD,

CHICAGO (157-1297) AND DETROIT (100-34122)

FROM ST. LOUIS (100-20639)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-16-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/b1s

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

STOKELY CARMICHAEL. RM. 00:WFO.

RE CHICAGO TEL THIS DATE.

SUBJECT ARRIVED SLMO AT TWELVE TWENTYFIVE AM, INSTANT DATE,
VIA DELTA FLIGHT FIVE THREE. TWO NEGRO MALES, PRESUMEDLY [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] GOT OFF PLANE WITH SUBJECT. THESE THREE MET
AT AIRPORT BY APPROXIMATELY TEN MEMBERS OF BLACK LIBERATORS,
A LOCAL MILITANT BLACK GROUP, HEADQUARTERED IN SLMO.

UNDER SURVEILLANCE OF SL BUAGENTS AND SLPD INTELLIGENCE
DIVISION ALL OF THE ABOVE TRAVELED IN FIVE VEHICLES DIRECTLY FROM
AIRPORT TO E. ST. LOUIS, ILL. SUBJECT AND HIS TWO COMPANIONS
TRAVELED IN LATE MODEL WHITE CHEVROLET IMPALA, FOUR-DOOR, BEARING
ILLINOIS LICENSE J V FIVE ZERO NINE ISSUED TO [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] TWO OTHER NEGRO MALES UNKNOWN
TO SL BUAGENTS WERE ALSO IN VEHICLE WITH SUBJECT. THIS VEHICLE

BRIEFLY DETAINED BY E. ST. LOUIS, ILL., PD, BUT ALLOWED TO

CONTINUE SOUTH IN ILLINOIS. NO ARRESTS WERE MADE. BLACK

51 ENCL 101-1008
TELETYPED TO:

WFO

1011 ADV 10/28/68 2 PM
1718

S/S

2070

b6
b7C

SEP 16 1968

5-11

PAGE TWO

LIBERATORS IN THEIR FOUR CARS REMAINED IN E. ST. LOUIS AREA
WHILE CARMICHAELS VEHICLE PROCEEDED DIRECTLY TO CARBONDALE, ILL.

PHYSICAL SURVEILLANCE OF CARMICHAEL TURNED OVER TO SI BU-
AGENTS AT THREE FORTYFIVE AM, INSTANT DATE, BY SL BUAGENTS AT
CARBONDALE, ILL., WHERE CARMICHAEL WILL PRESUMEDLY SPEND THE REST
OF THE NIGHT.

SPRINGFIELD WILL MAINTAIN TWENTYFOUR HOUR SURVEILLANCE AND
ADVISE BUREAU, WFO, AND SL OF CARMICHAELS ACTIVITIES. CARMICHAEL
SCHEDULED TO SPEAK AT RALLY AT SHELDON MEMORIAL HALL, SLMO,
EVENING OF AUGUST TWENTYNINE NEXT. P.

END

JCR

FBI WASH DC*

@

ST-103

September 9, 1968

REC 74

100-446080-1947

G. M. [signature]

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

[Redacted]

Dear [Redacted]

I can certainly understand the concern which prompted your letter of September 4th enclosing a newspaper clipping regarding Stokely Carmichael.

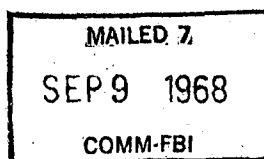
With respect to your inquiry about him, the FBI is strictly an investigative agency of the Federal Government and, as such, does not determine whether prosecutive action will be undertaken in any situation. Such decisions concerning violations of Federal law are within the province of the Attorney General. Voluminous data regarding Carmichael have been furnished to the Attorney General and you may wish to contact him.

I want to assure you that the FBI is aware of its responsibilities with respect to the internal security of our country. We will continue to make every effort to carry out our duties with the highest degree of thoroughness and dispatch.

Sincerely yours,
J. Edgar Hoover

Rec'd
NOTE: Bufiles contain no record of correspondent. His enclosure is a clipping from the St. Louis Post-Dispatch dated August 30, 1968, which concerns a speech made by Carmichael on August 29, 1968, in St. Louis.

FMG:sae
(3) *sal*



51
Olson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

TEBka [signature]
[signature]
[signature]

TRUE COPY

St. Charles Mo.
Sept 4, 1968.

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover,
Director Federal Bureau of Investigation,

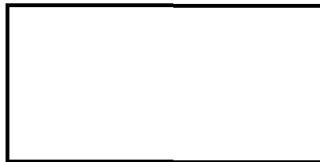
Dear Sir,

I am enclosing a clipping from the St. Louis
Post-Despatch about a speech made recently in St. Louis by
Stokely Carmichael. Please read the first three or four
paragraphs and tell me why this man can not be prosecuted for
advocating the overthrow of the Government of the United States.

Not only this statement but many statements he
has made in the past, his visits to Communist countries North
Viet Nam, China and so forth.

So please tell me why this man is allowed to
preach revolution and hatred for his fellow man in this great
nation of ours.

Sincerely Yours,



b6
b7C



REC 74

100-446080-1947

EX-101

22 SEP 16 1968

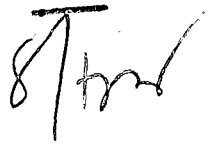
ack: mml

9-9-68

7mE: sae



ENCLOSURE



FRIDAY, AUGUST 30, 1968

Missourians Indifferent to Some Call Him 'Humphrey'

By FRED W. LINDECKE
State Political Correspondent
of the Post-Dispatch

CHICAGO, Aug. 30 — The Missouri delegation to the Democratic convention gave bland approval yesterday to the selection of Senator Edmund S. Muskie of Maine as the party's vice-presidential nominee.

It showed strong support for Chicago Mayor Richard J. Daley's handling of security for the convention and displayed mixed emotions about a spontaneous demonstration for the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy.

Most Missouri delegates did not seem concerned about the selection of Muskie by Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey, the party's presidential nominee. They had wanted Humphrey as the presidential nominee and after succeeding in this, they had little opinion about Muskie.

Humphrey's Agnew

A few delegates offered facetious reactions to Muskie. "He's Humphrey's Agnew," said one, referring to the selec-

tion of Maryland Gov. Spiro T. Agnew as the Republican vice-presidential candidate.

"Spiro Muskie?" another delegate asked jokingly.

"Connally was my man," one state delegate said, referring to Gov. John Connally of Texas. "Muskie sounds all right, but I really don't know anything about the man."

A delegate from southwest Missouri said Muskie would cause some difficulty on the Democratic ticket in his area because Muskie was an Eastern liberal.

"Who pays any attention to the vice-presidential candidate anyway?" a St. Louis delegate asked.

Hearnes's View

Gov. Warren E. Hearnes called the selection of Muskie "fine." Hearnes said he was not personally acquainted with Muskie but that Senator Stuart Symington "was very high on Muskie and called him an outstanding candidate."

Symington and some other Missouri delegates left Chicago before Humphrey's choice of

Muskie was announced yesterday. The state cast all 60 of its votes for Muskie.

Missouri delegates were vociferous in their support of Daley against the attacks on him and the Chicago police force over the handling of demonstrators.

Mayor Alfonso J. Cervantes appeared on national television standing beside Daley on the convention floor.

In support of Daley's strong-armed handling of the convention, Cervantes commented that "a bunch of dirty-faced kids" could not be allowed to take over a city. He praised the Chicago police force for using "manpower rather than firepower" and thereby avoiding serious injury to many more demonstrators and bystanders.

Hearnes said that Daley "gets criticism either way he goes. It would have been worse if he had done nothing. I was proud to see Daley's policemen facing the invaders."

Delton L. Houtchens, state party chairman, said, "All the

Carmichael Urges Negro Unity

By Donald E. Franklin
of the Post-Dispatch Staff

Stokely Carmichael, calling for Negro unity against what he termed white oppression, said here last night that neither political party spoke "to the needs of black people."

"The vote is totally irrelevant to our survival," Carmichael said before a standing-room crowd of about 1000 persons at Sheldon Memorial, 3648 Washington boulevard.

Carmichael urged Negroes to work for the overthrow of the American system.

He was ringed by a bodyguard composed of Zulu 1200s in orange sweatshirts and Black Liberators clad in black. The groups are militant St. Louis organizations.

Carmichael after an hour of African drum music and dancing. Eugene Redmond, a counselor at Southern Illinois University's East St. Louis extension, read several of his own protest poems.

Carmichael's speech was received enthusiastically by an audience of which all but about 10 persons were Negroes. Originally, the talk had been closed to whites, but the Ethical Society would not permit use of Sheldon Memorial on those terms.

White reporters were not permitted to take notes. Negro guards stood by them to see that the rule was obeyed.

Liberators Arrested

Four members of the Black Liberators were arrested after leaving the hall at the end of

Earlier, Jose Renteria, a militant black activist, and an 18-year-old Chicago youth were arrested. Police said they had found a loaded revolver under the seat of Renteria's car.

Detectives Rudy Oehlert and Anthony Wachter stopped the car at Washington boulevard and Sarah street at 10 p.m. for a defective headlight and failure to signal a turn. Renteria and the Chicago youth, who said he is Billy Turner, denied ownership of the revolver. Both were booked suspected of carrying a concealed weapon.

In March, Renteria, 23, of the 4200 block of McPherson avenue was placed on probation after pleading guilty in police court of peace disturbance. The charge stemmed from a melee at the Pruitt-Igoe housing project.

ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

100-446080-197
ENCLOSURE

Liberators, clad in black. The groups are militant St. Louis organizations.

Carmichael, former head of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, spoke for nearly two hours on unity, political and economic organization and methods of guerrilla warfare.

Six men were arrested nearby in automobiles when Carmichael was speaking and afterward. They were booked on charges of carrying concealed weapons.

Carmichael introduced two members of the Black Panther party, a black nationalist organization. He said they were traveling with him.

Warfare Against Police

With a smile Carmichael stressed that he was not precisely advocating violence, but he urged guerrilla warfare against police. He said the police were used by "the oppressor" to occupy the black community.

"We got to get some guns," he said, "the bigger the better." He said the black man was in an armed struggle for his survival and that a switch-blade knife was no match for an M-16 rifle.

Quoting Red China's Mao Tse-tung, he said that "political power comes from the barrel of a gun."

"For victory," he said, "they must use force." The first two he discarded, saying that the white man did not work or beg for America, "he took it."

He said Negroes could learn from the guerrilla tactics of the North Vietnamese.

Fighting Two Evils

In this country, Carmichael said, Negroes are fighting two evils — racism and capitalism, which he equated with imperialism. "The United States is the leader of world imperialism. She has exploited Africa, Asia and South America," he said.

He urged black support of Cuba, North Vietnam and Red China and said black people should stand on the side of the Arabs in the Arab-Israeli Middle East dispute.

Carmichael said, "The white man has colonized and dehumanized our people. We are fighting for our humanity." He urged Negroes to develop an "undying love" for one another. "We must not only be willing to die for each other but to kill," he said.

He warned that the United States was trying to control Africa and South America. "If they ever invade a black country, we will burn their cities to the ground," Carmichael said to a roar of applause from the youthful audience.

He urged the Negro community of the St. Louis area to stop in-fighting and bickering and establish a black united front to work toward black goals.

He spoke scornfully of the teaching of Negro history in schools and of the antipoverty program, which he described as a tool to divide the black community and control its leadership. He called for a takeover of ghetto schools and the teaching of "those things we deem necessary to survive."

"Our struggle," he said, "is going to be hard, long and bloody. The past three years will look like a picnic to what we are going to see. The historic time is here. We've got to fight."

Charles Koen, leader of the Black Liberators, introduced

four members of the Black Liberators were arrested after leaving the hall at the end of the program. Officers Joseph Burgoon and James Fitzgerald reported finding two loaded revolvers in the car occupied by the youths. The officers followed the car from Grandel Square to 3800 Washington boulevard.

Booked suspected of carrying concealed weapons were Carl Ayers, 21 years old, 4400 block of West Belle place; Aaron McNeal, 21, of the 1200 block of

of peace disturbance. The charge stemmed from a melee at the Pruitt-Igoe housing project.

GR
9

St. Charles Mo.

Sept 4, 1968.

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover,
Director Federal
Bureau of Investigation,

Dear Sir,

I am enclosing a clipping from the St. Louis Post-Dispatch about a speech made recently in St. Louis by Stokely

Carmichael. Please read the first three of four

CORRESPONDENCE

ack:amd

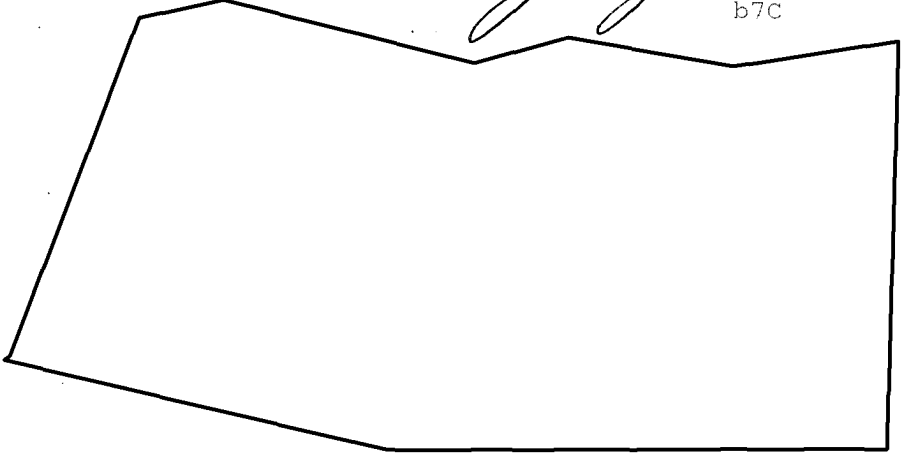
9-9-68

Imb:dae

why this man is allowed to preach revolution and hatred for his fellow man in this great nation of ours.

Sincerely Yours,

b6
b7C



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-16-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/bls

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

DATE: 9/13/68

FROM : SAC, ATLANTA (100-6812) (P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM - SNCC

Re WFO airtel to Director dated 9/9/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are five copies of
an LHM and for WFO two copies containing information
furnished by [redacted] who are
referred to as a source and a second source, res-
pectively in the LHM.

b2
b7D

STATE, CIA (BY LIAISON)
AGENCY: ACSI, ~~OSI~~, OSI, SEC. SERV.,
ISD, CRD, RAO, *Crim*, IDIU
HOW FORW: *R/S*
DATE FORW: *9/23/68*
BY: *ABF/dk*

XEROX LHM to
IRS 8-21-69
PDP/7

EX-100

6 Xerox copies 806 920

REC-57
ENCLOSURE

-100-446080-1948

2-Bureau (Enc. 5) (RM)
2-WFO (Enc. 2) (199-43503) (RM)
2-Atlanta
EUC:bjc
(6)

18 SEP 16 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.

386 157



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Atlanta, Georgia
September 13, 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-16-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/bls

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

MRS Confidential sources advised they have no information that STOKELY CARMICHAEL has been the recipient of large sums of money.

On September 3, 1968, a source advised that when CARMICHAEL was in Atlanta on August 30, 1968, he was in possession of a large sum of money, but the source was unable to determine where the money had been obtained. *Dec GA NY*

On August 30, 1968, a second source mentioned that when CARMICHAEL was in Atlanta on August 30, 1968,



These ~~two~~ sources observed that since CARMICHAEL married  he does not appear to be suffering financially and this situation has not made CARMICHAEL readily acceptable by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

A characterization of SNCC is attached hereto.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

100-446080-1948

ENCLOSURE

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b7C
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STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, Southwest, Atlanta, Georgia, is a nonmembership organization, which was born out of the sit-in movement that erupted across the South beginning in 1960.

Today SNCC identifies itself as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

According to SNCC the year 1967 marked a historic milestone in the struggle for the liberation of black people in the United States and the year that revolutionaries throughout the world began to understand more fully the impact of the black movement. SNCC declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus -- the capitalistic system of the United States with all its life-sucking tenacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The realities of black life, together with the recognition instilled in SNCC workers forced its members to further popularize the legitimacy of self-defense and rebellions when oppression become too great."

From May, 1966, until May, 1967, Stokely Carmichael was National Chairman of SNCC. As of July, 1968, Carmichael resided in Washington, D. C., where he was affiliated with SNCC and active as temporary chairman of a black coalition group. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced by Hubert Garoid Brown, commonly known as H. Rap Brown, who served until June, 1968.

In June, 1968, at the Staff and Central Committee meeting of SNCC held in Atlanta, Georgia, it was decided to restructure the organization by equalization of responsibility by creating ten deputy or vice chairmanships. The primary purpose for this change is to take law enforcement pressure off any single individual.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Atlanta, Georgia
September 13, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Title	STOKELY CARMICHAEL
Character	RACIAL MATTERS - SNCC
Reference	Atlanta memorandum dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: September 11, 1968

FROM : G. C. Moore *GC Moore*

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS

PURPOSE:

To obtain authority for St. Louis Office to furnish information to St. Louis, Missouri, Police Department regarding rally in St. Louis on August 29, 1968, at which Stokely Carmichael spoke. Information involved was obtained by Special Agent (SA) of St. Louis Office who attended the rally and possibility exists the Agent might be called to testify in local court if local prosecutive action is initiated against Carmichael.

BACKGROUND:

On a Midwest speaking tour Carmichael spoke at a rally in Sheldon Memorial Hall, St. Louis. The meeting was attended by approximately 750 people and his presence in St. Louis was well known to the news media. Carmichael spoke for approximately two hours and indicated that blacks must have undying hatred for whites. He urged guerrilla warfare when blacks are sufficiently armed and stated blacks must steal, buy, or beg arms. A special report is being prepared by the St. Louis Police Department on remarks made by Carmichael and the police department has requested our St. Louis Office to provide it with data obtained by SA [redacted] who attended the rally. St. Louis Office stated there is a possibility that SA [redacted] might be called to testify in local court if any local prosecutive action is initiated against Carmichael. We have no definite information at this time that prosecutive action will be initiated.

Enclosure *sent 9-12-68* **REC-21** *100-446080-1949*

100-446080

JJD:ebb (7)

2 SEP 16 1968

EX-101

1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop

1 - Mr. G. C. Moore

1 - [redacted]
1 - [redacted]

b6
b7C

CONTINUED - OVER

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan
RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
100-446080

St. Louis Office notes that it has had excellent relations with the St. Louis Police Department and has received valuable information from that department regarding the activities of black extremist groups and individuals.

OBSERVATIONS:

As indicated above, we have no definite information that St. Louis authorities intend to proceed against Carmichael; however, it is believed we should do everything possible to further any action which would result in Carmichael's activities and statements finally resulting in prosecutive action. We have furnished voluminous information to the Department in this regard; however, the Department appears to continue its reluctance to take the initiative in prosecuting Carmichael who continues his vicious antiwhite and terrorist statements.

ACTION:

If approved, the attached airtel will be sent to the St. Louis Office authorizing it to furnish the data requested by the St. Louis Police Department. St. Louis is being instructed to keep the Bureau advised of developments in this matter, particularly any request for SA to testify in local court.

b6
b7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FBI WASH DC*

AUG 29 1968 *CB*

TELETYPE

FBI SPRNGFLD

446

PM 8/29/68 URGENT PAM

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080), AND WASHINGTON FIELD,
CHICAGO (157-1297), ST. LOUIS (100-26039) AND ATLANTA
(100-6812)
FROM SPRINGFIELD (100-10697)

ST
STOKLEY CARMICHAEL, RM. OO WFO
RE SPRINGFIELD TELETYPE TODAY.

SURVEILLANCE REVEALED SUBJECT, IN COMPANY OF [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] LEFT CARBONDALE, ILLINOIS,
ONE ZERO FIVE PM TODAY, APPARENTLY TRAVELLING TO ST. LOUIS,
MISSOURI. SUBJECT TRAVELLING WITH [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] IN NINETEEN SIXTYSEVEN WHITE
CHEVROLET BEARING ILLINOIS LICENSE J V FIVE ZERO ONE, FOLLOWED
BY SIXTYEIGHT OLDSMOBILE HARDTOP, ILLINOIS LICENSE S F THREE
FIVE EIGHT SEVEN, AND TWO MEN, ONE BELIEVED TO BE [REDACTED]
NEGRO MALE, WHO HAS BEEN ACTIVE IN NEGRO AGITATION, CARBONDALE,
ILLINOIS, SOURCES INDICATE SUBJECT MAY CONTACT [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] BLACK ECONOMIC UNION, [REDACTED]

TELEPHONE [REDACTED]

END OF PAGE ONE 1968 *308*

TELETYPE TO: *WFO*

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

no
S. C. Rowe

b6
b7C

b6
b7C

REC-21
MID CITY CONGRESS

17 SEP 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.

PAGE TWO

CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE, CARBONDALE, ILLINOIS, ADVISED [REDACTED]

b6
b7C
b7D

[REDACTED] CARMICHAEL CAME TO CARBONDALE, ILLINOIS, FOR A REST AND EXPECTED TO LEAVE BY NOON TODAY FOR ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI,, WHERE SCHEDULED TO MAKE SPEECH, AFTER WHICH HE WOULD PRECEED TO ATLANTA, GEORGIA.

WHILE AT [REDACTED] CARBONDALE, ILLINOIS,

b6
b7C
b7D

ON AUGUST TWENTYNINE [REDACTED]

b6
b7C
b7D

ABOVE OFFICES SHOULD IDENTIFY [REDACTED] CHECK INDICES

END OF PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE

AND BE ALERT FOR INDICATION OF CARMICHAEL-S TRAVEL TO YOUR
DIVISION BASED ON ABOVE. HANDLE PURSUANT TO BUEAU AIRTELS TO
ALBANY MAY TWENTYSIX SIXTYSEVEN, JUNE SEVEN SIXTYSEVEN, AND
DECEMBER TWENTYONE SIXTYSEVEN.

ST. LOUIS, IN COVERAGE OF SUBJECT-S ACTIVITIES YOUR DIVISION,
DETERMINE ITINERARY TO ATLANTA AND FURNISH ATLANTA INFORMATION
TO HANDLE.

RECIPIENT OFFICES SHOULD NOTE INFORMATION FROM

b7D

COPIES MAILED BOSTON, CINCINNATI AND SAN FRANCISCO. P.

END

~~CORR ON PAGE TWO SHOULD READ LINE LIT AND 12~~

END

JTM

FBI WASH DC*

b6
b7C
b7D

ROOM 836 9&D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-16-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/bls

1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop
1 - [redacted]

b6
b7C

Airtel

1 - [redacted]
1 - [redacted]

To: SAC, St. Louis (100-20639)

From: Director, FBI (100-446080) - 1951

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS

EX-101

ReSLairtel 9/9/68.

Authority granted to furnish the data requested by the Intelligence Unit of the St. Louis Police Department. For the completion of Bufiles a copy of the data furnished should be made available to the Bureau.

Keep the Bureau advised of developments in this matter, particularly any request for the testimony of SA [redacted] in any local prosecutive action.

b6
b7C

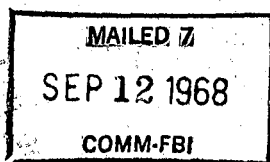
1 - WFO

JJD:ebb
(10)

NOTE:

See memorandum G. C. Moore to Mr. W. C. Sullivan, dated 9/11/68, captioned as above, prepared by JJD:ebb.

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____



4 SEP 19 1968

MAIL ROOM ☐

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Drum - 806 D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-16-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/MLB

F B I

Date: 9-9-68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM: SAC, ST. LOUIS (100-20639) P
RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS
(OO: WFO)

The Intelligence Unit of the St. Louis Police Department has been requested by the Office of the Chief of Police, St. Louis, Mo., to prepare a special report on the statements made by CARMICHAEL in the rally at Sheldon Memorial, St. Louis, Mo., on 8-29-68.

A request has been made of the St. Louis Division to provide the Intelligence Unit with the information obtained by SA [redacted] of the St. Louis Division who attended this rally.

The possibility exists that SA [redacted] might be called to testify in local court should the Circuit Attorney's Office issue a warrant for CARMICHAEL based on charges of unlawful assembly and should the matter ever come to court action.

St. Louis Division requests Bureau authority to provide the Intelligence Unit with the requested information in suitable form. It is to be noted that relations between this division and that agency have been excellent.

[redacted]

C. C. Bishop

EX-101

100-21100 - 446080 - 1951

It is further requested this request be answered by return airtel as the matter is of some urgency to the Office of the Chief of the St. Louis Police Department.

3 - Bureau (RM)

1 - Washington Field (Info) (RM)

1 - St. Louis

Approved: JAF/jtc (5) Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M

Per: RACIAL INT. SECT.

b6
b7Cb6
b7C
b7D

SEP 20 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-16-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/b13

F B I

Date: 9/6/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL (REGISTERED)
(Priority)

b6
b7C

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM: SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-68783)
RE: STOKLEY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS

Re Los Angeles teletype dated 8/24/68 and Los Angeles airtel and letterhead memorandum (LHM) to Bureau dated 8/30/68.

Enclosed for Bureau are 11 copies of a LHM concerning CARMICHAEL's presentation at Los Angeles County Peace and Freedom Party and the Black Panther Party (BPP) sponsored rally to free HUEY NEWTON at Will Rogers Park, Los Angeles, California, on 8/24/68. Also enclosed are two copies for Atlanta and the Washington Field Office, and one information copy is being furnished to San Francisco.

The source utilized in the attached LHM is

b6
b7C
b7D

The source obtained a transcript of a mechanical recording which contained excerpts from CARMICHAEL's speech at the Free Huey Newton Rally at Will Rogers Park, Los Angeles, California, on 8/24/68, from an unidentified Negro female who is a member of the BPP, Los Angeles, California.

ENCLOSURE

EX-100

- ③ - Bureau (Encl. 11) (RM)
2 - Atlanta (Encl. 2) (RM)
2 - Washington Field Office (Encl. 2) (RM)
1 - San Francisco (Encl. 1) (RM)
2 - Los Angeles

REC-64

100-446080-1952

JWV:fsc
(10)

C. C. Bishop

AGENCY: ACSI, OSI, SEC. SERV.,

: , CRD, RAO, IDLL

HOW FORW:

DATE FORW

BY:

18 SEP 11 1968

b2
b6
b7C
b7D

Approved:

Sent

M

Per

Special Agent in Charge

54 SEP 19 1968

LA 100-68783

The enclosed LHM is classified "~~Confidential~~" because information furnished by the above source could reasonably result in the identification of a confidential source of continuing value and compromise future effectiveness thereof.



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Los Angeles, California

September 6, 1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/bls
ON 08-16-2006

STOKLEY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS

Source utilized in this communication has
furnished reliable information in the past.

On August 29, 1968, source obtained a transcript
of a mechanical recording of excerpts from Stokley Carmichael's
speech at the Free Huey Newton Rally sponsored by the Peace
and Freedom Party (a legally constituted political party
in the state of California) and the Black Panther Party
(BPP) (See Appendix) at Will Rogers Park, Los Angeles,
California, on August 24, 1968. The following is the
text of the recorded speech:

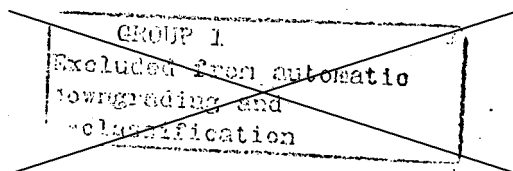
"Burning down the cities is old stuff to
Black revolutionaries. 'We're not going to go
around yelling 'Free Huey Newton' anymore. If
Huey P. Newton is not freed, the Black Panther
Party will act accordingly. We will free Huey
by any means necessary.'

"Huey P. Newton is a prisoner of war. They
may say there has been no declaration of war-there
wasn't any declaration of war in Korea, there isn't
any declaration of war in Vietnam and the United
States didn't issue any declaration of war against
the Indians-they just wiped them out.

"So it is for us to define our condition, not
for them to define it. Whenever we let them define
our situation, they say we're making progress. When
we define our situation, we see that we're at war.
We are an occupied community. The police are an
occupying force.

COPIES DESTROYED

286 MAR 1 1971



ENCLOSURE

100-446080-1952

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STOKLEY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS

"Here, in our community the police do as they so well please. We have absolutely no control over the police. When you have nothing to say about a force inside our community-then it is an occupying force.

"We must make political moves against the Police Department. Until they cool it, we got to keep the fire on, 24 hours a day. When THEY cool it, then maybe we can think about coolin' it ourselves."

"Let us make the best possible use of the meeting this afternoon. We're not going to be able to hold as many of these big rallies in the future."

"A colonized people can engage in two levels of activity to meet their oppressor-entertainment and education. We have entertained ourselves for two years. It is time to educate ourselves. The question is whether we can find the correct political ideology that can bind us together.

"I'm tired of seeing Black people on TV. I'm not downing those who entertained us in the past, cause I entertained in the past too."

"Don't expect the white press media to tell us what is happening around the country. As long as it was just entertainment they were glad to report what we were doing."

"Just because you don't hear anything about what is going on in another city doesn't mean we ain't takin' care of business in that other city."

"We are fighting the government of the United States of America."

STOKLEY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS

"The government is both racist and imperialist. When a race decides to suppress, oppress and brutalize another group solely because of their race you have racism."

"Some people say all they want is a piece of the American pie. We can't have a piece of the American pie because that pie exploits our brothers in Vietnam, in Latin America and in Africa. Imperialism is the highest form of Capitalism, where Capitalism is exported by force to foreign lands."

"Capitalism is when money is the important thing in society, when the profit motive runs over the human element."

"Imperialism combines racism and capitalism and is directed outwards at other peoples in foreign lands."

"There is a brave little island 90 miles from the coast of Florida which used to be one of America's most exploited colonies. The Cubans worked the sugar canes and Cuban sugar was sent to the U.S. to be refined and was then sold back for profit while the people starved."

"It is hard to be free of racism. We cannot ever support anybody who says to us they want to make us Black capitalists. Black capitalism cannot function in our community because that means that Black people take advantage of us. The term 'Black Revolution' has been thrown around too loosely."

"A Revolution begins when a faction seizes power and begins to use it to change society. Armed struggle comes before the revolution. That is what we are getting into now in this country. Armed struggle begins when the oppressed people pick up guns and are willing to die for the Revolution."

"My father a carpenter, was exploited all his life for another man's profit. 'He was exploiting my father because my father was working for nothing.' The old man had built house for \$50 a week while the 'White man down the road' grew rich by selling

STOKLEY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS

the houses for \$25,000. 'When a Black man kills a hory pig policeman who represses, brutalizes and oppresses him-that is a political act.

"'Show me a Frenchman who has fought in Indo-China and I will show you a white man who has the shakes. Show me a man who has fought in Algeria and I will show you a white man who has the shakes.' Imperialism is vulnerable to guerilla warfare and can be defeated by a people in arms.

"'Four things are needed for armed struggle; food, shelter, clothing and ammunition.'

"'If each individual will work for these, beg for them, or simply take them. As long we do one of these three things for our people, we donot have to be ashamed.

"'We must debate getting guns. WE GOT TO GET GUNS. And don't go for no fancy rifle neither. Get a gun like the enemy has because that is where the ammunition is to come from.

"'It will be great hard struggle. The Vietnamese have been fighting for 25 years. We may have to fight for 50. It's time to learn these things. Understanding is the best thing in the world.

"'It is possible to attack the oppressor at three levels. One is to attack the oppressor's symbols, his tools(the police), or the oppressor himself. The police are occupation forces.'

"'The United States Government is not trying to stop Communism. If they were trying to stop Communism they would invade countries like North Vietnam, Cuba and elsewhere. 'The United States Government is not trying to stop Communism. If

STOKLEY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS

they were trying to stop Communism they would invade them and push them all the way back to Moscow. I say invade Czechoslovakia. Invade if you're not a racist. Invade and help the czech people get free of Communism. They're not going to invade because its a white country and they're not going to invade and fight white people.'

"I will be friends with whom I want, I will go where I want, when I want. I am a man! To hell with Lyndon Baines Johnson!

"We must distinguish the black militant from the black nationalist. The black militant is one who has just found out he's black and now he's getting mad so he can sit by the white man. The black nationalist works to overturn, root out and destroy the racial oppressor. Malcom X was such a black nationalist. Huey Newton is such a nationalist.

"The Revolutionary is willing to kill for his people. To be a revolutionary one must pick up the gun and be willing to kill. It is relatively easy to pick up the gun. But that is not sufficient. One must have the political ideology to bind us together in the coming struggle. We must understand the difference between revolutionary violence and counterrevolutionary violence. Revolutionary violence is aimed at changing a certain type of system. By definition, we mean the LAPD engages in counterrevolutionary violence.

"We cannot debate whether we want Revolution, because for our very survival we are going to make Revolution.

"Huey was always saying these things. They touch Huey, they will see action!

STOKLEY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS

"A colonized people waits until the leaders die before making them leaders. That is what happened to Malcom X.

"Divide and conquer, that is the way of imperialism. In Biafra and Nigeria, North Korea and South Korea, North Vietnam and South Vietnam. The enemy varies between brutal oppression and spectacular bestures of friendship, while all the time he is trying to divide the people with agents-provocateurs and plain-clothesmen.

"When Reddin comes on with all those pictures of kids and patrolman and the Community Relations Program, he's just trying to brainwash the black community that the honky pig policeman are not going to shoot them down. The police force belongs to us. If we can't have it, there ain't going to be no police force.'

"Carmichael ended his speech with the recommendation of two books-"The Wretched of the Earth" and "Malcom X Speaks".

An article appeared in the "Open City", an underground newspaper in Los Angeles, California, for August 3, 1968, through September 5, 1968, written by Robert Igriega concerning Stokley Carmichael and his presentation at the Free Huey Newton Rally, Will Rogers Park, Los Angeles, California on August 24, 1968. This article is as follows:

FD-350 (Rev. 7-16-63)
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STOKELY: IN THE PARK...

by ROBERT IGRIEGA

Stokely Carmichael, who was kicked out of SNCC earlier this month for "necessarily equating black power with armed violence," did it again last Saturday at Will Rogers Park in Watts. Less than a week before, the park had been the scene of waves of police shotgun fire and helicopter attacks on the crowd at the Watts Summer Festival. Three black people were killed and more than 40 were wounded.

"The stage before revolution," said Stokely to a thousand of his brothers and sisters gathered in the sunshine on the grass, "is called 'armed struggle.' That is the phase we are going into now."

Although he is known as an impassioned orator, Carmichael became a teacher Saturday, giving an intense but friendly lecture to his people on the facts of life as it will be lived and lost in the coming period of American history. He was relaxed and taking obvious pleasure in the crowd of black people and the ranks of uniformed Black Panthers.

He taught by giving definitions. Revolution, he said, begins when we seize power and begin to change the system under which we live. The Cuban revolution did not begin until Fidel Castro seized Havana and began to change the lives of the entire Cuban people.

A black "militant," he said, is someone who goes to the white man and uses the militancy of his people to get a soft job and a piece of the system. A revolutionary is not necessarily someone who is willing to die for his people - sometimes it is EASIER to die for one's people than to live and fight for them.

"A revolutionary is someone who is willing to KILL for his people - kill for change.

"Now we want to talk about the police.

"It is a fact that the police do in our communities as they very well please. They are our police, and if we can't have them, then there ain't gonna be none. I am not like those who say 'cool it.' I never say 'cool it.' When THEY cool it, then we can start to think about cooling it. Until then we've got to keep the heat on 24 hours a day.

"But I don't say we've got to get out there in spontaneous rebellion, jumping in the streets." He quoted Malcolm X as saying "Show me a Frenchman who's been to Indochina, and I'll show you a man who has the shakes. Show me a Frenchman who's been to Algeria, and I'll show you a man who has the shakes." What he was saying, said Stokely, is show me a man who has been in GUERRILLA WARFARE and I'll show you a man who has the shakes. GUERRILLA WARFARE! [Applause.] They can do what they want in our communities in the daytime. But if they want to occupy our communities they have to do it at NIGHT - and at night it's "Even Steven."

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"Do not expect the white press media to tell us what is happening around this country," he said. "They used to put us on television and say 'Look at them dancing and looting in the streets, ha ha ha.' They're not doing that anymore because in the cities all over this country the brothers are righteously taking care of business." [Applause].

The following parts of Stokely's talk are not verbatim:

You sisters and other black people will have your part to play in guerrilla warfare. You have to supply us with food, shelter, clothing, and ammunition. With that we can fight for days, fight for years, fight until death. Fidel, during his armed struggle, came out of the Sierra Maestra and went to the bourgeoisie, and he asked them one simple question - "Where do you stand - with me, or against the wall?"

We will fight for the next 5 years, the next 20 years, the next 50 years, until we are free or until we are dead. Kwame Nkrumah said that the luckiest ones are those who die at the beginning of revolutionary warfare. Imagine seeing your wife, your mother, your children, shot down in the streets, and you have to step in their blood to run away so you can fight another day.

The question is now, can we find the correct political ideology that will bind us together and make us victorious in the war that lies before us. There are basically three types of systems in the world today - capitalism, socialism, and communism. Capitalism is when a man who has money hires a man who is broke to do a job; then he sells that job for a profit and leaves the second man still broke. Imperialism is when they take this system outside the borders and practice it on an entire other country.

It is obvious that the black people in America cannot tolerate a capitalist system. We are fighting capitalism - we are fighting imperialism, the highest form of capitalism - we are fighting the United States of America.

That means we must become either socialist or communist. And we should not be afraid of these terms. Because we do not know what they mean! [Applause.]

There are many brothers who say "I won't go to Vietnam to help keep another people down." But the Black Panther Party goes one step beyond that. The Black Panther Party says the Viet Cong are our comrades in arms, our allies, they are fighting our common enemy, the United States of America. When they strike a powerful blow against the

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

United States of America, they make us stronger. When we strike a powerful blow against the United States of America, we make them stronger.

Now I want to say something concrete about the brother Huey P. Newton.

One man does not make a revolution. A combination of the correct people, the correct historical time, and the correct political ideology is what makes a revolution. We ARE the people - the TIME is here - all we have to do now is find the correct political ideology.

But we have to start taking care of our leaders while they are still alive. When the white man defines our condition, we are always making progress. When we define our condition, we are at war. Brother Huey P. Newton is a prisoner of war, and we will free him by any means necessary. The Black Panther Party is a disciplined organization, and if the brother Huey P. Newton is not freed, the Black Panther Party will act accordingly. We can't do anything about that courtroom, but we can do something about the streets of this country [applause], we can do something about the cities of this country [more applause], about the police and the [applause, and more applause, to drown him out.]

For the brother Huey P. Newton, the sky is the limit - the SKY is the limit - and if you don't do it, the Panthers gon' do it, and they're going to come down on you anyway, so you might as well get yours in now - GET YOURS IN NOW.

As the clapping rose and fell, Panthers passed through the crowd with collection buckets. A 14-year-old said to his friends, "When Huey Newton's trial goes down I ain't gonna be here. If we don't do it the Panthers will. Here, put this in that bucket."

A relaxed and cheerful Carmichael conducted a military inspection of the Black Panthers behind the platform. Later, as he left the park down a corridor of two ranks of Panthers, the Panthers' clenched fists shot up and they shouted in unison an echo of Sharpville and Johannesburg - "Free-DOM!"

Stokely gave them the cool, shoulder-level fists, and said quietly - not an exhortation, but a reminder - "Free Huey."

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STOKLEY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS

Source, who furnished excerpts from Stokley Carmichael's speech at the above mentioned rally, indicated that when he was present at the rally on August 24, 1968, he also furnished several pamphlets which were passed out by BPP members who acted as security officers for the rally. The following is a copy of these pamphlets.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY TEN POINT PROGRAM

1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black Community.
2. We want full employment for our people.
3. We want an end to the robbery by the white man of our Black Community.
4. We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings.
5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present day society.
6. We want all Black men to be exempt from military service.
7. We want an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER of Black people.
8. We want freedom for all Black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.
9. We want all Black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their Black Communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.
10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace.



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Los Angeles County Peace and Freedom Movement 484 - 1422

DEFEND THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY AGAINST RACIST POLICE

The Los Angeles Police, like the police of other large cities, are brutal, arrogant and insulting toward all people in the Black and Brown communities. But their most savage attacks are directed against the militant organizations through which oppressed minority people fight for freedom. It is the clear and unmistakable policy of the police department, serving the same function as did the Nazi Gestapo, to crush all organizations which threaten the rule of the racist power structure.

In recent months, the LAPD, along with the police departments of Oakland, Seattle, and other cities has singled out the Black Panthers for an especially ruthless campaign of harassment, frame-ups, and murder. Its aim is nothing less than the liquidation of this young, dynamic, revolutionary political movement before it can gain a solid foothold in the Black communities.

The LAPD has been systematically harassing members of the Black Panther Party with the specific intention of provoking incidents. On August 5, they succeeded. On that day, two officers followed and confronted a car in which three Black Panther members were riding. In the incident that followed, the three Black Panther Party members were killed. Two days later, eight Panthers were arrested; three days later, four more Panthers were arrested-- all on trumped up charges. Though nothing can be done to restore life to the three young men who were murdered, the police practices which led to their deaths must be stopped!

We demand that Chief Reddin immediately circulate a memorandum to all his men containing the following points:

1. Lists of Black Panther Party members' names, pictures and automobile licenses shall no longer be circulated.
2. The practices of following and stopping the cars of Black Panther Party members shall immediately and permanently be discontinued.
3. The practice of harassing, accosting and rousting Black Panther Party members shall be prohibited.
4. Surveillance of Black Panther Party headquarters and the intimidation of their landlord and neighbors must be discontinued.

We further demand that all police assigned to the Black and Brown communities be immediately disarmed -- because the ready use of guns by police has been one of the prime causes of violence in the ghettos.

These are only emergency measures. The problem will not be solved until the police are completely withdrawn from the ghettos and replaced by a new force consisting of men who live in the communities they patrol, and directly responsible to members of that community!

DEFEND THE RIGHT OF THE BLACK PANTHERS TO LIVE, TO ORGANIZE, AND TO FIGHT FOR BLACK LIBERATION. ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE; BLACK POWER TO BLACK PEOPLE.

Los Angeles County Peace and Freedom Movement

484 - 1422

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STOKLEY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
Also Known As
Black Panther Party for Self Defense

A source advised that the Black Panther Party for Self Defense (BPPSD) was formed by HUEY PERCY NEWTON, Minister of Defense, and BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, Chairman, in December, 1966, as a militant black nationalist political organization to combat "police brutality", to unite militant black youth, and to determine the destiny of black communities. The political philosophy was taken from writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of Communist China and black militant writers.

In March, 1968, the name of the organization was changed to Black Panther Party (BPP).

The official BPP publication, "The Black Panther Party - Black Community News Service", states that the BPP advocates use of guns and guerrilla tactics in their violent revolutionary program to end oppression of black people.

On February 17, 1968, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister of Information, announced merger of the BPP and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and bestowed title of Minister of Justice, BPP, upon H. RAPP BROWN, Chairman of SNCC.

SNCC is a militant Negro organization which preaches black supremacy.

NEWTON, aforementioned, is incarcerated in the Alameda County Jail, Oakland, California, awaiting trial on charge of murder of an Oakland police officer.

Headquarters of BPP and Huey P. Newton Defense Fund are located at 4421 Grove Street, Oakland, California.

APPENDIX

- 14* -

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 08-16-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/DB/EL

F B I

Date: 9/9/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM-SNCC

Re Atlanta letter, 9/4/68.

Atlanta include data received from [redacted]
[redacted] in LHM form suitable for dissemination.b2
b6
b7C
b7D

EX-100

cc 806 98D

REC-64

100-446080-1953

3-Bureau
2-Atlanta (100-6812) (RM)
1-WFOWWH:mam
(6)

C. C. Bishop

2EL 2 8 30 6H 1228

REC'D DOW INTELT DIA

Approved: [Signature]

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

F B I

Date: 9/6/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

Via _____
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080) (Attn: FBI Laboratory)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (157-1297) (P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM - SNCC
ANTI-RIOT LAWS

(OO: WFO)

Re Chicago report of SA [redacted] reporting
CARMICHAEL's Buairtel, Chicago appearance; and Buairtel, 8/28/68.Enclosed for FBI Laboratory is tape recording of STOKELY
CARMICHAEL's speech in Chicago, Illinois, on 8/9/68. [redacted][redacted] The tape contains so much background noise that the
Chicago Office is unable to transcribe it. (Protect Per Request)Accordingly, the Laboratory is requested to eliminate
background noise and transcribe tape for the Bureau and Depart-
ment.Referenced airtel contained copy of letter from [redacted]
[redacted] Department of Justice, desiring answers to
following questions:1. Were notes taken by informants at STOKELY
CARMICHAEL's speech? No.2. Names of witnesses who can testify to STOKELY
CARMICHAEL's intentions for coming to Chicago? None.

- cc 40694D
- 4 - Bureau (Encs. 2) (RM)
(1 - Package)
 - 2 - WFO (100-43403) (RM)
 - 2 - Chicago
(1 - 100-40342)

DEH:bab

C. W. Bishop

Approved: [signature]

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M Per

b6
b7C
b7D100-446080-1955
14 SEP 9 1968b6
b7C

RACIAL INT. SEC.

CG 157-1297

3. What disturbances occurred after STOKELY CARMICHAEL's departure from Chicago? None.

The Bureau may desire to inform the Department of these answers.

will be forwarded
when Chicago ltr
is rpt rec'd
J M

~~SECRET~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

DATE: 08-16-2006
CLASSIFIED BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/AAG
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1)
08-16-2031

9/10/68

AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, WFO

**STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING
COMMITTEE (SNCC)
RACIAL MATTERS - SNCC
(OO: WFO)
(Bufile 100-439190)
(WFO file 100-41628)**

**STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS - SNCC
(OO: WFO)
(Bufile 100-446080)
(WFO file 100-43503)**

(S) It is recalled the Bureau, by airtel 5/13/68 authorized the [redacted] on SNCC headquarters in connection with coverage of captioned matters. It is further recalled that WFO developed information that black-power advocates, including CARMICHAEL, carry transistorized radio receivers capable of monitoring regular FBI radio transmissions. b1

In our coverage of captioned subjects, we are

[redacted] surveillance information is currently relayed by telephone from the SNCC

(S) [redacted] equipment, thus negating interception capabilities of black-power subjects. 100-446080

④ - Bureau
4 - WFO

AJT:mmm/teb
(8)

NOT RECORDED
100 SEP 18 1968

51 SEP 24 1968

~~SECRET~~

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-439190-53-83

b1
b2
b7E

September 24, 1968

Airtel

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Bishop
1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
1 -

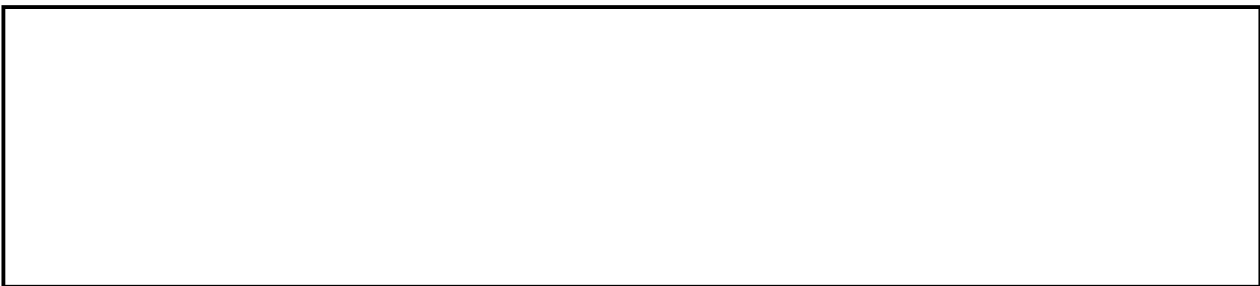
b6
b7C

To: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

From: Director, FBI (100-446080) - 1956
REC-138 100-
REC-138 100-

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS - STUDENT NONVIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)
SEDITION

ReWFOlet dated 9/16/68.



b2
b6
b7C
b7E

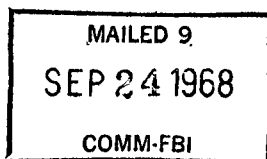


1 - (6221 IB)

ABF:ekw (9)

NOTE: See memorandum G.C.Moore to W.C.Sullivan, dated 9/23/68, same caption, prepared by ABF:ekw.

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____



245

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Handwritten signatures and initials:
H. G. B. (large)
me
gm
A
wcy
200-1000

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-18-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/bls

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

DATE: 9/16/68

FROM : SAC, WFO (100-43505) (P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM-SNCC
(OO:WFO)

Re Bureau airtel, 7/15/68.

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Due to the necessity to remain aware of CARMICHAEL's travels and activities within the District of Columbia as well as elsewhere, appropriate coverage of his residence is essential.

EX 110

- 2 - Bureau
- 1 - WFO

WWH:typ/lt
(3)

15 SEP 18 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.

b2
b6
b7C
b7D



~~SECRET~~

DATE: 08-16-2006

CLASSIFIED BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/b1s

DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1)

08-16-2031

CLASSIFICATION PER OGA LETTER
DATED 09-13-2006

F B I

Date: 9/13/68

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

2 ~~KN~~
STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM - SNCC
(OO:WFO)

Re Bureau R/S to WFO 9/9/68.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 14 copies
of an LHM regarding the above captioned subject.

Extra copies of the LHM are provided for the Bureau
for transmittal to the Legat in Mexico in the event subject
travels there [redacted]

The LHM is being classified "~~Secret~~" [redacted]

(S)

b1
b6
b7C

WFO sources have provided no information about
subject contemplating a trip to Mexico.

(S)

The source mentioned in the LHM [redacted]

ENCLOSURE

3- Bureau (Enc. 14)

1- WFO

WWH:ejj
(4)

AGENCY: ACSI, ~~ISI~~, OSI, SEC. SERV.,
ISD, CRD, RAO, *Chin*, IDIU
HOW FORW: R/S
DATE FORW: 9/16/68
BY: ABF/dkt

cc 806960

cc of AIT 364 LHM
sent to Legat, Mexico,
by *ABF* for info
9/16/68. *ABF/dkt*

C. C. Bishop

REC-52

26 13 3 51 EX-105

12 SEP 17 1968

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

~~SECRET~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D.C. 20535

September 13, 1968

~~SECRET~~

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

b1

(S)

~~STOKELY~~ CARMICHAEL

Carmichael is the former National Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), a characterization of which is attached hereto.

DATE: 08-16-2006
CLASSIFIED BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/b1s
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1)
08-16-2031

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

~~GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

CLASSIFICATION PER OGA LETTER
DATED 09-13-2006

~~SECRET~~

100-446080-1959

COPIES DESTROYED

286 MAR 1 1971

APPENDIXSTUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Literature distributed by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquarters at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, describes itself as not being a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements. SNCC was born out of the sit-in movement which erupted across the South beginning on February 1, 1960. A conference at Raleigh, North Carolina, that Spring, brought together many of the demonstrating Southern students in a loose network of militant youth which was officially named SNCC in October, 1960.

A source has advised that in May, 1966, Stokely Carmichael was elected National Chairman by the Central Committee. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced as Chairman by H. Rap Brown, with Carmichael assuming the position of Recruiter and Organizer for the SNCC. In August, 1967, at the invitation of Fidel Castro, Carmichael participated in the Organization of Latin American Solidarity Conference which was held in Havana, Cuba. Subsequent thereto, Carmichael traveled to Hanoi and other sections of North Vietnam. He returned to the United States in December, 1967, at which time his passport was picked up because of travel to unauthorized countries.

A source advised that when Carmichael was elected Chairman of SNCC, the organization embarked on a program of eliminating Caucasians from its ranks. With the election of H. Rap Brown as Chairman in 1967, it embarked on a worldwide struggle for human rights and to take a firm stand against violations of these rights by the American Government and to strengthen its programs of opposition to the draft and to the United States involvement in Vietnam.

Literature distributed in February, 1968, identifies SNCC as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

On August 13, 1967, while addressing a group in the Watts area of Los Angeles, California, H. Rap Brown said "You better shape up America, or we'll burn you down." Later in February, 1968, in a publicized note Brown wrote, "America, if it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you and to organize your jails to revolt against you and to organize your children, your God, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind, to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here's my life."

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

121 846-0

PAGE TWO

FOR MOBILE, ALABAMA. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
ENTIRE GROUP DEPARTED AIRPORT IN TAXI AND PROCEEDED TO PASCHAL'S
MOTOR LODGE ON HUNTER STREET, WHERE THEY REGISTERED AT FOUR
TWENTY NINE AM.

b6
b7C

ATLANTA WILL CONFIRM CARMICHAEL'S DEPARTURE AND ADVISE WFO.

[REDACTED]
AM COPIES TO MOBILE AND BOSTON.

END

BJP

FBI WASH DC*

b6
b7C

CC - [REDACTED]
98D

DIRECTOR, FBI

9-4-68

SAC, ST. LOUIS

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

RM - SNCC

Recommendation for Letters of Commendation

Purpose: To recommend that Agents [redacted]

[redacted] receive letters of commendation

b6
b7C

I wish to call to your attention the very fine and outstanding work accomplished by Agents of the St. Louis Office in connection with maintaining coverage of STOKELY CARMICHAEL, SL 100-20639, BU 100-446080, during his visit to the St. Louis area between the dates of 8-28 and 8-30-68. It is my recommendation that these Agents be considered for letters of commendation.

SA [redacted] Relief Security Supervisor, organized the entire operation carried out by this office, set up surveillance teams, handled communications, coordinated with other divisions and directed the operation. He was assisted by SA [redacted] who maintained close liaison with the St. Louis Police Department and operators of the Sheldon Memorial Hall where CARMICHAEL spoke on 8-29-68. [redacted] actually attempted to get into the hall but at the last minute due to circumstances brought about by so few white people attending this was not attempted. He was instrumental in getting the Police Department to attempt a tape recording of CARMICHAEL's speech.

b6
b7C

SA [redacted] did an outstanding job in that he personally purchased newspapers and tickets for the CARMICHAEL affair from the headquarters of the "Black Liberators". It was this group that brought CARMICHAEL to St. Louis. He effectively handled an informant [redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

2 - Bureau (RM)
5 - St. Louis

(1 - each personnel file: [redacted])

SJP/jtc
(10)

51 SEP 26 1968

REC-56

100-446080-1962

NOT RECORDED
145 SEP 20 1968

ORIGINAL FILED IN 67-648-5507

while he was in the city. [redacted] personally attended the CARMICHAEL meeting and obtained a good assessment of the activity, statements made by CARMICHAEL and audience response.

The Agents who participated in the actual physical surveillance of CARMICHAEL while he was traveling about St. Louis and when he made an unexpected trip from St. Louis to Carbondale, Illinois, were [redacted]

The surveillance of CARMICHAEL was a difficult one. He was accompanied around St. Louis by a carload of "bodyguards" and often passed through and stopped in all Negro neighborhoods. CARMICHAEL frequently drove in heavy traffic and at times traveled at a high rate of speed. Through adapt and discreet maneuvers on the part of the surveilling Agents the surveillance was never lost and yet was carried out without incident thus accounting for all of CARMICHAEL's movements without embarrassment to the Bureau.

DATE: 09-18-2006
CLASSIFIED BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CPB/bls
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1)
09-13-2006

~~SECRET~~

CLASSIFICATION PER OGA LETTER
DATED 09-13-2006

1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
1 -
1 -

9/20/68

b6
b7C

Airtel

To: SAC, Detroit

From: Director, FBI (100-446080)

**STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS - STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE**

ReWFOairtel 9/17/68 enclosing copies of speech made by subject on 8/31/68 before the convention of the Organization of Arab Students at Ann Arbor, Michigan. C

Detroit should expeditiously furnish Bureau in form suitable for dissemination results of its coverage of subject's speech. This should include data concerning witnesses who can testify as well as tape recording and copies of the speech obtained through your sources. In the event you are unable to furnish expeditiously, outline steps being taken to obtain same.

WLS:ebb
(6)

EX 110

REC 74

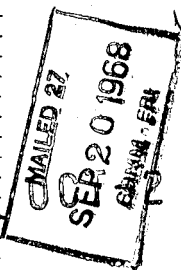
100-446080-1963

19 SEP 23 1968

NOTE:

WFOobtained b1
copies of speech by subject at Ann Arbor, Michigan, 8/31/68. (S)
Speech was anti-Semitic, pro-Arab, and anti-American. He referred to North Vietnamese and members of the Arab world as "our comrades in arms." Detroit is being instructed to expedite coverage of logical leads.

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____



MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

~~SECRET~~

F B I

Date: 9/17/68

Transmit the following in **PLAIN TEXT**
(Type in plaintext or code)Via **AIRTEL** **REGISTERED MAIL**
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM : SAC, SPRINGFIELD (100-10697) (RUC)

SUBJECT : **STOKELY CARMICHAEL**
RM - SNCC
ANTI RIOT LAWS
(OO: WFO)

RE: Butel to SL dated 8/30/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are eleven copies, for Washington Field, two copies, for St. Louis, one copy of a letterhead memorandum reflecting activities of subject in the Carbondale, Illinois area August 28th and 29th, 1968.

This letterhead memorandum is being classified ~~Confidential~~ because it reveals Bureau's investigative interest in subject and use of a confidential investigative technique, physical surveillance, unauthorized disclosure of which could be harmful to national defense interests.

The identity of the Special Agents referred to in this letterhead memorandum are as follows:

Physical surveillance of CARMICHAEL and associates from 8/28/68 to 8/29/68 - SA [redacted]

[redacted]

REC 74 100-446080-1964

The source referred to in the last paragraph of this LHM is [redacted]

- C. C. - Bishop
- ③ - Bureau (100-446080) (enc. 11) (RM)
 - 2 - WFO (100-43503) (enc. 2) (RM)
 - 2 - St. Louis (100-20639) (enc. 1) (RM)
 - 3 - Springfield (1 - 100-10697)

FEG:BLH
(10)

ENCLOSURE

12 SEP 19 1968

b6

b7C

Approved: [Signature]

Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

36 OCT 3 1968

b6
b7C
b7D

Crim - (Att)
FBI, Springfield (by courier)

AGENCY: ACISI, OSI, SEC. SERV., (FD-374, 4-5-64) (G)
: : : CRD, RAO, JSD - ATT.

HOW FORM: 45
DATE FORM: 9/23/68
BY: ABE/jdk

FILE

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

SI 100-10697

_____ who was
contacted by SA _____ on 8/28/68.

Information concerning _____
is being handled in a separate communication to the Bureau
concerning _____

b6
b7C
b7D

Copies of this letterhead memorandum are being disseminated
locally to United States Attorney, Secret Service, and MI.

- 2 -

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

September 17, 1968

Director
United States Secret Service
Department of the Treasury
Washington, D. C. 20220

Dear Sir:

The information furnished herewith concerns an individual who is believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning Presidential protection, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

1. ☐ Has attempted or threatened bodily harm to any government official or employee, including foreign government officials residing in or planning an imminent visit to the U. S., because of his official status.
2. ☐ Has attempted or threatened to redress a grievance against any public official by other than legal means.
3. ☐ Because of background is potentially dangerous; or has been identified as member or participant in communist movement; or has been under active investigation as member of other group or organization inimical to U. S.
4. ☐ U. S. citizens or residents who defect from the U. S. to countries in the Soviet or Chinese Communist blocs and return.
5. ☒ Subversives, ultrarightists, racists and fascists who meet one or more of the following criteria:
 - (a) ☐ Evidence of emotional instability (including unstable residence and employment record) or irrational or suicidal behavior;
 - (b) ☒ Expressions of strong or violent anti-U. S. sentiment;
 - (c) ☒ Prior acts (including arrests or convictions) or conduct or statements indicating a propensity for violence and antipathy toward good order and government.
6. ☐ Individuals involved in illegal bombing or illegal bomb-making.

Photograph ☐ has been furnished ☐ enclosed ☐ is not available
☐ may be available through _____

DECLASSIFIED BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/b1s
ON 08-16-2006

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Very truly yours,

J. Edgar Hoover
John Edgar Hoover
Director

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s))
U. S. Secret Service

Enclosure(s)

(Upon removal of classified enclosures, if any, this transmittal form becomes UNCLASSIFIED.)



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

DECLASSIFIED BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/b1s
ON 08-16-2006

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation observed a 1967 white Chevrolet Impala bearing 1968 Illinois license JV509 registered to [redacted]

[redacted] at approximately 3:20 A.M. on August 28, 1968. This vehicle and its occupants were identified as being the driver, [redacted] Stokely Carmichael, [redacted]

[redacted] Carmichael, [redacted]

[redacted] at approximately 3:38 AM.

Carmichael, [redacted] remained in the above described residence until approximately 4:50 PM on August 28, 1968 when Special Agents observed Carmichael [redacted] leave the residence and enter the afore-mentioned 1967 Chevrolet Impala and proceed to tour the campus of Southern Illinois University. Carmichael and companion never stopped throughout this tour and returned to the [redacted] residence at approximately 6:45 PM where they were observed re-entering the residence.

On August 29, 1968 at approximately 12:30 PM, Special Agents of the FBI observed Carmichael, [redacted] along with [redacted] posing for photographs with Carmichael on the lawn of [redacted] beside the residence. At approximately 1:15 PM Carmichael was observed entering a 1967 Chevrolet described before along with [redacted] [redacted] was driving this vehicle and the vehicle and its occupants were observed leaving [redacted] thence to Highway #460 into East St. Louis, Illinois, arriving at the Eads Bridge at approximately 2:50 PM.

A source who was in a position to furnish reliable information, reported on August 28, 1968 that Carmichael had traveled [redacted] residence and to rest prior to filling a

COPIES DESTROYED
286 MAR 1 1971

100-446080-1964

ENCLOSURE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

speaking engagement in St. Louis, Missouri on August 29, 1968.
The same source indicated that [redacted] had informed him
that he was [redacted]

[redacted] The Source
indicated that [redacted]

This document contains neither recommendations nor
conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is
loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be dis-
tributed outside your agency.

b6
b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-16-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/bis

F B I

Date: 9/17/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-153751) (P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM

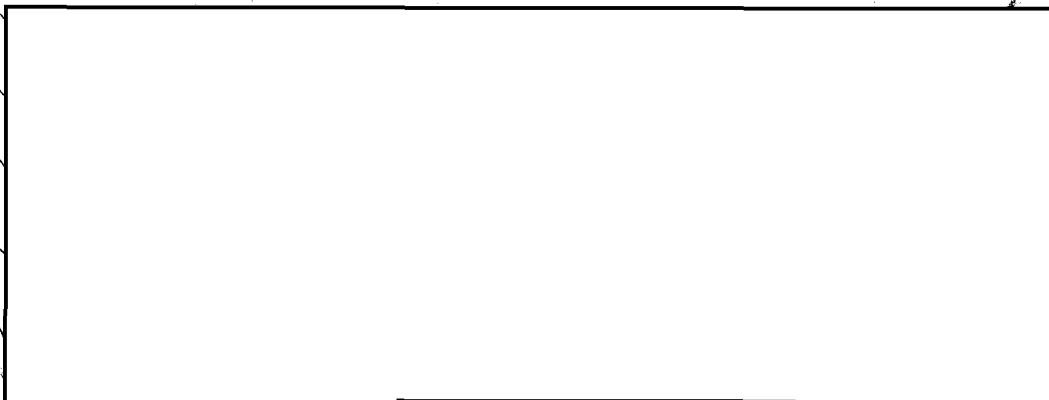
ge
DJH

ReBuairtel, 8/20/68; WFO airtel to Bureau, 9/1/68;
WFO airtel to Bureau, 9/5/68; and WFO airtel to Bureau, 9/6/68.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 11 copies of an
LHM regarding the above-captioned matter. Two copies each
are furnished St. Louis and Atlanta.

The LHM is being classified "~~Confidential~~" to protect
the identity of a source furnishing information of value on a
continuing basis.

The sources referred to in the LHM are as follows:



b2
b6
b7C
b7D

ENCLOSURE

- 3-Bureau (Encls. 11) (RM) 9/13/68
2-St. Louis (Encls. 2) (RM)
2-Atlanta (Encls. 2) (RM) 9/13/68
1-New York
- SEP 18 1968

Approved: [Signature] (43)
Special Agent in Charge

Sent ABF/jkf M Per _____

RACIAL INT. SECT.

NY 100-153751

NYO indices negative regarding

b6
b7C

Copies of this LHM are being furnished to Secret Service, 108th Military Intelligence, NISO, OSI and USAs, EDNY and SDNY.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

New York, New York
September 17, 1968

~~RECA~~

DECLASSIFIED BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/bls
ON 08-16-2006

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Stokely Carmichael

On August 27, 1968, a confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that there is no indication that Carmichael has been receiving large sums of money from any source, [REDACTED]

On September 3, 1968, a second confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that he has not received any information regarding Carmichael receiving large sums of money. This source advised that [REDACTED]

On September 4, 1968, a third confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that Stokely Carmichael has four sisters: [REDACTED]

Source advised [REDACTED]

A fourth source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on September 6, 1968, that Stokely Carmichael's sister, [REDACTED]

b6
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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Group I
Excluded from
automatic downgrading
and declassification

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ENCLOSURE

100-446080-1965

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Stokely Carmichael

A fifth confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on September 5, 1968, that Stokely Carmichael [redacted] departed John F. Kennedy Airport, New York City, via Pan American World Airways flight 150 for Dakar, Senegal, and that Carmichael [redacted] in possession of one-way tickets; no return trip plans were made with Pan American World Airways.

b6
b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-16-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/bjs

FBI

Date: 9/18/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (157-1297) (P)
SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM - SEDITION
OO: WFO

Re Buairtel to Chicago 9/12/68, captioned as
above.

Referenced airtel desired Department's questions
answered in Chicago report of SA [redacted] 8/27/68,
be submitted in form suitable for dissemination. Four
copies were specified. No copies being disseminated
locally.

Sources mentioned in letterhead memorandum are:

(protect-valuable [redacted])

ENCLOSURE

- 3- Bureau (Encs. 4) (RM)
- 2- WFO (Encs. 2) (RM)
- 1- Chicago
- DEH:cae
- (6)

AGENCY: ~~AD-1, AD-2, AD-3, AD-4, AD-5, AD-6, AD-7, AD-8, AD-9, AD-10, AD-11, AD-12, AD-13, AD-14, AD-15, AD-16, AD-17, AD-18, AD-19, AD-20, AD-21, AD-22, AD-23, AD-24, AD-25, AD-26, AD-27, AD-28, AD-29, AD-30, AD-31, AD-32, AD-33, AD-34, AD-35, AD-36, AD-37, AD-38, AD-39, AD-40, AD-41, AD-42, AD-43, AD-44, AD-45, AD-46, AD-47, AD-48, AD-49, AD-50, AD-51, AD-52, AD-53, AD-54, AD-55, AD-56, AD-57, AD-58, AD-59, AD-60, AD-61, AD-62, AD-63, AD-64, AD-65, AD-66, AD-67, AD-68, AD-69, AD-70, AD-71, AD-72, AD-73, AD-74, AD-75, AD-76, AD-77, AD-78, AD-79, AD-80, AD-81, AD-82, AD-83, AD-84, AD-85, AD-86, AD-87, AD-88, AD-89, AD-90, AD-91, AD-92, AD-93, AD-94, AD-95, AD-96, AD-97, AD-98, AD-99, AD-100~~
HOW FORW: 145
DATE FORW: 9/23/68
BY: ABF/akt

REC-1

100-446080-1066

26 13 15356H 1300 1968

REC.D DOWN INLET DIA

C. C. Bishop

Approved: MWJ/pap
Special Agent in Charge

56 OCT 3 1968

Sent _____ M Per _____



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 157-1297

Chicago, Illinois
September 18, 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-16-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/b1s

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

On September 4, 1968, a source who has furnished reliable information in the past, made available a tape recording of Stokely Carmichael's speech on August 9, 1968, at Afro-Arts Theatre, 3947 South Drexel Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois. The tape contained unfilterable background noises which made it impossible to intelligibly transcribe. Carmichael is the former National Director of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

A characterization of SNCC is attached.

Four sources, who have furnished reliable information in the past, advised on August 19 thru 21, 1968, that they could not recall observing any Negro servicemen in uniform at Carmichael's speech.

They estimated the audience consisted of 90% male, Negroes, approximately 25 years of age. 200 were members of the Blackstone Rangers, Chicago Negro youth gang.

They stated the meeting was held as a fund raising benefit [redacted] and was sponsored by [redacted] United Bail Bond and Legal Defense Committee, (UBLDC).

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This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

100-446080-1966
ENCLOSURE

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

[redacted]
[redacted] Negro National Rifle Association, Inc.,
(NNRA), which is now defunct. At the time of Carmichael's
speech, [redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]

A characterization of NNRA is attached.

b6
b7C

[redacted]
UBLDC is a group established in Chicago for the
purpose of assisting individuals involved in Civil
Rights and related activity in obtaining legal counsel
and to provide bail money for those
arrested while engaged in such activity.

Sources stated brief talks were made prior to
Carmichael's speech [redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]

b6
b7C

[redacted] They spoke
on suppression of Negro race by whites and means of promoting
black power.

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Literature distributed by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, describes itself as not being a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements. SNCC was born out of the sit-in movement which erupted across the South beginning on February 1, 1960. A conference at Raleigh, North Carolina, that Spring, brought together many of the demonstrating Southern students in a loose network of militant youth which was officially named SNCC in October, 1960.

A source has advised that in May, 1966, Stokely Carmichael was elected National Chairman by the Central Committee. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced as Chairman by H. Rap Brown, with Carmichael assuming the position of Recruiter and Organizer for the SNCC. In August, 1967, at the invitation of Fidel Castro, Carmichael participated in the Organization of Latin American Solidarity Conference which was held in Havana, Cuba. Subsequent thereto, Carmichael traveled to Hanoi and other sections of North Vietnam. He returned to the United States in December, 1967, at which time his passport was picked up because of travel to unauthorized countries.

A source advised that when Carmichael was elected Chairman of SNCC, the organization embarked on a program of eliminating Caucasians from its ranks. With the election of H. Rap Brown as Chairman in 1967, it embarked on a worldwide struggle for human rights and to take a firm stand against violations of these rights by the American Government and to strengthen its programs of opposition to the draft and to the United States involvement in Vietnam.

Literature distributed in February, 1968, identifies SNCC as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

On August 13, 1967, while addressing a group in the Watts area of Los Angeles, California, H. Rap Brown said "You better shape up America, or we'll burn you down." Later in February, 1968, in a publicized note Brown wrote, "America, if it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you and to organize your jails to revolt against you and to organize your children, your God, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here's my life."

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING
COMMITTEE (SNCC), CHICAGO BRANCH

A source advised in May, 1968, that the Chicago branch of the SNCC is an affiliate of the national SNCC with headquarters located in Atlanta, Georgia. It is a non-membership type group headed in Chicago by ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN, a 19 year old male Negro, with the title of Midwest Region Director. BROWN maintains strict loyalty to STOKELY CARMICHAEL, Recruiter and Organizer and former National Director of SNCC. BROWN attempts to align Chicago's SNCC activities within the framework of CARMICHAEL's policies.

In a speech at Chicago on March 25, 1968, CARMICHAEL commented as follows:

"The white people are preparing to commit genocide against the black race. What are we feeling so moral about? We know the honky got everything. He got it by stealing it. He's not going to give you anything. We got to take it. These brothers on the streets every day take it, but they're taking it for themselves. Let's organize them and let them take it for our people."

The source advised the Chicago branch of the SNCC operates from BROWN's residence. BROWN and several associates attempt to implement CARMICHAEL's policies through contacts in the Negro youth gangs, student groups, and black power oriented organizations to influence opposition to white power structures through boycott and intimidation methods.

1

NATIONAL NEGRO RIFLE ASSOCIATION (NNRA)

A source advised on May 24, 1968, that the NNRA was formed by EDWARD L. "FATS" CRAWFORD in Chicago, Illinois, in June, 1967, for the purpose of encouraging Negro people of the "ghetto" to arm themselves and to become proficient in the use of firearms. The NNRA is inactive at this time because CRAWFORD is incarcerated in the Cook County, Illinois, jail on arson charges growing out of disturbances which occurred on Chicago's west side in a predominantly Negro neighborhood, following the assassination of MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., on April 4, 1968.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-16-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/bls

F B I

Date: 9/20/68

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan ☒
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM-SNCC

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 11 copies
of an LHM regarding the above captioned subject. Two copies
being furnished to New York.

The information contained in the LHM was set
forth in New York teletype to the Bureau dated 9/5/68.

EX-103

ENCLOSURE

- ③ - Bureau (Encs. 11)
- 2 - New York (Encs. 2) (RM)
- 1 - WFO

WWH:fet
(6)

AIRTEL

C. C. Bishop

265 50 8 52 LW 1228

REC'D DOM INTELL DIA

25 SEP 26 1968

100-446080-115A
ICC Airtel + LHM 806 22P
STATE CIA - BY WATSON
AGENCY: ACSI, OSI, SEC. SERV.,
DEPT: ISD, CRD, EDEN
HOW FORW: B/S CARM
DATE FORW: 9/25/68
BY: AB E/ab

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

b6
b7C

56 OCT 4 1968



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D.C. 20535

September 20, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

On September 5, 1968, [redacted]
[redacted] Pan American Airlines (PAA),
John F. Kennedy International Airport, New York, New
York, advised Stokely Carmichael [redacted]
departed 5:00 p.m., that date at that airport via PAA
flight 150 for Dakar, Senegal. [redacted] expected time of
arrival in Dakar was 4:00 p.m., on September 6, 1968.
[redacted] reportedly held one way tickets and no return plans
were made with PAA.

b6
b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-16-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/Dls

This document contains neither
recommendations nor conclusions of
the FBI. It is the property of
the FBI and is loaned to your agency;
it and its contents are not to be
distributed outside your agency.

100-446080 - 100

ENCLOSURE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : MR. W. C. SULLIVAN *WCS*

DATE September 23, 1968

FROM : MR. G. C. MOORE *GC*

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS - STUDENT NONVIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)
SEDITION

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan *WCS*
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

PURPOSE:

This is to recommend that Washington Field Office
(WFO) be authorized to [REDACTED]

BACKGROUND:

[REDACTED]

Such information is of [REDACTED]

Enclosure

100-446080

ABF:ekw (6)

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - [REDACTED]

b6
b7C

EX-102

CONTINUED - OVER

REC-134

100-446080-1969

14 SEP 27 1968

25 OCT 4

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan
RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
100-446080

great assistance in fulfilling our responsibilities of timely dissemination to the Department and other interested agencies concerning the whereabouts and activities of Carmichael. [REDACTED]

b2
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Carmichael, the former national chairman of SNCC, is a nationally known black extremist who was recently kicked out of SNCC and has associated himself with the Black Panther Party (BPP). The BPP is an extremely militant and violent black extremist group.

OBSERVATIONS:

It is believed the [REDACTED] [REDACTED] will provide valuable information in our coverage of Carmichael and will continue to assist us in fulfilling our responsibilities of timely dissemination of information concerning Carmichael to the Department and interested agencies.

b2
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RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached airtel be approved [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

gm
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Am - 2 -
ways A
muc

DATE: 08-16-2006
CLASSIFIED BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CP/DIS
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1)
08-16-2031

~~SECRET~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
1 -

SAC, New York (100-153751)

9/25/68

b6
b7C

Director, FBI (100-446080)

PERSONAL ATTENTION

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS - STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Pl
(S)

(S)

b1

(S)

1 - WFO
PTB:ebb
(6)

REC- 47

100 - 446080 - 1970

12 SEP 26 1968

NOTE:

EX-101

(S)

b1

MAILED 5

SEP 25 1968

COMM-FBI

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

han

g m

pt

61 OCT 3 1968

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

~~SECRET~~

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 9/25/68

Stokely Carmichael, former chairman of Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, has been traveling in Africa. Just prior to his departure, he was "expelled" from SNCC and affiliated with the black militant group known as Black Panther Party.

The attached indicates that he is returning to this country. Data being included in teletype summary to the White House and interested officials and agencies.

WCS
mp
WLS:sfw *ga* *W*

~~SECRET~~

DATE: 08-16-2006
CLASSIFIED BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/bls
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1)
08-16-2031

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

FBI

Date: 9/24/68

Transmit the following in CODE
(Type in plaintext or code)

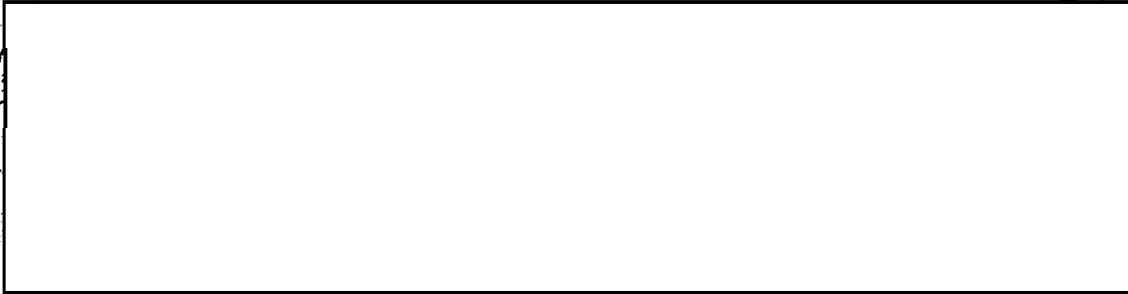
Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

CLASSIFICATION PER OGA LETTER
DATE 09-13-2006

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Bishop	✓
Mr. Casper	✓
Mr. Callahan	✓
Mr. Conrad	✓
Mr. Felt	✓
Mr. Gale	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Miss Holmes	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

TO : DIRECTOR AND SAC, NEW YORK
FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RACIAL MATTER.



NEW YORK HANDLE PER EXISTING BUREAU INSTRUCTIONS. P

EX 110 REC-40

Included in summary to White House
and Attorney General. Date 9/25/68

100-446080-1971
15 SEP 26 1968

- 2 - Bureau
- 3 - Teletype Unit
- 2 - WFO

WWH:pgp
(7)

ROOM 836 9&D

Approved: *[Signature]*
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

~~SECRET~~

b6
b7C
b1

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

DATE: 08-16-2006

CLASSIFIED BY 60324/AUC/BAW/EB/bls

DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3:3(6)

08-16-2031

F B I

Date: 9-20-68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via Airtel VIA AIR COURIER
(Priority)

To: Director, FBI (157-8415 Sub 243)

From: Legat, Ottawa (157-27)

Subject: BLACK NATIONALIST MOVEMENT - CANADA
RM

Re Ottawa airtel 9-13-68.

(C)

b1

~~ENCLOSURE~~

5 - Bureau (Enc. 6)

1 cc - Liaison Direct

1 cc - New York

1 - OTT

MLI:jhc

(6)

C. C. = Bishop

1xc airtel, let + enc - 804 94D

2cc airtel, let + enc - NY

1xc airtel, let + enc - SF, WK, WFO

1cc R/S

BR-S:jhc 9/27/68

100-446080-

NOT RECORDED

126 OCT 3 1968

12 SEP 23 1968

ENCLOSURE

RACIAL INT. SEC.

2EL 31 11 00 AM '68

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

56 OCT 4 1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ORIGINAL FILED IN 157-8415-243-

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

DATE: 08-16-2006

CLASSIFIED BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/b1s

DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(6)

08-16-2031

1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
1 - Mr. W. R. Wannall

9/25/68

1 -
1 -
1 -
1 -
1 -

airtel

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b7C

To: SACs, San Francisco (100-55520) (Enclosure)
New York [redacted] (Enclosures-2)
Newark [redacted] (Enclosure)
WFO (100-43503-Stokely Carmichael) (Enclosure)

Director, FBI (100-447251)

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Enclosed for each field division receiving this communication, except New York, is one copy of Legat, Ottawa, airtel dated 9/13/68, entitled "Black Nationalist Movement - Canada, Racial Matters," concerning the Congress of Black Writers which is to be held at McGill University, Montreal, Canada, from October 11 - 13, 1968. Two copies of this Ottawa airtel are enclosed for New York.

San Francisco attempt to confirm and develop detailed information concerning the reported travel and attendance at this Congress by Cleaver. Submit the results by letterhead memorandum suitable for dissemination [redacted]

Newark, New York and WFO should similarly handle this matter for the subjects residing in your respective territories.

1- Legat, Ottawa

700-446080
NOT RECORDED

1 - Foreign Liaison Unit
ERS:lmr (28)

18 SEP 26 1968

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO.

1 - [redacted]
1 - 100-446080-Stokely Carmichael

1 - [redacted]
1 - [redacted]
1 - 157-8141-Foreign Influence in the Black Nationalist Movement.

b6
b7C

2200
14 1968
DUPLICATE YELLOW

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-447251-50

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Airtel to SAC, San Francisco
RE: LEROY MORRISON CLEAVER
100-447251

For the information of New York, the [redacted]
mentioned in Legat, Ottawa's, airtel, is believed to be possibly
identical with [redacted] a Reserve Index subject
of your Office. This belief is based on his known employment
[redacted]
[redacted]

b6
b7C

NOTE:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(C)

b1

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

10/24/74
Classified by 3747 per 183
Exempt from GDS, category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 08-16-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/bjs

F B I

Date: 9/20/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (157-1297) (P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM - ANTIRIOT LAWS

OO: WFO

Re Bureau airtels to Chicago dated 8/28/68 and 9/12/68.

Bureau airtel 8/28/68 contained copy of letter from Assistant Attorney General FRED M. VINSON, JR., Department of Justice, desiring answers to questions concerning the subject's Chicago appearance. Per Bureau instructions, 9/12/68 airtel, 4 copies of letterhead memorandum (LHM) being submitted. No local dissemination.

Sources mentioned in LHM are:

REC-9

100-446080-1992

b6
b7C

16 SEP 30 1968

b2
b6
b7C
b7D

ENCLOSURE

- ③ - Bureau (Enc. 4) (RM)
- 2 - WFO (Enc. 2) (RM)
- 1 - Chicago

DEH/ejh
(6)

C. C. - Bishop

266 52 1 32 WK 1228

PTB/dkt

CL 800 980

REC'D DOM INTELL DIA

Approved: *[Signature]*
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Chicago, Illinois
September 20, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

157-1297

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-16-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/b1s

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

On August 21, 1968, [redacted]
source advised [redacted]
[redacted] the speech of Stokely Carmichael, former National
Director of Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)
at the Afro-Arts Theatre, 3947 South Drexel Boulevard, Chicago,
on August 9, 1968. This was done to avoid any possibility of
their recognition [redacted] and possibly causing an
incident or disturbance.

b2
b7D

Four confidential sources, who have furnished reliable
information in the past, advised on August 19 through 21, 1968,
that they attended the speech. They did not take notes. They
could not provide information concerning Carmichael's intentions
for traveling to Chicago.

On August 21, 1968, the [redacted]
source advised no racial disturbances or riots occurred in the
Chicago area following Carmichael's appearance.

A characterization of SNCC is attached and sources
utilized therein have furnished reliable information in the
past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions
of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of
the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency;
it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

COPIES DESTROYED

286 MAR 1 1971

ENCLOSURE

100-446080-1912

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Literature distributed by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, describes itself as not being a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements. SNCC was born out of the sit-in movement which erupted across the South beginning on February 1, 1960. A conference at Raleigh, North Carolina, that Spring, brought together many of the demonstrating Southern students in a loose network of militant youth which was officially named SNCC in October, 1960.

A source has advised that in May, 1966, Stokely Carmichael was elected National Chairman by the Central Committee. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced as Chairman by H. Rap Brown, with Carmichael assuming the position of Recruiter and Organizer for the SNCC. In August, 1967, at the invitation of Fidel Castro, Carmichael participated in the Organization of Latin American Solidarity Conference which was held in Havana, Cuba. Subsequent thereto, Carmichael traveled to Hanoi and other sections of North Vietnam. He returned to the United States in December, 1967, at which time his passport was picked up because of travel to unauthorized countries.

A source advised that when Carmichael was elected Chairman of SNCC, the organization embarked on a program of eliminating Caucasians from its ranks. With the election of H. Rap Brown as Chairman in 1967, it embarked on a worldwide struggle for human rights and to take a firm stand against violations of these rights by the American Government and to strengthen its programs of opposition to the draft and to the United States involvement in Vietnam.

Literature distributed in February, 1968, identifies SNCC as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

On August 13, 1967, while addressing a group in the Watts area of Los Angeles, California, H. Rap Brown said "You better shape up America, or we'll burn you down." Later in February, 1968, in a publicized note Brown wrote, "America, if it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you and to organize your jails to revolt against you and to organize your children, your God, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here's my life."

4-572 (Rev. 7-18-63)
OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-106

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-16-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/bls

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : The Director

DATE: 9-27-68

FROM : N. P. Callahan

SUBJECT: The Congressional Record

Pages B6257-B6258. Congressman Wyman, (R) New Hampshire, extended his remarks concerning the activities of Stokely Carmichael pointing out that it continues to distress thousands of Americans that the Department of Justice does not proceed against Carmichael for violation of present law. He advised that Carmichael is a derivative citizen of the United States having been born in Jamaica. He was the son of parents subsequently naturalized and became a citizen by operation of law. If Carmichael should be convicted of a violation of the Immigration and Naturalization Act--8 U. S. C. 1431(9)--he will lose this derivative citizenship and can be deported. We should act to deport him once and for all time. Mr. Wyman included an article from the Manchester Union Leader of September 17 entitled "Carmichael Treatment Is Preferred--Plus" written by John D. Lofton, Jr. Mr. Wyman went on to state

"This story illustrates once again the deeply disturbing fact that despite the record of this man he has not been prosecuted by the Justice Department. Failure to act in notorious cases such as this is continuing evidence of the need for a radical change in the policies and leadership of the Department of Justice."

100-446080-
NOT RECORDED
126 OCT 7 1968

OCT 7 1968
XEROX

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for 9-26-68 was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

54 OCT 21 1968

ORIGINAL FILED IN 66-1731-33



**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535**

1 - Mr. Sullivan
(Att. [redacted])
1 - Mr. Conrad
1 - [redacted]
1 - [redacted]

b6
b7C

To: **FBI, Detroit (100-34122)**

Date: **October 10, 1968**

Re: **STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM-SNCC
ANTI-RIOT LAWS
OO: WFO**

J. Edgar Hoover
John Edgar Hoover, Director

REC-123
FBI File No. **100-446080 - 1974**
Lab. No. **E-645-MB**
EX 106

Examination requested by: **Detroit**

Reference: **Letter 9/25/68**

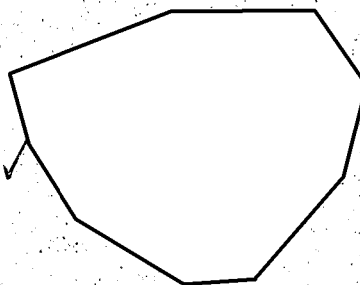
Examination requested: **Engineering**

Remarks:

Enclosures (2) (2 Lab report)

sdh
JES:sdh
(7)
WFO
RM 7/14

b6
b7C



**MAILED 4
OCT 10 1968
COMM-FBI**

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

61 OCT 2 1968

REPORT
of theFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535

1 - Mr. Sullivan
(Att.)
1 - Mr. Conrad
1 -
1 -

b6
b7C

To: FBI, Detroit (100-34122)

Date: October 10, 1968

FBI File No. 100-446080

Re: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM-SNCC
ANTI-RIOT LAWS
OO: WFO

Lab. No. E-645-MB

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-16-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/bls

Specimens received 10/1/68

K3 One reel of magnetic recording tape of Stokely Carmichael's
speech in Ann Arbor, Michigan, 8/22/68.

Results of Examination:

The K3 recording contains distortions created at the time
of the recording. These distortions cannot be filtered without
degrading the speech content. A full-track copy of K3 has been
made at 3 3/4 inches per second.

The K3 recording and copy will be returned to you under
separate cover via registered mail.

JES:sdh
(7)

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

RECORDED
10/1/68
sdhFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

LAB FILE

Laboratory Work SheetRe: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM - STUDENT NON-VIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEEFile # *100-446080-1974*
Lab. # E-645-MB

Examination requested by: Detroit

Examination requested: Engineering

Date received: 9/27/68

b6
b7C

Result of Examination:

Examination by:

*Tape contains distortion, possibly
from over driving recorder at time of recording.
Tape was heavily filtered & re-matched with
direct copy for a slight quality improvement.*

Specimens submitted for examination

K-3

~~K-2~~ One tape of a Stokely Carmichael speech.

*Lab Report to
FBI, Detroit
JES: sdh 10/10/68*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-16-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/bls

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
ATTENTION: FBI LABORATORY

DATE: 9/25/68

FROM : SAC, DETROIT (100-34122)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM - STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

K-2
Enclosed for the Bureau is a tape of a STOKELY CARMICHAEL speech made before the Organization of Arab Students at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, on 8/22/68. This tape was made available [redacted] advised b7D the tape is of inferior quality. This tape is recorded on a Cassette from a Sony Tape Recorder.

The Laboratory is requested to make a copy of this tape for Detroit so that it can be played on Uher or Roberts equipment which is available in the Detroit Office.

A copy of this tape, when received by Detroit from the FBI Laboratory, will in turn be transcribed by Detroit and eventually be disseminated by Detroit.

ENCLOSURE
③ - Bureau (Enc. 1) (RM)
1 - Detroit
JEK/cmt
(4)

REC-78

EX 106 100-446080-1974
10 2
2 SEP 27 1968

b6
b7C

RACIAL INT. SECT.

~~SECRET~~

DATE: 08-16-2006
CLASSIFIED BY: 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/hls
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1)
08-16-2031

FBI

Date: 9/17/68

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

CLASSIFICATION PER OGA LETTER
DATED 09-13-2006

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM - SNCC

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 11 copies
of an LHM regarding the above captioned subject. Two
copies are being furnished Detroit.

The source referred to in the LHM

SA

If not already done, Detroit attempt to develop
witnesses who attended the speech of subject as well as
obtaining a tape recording of same.

AGENCY: ACSI, OSI, SEC. SERV.,
ISD, CRD, RAO, Crim, ~~REC-8~~

HOW FORM: 115

DATE FORM: 9/23/68

BY: WLS/dkt

100-446080-1975

ST-118

- 3 - Bureau (Enc. 1)
- 2 - Detroit (Enc. 2) (RM)
- 2 - WFO
- (1 - 97-912)

WWH:pgp

(7)

4 OCT 8 1968

SEP 17 1968

RACIAL INT. SEC.

Sent _____ M _____ er _____

Special Agent in Charge

~~SECRET~~

b1
b6
b7C

b6
b7C



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C. 20535

September 17, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL



(C)

b1

A xerox copy of the text is attached hereto:

DATE: 08-16-2006
CLASSIFIED BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/bis
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1)
08-16-2031

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

CLASSIFICATION PER OGA LETTER
DATED 09-13-2006

This document contains neither
recommendations nor conclusions of
the FBI. It is the property of
the FBI and is loaned to your agency;
it and its contents are not to be
distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Attachment 1

GROUP 1
~~Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

COPIES DESTROYED

286 MAR 1 1971

ENCLOSURE

- 1* -

100-446080-1975

SEP 14 1968

ATTENTION

The following documents appearing in FBI files have been reviewed under the provisions of The Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) (Title 5, United States Code, Section 552); Privacy Act of 1974 (PA) (Title 5, United States Code, Section 552a); and/or Litigation.

☐ FOIA/PA☐ Litigation☐ Executive Order Applied

Requester: _____

Subject: _____

Computer or Case Identification Number: _____

Title of Case: _____

Section _____

* File _____

Serials Reviewed: _____

Release Location: *File _____

Section _____

b2

This file section has been scanned into the FOIPA Document Processing System (FDPS) prior to National Security Classification review. Please see the documents located in the FDPS for current classification action, if warranted. Direct inquiries about the FDPS to RIDS Service Request Unit.

File Number: _____

100-17Q-446080

Section _____

43

Serial(s) Reviewed: _____

ALL

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: _____

983317

File Number: _____

Section _____

Serial(s) Reviewed: _____

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: _____

File Number: _____

Section _____

Serial(s) Reviewed: _____

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: _____

THIS FORM IS TO BE MAINTAINED AS THE TOP SERIAL OF THE FILE, BUT NOT SERIALIZED.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

ATTENTION

DO NOT REMOVE FROM FILE

9/30/68

PLAINTEXT

TELETYPE

URGENT

TO: DIRECTOR AND SAC, NEW YORK
FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)
STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RM, OO: WASHINGTON FIELD
SUBJECT OBSERVED AT HIS RESIDENCE, FIVE ZERO ONE FIVE
SIXTEEN STREET, NORTHWEST, WASHINGTON, D.C., AT APPROXIMATELY
THREE PM INSTANT.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

983317

2 - Bureau
3 - Teletype Unit
2 - WFO
JRP: rha
(7)

REC-60

ST-112

20 OCT 1 1968

VIA TELETYPE
11:22 PM ROR
SEP 30 1968
ENCIPHERED

61 OCT 7 1968

TRUE COPY

My Honorable J. Edgar Hoover,

Stokely Carmichael

I desperately need your help in fighting communisun. I would like all the Facts you can give me. I want to make speeches against communisun. I have Read "None Dare Call It Treason," and "The Death of a Nation."

Please give me Facts on Hubert Humphery and Richard Nixon. I sure L. B. J. has had his Burnt up. Please add [redacted] on my list. Please lock up Stokley Carmical, he is on the goverment Payroll in Mississippi, for Missuse Federal Funds.

Yours Truly

[redacted]

b7C

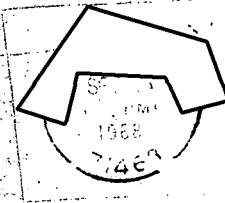
Prior letter

[redacted]

[redacted]

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg



b7C

*ITC
geg
9-25-68*

*ack 9-26-68
aft/geg
nme*

MCT 100-446000

NOT RECORDED
191 OCT 1 1968

8-elt

15 SEP 27 1968

54 OCT 9 - 1968

ORIGINAL FILED IN 94-5-67518

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535

DATE: 9-26-68

TO: SAC CHICAGO (157-1297)

Re: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM-SNCC
ANTI-RIOT LAWS
(OO: WFO)

Invoice of Contents

MAILED 3 K2 TAPE RECORDING OF STOKELY CARMICHAEL'S SPEECH IN CHICAGO,
ILLINOIS, ON 8-9-68
SEP 26 1968
COMM-FBI

- ☐ Crypt.-Trans.
☐ Document
☐ ~~Radio Engineering~~
☐ LFPS

EVIDENCE EVIDENCE EVIDENCE EVIDENCE EVIDENCE EVIDENCE EVIDENCE

717219

Special Instructions:

Mail Room: Show shipment date and registry number.
Shipping Room: Show shipment date; bill of lading number;
initial invoice; return to Section checked in block; after
initialing in block, invoice to be placed in administrative file.

FBI File No. 100-446080

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

54 SEP 30 1968
VIA REGISTERED MAIL



**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535**

1 - Mr. Sullivan
(Att. Mr. Dunn)
1 - Mr. Conrad

1 -

b7C

To: **FBI, Chicago (157-1297)**

Date: **September 12, 1968**

Re: **STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM-SNCC
ANTI-RIOT LAWS
OO:WFO**

b7C

J. Edgar Hoover
John Edgar Hoover, Director

FBI File No. **100-446080**
Lab. No. **E-636-MB**

Examination requested by: **Chicago**

Reference: **Airtel 9/6/68**

Examination requested: **Engineering**

Remarks:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

For the information of Chicago, the FBI Laboratory does not usually make tape recording transcriptions, inasmuch as persons more familiar with names, dates, facts and other matters pertinent to the investigation are better able to make accurate transcriptions.

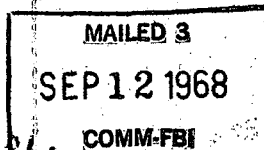
2-5 Chicago
2-WFO

JES:sdh
(9)

*Coordinated with
Div 5*

b7C

b7C



Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

51 OCT 10 1968

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

REPORT
of theFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535

1 - Mr. Sullivan
(Att. Mr. Dunn)
1 - Mr. Conrad

1 -
1 -

b7C

To: FBI, Chicago (157-1297)
Re: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM-SNCC
ANTI-RIOT LAWS
OO:WFO

Date: September 12, 1968
FBI File: 100-446080
Lab. No. E-636-MB

Specimens received 9/10/68

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

K2 Two reels of magnetic recording tape of Stokely Carmichael's speech in Chicago, Illinois, on 8/9/68.

Results of Examination:

The two reels of 1/4-inch magnetic recording tape contain distortions created at the time of the recording and are not filterable.

The K2 recording will be returned to you under separate cover via registered mail.

2-WFO

JES:sdh

(9)

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

RECORDED
9-10-68
mcc

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

LAB FILE

Laboratory Work Sheet

Re: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM - SNCC
ANTI-RIOT LAWS
(OO: WFO)

File # 100-446080 1979
Lab. # E-636-MB

Examination requested by: SAC, Chicago (157-1297) (Atl 9-6-68)

Examination requested: Engineering

Date received: 9-10-68

b7C

Result of Examination:

Examination by:

*I reels of tape 1/4 mag. - speech portion
7 1/2 RS full track - extreme background noise
possibly caused by recorder (magnetized
head?) which masks speech completely
I reel has front portion of speech
+ then a parallel discussion at 3 1/2 RS
full track -*

Specimens submitted for examination

K2 Tape recording of STOKELY CARMICHAEL's speech in Chicago,
Illinois, on 8-9-68

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

*Lab report to
SAC, Chicago
JES sdh 9/12/68*

9/9

RADIO ENG

9/6/68

AIRTEL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080) (Attn: FBI Laboratory)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (157-1297) (P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM - SNCC
ANTI-RIOT LAWS

(OO: WFO)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

K2

Re Chicago report of SA [redacted] reporting
CARMICHAEL's 8/9/68 Chicago appearance; and Buairtel, 8/28/68.

b7C

Enclosed for FBI Laboratory is tape recording of STOKELY
CARMICHAEL's speech in Chicago, Illinois, on 8/9/68, obtained
9/4/68, from [redacted]

b7C
b7D

The tape contains so much background noise that the
Chicago Office is unable to transcribe it. (Protect Per Request)

Accordingly, the Laboratory is requested to eliminate
background noise and transcribe tape for the Bureau and Depart-
ment.

Referenced airtel contained copy of letter from FRED
M. VINSON, Jr., Department of Justice, desiring answers to
following questions:

1. Were notes taken by informants at STOKELY
CARMICHAEL's speech? No.
2. Names of witnesses who can testify to STOKELY
CARMICHAEL's intentions for coming to Chicago? None.

- 4 - Bureau (Encs. 2) (RM)
 - (1 - Package)
 - 2 - WFO (100-43403) (RM)
 - 2 - Chicago
 - (1 - 100-40342)
- DEH:bab
(8)

NCI
Orig. [unclear] sent to [unclear]
[unclear] [unclear] [unclear]
Lab. Report to SAC, Chicago
JES: sdh 7/12/68
7-2125

CG 157-1297

3. What disturbances occurred after STOKELY CARMICHAEL's departure from Chicago? None.

The Bureau may desire to inform the Department of these answers.

(Signed by Agent)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

305 PAD 2-30-68

J. Edgar Hoover
Director.

The following FBI record, NUMBER 853 121 D, is furnished FOR OFFICIAL USE

CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE
Police Department Jackson, Mississippi	Stokely Carmichael #20978	June 8, 1961	b7C breach of peace City Crt \$200 & 4 mo last 2 mos susp Co Crt Nolo Contendere \$200 & 0 das susp \$200 fine and 4 months with 60 days suspended unavailable per contr 3-22-67
Sheriff's Office Jackson, Mississippi	Stokeley Carmichael #40	June 15, 1961	breach of the peace
St Hwy Pat Jackson Miss	Stokely Carmichael	10-18-64	disobeying an officer & blocking roadway
PD Selma Ala	Stokely Carmichael #19951	1-26-65	unlawful assembly \$100 & \$7 C & 60 das HI Rel on Bond \$500 (Case believed to have been disposed of by Federal Court) unavailable per contr 3-22-67
PD Atlanta Ga	Stokely Carmichael #242521	9-3-66	1) DC inciting to riot 2) DC dist
PD Selma Ala	Stokley Carmichael #11778	11-5-66	inciting to riot \$100 & \$7 C & 60 das HI
PD Atlanta Ga	Stokley Carmichael #242521 Residence: 360 Nelson St Atlanta Ga	6-18-67	DC(failing to move on) NOT RECORDED OCT 2 1968 b7C

Information shown on this Identification Record represents data furnished FBI by fingerprint contributors. If a contributor is not shown or further explanation of charge is desired, communicate with agency contributing those fingerprints.

Notations indicated by * are NOT based on fingerprints in FBI files but are listed only as investigative leads as being possibly identical with subject of this record.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE 80 LK 9-30-68
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON, D.C., 20537

J. Edgar Hoover
Director.

2 The following FBI record, NUMBER 853 121 D, is furnished FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY.

All descriptive factors (if any) furnished by you match those in our identification file unless herein quoted.

DESCRIPTION AND RELATED DATA:

Race:

Sex:

Height:

Weight:

Hair:

Eyes:

Date and Place of Birth: Port of Spain, Trinidad

Scars & Marks:

Address:

Occupation:

Subject's fingerprint file does not contain a photograph; however, one may be obtained from PD Atlanta Ga.

Information shown on this Identification Record represents data furnished FBI by fingerprint contributors. Where final disposition is not shown or further explanation of charge is desired, communicate with agency contributing those fingerprints.

Notations indicated by * are NOT based on fingerprints in FBI files but are listed only as investigative leads as being possibly identical with subject of this record.

1-BIT

J. Edgar Hoover
Director.

CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
	SECURITY FLASH: Stokely Carmichael any information or inquiry received refer one copy of record to Subversive Control Section Domestic Intelligence Division and 2 copies to BFD Atlanta File #100-6812 Bu file #100-446080 inf rec 10-18-66. O.O. Washington Field file #100-43503 2-8-68			
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg				
THIS PAGE SHOULD NOT BE DISSEMINATED OUTSIDE FBI				

Notations indicated by * are NOT based on fingerprints in FBI files but are listed only as investigative leads as being possibly identical with subject of this record.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20537

80 LK 9-30-68

2-BU

The following FBI record, NUMBER 853 121 D, is furnished FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY.
Information shown on this Identification Record represents data furnished FBI by fingerprint contributors. WHERE
FINAL DISPOSITION IS NOT SHOWN OR FURTHER EXPLANATION OF CHARGE IS DESIRED, COMMUNICATE
WITH AGENCY CONTRIBUTING THOSE FINGERPRINTS.

CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
CC: FBI WFO				
CC: Internal Sec Section Dom Intell Div				
	One copy record and one copy fingerprints were furnished St Bu Sacramento Calif Attn: Intell Unit as maybe identical with subject of their inquiry dated 9-25-68.			
	THIS PAGE SHOULD NOT BE DISSEMINATED OUTSIDE FBI			

Notations indicated by * are NOT based on fingerprints in FBI files but are listed only as investigative leads as being possibly identical with subject of this record.

John Edgar Hoover
Director

10-3-68

1 -
1 -

b7C

Airtel

To: SAC, San Francisco (157-721)

From: Director, FBI (100-446080)

**STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS**

Reurairtel 8-26-68.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

Promptly furnish the Bureau a copy of the tape recording of the speech delivered by subject at DeFremery Park, Oakland, California, on 8-25-68 during a Free Huey rally sponsored by the Black Panther Party.

Additionally, furnish a copy of the recording of the speech made by subject sponsored by the Marin City Black Panther Party, Marin City, California, on 8-22-68, and of subject's speech at Will Rogers Park, Los Angeles, California, on 8-24-68, if available.

Handle promptly.

JCM:dgf dgf
(5)

REC-1

EX-109

100-446080-1982

20 OCT 4 1968

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

MAILED 5
OCT 3 - 1968
COMM-FBI

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

F B I

Date: 9/26/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

b7C

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
 FROM: SAC, CINCINNATI (100-16858) (RUC)
 SUBJECT: STOKLEY CARMICHAEL
 RM
 (OO: WFO)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

Re SI tel to Bureau and other offices dated 8/29/68,
 requesting identification of subscribers to various telephone
 numbers and handling of subject if he travels to the
 office territory in accordance with Bureau instructions.

Telephone number [redacted] is listed to [redacted]
 since [redacted]

5/21/68, according to confidential source [redacted]

The Cincinnati Office indices reveal that [redacted]
 at this address, is the mother of [redacted]
 who is [redacted] located in [redacted]

No information has been received that subject has
 traveled to the Cincinnati, Ohio area since he left
 Carbondale, Ill, en route to St. Louis on 8/29/68, as set
 out in referenced communication, a copy of which is
 furnished to Louisville for information.

- 3 - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - WFO (RM)
- 1 - Atlanta (100-6812) (Info)
- 1 - Louisville (Enc. -1) (RM)
- 1 - Springfield (100-10697) (Info)
- 1 - Mobile (Info) (RM)
- 1 - Cincinnati

TBE/jmh
 (10)

CC 806 960

REC-15 100-446080-1983
 6 SEP 23 1968
 C.C. Bishop
 REC'D CIVIL RIGHTS DIV

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Approved: 14 1968
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

DATE: 10/2/68

FROM : *pm* SAC, DETROIT (100-34122)

AT SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM - SNCC

Re Bureau airtel to Detroit, dated
9/20/68.

On 9/24/68, a tape of STOKELY CARMICHAEL's
speech made before the Organization of Arab Students
at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor,
Michigan, on 8/22/68, was made available by [redacted]

b7C

This tape recording, according to [redacted]
[redacted] was of an inferior quality and was
recorded on a Cassette from a Sony Tape Recorder.
The tape was sent to the Laboratory inasmuch as Detroit
did not have the necessary equipment to play this tape. *DO*

The Laboratory was requested to make a copy
of this tape so that it could be played on equipment
available in Detroit. When this tape is returned from
the Laboratory it will be transcribed by Detroit and
will be furnished to the Bureau.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

- ② - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - Detroit
- JEK/cmt
- (3)

EX-100

REC 27

100-446080-1984

12 OCT 7 1968

b7C

RACIAL INT. SECT.



243
14 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

~~SECRET~~

FBI

Date: 10/1/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM - SNCC

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

b7C

Re Bureau R/S dated 9/26/68.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 11 copies of
an LHM regarding the above captioned subject.

b1

(S)

b1

AGENCY: ACSI, OSI, SEC. SERV., St.
CRIM: ISD, RAO/10/10HOW FORW: R/S
DATE FORW: 10-4-68
BY: pth/lia1 cc airtel LHM-8062
11 ENCLOSURE3-Bureau (Enc. 11)
1-WFOWWH:kte
(4)AIRTEL

b7C

DATE: 03-01-2006

CLASSIFIED BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1) 03-01-2031

Classification per OGA letter dated 03-01-2006

REC-14

105

12 OCT 8 1968

OCT 1 8 1968

C. C. - Bishop
REC'D DOM INTELL DIAApproved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

~~SECRET~~



NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION - NO DISSEMINATION ABROAD
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D.C. 20535

October 1, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

~~SECRET~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

STOKELY CARMICHAEL



b1

Carmichael is the former National Chairman of the
Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), a characteri-
zation of which is attached hereto.

DATE: 03-01-2006

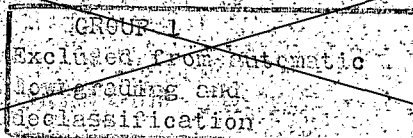
CLASSIFIED BY: 60209 auc tam/mlf/tcg

DECLASSIFY ON: 25X.3.3(1)-03-01-2031

Classification per OGA letter dated 03-01-2006

NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION - NO DISSEMINATION ABROAD

~~SECRET~~



(U)

COPIES DESTROYED

286 MAR 1 1971

ENCLOSURE

100-446080-1985

APPENDIXSTUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Literature distributed by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquarters at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, describes itself as not being a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements. SNCC was born out of the sit-in movement which erupted across the South beginning on February 1, 1960. A conference at Raleigh, North Carolina, that Spring, brought together many of the demonstrating Southern students in a loose network of militant youth which was officially named SNCC in October, 1960.

A source has advised that in May, 1966, Stokely Carmichael was elected National Chairman by the Central Committee. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced as Chairman by H. Rap Brown, with Carmichael assuming the position of Recruiter and Organizer for the SNCC. In August, 1967, at the invitation of Fidel Castro, Carmichael participated in the Organization of Latin American Solidarity Conference which was held in Havana, Cuba. Subsequent thereto, Carmichael traveled to Hanoi and other sections of North Vietnam. He returned to the United States in December, 1967, at which time his passport was picked up because of travel to unauthorized countries.

A source advised that when Carmichael was elected Chairman of SNCC, the organization embarked on a program of eliminating Caucasians from its ranks. With the election of H. Rap Brown as Chairman in 1967, it embarked on a worldwide struggle for human rights and to take a firm stand against violations of these rights by the American Government and to strengthen its programs of opposition to the draft and to the United States involvement in Vietnam.

Literature distributed in February, 1968, identifies SNCC as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

On August 13, 1967, while addressing a group in the Watts area of Los Angeles, California, H. Rap Brown said "You better shape up America, or we'll burn you down." Later in February, 1968, in a publicized note Brown wrote, "America, if it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you, and to organize your jails to revolt against you and to organize your children, your God, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind, to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here's my life."

This document contains neither
recommendations nor conclusions of
the FBI. It is the property of
the FBI and is loaned to your agency;
it and its contents are not to be
distributed outside your agency.

M. TOLSON DIRECTOR

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535

DATE: 10-11-68

TO: SAC DETROIT

Re: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM-STUDENT NON-VIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Invoice of Contents

K-3 ONE TAPE OF A STOKELY CARMICHAEL SPEECH

EVIDENCE

EVIDENCE

EVIDENCE

EVIDENCE

EVIDENCE

EVIDENCE

- ☐ Crypt.-Trans.
☐ Document
☒ Radio Engineering
☒ EVIDENCE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

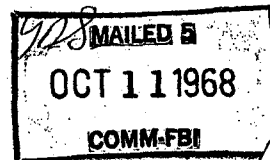
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc/tam/mlt/tcg

Special Instructions:

Mail Room: Show shipment date and registry number.
 Shipping Room: Show shipment date; bill of lading number;
 initial invoice; return to Section checked in block; after
 initialing in block, invoice to be placed in administrative file.

FBI File No.

718829



VIA REGISTERED MAIL

100-446080-

VIA TELETYPE

SEP 27 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

WA -9-

1203PM URGENT 9-27-68 JLW

TO DIRECTOR AND WASHINGTON FIELD (CODE)

ATT. DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM NEW YORK 100-153751 2P

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RACIAL MATTERS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

SUBJECT AND [REDACTED] ARRIVED JFK AIRPORT,

FOUR AM, NINE TWENTY SEVEN SIXTYEIGHT, ABOARD PAN AMERICAN

AIRLINE FLIGHT ONE FIVE ONE, FROM DAKAR, AFRICA.

CUSTOM OFFICIALS CONDUCTED SEARCH OF SUBJECT AND

[REDACTED] BAGGAGE. NO PERTINENT INFORMATION OBTAINED.

SUBJECT AND [REDACTED] MET AT JFK AIRPORT BY SUBJECTS

[REDACTED] DEPARTED AIRPORT AT FIVE FIFTEEN

AM IN A RENTED NINETEEN SIXTY EIGHT RAMBLER, NEW YORK

LICENSE TWO "Z" NINE FOUR ZERO.

END PAGE ONE
TWO COPIES WFO

TELETYPE TO:

778

1010
ADV 9/27/68
PB

b7C

PAGE TWO

CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE ADVISED FOREST GREEN RAMBLER
WITH ABOVE LICENSE PARKED IN FRONT OF [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] NEW YORK, EARLY AM, NINE TWENTY
SEVEN SIXTYEIGHT.

b7C

b7D

ADMINISTRATIVE

RE WFO TEL TO BUREAU AND NEW YORK, NINE TWENTYFOUR
SIXTYEIGHT.

AGENTS OBSERVING SUBJECTS AT JFK WERE SAS [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

b7C

CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE IS [REDACTED]
CLASSIFY ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~.

b7C

b7D

END

CJD

FBI WASH DC

Cc-MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

VIA TELETYPE

OCT 5 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson_____
Mr. DeLoach_____
Mr. Mohr_____
Mr. Bishop_____
Mr. Casper_____
Mr. Callahan_____
Mr. Conrad_____
Mr. Felt_____
Mr. Gale_____
Mr. Rosen_____
Mr. Sullivan_____
Mr. Tavel_____
Mr. Trotter_____
Tele. Room_____
Miss Holmes_____
Miss Gandy_____

WA 1

FBI NEW YORK

11:00 AM URGENT 10-5-68 EMP

TO DIRECTOR AND WASHINGTON FIELD PLAINTEXT

WASHINGTON FIELD VIA WASHINGTON

FROM NEW YORK 100-153751

STOKELY CARMICHAEL , RACIAL MATTERS.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

REFERENCE WASHINGTON FIELD TELETYPE TO NEW YORK.

OCTOBER FOUR, SIXTY EIGHT.

CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE AT NEW YORK ADVISED SUBJECT
NOT SEEN IN NEW YORK CITY.

ADMINISTRATIVE

THE CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE MENTIONED IS

END

FJB

FBI WASH DC

R REALY

TELETYPED TO:

REC'D CON INLETT DIA

18 OCT 8 1968

53 OCT 11 1968

COPY SENT AG AND IDIU

FBI

Date: 10/1/68

PLAINTEXT

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM

RE WFO TEL TEN ONE SIXTY EIGHT

SUBJECT AT RESIDENCE MORNING OF TEN ONE SIXTY EIGHT. IN AFTER-
NOON, SUBJ AND WENT SHOPPING DRIVING FOUR DOOR GREEN RAMBLER
AMBASSADOR, NY LICENSE TWO Z NINE FOUR ZERO. THEY SUBSEQUENTLY
RETURNED TO RESIDENCE.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/ta

③-Bureau
1-WFO
WWH:mmh
(4)

EX-102

REC 99

100-446080-1988

11 OCT 9 1968

cc-MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

56 OCT 16 1968

Approved: WWH

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

F B I

Date: 10/2/68

Transmit the following in _____

CODED

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via **TELETYPE****URGENT**

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI**FM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)****STOKELY CARMICHAEL,
RM**

SOURCE REPORTED STOKELY CARMICHAEL ATTENDED MEETING OF BLACK UNITED FRONT (BUF) HELD AT LINCOLN MEMORIAL TEMPLE ELEVENTH AND R STREETS, N.W., WDC, FROM EIGHT THIRTY PM TO TWELVE MIDNIGHT OCTOBER TWO LAST.

ADMINISTRATIVE:**SOURCE IS** **PRI****UNDER DEVELOPMENT.**

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

3-Bureau
1-WFO

JRP:mmh
(4)

CC - ROOM 836 9&D

REC'D DON INLET DIA

REC 99

EX-105

OCT 3 3 42 L. 1968

OCT 9 1968

51 OCT 17 1968

Approved: *JRP*

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

F B I

10/4/68

Date

Transmit the following in _____

CODED

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE

URGENT

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR AND SAC , NEW YORK

FROM: SAC, WFO

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RM.

SOURCES REPORT SUBJECT HAS NOT BEEN OBSERVED IN WASHINGTON, D.C. DURING OCTOBER FOUR INSTANT, AND RUMORS ARE HE PLANNED TO SPEND THE WEEKEND IN NEW YORK CITY.

NEW YORK CONTACT SOURCES TO ASCERTAIN IF SUBJECT IN NEW YORK CITY AND IF LOCATED COVER PER PREVIOUS INSTRUCTIONS.

ADMINISTRATIVE

ABOVE SOURCES ARE [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] PRI UNDER DEVELOPMENT, AND SAS WFO.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

2- Bureau
3- Teletype Unit
2- WFO (100-43503)
WWH:js
(7)

REC 44

100-446080-1990

OCT 9 1968

OCT 4 8 35 PM 1968

MR. TRAINOR

ROOM 236 9&BCD DON INTERT DIA

OCT 15 1968

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

10/4/68

Date

Stokely Carmichael, recently ousted from Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, currently holds position as Prime Minister, Black Panther Party, a black extremist organization.

Attached indicates Carmichael told [redacted] that leadership of Black Panther Party in Baltimore would be shaken up [redacted]

b7C

b7D

Attached is being furnished to Attorney General and Inter-Division Information Unit of Department and pertinent data will be included in summary teletype to White House and interested agencies. Source, of course, will be fully protected.

PTB:bjb

re

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc/tam/mlt/tcg

WCS / HSC

VIA TELETYPE
OCT 4 1968
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson ☒
Mr. DeLoach ☒
Mr. Mohr ☐
Mr. Bishop ☐
Mr. Casper ☐
Mr. Callahan ☐
Mr. Conrad ☐
Mr. Felt ☐
Mr. Gale ☐
Mr. Rosen ☒
Mr. Sullivan ☒
Mr. Tavel ☐
Mr. Trotter ☐
Tele. Room ☐
Miss Holmes ☐
Miss Gandy ☐

NY 1 WA3 240PM PWM

URGENT 10-4-68 PWM

TO DIRECTOR, WFO, AND NEWYORK CODE

ATTN. DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION
FROM BALTIMORE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/ltcg

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RM - SNEC

PACIFIC MATTERS
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING
Committee

b7C

b7D

SOURCE ADVISED TODAY THAT ON OCTOBER THREE, SIXTY-EIGHT
AT APPROXIMATELY [REDACTED] HE ARRIVED AT THE SOUL SCHOOL,
FIVE TWO TWO FREMONT AVENUE, BALTIMORE. [REDACTED]

TO STOKELY CARMICHAEL. CARMICHAEL WAS ACCOMPANIED BY [REDACTED]

CARMICHAEL DISCUSSED THE BPP IN GENERAL TERMS; RELATED
EXPERIENCES CONCERNING HIS TRAVELS AND ALSO INDICATED THERE
WOULD BE A SHAKEUP IN THE LEADERSHIP OF THE BPP IN BALTIMORE.

SOURCE LEFT AT ABOUT [REDACTED] AT WHICH TIME

CARMICHAEL INDICATED HE WAS LEAVING FOR NEW YORK CITY.

CONFIRMED SOME OF THE 12 OCT 10 1968

ABOVE INFORMATION AND THAT CARMICHAEL WAS TRAVELLING ALONE AND
DRIVING CAR WITH NEW YORK LICENSE TWO Z NINE FOUR ZERO. HE DID
DEPART FOR NEW YORK CITY APPROXIMATELY FIVE P.M.

END 51 OCT 17 1968

TWO COPIES WFO

INCLUDED FILED IN LEFT DIA
W.N.Y.A.G 10/7/68

PAGE TWO

ADMINISTRATIVE

b7C

b7D

SOURCE IS [REDACTED] RECENTLY UNDER DEVELOPMENT AS

R-PROB. : ~~CAJRMICHAXXXXX~~ CARMICHAEL [REDACTED]

AND INDICATED HE WAS TO BE [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] BACKGROUND INFORMATION RE [REDACTED] FOLLOWS.

WFO COGNIZANT.

~~CORR PAGE TWO LINE TWO REPEAT~~

~~R-PROB. CARMICHAEL~~ [REDACTED]

b7C

b7D

~~PAGE TWO LINE THREE WORD NINE SHLD BE OF~~

END

NSM

FBI WSH DC

XEROX ROSEN

COPIES 13 FEB 1987

COPY SENT AG AND IDIU

MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

BA

VIA TELETYPE
OCT 6 1968
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson_____
Mr. DeLoach_____
Mr. Mohr_____
Mr. Bishop_____
Mr. Casper_____
Mr. Callahan_____
Mr. Conrad_____
Mr. Felt_____
Mr. Gale_____
Mr. Rosen_____
Mr. Sullivan_____
Mr. Tavel_____
Mr. Trotter_____
Tele. Room_____
Miss Holmes_____
Miss Gandy_____

b7C

03
WA---01---

10-19 AM URGENT 10-6-68 JVD

TO DIRECTOR AND WASHINGTON FIELD

ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

WASHINGTON FIELD VIA WASHINGTON

FROM NEW YORK (100-153751) CODE

b7C

STOKLEY CARMICHAEL. RACIAL MATTERS

RE WFO TEL TO NEW YORK DATED TEN FIVE SIXTYEIGHT.

SUBJECT OBSERVED AT

NEW YORK PM OF TEN FIVE SIXTYEIGHT.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

ADMINISTRATIVE---

SOURCE MENTIONED IS

b7C

b7D

END

WA...FJB

FBI WASH DC

RGR REGXXX RELAY

EX-100

100-446080-1992

REC-38

OCT 10 1968

CL - MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

OCT 8 3 30 PM 1968

REC'D DOM INTELL DIA

TWO COPIES WFO
OCT 11 1968

F B I

Date: 10/5/68

CODED

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI AND SAC, NEW YORK

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; RM

RE BA AND WFO TELS 10/4/68.

WFO SOURCE ADVISED SUBJECT REPORTEDLY DEPARTED WDC
ON OCTOBER THREE LAST VIA AUTO FOR NEW YORK CITY. SUBJECT LAST
OBSERVED DRIVING VEHICLE BEARING NEW YORK LICENSE TWO Z NINE
FOUR ZERO. SOURCE ADVISED [REDACTED]
REPORTEDLY HAS SCHEDULED [REDACTED]
EXACT DATE NOT KNOWN.

OTHER WFO SOURCES REPORT SUBJECT NOT PRESENTLY IN
WDC. CHECK OF RESIDENCE AND OTHER PLACES FREQUENTED WDC AREA,
NEGATIVE.

ADMINISTRATIVE

EX-109

REC-15

100-446080-1993

OTHER SOURCES ARE [REDACTED] 12 OCT 10 1968

[REDACTED] PRI UNDER DEVELOPEMENT, INTELLIGENCE DIVISION
OF MPD, WDC, AND SAS, FBI.

- 2 - Bureau
- 3 - Teletype Unit
- 2 - WFO

WWH:clr
(7)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

b7C

b7C

1010
ADV. 10/14/68
PTP

REC'D FOR DIRECT DIA

54 OCT 17 1968

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)WFO 100-43503
PAGE TWO

NEW YORK RECONTACT SOURCES TO ASCERTAIN IF
SUBJECT AT [] RESIDENCE OR NEW YORK RESIDENCE OF
[] CHECK TO ASCERTAIN IF []
[]^S ASCERTAIN STATUS OF CAR BEARING NEW YORK LICENSE
TWO Z NINE FOUR ZERO WHICH IS A RENTAL DRIVEN BY SUBJECT
AND IF TURNED IN TO RENTAL AGENCY. IF SUBJECT LOCATED COVER
PER PREVIOUS INSTRUCTIONS.

b7C

b7D

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

cc - Mr. Trainor

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO :

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

DATE: 10/9/68

FROM :

SAC, NEW YORK (100-153751)

SUBJECT :

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mjt/tcg

ReBulet to NY dated 9/25/68.

On 9/26/68, Assistant Director in Charge JOHN
F. MALONE contacted [redacted]
[redacted] who is a close personal friend of ADIC MALONE,
in regard to [redacted] advised that

[redacted] per month. In 1962, [redacted] stated that he
recommended [redacted] for a better job for the sole pur-
pose of "getting rid of him". He stated that he always
treated [redacted] with kid gloves because he was the type
of individual that could not be trusted. [redacted]
advised that [redacted]

[redacted] He stated that from time to
time, there were [redacted]
and although he could not prove it, he always suspected

[redacted] stated he definitely would not rehire [redacted]
and so stated in his personnel file at the time of his
separation. [redacted] advised [redacted] was married and
was definitely not a good citizen. [redacted] advised
that from [redacted]

NY, at which time he was associated with an individual
called [redacted] who today would be classified as
a hippie. [redacted] stated that [redacted] was not reli-
able and could not be trusted. [redacted] stated that
as far as he knows, [redacted] and he has no
knowledge of [redacted] ever having become one. [redacted]

2- Bureau (RM) 001-X EX-100
1- Washington Field (RM) REC 27
1- New York
BJW:tf
(4)

100-446080-1994

OCT 11 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.



M 1001153751

advised that [] may have gone to school and obtained [] of some sort, but he is very doubtful even of this. [] advised that he feels [] has no right to use [] but suggested that it be checked thoroughly before accepting his word in the matter.

b7C

The name STOKELY CARMICHAEL was not mentioned to [] because his acquaintanceship with [] predated CARMICHAEL's prominence.

b7C

A check of NYO indices re [] both negative.

b7C

A credit record check on [] was conducted by IC [] with the Credit Bureau of Greater New York on 10/3/68, with negative results.

b7C

VIA TELETYPE

OCT 9 1968 *pm*

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

WA...07

FBI NEW YORK

5-14 PM URGENT 10-9-68 WPK

TO DIRECTOR AND WASHINGTON FIELD (CODE)

ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

WASHINGTON FIELD VIA WASHINGTON

FROM NEW YORK 100-153751 1P

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; RACIAL MATTERS.

SOURCE, RELIABLE IN PAST, ADVISED SUBJECT OBSERVED

AT RESIDENCE, [REDACTED] NEW

YORK, AT TEN THIRTY PM, OCTOBER EIGHT, LAST.

SUBJECT NOT OBSERVED THIS DATE.

ADMINISTRATIVE

SOURCE MENTIONED IS [REDACTED]

END

WA...R RELAY

JDR R RELY

FBI WASH DC

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

REC-123

EX-101

OCT 11 1968

51 OCT 17 1968

TWO COPIES WFO

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. Bishop

DATE: 10-1-68

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: CONGRESSMAN LOUIS C. WYMAN
(R - NEW HAMPSHIRE)
MEETING WITH THE DIRECTOR
10-1-68

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

SYNOPSIS:

Congressman Wyman and the Director met in Mr. Hoover's Office this morning. Congressman Wyman asked the Director what he, Wyman, could do to force the Attorney General to take legal action regarding Stokely Carmichael, people like him, and with respect to our terrible crime problem. Congressman Wyman made available to the Director excerpts from the "Congressional Record" of September 26, 1968, reflecting his remarks in the House of Representatives entitled, "The Strange Case of Stokely Carmichael," and of September 30, 1968, entitled, "Campus Violence." Copies are attached. The Director indicated Attorney General Clark adamant regarding crime problem, that in the Attorney General's opinion there is no crime problem, it is merely a matter of statistics. The Director noted apathy of American people being replaced by genuine concern for law and order. At conclusion of their discussion a photograph of the Director and Wyman was made. Photograph being handled separately.

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

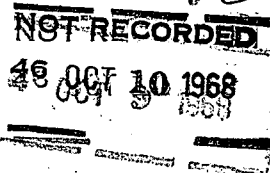
Enclosure

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach - Enc.
- 1 - Mr. Bishop - Enc.
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan - Enc.
- 1 - Mr. Gale - Enc.
- 1 - Mr. Rosen - Enc.
- 1 - Miss Gandy - Enc.
- 1 - Miss Holmes - Enc.

GTQ:nls (8)

DETAILS

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ORIGINAL FILED IN 62-82517

56 OCT 18 1968

M. A. Jones to Bishop memo
RE: CONGRESSMAN LOUIS C. WYMAN

Congressman Wyman visited the Director's Office this morning and indicated that his purpose in coming to FBI Headquarters was to determine what he, Wyman, could do as a member of the Task Force on Crime to force Attorney General Ramsey Clark and the Department of Justice to take some legal action with respect to the problem of Stokely Carmichael, people like him, as well as our terrible crime problem which Clark and his associates have done nothing to alleviate. Congressman Wyman made available to the Director excerpts from the "Congressional Record" of September 26, 1968, reflecting his remarks in the House of Representatives entitled, "The Strange Case of Stokely Carmichael," and of September 30, 1968, entitled, "Campus Violence," copies of which are attached.

Congressman Wyman indicated that while the present session of Congress is expected to end within the next few days, he wanted to know if the Director felt it would be of any benefit for him to take the floor of the House of Representatives in an effort to suggest legislation and/or a course of action by the Attorney General with respect to the aforementioned problems.

Mr. Hoover indicated that he felt that there was little that could be done at this time since the Attorney General was adamant regarding the crime problem, indicating that in his, the Attorney General's, opinion, there is no crime problem, it is merely a matter of statistics. Mr. Hoover advised that he felt that time would take care of the stagnation that currently exists in the Department since he doubted that Mr. Clark would be Attorney General for very much longer. On this point, he confidentially advised Congressman Wyman that there are rumors to the effect that the Attorney General may resign next month to accept a position as President of the University of Chicago.

The Director also indicated to Congressman Wyman that one of the problems with the Department of Justice today is that rather than prosecute people such as Stokely Carmichael, concerning whom the Director added, the Bureau has furnished numerous reports substantiating his activities, and risk the possibility of getting an adverse decision in the Supreme Court, the Department attempts to anticipate what that eventual decision will be and then decides to do nothing. The Director

M. A. Jones to Bishop memo
RE: CONGRESSMAN LOUIS C. WYMAN

stated that he felt very strongly that cases such as these should be tried and decided in the courts and that if adverse rulings are handed down, then Congress could introduce appropriate legislation to strengthen the laws already on the books.

The Director stated that adherence to law and order is the solution to our country's grave crime problems and that it is interesting to note that the apathy of the American people is being replaced by a genuine concern for the lack of law and order in our society. Mr. Hoover said that you cannot palliate crime, to do so is only to encourage the criminal.

At the conclusion of their discussion, Congressman Wyman and Mr. Hoover were photographed together. Prior to his departure and throughout the meeting with the Director, Congressman Wyman reiterated his strong support for the Director and the FBI and offered to be of assistance any time we had need of it.

After leaving the Director's Office, Congressman Wyman commented regarding the Director: "He is truly a great man."

The photograph is being handled separately.

today in our fishing industry to competitive world-wide.

PORTS

Maritime Policy must recognize how essential the fleet is, but also that are the facilities and capabilities of the fleet cargoes.

Administration will encourage modernization in development of our port facilities to meet the needs of

SUMMARY

Goals will not be accomplished overhauling the United States to the first-rate maritime power requires coordination of management and labor, authorities and government; but ship for national policy can and from a new Administration. To the present maritime crises, I recollect we have an opportunity and an to reverse the gross deficiencies marked the present administration in this field.

adopt vigorous research and development programs designed to harness the best technology to the needs of the fleet. We shall adopt a policy which recognizes the role of government in being of an industry so vital to national defense, and stimulate private to revitalize the industry.

adopt a policy that will enable flag-ships to carry much more cargo at competitive world prices. Ways have failed to the detriment of the man, the businessmen, the governments, and the national defense.

has come for new departures, new and new vitality for American ships and crews on the high seas of the

MARYLAND. SERVICEMEN KILLED IN VIETNAM

CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 30, 1968

NG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Raymond Powell, Jr., and Pfc. Arrowwood, two fine young men from Maryland, were killed recently in Vietnam. I wish to commend their memory and honor their memory by introducing the following article in the

STATE KILLED IN WAR—BALTIMORE UNDERLAND SERVICEMEN LISTED

Army sergeant from Baltimore and private from Cumberland have been in action in Vietnam; the Defense Department reported yesterday.

Sgt. Raymond Powell, Jr., 28, the son of Mrs. Christine Powell, of 2716 Broadway, and Pfc. James O. Arrowwood, son of Mr. and Mrs. James C. Arrowwood, of Cumberland.

Powell, who had been in the Army for his graduation from Carver High School, was first declared missing on September 9 after a battle with the enemy at the Defense Department

MOST OF YEARS OVERSEAS

was found Thursday, but further investigation is death and the battle were not reported to the Pentagon said.

Powell, who had spent most of his Army overseas, had been stationed with the 1st Air Cavalry in Vietnam since October. He was due to return to

the United States for reassignment October 2.

In addition to his wife, Sergeant Powell is survived by two daughters, Jacqueline and Jeanette; by his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Raymond Powell, Sr., of 2709 Bookert drive; by two brothers, Edward and David, and five sisters, Jacqueline, Rhonda, Gwendolyn, Romaine, and Mrs. Barbara Conley, all of Baltimore.

IN VIETNAM 2 MONTHS

Private Arrowwood, a rifleman in the 9th Marine Regiment, 3d Division, was killed September 13 by grenade fragments while his company was taking a hill near Quang Tri, the Defense Department reported.

He had been in the Marine Corps since February and in Vietnam only two months.

Private Arrowwood was a guard on Allegheny High School's championship basketball team in 1964, his senior year at the school. For the past three years he had worked as a grocery clerk.

He is survived by his parents, Mr. and Mrs. James C. Arrowwood; a brother, Douglas, and a sister, Margaret, all of Cumberland, and by a half-brother, William Whitacre, of Baltimore.

HIGHWAY FUNDS

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 30, 1968

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, when President Johnson issued an order to withhold highway funds, it was pure political gimmickry.

In the first place, the highway funds for the Interstate System are in no way related to the President's budget, the general fund deficit, or the national debt, since they cannot be used for any other purpose. When funds are collected they go into a highway trust fund, earmarked by law to be spent on the Federal Interstate System.

But President Johnson issued an order anyway to hold up these funds. Why did he not carry out the intent of the Congress and cut foreign aid, the race to the moon, and other wasteful and useless programs, instead of holding back highway construction?

We need highways in the First District of Tennessee and throughout the country. We need the Interstate System completed and we need more and better roads.

It is high time that the President of the United States stops holding a political hammer over the heads of the people.

An interesting editorial in the Friday, September 27, 1968, Kingsport Times points out some interesting facts, and I would like to share this with the readers of the RECORD:

HIGHWAY FUNDS

It might come as surprise to most citizens but this has been "National Highway Week." The idea being to stress that "Highways are for People."

But it has fallen flat on its face. The well-planned event is as tasteless as a meal without salt. In fact, the man who signed the proclamation designating the week was the cook who left the salt out.

While urging state highway officials to "hold appropriate ceremonies in recognition of what highway transportation means to our nation," President Johnson on the

other hand cooled the stove upon which was cooking such ceremonies when he froze federal highway funds.

The cook who spoiled the dish might well have been overstepping his authority. The highway funds are in no way related to the President's budget, the general fund deficit or the national debt since they cannot be used for any other purpose.

In fact the law that President Johnson signed just before issuing the proclamation prohibits the impounding or withholding the funds by "any officer or employee of any department, agency, or instrumentality of the executive branch of the federal government."

This was a blow to the stomach at the time when Tennessee and the other 49 states were in high gear in their highway building.

CAMPUS VIOLENCE

HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 30, 1968

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, as that time of the year marking the return to campus of millions of younger Americans is here again it is well to reflect that the great majority of our young people are responsible, dedicated, serious, and thoroughly patriotic. They are not crime prone beyond the occasional misdeed or misbehavior that is often associated with youthful exuberance.

Not so, however, with a small minority of deliberate rabble rousers and law-breakers, often aided and abetted by professional hatemongers and even Communist sympathizers. It is the expressed design of this group to make as much trouble and disrupt as many school administrations as they can, via the lie-down, sitdown, criminal trespass and even sticks and stones approach. Forehandness to deal with this element should include the steadfast determination at the highest national policy levels that such unlawful activity will be dealt with swiftly, firmly and as forcefully as may be required to preserve order on the campuses of our land.

In this cause it might be wise to enlist the support and help of the great mass of the student majority that are law abiding. They must be getting mighty sick of the punks and criminals in their midst, masquerading as students, who are giving many of the responsible students an undeserved public black eye. The student majority would relish a share of the responsibility in a responsible way to help in getting rid of the nihilists on their campus once and for all.

All of which does not mean, of course, that there will be no future dissent. There will be, and there should be, for such dissent is of the essence of academic freedom. But the right to dissent does not include the right to break the law in the process, nor tear down the institutions, nor arrogate to students the faculty function. This is especially so when those who destroy offer no substitute system and no alternative but sheer anarchy—living proof that their activism is in fact pure nihilism.

ENCLOSURE

100-446080

In this connection I commend a careful reading of an editorial by Allan C. Brownfeld appearing in *Roll Call*, issue of September 26. Mr. Brownfeld makes the valid point that much of the violence involved in all this student protesting is calculated and planned, just as were the blackwidow spiders, the bags of urine and the golf balls with spikes driven through them that were used on the police in Chicago recently. To meet and prevent this sort of law breaking on campus by firm and effective overhandedness has become a must not only for law-enforcement officials but for university administrators as well.

The editorial follows:

CAMPUS VIOLENCE PLANNED

(By Allan C. Brownfeld)

The take-over of Columbia University last Spring and the violence which erupted on the streets of Chicago during the Democratic National Convention are only fore-runners of the kind of disruption which is planned for the future by youthful activists.

In both the Columbia and Chicago instances, the evidence pointing to a carefully planned politics of "confrontation" is overwhelming.

The New Left's assault against the American University is less an effort to reform it than to, in effect, destroy it. This point was made in an editorial in the *Berkeley Barb*, a leading underground newspaper: "The universities cannot be reformed. They must be abandoned or closed down. They should be used as bases for actions against society, but never taken seriously. The professors have nothing to teach. . . . We can learn more from any jail than we can from any university."

The fact that student strikes and campus takeovers are less related to particular campus issues than to the general desire by militant student leaders to effect a revolution, not only in the university, but in the society at large, was reaffirmed by Mark Rudd, the leader of the turbulent rebellion at Columbia University.

In a letter addressed to Columbia President Grayson Kirk, Rudd did not hesitate to name "revolution" as the real issue at Columbia: "You are quite right in feeling that the situation is 'potentially dangerous.' For if we win, we will take control of your world, your corporation, your university. . . . Your power is directly threatened, since we will have to destroy that power before we take over. . . . We, the young people who you rightly fear, say that society is sick and you and your capitalism are the sickness. . . . There is only one thing left to say. . . . Up against the wall. . . . this is a stick up!"

There were two major demands presented by the Columbia University rebels: (1) A halt in the construction of a gymnasium in Morningside Park. The project had become highly controversial. It was opposed by many Harlem groups as well as a growing segment of the Columbia faculty. At issue were both the use of public park land and the architectural design which provided for separate facilities and entrances for community users and university personnel, inviting the charge that the structure which was actually intended as a service to the community might be turned into a symbol of segregation; (2) Termination of contracts with the Institute for Defense Analysis which, Students for a Democratic Society charged, "works on military projects aimed at the oppression of the people of Vietnam" and "develops riot equipment to commit mass genocide against black people" in the United States.

It appears, however, that the take-over of Columbia had nothing whatever to do with these issues. They were simply pretexts for a

long-planned exercise of power. Writing in *The New Republic*, two graduate students, Dotson Rader and Craig Anderson, reported: "Months before, at an S.D.S. conference in Maryland, the decision had been reached to take physical control of a major American university this Spring. Columbia was chosen because of its liberal reputation, its situation in New York and the fact that it was an Ivy League school. S.D.S. felt it was important at this time to disrupt a private, prestige, tactically vulnerable university."

According to this analysis, the issues which were presented by the student rebels were simply pretexts, "the point of the game was power." To members of the S.D.S. steering committee, Columbia itself was the issue: "It was revolution, and if it could be shown that a great university could literally be taken over in a matter of days, by a well organized group of students then no university was secure. Everywhere the purpose was to destroy institutions of the American Establishment, in the hope that out of the chaos a better America would emerge."

The alleged "success" of the take-over of Columbia University has added to the militancy of the New Left movement. Phillip Abbot Luce, himself a former leader of the pro-Peking Progressive Labor Party, discussed the plans of New Left leaders to stimulate Columbia-like confrontations across the country: "The Columbia experience is being touted by various S.D.S. leaders as an example for other student revolutionaries to emulate in the coming school year. Stealing Che Guevara's call for the creation of many Vietnams throughout the hemisphere, the SDSers claim as their goal the 'creating of two, three, many Columbias.'"

Tom Hayden, one of the founders of S.D.S. who was blamed by Newark, New Jersey officials for helping to instigate the riots in the Negro areas of that city, candidly stated the S.D.S. political approach. Writing in *Ramparts*, he declared: "Columbia opened a new tactical stage in the resistance movement which began last fall: from the overnight occupation of buildings to permanent occupation; from mill-ins to the creation of revolutionary committees; from symbolic civil disobedience to barricaded resistance. Not only are these tactics already being duplicated on other campuses, but they are sure to be surpassed by even more militant tactics."

The revolutionary strategy is to gain student appeal by raising broadly supported issues and then forcing the college administration into refusing to accept student demands.

Thus is created a direct "confrontation" between the revolutionaries and the Administration. Confrontation as a revolutionary tactic works like this: Manipulate people into a posture in which they are in direct conflict with a power source. Violence can then be created. The first element is to enlist broad support for the stated cause through the raising of false issues. Secondly, the power source must be asked to make concessions which they cannot, or will not, accept. The claim is then made that the student will has been thwarted and the only answer is peaceful but extra-legal measures to gain the demanded changes.

While declaring their "non-violence" and their desire to make only reasonable changes in campus policy the revolutionaries attempt to gain strength from outside forces. Unless the school Administration has taken a strong stand against the revolutionaries from the beginning, they will soon be forced to call in outside help. According to Phillip Luce, ". . . this call for the police is exactly what the revolutionaries want at this point in their program. . . . Suddenly, from somewhere, a policeman is hit and he, in turn, retaliates and hits a demonstrator. This has a chain reaction and soon there is a near riot."

As the violence increases, spectators, who have no idea how the violence started, are

pulled into the riot by their emotional reaction to seeing the police employ defensive strength to restrain the now-fighting students. Once violence develops, the police become rough. Often, as in Chicago, they are guilty of brutal excesses of their own. This is a classic example of how to create a riot condition and then utilize the shock reaction of onlookers to perpetuate it.

An end product is the apparent acceptability of violence. Ultimately, the theory of confrontation leads to the revolutionary proclamation that violence must now be accepted by previously passive students.

The events in Chicago were similarly well planned long in advance. As far back as November 16, 1967, the *Village Voice* reported the leader of the Youth International Party, Jerry Rubin, as saying: "See you next August in Chicago at the Democratic National Convention. Bring pot, fake delegates' cards, smoke bombs, costumes, blood to throw and all kinds of interesting props. Also football helmets."

What we are faced with is an increasingly militant revolutionary movement on the nation's campuses. We have been told that there will be many more Columbias, and many more Chicagos. These must be carefully prepared for. In doing so, police brutality must be avoided, but firm and effective action must be taken at an early stage in any such insurrection. Only in this manner can such tragedies as Chicago be avoided.

HERBERT TENZER'S RETIREMENT FROM CONGRESS

HON. THEODORE R. KUPFERMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 25, 1968

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, I could not let the occasion go by without indicating my personal sense of the country's loss on the retirement of my friend and neighbor, HERBERT TENZER.

When I first came down to Washington after the special election in February 1966, for the 17th Congressional District of New York, I was assigned room 1709 of the Longworth Building, and happily was ensconced in the room right next to Congressman TENZER of the Fifth District of New York.

He could not have been more gracious and helpful in all circumstances, even when we differed on philosophy and on political questions.

As I got to know him better and to realize his devotion to the needs of the people, not only of his area, but of the country as a whole, I began better to comprehend the fact that the United States has only been able to come to its present position of preeminence in the world, because a few men of HERBERT TENZER's caliber took the time and the trouble to give service in spite of personal inconvenience.

It was fortuitous that on the same day, we should both have announced our retirement and determination that we would not be candidates for reelection. I can understand his conclusion, and once again, Mr. Speaker, I express my own personal appreciation for his friendship and dedication, and look forward to a continuation back in our home State of New York.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen ✓
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

TO : Mr. Sullivan

DATE: 10/8/68

FROM :

[Redacted]

b7C

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bishop
- 1 - [Redacted]

b7C

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

b7C

[Redacted] To advise of highly inflammatory comments made by black extremist Stokely Carmichael during a recent overseas press conference.

Carmichael recently traveled to Africa [Redacted]

b7C

[Redacted] He returned to the United States on 9/27/68. The Department of State has furnished a verbatim text of a press interview by Carmichael on 9/13/68 at Monrovia, Liberia. In substance Carmichael declared:

Black people do not want peace in Vietnam. Black people want Vietnam to defeat America---White people are sworn enemies of black people and there can be no compromise with them---The only assistance white people can give black is, "white people can either kill other white people or give us the money or guns to do it ourselves"---There is a difference between a black militant and a black revolutionary; the militant is angry with the system and wants to be 1st in. The black revolutionary wants to destroy the system entirely. "I am not a black militant."---The blacks in the United States should develop a strong nationalism to Africa but before they leave the United States, "we got to burn it down. We can't leave such a beautiful country for them" (whites).

15 OCT 15 1968

b7C

Carmichael's comments were so violent the press interview was not used on Liberian radio.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information. Information concerning the above has been disseminated to the Department, [Redacted] and military intelligence agencies.

PTB:fhd (6)

61 OCT 22 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

DATE: 10/14/68

FROM : SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM - SNCC
SEDITION

Re Birmingham airtel 8/27/68.

b7C

SA [redacted] who observed female enter SNCC headquarters, Washington, D.C., on 5/2/68 unable to positively identify her due to inadequate visibility when she entered the establishment.

b7C

A check of the records of Howard University, WDC, Registrar's Office, on 10/10/68 failed to show any reference to a person named [redacted]. A check of the student roster which includes recent school year registrants revealed the name [redacted] and the following additional information:

Local Address, Washington, D.C.: [redacted]

Telephone number: [redacted]

Date of Birth: [redacted]

Attendance at Howard University: [redacted]

Parent: [redacted]

Permanent address: [redacted]

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

- ② - Bureau
2 - Birmingham (RM) EX-109 (46)
1 - WFO
WWH:typ

REC-1

100-446080-1998

15 OCT 15 1968

cc 806 980



5010-108

6 OCT 24 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

RACIAL INT. SECT.

WF 100-43503

The following sources familiar with racial matters at Howard University, WDC, were contacted on 10/10/68 by SA [redacted] who advised they did not know [redacted] or have information she was involved in militant racial activities with SNCC or Stokely Carmichael:

b7C

b7D

b2

b7C

b7D

The indices of WFO contains no additional information regarding [redacted]

b7C

b7C

In the absence of additional information indicating [redacted] involvement in militant racial activities, no additional investigation regarding her is being conducted.

October 15, 1968

Airtel

1 -
1 -
1 -

b7C

To: Legat, London

From: Director, FBI (100-446080)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Re O-7 dated 10/11/68 with letterhead memorandum enclosure captioned "Stokely Carmichael" dated 10/8/68 at Washington, D. C.

Carmichael has taken a strong antiwhite and anti-Semitic position. It is believed that as a counterintelligence measure proper dissemination [redacted]

b7C

[redacted] may serve to discredit

Carmichael.

Through your sources abroad endeavor to obtain background information concerning Carmichael [redacted] It would be of particular significance whether [redacted]

b7C

In order that there is maximum, effective utilization of this information, expedite your reply.

1 - Foreign Liaison Unit (Route through for review)

PTB:ekw
(7)

EX 100

REC 16

19 OCT 16 1968

MAILED 7
OCT 16 1968
COMM-FBI

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
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Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

cc to WFO, 11/8/68
for info.
PTB/sbt
11/10/68
221986

HA

997

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DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

F B I

Date: 10/8/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, WFO (157-2000) (P)

CONGRESS OF BLACK WRITERS
MC GILL UNIVERSITY
MONTREAL, CANADA
OCTOBER 11-13, 1968
RM

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DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/rsg

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 12 copies of
an LHM regarding the above captioned matter.

b2
b7D

The source referred to in the LHM is

The LHM is being marked "~~Confidential~~" to protect
a source furnishing information of value on a continuing basis.

Pertinent sources have been alerted regarding the
above. No WFO source has reported receiving an invitation
to attend. Any significant information developed will be
furnished promptly.

- 4-Bureau (Enc. 12)
(1-100-446080) (STOKELY CARMICHAEL)
2-WFO
(1-100-43503) (STOKELY CARMICHAEL)

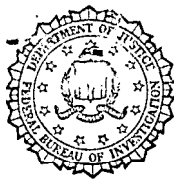
WWH:jmb
(6)

OCT 8 8 16 AM 1968

REC'D DOM INTELL DIA

Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C. 20535

October 8, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (U)

CONGRESS OF BLACK WRITERS
MC GILL UNIVERSITY
MONTREAL, CANADA
OCTOBER 11-13, 1968

A confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on October 7, 1968, that Stokely Carmichael will reportedly visit Canada during October, 1968, exact dates not known. [REDACTED]

b7C

b7D

Source advised Carmichael often accompanies [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Source added that as of October 7, 1968, Carmichael [REDACTED] in New York City and might travel from there to Canada before returning to [REDACTED] in Washington, D. C.

~~Stokely Carmichael~~

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg
ON 03-01-2006

This document contains neither
recommendations nor conclusions of
the FBI. It is the property of
the FBI and is loaned to your agency;
it and its contents are not to be
distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (U)

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

(U)

EXCLOSURE

- 1* -

ENCLOSURE

106-446680- 5000

VIA TELETYPE
OCT 11 1968
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson_____
Mr. DeLoach_____
Mr. Mohr_____
Mr. Bishop_____
Mr. Casper_____
Mr. Callahan_____
Mr. Conrad_____
Mr. Felt_____
Mr. Gale_____
Mr. Rosen_____
Mr. Sullivan_____
Mr. Tavel_____
Mr. Trotter_____
Tele. Room_____
Miss Holmes_____
Miss Gandy_____

WA...15.

FBI NEW YORK

9-12 PM URGENT 10-11-68 WPK

TO DIRECTOR AND WASHINGTON FIELD (CODE)

ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

WASHINGTON FIELD VIA WASHINGTON

FROM NEW YORK 100-153751 1P

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; RACIAL MATTERS.

CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE, RELIABLE IN PAST, ADVISED

SUBJECT AND [REDACTED] OBSERVED ENTERING

A NINETEEN SIXTY EIGHT RAMBLER SEDAN IN FRONT OF [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] NEW YORK, AT SEVEN THIRTY

PM THIS DATE. SUBJECT AND [REDACTED] PLACED LUGGAGE IN TRUNK

OF VEHICLE AND MAYBE TRAVELLING TO WASHINGTON, DC.

ADMINISTRATIVE

SOURCE MENTIONED IS [REDACTED]

END

WA...R RELAY

JDR

FBI WASH DC

TWO COPIES WFO

MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

OCT 11 10 51 AM 1968

REC'D DOM INTELL DIA

REC-48

EX 103

15 OCT 15 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

100-446080-2001

VIA TELETYPE

OCT 10 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

WA....¹⁹₁₈

FBI NEW YORK

5-27 PM URGENT 10-10-68 WPK

TO DIRECTOR AND WASHINGTON FIELD (CODE)

ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM NEW YORK 100-153751 1P

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RACIAL MATTERS.

SOURCE, RELIABLE IN PAST, ADVISED SUBJECT OBSERVED
AT RESIDENCE [REDACTED]
NEW YORK, EVENING OF TEN TEN SIXTY EIGHT.

ADMINISTRATIVE

SOURCE MENTIONED IN TELETYPE IS [REDACTED]

END

WA...R RELAY

JDR R RELAY

FBI WASH DC

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

15 OCT 15 1968

TWO COPIES WFO

MR. TRAINOR lll

99 OCT 22 1968

F B I

Date: 10/12/68

CODE

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE

URGENT 120

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI AND SAC NEW YORK

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM

b7C

SUBJECT RETURNED TO WDC AFTERNOON OCTOBER TWELVE NINETEEN SIXTY-EIGHT IN NINETEEN SIXTY-EIGHT GREEN RAMBLER SEDAN BEARING NEW YORK LICENSE TWO Z NINE FOUR ZERO. HE DEPARTED RESIDENCE AND ATTENDED RALLY OF THE BLACK UNITED FRONT (BUF) PROTESTING SHOOTING OF ELIJAH BENNETT [REDACTED] ON OCTOBER EIGHT LAST, HELD AT NEW SCHOOL FOR AFRO-AMERICAN THOUGHT, TWO ONE ONE FIVE FOURTEENTH STREET, N.W., WDC. HE REMAINED IN AREA INTO LATE AFTERNOON.

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

ADMINISTRATIVE

ABOVE SOURCE SAS, WFO NY INFO.

REC-76

ST-116

15 OCT 15 1968

- (2) - Bureau
- (3) - Teletype Unit
- (2) - WFO

WWH:clr
(7)

TELETYPE

MR. TRAINOR

ROOM 836

b7C

61 OCT 22 1968

Sent

M

Per

VIA TELETYPE
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson_____
Mr. DeLoach_____
Mr. Mohr_____
Mr. Bishop_____
Mr. Casper_____
Mr. Callahan_____
Mr. Conrad_____
Mr. Felt_____
Mr. Gale_____
Mr. Rosen_____
Mr. Sullivan_____
Mr. Tavel_____
Mr. Trotter_____
Tele. Room_____
Miss Holmes_____
Miss Gandy_____

b7C

WSS/49

5-

b7C

NEW YORK ---01---

115 AM URGENT 10-12-68 WTH

TO DIRECTOR AND WFO (CODE)

WFO VIA WASHINGTON

FROM NEW YORK 100-153751

STOKELY CARMICHAEL RACIAL MATTERS.

SOURCE ADVISED SUBJECT OBSERVED

AT RESIDENCE, [REDACTED] NEW YORK
MORNING OF THIS DATE.

b7C

b7D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

ADMINISTRATIVE

SOURCE MENTIONED IS [REDACTED]

b7C

b7D

END

RDR

FBI WASH DC

TWO COPIES WFO

TELETYPED TO:

FTB

MR. TRAINOR

ROOM 836 9&D

REC 36

001 11 2 01 1279

15 OCT 15 1968

100-416600-2004

55 OCT 22 1968

FBI

Date: 10/11/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____ (Priority)

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (ATTN. DID)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-153751)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60329 auz/am/mlt/tca

ReuFOtel to Bureau and NY, 10/4/68.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 11 copies of an LHM captioned and dated as above. Two copies of LHM are also being furnished to WFO.

The enclosed LHM is classified "~~Confidential~~" since it contains information from sources of continuing value whose disclosure would adversely effect the national security of the United States.

Copies of LHM are being disseminated locally to OSI, NISO, 108th MI Group, Secret Service, and USAs, EDNY and SDNY.

Agents of NYO observing subject and [redacted] at JFK Airport, NYC, were SA [redacted] and SA [redacted]

Source observing subject at residence at

Source observing subject in Washington, DC was

3. Bureau (Encls. 11) (RM)

2- WFO (Encls. 2) (RM)

1- New York

BJW:tf

~~(7) 1- Supv. #43~~

Approved: [Signature]
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

61 OCT 21 1968 Special

ENCLOSURE

REC-19

ST-118

20 OCT 12 100

06806 9dB

RACIAL PACT



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (U)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York

October 11, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No. Bufile 100-446080
NYfile 100-153751

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg
ON 03-01-2006

Stokely Carmichael

Stokely Carmichael and [redacted]
arrived 4:00 AM, September 27, 1968, at John F. Kennedy
Airport, New York City, aboard Pan American Airline
Flight 151 from Dakar, Africa. Carmichael and [redacted]
departed airport 5:15 AM in a 1968 Ambassador rented
vehicle, New York license 2Z940. [redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]

b7C

A confidential source, who has furnished
reliable information in the past, advised the above
mentioned vehicle was observed in front of [redacted]
[redacted]

b7C

b7D

[redacted] New
York, during early morning of September 27, 1968.

Carmichael observed at residence, 5015 16th
Street, Northwest, Washington, D.C. at 3:00 PM,
September 30, 1968.

This document contains neither
recommendations nor conclusions
of the FBI. It is the property
of the FBI and is loaned to your
agency; it and its contents are
not to be distributed outside
your agency.

~~GROUP I
Excluded from
automatic down-
grading and
declassification~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (U)

100-446080 2105

ENCLOSURE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(U)

Stokely Carmichael

Carmichael was observed at [REDACTED]

b7C

[REDACTED] New York, October 5, 8, 9, and
11, 1968.

b7C

-2-

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(U)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 10-14-68

Travel to Montreal, Canada,
by Stokely Carmichael reported
herein is for the purpose of
attending a Congress of Black
Writers at McGill University.
Montreal.

b1

Copies of attached have
been furnished Inter-Division
Information Unit of the Department
and Attorney General.

ERS:lrh

DATE: 03-01-2006

CLASSIFIED BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(6) 03-01-2031~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

F B I

Date: 10/13/68

Transmit the following in _____

CODE

(Type in plaintext or code)

TELETYPE

URGENT

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Bishop	✓
Mr. Casper	✓
Mr. Callahan	✓
Mr. Conrad	✓
Mr. Felt	✓
Mr. Gale	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Miss Holmes	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI, AND SAC, NEW YORK

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RM

Racial Matter

RE WFO TEL OCTOBER TWELVE LAST.

SOURCE ADVISED SUBJECT IN ~~WDC~~ *Washington, D.C.* DURING DAY OF OCTOBER

THIRTEEN NINETEEN SIXTY-EIGHT, AND PLANNED TO TRAVEL TO CANADA.

EXACT MODE OF TRAVEL NOT KNOWN, BUT SOURCE BELIEVED HE WOULD

TRAVEL BY AIR.

b2

b7D

[REDACTED] ADVISED SUBJECT AT WDC RESIDENCE

OCTOBER THIRTEEN SIXTY-EIGHT, AND CAR RECENTLY DRIVEN BY HIM

PARKED NEARBY INTO LATE AFTERNOON.

b7C

AIRPORT POLICE, FRIENDSHIP INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT,

ADVISED SUBJECT AND PARTY OF FOUR DEPARTED THERE EIGHT ZERO

FIVE PM, OCTOBER THIRTEEN, VIA EASTERN AIRLINES FLIGHT FIVE

FOUR TWO, ENROUTE NONSTOP, TO MONTREAL, CANADA, ARRIVAL TIME

NINE TWENTY NINE PM.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

ADMINISTRATIVE.

b2

b7D

SAS FBI

NY INFO.

- 2 - Bureau
- 3 - Teletype Unit
- 2 - WFO

REC-6

100-4461080-2006

MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

OCT 17 1968

Kerov-Rosen

Sent

CLAR-1014

Per

Special Agent in Charge

LEAD, ORAWA TELEPHONICALLY ADVISED
10:10 PM, 10-13-68, by PDP.OCT 14 8 10 PM '68
5300

FBI

Date: 10/16/68

Transmit the following in PLAINTEXT

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPEURGENT

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

RM

RE WFOTEL OCT. THIRTEEN LAST.

COVERAGE OF SUBJECTS RESIDENCE AND CHECKS OF PLACES
FREQUENTED BY SUBJECT FAILED TO INDICATE THAT HE HAD
RETURNED TO WASH. D.C. ON OCT. FIFTEEN LAST.

CONTACT MAINTAINED WITH SOURCES OF WFO AND WITH
OTHER INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES FAILED TO DISCLOSE ANY INFO
THAT SUBJECT IN WDC OCT FIFTEEN LAST.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

ADMINISTRATIVE:

WFO FOLLOWING.

3-BUREAU
1-TELETYPE UNIT
1-WFO

(5)

RNW:rnw

MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 920

Approved: *[Signature]*

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

55067231968

EX-114

REC 45

100-446080-2007

2 OCT 17 1968

OCT 16 6 10 PM '68

REC'D DOM INTELL DIA

10/11/68

CODE

TELETYPE

URGENT

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, WFO (157-2013)

SHOOTING OF ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, NEGRO MALE, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] AFTERNOON OF OCTOBER EIGHT

b7C

SIXTYEIGHT; RACIAL MATTERS

RE WFO TELETYPES OCTOBER EIGHT AND NINE LAST.

A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION
IN THE PAST ADVISED ON THIS DATE HE HAD LEARNED FROM [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] THAT A MEETING HAD BEEN HELD AT THE
HOME OF [REDACTED]

b7C

b7D

[REDACTED] THE MEETING WAS ATTENDED BY APPROXIMATELY SIXTY
PEOPLE AND PLANS WERE MADE TO HOLD A DEMONSTRATION AT THE
THIRTYEIGHTH PRECINCT AT ONE P.M. ON OCTOBER TWELVE NEXT, CANCELED

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

6 - Bureau

(1 - 100-446080) (CARRICHAEL)

(1 - 157-8471) (BOY)

4 - WFO

(1 - 100-43503) (CARRICHAEL)

(1 - 157-1426) (BOY)

(1 - [REDACTED])

b2

b7D

CMF/DOO
(10)

NOT RECORDED

37 OCT 21 1968

59 OCT 31 1968

245

WFO 157-2013

PAGE TWO

BY A MARCH FROM THE PRECINCT TO THE HOME OF WASHINGTON MAYOR
WALTER WASHINGTON. ACCORDING TO SOURCE, [] STATED THE DEMONSTRATION
WILL BE CONDUCTED BY A COALITION INCLUDING WSP, STUDENTS FOR A
DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY, BLACK UNITED FRONT (BUF), AND THE COMMITTEE
FOR EMERGENCY SUPPORT. []

b7C
b7D

[]

[]

[]

ON OCTOBER TEN LAST A [] WHO HAS
FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST ADVISED THAT A RALLY
WILL BE HELD AT THREE P.M. ON OCTOBER TWELVE NEXT AT MERIDIAN HILL
PARK, FIFTEENTH STREET AND FLORIDA AVENUE, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C.
ACCORDING TO SOURCE THE BUF WILL SPONSOR THIS RALLY AND PLAN TO
ADVERTISE THROUGH LOCAL RADIO AND NEWSPAPERS THAT THE RALLY WILL
BE HELD. ACCORDING TO SOURCE, THE RALLY WILL BE HELD IN ORDER

b2
b7D

WFO 157-2013

PAGE THREE

TO GIVE THE CITIZENS AN OPPORTUNITY TO "BLOW OFF STEAM" AS A
RESULT OF CAPTIONED SHOOTING.

THE OCTOBER TEN LAST EDITION OF THE EVENING STAR, A DAILY
WASHINGTON NEWSPAPER, REPORTED THAT STOKELY CARMICHAEL, FOUNDER
OF BPP AND PRIME MINISTER OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY, WOULD SPEAK
AT A BPP RALLY AT MERIDIAN HILL PARK AT THREE P.M. ON OCTOBER
TWELVE NEXT. ACCORDING TO THE ARTICLE THE RALLY WILL FOCUS ON
THE CURRENT RACIAL "CRISIS IN THE DISTRICT." THE ARTICLE FURTHER
REPORTED THAT OTHER SPEAKERS REPRESENTING HOWARD UNIVERSITY, THE
FEDERAL CITY COLLEGE AND THE NEW SCHOOL OF AFRO-AMERICAN THOUGHT
WOULD BE PRESENT.

ADMINISTRATIVE

[REDACTED] MENTIONED ABOVE IS [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

WHO IS UNDER DEVELOPMENT AS A PRI. WFO WILL FOLLOW AND LHM WILL
BE SUBMITTED.

b2
b7C
b7D

10/15/68

Airtel

1 - Mr. J. C. Trainor
1 - [REDACTED]
1 - [REDACTED]

b7C

To: SAC, WFO

From: Director, FBI

SHOOTING OF ELLIAN BENNETT, NEGRO MALE,
[REDACTED]

b7C

**AFTERNOON 10/8/68
RACIAL MATTERS**

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

Reurtel dated 10/12/68.

The 10/12/68 edition of "The Sunday Star," page B-1, contains a photograph of Stokely Carmichael speaking at a rally held on 10/12/68 in regard to captioned matter. This rally was sponsored by the Black United Front and was held in front of the New School of Afro-American Thought. In the photograph Carmichael is surrounded by seven individuals who appear to be guarding him.

WFO should display the above mentioned photograph to logical informants and established sources in order to identify those [REDACTED]. When identified, separate investigations should be opened on each of them to develop background and to determine the extent and nature of his activities in the black nationalist movement. Submit the results in form suitable for dissemination along with your recommendation as to whether additional investigation is warranted.

b7C

- 1 - 157-847 (Black United Front)
- 1 - 62-111227 (New School of Afro-American Thought)
- ① - 100-446080 (Stokely Carmichael)

ANF:eng
(9)

NOTE:

During the above rally Carmichael made several inflammatory statements including one to the effect that in order to stop police brutality some white cops have got to be killed.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

DUPLICATE YELLOW

ORIGINAL FILED IN

100-446080
NOT RECORDED
100 OCT 18 1968

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : The Director

DATE: 10-15-68

FROM : N. P. Callahan

SUBJECT: The Congressional Record

Page 20042. Congressman Scott, (R) Virginia, stated "we remember some 6 months ago there was rioting within the District of Columbia and at that time one Stokely Carmichael was inciting people to riot and saying, 'Go home and get your gun. I've got mine.' This gentleman has not been prosecuted by the Attorney General for inciting persons to riot. - - - I wonder how long it will be before the chief prosecutor for this Government, the Attorney General of the United States, will take action pursuant to the laws that this body has passed with regard to inciting persons to riot? As long as this man continues going throughout the country inciting to violence we will continue to have permissiveness in this country."

Original filed in: 66-1731-3392

100-446080-
NOT RECORDED
176 OCT 23 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for 10-14-68 was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

59 OCT 1 1968

F B I

Date: 10/15/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM

Re San Francisco airtel 10/9/68.

For info WFO does not have a tape of speech delivered
by subject at Will Rogers Park in Los Angeles on 8/24/68.ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

- ③ Bureau
1- Los Angeles (Info) (100-68783)
1- San Francisco (Info) (157-721)
1- WFO

WWH:ejj
(6)

C. C. Bishop

cc FREE #10

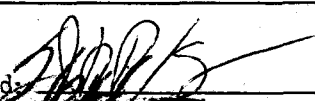
EX-114

b7C

6 OCT 15 1968

b7C

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Approved: 

53072/1000

Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Memorandum

TO : Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

DATE: October 17, 1968

FROM : ^WFred M. Vinson, Jr.
Assistant Attorney General
Criminal Division

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

SUBJECT: Stokely Carmichael.

b7C

This confirms the telephone conversation of
October 14 between [redacted]
of the Bureau. We seek your assistance in investigation of
Stokely Carmichael's statements in Washington, D. C. on
October 12, 1968. Specifically, we request:

b7C

- a) A verbatim transcript of Carmichael's remarks if such can be obtained either from our own sources, Washington MPD or news media.
- b) A copy of the notes of any informants, local police officers or F.B.I. agents who were present and made notes of what Carmichael said.
- c) The names of witnesses who could testify to the content of the remarks, and the surrounding circumstances.
- d) Any information which bears on the intent with which the remarks were made.
- e) Any information which may show a link between the remarks and subsequent disturbances in the city of Washington.

38
OCT 17 1968
EXP. PROC.
43

REC-41

100-44601-2009
2 OCT 17 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.

1 -
1 -
1 -

10/10/68

b7C

Airtel

To: SAC, WFO

From: Director, FBI (100-446080)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY
BUDED-November 4, 1968

Attached is a letter from Assistant Attorney General, Fred M. Vinson, Jr., dated October 17, 1968, which is self-explanatory.

You should expedite the investigation requested in the attached letter and submit a report to reach the Bureau by November 4, 1968.

Enclosure
PTB:1st

(6)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

NOTE:

Stokely Carmichael, a black extremist is on the Security Index and the Agitator Index. He recently was "fired" from the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and presently is affiliated with the Black Panther Party, a black extremist organization. He also is the leader of the Black United Front (BUF) in Washington, D.C., an organization of moderate and militant Negro leaders of the area. The investigation requested by the Department concerns a speech made by Carmichael at a BUF meeting on October 12, 1968.

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

F B I

Date: 10/17/68

Transmit the following in PLAINTEXT
(Type in plain text or code)Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority or Method of Mail)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RACIAL MATTERS

REWFOTEL OCTOBER SIXTEEN LAST.

COVERAGE OF RESIDENCE AND PLACES FREQUENTED BY SUBJECT
REVEALED NO INFORMATION RE HIS RETURN TO WASHINGTON, D.C.
SOURCES REPORT NO INFORMATION THAT HE HAS RETURNED FROM HIS
TRIP TO CANADA.

ADMINISTRATIVE

WFO FOLLOWING

P.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

EX 110
REC-1

④ - Bureau

1 - WFO

GWP/gwp
(5)MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

OCT 21 1968

59 OCT 24 1968

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

DATE: 10/17/68

FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-68783) (P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM

Re Los Angeles airtel and LHM dated 9/6/68,
San Francisco airtel to the Bureau dated 9/6/68.

Referenced airtel and LHM set forth a transcript
of a mechanical recording of excerpts from STOKELY CARMICHAEL's
speech at the Free Huey Newton Rally, sponsored by the Peace
and Freedom Party and the Black Panther Party at Will Rogers
Park, Los Angeles, California, on 8/24/68.

This transcript of a mechanical recording was obtained
by source from an unidentified Negro female, who is a member of
the Black Panther Party, Los Angeles, California. Los Angeles
is not in possession of any tape of a speech delivered by
subject at Will Rogers Park in Los Angeles on 8/24/68.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

- cc 806 940
- 2 - Bureau (RM)
 - 1 - San Francisco (RM)
 - 1 - Washington Field (RM)
 - 1 - Los Angeles

JWW/mlj
61 OCT 31 1968

REC-38

OCT 23 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.

b7C

FBI

Date: 10/9/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-721)
SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

b7C

Rerep of SA [redacted] dated 8/30/68, at San Francisco, which report contained transcriptions of speeches delivered by Subject at Marin City, California, on 8/22/68, and Oakland, California, 8/25/68, and Bureau airtel to San Francisco, dated 10/3/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are two tape recordings, copies of the original recording made by [redacted] at above described speeches by CARMICHAEL.

b7C
b7D

San Francisco does not have a tape of speech delivered by Subject at Will Rogers Park in Los Angeles on 8/24/68; however, if such a recording was obtained by Los Angeles, then Los Angeles or WFO may have it.

WFO AT 10/15/68
" has no copy

C. - Bishop

REC-28

100-446080-2012

b7C

ENCLOSURE

- ③ - Bureau (Enc.-2)(RM)
 - 2 - Los Angeles (100-68783)(RM)
 - 2 - WFO (100-43503)(RM)
 - 1 - San Francisco
- FL:sf
(8)

12 OCT 11 1968

1 copy each made of each enclosure
File original
200x copy ENCLOSED in Bulky
12-33-68 CWT

RACIAL INT. SECT.

79 OCT 9 1968

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

4-331 (Rev. 8-28-73)

100-446080-2012
BULKY ENCLOSURE
BIN # ~~44~~ 49-D

XEROX COPY OF COVER LETTER ENCLOSED

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

ATTENTION

The following documents appearing in FBI files have been reviewed under the provisions of The Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) (Title 5, United States Code, Section 552); Privacy Act of 1974 (PA) (Title 5, United States Code, Section 552a); and/or Litigation.

☐ FOIA/PA☐ Litigation☐ Executive Order Applied

Requester: _____

Subject: _____

Computer or Case Identification Number: _____

Title of Case: _____ Section _____

* File _____

Serials Reviewed: _____

Release Location: *File _____ Section _____

b2

This file section has been scanned into the FOIPA Document Processing System (FDPS) prior to National Security Classification review. Please see the documents located in the FDPS for current classification action, if warranted. Direct inquiries about the FDPS to RIDS Service Request Unit.

File Number: 100-HQ-446080 Section 43 ERFSerial(s) Reviewed: 2012

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: 983317

File Number: _____ Section _____

Serial(s) Reviewed: _____

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: _____

File Number: _____ Section _____

Serial(s) Reviewed: _____

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: _____

THIS FORM IS TO BE MAINTAINED AS THE TOP SERIAL OF THE FILE, BUT NOT SERIALIZED.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

ATTENTION**DO NOT REMOVE FROM FILE**

ENCLOSURE

100-446080-001

ENCLOSURES - 2

TAPES OF STOKELY CARMICHAEL

FOR SF AIRTEL TO BUREAU

BU FILE 100-446080

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

NOTICE

DOCUMENT CANNOT BE SCANNED

DESCRIPTION

TAPES

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

Scotch®

BRAND

recording tape

3M
COMPANY

DOUBLE LENGTH

DOUBLE STRENGTH

1/4 IN. x 2400 FT. (6.35mm x 730m)

SILICONE LUBRICATED 7" REEL

.5 MIL TENSILIZED POLYESTER BACKING

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

200

100-446080-2012

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

05E1

TIME CHART	RECORDING ONE DIRECTION			RECORDING BOTH DIRECTIONS		
	Monophonic 1 Track	Stereophonic 2 Tracks		Monophonic 2 Tracks	Stereophonic 4 Tracks*	
	1½ ips	3¾ ips	7½ ips	1½ ips	3¾ ips	7½ ips
1200 Ft.	2 hrs.	1 hr.	30 min.	4 hrs.	2 hrs.	1 hr.
1800 Ft.	3 hrs.	1½ hrs.	45 min.	6 hrs.	3 hrs.	1½ hrs.
2400 Ft.	4 hrs.	2 hrs.	1 hr.	8 hrs.	4 hrs.	2 hrs.
3600 Ft.	6 hrs.	3 hrs.	1½ hrs.	12 hrs.	6 hrs.	3 hrs.

*Double these times for 4-track monophonic recording.

NOTICE: The following is made in lieu of all warranties, express or implied: Seller's and manufacturer's only obligation shall be to replace such quantity of the product proved to be defective. Seller and manufacturer shall not be liable for any injury, loss or damage, direct or consequential, arising out of the use of or the inability to use the product. Before using, user shall determine the suitability of the product for his intended use and user assumes all risk and liability whatsoever in connection therewith. The foregoing may not be changed except by an agreement signed by officers of seller and manufacturer. THE TERM "SCOTCH" AND THE PLAID DESIGN ARE REGISTERED TRADEMARKS OF MINNESOTA MINING AND MANUFACTURING COMPANY, ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55119.

TAPE PATENTED UNDER ONE OR MORE U.S. PATENTS: 2654681, 2711901.

Magnetic Products Division **3M** COMPANY

Speech delivered by STOKELY CARMICHAEL
at a BLACK PANTHER PARTY sponsored rally held
at Marin City, California, on 8/22/68. The tape
is recorded single track at a speed of 3 3/4 IPS.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

CARMICHAEL
MARIN CITY,
CALIF. 8-22-68

MADE BY THE FERRO-SHEEN® PROCESS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

AMPEX

PROFESSIONAL RECORDING TAPE

AMPEX CORPORATION • REDWOOD CITY, CALIFORNIA, U.S.A.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

C100-98077A-001

INCHES PER SECOND	3¾ ips	7½ ips	15 ips
1200 FT.	60 min.	30 min.	15 min.
1800 FT.	1½ hrs.	45 min.	22½ min.
2400 FT.	2 hrs.	60 min.	30 min.

FOR DUAL TRACK DOUBLE THE ABOVE TIME

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT THIS REEL OF MAGNETIC RECORDING TAPE WILL MEET EVERY SPECIFICATION OF THE MANUFACTURER, UNDER NORMAL USE AND SERVICE, AND THAT THE REEL OF TAPE HAS BEEN CORRECTLY LABELED AND PACKAGED. OUR SOLE LIABILITY UNDER THIS WARRANTY SHALL BE TO REPLACE THIS REEL OF TAPE THROUGH THE DEALER FROM WHOM THE REEL WAS PURCHASED PROVIDED THE TAPE IS RETURNED WITHIN 90 DAYS FROM DATE OF SALE. THIS WARRANTY WILL NOT APPLY TO ANY REEL OF TAPE WHICH HAS BEEN TAMPERED WITH OR ALTERED IN ANY WAY, EXCEPT NORMAL RECORDING, OR WHICH HAS BEEN SUBJECTED TO MISUSE, NEGLIGENCE OR ACCIDENT.

Speech delivered by STOKELY CARMICHAEL
at a BLACK PANTHER PARTY sponsored rally held
at DeFremery Park, Oakland, California on
8/25/68. The tape is recorded single track at a
speed of 3 3/4 IPS.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

END

PARTIALLY SCANNED

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

VIA TELETYPE

OCT 17 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

WASHINGTON --1--

URGENT 10-16-68 627 PM HST PLB

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080) CODE

FROM HONOLULU (100-6465)

b7C

ATTENTION FBI LABORATORY

ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; IS - MISC.; SEDITION. OO WFO.

b7C

RE HONOLULU AIRTEL OCTOBER FIFTEEN, NINETEEN SIXTY EIGHT.

HONOLULU INTENDS TO COVER SPEECHES OF SUBJECT THROUGH
COOPERATIVE NEWS MEDIA AND CONFIDENTIAL SOURCES INCLUDING

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] WHO WILL RECORD SUBJECT'S TALKS; HOWEVER,
HONOLULU ALSO INTENDS TO HAVE AGENTS PRESENT AT PUBLIC
SPEECHES TO RECORD SUBJECT. FBI LABORATORY IS REQUESTED TO
AIRMAIL HONOLULU [REDACTED]

b2
b7C
b7D
b7E

[REDACTED] BUREAU ALSO SHOULD SHIP ADEQUATE

001-X3
REC 53

TWO OF SUBJECT'S SPEECHES ARE SCHEDULED TO BE
GIVEN AT MID-DAY IN OPEN AIR AND THIS EQUIPMENT WILL BE USED
END PAGE ONE

100-446080 2013
OCT 24 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

airtel to Hst WFO
10/18/68
8:00:7hd

J-peg

APR 19 1963

FBI

b7C

PAGE TWO

ON BODY CONCEALED ONLY UNDER A SHIRT. IF MORE UP-TO-DATE
EQUIPMENT IS AVAILABLE, THIS SHOULD BE FORWARDED.

PHYSICAL SURVEILLANCE

SUFFICIENT ~~PHYSICAL~~ SUR OF CARMICHAEL^W WILL BE CONDUCTED
TO DETERMINE HIS ACTIVITY AND CONTACTS, HONOLULU.

WFO ADVISED BY AIRMAIL.

END

RM FBI WASH DC

is the most
up-to-date
info

cc Sullivan

10/18/68

Airtel

1 - Mr. Conrad

1 - [REDACTED]

1 - Mr. Dunn

b7C

To: SACs, Honolulu (100-6465)
Washington Field (100-43503)

From: Director, FBI (100-446080) — 2013

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY, SEDITION

ReHNTel 10/16/68.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

Provided full security is assured, you are authorized to utilize Agents of your Office to record statements made by subject at public meetings.

Incorporate transcripts of subject's speeches while in Honolulu in a report.

The subject is presently in Canada.

For your information, the Bureau and the Washington Field Office have not received any information regarding the subject's trip to Honolulu. Washington Field should keep Honolulu advised as to data developed in this regard.

NOTE: Subject, black extremist leader who is affiliated with the Black Panther Party, is scheduled to arrive Honolulu on 10/24/68 and make public speeches there. Honolulu has requested equipment from the Laboratory in order to allow Agents to record speeches of subject given in public. Honolulu has noted this equipment will be concealed (ON PERSON OF AGENTS)

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

JJD: fnc (8)

NOTE CONTINUED PAGE TWO

5 NOV 1968
TELETYPE UNIT

Airtel to Honolulu
Washington Field
RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
100-446080

In connection with our investigation of the subject we have been attempting to obtain tapes of his speeches which are usually very inflammatory and contain remarks calling for violent action by Negroes. We are keeping the Department advised on a continuing basis of data developed for its consideration as to possible prosecution of the subject.

F B I

Date: 10/21/68

Transmit the following in CODE
(Type in plaintext or code)Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR AND SACS HONOLULU,
LOS ANGELES,
MOBILE,
NEW YORK
PHILADELPHIA
SAN FRANCISCO

FROM: SAC, WFO
STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RM - SNCC

A SOURCE WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE
PAST ADVISED OCTOBER TWENTYONE INSTANT THAT SUBJECT AND [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] RETURNED TO WASHINGTON, D.C. ABOUT TWO AM, OCTOBER
TWENTYONE INSTANT. THEY WILL DEPART WASHINGTON OCTOBER TWENTYTWO
NEXT FOR NEW YORK CITY. ON OCTOBER TWENTYTHREE NEXT THEY WILL
DEPART FOR CALIFORNIA. SOON THEREAFTER THEY WILL TRAVEL TO HONO-
LULU, HAWAII. EXACT TIME AND MODE OF TRAVEL NOT KNOWN TO SOURCE.

ADMINISTRATIVE

b2
b7D

OFFICES COVER SUBJECT PER BUREAU AIRTEL DECEMBER TWENTYONE
SIXTYSEVEN. MOBILE AND PHILADELPHIA FOR INFORMATION.

② - Bureau
3 - Teletype Unit
2 - WFO
WWH:rhs
(7)

EX-100

OCT 24 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

54 OCT 2 1968

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

VIA TELETYPE

OCT 18 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

WASHINGTON --1--
DEFERRED 10-18-68 PLB

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080) CODE

b7C

FROM HONOLULU (100-6465)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS - MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION. 00:WFO

RE HONOLULU AIRTEL OCTOBER FIFTEEN, LAST AND HONOLULU RADIOGRAM
OCTOBER SIXTEEN, LAST.

HONOLULU NEWSPAPERS REPORT THAT
CARMICHAEL'S

b7C

SPEAKING SCHEDULE IN HONOLULU CALLS FOR HIM TO
MAKE AN ADDRESS AT ONE P.M., OCTOBER TWENTY-FIVE, NEXT,

ANDREW'S THEATER, UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII. THIS IS AN

OPEN AIR AMPHITHEATER. HE WILL NEXT SPEAK THE SAME

EVENING AT THE CHURCH OF THE CROSSROADS LOCATED
IMMEDIATELY OFF THE CAMPUS OF THE UNIVERSITY

HAWAII. CARMICHAEL IS NEXT SCHEDULED TO SPEAK AT
A RALLY AT ONE THIRTY P.M., OCTOBER TWENTY SIX, NEXT

AT THE UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII QUADRANGLE. THIS IS AN

OPEN AIR AREA ON THE CAMPUS.

END PAGE ONE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mt/tyg

b7C

OCT 20 1968

PAGE TWO

BUREAU AUTHORITY REQUESTED FOR PERMISSION
FOR AGENT PERSONNEL TO UTILIZE [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] THE OUTDOOR SPEECHES OF

b2
b7E

CARMICHAEL, OCTOBER TWENTY FIVE AND TWENTY SIX,
NEXT.

UACB NO ATTEMPT WILL BE MADE BY AGENTS TO ENTER
AND RECORD SPEECH AT CHURCH OF THE CROSSROADS
AND THE SPEECH WILL BE COVERED AND REPORTED BY INFORMANTS.

END

FJB

FBI WASH DC

F B I

Date: 10/15/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, HONOLULU (100-6465)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISC.;
SEDITION
(OO WFO)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/ccg

The 10/15/68 edition of "The Honolulu Advertiser," a daily newspaper of Honolulu, carried a story headlined "No CARMICHAEL-WALLACE Visit Link." The article announced that STOKELY CARMICHAEL, who had recently joined the Black Panther movement, was scheduled to arrive in Honolulu on Pan American flight 3:10 p.m. 10/24/68. CARMICHAEL is scheduled to speak 1 p.m. Friday, 10/25/68, at Andrews Theater, University of Hawaii. EARLE ANTHONY, Minister of Information for the Black Panthers, will speak at 11:30 a.m. The same evening CARMICHAEL is scheduled to make an off-campus appearance at 8 p.m. but the site of the speech has not yet been decided on. The article went on to state that there would be a rally on the campus at 1:30 p.m. 10/26/68 during which CARMICHAEL will speak in the quadrangle between Hawaii, Crawford and George Halls. Saturday night there will be a dance honoring CARMICHAEL, time and place to be announced at the rally.

The news article went on to quote Black Student Union (BSU) President JUNIOUS SIMON as stating that there was no correlation between the groups inviting CARMICHAEL to Hawaii and the scheduled visit of presidential candidate GEORGE C. WALLACE. The article went on to relate that both men were scheduled to be in town on 10/26/68 but that WALLACE

- 3 - Bureau (RAM) b7C
2 - WFO (RAM)
1 - Los Angeles (info)(RAM)
1 - San Francisco (157-1204 BLACK PANTHER)(info)(RAM)
3 - Honolulu

C. C. Bishop
1 - 100-6562
1 - 157-136

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

61 OCT 28 1968

REC-700-446080-2016

OCT 17 1968

INT. SEC.

HN 100-6465

backed out yesterday and will send his brother, Circuit Judge JACK WALLACE. SIMON denied that they invited CARMICHAEL because of WALLACE. He said the newly formed BSU invited CARMICHAEL to Hawaii as a means of getting out information about the Black Panthers. He said the BSU is sponsoring CARMICHAEL's trip to Hawaii, but it does not mean that the group is identifying with Black Panther ideology.

On 10/15/68 [redacted]

[redacted] was contacted by SAC PAUL H. FIELDS, Jr., and SA [redacted] He advised as follows:

b7C

There are perhaps some 50 Negro students among the almost 17,000 full-time students registered at the University of Hawaii. A group of approximately 35 Negroes have attempted to organize under the name of the Black Student Union. They have not as yet been accredited as a student organization at the university and because they have announced that membership will only be open to those of the black race, they will undoubtedly not be given approval. However, they have received an interim acknowledgement and equipped with this, the group obtained a student loan from the Associated Students of the University of Hawaii to bring CARMICHAEL to Honolulu to speak. Contrary to the story in "The Honolulu Advertiser" of this date, members of the group were anxious to bring CARMICHAEL to Honolulu because of WALLACE's intended visit. The group had decided they would not picket or harass WALLACE; they would not even acknowledge him, but instead would invite a black speaker to talk at the university during his visit.

[redacted] stated frankly he doubts that CARMICHAEL will make the trip inasmuch as it has been announced that GEORGE WALLACE has cancelled his scheduled visit.

b7C

Honolulu intends to cover and record speeches of CARMICHAEL by use of Agents and confidential sources, including [redacted]

b7C

b7D

[redacted] As soon as the sound trained Agent in this office is able to survey the sites of CARMICHAEL's speeches, the Bureau will be advised in detail of the coverage intended.

HN 100-6465

b7C

Information copy of this airtel is being forwarded
to Los Angeles, OO for [redacted] and San Francisco,
OO for Black Panthers.

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Callahan
10/23/68

Airtel

1 - Mr. Bishop
1 -
1 -
1 -
1 - Mr. Dunn

b7C

To: SACs, WFO (100-43503)
Baltimore

From: Director, FBI (100-446080)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM - BLACK PANTHER PARTY
SEDITION

ReWFOairtel 10/23/68.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc/tam/mlt/tcc

Provided full security is assured Washington Field
Office (WFO) is authorized to utilize
and Special Agent of the Baltimore Office to
 remarks made on
10/24/68 in connection with appearances of the subject,
 in Washington, D.C.

b2
b7C
b7D
b7E

1 - 157-NEW
1 - 157-NEW

REC 53

b7C

19 OCT 24 1968

JJD:1st
(15)

EX-100

b7C

NOTE:

See cover memorandum from to W.C. Sullivan,
captioned same, dated same, prepared by JJD:fhm. Baltimore tele-
phonically instructed to have SA report to Washington Field.

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

MAILED 4

OCT 23 1968

COMM-FBI

59 OCT 30 1968 TELETYPE UNIT ☐

ORIGIN/ACTION

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

AIRGRAM

TRV. CARMICHAEL, Stokley

RM/R REP AF

ARA EUR FE

NEA CU INR

E P IO

3 57 AID

SCA PPT S/P

AGR COM FRB

INT LAB TAR

TR XMB AIR

ARMY NAVY

OSD USIA

FBI JCS NSC

1 1 6

44 A-330 NO.

UNCLASSIFIED

TO : Department of State

FROM : Amembassy MONROVIA

SUBJECT : Carmichael in Liberia

REF : Monrovia's A-337 of Sept. 19, 1968

RECEIVED HANDLING INDICATOR

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

SEP 24 1 00 PM '68

AMEMBASSY MONROVIA

DATE: September 21, 1968

REC 53 *indup*

Enclosed for the Department's information is the verbatim text of the press conference arranged by Liberian newsmen Ed BOUEY with Stokley CARMICHAEL for Bouey's Meet the Press program. The text was taken from a tape of the program. As noted in the referenced airgram, the tape was not used on Liberian radio. *CZ ECH*

Enclosure:
Transcript

b7C

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

b7C

EX-100

REC 53

NOT RECORDED

1 OCT 1 1968

ENCLOSURE

b7C

FORM 4-62 DS-323

UNCLASSIFIED

FOR DEPT. USE ONLY

☐ In ☐ Out

Drafted by: *tl* 9/19/68

Clearance: 4 OCT 30 1968

Contents and Classification Approved by: *[Signature]*

b7C

1 Xerox CC to WFO by 8-7
10/17/68 - PTV i

UNCLASSIFIED

Page 1

Encl. #1

A 338 from Monrovia

Ladies and gentlemen. Once again welcome to Meet the Press. This is Ed Bousey (EB) and once again we are at the Press Club at the Ducor Hotel. This time our guest is an internationally known leader of young people throughout the world, Mr. Stokley Carmichael (SC) and of course the moment the newsmen learned that he was going to visit Liberia, everyone looked forward to meeting him. I am happy at this time to have you hear from Mr. Carmichael. In keeping with our usual procedures, we will first ask him to make an opening statement and then we will open the floor for questions from members of the press. Ladies and gentlemen, Mr. Stokley Carmichael.

SC - Good afternoon. That sounds very American--Meet the Press. It is very un-African. That is my first statement. Secondly, I would like to say that rather than have a statement it would be much better if we had questions from the press so that I could find out what's on people's minds in Liberia and what questions I could answer. I will try to answer as honestly as possible. In that way we could get out what the people of Liberia would like to know rather than me just rambling on.

EB - Fine. We will go right over. I know the press manager is waiting. Suppose each of you identify yourself and the newspaper or the news organ that you represent.

Mr. Carmichael, I am Ernest B. McClain of the Liberian Age. Could you please explain to me the term "black power." I understand that you maybe coined this word, or I don't know what to call it.

SC - Mr. McClain, power is the ability to make phenomena act in the desired manner. Black power would be the ability for black people to make phenomena act in a desired manner. Let me give you an example. Africa is the richest continent in the world. But Africans do not control the resources of our very continent. It is controlled by outside forces, particularly white western powers. So that the resources, white western people have the power to make the resources act in a desired manner. Those resources act towards the benefit of the white western powers and against Africans. Now if we had black power in Africa, we could make the resources work for the benefit of the masses of our people. That is a clear example of black power.

Another question, Mr. Carmichael. I want you to comment on America's involvement in Vietnam because last year you went to Hanoi and, upon your return to the States, your passport was seized by the State Department and, after some legal battle, you happened to gain it back.

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SC - I should clarify that I did not get back the passport after any legal maneuvers, I got it back only after several African diplomats put pressure on the State Department; that legal maneuvers never get back a passport. As a matter of fact, legality is only there to uphold the status quo and since the State Department took my passport, no legality could get my passport back because the State Department is the most legal body there is in the U. S. In order to get the passport back, I had to use extra-legal methods. As far as the involvement of the U. S. in Vietnam, I think it is just another facet of imperialism. The U. S. is there to try and acquire a base in Vietnam so that it can attack China which is the main threat and the stumbling block to white western imperialism. Black people in the U. S. are against the war in Vietnam. We do not want peace in Vietnam. We want the Vietnamese to defeat America because the Americans have no business there and we wish that the Vietnamese people like ourselves, who are fighting for self-determination, will win their fight.

EB - Mr. Carmichael, will you review again some of the places that you covered in that last trip—that exciting trip that you made around so many parts of the globe.

SC - We went to England and we can no longer return. We went to Cuba. We went to China. We went to North of Vietnam. We went to Algeria. We went to the U.A.R. We went to Sierra. We went to Guinea. We went to Tanzania. We went to the revolutionary countries of the world.

EB - With reference to the opinions that you just expressed about Vietnam and China, I wonder if you'd just give your over-all evaluation or opinion as to communism as such versus the free world. Do you consider communism a threat or do you feel the communists are content to stay within their own territorial limits, or do you feel they will continue their aggression from one country to another?

SC - Okay. Then we should first make the major assumption correct. It is incorrect the way you stated. It is not a question of communism versus the free world. Communism is an economic system, so it will be communism versus capitalism, which is also an economic system. I am opposed to capitalism. I am unalterably opposed to capitalism. In a world conflict it would be capitalism versus imperialism, imperialism being the highest stage of capitalism. I am totally opposed to imperialism. Now then to your second question about containing communism.

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The United States of America, white people in America, say that they must protect the communist world and the main threat they say today is no longer Russia, but rather China. The U. S. has 2500 bases outside of its continental borders. China has none. There are no armed forces bases belonging to Chinese outside of China. There are 2500 American bases outside of the U. S. I think the people from Liberia can decide who is fighting who.

(laughter and background voices)

EB - How about this—looking at it just as an outsider far away from a communist country but just what we learn from the newspapers—and I myself have only been to one communist country, in Czechoslovakia. But however, the opinion we get is that the communists, whatever else they are, that each country that is communist today is communist not because the people chose communism in a free and open election, but even from the Soviet Union itself communism seemed to have moved in a path of blood.

SC - I would have to stop you right in your path not because of ill manners but because of enthusiasm for the truth. Ho Chi Minh was elected in a free election in North Vietnam which was accepted by the United Nations and signed by every major western power except the U. S. So Ho Chi Minh was elected in a free election. So you are incorrect when you say any country. You may proceed.

EB - All right. Let us assume you are right on that.

SC - It is a fact. Don't assume.

EB - Yes.

SC - It is a fact. Anybody in the room who works for the press should know that Ho Chi Minh was elected in a free election as president of North Vietnam. It is a fact.

EB - All right. Now what I am trying to get to is simply this—a very simple point now. We feel that if the communists or anybody else, whatever they choose to do, if they do it within their own territorial

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borders and don't harm anybody else, if they choose to get up every morning and stand on their heads for two hours and then walk on their hands the rest of the day, that is their business and we couldn't care less. But when they begin this matter of terror and aggression, forcing their way of life upon other people, in their countries, this is where we feel the trouble comes, see? Now what do you say about that?

SC - Why I agree wholeheartedly with you. That is why I say I wonder why is it necessary for the U. S. to have 2500 bases outside of its continental borders. If the U. S. is not trying to push its way of life, its value system and its own interests in other countries, there would be no necessity for it to have 2500 bases outside. China has no bases outside of China, so I do not see the Chinese manipulating and pushing their way of life on other people. China is not involved in Vietnam. The U. S. is in Vietnam. Why is the U. S. in Vietnam, 8000 miles away from home? Certainly it cannot be fighting for democracy, and freedom and justice. Nobody believes that any longer. Black people of the U. S. are standing proof against that. It is therefore, it's no reason - what I am saying is that what the U. S. says the communists are trying to do is, in fact, what the U. S. is doing, has been doing, and will continue to do, unless it is stopped by armed force - not by peaceful coexistence, by armed force.

EB - All right, here's a young man over here.

_____ I represent the Daily Listener. Mr. Carmichael, let us go back to your concept of black power. The late Martin Luther King advocated non-violence as a means by which to get the negro his place among the whites. Now in your concept of black power what . . . means by which you hope to attain black power?

SC - I think there are two assumptions in your statement which I disagree with. Let me clarify the latter and then I will talk about non-violence. You said that Dr. Martin Luther King, I am paraphrasing your words, if I am incorrect, correct me. You said that Dr. Martin Luther King wanted non-violence so the negroes could get their place among whites. Is that correct? That means that you are assuming that black people want to be among whites. Then you have made a conscious decision that what white people have is good and that we should fight to enter that which is already established. I think that to do that is to, what philosophers call, a priori, make a decision.

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You cannot automatically assume that what white people have is good. I think what they have is bad. I certainly don't want to be part of Vietnam. I don't want the history of the white western powers. There is not one white western country in the world that came to power without raping Africa. Not one. I wouldn't want that as my history. So to assume that the system that white people have is good is incorrect thinking. I think the correct way to do is to assume, what is the problem of black people, how to solve their problem, and what system is going to allow them to live a life as all human beings should live. If we view the situation that way, we see the black people have no problem. Their only problem is oppression from white people which reflects itself in racism and imperialism so that the solution is to wipe out racism and imperialism and then we could move on to discuss.

Now, there is then in my own mind no place for non-violence in such a struggle. I think that non-violence died with Dr. King. I admire Dr. King. I think he was a great man, full of mercy, full of compassion, and certainly very divine, because to err is human and to give is divine. Unfortunately, I am more human than I am divine. If anybody slaps me, I am going to kill them. If anybody harms my people, I am going to kill them. It is as simple as that as far as I am concerned. I do not think that you are going to get anywhere with non-violence because western imperialist powers did not make you slave through non-violence nor do they maintain their systems through non-violence. They maintain their system through violence. Then I have absolutely no problem with it at all. I am totally against any concept of peaceful coexistence. I think armed struggle is the only solution to the oppressed peoples of the world. And I say that frankly, realistically and as a person, sir, willing to join that struggle and participate in it, and will continue to do so until my death.

Mr. Carmichael, do you support the ideal of setting out the black state in America?

SC - There are a lot of problems with that at this point. . . . I think that as black people try to analyze the problem of racism; that's one of the solutions they come up with, but I think at this point we couldn't really ask for that because our safety is in our proximity to white people. Because the U. S. is so close to them, they cannot do as they would like to do to us. They cannot drop

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napalms on us or drop bombs on us because we live in their cities. To destroy us now would be, in fact, to destroy them.

I think certainly what you are going to find in the U. S. is a mental segregation of the races. Black people mentally are going to, as much as possible, are going to move away from white people, but in terms of geographically moving at this point, no, and secondly, because the white man not going to give anybody no states. Because when the white man came to America he did not beg the Indians for the land. He took it. He killed the Indians and he took the land. So that if we want states instead of talking about it we are just going to have to kill them and take it.

I hope you don't get offended at the next question, Mr. Carmichael.

SC - I would never get offended.

You see, some white American writers consider you to be a radical element. What's your comment about that?

SC - Mao Tse-tung says if the enemy is not disturbed, you are no threat.

(laughter)

EB - Mr. Carmichael, may I ask you this, please. On this program some time ago we had as our guest Senator Edward Brooke from Massachusetts in the U. S. Now, in the course of Mr. Brooke's remarks, he was asked about the position of the negro people in America who were saying that the number one problem in the U. S. was the problem of racial harmony, etc. In the course of his answer, he pointed out that he felt the fight for survival, I mean he does not say we should neglect the fight for racial justice, etc., but he felt that the fight for survival of the nation had priority over the domestic problems as such. Now I was going to ask you, in terms of some of the remarks that you made a while ago, how would you reconcile the position you apparently hold to see the communist countries succeed in this conflict at the expense of your own nation?

SC - Let us make a number of things clear. Number one, I do not see the conflict, and I made that quite clear in the beginning of the program. You do. I explained to you I don't see any conflict because

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I don't see China having any bases outside of China. I see the U. S. having its bases outside of the U. S., so I see no conflict. You see the conflict. The imperialists say they see the conflict so that for you to say that I want communism to win is at best for you to misunderstand me, at worst for you to lie about my statements, and I don't think you would do that. Since we have clarified that, we can now move on to your second point. My nation. The U. S. is not now, nor has it ever been, the nation of any black man. It has been the black man's biggest enemy.

EB - May I ask you, you do have an American passport, do you?

SC - Yes. Yes, I do. Let me explain. A whole is the sum total of its parts, is it not? And if a whole is missing some of its parts, it is not a whole. For example, if you have a car without a steering wheel, it is not a car. Or if you call it a car, it is a nonfunctioning car. Would you say that? Then if you live in America and you do not enjoy all the rights and privileges of an American, you are a nonfunctioning American. Would you not say? Do you think that people enjoy all of the rights and privileges in America? Since they do not, obviously they are nonfunctioning Americans. So that we are not concerned with the nation. It is not our nation. The nation in the U. S. has caused us more problems than anything else we know. Maybe communism would be better. It certainly can be no worse than what we've lived under for the last 400 years.

EB - Mr. Carmichael, may I just ask you this. What would be your comments on the statements of some people from America who cite whatever progress has been made, economic, social, etc., as far as the interest of the Negro people in America, how would you, do you completely discount this progress, or do you feel it is negligible in terms of the total situation?

SC - Progress must be defined by the oppressed. It cannot be defined by the oppressor. Is that correct? We say that the system of the U. S. is that which oppresses us. Until there is progression in terms of the changing of that system, there is no progress. If there is progression within that same system, there is no progression, there is only delusion.

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Mr. Carmichael, an ex-convict named Eldridge Cleaver of the Black Panthers. He is known as the minister of information. He was speaking recently to some young attorneys and he was asked what can the white man in America do to help you in your cause, and he said kill some white people or make them act in a prescribed manner. What do you think about this statement?

SC - Let me first say that I am a member of the Black Panther party. I am the Prime Minister of that party and Mr. Cleaver is the minister of information. We work very closely together and I agree 100 per cent. White people can either kill some of those white people or give us some guns or the money to buy the guns so we can kill them.

- Pause -

EB - Mr. Carmichael, there are some other press men who just . . .

SC - I can't understand why everyone seems so surprised. I think the trouble is that oppressed people are always afraid to fight for their own liberation because the oppressor has so thoroughly dehumanized them, but they are willing to fight at the drop of a hat. Liberians, for example, fought in World War II. God knows for what. They are not fighting for South Africa. It seems to me that they should be more willing to pick up a gun and fight in South Africa than to go fight in North Europe for land which they did not even get after they fought. It is a fact that people who are oppressed are afraid to face their oppressor. But there are some Africans today on the continent and abroad who are not afraid to face the oppressor. We will face them with bullets and with guns and we are willing to do that.

EB - Mr. Carmichael, I think it might be of interest if you would clarify, are you saying that you feel there is very little, or perhaps no opportunity for the black man to find what he is looking for within the present systems, that you feel an entirely new system has to be introduced in order to accomplish this.

SC - That is absolutely correct. There are two types of black groups and black spokesmen in the U. S. today. There is the black militant

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and there is the black revolutionary. Now the black militant is an angry black man who is yelling at the system to let him in. The black revolutionary wants to destroy the system. So you find a lot of black militants today who are yelling and saying the U. S. is terrible, but as soon as they get a job for about \$10,000 a year, then, well, then "maybe we could work it out" — that is a black militant. A black revolutionary says you must destroy the total system so that the masses of our people can live decently. I am not a black militant.

Mr. Carmichael, both parties in the U. S. have now lined up their candidates for the presidency. Now do you support either of them in addition to the black power movement and the Negro problem in the U. S.?

SC - You came late so we should explain to you that there is no such thing as, I use your own words, Negro problem. There is only a white problem. In relationship to that, I do not see that black people can vote for any of the candidates, any of the three candidates, please do not leave out Mr. Wallace because he is playing a very important role and he is gathering an awful lot of people around him. He is polarizing the camp. It is the job of the liberals to stop the confrontation but Mr. Wallace's job is to heighten the confrontation. It is my job to heighten the confrontation also. So you should not leave out Mr. Wallace. But I also think that what electoral politics have proven to black people this year is that we can no longer depend upon them, that they have never been any group, they have just been a trick of the bourgeoisie anyway and that political power grows out of the barrel of a gun as Mao Tse-tung says, and he is correct.

Mr. Carmichael, so in that case do you think that if Senator Robert Kennedy was alive and he had been successful in becoming the next president of the U. S. he would have helped you to solve some of your problems?

SC - White people do not help me to solve my problems. They help themselves to solve their own problems because we say it is their problem. For example, I did not invent slavery. Black people did not invent slavery. White people did. Black people do not keep

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themselves poor. White people keep us poor. Black people do not keep themselves unemployed. White people keep us unemployed and when these conditions begin to produce a violent reaction, then it is white people who produce that violent reaction. Not black people. So that if Kennedy was elected, then we could go on your statement whether or not he would have helped solve the problems. I do not think so. I think of all the candidates running Kennedy was the most fascist, he was the most fascist, and that he would have set the stage for fascism in the U. S. much easier than Humphrey, Nixon or Wallace. He was an international white supremacist of the U. S. He thought the U. S. should rule the world.

You have always advocated that black people should come together. In what form do you want this thing to happen - politically? Do you want to say that white people should have their own country or something, how do you want the black people to come together?

SC - To come together politically, economically and culturally so that we can have a single purpose, a single aim and fight our common enemy.

I am Jonathan Massaquoi from the University of Liberia. I want to know - you said it is the white man's problem, it's not a black man's problem - but also you talk about a revolutionary group and a militant group and you are not in the militant group which means - I am to understand that you are in the next group, and there are prerequisites and courses for revolution. So if Kennedy, as someone said, was not going to help - you said he was not going to help the black man, so, I mean, then just tell me briefly what is the business about this revolution?

SC - What's the business of revolution?

JM - The main idea of this revolution.

SC - A revolution means a total abrupt change, an overthrow of one and imposing of another. In governmental terms, revolution means the overthrow of one government, one governmental system, and replacing it with another governmental system. You must understand revolution. Revolution is not just the replacing of governments. For example, you've had in Africa many coups, military coups; they're not revolutions; they are just military coups, they are just people at the

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top fighting for power. Revolution is when the system, the old system, is changed totally. What does that mean?

In the U. S. black people are fighting against racism and imperialism. The system of the U. S. arouse from institution-racism and, of course, precipitates imperialism. That means that if you talk about revolution, you talk about destroying the system now that's there and replacing it with a system that does not allow racism and does not allow imperialism. Okay. So that means that you are not now involved in a revolution. Revolution comes only when you have seized power. For example, Fidel Castro fought in the Sierra Maestres for several years but that was not the Cuban revolution. The Cuban revolution did not begin until Fidel walked into Havana, chased Batista and the American lackeys out and said, "Today, this day, I claim this Island for the masses of Cuban people." On that day the revolution began.

The period preceding the revolution is called armed struggle. That's when revolutionary forces fight again the status quo, their forces. And that's a violent struggle. It's not a non-violent struggle. It's a violent struggle. And what you have now in the U. S. is the beginning of armed struggle. For example, the sniping of policemen on a regular basis in the U. S. is the beginning of that armed struggle and the dynamiting of certain factories and plants is the beginning of that terroristic activity that leads and heightens the contradictions to a full armed struggle that leads either to the victory or the defeat of the revolution.

EB - Mr. Carmichael, while you were down in Cuba, what about Che Guevara? What did you think about him?

SC - I thought very highly of him. I still do. He's one of my heroes.

EB - Most of the pressmen were here with us just two days ago when we had a press meeting with a visiting Lieutenant General from the U. S., Benjamin O. Davis, the highest ranking Negro general in the Army. Now in discussing - I mean just thinking militarily, we sort of wonder a little bit how you feel it's feasible or possible that one-tenth of a population could militarily defeat the 90 percent.

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SC - In the first place, we are not one-tenth of the population. We are much more, but let us not even deal with that. It is in a war not technology that decides who is the victor, but it is the will of the people. For example, let us take Vietnam. Here is a small, little country less than one-tenth the population of the U. S., less than one-tenth the size of the U. S., and less than one-tenth the economic wealth of the U. S., yet the Vietnamese are defeating the U. S. of America every single day.

EB - Mr. Carmichael, we have discussed this matter with some of the people from other communist countries like, say, the North Koreans both the North Koreans and the South Koreans and the Russian delegates, etc., who try to give us their side of it. However, we were generally of the opinion that U. S. - the military objectives of the U. S. Forces in Vietnam - was not to destroy North Vietnam, because I think most people would agree that the might of the U. S. Forces could wipe out Vietnam in about ten minutes if they wanted to.

SC - The objective is not to wipe out, to raze, to level Vietnam. The objective is to win. In a military campaign, the objective is to win . . . unless you are a warlike country and your budget is just geared to warfare and you need warfare in order to continue living. You wouldn't say that of the U. S., would you?

EB - Well, the South Vietnamese that were here, they tell us that they invited the U. S. in to help protect, to help them get the people, the aggressors, off of their part of the country; in other words, from the 17th parallel down, they said, was supposed to their part of the country and these people came up from the North, they said, and swept down on them and took just/all of their country, and they called in an outside friend; in fact, one or two other countries they mentioned. There are five of them altogether, I believe they said, that were helping in this effort. But the idea was they are not fighting in North Vietnam. They feel they are only fighting a defensive fight to protect their own homeland.

SC - I have read the figures of the U. S. every day, how many Vietnamese they have killed. It seems to me that North Vietnam is the fastest producing nation in the world and each of us must try to figure it out, and I don't know if North Vietnamese can

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afford to keep sending those many people every day unless the women must have found some way to speed up the reproduction basis where they reproduce children every three months, and then the children are grown within three years, because they never stop coming. Obviously that's not true. Obviously the South Vietnamese are fighting against the U. S. and if the South Vietnamese called in the U. S., at best they're cowards cause they can't fight their own fight. Got/call somebody else. (laughter) The North Vietnamese haven't called in anybody and North Vietnam is the same size as South Vietnam. North Vietnam - South Vietnam has more military power than North Vietnam, so South Vietnam is overpowered, outnumbered, out controlled, out maneuvered North Vietnam. Yet they have to call in the U. S. of America. That does not make sense to me.

EB - Well, Mr. Carmichael, we have also talked with the Tass people here and they tell us that as much as 80 percent of the military aid coming into North Korea (sic) was coming from their country. And they also stated that both China and all the other eastern European communist countries were also contributing to North Vietnam.

SC - That's a good gesture. They need to. But this is an argument that is raised time and time again against poor Vietnam. I think it is very unfair. Do you remember the Vietnamese fought the French. Who helped them when they were fighting the French? No one. They fought it by themselves. The Vietnamese believe in self-reliance. They do not depend on anyone else to fight their fight. It is their fight and they fight it. If they get any aid from any other country, it is just a bonus. This is a bonus. So that I think that every way you look at it the arguments are clearly refuted against U. S. It has absolutely no business in Vietnam. There can be no justification for it. None whatsoever. None whatsoever. According to that basis, then black people of America had the right to call Russia in to fight the U. S. because they aggressed against us. They come into our communities and shoot us down like dogs. So, therefore, we have the right to go to Russia, to China or to any other country and ask them to come in to America and fight the power structure.

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But, Mr. Carmichael, the white Americans have said that they are trying to defend democracy. What do you say about this, in Vietnam?

SC - Since I am black and live in America, I don't know what democracy means. You will have to define it for me and then having defined it, I'd have to tell you if I understand it and if I understand it, tell you if I am willing to fight for it. I cannot fight for democracy for South Vietnamese when I don't have democracy in the very country in which I live. It doesn't make sense. Now you certainly cannot think the black people have democracy in America. I mean even the most brain-washed African could see for himself the black people do not have democracy in America. And so, if you agree with me that we don't have democracy in America, doesn't it - does it make sense to go and fight for somebody else's democracy before you have your own? It is like the Algerians fighting in Vietnam. The French were oppressing the Algerians and they were running off whistling - what's the French National Anthem - running to Vietnam to kill the Vietnamese and then coming back home to have the French slap them. A man who does that is totally dehumanized. He cannot think. He is a mindless person. All he is is body and he is used. Certainly. Do you think that I could leave the U. S. of America and go to Vietnam knowing that a white man can come in and shoot my wife, slap my wife, beat up my sister or rape my mother. How could I do that? First I have to straighten out this white man and then think about going to Vietnam. (laughter)

Yes, Mr. Carmichael. Yes, I am just coming in so I want to ask you one question. And this question is in line with this Vietnamese question. I like to know your opinion of these Russians and Chinese, whether they are involved in this war, in this Vietnamese war, because we understand they are carrying Mig, these Migs and everything else.

SC - Well, I certainly think the Russians and Chinese are giving aid to Vietnam. No one has denied that. No one has denied that. As a matter of fact, I contributed to the North Vietnamese. If I had Migs, I would give them Migs. If I had bazookas, I would give them bazookas. Yes, because I believe in standing on the side of the just and as long as there's a side that is just, I will fight for the side that's just.

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No man can shut me up or make me fight against a just side. I will not fight an unjust war for anyone and I will always stand on the side of justice. That's why I support the North Vietnamese. I support the Arabs. I support the revolutionary struggles in the world today against imperialism. Because they are just fights. Because they are just fights.

Mr. Carmichael, isn't it true that the black people of the U. S., for example, is not as much concerned as what is happening in Africa like the Jews of the U. S. are concerned what is happening in the Middle East. Because somebody - I read in the paper recently, for example, why this thing happened in Nigeria and with coups and bloodshed, you don't get any effective reaction from American blacks. Just like the Jews come to put their lot of money and the Arabs, too, in the Middle East crisis.

SC - Let me - I agree with you. I do not think there's as much reaction for Africa as there is from Jews for Israel, but that is because Jewish people have never been forced to cut their ties with Israel - so-called state. As a matter of fact, they were the ones who built the so-called state of Israel. The Jewish people in the U. S. who saved their money and sent . . . because it's been a creation since 1948. Now it's different because Africans living in the U. S. have been forced politically, economically, culturally and physically to break their ties with Africa. We have been taught to be ashamed of Africa so that we have never wanted to be a part of Africa, and we've been taught that by the white man. But now I do not think that what you say is correct about the concern for Jewish people in America over Israel and black people in America over Nigeria and Biafra. They are different situations. In Israel, it is just a question of you're for Israel or you're for the Arabs. Your people or against the Arabs. In the U. S. it is different. We do not want to side with Biafra or Nigeria because what we see is a war between our people, our brothers killing each other for the white man's interest, and so we cannot really side. Our job is to try and stop our brothers from fighting. If you came into a room and you had two brothers and your two brothers were fighting because somebody was making them fight, you wouldn't side with one brother

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and beat up the other brother. You would try to get in between them and stop them from fighting. Sit them down and then reason with them. The first thing we have to do is stop them from fighting and that's why there is no over-reaction. You can't take sides when your brothers fight. You want to try and stop them from fighting first.

Yes. Another question. The late Malcolm X said that the best way to solve the Negro problem in the U. S. was to give the black man his own community. Do you agree with this preposition?

SC - We have to go back to that Negro problem again, but we have discussed that several times so we'll let it slide. I think that it's clear that black people must control our own communities in the U. S., and we must do that by any means necessary. Now I think that that's going to just prolong our struggle because I don't see how we're gonna exist inside an imperialist country and be against imperialism. I mean they would just wipe us out. But I think as long as we are conscious of those problems, then we'll try and see how to solve them.

EB - Mr. Carmichael, you made a statement in reference to your favoring the Arab cause in the Middle East. Would you state the basis or reasons for this?

SC - Yes. Absolutely. The Zionists went to Lord Balfour of England and they asked him, after World War I, for land. He gave them Palestine. He did not consult the Palestinian Arabs about it. He gave them Palestine. They then went and took Palestine. They tried to convince European Jews to come to Israel. The European Jews would not go to Israel. It was not until Hitler came along and began to massacre the Jews that Israel began to be inhabited. Then what the Zionists did were to equate the prosecution of Jews in Germany with the establishment of the so-called state of Israel. You have what is philosophically called a non sequitur, that one chain doesn't necessarily mean that another follows. Just because Jews are persecuted in Germany is no reason for them to get land from the Arabs in Palestine. So that I am against it because they took the land. I am against it because the land does belong to the Arabs and it's their land and they have to decide what is to be done with their land who can come to their land and under what conditions they can come to their land. I am against it because the Zionists have a worldwide propaganda of anti-semitism so that people are afraid to speak of the problem without being called

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Encl. #1

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anti-semitic, and the European Jews who use that do not even admit that the Arabs are also a semitic people. So that when they say that you are anti-semitic because you take the stand of the Arabs, they themselves are being anti-semitic because they are not allowing the Arabs, who are a semitic people, to be called Arabs. And I am against the so-called state of Israel because I think it's an unjust war because it's a base of imperialism to help spread its tentacles into Africa and control Africa.

EB - Mr. Carmichael, we realize that time's running out. We appreciate so much your having — I see the fellows are still requesting — maybe we can take one more question, huh? They're hitting me from all sides here. Three more questions. All right.

In answer to one of the questions, you agreed that it is good for the black people to have their community in the U. S. Please may I know why you insist that this community should be in the U. S. instead of in Africa, as one African leader has suggested once that the black people in America should come back to Africa where they originally belong.

SC - I think there are a number of reasons. I think that revolution comes about for a number of reasons, but one of the most important reasons, two of the most important reasons, must be the right time and the right people. Two very, very important reasons. I think that that's why we're going to find revolutionary warfare developing around the world because it is the right time and the right people are fighting. Now I say that because I agree that Africa is our home. There is no doubt about that. But we had a debt to pay. We can do that with an advantage for us. I am African. No matter where I am, I am African. Nobody can convince me that I am anything else but African. So that my first allegiance is to the mother continent, Africa. I recognize that Africa is not strong ^{enough} militarily to defend itself against the U. S. I know the U. S. wants to more and more control, economically, politically and culturally, Africa. I think the best protection against that would be that Africans living in the U. S. develop a nationalism to Africa so strong that if the U. S. tries in any way to intervene into Africa that Africans living within the U. S. will begin to blow it up and that becomes then a protection

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Encl. #1

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for Africa; for example, if let's say that the ANC and PAK (sic) began to really move in South Africa and the U. S. decided to intervene into South Africa. If the U. S. did that, if you could arouse the consciousness of Africans living in the U. S., they could begin to blow up the cities and force the U. S. to withdraw from its confrontation; that's one. Number two there is a debt that must be paid because we built America. I mean black people, we built it; our sweat, our blood; we picked the cotton; we made the ~~railroads~~; we built the ditches; we built it and after building the most technological power in the world, just to walk away and let it stand like that, I am sorry; I am not that forgiving. No. I have to burn it down before I leave it. And I think that that's precisely the way black people feel. Before we leave America - just walk out - we got to burn it down. We just can't leave such a beautiful country for them. No, we have got to burn it down.

Mr. Carmichael, as a man of the black power movement, could you please comment on Communist China being opposed to enter the UN?

SC - I don't know what there is to comment except to show the farce of that. I mean I guess what the UN is saying is that Communist China does not exist or, the People's Republic of China, as it is correctly called, does not exist. It is clear that it exists and they don't want it because what they are saying is that if you want to join the UN you have to do as we say. It's like childish. You know, if you had a soccer ball when you were small, a football, if somebody wanted to play football you say since it is my football, you have to play the way I say play. Isn't that childish?

How did you feel in regards to the Negro retaliating when Martin Luther King was killed? Do you think that violence could remedize the situation in America?

SC - I felt good. I felt good when I saw all those cities on fire. I felt so good, I didn't know what to do. I was so happy that for once black people had their manhood and took to the streets and burnt and shot and looted and killed and plundered. I was happy.

Mr. Carmichael, in spite of all you have been saying, I will come back to this Negro problem. You see, you said preceding a revolution

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is an armed struggle but there are underlying causes, you see, and I feel that with underlying causes you must have some sort of problem. I mean these two reacting forces trying to overthrow the system, you must have some kind of problem and I think it is a Negro problem.

SC - Well - would you define, tell me exactly what our problem is? Please tell me what is our problem?

Yes, your problem is, as you said, to spoil this system - right? Isn't it a problem in itself?

SC - Oh no, no. That is just to overthrow the system. Oh, I see what you mean. Oh, no, no. When people refer to African - American problem. What you mean to say is that we are the problem. We cause the problem. See, and that's what I am against. But I am not angry...

EB - Mr. Carmichael, we want to thank you so much indeed. Again, I realize that you've certainly given us all very much to think about. We've followed your career closely, both in the U. S. as well as the many other places that you have been around the world, and there is no question you have had tremendous impact in just about every place that you have been. Again, we are happy that you have a chance to visit us in Liberia. We are happy that you brought your charming wife to see us and hope that you both have a chance to come back to see us again soon.

SC - My wife brought me to see you. That's No. 1. I hope you run the entire tape not only on radio Liberia but also on Voice of America if you can. Thank you.

EB - We will recommend it to them by all means.

Thank you so much. This is Ed Bouey at the Press Club at the Ducor now returning you to the studio.

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AIRGRAM

TRV =
Carmichael,
FOR RM USE ONLY

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SCA	SY	PPT
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OSD	USA	
34	10	3
	FBI	JAS
	1	1

-37
NO.

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

TO : Department of State

FROM : Amembassy Monrovia

SUBJECT : The Carmichaels in Monrovia

REF : None

EMBASSY
JOINT/STATE USIS MESSAGE

Stokley Carmichael, [redacted] to Liberia, stunned local newsmen by the violence of his views in an interview in the Press Room last Friday and assured that his remarks will never hit the air-waves here.

The setting was the Press Room on the second floor of the Ducor Hotel, where the concert was to be held several hours later. Ed Bouey, one of Liberia's best known newsmen and commentators, perhaps its most knowledgeable interviewer, arranged the session which, as is usual for him with visiting celebrities, was to be taped "on location" and aired later on "Meet the Press," a weekly presentation. Last Week's guest was General Benjamin O. Davis Jr., USAF.

The tone of Carmichael's performance was set by his observation that the very title of the show was "definitely non-African" and by his changing Ed Bouey's format of an opening comment by suggesting that "you ask me questions so I can see what is on the minds of Liberians." Throughout the interview he put off the usually docile and polite newsmen by such remarks as "you have made two incorrect assumptions," "let me first clarify that last assumption," "that's your view, not mine," etc.

He could be even more abrasive as, for example, when he told Ed Bouey, "I can only say that you made that mistake because at best you misunderstood me or at worst you were lying. I assume you misunderstood me."

EX-100

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12 SEP 25 1968

Out

Drafted by:

USIS:

Clearances:

Classified by: [redacted] Political Officer

b7C

Contents and Classification Approved by:

b7C

RACIAL INT. SECT.
NAT. INT. SEC.

Hand
100 to WFO by 8-7
10/17/68 - pto files

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OCT 24 1968

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A - 337
Monrovia, Liberia
Page 2 of 4

Or again to Ed Bouey, "Well don't say 'Let's assume you are correct'; it is correct as I have said that Ho Chi Minh was elected in a free election by the people of North Vietnam. Anyone who works with the press should know that."

However, the substance of the visitor's remarks is far more relevant than the by-play. Presumably, his opinions are well known to the Agency and the Department:

The U.S. has 2,500 bases abroad, China has none. This proves that it is the United States that is trying to dominate others, not China.

White people are sworn enemies of black people. There can be no compromise with them.

The only solution to the white man's problem (It's a white problem; they're the oppressors, the imperialists; not a black problem") is through violence.

"Non-violence died with Dr. King. I agree with the Black Panther Information Minister that the only assistance white people can give us is for them to kill other white people or give us the money or the guns to do it ourselves."

Black people want America defeated in Vietnam because America has no business there.

Imperialism is the highest form of capitalism. I am unalterably opposed to capitalism.

It's wrong to say that there is a conflict between communism and capitalism. I'm not advocating communism. But it might be a better system for the black man than what he has had already. It certainly couldn't be worse.

There is a difference between a black militant and a black revolutionary. The militant is angry with the system and is yelling, "Let me in." Once he gets a job paying about \$10,000, he says, "well, perhaps it isn't so bad." The black revolutionary wants to destroy the system entirely. I am not a black militant.

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As Mao says, power grows out of the barrel of a gun.

Had Robert Kennedy been elected President, he would not have helped the black man's cause. As a matter of fact, he was the most Fascist of the candidates. He would have done most to set the stage for Fascism in the United States. He was an international white supremacist. He thought the U.S. should run the entire world.

As indicated at the outset, many of these views were upsetting to newsmen because they were almost totally unprepared for the violence contained and advocated in them. At one point, Carmichael himself recognized this, commenting, "I can't understand why everyone is so surprised. Oppressed people are always afraid to face their oppressors." He went on to say that American blacks are not afraid, that the systematic picking off of policemen by gun fire was one evidence of this, that the blowing up of factories was another, and that armed struggle is the only solution.

In point of fact, it was Carmichael's use of such terms as "armed struggle," "overthrow of the government," "destroy the system," "kill," "Mao says...", etc., that seemed to unnerve the newsmen most. Add to this the attack on Kennedy (an almost sacred name in Africa) and the implied attack on Dr. King (also a venerable name), and it is safe to say the Liberian newsmen were frightened by Carmichael.

What they expected, it seems to this writer, was a hard-hitting anti-American speech. They got more--much that is anti-American, to be sure, but also a good deal that has implications for Liberia and any other country. His talk of "overthrow", for example, comes only a few months after Liberia's ranking Ambassador was convicted of treason. The killing of prominent people, a Carmichael theme, was one of important elements in the treason trial. His quoting of such figures as Mao and Ho was somewhat shocking to newsmen in a country which has an almost pathological aversion to communism. And his talk to newsmen, themselves mainly of "the establishment"/^{about} "oppressed people" in a society with great problems of tribal integration was, to say the least, discomforting.

We understand that Carmichael made a number of similar remarks during a brief talk at the Gabriel Cinema where his wife gave a concert for the general public (as opposed to the two for more prestigious groups at the Ducor). The report is that he was wildly cheered. He is said to have pictured the black man throughout the world as oppressed by white people and to have said that killing white people is the only solution to the problem.

He asked how Africans could be so naive as to believe that white countries were interested in helping them in their development when 1) the white people were taking out Africa's wealth to begin with, and 2) the whites were dominating and mistreating black people in countries, such as the U.S. where they are living together. He continued to assert that the whole of Africa (presumably Liberia included), not just South Africa, etc., is under the domination of white people of the West and called upon Africans to unite, take up arms, and get rid of this domination.

As indicated, Carmichael is said to have "brought the house down" with such remarks. In a "nameless" or anonymous gathering such as this, it is not hard to believe that the reaction was enthusiastic. However, among pressmen who are aware of government policy, of Liberia's own social problems, the reaction would be far different.

And so it was. Ed Bouey told several people when the interview was over that he doubted he would be able to broadcast it. "They wouldn't let me play my interview with Malcolm X," Bouey said in reference to authorities of ELBC, "so I know they won't permit this. Malcolm was not nearly so rough as Carmichael."

As it turned out, Ed Bouey was right. He told the reporting officer later that upon his arrival at the station, he "met" orders that the tape was not to be played. However, the reporting officer believes this had less to do with government's disinclination to antagonize the U.S. as with the disturbing nature of Carmichael's performance as a threat to any existing government, especially governments in Africa. It is true also that no Liberian newspaper reported the Carmichael statements.

Apart from these Carmichael appearances, he was in the spotlight briefly during [redacted] especially the one attended by [redacted] on Friday night. At the close of the [redacted] and greeted the other guests at the head table. [redacted] as the audience cheered. Then he summoned Stokley Carmichael to the head table and shook hands with him. This, too, was cheered. Word got around later that [redacted] definitely did not enjoy [redacted]

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LIBERIA

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F B I

Date: 10/15/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, WFO (157-2013)

SHOOTING OF ELIJAH BENNETT.
NEGRO, MALE, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] AFTERNOON OF 10/8/68

RM

Enclosed for the Bureau are 14 copies of an LHM dated and captioned as above. LHM is classified "~~Confidential~~" in order to further protect the identities of confidential sources who have furnished information contained therein.

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

- 6 - Bureau (Enc. 14)
- (1- 100-446080) (STOKELY CARMICHAEL)
 - (1- 157-8471) (BLACK UNITED FRONT)
 - (1- 157-8788) (NEW SCHOOL OF AFRO-AMERICAN THOUGHT)
- 4 - WFO
- (1- 100-43503) (STOKELY CARMICHAEL)
 - (1- 157-1426) (BLACK UNITED FRONT)
 - (1- 157-1313) (NEW SCHOOL OF AFRO-AMERICAN THOUGHT)

GP:bjr
(10)

ENCLOSURE

AGENCY: CRD, ISD, IIO, RIG, CD,
ACSI, OSI

HOW FORW:

DATE FORW: OCT 17 1968

BY:

ORIGINAL FILED IN 157-6-53-1617

51 OCT 29 1968

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

NOT RECORDED
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Per

WFO 157-2013

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

The Intelligence Division of the Metropolitan Police Department advised that they did not record speech made by STOKELY CARMICHAEL at Black United Front rally inasmuch as he did not use a "bull horn" when making his speech, and it was, therefore, impossible to record his remarks.

Enclosed LHM has been disseminated locally by WFO to AUSA, Washington, D. C., OSI, NISO, 116th MIG, and U. S. Secret Service.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C. 20535

October 15, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (U)

SHOOTING OF ELIJAH BENNETT, NEGRO,
MALE, [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]
AFTERNOON OF OCTOBER 8, 1968

On October 10, 1968, a confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised he had learned from [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] that a meeting had been held at the home of [REDACTED] on October 9, 1968. The meeting was attended by approximately sixty people, and plans were made to hold a demonstration at the Metropolitan Police Department's Thirteenth Precinct at 1:00 p.m. on October 12, 1968, to be climaxed by a march from the precinct to the home of Washington Mayor Walter Washington.

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[REDACTED] mentioned above, is a publicly identified pacifist organization who in the past has demonstrated against the draft, nuclear testing, and the war in Vietnam.

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg
ON 03-01-2006

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (U)

100-446080-

ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE

SHOOTING OF ELIJAH BENNETT, NEGRO,
MALE, [REDACTED]

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AFTERNOON OF OCTOBER 8, 1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (U)

The Committee for Emergency Support, mentioned above, was established during the Summer of 1967, and according to public statements, is prepared to assist the Black community should they adopt unconventional means to correct social injustice.

According to the above source, [REDACTED] stated that the demonstration would be conducted by a coalition, including the WSP, Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), the Black United Front (BUF), and the Committee for Emergency Support.

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The BUF mentioned above, is a coalition of Negro organizations in Washington, D. C., formed in January, 1968, under the leadership of Stokely Carmichael, former national chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). Characterizations of SNCC and SDS are attached hereto in the appendix.

On October 12, 1968, Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation observed that at approximately 1:00 p.m. a rally was commenced at the Thirteenth Precinct, 1620 V Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. Approximately 100 persons were present when the rally started, and an estimated 200 were present at about 2:00 p.m. [REDACTED] mentioned above, was observed driving throughout the area with loud speakers maintained on the top of his automobile urging people to attend the rally. [REDACTED] also served [REDACTED]

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (U)

SHOOTING OF ELIJAH BENNETT, NEGRO,
MALE, [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]
AFTERNOON OF OCTOBER 8, 1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (U)

of the rally and stated its purpose was to protest the shooting of Elijah Bennett and to make plans for remedial action in the street. Among those who spoke briefly at the rally were the Rev. Channing Phillips, D. C. delegate to the National Democratic Convention; Rev. William A. Wendt, Pastor, St. Stephen and the Incarnation Church, 16th and Newton Streets, N. W., Washington, D. C.; William Willett of the SDS; Monroe Freedman of George Washington University; George Washington Hart of Build Black, Inc., an organization formed after the April, 1968, disturbance to encourage Blacks to rebuild and control businesses in Washington, D. C.; John Karr, Co-Chairman of the D. C. Lawyers Committee; Charles Cassell, Co-Chairman of BUF; and Mayor Walter Washington. The theme of the speeches was community control of the police and expressions of sorrow and anger over the death of Elijah Bennett. Charles Cassell stated that police brutality was prevalent in the ghetto area of the city. He stated that police are racist, and that Mayor Washington is a tool of the establishment who was appointed to office rather than elected. He further charged Mayor Washington has had no contact with the people and has not been responsive to problems in the community. Cassell stated that the BUF wants the Black community to control the Police Department.

Mayor Washington urged calm and understanding and apologized for existing problems in the area of police - community relations. He urged the crowd to support him.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (U)

SHOOTING OF ELIJAH BENNETT, NEGRO,
MALE, [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]
AFTERNOON OF OCTOBER 8, 1968

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Cassell again spoke and repeated the above condition concerning control of police for the community.

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An unidentified Negro, male, who subsequently was identified by [REDACTED] who has furnished reliable information in the past, as Cornelius Brown, member of the Board of Conveners of BUF, spoke and advised the crowd to carefully weigh what had been said. He implied that [REDACTED] and others were outsiders trying to stir up trouble. He told the crowd to "cool it".

The rally had broke up at approximately 2:45 p.m., and there were no incidents or arrests. There were placards in the crowd, three of which read:

"Shoot me for Jaywalking"
"Peace in the Streets"
"Community Control over Fuzz"

In addition, a handbill entitled, "Stop The Killings!", and a petition captioned "Petition to the District of Columbia", were distributed, copies of which are attached hereto.

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[REDACTED] who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on October 12, 1968, that a rally sponsored by BUF to protest the shooting of Elijah Bennett would be held at the New School of Afro-American Thought (NSAAT), 2115 14th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., at 3:00 p.m. on that date instead of the Meridian Hill Park as originally announced. The source stated that Stokely Carmichael, Gaston Neil of the NSAAT, C. Sumner Stone, Jr. of BUF, and Charles Cassell were scheduled to speak.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (U)

SHOOTING OF ELIJAH BENNETT, NEGRO,
MALE, [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

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AFTERNOON OF OCTOBER 8, 1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (U)

The New School of Afro-American Thought, mentioned above, has been publicly described as the headquarters for a small group of self-supporting artists and educators who are attempting to spread a message that Black people should be proud of being Black through classes given in Negro history, African languages, and arts.

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b7D Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and [REDACTED] who has furnished reliable information in the past, observed at the rally in front of the NSAAT, which began at approximately 3:00 p.m. on October 12, 1968, with approximately 300 people present. Stokely Carmichael, Gaston Neil, C. Sumner Stone, and Charles Cassell all spoke and stressed the need for community control of the Police Department. Carmichael told those present that when a Black citizen is killed, someone should kill a white cop, and that the Negro community should give the Black man a medal just as they do in Vietnam. Carmichael further stated that if this was done, there would not be so many white policemen killing Black men.

C. Sumner Stone, Jr. read a list of names of Black people who have been killed by police officers in Washington, D. C. He advocated control of the Police Department by the Black community, and stated that if within seven days Mayor Washington did not name a Negro as Chief of Police, the Mayor's resignation would be requested.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (U)

SHOOTING OF ELIJAH BENNETT. NEGRO.
MALE, [REDACTED]

b7C

[REDACTED]
AFTERNOON OF OCTOBER 8, 1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (U)

Both Charles Cassell and Gaston Neal spoke and stressed the need for community control of the police.

The above rally broke up at approximately 4:15 p.m. Donations for the family of Elijah Bennett were solicited near the close of the rally. The crowd disbursed quietly and ordinarily, and there were no incidents or arrests.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (U)

APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anti-communist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

PETITION TO THE GOVERNMENT
OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

WE THE UNDERSIGNED CITIZENS OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
DO HEREBY PETITION THE CITY GOVERNMENT TO STOP THE MURDER
OF UNARMED BLACK CITIZENS IN THIS CITY BY ARMED WHITE
POLICE OFFICERS. WE DEMAND THAT THIS BE DONE BY IMMEDIATELY
IMPLEMENTING THE BLACK UNITED FRONT'S PROPOSAL FOR COMPLETE
COMMUNITY CONTROL OVER ALL POLICE OFFICERS AND OFFICIALS
ASSIGNED TO OUR COMMUNITIES.

NAME

ADDRESS

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

OCT 17 1968

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

FBI WASH DC*

FBI BOSTON

6:20PM URGENT 10-17-68 RDS

TO DIRECTOR, BALTIMORE & WFO

FROM BOSTON (157-437) 1P

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RM.

RE BOSTON CALL TO BALTIMORE THIS DATE.

CARMICHAEL ARRIVED BOSTON AT INTERNATIONAL TERMINAL APPROX.

TWO PM INSTANT. ACCOMPANIED BY TWO FEMALES AND THREE MALE UNKNOWN NEGROES. PROCEEDED TO STATION WGBH, BOSTON, MASS. WHERE HE VIDEO TAPED A PRESS INTERVIEW BY BOSTON NEGRO NEWSMEN. PROGRAM "SAY BROTHER" WILL BE SHOWN ON LOCAL CHANNEL TWO, NINE THIRTY PM INSTANT. BOSTON WILL MAKE TAPE RECORDING OF SUBJECTS REMARKS. SUBJECT DEPARTED LOGAN AIRPORT ABOARD EASTERN AIRLINES FLIGHT NO. FIVE SIX ONE AT FIVE THIRTY PM, DESTINATION BALTIMORE, ARRIVAL TIME SIX THIRTY P.M.

CARMICHAEL ACCOMPANIED BY TWO FEMALES LISTED ON TICKETS

END

CAB

FBI WASH DC*CC-MR. TRAINOR

ROOM 1836 9&D

TELETYPED TO:

56 OCT 28 1968

REC 27

EX 110

OCT 21 1968

TELETYPE UNIT

SEC. DON WILLET DIA

MAILED

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

F B I

Date: 10/17/68

Transmit the following in CODE
(Type in plaintext or code)Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

b7c

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI AND SAC, BALTIMORE

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; RACIAL MATTERS

SOURCE WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST
ADVISED ON OCTOBER SEVENTEEN INSTANT SUBJECT ARRIVING AT
FRIENDSHIP INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT FROM BOSTON SIX FORTY-FIVE P.M.
THIS DATE. SUBJECT WOULD TRAVEL DIRECTLY TO BALTIMORE FOR A
PROGRAM AT MOUNT ZION METHODIST CHURCH, THIRTY FIFTY LIBERTY
HEIGHTS AVENUE, COMMENCING EIGHT P.M. THIS DATE.

ADMINISTRATIVE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

ABOVE

b2

b7D

BALTIMORE COGNIZANT.

EX 110
REC 27

- ② - Bureau
3 - Teletype Unit
2 - WFO

WWH/mee
(7)

cc MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

2 OCT 21 1968

Approved:

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

VIA TELETYPE
OCT 18 1968
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

b7C

WA 1 1220AM WJH

URGENT 10/18/68 WJH

TO DIRECTOR AND WFO

PLAINTEXT

ATTN. DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM BALTIMORE (100-24220)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; RM.

SUBJECT ARRIVED AT FRIENDSHIP AIRPORT SIX FORTY-TWO P.M. ABOARD

EASTERN AIRLINS FLIGHT FIVE SIX ONE FROM BOSTON ACCOMPANIED BY

[REDACTED] AND UNIDENTIFIED NEGRO FEMALE. THEY PROCEEDED DIRECTLY TO MT.

ZION METHODIST CHURCH, BALTO. IN A WHITE OLDSMOBILE, DC LICENSE [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] DRIVEN BY UNIDENTIFIED NEGRO MALE. SUBJECT

WAS SCHEDULED TO SPEAK AT MEETINGS SPONSORED BY THE SOUL SCHOOL, BALTIMORE AT THAT CHURCH.

BALTIMORE CITY PD ADVISED MEETING ENDED TEN THIRTY P.M. AND

CARMICHAEL LEFT THE AREA IN SAME CAR AND AS OF TEN FIFTY-FIVE P.M.

WAS TRAVELING TOWARD WASHINGTON, D.C.

END PAGE ONE

EX 110 REC 27

100-446080-2023

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

TELETYPED TO:

OCT 18 1 13 PM 1968

2 OCT 21 1968

WFO
56 OCT 28 1968

REC'D DOM INTELL DIA

PAGE TWO

BA (100-24220)

ADMINISTRATIVE

RE BOSTON TEL CALL TEN SEVENTEEN LAST.

SOURCES ARE BEING CONTACTED FOR DETAIL INFORMATION.

WFO COGNIZANT.

APPROPRIATE LOCAL AND FEDERAL AGENCIES ADVISED.

LHM FOLLOWS.

END

WA...RM FBI WASH DC

CCNY SENT AG AND IDIU

K-Rosen

CC MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

FBI

Date: 10/2/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____ (Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080) AND
SAC, WASHINGTON FIELD
(ATTN. DID)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-153751)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

Re WFO tel to Bureau and NY, 9/24/68; NY tel to Bureau and WFO, 9/27/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies and for WFO 2 copies of an LHM dated and captioned as above.

Copies of the LHM have been disseminated to the following local intelligence agencies: 108th MI Group, NISO, OSI, Secret Service, USA, EDNY and USA, SDNY.

LHM is Pan American Airline official mentioned in Pan American Airlines, JFK, NYC.

Agents observing subject and [redacted] arrive at JFK
airport were SAS [redacted] 24

3- Bureau (Encls. 11) (REC 49)
2- Washington Field (Encls. 2) (RM)
1- New York

BJW:tf

(7)

1008 #43

Approved:

Sent _____ M

Special Agent in Charge

CONFIDENTIAL

NY 100-153751

Us Custom officials conducting search of subject's and [] luggage at JFK airport were []
Badge No. [] and [] Badge No. [] The search
of the luggage revealed no pertinent information.

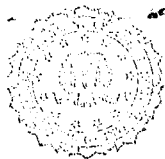
b7C

Confidential source mentioned in LHM is []
[]

b7C

b7D

This communication is classified "~~Confidential~~"
because disclosure of the identities of sources used
herein may jeopardize their future effectiveness and have
an adverse effect on the defense interests of the US.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

New York, New York
October 2, 1968

Bufile 100-446080
NYfile 100-153751

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (U)

Stokely Carmichael

b7C Stokely Carmichael [redacted] observed arriving 4:00 AM, September 27, 1968, at John F. Kennedy Airport, New York City, aboard Pan American Airline Flight 151, from Dakar, Africa. Carmichael [redacted] baggage was searched by United States Custom Officials at airport and no pertinent information was obtained. Carmichael [redacted] observed departing airport in a 1968 Ambassador rented vehicle, New York license 22940.

b7C A Pan American Airline official advised that [redacted]

b7C b7D A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that a 1968 Rambler, New York license 22940 was observed in front of Carmichael's parents residence, [redacted] New York, the morning of September 27, 1968.

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg
ON 03-01-2006

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (U)

~~GROUP I
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~ (U)

- 1* -

100-446080-2024

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

ENCLOSURE

F B I

Date: 10/23/68

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via A I R T E L

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RMALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

Re WFO teletype to Bureau 10/23/68.

For information of Baltimore, the 10/23/68 edition of "The Washington Post" reported that Olympic medal winners TOMMIE SMITH and JOHN CARLOS dropped from the Mexico City games for a black power demonstration last week. They are scheduled to begin a nationwide speaking tour in Washington, D.C., on 10/24/68. STOKELY CARMICHAEL reportedly said the Washington, D.C., engagements were arranged by him and that they would respond to questions at a press conference at 11:00 a.m., on 10/24/68. At 1:00 p.m., they will appear in front of Frederick Douglass Memorial Hall at Howard University. At 3:30 p.m., they will appear at the New School of Afro-American Thought, 2115 14th St., N.W., Washington, D.C.

In connection with appearances made by CARMICHAEL, Bureau authority requested to provide _____

_____ to cover the above events and attempt to record any seditious or inciting to riot statements made by CARMICHAEL.

- 3 - Bureau
- 2 - Baltimore (RM)
- 1 - WFO
- WWH/mec
- (6)

A I R T E L

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

Per _____

b7C

b2

b7D

REC 27

1 OCT 25 1968

RACIAL SECT.

88 NOV 4 1968

WFO 100-43503

In addition, Bureau authority requested to approve the availability of SA [redacted] of the Baltimore Office to travel to Washington, D.C., for one day assignment on 10/24/68, to cover the above activity with concealed tape recorder and attempt to record any seditious or inciting to riot statements made by CARMICHAEL. b7C

Other approved Bureau sources being directed to cover the above events. However, they will not be provided with recording devices, but will make notes of CARMICHAEL's remarks where possible.

The Metropolitan Police Department also is planning coverage of the above activities and will attempt to record any pertinent statements by CARMICHAEL.

Baltimore cognizant.

VIA TELETYPE

OCT 18 1968

ENCIPHERED

WA...06

FBI NEW YORK

5-03 PM URGENT 10-18-68 WPK

TO DIRECTOR AND WASHINGTON FIELD (CODE)

ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM NEW YORK 100-153751 2P

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; RACIAL MATTERS.

A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE, WITH WHOM INSUFFICIENT
CONTACT HAS BEEN MADE TO DETERMINE RELIABILITY, FURNISHED THE
FOLLOWING INFORMATION REGARDING THE FUTURE APPEARANCES OF
[REDACTED] OCTOBER TWENTY, ONE NINE SIX EIGHT, APPEARING
IN PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA; OCTOBER TWENTY FOUR THROUGH
NOVEMBER THIRTEEN, NEXT, AT THE FAIRMONT HOTEL, SAN FRANCISCO,
CALIFORNIA; NOVEMBER SEVENTEEN, NEXT, AT WASHINGTON, D.C.;
NOVEMBER TWENTY FOUR, NEXT, AT DETROIT, MICHIGAN; JANUARY ONE
THROUGH JANUARY THIRTY ONE, NEXT, STOCKHOLM, SWEDEN; FEBRUARY
SEVENTEEN THROUGH MARCH TWO, NEXT, APPEARING AT MR. KELLY'S
IN CHICAGO, ILLINOIS. SOURCE ADVISED THAT HE DOES NOT KNOW THE
CURRENT WHEREABOUTS OF [REDACTED]

NYC.

REC-68

100-446080-2006

END PAGE ONE

EX-101

4 OCT 25 1968

56 OCT 31 1968

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

PAGE TWO

ADMINISTRATIVE

CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE MENTIONED [REDACTED]

b7C

b7D

LHM TO FOLLOW.

END

WA...JDR

FBI WASH DC

b7C

[REDACTED] NYO, instructed
to cut in photo. by tel, and
other office indicated by mail / LK
745 10/18/67

MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 537

OCT 10 2 14 PM 1967

VIA TELETYPE

OCT 22 1968 *W*

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

WASHINGTON 01

DEFERRED 10-22-68 10-07 AM HST PAN

TO DIRECTOR AND WFO ENCODED

b7C

FROM HONOLULU (100-6465)

ST
Bo STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY,
SEDITION. BUFILE ONE HUNDRED DASH FOUR FOUR SIX ZERO EIGHT
ZERO.

REBUAIRTEL OCTOBER EIGHTEEN LAST AND WFORAD INSTANT.

b7C

ON OCTOBER TWENTYONE LAST

ADVISED HONOLULU POLICE THAT DATE

THAT CARMICHAEL HAD CHANGED ITINERARY AND WOULD NOT ARRIVE

Honolulu until about midnight October
~~HONOLULU 7,581-7979-83,84-59-59934 TWENTYNINE NEXT,~~

b7C

"HONOLULU ADVERTISER," DAILY NEWSPAPER OF HONOLULU,

THIS DATE REPORTED SUBJECT WOULD ARRIVE HONOLULU EVENING OF

OCTOBER TWENTYNINE NEXT, ACCOMPANIED BY EARLE ANTHONY,

MINISTER OF INFORMATION FOR BLACK PANTHER MOVEMENT. ANTHONY,

ACCORDING TO ARTICLE, IS SCHEDULED TO SPEAK ELEVEN THIRTY A.M.,

OCTOBER THIRTY, AT KENNEDY THEATER ON EAST-WEST CENTER CAMPUS,
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII, AND CARMICHAEL *EX 100* SPEAK ONE THIRTY P.M.,

OCTOBER THIRTYONE NEXT, AT ANDREWS OUTDOOR THEATER ON THE OCT 25 1968

END PAGE ONE

TELETYPED TO:

b7C

54 OCT 31 1968 *F T B*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

HN 100-6465

PAGE TWO

UNIVERSITY CAMPUS. HE WILL SPEAK SEVEN THIRTY P.M. SAMSDATE
AT CHURCH OF THE CROSSROADS, AND DEPART HONOLULU THAT EVENING
OR NEXT MORNING.

IN ACCORDANCE WITH AUTHORITY GRANTED BY REFERENCED
AIRTEL, HONOLULU WILL UTILIZE AGENTS TO RECORD CARMICHAEL'S
SPEECH ANDREWS OUTDOOR THEATER. OTHER SPEECHES WILL BE
COVERED THROUGH INFORMANTS AND CONFIDENTIAL SOURCES.

LOS ANGELES, OO ADVISED AIRMAIL.

b7C

END

REPHASE PLS

FJB

FBI WASH DC

((- MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. Sullivan *MS*

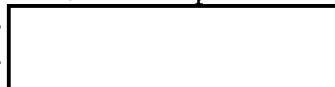
DATE: 10/23/68

FROM : 

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan

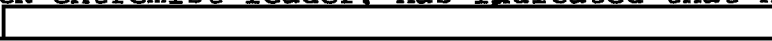
Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY
SEDITION

1 - Mr. Callahan
1 - Mr. Bishop
1 - 
1 - 
1 - Mr. Dunn

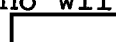
b7C

Recommended that Washington Field Office (WFO) be authorized to utilize racial source and Negro Special Agent from Baltimore Office to tape-record remarks of subject in Washington, D. C., 10/24/68.

ALV Carmichael, black extremist leader, has indicated that he has made arrangements for 

b7C

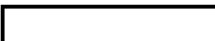

Two locations are known at this time and they are a public meeting at Howard University, Washington, D. C., and the new school of Afro-American Thought which is located on 14th Street, Northwest, Washington, D. C.

In connection with our continuing investigation of Carmichael and our efforts to develop prosecutable information regarding him, WFO has requested authority to use a racial source -  - and SA  a Negro Agent assigned to the Baltimore Office. This matter has been coordinated by WFO with Baltimore. SA  being utilized to preclude detection of WFO Negro Agents who may be known to Negro extremists who will be present at Carmichael's speeches. The racial source and SA  will wear concealed recording equipment.

b2
b7C
b7D

ACTION:

* Baltimore telephonically instructed to have this Agent report to Washington Field. *S.O. 1-3*

Sent 10/23
If approved, the attached airtel will be directed to WFO and Baltimore advising that if full security is assured,  and SA  of Baltimore Office may be used to record the speeches on 10/24/68 utilizing concealed equipment.

b2
b7C
b7D

Enclosure
100-446080

1 - 157-NEW
1 - 157-NEW

59 OCT 26 1968
JSD:fmh (11)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

b7C

F B I

Date: 10/18/68

CODE

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via _____

TELETYPE

URGENT

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR AND SAC, PHILADELPHIA

FROM: SAC, WFO

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; RACIAL MATTERS.

m

SOURCE WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE
PAST ADVISED THIS DATE THAT SUBJECT WOULD TRAVEL TO LIN-
COLN UNIVERSITY, CHESTER, PENNSYLVANIA, IN CONNECTION WITH
APPEARANCE OF [REDACTED] AT THAT INSTITUTION.

See index

SUBJECT'S MODE OF TRAVEL AND DATE OF RETURN IS UNKNOWN TO
SOURCE.

ADMINISTRATIVE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

ABOVE SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

2-Bureau
3-Teletype Unit
2-WFO (100-43503)

HGE:rak
(7)

MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

54 OCT 30 1968

Approved: *[Signature]*
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M. Per _____

b2
b7D

100-446080-2029

OCT 25 1968

EX-105

F B I

Date: 10/23/68

Transmit the following in _____

PLAINTEXT

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE

URGENT

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

b7C

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI AND SAC, SAN FRANCISCO

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RM

REWFOTELS, OCTOBER TWENTY-ONE AND TWENTY-THREE LAST,

FOR INFORMATION OF SAN FRANCISCO, HONOLULU ADVISED BY
TELETYPE OCTOBER TWENTY-TWO LAST AS FOLLOWS:

D. Smith

"ON OCTOBER TWENTYONE LAST [REDACTED]

b7C

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

ADVISED HONOLULU POLICE THAT DATE THAT

CARMICHAEL HAD CHANGED ITINERARY AND WOULD NOT ARRIVE

HONOLULU UNTIL TWENTYNINE NEXT.

b7C

"'HONOLULU ADVERTISER,' DAILY NEWSPAPER OF HONOLULU, THIS
DATE REPORTED SUBJECT WOULD ARRIVE HONOLULU EVENING OF OCTOBER

TWENTYNINE NEXT, ACCOMPANIED BY EARLE ANTHONY, MINISTER OF

INFORMATION FOR BLACK PANTHER MOVEMENT

2 - Bureau

3 - Teletype Unit

2 - WFO

WWH:sas
(7)

OCT 23

OCT 23 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

RECEIVED OCT 23 1968

54 NOV-4 1968

Approved

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

WFO 100-43503

PAGE TWO

INFORMATION FOR BLACK PANTHER MOVEMENT. ANTHONY, ACCORDING TO ARTICLE, IS SCHEDULED TO SPEAK ELEVEN THIRTY A.M., OCTOBER THIRTY, AT KENNEDY THEATER ON EAST-WEST CENTER CAMPUS, UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII, AND CARMICHAEL WILL SPEAK ONE THIRTY P.M., OCTOBER THIRTYONE NEXT, AT ANDREWS OUTDOOR THEATER ON THE UNIVERSITY CAMPUS. HE WILL SPEAK SEVEN THIRTY P.M. SAME DATE AT CHURCH OF THE CROSSROADS, AND DEPART HONOLULU THAT EVENING OR NEXT MORNING.

"IN ACCORDANCE WITH AUTHORITY GRANTED REFERENCED AIRTEL, HONOLULU WILL UTILIZE AGENTS TO RECORD CARMICHAEL'S SPEECH ANDREWS OUTDOOR THEATER. OTHER SPEECHES WILL BE COVERED THROUGH INFORMANTS AND CONFIDENTIAL SOURCES.

"LOS ANGELES, OO [REDACTED] ADVISED AIRMAIL."

SAN FRANCISCO BE ALERT FOR ARRIVAL OF CARMICHAEL IN SAN FRANCISCO AREA PRIOR TO PROCEEDING TO HONOLULU TO FILL THE ABOVE ENGAGEMENT [REDACTED] IS REPORTEDLY

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

WFO 100-43503

PAGE THREE

SCHEDULED TO HAVE PERSONAL APPEARANCE AT FAIRMONT HOTEL,
SAN FRANCISCO, BEGINNING OCTOBER TWENTY-FOUR NEXT. SAN
FRANCISCO FURNISH HONOLULU WITH ANY PERTINENT INFORMATION
DEVELOPED REGARDING THE VISIT OF CARMICHAEL OR
TO HAWAII.

b7C

cc - MR. T. AINOR
ROOM 836 9&DApproved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date: 10/24/68

Transmit the following in _____

PLAIN

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via **TELETYPE****URGENT**

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI, AND SACS HONOLULU
LOS ANGELES
NEW YORK
SAN DIEGO
SAN FRANCISCO

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; RM.

RE WFO TELETYPE OCTOBER TWENTYTHREE LAST.

SUBJECT DEPARTED DULLES AIRPORT FIVE FORTYFIVE P.M., EST,
OCTOBER TWENTYFOUR INSTANT VIA UNITED AIRLINES FLIGHT FIFTYSEVEN
EN ROUTE TO SAN FRANCISCO, DUE TO ARRIVE FIVE FIFTEEN P.M. PST.

ADMINISTRATIVE

OFFICES COVER SUBJECT PER BUAIRTEL, DECEMBER TWENTYONE
LAST.

NEW YORK INFO.

SAN FRANCISCO COGNIZANT. P.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/ml

- 2 - Bureau
3 - Teletype Unit
2 - WFO

WWH:lt
(7) TRAINOR
ROOM 236 980

5 NOV 5 - 1968

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

FBI WASH DC*

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

OCT 25 1968

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

FBI SAN FRAN

1:34AM DEFERRED 10-25-68 GWS

TO: DIRECTOR, WFO AND NEW YORK
FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-721)
SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM

b7C

RE WFO TELETYPE TO DIRECTOR, ET AL AND WFO TEL CALL
TO SF THIS DATE.

SUBJECT ARRIVED SF INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT AT EIGHT
TWENTY-FIVE PM THIS DATE ABOARD UAL FLIGHT FIFTY SEVEN ACCOMPANIED
BY A NEGRO FEMALE IN EARLY TWENTIES, APPROXIMATELY FIVE FOOT TWO
WEARING SHORT NATURAL HAIR STYLE. SUBJECT AND FEMALE PICKED UP
AND DRIVEN TO FAIRMONT HOTEL IN SAN FRANCISCO BY LIMOUSINE ARRIVING
AT HOTEL AT NINE FIFTEEN PM.

EARLIER THIS DATE FAIRMONT HOTEL MANAGEMENT ADVISED
SUBJECT ☐ STAYING IN A SUITE AT THE HOTEL DURING ☐ ENGAGEMENT
THERE. HOTEL HAD NO KNOWLEDGE SUBJECT WAS COMING AND NO KNOWLEDGE OF
HIS PLANS OR DEPARTURE DATE.

b7C

SF WILL KEEP BUREAU ADVISED.

AIRMAIL COPY TO HONOLULU AND LOS ANGELES.

END

BGM

FBI WASH DC*

TELETYPE TO:

51 NOV 1968

MR. TOLSON
ROOM 336 836

REC-31

101

100-446080-2032

OCT 28 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

DATE: 10/29/68

FROM : SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM - SNCC - BPP
(OO:WFO)

Re Atlanta letter to WFO 10/22/68.

b7C Referenced Atlanta letter advised [redacted]
who previously had address [redacted]
as of 1/25/68 had been separated from the service and gave
home address as [redacted]

b7C By WFO airtel to Atlanta 7/31/68 information was
set forth that Stokely Carmichael was observed in front of
SNCC headquarters, Washington, D.C. talking with an un-
identified negro male driving a dark blue Volkswagen,
bearing 1968 Georgia License [redacted] Subsequent investigation
established that the vehicle was registered to [redacted]
[redacted] Georgia.

b7C NYO requested to develop background information
regarding [redacted] and who was using his car on the above
occasion in Washington, D.C. talking with CARMICHAEL.
If identity of individual established attempt to ascertain
reason for contact with CARMICHAEL.

2 - Bureau
2 - New York (RM) (100-153751)
1 - WFO
WWH:typ
(5)

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

REC-19

100-446080-2033

12 OCT. 29 1968

ST-106



55 NOV 6 1968

RECEIVED. SECT.

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : The Director

DATE: 10-15-68

FROM : N. P. Callahan

SUBJECT: The Congressional Record

Page E9276. Congressman Cramer, (R) Florida, stated "I again urge the Attorney General to take necessary action against Stokely Carmichael, the Black United Front chairman, who continues his travels throughout the Nation preaching violence. - - - As author of the antiriot law covering the States and the District of Columbia which became a part of Public Law 90-284, I can say that I believe the activities of Stokely Carmichael clearly fall within the scope of the act and that he is subject to prosecution. - - - Such activities by Carmichael, which he undoubtedly learned well while in Hanoi and Havana, must be brought to an end. I, therefore, repeat my demand for full prosecution of Stokely Carmichael. Mr. Cramer included an article from the October 13 issue of the Sunday Star entitled Carmichael Blasts Slaying by Police: Rally Hears Appeal for Retaliation."

Original filed in: 100-44688-1731-3313

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DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

100-44688-1731-3313

NOT RECORDED
27 OCT 28 1968

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for 10-15-68 was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

54 NOV-8 1968

F B I

Date: 10/21/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-153751) (P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcc

ReNYtel to Bureau and WFO, 10/18/68.

Enclosed for Bureau are eleven copies of an LHM,
dated and captioned as above. Two copies are being furnished
to WFO.

The LHM is being classified "~~Confidential~~" in order
to protect sources who are furnishing information on a
continuing basis.

The LHM is being disseminated locally to Secret
Service, USAS EDNY and SDNY, OSI, NISO and 108th Military
Intelligence Group.

Confidential source mentioned in LHM is [redacted]

b7C

b7D

NYO indices negative re [redacted]

b7C

- 3 - Bureau (Encls. 1) (RM)
- 2 - Washington Field (Encls. 2) (RM)
- 1 - New York (157-2294)
- 1 - New York (#43)

b7C

BJW:ljm
(8)

STATE, [redacted] (By Liaison)

AGENCY: ACSI, [redacted], OSI, SEC. SERV.,

[redacted]: ISD, CRD, RAO, Cuing, IDIU

HOW FORW: [redacted]

DATE FORW: 10/24/68

BY: [redacted]

b7C

1 OCT 22 1968

RACIAL [redacted]

Xerox 816 960

C. C. Approved: [redacted]

Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

89 NOV 5 1968



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York
October 21, 1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (U)

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

NYfile 100-153757

Stokely Carmichael
Racial Matters

b7C

b7D

A confidential source, with whom insufficient contact has been made to determine reliability, furnished the following information regarding the future appearances of [redacted] during first week of October:

October 24, 1968 to
November 13, 1968

At the Fairmont Hotel,
San Francisco, California

November 17, 1968

At Washington, D. C.

November 24, 1968

At Detroit, Michigan

January 1 through
January 31, 1969

At Stockholm, Sweden

February 17 through
March 2, 1969

Appearing at Mr. Kelly's
in Chicago, Illinois

b7C

b7D

Source could furnish no further information concern-
ing [redacted]
[redacted] in New York City.

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg
ON 03-01-2006

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (U)

~~GROUP I~~
~~Excluded from auto-~~
~~matic downgrading and~~
~~declassification.~~

(U)

VIA TELETYPE
OCT 26 1968
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson_____
Mr. DeLoach_____
Mr. Mohr_____
Mr. Bishop_____
Mr. Casper_____
Mr. Callahan_____
Mr. Conrad_____
Mr. Felt_____
Mr. Gale_____
Mr. Rosen_____
Mr. Sullivan_____
Mr. Tavel_____
Mr. Trotter_____
Tele. Room_____
Miss Holmes_____
Miss Gandy_____

WASH---01---

129PM DEFERRED 10-26-68 KLJ

TO DIRECTOR AND SAN DIEGO (PLAINTEXT)

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-721) 1P

STOKELY CARMICHAEL. RACIAL MATTERS.

RE SAN FRANCISCO TEL CALL TO SAN DIEGO THIS A.M.

SUBJECT, ACCOMPANIED BY TWO UNIDENTIFIED NEGRO MALES DRESSED IN
TYPICAL BLACK PANTHER ATTIRE, BOARDED PSA COMMUTER FLIGHT AT TEN
FIFTEEN THIS A.M. TO ARRIVE AT SAN DIEGO ELEVEN FORTY AS
ADVISED IN RE TEL CALL.

END

EFH

FBI WSH DC

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DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

REC-9 100-446080-2035

17 OCT 29 1968

TELETYPE TO:

COPY SENT AG AND IDIU

ROOM 836 9&D

61 NOV 4 1968

F B I

Date: 10/23/68

Transmit the following in _____

CODE

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE

URGENT

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI AND SACS HONOLULU, LOS ANGELES,
NEW YORK AND SAN FRANCISCO

FROM: SAC, WFO

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RACIAL MATTERS - STUDENT NONVIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE

REWFOTELETYPE OCTOBER TWENTY ONE LAST.

SPECIAL AGENTS OBSERVED SUBJECT AND [REDACTED] IN WASHINGTON,

D. C. DURING LATE AFTERNOON OF OCTOBER TWENTY TWO LAST

A SOURCE WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE
PAST, ADVISED ON OCTOBER TWENTY TWO LAST THAT SUBJECT'S
TRAVEL TO WEST COAST AND HONOLULU TEMPORARILY DELAYED DUE
TO HIS EFFORTS TO [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] TO WASHINGTON, D. C. FOR SPEAKING ENGAGEMENT.

THE WASHINGTON POST, A WASHINGTON, D. C. DAILY NEWSPAPER
REPORTED OCTOBER TWENTY THREE INSTANT EDITION THAT OLYMPIC
MEDALISTS TOMMIE SMITH AND JOHN CARLOS, BANISHED FROM THE
MEXICO CITY GAMES FOR A BLACK POWER DEMONSTRATION LAST
WEEK, ARE SCHEDULED TO BEGIN A NATIONWIDE SPEAKING TOUR IN

2 - Bureau
3 - Teletype Unit
2 - WFO (100-43503)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlb/tcg

Sent _____ M Per _____

59 NOV 25 1968
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

WFO 100-43503

PAGE TWO

WASHINGTON ON THURSDAY. STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RECENTLY NAMED PRIME MINISTER OF THE OAKLAND DASH BASED BLACK PANTHER PARTY, SAID THE ENGAGEMENTS IN WASHINGTON, D. C. WERE ARRANGED BY HIM BECAUSE QUOTE THEY MUST START IN THE NATIONS CAPITOL UNQUOTE AND THE CITY SHOULD GIVE THEM A HERO'S WELCOME.

SMITH AND CARLOS, THE ARTICLE REPORTED, AFTER PLACING FIRST AND THIRD, RESPECTIVELY IN THE TWO ZERO ZERO METER FINALS STOOD FOR THE MEDAL BESTOWING CEREMONY WITHOUT SHOES AND IN BLACK STOCKINGS, EACH HOLDING ONE CLENCHED HAND IN A BLACK GLOVE. THEY WERE SENT HOME AND ARRIVED IN LOS ANGELES MONDAY AFTERNOON AND REFUSED TO ANSWER QUESTIONS AT THE AIRPORT.

CARMICHAEL REPORTED, THE ARTICLE CONTINUED, THEY WOULD RESPOND TO QUESTIONS AT A PRESS CONFERENCE AT ELEVEN AM ON OCTOBER TWENTY FOUR NEXT. AT ONE PM THEY WILL APPEAR IN FRONT OF FREDERICK DOUGLASS MEMORIAL HALL AT HOWARD UNIVERSITY. AT

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

WFO 100-43503

PAGE THREE

THREE THIRTY PM THEY WILL APPEAR AT THE NEW SCHOOL OF AFRO
DASH AMERICAN THOUGHT, TWO ONE ONE FIVE FOURTEENTH STREET,
NORTHWEST, WASHINGTON, D. C.

ACCORDING TO ABOVE SOURCE, CARMICHAEL MAY POSTPONE HIS
WEST COAST AND HONOLULU TRIP UNTIL AFTER OCTOBER TWENTY FOUR
NEXT IN ORDER TO BE IN WASHINGTON, D. C. ON THAT DATE.

ADMINISTRATIVE

ABOVE SOURCE IS

b2

b7D

P

CC: MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date: 10/22/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080) *gc*

FROM: SAC, BOSTON (157-437)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM

b7C

Re Boston teletype dated 10/17/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are seven copies and for WFO two copies of a letterhead memorandum setting out a verbatim transcript of the television program, "Say Brother," on which STOKELY CARMICHAEL appeared as a panelist on 10/17/68. *B*

B

3 - Bureau (Enc. 7) (RM)

2 - WFO (Enc. 2) (RM)

2 - Boston

BTM:maf

(7)

b2

ST. *Wick Liaison*

AGENCY: ASST. DIR., SEC. SERV.,

2 - RcmP *100-446080-2037*

2 - mts *RIS*

EC-1

DATE: *10-28-68*

BY: *plb/liss*

100-806d

b7C

DOWN

DEPT. IN FO

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

EX 109

REC 49

OCT 23 1968

RACIAL INT. SEC.

56 NOV 6 1968

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Boston, Massachusetts

October 22, 1968

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

TELEVISION started
Set out below is a verbatim transcript of the television presentation, "Say Brother," a panel discussion program which appeared on Station WGBH-TV, Channel 2, Boston, Massachusetts, at 9:30 p.m., on October 17, 1968. This program ended at 10:00 p.m. The moderator of the panel was Haywood Henry and the panelists were Stokely Carmichael, Mrs. Andrea Coaxum of the Boston Globe, a daily newspaper, and Mr. Les Range of the Christian Science Monitor, also a daily newspaper published at Boston, Massachusetts:

Haywood Henry: "Good evening, ladies and gentlemen. Welcome to our show. This evening we have in our studios Mr. Stokely Carmichael who will share some ideas with us on the international implications of Black Power. I am your host and moderator, Haywood Henry. To my left is Mrs. Andrea Coaxum, a reporter from the Boston Globe, and to her left is Mr. Les Range, a reporter from the Christian Science Monitor. Mr. Carmichael is with us this evening after he has just returned from a trip where black writers held a conference on the continuing dynamics of the black liberation struggle. At that conference some very interesting and provocative political processes apparently emerged. We've been informed that one of the participants, a Brother Dr. Walter Rodney, has been excluded from return to his homeland.

"Brother Carmichael, what do you see as the implications of such political activities and decisions by governments as that just made affecting Brother Rodney?

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DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

ENCLOSURE

100-446080-2037

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Stokely Carmichael: "Well, I think we have to understand that, that's really the United States, that the United States has now developed a new technique. Recognizing the danger of black people around the world coming together, the United States has decided that she must break up this process, but without appearing as if she's doing it, because if she were to appear as if she was herself doing it, it would only heighten the contradictions. So now, what she's doing is that the countries that she controls, she's telling them to bar people who were born there from returning. For example, in Jamaica, the Caribbean, and the latest spot is the Caribbean. The United States has done this all over Africa, but now because of a lot of work that we've been doing quietly in the Caribbean which is now beginning to surface, she's moving very directly in the Caribbean. Jamaica, the literature of Malcolm X, the literature of Rance Fenom (phonetic), the literature of Elijah Muhammad and the literature of Stokely Carmichael is banned. The literature, that is any books written by any of these people, cannot be brought into the country. And this is clearly not the workings of the masses of Jamaican people because all the people listed are black people talking about the black liberation struggle in the world and they have not made any offenses, either physical or verbal, against these governments, so that clearly it is the United States moving to block any of this literature or any of these people from entering. Now the case in point of Dr. Walter Rodney is very important. Now here's a brother who was born in Jamaica, has been all over the world, a very together brother. He taught at the University of Tanzania where we met. He left Tanzania and returned to Jamaica last year. He was teaching at the University of the West Indies in Jamaica and he's been there quietly. He left five days ago and came to the conference in Montreal, which was a very explosive conference in terms of the international black people that came together, and when he returned to Jamaica, they deported him. And certainly, he has made no, nothing against the Jamaican government. You take

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

"my point in view, my own homeland where I was born, Trinidad. I am barred from Trinidad. And again I have made no offenses against the Trinidadian government. It's clearly again the United States afraid of the dynamism of Black Power getting hold in those islands and knocking out the control that the American imperialists have over the Caribbean Islands.

Haywood Henry: "Are you saying then that it is the official, or end, or unofficial policy of the United States Government to take specific steps to prevent the spread of Black Power in other black nations?

Stokely Carmichael: "I'm saying that, precisely, yes, in this country here its object has been to co-opt the Black Power slogan, to have people think that you can have Black Power and black capitalism work hand in hand which is absolutely absurd and nonsensical. It is a way to dilute the definitions and to confuse the masses of our people and to completely corrupt the political ideology of Black Power. But sensing that around the world, other people are now beginning, black people, to look to us Black Power (unintelligible) to cut those international ties. I'm saying precisely-and I charge the United States with that, yes. For example, I cannot travel to England, I cannot travel to Venezuela, I cannot travel to Trinidad, I cannot travel to Argentina and I have done nothing to any of these countries.

Haywood Henry: "What do you interpret as the specific reason for the action taken against Brother Rodney? Do you think it was because of his association with this particular conference?

Stokely Carmichael: "It's clearly because of that association, you see, because this conference brought together people from the West Indies, people from Africa, people from Canada, people from the United States and people from South America. All these people were black and we were all talking about internationalizing the concept of Black Power and moving concretely to find bases where black

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

"people can begin to hang their hats. This causes and spells trouble for the United States; therefore, it must move against this type of work.

Mrs. Andrea Coaxum: "Brother Carmichael, are there other black political refugees in this country, such as Rap Brown and others who have spoken out?

Stokely Carmichael: "Yes, I think that the United States is moving on two battles, on two fronts. For example, when I returned to the country last year, the United States illegally seized my passport and held it for eight months. It had no grounds for which to take my passport. I traveled to Cuba, I traveled to North Vietnam, I traveled to Algeria, to Syria, to Egypt and to China. All of these countries, one is forbidden to use your passport for entry. See, the passport said that this document, it is invalid to use this document to travel into Cuba, North Vietnam, China and a list of countries. I never used the passport to travel into Cuba, into Vietnam, into China or anywhere. I was invited by some people in those countries and I went and I didn't have to have it stamped so that they had no right to take my passport, but because the United States is afraid and more and more because a lot of us are traveling abroad and beginning to hook in internationally, she cannot afford to have that. She seized the passport. Now politically, it wasn't very well, it didn't go very well with the United States to talk about freedom of travel and still seize my passport. So after a number of maneuvers back and forth, they had to return the passport. But now their aim is to appear as if they have given me a passport but to stop other countries where the potential of Black Power can become a reality which will affect American imperialism, not only its racism, but American imperialism, it now moves to stop. Now what it does then is moves on two fronts. The second front is that, one, the way it moves with Rap Brown, Elridge Cleaver (phonetic) and Leroi Jones, by making them refugees where they cannot move. For example, Rap Brown is the only black man in America that lives in Manhattan and needs a visa to travel to Brooklyn.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Mrs. Andrea Coaxum: "Does, it does apply within the United States?"

Stokely Carmichael: "Even within the United States. And the United States employs this around the world. There are hundreds of thousands, I would say even millions, of black political refugees around the world and we become political refugees, we have absolutely nothing to do with the political struggles that go on. The political struggles are white political struggles, but they're white political struggles over the control of black people and we get caught in the middle. Every time there's a coup in an African country which is brought about by white western imperialistic forces, then thousands of black people have to run. But again, no one wins because the people who come out on top is white people. Let us take the Congo as a specific example. In the Congo, you had Tshombe and Mobutu and Lumumba. When the white imperialist forces killed Lumumba and put in Tshombe, tens of thousands of black people living in the Congo had to flee the Congo looking for political refuge in the surrounding countries. When Mobutu, when Tshombe's overthrown, then other thousands have to flee. And again we're always fleeing, but we get nothing. We get nothing because the people who control these puppets like Tshombe and the others are Ankara (phonetic) who's now in Ghana, and thousands of people who had to flee when Dr. Nkrumah was overthrown, are the white forces that control the wealth and we still have to be running around. My wife is a political refugee from her own country. Born and bred in South Africa, some white invaders come and kick people out of their own land and tell them they cannot return. We have thousands of political refugees from South Africa, Mozambique, Angola, Southwest Africa, Guinea Bersea (phonetic), all of Africa is just flooding with black political refugees and now the United States is plotting to move it into the Caribbean and the final step, of course, into the United States.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Mr. Les Range: "Brother Carmichael, will the attempt to create political refugees, black political refugees, do anything to end this, an international movement towards Black Power that you speak of?

Stokely Carmichael: "I think that's precisely what the United States is trying to do. For example, if she could forestall or hold back the people who she thinks are a threat to her economy in Jamaica, then she can just cut us out completely and we cannot go in. So she hopes then to forestall the black liberation struggle which is really on its peak at this point.

Mr. Les Range: "Will it be effective?

Stokely Carmichael: "It will be effective, yes. Unless black people now begin to understand how to move to stop that. Now what happens unfortunately is that again the white man comes out on top. Because, for example, the Caribbean Islands, islands which black political refugees and people who are concerned about the masses of people living in those islands, we do not want to move against the black, other black people, but what will happen is that we will be forced because the Caribbean now opens itself to a very precarious position. Most of these islands in the Caribbean, for example, thrive off of the tourist business. To begin to stop political refugees from entering opens up a course for students rioting and certainly terroristic activities against the tourist industries.

Haywood Henry: "How do you specifically recommend that the black American with his new awareness of the international nature of the struggle, how specifically do we move to effectively counteract or neutralize the kind of political isolation that is occurring?

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Stokely Carmichael: "OK. Number 1. There are a lot. Number 1, we have to understand how the white west moves. It is clear that whenever they want control of a country, they can no longer just invade the country. So what they have to do is to pit person against person. That's been a technique developed since World War II with the white imperialist forces. For example, they split Korea. There's North Korea fighting South Korea. And they're not invading, they're coming to help the South Koreans beat up the bad guys, because they're the good guys. They split North Vietnam against South Vietnam. And they're not invading, but they're coming to help the good guys in South Vietnam beat up the bad guys in North Vietnam. And now we see they've done the same thing in Nigeria. They have split again. Now there's Biafra versus Nigeria and they're not going to be invading, but they're just going to come and help the good guys which ever they decide happen to be the good guys. Of course, it's going to be with their interests. So we must begin to consciously recognize this so that we can't be out there picking sides with Nigeria and picking sides with Biafra, but rather talking about these two people getting together and stop fighting because nobody's profiting but the white because the fighting by Biafra and Nigeria, while heightened certainly by tribalistic differences, certainly is not really the sole context of the fight. Biafra is very rich in oil and since the Arab countries have closed their oil ports due to the conflicts in the Middle East, it would be very helpful for practically every white country in Europe to be able to get to that oil.

Haywood Henry: "Now, Brother Carmichael, it seems that the same kind of process is happening in many of the South American nations today in which the United States is economically and politically controlling them. How do you compare the attempt by many of the Asian and African nations to engage in liberation struggles as opposed to those in Latin America?

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Stokely Carmichael: "I don't. I think we are going to. There's no alternative. I think that in terms of the Asian situation, it's clear. It's crystal clear. The United States controls completely Japan. Japan is, as far as I'm concerned, yellow America. And through her control of Japan, she's trying to stretch out her tentacles to influence the rest of Asia. Thank God Vietnam is stopping her. Because Vietnam really represents the real block to what she wants to get to, China. Now in Latin America, the only block they've had is Cuba. But Cuba's not really a military threat; it's only a political threat. It's an island which they have to fight the political ideas because the political ideas of the Cuban revolutionaries might spread to the other Latin American countries. But other than that there is no threat. Now the next spot left, obviously, is Africa. And Africa becomes central, because if black people who are aware, becoming aware to political consciousness, begin to hook up with Africa inside America, then America becomes in a lot of trouble, because if, for example, America decided to invade South Africa, decided to invade Haiti, decided to invade Trinidad, decided to invade Tobago, Jamaica, on the side of the good guys, then the black people in this country could stand up and say, 'Keep your hands off of it; it's a black man's fight; stay out,' and if she refuses to, then she has another war inside.

Mr. Les Range: "Is there any attempt going on now to get this kind of political awareness for black people in America for the total picture of the struggle internationally?

Stokely Carmichael: "Oh yes, yes, while the United States has been trying to dilute the concept of Black Power and make it look as if it's a local nonsense, some of us have been internationalizing it because Black Power cannot be seen in a local aspect of Black Power in Boston or Black Power in Roxbury or Black Power in the United States or Black Power in Canada or Black Power in the West Indies, it has to be seen in Black Power in the world. It must be seen in that context.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Mrs. Andrea Coaxum: "One of the early black political refugees from this country was Robert Williams. Do you know where he is at this time and what political activities he's involved in?"

Stokely Carmichael: "Mr. Williams was in China. He's now in Tanzania and he's working with the people who are setting up the new Republic of Africa inside this country. He's the leader of their group and they themselves are now trying together, and banding together with a number of other political refugees. For example, Tanzania is just loaded with political refugees because it's right on the border of Mozambique and, see, all of the people who flee from the harsh treatment of the Portuguese or even brothers and sisters who get a chance to flee from South Africa, as soon as they run up, they always come right into Tanzania.

Haywood Henry: "What is your opinion about the attempt being made to establish the Republic of New Africa? Have you had a chance to meet yet with any of the brothers and sisters involved.

Stokely Carmichael: "No, I haven't had a chance to really have a serious talk at it. I think it's another area where people are striving and that we should try each in our own area to see which one works best. I don't know very much about it, but I think that people who are in it are serious about what they're doing and we have to, if we can, aid it in any way we can to make it a successful program.

Mr. Les Range: "Will there be an attempt to help Walter Rodney return to Jamaica?"

Stokely Carmichael: "Yes, now, as I said earlier, see, what the West Indies now does is opens itself for really terroristic activities. Because if it bans Walter Rodney from returning to Jamaica, and already student rioting has begun in Jamaica and Trinidad early this morning, then there's nothing left except to begin terroristic activity against,

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

"but you see, you don't want to play into the white man's hands by fighting black people against black people because that's precisely what he wants. I mean, that's why they've been creating all the friction inside the United States with this black group against that black group, hoping to heighten the friction within the black groups so that we could arm and fight ourselves while they sit back.

Haywood Henry: "Conquer and divide" or "Conquer in delight."

Stokely Carmichael: "Right, so we cannot afford to play into their hands. At this time we must de-emphasize any, certainly publicly, political friction we have with any black group inside our communities. We must because they will play on that and heighten it. Now we recognize that's precisely what they want in Jamaica. But the way to move against them in a terroristic activity destroying any sort of a tourist activities will, bring the economy in those countries to a screeching halt. Also, for example, in Jamaica, America has large bauxite companies. People will begin to develop a consciousness not to move against other black people, but to move against those bauxite companies because we recognize who the enemy is.

Haywood Henry: "Imperialism at home and imperialism abroad, part of the same continual process.

Stokely Carmichael: "Dr. Nkrumah says when it's domestic, it's capitalism; when it's international, it's imperialism. So the black man is internationalized whether we like it or not, so it must be imperialism.

Mrs. Andrea Coaxum: "You mentioned, Brother Carmichael, that your wife is a political refugee from South Africa. What efforts are being made to liberate black South Africans?

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Stokely Carmichael: "Well, there's (unintelligible) guerilla groups, that's the only effort that can be made and that, for example, in Africa, there's a lot of fighting going on, but the white man never, will never talk about that fighting because he's afraid that it will heighten political consciousness of Africans living inside the United States. He will talk about the Biafran War and try and begin to show some nonsensical pity about black people starving in Biafra. That's nonsense. No white man is ever concerned about black people starving and dying. And certainly Lyndon Baine Johnson is not concerned, Kennedy is not concerned, Nixon is not concerned, Humphrey is not concerned. None of them are concerned. Because inside their own country thousands of black people die each year, starving to death. So they're not concerned. They're only doing that because of their own political interests. The only way that we will free anyway in Africa, the only way we will free anyway is with a gun in our hands. All those countries must be freed, but by guns, by arms. The white man didn't go into those countries with non-violent means. He doesn't oppress people in South Africa with non-violence; he oppresses them with the guns. It's our job is to begin to raise our consciousness so we can raise money and help those brothers get some guns and kill every white man they see in South Africa.

Haywood Henry: "Brother Carmichael, what is your particular opinion about the unusually large number of black men fighting in Vietnam, ostensibly a war which is not in the interest of black people, a war which is obviously a racist war?

Stokely Carmichael: "Well, I think we've been crystal clear on that. We said very simple a long time, 'Hell no, we won't go.' I mean, I think everyone knows what the position is. There's no need now to reiterate. The time is to move to find, try and get some type of tactics that will begin to alleviate the drafting of young black men and certainly if one cannot avoid the draft, then one should go and kill the enemy.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Haywood Henry: "How do you interpret the recent action of the brothers at Fort Hood, Texas, who refused to come to the Democratic National Convention understanding that they may possibly have to destroy black people?"

Stokely Carmichael: "I applauded the action. I thought it was very courageous and it shows that black people are heightening their consciousness regardless of what they say on the press."

Haywood Henry: "Do you think this is a beginning of a kind of internal resistance by black people in the situation where they would normally have to destroy black people."

Stokely Carmichael: "Right, and it must be coming, it must spread, it must, it will spread. There's no way to stop it. It will spread."

Mr. Les Range: "I think something many black people in America have been interested in is how Africans feel towards them. Can you tell us something about that?"

Stokely Carmichael: "Well, you should ask my wife. She's African. I think we can't afford to get caught up in what the white man says about Africans don't like African-Americans. That's the white man talking. I've been all over Africa and everywhere I've been to Africa, including Liberia, I have been welcomed with open arms by thousands of people."

Mrs. Andrea Coaxum: "Excuse me, will there be a follow up to the Congress of Black Writers where black political refugees will get together and discuss new techniques and new tactics?"

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Stokely Carmichael: "Oh, there will be, yes, there has to be. But I think it's also important for our brothers and sisters in the United States to begin to become aware. Now, let me show you, for example, the so-called State of Israel gets thousands of dollars in aid and sells jets to, America sells jets to them, and that's because of the powerful force of Zionism in the United States where they wage a lobby for the so-called State of Israel. Now we black people have, it seems to me, a stake in this country, since our sweat built it. Therefore, we should say if X person wants to come to this country, he can come. And we have to build a political, for example, we don't know when they expel African students. They expel African students from this country (snap of his fingers) just like that and we're never aware of it. But certainly, it must become our job to fight out against that when they start to begin to try, that we begin to use means to stop it, and begin to, if money is going to go, let's get some of that money.]

Haywood Henry: "Brother Carmichael, in your book, Black Power, the Policy of Liberation, you had some specific opinions about coalition politics and about why such coalitions have not worked to the advantage of black people. What do you see as new kinds of coalitions for us in the future?

Stokely Carmichael: "Internationalizing our ties with other black people around the world, that's the coalition we have to work for now. Because there have been black people who have made the mistake in that past, it seems to me, of coalescing with so-called white radical groups without insuring that those white radical groups would wage a fight against racism. They've done that in the past time and time again.

Haywood Henry: "So you're saying there should have been evidence of the extent to which any such parties is committed before making coalition.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Stokely Carmichael: "Right. And it cannot just be in terms of words. It must be in terms of actions.

Haywood Henry: "Do you think that there's anything in particular that we can learn from the experiences of men like Dubois and Garvey and Malcolm X who also attempted to internationalize the movement?

Stokely Carmichael: "I think that we have to, I think we definitely have to follow in their footsteps. Definitely, I mean, that's a rhetorical question. You're the moderator, you can't say it.

Haywood Henry: "Well, Brother Carmichael, it's certainly been our pleasure to have had you with us in the studios today. We think that certainly the discussion which we've had is a very crucial one, a very important one. We will certainly be looking forward to hearing more from you on this particular subject and ladies and gentlemen of the press, thank you for having come."

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

TRUE COPY

[REDACTED]
Oct. 22, 1968

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

Dear Mr. Hoover,

○ I read an article in the news paper last week about Stokeley Carmichael speaking in Canada - I am sure you read about him.

How much longer are we going to tolerate his terrible talk and communist preachings-Inciting negroes to riot and get guns and start shooting us - the white who have worked and struggled so long to make this country great.

Carmichael and [REDACTED] both are walking around free with indigntments against them and no one is bringing them in to stand trial. Why are they not in jail? If they were poor white men they would be already serving terms for doing what those men have been doing. Where is justice?

b7C

Where is [REDACTED] now? He is being so quiet. Is he in Moscow being trained further to destroy our Country. When are our Country and our leaders in Washington going to wake up Or have we gone too far on the Communist way to save us?

b7C

I know you have been a great man all the way but have our left wing leaders stopped you from doing what you would like to do-?

I pray God that Humphrey will not steal this election as the Kennedy crowd did and get him in office.

You know as well as I that from the first day he came into the house of Representative years ago he has been the worse left winger ever in our Government. If he became President he would very soon throw us to the Communist.

Please let the American public know where Carmichael and [REDACTED] are and when they are going to stand trial for their crimes. We deserve to know why something hasn't already been done about them

b7C

May God bless and keep you

REC- 56

100-446080-2038

OCT 30 1968

b7C

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

GP
2



b7C

Oct. 22, 1968

Dear Mr. Hoover,

I read an article in the news paper last week about Stokeley Carmichael speaking in Canada. I am sure you read about him.

How much longer are we going to tolerate his terrible talk and Communist preachings - Inciting negroes to riot and get guns and start shooting us - the white who have worked and struggled so long to make this country great.

b7C

17C
10-28-68
FBI
Carmichael and  both are walking around free with indictments against them and no one is bringing

them in to stand trial. Why are they not in jail? If they were poor white men they would be already serving terms for doing what these men have been doing. Where is justice? b7C

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ment. If he became President
he would very soon throw us
to the Communist.

b7C

Please let the American public
know where Carmichael and [redacted]
are and when they are going to
stand trial for their crimes. We
deserve to know why something
hasn't already been done about
them

May God bless and keep you

b7C

October 28, 1968

REC- 56

100 446-2038

EX 100

b7C

b7C

Dear [redacted]

I have received your letter of October 22nd and want to thank you for your kind sentiment and generous remark.

In reply to your inquiries concerning Stokely Carmichael and [redacted] the FBI is strictly an investigative agency of the Federal Government and, as such, does not determine whether prosecutive action will be undertaken in any situation. Such decisions concerning violations of Federal law are within the province of the Attorney General. Voluminous data regarding these individuals has been furnished to the Attorney General and you may wish to contact him.

b7C

I want to assure you that the FBI is aware of its responsibilities with respect to the internal security of our country and we will continue to make every effort to carry out our duties with the greatest thoroughness and efficiency.

Sincerely yours,
J. Edgar Hoover

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

b7C

NOTE: Bufiles disclose one [redacted] by outgoing 12-10-64 was acknowledged for her favorable comments concerning a press conference.

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

FMG:sae (3)

56 NOV 7 1968

MAIL ROOM [] TELETYPE UNIT []

VIA TELETYPE

OCT 29 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson_____
Mr. DeLoach_____
Mr. Mohr_____
Mr. Bishop_____
Mr. Casper_____
Mr. Callahan_____
Mr. Conrad_____
Mr. Felt_____
Mr. Gale_____
Mr. Rosen_____
Mr. Sullivan_____
Mr. Tavel_____
Mr. Trotter_____
Tele. Room_____
Miss Holmes_____
Miss Gandy_____

NR 2 TO WASHINGTON

DEFERRED 10-29-68 3-43 PM HST PAN

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080), WFO AND LOS ANGELES

WFO VIA WASHINGTON

LOS ANGELES DIRECT

ENCLOSED

FROM HONOLULU (100-6456)

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY,
SEDITION. WFO ORIGIN.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

RE HONOLULU RAD THIS DATE.

b7C

b7C

THIS DATE REPORTED THAT SUBJECT IS NOT DUE TO SPEAK AT UNIVERSITY
UNTIL OCTOBER THIRTY. EARLE ANTHONY WILL SPEAK AT KENNEDY
THEATER, EAST WEST CENTER, UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII, ELEVEN THIRTY
AM OCTOBER THIRTY. CARMICHAEL WILL SPEAK AT ANDREWS AMPHITHEATER
(UH) ONE THIRTY PM OCTOBER THIRTY ONE AND AT CHURCH OF CROSSROADS,
HONOLULU SEVEN THIRTY PM SAME DATE.

b7C

[] HAS RECEIVED INFORMATION BLACK STUDENT UNION,
WHICH IS SPONSORING CARMICHAEL TRIP WILL HOLD COCKTAIL PARTY
FOR SUBJECT EVENING OF OCTOBER THIRTY AT HONOLULU HOME OF []

b7C

PERTINENT DEVELOPMENTS.

REC-65

NOV 4 1968
END AND ACK

TELETYPED TO:

WA...JDR

FBI WASH DC

TWO COPIES WFO

NOV 1 1968

22 OCT 31 1968

F B I

Date: 10/8/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM - SNCC

b7C

Re SLtel, 8/31/68; NY airtel, 9/17/68.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 11 copies
of an LHM regarding the above captioned matter.The sources mentioned in the LHM are identified
as follows:b2
b7C
b7DThe LHM is being classified "~~Confidential~~" to
protect the identity of sources furnishing information of
value on a continuing basis.

b7C

C. C. - Bishop.

- (3) - Bureau (Enc. 11)
1 - WFO

WWH:bjr
(4)

REC 36

ENCLOSURE

100-446080-2040
12 OCT 8 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Approved: 56 NOV 7 1968

Special Agent in Charge

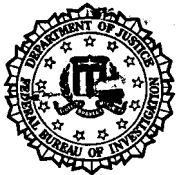
Sent _____ M Per _____

100-88602 100-446080-2040
BY: ptc/lld
DATE FORW: 10-11-68
HOW FORW: RLS
AGENCY: ISD, CRD, RAO/nu
SEC. SERV.:

WFO 100-43503

b2 In furnishing the information to the Director
b7D and WFO by teletype dated 8/31/68, SL advised extreme
care must be utilized in any dissemination of the information
provided by [] because of potential danger to the
informant.

b7C The LHM is a summary of information regarding the
[] and is being furnished for
possible dissemination.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Washington, D. C. 20535

October 8, 1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (U)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on August 30, 1968, that Stokely Carmichael made a speech in St. Louis, Missouri, on August 29, 1968. According to source, [redacted]

[redacted] for Carmichael during the speech told the source that [redacted]

[redacted] Source reported that according to [redacted] who source knows only by the first name [redacted] Carmichael indicated to close associates at a St. Louis meeting he intended to [redacted]

[redacted] Source could provide no additional information regarding this allegation.

[redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on September 3, 1968, Carmichael was not known to have [redacted]

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg
ON 03-01-2006

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (U)

~~GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~ (U)

COPIES DESTROYED

286 MAR 1 1971

ENCLOSURE

2040

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

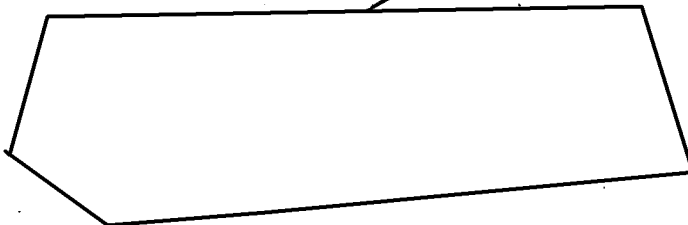
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (U)

[redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on September 4, 1968, that Carmichael has [redacted]

[redacted] Source advised [redacted] was living in [redacted] and recently [redacted]

[redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on September 6, 1968, that Stokely Carmichael [redacted]

An article in Jet Magazine dated September 5, 1968, indicated Stokely Carmichael's sister, Judy Carmichael, age 22, a former nurse, was married to a white fur designer, Marc Massin, at Caxton Hall, Westminster, London, recently. The couple had met at Clayburg Hospital where Judy was a staff nurse and had known each other for five years.



USA

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (U)

VIA TELETYPE

OCT 29 1968 *EX*

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

b7C

Mr
NR 2 TO WASHINGTON

URGENT 10-29-68 9-54 AM HST PAN

TO DIRECTOR, LOS ANGELES AND SAN FRANCISCO ENCODED

I LOS ANGELES AND SAN FRANCISCO DIRECT
FROM HONOLULU 100-6465

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY,
OO WFO. BUFILE ONE HUNDRED DASH FOUR FOUR SIX ZERO EIGHT ZERO.

b7C

RE WFO RADIOGRAM OCTOBER TWENTY FIVE LAST.

b7C

b7D

HONOLULU PD THIS DATE REPORTS CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE

AT UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII STATES CARMICHAEL AND

b7C

HAVE RESERVATIONS UAL FLIGHT ONE EIGHT SEVEN DEPARTING
SAN FRANCISCO SIX PM THIS DATE FOR HONOLULU.

EX 100

REC-28

100-446050

ADMINISTRATIVE: SAN FRANCISCO COVER PER BUREAU AIRTEL
DECEMBER TWENTY ONE LAST AND ADVISE HONOLULU DEPARTURE.

WFO AND SAN DIEGO ADVISED BY AIRMAIL.

END AND ACK

NSM

NOV 13 1968
FBI WASH DC

NOV 13 1968

MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

1010 ADV
10/30/68
P10

b7C

5-111

VIA TELETYPE

OCT 30 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

WASHINGTON NR 1

DEFERRED 10-30-68 12-51PM HST HRF

TO DIRECTOR, FBI AND WFO, SF, LA. ENCODED

WFO VIA WASHINGTON

FHWM HONOLULU 100-5465 1P

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RM-BPP. 00: WFO

RE HONOLULU RADIOGRAM THIS DATE.

SUBJECT AND [REDACTED] ARRIVED HONOLULU NINE THIRTY PM

ABOARD UAL FLIGHT ONE EIGHT SEVEN FROM SAN FRANCISCO. NO OTHER

BPP PERSONNEL OBSERVED TO ARRIVE WITH THEM. THEY WERE GREETED BY NEGRO STUDENTS AND SOME MEMBERS OF THE STUDENT FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY, AN ORGANIZATION OPPOSING SELECTIVE SERVICE AND WAR IN VIETNAM.

CARMICHAEL AND [REDACTED] NOW LOCATED NINE ONE DASH FOUR ONE

FOUR PAPII, WA BEACH, OAHU.

END

RM FBI WASH DC

TWO COPIES WFO

W.H. & A.G. Summary
10/30/68

EX 110

DEC 26

100-11111-2043

RCV 11/1/68

5-14

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

51 NOV 15 1968
MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

VIA TELETYPE
OCT 30 1968
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson.....
Mr. DeLoach.....
Mr. Mohr.....
Mr. Bishop.....
Mr. Casper.....
Mr. Callahan.....
Mr. Conrad.....
Mr. Felt.....
Mr. Gale.....
Mr. Rosen.....
Mr. Sullivan.....
Mr. Tavel.....
Mr. Trotter.....
Tele. Room.....
Miss Holmes.....
Miss Gandy.....

WASHINGTON --05--
--02--

920AM DEFERRED 10/30/68 & '9:

TO DIRECTOR, WASHINGTON FIELD AND HONOLULU
FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-721) 1P PLAINTEXT

STOKELY CARMICHAEL: RM - BPP.

RE SAN FRANCISCO TELETYPE OCTOBER TWENTYNINE, LAST,
CAPTIONED LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER.

RE TELETYPE INCORRECTLY TITLED. SHOULD BE STOKELY
CARMICHAEL.

END

WA...JDR

FBI WASH DC

TELETYPED TO:

7T13

EX 110

REC 26

100-446080-2044

6 NOV 1 1968

51 NOV 15 1968
MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

VIA TELETYPE

OCT 29 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson_____
Mr. DeLoach_____
Mr. Mohr_____
Mr. Bishop_____
Mr. Casper_____
Mr. Callahan_____
Mr. Conrad_____
Mr. Felt_____
Mr. Gale_____
Mr. Rosen_____
Mr. Sullivan_____
Mr. Tavel_____
Mr. Trotter_____
Tele. Room_____
Miss Holmes_____
Miss Gandy_____

b7C

WASHINGTON-----6----- PLAINTEXT

8:21 PM DEFERRED 10/29/68 JXR

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI, WASHINGTON FIELD, AND HONOLULU
FROM: SAN FRANCISCO (157-721) WFO VIA WASHINGTON

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, RM- BPP.

b7C

RE HONOLULU TELETYPE TO DIRECTOR, THIS DATE.

b7C

ADVISED

SUBJECT ACCOMPANIED BY INDIVIDUAL IDENTIFIED AS [REDACTED] BOARDED
UNITED AIR LINE FLIGHT ONE EIGHT SEVEN TO HAWAII AT SIX PM THIS DATE.
END.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

WA....JDR R REAY

FBI WASH DC

TELETYPED TO:

WFO

Note: 10/30
SF tel
connected title
to Stokely Carmichael

EX-114

REC-64
100

100-446025-2045

2 NOV 1 1968

175
56 NOV 12 1968

F B I

Date: 10/25/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, DETROIT (157-3185)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM - SNCC

b7C

Re Detroit letter to Bureau, dated 10/2/68.

The FBI Laboratory has returned to Detroit a tape recording of STOKELY CARMICHAEL's speech which he made before the Organization of Arab Students at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, on 8/22/68. The Laboratory has advised that the recording contains distortions created at the time of the recording and that these distortions cannot be filtered without degrading the speech content.

The recording is of such poor quality that it is not possible for Detroit to transcribe the contents of the tape. There are no other recordings of this particular speech by STOKELY CARMICHAEL.

For the information of the Bureau, _____

b7C

_____ was present during the entire speech by CARMICHAEL mentioned above.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tjs

b7C

③ - Bureau (RM)
1 - Detroit
JEK/cmt
(4)

B. Bishop

51 NOV 12 1968

REC-35

EX-11

15 NOV 4 1968

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date: 10/29/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM - SNCC - BPP
(OO:WFO)ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tog

[redacted] (protect), affiliated with [redacted] WDC, and who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised 10/28/68, [redacted] where subject currently resides at 5015 16th Street, N. W., WDC. She stated that he has a lease arrangement with an option to buy the property which is due to expire in March, 1969.

Recently [redacted] contacted [redacted] telephonically informing her they did not plan to exercise the option to buy the property. [redacted] In fact, [redacted] thinking about breaking the lease soon. [redacted] at that point did not desire to discuss the matter further via telephone and informed [redacted] if they were inclined to contemplate such action they should notify [redacted] of their intentions by letter. [redacted] stated she did not feel they were serious because they have [redacted]

[redacted] To move would apparently result in a substantial loss. However, [redacted] advised she understands they have

3 - Bureau
1 - WFO

WWH:sjp
(4)

C. C. Bishop

EX 110

ec 80494D

NOV 5 1968

Approved: _____

Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

53 NOV 12 1968

WFO 100-43503

sent a letter which has been received by [REDACTED]

b7C

[REDACTED]
The full particulars of the letter have not been disclosed
to [REDACTED]

b7D

WFO will follow this matter keeping the Bureau advised.

10/21/68

AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM: SAC, WFO (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM - SNCC
(OO:WFO)
(BUFILE 100-446080)
(WFOFILE 100-43503)

SM - X
(OO:WFO)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

Re NY tel to BU and WFO 10/13/68.

Referenced NY tel advised a confidential source with whom insufficient contact was had to determine reliability furnished data regarding future appearances of [REDACTED] STOKELY CARMICHAEL. On October 20, 1968, at Philadelphia; October 24 through November 13, 1968, at Fairmont Hotel, San Francisco; November 17, 1968, at WDC; November 24, 1968, at Detroit; January 1 through January 31, 1969, at Stockholm, Sweden; February 17 through March 2, 1969, at Mr. Kelly's

- 3- Bureau
- 3- Chicago (RM)
- 3- Detroit (RM)
- 3- New York (RM)
- 3- Philadelphia (RM)
- 3- San Francisco (RM) (AM)
- 2- WFO

EX 110

REC 27

100-446080-2048

11 OCT 22 1968

OCT 29 1968

XEROX

RACIAL INT. SECT.

WHR:alr
(20)

51 NOV 14 1968

WFO 100-43503

in Chicago.

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Receiving offices be
alert for travel of the above to their areas and cover
STOKELY CARMICHAEL per previous instructions.

b7C

F B I

Date: 10/31/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

RM - SNCC; BPP

(OO:WFO)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

Re WFO airtel 10/29/68.

On 10/31/68, [redacted] (protect), [redacted]
[redacted] WDC, confidentially
advised [redacted]

[redacted] was vacating the house
at 5015 16th Street, N.W., WDC, on 11/30/68, inasmuch as [redacted]
had found another place, [redacted] said this was [redacted]
and among other things, said [redacted]

[redacted] The letter also set forth
that it was hoped this matter could be resolved without legal
action, but if not, [redacted] was prepared to go to court.

[redacted] recalled that she telephonically spoke with
STOKELY CARMICHAEL on 10/19 at which time [redacted]

③ - Bureau
1 - WFO

WWH:jmh
(4)

C. C. Bishop

15 NOV 6 1968

Approved: [signature]

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

59

WFO 100-43503

the conversation concerned the fact that they thought the owner was asking too much money for the house. After some discussion along this line, CARMICHAEL told [redacted] that they were thinking of breaking the lease. [redacted] said this must have resulted in the letter which was mentioned above.

b7C

b7D

WFO will follow this matter and report pertinent information.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SAC, Washington Field (100-43503)

11/5/68

Director, FBI (100-446080)

1 -
1 -

b7C

ST
**STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS - BPP**

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

ReBuairtel to all continental offices dated 9/26/68
entitled "Congress of Black Writers; McGill University;
Montreal, Canada; 10/11-14/68."

The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS),
Washington, D. C., on 10/23/68, furnished copies of Canadian
"Non-Immigrant Arrival-Departure Cards" provided by Canadian
immigration authorities on individuals who indicated the purpose
of their travel to Canada was to attend the Congress of Black
Writers. One such card contained the following information:

Stokeley Carmichael [redacted] born [redacted] b7C
6/29/41, Trinidad; address - Box 3811, Washington, D. C.

For your additional information. [redacted]

b1

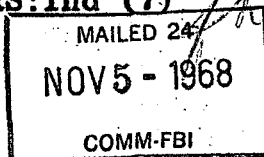
[redacted] (C)
Boston identify the subscriber to the above telephone number
and furnish this information as well as pertinent information
possessed concerning the individual to the Bureau and
Washington Field.

2 - Boston

DATE: 03-01-2006
CLASSIFIED BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(6) 03-01-2031

NOTE: We had prior knowledge that Carmichael attended the
Congress of Black Writers. Information concerning the telephone
call was set forth in Legat, Ottawa, teletype 10/18/68.

ERS:fhd (7)



REC 29

EX 106

19 NOV 5 1968

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

175
T 21968
MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-44608)

FROM : SAC, ST. LOUIS (100-20639)

SUBJECT: STOKLEY CARMICHAEL
RM - BN

DATE: 10/26/68

Re SL tel to WFO, 8/31/68, and WFO airtel to Director, 9/1/68.

Being furnished the Bureau under separate cover are five reels of recording tapes. This is a copy of a copy of a tape recording made of a public speech delivered by STOKLEY CARMICHAEL, in St. Louis, at the Sheldon Memorial Hall, 3648 Washington Blvd., St. Louis, Mo., on 8/29/68. The tape from which these tapes were made was furnished by [redacted] (Protect Identity) to SA [redacted] and had to be returned as soon as possible. The tape was recorded as a slow odd speed about 2IPS, and recorded on a four track recorder. To make these tapes, the original was played back on [redacted]

Portions of the transcription on the original tape were very poor and garbled and are, therefore, the same on the copy. Because of the length of the tape and the poor quality of parts of it, St. Louis has not undertaken the effort to reduce it to writing in interest of conserving stenographic time, until the Bureau has had the opportunity of hearing the tape.

If it is determined that statements made by CARMICHAEL are of a nature that could be used against him by the Government, and the Bureau recommends that a transcription be undertaken, the tape should be returned. It should be noted that the original tape recording is not available and it is not known who made the original recording.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

- 3 - Bureau (RM)
1 - Via Package (Encl. 5) (RM)
1 - St. Louis
PW:rcs
(4)



5010-108

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

SEVEN
RACIAL INT. SEC.

SAC, St. Louis (100-20639)

November 4, 1968

Director, FBI (100-446080) 2051

1 -
1 - Mail Room

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Re St. Louis letter dated 10/26/68.

Returned herewith are five reels of tapes containing a recording of a speech by Carmichael at Sheldon Memorial Hall, St. Louis, Missouri, on 8/29/68.

Reference is made to St. Louis letterhead memorandum (LHM) dated 8/31/68 containing the results of Carmichael's speech on 8/29/68 at Sheldon Memorial Hall. A review of this LHM indicates Carmichael made highly inflammatory statements throughout his talk. In view of this and even though the above-referred to tapes are of poor quality, St. Louis should promptly prepare an LHM suitable for dissemination containing a transcription of the tapes. It should be stated in the LHM that due to the poor quality of the tapes, portions of the speech are unintelligible.

It is not clear in referenced letter how the source obtained the original tape and this should be more fully explained in your cover airtel. If no additional data is developed concerning the source of the original tape, the beginning of the details of your LHM should include a statement that the tape was made available by a confidential source and the original recording is not available nor is it known who made the original recording.

Enclosures - 5

PTB:ekw
(5)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Letter to SAC, St. Louis
RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
100-446080

NOTE:

Stokely Carmichael, a black extremist, gave a talk in St. Louis on 8/29/68. St. Louis by referenced letter submitted five reels of tapes of this speech which were made from an original tape furnished by a probationary racial informant. St. Louis pointed out that the tapes were of poor quality, requested the Bureau to review to determine if statements made by Carmichael could be used against him by the Government. Review of previous information furnished by St. Louis indicates Carmichael made highly inflammatory statements during his talk. In view of this, St. Louis instructed to transcribe the tapes.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

VIA TELETYPE

OCT 30 1968

ENCIPHERED

OTT 0 5 632PM JL

DEFERRED 10-30-68

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080)

FROM LEGAT, OTTAWA (100-1564) 1P

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

b7C

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Trotter _____
e. Room _____
ss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS - MISC.; SEDITION.

b1

BUREAU TO BE FURTHER ADVISED AND BUREAU SHOULD ADVISE

LEGAT OF ANY INFO AS TO PLANS FOR TRAVEL TO CANADA BY

CARMICHAEL.

END.

EX 110

DATE: 03-01-2006
CLASSIFIED BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(6) 03-01-2031

3RD CC: MR. BRENNAN

REC 82 100-446080 2052
CC to WFO, 11/5/68
for action.
Promptly advise BU of
any info developed re
attached

15 NOV 6 1968

PTB/dkt

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

53 NOV 1 31968

VIA TELETYPE

NOV 1 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson_____
Mr. DeLoach_____
Mr. Mohr_____
Mr. Bishop_____
Mr. Casper_____
Mr. Callahan_____
Mr. Conrad_____
Mr. Felt_____
Mr. Gale_____
Mr. Rosen_____
Mr. Sullivan_____
Mr. Tavel_____
Mr. Trotter_____
Tele. Room_____
Miss Holmes_____
Miss Gandy_____

NR 2 TO WASHINGTON

URGENT 11-1-68 9-47 AM HST PAN

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080), WFO, SAN FRANCISCO, LOS ANGELES

AND NEW YORK

ENCODED

b7C

WFO AND NEW YORK VIA WASHINGTON

FROM HONOLULU (100-6465)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; RM - BPP. OO WASHINGTON FIELD.

RE HONOLULU RADIOGRAM OCTOBER THIRTY ONE LAST.

FOR INFORMATION NEW YORK SUBJECT AND EARL ANTHONY
ARRIVED HONOLULU EVEING OCTOBER TWENTY NINE LAST TO FULFILL
SPEAKING ENGAGEMENTS. CARMICHAEL, ANTHONY ACCOMPANIED BY

[REDACTED] DEPARTED HONOLULU ELEVEN THIRTY P.M.,
OCTOBER THIRTY ONE ON PAA EIGHT HUNDRED FOR SAN FRANCISCO,
CALIFORNIA. [REDACTED] AND ANTHONY HAVE OPEN TICKET SAN FRANCISCO
TO NEW YORK.

SHE HAS

BEEN OBSERVED AT SPEECHES OF CARMICHAEL AT HONOLULU, BUT NOT
OTHERWISE KNOWN THIS OFFICE. [REDACTED] TICKET WAS PURCHASED
THROUGH HILTON HOTELS AT NEW YORK OCTOBER TWENTY EIGHT LAST.
NEW YORK ADVISE ANY PERTINENT INFORMATION CONCERNING [REDACTED]

22 NOV 6 1968

END AND ACK

TELETYPED TO:

ST-122

NSM R. REAY
FEB 14 1968

NY
FEB 14 1968
TWO COPIES WFO

MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	WCL
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

VIA TELETYPE

OCT 26 1968

ENCIPHERED

DIRECTOR ---4---

553PM 10-26-68 URGENT BRS

TO DIRECTOR, LOS ANGELES AND SAN FRANCISCO (157-721) ~~WCL~~ ENCODE
FROM SAN DIEGO (100-13995)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL. RACIAL MATTERS.

b7C

Dupin

b7C

MB RE SAN FRANCISCO TELCALL TO SAN DIEGO THIS A.M.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL ARRIVED SAN DIEGO AND SPOKE AT RALLY
AT 30TH AND OCEAN VIEW BLVDS. HE MADE TAPE FOR
CHANNEL EIGHT TELEVISION. CARMICHAEL STATED HE WILL ATTEND
FUND RAISING DINNER TONIGHT IN SAN DIEGO. HE INDICATED HE MAY
GO TO LOS ANGELES FROM SAN DIEGO, PLANS INDEFINITE.

SAN DIEGO WILL ADVISE LOS ANGELES WHEN LEAVING TIME
DETERMINED.

LHM FOLLOWS. PENDING.

b7C

END

EFH

FBI WASH DC

REC-15

100-444000-2054

22 OCT 29 1968

MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836, 9&D

632 52 11 25 1968

51 NOV 18 1968
TELETYPE TO

100-13995-105

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

FTB

125

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

OCT 26 1968

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

FBI WASH DC

FBI SANDIEGO

806PM 10-26-68 URGENT BRS

TO DIRECTOR

FROM SAN DIEGO 100-13995

b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL. RACIAL MATTERS.

CARMICHAEL AND PARTY LEFT SAN DIEGO PSA FLIGHT EIGHT EIGHT
CHANGING FLIGHTS AT LOS ANGELES TO FLIGHT EIGHT TWO FIVE ARRIVING
AT SAN FRANCISCO NINE TWO FIVE P.M. THIS DATE.

LOS ANGELES AND SAN FRANCISCO ADVISED TELEPHONICALLY.

END

MXS

FBI WASH DC

P

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

REC 5

EX 106

22 OCT 30 1968

691 51 3 10 1968

100-446080-2055

53 NOV 12 1968

MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&L

5-1-13
Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 10-24-68

Attached pertains to Stokely Carmichael's plans to organize a group to meet the two suspended Negro olympic athletes who are scheduled to arrive in Washington, D.C., 10-24-68. The two Negro athletes are scheduled to hold a press conference and appear at a rally today.

Washington Field Office
affording appropriate coverage.
Copy of attached sent Inter-
Division Information Unit of
Department and Attorney General.

JWO:cwb

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

WCS
[Signature]

F B I

Date: 10/23/68

Transmit the following in _____

CODE

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE

URGENT

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Bishop	✓
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI AND SAC'S HONOLULU, LOS ANGELES
AND SAN FRANCISCO

b7C

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL-RM *RACIAL MATTER.*

RE WFOTEL OCT. TWENTY THREE LAST

b7C

SUBJECT AND [REDACTED] DEPARTED WDC RESIDENCE ABOUT
ELEVEN AM OCT. TWENTY THREE INSTANT AND DROVE TO FRIENDSHIP INTER-
NATIONAL AIRPORT, MD., WHERE [REDACTED] BOARDED UNITED AIRLINES FLIGHT
SIXTY THREE WHICH DEPARTED TWELVE ZERO THREE PM FOR SAN FRANCISCO.
SUBJECT RETURNED TO WDC.

b7C

A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION
IN THE PAST ADVISED [REDACTED]
EXPECTED TO ARRIVE NATIONAL AIRPORT WDC NINE THIRTY SEVEN OCT.
TWENTY FOUR INSTANT. SUBJECT ORGANIZING GROUP AT NEW SCHOOL FOR
AFRO AMERICAN THOUGHT, TWO ONE ONE FIVE FOURTEENTH ST. N.W. TO MEET
THEM AT AIRPORT. THEY WILL HOLD PRESS CONFERENCE AT ELEVEN AM AT

b7C

b7D

2-Bureau
3-Teletype
2-WFO

REC-14

JHP:rmj
(7)

REC'D DE LOACH

OCT 31 3 48 PM 1968

EX-105

REC'D DOUGLAS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc/tam/mlt/tcg

b7C

54 NOV 15 1968

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)PAGE TWO
WFO 100-43503

ED MURPHY'S SUPPER CLUB, TWO TWO TWO SEVEN GEORGIA AVE. N.W.
AND ALSO HAVE LUNCH. THEY WILL MAKE AN APPEARANCE AT HOWARD UNIV.
ONE PM. AT THREE THIRTY PM WILL HOLD RALLY AT NEW SCHOOL AFRO
AMERICAN THOUGHT WITH CARMICHAEL IN ATTENDANCE.

ADMINISTRATIVEABOVE SOURCE IS

b2

b7D

XEROX - MR. ROSEN
COPY SENT AG AND IDIUCC MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&DApproved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date: 11/4/68

Transmit the following in _____

PLAIN

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via **TELETYPE****URGENT**

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: ~~DIRECTOR~~, FBI, AND SACS LOS ANGELES AND SAN FRANCISCO

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RM.

IN VIEW OF THE TENSE RACIAL SITUATION EXISTING IN THE
WASHINGTON, D. C. AREA AND THE NUMEROUS RUMORS BEING RECEIVED
IMPLYING THAT CARMICHAEL IS RETURNING TO THE AREA, RECIPIENT
OFFICES ARE REQUESTED TO NOTIFY THE BUREAU AND WFO ON A
DAILY BASIS BY TELETYPE OF THE MOVEMENTS OF CARMICHAEL.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

- ② - Bureau (100-446080)
3 - Teletype Unit
2 - WFO

RNW:lt
(7)

MR. DELOACH FOR THE DIRECTOR

CC. MR. SULLIVAN

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

TELETYPE
NOV 11 1968
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan ✓
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

WA...21

FBI NEW YORK

6-05 PM URGENT 11-1-68 WPK

TO DIRECTOR, WASHINGTON FIELD, SAN FRANCISCO, LOS
ANGELES AND HONOLULU (CODE)

ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

ALL ADDRESSEES VIA WASHINGTON

FROM NEW YORK 100-153751 1P

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RACIAL MATTERS (OO-WFO).

REFERENCE HONOLULU TEL TO BUREAU, ELEVEN ONE
SIXTY EIGHT.

PRESENTLY SERVING IN UNITED STATES ARMY.

END

WA...R RELAY

CODE OR P

PLAINT?

CODE

WA...LRC R RELAY

FBI WASH DC

TELETYPE TO: 244
59 NOV 13 1968 TWO COPIES WFO
SF, LA, HN

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-01-2006 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

983317

ATTENTION

The following documents appearing in FBI files have been reviewed under the provisions of The Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) (Title 5, United States Code, Section 552); Privacy Act of 1974 (PA) (Title 5, United States Code, Section 552a); and/or Litigation.

☐ FOIA/PA

☐ Litigation

☐ Executive Order Applied

Requester: _____

Subject: _____

Computer or Case Identification Number: _____

Title of Case: _____ Section _____

* File _____

Serials Reviewed: _____

Release Location: *File _____ Section _____

This file section has been scanned into the FOIPA Document Processing System (FDPS) prior to National Security Classification review. Please see the documents located in the FDPS for current classification action, if warranted. Direct inquiries about the FDPS to RIDS Service Request Unit

 File Number: 100-HQ-446080 Section 44

 Serial(s) Reviewed: ALL

FOIPA Requester: _____ b2 _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

 FOIPA Computer Number: 983317

File Number: _____ Section _____

Serial(s) Reviewed: _____

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: _____

File Number: _____ Section _____

Serial(s) Reviewed: _____

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-14-2005 BY 60309-auc tam/mlt/tag

THIS FORM IS TO BE MAINTAINED AS THE TOP SERIAL OF THE FILE, BUT NOT SERIALIZED.

983317

/bls

ATTENTION

DO NOT REMOVE FROM FILE

/bls

983317

10/30/68

AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, WFO

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, aka (P)

RM - SNCC, BPP

(OO: WFO)

Bufile 100-446080

WFO file 100-43503

b6 b7C

RM - SNCC

Bufile 105-168197

WFO file 100-46722

NO file 100-17568

NY file 100-160701

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 22 copies of an LHM regarding the above captioned subjects. Copies are also furnished Atlanta, Boston, Honolulu, Los Angeles, New Orleans, New York and San Francisco. Two copies furnished Albany in view of info about [redacted] being a professor at Cornell University. Copies furnished Atlanta and Boston in view of info set forth regarding [redacted] and [redacted]

- 6 - Bureau (Enc. 22)
- 2 - Albany (Enc. 2) (RM)
- 3 - Atlanta (Enc. 3) (RM)
- 3 - Boston (Enc. 3) (RM)
- 3 - Honolulu (Enc. 3) (RM)
- 3 - Los Angeles (Enc. 3) (RM)
- 3 - New Orleans (Enc. 3) (RM)
- 3 - New York (Enc. 3) (RM)
- 3 - San Francisco (Enc. 3) (RM)

b6 b7C

5

(1 - 100-47226)

(1 - 157-1443)

WWH:mac AGENCY: ACSI, OSI, SEC. SERV.

(34)

HOW FORW:

DATE FORW:

79 NOV 22 1968

100-8060

REC-52

EX-10

100 446080

b2 b6 b7C

16 b7D
OCT 31 1968

REC-68

CRDS
11/4

RECEIVED
NOV 22 1968

COPY AND COPY OF ENCL FILED

WFO 100-43503

The LHM is being classified "Confidential" to protect sources who are furnishing information of value on a continuing basis.

Copies are being furnished to AUSA, Secret Service and local military intelligence agencies.

[redacted] Booking Agent,
Associated Booking, 445 Park Avenue, NYC.

b2 b6

b7C

b7D

The SAs observing CARMICHAEL [redacted] at Friendship
International Airport on 10/23/68 were [redacted]
[redacted]

The SAs observing the activities of subjects at
National Airport, WDC, on 10/24/68 were [redacted]
[redacted]

SA [redacted] of the Baltimore Office, with
the assistance of SA [redacted] of WFO, covered the press
conference at ED MURPHY's Supper Club, the rally at Howard
University and the subsequent rally at the New School of
Afro-American Thought. With Bureau permission, tape
recordings of the statements were made. However, a cursory
examination of the tapes and information received from live
coverage by sources, it does not appear any seditious or
inciting to riot statements were made. A further review
of the tapes is being made. If no pertinent data is
contained therein, the tapes will be retained in CARMICHAEL's
file in WFO. If pertinent data developed, translations will
be made where appropriate and set forth in LHM form.

b6 b7C

Don't we
want Tapes?
h



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Washington, D. C. 20535
October 30, 1968

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg
ON 11-14-2005

/bls

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
HUBERT GEROLD BROWN, Also Known As
H. Rap Brown

The October 15, 1968, edition of "The Honolulu Advertiser," a daily newspaper of Honolulu, Hawaii, announced Stokely Carmichael was to arrive in Honolulu on October 24, 1968, and scheduled to speak at the University of Hawaii on October 25 and 26, 1968.

Stokely Carmichael is the former National Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), 1966-1967, and is currently the Prime Minister of the Black Panther Party (BPP).

A characterization of SNCC and the BPP is attached herewith in the Appendix.

Md
D.C.
A confidential source, with whom insufficient contact has been had to determine reliability, advised on October 18, 1968, that [REDACTED]

b2 b6

b7C

b7D

[REDACTED] source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on October 22, 1968, that Stokely Carmichael [REDACTED]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

983317

COPIES DESTROYED

286 MAR 1 1971

GROUP 1

Excluded from automatic

~~ENCLOSURE~~
declassification

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL

On October 22, 1968, "The Honolulu Advertiser," mentioned previously, reported Carmichael would arrive in Honolulu on October 29, 1968, and speak on October 31, 1968.

Attached hereto is an article appearing in the "Washington-Afro American," a biweekly WDC newspaper, dated October 22, 1968, regarding John Carlos and Tommie Smith.

Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) verified on October 23, 1968, that Carmichael drove [redacted]

WDC residence to Friendship International Airport, Friendship, Maryland, [redacted]

[redacted] Carmichael returned to WDC.

"The Washington Post," a WDC daily newspaper, October 23, 1968, edition, contained an article attached herewith regarding Tommie Smith and John Carlos.

[redacted] source mentioned previously advised on October 23, 1968, that [redacted]

[redacted]

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The United States Attorney's Office, New Orleans, Louisiana, advised on October 23, 1968, that [redacted]

[redacted]

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL

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[redacted] of the National Airport Police, WDC, advised on October 24, 1968, that Stokely Carmichael, with a group of eight to ten individuals, appeared at the airport about 9:10 a.m. on that date. Several were dressed in African-type attire and wore "bush haircuts." They waited about the arrival area and were later joined by [redacted] who arrived on the 9:30 a.m. Eastern Airline shuttle from New York City. Soon thereafter several bus loads of young adults arrived at the airport via vehicles of American Tours, Incorporated. [redacted] stated that they were reportedly from Howard University, WDC, and were to greet arriving [redacted]. According to [redacted] Carmichael [redacted] with the above group, proceeded to Gate 20 at National Airport where [redacted] reportedly would arrive. A five-piece band arrived to participate in the welcoming ceremonies.

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Special Agents of the FBI observed Stokely Carmichael, [redacted] and about 150 young adults gathered at Gate 20, Washington National Airport at approximately 9:35 a.m. on October 24, 1968, awaiting the arrival of the flight of [redacted]. At approximately 9:45 a.m. United Airlines Flight 614 arrived with [redacted] was not on board. [redacted] was greeted with great applause and a report was announced that [redacted] could not make the trip to WDC [redacted]. After brief statements and greetings, Carmichael [redacted] along with others in the entire group, marched from the terminal to the accompaniment of music provided by the band. SNCC associates of Carmichael [redacted].

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[redacted] were observed in the crowd. The entire group entered vehicles and began a ride in caravan style to Ed Murphy's Supper Club, 2227 Georgia Avenue, N.W., WDC, where, according to previous announcements, a press conference would be held.

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL

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[redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on October 25, 1968, that [redacted] Stokely Carmichael, [redacted] and about 150 other individuals gathered at Edward Murphy's Supper Club, 2227 Georgia Avenue, N.W., WDC, on October 24, 1968, where a press conference was held from about 11:15 a.m. to 12:15 p.m. Also present was [redacted] planned boycott by black athletes of the Olympic Games. In addition, a large contingent of the press was present. During the press conference Carlos spoke of the participation of Negro athletes in the Olympics and said that the United States may not have a team to send to the 1976 Olympic Games. He said that all good athletes would be black and would not attend Olympic games. He said "If the U. S. does not change by 1972 they will be running around a flaming stadium." Carlos stated he did not want the medal he won for his third place finish in the 200 meter dash to count toward the United States' total medals won stating, "I was stripped and kicked off the U. S. team." He reportedly stated "The honkies get on the beach to get like us, but we are going to move them into the shade." He continued "This country didn't want to own me and I don't want them to own my medal." He said he wanted to give the medal "to a black museum for black people." Carlos also remarked that some of the United States representatives participating in the Olympic Games were forced "to wear uniforms of the wrong size and color." He then attacked the press declaring that he had received thousands of letters supporting his demonstration, not 1000 condemning it as had been reported by the press. He was asked if the demonstration by himself and Tommie Smith of clenching their black-gloved fists and lowering their heads in a defiant salute while the United States National Anthem was playing were their idea or one of the black power leaders. Carlos responded it

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL

was their idea and stated "I don't need Stokely or Rap to tell me what to do." He said he would have boycotted the Games entirely but he and Smith felt they could accomplish more by going and subsequently demonstrating. He said he would not stand for the playing of the National Anthem any more because "It does not represent" him. He predicted "a lot of people are going to start wearing black gloves" as a symbol of black power and "you are going to see a lot of your white daughters, sons and relatives wearing them to." He told the press "you had better start getting ready to knock them also." He was asked if thinking of the clenched fist demonstration may have helped him win the medal and he replied "I can run as fast out there on the street as I ran down there." During the press conference Carlos was presented with several gifts from members of the group present.

According to the source, Stokely Carmichael did not say very much but did comment he would be glad to receive athletic medals won by Negro athletes and would use them for a black museum. [redacted] only made one remark during the conference and that was that he hoped the black athletes who did participate in the Olympics without demonstrating "get 14 years of leg trouble."

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D.C. *N.Y.*
Harry Edwards, reportedly a professor at Cornell University, and described as founder of the Olympic boycott movement, criticised the United States Olympic Committee and said he was going to call for an investigation of money appropriated for the Olympics. He praised Smith and Carlos for the way in which they conducted themselves by the black power demonstration during the Olympic Games in Mexico City.

Source continued that during the press conference a mention was made of the war in Vietnam but only in a brief manner. He advised that there was mild criticism about the war but that no highly inflammatory statements had been made by any of the participants.

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL

After the press conference ended Carmichael [redacted] along with a small group, had lunch at Ed Murphy's Supper Club and then proceeded to the campus of Howard University, WDC, for a rally beginning at 1 p.m.

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[redacted] source advised that [redacted] Stokely Carmichael, [redacted] plus others with a group of about 400, most of whom were students, gathered at the front of Frederick Douglass Memorial Hall shortly after 1 p.m. on October 24, 1968. The above mentioned individuals spoke briefly as they did at the press conference and along the same lines relating to the participation of Negro athletes in the Olympics. Carlos was given a relief medallion of the late Malcolm X by Q. T. Jackson, President of the Student Body.

A characterization of Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI) of which Malcolm X was affiliated is set forth in the Appendix.

Stokely Carmichael spoke briefly and said "from this day forward black people will pick their own black heroes." H. Rap Brown reiterated his hope that Negro athletes who participated in the Olympics without demonstrating "have 14 years of leg trouble." Harry Edwards reportedly urged black people "wherever you are, receive the playing of the National Anthem" as Carlos and Smith did with a black power salute. He reiterated his demand for an investigation of the United States Olympic Committee for misuse of funds.

The rally at Howard University ended about 2:30 p.m. [redacted] and group then went to the New School of Afro-American Thought, 2115 14th Street, N.W., WDC, for a rally to be held at 3:30 p.m.

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL

A copy of an article dated October 25, 1968, and appearing in "The Washington Post," mentioned previously, regarding the rally at Howard University is attached herewith.

The New School of Afro-American Thought, mentioned above, has been publicly described as the headquarters for a small group of self-supporting artists and educators who are attempting to spread a message that Black people should be proud of being Black through classes given in Negro history, African language and art.

[redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on October 24, 1968, that a rally was held at the New School of Afro-American Thought, 2115 14th Street, N.W., WDC, beginning at 3:30 p.m. on October 24, 1968. [redacted] Stokely Carmichael, [redacted] were present along with about 175 other persons, mostly young males believed to be from Howard University. The rally overflowed from the premises of the School onto the sidewalk and street. Brief speeches were made by Carlos, Carmichael, Brown and Edwards. Carlos in brief remarks defended his action at the Olympics in Mexico City by his black power demonstration. He said that some people had criticised his stand but he did not think he did wrong. He said that he started to take part in the original boycott of the Olympic team. However, it is the pride of all athletes to win an Olympic medal and he could not resist the opportunity to participate. He reiterated he did not think he did wrong by what he did after winning the medal. He apologized for Smith not being able to be present and participate in the honors being given him. Carmichael spoke briefly and said the lesson Carlos and Smith showed white people is that the day is gone when "you mess with

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL

one black man and he is left there." He stated that now they will stick together and rally for support. H. Rap Brown spoke briefly and supported the position of Carlos and Smith by their black power display at the Olympics in Mexico City. He said that he hoped that the rest of the people would also support them.

Edwards again praised Carlos and Smith for the manner in which they conducted themselves during their participation in the Olympics. He criticised other Negro athletes participating for not taking a similar stand.

Also present in the crowd were SNCC associates of Carmichael. [redacted]

Source advised that the rally at the New School of Afro-American Thought ended about 4 p.m. without any incidents.

[redacted] Intelligence Division, Metropolitan Police Department, advised on October 24, 1968, that no incidents had been reported in connection with the visit of Carlos to WDC or at functions subsequently held in his honor.

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Officer [redacted] Dulles Airport Police, Dulles International Airport, advised on October 24, 1968, that Stokely Carmichael had departed that date via United Airlines Flight 57 en route to San Francisco, California.

[redacted] Clerk, Eastern Airlines, National Airport, WDC, advised on October 25, 1968, that [redacted] accompanied by [redacted] and another individual, departed National Airport for New York City via Eastern Airlines shuttle at 10 a.m. that date.

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APPENDIX

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia, is a nonmembership organization, which was born out of the sit-in movement that erupted across the South beginning in 1960.

Today SNCC identifies itself as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

According to SNCC the year 1967 marked a historic milestone in the struggle for the liberation of black people in the United States and the year that revolutionaries throughout the world began to understand more fully the impact of the black movement. SNCC declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus-- the capitalistic system of the United States with all its life-sucking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The realities of black life, together with the recognition instilled in SNCC workers forced its members to further popularize the legitimacy of self-defense and rebellions when oppression became too great."

From May, 1966, until May, 1967, Stokely Carmichael was National Chairman of SNCC. As of July, 1968, Carmichael resided in Washington, D. C., where he was affiliated with SNCC and active as temporary chairman of a black coalition group. In May, 1967, Carmichael [redacted]

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[redacted] who served until June, 1968.

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APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY, aka
Black Panther Party for
Self Defense

A source advised that the Black Panther Party for Self Defense (BPPSD) was formed by HUEY PERCY NEWTON, Minister of Defense, [REDACTED] December, 1966, as a militant black nationalist political organization to combat police brutality, to unite militant black youth, and to determine the destiny of black communities. The political philosophy was taken from writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of Communist China and black militant writers. b6 b7C

In March, 1968, the name of the organization was changed to Black Panther Party (BPP).

The official BPP publication, "The Black Panther Party - Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates use of guns and guerrilla tactics in their violent revolutionary program to end oppression of black people.

On February 17, 1968, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister of Information, announced merger of the BPP and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and bestowed title of Minister of Justice, BPP, upon H. RAP BROWN, Chairman of SNCC.

SNCC is a militant Negro organization which preaches black supremacy.

~~NEWTON, aforementioned, is incarcerated in the Alameda County Jail, Oakland, California, awaiting trial on charge of murder of an Oakland police officer.~~ *delete*

Headquarters of BPP and Huey P. Newton Defense Fund are located at 4421 Grove Street, Oakland, California.

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APPENDIX

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Over 3,500 back protest staged by Olympic athletes

(Continued from Page 1)

A telegram was sent late last week from a black student organization at Howard University to John Carlos and Tommie Smith supporting their racial protest at the Olympic Games in Mexico City.

A second telegram was sent Monday with over 2500 student signatures and a thousand signatures from D.C. residents, according to Bob Malson, vice president of the HU student assembly.

Both telegrams read, "We the Black students of Howard University urge all black athletes to unite in support of Tommie Smith and John Carlos in bringing the issue of American racism before the judgement of the world."

The second telegram began, "We the Black students of Howard University

and the people of Washington, D.C."

"Carlos and Smith were suspended from the team and asked to leave Mexico last week when they gave a "black unity" gesture from the victory stand during the playing of the National Anthem. Smith won the 200 meter dash and Carlos came in third.

FRIDAY afternoon, John Jones, a member of UJAMAA, a black nationalist student organization at Howard, told about 300 students at a campus rally that Smith and Carlos "had no obligation to salute the United States flag because of the murders that have been committed against our people in the name of white racism."

He said that Howard athletes should give the "same

salute" that Carlos and Smith gave during the Anthem playing at all Howard sports events.

One telegram was already on its way to Mexico City while the relay was in progress. This first telegram was sent only by UJAMAA with no list of signatures. Over 200 names were collected from the students at the rally for the second telegram and Jones said the goal was 10,000 student signatures. The petition-telegram was sent Sunday.

There are almost 10,000 students enrolled at Howard.

"Further actions on our part depend on the reaction of the other black athletes on the Olympic team," said Norman Reid, another

UJAMAA member. "The only thing we can effectively do is show support for them in any action they deem necessary."

MIKE HARRIS said that another petition telegram would be circulated "among the people of Washington D.C., urging all black people to unite in support of Tommie Smith and Carlos."

Part of the rally was devoted to a report on the Black Writers Conference held Oct. 14 and 15 at McGill University in Montreal.

IRVIN RAY, a member of UJAMAA executive board said that a Jamaican student, Walter Rodney, had been barred from returning to his country because the Jamaican government objected to the conference. Rodney was the conference's primary sponsor, according to Ray, and he has also been asked to leave Canada. Ray said the students in Jamaica "reaction among Jamaican been "drastic and violent."

Continued on Page 21.)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Ousted Olympian Hailed at Howard

By Robert C. Maynard
Washington Post Staff Writer

John Carlos, the Olympic bronze medalist who ran 200 meters in 20 seconds last week in Mexico City, was triumphantly received in Washington yesterday as a new hero of the black-power movement.

"This is the largest crowd of black people I have ever seen in one place to hear anyone speak," Carlos told a rally of several hundred persons at Howard University.

Surrounded by such black nationalists as Stokely Carmichael and H. Rap Brown, Carlos appeared shy, and hesitant in a morning press conference. But by afternoon he had struck a comfortable stance in his new role as a public speaker.

As Q. T. Jackson, president of the Howard University Student Assembly, handed Carlos a relief medalion of the late Malcolm

X, the banished Olympic runner quickly quipped, "This is the real gold medal." His crowd of followers shouted with delight.

Carmichael had little to say, except that "from this day forward, black people will pick their own black heroes." Brown said of those Negro athletes who participated in the Olympic Games without protest:

"I wish them 14 years of leg trouble."

Carlos, who defied the Olympic medal ceremony custom by standing beside his fellow winner, gold medalist Tommie Smith, with his left fist in a black glove clenched above his head, echoed Brown's sentiments.

Harry Edwards, the former San Jose (Calif.) State College professor who began a move for Negroes to boycott the Olympic Games, urged that black people,

"wherever you are," should "receive the playing of the National Anthem" as Carlos and Smith did—with a black-power salute.

Edwards said that Smith, who was to have appeared here with Carlos, remained behind in California with his mother, who was ill. Edwards said Smith's mother "nearly had a nervous breakdown because of harassment by the press."

Referring to reports that some members of the U.S. Olympic team are under investigation for receiving unauthorized funds, Edwards demanded a full-scale investigation of "the U.S. Olympic Committee and coaching staff, not just an investigation of black people by racist crackers."

In his own blast at the Olympic Committee, Carlos demanded that "since they disowned Tommie Smith and me, let them disown our medals, too."

APPENDIX

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APPENDIX

MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED (MMI)

The March 13, 1964, edition of "The New York Times," a daily newspaper published in New York, New York, contained an article on page 20 which indicated that Malcolm X (Little), former national official of the Nation of Islam (NOI) who broke with the NOI on March 8, 1964, publicly announced in New York City on March 12, 1964, that he had formed the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI). The MMI, according to the article, would be a broadly based politically oriented black nationalist movement for Negroes only, financed by voluntary contributions. In this public statement, Malcolm X urged Negroes to abandon the doctrine of non-violence when it is necessary to defend themselves in the civil rights struggle, and he also suggested that Negroes form rifle clubs to protect their lives and property in time of emergencies in areas where the government is unable or unwilling to protect them.

Incorporation papers of the MMI filed on March 16, 1964, with the Business Section, Clerk of Courts, New York County, New York, New York, reflect that the MMI was incorporated under the Religious Corporation Law of the State of New York to work for the imparting of the Islamic Faith and Islamic Religion in accordance with "accepted Islamic principals." The principal place of worship to be located in the Borough of Manhattan, New York, New York.

The May 23, 1964, edition of the "New York Amsterdam News," a weekly Negro newspaper published in New York City, contained an article by columnist James Booker in which he indicated that he had heard that the visit by Malcolm X with Muslim leaders during his African tour has changed him to become more religious.

On October 6, 1964, a confidential source advised that the MMI is apparently affiliated with the true orthodox Islamic Religion through its affiliation with the Islamic Foundation (of New York), 11 Riverside Drive, New York City. The only teachings of the MMI are on the Islamic Religion.

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MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED

This confidential source advised on May 17, 1965, that the headquarters of the MMI are located in Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, 2090 Seventh Avenue, New York, New York, where they were established on March 16, 1964. These headquarters are shared with the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) which was also headed by Malcolm X.

Malcolm X was assassinated on February 21, 1965, while addressing an OAAU rally at the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Street, New York City.

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APPENDIX

Banished Olympic Medalists To Speak in D.C. Thursday

By Robert C. Maynard
Washington Post Staff Writer

Olympic medalists Tommie Smith and John Carlos, banished from the Mexico City games for a black-power demonstration last week, are scheduled to begin a nationwide speaking tour in Washington on Thursday.

Stokely Carmichael, recently named as prime minister of the Oakland-based Black

Panther Party, said the engagements here were "arranged by me, because, of course, they must start in the Nation's Capital."

He added:

"This city—because of its black majority—should give them a hero's welcome."

Smith and Carlos, after placing first and third, respectively, in the 200 meter finals last Wednesday, stood for the

medal-bestowing ceremony without shoes and in black stockings, each holding high one clenched hand in a black glove.

The ensuing controversy resulted in the two athletes being sent home. They arrived in Los Angeles Monday afternoon, but refused to answer questions of reporters at the airport.

Carmichael said they will respond to questions at a press conference at 11 a.m. Thursday. At 1 p.m. Thursday, the medalists will appear in front of Frederick Douglass Memorial Hall, at Howard University and at 3:30 p.m. will be at the New School of Afro-American Thought, 2115 14th st. nw.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

/bls

Mr. Fred M. Vinson, Jr.
Assistant Attorney General

November 7, 1968

Director, FBI

1 - Mr. Rosen
1 - Mr. G. C. Mohr b6 b7C
1 - [REDACTED]

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY
SEDITION; ANTIRIOT LAWS

Reference is made to your letter dated August 14, 1968, advising that the matter of prosecution of Stokely Carmichael is the subject of continuing consideration in your division, and to your letter dated October 17, 1968.

In connection with our continuing investigation of Carmichael, we have submitted numerous reports regarding his activities. In particular, reference is made to the report of Special Agent [REDACTED] dated November 1, 1968, at Washington, D. C. I would appreciate being furnished a prosecutive opinion whether any of Carmichael's activities as set out in the report of Special Agent [REDACTED] or in the other communications pertaining to Carmichael constitute a violation of Federal law within the purview of your division.

The attention of Assistant Attorney General J. Walter Yeagley, Internal Security Division, is specifically invited to the verbatim transcripts previously furnished of speeches by Carmichael at Marin City, California, on August 22, 1968, and at De Fremery Park, Oakland, California, on August 25, 1968. In view of these speeches by Carmichael and the other information we have sent the Internal Security Division, I would appreciate being advised as to whether a decision has been made with respect to the possible prosecution of Carmichael for violation of the Sedition statutes or any other Federal law within the purview of the Internal Security Division.

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Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
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Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

1 - Mr. J. Walter Yeagley
Assistant Attorney General

PTB:ekw

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SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

NOV 18 1968
MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Mr. Fred M. Vinson, Jr.

NOTE:

We have furnished the Department voluminous information concerning the activities of black extremist Stokely Carmichael. On several instances in the past we have requested prosecutive opinions concerning Carmichael's activities from both the Internal Security Division and the Criminal Division of the Department. To date the Department has not authorized prosecution of Carmichael in any instance.

Assistant Attorney General Vinson by letter dated 10/17/68 requested investigation concerning statements made by Carmichael in Washington, D. C., on 10/12/68. Report of Special Agent [] dated 11/1/68 referred to above contains results of investigation requested. In view of the submission of this report we are again asking Vinson for a prosecutive opinion. In addition, due to the submission of additional information, we are again asking Assistant Attorney General Yeagley for a prosecutive opinion.

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/bls

ITT
VIA TELETYPE

NOV 1 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

12-40 AM URGENT 11-1-68 RLH

TO DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080) AND SAC WFO, SF, AND LA

WFO AND SAN FRANCISCO AND LOS ANGELES VIA WASHINGTON

CODED

FROM SAC, HONOLULU (100-6465)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL: RM-BPP. OO WFO

RE HONOLULU RADIOGRAMS OCTOBER TWENTY NINE LAST.

SUBJECT, [REDACTED] DEPARTED

HONOLULU ELEVEN THIRTY PM TEN DASH THIRTY ONE DASH SIX EIGHT ON

PAA FLIGHT EIGHT ZERO ZERO FOR SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA.

[REDACTED] HAVE OPEN TICKET SAN FRANCISCO TO NEW YORK.

FLIGHT EIGHT ZERO ZERO DUE TO ARRIVE SAN FRANCISCO SIX FIFTEEN b6 b7C

AM NOVEMBER ONE INSTANT.

END ACK WA AND FOR RELAYD

RM R RELAY

FBI WASH DC

TELETYPE TO:

TELETYPE TO:

TWO COPIES WFO

ADV. 7:50 Pm
T/T. COULD NOT REPLY
SF & LA. SF WILL ADV.
IF HE GOES THERE

MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

SEVP. Canney
N.Y. ADV.
11/1/68 PMS

/bls

CODED

11/8/68

TELETYPE

URGENT

1 - Mr. R.M. Horner
1 - Mr. G.C. Moor b6 b7C

TO: SACs, SAN FRANCISCO
LOS ANGELES
WFO (BY SPECIAL MESSENGER)

FROM: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

RE SAN FRANCISCO TELETYPE NOVEMBER SIX LAST CAPTIONED
"BLACK STUDENT UNION, SAN FRANCISCO STATE COLLEGE (BSU, SFSC),
RACIAL MATTERS (NO COPIES TO WFO OR LOS ANGELES), WHEREIN IT IS
REPORTED CARMICHAEL APPEARED AT SFSC NOVEMBER FIVE LAST.

SAN FRANCISCO SUBMIT BY RETURN TELETYPE SUMMARY OF
CARMICHAEL'S ACTIVITIES SINCE HE ARRIVED IN YOUR TERRITORY FROM
HONOLULU, HAWAII ON NOVEMBER ONE LAST. IN ACCORDANCE WITH
PREVIOUS INSTRUCTIONS KEEP THE BUREAU AND INTERESTED OFFICES
ADVISED BY TELETYPE ON A DAILY BASIS THE WHEREABOUTS AND
PERTINENT ACTIVITIES OF CARMICHAEL.

PTB:lst

VIA TELETYPE
10:30 PM
NOV 8 1968
ENCIPHERED

19 NOV 12 1968

b6 b7C

NOTE:

Black extremist Stokely Carmichael is presently in the
San Francisco Bay area

In view of

Carmichael's position as Prime Minister of the black extremist or-
ganization, Black Panther Party and that he has been traveling through-
out the United States making highly inflammatory remarks urging
guerrilla warfare, it is imperative that we are continually aware of
his whereabouts and his activities.

MAIL ROOM

Tolson
DeLoach
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Rosen
Sullivan
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Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

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DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg
ON 11-14-2005

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November 8, 1968

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Stokely Carmichael was replaced as Chairman of the black extremist organization, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), in May, 1967. Shortly thereafter, Carmichael traveled extensively throughout the world seeking support for the United States' black extremists. In Cuba, Carmichael was an observer to the Latin American Solidarity Organizations Conference of revolutionary forces. In Cairo, Egypt, on October, 1967, Carmichael said "My political philosophy is influenced by the Chinese and Cuban revolutionaries." In Paris, France, in December, 1967, he said "We do not want peace in Vietnam, we want the Vietnamese to defeat the United States of America."

Shortly after returning to the United States Carmichael established residence in Washington, D. C., early in January, 1968. He immediately launched a campaign to form a black united front of militant and moderate Negro leaders in the Washington, D. C., area. Despite any "new look" he may endeavor to project with the Black United Front, he remains committed to violence and irrationality. At a

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100-446080

ORIGINAL AND TWO TO LEGAT, OTTAWA

PTB:ekw
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BY R/S DATED 11/8/68

19 NOV 12 1968

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

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GROUP 1
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downgrading and
declassification

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

54 NOV 19 1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Carmichael's presence as a leading spokesman for black extremists made him less amenable to SNCC direction and control and he was expelled from SNCC in August, 1968. Carmichael is presently the Prime Minister of the Black Panther Party (BPP), a black extremist organization headquartered at Oakland, California. At a rally sponsored by the BPP held at Marin City, California, on 8/22/68, Carmichael declared that the blacks need to be free of capitalism and to bring this about he urged his audience to get guns and engage in guerrilla warfare.

NOTE:

Classified "~~Confidential~~" because information from the source, if disclosed, could jeopardize the source and be detrimental to the national defense.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 10-25-68

Attached relates to activities in
Washington, D. C., 10-24-68 in
connection with arrival of [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b6 b7C

Copy of attached sent Inter-
Division Information Unit of Department
and Attorney General. Pertinent parts
of same to be included in summary
teletype to White House and other
interested levels of Government.

JFM:lrh

he
WCF
[signature]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-14-2005 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

/bls

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
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F B I

/bls

Date: 10/24/68

Transmit the following in PLAIN
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson ✓
Mr. DeLoach ✓
Mr. Mohr ✓
Mr. Bishop ✓
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan ✓
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; ~~RM.~~ *RACIAL MATTER*

RE WFO TELETYPE OCTOBER TWENTYTHREE LAST.

SPECIAL AGENTS

~~SAS~~ VERIFIED THAT SUBJECT PROCEEDED TO NATIONAL AIRPORT
(NA), WDC, APPROXIMATELY NINE A.M., OCTOBER TWENTYFOUR INSTANT
WITH A GROUP TO GREET [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] DUE TO ARRIVE ON FLIGHT FROM WEST COAST. THE GROUP
WAS JOINED BY [REDACTED] WHO ARRIVED ON NINE THIRTY A.M.
EASTERN AIRLINES SHUTTLE FROM NEW YORK. TWO BUS LOADS OF
PARTICIPANTS ARRIVED AT THE AIRPORT VIA AMERICAN TOURS
VEHICLES, MOSTLY BELIEVED TO BE FROM HOWARD UNIVERSITY.
SUBJECT'S GROUP WENT TO GATE TWENTY AT NA WHERE ATHLETES
EXPECTED TO ARRIVE. THEY WERE JOINED BY GROUP ARRIVING B
ABOVE BUSES PLUS OTHERS BY CARS. A FIVE PIECE BAND APPEARED.

A CROWD OF ABOUT ONE HUNDRED FIFTY MOSTLY IN AGE TWENTIES

4 - Bureau

1 - WFO

EX 110

REC-35

WWH:lt
(5)

100-446080-2064
Date 10/24/68
RAC/lyr

b6 b7C

Approved: *Joseph D. Purcell*

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

WFO 100-43503

PAGE TWO

b6 b7C

GATHERED AT GATE TWENTY AND AT APPROXIMATELY NINE FORTYFIVE A.M., UNITED AIRLINES FLIGHT NUMBER SIX ONE FOUR ARRIVED WITH ONLY [REDACTED] ABOARD. HE WAS GREETED WITH MUCH APPLAUSE AND IT WAS REPORTED [REDACTED] COULD NOT MAKE THE TRIP DUE [REDACTED] AFTER GREETING AND BRIEF STATEMENTS, THE ENTIRE GROUP MARCHED FROM THE TERMINAL AS THE BAND PLAYED. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] ALSO OBSERVED IN CROWD. *THESE ARE ALL BLACK EXTREMISTS.*

THE GROUP ENTERED VEHICLES AND AT TEN TWELVE A.M. BEGAN RIDE CARAVAN-STYLE TO ED MURPHY'S SUPPER CLUB, TWO TWO TWO SEVEN GEORGIA AVENUE, N.W., WDC, WHERE PRESS CONFERENCE HELD FROM ABOUT ELEVEN FIFTEEN A.M. TO TWELVE FIFTEEN P.M. DURING PRESS CONFERENCE COMMENTS WERE MADE BY SUBJECT, H. RAP BROWN, CARLOS AND HARRY EDWARDS FROM CALIFORNIA, ONE OF THE ORGANIZERS OF A CONTEMPLATED BOYCOTT BY BLACK ATHLETES OF THE OLYMPIC GAMES. THEY SPOKE OF THE TREATMENT OF BLACK ATHLETES AND

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

F B I

Date:

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(Priority)

WFO 100-43503

PAGE THREE

THEIR PARTICIPATION IN THE OLYMPICS. BROWN STATED HE HOPED ALL BLACK ATHLETES WHO DID NOT PARTICIPATE IN THE BLACK POWER DISPLAY IN MEXICO CITY HAVE QUOTE LEG TROUBLE UNQUOTE. SUBJECT SAID HE WOULD BE GLAD TO RECEIVE ATHLETIC MEDALS GIVEN TO NEGRO ATHLETES AND WOULD USE THEM FOR A BLACK MUSEUM. EDWARDS CRITICIZED THE INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEE AND SUGGESTED IT BE INVESTIGATED. THEY MENTIONED OPPOSITION TO THE WAR IN VIETNAM.

AFTER PRESS CONFERENCE SUBJECT WITH SMALL GROUP INCLUDING HAD LUNCH AND THEN WENT TO HOWARD UNIVERSITY, WDC, WHERE RALLY OF ABOUT FOUR HUNDRED, MOSTLY STUDENTS, GATHERED IN FRONT OF FREDERICK DOUGLASS MEMORIAL HALL SHORTLY AFTER ONE P.M. THE PREVIOUS INDIVIDUALS COMMENTED BRIEFLY ALONG THE SAME LINES AS AT THE NEWS CONFERENCE. THE RALLY TERMINATED AT ABOUT TWO THIRTY P.M. AND PARTICIPANTS WENT TO THE NEW SCHOOL FOR AFRO-AMERICAN THOUGHT FOR A RALLY AT THREE THIRTY P.M.

b6 b7C

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Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date:

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(Priority)WFO 100-43503
PAGE FOUR

AT THREE THIRTY P.M. ABOUT ONE HUNDRED FIFTY YOUNG ADULTS INCLUDING SUBJECT, CARLOS, H. RAP BROWN, NEBLETT, SELLERS, AND EDWARDS GATHERED AT THE ABOVE SCHOOL. SUBJECT, CARLOS, EDWARDS, AND BROWN SPOKE BRIEFLY ALONG SAME LINES AS AT THE PREVIOUS FUNCTIONS. PROGRAM LASTED ABOUT THIRTY MINUTES AND ENDED WITHOUT ANY INCIDENTS, AS DID THE PREVIOUS FUNCTIONS AT FOUR TEN P.M.

ADMINISTRATIVE

memo
LHM FOLLOWS. P.

COPY SENT AG AND IDIU

*K-Rosen*MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&DApproved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

/bls

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448606)

10/9/68

SAC, WFO (100-47305) (C)

[REDACTED]

aka

RM - SACC

Re WFO airtel to Bureau, 7/31/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 8 copies of an LHM. Enclosed for NY, PH, and CG is one copy (for info) of the same LHM

[REDACTED] was interviewed by SAs [REDACTED] on 9/13/68, during an official investigation and in connection with another matter. During the course of the interview, [REDACTED]

b6 b7C

WFO is mindful of possible counter intelligence with CARMICHAEL [REDACTED]

- ② - Bureau (Enc. 8)
- 1 - New York (100-161914) (Info) (Enc. 1) (RM)
- 1 - Chicago (100-34744) (Info) (Enc. 1) (RM)
- 1 - Philadelphia (Info) (Enc. 1) (RM)
- 2 - WFO
(1- 100-43503)

RCC:bjr

(7)

51 NOV 15 1968

ENCLOSURE

100-446080-
NOT RECORDED
178 OCT 16 1968

100-448606-10
ORIGINAL FILED IN

WFO 100-47305

does not qualify for recommendations for inclusion on the Security or Agitator Index, and this case presently warrants no further investigation.

b6 b7C



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C. 20535

October 9, 1968

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-14-2005 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

b6 b7C

b7D

/bls



Representatives of the Federal Bureau of
Investigation, in connection with another matter, contacted
[redacted] on September 13, 1968. [redacted]



voluntarily furnished the following information:

b6 b7C



Stokely Carmichael is known publicly as a militant
Black Nationalist who was the former national chairman of
Student Non Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). SNCC is
described in the appendix attached hereto



b6 b7C

100-446080-

ENCLOSURE

APPENDIX

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Literature distributed by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquarters at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, describes itself as not being a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements. SNCC was born out of the sit-in movement which erupted across the South beginning on February 1, 1960. A conference at Raleigh, North Carolina, that Spring, brought together many of the demonstrating Southern students in a loose network of militant youth which was officially named SNCC in October, 1960.

A source has advised that in May, 1966, Stokely Carmichael was elected National Chairman by the Central Committee. In May, 1967, Carmichael [redacted]

[redacted] Carmichael assuming the position of Recruiter and Organizer for the SNCC. In August, 1967, at the invitation of Fidel Castro, Carmichael participated in the Organization of Latin American Solidarity Conference which was held in Havana, Cuba. Subsequent thereto, Carmichael traveled to Hanoi and other sections of North Vietnam. He returned to the United States in December, 1967, at which time his passport was picked up because of travel to unauthorized countries.

b6 b7C

A source advised that when Carmichael was elected Chairman of SNCC, the organization embarked on a program of eliminating Caucasians from its ranks. [redacted]

[redacted] as Chairman in 1967, it embarked on a world-wide struggle for human rights and to take a firm stand against violations of these rights by the American Government and to strengthen its programs of opposition to the draft and to the United States involvement in Vietnam.

Literature distributed in February, 1968, identifies SNCC as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

On August 13, 1967, while addressing a group in the Watts area of Los Angeles, California, H. Rap Brown said "You better shape up America, or we'll burn you down." Later in February, 1968, in a publicized note Brown wrote, "America, if it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you and to organize your jails to revolt against you and to organize your children, your God, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind, to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here's my life."

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

/bls

F B I

Date: 10/31/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM: LEGAT, LONDON (105-2989) (P)
STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

ReBuairtel 10/15/68.

(S)

(S)

(S)

b1 b6

b7C

3 - Bureau (Enc. 2)
1 - Liaison (direct)
1 - London
JTM:vw
(5)

ENCLOSURE

102

REC-26

17 NOV 5 1968

C. C. Bishop

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

59 NOV 18 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-14-2008 BY 60309 auc tam/mit/tcg

FBI

/bls

Date: 11/7/68

PLAINTEXT

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI AND SAC, SAN FRANCISCO

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; RACIAL MATTER.

FOR INFORMATION SAN FRANCISCO, LEGAT, OTTAWA, RECEIVED
INFORMATION FROM ☐ SUBJECT MAY POSSIBLY TRAVEL TO
CANADA TO PARTICIPATE IN A STUDENT POWER CONFERENCE IN
VANCOUVER, OCTOBER TEN DASH ELEVEN NEXT.

WFO SOURCES HAVE REPORTED NO INFORMATION REGARDING THE
ABOVE TO DATE.

SAN FRANCISCO FURNISH ANY INFORMATION DEVELOPED
REGARDING VISIT OF SUBJECT TO CANADA. P

- ② - Bureau
3 - Teletype Unit
2 - WFO

WWH:pgp
(7)

MR. TROTTER
ROOM 836 9&D

REC-56 100-5-66

1 NOV 12 1968

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____

61 NOV 19 1968 Special Agent in Charge

/bls

D

VIA TELETYPE

NOV 12 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

WASHINGTON --02--

1124AM DEFERRED 11/12/68 JOC
TO DIRECTOR AND WASHINGTON FIELD
FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-721)

1P

PLAINTEXT

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; RM - BPP.

G. L. CORE

END

CJD
FBI WASH DC

b2 b6

b7C

b7D

REC-63

100-446080-2068

EX-105

NOV 15 1968

54 NOV 20 1968
TELETYPED TO:

WFO

ROOM 835 9&D

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

NOV 8 1968

TELETYPE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-14-2005 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

FBI WASH DC*

/bls

FBI SAN FRAN

1105AM DEFERRED 11-8-68 MS

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080) WASH FIELD (100-43503) & SEATTLE
FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-721) 1P

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; RM - SNCC, BPP; SEDITION; ARL b6 b7C

RE WASH FIELD TEL NOVEMBER SEVEN LAST.

SAN FRANCISCO HAS NO INFORMATION REGARDING PROSPECTIVE
VISIT OF SUBJECT TO CANADA.

FOR INFO SEATTLE, WASH FIELD ADVISED LEGAT, OTTAWA, HAS
INFORMATION FROM [] SUBJECT MAY TRAVEL TO CANADA TO PARTICIPATE
IN STUDENT POWER CONFERENCE VANCOUVER, NOVEMBER TEN AND ELEVEN,
NEXT. b7D

SHOULD INFORMATION BE RECEIVED, APPROPRIATE OFFICES WILL
BE INFORMED.

END

CKG

FBI WASH DC*

54 NOV 20 1968
TELETYPED TO:

WFO

XEROX

NOV 1968
CC-MR. ROSEN

REC-63

EX-106 100-446080-2069

NOV 15 1968

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-14-2005 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

b6 b7C

/bls

FBI WASH DC*

430PM 11-5-68 URGENT CLP

TO DIRECTOR, LOS ANGELES, SAVANNAH, WASHINGTON FIELD (44-726)
FROM SAN FRANCISCO - RUC 1P

ELIJAH STILL MC GOWAN, REGISTRAR OF VOTERS (LONG COUNTY),
GEORGIA, VOTING DISCRIMINATION, VRA SIXTYFIVE; CR; OO SAVANNAH.

RE WASHINGTON FIELD TELETYPE NOVEMBER FIVE.

[REDACTED] ADVISED TODAY THAT STOKELY

b2 b7D

CARMICHAEL APPEARED THIS DATE SAN FRANCISCO STATE COLLEGE

TWO THIRTY P.M., PST.

END

CKG

FBI WASH DC*

100-446080-
NOT RECORDED
191 NOV 8 1968

NOV 6 1968

351
NOV 20 1968

cc - [unclear]

ORIGINAL FILED IN 44-0-10931

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 11/13/68

Attached relates to speech 11/12/68 by Stokely Carmichael in Cupertino, California, and, among other things, he said his goal is to destroy American society as we know it.

Copy of attached sent Inter-Division Information Unit of Department and Attorney General. Also to be furnished Internal Security Division of Department, Secret Service, and military.

JFM:chs

6/17/68 *was/w*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-14-2005 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

/bls

/bls

VIA TELETYPE
NOV 13 1968
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach ✓
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop ✓
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen ✓
Mr. Sullivan ✓
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

WASHINGTON 04

325PM DEFERRED 11/13/68 JOC
TO DIRECTOR (100-446080) AND WASHINGTON FIELD (100-43503)
FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-721) 2P PLAINTEXT

RACIAL MATTER - BLACK PANTHER PARTY
STOKELY CARMICHAEL; ~~RM-BPP~~; SNCC; SEDITION.

Joe STOKELY CARMICHAEL SPOKE DE ANZA COLLEGE, CUPERTINO,
CALIFORNIA, EIGHT P.M., NOVEMBER TWELVE, LAST. AUDIENCE
CONSISTED APPROXIMATELY FOUR HUNDRED FIFTY PERSONS PREDOMINANTLY
WHITE. AUDIENCE WAS RECEPTIVE. APPEARANCE SPONSORED BY BLACK
STUDENT UNION, DE ANZA COLLEGE, NEWLY FORMED GROUP. NOTED,
HOWEVER, MOST NEGROES PRESENT WERE NOT STUDENTS AT DE ANZA
COLLEGE. REPRESENTATIVES OF STUDENT BODY SIGNED CONTRACT WITH
SUBJECT GUARANTEEING HIM ONE THOUSAND DOLLARS FOR APPEARANCE.
SUBJECT SPOKE FOR ABOUT TWENTY-FIVE MINUTES.

DURING SPEECH, CARMICHAEL SPOKE OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC
EQUALITY DESIRED BY BLACK MAN. HE ATTACKED LIBERAL MOVEMENT
CLAIMING THEY SEEK TO MAINTAIN STATUS QUO AND AVOID CONFRONTATION
END PAGE ONE

REC 12 - 100-446080-2070

EX-101

25 NOV 18 1968

TELETYPED TO:

ETB WFO

PAGE TWO

WITH AUTHORITIES. HE SAID HIS GOAL IS TO DESTROY AMERICAN SOCIETY AS WE KNOW IT AND THAT THE BLACK POWER MOVEMENT WILL CONTINUE ITS POLICY OF HARASSMENT OF THE ESTABLISHMENT.

ADMINISTRATIVE DATA--

RE SAN FRANCISCO TELETYPE NOVEMBER TWELVE, LAST.

SOURCE IS DE ANZA COLLEGE, CUPERTINO, AN ESTABLISHED SOURCE (PROTECT).

EFFORTS BEING MADE TO DETERMINE IF SPEECH RECORDED. IF SO, RECORDING WILL BE OBTAINED.

memo
LHM FOLLOWS.

END

VXC FBI WASH DC

MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

COPY SENT AG AND IDIU

XEROX ROSEN

b6
b7C
b7D

@

FBI WASH DC*

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

NOV 9 1968

TELETYPE

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-14-2005 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

FBI SAN FRAN

11:13PMPST DEFERRED 11-8-68 CRW

/bls

TO DIRECTOR, WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE AND SEATTLE
FROM SAN FRANCISCO

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; RM-BPP

RE SF TEL TO BUREAU ELEVEN SIX, CAPTIONED BSU AND BU TELETYPE
TO SF ELEVEN EIGHT.

HAVE NOT REPORTED HIS PRESENCE AT ANY BPP FUNCTION AND HE HAS INFAC
BEEN CONSPICIOUS BY HIS ABSENCE FROM SUCH ACTIVITY WHICH INCLUDE
BPP PUBLIC RALLY IN SF ON ELEVEN EIGHT SIXTY EIGHT.

KNOWLEDGE OF SUBJECT'S DAY TO DAY WHEREABOUTS WILL CONTINUE
TO BE OBTAINED THROUGH INFORMANTS, SOURCES AT FAIRMONT HOTEL AND
HOLIDAY LODGE

SOURCES REPORTED SUBJECT AT MOTEL ALL DAY ON ELEVEN EIGHT.

FOR INFO OF SEATTLE, SUBJECT NOT KNOWN TO BE PLANNING TRIP TO
VAN COUVER.

SF WILL KEEP BUREAU, WFO AND INTERESTED OFFICES ADVISED.

END TELETYPE TO:

BJP

FBI WASH DC*

MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

983317

ATTENTION

The following documents appearing in FBI files have been reviewed under the provisions of The Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) (Title 5, United States Code, Section 552); Privacy Act of 1974 (PA) (Title 5, United States Code, Section 552a); and/or Litigation.

☐ FOIA/PA☐ Litigation☐ Executive Order Applied

Requester: _____

Subject: _____

Computer or Case Identification Number: _____

Title of Case: _____ Section: _____

* File _____

Serials Reviewed: _____

Release Location: *File _____ Section _____

This file section has been scanned into the FOIPA Document Processing System (FDPS) prior to National Security Classification review. Please see the documents located in the FDPS for current classification action, if warranted. Direct inquires about the FDPS to RIDS Service Request Unit, b2

File Number: 100-HQ-446080 Section 45Serial(s) Reviewed: ALL

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: 983317

File Number: _____ Section _____

Serial(s) Reviewed: _____

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: _____

File Number: _____ Section _____

Serial(s) Reviewed: _____

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 08-17-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/bls

THIS FORM IS TO BE MAINTAINED AS THE TOP SERIAL OF THE FILE, BUT NOT SERIALIZED.

ATTENTION

DO NOT REMOVE FROM FILE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE HONOLULU	OFFICE OF ORIGIN WFO	DATE 11/13/68	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 10/15 - 11/6/68
TITLE OF CASE STOKELY CARMICHAEL, aka		REPORT MADE BY SA [redacted] /sbt	TYPED BY
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 08-17-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/bls		CHARACTER OF CASE RM - SNCC, BPP	

b6
b7CREFERENCESHonolulu radiograms to Bureau, dated
11/1 and 10/29/68.

- RUC -

ENCLOSURES

To the Bureau (2): Two copies of FD-376.

COVER PAGE

A

APPROVED <i>[Signature]</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW	
COPIES MADE: 8-Bureau (100-446080) (Encls 2) (RAM) 1-NISO, Honolulu (RM) 1-OSI, Honolulu (RM) 1-MID, Honolulu (RM) 1-Secret Service, Honolulu (RM) 4-WFO (100-43503) (RAM) 1-Los Angeles (157-1907) (Info) (RAM) 2-Honolulu (100-6465)		100-446080-2072-REC-23 14 NOV 18 1968 REC-50 ST 101	
Dissemination Record of Attached Report		Notations	
Agency	Request Recd.	J. Walter Yeagley, [redacted]	
Date Fwd.	How Fwd.	11/27/68	
By		3 Xerox copies & 26 940	

b6
b7C

57 DEC 5 1968

HN 100-6465

INFORMANTS

<u>Identity</u>	<u>Date Contacted</u>	<u>Location</u>
[redacted]	10/15/68	HN 100-6465-12
[redacted] (requested identity be concealed)	10/29/68	Orally to SA [redacted] this report
[redacted] (Requested identity be concealed)		Identify [redacted]
[redacted]	11/3/68	To be filed in [redacted]
[redacted]	11/2/68	To be filed in [redacted]

b2
b6
b7C
b7D

ADMINISTRATIVE

This report is classified ~~confidential~~ to protect the
identity of [redacted]

Agents conducting fisur on 10/29/68 were SAs [redacted]

Agents conducting surveillance on 10/30/68 were SAs [redacted]

Agents conducting surveillance on 10/31/68 were SAs [redacted]

Surveillance logs are filed in HN 100-6465-1A.

b2
b6
b7C
b7D



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535
November 13, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Director
United States Secret Service
Department of the Treasury
Washington, D.C. 20220

Dear Sir:

The information furnished herewith concerns an individual who is believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning Presidential protection, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

1. ☐ Has attempted or threatened bodily harm to any government official or employee, including foreign government officials residing in or planning an imminent visit to the U. S., because of his official status.
2. ☐ Has attempted or threatened to redress a grievance against any public official by other than legal means.
3. ☐ Because of background is potentially dangerous; or has been identified as member or participant in communist movement; or has been under active investigation as member of other group or organization inimical to U. S.
4. ☐ U. S. citizens or residents who defect from the U. S. to countries in the Soviet or Chinese Communist blocs and return.
5. ☒ Subversives, ultrarightists, racists and fascists who meet one or more of the following criteria:
 - (a) ☐ Evidence of emotional instability (including unstable residence and employment record) or irrational or suicidal behavior;
 - (b) ☒ Expressions of strong or violent anti-U. S. sentiment;
 - (c) ☐ Prior acts (including arrests or convictions) or conduct or statements indicating a propensity for violence and antipathy toward good order and government.
6. ☐ Individuals involved in illegal bombing or illegal bomb-making.

Photograph ☐ has been furnished ☐ enclosed ☐ is not available
☐ may be available through _____

Very truly yours,

J. Edgar Hoover
John Edgar Hoover
Director

DECLASSIFIED BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/b1s
ON 08-17-2006

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s))
U. S. Secret Service **Honolulu (RM)**

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Enclosure(s)

(Upon removal of classified enclosures, if any, this transmittal form becomes UNCLASSIFIED.)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION~~CONFIDENTIAL~~DECLASSIFIED BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/b1s
ON 08-17-2006

Copy to:

1-NISO, Honolulu (RM)
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1-Secret Service, Honolulu (RM)

Report of:

SA [REDACTED]

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Office:

Honolulu

Date:

November 13, 1968

Field Office File #:

HN 100-6465

Bureau File #:

100-446080

Title:

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Character:

RACIAL MATTERS - STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING
COMMITTEE, BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Synopsis:

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, [REDACTED] arrived
at the Honolulu International Airport. 9:25 PM, 10/29/68.

10/29/68.

CARMICHAEL gave speeches at University YWCA, 10/30/68,
Honolulu Press Club, Andrews Amphitheater, University of
Hawaii, and Church of the Crossroads, 10/31/68. Subject.b6
b7C[REDACTED]
departed Honolulu at 11:30 PM, 10/31/68 for San
Francisco, California. CARMICHAEL's trip to Honolulu
sponsored by the Black Student Union and financed from
loan of Associated Students of the University of Hawaii.

HAWAII

- RUC - [REDACTED]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GROUP 1

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

HN 100-6465

DETAILS:

AT HONOLULU, HAWAII

The October 15, 1968 edition of the "Honolulu Advertiser", a daily newspaper of Honolulu, announced that STOKELY CARMICHAEL, who had recently joined the Black Panther Movement, was scheduled to arrive in Honolulu on October 24, 1968, accompanied by EARL ANTHONY, Minister of Information for the Black Panther Party (BPP), to speak at the University of Hawaii (UH).

The news article went on to quote the Black Student Union (BSU) President, JUNIOUS SIMON, as stating there was no correlation between the group inviting CARMICHAEL to Hawaii and the scheduled visit of president candidate, GEORGE C. WALLACE.

SIMON stated that the newly formed BSU invited CARMICHAEL to Hawaii as a means of giving out information about the BPP but it did not mean that the group was identifying itself with BPP ideology.

On October 15, 1968 [] advised as follows:

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There are perhaps some 50 Negro students among the 17,000 full-time students registered at the UH. Recently a group of about 35 Negro students have attempted to organize under the name of the Black Student Union. They have not as yet been accredited as a student organization, and because they have announced that membership will only be open to members of the black race, they undoubtedly will not be given approval. However, the BSU has received interim acknowledgement by the university and equipped with this, the BSU obtained a student loan from the Associated Students of the University of Hawaii to bring CARMICHAEL to Honolulu to speak. Contrary to the story in the "Honolulu Advertiser" of that date that members of BSU were anxious to bring CARMICHAEL to Honolulu because of WALLACE's

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intended visit, they have decided they would not picket or harrass WALLACE; that they would not even acknowledge him, but instead would invite a black speaker to talk at the university during his visit.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL is the former National Chairman of the Students Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) from 1966 to 1967, and is currently Prime Minister of the BPP.

A characterization of SNCC and BPP is appended hereto.

The "Honolulu Advertiser" of October 22, 1968 reported that CARMICHAEL had changed his itinerary and would arrive in Honolulu, accompanied by EARL ANTHONY, on the evening of October 29, 1968. ANTHONY, according to the article, is scheduled to speak at 11:30 AM on October 30, 1968 at the Kennedy Theater at the East-West Center, UH, and CARMICHAEL will speak the following day at 1:30 PM at the Andrews Amphitheater on the campus. He was also scheduled to speak at the Church of the Crossroads on the evening of October 31, 1968.

On October 29, 1968 [redacted] reported that he had received information that [redacted]

Hawaii
The Hawaiian Telephone Company information service reported that [redacted] Honolulu.

Registration for automobile licenses hereinafter recorded were checked by SA [redacted] through the files of the Honolulu Police Department.

Agents of the FBI observed the following:

At 9:25 PM on October 29, 1968, STOKELY CARMICHAEL [redacted] arrived in Honolulu aboard United Airlines Flight 187 from San Francisco, California. [redacted]

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immediately proceeded from the plane to a beige and white Thunderbird, bearing Hawaii license 1E-6105 and departed from the airport. In front of the Thunderbird was a red sports sedan bearing Hawaii license 8E-2627.

[redacted] Honolulu Police Department, reported that the aforementioned Thunderbird was purchased

[redacted] Hawaii
Hawaii license 8E-2627 is issued to a 1968 Toyota owned by [redacted]

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At 10:05 PM both cars stopped [redacted] and the occupants entered a residence at that address. [redacted] observed in the residence.

At 10:15 PM a convey of several cars with Negroes arrived [redacted] The occupants entered the residence. The cars included a Volkswagen, Hawaii license N163 (owner [redacted]) a Volkswagen, Hawaii license 6E-8214 (owner [redacted]) a Chevrolet, Hawaii license 5A-7665 (owner [redacted])

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a Chevrolet, Hawaii license 1B-9257 (registered to Wheels, Ltd., 2874 Kam Highway, Honolulu. On November 5, 1968 [redacted] Wheels, Ltd., advised SA [redacted] that a 1963 Chevrolet, bearing Hawaii license 1B-9257 was sold to [redacted]

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[redacted] residence [redacted] a Pontiac, Hawaii license X5078 (owner [redacted]) a Chevrolet, Oahu license 71719 (owner [redacted]) local address [redacted] a red MG Roadster, California license ONZ101. [redacted] was a car bearing Hawaii license 3B-6133, issued to [redacted]

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At 11:20 AM, October 30, 1968 [redacted] Honolulu
Police Department, advised that [redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]

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At 12:10 PM/ October 30, 1968, CARMICHAEL, in the company
[redacted]
[redacted] were observed beside a Volkswagen, bearing
Hawaii license N163 and a red Mustang, Hawaii license
9B-2667 (owner, Finance Factors. [redacted] Finance
Factors, advised on November 4, 1968 that this car
had been purchased by [redacted]
[redacted]

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On October 30, 1968 [redacted] Honolulu
Police Department, reported that [redacted]
[redacted]

CARMICHAEL, [redacted] entered the front of
Kennedy Theater. At 12:32 PM, CARMICHAEL departed
Kennedy Theater in a Thunderbird, Hawaii license
1E-6105, and [redacted] bearing
Hawaii license N163.

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At 6:45 PM it was observed that a party was in progress
[redacted] and another
Negro male were observed in front of the residence.
Many cars were observed in the vicinity, including
the Volkswagen with Hawaii license N163, the Mustang
with Hawaii license 9B-2667 and the Volkswagen with
Hawaii license 6E-8214.

At 8:15 PM an announcement was heard at the University
YWCA, where CARMICHAEL was scheduled to speak, stating
that CARMICHAEL was at a party and would be 45 minutes
to an hour late. At 8:47 PM a similar announcement was
made, stating that CARMICHAEL had left the party on
[redacted]

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At 9:02 PM, CARMICHAEL, [redacted] and other Negro males approached the YWCA on foot from Metcalf Avenue. CARMICHAEL departed the YWCA after 10:16 PM and entered the Mustang with Hawaii license 9B-2667. He was driven to [redacted] where he was later observed [redacted] other Negroes. CARMICHAEL thereafter departed [redacted] [redacted] in the red Mustang and parked in a parking stall [redacted]

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On the morning of October 31, 1968 [redacted] were observed driving from the Waikiki area to Queen's Surf. They were joined shortly thereafter by CARMICHAEL and other Negroes. CARMICHAEL [redacted] went swimming. Thereafter CARMICHAEL journeyed to the Ilikai Hotel where he was scheduled to meet with the Honolulu Press Club.

CARMICHAEL spoke at the Andrews Amphitheater, UH, from 2:05 PM to 2:53 PM. He was accompanied to the Amphitheater by [redacted] Prior to his speech, CHARLES WILLIAMS, formerly Vice President of the Students for a Democratic Society, a characterization of which is appended hereto, and a Negro student at the UH, introduced himself as Vice President of the BSU. WILLIAMS related that the BSU had been in existence for some six weeks, had held two meetings, and was bringing CARMICHAEL to Honolulu in order to give the people of Honolulu the perspective of a mainland Negro.

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CARMICHAEL departed Andrews Theater in a green Volkswagen, bearing Hawaii license 9C-7133, registered to [redacted]

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[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted] from the university in another Volkswagen and he later joined CARMICHAEL at [redacted] where apparently a party was in progress.

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Shortly after 5 PM, [redacted] CARMICHAEL drove into a driveway for addresses [redacted]

Later in the evening, [redacted] the Church of the Crossroads where CARMICHAEL was to give a speech. After the speech, CARMICHAEL departed the Church of the Crossroads [redacted] stayed for some time at [redacted] and then departed for the Honolulu International Airport.

[redacted] CARMICHAEL departed Honolulu at 11:32 PM on Pan American Airways Flight 800 for San Francisco, California.

On October 30, 1968 [redacted]

On January 31 and March 27, 1957 [redacted] members of the Communist Party (CP) [redacted]

The 1967-68 UH Directory lists [redacted] residence of [redacted]

On November 6, 1968 [redacted] Commission on Subversive Activities, Legislature, State of Hawaii, reported that [redacted]

during CARMICHAEL's speeches at Andrews Amphitheater and at the Church of the Crossroads on October 31, 1968.

The current Honolulu City Directory lists [redacted] residing at [redacted]

On November 6, 1968 [redacted] the Committee to End the War in Vietnam, a characterization of which is appended hereto.

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On November 6, 1968 [redacted]

[redacted] reported that he had recently [redacted]

According

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[redacted] observed TV programs showing STOKELY CARMICHAEL in Honolulu. [redacted]

[redacted] had been shown in the crowd around CARMICHAEL.

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On the same date [redacted]

Honolulu International Airport, reported that he

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On November 6, 1968 [redacted]
as follows:

further advised

The BSU has only interim acknowledgement at the UH and hence the organization is not required to submit a list of officers or members to the school. CHARLES WILLIAMS, in his speech at Andrews Amphitheater on October 31, 1968, identified himself as Vice President of the BSU and stated JUNIOUS SIMON was President of the organization. At that time he remarked the BSU had been in existence for some six weeks and had held two meetings. [redacted] advised that immediately prior to CARMICHAEL's arrival in Honolulu, [redacted]

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Honolulu Police Department concerning security arrangements for CARMICHAEL. [redacted]

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[redacted] CARMICHAEL when subject spoke. The largest turnout of blacks, numbering more than 30, occurred when CARMICHAEL [redacted] arrived at the Honolulu International Airport on October 29, 1968. A good portion of these Negroes appeared to be adult and not students. Upon their arrival, CARMICHAEL [redacted] walked directly to a car and had little contact with the Negroes who were at the airport to meet them.

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The following day, [redacted]
[redacted] there were only a hand full of Negroes in the audience out of about 650 present. When the BSU took up a collection, it was necessary for several Orientals to volunteer their services because there were not enough Negroes present. [redacted] related that local newspapers had reported that at noon on October 31, 1968 CARMICHAEL had appeared before the Honolulu Press Club. From press reports of that speech, it is apparent that CARMICHAEL's theme was the same as his talk at the Andrews Amphitheater on the UH Campus.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

November 7, 1968

Date

[redacted] Commission on Subversive
Activities, Legislature, State of Hawaii, advised
as follows:

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Shortly after 2 PM on October 31, 1968 STOKELY CARMICHAEL addressed an overflow crowd at Andrews Amphitheater on the University of Hawaii Campus. CARMICHAEL was introduced by JUNIOUS SIMON, President of the Black Student Union. During his speech he mentioned that this was the first time he had spoke at a white university. There were a few Negroes on each side of the platform and near the front of the amphitheater.

CARMICHAEL's remarks, recorded by tape, were as follows:

(The recorder was not operating during the first few introductory statements.)

The only time you can talk about morality is when you have enough power to enforce morality on people you control. Before then you cannot talk about morality. I think that's a major problem with many of white youth in the United States today, they are always concerned with question of morality when tied with the question of violence. Now what do we mean when we say revolutionary violence. Well, there's violence in the world but different kinds of violence. Now within a political arena we phased our violence into two areas, basically, revolutionary violence and counter revolutionary violence. Counter revolutionary violence is a violence that seeks to maintain the status quo. It is a violence that seeks to keep in power a few people who rule and oppress the rest.

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Honolulu, Hawaii

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On _____ at _____ File # _____

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by _____ Date dictated _____

Revolutionary violence is a violence used against the counter revolutionary violence to overthrow the established system, but to establish a system which speaks through the masses of the people, not just a few. For example, you have in South America and even in Africa many coups of a violent nature, but most of those coups are not revolutionary coups because the people who come to power do not speak for the masses of the people of their given countries. So that revolutionary violence would be violence aimed at the status quo to change the situation and bring about a new order which speaks directly to the masses of the people in any given area. Now we want to talk about self defense and offensive violence, because again that's another area where many people get hung up on (to use an SDS word, if I may) and to those who get hung up on self defense and offensive violence we ought to state very clearly:

Che Guevara says that self defense never changes the status quo. He is absolutely correct. If we had self defense in the black communities of the United States, it would mean that every time a white policeman shot a black man, the black man would retaliate, maybe shoot that policeman, or he would shoot ten policemen, but that basically would not change the situation of the United States, or would it change the situation of any given area. In order to change the situation, one must use offensive violence. That's logical. You may disagree with it but it's logical and we are concerned with logic, not whether or not we agree with certain things. So that one just cannot talk about self defense if one is talking about changing the status quo. One can talk about self defense only in the mere sight of survival while one pushes for sudden changes.

Let us use the Chicago convention as our example. If the white students who were being beaten by the policemen retaliated against the policemen that would be an act of self defense, but it would not change one iota the situation in the United States within the

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political arena, because after they fought those policemen there'd just be more policemen and if they just waited for the policemen to attack them, they would be reacting to the moves of the people they oppose. That's hardly a way to win any game, let alone the game of politics. So we want to make those two points clear.

Now we want to talk about racism and capitalism. I think this discussion becomes important in light of the new left and the many new socialist and Communist groups that are popping up around the country who are trying to say that they, in fact, have the solution for the problem. Now the fight of black people of America, and I would venture to say, although I would not be on solid ground, that the fight of the colored peoples in the world today is a fight against racism and capitalism, and while these two fights may be closely connected, they are also mutually exclusive. That is to say you can have one without the other and it is also correct to say that you cannot assume that by abolishing one, you necessarily abolish the other. Then one would come into the area where we would have difficulty with the white man because the white man seems to assume that the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of socialism or Communism automatically leads to the abolition of racism. I do not think that that is correct. So that what we are going to see is that black people are going to have to fight for an ideology that combats not only capitalism but also racism, and in many cases racism will be uppermost in the minds of black people rather than capitalism, simply because we have not had that much contact with black capitalists and black imperialists because in reality there are none. There may be some puppets of black capitalism but there are no real black capitalists, so that again the institution is going to be against racism recognizing the imperialist characteristic of capitalism. I think that on that fight we should branch off and begin to see the difference between poor white people of the country and black people of the country.

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Now there are two types of offenses. Oh, there are more, but let us deal specifically with two types. One is called exploitation; the other is called colonization.

Exploitation is when you rape someone economically of their labor and that's it; that's when you economically exploit them. But colonization is entirely different from exploitation because in colonization you not only rape the person economically but you seek to dehumanize the victim. You seek to dehumanize the victim by stripping him of his culture, by stripping him of his history, by stripping him of his language, by stripping him of his value system, and by forcing him to identify with his master. Black people are colonized in the United States; white people are exploited. There is a difference. So to assume that the fight of poor white people and the fight of black people is the same is to make a politically naive assumption. White people are not fighting for their history, they are not fighting to regain their culture, they are not fighting to regain their value systems. They have all those things. All the poor white people are fighting for is more money, and we cannot allow black people to think that that's their fight - just more money. As a matter of fact, we see that that's happening all over the country. Black people, I find, are pushing very hard for the cultural aspects of their struggle rather than the economic aspects of their struggle, while I think that that's a trick that plays into the hands of white society because white society assumes that there is no threat if one moves on the cultural aspect rather than the overt threat if one moves on the economic aspects, but nonetheless, we have to bear these things in mind and we must understand them clearly. That is not to say that the fight of poor white people will not help black people or even vice versa. We don't know. But certainly we do know that we cannot say the fights are the same.

And now we want to branch right from that and go and talk about the liberals because most people who talk about revolution for change in the United States should

recognize that while the economically secure, that is the, in Maotistic terms, the bourgeoisie, the economically secure, may start revolution, it is the economically insecure upon whom they depend for the masses of their struggle and that is a fact. The economically insecure in the United States happens to represent poor white people; not econonically secure people but white economically secure people represent the liberal establishment in the United States and poor white people represent the entire element or the right wing reactionary element of the United States.

So to try to apply a situation that they have read in a handbook by Marx or Lenin to the United States would be incorrect unless they clearly understood the difference that takes place within the United States. Now then, what is the historical role of liberals and what is their role in the struggle today. We contend that the role of liberals has always been one to stop the confrontation that has always been their primary role in all of history. Whenever society begins to become polarized, the liberals seek to stop the confrontation. They do not seek to redress grievances; they seek to stop the confrontation, and they seek to stop the confrontation not by themselves buidling a power base which will be powerful enough to enforce the stopping of the confrontation, but they seek to stop the confrontation by appealing to morality, to idealism and to platitudes of humanism, and while they do that other people build the power base. Certainly, in German times pre-Hitler there were many people who were opposed to the rise of Hitlerism. They were the liberals. But the liberals did not build a power base to stop Hitler. Instead, they quoted some mythical platitudes about humanism that all men are created equally and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, (I think they got it from America or some place like that) and allowed Hitler to build a power base to wipe out the Jews and then the liberals disappeared, cause they're not going to be part of the

confrontation. But how then do they seek to stop the confrontation and to whom do they go to stop the confrontation. When they seek to stop the confrontation, they speak to the oppressed rather than to the oppressor. They speak to the oppressed. Liberals appeal to black people in the United States to keep cool, to be rational, to be non-violent, to be nice, to be nice, to be nice, but they never appeal to George Wallace, the John Birch Society, or any of the right wing reactionary groups and tell them to be cool, be rational, and be nice, and the reason they do not is because they do not have the power to confront the Wallaceites and those other people. They do not have it, and because they do not have the power, they do a disservice to the oppressed who are ready for the confrontation and they do a disservice because they represent the economically secure and, therefore, they have something to gain from the very system that they think they're about to fight against. That's why there are so many rich liberals in the United States. Poor people don't have the time to be liberal. Liberalism is a luxury of the rich. Because they're so sure nothing can happen to their establishment. It's very audacious if one is liberal you know much better to be reactionary. This is truthful. We have to understand that. Because as the oppressed begins to move, what happens is that the liberal gets caught in the middle. Always slipping and sliding, never deciding which way to go - the liberal way, until finally the final act when he is pushed - on one side or the other of the fence, or he jumps on the side which he thinks has his interests at heart.

So oppressed cannot listen to liberals - we cannot. To do that is to do a great disservice to ourselves. Not only that, but the liberals prepare, prepare the atmosphere from which the right wing can come up and create a power base and because the liberals are always politically naive - never seeking to build a power base - they allow the right wing to go unchallenged while they build a power base. Let us give an example of the election 1968 in the United States of America.

Wallace began to build a power base because Wallace is the intelligent man who knows what power is and what he can do with it. The liberal, thus, is brought up and blocked and _____ until the convention, and still has not even to this day _____ for when he comes to a party within the political conventional system of the United States to which they can turn. Merely because they do not recognize power - do not recognize power. Had they recognized power they would have had a party and they would have created a pattern in order to _____ of our liberals who never present an alternative.

It is the right wing which presents an alternative, and that is why they will always get the masses of people behind them, and the liberals will fade out of sight. The liberals never present concrete alternatives. And that leads us clearly into the election.

Of the three candidates running - George Wallace, Richard Nixon, Hubert Humphrey - the only difference in any of their campaign speeches is merely a question of time. How soon do we get the confrontation. George Wallace would like the confrontation in January, 1969. Richard Nixon would like the confrontation in January of 1970, and Humphrey would have the confrontation in January of 1972. It's simply a question of the degrees of the confrontation.

And the larger question is really, "What are we going to do with the colored people of the world? Outside and inside." The question of foreign policy really speaks too. "What are we going to do with these colored peoples outside?" Because none of them address themselves to the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia. And if they were talking about foreign policy, it seems to me that this becomes one of the most important aspects of foreign policy because it may mean the breakup of the Soviet bloc. Any man who is running for President of this country could not just dismiss that that lightly. But they talk about Asia, they talk about Africa, and they talk about Latin America, and their main problem is what are we going to do with these colored peoples of the world?

The second issue is the question of law and order, and that's "what we goin' do with these niggers in here" - that's the real issue on that. And it's really very simple. Because of the three, Nixon and Humphrey do not present alternatives. George Wallace presents an alternative. You laugh - you may disagree with George Wallace, but he does present an alternative, and that is precisely why his rise in popularity is so great.

What is the alternative to the war in Vietnam of Nixon and Humphrey? We'll try to negotiate an honorable peace settlement and as soon as we can do that, then we want to make sure that the United States is not threatened, but we will work to an honorable solution. And the degrees of that honorable solution - we might stop the bombing, we might do this, we might do that. Nixon says essentially the same thing. Ha, but alas Wallace! George says, very clearly, "If I'm gonna stop the war in vietnam, what I'm gonna do is we gonna try for peace and if it don't work, we gonna bomb those Vietnamese to peace.

Here's an alternative. You may disagree with it, but it is an alternative. But Humphrey and Johnson do not present alternatives. They dillydally because playing the role, or trying to play the role of liberal conservatives they try to please everybody and not attack anybody.

The final fault of the liberal: the liberal would have you assume that while there are things that are wrong, they just happen to go wrong and they could be reorganized correctly without anyone getting hurt. That's why they're so strong on nonviolence; because they really believe that they can restructure society, destroy interest groups, redistribute the wealth of the United States, and no one will get hurt. Wallace is far more intelligent. He attacks the group he says is the bureaucrat, the portfolio carrying people, the judges, the interest group, with whom he disagrees and he vocally attacks them so that he can

collect the people behind them. It's not a question of whether it's good or bad - it's just a question of politics. Hitler did the same thing. He gathered the Germans behind him by using the Jews for a scapegoat. Other people did the same thing in history. I'm sure if you read you'll find a lot of them who did it. So we find then, George Wallace representing, in fact, an alternative to the conflicts of the United States. On the question of law and order, he says, "I'll just get troops and put them five feet apart with bayonets and guns." It's an alternative. Humphrey and Nixon are still dillydallying, not trying to hurt anyone. They do not want to polarize, the state, and they end of getting polarized. If one talks about politics one has to talk about a strong power base.

Then we want to talk about white youth: what is their role. I would say in the world today - and I would like to talk specifically about white youth in the United States, students - I think of all the students in even Western countries, the United States students are perhaps the most politically naive. French students understand power. British students understand power. Everybody understands power except the American youth. Because the American activist youth has been imbued with this theory of liberalism which makes him think that everything can be solved without polarizing or without attacking or without doing something concrete. And that's one of the biggest mistakes of the white youth in America.

The second mistake is their lack of analysis of problems in the United States. They cannot assume that black people and white people have the same fight. And finally their biggest error is that they do not know whom to recruit from. They recognize that students are in sufficient number to wage their battles but they do not know whom their allies are. Because they always confuse issues. If they wanted a real revolution or real change in the United States, their allies would have to be the economically insecure. It cannot be the liberal establishment.

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The liberal establishment is made up of people who make an awful lot of money off of the American system as it is and are not going to fight to change it. They may feel badly about accepting the money so that the condemn vocally America, but they will still accept the money. So that they cannot be caught up in the struggle. And also because I think white youths in American never seek to internationalize their struggle but rather keep it a simple struggle inside the boundaries of the United States - and probably within the continental boundaries of the United States, I might add.

What then can white students do, if anything? I think some of the mistakes that the white students make is that they try to attack specific things rather than to talk about the general atmosphere. If one wants to change the general atmosphere, if one wants progress, if one wants to work on changing specific things, one must first change the general atmosphere of things. Once you have created the attitude the specifics can follow - that's how power works. Let me give you an example:

The United States says that the Communists are our enemy. (Somebody here is a Communist.) (In response to applause) Some folks think I'm a Communist. But everybody knows - and I'm talking about the majority of Americans - they know that the Communists are our enemies. That's because that has been defined for them. It has been defined generally - Communists are our enemies. And it has also been defined that our enemies must be destroyed. So whenever the United States has a war, they don't have to go and convince each loyal person that they should fight against Vietnam, they should fight against Korea, they should fight against Sant Domingo, they should fight against Cuba. No! They say you got to fight against the Communists. And today the Vietnamese are Communists and they're the enemy. And that's the importance of trying to change the world.

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It seems to me that students have to understand that they have to change the general attitude in America before they can work on specifics. It is because they are really very lazy. Let us examine the role of the development of the 1968 political convention. The students assume that within the political conventional system of the United States changes could take place. Their error it seems to me was that they never - and this is true of most American students - they never deal with economics but only with politics. Americans believe that political equality is a necessity but economic equality is irrelevant, and that doesn't make sense to anyone! How can one talk about having political equality without having economic equality - how can you? But because the American students have been controlled to believe in their system, they find trouble in attacking it. They find trouble in attacking it. That's a psychological problem, and that's really what they're hung up about. They don't know it, so we should try and help them. You can't talk about political equality unless you talk about insuring economic equality. The vote is meaningless if you don't have food in your stomach. It's nowhere. I'd much rather have the full stomach and you can have the vote! Believe me! But unless they've had to suffer for it; the people fight for political equality, never understanding the need to fight for economic equality. All because the students don't really deal with force in concertized terms. The police department is a power - it's a power for the people who rule. And that power can be turned against their opponents, as was clearly demonstrated by the Honorable Mayor Richard Daley in Chicago. Very clearly, he had political opponents; he had the police force; he destroys his political opponents. Students didn't get that. But again they were talking about political power without talking about economic power or without talking about their opponent's power. Guns are used to maintain the system. You just don't have guns to have guns, unless you hunt. I don't know anybody that needs an M-16 to go hunting, or a .38 or .44 Magnum on their side to go hunting - they go hunting for political

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prisoners with that. And it must be clear - and students are in contradiction with themselves over the question of guns as political power. Because they do not see guns in front of them, they think that guns do not impose a system, and that is politically naive! It's much better to rule without the presence of the guns because the oppressed have not had guns. The only difference is that when the oppressed beings to fight back, then the guns become visible. But that's not saying they're not always there - they're just not needed. There's been no change in the American system in the last six years. The only change has been the change of people. Black people and some white people - the change within them. Their political consciousness has been heightened to the point where they're willing to fight for their liberation, and that's the only difference. There is no major difference - no major legislation, no major nothing - just a change in the people. Their political consciousness has been heightened and they're prepared to fight. That's the only change. And because of this the United States must produce the gun. If you're preparing to fight for power, you must prepare with the gun. It's silly for you to assume that they're going to let you run all over his streets and tear up the city, burn down their houses or make his city look like a hippie joint - he's not going to do it. You should expect him to bring out the guns. And if you expect him to bring out the guns if you don't have a confrontation - you have to have the gun - if you don't have the guns then you fall into the position that the students fell in at Chicago. The whole wide world is watching you - so what, so what, so what, so what, so what. But if you're going to deal with power, you must deal with power from a power basis. The Mexican students don't understand that. The French students don't understand that. How can American students understand that? American students are totally lacking in that area because American students don't really face violence as do students in these other countries. As a matter of fact, one thing that the white youth of this country is really - what's the word - masochistic - I remembered it a long time ago but I forgot it - masochistic - I try to do the best

with English that I can. Masochistic. One really begins to think that white youth in this country is masochistic because one sees them run to a confrontation to get beaten up, to bandage up their heads, and then rush to confrontation again, without any time for analysis or without any time for real preparation. No one goes to war bringing nurses - you go to war you bring weapons, or you have no war. It's one or the other. I think that's the reason why you have the great majority of white students who could be politically active becoming hippies, because no one in the white student groups takes time out to really analyze the situation and, therefore, when they move they always meet frustration, and it's time for the white student movement of the United States to get serious and to understand those problems. Because their dillydallying is only going to end up in their mass slaughter. Very few people really entirely disagree with Daley, you know, it's only the people who have no power.

Did you watch the Convention - there was a liberal who got up and started to yell at Daley. He said "I disagree with your gross tactics and Gestapo squads" and he yelled and yelled, and Daley sat there and said "So what." Because Daley had the power. He didn't have to yell - he had the policemen. The man on the stage didn't - he made a very impressive speech, but that's all it was - impressive. When he went outside he had to sneak around or Daley would beat his head in. One does not seek to be impressive when one plays politics, one seeks to win.

Finally this: we want to talk about internationalizing the struggle. For black people there is no question about that - we have to internationalize our struggle. We have to internationalize our struggle for a very cultural fight. Our ties are with Africa - it is from whence we cometh - we are Africans. We live in America, but we're Africans, so our cultural ties will be with Africa. But also because it becomes a political

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necessity, because we must be geared to understand the international role of the United States. One does not dare to play with the United States on a nation basis. The United States is a world power. It controls 60 percent of the world's wealth. It has 2,500 military bases outside the confines of the continental borders of the United States. That's a whole lot of power! An awful lot. Do you know what 2,500 military bases mean outside your own country? That means you can rule the world, and that's just what the United States is doing - just what it's doing. And if we intend to defeat that world power we must then coordinate our struggle with the revolutionary peoples of the world. And that essentially usually speaks to the colored world - Asia, Africa and Latin America. But Africa has a natural tie-up with us because we are Africans. For Latin America the tie-up is also significant because a great deal of Africans established the northeastern part of South America, where they were made slaves, although we were never told this in history books in America. But Latin America becomes essentially a puppet because the United States has been able to control Latin America since the Monroe Doctrine - they were going to help South America, civilize the Indians, all that sort of stuff. So that you have South America completely under the control of America. If the peoples of South America are able to break that stronghold and use the economic resources of their countries by themselves, they can economically weaken the United States of America, and the same is true of Asia. The weaker the United States gets, the better the chance for real revolutionary warfare. And when one fights the enemy one must seek to weaken the enemy wherever one can. If white students really seek to fight and change the system, as they say they do, then they have to internationalize their struggle. They have to work. Other youths recognize this. All of the student groups are always trying to make contacts with each other where their countries are concerned, if they're really serious. What one is led to believe is that white students are not really serious about what they say, but that they have found college to be a playground

for radical activity. It's almost become the thing to do, not only for white students but for black students too. It's a fad. But it's a dangerous fad, because it's one of the ways that the United States of America will defeat that movement, that is, to cull out that movement. And that's precisely what they seek to do. As the more white students are rallied to become a fad, the more they defeat the very ends for which they struggle:

* * * *

We have about 15 minutes, and would like to allow at least that time for questions so that everyone can get a chance, including the Panthers.

Q: (As repeated by Carmichael) Do we think that victory for Wallace would increase the chances for successful revolution?

A: No. I don't think that. I think that he would heighten the contradictions much more rapidly than would Humphrey or Nixon. Yes, that's the question - would the revolutionary forces be ready to fight since he would heighten the contradictions more rapidly than the others. I do not think they would be. But I also do not think America would be - not because of its military might but because of its own psychological problems. It is not psychologically prepared for the confrontation - white America. But a segment of white America is prepared, and their job is to prepare the others. As is a segment of black America prepared - I don't think white America psychologically is prepared for war so I don't think he would be able to do it.

Q: (Repeated) Do I seem to try to reconcile myself with Mahatma Gandhi or Veneer, whose tactics run all the way back to Thoreau in Massachusetts? It seems that what I speak is totally against Thoreau and Mahatma Gandhi. Is that the question?

A: Yes. That's absolutely correct - it's against Thoreau and Mahatma Gandhi. Let us examine Thoreau: What did Thoreau do? He never joined the transcendentalists, although he said that he held very closely to

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their theories. Is that correct? He did one act - he refused to pay his taxes and, therefore, went to jail. He did not attack the status quo, he passively refused to be used by the status quo, and his one act didn't do anything really to solve the problems in the Spanish American donnybrook, because America took Mexico anyway.

Now as to Mahatma Gandhi: I thought that Gandhi's strength did not lie in nonviolence but in the threat of violence if the English did not deal with him. He said time and time again, if you don't deal with me you must deal with the violent segment, which was growing more and more rapidly. And which, incidentally, they did not force to an issue. An example would be Dr. Martin Luther King. Dr. King said time and time again, "If you can't deal with me you got to deal with them", and then they killed Dr. King. Now they know whom they have to deal with. The same thing would have been true if the English had killed Gandhi. The English couldn't afford to kill Gandhi at that time.

I do not think that nonviolence solves any situation which deals with power. I'm not opposed to other people trying the tactic of nonviolence. I will buy you some bandages and send you out to face the police if you'd like, but I will not go out there with you and face the police. I believe in equality - if the police have a night stick, I should have a night stick. If the police have a gun, I should have a gun.

Q: Do you see a similarity between the black power struggle and the tribal American Indian struggle for freedom?

A: I think there are a lot of differences because the Indians have been to a great extent colonized. Other than that I don't know very much about the struggle. We contact and speak with many of them from time to time but I couldn't really speak for them. I just see the similarities in terms of colonization.

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Q: (Repeated by Carmichael) What would you do if you had the quote power unquote?

A: I would use it. Man, I'd have it made! I'd use it to end racism and capitalism by any means necessary. Once you decide what your object is, you get it. The United States of America has decided that it wants Vietnam for a base against China and its gonna get Vietnam for a base against China. Like Europeans decided they wanted the continent of North America and they came and killed the Indians and took the continent of North America. So if I had power I'd use it to end racism and capitalism by any means necessary.

Q: What does the black revolutionary think of the U.S. role in the Middle East and is it your contention that the black revolution should be internationalized?

A: I think that most of the black revolutionaries have said that they side with the Arabs, as I do. I think that in the case of the Middle East, one is talking about a just war. The cries that are raised by Jewish people are not cries that deal with the political realities of the so-called State of Israel. It is a fact that six million Jews were murdered by Hitler. It is a fact that everyone decries, deplores and is aghast at. But the destruction of six million Jews by Hitler in Germany can never be used as a rationalization for setting up of the so-called State of Israel in the Middle East. It cannot be used. Also, they do not go back into the political analysis, because they have no ground on which to stand when they talk about the so-called State of Israel. As soon as anyone politically attacks Israel they're called anti-Semitic, and then they're supposed to get scared and shut up. I'm not gonna do that! The Englishman, I believe was, therefore, more doubtful to

English in 1917 decided they better give them the so-called State of Israel. They never paid for it, they never negotiated with the Palestinian Arabs for it. As a matter of fact, they went to the Middle East, pushed out the Arabs and took over the State of Israel, and one cannot justify that no matter how one tries. We are for the Arabs because they fight a just war and we believe their land should be returned to them. Then after they get

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their land, they should be able to decide whether or not or whom they want to come and live with them, and under what conditions.

Q: If we erased all racism and capitalism, what would be have in the country?

A: We'd have a country free of racism and free of capitalism. What we would call it doesn't really make much difference, does it.

Q: The question is essentially that last night I put down a black revolutionary who asked about black revolution - I'm honest so you assume I'm honest - because I say I'm honest. I say you shouldn't assume it. And you want to know what, then, is a black revolutionary speaking to a largely white audience about black revolution?

A: I don't think I spoke about black revolution today. I don't think I did. I thought I spoke about the problems facing America - really mainly white Americans, on how they decide to go. I'm here because the Black Student Union invited me here, that's the only reason. And I said that last night. And they think that this is one of the ways that we can help them in what they want to do. And because they think so, we're doing it. We're just trying to help. We have spoken before many other white students.

Q: (Unheard)

A: Is that my fault or your fault? Don't blame me - take the microphone and tell them - go get guns.

Q: Are you ready to bury this country, the archenemy of revolution, for the sake of world revolution?

A: I think I said so. If you want an affirmative - Yes.

Second question: Is Marxism Communism, the answer? Cant' hear you - Is Marxism-Leninism the answer to world problems? And on that I'd have to answer I am not sure, because I'm not sure that Marxism-Leninism deals with racism because Marx and Lenin dealt with exploitation but not with colonization.

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Q: Is not racism and capitalism linked?

A: I said at the beginning that I thought it was linked, but I also know they can be mutually exclusive. That is to say that you may have racism in Socialism or in Communism. That's my belief.

Q: What kind of Utopian society do you envision? How can it be practically implemented?

A: Well, since I didn't have original criticism and I haven't claimed to be original, I guess I won't have an original answer. I will just say a society free of racism and free of capitalism. I don't know why people get hung up on the labels. I think that when people begin to fight, as they struggle, they develop their ideology more completely and that it's clear that the black forces inside the United States have not yet developed their ideology so, therefore, we beg the intellectuals of the world to excuse us if we have not as yet developed that, but that does not mean we are not going to fight. We will fight to the death until we get that ideal - we will not stop.

Q: Here's a two-part type question. Do you agree that George Lomax is an important figure in the black evolution? In an article it is charged that Stokely Carmichael did more to unite the black Americans than over a century of legislation, but this tactic will cause a reversal of sentiment and will backfire in his face?

A: I would say this to Mr. Lomax, it may not only backfire in my face but also in his face - he has no alternative but to join me. And secondly, I do not think that the action of black people causes the type of reaction that they all claimed it does. What Mr. Lomax and people who use this type of argument will argue is that we, the oppressed, should sit still and let the oppressor define for us how to free ourselves of oppression, and if the oppressor decides how we should free ourselves of oppression we will always remain oppressed. We must decide, and when we do there's no reaction - it's just that the people who are _____. I think that Mr. Lomax and the people who use this argument do not understand the difference between peace and justice. Peace is merely the absence of conflict.

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With justice you have peace, but it doesn't mean when you have peace you have justice. And what the people who use this argument assume is that because there's an absence of conflict, because there's peace, everything is okay, and that's totally absurd! There will be no peace until there is real justice! Now the people who use this argument would have us not have conflict but just have peace, even though we're oppressed. I'm afraid that some of us can't do that.

Q: (Repeated by Carmichael) Let me try to quote you correctly: I'm trying to get rid of racism and capitalism, which you agree are evils, but in doing that I'm using means which are also evil such as killing, and what I will eventually end up with is a police state watching everybody and nobody will be, to use your words, "free of freedom". Is that correct?

A: I accept it. Because if you listen carefully, I said in the beginning that I don't see killing as right or wrong. I said I see it as just what is justified. You don't believe in killing? If somebody tried to kill your mother, would you kill them? That's the way I am. People that try to kill me, I intend to kill them. Period. (Remark from audience) Nobody - I just imagine it all!

Q: What happens to the whites who agree with the black movement? You kill any whites or those creating a problem?

A: I think for black people we have to fight, and the question for us is do we fight some of them or all of them. And I think that the answer will be proved then by those whites who were alluded to in the question. Because in the final analysis, it's those whites who will prove themselves. Not by their words, because black people are - and justifiably so - suspicious of white liberals and their tired platitudes, etc., etc. They will be proven by their actions, and by those actions those whites will find themselves residing in a society free of racism and free of capitalism. It will show by their actions.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

November 5, 1968

Date _____

 was interviewed at Honolulu, Hawaii. b2
b7D

Source advised as follows:

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, representing the Black Panther Party, spoke at the University YWCA on the evening of October 30, 1968. An audience of about 200, mostly students, filled the small auditorium. There were perhaps 20 Negroes in the audience and a number of these appeared to be servicemen rather than students because they wore GI shoes.

On the platform with CARMICHAEL was Black Student Union president "SLEETTY" SIMONS, EARL ANTHONY of the Black Panther Party, and a local caucasian minister.

CARMICHAEL was almost an hour late in reaching the meeting and before his arrival an announcement was made to the effect that he would be 45 minutes to an hour late because he was attending a party in Aina Haina.

It is difficult to differentiate between CARMICHAEL's speech at the YWCA and his talk the following night at the Church of the Crossroads. The content of both were almost the same and his answers to questions were almost identical.

CARMICHAEL, in his main address, had three themes; one that he is not opposed to violence, killing is amoral, some people can legitimatize it, and violence is necessary for a revolutionary change. The second that he is opposed to racism and capitalism and that America is a white racist nation; and three that the Negro has to heighten the contradiction between classes and bring on a confrontation. The liberals are the real enemy of the blacks for opposing confrontation and white university activists are of no help.

On 11/3/68 at Honolulu, Hawaii File # HN 100-6465
by SA /sbt b6
b7C 11/4/68
Date dictated _____

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HN 100-6465

He also stated that numbers did not particularly matter, pointing out the United States was being beaten every day in Vietnam.

Among those in attendance at the YWCA was [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] all members of the
Students for a Democratic Society.

b6
b7C

On Thursday evening, October 31, 1968, CARMICHAEL spoke at the Church of the Crossroads. An admission of \$2 was charged and there were about 300 persons present. There appeared to be more Negroes at the gathering than that of the previous evening.

CARMICHAEL delivered basically the same address with the same themes, reiterating that he advocated violence for a revolutionary change and opposed racism and capitalism in the United States.

During the question period, a man in the audience stated that he knew that CARMICHAEL was a socialist, pointing out that he does not work, that he lives in a \$70,000 home and travels first class. He asked him why he did not share his wealth with the people in the ghetto. CARMICHAEL pointed out that he lived in his wife's house but he would have to think of an answer, but he never replied.

One person in the audience pointed out in conditions today anybody who is leader is apt to get it because we have nuts on both sides. He asked CARMICHAEL if he was afraid to die. CARMICHAEL stated at first he was not and then he said, "Yes, I am, but when I get hit between the eye with a rifle bullet, I want to see it coming."

At the Church of the Crossroads CARMICHAEL again criticized the liberals for preventing a confrontation between the oppressed classes and the right wing. He also pointed out that the university youth should realize that their real allies are going to have to be the oppressed people rather than the liberals who have money.

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In speaking of violence, he stated that it is neither right nor wrong but that the person who has the power can legitimize it.

In discussing killing, he gave the example the black man who gets a medal for killing in Vietnam and the electric chair for killing a policeman in the United States.

He categorically stated that he was for the overthrow of the United States Government because after capitalism had been overthrown, racism could be abolished. CARMICHAEL also discussed exploitation versus colonization.

He criticized American university youths, stating that they were naive; that they should unite with university students of other western countries. He claimed they accomplish little because the violence they commit is strictly defensive rather than offensive, and they do not realize when you go to war you have to go with guns.

CARMICHAEL received questions from a few persons who were obviously not friendly toward him. One person in the audience asked him where he got his money. He stated, "I can't tell you that." He then said "I know you get it from Red China", and CARMICHAEL said, "Yes".

An Arabian student in the audience asked CARMICHAEL what he would do if MAC invaded California and he replied, "I'd sit on my porch drinking beer and show him the right way."

A caucasian asked CARMICHAEL what he, the caucasian, should do inasmuch as CARMICHAEL is advocating violence of the black against the white. He stated, "I can't tell you that."

CARMICHAEL refused to discuss the exact degree of preparation the Black Panthers had made for confrontation but declared the Negro is going to get guns. He stated we cannot blow up tanks but we are getting there.

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He stated that all whites are potential racists. When asked if that, therefore, meant that all racists are white, CARMICHAEL refused to answer. During his speech he condemned Russian action in Czechoslovakia. He remarked that America's youth are socialists while going through college, but soon switch when they get a degree and enjoy some of the fruits of capitalism.

He also refused to answer a question as to how many guns and how much training are given the Black Panthers.

One young man at the YWCA remarked [redacted] that he was there applauding CARMICHAEL and that CARMICHAEL was stating the blacks would have to use guns on the whites and he, therefore, appeared to be applauding his own funeral. CARMICHAEL agreed with him and said the young man was only there to hear him talk.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

November 4, 1968

Date

[redacted] was interviewed at Honolulu, Hawaii.

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Source advised as follows:

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, representing the Black Panther Party, appeared before an audience of about 275 persons at the Church of the Crossroads on the evening of October 31, 1968. An admission of \$2 was charged. There were less than 20 Negroes in the audience. On the stage with CARMICHAEL was EARL ANTHONY of the Black Panther Party

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Before starting his speech, CARMICHAEL asked for a show of hands of those who had heard him at Andrews Theater at the University, at the University YWCA and at the Honolulu Press Club. After noting that there were several people in the audience who had been at his other speeches, he stated there was nothing else to talk about and asked the group, "Should we have a dialogue or just answer questions?" CARMICHAEL then proceeded to deliver an address.

In his introductory remarks he stated that the black people are going to have confrontation sooner or later with the white man and that he is going to be ready for that confrontation and have the guns.

The speaker then developed the theme that violence is necessary for a revolutionary change; that it is not bad, but is a fact of life. He also made the claim that killing is amoral and it just depends if you are able to legitimize it. He stated that Americans' violence to override Hitler was not successful because it was just but because they had sufficient power. In discussing legitimizing violence, he pointed out that a black man can kill Orientals in Vietnam and be awarded a medal, while if he kills a white policeman in the United States, he will be electrocuted.

On 11/2/68 at Honolulu, Hawaii File # HN 100-6465
by SA [redacted] /sbt 11/4/68
Date dictated

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CARMICHAEL also talked of the necessity of doing away with racism and capitalism. He declared America was a racist country but demanded that the black also would obtain economic as well as political equality.

In discussing capitalism, CARMICHAEL stated that in socialist countries such as Cuba there is not a grave necessity for the use of money. Housing, transportation or any other necessities are furnished free and hence, in the future the Negroes will be able to get guns without a great deal of money.

CARMICHAEL compared colonization and exploitation, stating that the former was not only stripping man of his labor but of his history and culture. He stated the Indian and the black man have been a victim of colonization in the United States. Exploitation was stripping man of the results of his labor.

During his speech, CARMICHAEL was extremely critical of the liberals, stating that this group did everything in their power to prevent a confrontation between the right wing and the oppressed peoples. However, he noted that they always called upon the oppressed people to "cool it" rather than directing their remarks to the right wing. CARMICHAEL stated that these liberals do a disservice to the black people.

He also characterized white university youths as being naive and of little help. He stated that their violence is defensive rather than offensive and do no good in bringing about a change of the status quo. CARMICHAEL warned that you need guns to go to war.

When questioned concerning Israel, CARMICHAEL declared he was for the Arabs. He said that he was not anti-Semitic; had been against Hitler, but added that this could not justify the taking of land from the Arabs, and that this land had been handed over to Zionists on a silver platter by Balfour in 1917.

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In commenting on WALLACE, he claimed that he had admiration and respect for the man because he was honest and would hasten a confrontation of the races.

When he was questioned as to how much preparation the Black Panthers had made, he answered, "Do you want me to go to jail?"

One person in the audience stated that police departments on the mainland are being integrated and asked him if he would shoot a black policeman as soon as he would a white. CARMICHAEL answered, no, because all black people are our potential allies and the North Vietnamese try to keep from killing South Vietnamese.

When questioned concerning his opposition to MARTIN LUTHER KING and asked if more progress could not be made by following KING's teachings, CARMICHAEL replied that he stood up and opposed KING when KING had made the statement nonviolence was the only way to bring about equality of opportunity for the black. CARMICHAEL stated he contended that it is not; he thinks another way is by violence, but he is not contending that violence is the only way. If KING had said nonviolence is one way of reaching their goal, "I'd have gone along with him."

Asked concerning his attitude on Communism, CARMICHAEL stated he did not believe Communism was the ultimate solution because even under the present systems in Russia and China there is racism.

Questioned concerning the progress made in Hawaii in integration and race relations, CARMICHAEL stated that he would not comment because he did not know.

One person pointed out that the Negro represents only a small fraction of the population in this country and asked him how they could be successful in confronting the white man. CARMICHAEL answered that numbers are not important; that the Vietcong are beating us every day in Vietnam,

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that police stations are being blown up on the mainland. You see nothing about this in the paper and that he could not tell you everything because he does not want to go to jail. He stated, however, the blacks are preparing and they are waiting and working.

HAWAII

[redacted] Committee to End the War in Vietnam, (a characterization of the Committee to End the War in Vietnam is appended hereto) [redacted]

[redacted] present during the speech. [redacted]

JOHN

REINECKE

were also present.

REINECKE

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JOHN REINECKE was one of the Honolulu Smith Act Defendants whose conviction was reversed by the U.S. 9th Circuit Court of Appeals in January, 1958. During the course of the Honolulu Smith Act Trials in 1953. [REDACTED]

HAWAII

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On November 30, 1953 [REDACTED]

HAWAII

Student money for Carmichael

By Richard Hoyt

Star-Bulletin Writer

The student government of the University of Hawaii is giving financial backing to the appearance of black militant Stokely Carmichael here this month.

Carmichael, a leading Black Power spokesman and prime minister of the militant Black Panther party, was due Thursday, but now he isn't expected until next week, according to reliable sources.

Lani Sen, senior senator of the Associated Students of the University of Hawaii, today said the Student Senate gave the Black Student Union, which is sponsoring the Carmichael appearance \$450 in a direct grant and a no-interest loan of \$450, (payable next semester) to finance Carmichael's appearance.

On Saturday, the Student Senate also approved a \$400 grant to black student Bob Tinch to make a half-hour color documentary comparing Carmichael's statements to those made by Jack Wallace, brother of presidential candidate George Wallace. Jack Wallace is scheduled to speak here at approximately the same time as Carmichael.

MISS SEN said the only stipulation to the grant is that Carmichael speak on campus where students can hear him free of charge.

Hubert H. White, a writer for Ebony, a Negro magazine, and a member of

N.A.A.C.P., today deplored the student government's move.

"Over the years there has been a growing arrogance of the black students on campus," White said.

"Students at the University are getting to the point where they don't want to have anything to do with the Negroes there."

"The news media on the Mainland have done a good job of telling us the sorry conditions on the Mainland. We do not need anyone coming here to preach violence."

CARMICHAEL IS prime minister of the Black Panther Party, having left the more moderate Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

Earl Anthony, Black Panther minister of information, is also scheduled to speak on campus, Miss Sen said.

The Black Student Union, led by president Junius Simon, claims a membership of 50. Union spokesmen at the University said it was formed to combat antagonism and prejudice towards Negroes in Hawaii.

Miss Sen said the documentary film is sanctioned by the Department of American Studies as a project for a class studying the Negro in America.

Tinch said the films will be one of the few films ever made of Carmichael who normally "rejects white cameramen" and will not allow them to photograph him.

Two cameramen working with Tinch also are Negroes.

Tinch said he hopes to enter movie in a film contest. The student government would retain rights to the documentary after the contest.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

HONOLULU STAR-BULLETIN
HONOLULU, HAWAII

A-4

Date: 10/21/68
Edition: Home
Author: Richard Hoyt
Editor: A.A. Smyser
Title: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Character:

or

Classification: 100-6465

Submitting Office: HONOLULU

☐ Being Investigated

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Urges Violence To Crush Racism

By JANE EVINGER
Advertiser Staff Writer

Stokely Carmichael, who introduced the phrase "Black Power" to the language, yesterday warned that liberals and white youth are "politically naive" in believing society can be remade "without anybody being hurt."

Wearing a yellow and black African buba, black slacks and dark glasses against the afternoon sun, Carmichael spoke to a University of Hawaii audience which overflowed Andrews Amphitheatre.

Estimates of the size of the crowd range from 6,000 by University officials to 10,000 by English Bradshaw of the Black Students Union which paid \$900 to sponsor Carmichael's visit to Hawaii.

Carmichael began his 45-minute address by saying he would "not hedge" on the question of violence.

His Objective

"I am stating affirmatively that we are for revolutionary violence as a way to crush racism and capitalism, to change the status quo, and to liberate black people," he said.

"We do not believe that violence is either right or wrong; it just is. Killing is a moral. It is neither right or wrong. It is a simple question of who has the power to legitimize it."

Carmichael criticized liberals because, he said, historically their role "has always been to stop the confrontation whenever society becomes polarized."

"They do not seek redress of grievances.

"They seek to stop the confrontation not by building a power base, but by appealing to morality and humanism. But they speak to the oppressed rather than the oppressor when they seek to stop the confrontation.

Raps Liberals

"The liberals appeal to blacks to be cool, be rational, be nice.

"But they never appeal to the Wallaceites, to the John Birch Society, to be cool, be rational, be nice, because they do not have the power to appeal to them, and they therefore do a disservice to the black people." The audience, which appeared to be mainly made up of white liberals, applauded.

Liberals, Carmichael said, are "politically naive because they never seek to build a power base, while the right wing builds one."

Carmichael said George Wallace, the American Independent party candidate, has long been building such a base in preparation for the 1968 Presidential election, but "the liberals, still, to this date, are flipping and flopping and they still have not created a political organization."

"They never present an alternative. It is the right wing which presents an alternative, and that is why they will get the masses of people behind them, while the liberals will fade out of sight."

White youth "of all the students in Western countries

are perhaps the most political naive, because American activist youth has been im-

bued with this theory of liberalism which makes them think everything can be re-

solved, that they can remake society, without attacking, without polarizing, without

anybody being hurt," he said.

Cites Error

"Their biggest error is that they do not know whom to recruit from, who their allies are. If they wanted a real change in the United States, their allies would have to be the economically insecure.

"The liberals make America and although they may feel guilty about taking the money, they are not going to fight to change it."

Carmichael said Americans are mistaken in their belief that "political equality is a necessity but that economic equality is irrelevant. That doesn't make sense.

"You can't talk about political equality unless you talk about insuring economic equality. The vote is meaningless unless you have food in your stomach. I would much rather have the full stomach, and you can have the vote!"

Carmichael also said he believes white youth in the U.S. are "masochistic."

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

B-1
ADVERTISER
HONOLULU, HAWAII

Date: 11/1/68
Edition: HOME
Author: JANE EVINGER
Editor: GEORGE CHAPLIN
Title: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Character:
or
Classification: 100-6465
Submitting Office: HN

☐ Being Investigated

Confrontation

"One sees them run to a confrontation to get beaten up, to get bandaged up, and then run to a confrontation again.

"No one goes to a war and brings nurses; you bring guns to a war, or you have no war."

In Chicago, he said, "a white liberal got up and told Mayor (Richard) Daley 'I disagree with your goon squad tactics,' and he yelled, and Daley said 'so what?' because he had the power."

White youth, Carmichael said, should "internationalize the struggle."

The U.S. "is a world power. It controls 60 per cent of the world's wealth. It has 2,500 military bases outside the continental border of the

country. That's an awful lot of power. It means you can rule the world, and that is just what the U.S. is doing."

Revolution

If the people of South America and Asia were able to break the U.S. control in those areas, he said, it would weaken the U.S. and make it easier for a revolution to succeed within the country.

In the half hour question period which followed his address, Carmichael was asked whether a Wallace Presidential victory would mean that revolutionary forces within the U.S. would be ready to fight.

"I do not think they would

be, but I do not think white America is psychologically prepared yet either. But a segment of white America is prepared, and their job is to prepare the others," he said.

He was asked if he could reconcile his philosophy with that of Mahatma Gandhi.

"Gandhi's success did not lie in non-violence, but in the threat of violence if the English refused to deal with him," Carmichael said.

King's Role

Dr. Martin Luther King also warned that failure to deal with him would mean the Establishment would have to deal with more violent leaders he said, "and

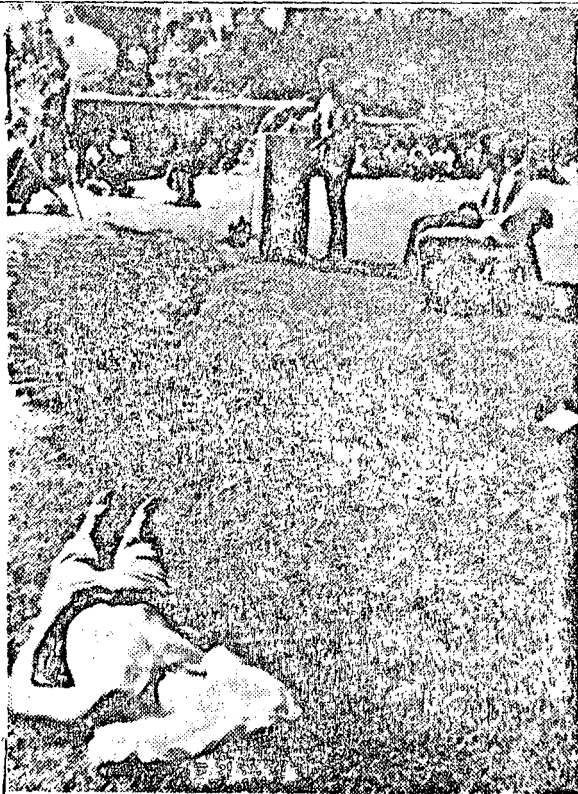
when they killed Dr. King, now they know who they have to deal with!

"I do not think non-violence is effective in any situation which deals with power. If you do, that's okay—I'll bandage you.

"I believe in equality. If the police have a nightstick, I should have a nightstick. If the police have a gun, I should have a gun."

Carmichael was asked "What would you do if you had the power?"

"I'd use it to end racism and capitalism by any means necessary. Once you decide what your object is, you get it," he said.



One spectator at Carmichael speech was out to get a suntan, too.

On Kennedys: Made Promises, Did Nothing

By JOHN BILBY
Advertiser Staff Writer

From his acceptance of a pink lei and a kiss to his final words, "Thank you," Black Panther Stokely Carmichael enjoyed a friendly confrontation yesterday with the Honolulu Press Club.

His message was serious.

"I am for revolutionary violence," Carmichael said softly at the outset. "I am for killing anybody who tries to kill me."

"I do not think violence has to do with right and wrong," he added.

"My brother-in-law is in Vietnam."

"If my brother-in-law kills 30 Vietnamese, he will get a medal. If he sees a policeman push my sister and he kills him, he will get the electric chair."

In his speech and answers, Carmichael:

- Called George Wallace "more honest" than his presidential rivals.

- Said the object of Black Power is "to destroy racism and capitalism in the world."

- Criticized the U.S.S.R. for "plainly showing her hypocrisy" in Czechoslovakia.

- Said there was a "possibility" of black people and white people working together.

"Black people are going to have to fight," the Black Panther prime minister said. "The question is how many of them will we have to fight."

Suspicious

He added: "We have to be suspicious of white help because the white help we received in the past never helped us."

Carmichael said Robert Kennedy "would be the same as his brother — assured black people that everything is okay. 'I'll take care of it.'"

And then he would do nothing."

Carmichael said he saw little choice among the presidential candidates.

"Wallace said let's have the confrontation now and fight it out," he said.

"The other two candidates are incapable of posing alternatives."

Later, in answer to a question, Carmichael added: "I didn't mean to imply that I was for Wallace."

"We don't want a confrontation before our time. On the other hand, we don't want the rhetoric of Nixon or Humphrey putting our people to sleep."

What does he mean by "confrontation?"

His almost boyish tone brought soft laughter from the audience. "Oh, I think . . . an all and all fight."

If Wallace is elected, he said, "it would make my job easier. He is more honest. He would heighten the contradictions within white society. He does speak for the poor working man, taken advantage of by bureaucrats, etc., etc."

Carmichael was challenged as to what percentage of black people he represents.

"I don't know," he said. "But I will say I think every black person is a potential Rap Brown or Stokely Carmichael."

Audience Reacts

"Just as every white person is a potential Wallace?" a voice from the audience asked.

"Yes!" said Carmichael. "That's a reality. Do you disagree?"

There was a chorus of "no" from the audience.

"You don't think every black person is a potential Rap Brown?" Carmichael asked.

There was a much softer chorus in the negative, amid which a single voice piped: "Yes."

The speaker grinned. The audience laughed.

"I don't know how large the Black Panthers are," Carmichael said in answer to a question.

He compared the organization's structure to a "government in exile . . . similar to what de Gaulle did when he left Paris . . . hoping to go back."

A questioner insisted upon hearing more specific plans for the predicted confrontation, referring to Hitler

whom Carmichael had previously mentioned, Alexander the Great and Napoleon. "They had plans," the questioner said.

"Hitler, Alexander the Great and Napoleon didn't unmask their plans until they were well underway," said Carmichael.

He smiled as he took a sip of water, pausing for the laughter from the audience.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

By PATTI THOMAS

He's for a speedy downfall of the capitalism. He's a proponent of revolutionary violence. He's skeptical of assistance from white men.

Yet, Black Panther Prime Minister Stokely Carmichael's "cool" approach posed no more threat to his University audience than the warmth of the afternoon sun.

Some shed their shirts to him. Others, their preconceptions of his being the racist ogre they'd

heard of or read about; the man who made Black Power a household word.

His manner wasn't threatening. His cool, well-versed line had the white, middle class liberal audience at each of the four talks laughing at itself; at its presidential candidates; at the contradictions of a troubled nation and world.

For the fourth time in two days, he repeated his speech, practically verbatim by now, to his enraptured audience.

There's an aura about the man, an intensity unmistakable when he enters and when he speaks.

He makes no bones about being for revolutionary violence as the way to eliminate racism and capitalism.

Curiosity, mixed with subtle resentment greeted him at each speech.

The resentment came, not from his being a black militant, but because he was late. The predominantly white audience at all functions, though more

mixed at the University amphitheatre, was tired of waiting.

"The Panthers are preparing for a confrontation," Carmichael said.

"When?" was the repeated question of the audience at each function. "When will the confrontation be?"

"For the black man, it would be best if he could name the time and place. Then he'd be ready," Carmichael said.

That not being possible, the Panther Prime

Minister said that it would come when the contradictions in the American society became so apparent that one could not be avoided. He wasn't saying it was inevitable. But probable.

Here was the plea. Difficult to put your finger on, but it was there.

Dick Gregory's campaign literature for President; printed to look like American dollar bills, reads: "America is redeemable."

Perhaps, but not to

Carmichael without change; rapid, radical change away from capitalism and racism. What kind of change, what direction, he doesn't know. Or wouldn't say.

"Americans are mistaken in their belief that political equality is a necessity but that economic equality is irrelevant," Carmichael said.

From the basic unjustness of superiority-inferiority relationships,

comes his perspective on revolutionary violence.

Questions came from the audience, some from those obviously aware of Pantherism and its position that political power begins at the barrel of a gun.

But a white girl nearby said "Your bullets may have my name on them, but I think you're cute."

Another question was asked on what white students could do, where

they fit in.

Carmichael regarded the microphone. There was a moment in which he seemed not to remember what "button" had been pushed. And when he brightened.

"I would like to point out," he said, (and you could almost see the memory disks clicking) "white, help, urban renewal, Negro removal," "that black people are skeptical of any help from the white. . ."

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

THE HAWAII MILITARY
PRESS
HONOLULU, HAWAII

1

Date: 11/6/68

Edition:

Author: PATTI THOMAS

Editor:

Title: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Character:

or

Classification: 100-6465

Submitting Office: HONOLULU

| Being Investigated

APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY, aka Black Panther Party for Self Defense

A source advised that the Black Panther Party for Self Defense (BPPSD) was formed by HUEY PERCY NEWTON, Minister of Defense, and BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, Chairman, in December, 1966, as a militant black nationalist political organization to combat police brutality, to unite militant black youth, and to determine the destiny of black communities. The political philosophy was taken from writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of Communist China and black militant writers.

In March, 1968, the name of the organization was changed to Black Panther Party (BPP).

The official BPP publication, "The Black Panther Party - Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates use of guns and guerrilla tactics in their violent revolutionary program to end oppression of black people.

On February 17, 1968, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister of Information, announced merger of the BPP and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and bestowed title of Minister of Justice, BPP, upon H. RAP BROWN, Chairman of SNCC.

SNCC is a militant Negro organization which preaches black supremacy.

NEWTON, aforementioned, is incarcerated in the Alameda County Jail, Oakland, California, awaiting trial on charge of murder of an Oakland police officer.

Headquarters of BPP and Huey P. Newton Defense Fund are located at 4421 Grove Street, Oakland, California.

A P P E N D I X

COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM
(HONOLULU) (CEWV)

On June 9, 1968 Mr. Edward Higgins, Commission on Subversive Activities, Legislature, State of Hawaii, at Honolulu, advised as follows:

The Committee to End the War in Vietnam (CEWV) was organized in Honolulu, Hawaii in 1965 by Dr. Willis Butler, a local physician; Madalyn Murray, the nationally known atheist who formerly resided in Honolulu; Dr. Oliver Lee, University of Hawaii professor, and others.

Since its conception, the CEWV has held small weekly meetings and sponsored rallies, marches and demonstrations in protest of United States intervention in Vietnam. On April 30, 1968 a source advised that the previous day the CEWV had decided to hold bi-weekly meetings instead of weekly meetings.

On July 2, 1968 a source advised that the CEWV had suspended meetings until after the November, 1968 Presidential Elections and in the meantime, the members of the group would work within the framework of the Peace and Freedom Party.

A P P E N D I X

A P P E N D I X

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing the United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965 SDS National Convention, an anti-communist proviso was removed from the SDS Constitution. In the October 7, 1966 issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 13, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

APPENDIX

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia, is a nonmembership organization, which was born out of the sit-in movement that erupted across the South beginning in 1960.

Today SNCC identifies itself as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

According to SNCC the year 1967 marked a historic milestone in the struggle for the liberation of black people in the United States and the year that revolutionaries throughout the world began to understand more fully the impact of the black movement. SNCC declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus--the capitalistic system of the United States with all its life-sucking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The realities of black life, together with the recognition instilled in SNCC workers forced its members to further popularize the legitimacy of self-defense and rebellions when oppression became too great."

From May, 1966, until May, 1967, Stokely Carmichael was National Chairman of SNCC. As of July, 1968, Carmichael resided in Washington, D. C., where he was affiliated with SNCC and active as temporary chairman of a black coalition group. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced by Hubert Geroid Brown, commonly known as H. Rap Brown, who served until June, 1968.

In June, 1968, at the Staff and Central Committee meeting of SNCC held in Atlanta, Georgia, it was decided to restructure the organization by equalization of responsibility by creating ten deputy or vice chairmanships. The primary purpose for this change is to take law enforcement pressure off any single individual.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Honolulu, Hawaii
November 13, 1968

Title: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Character: RACIAL MATTERS - SNCC, BPP

Reference: Report of SA [redacted] b6
[redacted] dated and b7C
captioned as above at Honolulu.

All sources (except any listed below) used in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

-48-

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 08-17-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/bls

Memorandum

TO : SAC, Detroit (Your file 100-34122) DATE: 10/24/68FROM : Director, FBI (Bufile and Serial 100-446080)Post in file and
destroy 0-1
(For SOG use
only)SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS - SNCC☐ 1. Bufiles indicate this case is delinquent. Give specific reason for delinquency.☒ Re Bureau airtel dated 9/20/68, and your letter 10/2/68.

Tape worthless can't understand anything

☐ airtel ☐ letterhead memo ☐ submitted

☐ 2. DATE ☐ report ☐ letter ☐ 90-day progress letter ☐ will be submitted

Original is hardly better.

Reporting employee _____

☐ 3. If valid reason exists for not submitting report at this time, state reason specifically and when report will be submitted _____☐ 4. Status of ☐ Appeal ☐ Inquiry ☐ Investigation ☐ Prosecution☐ airtel ☒ letterhead memo☒ 5. Submit ☐ report☐ letter☐ 90-day progress letterby Immediately

(Date)

(Place reply hereon and return to Bureau. Note receipt and acknowledgment on top serial in case file.)

100-34122

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (Bufile- 100-446080)

DATE: 11/20/68

FROM : SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

Card UTD
Card sent 00

SUBJECT: **STOKELY CARMICHAEL, aka**
RM - SNCC; BLACK PANTHER PARTY;
SEDITION; ANTIRIOT LAWS

will be attached
11/27/68

RABBLE ROUSER INDEX

☐ New Subject ☒ Change ☐ Delete

Name		FBI Number	
Aliases			
Citizenship ☐ Native Born ☐ Naturalized ☐ Alien			
Subject also on ☐ SI ☐ RI		Race	
		Sex ☐ Male ☐ Female	
Organizational Affiliation			
☐ 01 ANP	☐ 07 KLAN	☐ 12 PLP	☐ 17 SNCC
☐ 02 AVN	☐ 08 LA	☐ 13 PRN	☐ 18 SWP
☐ 03 BNAT	☐ 09 MIN	☐ 14 RAM	☐ 19 WWP
☐ 04 BPP	☐ 10 NOI	☐ 15 SCLC	☐ 99 MISC
☐ 05 COM	☐ 11 NSRP	☐ 16 SDS	(Specify)
☐ 06 CORE			
Date of Birth		Place of Birth	
Position in Organization		Occupation, Business Address (Show Name of Employing Concern)	
		Temporary Co-Chairman, Black United Front, Washington, D. C. <i>also,</i> Prime Minister, Black Panther Party with headquarters in Oakland, California	
Residence Address			

REGISTERED MAIL

② - Bureau

1 - WFO

WWH:dab

(3)

56 DEC 2 1968

100-446080
NOT RECORDED

16 NOV 21 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.
EX-105

b6
b7C

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.Washington, D. C. 20535
November 1, 1968DECLASSIFIED BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/bls
ON 08-17-2006

Title STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Character RACIAL MATTER-STUDENT NON-VIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE; BLACK PANTHER PARTY;
SEDITION; ANTIRIOT LAWSReference Report of SA [redacted] dated
and captioned as above at Washington, D.C.b6
b7C

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

[redacted] with whom insufficient contact has been had to determine reliability.

b2
b7D~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D.C. 20535
November 20, 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-17-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/bis

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

REFERENCE: Washington Field Office report
dated 11/15/68

Referenced communication contained subject's residence and/or employment address. A recent change has been determined and is being set forth below (change only specified):

Residence:

Employment:

Temporary Co-Chairman, Black United Front,
Washington, D. C.
Prime Minister, Black Panther Party,
with headquarters in Oakland,
California

FD-122 DETACHED

100-446080-

NOT RECORDED

17 NOV 21 1968

cc to SS by
KLS 11/25/68

PTB/dkf

NOV 25 15 12 PM 1968

51 NOV 27 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.

~~SECRET~~

DATE: 08-17-2006

CLASSIFIED BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/bls

DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(6)

08-17-2031

FBI

Date: November 5, 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISETransmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM LEGAT, OTTAWA

SUBJECT [REDACTED]

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS-MISC.; SEDITION
Bufile 100-446080
OO: WFO (100-43503)
OTT 100-1564

Re Ottawa teletype 10/30/68 in [REDACTED] caption;
Ottawa teletype 10/30/68 in the Carmichael caption;
Ottawa teletype 10/30/68 in [REDACTED] caption, and
Ottawa teletype 10/30/68 in [REDACTED] caption.

b6
b7C
b1

Please note requests in Para 3 as well as dissemination
restrictions in Para 4.

- 14 - Bureau (Encs.-13)
1 Liaison Direct
2 - New York
2 - San Francisco
1 - WFO
4 - Ottawa

MLI:jl
(18)

4417
Classified by _____
Exempt from GDS, Category I
Exemption Indefinite

CARBON COPY

100-446080
NOT RECORDED
145 NOV 21 1968

/ ENCLOSURE

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

~~SECRET~~

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-4315156

Office - [unclear]
initialed by R/S

11/30/76
BSP/bec

51 NOV 29 1968

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-17-2008 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/bls

TO : Director, FBI (Bufile- 100-446080)

DATE: 11/20/68

FROM : SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL, aka
RM - SNCC;
BLACK PANTHER PARTY; SEDITION;
ANTIRIOT LAWS

Cards UTD
Cards Sent 00

11/26/68
ad

Re: WFO report dated 11/15/68

☐ It is recommended that a Security Index Card be prepared on the above-captioned individual.

☒ The Security Index Card on the captioned individual should be changed as follows (specify change only):

Name			
Aliases		☐ Native Born ☐ Naturalized ☐ Alien	☐ Tab Detcom ☐ Delete Detcom
☐ Communist	☐ SWP	☐ JFG	☐ SPL
☐ WWP	☐ SDS	☐ PLP	☐ ANA
☐ NOI	☐ RAM	☐ SNC	☐ Miscellaneous (specify) _____
Date of Birth	Place of Birth	Race	Sex ☐ Male ☐ Female
Business Address, Name of Employing Concern and Address, Nature of Employment, and Union Affiliation, if any. Temporary Co-Chairman, Black United Front, Washington, D. C., also Prime Minister, Black Panther Party with headquarters in Oakland, California		Residence Address 100-446080- NOT RECORDED 17 NOV 21 1968	
Key Facility Data		Geographical Reference Number _____ Responsibility _____	

REGISTERED MAIL

2 - Bureau (Encl. 2)
1 - WFO
WWH:dab
(3)

53 NOV 29 1968

INT. SEC.
RACIAL INT. SECT.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE WASHINGTON FIELD	OFFICE OF ORIGIN WASHINGTON FIELD	DATE 11/1/68	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 10/3-31/68; 11/1/68
TITLE OF CASE STOKELY CARMICHAEL, aka		REPORT MADE BY SA [REDACTED]	TYPED BY tjd
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 08-17-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/bls		CHARACTER OF CASE RM-SNCC; BLACK PANTHER PARTY; SEDITION; ANTIRIOT LAWS	

REFERENCE: Report of SA [REDACTED] dated 7/30/68./at WDC.

- P -

ADMINISTRATIVE

This report carries subject as ARMED AND DANGEROUS since he is known to have possessed firearms in the past and in view of the national posture of SNCC advocating a policy of violence in racial matters and in view of CARMICHAEL's current affiliation with the Black Panther Party (BPP), a self-proclaimed revolutionary group. CARMICHAEL is maintained on both the Security Index and the Agitator Index of WFO.

SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR
ADD. DISSEMINATION

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED None						ACQUIT- TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐ YES ☒ NO
							PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS ☐ YES ☒ NO

APPROVED

SPECIAL AGENT
IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

COPIES MADE:

- 5-Bureau (100-446080)
- 1-USA, Washington, D.C.
- 1-U.S. Secret Service, Washington, D.C.
- 1-NISO, Washington, D.C.
- 1-OSI, Washington, D.C.
- 2-WFO (100-43503)

100-446080-207

18 NOV 19 1968

Copy Count Continued Page B

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Notations

Agency	G. Walter Haslam (atten: [REDACTED])	CRD, FBI, ACST, OSI, SS
Request Recd.	[REDACTED] (atten: [REDACTED])	
Date Fwd.	11/5/68	
How Fwd.	4/5	
By	PTB/abA	

59 NOV 29 1968

COVER PAGE

WFO 100-43503

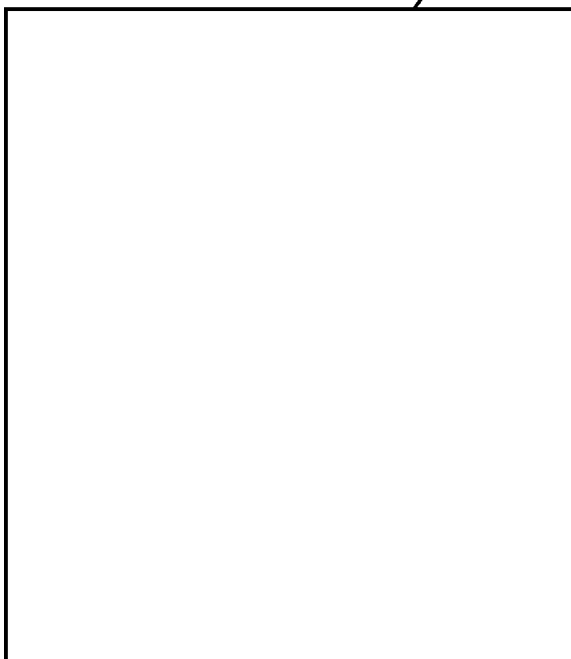
- 1 - 116th MIG, Washington, D.C.
- 1 - Baltimore (100-24220)(Info)(RM)
- 1 - Boston (157-347)(Info)(RM)
- 1 - New York (100-153751)(Info)(RM)
- 1 - San Francisco (157-721)(RM)

Copy of instant report being furnished Baltimore, Boston and New York for information in view of data set forth developed by these offices regarding travels and activities of CARMICHAEL. A copy is being furnished the San Francisco Office in view of CARMICHAEL's current affiliation with the BPP, a California based organization.

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source

File Where Located



157-2013

157-2013

100-43503

b2
b6
b7C
b7D

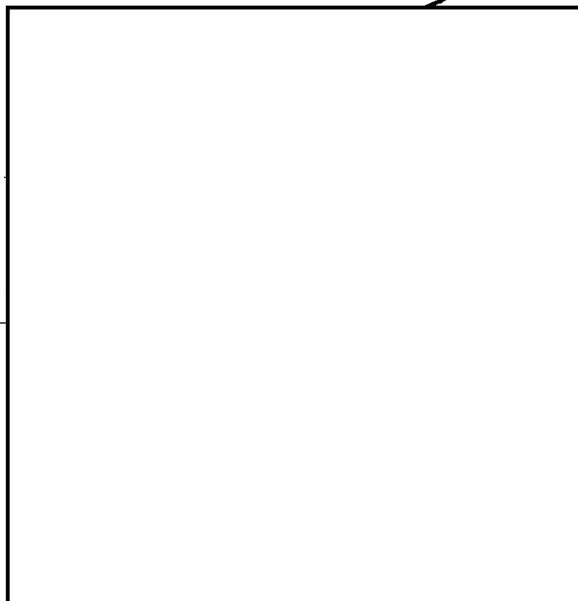
100-43503

100-43503

WFO 100-43503

Identity of Source

File Where Located



100-43503

100-43503

100-43503 b2
b6
b7C
b7D

100-43503

100-43503

100-43503

LEADS

WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE

AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

1. Will continue to attempt to locate verbatim transcript of CARMICHAEL's remarks through news media.
2. Will continue to attempt to locate witnesses who can testify to the content of CARMICHAEL's remarks and surrounding circumstances as well as his intent in making the remarks.
3. Will interview a representative number of persons arrested in the disturbances of October 13, 14 and 15, 1968, in WDC, in an effort to ascertain if CARMICHAEL had any link with those disturbances.

C*

COVER PAGE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Copy to:

- 1 - USA, Washington, D.C.
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Report of:

SA [REDACTED]

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Date:

11/1/68

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Office: Washington, D.C.

Field Office File #:

100-43503

Bureau File #: 100-446080

Title:

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Character:

RACIAL MATTERS-STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE;
BLACK PANTHER PARTY; SEDITION
ANTIRIOT LAWS

Synopsis:

CARMICHAEL, a former activist in the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and currently Prime Minister of the Black Panther Party (BPP) as well as Temporary Chairman of the Black United Front (BUF) maintains residence in Washington, D.C. ELIJAH BENNETT, JR. was shot by Metropolitan Police Department (MPD) Officer [REDACTED] on 10/8/68, and BUF rally held afternoon of 10/12/68, at New School of Afro-American Thought, WDC, to protest the shooting. CARMICHAEL traveled from NYC to WDC to speak at the rally. During speech, CARMICHAEL reportedly made inflammatory remarks to crowd present. Rally ended peacefully according to observers. Violence erupted in N.E. sector of WDC on 10/13,14,15/68. Investigation instituted to determine contents of CARMICHAEL's remarks, surrounding circumstances, intent, factual corroboration and if there was any link between his remarks and subsequent disturbances. No verbatim transcript of his remarks located. Information gathered from coverage of rally by MPD, FBI and other sources set forth. No information developed showing intent of CARMICHAEL in making remarks. No information developed showing direct link between CARMICHAEL's remarks and subsequent disturbances in WDC on 10/13,14 and 15, 1968. CARMICHAEL CONSIDERED ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

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DETAILS: AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

I. BACKGROUND

A. Organization Affiliation and Residence

CARMICHAEL was previously affiliated with the Washington, D. C. office of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) as an "organizer", with national headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia. CARMICHAEL's duties at SNCC were not specifically defined. He appeared to act on his own volition and did not appear to take orders from any specific SNCC official, [redacted] Washington, D.C. office of SNCC. Similarly, the duties of SNCC are not clearly defined and the term "SNCC" representing Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee is no longer accurate as there are few actual legitimate students left in the organization.

During August, 1968, the SNCC organization announced that its relationship with STOKELY CARMICHAEL had been terminated and that he would no longer have any affiliations with that organization. Subsequently, it was announced that CARMICHAEL had become affiliated with the Black Panther Party (BPP) and that he would hold the position of Prime Minister in that organization.

CARMICHAEL is also reportedly affiliated with the Black United Front (BUF), Washington, D. C., where he is Temporary Chairman. During some of the meetings, CARMICHAEL often presides and in addition attends meetings of the Steering Committee and handles other administrative functions.

CARMICHAEL is not known to be gainfully employed. He is not known to have received any significant salary from SNCC, the BPP or the BUF.

A characterization of SNCC, the BPP and the BUF is attached herewith in the appendix.

CARMICHAEL resides [redacted]
[redacted] at 5015 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. He previously resided at 2200 12th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., a residence he acquired on January 4, 1968, when he came to Washington, D. C. to live.

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[redacted] 10/68)

B. Description

STOKELY CARMICHAEL is further described as follows:

Name:	STOKELY CARMICHAEL
Date and Place of Birth:	June 29, 1941, Port of Spain, Trinidad, British West Indies
Naturalization:	Naturalized a United States citizen, April 27, 1953, Certificate Number A 338082
Race:	Negro
Sex:	Male
Height:	6 feet 1 inch
Weight:	160 - 170 pounds
Eyes:	Brown
Hair:	Black
Build:	Medium
Complexion:	Medium Brown
Scars and Marks:	1 inch scar under chin
Marital Status:	Married; [redacted]
Education:	Graduated from Bronx High School of Science, Bronx, New York, June, 1960

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Graduated from Howard University, Washington, D.C., June 5, 1964, receiving B.A. Degree in Philosophy

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Current Residence: 5015 16th Street, N.W., WDC
Organizational Affiliation: Black Panther Party;
Black United Front
Parents: ADOLPHUS STANDIFORD CARMICHAEL
Father (Deceased);
MABEL FLORENCE CARMICHAEL, nee
CHARLES, 1810 Amethyst Street,
Bronx, New York
FBI Number: 853121D

C. Predication of Investigation

By letter dated October 17, 1968, the Honorable FRED M. VINSON, Jr., Assistant Attorney General, United States Department of Justice, Washington, D.C., in a letter to the Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), requested an investigation of STOKELY CARMICHAEL's statements at a rally in Washington, D.C., on October 12, 1968. Specifically, the request contained the following:

- (a) A verbatim transcript of CARMICHAEL's remarks if such can be obtained either from our own sources, Washington Metropolitan Police Department (MPD) or news media.
- (b) A copy of the notes of any informants, local police officers or FBI Agents who were present and made notes of what CARMICHAEL said.
- (c) The names of witnesses who could testify to the content of the remarks, and the surrounding circumstances.
- (d) Any information which bears on the intent with which the remarks were made.
- (e) Any information which may show a link between the remarks and subsequent disturbances in the city of Washington.

II. PRELIMINARY ACTIVITY

Special Agents (SAs) of the FBI, at approximately 3:30 p.m., October 8, 1968, were proceeding north on 14th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., by automobile. Shortly after passing the intersection of 14th and U Streets, N.W., Washington, D.C., they noticed what appeared to be an MPD officer in trouble in that he was scuffling with an unknown Negro male on the east side of 14th Street on a sidewalk. The unknown Negro male was observed moving menacingly toward the officer, who was backing toward the curb. A revolver was observed in the officer's right hand. Momentarily a shot was heard coming from the revolver and the Negro male sagged to the sidewalk holding his abdomen, eventually falling face first toward the police officer standing near the curb. The SAs immediately alighted from their vehicle to render assistance. The police officer was walking in the direction of his motorcycle which was parked nearby. The officer appeared to be in a dazed condition walking in a wavering manner, bleeding from the nose and mouth and carrying his service revolver in his right hand with his arm partially extended. He stated, when approached by SAs, somewhat incoherently that he wanted to get to his radio. He said he thought his shoulder was broken and appeared to be favoring his left side. He acted as if he were in extreme pain. The officer, identified as [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] was placed by the SAs in their vehicle and his service revolver was removed from his right hand. Additional police assistance was summoned to the scene, as well as an ambulance. A crowd of onlookers began to encircle the car and the sidewalk immediately surrounding the area where the wounded man was lying. Efforts were made to assist the wounded man and first aid was administered to him. He was unable to talk and was not conscious. A pulse count was taken which felt faint and irregular. He was bleeding profusely from the mouth, the nose and the abdomen. Efforts were made to keep the area clear for the arrival of the ambulance and medical equipment. At this point a few individuals in the crowd insisted that the Negro was dead and that there was no need to keep the area clear. The crowd was told that he was still alive and they appeared reassured.

Shortly thereafter additional officers of the MPD appeared, who began controlling the crowd which had grown to about 300 people. Soon the ambulance arrived, and after

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examining the wounded man, one of the ambulance attendants stated in his opinion he was dead. The ambulance moved the wounded man from the scene. About ten minutes after the arrival of the first ambulance, a second ambulance arrived for the police officer. While the officer was being placed in the ambulance, the crowd began jeering and shouting "Get the white cop" and "I hope you die." Others were heard to use abusive language toward all police officers, both white and Negro. Some individuals were yelling in the crowd that the police officer shot the Negro merely for jaywalking. Others were overheard to make comments that white police and "Uncle Toms" could shoot Negroes any time they wanted. A few members of the crowd were yelling "Let's get the white cop."

The wounded Negro was taken to Freedmen's Hospital, Washington, D.C., by the ambulance where, according to the MPD, he was pronounced dead on arrival at 3:45 p.m.

The crowd that gathered in the area of 14th and U Streets, N.W., shortly after the shooting remained there for about 45 minutes and then dispersed.

[redacted] Homicide Squad, MPD, advised on October 8, 1968, that the dead man had been identified from fingerprints as ELIJAH BENNETT, also known as ELIJAH BENNETT, Jr., a Negro male, born December 20, 1946.

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Police coverage of the area of 14th and U Streets, N.W., Washington, D.C., during the evening of October 8, 1968, disclosed substantial acts of violence and vandalism erupted in the area following the shooting of ELIJAH BENNETT, Jr., by MPD officer [redacted]

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"The Washington Post," a Washington, D.C. daily newspaper, contained an article dated October 9, 1968, regarding activities in the area of 14th and U Streets, N.W., Washington, D.C., on the evening of October 8, 1968, following the shooting involving ELIJAH BENNETT, Jr.

A copy of the article is attached herewith:

Brief Disorder Follows Killing By Policeman

A show of force by police put down a disturbance by several hundred young Negroes last night in the area of 14th and U Streets nw. The disturbance, which included one major fire and a number of broken windows, was triggered by a protest rally over the fatal shooting of a Negro pedestrian by a white policeman in the afternoon.



PVT. DAVID ROBERTS
... fired fatal shot

Hundreds of riot-equipped police spreading a blanket of tear gas in the area quelled the disturbance in less than two hours.

One store — U.S. Parts Co. at 2102 14th st. nw. — was burned out by fire as youths roamed north and south along 14th Street.

Police fired several canisters of tear gas into concentrations of demonstrators.

The following statement was issued by Mayor Walter E. Washington at 11:30 p.m.:

"I want to assure the citizens that I have called for a full report of the incident at 14th and U Streets this past afternoon, and that appropriate action will be taken. I urge everyone to exercise restraint so that all the facts can be gathered and evaluated.

"I intend to remain in close touch with the situation throughout the night."

Only one arrest had been reported by early today. Leroy Thompson, 22, of Roanoke, was charged with disorderly conduct after his arrest in the 1300 block of Irving Street nw., police said.

One fireman, H. W. Petsch, detailed to Engine Co. 21, was overcome by smoke at the U.S. Parts fire.

A huge, almost stationary cloud of tear gas hung over 14th Street at midnight. The bands of teenagers had scattered, but individual residents walked the streets, handkerchiefs to their mouths and noses.

At police headquarters, 300 Indiana ave. nw., hundreds of police who were called in milled about on the ground floor. They were issued gas masks, helmets and riot batons. Special Operations Division men were issued shotguns.

But with the rapid quelling of the disturbance, most of the policemen were not dispatched to the streets. They remained at headquarters, smoking and chatting.

The disturbance erupted about 9:45 p.m. after an impromptu meeting on the sidewalk in front of the New School for Afro-American Thought, 2208 14th st. nw.

The meeting—protesting the shooting at 4 p.m. of Elijah Bennett, after a policeman stopped him for an alleged jaywalking violation—included about 60 young people. They decided to protest by jaywalk.

See SHOOT, A6, Col. 1

ing en masse in the 14th and U Streets intersection.

Police and civilian versions of the shooting conflicted, but both agreed there was a struggle between Bennett, 22, and the motorcycle policeman, Pvt. David Allen Roberts, before the single shot was fired. Police listed Bennett's address at 752 Gresham pl. nw.

As the protesters poured into the intersection, 13th Precinct Capt. Shirley F. O'Neill and Insp. Tilmor B. O'Bryant, both Negroes, circulated among them, endeavoring to talk them into leaving.

Cars were stopped. Police squads remained out of sight until a brick was thrown through the window of a Safeway Store near the intersection. Several persons entered the store and started throwing cans of food onto the sidewalk. Within minutes, most of the windows of the store were broken. Some persons picked up the cans on the sidewalk and carried them away.

Three trash barrels along the street were set afire as the crowd grew to about 250. Traffic was blocked by the crowd, and several bricks, bottles and other missiles were thrown at the cars.

As a small fire erupted at Addison and Barry-Pate Chevrolet Co. at 14th Street and Florida Avenue nw. and the larger one burned out U.S. Parts, police started firing tear gas, scattering the crowd, mostly northward up 14th Street.

Several bands, each consisting of seven or eight Negro teenagers, ran ahead of the skirmish lines of police.

The entire 3100-man Metropolitan police force was called to duty at 10:24 p.m. The day shift was relieved at 1 a.m. today, leaving the other two shifts on duty.

At one point, bottles were thrown at the mesh-covered windows of the Peoples Drug Store on 14th Street just north of U.

Traffic was diverted from the area as fire trucks moved in to put out the blaze at U.S. Parts Co. Burning paper was thrown through broken windows at Addison Chevrolet, reporters said, but little burned there.

Police moved north on 14th Street, firing tear gas and warning all persons to get off the street. A few objects were thrown at them, but most persons stayed inside.

Police went north on 14th Street as far as Park Road, scattering the small groups of teenagers.

As the persons dispersed, there were scattered reports of break-ins at stores in the Mount Pleasant area, on Sherman Avenue nw., on H Street ne., and a window was reported smashed at Gartenhaus Furs, 18th Street and Columbia Road nw.

A group of about 20 persons tried to overturn a police car at 14th and V Streets but failed. They then opened the hood, threw in burning paper and set the engine afire. Later, other persons set the front seat on fire. No policemen

This story was based on reports furnished by staff writers George Davis, Vincent Cohen, Jesse W. Lewis Jr., Alexander Shoumatoff, Robert G. Kaiser, Ivan C. Brandon, Alfred E. Lewis and Martin Weil and was assembled by Paul W. Valentine.

were present at the time.

Mayor Washington made a tour of the area by car about 1 a.m. today, stopping at locations where damage had occurred.

The disturbance broke out at the same intersection where a full-scale riot broke out in April after the assassination of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., and where a disturbance was put down after the closing of Resurrection City.

It was also the scene of the fatal shooting July 14 of Theodore Robert Lawson, a Negro, by a white policeman investigating the alleged theft of food from a store. A coroner's jury ruled the shooting was justifiable homicide.

Protesters at the scene last night expressed concern that if the Bennett case is handled through official channels, it, too, will be "whitewashed" and ruled a justifiable homicide.

At the 14th and U intersection after the shooting, a crowd of about 400 persons milled around. They dispersed in about an hour.

The policeman involved in the shooting is a member of the Traffic Division.

Police reported that he suffered a dislocated left shoulder and bruises of the face

during the struggle with the pedestrian. He was reported to be in fair condition at Washington Hospital Center.

Roberts lay on the pavement in front of the Zanzibar Restaurant, 2017 14th st. nw., until a rescue vehicle took him to the Hospital Center.

Police and civilian versions of the shooting varied as detectives sought last night to reconstruct the incident.

Acting Chief Jerry V. Wilson gave this initial account:

At about 4 p.m. Roberts was riding his motorcycle on the way to an accident when he saw a truck which had stopped and was blowing its horn at 14th and U Streets as a man crossed in front of the truck.

Roberts motioned for the man to get out of the street. The man kept walking slowly. When he reached the sidewalk at the northeast corner of the intersection, Roberts asked him to stop. The man kept walking. Roberts parked his motorcycle and walked up, saying, "Sir, I want to talk to you."

The man said nothing, struck Roberts in the shoulder then pummeled his face and mouth. Roberts felt he was losing consciousness, drew his pistol and fired once.

An eyewitness, Leroy Marshall, an Interior Department clerk, described the incident this way:

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The man crossed the street, ignoring Roberts' signal to stop, and continued walking north on 14th Street. Roberts parked his cycle and grabbed the man by the arm. The man wrenched his arm away, slapping Roberts across the face in the process. Roberts pushed him back, stepped backwards himself, bent to one knee and fired at the man once. Several other civilian witnesses agreed with Marshall's account.

But still other civilian witnesses said that after Roberts grabbed the man, the man struck him down and "was getting the better of him" when Roberts fired from a crouching or prone position.

D.C. Morgue officials said Bennett was shot once through the left arm and the bullet penetrated the "region of the heart." An autopsy will be performed today, they said.

Roberts' .38-caliber service revolver was removed for ballistics tests.

Word quickly spread that a man had been "shot for jaywalking." At 4:50 p.m., a man appeared on the street a block south of the incident wielding a shotgun. He was talking loudly. About 200 persons gathered around him.

When police moved toward the crowd, individuals helped the man hide the weapon, first in a raincoat, later in the

trunk of a parked car. The car pulled away and the crowd scattered.

Wilson was acting chief of the police force because Chief John B. Layton, as well as Public Safety Director Patrick V. Murphy, are in Hawaii at-

tending a conference of the International Association of Chiefs of Police.

Police headquarters records show that Pvt. Roberts, who comes from Clear Lake, Iowa, joined the force in 1963, and has won four commenda-

tions for courtesy in the last year. He was originally assigned to the Fourth Precinct but was transferred to the Traffic Division in 1964.

Reports by his superiors say he is a "reliable officer with a mature attitude."

A periodic check of the area of the shooting by SAs of the FBI and members of the MPD during the day of October 9, 1968, disclosed the community appeared to have returned to normal. The Intelligence Division of the MPD reported, however, that rumors had been heard about possible demonstrations in the area of 14th and U Streets, N.W., Washington, D.C., as a result of the shooting but no positive information had been developed concerning any proposed disturbances or demonstrations.

On October 11, 1968, [redacted] affiliated with the Women Strike for Peace (WSP), reportedly stated that a meeting had been held at the home of [redacted] Center for Emergency Support (CES) on October 9, 1968.

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The WSP is a national women's organization which in the past has demonstrated against nuclear testing, the draft and the war in Vietnam.

The CES was described by it's chairman, ARTHUR L. WASKOW, when he appeared before the Washington, D. C. City Council on April 3, 1968, as a "non-profit charitable, educational, and scientific organization incorporated under District of Columbia law to give emergency relief in any event of civil disorder, and to carry on research and education programs on the causes and solutions of civil disorder."

The meeting was attended by approximately 60 people and plans were made to hold a demonstration at the 13th Precinct of the MPD at 1 p.m., on October 12, 1968, accompanied by a march from the precinct to the home of Mayor WALTER WASHINGTON. [redacted] the demonstration would be conducted by a coalition including the WSP, Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), Black United Front (BUF) and the CES.

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A characterization of the SDS and the BUF is attached herewith in the appendix.

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Among those expected to speak at the rally held at the 13th Precinct included BRUCE TERRIS, Chairman, D. C. Democratic Committee, CHARLES CASSELL of the BUF, and Professor MONROE FREEDMAN.

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"The Washington Post," mentioned previously, contained an article dated October 15, 1968, regarding the rally held at the 13th Precinct of the MPD on October 12, 1968. A copy of the article is attached herewith.

Coalition demands civilian control of police officers

A coalition of local organizations demanded community control of the police, and prosecution of policemen involved in shootings, in a rally Saturday afternoon in front of the 13th Precinct house.

About 200 people, including residents of the neighborhood, heard representatives of the D.C. Democratic Central Committee, the D.C. Lawyers' association and the Institute for Policy Studies, accuse the daily Washington papers of suppressing news about police corruption and charged that the U.S. Attorney, David Bress, is biased in favor of the police.

MONROE FREEMAN, a law professor at George Washington University, said that a Task Force Report of the President's Crime Commission on Law Enforcement in Washington reported that there are 40 acts of alleged police brutality for 1000 policemen every week. He said the report found policemen taking bribes, extortion, and

carrying unlawful weapons to plant on the bodies of civilians. Freeman said, but not in the New York Times.

The report was published (Continued on Page 18)

(Continued from page 1)

the Washington Post.

Channing Phillips, National Committeeman for D.C., said there was little need for civilians to be killed by policemen. In most cases, he said, a man could be wounded instead.

* * *

CAPT. Shirley O'Neil and policemen from the 13th Precinct stood on the fringes of the crowd during the rally, with the uniformed police standing on the steps of the building and plainclothesmen leaning on parked cars.

O'Neill was called to the microphone after a series of speakers. O'Neill told the crowd, "in the days to come I would let you decide on the actions of the police. I know what the relationship between the police and the community should be. I want my policemen to be professionals. I expect them to be."

He added however, "I need time."

Arthur Waskow, the coordinator of the rally and of the coalition then introduced Charles Cassell, co-chairman of the Black United Front.

Cassell told the crowd, which was about evenly integrated, that the coalition "should go out into Silver Spring, go west of Rock Creek Park where you've got the Wallace supporters." He also said that whites should demonstrate where the policemen live.

As an alternative to demonstrations, Cassell said they should "strike at the sources of power — the Chamber of Commerce, the Board of Trade, these honky landlords who own the property where you live."

* * *

THE RALLY, which was primarily a reaction to the shooting of Elijah Bennett by a white traffic policeman last week on 14th and U Sts., NW, was intended to be a kick-off for a march to Mayor Walter Washington's home.

But Washington, instead, came to the rally saying that there was an 80-year-old woman, ill, in his home.

Washington was immediately attacked by Waskow. He introduced Washington as "the colonial governor, the viceroy of the District of Columbia." Waskow said that a mayor is an elected official responsible to his electorate and

Washington is a presidential appointee.

Washington took the microphone and angrily accused Waskow of misleading the crowd and having them support proposals they knew nothing about.

Several organizations in the white coalition, including the D.C. Lawyers Association, have proposals similar to the Black United Fronts demands for community control of the police.

Washington opened his remarks with "you want something that I can't give you. . . . it's up to Congress." He told the crowd that he had proposals from different groups and was attempting to take some action on them. When the conversation became a shouting match between Washington and Waskow, Cornelius Brown, a member of the BUF board of conveners, stepped in and took the microphone away from Waskow.

He told the crowd "We have to give Washington respect and he's going to get it." Brown said he objected to seeing Washington attacked by white people.

The rally began to break up then with Waskow asking for a vote from the crowd about what to do next and asking them to sign up for committee to work for community control of the police.

ADRIENNE MANNS

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"The Evening Star," a Washington, D.C. daily newspaper, in an article dated October 10, 1968, reported a rally sponsored by the BUF was to be held. A copy of the article is attached herewith.

BLACK FRONT SET FOR PARK RALLY

Stokely Carmichael, founder of the Washington Black United Front and prime minister of the Black Panther Party, will speak at a Front rally Saturday in Meridian Hill Park. It will be his first public speech on major topics this year, a spokesman said.

According to the spokesman, the rally, which begins at 3 p.m., will focus on the current racial "crisis in the district" and present an outline of the front's future goals in the city.

Other speakers will represent Howard University, Federal City College and the New School on Afro-American Thought.

On October 11, 1968, a rally reportedly was scheduled to be held at 3 p.m., October, 12, 1968, at Meridian Hill Park, 15th Street and Florida Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C., in order to give the citizens an opportunity to "blow off steam" as a result of the shooting of ELIJAH BENNETT, Jr., a Negro male, by [redacted] of the MPD on the afternoon of October 8, 1968. According to source, the BUF would sponsor the rally and planned to advertise through local radio and newspapers that the rally would be held. Source stated that feelings in the area, particularly around 14th and U Streets, N.W., Washington, D.C., were bad at that time and that emotions in the area could only be described as "ugly." Source stated that any incident could trigger the area into violence. The source reported that the purpose of the BUF rally was to allow people to get rid of their tension and emotion by talking about the matter.

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"The Washington Afro-American," a Washington, D.C. bi-weekly newspaper, in an article dated October 12, 1968, reported that STOKELY CARMICHAEL would participate in the BUF rally to be held on Saturday, October 12, 1968, at 3 p.m.

A copy of the article is attached herewith.

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Carmichael to take on 14th Street shooting

The Black United Front has announced a rally for Saturday, Oct. 12, at 3 p.m. in Meridian Hill Park. Stokely Carmichael, prime minister of the Black Panther Party and co-chairman of the BUF, will be the main speaker.

Other speakers are ex-

pected from Howard University, Federal City College, and BUF, according to a front spokesman. The spokesman said the rally is being held to discuss "what the black community must now do," as a result of the police shooting of a man on 14th and U Sts. NW. earlier this week.

The above source advised on October 12, 1968, that the BUF rally scheduled for 3 p.m., October 12, 1968, would take place in front of the New School of Afro-American Thought, 2115 14th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., rather than at the Meridian Hill Park as was originally planned. Source stated that STOKELY CARMICHAEL, a member of the BUF, and other members of the organization would speak at the rally.

[redacted] 10/10, 12/68)

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The New School of Afro-American Thought has been publicly described as the headquarters for a small group of self-supporting artists and educators who are attempting to spread a message that black people should be proud of being black through classes given in Negro history, African languages and arts.

III. TRAVELS OF CARMICHAEL FROM OCTOBER 3 TO OCTOBER 12, 1968

STOKELY CARMICHAEL arrived at The Soul School, 522 Fremont Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland, on October 3, 1968, at approximately 4 p.m. He remained in Baltimore until about 4:45 p.m., at which time he indicated he was leaving for New York City.

[redacted] 10/4/68)

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The Intelligence Unit, Baltimore, Maryland, Police Department, reported on October 3, 1968, that CARMICHAEL's departure from Baltimore for New York City about 5 p.m., on October 3, 1968, had been verified. The police department advised CARMICHAEL was traveling alone in a car bearing New York license 2Z940 determined previously to be a rented vehicle.

On October 3, 1968, a leaflet entitled "Congress of Black Writers," written in English and French, was made available. The leaflet related to the above congress, which was to be held from October 11 to 14, 1968, at the Students Union and Leacock Building, McGill University, Montreal, Canada. Among the participants scheduled to appear and speak was STOKELY CARMICHAEL from 10:30 a.m. to 12 noon on Monday, October 14, 1968. CARMICHAEL's topic reportedly would be entitled "Black Power in the United States."

[redacted] 10/3/68)

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL was observed at 1810 Amethyst Street, Bronx, New York City, the residence of his mother, during the evening of October 5, 1968.

[redacted] 10/6/68)

On October 7, 1968, STOKELY CARMICHAEL was reportedly scheduled to visit Canada sometime during October, 1968, exact dates not known. [redacted]

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[redacted] As of October 7, 1968, CARMICHAEL [redacted] in New York City and reportedly might travel from there to Canada before returning [redacted] home in Washington, D.C.

[redacted] 10/7/68)

CARMICHAEL was again observed at the residence of his mother, 1810 Amethyst Street, Bronx, New York City, at 10:30 p.m., on October 8, 1968. He was also observed at the residence of his mother during the evening of October 10, 1968.

[redacted] 10/9, 10/68)

[redacted] 10/10/68)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL [redacted] [redacted] observed entering a 1968 Rambler sedan in front of his mother's residence, 1810 Amethyst Street, Bronx, New York City, at 7:30 p.m., October 11, 1968. They placed luggage in the vehicle.

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CARMICHAEL was again observed at the residence of his mother on the morning of October 12, 1968.

[redacted] 10/11, 12/68)

An SA of the FBI observed STOKELY CARMICHAEL shortly after 2 p.m., October 12, 1968, at his residence, 5015 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. He entered a 1968 green Rambler sedan bearing New York license 2Z940 and drove to the vicinity of the New School of Afro-American Thought, 2115 14th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., where a rally of the BUF protesting the shooting of ELIJAH BENNETT, JR., by a member of the MPD reportedly would be held. CARMICHAEL parked the vehicle on 14th Street heading south across from the above-mentioned school and joined a crowd mingling in the area.

Since CARMICHAEL was apparently in New York City from October 4, 1968 to the morning of October 12, 1968, the date of the BUF rally, no information was developed as to who or how the invitation to speak was communicated to him in New York.

IV. BUF RALLY AT NEW SCHOOL OF AFRO-AMERICAN THOUGHT, WDC, 3:00 P.M., OCTOBER 12, 1968

At approximately 3:05 p.m., SAs of the FBI observed a gathering of about 300 people standing on the sidewalk and street in front of the New School of Afro-American Thought, 2115 14th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., on October 12, 1968.

Previous information available indicated that a BUF rally protesting the shooting of ELIJAH BENNETT, Jr., by a member of the MPD would be held there. Earlier reports were that the rally was to be held at the Meridian Hill Park; however, later it was reported the rally had been changed from the Meridian Hill Park to the New School of Afro-American Thought. No reason for the change was readily available.

The crowd gathered in front of the New School of Afro-American Thought appeared to be composed primarily of male individuals in the 20-35 age bracket. All of them appeared to be Negro and some females were also observed to be present. No white persons were observed in the gathering. No television news gathering crews or other technical news media representatives were noted to be present. The crowd was facing the entrance to the New School of Afro-American Thought and appeared to be expectant about what was to take place. An unknown Negro in his early 20's had a "bull horn" and appeared to be beginning to address the crowd. The crowd increased in numbers and traffic flowing on 14th Street, particularly in the northbound lane was being affected.

Officers of the MPD were in the area directing traffic. Shortly thereafter a truck was observed being parked across 14th Street in front of the New School of Afro-American Thought, and a number of persons were attempting to get onto the rear of the vehicle. Subsequently, members of the MPD were successful in getting the truck moved because of the fact it was obstructing traffic.

The rally appeared to break up about 4 p.m., and the crowd dispersed in a peaceful manner in various directions. Some individuals appeared to linger about the area the remainder of the afternoon and into the evening. The vehicle of CARMICHAEL remained parked across from the New School of Afro-American Thought until late afternoon.

Due to the sensitive nature appearing to exist in the area and on observations made by officers of the MPD on duty there, SAs of the FBI were not able to move into the center of the crowd and attempt to cover it to any great extent. SAs remained in the perimeter of the activity due to the sensitive emotional nature apparently existing among the participants. The remarks by CARMICHAEL were not discernible to SAs present. Accordingly, no notes were made about his remarks. Due to the nature of the circumstances surrounding the speech, no tapes of CARMICHAEL's remarks were made by SAs of the FBI. A factor which complicated the matter further was the fact that CARMICHAEL attempted to use a "bull horn" but it became defective and as a result the remarks he made were not clearly audible to many members of the rally.

SAs of the FBI can testify as to the holding of the event on October 12, 1968, at 3 p.m., CARMICHAEL being present, the approximate number of additional persons present, the composition and demeanor of the crowd and the fact it appeared to disperse peacefully.

[redacted] advised on October 22, 1968, that he was on the scene during the rally and planned to make a tape recording of CARMICHAEL's speech. He stated, however, that CARMICHAEL at

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the beginning of his speech attempted to use a "bull horn" afforded him and that it did not function. CARMICHAEL discarded the "bull horn" later and did not use any amplifying devices whatever. [] advised that he was not able to move in closer to where CARMICHAEL was standing due to the sensitive nature of the area and crowded conditions prevalent. Due to this and lack of amplification, he was prohibited from recording the remarks. In addition, he advised that he did not want to be indiscreet and too obvious in his efforts because he thought he might precipitate violence if discovered due to the volatile nature of the crowd. He advised that he heard part of CARMICHAEL's remarks from a distance but not very well.

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[] further advised that []

[] they heard the remarks of CARMICHAEL. He stated, however, he is not desirous of their names being made public due to the confidential nature of their work and because he does not want to render their future effectiveness useless. He advised that these [] did not make any notes of what CARMICHAEL said, to his knowledge. However, they could probably recall most of his remarks from memory.

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He advised that they could possibly testify to what they heard should it be necessary at a later date to do so.

[] advised further that []

[] which is as follows:

"About 3:30 p.m., October 12, 1968, STOKELY CARMICHAEL, Negro/Male, 37 years of age, born June 29, 1931, 4331 Blagden Avenue, N.W., addressed a crowd of approximately 300 people in front of the New School of Afro-American Thought, 2115 - 14th Street, N.W.

"CARMICHAEL stated, 'When a black brother kills in Vietnam they give him a medal. The only way we can stop the killing of our black brothers in D.C. is to see that a "Honky Cop" is killed when a black brother is killed. When the black brother kills a "Honky Cop", I think the black community should give him a medal. Now we can't give him a medal above ground because he will be arrested; we should honor him underground. If a black brother or sister speaks out against a brother who kills a "Honky Cop", he should get the same thing.

" 'I am tired of making speeches and having rallies. We should do what we have to do.' "

[redacted] on October 22, 1968, advised that [redacted] number of policemen assigned to the area of the New School of Afro-American Thought, 2115 14th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., on October 12, 1968, to handle traffic matters primarily. He advised that [redacted] [redacted] were also present in the crowd. He advised that no particular problems developed in connection with the rally during which STOKELY CARMICHAEL, among others, spoke about the shooting of ELIJAH BENNETT, Jr., by a member of the MPD. He stated that at one point members of the crowd pulled a truck across the northbound lane of 14th Street blocking traffic. Several members of the crowd attempted to jump on the back of the truck. Apparently they intended to use the rear of the truck as a platform for the speakers. However, officers were successful in getting the truck removed soon, alleviating the traffic problem being created. He advised that none of the officers on duty there [redacted] made a recording of CARMICHAEL's remarks. In fact, he stated, they did not hear his remarks with such clarity as to be of any use, because they were primarily concerned with traffic problems and crowd control. He also advised that to his knowledge none [redacted] officers made any notes of what transpired during the

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rally. [] noted that the "bull horn" used by the speakers became inoperative and it was difficult to hear the speakers unless one was up very close to the center of activity.

[] estimated the crowd to be about 300, composed almost entirely of Negroes in the 20-35 age bracket. He also advised that no news covering crews with technical equipment were observed in the area.

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He advised also that after the rally broke up, approximately 4 p.m., the crowd dispersed peacefully and no incidents or outbreaks of violence developed.

[] advised that he could furnish no evidence indicating CARMICHAEL's intent in making the statements. He advised that no information had come to his attention along that line.

Confidential sources of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), who have furnished reliable information in the past, were present during the rally held at the New School of Afro-American Thought (NSAAT), 2115 14th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. (WDC), on the afternoon of October 12, 1968. These sources were not able to make notes due to the sensitive nature of the surroundings and because of the necessity to be discreet because of their personal safety. They made prompt oral reports to Special Agents of the FBI as to what had taken place at the rally. They could conceivably testify as to what CARMICHAEL said during his speech, should it become necessary at a later date to do so. They could also testify as to the composition and demeanor of the crowd at the rally as well as surrounding circumstances. These sources could not offer any facts bearing on the intent of CARMICHAEL in making his remarks during the rally.

From the oral remarks furnished to Special Agents of the FBI, subsequent written reports were prepared from the information furnished. Copies of the reports are hereinafter set forth.

"At approximately 3:00PM a rally was held in front of the New School of Afro-American Thought, 2115 14th Street, N.W. The rally was sponsored by the Black United Front, and approximately 150-200 persons attended. The crowd gathered on the sidewalk and street which resulted in police having to block off that section of 14th Street. The rally was held regarding the shooting of a Negro, ELIJAH BENNETT, by a white policeman on 10/8/68.

"The rally was directed by CHARLES CASSELL. Others attending included: STOKELY CARMICHAEL, [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

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"There were several speeches concerning control of the police being placed in the hands of the black community in order to prevent shootings by white policemen. Source stated that the speeches related to the five point proposal of the Black United Front which calls for black control of the police.

"In his speech, CARMICHAEL stated that when a black brother is killed by a white policeman, then someone in turn should kill a white policeman. He stated that if one could go to Vietnam, kill a Viet Cong, and get a medal, then the Negro community should give a medal to any black who kills a white policeman. According to CARMICHAEL, this would stop white cops from killing black brothers.

"STONE stated that Mayor WASHINGTON should be given seven days to get a Negro police chief for WDC, and if he does not, then he should submit his resignation. STONE also touched on the school situation in Washington, stating that all school programs should be geared for the blacks since 93% of the students are black.

"Source stated that GASTON NEAL coined the phrase, 'The cop you kill may be your own.'

"The rally ended at approximately 4:00PM. Donations were solicited for the family of ELIJAH BENNETT. There were no incidents in connection with the rally."

[REDACTED] October 12, 1968

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WFO 100-43503

"A demonstration was held in front of the 13th Precinct, 1620 V Street, N.W., WDC, as a result of the shooting of ELIJAH BENNETT by a Washington police officer. The demonstration was held October 12, 1968.

"The demonstration started at approximately 1:00 P.M. and ended at approximately 2:45 P.M. There were approximately 200 people attending the demonstration. Several people spoke at the demonstration including Washington Mayor Walter Washington. The demonstration ended with no incidents or arrests made.

"At the above meeting, Mayor WASHINGTON told the people he was doing all he could and asked the crowd to support him in his efforts. An unidentified Negro male spoke to the crowd and told them to be careful about accepting what had been said by some of the white people who also spoke.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"Later on October 12, 1968, a demonstration was held in front of the New School of Afro-American Thought, 2115 14th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., by the Black United Front to demonstrate against the shooting of BENNETT. There were approximately 300 people there. STOKELY CARMICHAEL, GASTON NEAL, C. SUMNER STONE, and CHARLES CASSELL all spoke at the demonstration. They stressed the need for the black community to have control over the police. CARMICHAEL said that when a black person is killed by a police officer, someone should kill a white cop in return and that the blacks should get medals for killing whites just as they give medals to men in Vietnam. The meeting lasted from approximately 3:00PM until approximately 4:15PM when it ended without incident or arrests."

October 14, 1968

"Shortly before 3:00PM there were approximately 50 persons crowded in front of the New School of Afro-American Thought, 2115 14th Street. The only recognizable persons were The people at this time were holding hands.

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"Source stated that he would now go to Meridian Hill Park to determine if any activity is taking place there.

"Source returned to the vicinity of the New School just as CHUCK STONE was finishing up his remarks with the statement 'It is not what you say or wear, but what you do, toward black revolution.'

"STOKELY CARMICHAEL was then introduced as Prime Minister. He stated that we shall not stop talking about police brutality until we kill some honky cops and control the police. When black brothers kill Vietnamese they are awarded medals. If black brothers kill honky cops they should be awarded medals also. He stated that this cannot be done publicly without the brother going to jail so the brother doing the killing should be rewarded privately. He advised the crowd to kill at night instead of the daytime and stab the honky cops in the back if necessary.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"Whenever a black brother is killed, no black man should say anything about it. He should just say 'that it is OK.' Then he should do something about it in retaliation.

"GASTON NEAL made several remarks, the gist of what was that CARMICHAEL's remarks should be heeded.

"There were approximately 200 or so persons present, but there were no arrests or incidents.

"Leaflets advocating support of Rev. DOUGLAS MOORE for election to the school board were being circulated.

"There was no program at Meridian Hill Park, but many people were there and were asking where the program was going to take place.

[redacted] Howard University."

[redacted] October 12, 1968

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"A rally was held on the afternoon of October 12, 1968, in front of the New School of Afro-American Thought from 3:00PM until 4:15PM. The crowd in attendance numbered between 600 and 800 persons.

"The first two speakers were Howard University students. One was light skinned with sandy hair worn in a bush. He wore a dashiki and sunglasses and was slender of build. The name BOB MALSON sounds familiar and that may be his name. He spoke for a very short period of time and the gist of his comments was 'You see how the police are, now what are you going to do about it.' The other student wore a full beard, sunglasses and a dashiki, was about 6'1" tall, and a little heavier than the other one. He spoke primarily about black control of the police and the black community.

"CHUCK STONE then spoke and stated that he was sick of white police shooting black people. He stated that Mayor WASHINGTON should come out publicly against police action of this type and speak as a black man or resign in seven days. STONE also had a list of black men who have been beaten or killed during the year. He also had the names of

some of the policemen involved and how some of them had been involved in more than one incident. He said some guy named ADAMS who registered a complaint against police for beating him received no satisfaction from the system. He also mentioned that LESTER McKINNIE was beaten by the police.

"STOKELY CARMICHAEL spoke last and advised that he is sick and tired of rallies. They give black brothers in Vietnam medals for killing Vietnamese. Perhaps we should give brothers medals here for killing honky cops. He stated that we could set up situations where cops could be killed and the brothers doing the killing would be heroes. It would have to be done covertly though so the brothers would not be arrested.

"Before the rally got started good a white police officer who appeared to have officers rank attempted to make the crowd disperse from the vicinity of a truck and stated also that the truck would have to be moved. He was confronted by many of the persons in the crowd and GASTON NEAL told him in no uncertain terms that the permit for the rally included the truck and NEAL removed the rotor from under the hood so the truck could not be moved. Shortly after that [redacted] came on the scene and was berated by several persons in the crowd.

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"Prior to this rally, the scene at Meridian Hill Park was observed but there was no rally in progress there. Several persons were asking where the rally was to be held. There were several police cars and paddy wagons there.

"The mood of the crowd at the New School was 'ugly' and at 4:20, after the rally, it was possibly getting worse as many people were still milling around. One man was observed with a sign which said, 'I'm Jaywalking, Shoot Me.'"

"There were no arrests."

[redacted] October 12, 1968

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"The Washington Post", mentioned previously, contained an article dated October 13, 1968, regarding the rally held on October 12, 1968, at the 13th Precinct of the Metropolitan Police Department (MPD) and later at the New School of Afro-American Thought (NSAAT). A copy of that article is attached herewith.



By Bob Burchette—The Washington Post

Arthur Waskow urges crowd to protest Police Department policies as Mayor Washington listens.

Street Blocked

Rally Protests Fatal Shooting

By Vincent Cohen and Robert C. Maynard

Washington Post Staff Writers

A rally blocked 14th Street nw. for half an hour yesterday as speakers denounced the city's police and demanded community control of them.

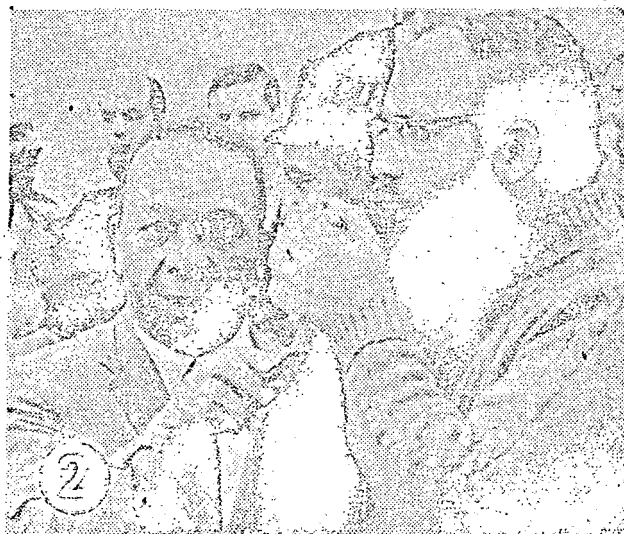
The roadblock was set up as a symbolic gesture, one block north of the spot at 14th and U Streets nw. where Elijah Bennett was shot and killed by a policeman in a brief struggle last Tuesday. The rally was

called to protest Bennett's death.

The street was closed by a parked truck and a crowd of about 250 people. One speaker declared: "We have to show that we control our community and our streets."

Bennett, 22, was buried at 2 p.m. at Harmony Cemetery, 7601 Sheriff rd., Landover. Funeral services had been held the previous eve-

See RALLY, D4, Col. 1



Waskow introduces the Mayor as "colonial governor."

RALLY From D1

ming at the Jarvis Funeral Home, 1432 U st. nw.

The fatal incident revolved around an attempt by Police Pvt. David A. Roberts to arrest Bennett for jaywalking at 14th and U Streets. Witnesses said that Bennett struck Roberts and, in the scuffle, was shot. Pvt. Roberts, who has been relieved of duty pending investigation, is white. Bennett was a Negro.

The 14th Street rally began an hour after the burial at the New School for Afro-American Thought, 2115 14th st. nw., a center for black militants.

Mayor Involved

Earlier, at a smaller rally in front of the 13th Precinct station, three blocks away at 1620 V st. nw., protesters briefly debated police policy with Mayor Walter E. Washington.

The rally at the precinct station was led by Arthur Waskow, chairman of the Center for Emergency Support. While the Center had initiated the call for the rally, representatives of several other groups that had formed into an ad hoc committee following Bennett's death participated.

The rally at the precinct station was led by Arthur Waskow, a white leader in politics here. It was attended largely by white demonstrators taking part in the Center for Emergency Support, an organization formed to protest Bennett's death.

The Rev. Channing E. Phillips, Washington's Democratic National Committeeman, earlier had been touring the city in a motorcade to drum up support for the Humphrey-Muskie ticket. At the precinct station rally, he castigated the police policy of shooting to kill.

Bruce J. Terris, the city's Democratic chairman, charged the police with a failure to "punish their own" in cases involving misuse of force.

Monroe H. Freedman, professor of law at George Washington University, declared that the "white press," and particularly The Washington Post, fails "to honestly report police suppression of ghetto residents."

Police Captain Speaks

Waskow urged Capt. Shirley O'Neill, the newly-appointed commander of the 13th Precinct, to speak.

"I expect my officers to be experts in community relations," Capt. O'Neill said, "but it will take time."

Charles Cassell, cochairman of the Black United Front, told the rally "You're dealing with lackeys here. Take your protest to the real source of power . . . the real estate brokers and the Board of Trade." He termed the police "a colonial occupying force."

Waskow introduced the Mayor as "the colonial governor and the viceroy of Washington." As Mayor Washington came to the microphone, he was jeered and booed by the crowd.

"I will work to get the Congress to do what the people want," Washington declared.

Waskow broke in and began arguing with the Mayor, who retorted: "Don't deceive the people. I understand this situation and am working to solve it."

Bantering Debate

The two men carried on a bantering debate as the crowd of about 100 grew silent. Then a wave of laughter, apparently at the futility of Waskow's effort, broke out.

Some 30 Negroes walked



Photos by Ellsworth Davis—The Washington Post

A policeman checks stalled truck that was used to prevent traffic from moving up 14th Street.



Stokely Carmichael addresses crowd with bullhorn.

off, one of them saying "These white people can't get nothing done."

Waskow then tried to take a vote to undertake a further demonstration, but he got little support and the crowd dispersed.

As it ended, the second rally

of the afternoon was getting under way in front of the New School of Afro-American Thought. It stands next door to the fire-gutted hulk of U.S. Auto Parts, the store burned out in the Tuesday night disorder which started in the same block of 14th street nw. As a crowd of about 250

gathered, Gaston Neal, one of the directors of the New School, ordered a rented truck pulled across the southbound lanes of traffic. The crowd flowed out into the street.

Police Divert Traffic

Five policemen standing across the street from the New School watched, then began diverting traffic.

After a few minutes, Sgt. L. C. Hoefer of the 13th Precinct walked over to the truck and climbed behind the wheel. The crowd began moving toward him. Under a soower of epithets, Hoefer climbed down and made his way out of the crowd.

Police Insp. Tilmon B. O'Bryant and Capt. O'Neill—both Negroes—moved into the crowd, saying to demonstrators, "Hello brother, how are you today?"

"Hello, Brother O'Bryant," replied one. "Why don't you get that honky beast of yours out of here before he gets hurt?"

"We're Moving Up"

Another demonstrator told O'Bryant: "We're moving up. At least you're his boss, and he's no longer yours."

At 4:47 p.m., Cassell, of the Black United Front and acting as master of ceremonies, introduced Stokely Carmichael,

the principal organizer of the Front.

Carmichael said, "There is no right or wrong about killing. If any of these young black brothers were sent to Vietnam, he would be given a medal for killing Vietnamese.

"If a black brother kills a honky cop, the black community should give him a medal . . ." The crowd cheered.

"Now, we can't give him a medal above ground, because he would be arrested, but we can honor him . . . by nobody getting upset."

Neal made an appeal for funds for the dead man's wife and children, and the rally ended. But the crowd continued to mill around the New School.

WFO 100-43530

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The "Washington Afro-American," WDC, mentioned previously, in an article dated October 15, 1968, contained information regarding the rallies held on October 12, 1968, protesting the shooting of ELIJAH BENNETT, JR., by a member of the MPD on October 8, 1968. A copy of that article is attached herewith:

~~_____~~

Two Rallies Protest Killings By Police

Crowds

block

street

By CARL L. SHEARS

The crowd was first moved inside and then when it appeared that it would be too large for the small auditorium of the New School of Afro-American Thought, 2115 14th St., NW, the crowd was moved outside again.

The rally was the second held Saturday to protest the slaying of Elijah Bennett by a white policeman on 14th St. last week not far from the New School. The man was slain as a result of jay-walking.

The crowd was all black, of all shades and hues, many dressed in African garb. They seemed angry and it appeared that something explosive was going to happen.

THE SUN was hidden behind the clouds when the crowd hit the sidewalks to listen to the speakers. At first they clustered around the small doorway of the New School and listened as Charles Casell, co-chairman of the Black United Front, introduced Julius Hobson as the first speaker.

Hobson, a candidate at

(Continued on Page 2)

(Continued from page 1)

large in the school board race, was introduced as the

"man who proved that we had a racist school board." Hobson said that he was almost ashamed to make a speech because he had been making them before most of the crowd was born and they had done no good.

He said, "The man is shooting you down in the streets like dogs. How many times are you going to watch your brothers being shot down in the streets? How many rallies are we going to have How many marches?"

Then Hobson added, as if sensing the mood of the crowd, "If I weren't scared, I would have gone out shooting long ago."

He stated the shooting would go on until something is done.

He said also that the Black Front should send a truth squad around to see if all the candidates in the

school board race are giving the same story everywhere because some are saying different things in different areas.

Reginald Booker, chairman of the Emergency Transportation Committee against the Freeways, asked how can we survive against the police force? He said there were only two choices and they were to kill or go along with the "honky cops".

BOOKER SAID the first step in the resolution was to strip the black man of his guns. He went further saying, "We must control

the police in our community. The first battle in the revolution will be fought by cops and black brothers in the streets. Black brothers should form their own police force. The present police force is for the protection of the white community."

He said black people of the community should decide the punishment given to the policemen who shoot down black men in the streets.

Booker said white policemen who killed black men should have their pictures placed on posters as wanted for murder.

THE CROWD, growing angrier, then moved out into the streets, blocking passage as Q. T. Jackson a Howard University student came before them. He shouted "We are now waking up to the fact that we have no control over our lives. Until we do, the man will continue running the stuff on us."

"It's our own responsibility to get together to control our own police force. We must control our own education, police force and our own businesses."

"The cops every day are playing with us. We must get together and put pressure where it should be put. We have got to start now. We must think black and be black; we have no longer to wait."

A TRUCK rented by the demonstrators, blocked the street and made it impossible for traffic to pass. Some people, feeling there was going to be a police confrontation, began to gather their children and move away from the

crowd. The traffic was diverted by policemen. This was due to the actions of Joseph Yeldell, a District councilman.

Two white policemen went up to the truck blocking the street and asked that it be moved. A small group nearby began to taunt them as they looked under the hood of the truck.

POLICE INSP. Tilmon B. O'Bryant and Capt. Shirley O'Neill, both colored policemen went through the crowd and told the white policemen to move on. They then moved about listening to complaints about police brutality and tried to soothe the crowd so that no trouble would break out.

Some of the people in the crowd, O'Bryant knew. He spoke, smiled, and shook hands with them. It worked. Nothing happened.

CHUCK STONE spoke

giving the crowd a history of the black men killed by white policemen. He then asked, "What are we going to do?"

Stone said, "This is a black city and should be controlled by black people." This brought a huge cheer.

Stone issued a challenge to Mayor Washington: "Either Mayor Washington comes out for black control of this police force in 7 days or step down." Again the crowd cheered. He ended with, "You must not

just think black, you must also act black."

Stokely Carmichael said,

"No need to get excited. In order to stop police brutality we have to kill some white cops.

"Just organize and kill; if you can't kill in the open, kill them in the night; in the back."

He then said young black men in the crowd would get medals to kill if they were in Vietnam, and that medals should be given to them here for killing "honky" cops. He said, "We must legitimize the killing of honky cops in our communities." With this the crowd went wild.

A drunken woman moved up near the speaker's platform holding a beer can shouting obscenities and, "I am black and I am beautiful." It was amusing to those who stood near her.

CARMICHAEL ENDED with, "I am tired of rallies. I am tired. We don't need any more bad speeches." With this, the crowd began to disperse. In the background, O'Bryant and O'Neill stood watching. When most had gone, traffic was again directed through that block. The truck was moved and things went on as they had before the rally.

Some people stood talking, saying that the crowd was not hepped-up enough and that maybe the crowd was tired too. One man summed it up by saying, "These things have played out. We have been made aware of our blackness. What we need now is something new.

Someone commented on the fact that the sun had come out. It came out as Carmichael finished his speech. Nothing happened. Things went on as they had before.

V. TRAVELS OF CARMICHAEL FROM OCTOBER 13
TO OCTOBER 17, 1968

"STOKELY CARMICHAEL reportedly continued to remain in WDC on October 13, 1968, after the rally held at the NSAAT, WDC, the previous afternoon. He reportedly was planning to travel to Canada soon, probably by air."

[redacted] October 13, 1968

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Special Agents of the FBI observed on October 13, 1968, that the 1968 green Rambler sedan, bearing New York License 2Z940, used by CARMICHAEL on October 12, 1968, remained parked near his residence on the late afternoon of October 13, 1968.

The Airport Police, Friendship International Airport, Friendship, Maryland, advised on October 13, 1968, that STOKELY CARMICHAEL and a party of four departed there at 8:05PM, that date, via Eastern Airlines, flight 542, en route non-stop to Montreal, Canada. His expected arrival time in Montreal was 9:29PM.

Special Agents of the FBI verified that CARMICHAEL returned to the United States from Canada at International Terminal, Boston, Massachusetts, at 2:00 PM on October 17, 1968. After a brief stop over in Boston, for a public appearance, he departed Logan Airport, Boston, aboard Eastern Airlines flight 561 at 5:30PM, destined to Friendship International Airport, Friendship, Maryland. He was [redacted]
[redacted] His expected arrival time at Friendship was 6:30PM.

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Upon arrival at Friendship International Airport, he proceeded to Mount Zion Methodist Church, Baltimore, Maryland, where he was scheduled to speak at a meeting sponsored by "The Soul School." Later that evening, he returned to WDC.

VI. PRESS COVERAGE OF BUF RALLY AT NEW
SCHOOL OF AFRO-AMERICAN THOUGHT, WDC
3:00 PM, OCTOBER 12, 1968

[redacted] Secretary, American Broadcasting Company (ABC), News Bureau, 1124 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., WDC, advised on October 21, 1968, she had checked the Film and Audio Library of ABC and no coverage of the speech by STOKELY CARMICHAEL on October 12, 1968, was made. She explained that ABC news coverage crews had information earlier the rally would be held at 3:00PM on that date at Meridian Hill Park, WDC. Consequently, they went to that location and did not find a rally taking place. Later they discovered it was being held at the NSAAT. They proceeded to that address, but arrived too late as the rally was over. She stated ABC later learned most news covering services missed the rally because of the erroneous impression it was to be held at Meridian Hill Park.

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[redacted] News Bureau, CBS, 2020 M Street, N.W., WDC, advised on October 22, 1968, CBS had no coverage of the speech of STOKELY CARMICHAEL at the NSAAT on October 12, 1968. He advised that consequently no tapes were made. He suggested local station WTOP, a CBS affiliate, might have had coverage of the event.

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[redacted] Station WTOP, 4001 Brandywine Street, N.W., WDC, advised on October 22, 1968, no audio or video tape was made of STOKELY CARMICHAEL's remarks on October 12, 1968, at the NSAAT.

WFO 100-43503

[redacted] local news editor, National Broadcasting Company (NBC), 4001 Brandywine Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., advised on October 30, 1968, that NBC had no coverage of the rally at which STOKELY CARMICHAEL spoke on October 12, 1968, at the New School of Afro-American Thought. He reported that accordingly, NBC had no audio or video tape available regarding the matter.

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VII. INFORMATION REGARDING DISTURBANCES
OCCURRING IN WDC OCTOBER 13, 14 and 15,
1968

The following is being set forth regarding the disturbance that erupted at the D.C. Armory on the evening of October 13, 1968.

"During the early morning hours of October 14, 1968, [redacted] Precinct 9, Metropolitan Police Department (MPD), advised as follows: b6 b7C

"During the evening hours of Sunday, October 13, 1968, a musical program was held in the D.C. Armory, 2001 East Capitol Street. JAMES BROWN, the famous singing star, participated in the program. After the show ended, some of the people leaving the Armory at about eleven thirty began throwing rocks and other objects at MPD scout cars, causing some damage. An MPD officer was hurt by a thrown bottle and had to be sent to D.C. General Hospital for treatment. It was believed that approximately several hundred individuals participated in the disturbance near the D.C. Armory and along H Street, N.E. Five adults and approximately five juveniles were arrested in connection with the disturbance. Police from the four to midnight shift of October 13, 1968, had been held over to help the midnight shift.

[redacted] MPD, at 2 AM, October 14, 1968, advised as follows:

"The disturbance had ended and the police, held over due to the disturbance, had been released. Windows had been broken in about twelve business places between 2nd and 15th Streets along H Street, N.E. Some places appeared to have been burglarized. b6 b7C

[redacted]
MPD, on October 14, 1968, at 8:30AM, advised as follows:

"The disturbance at the D.C. Armory began inside the Armory at about 11:30PM, on October 13, 1968. A fight between several spectators started the trouble, which continued outside the Armory as the people left following the conclusion of the show. Some of the people involved in the disturbance finally reached H Street, N.E. Some windows were broken in business places on H Street, N.E. and some looting occurred. The MPD used some tear gas to dispel the people near the Armory and on H Street, N.E. Four MPD officers were reportedly injured during the disturbance and were sent to D.C. General Hospital for treatment. Another MPD officer received minor injuries. It is also possible for some MPD officers to report with injuries to the Police and Firemen's Clinic. At least five MPD automobiles were damaged by persons involved in the disturbance. The disturbance was completely under police control by 1:00AM, October 14, 1968.

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[REDACTED]

"Born:
"Mother:
"Father:
"Race:
"Sex:
"Resides:
"Occupation:
"Arrested:
"Place of Arrest:
"Charged With:

[REDACTED]

"Born:
"Mother:
"Father:
"Race:
"Sex:
"Resides:
"Occupation:
"Arrested:
"Place of Arrest:
"Charged With:

[REDACTED] Pre-
cinct 9, MPD, on October 14, 1968, advised as follows:

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"He was not present at the D.C. Armory on October 13, 1968, and October 14, 1968. He has learned that the disturbance reportedly started during the end of the musical program when some individuals in the Armory piled chairs into a high pile. These chairs slid off the pile and started the disturbance. During the disturbance, [REDACTED] Precinct 9, MPD, was hurt by a thrown object. His condition was not serious. No further trouble was expected as a result of the disturbance."

An article appearing in "The Washington Post," WDC, dated October 14, 1968, contained information regarding the disturbance that erupted on the night of October 13, 1968, following a concert by soul singer JAMES BROWN at the D.C. Armory. A copy of the article is attached herewith:

After Armory Concert

THE WASHINGTON POST Monday, Oct. 14, 1968

A3

3 Policemen Hurt in NE Melee

At least three policemen were injured and the windows broken in at least ten businesses and as many automobiles last night and early today when a disturbance erupted following a concert by soul singer James Brown in the D.C. Armory.

All police in the area of the Armory were held over and about 50 members of the department's Civil Disturbance Unit were activated from regular shifts and armed with riot-control equipment just after midnight to snuff out the fragmentary outbursts of violence by small bands of Negro juveniles.

Asst. Chief Jerry V. Wilson said four persons were arrested in connection with the disturbance. Three were charged with burglary II, the charge for looting; and one was charged with throwing missiles, assault on a policeman and destroying public property.

The three police, all of whom were taken to D.C. General Hospital where they were listed in good condition, were injured by bottles hurled at them about 11:45 p.m. at 19th and East Capitol Streets, police said.

Most of the window breaking, both in businesses and cars, occurred on H Street ne., between 8th and 12th Streets. Police closed off H Street, between 1st and 15th Streets, just after midnight.

A D.C. Transit bus driver and a passenger were struck

and robbed by a group of Negro teenagers who boarded the bus at 11:30 p.m. at 18th and East Capitol Streets se., about a block from the Armory.

Driver David Sullivan, 24, was treated and released at D.C. General Hospital, after the youths hit him and took \$10. Gabriel Boyle, 39, was struck in the face and knocked to the floor of the bus, police said, and \$40 was taken from him. He refused hospital treatment.

The violence apparently erupted just as the Brown concert concluded about 11:40 p.m. Witnesses said a fight in the Armory quickly turned into a bottle and chair hurling incident in which 200 of the estimated 7000 people at the concert participated.

Police quickly hastened the crowd out of the Armory, but once outside members of the crowd began hurling bottles and bricks at the 25 or so police present. After this brief confrontation, however, the crowd began breaking up and moving off in several directions.

Police said smaller groups then began hurling bricks and bottles at passing cars in the area. The windows of at least one police car were smashed, they said.

Just after midnight, windows in ten business establishments on H Street were smashed. There was only one incident of looting, at Young's

Shoes, 910 H st. ne., where mannequins were overturned in the display window and stripped of clothing.

Chief Wilson said from 6 to 8 baseball-type, tear gas grenades were thrown in the troubled H Street area.

Windows were also broken at the Thompson Optical Co., 723 H st.; Edwards Shoes, 820 H st.; D.C. Appliance Co., 1014 H st.; Brother's Furniture Store, 966 H st.; Zanzibar Restaurant, 1118 H st. ne.; Phil's Food Shop, 1116 H st. ne.; an Esso Service Station at 2651 Benning rd. ne.; the Soulburger Carryout, 2507 Benning rd. ne., and the Peoples Drug Store, 806 H st. ne.

The short-lived outburst was quelled in about a half hour. At 1 a.m. today only a handful of youths were present on the streets in the area while police cars and police on foot patrolled the entire section.

By 1 a.m., the 4 p.m. to midnight shifts in all precincts except No. 9 had been released. Number nine's 4-to-12 shift was released at 2:30 a.m., but the activated CDU men were held.

Those arrested for Burglary II at 9th and H Streets ne. were Noble A. Whitehead, 22, of 3004 25th st. ne.; Arthur Rush Jr., 21, of 345 Tennessee ave. ne.; and Andre Mordecai, 20, of 1401 Girard st. nw. William David Jr., 21, of 2102 H st. ne., was arrested in the 300 block of 17th st. ne. and charged with throwing missiles, assault on a policeman and destroying public property.

The three policemen treated at D.C. General Hospital were identified as Pvt. M. P. Mood, forehead cuts; D. L. Likout, minor leg injury, and R. L. Syndor, injuries to right ear and leg.

WFO 100-43530

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

A similar article regarding the outbreak of violence following a concert by soul singer JAMES BROWN appeared in the October 14, 1968, edition of "The Evening Star." A copy of the article is attached herewith:

Fighting Flares After Concert In D.C. Armory

Groups of rock-throwing youths roamed the H Street NE business area about midnight last night, looting one store and breaking windows at 15 others in an hour-long spree that began about a mile away at D.C. Armory following a concert by "soul" singer James Brown.

Five policemen received slight injuries and an unidentified civilian suffered an apparent broken jaw in the disorder around the Armory.

Hundreds of youths, most of them Negroes, surged out of the Armory amid scuffling that had begun inside after a firecracker was thrown. Some began pelting police cars with rocks and bottles, according to police.

Within a half-hour, about 11:45 p.m., small groups of youths and some adults had moved west on East Capitol Street and north to the H Street area to begin the window-breakings and vandalism in that area, which still bears scars of last April's major rioting.

Lt. Burtell Jefferson, acting captain of No. 9 Precinct, said the window-smashings and looting attempts, heaviest in the 800 to 1000 blocks of H Street, ended by 12:30 a.m. after two juveniles and three adults were arrested.

Six to 8 baseball-type tear gas grenades were used in dispersing the groups along H Street.

according to Asst. Police Chief Jerry V. Wilson.

Early today, police said looting was believed to have occurred at three of some 16 all on H Street between 8th and 15th Streets.

However, 9th Precinct Capt. Ernest Prete said a survey later today showed looting at only one business.

Norman Hoffman, owner of the Art Young Men's Store at 910 H St. NE, said "substantial looting" had occurred there.

About 50 members of the department's Civil Disturbance Unit, armed with riot equipment, were brought into the area to assist police, who were held over from 1 to 2½ hours past the midnight change-of-shift.

Police said the disorder apparently stemmed from the firecracker-throwing by unidentified persons in the audience of 4,000 inside the Armory at the end of the concert by Brown, who had appeared here on television during the April riot to ask youths "to cool it."

There was some chair-throwing and scuffling among a group inside the Armory, according to police. Pvt. Douglas C. Likout of No. 2 Precinct was hit on the head by a chair, officers said, and was treated at D.C. General Hospital.

As the audience filed out of the armory, the turmoil seemed to spread through the crowd and police cars became targets for rocks and bottles.

Six scout cars were damaged — three with broken windshields — and the metal side of a new patrol wagon was ripped, police said.

At the corner of 17th and C

Streets NE, several blocks from the Armory, a rock hurled against the raised window of Lt. Jefferson's car sent glass fragments into the side of his face and neck.

He leaped from the car and arrested a suspect, 20-year-old William D. Wheaton Jr. of the 2100 block of H Street NE, who was charged with destroying public property and assault on an officer.

Jefferson was treated at Washington Hospital Center and returned to duty.

At 19th and East Capitol Streets, a group of youths got on a D. C. Transit bus, overpowered the driver, robbed him and a passenger.

Elsewhere in that area of town, two citizens — both Negroes — told police they were pummeled and robbed by groups of youths around midnight.

Other injured policemen — all hurt in the vicinity of the armory and treated at D.C. General — were listed by police as Pvt. Michael P. Mood of the 5th Precinct, who required six stitches

to close a head cut inflicted by a thrown bottle, Lt. Samuel Rogovsky of No. 5, also hit on the head by a bottle, and Pvt. Ronald L. Sidnor of No. 6, who suffered leg abrasions when hit by a rock.

Charged with second-degree burglary (looting) in connection with the break-in at Young's men's store were Andrea Mordecai, 20, of the 1400 block of Girard Street NW, Noble Augustus Whitehead, 22, of the 3000 block of 25th Street NE, and Arthur Rush Ja., 21, of the 300 block of Tennessee Avenue NE. Police said two juveniles also were apprehended, one in connection with the looting and another charged with loitering in the 800 block of 8th St. NE.

By 12:30 a.m. the crowds had all but disappeared from H Street, and except for shattered glass the short-lived disorder appeared to have vanished into the swirling fog. During the disorder traffic was routed off H Street.

Police commanders were authorized to release the held-over evening shift and the Civil Disturbance Unit at 1 a.m., though in the 9th Precinct, they were kept over until shortly after 2 a.m.



—Star Photographer Francis Routt

Aaron Goldkind, co-owner of a surplus goods store at 918 H St. NE, removes shattered window glass.

WFO 100-43530

"The Washington Daily News," WDC, daily newspaper, also contained an article regarding the disturbance on the night of October 13, 1968, in the vicinity of the D.C. Armory. A copy of the article is attached herewith:

'Soul' Concert Aftermath

Five Policemen Injured in NE Melee

Five policemen, including two lieutenants, were injured as they fought to disperse roving bands of teen-agers who were breaking windows and looting following a soul music concert last night at the Armory.

None of the policemen was injured seriously during the hour of turmoil which followed a chair and bottle throwing melee inside the Armory just at the conclusion of the concert by singer James Brown.

Most of the teen-agers surged outside the building and broke into four or five bands of about 5-30 and cartwheeled into different directions,

setting small fires and breaking at least 17 store windows in a seven-block area of H-st ne. near Benning Road.

FIVE BEATEN

Before the helmeted police could bring some order to the roiling groups, five persons were beaten and robbed, two on a crowded bus at 18th and E. Capitol streets.

Police arrested five persons, two juveniles and three adults and charged them with burglary. Another, William D. Wheaton Jr., 20, Negro, was charged with assault on police St. Burtell Jeffer-

son, also a Negro, destroying government property and throwing a missile.

Lt. Jefferson, of the Ninth Precinct was hit with a rock which broke the window of his squad car, stepped outside and was again hit with a rock. He was in good condition at D.C. General Hospital with glass slivers in his face.

SQUAD CARD

The other injured officers are Lt. Samuel Rogovsky, Fifth Precinct, hit in the back with a bottle; Pvt. Douglas C. Likout, Second Precinct, hit with a chair; Pvt. Michael Mood, Fifth Precinct, six stitches in his head after being hit with a bottle, and Pvt. Roland Sydnor, Sixth Precinct, hit with a missile.

Police said six scout cars were slightly damaged, three with broken windshields.

Business along H-st suffered the most damage with windows being smashed and isolated cases of looting reported. Young's Shoe Store, 910 H-st ne suffered looting after the show window was broken and mannekins overturned and stripped.

Also victimized were the Thompson Optical Co., 723 H-st; Edwards Shoes, 820 H-st; DC Appliance Co., 1014 H-st; Brothers Furniture Store, 906 H-st; Zanzibar Restaurant, 1118 H-st; Phil's Food Shop, 1116 H-st; an Esso Station at 2015 Benning Road; The Soulburger Carryout, 2507 Benning Road, and the People's Drug Store, 906 H-st.

Police said the incident was the result of exuberance generated by the concert and a false rumor that the singer had been shot backstage which swept thru the crowd.

Police from the Civil Disturbance Unit were quickly assembled when the trouble started about 11:15. Several tear gas grenades were hurled at the peak of the disturbance but the helmeted officers dispersed most of the teen-agers, described as 99 percent Negro, shortly after midnight.

WFO 100-43503

The following is being set forth regarding a further disturbance on the night of October 14, 1968:

"At 8:39PM, October 14, 1968, a call was received on the MPD radio that a group of juveniles was breaking windows in the vicinity of Eighth and H Streets, N.E., and that an officer needed assistance. This was the first in a series of calls which indicated that bands of juveniles were breaking windows along H Street and then moving on before police could respond. When the police left an area, the juveniles returned and some attempts at looting took place. There were numerous false fire alarms and false calls requesting police assistance in areas where no activity was taking place. Large crowds gathered in the area and it was believed that approximately five to six hundred individuals participated in the disturbance. H Street, N.E., was closed between Second and 15th Streets and the MPD Civil Disturbance Unit was called to duty at 10:40PM. Two adults and seventeen juveniles were arrested in connection with the disturbance.

"At 2:00AM, October 15, 1968, [redacted] advised that the disturbance had ceased. Police held from the 4PM to midnight shift of October 14, 1968, were released. Windows and stores in about twelve business places along H Street were broken. A few appeared to have been burglarized. No injuries were reported as a result of the disturbance.

[redacted]

[redacted]

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[redacted] said that there was no specific incident which could be cited as the cause of the disturbance. He said that five juveniles who were arrested for burglary said that they had heard a rumor that JAMES BROWN, the Soul Singer, had been shot and they wanted to get even. [redacted] advised that there was no truth to the rumor.

[Redacted]

"Name:
"Date of Birth:
"Place of Birth:
"Address:
"Occupation:
"Charge:
"Place:

"Name:
"Date of Birth:
"Place of Birth:
"Address:
"Occupation:
"Charge:
"Place:

[Redacted]

West DC

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[Redacted] stated that although they did not foresee any additional disturbance, the patrols in the disturbance area would be increased for a few days as a deterrent measure.

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"With respect to [Redacted] a Special Agent of the FBI determined that [Redacted]

[Redacted]

An article appearing in "The Evening Star", WDC, mentioned previously, October 15, 1968, contained information regarding a disturbance that developed on the evening of October 14, 1968, along H Street, N.E., during which a number of store windows were broken and a number of people were arrested. A copy of the article is attached herewith:

Police Quell Strife in NE; Blame Rumor

By WALTER GOLD
Star Staff Writer

A rumor that "soul" singer James Brown had been shot to death by a white man touched off a second night of disorders last night along H Street NE, during which two dozen or more store windows were broken and 21 persons, 17 of them juveniles, were arrested.

The city's police Civil Disturbance Unit was called into action for the third time in six days, as police again used tear gas to break up missile-throwing and threatening crowds of youths, most of them Negroes.

No injuries were reported in last night's four-hour confrontation along Near Northeast's main shopping street, one of the three areas heavily damaged in the April rioting.

One youth at the H Street scene last night told a reporter that the rumor Brown had been shot had also been spread by youths Sunday night after a concert by Brown at D.C. Armory, as a pretext for vandalism that night which resulted in broken windows at 16 stores and the looting of a men's clothing shop on H Street.

Brown, a Negro singer, had volunteered to appear here on television during last April's

See DISORDER, Page A-4

DISORDER

Police Quell New Strife in Northeast

Continued From Page A-1
riots to ask youths to refrain from violence.

Last night, one minor arson case was reported in the disturbance area and two youths suspected of attempted fire-bombing were apprehended by police at the Tops Furniture Co., 10th and H Streets NE.

There was no gunfire reported in the area, but the frequent popping sound of tear gas "baseball" grenades cleared the streets in the entire 11-block area.

Two youths were apprehended in the 700 block of H Street as suspects in looting, but police said the extent of any looting—which they said appeared to be very minor—would not be clear until merchants finished checking their stock later today.

The outbreak, which began appearing serious about 8:30 p.m., was declared "firmly under control" by Acting Police Chief Jerry Wilson shortly before midnight.

Most of the Metropolitan Police Department's 4-to-12 shift of

officers was held over past midnight and the midnight shift was called in early. Those held over generally were released by 2 a.m.

At the height of the disorder, around 10:30 p.m., Wilson repeatedly ordered a crowd of about 200 to move away from the intersection of 8th and H Streets NE.

When the crowd began throwing rocks and bottles at police and breaking windows, Wilson and Lt. William G. Burchette of the 9th Precinct threw tear gas grenades, quickly dispersing the crowd.

But within minutes, the disorder spread outward along H Street in both directions from 8th Street, and then, in a few isolated cases, a few blocks to the north and south of the thoroughfare. It was at this point that Wilson ordered the activation of CDU personnel on duty throughout the city and brought some teams to the scene.

At 11:01 p.m., Deputy Police Chief Raymond Pyles reminded officers over the police radio from the scene to "arrest any and all violators."

During the outbreak, at least three young Negroes told a reporter the disturbance had been "planned."

"We started the same rumor (about Brown being shot) last night," one of the youths, who refused to be identified, said.

"And we really got things going with it again tonight," he added.

Police agreed that the outbreak was caused by the rumor and "certainly was not spontaneous or over any real issue."

"They were just spoiling for trouble . . . and I think they really knew the rumor about Brown was false," commented Lt. Burchette. It was Burchette who apprehended two youths at 10th and H Street NE as they tried, he said, to fire-bomb the furniture store.

"You don't just fire-bomb a business establishment because of a rumor," the veteran lieutenant said.

Police officials planned a strategy meeting this afternoon. Indications were that heavy police patrols—including some CDU teams—would be along H Street NE and 14th Street NW tonight. The area around 14th and U Streets NW was the scene of a disturbance a week ago tonight following the fatal shooting of a Negro pedestrian by a white traffic policeman.

Of those arrested last night, 17 were juveniles under age 18 and four were adults. Charges ranged from disorderly conduct to attempted arson. All of the youths, whose names were withheld because of their age, were turned over to juvenile authorities.

During the disorder, H Street was closed to all but police and emergency traffic. By 1:30 a.m., most of the tear gas had been carried away by a swirling fog.

The only arson case in the area was reported at 11:33 p.m. when someone set a street trash can on fire at 7th Street and Florida Avenue NE. A few false fire alarms were pulled in the immediate area, fire officials said.

Vandals broke windows at Bob White Buick, 624 H St. NE; Mabel's Beauty Salon, 728 H St.; Esquire Men's Wear, 711 H St. (where police said they caught a man in the show window throwing mannequins into the street); P & B Valet, 645 H St.; and McBride's, at 7th and H Streets NE, where armed private guards later took up positions inside and spent the night.

Windows also were broken at Page's Dress Shop, 12th and H Streets; Tops Furniture, 10th and H Streets, and a pawnbroker shop in the 1200 block of H (which also was looted) as well as Sears on Bladensburg Road near M Street NE, which was broken into.

Other scattered reports of broken windows and minor disturbances were still coming into the 9th Precinct long after daylight as the burglar alarms rang up and down the littered street.

WFO 100-43503

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In addition, the "Washington Afro-American", WDC, contained an article dated October 15, 1968, regarding the violence which had erupted on the night of October 13, 1968. A copy of the article is attached herewith:

Fight Follows James Brown Show

Police hit, windows smashed

A fight that broke out among the audience at the James Brown Show Sunday night spilled over into the Northeast community resulting in minor looting, window breaking, and attacks on the police.

At least three policemen were injured by rocks and bottles and four people were arrested.

ACCORDING TO police reports, there was quite a bit of damage to the Armory and the Armory's mana-

ger told a reporter that the building's board of directors would probably "examine what happened," he said he couldn't say whether Brown would be prevented from performing there again because they were "waiting to get a full police report."

"I DON'T KNOW what the board will do," he said. Brown had been barred from appearing in public halls in Baltimore in 1964 because of fights and other violence that have broken out after his shows. But the ban was lifted on Brown and other rock 'n' roll singers when the police department assured the Civic Center Commission that order would be maintained.

IN THE incident Sunday night, police say that about 200 of the 7000 people at the concert became involved in a fight inside the armory

(Continued on Page 2)

(Continued from page 1)

just as the show was concluding. "They started to break up chairs and throw chairs at each other," a policeman from the 5th precinct reported.

POLICE HUSTLED the crowd out of the Armory and the fight resumed outside with people in the melee throwing bottles and bricks at the 25 policemen present. As the crowd began to disperse smaller groups moving across East Capitol

St., began hurling bricks and bottles at passing cars and at least three police windshields were smashed, police said.

The fighting continued in the 8th and H Street areas where most of the window breaking occurred. The police closed off H St., between 1st and 15th just after midnight. Acting Police Chief Jerry Wilson said that 6 to 8 tear gas grenades were thrown in the H Street area to disperse the crowds.

ALL THE POLICE in the area of the Armory were held overtime and about 50 members of the Civil Disturbance Unit were acti-

vated from regular shifts and armed with riot-control equipment.

The area quieted down about 1 a.m. after windows had been broken in the businesses on H St. The only looting incident occurred at Young's Shoes, 910 St., NE where mannequins were toppled in the display window and stripped of clothing.

Windows were also broken at the Thompson Optical Co. 723 H St.; the Soulbarger Carryout, 2507 Benning Rd. NE.; Edwards Shoes, 820 H St.; D.C. Ap-

pliance Col, 1014 H St.; Brother's Furniture Store, 906 H St.; Zanzibar Restaurant, 1118 H St. NE.; Phil's Food Shop, 1116 H St. NE.; and Esso Service Station at 2651 Benning Rd. NE.

burglary II, the charge for looting, were Noble Whitehead, 22 of 3004 25th St. NE.; Arthur Rush Jr., 21 of 345 Tennessee Ave. NE.; and Adre Mordecai, 20, of 1401 Girard St. NW. William David, Jr., 21, of 2102 H. St. NE. was arrested in the 300 block of 17th St. NE. He was charged with throwing missiles, assault on a policeman and destroying public property.

The three policemen injured were admitted to D.C. General Hospital and listed in good condition.

The manager of the Armory said that this was Brown's first appearance there. He usually gives his shows at the Coliseum. But this year, the Coliseum management demanded 50 percent of the proceeds from the show. Brown told the AFRO a few weeks ago that he usually rented the B Coliseum for a thousand dollars or ten per cent of the proceeds.

After advertising for public support to force the Coliseum manager to change his mind about the 50 per cent demand, Brown rented the Armory.

WFO 100-43503

"The Washington Post," WDC, on October 16, 1968, contained an article about new disorders developing in the area of H Street, N.E., WDC, on October 15, 1968. A copy of the article is attached herewith:



By Ken Feil—The Washington Post

Pedestrians on H Street ne. seek protection against tear gas.

3d Day of Violence

Youths Roam H St. In New Disorders

Disorders in the H Street ne. area broke out for the third time in as many days yesterday as young teen-agers blocked traffic, broke a number of store windows and then scattered before police tear gas.

By 8:45 p.m., Acting Police Chief Jerry V. Wilson called the situation "well under control." Traffic was re-

opened on H Street, and only a few pedestrians were on the sidewalks. Small groups of youths continued to roam the side streets.

Wilson said there was no arson and little looting. Police and other officials noted the extreme youth of many of the participants. Some appeared to be younger than teen-agers.

Late in the day, District officials set up an emergency center at 1326 Florida ave. ne., where neighborhood volunteers worked to discourage the youths from joining the disturbances.

Local boys club leaders

marched up and down H Street, urging youths to "cool it" and go home.

Police said the trouble started yesterday when about 75 Negro youngsters met at a rally on the Spingarn High School parking lot, 24th Street and Benning Road, ne., at about 5 p.m. There, they burned a tree, then marched westward to H Street.

The youths were dispersed with tear gas at 10th and H Streets, ne., after they had formed a line across the street with their arms interlocked, blocking the rush-hour traffic, police said.

The youths retreated into side streets but remained in the area despite police warnings to go home or face arrest. Small groups ranging from two to ten persons continued to wander about after night-fall.

Windows in at least seven businesses were broken. Police arrested more than a half-dozen youths who had formed the line in H Street, charging them with pedestrian violations.

Among those arrested was Rufus (Cattfish) Mayfield, 20, flamboyant youth leader and former chairman of Pride, Inc. He was charged with jaywalking and was jailed.

Later, he was released and at 8:31 p.m., was arrested again on a pedestrian violation at 11th and H Streets ne. by Lt. W. G. Burchette. Wit-

See DISORDERS, A7, Col. 4

Disorders Break Out For 3d Day

DISORDERS, From A1

nesses said Mayfield had crossed the street against a red light. He was released after the second arrest and was observed as late as 11:15 p.m. walking with a group of youths in the H Street area.

Traffic Rerouted

Early in the disturbance, police threw up blockades at 2d and 14th Street ne., rerouting all traffic, including buses. A police helicopter whirled over the scene, observing both traffic and the movement of groups of youths. The traffic blockades were lifted at about 8:45 p.m.

High-ranking police officials held a strategy meeting during the day to discuss the Sunday and Monday disorders on H Street. A decision was made to call in the midnight shift of policemen at 8 p.m. to bolster the regular 4 p.m.-to-midnight section.

Chief Wilson estimated that 150 uniformed patrolmen, including members of the Civil Disturbance Unit, were on hand in the Ninth Precinct, which includes H Street. Normally, about 50 men patrol the precinct at night.

Mayor Walter E. Washington also met during the day with school officials and Recreation Department roving leaders in an effort to find ways of stemming a restive atmosphere reported in several schools.

The Mayor said the emergency center on Florida Avenue was established after his office received a flood of calls yesterday from H Street residents expressing the desire to curb actions of the children involved in the disorders.

The center was staffed last night by both local residents and persons from Government and private agencies. It will be open today.

The Mayor said he was

pleased with the spontaneous neighborhood interest and called it "a great breakthrough" in coping with the phenomenon of sub-teen-agers on the streets.

In quelling the activity, Chief Wilson estimated only five or six baseball-type tear gas grenades were used. Because of the extreme youth of the crowds, which at times numbered 150, police used the tactic of arresting persons, rather than using gas on them, Wilson said.

Tear gas was used to disperse the initial group of 75 that blocked H Street, and it was used at least three other times later in the evening.

Window Smashed

At 7:20 p.m., about 50 youngsters poured out of the Atlas Theater, 1331 H st. ne., headed for the Safeway Store a few doors away and smashed a window there. Police scattered the group with tear gas.

About 15 minutes later, they used tear gas again when youths hurled rocks through the plate glass of McDonald's Hamburgers, 1164 Bladensburg rd. ne., and still again at 8:20 p.m. to disperse a knot of about 100 youths at 8th and D Streets ne.

Wilson said a 10 p.m. curfew ordinance, forbidding persons under 18 to be on the streets without adult supervision after that hour, would be strictly enforced.

Because of a rash of false fire alarms in recent days, police were responding to fireboxes in the Ninth Precinct to verify fires before calling in fire equipment. Between 6 and 9:30 p.m., there were eight false alarms in the precinct and one legitimate call.

Yesterday's disturbance followed two consecutive nights of disorders in the H Street area in which more than two dozen store windows were smashed and at least six stores

were looted.

Assassination Rumor

Monday's disturbance was touched off, at least in part, by a false rumor that "soul" singer James Brown had been killed by a white sniper.

Policemen and City Councilman Joseph P. Yeldell, who toured H Street Monday night, said they heard numerous teen-agers repeat the rumor and announce that their purpose was to "retaliate" for Brown's reported death.

Radio station WOL, a Negro-oriented station here, repeatedly broadcast during the evening that the rumor was false.

WOL newsman Ron Pinkney telephoned Brown late yesterday in Los Angeles and made a special tape recording in which the singer said he is "in good health and alive in living black color."

Pinkney said the tape was scheduled to be played this morning about every two hours.

Seventeen juveniles and four adults were arrested during Monday's disturbance on an assortment of charges from disorderly conduct to attempted arson.

Police dropped the attempted-arson charge against one man, Kenneth N. Petty, 22, of 308 10th st. ne., but held another, Gerard A. Cosby, 24, of 806 10th st. ne., under \$10,000 bond pending a preliminary hearing on Nov. 4. Police originally said the men were discovered at 10th and H Streets ne. preparing Molotov cocktails.

WFO 100-43503

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

An article appearing in "The Washington Post" on October 18, 1968, written by WILLIAM RASPBARRY, concerning the disturbances that were taking place, is attached herewith:

The Disorder On H Street

By William Raspberry

Many who have observed riots and disturbances around the country for the past few summers are bothered by this week's mini-disturbance on H Street.

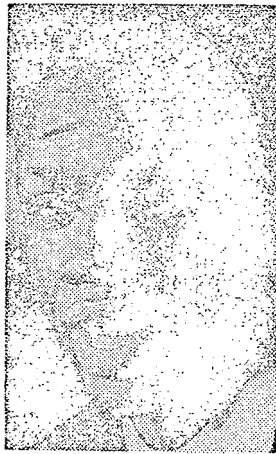
Some things about the Northeast affair just don't ring true.

First, there has been very little real anger, usually one of the necessary ingredients.

The black militants, who seldom start disturbances but quickly show up to label them insurrections or revolts and, thus, lend them legitimacy, have stayed clear of the nightly H Street disturbances. This has been strictly a teen-age and sub-teen thing.

As a general rule, civil disturbances either grow in intensity or they die. But this one came back night after night at just about the same level of intensity, and always confined to a few blocks of H Street.

The fact that this week's disturbances have differed so markedly from the pattern has led some city officials and some seasoned observers to speculate that it may have been "programmed"—that is to say,



RUFUS MAYFIELD

... war on "hustlers"

some person or group has deliberately tried to get something going. Police, quite properly, are investigating that possibility.

But if two hypotheses can be constructed to explain the same sets of facts, the simpler one is more likely to be true. Rufus (Catfish) Mayfield, an acknowledged youth leader in that part of town, offers a simpler hypothesis:

"IT ALL STARTED Sunday night with the James Brown show at the D.C. Armory," he said. "The admission was 99 cents if you were under 12, but if you were over 12, the cheapest ticket was \$3. Well, these black kids didn't have that kind of money, so they were

just standing around outside the Armory.

"Then somebody snatched 2200 tickets and began selling them for 50 cents apiece, so everybody was getting in."

Once inside, Mayfield said, the youngsters lost interest in the show and started horsing around. Someone in the balcony threw a chair at a policeman, and fighting broke out in the Armory, later spreading to the streets. No conspiracy here.

Monday night's resumption followed a rumor that entertainer Brown had been shot. No one is certain how the rumor started or how it spread, but Mayfield doubts that there was any real conspiracy to start trouble.

"TUESDAY, I was talking to some kids at Spingarn (High School) who told me they were tired of popping pills—half the kids in this neighborhood are running around half-high all the time—and they wanted to do something constructive. We decided to march to the Mayor's office."

They never got there. During the march, one of the youngsters was arrested for jaywalking, and when Mayfield turned back to see what was wrong, he, too, was arrested on a jaywalking charge.

"I don't know why they picked the two of us out," he said, "since all of us were in the street."

"Anyway, the kids out there respect me and they didn't like the way the police were acting, so they started throwing bricks and bottles. That's how it got going Tuesday night. Nothing much happened Wednesday.

"I don't see no conspiracy in this, although I have heard these charges. Somebody was even saying that I was being paid by Wallace

supporters to get something going."

"WELL, I THINK you know me better than that. In fact, one of our main problems is that too many people are hustling off the young kids, selling them dope and pills and everything else. That's really

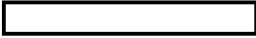
what we want to see the Mayor about: We have a program—Dropouts, Inc.—that will put the hustlers out of business and keep the kids in school. We've got to get more dudes some academic skills and get off this old buck-sixty-an-hour thing."

Mayfield, who wouldn't guess whether the H Street trouble has run its course, also has an explanation as to why so few black hustlers and other adults were involved.

"I could see them riding up and down H Street, four or five to a car, waiting for the looting to get out of control. They won't ever start the looting—they leave that to the kids. But after things get out of hands, they come in and take stuff and make a lot of money."

"Hustlers like this are the key to the whole thing. We can get all the programs we want, but if people keep hustling off the kids it won't do any good."

"The first aim of our program is to get rid of the hustlers, and we're going to do it, too—even if I get bumped off for trying."

 MPD, WDC, on October 22, 1968, advised that   no knowledge as to where RASPBARRY had gotten his information that the Police Department was specifically investigating the disturbances on H Street, N.E., with the idea that they had been "programmed."  advised that  no communication with RASPBARRY. He stated that  is continuously seeking information concerning the racial situation and disturbances and were not specifically investigating the disturbances on H Street, N.E.  advised that they had no information indicating that these disturbances were "programmed."

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 previously advised, on October 14, 1968, that the disturbances at the D.C. Armory on October 13, 1968, started as the result of a fight between several spectators. On October 22, 1968,  advised that he had no knowledge of any theft of tickets for the BROWN show, which information is set forth in the article written by RASPBERRY.

WFO 100-43503

An additional article regarding the disturbances that had been taking place beginning on the night of October 13, 1968, appeared in the "Washington Afro-American," on October 19, 1968. A copy of the article is attached herewith:

JAMES BROWN

'In good health,
in living black..'

"I'd like to say thanks to all my wonderful brothers and sisters for feeling that way about me. But I assure you I'm in good health alive and in living black color, and I'm still fighting for my people and everything is all right, and I wish they would take it easy."

That is the taped mes-

sage from 'soul' singer James Brown to the enraged teens, of H St., NE., who started a 4-day rioting, sporadic looting, missile-throwing and window-breaking spree for four days since Sunday night.

THE DISTURBANCE started Sunday night when a rumor spread that singer Brown was killed by a white sniper.

An angry crowd, mostly children aged between 9-17, flowed into the street immediately, pelting stones at automobiles and patrol cars, breaking windows of several businesses along H St., leading to minor looting.

Substantial damage was done to the Armory beside the D. C. Stadium, where the James Brown Show was held and broke into fist-fights among the audience, the police said.

The disturbances continued Monday and Tuesday nights. About a dozen business store windows were broken, and three of them looted. More than 100 persons were arrested by Wednesday night; 65 of them are juveniles.

RUFUS MAFIELD (Catfish), former board chairman of the Pride, Inc., appeared before several groups of youngsters, led protest rallies and got arrested four times within three days on charge of pe-

(Continued on page 22)

(Continued from Page 1)

destrian traffic violations.

Two minor arson cases were reported in Wednesday night's disturbances. Monday night, two persons had been arrested on an alleged charge of making Molotov cocktails.

BY WEDNESDAY night every block of NE H St., was policed by patrol cars, one each to a block. Tear gas was used all the four nights along H St., to disperse crowds. About 150 members of the Civil Disturbance Unit were put on duty on the fourth straight night of disturbances in the area.

Acting Police chief Jerry Wilson said that the police have changed tactics Wednesday night. "The tactic was to make arrests rather than use tear gas," he said.

It was against such a tense atmosphere, Mayor Walter Washington launched the establishment of a Satellite City Hall at 1326 Florida Ave., NE. Administrative Assistant to Mayor, John Staggers set up about 15 command centers in the disturbed Northeast area for rumor-control and trouble-shooting.

One such command center, located at the Near Northeast Community Incorporation, 1326 Florida Ave., NE, is manned by volunteers from the community.

Robert Collins, Community Organization Specialist of the community incorporation, told the AFRO that "the command center is already in operation. We are going to check out and report the disturbances of the area to Mr. Staggers who heads the 15 command centers."

The volunteers of the center will be trained by a police official to "neutralize rabbleroising speeches. Besides, the City is going to furnish recreation centers for the youths in the area," Collins said.

He also said that his center has at present 30 active volunteers, and that the center will operate 8 a.m.

to 12 midnight, seven days a week.

DIRECTOR William Michaels of the Near Northeast Community Incorporation, who is likely to coordinate the activities of the Satellite City Hall, told the AFRO that the "purpose of the little city hall is to overcome the existing sterility between this community and the District's City Hall."

Michaels said that the little city hall possibly could step up educational, recreational and employment facilities in the area.

He condemned the present poverty program funds being spent for the adults.

[REDACTED]

Number 13 Precinct, MPD, mentioned previously, advised on October 22, 1968, that he saw no significant connection between the speech of STOKELY CARMICHAEL and subsequent outbreaks of violence in the northeast section of WDC on October 13, 14, and 15, 1968. He stated that the speech was made in the Number 13 Precinct of the MPD, and the subsequent violence on October 13, 14, and 15, 1968, occurred in the area covered by the Number 9 Precinct of the MPD, a considerable distance apart. He advised that from past experience, he has learned that usually news developing in the Number 13 Precinct, such as the rally on October 12, 1968, where CARMICHAEL spoke, does not reach the Number 9 Precinct area en masse until about two days later. He stated he feels the youth in the Number 9 Precinct may have heard of the previous activity in the Number 13 Precinct area on October 12, 1968, and decided to get in on the action also, by showing they, too, could cause as much trouble as the "boys uptown." He emphasized that this is theoretical only and he has no factual evidence there is any connection between CARMICHAEL's speech and subsequent violence in the Number 9 Precinct area on October 13, 14, and 15, 1968.

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[REDACTED]

MPD, advised on October 29, 1968, no significant information had been developed that the rally held at the NSAAT on October 12, 1968, during which STOKELY CARMICHAEL spoke, caused the outbreaks of violence on October 13, 14, and 15, 1968. He stated that it had been conjectured that CARMICHAEL was behind the violence that developed on October 13, 14, and 15; however, he stated that no factual evidence had been developed to corroborate this. He noted that CARMICHAEL was reported to have left Washington on the evening of October 13, 1968, and did not return until October 17, 1968, being out of Washington during the dates of the disturbances.

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[REDACTED] MPD, mentioned previously, reiterated on October 30, 1968, that there was no connection between the violence that erupted in the northeast area of WDC on October 13, 14, and 15, 1968, and the speech of STOKELY CARMICHAEL at a rally held on October 12, 1968, at 3:00PM at the NSAAT. He described the events as unrelated incidents.

WFO 100-43503

[REDACTED] 9th Precinct,
Metropolitan Police Department, Washington, D. C., advised on
October 31, 1968, there was no information available to
tie the remarks of STOKELY CARMICHAEL made on October 12, 1968,
at the New School of Afro-American Thought with the subsequent
acts of violence that erupted in the N.E. section of Washington,
D.C., on October 13, 14, and 15, 1968. He advised that they
appear to be separate events.

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[redacted] United States Park Police (USPP), Washington, D. C. (WDC), advised on October 31, 1968, that the USPP has jurisdiction over Meridian Hill Park, WDC, where a Black United Front rally featuring STOKELY CARMICHAEL as a speaker was to be held on October 12, 1968, at 3:00 p.m. He stated it is customary for groups to get a permit to hold a rally in the park; however, no permit was applied for and none was issued. He advised that just to be safe, he sent a number of officers to the park on that date to cover the rally in case they decided to hold it without obtaining a permit. Upon arrival at the park, the officers found a group of about 60 or 70, mostly Negroes, to be at the scene stating that they expected a rally of the Black United Front to be held there. Later after 3:00 p.m. had passed and CARMICHAEL had not appeared, the crowd became confused about whether or not the rally was to take place. Subsequently, word was received that the rally was being held at the New School of Afro-American Thought, 2115 14th Street, N.W., WDC. Most of the members of the crowd then left headed in the direction of the New School of Afro-American Thought. He advised that the men assigned by his department continued with the group from Meridian Hill Park to the New School of Afro-American Thought and remained in the area during part of the activity. He stated that since this is the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan Police Department, his men did not cover the rally very carefully and did not stay around to hear most of the speeches. He advised that he was unable to furnish any information about what CARMICHAEL said or any information bearing on the intent of CARMICHAEL in making the remarks.

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[redacted] further stated that no information had come to the attention of his department which would show a link between the remarks of CARMICHAEL on that date and the subsequent disturbances developing in the N.E. section of WDC.

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STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Literature distributed by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquarters at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, describes itself as not being a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements. SNCC was born out of the sit-in movement which erupted across the South beginning on February 1, 1960. A conference at Raleigh, North Carolina, that Spring, brought together many of the demonstrating Southern students in a loose network of militant youth which was officially named SNCC in October, 1960.

A source has advised that in May, 1966, Stokely Carmichael was elected National Chairman by the Central Committee. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced as Chairman by H. Rap Brown, with Carmichael assuming the position of Recruiter and Organizer for the SNCC. In August, 1967, at the invitation of Fidel Castro, Carmichael participated in the Organization of Latin American Solidarity Conference which was held in Havana, Cuba. Subsequent thereto, Carmichael traveled to Hanoi and other sections of North Vietnam. He returned to the United States in December, 1967, at which time his passport was picked up because of travel to unauthorized countries.

A source advised that when Carmichael was elected Chairman of SNCC, the organization embarked on a program of eliminating Caucasians from its ranks. With the election of H. Rap Brown as Chairman in 1967, it embarked on a worldwide struggle for human rights and to take a firm stand against violations of these rights by the American Government and to strengthen its programs of opposition to the draft and to the United States involvement in Vietnam.

Literature distributed in February, 1968, identifies SNCC as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

On August 13, 1967, while addressing a group in the Watts area of Los Angeles, California, H. Rap Brown said "You better shape up America, or we'll burn you down." Later in February, 1968, in a publicized note Brown wrote, "America, if it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you and to organize your jails to revolt against you and to organize your children, your God, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind, to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here's my life."

APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY, aka
Black Panther Party for
Self Defense

A source advised that the Black Panther Party for Self Defense (BPPSD) was formed by HUEY PERCY NEWTON, Minister of Defense, and BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, Chairman, in December, 1966, as a militant black nationalist political organization to combat police brutality, to unite militant black youth, and to determine the destiny of black communities. The political philosophy was taken from writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of Communist China and black militant writers.

In March, 1968, the name of the organization was changed to Black Panther Party (BPP).

The official BPP publication, "The Black Panther Party - Black Community News Service", states that the BPP advocates use of guns and guerrilla tactics in their violent revolutionary program to end oppression of black people.

On February 17, 1968, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister of Information, announced merger of the BPP and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and bestowed title of Minister of Justice, BPP, upon H. RAP BROWN, Chairman of SNCC.

SNCC is a militant Negro organization which preaches black supremacy.

~~NEWTON, aforementioned, is incarcerated in the Alameda County Jail, Oakland, California, awaiting trial on charge of murder of an Oakland police officer.~~

Headquarters of BPP and Huey P. Newton Defense Fund are located at 4421 Grove Street, Oakland, California.

APPENDIXBLACK UNITED FRONT (BUF)

A source advised that on January 9, 1968 a meeting was held at Washington, D. C., by Stokely Carmichael. At this meeting, the Black United Front, an organization consisting of representatives of Black organizations and individuals was formed in the District of Columbia in order to effect operational unity among and for Black people.

During June, 1968, a second source advised that the Black United Front in an official statement of purpose stated it was established for the purpose of expanding the lines of communication between, and effecting togetherness among all the Black people in the District of Columbia in order that they might obtain a rightful and proportionate share in the decision making councils of the District, and rightful and proportionate control of the economic institutions in the Black community.

The standards for qualification as a member were listed as:

1. Any Black individual who has concern and interest in the Black community.
2. Any organization whose primary involvement is for the benefit of Black people, provided it has at least a 50% Black constituency and its representative in the BUF is black.

"The Washington Post and Times Herald," a daily newspaper printed at Washington, D. C., in an article on page A-1, dated July 6, 1968, captioned "Slaying of Police Defended," stated:

"The Black United Front issued a statement yesterday describing the slaying of a District Policeman Tuesday

BLACK UNITED FRONT (BUF)

night as a "justifiable homicide.

"The statement said in Part:

'The methods of self defense used by the family charged with the alleged slaying of the honky cop is justifiable homicide in the same sense that police are allowed to kill black people and call it justifiable homicide.'

"Several hours later, Mayor Walter E. Washington asserted that the BUF resolution with respect to the slaying of Officer (Stephen A.) Williams.....is inflammatory, irresponsible and unfortunate."

The Washington Daily News, another daily newspaper printed in Washington, D.C., in an article on Page 5, dated July 17, 1968, captioned "BUF Takes New Tact" stated in part that the BUF plans to find ways and means to take control of the police force in the District of Columbia.

APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anti-communist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

NOV 12 1968

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

FBI BOSTON

931PM URGENT 11-12-68 WMG

TO DIRECTOR AND WFO

FROM BOSTON 157-

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-18-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/b1s

STOKELY CARMICHAEL. RACIAL MATTER. 00:WFO.

ON NOVEMBER TWELVE INSTANT, [REDACTED]
DEPT. OF SECURITY, TUFTS UNIVERSITY, MEDFORD, MASS., ADVISED
CARMICHAEL IS SCHEDULED TO APPEAR AT COUZENS GYMNASIUM, TUFTS
UNIVERSITY CAMPUS, ON NOVEMBER FIFTEEN NEXT AT EIGHT PM UNDER
SPONSORSHIP OF STUDENTS CONCERNED ABOUT RACISM (SCAR).

[REDACTED] STATED SCAR IS CAMPUS ORGANIZATION FORMED
AFTER ASSASSINATION OF MARTIN LUTHER KING.

COUZENS GYMNASIUM CAN ACCOMMODATE AUDIENCE OF THREE
THOUSAND FOR WHICH PREPARATIONS ARE BEING MADE WITH ADMISSION
FEE OF ONE DOLLAR PER HEAD. CARMICHAEL'S APPEARANCE WILL BE
OPEN TO PUBLIC BUT PREDOMINENTLY STUDENT AUDIENCE IS EXPECTED.

BOSTON WILL ATTEMPT TO EFFECT DESIRED COVERAGE OF CAR-
MICHAEL'S APPEARANCE. MEDFORD, MASS. PD COGNIZANT. CARMICHAEL'S
MODE OF TRANSPORTATION NOT KNOWN.

END

CORR 6 LINE 6 WORD 1 IS SPONSORSHIP

WA...MSE

FBI WASH DC*CC-ROOM 836 9&D

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54 NOV 22 1968 148

REC-47

1007-446080-2074

14 NOV 15 1968

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

NOV 5 1968

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

FBI WASH DC*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-18-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/hls

FBI SAN FRAN

203PM URGENT 11-5-68 MS

TO DIRECTOR, WASH FIELD & LOS ANGELES
FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-721) 1P

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RM - BPP

RE WASH FIELD TEL NOVEMBER FOUR, LAST.

SUBJECT TO MAKE AN UNANNOUNCED TALK IN SAN FRANCISCO STATE
COLLEGE AUDITORIUM THIS DATE UNDER SPONSORSHIP OF BLACK STUDENTS
UNION. PRESS AND ALL WHITES TO BE EXCLUDED FROM THE AUDITORIUM.

SAN FRANCISCO KNOWS OF NO TRAVEL PLANS OF SUBJECT AT THIS TIME.

SOURCE OF ABOVE INFO IS [REDACTED]

b2
b7D

SAN FRANCISCO WILL FOLLOW AND KEEP BUREAU AND INTERESTED OFFICES
ADVISED OF SUBJECT'S MOVEMENTS.

END

LCC

FBI WASH DC*

@

ST-115

100-446080-2075

REC 13

6 NOV 12 1968

TELETYPED TO:

56 NOV 22 1968

ROOM 836 9&D

b6
b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 08-18-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/BJ

F B I

Date: 11/14/68

Transmit the following in **PLAINTEXT**
(Type in plaintext or code)Via **TELETYPE** **URGENT**
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Bishop	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM SAC WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM

SA FBI OBSERVED [REDACTED]

TO ENTER SUBJECT'S RESIDENCE FIVE ZERO ONE FIVE SIXTEENTH
STREET, N.W. WDC ABOUT TWELVE NOOR THIS DATE. [REDACTED][REDACTED] LATE MODEL WHITE
OLDSMOBILE, D.C. LICENSE SIX SEVEN FOUR DASH FIVE FOUR NINE.ABOUT TWELVE THIRTY, TWO UNIDENTIFIED NEGRO MALES ENTERED
RESIDENCE. AT ONE ZERO SEVEN PM, SUBJECT, [REDACTED] THE TWO
UNIDENTIFIED NEGRO MALES WHO ENTERED EARLIER AND TWO INDIVIDUALS,
POSSIBLY [REDACTED] DEPARTED RESIDENCE
AND DROVE IN ABOVE CAR TO HOWARD UNIVERSITY.A SOURCE WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST
ADVISED THIS DATE THAT SUBJECT WAS SCHEDULED TO CONDUCT SEMINAR
TITLED RESPONSIBILITY OF THE BLACK UNIVERSITY TO THE BLACK
COMMUNITY AT TWO PM THIS DATE AT HOWARD UNIVERSITY. SEMINAR IS
PART OF BLACK UNIVERSITY CONFERENCE BEING HELD AT HU NOVEMBER
THIRTEEN TO SEVENTEEN INSTANT.4-BUREAU
1-SAN FRANCISCO (AM)
1-WFO

(6)

RNW:typ

50 NOV 27 1968

Approved: [Signature] Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

b6
b7C100-446080-2076
15 NOV 20 1968

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)WFO 100-43503
PAGE TWO

A SECOND SOURCE WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST ADVISED THIS DATE THAT CARMICHAEL APPEARED AS SCHEDULED AT HOWARD UNIVERSITY., ABOUT SIX HUNDRED ATTENDED HIS SEMINAR, AND HE WAS WELL RECEIVED.

A THIRD SOURCE WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST ADVISED THAT CARMICHAEL RECEIVED A TWO HUNDRED DOLLAR HONORARIUM FOR HIS SPEECH LAST NIGHT AND HIS SEMINAR TODAY.

A FOURTH SOURCE WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST ADVISED THIS DATE THAT CARMICHAEL WAS OBSERVED IN ATTENDANCE AT EVENING SESSION OF BLACK UNIVERSITY CONFERENCE AT HOWARD UNIVERSITY.

ADMINISTRATIVERE WFO TEL 11/14/68. SOURCES ARE [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

DETAILS OF CARMICHAEL'S SEMINAR SET OUT IN WFO LHM CAPTIONED BLACK UNIVERSITY CONFERENCE, HOWARD UNIVERSITY, WASHINGTON, D.C. NOVEMBER THIRTEEN LAST DASH SEVENTEEN NEXT. RM, 11/15/68. AIRMAIL COPY TO SAN FRANCISCO.

C C [REDACTED]
ROOM 836 9&Db6
b7Cb2
b6
b7C
b7DApproved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

November 14, 1968

Airtel

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1 -

b6
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To: SAC, San Diego (100-13995)

From: Director, FBI (100-446080)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

rev 2054
Reurtel 10/26/68 captioned as above and urairtel
dated 11/4/68 captioned [REDACTED]

If not already handled, San Diego should promptly
endeavor to obtain [REDACTED] a copy of the film of
Carmichael's speech in San Diego on 10/26/68.

b2
b7D

By return mail submit a letterhead memorandum suitable
for dissemination containing a summary of Carmichael's
activities in San Diego including his speech on 10/26/68.

Referenced San Diego teletype indicated that
Carmichael also made a tape for Channel 8 television at
San Diego. Verbatim transcripts should be prepared by your
office of tapes of speeches made by Carmichael and submitted
to the Bureau in accordance with instructions set out in
Bureau airtel to all offices dated 12/21/67 captioned "Stokely
Carmichael, IS - Miscellaneous, Sedition." This matter must
receive expeditious handling

1 - WFO

PTB:ekw
(6) *ekw*

14 NOV 20 1968

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

MAILED 7
NOV 14 1968
COMM-FBI

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

389
59 NOV 27 1968
MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Airtel to SAC, San Diego
STOKELY CARMICHAEL
100-446080

NOTE:

Stokely Carmichael, Prime Minister of the Black Panther Party, a black extremist organization, is presently visiting in the San Francisco Bay area. On 10/26/68 he was in San Diego, California, where he made several speeches, San Diego has advised he cut a tape for a local T.V. station and that a

[REDACTED] Bureau
airtel to all offices dated 12/21/67 contains instructions concerning the obtaining of verbatim transcripts of Carmichael's speeches.

b7D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-18-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CP/bjs

F B I

Date 11/15/68

Transmit the following in PLAIN
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080) AND SAC BOSTON

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RM.

SUBJECT DEPARTED WASHINGTON, D. C. (WDC) ON NOVEMBER
FIFTEEN INSTANT AT NATIONAL AIRPORT VIA AMERICAN AIRLINES
FLIGHT NUMBER FIVE TWO ZERO, ELEVEN FIFTEEN A.M., EN ROUTE TO
BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS. HE WAS ACCOMPANIED BY TWO MALES, ONE
USING NAME OTHER USING NAME
ABOVE FLIGHT DUE TO ARRIVE BOSTON TWELVE TWENTYSIX P.M. SUBJECT
HAS RETURN RESERVATIONS TO WDC VIA AMERICAN AIRLINES, FLIGHT
TWO EIGHT ONE, DEPARTING BOSTON NINE TEN A.M., AND ARRIVING
WDC TEN THIRTYTWO A.M., NOVEMBER SEVENTEEN NEXT.

SUBJECT AT TIME OF DEPARTURE WEARING MEDIUM BROWN LEATHER
THREE QUARTER LENGTH COAT, MAROON JACKET, WHITE TURTLENECK
SWEATER, KHAKI (TAN) TROUSERS AND BROWN ANKLE-LENGTH BOOTS.

- 2 - Bureau
3 - Teletype Unit
1 - San Francisco (AM)
2 - WFO

WWH:lt
(8)

NOV 20 1968

Approved: 56 NOV 27 1968
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

b6
b7C

b6
b7C

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)WFO 100-43503
PAGE TWO

[REDACTED] NEGRO MALE ABOUT AGE [REDACTED] AFRO-BUSH
HAIRCUT, MUSTACHE, GOATEE, WEARING BROWN THREE QUARTER LENGTH
COAT, LONG RED SHIRT, [REDACTED] WEIGHING [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] POUNDS AND ABOUT [REDACTED]
INCHES. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] NEGRO MALE, ABOUT [REDACTED] WEARING BLACK
HAT, OLIVE GREEN COAT, BELT IN BACK, THREE QUARTER LENGTH,
DARK PANTS, CARRYING MEDIUM BLUE SATCHEL, WEIGHING ABOUT [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] POUNDS, ABOUT [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

PAID FOR BY SUBJECT.

[REDACTED]

BLACK PANTHER PARTY, DESCRIBED AS NEGRO MALE, BORN [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

BLACK HAIR, BROWN EYES, HAVING POSSIBLE MUSTACHE AND GOATEE.

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

b6
b7Cb6
b7C

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via _____
(Priority)

WFO 100-43503
PAGE THREE

ADMINISTRATIVE

BOSTON COVER SUBJECT PER BUAIRTEL, DECEMBER TWENTYONE
LAST AND ATTEMPT TO FURTHER IDENTIFY
BOSTON COGNIZANT.
COPY TO SAN FRANCISCO BY AIRMAIL. P.

b6
b7C

b6
b7C

REC'D 836 940

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

VIA TELETYPE

NOV 13 1968 *mac*

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan *WCS* ✓
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

PLAINTEXT

WA 06

525PM DEFERRED 11-13-68 MS

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080) NEW YORK AND WASH FIELD (100-43503)

(NEW YORK VIA WASH)

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-721) 2P

STOKELEY CARMICHAEL; RM - BPP; SNCC; SEDITION

RE SAN FRANCISCO TELCALL TO WASH FIELD THIS DATE.

UNITED AIR LINES, SAN FRANCISCO, ADVISES SUBJECT IN PARTY OF
THREE, INCLUDING HIM, [REDACTED] LEFT FLIGHT FIFTY SAN FRANCISCO
INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT NINE A.M., PST, DUE TO ARRIVE DULLES AIRPORT,
WASHINGTON, FOUR FIFTY P.M. EST.

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] BLACK PANTHER PARTY, NMA, BORN [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] BLACK KINKY HAIR, DARK COMPLEXION.

[REDACTED] BLACK PANTHER PARTY,

NMA, BORN [REDACTED]

BLACK HAIR, BROWN EYES, MAY HAVE MUSTACHE AND GOATEE.

END PAGE ONE

TELETYPED TO:

389
WCS 51 NOV 28 1968

ST-113

17 NOV 20 1968

b6
b7C

b6
b7C

100-446080-2079

PAGE TWO

ACCORDING TO [REDACTED] THIS DATE CARMICHAEL PLANNED
TO LEAVE FOR WASHINGTON, D.C. AFTER HIS APPEARANCE IN SAN JOSE EVENING
NOVEMBER TWELVE, AND IS TO BE KEYNOTE SPEAKER FOR CONFERENCE OF BLACK
UNIVERSITY GROUP WASHINGTON, D.C.

b2
b7D

AIRMAIL COPY LOS ANGELES.

END

WA...JDR R RELAY
FBI WASH DC

b6
b7C

cc [REDACTED]
ROOM 836 9&D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-18-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/bls

FBI

Date: 11/15/68

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

AIR MAIL

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-721)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION
RM - BPP

Re San Francisco teletypes to the Bureau dated 11/12/68.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 8 copies of
an LHM suitable for dissemination captioned as above. Enclosed
for WFO are 3 copies of LHM captioned as above.

Sources utilized are:

(Protect by Request)

(Protect by Request).

This LHM is classified ~~Confidential~~ inasmuch as it
contains data which could reasonably result in the identification
of confidential sources of continuing value and compromise
their future effectiveness.

ENCLOSURE

- 3 - Bureau (Encls. 8)(RM)
 - 3 - WFO (RM)(Encls. 3)
 - 2 - San Francisco
- WRS/dp
(8)

C. C. Bishop

J. Walter Grogan (Acting)
AGENCY: ACSI, OSI, SEC. SERV.,
CRD, RAO, IDIU, CIA (By Liaison)

HOW FORM: R/S

DATE FORM: 11/19/68

BY: PTB/det

1 Xerox 806 94D

REC-26

100-446080-2080

Approved: 369

Special Agent in Charge

56 NOV 27 1968

Sent _____

NOV 20 1968

M

Rer _____

SF 157-721

WRS/dp

Efforts to provide coverage that could record CARMICHAEL's speech at San Jose State College on 11/12/68 were negative. Checks with the College, San Jose Police Department and Santa Clara County Sheriff's Office have failed to locate a complete recording or transcript or produce information that speech was recorded in its entirety by radio, television or news personnel.

A 30 second "dub" of CARMICHAEL's speech at San Jose State College on 11/12/68 which recorded him as saying that he does believe in violence and killing if necessary to overcome the oppressor, was obtained from [redacted] (Protect) [redacted]

[redacted] 11/13/68 and is in San Francisco File 157-721.

b6
b7C
b7D

Efforts are continuing to obtain the recording and if obtained the Bureau will be notified and the transcript of the tape provided.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
San Francisco, California

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

November 15, 1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

DECLASSIFIED BY 60324/ANC/BAW/CB/bis
ON 08-18-2006

Copies of this memorandum are being furnished locally to the U.S. Secret Service and the Intelligence Agencies of the U.S. Army, Navy and Air Force.

On November 12, 1968 [] advised that STOKELY CARMICHAEL had appeared in Morris Daily Auditorium on the San Jose State College campus, San Jose, California, at 1:30 p.m. on November 12, 1968. Approximately 700 persons were in the overflow audience. The auditorium was made up primarily of white students. b2 b7D

The audience was attentive and CARMICHAEL at the end of his speech and question and answer period received a loud ovation. He used no profanity and was extremely polite to the audience. The program lasted from 1:30 to 2:40 p.m.

CARMICHAEL's appearance was sponsored by the Experimental School, a department of San Jose State, the United Program Board of San Jose State and the United Black Students for Action (UBSA) at San Jose State College.
SAN JOSE STATE

At the beginning of his speech CARMICHAEL stated that he wanted to clarify his remarks in that he does believe in violence and killing if necessary in overcoming the oppressor. He also explained that he was addressing most of his remarks to white people since most of the audience was white.

He went on to speak on the theme that the reason that there are a few in America who are living so well is that the many are being exploited.

CARMICHAEL criticized the liberals in that the liberals tried to avoid confrontation between black and white.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~GROUP 1 - EXCLUDED FROM~~
~~AUTOMATIC DOWNGRADING~~
~~AND DECLASSIFICATION~~

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

100-446080-2080
ENCLOSURE
-1-

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

At the end of CARMICHAEL's remarks there was a question and answer period. Some of the questions and answers were as follows:

Question: What is your program after the revolution?

Answer: There is no program. The taking over of power is the only program. You don't have to have a program until you gain power then you decide.

Question: "Who will you oppress if you get in power?"

Answer: "Anyone who opposes me."

Question: What did you see in Cuba you liked?

Answer: CARMICHAEL stated that this question was too general to answer unless specific questions were asked but he implied that he was very impressed with what he saw.

With reference to the UBSA, San Jose State College, San Jose, California, [redacted] advised on June 20, 1968 that this organization has also been referred to as the United Black Student Association of San Jose State College. Its membership is primarily Negro. The UBSA was formed during the fall of 1967 in order to protest the alleged discrimination involving minority students at San Jose State. It demanded reforms in college housing practice, in the addition of faculty members of minority races and the addition of courses in the college curriculum oriented to minority culture.

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CAH
[redacted]
[redacted] has been active with this organization [redacted]
The UBSA is not a campus approved organization. Its membership is not fixed but varies with the cause of the moment.

On October 9, 1968 [redacted] advised that the UBSA is interested in garnering support of the San Jose black community for black students in the San Jose area to combat discrimination against them. This organization is also interested in getting more black students into San Jose State College. There are approximately 300 black students at San Jose State College and efforts are being made to enlist all in the activities of UBSA.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
San Francisco, California

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

November 15, 1968

Title

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Character

INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS;
SEDITION

Reference

San Francisco letter dated
and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-18-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/bls

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 11/13/68

Attached reports appearance of Stokeley Carmichael on campus of San Jose State College, 11/12/68, where he spoke to predominantly white audience of 700. Theme of Carmichael's speech was that a few people in America live well by exploiting many others. Carmichael scheduled to speak at De Anza College, Cupertino, California, 8:00 P.M., 11/12/68. San Francisco following.

Copies of attached furnished Inter-Division Information Unit of Department and the Attorney General. Pertinent portions will be included in teletype summary to White House and other interested agencies.

HAG:jfb

~~WCS~~
H

VIA TELETYPE

NOV 12 1968

ENCIPHERED

TO WASHINGTON --7--

8:13 PM URGENT 11-12-68 KCK
TO DIRECTOR --PLAINTEXT--

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-721) 2P

STOKELEY CARMICHAEL; IS-MISCELLANEOUS, SEDITION.

RE SAN FRANCISCO TELETYPE TO BUREAU THIS DATE,

ON THIS DATE [REDACTED] (PROTECT)

[REDACTED] ADVISED THAT SUBJECT ARRIVED ON THE
SAN JOSE STATE COLLEGE (SJSC) CAMPUS AT ONE THIRTY PM THIS
DATE WHERE HE SPOKE AT MORRIS DAILY AUDITORIUM BEFORE SJSC
STUDENTS, FACULTY, AND PUBLIC. THE PROGRAM LASTED UNTIL
TWO FOURTY PM. THE OVERFLOW AUDIENCE OF APPROXIMATELY
SEVEN HUNDRED WERE ATTENTIVE. THE VAST MAJORITY OF THE
AUDIENCE WAS WHITE AND CARMICHAEL IN HIS COMMENTS ADVISED
THAT HIS REMARKS WOULD BE DIRECTED TO WHITE PEOPLE. HE
USED NO PROFANITY AND WAS POLITE TO HIS AUDIENCE. AT THE
END OF HIS SPEECH THERE WAS A QUESTION AND ANSWER PERIOD.
THE THEME OF CARMICHAEL'S SPEECH WAS THAT THE REASON THERE
ARE A FEW IN AMERICA WHO ARE LIVING WELL IS THAT MANY ARE
BEING EXPLOITED. AT THE END OF THE PROGRAM CARMICHAEL
RECEIVED A STRONG OVATION. SUBJECT'S APPEARANCE AT SJSC

END PAGE ONE

TELETYPED TO:

7TB
56 NOV 26 1968

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach ☒
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop ☒
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen ☒
Mr. Sullivan ☒
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

b6
b7C
b7D

EX 110

REC-63

100

446080-2081

25 NOV 18 1968

DEAN W. H. 4-11-68

Summary 11/12/68

NOV 13

5-111

PAGE TWO

SF 157-721

WAS SPONSORED BY THE EXPERIMENTAL SCHOOL, A DEPARTMENT
OF SJSC, THE COLLEGE UNION PROGRAM, AND THE
UNITED BLACK STUDENTS FOR ACTION, SJSC.

b6
b7C
b7D

[REDACTED] CARMICHAEL IS TO SPEAK

AT DE ANZA COLLEGE, CUPERTINO, CALIFORNIA, AT EIGHT PM
THIS DATE. SAN FRANCISCO WILL PROVIDE COVERAGE. *memo* LHM WILL
FOLLOW.

EEND

WA...JDR

FBI WASH DC

COPY SENT AG AND IDIU
XEROX ROSEN

F B I

Date: 11/13/68

Transmit the following in _____

CODE

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE

URGENT

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI AND SACS BOSTON AND
SAN FRANCISCO

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL. RM
RM

A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION
IN THE PAST ADVISED NOVEMBER THIRTEEN LAST SUBJECT RETURNED TO
WDC LATE AFTERNOON SAME DATE FROM CALIFORNIA ARRIVING AT DULLES
INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT.

A SECOND CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE
INFORMATION IN THE PAST ADVISED NOVEMBER THIRTEEN LAST SUBJECT
WAS KEYNOTE SPEAKER AT BLACK UNIVERSITY CONFERENCE (BUC) HOWARD
UNIVERSITY, WDC, THAT DATE COMMENCING EIGHT P.M.

FIRST CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE ABOVE ADVISED NOVEMBER THIRTEEN
LAST ACCORDING TO _____ SUBJECT

CONTEMPLATES EARLY TRIP TO BOSTON. HOWEVER, EXACT DEPARTURE TIME

- ② - Bureau
- 3 - Teletype Unit
- 2 - WFO

WWH:bah
(7)

TELETYPE

REC-14

SI-103

NOV 18 1968

61 NOV 21 1968
Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

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b7c

b6
b7c

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)PAGE TWO
WFO 100-43503

OR MODE OF TRAVEL NOT KNOWN.

ADMINISTRATIVE.

FIRST SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

b2
b7D

SECOND SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

COVERAGE OF SPEECH PROVIDED AND LHM TO BUREAU FOLLOWS
UNDER BUC CAPTION.

FOR INFORMATION BOSTON AND SAN FRANCISCO.

b6
b7C

ROOM 836 9&D

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-18-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/b1s

VIA TELETYPE
NOV 19 1968
ENCIPHERED

PARAPHRASE IF DISSEMINATED

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

R-42

URGENT 11-19-68

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080) AND WASHINGTON FIELD (100-43503)
FROM ATLANTA (100-6812)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RM.

b2
b6
b7C
b7D

PREVIOUSLY NOTED. WFO REQUESTED TO FURNISH
ANY INFORMATION SUBSTANTIATING POSSIBLE TRAVEL OF
CARMICHAEL TO ATLANTA.

ST-115

NOV 21 1968

RECEIVED: 3:45 PM RDR

389
51 NOV 27 1968

ROOM 836 9&D

TWO COPIES WFO

b6
b7C

101V 10V 11/20/68
RFB

J-PA

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-18-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/bls

F B I

Date: 11/7/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-721) - P

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM - BPP

On 11/5/68, [redacted]

[redacted] (protect), advised that
Subject [redacted] been staying at the
[redacted] since 10/25/68. [redacted] reflect the
following long distance calls were made from the Subject's
room on the dates indicated:

10/29/68 [redacted]

11/3/68 [redacted]

11/4/68 [redacted]

In addition to the above calls, on 11/4/68, the
Subject [redacted] called [redacted] The
phone number was not recorded. New York is requested to advise
Washington Field if this name is familiar to them.

Names of subscribers to the other numbers should be
determined. A list of local numbers being called from Subject's
room is also being obtained and subscribers to these numbers will
be determined and provided to the OO.

- 3 - Bureau (AM-RM)
2 - New York (AM-RM)
2 - Washington Field (100-43503) (AM-RM)
1 - San Francisco

FL/jr
(8)

REC-65

100-446080-2084

ST-115

13 NOV 21 1968 C.C. Bishop

389
31 NOV 27 1968
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

b6
b7C
b7D

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE WASHINGTON FIELD	OFFICE OF ORIGIN WASHINGTON FIELD	DATE 11/15/68	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 11/1 - 15/68
TITLE OF CASE STOKELY CARMICHAEL, aka		REPORT MADE BY SA [REDACTED]	TYPED BY tjd
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 08-18-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/bls		CHARACTER OF CASE RM - SNCC, BLACK PANTHER PARTY; SEDITION ANTIRIOT LAWS	

b6
b7c

REFERENCE: Report of SA [REDACTED] dated 11/1/68, at WDC.

- P -

ADMINISTRATIVE

This report carries subject as ARMED AND DANGEROUS since he is known to have possessed firearms in the past and in view of the national posture of SNCC advocating a policy of violence in racial matters and in view of CARMICHAEL's current affiliation with the Black Panther Party (BPP), a self-proclaimed revolutionary group. CARMICHAEL is maintained on both the Security Index and the Agitator Index of WFO.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED						☒ NONE	ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN: PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐ YES ☒ NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS ☐ YES ☒ NO
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES			

APPROVED <i>[Signature]</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW
COPIES MADE 5-Bureau (100-446080) 1-USA, Washington, D.C. 1-U.S. Secret Service, Washington, D.C. 1-NISO, Washington, D.C. 1-OSI, Washington, D.C. 2-WFO (100-43503)		100-446080-2085 12 NOV 25 1968 EX 106 b6 b7c

Copy Count Continued Page B

Dissemination Record of Attached R			
Agency	J. Walter Yeargan (Attorney)		
Request Recd.	SS, ID, IL, CRD, (ACSE, OSD, J 11/20/68.)		
Date Fwd.	11/19/68		
How Fwd.	R/S		
By	PTB/dak		

56 DEC 5 1968

A
COVER PAGE

WFO 100-43503

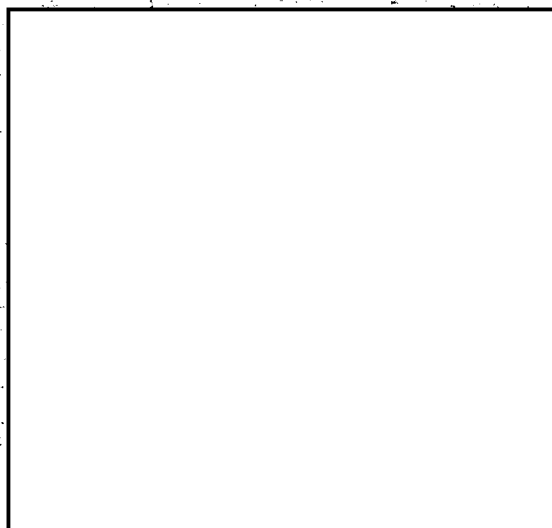
1-116th MIG, Washington, D.C.
1-Baltimore (100-24220)(Info)(RM)
1-Boston (157-347)(Info)(RM)
1-New York (100-153751)(Info)(RM)
1-San Francisco (157-721)(RM)

Copy of instant report being furnished Boston and New York for information in view of previous data set forth developed by these offices regarding travels and activities of CARMICHAEL in referenced report dated 11/1/68. A copy is being furnished Baltimore in view of previous data set forth in referenced report and in view of data used in instant report developed by Baltimore Office. A copy being furnished the San Francisco Office in view of CARMICHAEL's current affiliation with the BPP, a California based organization.

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source

File Where Located



100-43503

100-43503

100-43503

b2
b6
b7C
b7D

100-43503

WFO 100-43503

LEADS

WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE

AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

No additional investigation regarding the aspects of the CARMICHAEL case covered by instant report being continued unless further request for such investigation received from the Bureau and/or the Department.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Copy to:

- 1 - USA, Washington, D.C.
- 1 - Secret Service, Washington, D.C.
- 1 - NISO, Washington, D.C.
- 1 - OSI, Washington, D.C.
- 1 - 116th MIG, Washington, D.C.

Report of:
Date:SA [REDACTED]
11/15/68b6
b7C

Office: Washington, D.C.

Field Office File #:

100-43503

Bureau File #: 100-446080

Title:

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Character:

RACIAL MATTERS-STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE;
BLACK PANTHER PARTY; SEDITION
ANTIRIOT LAWS

Synopsis:

CARMICHAEL spoke at a rally of the Black United Front (BUF) at 3:00 p.m. on 10/12/68, protesting shooting of ELIJAH BENNETT, JR. by MPD Officer [REDACTED] held at New School of Afro-American Thought, WDC. During speech CARMICHAEL reportedly made inflammatory remarks. Source coverage of remarks of CARMICHAEL set forth. No verbatim transcript of remarks located. No additional information developed showing intent of CARMICHAEL in making remarks. No information developed showing significant link between CARMICHAEL's remarks and subsequent disorders in Washington, D.C. on 10/13,14,15/68. CARMICHAEL CONSIDERED ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

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DETAILS: AT WASHINGTON, D.C.I. BACKGROUND

Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) observed that a rally sponsored by the Black United Front (BUF) was held at 3:00 p.m. on October 12, 1968, at the New School of Afro-American Thought, 2115 14th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. (WDC), to protest the shooting of ELIJAH BENNETT, JR. by Officer [REDACTED] of the Metropolitan Police Department (MPD) on October 8, 1968.

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~~Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

Among the speakers was STOKELY CARMICHAEL, former national chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) (1966-67) and currently the Prime Minister of the Black Panther Party (BPP).

The New School of Afro-American Thought has been publicly described as the headquarters for a small group of self-supporting artists, and educators who are attempting to spread a message that black people should be proud of being black through classes given in Negro history, African languages, and arts.

A characterization of the BUF, SNCC, and the BPP is attached herewith in the appendix.

By letter dated October 17, 1968, the Honorable FRED M. VINSON, JR., Assistant Attorney General, United States Department of Justice, WDC, in a letter to the Director, FBI, requested an investigation of STOKELY CARMICHAEL's statements at the rally held in WDC on October 12, 1968.

Previous investigation was conducted regarding this matter and set forth in investigative report dated November 1, 1968, at WDC.

The additional investigation hereinafter set forth was conducted pursuant to the original request of Mr. VINSON.

II. BUF RALLY AT NEW SCHOOL OF AFRO-AMERICAN
THOUGHT, WDC, 3:00 P.M., OCTOBER 12, 1968

The following confidential sources of the FBI, who have furnished reliable information in the past, were present during the BUF rally held at the New School of Afro-American Thought, 2115 14th Street, N.W., WDC, on the afternoon of October 12, 1968:

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The above mentioned sources were not able to take notes due to the sensitive nature of the surroundings and because of the necessity to be discreet for their personal safety. They made prompt oral reports to Special Agents of the FBI as to what had taken place at the rally. They could conceivably testify as to what CARMICHAEL said during his speech should it become necessary at a later date to do so. They could also testify as to the composition and demeanor of the crowd at the rally as well as surrounding circumstances.

These sources could not offer any facts bearing on the intent of CARMICHAEL in making his remarks during the rally.

From the oral reports furnished to Special Agents of the FBI subsequent written reports were prepared from the information furnished. Copies of the reports are hereinafter set forth:

"Washington, D.C.

October 14, 1968

"There was a Black United Front meeting held in front of the New School of Afro-American, 2115 14th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., on the afternoon of 10/12/68. The meeting started about 3:15 p.m. and there were about 250 persons present. Charles Cassell presided [redacted]

[redacted] *Washington, D.C.*
D.C. "Julius Hobson spoke and said that he was tired of making bad speeches at rallies and tired of policemen killing black people without anyone saying anything about it. Hobson stated that everybody should know what they should do from now on. He then discussed the elections for the D.C. School Board and said that the Black United Front should get together a truth squad to follow the black candidates for the School Board around. He stated that some candidates are saying one thing on 14th St., N.W., and something else on Connecticut Ave., N.W. Hobson said he did not mind the squad following him around as he said the same thing wherever he went.

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D.C.
"Reginald Booker mentioned honky policemen killing black people. Booker only talked briefly and said nothing of note.

D.C.
"Q.T. Jackson stated that although he was a student at Howard University, he was also a black person and whatever they decided to do he could be counted on to assist.

D.C.
"The next speaker was Robert Malson. He said that all black people are in danger of being killed. The only reason that Bennett was killed, was because he just happened to be at 14th and U Streets at a particular time. Malson said that this could have happened to anybody who happened to be walking there at that time.

D.C.
"Chuck Stone advised that Washington is 68% black and the black people should control the District politically. He suggested that the black community demand that Mayor Washington agree to community control of police within 7 days or resign.

D.C.
"Gaston Neal produced a blown-up enlarged picture of Bennett, who was shot by the policeman near 14th and U Streets, N.W., on the evening of 10/8/68. Neal said that he wanted everyone to see this picture which was one showing Bennett on the stretcher waiting for the ambulance.

"Cassell said that the next time a honky policeman kills a black citizen they should put his picture all around the District as being wanted for murder.

"Stokely Carmichael advised that he was tired of making speeches and appearing at rallies; he wants some action. There is no such thing as right or wrong when it comes to killing, it is a matter of who ordered you to do the killing. He said the young men in the audience will be in Vietnam soon killing Vietnamese which they should not be doing. If they kill enough Vietnamese they will get a medal. Carmichael stated that instead they should get a medal for killing a honky cop. He advised that you cannot kill a honky cop outright for then you will have to get arrested; you have to stab him in the back at night with a knife or any other way you can think of. Nobody is to talk about the killing of a honky cop and if this person does talk, he is taken care of also. The community should set up a system of medals by

WFO 100-43503

putting tin cans on the street and everyone going by drop something in it; this will be the reward for the one doing the killing.

D.C. "Calvin Rolark also spoke briefly about stopping the killing of Negroes.

"It was announced that there was a can on the speaker's table and they wanted everyone to contribute to the family of the deceased man. He is separated from his wife who is pregnant and they have four other children and are penniless.

"The meeting was over about 4:15 p.m. and the crowd was enthusiastic about Carmichael's speech. The only problem encountered was that the audience overflowed into the street but the police maintained order in directing the traffic. Among those present who was to assist in the contribution collection

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D.C.
[redacted] 10/14/68)
5/14

"Washington, D.C.
10/14/68

"There was a rally sponsored by the Black United Front on 10/12/68, at the New School of Afro-American Thought, 2115 14th St., N.W., WDC. The purpose of the rally was to protest the shooting of Elijah Bennett by a white police officer on 10/8/68.

"Among those in attendance at the rally were the following: Stokely Carmichael, [redacted]

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[redacted] *WASH*
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"The rally began at 3:00 p.m. and between two and three hundred attended.

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"Carmichael gave a speech in which he said that the Brothers knew now what they must do. We are not going to get any help or understanding from the establishment. We have got to get together to put a stop to the killing of our Black Brothers. In Vietnam, he said, Black men get medals for killing. Perhaps we should begin to give medals to Blacks here in the United States, and I don't have to tell you what I mean.

"Neal made an appeal for funds for the widow of Bennett.

"Doug Moore handed out leaflets advertising a soul session to be held at Ed Murphy's Supper Club on 10/13/68, at which he would speak about his candidacy for the D.C. School Board.

"Following the rally, [redacted]

[redacted]
"On the evening of 10/13/68, [redacted] drove Carmichael [redacted] to the Dulles Airport where he was catching a plane to Canada."

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[redacted] 10/13,14/68)

"Washington, D.C.
October 14, 1968

"There was a rally sponsored by the Black United Front held in front of the New School of Afro-American Thought, 2115 14th St., N.W., on the afternoon of 10/12/68. There were about 225 to 250 people present.

"The rally was opened by Charles Cassell who explained that the rally concerned the killing of a black man at 14th and U Streets, N.W., on 10/8/68.

"Among the speakers was Stokely Carmichael. Carmichael said that they must do something about the honky cops killing black people. He said that murder is bad but then sometimes it is right and who can say when it is right or wrong. He said that black people cannot say as to whether it is right or wrong. It is right to murder black people but it is wrong to kill a honky cop. They send our black brothers to Vietnam to murder the Vietnamese and give them medals for this. Why cannot we give black brother or sister a medal when they kill a honky cop? We must fight these killings. If a brother or sister kills a honky cop we should just say that is good, but do not talk about it; it happened and it is good. What do we use for weapons? If we kill anyone like this above the ground, we will be arrested and so we have to stab them in the back - you know what I mean. What we try to do above ground is all right and we have tried it but what we do underground is something else. I do not have to tell you what this rally is all about. I am tired of talking and we do not need anymore rallies. You know what you have got to do and I do not have to say anymore.

"A plea for contributions was made as it was stated that Bennett's wife is pregnant and like most black people he did not have any money. The rally was over at about 3:45 p.m. and there were no problems except that the traffic was blocked by the audience on 14th Street. Among those

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] 10/14/68)

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The following is a report [redacted]
[redacted] regarding STOKELY CARMICHAEL's speech
on October 12, 1968:

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"RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

"On October 14th, 68, [redacted]
[redacted] on Saturday, October 12th, 68,
at about 1:45 p.m., STOKELY CARMICHAEL was observed on 14th
Street between V & W Street in N.W., Washington, D.C., at
the New School of African Thought where he was making a speech
to a crowd of about 100 to 200 persons. The gist of what
CARMICHAEL said at that time was that, 'It's about time we
got these 'honky' white policemen, the time for rallies is
over. We must stop them from shooting black people, we must
kill ourselves some white policemen. We must work for black
harmony above ground and go under ground for whatever is
necessary.'

[redacted] this speech was attended
by persons who are unknown by name but who are believed
to be identical with the individuals CARMICHAEL used to associate
with when he was in charge of the SNCC in Washington, D.C.
It is understood that newspaper reporters were present at
the speech in question, including at least one white newspaper
reporter.

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"The speech in question was being made shortly before
the funeral of the negro, ELIJAH BENNETT, who had been shot
and killed by a D.C. policeman on the previous Tuesday."

[redacted] 10/14/68)

WFO 100-43503

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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**III. PRESS COVERAGE OF BUF RALLY AT NEW SCHOOL OF
AFRO-AMERICAN THOUGHT, WDC, 3:00 P.M.,
OCTOBER 12, 1968**

[REDACTED] 2112 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., WDC, [REDACTED] Radio Station WOL located at 2000 P Street, N.W., WDC, advised on November 13, 1968, that they had a "footman" on the scene during the BUF rally at which CARMICHAEL spoke on October 12, 1968, at the New School of Afro-American Thought. However, due to the circumstances, he was unable to tape CARMICHAEL's remarks. He pointed out that it is becoming increasingly more difficult to tape CARMICHAEL's remarks as his group usually tries to prevent this from being accomplished. He advised that he had several men on the scene as he recalls but they were unable to hear CARMICHAEL's remarks to any extent.

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[REDACTED] WAVA Radio News, Ft. Myer Drive, Arlington, Virginia, advised on November 14, 1968, he had several men present at the BUF rally on October 12, 1968, during which CARMICHAEL spoke. He stated that they did not make a tape of CARMICHAEL's remarks due to the fact he used a "bull horn" alternately in making his remarks to a crowd assembled on the sidewalk and street.

[redacted] it appeared CARMICHAEL used the "bull horn" deliberately when uttering more acceptable aspects of his talk not of a militant nature but when he uttered comments apparently inflammatory, he would put the "bull horn" aside. He advised that neither of his men were able to get close enough to hear anything of a particular inflammatory nature uttered by CARMICHAEL.

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[redacted]
[redacted] Radio Station WOOK, 5321 First Place, N.E., WDC, advised on November 14, 1968, that he did not have any coverage at the above rally. Accordingly, no tape of CARMICHAEL's speech was available.

[redacted] WUST Radio Station, 9th and U Streets, N.W., WDC, advised on November 14, 1968, that his station did not cover the rally at which CARMICHAEL spoke on October 12, 1968, and accordingly, did not have a tape.

IV. INTERVIEWS WITH PERSONS ARRESTED DURING
DISTURBANCES OCCURRING IN WDC,
OCTOBER 13-14-15, 1968

[redacted]
Metropolitan Police Department, WDC, advised on November 14, 1968, that a number of juveniles and adults were arrested during the disturbances that occurred in WDC on October 13, 14 and 15, 1968. He stated that in processing and interviewing these offenders after their arrests, no information was developed that there was a significant link between their activities and comments by STOKELY CARMICHAEL on October 12, 1968, at the New School of Afro-American Thought. He stated none of those arrested were known to have had any pertinent association with CARMICHAEL in the past.

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APPENDIX

BLACK UNITED FRONT (BUF)

A source advised that on January 9, 1968 a meeting was held at Washington, D. C., by Stokely Carmichael. At this meeting, the Black United Front, an organization consisting of representatives of Black organizations and individuals was formed in the District of Columbia in order to effect operational unity among and for Black people.

During June, 1968, a second source advised that the Black United Front in an official statement of purpose stated it was established for the purpose of expanding the lines of communication between, and effecting togetherness among all the Black people in the District of Columbia in order that they might obtain a rightful and proportionate share in the decision making councils of the District, and rightful and proportionate control of the economic institutions in the Black community.

The standards for qualification as a member were listed as:

1. Any Black individual who has concern and interest in the Black community.
2. Any organization whose primary involvement is for the benefit of Black people, provided it has at least a 50% Black constituency and its representative in the BUF is black.

"The Washington Post and Times Herald," a daily newspaper printed at Washington, D. C., in an article on page A-1, dated July 6, 1968, captioned "Slaying of Police Defended," stated:

"The Black United Front issued a statement yesterday describing the slaying of a District Policeman Tuesday

BLACK UNITED FRONT (BUF)

night as a "justifiable homicide.

"The statement said in Part:

'The methods of self defense used by the family charged with the alleged slaying of the honky cop is justifiable homicide in the same sense that police are allowed to kill black people and call it justifiable homicide.'

"Several hours later, Mayor Walter E. Washington asserted that the BUF resolution with respect to the slaying of Officer (Stephen A.) Williams.....is inflammatory, irresponsible and unfortunate."

The Washington Daily News, another daily newspaper printed in Washington, D.C., in an article on Page 5, dated July 17, 1968, captioned "BUF Takes New Tact" stated in part that the BUF plans to find ways and means to take control of the police force in the District of Columbia.

APPENDIX

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Literature distributed by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquarters at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, describes itself as not being a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements. SNCC was born out of the sit-in movement which erupted across the South beginning on February 1, 1960. A conference at Raleigh, North Carolina, that Spring, brought together many of the demonstrating Southern students in a loose network of militant youth which was officially named SNCC in October, 1960.

A source has advised that in May, 1966, Stokely Carmichael was elected National Chairman by the Central Committee. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced as Chairman by H. Rap Brown, with Carmichael assuming the position of Recruiter and Organizer for the SNCC. In August, 1967, at the invitation of Fidel Castro, Carmichael participated in the Organization of Latin American Solidarity Conference which was held in Havana, Cuba. Subsequent thereto, Carmichael traveled to Hanoi and other sections of North Vietnam. He returned to the United States in December, 1967, at which time his passport was picked up because of travel to unauthorized countries.

A source advised that when Carmichael was elected Chairman of SNCC, the organization embarked on a program of eliminating Caucasians from its ranks. With the election of H. Rap Brown as Chairman in 1967, it embarked on a worldwide struggle for human rights and to take a firm stand against violations of these rights by the American Government and to strengthen its programs of opposition to the draft and to the United States involvement in Vietnam.

Literature distributed in February, 1968, identifies SNCC as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

On August 13, 1967, while addressing a group in the Watts area of Los Angeles, California, H. Rap Brown said "You better shape up America, or we'll burn you down." Later in February, 1968, in a publicized note Brown wrote, "America, if it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you and to organize your jails to revolt against you and to organize your children, your God, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind, to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here's my life."

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APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY, aka Black Panther Party for Self Defense

A source advised that the Black Panther Party for Self Defense (BPPSD) was formed by HUEY PERCY NEWTON, Minister of Defense, and BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, Chairman, in December, 1966, as a militant black nationalist political organization to combat police brutality, to unite militant black youth, and to determine the destiny of black communities. The political philosophy was taken from writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of Communist China and black militant writers.

In March, 1968, the name of the organization was changed to Black Panther Party (BPP).

The official BPP publication, "The Black Panther Party - Black Community News Service", states that the BPP advocates use of guns and guerrilla tactics in their violent revolutionary program to end oppression of black people.

On February 17, 1968, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister of Information, announced merger of the BPP and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and bestowed title of Minister of Justice, BPP, upon H. RAP BROWN, Chairman of SNCC.

SNCC is a militant Negro organization which preaches black supremacy.

This relationship between the BPP and SNCC was later terminated according to a public announcement.

NEWTON, aforementioned, was incarcerated in the Alameda County Jail, Oakland, California, later standing trial on a charge of murder of an Oakland police officer. He was subsequently convicted of voluntary manslaughter and is currently serving a jail sentence.

Headquarters of BPP and Huey P. Newton Defense Fund are located at 4421 Grove Street, Oakland, California.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Washington, D. C. 20535
November 15, 1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Title **STOKELY CARMICHAEL**

Character **RACIAL MATTERS-STUDENT NON-VIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE, BLACK PANTHER
PARTY; SEDITION; ANRIRIOT LAWS**

Reference **Report of SA [REDACTED]
dated and captioned as above
at Washington, D.C.**

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All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-18-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/DLS

FBI

Date: 11/21/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code).Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM: SAC, BALTIMORE (100-24220)
SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM

Re WFO teletype, 11/20/68.

On 11/20/68. [REDACTED]

CARMICHAEL arrived in Baltimore [REDACTED]

It is not known of the means of transportation
or the identity of the Negro male who accompanied CARMICHAEL.

Sources of the Baltimore Office could furnish
no information concerning the above visit.

3 - Bureau (REGISTERED MAIL)
2 - WFO (REGISTERED MAIL) (100-43503)
1 - Baltimore

MEG:rlj
(6)

0-700 BA 11/26/68
Submit info on AIT in LHM
from suitable for dissemination
return mail.

4 DEC 2 - 1968

Approved: _____

Special Agent _____

Sent _____

Per _____

RACIAL INT. SECT.

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-18-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/bls

F B I

Date: 11/25/68

Transmit the following in _____

PLAINTEXT

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE

URGENT

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan ✓
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RM.

RE WFO TELETYPE, NOVEMBER TWENTY-FOUR, LAST.

SPECIAL AGENTS OBSERVED SUBJECT AT WASHINGTON, D. C.
RESIDENCE NOVEMBER TWENTY-FIVE, INSTANT.

WFO SOURCES REPORTED NO PERTINENT INFORMATION REGARDING
SUBJECT'S ACTIVITIES INSTANT DATE. P.

ADMINISTRATIVE

ABOVE SOURCES

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b7D

REC 55

100 446 080 2087

12 NOV 26 1968

EX 106

4 - Bureau

1 - WFO

WWH:jcb
(5)

MR. TRAINOR
(C) ROOM 825

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

56 DEC 4 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-18-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/bls

F B I

Date: 11/20/68

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Transmit the following in _____

CODED

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via _____

TELETYPE

URGENT

(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI AND SAC BALTIMORE

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; RACIAL MATTER.

A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE
INFORMATION IN THE PAST ADVISED ON NOVEMBER TWENTY INSTANT
THAT SUBJECT BELIEVED TO HAVE VISITED BALTIMORE ON
NOVEMBER NINETEEN LAST FOR ABOUT THREE HOURS IN THE
AFTERNOON.

THE PURPOSE OF THE TRIP WAS UNKNOWN TO SOURCE.

ADMINISTRATIVE

REC-63 EX-103 - 446080 - 2088

ABOVE SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

BALTIMORE CONTACT RACIAL SOURCES REGARDING ABOVE

ATTEMPTING TO ASCERTAIN REASON FOR VISIT. IT IS NOTED HE
HAS CONTACTED [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] IN THE PAST. P

- ② - Bureau
3 - Teletype Unit
2 - WFO

ROOM 836 9&D

WWH:pgp
(7)

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-18-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/bls

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

Stokely Tells Students: Don't Talk, Start Acting

Black power activist Stokely Carmichael told some 1900 Howard University students last night to "quit talking and start acting."

Mr. Carmichael's two-hour speech — his customary "revolution message" — highlighted the opening session of a four-day conference at Howard on "Towards a Black University."

Dr. Nathan Hare, a former Howard teacher now on the faculty at San Francisco State College, declined an invitation to attend the session. He had not accepted, he said in a letter, because "unless every Howard student comes armed with a shotgun and a Molotov cocktail they are defenseless against an oppressive 'Amos 'n Andy' administration."

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The Washington Post _____
Times Herald _____
The Washington Daily News _____
The Evening Star (Washington) _____
The Sunday Star (Washington) _____
Daily News (New York) _____
Sunday News (New York) _____
New York Post _____
The New York Times _____
The Sun (Baltimore) _____
The Daily World _____
The New Leader _____
The Wall Street Journal _____
The National Observer _____
People's World _____
Examiner (Washington) _____

Date _____

100-446080-
NOT RECORDED
170 DEC 6 1968

57 DEC 11 1968

100-446080
File - 5 PH

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

F B I

Date: 11/20/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RMEnclosed herewith for the Bureau are 11 copies
of an LHM regarding the above captioned subject.

The source referred to in the LHM is [redacted]

as contacted by SA [redacted]

The transcription of the tape was performed by
employees of WFO.The tape is being forwarded to the Bureau under
separate cover.The above source advised he was not able to tape
the remarks of CARMICHAEL at seminar held at BUC at HU
on 11/14/68, entitled "The Responsibility of the Black
University to the Black Community" due to the fact it was
switched at the last minute from the law school building
to the medical school building. 100-446080-2089

③ - Bureau (Enc. 11)

2 - WFO

(1 - 157-2068) (BLACK UNIVERSITY CONFERENCE)

WWH:p8p LSI E.C. Bishop
(5) [redacted]AGENCY: ACST, OSI, SEC. SERV., CIA (by [redacted])
CRD, RAO, IDIA

HOW FORW: [redacted]

DATE FORW: 11/25/68

BY: PTB/100

57 DEC 6 1968

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Washington, D. C. 20535

November 20, 1968

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

A confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past advised on November 14, 1968, that Stokely Carmichael was the keynote speaker at the Black University Conference (BUC) at 8:00 p.m. November 13, 1968, held at Cramton Auditorium, Howard University, Washington, D. C.

Source made a tape recording of Carmichael's speech and a transcription of that speech is hereinafter set forth:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 08-18-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/bis

This document contains neither
recommendations nor conclusions of
the FBI. It is the property of
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ENCLOSURE

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
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The beginning of this tape is an UNID MAN
introducing STOKELY CARMICHAEL..... (much applause)

CARMICHAEL:

Good evening. We want to take a lot of time tonight and go very slowly for a number of very important reasons. Number one, because the issues concerning the struggles of black people in this country and around the world are being confused, both intentionally and unintentionally. And that confusion comes from a number of things. In order for us to clear it up we have to begin today to take time to do things a little bit differently than we did then, let's say, even last year.

You are unfortunate. In the sense that as college students you are going to have a harder time than even I did. Because while for me there might have been time for some partying, for you there will be no time for any partying. That you are going to be so busy with the liberation of your people that you will have no time to party. I think that's good. That's good.

Now then, let us begin by saying that black people are a colonized people. And we are going to go through tonight a number of things. We want to first begin to talk about some concepts around which we can try and build a basic ideology. Then we want to move on with some definitions around the terms (arms) (armed) struggle, revolution and militancy, and black struggle, so we can begin in our own minds to be coming from the same point of reference. And then we want to talk about the international scene, because it is going to be very relevant to our situation, and, finally, we want to end by talking about the Black University itself.

Now if we say we're a colonized people, then one of the things about a colonized people is that they hate themselves. Now I mean the primary effect of colonization is the hatred of the victim for himself, and certainly for anyone else who resembles him, therefore his own people. I think that PHANON (very phonetic), certainly, who has become the Bible for most of us, has explained that. So that there is no need for us to waste time going over it. For those of you who have not, I would suggest that you take time out to read Brother

CARMICHAEL: ~~PHANON~~ (very phonetic). Now when a colonized people move for their liberation, they move on basically (2) two levels.

One I refer to as entertainment, for lack of a better word, but I think it describes, quite accurately, our movement in the United States. And the second is education. The entertainment level is when the victim himself begins to publicly make fun of the oppressor. Now, that is necessary because prior to that stage the victim is afraid to publicly say what he really feels about the oppressor. For example, a couple of years ago if a white policeman had shot down a brother, people would go behind doors and whisper about it. (CARMICHAEL whispers, "You know so and so got shot down here and ain't that terrible.") And today, we can publicly joke about it. I mean, you can get to the point where you can call the policemen HONKIES and PIGS.

Now that's a necessity because it's beginning to relieve a certain amount of psychological inferiority that's to be found in the victim. And it begins to make him at least feel psychologically equal to his oppressor.

Now the stage of entertainment is necessary, but as my friend COURTLAND COX reminds me, it is insufficient. And so we have to move on to another level. Perhaps the level we move on to is a level which I would like to refer to as a level of education. On this level we begin to now move in what we perceive to be the correct path, in a way to find our liberation. Now I don't want you to say that I knock entertainment. I think it certainly was a necessity. But I think too that entertainment is going to leave us laughing and calling the man names while he marches us off into gas chambers and concentration camps. So then let us today begin to try to move off of the level of entertainment and into the level of education.

Now I know for many of you that is going to be very hard, because that means we no longer yell about how bad we are and how beautiful we are. MAN, that's very good because we can all clap and feel good, but we begin now very seriously to sit down and analyze our situation, analyze our problems, define our situation, and pose solutions to those problems. And that is not easy. It

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CARMICHAEL: is very difficult because it calls for a certain amount of time being given which we are not apt to spend. It's much better to go and listen to someone yell and you feel good and then go home.
(Cont.)

It's a feel-good session. It's like church, you know, go to church on Sunday to feel good about the bad things you did last week, but to feel good enough so you can do them again next week. But we would hope that we would not consider conferences or political meetings where Black People get together, saying they are planning the destinies of their lives, to become a feel-good church meeting. We want to begin then with (3) three concepts.

If we say, one, that the primary effect of a colonized people is that they hate themselves, then we must begin to undo that hate. So we advocate a concept which we have been advocating for the past year, but we think it's a necessity and we think we have to keep pushing it. We say concept number one. Black People, we must have an undying love for our people. Number one, we must have an undying love for our people and we must begin to understand precisely what that means.

It does not just mean (tape blank at this point. Tape resumes with CARMICHAEL saying).... but that is not very important, especially for a lot of new people who run around wearing AFROs. Or even the super militants or so-called revolutionaries who do have guns. They arm themselves. They ah (tape goes blank. Tape resumes, and CARMICHAEL says)..... and ten 45's and a couple of carbines and they say "We ready, we ready." And we say, "All right, Brother," and they say, "We ready, but before we go we got to get that nigger across the street cause he's in the way, he UNCLE TOM. Yeah." (Tape goes blank. Tape resumes with CARMICHAEL saying).... killed five HUNKIES because they had created the UNCLE TOM. (Applause)

For he is incapable of understanding that. I think many of us are incapable of understanding that and I want to take a long time tonight and go very slowly so that we can try and discuss as many of these concepts because we are not going to be allowed to have many more rallies like this any longer. The time is soon coming when they will cut them off. When they will cut them

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CARMICHAEL: off. And so what little time we have we must use to
(Cont.) the fullest extent.

Now you have to understand the process of hatred. For example, if you speak before a large black audience, not of Negroes, but of black people who are super militants, if you say we're black, we're beautiful, they'll clap. (Then he taps the microphone, tap, tap.)

If you say we can do anything we want to do, they'll clap. But if you turn around and say, but there are some of them we can't trust, they jump up and yell and say yeeeeeeeeesssssss Lord. That's a fact and once again not even recognizing that we applaud loudest for the negative things about ourselves than we do for the positive things about ourselves, only because we don't understand the process of hatred as it affects our very lives. If you want an applause, just talk about UNCLE TOM, the roof will come down.

Just talk about how you can't trust your people, the roof will come down. But if you talk about having faith and trust and willing to work with your people, you are considered crazy among your own people. We must have an undying love for our people. (Applause) We must have an undying love for our people. (Applause) An undying love for our people means that we are willing to not only die for them, but, more importantly, to live, to fight and to kill for them. (Applause)

And I think you ought to understand that concept. It is to die for one's people. It is much more difficult to live, to fight, and to kill for them, especially if the forces are against that type of activity. Especially if it is against that type of activity. And it is not because they are afraid of killing. Because you can take all of the brothers who come back from Vietnam who are expert killers, and they are afraid to kill a Hunkie Cop if they see him molesting a white woman. Not out in the daytime, but even to snipe him at night. They are totally paralyzed from doing anything about it, because they do not have an undying love for their people. Undying love, undying love. It's very hard, but I think if we talk about revolution, we must understand the basic concepts around which we move, and the first concept we must build is the concept of undying love.

CARMICHAEL:
(Cont.)

Many black people are willing to fight white folks because they hate white folks. Very few are willing to fight because they love their people. It's very deep and profound and we have to understand it. I think this all the time -- I want to kill them cops, they push me around, they do this, they do that, I want to kill them. Don't you love your people, brother? I don't got to worry about that, I just want to kill cops. If you talk about a real revolution, then you have to differentiate from just fighting. What would be the difference of a black man killing in Vietnam and killing a cop, if he just did as he was told? If he didn't have something more to (tape blank)..... love for our people.

Secondly, the second concept follows very closely upon the first and it is, I think, more important for college students than perhaps anybody else in our community. The second concept says that every Negro is a potential black man. (Applause) I was a Negro, many of you were when MALCOLM X was preaching. Every Negro is a potential black man and the reasons you say that, it seems to me, are just infinite, but let us just outline a few.

Number one (tape blank at this point. CARMICHAEL resumes, saying)..... because when they captured us in Africa, they didn't capture Negroes. They captured African or black people -- that was the terminology, but once we set foot in the United States, we became Negroes. So what you have is the term Negro is synonymous with slavery. The term Negro becomes synonymous with slavery, so if one says that one is a Negro, one traces one's beginning back to slavery, not beyond the point because there are no Negroes in Africa. And that is, I think, the problem that black people who call themselves American are going to find themselves in, cause if they say that they are Americans and black Americans, or Americans first and black people second, they trace their beginning back to slavery. And if your beginning is in slavery, if the seed is a slave, the best you can have is a good slave. If you began in slavery, you can never hope to become more than a good slave; that's the best you can hope for.

But if you understood the concept and said that you were either African or black man, you could then trace your beginnings beyond the point of slavery to a place

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CARMICHAEL: where you were free and then you can aspire to be what
(Cont.) your ancestors were. The greatest war is on the face
of the earth, you could that. (Applause) But because
people talk about Negroes, they only aspire to be
Negroes.

And you could see it all the time on these
soul stations, where they have Negro spot announcements,
you know. "BECKMAN and BANNICKER (phonetic), a good
Negro, who served and helped to build Washington, D. C.,
designed the country and did all of this even though he
was a slave." Isn't that nice -- he was doing all this,
even though he was a slave. If I was a slave, I would
be trying to tear this "mammy jammer" down, rip it off,
rip it off, rip it off. (Applause)

But a Negro is somebody who helps to contribute
to the society in which he finds himself oppressed. A
black man would be someone who would be trying to tear
that thing down, rip it apart and don't even think about
putting it back together, until he's ready to do it. It's
a big difference.

Now then, why do we say that every Negro is a
potential black man, because it is a fact that there is
those people who are in the black community who are
ready for guns, who are ready to shoot, who are ready to
fight, are in a minority position. That is to move
aggressively against violence, and we will come to a
section on violence, where we will talk about self-defense
and aggressive violence. But we find that those people
are in the minority, even those of us who are really
willing to just do any type of thing for our people, are
still in the minority.

We have to recruit, and we must recruit from
our people, and we must recruit from our people. We are
black or we have become black because we have lived in
certain given environments. And it takes different things
for each of us to reach that point. But all people living
in this country, who have our color, live in the same
conditions; therefore, they too can come to the point
where we are. Not only that, we cannot afford to alienate
our own people. And if we do not think that every Negro
is a potential black man, we alienate our people. Too

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CARMICHAEL:
(Cont.)

many times I see our young sisters, who are wearing wigs a week ago and just got new Afros. And you talk to them, or sisters with a wig or pressed hair comes up to talk to her. I want to talk to a Negro. You can't get ahead. (Conversation stops - tape blank)..... That's what my eminent friend, CORTLAND COX, refers to as the neuvo-black. He went to Howard.

(Tape blank)..... People are so proud of their blackness that they step on other people, rather than help their own people again. (Tape blank)..... has been inculturated, impressed and has become part of us. Every Negro is a potential black man. We must, therefore, take time out to work with our people who are Negroes and help to make them black. But that responsibility is ours and only our responsibility, and we must meet it head on; we cannot run.

(Tape blank)..... revolutionary that I am, she had suffered much more than I have and she has seen my suffering. Therefore, she is much more potentially ready for revolution than even I am. Every Negro is a potential black man. We must work. (Tape blank) (Applause)

Third concept we want to talk about, which is perhaps more difficult than the preceeding two, but is as important as the other two. Number three, for black people, the question of community is not just simply a question of land, but it is a question of our people and where we are, for us, black people. The question of community is not just simply a question of land; it is a question of our color, our people and where we are. Let me give you some examples.

If you went to New York City, you would not really feel at home until you got to Harlem. If you went to Los Angeles, you would not really feel at home until you got to Watts. If you went to Chicago, the south side. Washington, D. C., the whole city. (Applause)

(Tape blank)..... If we are talking about waging a real revolution and will again get to the definition of those terms a little bit later on. If we're talking about real revolution, we ought to understand that the concept of land for Africans living inside the United States is a very difficult and not concrete concept with which we can

CARMICHAEL: deal with at this time. We're capable of dealing with that. Therefore, if we are going to talk seriously about waging a real revolutionary struggle, we must begin to do what Brother MALCOLM X was trying to do in routing our ideology (tape blank)..... only one instance (tape blank)..... if you move, you will lose and many of our people become weighted down with this feeling of minority. (Tape blank)..... that's our fight, that's our hope. Then we automatically internationalize our fight which must be done if we are to be successful.

Not only does it internationalize our fight, but what it also does is that it does put the white man in the minority position, because we are the majority, we are the majority. (Applause) But not only that, it would automatically begin to bring us together without us even realizing it. For example, (Tape blank)..... black me and you. And could be our blood brothers and sisters, we don't know. In Cuba, 60% of the people - black. In Panama, Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic, Guatemala, all of the one-third of the population in each of those countries and sometimes going as high as 65 (tape blank)..... different names and, therefore, each of us fight each other under different titles, not recognizing that we're fighting the same people.

(Tape blank) It doesn't even occur to us that we must be the same people, cause the black man comes from Africa. And the white man will have black people fighting Cubans, black Cubans. He will have, as he did have, black people living in the United States invading the Dominican Republic, invading Santo Domingo and even if Puerto Rico begins to move (tape blank)..... black man against the black man, African against African (tape blank)..... Cuban one of the black American fighting a Brazilian and we do not even begin to recognize we are the same people. Therefore, this concept becomes vital because it means that our ideology must be Pan-Africanist in nature, not only for the continent, but for Africans or the continent. That means that we have to again, as my good friend CORTLAND COX reminds me, become a people deeply rooted with an African ideology. And it's a necessity, it's a necessity if we are going to survive and win the struggle.

It is also a necessity because we do not recognize that the United States not only oppresses the black

CARMICHAEL:
(Cont.)

man in America, but he oppresses the black man wherever he is found today, wherever he is found today. (Applause) Secondly, it becomes important because we do not allow our oppressor the boundaries on which we fight. We decide the boundaries and we will not confine ourselves to the continental boundaries imposed upon us by the white man, by the white man. It is he who imposes the boundaries; it is he who created Nigeria, he who created Ghana, he who created Algeria. The white man divided up Africa, as he saw fit, and divided up black people as he saw fit. And if we stick by those definitions, we fall into the hands of our oppressor. Wherever black people are, wherever they are oppressed, if one of our people are oppressed, all 900 million of us are oppressed.

For us, it is a question of color along with land. (Applause) And we have to work at that concept because if we do our role in the Nigerian conflict would become far more important than it is today. If we understood that we would be reading and understand everything in the Nigerian conflict and not be used by Zionist and other people who are worried about black man fighting black man, for their own interest, for their own interest. (Applause)

But it is because we do not take time out to understand these things that we get wasted. It is not sufficient any longer to entertain, to talk about the white man, like a dog, and just to laugh. It is time for clear analysis; let us move on. We say we have to fight. I think we do, on every level.

What is our fight? We have a two-fold fight in the United States. We must fight against racism and against capitalism. And also against imperialism. Imperialism being the highest stage of capitalism. We are fighting against racism and we are fighting against capitalism. One cannot have a capitalist society in which black people live free, that is nonsensical. It is nonsensical for black people to talk about black capitalism. It's tantamount to them talking about oppressing themselves, themselves. (Applause) We have to fight against racism and capitalism, that is our fight. And our ideology then must begin to become an ideology which deals with racism and with capitalism.

CARMICHAEL:
(Cont.)

Now let me explain something. I do not say that the mere elimination of capitalism, which is an economic system, also eliminates racism. That is to say I do not think that if one got rid of capitalism and imposed socialism or communism, that one automatically gets rid of racism. That I think has been proven by the people who came before, to be an incorrect analysis. Our ideology must be aimed against both capitalism and racism. And that becomes even more important (STOKELY asks the audience if it is getting too hard for you. Audience replies no. STOKELY says) Cause you ain't even seen nothing yet. We haven't scratched the surface.

I'm not going to yell about whitey you can have that. I see him on television all the time. The man pays the black people to entertain him on TV, pays them. (Applause) Turn on the TV all the time. He's got a new one with an African. "You a pig, you no good, ain't you a pig. Yeah, whitey, you ain't no good. Yeah, white man says that's right. I ain't no good, what's ya gonna do about it, nigger." (Applause)

And it is this type of talk which is far more important, the one we must begin to deal with. Because we are at least awake today and we must move on. We cannot continue to entertain ourselves, we cannot continue to do that, we must. Because I am getting totally dis-oriented to seeing black people get upon television and talk about black capitalism is the solution to our problem. Just as disgusted as when I see a white left radical, hippie, whatever, say that ah, socialism is the answer to our problem. And black people not even taking time out to analyze or understand what they are talking about.

And I come down most heavily upon you because you are students, you have the (blank) to think, which is not afforded many of us, and you (blank) don't take the time out to think about this. Even today you are partying, today you are partying with naturals. (Applause) I guess it is an improvement, I guess, I'm not sure. We build an ideology which must deal with racism and capitalism and capitalism and we build an ideology which talks about all of our people wherever they are found today, all of them.

Now I want to define some terms which I think are being thrown around very loosely by white people

CARMICHAEL:
(Cont.)

because they want to maliciously confuse us and by black people because sometime they don't take time out to listen to themselves, and because they sound good they get carried away. Many black people get up and talk about the black revolution; we are in the black revolution. We are not now nor have we ever been, in this country, in the midst of any revolution. (Applause) We are not now nor have we ever been, in this country, in the midst of any revolution, primarily because people do not know what revolution is. A revolution is the complete destruction of the old system, the implementing of the new system for meeting the needs and the desires of the masses of one's people.

We don't have power. How are we going to talk about revolution? A revolution does not begin until you have seized power. A revolution does not begin until you have seized power, because only after having seized power can you destroy the old system and recreate the new for yourself. We are not in a revolution, we are not in a revolution. (Applause) Must understand that, very, very important.

Let us give you some examples. FIDEL CASTRO, he fought in the Sierra Maestra for several years, he and the Cubans on the mountains. Shooting, killing, fighting BATISTA and the American Lackeys; while they were doing that they were not involved in the Cuban revolution. The Cuban revolution did not begin until FIDEL CASTRO walked into Habana, drove BATISTA and the American Lackeys out, and said this date, today, I claim this island, Cuba, for the masses of Cubans. This (blank) the revolution began because then FIDEL CASTRO had the power to redistribute the land. Before that he did not have the power.

What, then, is the period that precedes a revolution? The period that precedes a revolution must be known as armed struggle because we must understand revolution is violence. The terms are synonymous, or, well, they are not synonymous. You can have violence without revolution; you cannot have revolution without violence. I think Brother MALCOLM X said that. You can have reform without violence, and I think a lot of black people in this country who talk revolution really mean reform. They do not understand because reform means you do not have to change the basic structure of the society in which you live. Revolution means you have to change

CARMICHAEL: the system and black people talk about changing the system and then jump from that to becoming militant without even going to a revolutionary ideology. O.K., the stage that precedes revolution is known as armed struggle. Armed struggle is when the forces who are fighting for the revolution are fighting gun in hand against the oppressor.

Black people in this country have just begun to scratch the surface of armed struggle. Black people in this country have just begun to scratch the surface of armed struggle. Within the last two weeks we had the dynamiting of two police stations on either ends of the country, one in San Francisco and one in Harlem; that is just the beginning. (Applause) That's just the beginning of an armed struggle.

That's just the beginning of an armed struggle. But unless that armed struggle has a correct coercive force, it will just become violence without any direction. Unless that armed struggle has a coercive force which must become our correct perspective, ideology or what will you, that violence will just become violence. We must begin to understand very carefully where we go.

Now I do not think that today in 1968 we need to discuss violence. It just is. And I do not even think that black people ought to even defend or become defensive about it. We say very clearly we are for revolutionary violence. We are for revolutionary violence, that is, violence which we hope will lead to a revolution. There's violence, there's basically two types of violence. There is counterrevolutionary violence and there is revolutionary violence. Counterrevolutionary violence is that violence which is used to keep a people oppressed. Revolutionary violence is that violence which seeks to liberate a people.

Now counterrevolutionary violence may take different forms. Revolutionary violence unfortunately can usually take only one, that of bloodshed, gun battle. Counterrevolutionary violence takes so many forms that sometimes it becomes subtle and the oppressed accepts it as a way of life. It is violence, it is more violent to let a man live until sixty-six and never be able to pick his head up as a man, than to kill him at twenty-six with a gun in his hand.

CARMICHAEL:
(Cont.)

You get confused with violence. It is violence (inaudible)..... one of the richest countries in the world to have one black person go to bed hungry. That is violence, that is violence, that is violence. (Applause) That is even more violent than killing the person physically; that is even more violent than killing the person physically because what happens with that type of violence is that you kill the human being, dehumanize on a level where he serves you without recognizing his humanity. CHARLEY COX (phonetic) taught me that.

And what this country does is that it has completely dehumanized black people. We are on the level where we act like robots, do as we are told and do not even feel, because we have been dehumanized, and it is much better to kill somebody than to dehumanize them. So then revolutionary violence would be that violence which seeks to get rid of all of that. So I don't think anybody needs to get caught up with violence.

In order to be revolutionary, one must pick up the gun; in order to be revolutionary one must pick up the gun and be willing to kill for one's people, but merely picking up the gun does not make one revolutionary. In order to be revolutionary, one must pick up the gun and be willing to kill for one's people. But merely picking up the gun does not make one revolutionary. Lots of black people who have guns, they kill other black people. There's nothing revolutionary about that. It's counter-revolutionary violence, as a matter of fact. That's the group we talked about earlier, you know. They become super militants, bad Afros, dachikis (phonetic) and ten guns. They are ready to kill other niggers. There ain't nothing revolutionary about killing niggers. Niggers been killing niggers; nigger, there ain't nothing revolutionary about that. (Laughter)

So merely by picking up the gun doesn't make one revolutionary. Picking up the gun, willing to fight to create a system which speaks to the masses and desires of the needs of a people, that is when you have revolution, that is when you have revolution. We must understand that, got to understand that, because if we begin to understand that, we will not waste our time with a lot of the nonsenses.

Now, how do you create or move up to revolution, because you just can't have it overnight. You must heighten

CARMICHAEL:
(Cont.)

the contradictions and prepare for the confrontation. In order to have a revolution, one heightens the contradictions and prepares for the confrontation. Unfortunately, many black people who are entertaining today are heightening the confrontation without even preparing and, less, not even recognizing that they should heighten the contradictions. Because when you heighten the contradictions, you politically (inaudible) the masses of our people, therefore (inaudible) the necessity to prepare it for the confrontation. You cannot heighten confrontation without heightening contradictions. You lose, you lose terribly, you get wasted. We must heighten the contradictions while we work for the confrontation.

Must be understood, especially for college students because they like to heighten the confrontation, you know. Let's take the building, man, let's take it. That's the confrontation. They take the building. O.K. What do you want? Huh. (laughter) If they work on heightening the contradictions, when the confrontation comes everybody will know why the building was taken because the act of heightening the contradictions, that is the educational act for our people.

Notice I used the word educational. Heightening the contradictions is the educational act for our people. Very important, very important for college people because if we define heightening the contradictions as education, then we know what education is. That is, if we are preparing for a revolution, if we are preparing for a revolution. Now, unfortunately for black people, we do not have the luxury to decide whether or not we want revolution. It is a necessity for black people, not only in the United States, but all around the world. For black people we do not have the luxury of deciding whether or not we want revolution. For our survival it is a necessity. We're different from white students. They have the luxury of deciding whether or not they want revolution. We do not; for our survival it is a necessity.

Now, since I mentioned white students, I want to go off on a tangent to explain some of the differences between the poor whites in the country and blacks, and even to some degree white students and black students. Because I think the talk of coalition with poor whites and black people fighting for the same thing, and our cause is the same fight, is becoming so misleading that we are going

CARMICHAEL:
(Cont.)

to get carried away. Poor white people and black people are oppressed in this country. Poor white people and black people are oppressed in this country, but the oppression is different, but the oppression is different. Poor white people are exploited, black people are colonized. Poor white people are exploited, black people are colonized.

For an example, a poor white person who is exploited is someone who is oppressed and his labor is being used. They are taking all his money from him. They keep him poor. He got to work in the factories for forty dollars a week. That's where his oppression stops. But for black people not only do they rape us economically, that is, make us work for nothing, they have completely stripped us of our culture, our history, our self dignity, our language, our everything. They have dehumanized us. That is the difference between exploitation and colonization.

For white folks are just fighting for more money; black people, we are fighting for our humanity. There is a big difference, there is a big difference. (Applause) A poor white boy has the same culture, same history, same sense of feeling as do LYNDON BAINE JOHNSON. A black man does not, different culture, different history, different everything. Because we are completely dehumanized, the poor white boy is not. Therefore, it is nonsensical to talk about forming coalitions with these people because they are oppressed or not. We ought to understand the degree of oppression and what the fight is about.

Poor white people will be satisfied once they get more money. Black people will not. That's why you have the little small number of bourgeoisie that we have in this country joining the fight because even though they are to some degree economically secure, they are socially insecure. Because they are dehumanized and money does not buy humanity, liberation does. (Applause) BILL HALL taught me that. BILL HALL taught me that. So we must begin to clearly understand and analyze our situation and we see the difference between our people and poor whites in this country.

Colonization comes into play when the question of race comes into play. Because in race it is one race entirely subrogating the next race. Not only do they subrogate the race, but they force the race to identify with them. The master race forces the oppressed race to

CARMICHAEL:
(Cont.)

identity with the master, feeling he somehow can, in fact, become the master, not only mentally but physically. That's been our mistake, and that's why the straightening of the hair and all of those things we have been doing for so long, because we begin to believe that we are just like the master. Not only that, but the master defines everything for the colonized. And by defining that, he strips the colonized of anything that he has of his own. And that is why the colonized then develops the self hatred that he does, which we talked about earlier, because he is stripped completely of anything that he has produced. The master claims it all. The master claims beauty, he claims everything, everything.

O.K. Now I want to go back, before I move on, and talk about the difference between a black militant and a black revolutionary, and I wanted you to get all of that under your belt. There's a big difference. A black militant is an angry black man, not an angry Negro. An angry black man who is mad at white folks for keeping him out, he wants in, for himself, that's a black militant. A black militant is an angry black man who is angry at white folks because they have kept him out of the system. He wants to become part of the system. A black revolutionary is an angry black man who wants to destroy the system because it oppresses his people. He wants to destroy, burn it down, turn it up, rip it up and don't even think about starting till he's ready -- big difference.

There are a lot of black militants in this country. There are few black revolutionaries, very few. You see black militants all the time. You know they would be on the streets. Yeah, go see the mayor. Mayor, our people in the ghetto, they talk and they talk, get ready, baby. I'm telling you, baby, they might burn it down unless you come across with a poverty program, and they will be out on the streets. Yeah, brother, looks like we're going to have to do it, you know. Bad Afro, bad dachikia (phonetic). The next time you see them, they are on the mayor's committee. Things ain't so bad, brother. The mayor's all right. I have been working with him, you know. (Laughter) You know that. You know that. (Applause) Not too loudly. It's a negative characteristic. Not too loudly. It's a negative characteristic.

A black revolutionary is not satisfied until the entire system is destroyed, and a new system is

CARMICHAEL: replaced, where he can see his people live like human
(Cont.) beings. And that becomes important because most of the
people who are talking today of black militants, they
talk about reform, not revolution, and they seem to tell
us that black people can somehow live within the given
society of America as it now is. That is totally
ridiculous. And I don't even think we need to discuss it.
COURTLAND (phonetic) COX (phonetic) told me to be that
pompous.

We want to go on and talk about the fights
that are occurring around the country against the Police
Department because I think they are going to increase.
And as they increase, they are going to heighten the
contradictions, and we must begin to know how to move.

Or maybe you know, across the country, even
though they don't print it, a lot of policemen are getting
sniped. A lot of them are getting killed. I know they
don't print it, and a lot of places are being dynamited
and a lot of places being burned down. I know they don't
print it, but it's happening. Honest (applause), you, my
people, I wouldn't lie to you.

Just got back from California. Sniping people,
burning down buildings, dynamiting police stations.
Police got on television and asked for protection.
(Laughter and applause) (Next sentence blurred at begin-
ning and ended by saying)..... that's fire protection,
(followed by applause).

New York City, they are getting mad. They don't
know what to do, they getting dynamited in the East Harlem
community. Police are getting afraid to travel. They are
quitting all over the country. They don't know how to
recruit them. They do not want to tell us about this,
because it becomes an educational device for us. Remember
when the first rebellion started in Watts? They put Watts
on TV, and the commentators said, "Look at those savages.
Look at them. Look how terrible they are. Look at how
ungrateful they are after all we've done for them." And
all of us were sitting there saying, "Good, burn, I can't
wait, burn, burn, burn," you know. And they found out they
made a mistake. They not going to do it today.

Another one said, "There's RAP BROWN (next few
words unintelligible).... you don't want to listen to him.

CARMICHAEL: He's an extremist." The niggers were listening to RAP BROWN (laughter and applause), so they ain't going to make that mistake no more. They not going to come on and say they killing policemen, isn't that terrible, cause they know what we going say. (Laughter)

So what the policemen are beginning to do now is that they're moving consciously to pick out from the community and to (sound distorted on about six words)..... revolutionaries, extremists or people who they think are possible of putting up masses of our people. If they are allowed to do that, our struggle will be set back. In order to stop that, we must begin to understand this process of undying love.

I always see people say, "Heh, man, what's RAP BROWN doing? Haven't seen him in a long time. He got scared, didn't he?" Nigger, where were you when RAP BROWN was fighting? Where are you now when RAP BROWN is facing five (5) years in jail? Do you even want to write a letter and send a dollar and say, "Heh, RAP, maybe this can help with the bail money." Where is he? He's so bad. He's serving five (5) years for all of us. Nigger, he getting ready to do it. Don't down the man. Praise him. It might do something for your soul. (Applause)

"Yeah, there CARMICHAEL cat. I hear he got a \$70,000.00 house. Yeah, that's right." You believe him. If I had \$70,000.00, I'd buy me \$70,000.00 worth a guns. Guns. (Applause) I already got that house. DREW PEARSON writes it. White man. And black people say, "We don't believe anything the white man says." But they always want to believe the negative characteristics of their people because (next word blurred)....., because of self hatred.

The white man is saying that RAP BROWN is organizing guerilla activity. You won't believe it, but RAP BROWN is scared, sitting down. That's right, that's right. I know he's scared. We always want to believe the negative characteristics of our people, because of self hatred and (next word blurred)...., your (next few sentences blurred)..... and deny the negative nonsense that is going to stop us from developing a real struggle. That is your primary task. Develop the positive attributes of our people so that he can no longer work on the negative characteristics to keep us separated.

11/13/68

Page 19

CARMICHAEL:
(Cont.)

If RAP BROWN never lifts another finger, he has done an awful lot for all of us. (Applause). And, secondly, you do not fight, because RAP BROWN tell you to fight, you fight, because you are oppressed. I ain't going to fight no more. RAP BROWN, he ain't fightin'.

If RAP BROWN becomes an Uncle TOM tomorrow, I got to fight, because I'm oppressed. When you say that, you look for an excuse not to fight which you have always been looking for. We must understand that we have to move, to raise and talk about the positive characteristics of our people so that they will not be able to play on the negative characteristics.

(Softly, CARMICHAEL asks how much time have I got? Some response softly from audience and CARMICHAEL says) No, no. FIDEL talks for five (5) hours. He's got something to say. After hours, man, I around for twenty-five (25) hours if I still around.

We want to move now and talk a little more specifically of the Police Department and the tactics. And I want to use an example which all of us were involved in. You know when a HARRY EDWARDS began the Olympic boycotts, now I'll be true, I was a nigger about it. I would be true. They ain't going to do it. Niggers ain't going to do it, I'll be honest about it. I was a nigger about it, but you know they ain't going to do it. You know they ain't going to do it. And Brother TOMMY SMITH and Brother JOHN CARLOS did what they did. I really flipped, because I recognized what a nigger I was, because I didn't have that much amount of faith in my brothers.

Cause all of us have that self hatred. All of us, you know, we just gotta constantly work at it, cause getting an undying love for one's people is a twenty-eight (28) hour a day job. It really is. It's like being black. To be really black in this country is a twenty-eight (28) hour fight. If you're not careful, you find yourself TOMMING without even knowing it. Yes we do.

Now, they did it, TOMMY and JOHN CARLOS. White man moved to (word blurred) kick them off the team. Have some more entertainment. (Laughter) Moved to kick them off the team, isolate them, make them think they were crazy niggers, extremists. If we didn't move to support them, they would today be isolated, so that we must move to support the people he tries to isolate.

Consciously, we don't have to wait for TOMMY

CARMICHAEL: and JOHN say, "Hey, look, man, I'm in a jam." They did something for us; we doing something for them. It's the least we can do. That's undying love. Now he's doing that all around the country, isolating people. HUGHIE NEWTON, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, LEROY JONES, RON KARENGA (phonetic), RAP BROWN. He moves to isolate. To isolate. And we allow the isolation, because we want to emphasize the negative characteristics; we allow for that isolation.

In Washington, D. C., he is going to isolate GASTON NEAL. Tomorrow the brother is going to be in court at 10 o'clock in the morning in General Sessions for some Jive Concealed Weapon charge. He doesn't want GASTON NEAL, cause GASTON NEAL has a concealed weapon. If he did. He really wants GASTON NEAL cause GASTON NEAL started the new School of Afro-American Thought, which has heightened the contradictions inside of Washington, D. C.

The question is, how do we now move? We have to begin to move to stop that isolation. Now we may move rhetorically at first, and then throughout rhetoric develop in our own activity, hm? We can say rhetorically that tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock a lot of us will be down there. Now if you touch GASTON, you know we're going to get you back. You know. We can say it, you know. We may not mean it now, but six (6) months from now something might happen when we'll have to mean it. Talk about something long enough you get to believing it.

So we have to understand how he moves. We cannot allow him to isolate and that could be the job of students, because you have time to write. Write about the people he is trying to isolate, analyze them and pass that material around so that other people might begin to understand what he is really doing. And, then, it will at least stop that process.

We have to understand, then, how the Police Department is moving. And we ought to understand the moves against the Police Department; for example, the sniping of police and that type of activity which is going to increase anyway, and how it will react on students. What will your reaction be to it? If, for example, for example, what would happen if a police station dynamited in your own community? What would your reaction be? Would you be willing to condemn your own

CARMICHAEL: people, right off? Or would you be willing to take sides with them? Because that's really what, to really boils down to, in the final analysis. Cause MAO TSE-TUNG says, to condemn one's people is to take the side of the enemy. And if you condemn your people, you are automatically on the side of the enemy.

You see them all the time. You know a rebellion breakout. That's not our people; that's (word unintelligible) hooligans. That's the people, down burning. The majority of our people don't want to burn. They condemning their own people. They no different from the mayor, who says it's those extremists burning. What's the difference? Condemn your people, you take the stand of the enemy. You analyze the mistakes your people make and you try to correct them. You do not condemn them. You do not condemn.

Now to the international scene. (End of Side #1)
(Start Side #2) We certainly don't have the time for it.
(Applause) We don't have time for it. The black people really seek (two sentences unintelligible)..... The Black Student Unions, Black Colleges around this country is too (next word unintelligible) what they want to be white, but only with black people in it, and that is a tragic mistake. It is a tragic mistake, a tragic mistake. We do not even analyze (remainder of sentence unintelligible).

If we analyzed it, we would see they took to technical advancement over human development. They worked technical development more than they worked human development. Are we to (sentence garbled) at the price of human development. That's what you say when you seek to imitate white education. We must reverse it obviously (part of the sentence garbled) for the technical junk. Human development becomes important if we're fighting for humanity. (Applause)

UNID MALE says: Well, the only way we can get the white man is we gotta get the money and the cars he got.

CARMICHAEL: Why not? You can get it. You get it the way he got it. Find somebody to oppress or you can be more concerned with something else.

(Next paragraph very garbled)

CARMICHAEL:
(Cont.)

To talk about really being black and talking about changing that system (part of sentence garbled) methodology and different ideology if we're going to talk about a real Black University. I don't want a Black Howard. Maybe you do. I don't want a Black Howard, don't want it, don't want the structures, don't want the type of methodology, nor the ideology. We need something far more important as black students on this conference; perhaps to start off by saying, we need different ideology and different methodology. Then maybe we can get somewhere. (Following sentence garbled) It tries to structure everybody up. It says you can't be emotional, you must be intellectual, it's right. Before you do something, you got to think it out. I sit down and think for five (5) years and still do the wrong thing.

(Part of next paragraph garbled)..... and they cannot teach us about emotionalism, because that is instinctive, so, therefore, they must deny that, and it is far more important to be intellectual. We do not even seek to analyze (sentence partially garbled), we accept lock, stock and barrel the analysis white society tells us about ourselves. Do you not know that TOMMY SMITH and JOHN CARLOS doing this awoke more black people than all the speeches, television interviews and songs of freedom, and speeches MARTIN LUTHER KING, MALCOLM X, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER and everybody put together gave. If you would begin to understand that, perhaps you would begin to see that we cannot just imitate white society. Just can't talk about giving Swahili classes and, therefore, it's different.

Get a Swahili class. The verb is "Asanti" in the correct position. And when you say "Thank you," you must say "Asanti sona," (laughter in the background). If you teach within the same methodology and the same ideology, you're not creating anything new. You're only imitating the very structures which oppress us. We must seek to find a new type of methodology and a new type of ideology.

I would hope that in the thrust, black students would begin to say to themselves, we need to stress human developments and not be subject to technical developments.

(Paragraph badly garbled)

CARMICHAEL:
(Cont.)

Black Student Unions are trying to catch up with the white boy. They let the white boy set the pace, time, running hard, to catch up with the white boy. He running into hell. You gonna run wid him? Yeah, as soon as he jumps in the fire, you're going to be right behind him and unable to stop. Unable to stop. PHANON (phonetic) says we must bring about all of the things which Europe with all of its universal doctrines have found itself incapable of producing (two words garbled) man. Let us live then and march forth in the company of all men. How many students really analyzed that? They want a Black Swahili course, they want an American-African Course, they want this, they want that, same methodology, same ideology, because we get caught up on working on the specific rather than the general. That's illogical; it is invalid.

First you get the general, then you deduce the specific, then you have a valid conclusion. You do not get the specific, then run to the general and come up with a valid conclusion. Example, all black women who attend Howard University are beautiful. That's the general. MARY is a black woman, she attends Howard University; therefore, she is beautiful.

You had Logic 101, didn't you? You got to take it. Got to take it. Dr. MANNER (phonetic) here? Where is Dr. MANNER (phonetic)? Where is Dr. MANNER (phonetic)? Where is Dr. MANNER? (Laughter and applause)

You all had Logic 101. You can't say that MARY is a beautiful girl who goes to Howard; therefore, all Howard University women are beautiful. But is illogically. Dr. MANNER should tell you so. Should Should And what black students do is they work from this specific and try to deduce the general. Incorrect Incorrect If we get the methodology and the ideology, the specifics will follow. And they must be different. If, indeed, we're talking seriously about the different ideology, different people and revolution. Revolution is not easy. Very, very difficult, very hard to wait. I'm happy because black people have to be revolutionary whether we like it or not. So there we have to fight.

Now, there is a funny thing about fighting. Before you begin you are scared. But once you're in it, you think

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

11/13/68

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CARMICHAEL:
(Cont.)

about winning. You know, you ever see a bully, getting ready to hit you, slap you, and you don't want to hit him back? Your stomach flying, you know, and you're backing up against the man, leave me alone Then he hits you again, you know. And your stomach is still (notchy?) and you think you're going to die. Finally, he hit you the third time and you can't take it no more and you jump in his chest. You forget. You want one thing his blood. You forget about that.

In revolution, says CHE GUEVARA, one wins or one dies. For us, black people, either we win or we die. Our struggle depends very, very largely, and to a great extent, upon the students. Our struggle depends very largely on students. Because they have time to analyze, when many of us do not. We are too busy struggling on the little things that they tie us up with, you know Get this one out of jail, get that one out of jail But you have the time. You must take the time to work for the betterment of your people. You have to. Really have to. You have no choice, actually. You do it now, you will save us a lot of trouble. Thank you very much.
(Applause)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

NOV 2 0 1968

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan ☒ _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-18-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/hls

FBI WASH DC*

FBI CHARLT

6:36 PM URGENT 11-20-68 HLH

TO: DIRECTOR (100-446080), WFO (100-43503) AND
ATLANTA (100-6812)
FROM: CHARLOTTE (100-10358)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; RM DASH BP.

INFORMATION RECEIVED TODAY THAT SUBJECT HAS ACCEPTED
INVITATION TO SPEAK AT UNIVERSITY OF N. C., CHARLOTTE, N. C., FROM
ELEVEN THIRTY TO ONE P.M., NOVEMBER TWENTY-TWO NEXT. SUBJECT IS TO
SPEAK ON CAMPUS AND COVERAGE BEING ARRANGED.

LOCAL AUTHORITIES, SECRET SERVICE AND MIG ADVISED. LHM
FOLLOWS.

WFO AND ATLANTA, ADVISE ANY INFORMATION RECEIVED FROM SOURCES
OF SUBJECT'S ITINERARY.
END.

GJM

FBI WASH DC*

REC 45

EX-113

18 NOV 26 1968

TELETYPE TO:

b6
b7C

ROOM 836 9&D

Fe 12/10

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

DATE: 11/26/68

FROM : SAC, BOSTON (157-437)(RUC)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS - BPP

Re Bulet to WFO dated 11/5/68

On 11/19/68, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised
phone number 617-864-6400 is listed for Television and
Radio Station WGBH, 125 Western Avenue, Cambridge, Mass.
WGBH is an Educational Station. CARMICHAEL appeared on
a television program filmed at the above station on
10/17/68.

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b7C
b7D

REC 36

100-446080-2091

EX-103

NOV 27 1968

2 Bureau (RM)
2 WFO (100-43503)(RM)
1 Boston
JMC/kab

cc 806 920

RACIAL MATTERS SECTION



31 DEC 23 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-18-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/SJS

F B I

Date: 11/15/68

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTELAIR MAIL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-721)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS; SEDITION;
RM - BPP

Re San Francisco teletypes to Bureau, dated 11/12
and 11/13/68.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 8 copies of an
LHM, suitable for dissemination, captioned as above. Enclosed
for Washington Field are 3 copies of LHM.

Sources utilized are as follows:

(protect by request).

This LHM is classified ~~confidential~~ inasmuch as it
contains data which could reasonably result in the identification
of confidential sources of continuing value and compromise
their future effectiveness.

Efforts to provide coverage that could record
CARMICHAEL's speech at De Anza College, 11/12/68, were negative.
Checks with the college and Santa Clara County Sheriff's Office

- 3 - Bureau (Enc. 8)(RM)
- 3 - Washington Field (Enc. 3)(RM)
- 4 - San Francisco
(1 - 157-721)

WRS:mb

(10)

Approved: *[Signature]*

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

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b6
b7C
b7Db2
b6
b7C
b7D

REC-65 100-446080-2092

15 NOV 1968

2 Verap copies
106 920

C. C. Bishop

SF 157-721

WRS:mb

have failed to locate a recording or transcript or produce information that a recording of this speech is available through radio, television or news media. Efforts are continuing to obtain a recording and, if obtained, it will be preserved and a transcript provided to the Bureau.

Efforts will also be made, in view of the revolutionary statements by CARMICHAEL, to obtain additional witnesses thereto.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

San Francisco, California

November 15, 1968

DECLASSIFIED BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/b1s
ON 08-18-2006

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Copies of this memorandum are being furnished locally to intelligence agencies of the Army, Navy, Air Force and Secret Service, San Francisco.

On November 13, 1968, [] advised that Stokely Carmichael spoke at De Anza College, Cupertino, California, at 8:00 PM, November 12, 1968. There were approximately 450 persons present. The audience was predominantly white and was attentive. This appearance was sponsored by the Black Student Union (BSU) at De Anza College, a newly formed group. It should be noted, however, that most Negroes present were not students at De Anza College. Representatives of the student body and the school signed a contract with Carmichael, guaranteeing him \$1,000 for his appearance.

b2
b7D

Carmichael spoke for about 25 minutes. During his speech, he stated that the Black Power Movement will continue its policy of harrassment, which would include a program of "sniping" at the nation's police departments. He spoke about political equality and economic equality for the black man.

In connection with the liberal movement, Carmichael said that liberals are seeking to maintain the status quo. They are attempting to avoid confrontations. Carmichael appeared to be "attempting to attract the disenchanted followers of Senator McCarthy who have no way to turn due to the outcome of national elections". Carmichael said that his goal is to destroy the American society as we know it. Carmichael was asked during the question and answer period whether or not he was a United States citizen. He answered, "I am a paper citizen."

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~GROUP 1~~

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downgrading and
declassification~~

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ENCLOSURE

100-446080-2092

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

On November 13, 1968, [] advised that Stokely Carmichael spoke at De Anza College during the evening of November 12, 1968. The predominantly white audience numbered about 400 persons and was receptive. Negro Olympic track stars John Carlos and Tommie Smith were present and were introduced. In his speech Carmichael attacked the white liberals. He said that they were too involved in the system to bring any change in it. The liberals promise that the poor man will become rich and the rich man will be even richer, but the gap is still there. The liberals will not take from the rich and give to the poor. } *Calif.*

b2
b7D

Carmichael stated that he advocates the violent overthrow of the United States Government with guns. He went on to say that everyone else can overthrow the government any way they want to, but that he is going to do it with guns. He said that he is nothing more than a paper citizen, a necessity in order to get a scholarship to go to school in this country. Carmichael also said that peace is an absence of conflict, it does not mean that justice is involved, so he is not for peace.

Carmichael also pointed out that the black man should be freed from prison because they are political prisoners. The United States Government in its entirety should be put in prison because it is made up of criminals. They are killing in Vietnam, they have ravaged and raped the American Indian, and have taken his land and they have used the black man to build the country.

The tickets to this affair cost \$2.00 for non-students and \$1.50 for students.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Francisco, California

November 15, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Title STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Character

Reference San Francisco memorandum,
dated and captioned as above

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

-3-

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

F B I

Date: 11/20/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

RM

(OO:WFO)

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 11
copies of an LHM regarding the above captioned subject.

The source referred to in the LHM is [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] who requested that her name be kept
confidential.The LHM is classified "~~Confidential~~" to protect
the source who is furnishing valuable information about
subject.WFO will continue to follow this matter and
report pertinent information developed.

ENCLOSURE

REC-104

100-446080-2093

③ - Bureau (Enc. 11)

1 - WFO

WWH:pgp
(4)

AGENCY: ACSI, OSI, SEC. SERV.,

ISD, CRD, RAO, Crim, IDU

HOW FORW: R/S

DATE FORW: 11/25/68

BY: P/B/dlt

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

b6
b7C
b7Db6
b7C

54 DEC 4 1968

CCS-06 940



DECLASSIFIED BY 60322/ADU/EAM/CE/BLT
ON 08-18-2006

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Washington, D. C. 20535
November 20, 1968

Mrs STOKELY CARMICHAEL

A confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past advised on October 28, 1968, that Stokely Carmichael currently resides at 5015 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. Source stated he has a lease renting the property with an option to buy, which is due to run until March, 1969.

b6
b7C
b7D

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GROUP 1

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downgrading and
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286 MAR 1 1971

ENCLOSURE

100-446080-2093

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 08-21-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CBA/s

FBI

Date: 11/25/68

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

AIRMAIL

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson _____
 Mr. DeLoach _____
 Mr. Mohr _____
 Mr. Bishop _____
 Mr. Casper _____
 Mr. Callahan _____
 Mr. Conrad _____
 Mr. Felt _____
 Mr. Gale _____
 Mr. Rosen _____
 Mr. Sullivan _____
 Mr. Tavel _____
 Mr. Trotter _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Miss Holmes _____
 Miss Gandy _____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
 FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-721) (P)
 SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
 RM - BPP

Re San Francisco airtel and LHM, dated 11/15/68,
 concerning Subject's speech at De Anza College, Cupertino,
 California, on 11/12/68.

[redacted] Community Relations Department,
 Santa Clara County SO, San Jose, Calif., and [redacted]
 [redacted] De Anza College, Cupertino,
 Calif., both attended and heard Subject's speech at
 De Anza College on 11/12/68. Both have been interviewed and
 advised that they do not recall the Subject having specifi-
 cally stated that he advocates the overthrow of the U.S.
 Government by violence or with guns as [redacted] reported
 and was set out in re LHM. [redacted] advised that he
 could understand how someone could read implications of
 this into some of the Subject's statements and [redacted]
 said that the Subject stated he believes in violence to
 relieve the oppression of the black man and to destroy
 "the system". However, no specific mention was made to
 the violent overthrow of the Government.

[redacted] copy of a tape recording
 prepared by the college radio station of the Subject's
 speech. However, the acoustics in the auditorium are not
 good and during his speech, CARMICHAEL at times wandered
 from the microphone making portions of his remarks inaudible.

Results of above interviews and a transcript of
 the tape will be provided the Bureau by LHM as soon as the
 transcript is completed.

3 - Bureau
 2 - San Francisco
 FL:kra
 (5)

EX-100

REC 45

100-446080-2094

16 NOV 27 1968

E.C. Bishop

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-21-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/bls

FBI

Date: 11/26/68

Transmit the following in PLAIN
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RM.

RE WFO TEL NOVEMBER TWENTYFIVE LAST.

SAS OBSERVED SUBJECT ADMIT MOVERS TO HIS WDC RESIDENCE
APPROXIMATELY TEN TWENTY A.M., NOVEMBER TWENTYSIX INSTANT WHO
BEGAN REMOVING HIS FURNISHINGS PLACING THEM IN A TRUCK. THE
MOVERS REMAINED AT THE RESIDENCE UNTIL ABOUT THREE FORTYFIVE
P.M. HOWEVER, IT DID NOT APPEAR THEY COMPLETED REMOVAL OF
THE FURNISHINGS.

SUBJECT DEPARTED RESIDENCE AT ABOUT THREE FIFTY P.M., AND
WENT TO THE PITTS MOTOR HOTEL, WDC, IN NINETEEN SIXTYSIX
CHEVROLET HARDTOP BEARING TEMPORARY D. C. LICENSE DX THREE

④ - Bureau
1 - WFO

WWH:lt
(5)

REC-15

EX-103

100-446080-2095

16 NOV 27 1968

Approved: *Joseph D. Purvis*

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

53 DEC 9 1968

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via _____

(Priority)

WFO 100-43503

PAGE TWO

SEVEN ONE ONE ZERO. INFORMATION DEVELOPED HE ACQUIRED THIS CAR FROM GULF FINANCE CORPORATION, WDC, OPERATORS OF USED CAR LOT AT FOURTEENTH AND U STREETS NW, WDC, APPARENTLY PURCHASING SAME.

ADMINISTRATIVE

WFO CONTINUING TO FOLLOW SUBJECT'S MOVEMENTS CLOSELY.

P.

cc- ROOM 836 920

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 10-05-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CPB/bls

F B I

Date: 11/20/68

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Transmit the following in CODED
(Type in plaintext or code)Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI AND SACS ATLANTA, CHARLOTTE AND RICHMOND

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; RACIAL MATTER.

REWFOTEL TO CHARLOTTE, NOVEMBER NINETEEN, LAST.

A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE
INFORMATION IN THE PAST ADVISED ON NOVEMBER TWENTY INSTANT
THAT SUBJECT CURRENTLY IN WASHINGTON, D. C. (WDC). HE IS

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

SPECIAL AGENTS OF THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
(FBI) OBSERVED THE ABOVE MENTIONED VEHICLE ON NOVEMBER
NINETEEN LAST AND DETERMINED IT WAS A NINETEEN SIXTY EIGHT
OR SIXTY NINE DARK GREEN STATION WAGON BEARING VIRGINIA
LICENSE EIGHT FIVE DASH THREE FIVE THREE. EX-100

ABOVE SOURCE STATED SUBJECT [REDACTED]

2 - Bureau
3 - Teletype Unit
2 - WFO

REC-15

16 NOV 27 1968

b6
b7C
b7Db6
b7C
b7D

WVH:PSB
Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

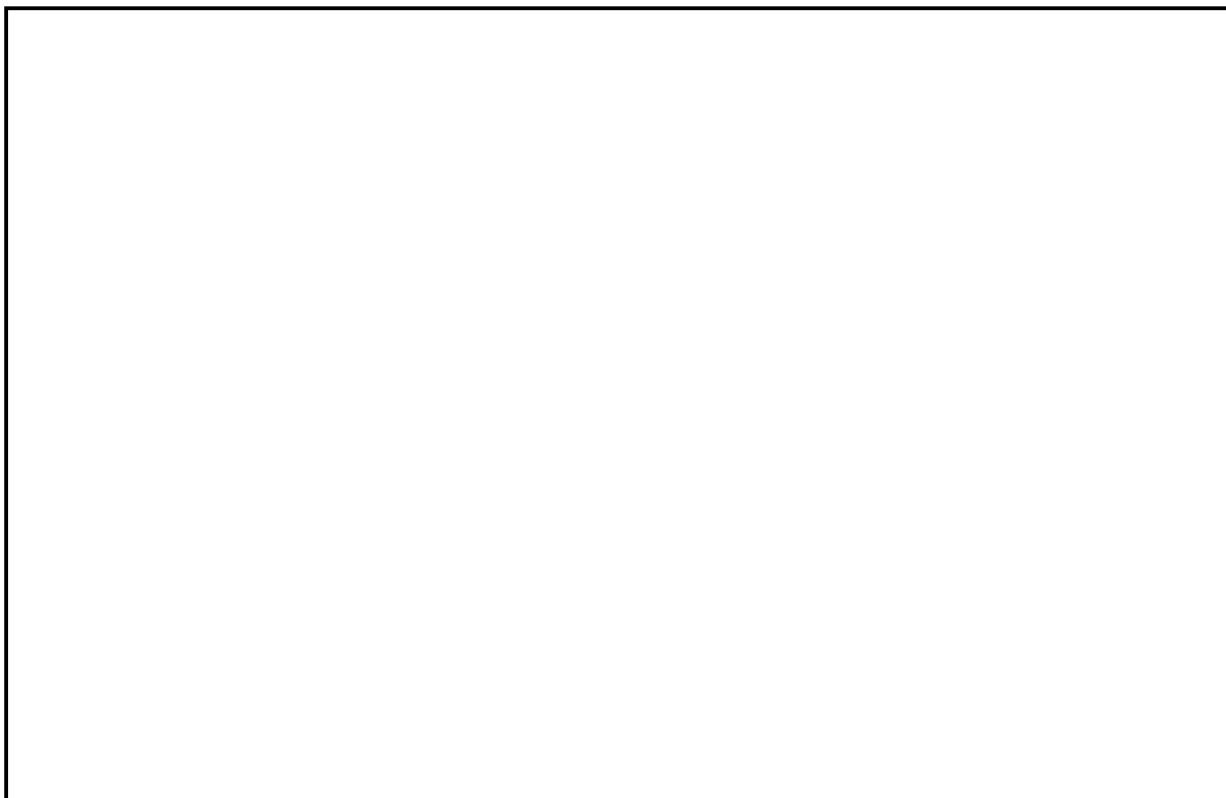
F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

WFO 100-43503

PAGE TWO

SPECIAL AGENTS, FBI PREVIOUSLY DETERMINED LATE MODEL WHITE EIGHTY EIGHT OLDSMOBILE BEARING DISTRICT
OF COLUMBIA LICENSE SIX SEVEN FOUR DASH FIVE FOUR NINE. ALL FURNITURE AND PERSONAL BELONGINGS
OF SUBJECT AND MAKEBA AT WDC RESIDENCE PACKAGED AND CRATEDApproved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Chargeb6
b7C
b7D

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)WFO 100-43503
PAGE THREEAS IF VACATING THE PREMISES PERMANENTLY. DESTINATION
UNDISCLOSED. [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

ADMINISTRATIVE

ABOVE SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

COVER SUBJECT PER BUREAU AIRTEL DECEMBER TWENTY ONE
SIXTY SEVEN WHILE IN YOUR AREA.

FOR INFORMATION CHARLOTTE, ATLANTA ADVISED [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] REPORTED SUBJECT SAID RECENTLY [REDACTED]

HE WOULD COME TO ATLANTA [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] FURNISH ATLANTA ANY INFORMATION

DEVELOPED HE MAY TRAVEL THERE.

RICHMOND FOR INFORMATION. P

[REDACTED]
CC - ROOM 836 94Db2
b6
b7C
b7Db2
b6
b7C
b7DApproved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date: 11/22/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM

Re WFO airtel 11/20/68.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau is the original
tape of a speech of STOKELY CARMICHAEL made at the Black
University Conference (BUC), November 13, 1968, Cramton
Auditorium, Howard University (HU), Washington, D. C. (WDC).

The speech was taped [redacted]
[redacted] as contacted by SA [redacted] A copy
of the above original tape [redacted] made by WFO and returned
to him for use of the audio section [redacted] The above original
need not be returned to him.

A transcription of the above tape was forwarded to
the Bureau by referenced WFO airtel 11/20/68.

③ - Bureau (Enc. 1)

2 - WFO

(1-157-2068) (BLACK UNIVERSITY CONFERENCE)

WWH:jld
(5)

E. C. Bishop

CC 806 947

100-446080
NOV 23 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

SAC, WFO (100-43503)

REC 102

11/29/68

Director, FBI (100-446080) - 2097

1 -
1 -

b6
b7C

**STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY**

ReWFOairtel 11/22/68 with enclosure containing the original tape of a speech by Stokely Carmichael in Washington, D. C., on 11/13/68.

Inasmuch as it is possible the original tape of 11/13/68 speech by Carmichael may be introduced as evidence in prosecutive action which could be brought against Carmichael, the tape is being returned as an enclosure to this letter and should be properly maintained as evidence in your office.

As you have previously been advised, the Bureau is desirous of obtaining tape recordings of all speeches by Carmichael and accordingly, you should submit a copy of this recording to the Bureau.

Enclosure.

PTB:bjb
(5)

NOTE:

Black extremist Stokely Carmichael has been making a series of speeches advocating violence and guerrilla warfare. We are conducting an investigation of him for possible violation of the Sedition and related statutes. To maintain proper handling of evidence, the original tape of a speech made by Carmichael on 11/13/68 is being returned to WFO, the submitting office. WFO previously submitted a verbatim transcript of this speech which has been disseminated to the Department, Secret Service, and interested military agencies.

MAILED 5

NOV 27 1968

COMM-FBI

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

57 DEC 4 1968

TELETYPE UNIT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-21-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/bls

F B I

Date: 11/24/68

Transmit the following in PLAINTEXT
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan SM
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RM

RE WFOTEL ELEVEN TWENTY TWO SIXTY EIGHT.

SUBJECT NOT OBSERVED BY SA'S WDC ELEVEN TWENTYTHREE LAST,
HOWEVER, SOURCE REPORTS SUBJECT IN WDC THAT DATE.

ADMINISTRATIVE:ABOVE SOURCE IS

b2
b6
b7C
b7D

4 - Bureau
1 - WFO

WWH:tkm
(5)

EX-114
REC 36

100-446080-2098

18 NOV 29 1968

b6
b7C

CC ROOM 836 9&D

51 DEC 9 1968

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-21-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/bls

F B I

Date: 11/22/68

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

Transmit the following in PLAIN
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR AND SACS ATLANTA
CHARLOTTE
RICHMOND

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RM.

SUBJECT RETURNED TO WASHINGTON, D. C. THIS DATE.

FOR INFO.

EX-102

REC 36

- ② - Bureau
3 - Teletype Unit
2 - WFO

WWH:lt
(7)

ROOM 836 9810

b6
b7C

18 NOV 29 1968

Approved:

Joseph D. Purois
Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 08-21-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/b1s

Domestic Intelligence Division

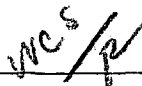
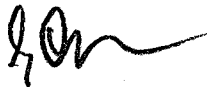
INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 11-22-68

Attached reports speaking engagements of Stokely Carmichael at Raleigh and Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 11-21-68. He drew large audiences and reportedly advocated violent revolution.

Copy of attached sent Inter-Division Information Unit of the Department and Attorney General.

RLR:lrb



FBI WASH DC*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 08-21-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/bls

FBI CHARLT

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

NOV 22 1968

TELETYPE

2:04 AM URGENT 11-22-68 JEC

TO: DIRECTOR (100-446080) AND WFO (100-43503)

FROM CHARLOTTE (100-10358)

Stokely CARMICHAEL, RM - BPP. *Racial Matters - Black Panther Party*

Reference Washington Field Office Teletype, 11-22-68
RE WFO TEL TODAY.

SUBJECT SPOKE ST. AUGUSTINE COLLEGE GYM, RALEIGH, N.C.,
FOUR TWENTY PM TO FIVE FORTY PM TODAY THEN SPOKE CARMICHAEL
UNIVERSITY NORTH CAROLINA (UNC)
HALL, UNC CHAPEL HILL EIGHT FIFTEEN TO EIGHT FIFTY PM, BOTH
APPEARANCES INCLUDED QUESTION AND ANSWER SESSION WITH APPROXI-
MATELY FIFTEEN HUNDRED IN ATTENDANCE RALEIGH, INCLUDING FIFTY
WHITE PERSONS AND SIXTYFIVE HUNDRED PERSONS CHAPEL HILL,
APPROXIMATELY FIVE PER CENT NEGRO. AT CHAPEL HILL SUBJECT
INTRODUCED AS PRIME MINISTER ⁰ F BLACK PANTHER PARTY AND ADVOCATED
VIOLENT REVOLUTION AT BOTH SPEECHES. SUBJECT, AFTER CHAPEL HILL,
N.C. SPEECH, ATTENDED CLOSED MEETING OF BLACK STUDENT MOVEMENT.
Chapel Hill
UNC - CH CAMPUS GROUP. SUBJECT LAST OBSERVED PRECEDING NORTH
ON HIGHWAY I-85 DURHAM, N.C.

SECRET SERVICE AND MILITARY INTELLIGENCE ADVISED.
Letterhead memorandum
LHM FOLLOWS.

END

MXS

ROOM 836 9&D

FBI WASH DC*

TELETYPE TO: *100-446080-2100*
1030 AEROX-MR. ROSEN

Mr. Tolson ☒
Mr. DeLoach ☒
Mr. Mohr ☒
Mr. Bishop ☒
Mr. Casper ☐
Mr. Callahan ☐
Mr. Conrad ☐
Mr. Felt ☐
Mr. Gale ☐
Mr. Rosen ☒
Mr. Sullivan ☒
Mr. Tavel ☐
Mr. Trotter ☐
Tele. Room ☐
Miss Holmes ☐
Miss Gandy ☐

b6
b7C

EX-102
REC-52

14 NOV 29 1968

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 08-21-2005 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/bls

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM : *WMA* SAC, MOBILE (100-1858) (RUC)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL, aka
RM - SNCC - ANTI-RIOT LAWS
(OO: WFO)

DATE: 11/26/68

Just Reference is made to report of SA 9/9/68, Mobile.

b6
b7C

Informants and sources in the Mobile Division have been unable to furnish any additional pertinent information concerning STOKELY CARMICHAEL since his appearance in Mobile during July, 1968. No information has been developed concerning the existence of any tapes of his talks. *ad*

Mobile will remain alert to the receipt of information concerning CARMICHAEL and any pertinent information received will be brought to the attention of the Bureau and office of origin.

② - Bureau (RM)
2 - WFO (RM) (100-43503)
1 - Mobile
JTB:mrc
(5)

REC-41

100-446080-2101

EX-114

12 NOV 29 1968

cc 806 920

RACIAL INT. SECT.

ST



56 DEC 1 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

F B I

Date: 11/26/68

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via _____

AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, BALTIMORE (100-24220)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL, aka
RM - SNCC, BLACK PANTHER PARTY;
SEDITION; ANTIRIOT LAWSRe report of SA [redacted] dated 11/15/68 at
WDC.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 11 copies of
an LHM concerning the captioned subject and two copies of
an FD-376. Two copies of this LHM are being furnished to
WFO which is the office of origin. A copy of this LHM is
being furnished locally to the USA, Baltimore and Secret
Service, Baltimore, Maryland. Copies are not being furnished
to the intelligence agencies inasmuch as the Baltimore PD has
disseminated to both Army and Navy intelligence locally.

AGENCY: ACSI, [redacted], OSI, SEC. SERV., FD-376 # 500

[redacted]: [redacted], CRD, RAO, IDIU, J. Walter [redacted]

FORW: [redacted]

E FORW: [redacted]

12/5/68

PTB/ [redacted]

EX-113

REC-2A

4 NOV 29 1968

C. C. Bishop

100-446080-2101X

RACIAL INT. SECT.

- 3 - Bureau (Enc. 2) (REGISTERED MAIL)
2 - WFO (Enc. 2) (REGISTERED MAIL)
1 - Baltimore

FJW:jtk (6)

JAN 9 1969

Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Director
United States Secret Service
Department of the Treasury
Washington, D. C. 20220

Dear Sir:

The information furnished herewith concerns an individual who is believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning Presidential protection, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

1. ☐ Has attempted or threatened bodily harm to any government official or employee, including foreign government officials residing in or planning an imminent visit to the U. S., because of his official status.
2. ☐ Has attempted or threatened to redress a grievance against any public official by other than legal means.
3. ☐ Because of background is potentially dangerous; or has been identified as member or participant in communist movement; or has been under active investigation as member of other group or organization inimical to U. S.
4. ☐ U. S. citizens or residents who defect from the U. S. to countries in the Soviet or Chinese Communist blocs and return.
5. ☒ Subversives, ultrarightists, racists and fascists who meet one or more of the following criteria:
 - (a) ☐ Evidence of emotional instability (including unstable residence and employment record) or irrational or suicidal behavior;
 - (b) ☐ Expressions of strong or violent anti-U. S. sentiment;
 - (c) ☒ Prior acts (including arrests or convictions) or conduct or statements indicating a propensity for violence and antipathy toward good order and government.
6. ☐ Individuals involved in illegal bombing or illegal bomb-making.

Photograph ☐ has been furnished ☐ enclosed ☐ is not available
☐ may be available through _____

Very truly yours,

J. Edgar Hoover
John Edgar Hoover
Director

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s) 1
U. S. Secret Service, Baltimore (REGISTERED MAIL)

-2-

Enclosure(s)

(Upon removal of classified enclosures, if any, this transmittal form becomes UNCLASSIFIED.)

100-446080-2101X



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Baltimore, Maryland

November 26, 1968

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Under date of November 19, 1968, [redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

[redacted] furnished a
copy of a transcript of a speech given by STOKELY
CARMICHAEL on Thursday evening October 17, 1968 at
the Mt. Zion Methodist Church, Liberty Heights and
Wabash Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland. The report and
transcript of CARMICHAEL's speech follow:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-21-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/bls

This document contains neither
recommendations nor conclusions of
the FBI. It is the property of
the FBI and is loaned to your agency;
it and its contents are not to be
distributed outside your agency.

COPIES DESTROYED

286 MAR 1 1971

100-446080-2101X
~~100-446080-2183~~

ENCLOSURE

Good evening. We would like to speak this evening at length--for at least an hour--that really is a lot of time for a lot of reasons, but I think it's necessary. I think it's necessary for a number of reasons. It's necessary today because the United States Government is purposely and willfully trying to confuse the issue of black power and confuse the minds of our people. And it is necessary, secondly, because there're not going to be too many more public rallies that they're going to allow us to have. Dig it! (Applause) So that with what little time we have now, we must use very seriously. Now, before I begin, I want to explain that I think the black people of America are colonized people, and, as we move toward our liberation, there are two levels on which we move. One is, what I call for lack of a better word, entertainment. The other is education. Now, the entertainment is very necessary. That's the part where we get up and we talk about how mad we are, what we can do, and begin to call the honkie names. It is necessary--to psychologically prepare ourselves. Once having passed that stage, it's time to get to the serious stage, which is the stage of education, where we begin seriously to analyze. Now in the stage of education, it's not happy, so people won't be able to sing and clap, so you lose a lot of people, but we should expect that, because then the education stage gets the people who are serious and dedicated and will carry this struggle through. Now I think in Baltimore, we are on the verge of losing the entertainment field. I'd

2

like to bring help, bring that death about, and begin with the field of education. So that what we'll try to do tonight is to, in essence, split the speech into two parts, the first part as being for the entertainment part, but where we hope we can throw out some good political ideology in concepts of our being, as a people, and how we, as a people, can begin together and effect the part, and try to talk more seriously about what we have to do in this country. Now then, as we begin, we ought to recognize that colonized people hate themselves. They hate themselves. And that the reason we, as a people, are so divided is because we hate ourselves, and we are forced to hate ourselves by our oppressor. Now I don't think there's need for us to spend time going into discussing how we hate ourselves, and I think there's been enough of that sort of propaganda going around today. The need for us to say that, "Black is beautiful," and that "It's so beautiful to be black"--it just shows the fact that prior to this time, we never thought that black was beautiful, and that just shows how much we hated ourselves. And I don't think we need to talk about wigs, hair straightening, and lightening creams. Now, if people are not going to love me, I don't think we should work with them.

(Applause) Now, if it was a fact that we hate ourselves, then that's the day that we begin to stay apart--then we must do the reverse of that. We must begin to see ourselves as positive images. And if we begin to see ourselves as positive images, then we will begin to accept ourselves and to accept each other, because all we are, in essence, is a reflection of each other. When we see another black face and kinky head, we want to kill it because we have been taught to hate black things with kinky heads.

5

(Applause) We have now, to begin to try and reverse that. So there are three concepts that we want to start with tonight. The first is going to try to counteract the concept of hatred that we have for each other. And it's very difficult. It says we must have an undying love for our people. We must have an undying love for our people. And that's very hard for us to understand because we have so much hatred for our people. But if we had an undying love for our people, we would be in the streets rather than in Vietnam fighting for our people. (Applause) If we really had an undying love for our people, we would not be wasting time attacking our people, but rather trying to love and bring our people home. We must have an undying love for our people. (Applause) If we really began to understand the concept of undying love for our people, every time they trust one black man, they would have to trust all black men. (Applause) And now, the concept does not necessarily mean that you're not concerned with people, but if you love yourself as a person, and if you love your people, then you'll love all other people who act like people. (Applause) You shouldn't get caught up with people who say that you love only yourself--you automatically hate everybody else. That's not true. If you have children, you love your children. That does not necessarily mean that because you love your children, you hate other children. But now, if you love your children, you might hate the other children who beat up your children. That concept is not an easy concept to work with and we must strive after it--the concept of organized love, because we do not understand it. Second concept: Every Negro is a potential black man! (Applause) This concept is very, very important, especially for many

Black Nationalists today who are running around the streets alienating our people rather than bringing them home. (Applause) It is also necessary for many of us today who all of a sudden have become black but forgot where we were when Brother Malcolm X was preaching to us.

(Applause) But it is a valuable concept because we must recruit from Negroes. That's right, we're black men--we have to recruit from Negroes. Now, we want to talk about the concept between Negro with a small "n" and black man with a capital "B." (Applause) When we were in Africa--free--we were known as Africans or black men. We were not known as Negroes. When we were brought in chains in slavery inside this country, we became Negroes. What that means is that the concept of Negro and slavery is the same thing, because Negro begins in slavery. (Applause) There were no Negroes in Africa. Now the reason we were called Negroes was, to begin to cut our ties with Africa, not only politically, but culturally and psychologically. Because in Africa, we had warriors, but we had no warriors among Negroes. (Applause) You've got to understand that concept very clearly. I'm going to work with it some more because people get hung up in it. A Negro is a product of America. A black man is fighting against America. (Applause) Let me show you how it works. Now you take Negro history. They "do" us! You know, they're trying so hard to corrupt and brainwash and do everything. Well, lately, they have a thing--spot announcements on Negro history. Every five minutes, they tell you about Negro history. You know, they have these five minute spots with local soul stations. Well, if you listen very closely to Negro history, they say, "Mr. so-and-so, who, even though he was a slave, fought hard and

helped his country, blah, blah, blah!" If you're a slave, how're you going to help fight for your country?!" (Applause) It seems to me that if you are a slave, you're fighting to get out of the country that has made you a slave, and free your brother! (Applause) So, any time they start with this junk about Negro history--"So-and-so was a slave, but even though he was a slave, he helped the country," they're saying the same thing to you, "You're a slave, but don't worry about it, you helped your brother--dumb nigger!" (Applause) So we must begin to understand the concept of Negro, and the concept of African or black man. Must understand it! Because in Africa we had warriors--Zulus, (several unintelligible tribe names) (Applause) We had warriors. We didn't have none--all we had was slavery! But let us understand the most important concept. If you say you're a Negro, you begin in slavery, is that correct? (cries of "right, right," from audience) Therefore, if you trace your ancestors back, you go back to being a slave. And if you came out as a slave, the best you can hope to be is a good slave. (Applause) And if I began my great, great, great beginning as a slave, well then, I was born to be a slave. But if you say you're an African, you can aspire to be more than a slave--you can aspire to be a warrior, an (unintelligible word) or whatever the Africans were before they were conquered. But the concept of every Negro as being a potential black man is important for us as a people if we're seriously talking about unity. It is important because I am tired of seeing young black chicks, who, two weeks ago, had their hair straightened, and you see them two weeks later with an Afro, and when another sister comes in who has her hair straightened, she says,

"I don't want to have nothing to do with you, you're a Negro." (Applause)

No! More than take time out to help that sister get her hair together, she must take time out to help other sisters get themselves together.

(Applause) And if she has undying love for her people, then she will take the abuses that her sister hands her once she tries to straighten her up, because she will remember the very abuses she gave to somebody else who was trying to straighten her up. Every Negro is a potential black man!

(Applause) Now then, the third concept, which is very difficult, but which we must begin to understand if we are going to be successful--concept number three. For us, black people, the question of community is not just simply a question of land, but also a question of color. For black people, us, we,--the Indian--, the question of community is not just simply a question of land, but the question of our people and where they are. For example, if we went to New York, we would not be home or in our community until we were in Harlem. If we went to Los Angeles, Watts, if we went to Chicago, the West Side, if you go to Philadelphia, South, if you go to Washington, D. C., all over! (General uproar from audience) What about Baltimore?! (General uproar--people indicating "the whole city!") So the concept is important just not for Baltimore, but it is important for the world, which must begin to become our prospectus. We cannot allow the white man to confine us. For example, when he stole us from Africa--and he did steal us--(Slight laughter from audience) --you tell me about Negroes steal! (Laughter) Negroes steal--black man liberates! (Applause) Negroes steal from Negroes (laughter)--but the black man liberates from the oppressor. "He" scattered us all over the Western Hemisphere. "He"

dropped us in the West Indies. "He" dropped us in Brazil, Panama, Guatemala, Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic--even in Nova Scotia, Canada--and none of us had anything to say about it! After having dropped us in each of these areas, "he" said, "Now you are the Negro American. You are a Negro in Brazil. You on the Continent, you're still an African. You in the West Indies, you are a West India"--notice I said "India"--today, West "Indian." (Laughter)"and you in Nova Scotia, you are Canadian. You in Santo Domingo, you are a Santo Domingan. You in the Dominican Republic, you're a Dominican Republican." So that because I begin to believe that I am a Negro American, it is okay if America is at war for me to fight in Santo Domingo, because I'm not fighting Africans, I'm fighting a Santo Domingan, and I'm not an African--I'm a Negro! It is very important because it is that concept that allows the "man" to send black troops all over South America where our people are fighting for their liberation and others fight against them. If we were to understand that wherever our people are, they're part of our community, then we would not be fighting. But we do not understand. We are Africans, born bred, everything else, in Africa--whether you like it or not--you're African! (Applause) You just happen to be living in America (Laughter) You just happen to be existing in America. Africans. So we must begin to understand that concept, because then we will begin to say, "If I am in Brazil, fifty percent of Brazil is African, I am with my people, I am home. If I am in Cuba, sixty-five percent of Cuba is African, I am African, I am home. If I am in the West Indies, all of it is African, I am at home." And when you hit the Motherland, you know you're at home! (Applause) And why else that concept

is important, it is important so that "he" cannot break us down, but not only that, that we can see our real selves. Because "he" keeps talking about ten percent. Sometimes "he" raises the figure. One time it was twenty-two. Now I think we're thirty-two. (Laughter) But anyway, "he" says we're still a minority and people get scared. But we have to broaden--we're not a minority--we're the most! (Laughter and applause) And we cannot allow the minority thinking to affect our tactical plans. We have to see ourselves as international people. Because we didn't have no choice about where we were born, how we were born, or to whom we were born. We didn't have no choices. So we don't need to let the "man" think that. We must decide the boundaries. Because the colonies are our people and there they are. You have to understand that principle. Now then, we want to move in to talk about education, politics, and poverty programs. (laughter) We've got to talk about them, because the concept is part of the things the "man" is using to break us up. Let me give you an example, because this thing education messes us up too much. Everybody's thinking you can't get nowhere unless you have you some education. That may be true--I think it is true--but it depends upon what you call education. We were taught that Christopher Columbus discovered America in 1492--with his common sense! (Laughter) And when the teacher asks you on an exam, "Who discovered America?" you write down, "Christopher Columbus discovered America in 1492," and the teacher gives you an "A," because you are correct. But we know Columbus didn't discover America--Magellan did. But what you are saying is that nothing happens until the white man comes along. (Applause) We are saying history does not begin until the white man comes

along. Indians weren't living until Columbus discovered them!

(Laughter and applause) (Several unintelligible words spoken in a high tone) (Laughter and applause) So we have to see that education isn't what they've given you. Education is just learning what you have been taught, and the people who do the best are the ones who answer the "master" most correctly! That's all education is! (Applause) If I ask you what makes water, you tell me two parts hydrogen, one part oxygen. You ain't never seen hydrogen, don't know how to spell oxygen, but you know what water is made of! (Applause) That's it--the "man" told you! All education is, is responding to what we have been taught. Thanks a lot for brilliant black men who say that "Education is the re-establishing and reinforcement of values and institutions in a given society." And that's all it is? If you say, "America is racist"--you're going to school in America--you're going to grow up racist. And if you say, "America is anti-black"--you're going to school in America--you're going to be anti-black! Right! That's why we're having so many contradictions in the schools today. If you go to school in America, you come out a capitalist. If you go to school in Russia, you come out a socialist--so-called revisionist! If you go to school in China, you become a Maoist. (Laughter) So that we have to understand what education is, and we have to define it. And we must use education in order for us to survive. In order for us to survive, we need three things: food, shelter, and clothing. Period. We may need other things too--luxurious--but in order to survive, we need food, shelter, and clothing. And we must say that education will

be those things, that body of knowledge that will allow us to provide those things for ourselves. Then we really won't need to waste our time studying about Freud, Shakespeare, blah, blah, blah. We don't have to study those, because the minute you get out of school, you forget it anyway. (Applause) You don't learn anything until you actually get out. We must begin to define education so that it becomes a positive element in our community, because right now, it is a negative element in our community. Let me show you what I mean. An education is supposed to prepare you to live in your given environment or your given community, is that correct? Let us examine the community of any black settlement in this country. You have pimps, hustlers, dope addicts, number men, maids, porters, preachers--some of them never make it! (laughter) --teachers, cab drivers, factory workers, ditch diggers, unemployed. If I go to school in my community, they should teach me how to be a good pimp, hustler, dope addict (laughter and applause)--hustler, preacher, maid, porter, factory worker, ditch digger, unemployed. They must teach me how to fit into my community. If they don't teach me that, they should teach me how to change the community so that I can live like a human being. (Applause) And the education that we send our children to doesn't meet it. Doesn't teach them how to live in the community, or how to change the community. We're just occupying space and being white. That means we must take over complete control of the education systems in our schools. (Applause) And that does not mean merely replacing white teachers with black teachers. We do not want black carbon copies of a white ideology. (Applause) We want an education system that is going to speak to the needs of our community and is going to teach our

children how to walk with their heads up in the air and their hands on the gun. (Applause) Our children are going to get back into (Several words unintelligible due to crowd noise) and you just try holding your hands in your pockets when you have to hold your gun! We must begin to understand that, because what they are doing is giving us too many tricks--these little community controls. And what they do is, they put a black man in the position of a white man and everybody wants to sit back and be happy. We are not talking about reform--we are talking about complete change! Complete change! We're not talking about black people representing white people. To do that is going to hurt us in the long run because along in our cause, we're going to have to fight those same black men. Why do that? Change it one time--you get it over with--don't prolong--(Applause) So we must begin to understand that. Complete control. And complete control means just that! No association with nobody but the people in the community! Period! (Applause) Now the second thing is this thing called politics. I don't think we have to dwell on the point about black people getting into conventional politics representing political or American independence. I don't think we need to talk about it, because it is crystal clear to us today that while neither of the three candidates actively seeks the support of black people, the entire campaign is about black people--how to defeat us! (Applause) And since that is what the campaign is about, we should not be bothered about whether Humphrey may be a little bit better. (Laughter) The campaign issue is not Humphrey, Nixon, or Wallace--the campaign issue is, "What are we going to do with these niggers," and I don't have to answer. You can (unintelligible due to tumultuous applause). Every time I see a black man talk about

Nixon's address, Humphrey's address, --ain't none of them nothing but a bunch of honkies! (Tumultuous applause) (A few phrases are unintelligible due to shouting and applause by the crowd) (Tumultuous applause) Wallace says, "Now let me tell it like it is. If I get in there, the nigger's going to (unintelligible words)" (Laughter and applause) And in the long run, it's Wallace that's going to help get us together because he's going to tighten the constitution, where Nixon and Humphrey is going to work against the constitution to put us to sleep. We've been sleeping too long! (Applause) So the only politics that black people talk about is the politics of survival, because that's what it's all about--are we going to survive in this political history called the United States of America? And you can watch 'em because as Wallace grows, they're coming closer to 'em. A week ago, Humphrey got up there and he talked about looters and shooters. He gave a whole half-an-hour speech and he says, "When I become President, When I become President, I will have a special trained riot squad. I will have the Army, the National Guard, and if you need them, just call on me and I will send them. (Applause) So that any black man running around talking about the Democratic Party or the Republican Party is certainly deceiving himself, and certainly trying to disillusion our people. If you see what they did to white people in Chicago, imagine what they're going to do to us! (Applause) It's the politics of survival. For later! Let them go and run their game! Let Wallace, Humphrey, Nixon,--let them run their game. Because that's all it is. But let us get ourselves together and not get involved in their game, for they don't even give the niggers a chance any more. You ain't seen Humphrey

talking to no black people. In the beginning he used to have pictures with black babies. He's not doing that any more. Nixon ain't never worth hearing! And we know all about Wallace! (Laughter) No more talk about that, but let us talk about the politics of survival. To survive: food, shelter, and clothing--against the natural environment--nature. But if one has another opponent to combat, then one needs something else to protect oneself. For example, if we were just here in this wilderness by ourselves, we would need food, shelter, clothing. We have to fight animals and we try to get food, shelter, and clothing. But since there's something else fighting against us too, aside from the weather, the hawk, and all that, so now we got to proceed to (two unintelligible words) coat, and go out and protect ourselves against the hawk, because the hawk's trying to get us. But now somebody else is trying to get us--we got to have something else to protect ourselves against them. Right! So we need food, shelter, clothing, and guns! (Tumultuous laughter and applause) Now I know everybody's against violence and all that blah, blah, blah, bloom, but let's understand it--I am for equality. If the white man got a gun, I got to get one! (Applause) All over the country white women are getting guns and learning how to shoot. Black women got to get guns and learn how to shoot. (Tumultuous applause) And that's what you call equality. (Laughter) Now if you don't believe that black women should get guns, then you should take the guns away from white women--then we're even--seven. (Applause) And if they have guns and we don't have guns, we're not now, nor never will be thereafter, equal. Never will be! The game works not only on us, but on the international scene. You see all--Russia, France,

England, the United States--they get together and say, "We will stop nuclear tests!" Who are they jassing--themselves? They got the poly bomb, hydrogen bomb! And now here come all these other little black countries-- "Don't you all get none of them bombs, you don't need 'em." (Laughter and applause) If America has an atomic bomb, every country in the world needs an atomic bomb! That's equality! (Applause) And that is the only way to insure justice--not peace! Justice! I don't care about peace--I want justice! (Applause) Because if we have justice, we'll have peace, but you can't have peace without justice. (Applause) Because if America's got the atomic bomb and they want something, like from the poor Vietnamese, the only thing they can do is fight to the death. If America decides to bomb them, they can't do nothing. Nothing! It's like when they dropped one on Hiroshima, they couldn't do nothing but run and hide. If they got one too, they could say, "You drop the bomb--we're coming!" (Applause) And that is, in fact, the only deterrent to nuclear warfare. Not this table-talk nonsense. Everybody gets in nuclear war, and we're ready. You got yours, I got mine! I'm just as crazy as you are! (Laughter and applause) You've got to understand this concept. But I want to deal with the concept of getting guns. Because it is not really the question of violence. It is the question of the black man attacking the white man. There are black men who own guns. They can shoot all the niggers in the world, ain't nothing going to happen to them! Let them shoot at one white man! Hey! (Applause) The question of violence never arises until there is a black-white confrontation. If there's a black-black confrontation, there is no question of violence or nonviolence. It is only when there is a black-white

confrontation that the question of nonviolence comes up, and it's always directed towards the black man. It is a fact. It's a fact. You see people fight all the time with guns, knives, cut each other--don't say no. (Laughter) You have Ben Moore in Chicago. Eastside young simple niggers killing Westside young simple niggers, but one night, let them both get together and decide to kill a few white people and see what happens. "We cannot tolerate this violence." (Tumultuous laughter and applause) It must be crystal-clear in our minds. If you have a gun, it doesn't necessarily mean you're violent, it just means you can protect yourself. And that could mean that you survive. It is not the question of guns. It is the question of the black man protecting himself. Let us take D. C. for example. They have passed what they call a gun law. Because you see, the District is really ninety-eight percent black. They claim it's sixty-three percent, but it's really ninety-eight percent. They say, in essence, Well now, all people living inside the District cannot have guns, and if you have guns, you should register them. But now, all the suburbs is white. (Several unintelligible words) black people. They have not passed a gun law for white folks and they're not going to pass no gun law for no white folks. Because guns should be out of the hands of niggers and to let the white folks have them. And I'm going to tell you, if I die saying it, GET A GUN, GET A GUN, GET A GUN!!! (Tumultuous applause) DON'T JUST LAUGH! GET IT! GET AS MANY AS YOU CAN GET, AS BIG AS YOU CAN GET 'EM. AND THAT WILL AROUSE YOUR BROTHERS AND SISTERS TO GET SOME GUNS! (Applause) Equality should have some guns, and then you can talk about equality. You can't talk it. So you must understand that. And don't be

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afraid--don't even argue with 'em. "Why you need a gun?" "You got one, that's all!" (Laughter) Now as long as I'm talking about honkie goin' to got guns, they've got them all, look at them--there's three ways to get anything: work for it, beg for it, or you STEAL IT! (Applause) You don't steal it, you take it! (Laughter) America didn't steal this country from the red man--it took it! You've got to understand the concept between steal and take. You steal something when you're powerless and you relieve somebody above you. You take it when you've won it, when you strive for it and get it! (Applause) You've got to understand it. We don't have to talk about it. Work. Get you some money. Buy a gun. You can beg somebody for it or you can go take it. If you want it bad enough, you're going to get it. Let me give you an example. I'm a young man. If I were (unintelligible word) together, I might be in Vietnam, right? So honkie tells me either they beat us, or they're going to take us--one or the other. But now if you were in Vietnam, and your white lieutenant came along--cause we ain't going to be a lieutenant--he says, "Listen, gentlemen, we have surveys from headquarters and we understand that fifty yards northwest of here, three inches below blah, blah, blah, the VC has an ammunition plant hidden. We want you to go over and take that--seize that plant and bring back the ammunition." We ain't got no choice. We got to go. If we don't go, we get court-martialed for disobeying orders. You understand. AND YOU KNOW NIGGERS DIE EVERY DAY TO GET GUNS FROM THE VIETNAMESE TO GIVE IT BACK TO RUSSIA! WHAT'S THE DIFFERENCE IF WE'RE IN THE STREET AND SOMEBODY SAYS, "LOOK, BROTHER, THERE'S A POLICE STATION ON THE CORNER. THEY'VE GOT GUNS. OUR PEOPLE NEED 'EM--LET'S GO GET 'EM!"

(Applause) When we have an undying love for our people, we're going to start getting the guns, but until we get that, we're going to be shuffling and jiving. (Three unintelligible words) people who follow you for one of two reasons--either they love you or they fear you. Black people peer down the barrel of the honkie because he fears us. Black people follow us because he loves us. If he wants a gun he can get 'em! Undying love, undying love! (Applause) Now then, we want to talk about poverty programs.

(Laughter) And it is important to talk about it, because it is too confusing. The Poverty Program was never designed, and will never be designed to solve the problems of the black community. Dig it! (Applause) The Poverty Program was designed to dilute and corrupt the liberation struggle that was growing in this country for more than (unintelligible) years.

(Applause) And I know all you poverty workers in here, but it's all right (A few words unintelligible due to laughter). Let me show you how it works. They started off with this grand survey by Monaghan, I think was his name (Several mumbled unintelligible words). And he wrote this program and said, "Well, the real trouble is black families. See, they ain't got no father image. Because they ain't got no father image, they do all the things they do." All right, now, I know that's not true, but if they believed it, the least they could do was say, "Well, we ought to solve their problem." So dig what the Poverty Program does: It perpetuates the problem of emasculating the father image in the black community! Now you dig this. Now say I'm a black man about forty-five or fifty. I've got some young kids about nineteen--twenty. I'm unemployed. I read Monaghan (?) (Sounds like: well maybe your daddy's black. "Come back, little Eva.") Now along comes the Poverty Program. I start putting on my shoes and going

out the door, because I'm going to work. But who do they employ? Not me but my son! And what do they do? They give him more money than they give me because they want to keep him off the streets. They don't give a damn about anybody in the black community. Keep them young niggers off the street because they're getting (Applause drowned out a few words) emasculate the father. How do you feel if you're a father and your nineteen-year-old punk kid is throwing around a hundred and fifty dollars a week and walking out, and you sitting there doing nothing?! It is only for one reason. Keep the young people off the streets because they're getting together and they just might do that! That's all the Poverty Program is about. If we understand that, then explain how do we work, even if we work with the Poverty Program. Now I don't want to hear black people talk about, "But I'm moving---" You're not moving up---don't kid yourself! Stop! Stop and be serious. Is that fact or no? Before there was a Poverty Program, they were on the street hustling, making no money at all. Now if they were hustling and just getting by on the money they had, if they have a twenty-thousand-dollar-a-year job now, then they can give some money back to buy some guns. They could give some money back to support the organizations they used to work with before they went into the position they're in. But they get so caught up in the white man "individual" nonsense, that they become a black man and don't care about their people talking loud, "Black's big, black's bad, black's for stingy whites!" (Applause) So we must understand the concept of the Poverty Program. If we get involved in the Poverty Program, we should get involved in it for one reason: to bring our people together and tighten the competition. If we're not doing that,

we're not just passive, but we're being used against our people.

(Applause) So nobody should say, "I'm in the Poverty Program. I'm not getting dumped, but I'm not doing nothing no more!" Once you get in and it's used against us, you're powerless. So if you got in it, you've got to work against it. For your people! I'm not getting justice. I'm not carpetbagging. I'm against the case for honkie. Once you take the gig, you are consciously being used against your people--therefore, you're part of it. Understand that? Understand that? You must understand that concept in every way. Because the Poverty Program is getting ready to run out, and the nerves of a lot of black people have already run out. And they're doing that on purpose because they know when black people get mad, they're going to start with the Poverty Program rather than the honkie policeman. That's a fact. Because we still kid ourselves, no matter how black we say we are. Now let us talk seriously about what the United States is trying to do to black people and where we are today. In order to do that, we must begin to define some terms. We should define what our fight is, what our goals are, what we want to accomplish. Now today, I'm so tired of seeing black militants on television. It's like going out of town. And I'm just sick of it. Every time I turn on my TV, there's another one. "They--a or we've got the people, and we're going to burn and--" (Several phrases are unintelligible as the crowd laughed while the speaker imitated someone speaking on television) And what they do with the concept is, they dilute it. It seems to me that black people have to fight against two things in this country: racism and capitalism. You have to understand that. You can't fight against racism and not against

capitalism. You've got to fight against both--racism and capitalism. It's impossible for somebody to talk about black power meaning black capitalism. And now we've got to fight against capitalism and imperialism, which is the highest stage of capitalism. And we have to understand this, because too many of our people are fighting against white people just because they're not part of white people, you know. So we have to make some clear definitions. If that's our fight, our goal, then, is a society free of racism and free of capitalism and imperialism. You've got to understand that. Capitalism is an economic system, though we call it the democracy and the free world. (Laughter) I hope we don't have to go through that any more, because the free world is them, not us. Wherever we live, it's still them--wherever they live, they're free. Wherever we live, we aren't free--So the free world is them, and we're the other part of it. Okay. This is West. Because there is not one country in the West that did not come to power without breaking out. Not one. England, France, Belgium, Germany, Portugal, Spain--every country--the Netherlands, every country in Western Europe came to power from breaking out. So we have no respect for what they call the free world. None whatsoever. We don't have to talk about this one. She was so audacious she not only took Africa's resources, she took its human people, dig it? (Applause) We have to understand that. So we have to begin to look toward other economic systems and understand what they are. There's Socialism and Communism. There's Chinese Communism. There's Fidel's Communism. There's a whole lot of 'em. So one of the things that we as a people must begin to do is to begin to try to understand those forms of

economics so we can begin to see how we reorder the structures and begin to fight for them. You just can't fight against racism, and I want to show you why as we go on. I want to define the main differences between revolution, revolutionary warfare, revolutionary violence, black revolutionaries, and black militants. Now let me start off with revolution, because I'm tired of black people saying that we are in a black revolution. We are not in a revolution! Because a revolution does not begin until you have seized power. Once you have seized power, the revolution begins. Let me give you an example. Now I know this is harder, but this is the real grit. The first part is for laughs and everybody cannot tell that, but this is the real part. This defines men from boys--happy people from serious people. When Fidel Castro was fighting in the Sierra mountains in Cuba, he fought for several years---and it was not the Cuban Revolution. The Cuban Revolution did not begin until Fidel Castro walked into Havana, chased Batista and the American lackies out, and said, "This day," with his gun in his hand, Che on his side, he said, "This day, I claim Cuba for the masses of Cuban people." That's when the Cuban Revolution began. Because next, he was able to change everything--tear down, burn down, destroy, root up, and start all over again. That's when the American Revolution really began. Anything prior to that is called reform. Reform is not when you want to tear down, destroy, overturn, disrupt, and start all over again--reform is when you're just studying to be a human. A whole lot of black people are reformers. They are not revolutionaries, because they are afraid of revolution. That is understood and well it should be. But we should understand that nothing but a revolution is going to allow us to

survive in the United States if we're serious. Now then, what happens before the revolution? Before the revolution, you have what is called the armed struggle. That's when the revolutionary forces are fighting against the status quo, with guns, with arms--that's an armed struggle. So, before Fidel took power and started the revolution, the Cubans were involved in armed struggle. In the black communities of this country, we are just getting into the stage of armed struggle--just getting into it; we haven't even begun to scratch the surface. So don't be no dumb nigger talking about the black revolution. It ain't funny, ain't funny. And we need to know why--because there's a difference between a black militant and a black revolutionary. A black militant is an angry black man who's yelling at white folk because he's left out--he wants in. A black revolutionary is a black man who says he wants to tear down, destroy, rip up, and overthrow the country and start over, thinking about meeting the needs of the masses of our people. Dig it! (Applause) You've seen the black militants. You see them every day. They grow a big Afro and they get out on the streets and they talk. "Yes, we'll burn down--" They look a mess! You see them on television. "If you don't do this, Mr. Mayor, I'll tell you (three unintelligible words) in the street! We'll do just like they did in Chicago! We'll do just like they did in-- we'll do just like--" They did! They argued--and running and talking and yelling and screaming! And the "man" gets scared and he calls him in and gives him a twenty-thousand-dollar-a-year job. And as soon as the nigger stamps his feet, Hoover's taking in everything he knows! (Tumultuous applause) "This is a black militant. He is angry because he is not part of the power structure. He is not

concerned about his people. He does not have undying love for his people. He's a nigger who's concerned about himself. (Applause) And he is the worst kind of nigger there is, because not only does he use himself to get where he wants, but he uses his people to get where he wants! (Applause) The black revolutionary won't be nearly so foolish. BURN IT! SHOOT IT! RIP IT OUT! (Unintelligible word) KILL! STEAL! (Unintelligible word) (Tumultuous applause) The black revolutionary won't be telling all that junk. He's taking his time planning, preparing, moving strategically against the "man." He ain't never got no "cool it" looking for no twenty-thousand-dollar-a-year job so he can be telling his people to "cool it" and being a white man's dog. He ain't angry at the white man as soon as he gives him a twenty-thousand-dollar-a-year job until every last one of his people has got a decent job--he is angry! Until every last little black nappy-headed child has got shoes on his feet, he is angry! Until every little black child's stomach falls down because of hunger, he's angry! Yes sir, a black revolutionary has undying love for his people! (Applause) You have got to understand that, because this country is loaded with black militants! They produce us instantly. Instant black militants. But I ain't seeing too many black revolutionaries. I see a whole lot of black militants, yelling and screaming until they get 'em a poverty grant. Yea! You hear 'em on the street now: "Be cooling it 'cause only our people gettin' hurt!" Nigger, were you concerned about your people getting hurt when you were yelling about, "Get out in the street and fight! Shoot to kill!"? Only now, because you've got a twenty-thousand-dollar-a-year job, you're worried about only our people getting hurt. WELL, IF ONLY YOUR PEOPLE ARE GETTING HURT, NIGGER, GET

YOU SOME GUNS AND HELP BEAT UP THE "MAN" SO SOME HONKIE COPS GET HURT!

(Tumultuous cheering and applause) We've got to understand where we're going because the United States wants to lead us that way, and we have to go this way. We've got to go this way! We can't be jiving and chugging and playing anymore, because like Brother Rap Brown says, "We're going to be bugalooing on trains going to concentration camps." (Laughter and applause) We may laugh, but we will be bugalooing on trains going to those concentration camps, and won't wake up until the "man" says "It's all over now," and says, "Nigger, wake up!" That's the only time we'll wake up. Growing an Afro does not necessarily mean that one is ready, true? (Applause) Growing an Afro only shows a stage of development. Sometimes it is just the very, very beginning. It is just a scratching of the surface. Too many people think that growing an Afro is out--scratching the surface, scratching the surface. Once we've done it, then we may be ready to get into the dola (ph.). Because we got a natural, we're back. Just like because we can't assume that just because we got a gun, we're there. Ain't true! Because I see a lot of revolutionary groups across the country. They got guns and they say, "Look, man, we want to talk to you. Man, we got these guns. We're ready to go, man, but honkie wants to protect that nigger across the street because he's his man --I know he's the man, so we got to move on him!" Come on, we got a million honkie cops out here--one nigger's going to hold up your movement? There's nothing revolutionary, THERE'S NOTHING REVOLUTIONARY about niggers killing niggers. Niggers, that's been going on for years. There's nothing revolutionary about that. In order to be a revolutionary, you need a gun!

Right! You've got to have the gun, but it does not make you a revolutionary. To get the gun is necessary, but it is insufficient. You need something else with the gun. You need a clear understanding of what's happening in the country. That means a whole lot of time preparing, reading, discussing, understanding, and constantly moving against the enemy. (Applause) I know that thought scares us, because it scares me, but we have to face reality. That's what's happening. That's what's happening. They're cooling it, but they're getting together and they're going to come get us. You may laugh all you want to, but they have intelligence going on across this country every day. They got cops being shot every day. They got guerrilla activity going on, but they never say a word about it in the press any more! Any more! Annapolis has been slapped with a curfew and they didn't even mention it, hardly! (Applause) In Northeast Washington for three nights this week-- (Applause) They don't hardly mention it in San Francisco--a whole lot of honkie cops are dead! They don't mention it. They don't mention it. Because they want to do it until they have banded us together and then they are going to move. Why then, must we then take the revolutionary role? Because no matter what we do, we are going to be responsible because we are each other's brother whether we recognize it or not. Because if we don't recognize it, "he" recognizes it! (Applause) Every black man in this church tonight has got Rap Brown in him. (Applause) The black man may not recognize it, but the white man does. That's why he don't want Rap Brown talking--because Rap Brown might wake up the other Rap Brown within you. (Applause) You may laugh, but that is precisely true. He knows there's a Rap Brown in you, because he

created Rap Brown. And you are living in the same type of environment that created Rap Brown and you are a potential Rap Brown! (Applause) So he doesn't want that. So he's going to do everything he can do to convince you that Rap Brown is crazy, he's an extremist, he's preaching violence, he's preaching hatred, he's preaching everything so you don't want nothing to do with Rap Brown. But that's what he wants. That's what he wants. If you're going to (unintelligible phrase) 'cause after we leave this church here tonight, if all of us go home and just one nigger goes downtown and starts to break everything up, they'll call out the National Guard for every nigger they see! It don't make a difference if you're a nice nigger, bad nigger, good nigger, sweet nigger--they're not interested--they ain't going to recognize them--(Sounds like "college niggers, Catholic niggers") black niggers, running-in-the-street niggers--man, you're all niggers! (Tumultuous applause) And a lot of people don't have an understanding. They really think that once they get rid of the extremists everything's going to be good for the honkie. Maybe because they get bit by the Rap Browns, Huey Newtons, Eric Stevenses, Carmichael--you name! (Laughter and applause) A whole lot of people think they're smart--"That nigger Carmichael--he's going to get killed!" That's right. I know I'm going to get killed! I know there's a bullet waiting for me! BUT NIGGER, THERE'S A BULLET WAITING FOR YOU, TOO!! (Applause) That doesn't bother us because we all know what the white man's got for us, but we know what he's got for you too, and the only reason we're up here is because we're worried about you. We don't have to be up here! Think! (Applause) The man uses this crutch so much that it hurts! "Come back home. There's

people getting themselves together, and (several unintelligible words are
 (Applause) They say that Baldwin has one of the best of friends for black
 army; Negro, you've got to, got to, got to, got to, got to, got to--
 you think you're fighting just because you're in a tenement fight, you are
 tell you you're oppressed. You are in prison; you are in prison; and it
 for you and your people, not because nobody else tells you to. But I don't
 they got them the houses--"He's a nigger!" You're in this movement
 (Applause) Let me tell you one thing, you hear, I used to be with them and
 (unintelligible phrase due to applause)--I'M STILL GOING TO FIGHT!
 RAP BROWN TOLD ME TO FIGHT! I DID IT BECAUSE I'M BLACK AND I GOT TO FIGHT!
 blame the white man. I blame niggers!! I'M NOT IN THIS MOVEMENT BECAUSE
 is concerned about his people, because then you won't move. But I don't
 to isolate us and to let you think that nothing good is in a black man who
 (Applause) But "he" keeps throwing these things at us because "he" wants
 going to get seventy thousand dollars (unintelligible word drowned out by
 Yeah, I'm working--that's all. I don't own a house, man. There am I
 bition. I'm fired by a seventy-thousand-dollar house way across country;
 too good. Unless you understand, he is going to divide us, fired by em-
 got to assume what the white man wants us to assume, that he ain't doing
 nothing!! Rap Brown is getting it together! Even if he's not, one has
 Bronx to Brooklyn! (Laughter and applause) "Rap Brown ain't doing
 He's the only nigger in the United States who needs a visa to go from the
 You doing? (Applause) He's facing five hard years. He can't move.
 there in jail for taking you up, nigger! What are you doing? What are
 Rap Brown!! "He ain't doing nothing." "Yes he is!" He's planted right

to tumultuous applause) And the reason it is not moving is because of you, you, you! YOU ALLOW, you allow the black bourgeoisie--you allow them to speak for you, to get money off of you, and to do whatever they want to do to you when they want to do it to you, you! And no black man, who's supposed to be representing you up there in (unintelligible phrase due to crowd noise) not supposed to be down here with you. Who do you pay, Agnew? (Several words mumbled in low tone) We'd walk out on Agnew trying to lecture us. They shouldn't have walked out. If they represent the people--the people on the street--that's where they should be. That's where they should be. If they represent the people and the people are on the street, that's where they should be. If they can't be on the streets, RESIGN! (Applause) YOU allow it! There is no unity in Baltimore because you do not care about your people or about unity! Because if you cared about your people and about unity--there would be! You would want it. You would bring it about. There is no united front in Baltimore. That's why Agnew ain't worried about you. He's running all over the country and telling everyone (unintelligible phrase due to applause) I saw him on television when they walked out. Just like that! "Governor Agnew, now that all the Negroes walked out on you, and all their Negro leaders, what you going to do?" "I'd get me some more tomorrow!" (Laughter and applause) HE DOES AND YOU KNOW IT--YOU KNOW IT! He says, "I'll get me some tomorrow," and he went out and got him some tomorrow! While the blood of our people is spilling in the streets, they are sitting up, dining at the table. YOU ARE TO BLAME! You are to blame! It doesn't take much to begin to get groups together. If we're all working for the needs and concerns of our people,

then we should get together. They don't have to belong to the same organization, but they can at least sit down and talk to each other. So that we're not divided. At least look like we're united. Look like we're united. Look, how else can it be? If there's going to be unity in Baltimore, you have got to bring it about. Legislative Negroes with a small "n" are not going to bring it about. Most of the Negro preachers are not going to bring it about. Ain't no Negro going to bring it about, but the black Negro must bring it about! (Applause) And don't sit and say we're waiting for Ray Brown to come, we're waiting for (Sounds like either "Ellis" or "Eldridge") to come, we're waiting for Leroy, we're waiting for Stokely! Nigger, you're waiting on YOURSELF! Ain't nothing you can't do if you want to do it! All you got to do is GET UP AND DO IT!!! GET UP!! (Applause). Now then, I'm going to end. Sorry to have kept you so long, but I just thought it was necessary. I just wanted to say two things. Number one, the Soul School needs money. I'm no preacher. Don't like to beg you to support nothing. It's for you. There'll be some buckets in the back. If you want to put it in, put it in. If you don't, see you later. I don't care. This is our movement. The buckets'll be outside. Secondly, a lot of people, probably a lot of people, think it's tomorrow and they'll probably say, "Yeah, the nigger preached hate." That's right. But I want to explain something to you. We live in a world of a tightrope of ignorance and elasticity called the world of dialectics. Meaning that for every action, there is a reaction. That there are opposites for everything. For hot there is cold. For sadness there is joy. For tears there is laughter. Everything has an opposite. Boy--girl. Everything has an

opposite. The same is true about emotions. For every one emotion, there is another emotion. If you love, you must either know about hate or hatred. You must! You can't just love and not understand hate. You can't do it. You have to know what hate is so you can differentiate between hate and love. And if you have the potential to love, you have the potential to hate. That's a fact. I ain't got nothing to do with that. That's all fact and you know it. And if you have some hate, you come down. You got hate, annoy, obnoxious, he's obnoxious, dislike, don't like too much, don't care for, he's okay, I like him, I dig him, I love him. You have to do that. You have to understand that, because there are different degrees of love. If you loved everybody, you'd marry everybody. But because you can differentiate, you love one person and you marry that person. You make mistakes--(Laughter) Hate is to be loved and we have to understand that. Now, I say, that black people who say they do not hate the things that white people have done to us say that because they do not love black people. (Applause) To give you an example, when Dr. King was (unintelligible word), murder hit the street. I'm not kidding! Serious! I'm not lying, they killed him! Not mine, theirs! Like an old man said, "Brother, where are you going?" I said, "Look here, man, they just killed Dr. King. I HATE 'EM!" "No, no, don't talk about hate!" I said, "I HATE 'EM!!" He said, "No, no, you can't talk about hate!" I said, "I hate 'em 'cause I loved him!" He said, "I don't hate 'em." I said, "Yeah, cause you don't love him!" (Applause) If you love something, you are going to hate that which is trying to destroy that which you love. (Applause) If you love a woman and you say you love that woman, if someone tries to harm that woman, you are going to try and stop that somebody because you love that woman!

(Applause) If you have children and you love your children and somebody tries to attack your children, you're going to kill that person because you love your children. (Applause) If you see your brother knocked down on the street, you fight the person who knocked him down, because you love your brother. If you see another black man knocked down on the street and you walk by, you don't love him. If you see your people mowed down in the street by policemen and you can't even say, "I hate them!" you don't love your people! (Applause) If you loved your people, you would hate that which is trying to destroy your people! But worse than that, you do not even love yourself because you are your enemy! (Applause) We do not preach hate--we preach an undying love for our people because if you love your people, you will hate the enemy! Thank you.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 04-21-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/D

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Date: 11/19/68

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
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Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
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Transmit the following in _____
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TELETYPE

URGENT

Via _____
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI AND SACS BOSTON AND CHARLOTTE

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; RACIAL MATTER.

A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE
INFORMATION IN THE PAST ADVISED NOVEMBER NINETEEN, INSTANT
THAT SUBJECT RETURNED TO WASHINGTON, D. C. (WDC), FROM
RECENT TRIP TO BOSTON. SOURCE ADVISED SUBJECT [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] A SPEECH WHERE A CURRENT
RACIAL PROBLEM IS EXISTING.

SOURCE ADVISED [REDACTED]

- ② - Bureau
3 - Teletype Unit
2 - WFO

WVH:pgp
(7)

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

SUMMIT 11/20/68

REC-48

100-446080-2102

NOV 26 1968

b6
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Date:

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WFO 100-43503
PAGE TWO

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ABOVE SOURCE IS

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[REDACTED]

b2
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CHARLOTTE EXERCISE CARE IN DISSEMINATING INFORMATION
TO PROTECT SOURCE UNLESS PREVIOUS INFORMATION DEVELOPED IN

[REDACTED]

SUBJECT IS DUE TO ARRIVE.

CHARLOTTE COVER SUBJECT PER BUREAU AIRTEL DECEMBER
TWENTY ONE, SIXTY SEVEN, IF TRAVEL ACTUALLY MADE.

WFO WILL FURNISH ANY ADDITIONAL PERTINENT DATA
DEVELOPED.

FOR INFORMATION BOSTON. P

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CC: ROOM 836 S&D

ATTENTION

The following documents appearing in FBI files have been reviewed under the provisions of The Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) (Title 5, United States Code, Section 552); Privacy Act of 1974 (PA) (Title 5, United States Code, Section 552a); and/or Litigation.

☐ FOIA/PA☐ Litigation☐ Executive Order Applied

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Title of Case: _____ Section _____

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THIS FORM IS TO BE MAINTAINED AS THE TOP SERIAL OF THE FILE, BUT NOT SERIALIZED.

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DO NOT REMOVE FROM FILE

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Date: 11/22/68

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b6 b7C

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P) b6 b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 11 copies of an LHM regarding the above-captioned subject. One copy each is being furnished Atlanta, Baltimore, New York, and San Francisco for information.

WFO will continue to follow subject's movements and activities and report pertinent information developed.

It is suggested the Bureau may want to make this information available as a counter-intelligence technique to friendly news media contacts who could be expected to publish the story of _____

b6 b7C

b7D

It is noted regarding the former implication about _____

- EX-100
- 3 - Bureau (Encs. 11)
 - 1 - Atlanta (100-6812) (Encs. 1) (RM)
 - 1 - Baltimore (100-24220) (Encs. 1) (RM)
 - 1 - New York (100-153751) (Encs. 1) (RM)
 - 1 - San Francisco (157-721) (Encs. 1) (RM)
 - 2 - WFO

(1-157-1292) (COINTELPRO, BLACK NATIONAL HATE GROUPS)

WWH:jld/lt C. C. = Bishop
(9)

AGENCY: ROBT

ISD, CRD, RAO, C. C. = Bishop, J. D. F.

HOW FORW: 11/22/68DATE FORW: 11/22/68BY: 1/13/69

25 DEC 2 1968

Approved: 6 DEC 11 1968
Special Agent in Charge

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WFO 100-43503



b7D



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Washington, D. C. 20535
November 22, 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-21-2006 BY 60324/AUC/SAMVCB/DLS

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

On November 21, 1968

advised

N.E., Washington, D. C. (WDC),

b6 b7C

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100-446080-2103
ENCLOSURE

F B I

Date: 11/16/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM: SAC, BOSTON (157-437) (P)
SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM - SNCC; BPP

b6 b7C

b7D

Re WFO telephone call to Boston, 11/15/68, and
WFO teletype to Boston, 11/16/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of an
LHM concerning a talk given by STOKELY CARMICHAEL at
Tufts University, Medford, Mass., on the night of
11/15/68. Copies are being designated for WFO (OO)
and Atlanta (info.). Local dissemination is being
made to NISO, OSI, 108th MI Group, and USA, Boston.

The LHM is classified "Confidential" since
the information it contains furnished by source mentioned,
who has requested his identity be protected, could
reasonably result in his identification and jeopardize
his future activity. The source of the information
contained in the enclosed LHM is [redacted]

[redacted] Tufts University, Medford, Mass.

[redacted] has advised that the University
Public Relations Department was believed to be making
a tape recording of CARMICHAEL's talk, and he stated

ENCLOSURE

- 4-Bureau (Encs. 11) (RM)
2-WFO (100-43503) (Encs. 2) (RM)
1-Atlanta (100-6812) (Enc. 1) (Info.) (RM)
4-Boston (1-100-) (BPP)
(1-100-37622) [redacted]
(1-100-) (SNCC)

b6 b7C

RWK/em
(11)

ISD - Atten.
Crim. Atten.

CAD
RIS

PTB/dab

OSI

NOV 16 1968

b6 b7C

Approved: _____

cc 806-94D

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

54 DEC 11 1968

RACIAL

BS 157-437

he will attempt to obtain a copy of the verbatim remarks of CARMICHAEL and furnish same to the FBI.

Members of the BPP established security measures for Carmichael prior to and during his talk. They asked all white newsmen to leave and prevented the use of portable tape recorders.

If the tape recording of Carmichael's talk is obtained through [redacted] a verbatim transcript will be made and furnished to the Bureau.

b6 b7C

b7D



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Boston, Massachusetts

November 16, 1968

DECLASSIFIED BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/bis
ON 08-21-2006

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

On November 15, 1968, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that Stokely Carmichael appeared as a guest speaker at Tufts University, Medford, Massachusetts on that date. Carmichael represented the Black Panther Party (BPP).

The source advised that Carmichael arrived at the college at 8 p.m. and began to speak shortly thereafter. He was accompanied by [REDACTED]

b6 b7C

An audience of approximately 1,400 students and faculty members from Tufts and surrounding Boston area colleges were present. The source noted that the group in attendance fell considerably short of the 3,000 to 4,000 who were expected for Carmichael's appearance.

Several members of the BPP, whose identity was not known to the source, accompanied Carmichael during the talk and provided security for him.

Carmichael told the audience that he was for revolutionary violence to solve the problems of blacks in the United States. He stated that after his talk he would answer questions but that he would not be dissuaded from his stand concerning revolutionary violence. He told the audience that they and other white people might consider this posture fatalistic or suicidal but that he was committed to it. He

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downgrading and
declassification~~

100-446080-2104
ENCLOSURE

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Stokely Carmichael

indicated that Negroes in the United States were oppressed by violence and that it would take violence to relieve this oppression.

Carmichael scorned the liberals in the United States and Leftists groups. He stated that the liberals were ineffective and that Leftists groups, many of which follow the Moscow line, are often against capitalism but not against racism. He predicted there would be a violent conflict in the United States and that the Negroes should be prepared for it. He noted that the first step for Negro improvement must be the obtaining of a seat of power and he indicated that this might take violence to obtain. Carmichael stated he did not wish to receive assistance from the white "hippy" groups or the white radical groups. He stated that the students who demonstrated in Chicago at the Democratic National Convention in August, 1968, achieved little except to be brutalized by the Chicago Police while the whole world watched. He told the audience that if a "cop" were to try to strike him on the head, he would kill the cop and all the other cops nearby.

Carmichael stated that no serious coalition could exist between Negroes and any white groups with the possible exception of poor whites, but he noted that while they also are oppressed they do not seem to be able to organize. Carmichael stated he would use any form of violence to liberate himself and the black people living in the United States.

A characterization of the BPP is found in the appendix.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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BLACK PANTHER PARTY, aka
Black Panther Party for
Self Defense

A source advised that the Black Panther Party for Self Defense (BPPSD) was formed by HUEY PERCY NEWTON, Minister of Defense, [redacted] in December, 1966, as a militant black nationalist political organization to combat "police brutality," to unite militant black youth, and to determine the destiny of black communities. The political philosophy was taken from writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of Communist China and black militant writers.

b6 b7C

In March, 1968, the name of the organization was changed to Black Panther Party (BPP).

The official BPP publication, "The Black Panther Party - Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates use of guns and guerrilla tactics in their violent revolutionary program to end oppression of black people.

On February 17, 1968, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister of Information, announced merger of the BPP and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) [redacted]

b6 b7C

SNCC is a militant Negro organization which preaches black supremacy.

Headquarters of BPP and Huey P. Newton Defense Fund are located at 4421 Grove Street, Oakland, California.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FBI WASH DC*

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

NOV 20 1968

TELETYPE

FBI CHARLT

1127AM URGENT 11-20-68 DRA

TO: DIRECTOR 100-446080, WFO 100-43503, AND

ATLANTA 100-6812 2P

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-21-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/bis

b6 b7C

STOKLEY CARMICHAEL, RM - BPP.

NOVEMBER SEVENTEEN, SIXTY EIGHT, ISSUE, CHAPEL HILL
WEEKLY, CHAPEL HILL, N. C., CONTAINS ARTICLE INDICATING
SUBJECT DESCRIBED AS PRIME MINISTER, BLACK PANTHER, AND
FORMER CHAIRMAN, STUDENT NON-VIOLATING COORDINATING
COMMITTEE, TO SPEAK AT UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA, CHAPEL
HILL, AT EIGHT P.M., THURSDAY.

THE NOVEMBER TWENTY, SIXTY EIGHT, EDITION OF THE NEWS
AND OBSERVER DAILY, RALEIGH, N. C., NEWSPAPER CONTAINS AN
ARTICLE TO THE EFFECT THAT THE SUBJECT IS TO SPEAK AT SAINT
AUGUSTINE COLLEGE AT FOUR P. M., THURSDAY, NOVEMBER TWENTY-ONE,
SIXTY EIGHT, AND LATER THE SAME DATE AT UNIVERSITY OF NORTH
CAROLINA, CHAPEL HILL.

SECRET SERVICE, MILITARY INTELLIGENCE, AND APPROPRIATE
LOCAL AUTHORITIES ADVISED OF ABOVE SPEECHES AND POSSIBILITY
SUBJECT COULD VISIT SWAN QUARTER

END PAGE ONE

4 DEC 2 1968

b6 b7C

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

TELETYPE
5 30 DEC 1968
WFO

PAGE TWO

APPROPRIATE COVERAGE OF SPEECHES BEING OBTAINED. LHM
FOLLOWS.

FOR BACKGROUND RE SWAN QUARTER, N. C., SITUATION,
BUREAU AND ALL OFFICES REFER TO CASE CAPTIONED DESEGREGATION
OF HYDE COUNTY, N. C., SCHOOLS, PE, CRA, SIXTY FOUR, RM; ARL,
BUFILE ONE SEVEN THREE DASH FIVE EIGHT EIGHT NINE. ATLANTA
FILE ONE SEVEN THREE DASH FIVE FOUR THREE.
END.

CKG

FBI WASH DC*

cc- MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

DATE: 12/2/68

FROM : SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM - SNCC; BPP
SEDITION

Rebulet 9/24/68

Subject vacated the premises he was renting at 5015 16th. Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. on November 30, 1968. In view of this no recommendation is being made to use the facilities at 1508 Gallatin Street, N.W., WDC, further as a confidential lookout, and accordingly it is being closed.

EX-100

REC 23

100-446080-2106

2 - Bureau
2 - WFO
1 - 66-4469)
WWH:typ
(4)

CC 80494D

DEC 3 1968

RACIAL T. SECT.



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-21-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/dls

FBI

Date: 11/20/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (100-10358) (P)
SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM - BPP

Enclosed for Bureau are 8 copies of LHM captioned as above. Copies are being disseminated locally to Military Intelligence and Secret Service.

b6 b7C

SA [] notified CARL JORDAN, Special Agent in Charge, 111th Military Intelligence Group, and Special Agent in Charge JOHN GRIMES, Secret Service, Charlotte.

SA [] notified ARTHUR BEAUMONT, Chief of Security, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C. SA [] notified []
[] Raleigh, N. C., PD.

Arrangements are being made for appropriate coverage of subject's speeches in the event he does appear.

Charlotte is furnishing copies of this airtel and LHM to Atlanta, WFO, and San Francisco due to their interest in subject and the Black Panther Party.

Charlotte will follow and report pertinent developments.

- C. C. - Bishop
- 3 - Bureau (RM) (Encls. 8)
 - 1 - WFO (100-43503) (RM) (Encls. 1)
 - 1 - Atlanta (100-6812) (RM) (Encl. 1)
 - 1 - San Francisco (RM) (Encl. 1)
 - 7 - Charlotte (2 - 100-10358)
 - (1 - 157-6171)
 - (1 - 157-5490)
 - (1 - 100-9885)
 - (1 - 157-5830)
 - (1 - 157-Black Student Movement)

ENCLOSURE

12 NOV 23 1968

b6 b7C

RACIAL INT. SECT.

54 DEC 8 1968

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

AGENCY: ACST, OSI, SEC. SERV.,
ISD, CRD, RAQ/AD, CRM
DATE FORW: 11-2-68
BY: PJB/100
100-8060



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Charlotte, North Carolina
November 20, 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-21-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/dls

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTER - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

The November 17, 1968, issue of the Chapel Hill Weekly, a weekly Chapel Hill, North Carolina, newspaper, carried an article containing information that STOKELY CARMICHAEL, former chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), is scheduled to speak on the university campus this week. PRESTON DOBBINS, leader of the Black Student Movement at the University of North Carolina, furnished information that CARMICHAEL would speak in Carmichael Auditorium at 8:00 P. M., Thursday, and described subject as being the Prime Minister of the Black Panthers. //

The November 20, 1968, issue of "The News and Observer," a daily Raleigh, North Carolina, newspaper, contained an article under the caption "Carmichael Speaks Here Thursday," which states in part that CARMICHAEL is scheduled to speak at Saint Augustine College at 4:00 P. M., Thursday, November 21, 1968, and later the same date at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

Appropriate representatives of Secret Service, Military Intelligence, and local law enforcement agencies have been notified of the above.

Attached as an appendix to this memorandum is a characterization of Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

THIS DOCUMENT CONTAINS NEITHER
RECOMMENDATIONS NOR CONCLUSIONS
OF THE FBI. IT IS THE PROPERTY
OF THE FBI AND IS LOANED TO YOUR
AGENCY; IT AND ITS CONTENTS ARE
NOT TO BE DISTRIBUTED OUTSIDE
YOUR AGENCY.

100-446080-2107
ENCLOSURE

F B I

Date: 11/27/68

PLAIN

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM: SAC, BOSTON (157-437)
SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS

b2 b6

b7C

b7D

On 11/27/68, [redacted] advised that one
[redacted] student at Tufts College, Medford, Mass.

The United Front is an umbrella type organization made up of representatives from various negro civil rights groups in Boston and its formation was originally sponsored by STOKELY CARMICHAEL.

Boston will follow and advise of any developments.

WFO advise if information developed verifying above.

b2 b7D

- ③ - Bureau (100-446080)
2 - WFO (100-43503)
2 - Boston (157-437)
(1 - [redacted])
JFN/mod
(7)

REC 82

100-446080-2108

18 NOV 29 1968

DEC 1 1968

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 11/29/68

We previously received information
that

Attached indicates

Copy of attached has been furnished to the Attorney General and the Inter-Division Information Unit and this information is also being furnished to the Internal Security and Criminal Divisions of the Department.

ABF:sfw

b6 b7C

b7D

F B I

Date: 11/27/68

Transmit the following in **CODED**
(Type in plaintext or code)Via **TELETYPE** **URGENT**
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Bishop	✓
Mr. Casper	✓
Mr. Callahan	✓
Mr. Conrad	✓
Mr. Felt	✓
Mr. Gale	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Miss Holmes	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080) AND SACS BALTIMORE,
LOS ANGELES
NEW YORK
SAN FRANCISCO

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; RACIAL MATTER.

RE LOS ANGELES TELETYPE TO BUREAU NOVEMBER TWENTY,
SIXTY EIGHT ENTITLED: QUOTE BLACK PANTHER PARTY, RM DASH
(BPP) UNQUOTE AND WFO TELETYPE TO BUREAU NOVEMBER TWENTY SIX
LAST.

SPECIAL AGENTS, FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION (FBI)
OBSERVED MOVERS AGAIN AT SUBJECT'S WASHINGTON, D. C. (WDC)
RESIDENCE NOVEMBER TWENTY SEVEN INSTANT WHO CONTINUED
REMOVAL OF FURNISHINGS PLACING THEM INTO A TRUCK.

A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE
INFORMATION IN THE PAST ADVISED NOVEMBER TWENTY SEVEN INSTANT

(2) - Bureau
3 - Teletype Unit
2 - WFO

WWH:pgp

(7)

REC 58

25 DEC 5 1968

b6 b7C

b7D

51 DEC 11 1968

Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date: _____

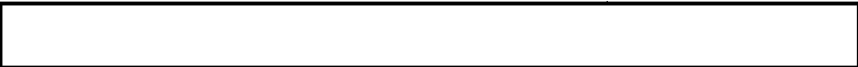
Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

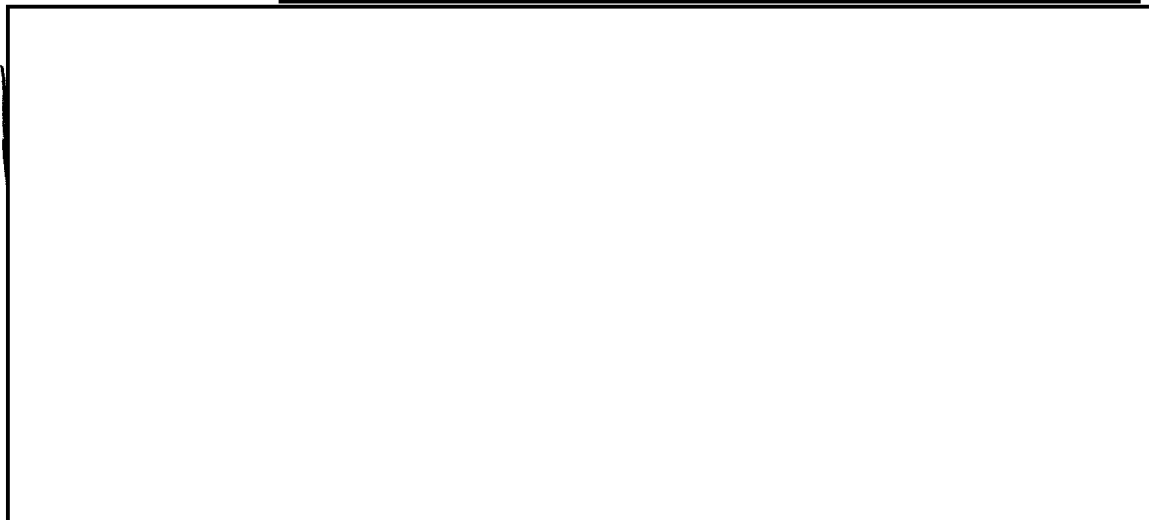
Via _____
(Priority)

WFO 100-43503
PAGE TWO



b6 b7C
b7D

 CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE WHO HAS FURNISHED
RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST ADVISED NOVEMBER TWENTY
SEVEN INSTANT 



Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via _____
(Priority)

WFO 100-43503
PAGE THREE

[Redacted]

ADMINISTRATIVE

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

NEW YORK CONTACT SOURCES VERIFYING

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

BALTIMORE, LOS ANGELES AND SAN FRANCISCO CONTACT
SOURCES FOR ADDITIONAL INFORMATION REGARDING STATEMENT BY

b6 b7C

b7D

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

WFO 100-43503

PAGE FOUR

b2 b6

b7C b7D

[REDACTED] (PROB) NOVEMBER TWENTY LAST

THAT [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]** Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee*

MR. TRAINOR

ROOM 836 9&D

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

DEC 4 1968

TELETYPE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-21-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/b1s

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

FBI WASH DC*

FBI BOSTON

11:30AM URGENT 12-4-68 KMN

TO DIRECTOR, FBI 100-406080 AND WFO 100-43503
FROM SAC, BOSTON 157-437

b6 b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RM.

RE BOSTON AIRTEL TO BUREAU NOVEMBER TWENTYSEVEN LAST.
ON DECEMBER THREE LAST, A RELIABLE SOURCE ADVISED

END FOLLOWS.

END

b7D

BJP

FBI WASH DC*

REC 30 100-446080-2140

25 DEC 5 1968

TELETYPED TO:

MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

VIA TELETYPE
DEC 1 1968
ENCIPHERED

2/7&, /6

---3---

FBI NEW YORK

11 28 AM URGENT 12-1-68 IRR

TO DIRECTOR AND WFO CODED

ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM NEW YORK

IP

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-21-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/dls

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; RACIAL MATTER.

SOURCE OBSERVED SUBJECT

Mr. Tolson_____
Mr. DeLoach_____
Mr. Mohr_____
Mr. Bishop_____
Mr. Casper_____
Mr. Callahan_____
Mr. Conrad_____
Mr. Felt_____
Mr. Gale_____
Mr. Rosen_____
Mr. Sullivan_____
Mr. Tavel_____
Mr. Trotter_____
Tele. Room_____
Miss Holmes_____
Miss Gandy_____

b6 b7C

b7D

ADMINISTRATIVE:

REFERENCE NEW YORK TELEPHONE CALL TO THE BUREAU
AND WFO THIS DATE.

REC 58

SOURCE MENTIONED IN TELETYPE IS

25 DEC 5 1968

NEIGHBORHOOD SOURCE.

SOURCE WILL ADVISE REGARDING SUBJECT'S ACTIVITIES.

END

TWO COPIES WFO

BUREAU ADVISED

FJB

GC Moore advised
12145pm 12/1/68

TRUE COPY

Friday, Nov. 22, 1968

Dear Sir,

It is very difficult to understand why Stokely Carmichael is allowed to go free preaching this sort of thing. North Carolina has tried so hard to help the Negro -- and now this nonsense in our Midst.

It reminds me of what Harry Truman said about Martin Luther King. When asked his opinion he quipped, "He's a troublemaker."

One can only assume that Stokely Carmichael is in the pay of the Communist Government of Russia -- trying to breed disorder & discontent. Why is he allowed to do so?

Yours truly

/s/ (Mrs)

Wife, Mother, American
Citizen with lineage far
into the past--and a love
of country--

b6 b7C

REC 107

100-446080-2112

6 DEC 2 1968

Friday, Nov. 22, 1968

Dear Sir,

It is very difficult to understand why
Stokely Carmichael is allowed to go free
preaching this sort of thing. North Carolina
has tried so hard to help the Negro -
and now this nonsense in our midst.

It reminds me of what Harry Truman
said about Martin Luther King. When
asked his opinion he quipped, "He's a
troublemaker."

ITC
11-26-68
page One can only assume that Stokely
Carmichael is in the pay of the
Communist Government of Russia - trying
to breed disorder & discontent. Why is
he allowed to do so?

yours truly

CORRESPONDENCE

ENCLOSURE

Wife, mother, American
for

Negroes Told To Be Ready, Get Guns Now

RALEIGH (AP) — Black militant Stokely Carmichael, warning that "white America is preparing to commit genocide on black America," told about 1,000 Negro students at St. Augustine College Thursday to "get guns—now."

"I want to make one thing clear," Carmichael told the generally enthusiastic collegiate audience, "I am for violence. It is the only way in which black people can liberate ourselves from our oppressors."

"That is not to say that you should go out and mow white people down," the rangy radical said. "I just saying that, like good boy scouts, we should be prepared."

Carmichael urged Negro Americans to have "undying love for one another and one another alone."

"You see, I don't agree with Dr. Martin Luther King," he said. "If a white man slaps you, don't turn the other cheek; tear his arm off."

"But if a black man slaps you, turn the other cheek," he went on. "Black people are more violent with each other than they are with whites. That's got to stop, because we need each other for the struggle ahead."

Strict security measures were in effect at the auditorium where Carmichael spoke. Reporters and photographers, both white and black, were frisked by a group of red arm band wearing Negro students who said they were St. Augustine students "protecting Stokely."

Carmichael, who was accompanied by his wife, folk singer Miriam Makeba, got a standing ovation as he entered the hall. His address was interrupted several times by applause.

Carmichael said he doesn't care if people accuse him of preaching hatred. "Hate is the opposite of love; you cannot love if you don't hate."

"If you do not hate the white society that killed Dr. King, then you did not love Dr. King," he said.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-21-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/b13

Appeared in Morning paper Nov 22, 1968

100-446080-2112

ENCLOSURE

November 27, 1968

100-446080-2112

b6 b7C

Dear [REDACTED]

I have received your letter of November 22nd, with enclosure, and understand the concern which prompted you to contact me.

Regarding your inquiry concerning Stokely Carmichael, the FBI is strictly an investigative agency of the Federal Government and, as such, does not determine whether prosecutive action will be undertaken in any situation. Such decisions concerning violations of Federal law are within the province of the Attorney General. Voluminous data regarding Carmichael have been furnished to the Attorney General and you may wish to contact him.

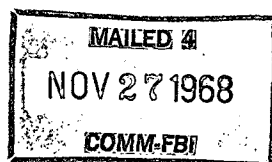
I want to assure you that the FBI is aware of its responsibilities with respect to the internal security of our country. We will continue to make every effort to carry out our duties with the highest degree of thoroughness and dispatch.

Sincerely yours,
J. Edgar Hoover

NOTE: Bufiles contain no record of correspondent.

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

JBT:sgc (3)



MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-21-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/dls

F B I

Date: 11/30/68

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Transmit the following in _____

CODE

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via _____

TELETYPE

URGENT

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI AND SACS BALTIMORE AND NEW YORK

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RM

RE WFO TEL TO BUREAU NOVEMBER TWENTY NINE LAST.

SAS OBSERVED SUBJECT EARLY AM NOVEMBER THIRTY
INSTANT AT RESIDENCE, FIVE ZERO ONE FIVE SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.,
WDC, WITH LATE MODEL DARK BLUE PLYMOUTH FURY BEARING NY LICENSE

[REDACTED] REGISTERED TO [REDACTED]

BRONX, NYC, PARKED NEARBY. SUBJECT SPENT MORNING AND EARLY
AFTERNOON MAKING SHORT TRIPS AND VISITS IN AREA AND CONTINUED
LIGHT PACKING OF ABOVE CAR. [REDACTED]

b6 b7C

[REDACTED] OCCASIONAL VISITORS ARRIVED AT RESIDENCE

AT TWO THIRTY PM SUBJECT, [REDACTED] AND [REDACTED]

SEVERAL OTHER UNIDENTIFIED PERSONS DEPARTED RESIDENCE.

- 2 - Bureau
- 23 - Teletype Unit
- 1 - Los Angeles (info) (RM)
- 1 - San Francisco (info) (RM)
- 2 - WFO

WWH: clr
(9)

EX-103

REC-9

DEC 4 1968

58 DEC 1 1968

Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

WFO 100-43503

PAGE TWO

ADDITIONAL BLANKETS AND PILLOWS PLACED IN CAR. GOODBYES WERE SAID TO THE SEVERAL UNIDENTIFIED PERSONS. AT ABOUT TWO FORTY-FIVE PM SUBJECT, [REDACTED] ENTERED ABOVE CAR AND PROCEEDED TO NORTHEAST WBC IN DIRECTION OF BALTIMORE. THEY WERE FOLLOWED BY [REDACTED] AND POSSIBLY SEVERAL OTHER OCCUPANTS IN LATE MODEL WHITE OLDSMOBILE SEDAN BEARING DC LICENSE [REDACTED]

b6 b7C

b7D

ADMINISTRATIVE

FOR INFO NY, BALTIMORE SUBSEQUENTLY ADVISED BALTIMORE PD REPORTED SUBJECT IN BALTIMORE AND VISITED ALHAMBRA BAR AND RESTAURANT, ONE FIVE TWO ZERO DASH TWO TWO PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, APPARENTLY ENROUTE TO NYC. SUBJECT WAS ALSO REPORTED TO BE

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

WFO 100-43503

PAGE THREE

INTERVIEWED BY REPRESENTATIVE OF BALTIMORE AFRO-AMERICAN
NEWSPAPER.BALTIMORE FURNISH PERTINENT INFO DEVELOPED RE ABOVE.
NY COVER SUBJECT PER BUREAU AIRTEL DECEMBER TWENTY-
ONE LAST SUBMITTING SUMMARY DAILY TELETYPE TO BUREAU.

BA AND NY COGNIZANT.

RECEIVED
DEC 21 196410:10 pm
12-20-64
J. Davis
Agent
S.D.MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&DApproved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

VIA TELETYPE
DEC 3 1968
ENCIPHERED

WA ----19----

FBI NEW YORK

8:10 PM URGENT 12-3-68 AWS

TO DIRECTOR AND WASHINGTON FIELD (CODE)

ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM NEW YORK 100-153751 1P

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RM.

SOURCE OBSERVED SUBJECT

SUBJECT APPEARED AT CITY COLLEGE NEW YORK AT RALLY

SPONSORED BY ONYX SOCIETY, CCNY. SUBJECT ARRIVED LATE AND

SPOKE ON UNITY OF BLACK MAN.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

NEIGHBORHOOD SOURCE.

SECOND SOURCE MENTIONED IS NEW YORK FOUR SEVEN TWO TWO

-R.

LHM TO FOLLOW.

END

WAN

57 DEC 11 1968

FJB

FBI WASH DC

MR. TRAINOR

TWO COPIES WFO

CC: ROOM 836 9&D

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

b6 b7C

b7D

REC-10

100-446080-2114

DEC 5 1968

5-123

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

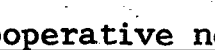
TO : MR. W. C. SULLIVAN *WS*

FROM : MR. G. C. MOORE *gc*

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Bishop
DATE: November 25, 1968

1 - Mr. G. C. Moore

1 - 
1 - 
1 - 
1 - 

Tolson ☒
DeLoach ☒
Mohr ☐
Bishop ☐
Casper ☐
Callahan ☐
Conrad ☐
Felt ☐
Gale ☒
Rosen ☒
Sullivan ☒
Tavel ☐
Trotter ☐
Tele. Room ☐
Holmes ☐
Gandy ☐

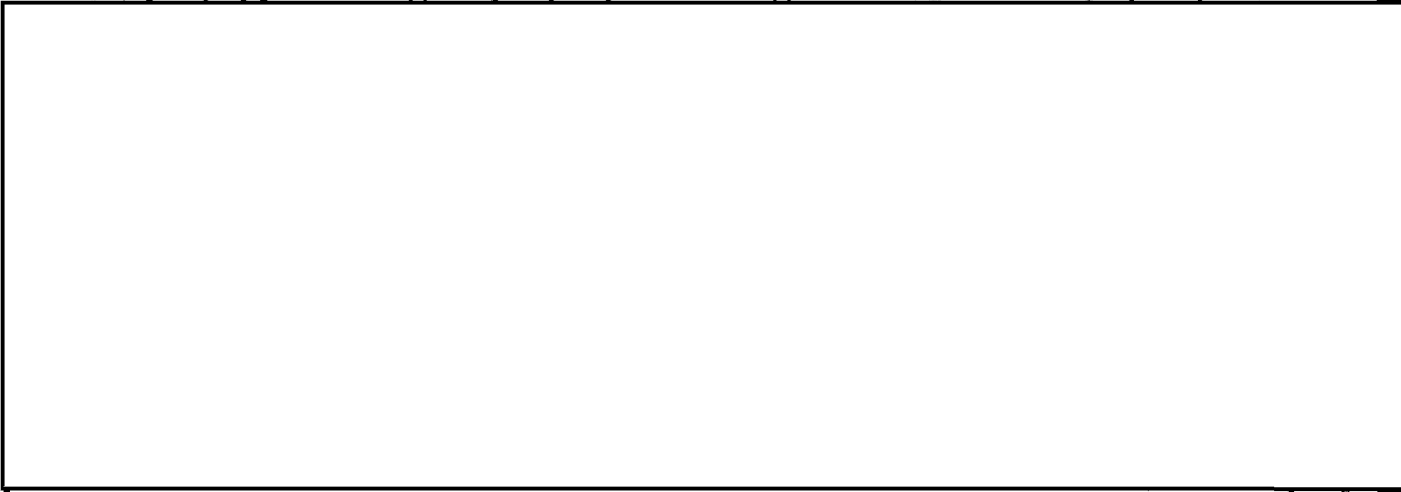
gm It is recommended that a cooperative news media source be *AKO*

 Carmichael, black extremist leader, 

b6 b7C

b7D

 presently renting a house at 5015 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. Washington Field Office (WFO) has



b6 b7C

b7D

RECOMMENDATION:

If you approve, the above-mentioned data will be furnished by the Crime Records Division to a cooperative news media contact in an effort to put further pressure on Carmichael who is the subject of an intensive Bureau investigation.

JJD:ekw (9)
54 DEC 21 1968

Handled 11/26/68

REC-20100-446080-2115
EK-11
DEC 22 1968

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-437462)

DATE: 11/25/68

FROM : SAC, BOSTON (100-36043) (P)

SUBJECT: NEW ENGLAND PARTY OF LABOR
(NEPL)
IS-CH
OO: BOSTON

Re Boston letter to Bureau, 10/7/68 captioned
as above.

By letter postmarked 11/9/68, the enclosed
November, 1968 issue, No. 6 of "Hammer & Steel Newsletter"
was recently received by the Boston Office.

By routing slip, the Central Research Division
has been furnished copies of the above described newsletter
since that unit instructed that each issue of "Hammer & Steel"
be obtained and forwarded for review.

CHASE in this issue disagrees with statements
made by STOKELY CARMICHAEL in a speech at Oakland, Calif.
to the effect that "Communism is not an ideology suited
for Black people." CHASE states, "We disagree with
Mr. CARMICHAEL'S negative attitude toward geography and
Black liberation."

- 2 - Bureau (Enc. 1) (RM)
1 - Chicago (100-41353) (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)
1 - New York (100-154604) (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)
1 - San Francisco (100-23650) (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)
1 - Seattle (100-27569) (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)
3 - Boston
(1 - 100-34623) (HAMMER & STEEL)
(1 - 100-775)

TDM/mo'k
(9)

NOT RECORDED

183 DEC 6 1968

REC-63

14 NOV 27 1968

b6 b7C

BS 100-36043

Hammer & Steel's answer to STOKELY CARMICHAEL CHASE says "Would not include a defense of the temporary leaders of the Marxist movement especially those in state power. They are not Internationalists, not Marxists, in the tradition of LENIN and STALIN. They cannot develop or defend socialism". CHASE points out however that "A new Marxist-Leninist movement will be built which will raise high the standard of liberation for the Afro-American people and all oppressed people. A new Marxist-Leninist movement in both theory and practice will lead the fight towards white and great-power chauvinism among the white workers and the white middle class. Without this struggle, without large numbers of whites backing the right to self-determination for the Black people in the Black Belt, a Socialist revolution in the US is impossible."

On Page 9 of Issue #6, CHASE mentioned the fact that he received an invitation to participate in National Day celebrations 10/1/68 in the People's Republic of China and in "organized conferences of national and world representatives for the purpose of coordinating world-wide struggle." CHASE indicated that he considered the possibility that this invitation was a fraud, however he decided "that our obligations to the Afro-American people, to the revolutionary movement in our country and the world outweighed all other factors."

In view of the above, CHASE indicates in this issue, "We sent one of our members to Hong Kong as requested." CHASE points out that upon arrival the "representative" discovered there was no meeting and that Hammer & Steel was not the only one received by such an invitation.

As a result of this trip CHASE says Hammer & Steel spent a great deal of money and it has left "United States" in bad shape financially. CHASE then requested his readers to send any and all contributions they can to assist the news letter.

BS 100-36043

Boston suspects that [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Other Boston sources and informants who are aware of the activities of [REDACTED] advised that there are no pertinent activities noted with respect to [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Boston will continue to follow the activities of this organization to insure that any action on the part of this group will be promptly brought to the attention of the Bureau.

b6 b7C

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

DEC 6
WCS

AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM

Subject vacated his residence in Washington, D.C. on
11/30/68.

Since leaving Washington, they have been residing in
New York City

- ③ - Bureau
- 1 - Atlanta (RM)
- 1 - Baltimore (RM)
- 1 - Birmingham (RM)
- 1 - Boston (RM)
- 1 - Charlotte (RM)
- 1 - Chicago (RM)
- 1 - Cincinnati (RM)
- 1 - Cleveland (RM)
- 1 - Columbia (RM)
- 1 - Detroit (RM)
- 1 - Indianapolis (RM)
- 1 - Kansas City (RM)
- 1 - Los Angeles (RM)
- 1 - Mobile (RM)
- 1 - Newark (RM)
- 2 - New York (RM)
- 1 - Norfolk (RM)
- 1 - Omaha (RM)
- 1 - Philadelphia (RM)
- 1 - Richmond (RM)
- 1 - Sacramento (RM)
- 1 - Saint Louis (RM)
- 1 - San Diego (RM)
- 1 - San Francisco (RM)
- 1 - Seattle (RM)
- 1 - Tampa (RM)

b6 b7C

b7D

CL 806 980

EX-113

REC- 51

100-446080-2116

12 DEC 10 1968

1

54 DEC 16 1968

C. - Bishop

WFO 100-43503

Information continues to be received about proposed travel and speaking engagements of subject for various areas of the United States.

All offices in seeking information about subject's whereabouts, activities, travel or speaking engagements, direct inquiries to the New York Office in addition to WFO, and where appropriate notify the Bureau for information.

F B I

Date: 12/2/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

b6 b7C

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM: SAC, SAN DIEGO (100-13995) (RUC)
STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Re Bureau airtel 11/14/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are

b2 b6

b7C

b7D

- ③ - Bureau (Enc. 47) (REGISTERED)
2 - Washington Field
2 - San Diego (1 - 157-621) 3
EMP:jks
(7)

6 DEC 3 19

b6 b7C

Approved: 286

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

SD 100-13995

Verbatim transcripts of the STOKELY CARMICHAEL speech at San Diego on 10/26/68 and of the interview of STOKELY CARMICHAEL on 10/26/68 by HAROLD KEEN, KFMB, Channel 8 television, were submitted in a letterhead memorandum dated 11/13/68 and captioned "DEMONSTRATION FOR TIMOTHY D. THOMPSON, OCTOBER 26, 1968, 30TH AND OCEAN VIEW BOULEVARD, SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA," San Diego file 157-621.

F B I

Date: 11/29/68

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
 FROM: SAC, BALTIMORE (100-24220)
 SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
 RM

Re Baltimore airtel to Bureau, 11/21/68.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 11 copies of an LHM captioned and dated as above. Also enclosed for Bureau are two copies of an FD 376. Two copies of LHM for WFO. Copies of this LHM are being furnished to 109th MI GP (4), NISO, OSI, Secret Service and USA, Baltimore.

AGENCY: ACSI, ~~OSI~~, OSI, SEC. SERV., (FD376 #5C)
~~ISD~~: ISD, CRD, RAO, ~~Crim~~, ~~7 DIA~~

HOW FORW: ASDATE FORW: 12/5/68BY: PTB/abt

REC-63

EX-103

NOV 30 1968

- 3 - Bureau (Enc. 13) (REGISTERED MAIL)
 2 - WFO (Enc. 2) (REGISTERED MAIL)
 1 - Baltimore
 FJW:jtk
 (6)

53 DEC 13 1968

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

DEC 29 1966

REC'D DOM INTELL DIV

Nov 30 1 36 PM 1968

Accepted

8.35-

12-11-68.

(R)
 1 - FBIHQ
 2 - WFO (RUC: S) (WFOHQ/STP/STP)
 3 - DTL (RUC: IS) (WFOHQ/STP/STP)

DATE: 10/10/54
TIME: 10:00 AM
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK
TO: SAC, NEW YORK
SUBJECT: [REDACTED]
RE: [REDACTED]

[illegible]

NO DUPLICATIONS BETWEEN DOCUMENTS: 11/10/23

37
SUBJECT: GEORGETOWN COUNCILMAN
FROM: WFO, BIRMINGHAM (100-57830)
TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-57830)

475. 28



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Director
United States Secret Service
Department of the Treasury
Washington, D. C. 20220

Dear Sir:

The information furnished herewith concerns an individual who is believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning Presidential protection, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

1. ☐ Has attempted or threatened bodily harm to any government official or employee, including foreign government officials residing in or planning an imminent visit to the U. S., because of his official status.
2. ☐ Has attempted or threatened to redress a grievance against any public official by other than legal means.
3. ☐ Because of background is potentially dangerous; or has been identified as member or participant in communist movement; or has been under active investigation as member of other group or organization inimical to U. S.
4. ☐ U. S. citizens or residents who defect from the U. S. to countries in the Soviet or Chinese Communist blocs and return.
5. ☒ Subversives, ultrarightists, racists and fascists who meet one or more of the following criteria:
 - (a) ☐ Evidence of emotional instability (including unstable residence and employment record) or irrational or suicidal behavior;
 - (b) ☐ Expressions of strong or violent anti-U. S. sentiment;
 - (c) ☒ Prior acts (including arrests or convictions) or conduct or statements indicating a propensity for violence and antipathy toward good order and government.
6. ☐ Individuals involved in illegal bombing or illegal bomb-making.

Photograph ☐ has been furnished ☐ enclosed ☐ is not available
☐ may be available through _____

Very truly yours,

J. Edgar Hoover
John Edgar Hoover
Director

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s)¹)
U. S. Secret Service, Baltimore (REGISTERED MAIL)

-2-

Enclosure(s)

(Upon removal of classified enclosures, if any, this transmittal form
becomes UNCLASSIFIED.)



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

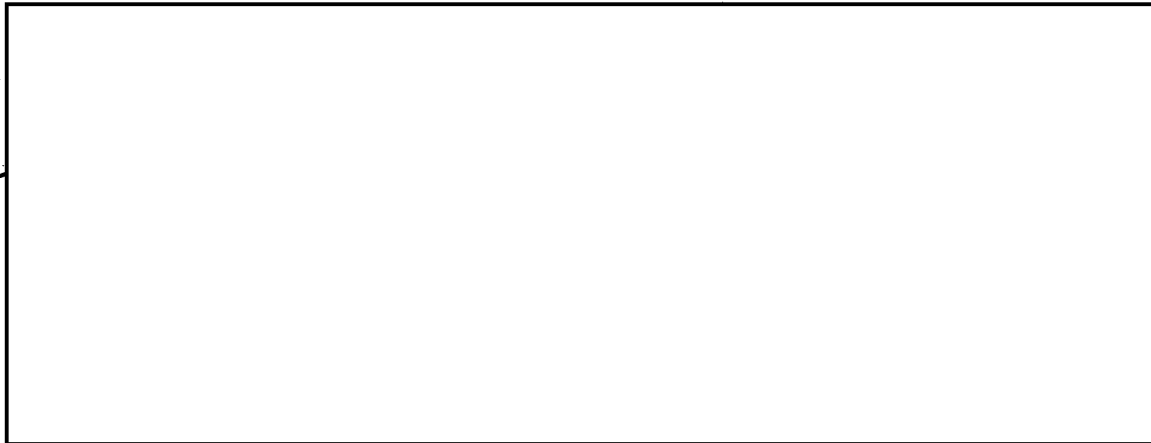
In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Baltimore, Maryland

November 29, 1968

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

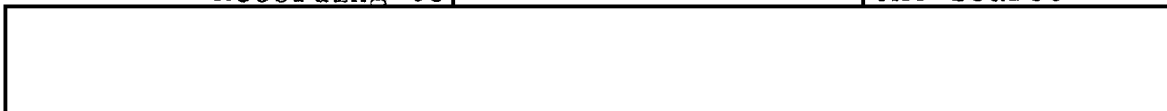
On November 20, 1968, [redacted]
[redacted] Inspectional Services, Baltimore City
Police Department, Baltimore, Maryland, advised that
a source had furnished the following information:



b6
b7C
b7D

A characterization of the Soul School is
appended hereto.

According to [redacted] the source



b6
b7C
b7D

Sources of the Baltimore Office were contacted
but were unable to furnish any information concerning
CARMICHAEL's visit to Baltimore on November 19, 1968.

COPIES DESTROYED
286 MAR 1 1971

ENCLOSURE

100-446080-2118

APPENDIX

SOUL SCHOOL

Also Known As the Society of United
Liberators, Incorporated

On July 19, 1968, a source advised that the Soul School located at 522 North Fremont Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland, is not connected with any other institution in Baltimore City. All Soul School members have Arabic or African names and are forbidden to drink alcoholic beverages, use dope, or eat pork.

The source advised that the aim of the members is to teach the Negro about himself and build a nation for black men in America separate from the white race. Obtaining all land below the 40 degree parallel line of the United States for a black nation is the goal of the members, at any cost. The school is militant and it preaches militancy to black people. The uniting of all black people is the top theme. The members include both sexes, and courses in African culture are a major requirement of the school.

On July 19, 1968, the source furnished a pamphlet called "The Black Liberator," published by the Soul School, Baltimore, Maryland, and dated June 21, 1968. The pamphlet states, "The Soul School is a non-profit educational institution set up by black people. Its purpose is to enlighten black people through education and action. Students are urged to come to the school regularly and participate on any committee or work shop in which they have an interest. The black community both here in Baltimore and in the far-reaching corners of the black world is a thing in which we involve ourselves and study."

On July 10, 1968, [redacted] advised that

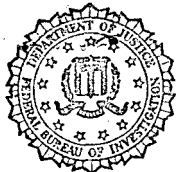


b6

b7C

b7D

On September 12, 1968, [redacted] source advised that the Soul School continues to function at 522 North Fremont Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Baltimore, Maryland

November 29, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Title

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Character

Reference

Memorandum dated and captioned
as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.

VIA TELETYPE

DEC 2 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson_____
Mr. DeLoach_____
Mr. Mohr_____
Mr. Bishop_____
Mr. Casper_____
Mr. Callahan_____
Mr. Conrad_____
Mr. Felt_____
Mr. Gale_____
Mr. Rosen_____
Mr. Sullivan_____
Mr. Tavel_____
Mr. Trotter_____
Tele. Room_____
Miss Holmes_____
Miss Gandy_____

WA...08

FBI NEW YORK

4-55 PM URGENT 12-2-68 WPK

TO DIRECTOR AND WASHINGTON FIELD (CODE)

WASHINGTON FIELD VIA WASHINGTON

ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM NEW YORK 100-153751 1P

STOKELY CARMICHAEL RACIAL MATTERS.

SOURCE OBSERVED SUBJECT AT RESIDENCE EIGHTEEN TEN
AMETHYST STREET, BRONX, NEW YORK, EIGHT THIRTY PM,
TWELVE ONE SIXTY EIGHT. SUBJECT NOT OBSERVED THIS DATE.

ADMINISTRATIVE

RENYTEL TO BUREAU AND WASHINGTON FIELD, TWELVE
ONE SIXTY EIGHT.

SOURCE MENTIONED IN TELETYPE IS

END

WA...R RELAY

JDR R RELAY

FBI WASH DC

TWO COPIES WFO

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-21-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/b1s

WCS

g. C. Moore 2



b6
b7C
b7D

EX-115

REC 4

100-416080

2/19

DEC 5 1968

DEC 5 1968

REC'D DOM INTELL DIA

5-11

cc- MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D
31 DEC 13 1968

F B I

Date: 12/3/68

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Transmit the following in _____

CODED

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via _____

TELETYPE

URGENT

(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI AND SAC, NEW YORK

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; RACIAL MATTER.

REWFOTELETYPE TO BUREAU NOVEMBER THIRTY, LAST.

A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE
INFORMATION IN THE PAST ADVISED ON NOVEMBER TWENTY SEVEN
LAST THAT UNITED FRONT OF BOSTON PLANNING TO HAVE A
SPEAKERS GROUP ON OR ABOUT DECEMBER FOURTEEN, NEXT AND
THAT SUBJECT WILL BE ONE OF THEM.

[REDACTED] CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE WHO HAS FURNISHED
RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST ADVISED ON DECEMBER THREE,
PRESENT THAT SUBJECT [REDACTED] IN MOVING FROM
WASHINGTON, D. C. (WDC), LISTED THEIR CHANGE OF ADDRESS TO
FIVE SEVEN N. FIFTY SIXTH STREET, NEW YORK, CITY.

- 2 - Bureau
3 - Teletype Unit
1 - Boston (AM)
2 - WFO
WWH:p2p
(7)

REC-23

25 DEC 5 1968

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)**WFO 100-43503
PAGE TWO**

**PREVIOUS INVESTIGATION BY SPECIAL AGENTS, FEDERAL
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION (FBI) DISCLOSED ABOVE ADDRESS
LOCATION OF [REDACTED] SCHWAIDE AND LEWIS
AND ASSOCIATES.**

ADMINISTRATIVE

[REDACTED]

**NEW YORK FURNISH ANY INFORMATION DEVELOPED TO BOSTON
THAT SUBJECT MAY VISIT THERE ABOUT DECEMBER FOURTEEN, NEXT.**

**NO INFORMATION DEVELOPED FROM WFO SOURCES ABOUT
SUBJECT'S APPEARANCE IN BOSTON.**

b2 b6

b7C

b7D

**NEW YORK IN COVERING SUBJECT'S ACTIVITIES ESTABLISH
NECESSARY TRAVEL CONTACTS TO ASSURE CONFIRMATION OF ANY
FOREIGN TRAVEL, [REDACTED] BY SUBJECT. FOR
INFORMATION [REDACTED] ADVISED DECEMBER
TWO LAST, THAT [REDACTED]**

[REDACTED]

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

WFO 100-43503

PAGE THREE

[REDACTED] UNITED

STATES POST OFFICE, WDC.

NEW YORK REQUESTED TO RECONTACT [REDACTED]

b6

b7C

b7D

[REDACTED] COPY TO

BOSTON VIA MAIL. P

cc - MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&DApproved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

VIA TELETYPE

DEC 6 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

WA -----9-----

FBI NEW YORK

4:50 PM URGENT 12-6-68 AWS

TO DIRECTOR AND WASHINGTON FIELD (PLAIN)

ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM NEW YORK 100-153751

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-21-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/bls

b6 b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RM.

A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE, WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE
INFORMATION IN THE PAST, ADVISED THIS DATE THAT SUBJECT

WERE AT

RESIDENCE,

NEW

YORK, TWO PM THIS DATE.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

SOURCE MENTIONED IN TELETYPE IS

NEIGHBORHOOD SOURCE.

END

WA...LRC R RELAY

FBI WASH DC

EX-100

REC 4

100-446080-2121

10 DEC 10 1968

TELETYPE TO:

51 DEC 6 1968

MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

DATE: 12/10/68

FROM : SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM - SNCC; BPP;
SEDITION
(OO:WFO)

b6

b7C

Reference LA Memorandum to SAC of SA [redacted]
[redacted] dated 11/5/68 entitled: "BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP),
RACIAL MATTERS".

Above referenced memorandum set forth intelligence report regarding the arrest of [redacted] a student at UCLA, on 9/26/68, by members of the UCLA campus Police. Among the possessions of [redacted] was a tape recorded part speech of STOKELY CARMICHAEL taken from a Craig tape recorder, model number 2106, serial number 623-2487. The statements by CARMICHAEL reportedly were highly militant and quoted as follows: 'We are at war with our leaders. We will kill them by any means necessary. If we cannot cure them (leaders) then we must retaliate. We are going to free our country of imperialism and capitalism until this system is changed. We must continue the struggle. The Police Department is a counter-revolutionary power. A revolutionary is one who is willing to kill to bring about a change for the working people'.

If not already done LA requested to attempt to obtain tape of the above statements of CARMICHAEL for possible future use. Attempt to ascertain when and where the statements were made and the identity of the person preparing the tape.

② - Bureau
2 - Los Angeles (RM) (157-1907)
1 - WFO
WWH:typ
(5)

REC 54

100-446080-2122
25 DEC 11 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.

WFO SEC. 1



53 DEC 27 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

WFO 100-43503

If tape located handle as possible evidence.
In addition, attempt to develop witnesses hearing the
comments who could testify as to their contents.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-21-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/b1s

FBI

Date: 12/9/68

Transmit the following in CODE
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI, AND SACS, ATLANTA
CHARLOTTE
COLUMBIA
NEW YORK

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; RM

A SOURCE WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan ☒ _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

GC. dyle
CP/SS

b6
b7C
b7D

2 - WFO

RNW/mee
(7)

REC 54

100-446080-2123

6 DEC 11 1968

Approved: [Signature]
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

5 DEC 17 1968

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

PAGE TWO
WFO 100-43503

[REDACTED]
SOURCE ADVISED [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] b6
[REDACTED] b7C
[REDACTED] b7D
[REDACTED] ASSOCIATES OF CARMICHAEL
FROM WASHINGTON, D.C., [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

ADMINISTRATIVE

SOURCE IS WF EIGHTEEN SEVENTY-TWO DASH R. SOURCE WILL NOT
ACCOMPANY SUBJECT ON TRIP.

NEW YORK AND CHARLOTTE ADVISED TELEPHONICALLY.

ATLANTA, CHARLOTTE, COLUMBIA AND NEW YORK COVER SUBJECT PER
BUREAU AIRTEL DECEMBER TWENTY-ONE, LAST, [REDACTED] b7D

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via _____
(Priority)

PAGE THREE
WFO 100-43503

**WHERE POSSIBLE AND CORROBORATING VIOLENT COMMENTS BY APPROPRIATE
WITNESSES. P**

cc- MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-21-2008 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/dls

F B I

Date: 12/5/68

Transmit the following in CODE

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPEURGENT

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI AND SACS CHARLOTTE AND NEW YORK

FROM: SAC, WFO

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RM.

A SOURCE, WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE

PAST, ADVISED DECEMBER FOUR, LAST THAT STOKELY CARMICHAEL

ADMINISTRATIVE

SOURCE IS

NEW YORK ADVISED TELEPHONICALLY DECEMBER FIVE, INSTANT.

- ② - Bureau
3 - Teletype Unit
2 - WFO (100-43503)

RNW:tjd
(7)

cc-MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

Approved: _____

Sent _____

M

Per _____

57 DEC 16 1968

Special Agent in Charge

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-21-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/bis

F B I

Date: 11/29/68

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

Transmit the following in PLAINTEXT
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI, SAC, NEW YORK

FM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM

RE WFO TEL ELEVEN TWENTY SEVEN LAST

SAS VERIFIED SUBJ RETURNED TO WDC ELEVEN TWENTY NINE INSTANT IN
LATE MODEL DARK BLUE PLYMOUTH FURY BEARING NY LIC [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] DETERMINED PREVIOUSLY TO BE REGISTERED TO [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] NYC. SUBJ SPENT MOST OF DAY RUNNING ERRANDS,
VISITING CLEANING ESTABLISHMENT AND PACKING ITEMS INTO ABOVE VEHICLE.
HE WAS BEING ASSISTED BY [REDACTED] AND SPENT CONSIDERABLE TIME
AT WDC RESIDENCE WHERE FURNITURE PREVIOUSLY REMOVED.

IN EVENING SUBJ [REDACTED] WENT TO [REDACTED]

WHERE THEY

REMAINED INTO LATE HOURS.

ADMINISTRATIVE

COVERAGE CONTINUING

INFO NY

2-Bureau
3-Teletype
2-WFO
WWH:mmh
(7)

REC 36

TRAINOR

DEC 1 1968
61 DEC 1 1968

Approved: [Signature]
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

DEC 5 1968

b6 b7C

b6 b7C

EX-114

100-446080 2123

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-21-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/DLS

F B I

Date: 12/4/68

Transmit the following in _____

TELE CODED

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE

URGENT

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

TO: DIRECTOR AND SACS CHARLOTTE
NEW YORK

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL RM.

FOR INFO NEW YORK, CHARLOTTE ADVISED

GREENSBORO POLICE DEPARTMENT REPORTED

A AND T STATE UNIVERSITY, GREENSBORO, NORTH

CAROLINA INFORMED HIM SUBJECT INVITED TO SPEAK AT A AND T.

GYMNASIUM AT EIGHT PM ON DECEMBER NINE NEXT. SUBJECT REPORTED

TO ARRIVE AT AIRPORT SHORTLY BEFORE SPEECH AND TO LEAVE BY

PLANE PROMPTLY AFTER SPEECH.

NEW YORK FURNISH CHARLOTTE ANY INFORMATION DEVELOPED REGARD-
ING TRAVEL OF SUBJECT TO NORTH CAROLINA FOR ABOVE SPEECH.

WFO SOURCES HAVE REPORTED NO INFORMATION REGARDING ANY
FUTURE APPEARANCES IN NORTH CAROLINA OF SUBJECT.

CHARLOTTE COVER SUBJECT PER BUAIRTEL DECEMBER TWENTY ONE
NINETEEN SIXTY SEVEN AND SUTEL PLANS BEING MADE TO TAPE SPEECH
IF MADE."

(2) - Bureau
3 - Teletype Unit
2 - WFO
cc MR. TRAINOR

REC-8

EX-100

WJH:bah

ROOM 836 9&D

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

54

DEC 6 1968

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

DEC 4 1968

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

FBI WASH DC*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-21-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CB/dls

FBI CHARLT

1239PM URGENT 12-4-68 DRA

TO: DIRECTOR AND WFO

FROM: CHARLOTTE 100-10358

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

[REDACTED] GREENSBORO, N. C., PD, INTELLIGENCE

UNIT, ADVISED [REDACTED]

A AND

T STATE UNIVERSITY, GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA, ADVISED
HIM CARMICHAEL INVITED TO SPEAK AT A AND T STATE UNIVERSITY
GYMNASIUM AT EIGHT P.M. ON DECEMBER NINE NEXT.

b6 b7C

CARMICHAEL TO ARRIVE AT AIRPORT SHORTLY BEFORE THE
SPEECH AND SUPPOSED TO LEAVE BY PLANE PROMPTLY AFTER SPEAKING.

WFO REQUESTED TO VERIFY ABOVE.

LHM FOLLOWS. MIG AND SECRET SERVICE ADVISED.

END.

MKA

FBI WASH DC*

5 DEC 16 1968

TELETYPE TO:

WFO

MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

6 DEC 6 1968

VIA TELETYPE

DEC 9 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

WA 05

439PM DEFERRED 12/9/68 JOC

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080), BALTIMORE, WFO, AND NEW YORK

NEW YORK AND BALTIMORE VIA WASHINGTON. -CODED-

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-721) 1P

STOKELY CARMICHAEL. RM.

RE WFO TELETYPE TO BUREAU, ET AL, DATED ELEVEN TWENTY SEVEN,
SIXTY EIGHT.

SAN FRANCISCO SOURCES UNABLE TO PROVIDE ANY INFORMATION WHICH WOULD
INDICATE A MOVEMENT TO PUSH SUBJECT OUT OF THE BPP BECAUSE HE IS
EMPHASIZING BLACK CULTURE RATHER THAN MILITANCY. TO THE CONTRARY,

b6 b7C

b2 b7D

[REDACTED] ADVISED THAT SUBJECT CONTINUES TO EXERT
SOME INFLUENCE IN A LEADERSHIP CAPACITY AND CONTINUES TO MAINTAIN AN
ACTIVE INTEREST IN BPP AFFAIRS. THERE IS NO INDICATION OF ANY
FRICTION BETWEEN BPP LEADERSHIP AND THE SUBJECT.

END
WLM R RELAY

FBI WASH DC

EX-115

REC 54

100-446080-2128

6 DEC 11 1968

TELETYPED TO:

FBI NY, BA

67 DEC 17 1968 MR. TRAINOR
Ce ROOM 836 9&D

VIA TELETYPE
DEC 9 1968
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

V

WA -----8-----

FBI NEW YORK

5:55 PM URGENT 12-9-68 AWS

TO DIRECTOR, WASHINGTON FIELD AND CHARLOTTE (PLAIN)

ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM NEW YORK 100-153751

b6 b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL. RM.

CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE ADVISED SUBJECT [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] OBSERVED AT [REDACTED]

NEW YORK, ELEVEN THIRTY AM, THIS DATE. SUBJECT PLACED
LUGGAGE IN VEHICLE WHICH [REDACTED] WAS DRIVING AND
LEFT RESIDENCE [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] SOURCE ADVISED SUBJECT [REDACTED] DEPARTED

b6 b7C

b7D

EASTERN AIRLINES FLIGHT FIVE FOUR FIVE AT JOHN F.
KENNEDY AIRPORT DEPARTING TWELVE TWENTY PM AND DUE TO
ARRIVE IN CHARLOTTE, NORTH CAROLINA, ONE FIFTY SEVEN THIS
DATE.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RE NY TEL CALL TO WFO AND CE THIS DATE.

[REDACTED] SOURCE MENTIONED IN TEL IS [REDACTED]

NEIGHBORHOOD SOURCE.

TELETYPED TO:

FTB, WFO

61 DEC 17 1968

PAGE TWO

[REDACTED] SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] JOHN F. KENNEDY AIRPORT.

b6 b7C

b7D

END

WA...

R RELAY

FJB

FBI WASH DC

MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

DEC 10 1968

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

FBI WASH DC

1:05AM 12-10-68 URGENT JEC

TO: DIRECTOR AND COLUMBIA

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-23-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CPB/b1s

FROM: CHARLOTTE (100-10358)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL ^{RACIAL MATTERS} RM.

G.C. [Signature]
b6 b7C

RE CHARLOTTE TELETYPE TO BUREAU DECEMBER NINE LAST.

CARMICHAEL SPOKE TO APPROXIMATELY THREE THOUSAND STUDENTS
~~AT A AND T STATE UNIVERSITY~~ ^{AGRICULTURAL AND TECHNICAL} WITHOUT INCIDENT. AFTERWARDS HE
MET WITH A SELECTED GROUP OF INVITEES UNTIL ELEVEN FORTYFIVE
PM. HE DEPARTED GREENSBORO IN NINETEEN SIXTYSEVEN OLDSMOBILE
BEARING WASHINGTON, D.C. LICENSE [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] NINETEEN SIXTYFIVE BUICK BEARING ^{NORTH CAROLINE} N.C. LICENSE

[REDACTED] PRECEDED THE OLDSMOBILE AS THEY
DEPARTED SOUTH ON HIGHWAY INTERSTATE EIGHTYFIVE. INQUIRY
A AND T STATE UNIVERSITY REVEALED CHARMICHAEL WAS HEADED TO
ORANGEBURG, SOUTH CAROLINA.

MILITARY INTELLIGENCE, SECRET SERVICE, AND LOCAL
AUTHORITIES COGNIZANT. LHM FOLLOWS.

END

SVM

COPY SENT AG AND IDIU

FBI WASH DC

Xerox - Rosen

EX-100

REC-20

100-446080-2130

b6 b7C

6 DEC 12 1968

5- [Signature]

MR. TRAINOR

DEC 10 1968

F B I

Date: 12/4/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
 FROM: SAC, BALTIMORE (100-24220) RUC
 SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
 RM

Re Baltimore telephone calls 11/30/68 to SA
 [redacted] WFO.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 11 copies of an LHM captioned and dated as above. Copies of this LHM are being furnished locally to the 109th MI GP (4), NISO, OSI, Secret Service, and USA, Baltimore. Five copies of the LHM are being furnished to WFO, the office of origin, and two copies are being furnished to New York for their information.

b6 b7C

b7D

The confidential source mentioned in LHM was
 [redacted]

AGENCY: ACSI, OSI, SEC. SERV. ^{by FD-376}

HOW FORN RLS

DATE FORN 12-10-68

BY: PTB/ies

B. G. Bishop

100 806 940

- ENCLOSURE
- EX-11
- 12 DEC 5 1968
- 2131
- 100-446080
- ③ - Bureau (Encls 11) (REGISTERED MAIL)
 2 - New York (Encls 2) (REGISTERED MAIL)
 5 - Washington Field (Encls 5) (2 - 100-43503) (1 - 100-
 (1 - 100-
 1 - Baltimore (100-24220)
 FJW:rms
 (11)

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Approved: CS

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Director
United States Secret Service
Department of the Treasury
Washington, D. C. 20220

Dear Sir:

The information furnished herewith concerns an individual who is believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning Presidential protection, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

1. ☐ Has attempted or threatened bodily harm to any government official or employee, including foreign government officials residing in or planning an imminent visit to the U. S., because of his official status.
2. ☐ Has attempted or threatened to redress a grievance against any public official by other than legal means.
3. ☐ Because of background is potentially dangerous; or has been identified as member or participant in communist movement; or has been under active investigation as member of other group or organization inimical to U. S.
4. ☐ U. S. citizens or residents who defect from the U. S. to countries in the Soviet or Chinese Communist blocs and return.
5. ☒ Subversives, ultrarightists, racists and fascists who meet one or more of the following criteria:
 - (a) ☐ Evidence of emotional instability (including unstable residence and employment record) or irrational or suicidal behavior;
 - (b) ☐ Expressions of strong or violent anti-U. S. sentiment;
 - (c) ☒ Prior acts (including arrests or convictions) or conduct or statements indicating a propensity for violence and antipathy toward good order and government.
6. ☐ Individuals involved in illegal bombing or illegal bomb-making.

Photograph ☐ has been furnished ☐ enclosed ☐ is not available
☐ may be available through _____

Very truly yours,

J. Edgar Hoover
John Edgar Hoover
Director

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s) 1
U. S. Secret Service, Baltimore, Maryland

-2-

Enclosure(s)

(Upon removal of classified enclosures, if any, this transmittal form
becomes UNCLASSIFIED.)



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Baltimore, Maryland 21202

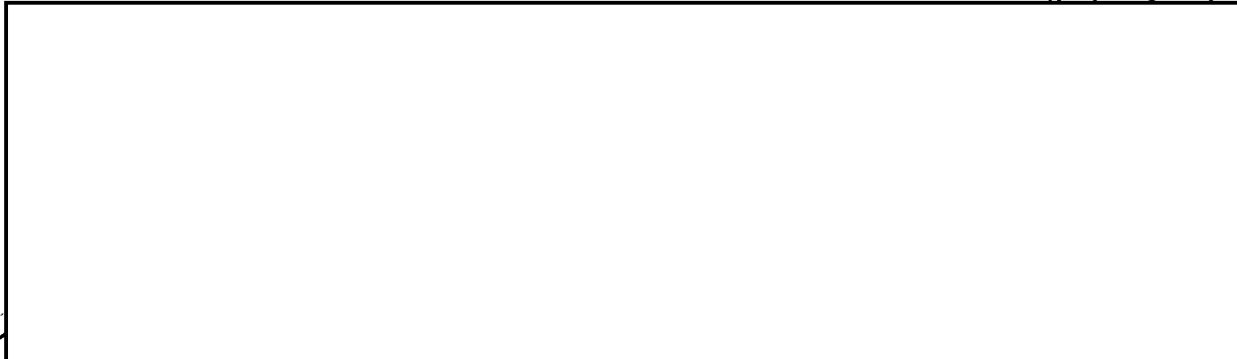
December 4, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-23-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CPB/dls

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

A confidential source advised on November 30, 1968,



A characterization of the Soul School, Baltimore, Maryland, is appended hereto.

b6 b7C

b7D

COPIES DESTROYED

286 MAR 1 1971

ENCLOSURE

100-446080-2181



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Baltimore, Maryland 21202

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

December 4, 1968

Title STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Character RACIAL MATTER

Reference Baltimore communication dated
 and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.

FBI

Date: 12/4/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM : SAC, BOSTON (157-437)
SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS

Re Boston teletype dated 12/4/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies and for WFO two copies of an LHM concerning CARMICHAEL'S scheduled visit to Boston, Mass., 12/14/68.

The source mentioned in the LHM is _____ who has
furnished reliable information in the past in connection

- 4 - Bureau (Enc. 11) (RM)
(1 - The Fund) (Enc. 1)
2 - WFO (100-43503) (Enc. 2) (RM)
1 - Boston
JEN/mo'k
(7)

REC-28

EX-113

ENCLOSURE

51 DEC 19 1968

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

AGENCY: ACIS, OSI, SEC SER

DEPT ISD: CRD IDIYCEM

DATE FORW: 12-11-68

FORM: 34 RLS

PTB: 58

100-446080-2/322

Teletype & B's 12/10/68
PTB: ok
1-WFO

cc 806 980

BS 157-437

[REDACTED]

The source's identity is being concealed both at her request and the fact that she continues to be a valuable source in investigation of [REDACTED] identity should be protected.

The LHM is being classified confidential to further protect the source's identity since the information furnished by her could logically result in her identification.

b6 b7C

b7D



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(C)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Boston, Massachusetts

December 4, 1968

DECLASSIFIED BY 60324/AUC/DAW/CPB/bls
ON 08-23-2006

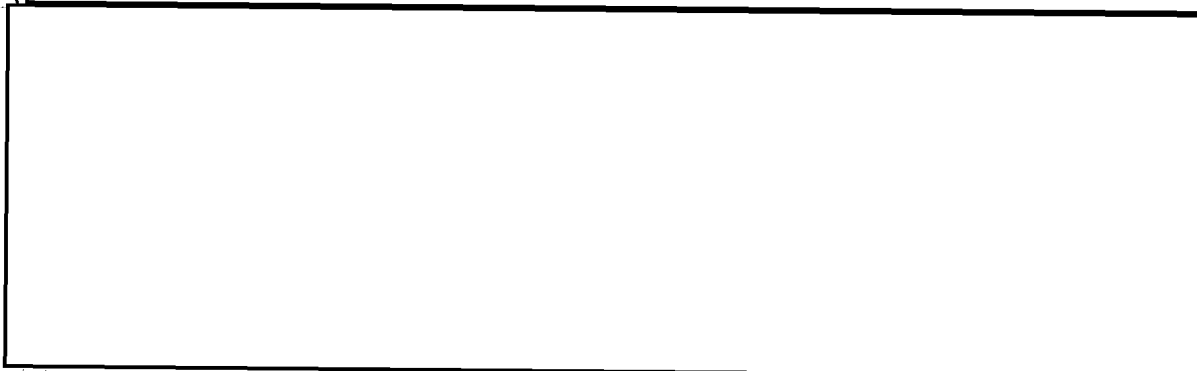
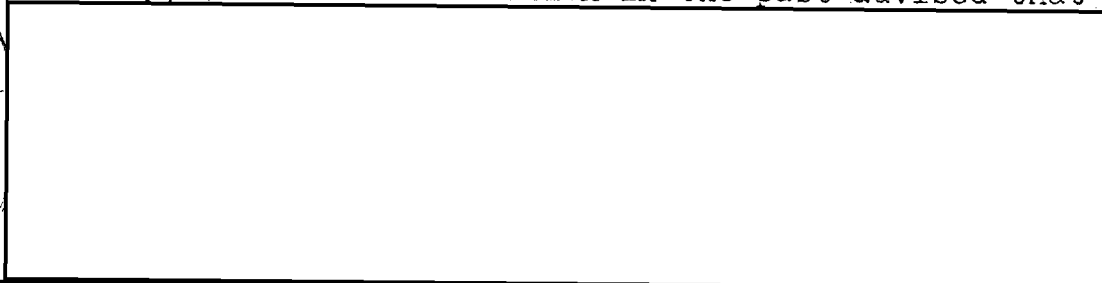
In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

b6 b7C

b7D

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

On December 3, 1968, a source who has
furnished reliable information in the past advised that



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GROUP 1

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

COPIES DESTROYED

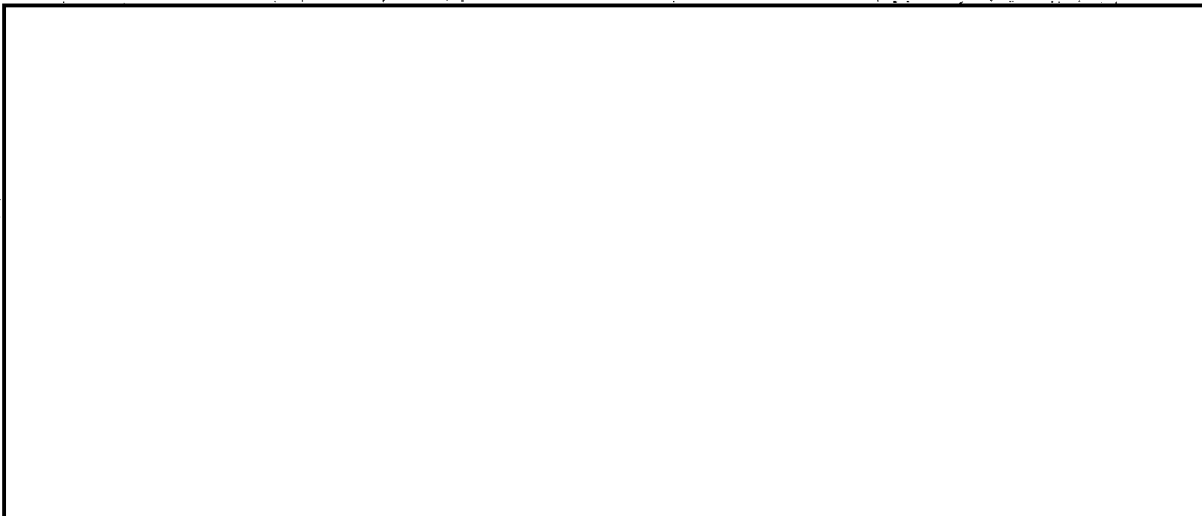
286 MAR 1 1971

ENCLOSURE

100-446080-2/22

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL



b7D

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

F B I

Date: 12/4/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (157-6-34)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (157-2866)

SUBJECT: JURISDICTIONAL DISPUTE INVOLVING
UNITED FEDERATION OF TEACHERS,
OCEAN HILL-BROWNSVILLE LOCAL
GOVERNING BOARD AND BOARD OF
EDUCATION, CITY OF NEW YORK,
FALL, 1968
RACIAL MATTERS

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

ReNYtel to Bureau dated 12/3/68.

b2 b6

b7C b7D

Enclosed for the Bureau are 10 copies of an
LHM in above entitled matter.

[redacted] furnished information
to SA [redacted]. [redacted] furnished
information to SA [redacted]
furnished information to SA [redacted]
Confidential source [redacted]
Confidential source [redacted]

Attached LHM is classified "Confidential" since
unauthorized disclosure of information attributed to these
sources might impair their future effectiveness and such
impairment could have an adverse effect on the national
defense.

Dissemination of attached LHM is being made
locally to 108th MI Group, OSI, NISO, Secret Service,
and USAS, SDNY and EDNY.

C. C. Bishop
3- Bureau (Encls. 10)
1- New York
VJA:tf
(5) 1- Supv. #43

ENCLOSURE

100-446080-

NOT RECORDED

136 DEC 16 1968

REC'D DOM INTELL DIV

Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

AGENCY: CRD, ISD, ITU, RAO, CD,
ACSI, OSI, 55

HOW FORW:

DATE FORW: DEC 6 1968

BY: [redacted]

RACIAL INT. SECT.

6-34-2892



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

New York, New York
December 4, 1968

DECLASSIFIED BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CPD/bis
ON 08-23-2006

NY file 157-2866
Bufile 157-6-34

Jurisdictional Dispute Involving
United Federation of Teachers,
Ocean Hill-Brownsville Local
Governing Board and Board of Education,
City of New York, Fall, 1968
Racial Matters

b6 b7C

Detective [redacted] Bureau of Special
Services (BSS), New York City Police Department (NYCPD),
furnished the following information December 3, 1968:

As of 1:35 PM, December 3, 1968, hundreds of school
students, predominantly Negro, were roaming through the
Brownsville section of Brooklyn, New York, in a disorderly
manner. One member of the NYCPD was reported injured and
three arrests had been made. The Brownsville area is the
location of Junior High School (JHS) 271, focal point in the
above school controversy.

*msw
12/13
12-11*

At Washington Square Park, New York City, as of
noon, December 3, 1968, some 350 youths and young adults
conducted a protest demonstration against the United Federation
of Teachers (UFT), urging community control of the schools.
This demonstration was supported by the City-Wide Strike
Committee and the Youth Against War and Fascism. No incidents
occurred at Washington Square Park, and the demonstrators left
the area at 1:15 PM, enroute to City College of New York
(CCNY), New York City, to attend a rally at 3:00 PM at which
Stokely Carmichael, one of the leaders of the Black Panther
Party (BPP), was scheduled to speak.

A characterization of the BPP
is attached hereto.

This document contains neither
recommendations nor conclusions
of the FBI. It is the property
of the FBI and is loaned to your
agency; it and its contents are
not to be distributed outside
your agency.

~~GROUP I
Excluded from
automatic downgrading
and declassification~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

100-446080-

ENCLOSURE

msw
KEROX
DEC 16 1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Jurisdictional Dispute Involving
United Federation of Teachers,
Ocean Hill-Brownsville Local
Governing Board and Board of
Education, City of New York,
Fall, 1968

Disturbances by high school youths were reported in two separate subway incidents, one occurring on an IND subway train, Brooklyn-bound. Some 70 Negro youths home-ward bound from the Washington Square rally terrorized passengers and unscrewed light bulbs from the cars. A BMT subway train at Crescent Street and Fulton Avenue, Brooklyn, New York, was delayed 45 minutes as a result of a band of youths pulling the emergency cord and interfering with normal transportation of the train.

Detective [redacted] BSS, NYCPD,
furnished the following information on December 3, 1968:

As of 3:20 PM, December 3, 1968, about 400 youths had arrived at CCNY, Convent Avenue and 138th Street, New York City, from an earlier demonstration at Washington Square Park, New York City. These youths joined others at CCNY to hear a scheduled speech by Stokely Carmichael sponsored by the Onyx Society, CCNY. The estimated number in attendance at Great Hall, CCNY, was 1,500.

b6 b7C
b7D

Confidential source [redacted] furnished the following information on December 3, 1968:

Stokely Carmichael arrived late and commenced his speech at 4:15 PM. The meeting was scheduled to commence at 3:00 PM. Carmichael said the black man should love himself first; Blacks are too split up among themselves; the black militant is angry at the white man for not letting him into his society. The black revolutionist is distinguished from the black militant in that the former advocates overthrowing the present power structure by any means available. Stokely Carmichael finished his speech at 5:00 PM.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Jurisdictional Dispute Involving
United Federation of Teachers,
Ocean Hill-Brownsville Local
Governing Board and Board of
Education, City of New York,
Fall, 1968.

Confidential source [] supplied the following details concerning Stokely Carmichael's appearance at CCNY on December 3, 1968. The audience was approximately 60% Black and 40% white, the majority being high school students. Stokely Carmichael was introduced as Prime Minister of the BPP. Carmichael stated that a revolution must take place within this country in order that the Negroes might gain their rights.

He said the Negroes should not depend on white liberals for support and that Socialism and Communism are not the answer for the Blacks; neither is the ideology of the "New Left" or any assistance to the black revolution. He said he had visited both Cuba and Russia and that there is evidence of racism in both these countries. It is necessary for the blacks to love one another and not fight among themselves. With reference to firearms, he said that the blacks have to get arms as long as the whites have armed themselves; when speaking of violence, it is necessary to answer violence with violence. Stokely Carmichael was well received and also was given a standing ovation.

b6 b7C

b7D

Confidential sources referred to
in this communication have furnished
reliable information in the past.

Detective [] BSS, advised on December 4, 1968, that with reference to disturbances around the school controversy, occurring on December 3, 1968, 38 individuals had been reported arrested.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX

1.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by Bobby George Seale, BPP Chairman, and Huey P. Newton, BPP Minister of Defense. Newton is presently serving a sentence of 2 to 15 years on a conviction of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, George Mason Murray, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement, "...we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature MAO's statement that "political

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX

2.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY CONCEPT

power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the DPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

DEC 11 1968

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

FBI WASH DC

FBI ATLANTA

417 PM URGENT 12/11/68 JDB
TO BUREAU, COLUMBIA AND WFO
FROM ATLANTA 100-6812

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-23-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CPE/bis

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RACIAL MATTERS

RE WFO TEL DECEMBER NINE, LAST.

ATLANTA

UNIVERSITY SYSTEM, ADVISES THAT SUBJECT UNDER SPONSORSHIP
OF STUDENT GOVERNMENT ASSOCIATION, CLARK COLLEGE, WILL
SPEAK AT DAVAGE AUDITORIUM AT ONE PM DECEMBER ELEVEN SIXTYEIGHT.

EMORY UNIVERSITY, ATLANTA,

ADVISES SUBJECT SCHEDULES TO SPEAK THERE AT EITHER THREE
PM OR FOUR PM DECEMBER ELEVEN SIXTYEIGHT.

SOURCES ASSIGNED TO COVER SPEECHES AND ATTEMPT TO
DETERMINE SUBJECT'S FUTURE ITINERARY. LHM FOLLOWS.

LOCAL AUTHORITIES, MILITARY, AND SECRET SERVICE ADVISED.

END

CKG

FBI WASH DC

REC 98

6 DEC 13 1968

TELETYPE TO:

MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

WFO 56 DEC 20 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-23-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CPB/DLS

F B I

Date: 12/4/68

Transmit the following in _____

PLAINTEXT

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via **TELETYPE** _____**URGENT**

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR AND SACS BOSTON AND NEW YORK

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RACIAL MATTER.

REFERENCE BOSTON TELETYPE DECEMBER FOUR INSTANT

FOR INFO OF NEW YORK, BOSTON ADVISED SOURCE REPORTED
THAT SUBJECT WILL BE IN BOSTON DECEMBER FOURTEEN NEXT TO
SPEAK IN MAIN BALLROOM OF SOMERSET HOTEL BEFORE QUOTE THE
FUND UNQUOTE SET UP BY UNITED FRONT, BOSTON.

IF APPEARANCE MADE, BOSTON COVER PER BUAIRTEL DECEMBER
TWENTY ONE SIXTY SEVEN AND SUTEL PLANS BEING MADE TO TAPE
SUBJECT'S REMARKS.

NEW YORK FURNISH BOSTON ANY INFORMATION DEVELOPED RE-
GARDING APPEARANCE IN BOSTON BY SUBJECT.

WFO SOURCES HAVE REPORTED NO INFORMATION ABOUT SUBJECT'S
BOSTON APPEARANCE.

2-Bureau
3-Teletype Unit
2-WFO

REC- 51

22 DEC 9 1968

WWH:jgp MR. TRAINOR

(7) CC-ROOM 836 9&D

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

61 DEC 19 1968

12-16-68

1 -

b6 b7C

Airtel

To: SACs, Atlanta (100-6812)
WFO (100-43503)
New York (100-153751)

From: Director, FBI (100-446080)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

ReATTel 12-12-68 wherein it was reported that subject's speeches in the Atlanta area were not well received.

Atlanta in its LHM covering these speeches by Carmichael should include a statement as to why he was not well received.

Sources of the information concerning Carmichael's talks were not identified in referenced teletype nor has any information been received from the Atlanta Office as to whether or not Carmichael's talks were tape recorded in accordance with instructions set out in Bureau airtel to all offices dated 12-21-67. Atlanta in the cover airtel to the above-requested LHM advised as to identities of the sources of information regarding Carmichael's speeches in your division and whether or not these speeches were tape recorded.

It is also noted that Atlanta does not have firm knowledge as to when Carmichael left Atlanta if he, in fact, did leave. Recipient offices have been previously instructed the necessity of being aware of Carmichael's whereabouts and activities at all times. Atlanta should insure its coverage of Carmichael is such that it will be in a position to report on his whereabouts, activities and when he departs from your territory.

MAILED 24
DEC 16 1968
COMM-FBI

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Rm. _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

PTB:jth
(8)

REC-52 100-446080-2136

20 DEC 16 1968

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

DEC 20 1968

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Airtel to SAC, Atlanta
RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
100-446080

NOTE:

Black extremist Stokely Carmichael has been making a series of speeches in the South. Atlanta in referenced teletype indicated Carmichael was not well received during 3 speeches given in the Atlanta area. However, Atlanta did not advise why he was not well received nor did Atlanta indicate whether Carmichael's speeches were taped as previously instructed to do so where feasible.

F B I

Date: 11/22/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via **AIRTEL** _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (100-10358) (P)
SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM - BPP

Re Charlotte airtel to the Bureau dated 11/20/68, and Charlotte teletype to the Bureau dated 11/22/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are eight copies of LHM captioned as above, copies of which are being disseminated locally to Military Intelligence and Secret Service.

Also enclosed is one copy each of above LHM for WFO, Atlanta and San Francisco.

UNC, Charlotte, N. C., who furnished his information to SA [redacted] and requested his identity be concealed (established source). Investigation at Raleigh, N. C. was by SA [redacted] and at Durham, N. C., by SA [redacted]. SA [redacted] notified CARL JORDAN, SAC, 111th MIG, and SAC JOHN GRIMES, Secret Service, both of Charlotte, along with [redacted] Charlotte, N. C., PD, Intelligence Unit.

Both speeches were taped by both law enforcement agencies [redacted] who are to make their tapes available to the FBI. On preparation of transcripts, copies will be furnished the Bureau and interested offices.

- 3 - Bureau (Encls. 8) (RM)
1 - WFO (100-43503) (Encl. 1) (RM)
1 - Atlanta (100-6812) (Encl. 1) (RM)
1 - San Francisco (Encl. 1) (RM)
7 - Charlotte (2 - 100-10358) (1 - 157-5830)
(1 - 157-6171) (1 - 157-5802)
THG:cg (1 - 157-5490)
(13) (1 - 100-9885)

12 NOV 23 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Charlotte, North Carolina

November 22, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-23-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CPB/dls

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Reference is made to memorandum at Charlotte,
North Carolina, dated November 20, 1968.

b6 b7C

On November 20, 1968, [redacted] advised that he is
in receipt of information that [redacted]
a student at the University of North Carolina at Charlotte

[redacted] has reportedly [redacted]
[redacted]

On November 21, 1968, [redacted] Raleigh,
North Carolina, Police Department, advised that STOKELY
CARMICHAEL arrived at the gymnasium on the Shaw University
campus at 4:10 p.m., and then spoke from 4:20 to 5:20 p.m.,
at which time a 20 minute question and answer session was held.
He estimated the audience to be approximately 1,500 people,
50 of which were white and the rest Negro. At the start of
the speech, CARMICHAEL introduced his wife, MIRIAM MAKEBA.
[redacted] stated that in the speech, CARMICHAEL advocated
violent revolution as the best means of solving the racial
problems in the United States. After speaking, CARMICHAEL

b6 b7C

THIS DOCUMENT CONTAINS NEITHER RECOMMENDATIONS
NOR CONCLUSIONS OF THE FBI. IT IS THE PROPERTY
OF THE FBI AND IS LOANED TO YOUR AGENCY; IT AND
ITS CONTENTS ARE NOT TO BE DISTRIBUTED OUTSIDE
YOUR AGENCY.

100-446080-2137

ENCLOSURE

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

departed Raleigh, North Carolina, en route to Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

On November 21, 1968, [redacted] University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, advised subject spoke in Carmichael Auditorium on the University campus from approximately 8:15 to 8:50, which included a question and answer session before an audience of 6,500 people, which he would estimate to be five per cent Negro and the rest Caucasian. According to [redacted] after his speech, CARMICHAEL attended a closed meeting of the Black Student Movement which was attended by approximately 35 to 40 Negroes. [redacted] noted that CARMICHAEL was introduced prior to his speech by [redacted]

b6 b7C

whose? Subject was observed departing the Chapel Hill, North Carolina, area near Durham, North Carolina, on Interstate Highway 85, proceeding north toward the Virginia-North Carolina State Line at approximately 1:00 a.m., November 22, 1968, by a Special Agent of the FBI. CARMICHAEL was traveling in a white Oldsmobile, bearing District of Columbia License 674-549.

The Charlotte Observer, a daily Charlotte, North Carolina, newspaper, in its issue of November 22, 1968, contained an article which indicates that after speaking at Chapel Hill, North Carolina, CARMICHAEL declined the invitation to speak at Charlotte, North Carolina, due to a prior speaking engagement and was returning that night to Washington, D. C.

Attached as an appendix to this memorandum is a characterization of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Information as developed on November 20, 21, and 22, 1968, was immediately furnished to representatives of Military Intelligence, Secret Service and appropriate local authorities.

1. 10/24/68
2. 10/24/68
3. 10/24/68

1. 10/24/68

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
(SNCC)

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, is a nonmembership organization, which was born out of the sit-in movement that erupted across the South beginning in 1960.

Today SNCC identifies itself as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

According to SNCC the year 1967 marked a historic milestone in the struggle for the liberation of black people in the United States and the year that revolutionaries throughout the world began to understand more fully the impact of the black movement. SNCC declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus -- the capitalistic system of the United States with all its life-sucking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The realities of black life, together with the recognition instilled in SNCC workers forced its members to further popularize the legitimacy of self-defense and rebellions when oppression became too great."

From May, 1966, until May, 1967, Stokely Carmichael was National Chairman of SNCC. As of July, 1968, Carmichael resided in Washington, D. C., where he was affiliated with SNCC and active as temporary chairman of a black coalition group. In May, 1967, Carmichael [REDACTED]

b6 b7C

In June, 1968, at the Staff and Central Committee meeting of SNCC held in Atlanta, Georgia, it was decided to restructure the organization by equalization of responsibility by creating ten deputy or vice chairmanships. The primary purpose for this change is to take law enforcement pressure off any single individual.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Charlotte, North Carolina
November 22, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Title	STOKELY CARMICHAEL
Character	RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY
Reference	Memorandum at Charlotte, North Carolina, dated November 22, 1968, captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

SAC, Charlotte (100-10358)

12/16/68

Director, FBI (100-446080) - 2137

1 -
1 -

7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Reurairtel 11/22/68.

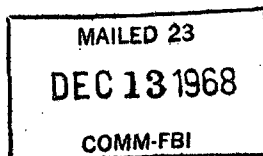
In addition to furnishing the Bureau verbatim transcripts of the speeches made by captioned individual on 11/21/68, you should attempt to obtain copies of the tape recordings of the speeches and furnish same to the Bureau. The originals of the tape recordings which may have evidentiary value should be retained by you or by individuals who can preserve the chain of evidence. Furnish the Bureau only copies which have no evidentiary value.

JCM:ra
(5)

NOTE:

Carmichael spoke at Shaw University and at the University of North Carolina on 11/21/68. In connection with our efforts to build up a library of speeches by recognized extremists, Charlotte is being instructed to furnish the Bureau copies of the tape recordings of the speeches made by Carmichael.

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____



59 DEC 13 1968
MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

DEC 11 1968

TELETYPE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-23-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CPB/bls

FBI WASH DC

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan 12 _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

FBI-COLUMBIA

117PM URGENT 12/11/68 EMA

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080) AND ATLANTA (100-6488)
FROM COLUMBIA (100-179)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; RM.

RE CHARLOTTE TELETYPE TO DIRECTOR AND COLUMBIA DECEMBER TEN LAST
SUBJECT ARRIVED ORANGEBURG, S.C., TWELVE FIFTY P.M. DECEMBER TEN
LAST AND SPOKE BEFORE STUDENT BODY AT S.C. STATE COLLEGE (SCSC). AT
TWO FORTY P.M. SUBJECT LEFT S.C.S.C. IN WHITE NINETEEN SIXTYSEVEN
OLDSMOBILE WDC LICENSE SIX SEVEN FOUR DASH FIVE FOUR NINE EN ROUTE TO
COLUMBIA, S.C. HE SPOKE BEFORE STUDENT BODY AT BENEDICT COLLEGE,
COLUMBIA, FROM FOUR FIFTEEN P.M. TO FIVE TWENTY P.M. AND LEFT COLUMBIA
IN ABOVE OLDSMOBILE EN ROUTE TO DENMARK, S.C. SUBJECT SPOKE BEFORE
STUDENT BODY AT VOORHEES COLLEGE, DENMARK, FROM NINE THIRTY P.M. TO
TEN THIRTY P.M. AND THEREAFTER WENT TO DENMARK, HOME OF [REDACTED]
OF CLEVELAND LOUIS SELLERS, JR. OF SNCC.

CARMICHAEL'S [REDACTED] ONE NEGRO MALE,
AND ONE NEGRO FEMALE, BELIEVED TO BE [REDACTED]
OF SNCC, WDC, TRAVELED WITH SUBJECT DURING HIS APPEARANCES IN S.C.

END PAGE ONE

36 DEC 23 1968

PAGE TWO

CARMICHAEL, [REDACTED]

DEPARTED DENMARK, S.C., APPROXIMATELY TWELVE THIRTY A.M., DECEMBER
ELEVEN INSTANT IN ABOVE SIXTYSEVEN OLDSMOBILE AND OBSERVED EN ~~Z~~
ROUTE TO ATLANTA, GA., VIA AUGUSTA, GA.

b6 b7C

b7D

ONE SOURCE ADVISED A [REDACTED] REPORTED TO BE [REDACTED]
FOR BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP), WITH CARMICHAEL AT S.C.S.C. AND AT
BENEDICT COLLEGE DURING SPEECHES AND SUBJECT ENCOURAGED STUDENTS TO
JOIN BPP. 11/

ANOTHER SOURCE ADVISED CARMICHAEL INVITED TO SPEAK AT EMORY
UNIVERSITY, ATLANTA, GA., FOLLOWING HIS STAY IN S.C., AND HIS
APPEARANCE AT EMORY WOULD BE JOINTLY SPONSORED BY THE BLACK STUDENTS
ALLIANCE AND STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY.

ALL ABOVE SPEECHES BY SUBJECT IN S.C. COVERED BY COLUMBIA
DIVISION SOURCES AND IT APPEARS SUBJECT MADE PRACTICALLY SAME SPEECH AT
EACH COLLEGE. SPEECHES DELAT WITH THE THEME THAT BLACKS MUST UNITE, MUST
GET GUNS, AND AVOID THE DRAFT AND FIGHT THEIR BATTLE IN THE U.S.,
NOT IN VIETNAM.

NO INCIDENTS OCCURRED REGARDING SUBJECT'S APPEARANCES IN S.C.
MILITARY, SECRET SERVICE, AND LOCAL AUTHORITEIES ADVISED. | LHM FOLLOWS
END

G

~~CORR PLS P2 L14 LAST WORD PLS~~

~~CORR SHD BE AT EACH~~

TU BJP

FBI WASH DC

COPY SENT AG AND IDIU

MR. TRAINOR

ROOM 836 9&D

Xerox ROS

TRUE COPY



b6 b7C

Dec. 5, 1968

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Director of the F. B. I.
Washington, D. C.

My Dear Mr. Hoover;

Enclosed is a copy of a speech Stokely Carmichael
made at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C. We
the undersigned are deeply Concerned and disturbed as to why this
man is allowed to roam this country and abroad advocating Violent
revolution and overthrow of our government.

What does one have to do to Commit treason? We
appeal to you to do everything within your power to stop this man
before it is too late.

Sincerely yours;



2/39

EX-113

REC 11

for

1-Enclosed
1 to
12/14/68
12/14/68

b6 b7C

ack/mml
12-12-68
FMG:clm



Dec. 5, 1968

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Director of the F. B. I.
Washington, D.C.

My Dear Mr. Hoover,

Enclosed is a copy of a speech Stokely Carmichael made at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N.C. We the undersigned are deeply concerned and disturbed as to why this man is allowed to roam this country and abroad advocating violent revolution and overthrow of our government.

What does one have to do to commit treason? We appeal to you to do everything within your power to stop this man before it is too late.

Sincerely,

b6 b7C

ENCLOSURE

CORRESPONDENCE

Black Power Advocate Cries For Confrontation Of Races

By STACIE STEELE
Herald Correspondent

CHAPEL HILL — Black power advocate Stokely Carmichael, speaking to over 5,000 students at the University of North Carolina Thursday night, cried out for a confrontation between black and white America and called for revolutionary violence.

"We are for revolutionary violence. I won't hedge. We are for it," Carmichael declared.

Criticizing a desire by white liberals to stop confrontation, the prime minister of the Black Panther party accused liberals of wishing to maintain the status quo "to protect their own economic stability."

"Liberals are just one step up the ladder from law and order

types," Carmichael told his audience in Carmichael Auditorium.

"The liberal does not offer a redress of grievances. He wants to say 'granted there have been problems between blacks and whites but let's settle everything peaceably.'"

"Liberals want to hold hands without punishing the guilty," Carmichael charged. "They want a change but they do not want to endanger their economic stability."

To back up his argument for confrontation, the militant said psychologists advocate clashes to settle personal conflicts. "Confrontation is good," he said.

"Confrontation between the allied forces and Nazi Germany in World War II was good,"

Carmichael said. "It stopped Nazism."

He also pointed to the clash between the British and American colonists which brought about freedom for the United States.

"Violence is not right or wrong," Carmichael said. "It is simply a question of who has the power to legitimize violence."

"In Vietnam, I could kill 30 North Vietnamese and become a hero. In Washington, I could kill 30 white policemen who have been brutalizing my people and I would get the electric chair."

Carmichael said "liberals do not understand power. If the oppressed listened to liberals, they could get into the same spot as the Jews who listened to them in 1930."

Speaking on third party candidate George Wallace, Carmichael said that while Democrat Eugene McCarthy remained wishy-washy and tried to gain influence, Wallace worked with power and formed the basis for a third party in the U.S.

He said liberals don't understand the difference between influence and power. "They feel it is important to influence legislation but then they lack the power to implement it."

Earlier in Raleigh, Carmichael warned that "white America is preparing to commit genocide on black America," and told about 1,000 Negro students at St. Augustine College to "get guns—now."

"I want to make one thing clear," Carmichael told the generally enthusiastic collegiate audience. "I am for violence. It is the only way in which black people can liberate ourselves from our oppressors."

"That is not to say that you should go out and mow white people down," the rangy radical continued. "I'm just saying that, like good boy scouts, we should be prepared."

Carmichael urged Negro Americans to have "undying love for one another and one another alone."



CARMICHAEL

... 'Get Guns Now'

"You see, I don't agree with Dr. Martin Luther King," he said. "If a white man slaps you, don't turn the other cheek; tear his arm off."

"But if a black man slaps you, turn the other cheek," he went on. "Black people are more violent with each other than they are with whites. That's got to stop, because we need each other for the struggle ahead."

Strict security measures were in effect at the auditorium where Carmichael spoke. Reporters and photographers, both white and black, were frisked by a group of red arm band wearing Negro students who said they were St. Augustine students "protecting Stokely."

Carmichael, who was accompanied by his wife, folk singer Miriam Makeba, got a standing ovation as he entered the hall. His address was interrupted several times by applause.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-23-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CPB/b1s

100-446080-2B9

ENCLOSURE

December 12, 1968

REC 11

100-446080-2139

EX-113

b6 b7C

Dear [redacted]

On December 10th I received the letter, with enclosure, signed by you and your husband and other residents of Durham and Fayetteville, North Carolina.

As to your question concerning Stokely Carmichael, the FBI is strictly an investigative agency of the Federal Government and, as such, does not determine whether prosecutive action will be undertaken. Such decisions regarding violations of Federal law are within the province of the Attorney General.

I can assure you, however, this Bureau is aware of the activities of Carmichael. Voluminous data concerning him have been furnished to the Attorney General for his consideration, and you may wish to contact him.

Sincerely yours,
J. Edgar Hoover

MAILED 20
DEC 12 1968
COMM-FBI

NOTE: Bufiles contain nothing identifiable concerning the [redacted]

FMG:eaw (3)

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

6 DEC 24 1968 MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

RA
INFO: CG, USAINTS
DCSI, MDW

Rec'd by Liaison
From LTC LEWIS
Office of Ass't Chief
of Staff for Intelligence
Army, PDP

DEC 3 17 56 68

DISTRIBUTION:
CI DIV
GDCSOPS
NMCC(N/A DESK)
INTEL CL LO
C.D. (20463)

FILE

SUBJECT: SPOT REPORT

1. 116TH MI GP WASHINGTON D.C.
2. 116 8344-12
3. STOKELY CARMICHAEL
4. 111-8344-66
5. 1615 HRS 9 DEC 68, WASHINGTON, D. C. (WDC)
6. GULF FINANCE CORP., 2241 14TH STREET NORTHWEST, WDC
7. METROPOLITAN POLICE DEPT. (MPD), WDC, VEHICLE REGISTRATION DIVISION REVEAL THAT D. C. #674-549 IS ISSUED TO 1966 OLDSMOBILE, NO COLOR LISTED, SERIAL NUMBER 356376 E 154666 OWNED BY GULF FINANCE CORP., 2241 14TH ST. NORTHWEST, WDC. VEHICLE HAS BEEN BORROWED BY SUBJECT ON OCCASION. NO FURTHER INFORMATION AVAILABLE.
8. NONE KNOWN
9. 1645 HRS (EST), 9 DEC 68
10. NONE
11. VEHICLE REGISTRATION DIVISION, MPD, WDC
12. B-2
13. 1615 HRS EST 9 DEC 68, S/A [REDACTED]
14. NONE

b6

b7C



BT

NNNN

REC 11

4 DEC 17 1968

EX-113

12/16/68
1 X CC to WFO
by 0-7 for
info PTB/w

61 DEC 27 1968

100-446080-2140
File - JPH

BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

DEC 14 1968

TELETYPE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-23-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CPB/DLS

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

FBI BOSTON

140PM URGENT 1P BCM

TO DIRECTOR 100-446080 AND WASHINGTON FIELD 100-43503
FROM BOSTON 157-437

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RM

LHM FOLLOWS

RELAY TO WFO

ENDG

MSE

FBI WASH DC

MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

TELETYPE TO
58 DEC 14 31968

WFO

COPY SENT AG AND IDIU

XEROX

ROSE

4 DEC 17 1968

b6 b7C

b7D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-23-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAM/CPB/bis

F B I

Date: 11-26-68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

To: Director, FBI(100-446080)ATTENTION:
☐ CIVIL RIGHTS SECTION
From: SAC, ST. LOUIS (100-20639) GENERAL INVEST. DIV.
☐ DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIV
Subject: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM - BLACK PANTHER PARTY
OO: WFO

b2 b6

b7C

b7D

☐ CR ☐ EL ☐ VRA-65 ☐ CRA-64
☐ PA ☐ PE ☐ PF
☐ BM ☐ BM-Threats ☒ Racial Matters
☐ Klan ☐ Organization

Summary of Complaint: Re SL let, 10-26-68, and
Bulet, 11-4-68.

CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE mentioned in LHM is [redacted]
[redacted] obtained a copy of a tape recording of STOKLEY
CARMICHAEL's speech 8-29-68, at Sheldon Memorial Hall. SLMO.
from a friend. The speech was recorded by [redacted]

This LHM is being classified CONFIDENTIAL because
it contains information from a confidential informant of a
continuing value.

3 - Bureau (Encl. 8) RM
2 - Washington Field (Encl. 2) RM
1 - St. Louis

PW: wms

ACTION: UACB:

(6)

☒ No further action being taken and
☒ LHM enclosed ☐ Copy furnished to USA, SLMO
☐ LHM being submitted
☐ Report being submitted
☐ Preliminary investigation instituted
☐ Limited investigation instituted

NOV 29 1968

b6 b7C

Secret Service
113th MI Group III

Approved: [Signature]
Special Agent in Charge

71 JAN 14 1968

Sent [Signature] M Per [Signature]

RACIAL



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

St. Louis, Missouri 63177

November 27, 1968

DECLASSIFIED BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CPD/b1s
ON 08-23-2006

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

A confidential source of the St. Louis Office made available a copy of a tape recording of Stokely Carmichael's speech given on August 29, 1968, at Sheldon Memorial Hall, sponsored by the Black Liberators, 2810 Franklin Avenue, St. Louis, Missouri.

The original recording was not available nor it is known who made the original recording. Further, due to the poor quality of the tape, portions of the speech are unintelligible and is so indicated.

The tape recording was transcribed as follows:

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The honorable brother Stokely Carmichael.

Good evening brothers and sisters and a special good evening (UNINTELLIGIBLE). We have an awful lot of things to talk about tonight. I don't usually talk very long, but if you will excuse me because there is some specific reasons why we have to talk at length.

The first is that the repressive agency of the fascist government is stepping up which means that we are going to have less and less public rights. So that while we can have them now, we ought to take advantage of them.

Number two, the news media is not going to carry any news of any activity of any black man who's really doing something for his people so that the only time we will have a chance is when there is face to face contact with those people who do not work consciously on a day to day basis. For those two reason specifically, I would like to take some time now to speak with you tonight.

Before I do, I would like to introduce two brothers traveling with me of the Black Panther Party. One is the Field Marshal for the West Coast; the other is the Field Marshal from the East Coast. Respectively, they are Don Cox and Chico Neblett. You should probably know that Chico Neblett hails from C-Dale, otherwise known as Carbondale. The only way I know it's Carbondale is because I know (UNINTELLIGIBLE).

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Now we want to discuss a lot of things tonight, and we want to discuss specifically how a colonized people move for their liberation, how a colonized people move towards revolution and prepare their tactics so that they win. While in doing that we want to define a lot of terms, terms such as revolution, arms struggle, revolutionary violence, colonization, exploitation, so that from now on when we speak there will be some basic ground words, and we will all be working from the same frame of mind.

We want to deal in the first part of the talk with some concepts that we have to lay down that can become a cohesive force for us. Now the one thing all of us learn when we are small is about the disunity of all people of our skin. We learn to have no confidence or no respect for ourselves. The slogan we learn from the time we are small is that Niggers are shit. The second statement is that Niggers can't get together. You can't help the Nigger. Look at them, they don't care about anybody but themselves. All the terms that we first learn they are embedded in our minds are terms which are made to destroy us, to disunite us, to keep us apart and to build up a hatred that we have for each other, so that we learn to hate each other subconsciously without knowing it. So much is our hatred for each other that if someone stepping on one of our toes or our new shined

shoes we are ready to cut and kill, whereas a hunky policeman can slap us around and all we do is bow and say yes sir.

But that is because a colonized people are trained to hate themselves. That is the way they are moved. If you can keep them hating and fighting themselves, than they are too busy to organize and fight the major enemy.

Now in order to counteract that feeling we must begin to deal concretely with it by advocating concepts which we can all grasp.

The first concept that we advocate is that we, black people, must have an undying love for each other. We must have an undying love for each other. That concept is going to be the hardest concept that we can deal with because we hate each other and ourselves so much, that concept. But if we can grasp and understand the concept of undying love, there is nothing stands in our way, and that love means that we will do anything for our people, not only die for them but kill for them.

Undying love means that we are willing to forgive our people even though we are working for them. We must develop a concept of undying love for our people. Undying love means that if a hunky cop attacks a brother, he is dead. Undying love means that if we have a loaf of bread and our brother has none, we have a half and he has a half - undying

love. Undying love means that if one of our brothers does not see the way we take time out with him and patience and teach him the way. Undying love means that we can be non-violent towards our brothers, and that concept is going to be very hard for us to deal with because of the hatred that we have been taught all these years for each other and the hatred that we have for ourselves. So let us suffice to say the concept of undying love is the most important.

Let us move on to the second concept which is just as important and flows from the person. The second concept states that every Negro is a potential Black Man, and that concept is very important for us as a people, and it is very, very important because people overlook it all the time you know. Let me give you some examples. I know a young lady who went to college with me. While in college I was going with a girl who wore a natural. She was the first girl at the school where she went to wear a natural, Howard University. The young lady attacked my girl friend for wearing a natural and wanted to disspell her. My girl friend was mixed up at the time as she wanted to pledge some sorority. After she got herself together, she decided it wasn't worthwhile. The young lady attacked her viciously. A couple of years later I saw this same young lady who was now wearing a natural. As we were talking and I was laughing about how

childish she was in college, and at that time another young lady came up to me who had her hair pressed, and the young lady with the natural turned around and started to attack her viciously.

You laught but you read every day that the (UNINTELLIGIBLE) always attacks the Negroes because the Negro (UNINTELLIGIBLE) . And just as it took time for that young lady to wake up and wear a natural so that it will take time for the other ladies to wake up. But if the lady with the natural emanates the lady with the pressed hair, it will take a longer time. She should work with her in a concept of undying love and bring her home. And we have to do that because when Brother Malcolm X was preaching to us all of us was falling into crazy Nigger preaching hate and violence. And just like it took time for us to wake up, it will take time for other brothers and sisters to wake up, but they will wake up faster if we help them rather than condemn them, and that is as political as you can get and as revolutionary as you can get. Martin King says in the little red book that to condemn one's people is to take the side of the enemy, so that on any level we work with it we come out. Not only that but if we say we're black our recruits must come from Negroes, they can't come from white folk. And while there are thousands more people in the City of

St. Louis and East St. Louis there are only a handful here tonight, and if we are to be successful, it is our job to make sure the next time that every black person in St. Louis and East St. Louis is in here. So, we must understand this concept.

The third concept is perhaps a little bit harder to grasp and understand. That's because we have been living inside the continental borders of the United States and we have allowed white people to define us, not only the country, the geography, the atmosphere, but they have also defined us. Now the third concept. For black people the question of community is not just simply a question of mind, it is a question of our people and where they are. For black people the question of community is not just simply a question of land, it is a question of our people and where they are. That means to say that if we understand the concept if we have people in American, anywhere in America where we go where the people are we are home. For example, if we went to Chicago. Well, that's a bad example. Let me take another one. I'll tell you why, I'll come back to it. If you went to Los Angeles, you would not be at home until you were in Watts. If you went to New York, you would not be at home until you were in Harlem. If you went to Chicago, since the whole city is just about black, then you could be at home there, the south side and the west side; and if you went to

Washington, D. C., the whole city is black people, then you're home, anywhere you go is home. Now if we understood that concept, then we could do the thing that Brother Malcolm X was trying to do, we could understand in our minds that wherever black people are, we are at home. That means if you go to Haiti, you're home. If you go to the island of Puerto Rico where 60% of the people are African, you're home, home, home. If you go to Cuba, the prettiest little island on the face of the earth, 65% of the population is African, the outcome being you're home. If you go to Brazil, 50% of the population is black, Guatamala 65%, Venezuela 45%, Santa Domingo 65%, Panama 45%, Dominican Republic 47%. The stretch all along the northeastern portion of South America is populated with Africans. You leave there you go to the West Indies. The entire West Indies is populated with people of African descent, you're home and baby when you touch the motherland you know you're home for sure.

But in order to understand that concept we have to redefine ourselves. We cannot call ourselves American Negroes, which are different from Cuban Negroes, which are different from Puerto Rican Negroes, which are different from Brazilian Negroes. No, we are people of African descent, all of us. We come from Africa, all of us. We had absolutely nothing to say about where we would be born. The white man

stole us from Africa, dropped us in the West Indies, dropped us in Brazil, dropped us in Panama, dropped us in the United States and even took some to Canada, those that didn't make it. Nobody of African descent sitting in this room knows who his ancestors are, nobody does. So for you to see a black man from Brazil and start to talk about fighting him, you might be fighting your own blood brother for real.

And we must develop rapidly because the United States is going to do what it's always done to fight black people against black people. When the Dominican Republic had its uprising, it was black soldiers that the United States sent into the Dominican Republic to suppress black people. Black man fighting black man, but the Nigger was against fighting with the American Negro. He ain't nothing but a Nigger.

And until we begin to understand those concepts in our mind, more and more we will be used against our own people. Just like they are using the South Vietnamese against their brother North Vietnam, they will be using black people in American against black people in South America, the West Indies and in Africa. And when most of the (UNINTELLIGIBLE) if they ever invade a black country, we'll burn their city down to the ground.

So we have to understand those three concepts realistically because it depends upon our very survival.

Nowthen, let me just make a slight differentiation between Negroes and Africans because it's important. Brother Chico writes this down very well. He says when the white man went to Africa and stole us, he didn't steal any Negroes, he stole Africans or black people. He didn't steal no Negroes. When they came to Africa, we were free Africans or black people. When they brought us here, we were slaves and we became Negroes. So that means that slavery and Negro is the same. You've got to understand that concept as Brother Chico says it took the white man 300 and some odd years to make us Negroes, but understand deeply the concept of Negroes versus Africans. If you say you are Negro, you trace your ancestry back to the United States, and what that means is that you trace your ancestry back to slavery so that no matter what you do you begin in slavery, and like everything else if you beginning is slavery you can hope to be nothing but a slave. The best you can do is hope to be a good slave.

If you say that you are African, you trace your ancestry back not to people who were free, but people who gave civilization to the world, you are African, and then you can aspire to be as great as your ancestors were, Shackagulu (PHONETIC), Umzuligazzi (PHONETIC), Hannibal, all of the mighty warriors of this country. Then you can (UNINTELLIGIBLE)

. I mean, if you

don't know that, you could never aspire to be like Hannibal and Shackagulu (PHONETIC) and Jazzah (PHONETIC), you could only aspire to be a Benjamin Banaker. Don't laugh, because that's what they're write down on you now as Negro history. Benjamin Banaker, even though he was a slave, served his masters well. Crispus Attucks, even though he was a slave and his brothers were in chains, died for white folk fighting the British. No concept, you can't deal with that. You can't fight for anybody if you're a slave. If I'm a slave, I'm gonna fight to kill my master and set my people free. That's the only job I got, and unless we consciously understand that, they are gonna run this Negro education stuff down our children's throats, and they will come out singing praises to slaves, who even though they were slaves, served their country well. If I'm a slave and the country is at war, I'm helping the enemy whoop them to death.

We can educate our people with a man like Crispus Attucks to show that black people have always been loyal, but we don't emanate Crispus Attucks. He was a fool. He was a fool. While the English from England were fighting the English from this country, he should have teamed up with the Indians and whooped them both.

So then, we have to understand very clearly the difference between Negro, African and black man. No Negro, we're African or we're black people. Must be. Can't be

nothing like a Negro. There ain't no such thing.

Now then, having used those concepts we must begin to move forward and we must begin to move forward in an organizational manner. And don't let anybody tell you that we can't get organized. We the most organized of the peoples in the world. Look what we are; Masons, (UNINTELLIGIBLE), Eastern Stars and Muslims (UNINTELLIGIBLE)

We just organizing, organizing. The only problem with our organizing in the past is that we organized to accommodate the white man. Today we must organize to fight the white man. You don't have to be scared when I say fight the white man. I'm not even scared because I know you won't have to fight him anyway. It don't bother me. I know you gonna have to fight him cause he's gonna fight you. Just for our survival we are going to have to fight. For we must stop kidding ourselves, we must stop playing games and we must say black people got to get, to get, to get some guns. We have to get guns. Get guns of any kind to (UNINTELLIGIBLE)

. Negro, get some guns. Get some guns. The same type of guns the police got, the same type of guns the National Guard got, the same type of guns the Army got, that's the type of guns we gotta get because they are gonna supply us our ammunition for us (UNINTELLIGIBLE). I learned that from my Field Marshal Don Cox. It's very

important. He said don't go out there and get no fancy pearl handle, Spanish beretta gun, the only one that got nine bullets. Get you a gun like the pig got so when you kill him you got a bullet (UNINTELLIGIBLE) . I know that many of our people get afraid of this talk of guns, but I'm preaching equality. You see white woman on television getting instructions on how to shoot don't you, but if you believe in equality if a white woman got a gun, black woman should have a gun.

You're talking about Rap Brown and Stokely Carmichael, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, HUEY Everett (UNINTELLIGIBLE), LOUIE NEWTON, or all these other Niggers running around the country talking about get guns, starting trouble. (UNINTELLIGIBLE) you see on television, you read in the papers, white folk getting guns. If you believe in equality, then you get the same thing the white man does.

You cannot talk about equality if I got an M-16 under my arm and you got a switchblade. That is not equality. That's why when the brothers get one on the street they call it an equalizer. So I don't think we need to talk much longer about guns.

Now I know the questions that black people always ask. (UNINTELLIGIBLE). Alright, I'll tell you. There are three fair ways to get anything you want. You work for it,

you beg for it, or you take it. Now you can either work for a gun, beg for a gun, or take a gun. Don't get scared. The white man didn't work for America, you work for America. The white man didn't beg for America, he took America. The white man didn't work for you or beg for you, he took you from Africa. So don't raise with me any moral issues. Black people don't have time for morality. We're fighting for our lives. We have no moral responsibility to white people, only moral responsibility to each other. We can totally disrespect the white man because not only has he never had any force, he still doesn't have any force. So those black people who raise questions about getting guns, it is not that they don't know how to get them, they are afraid to get them, and we should work with them and tell them why it is necessary for them to have a gun.

But now we have to go back to the concept of undying love to understand that getting guns alone don't get people where they at. We'll discuss that a little bit later on. Let us talk a little bit more about organization.

There are three levels basically on which we can organize ourselves, politically, educationally and economically. Politically speaking neither of the parties, conventional parties of the United States, speak to the needs of black people. The Republican Party and the Democratic Party, is

totally irrelevant to the lives of black people. (UNINTELLIGIBLE)
But what happens is that my mother gives her labor and sweat
to this white woman who then pays my mother about \$30 a week,
and because my mother stays home, she's able to go out and
make some more money so she is (UNINTELLIGIBLE). Let me give
you another example. My father is a carpenter, or was a
carpenter, a very good carpenter, an excellent carpenter.
My father was (UNINTELLIGIBLE) because he didn't have any
money to buy the materials to build a house. A white man
would have the capital so he would employ my father to build
a house. My father would build the best house for about \$30,
\$40, \$50, maybe \$60 a week when it was good season. When my
father finished the house, the white man sell the house for
about \$25,000, \$30,000 or \$35,000. The white man would then
get all the profit. What happened was that my father, who
had the labor and skill, had to give all of his sweat to this
white man who just had capital, money. Because the white man
had the money he could make my father work for him for money.
We live in a capitalist society. Now the white man must at
some point stole money somewhere, because he and my great,
great, great grandfather came into the world owning nothing.
So somewhere the white man stole money somewhere. I know
that he stole the United States of America. I know that.
I know he stole Africa. I know he stole Asia. I know he

stole Latin America. I'm not sure how he stole Europe, or as some people say, I'm not sure how he came out of the caves.

Now imperialism is where the country that exploits another country, and let me try to give a example of that. In Cuba before the mighty and great Fidel Castro took over and beat America, the Cuban people were forced to pick sugar cane for 40¢ a week. When they picked sugar cane for 40¢ a week, the United States would bring the sugar cane here, manufacture it into sugar, sell it to the rest of the world and sell it back to Cuba at a profit. So while Cuba had the resources and the labor, all the United States provided was the capital and took everything and did not divide the profits with the laborers. That basically is an imperialist country. The United States today is the leader of world imperialism. She exploits Africa, Asia and Latin America. So we have to understand that our (UNINTELLIGIBLE). What are we fighting for (UNINTELLIGIBLE). A society free of capitalism and exploitation. That's what we have to fight for. Of course, we could become black imperialists, and then the world would hate us too, just like they hate them. But we're not going to become (UNINTELLIGIBLE). We cannot imitate (UNINTELLIGIBLE) and create. Besides, we couldn't be imperialistic capitalists, we would be exploiting Africa. Why should our flesh and blood (UNINTELLIGIBLE)? We can't exploit our own people. So we

have to understand that. (UNINTELLIGIBLE) as being thrown around too loosely. Everyone is talking about (UNINTELLIGIBLE) the black stage of revolution. So don't say such a thing as the black revolution. A revolution does not begin until someone seizes power and over throws and changes the system for the masses of people. That's where the revolution begins. A revolution does not begin until you seize power. Black people ain't seized the gun, let alone power.

Let me give you an example. Fidel Castro fought in the Sierra (UNINTELLIGIBLE) for several years but that was not the Cuban revolution. The Cuban revolution did not begin until Fidel Castro walked into Havanna, Cuba, kicked Batista and the American lackies out and said this day I claim this island for the masses of the people of Cuba. Then the revolution began. Then the revolution began, because then Fidel was able to do with the system what he wanted. He had the power. He could make the system fight and work for the masses of people. Before that point he couldn't do anything.

So what stage preceeds a revolution? The ^{stage} ~~state~~ that preceeds a revolution is called arms struggle. That's when the forces, the revolutionary forces, are fighting against the counter-revolutionary forces. Black people in this country are beginning to go into the stage of arms struggle. We have to declare it in our terms. So we understand arms struggle and we understand revolution.

Now what is a revolutionary. In order to be a revolutionary, one must pick up a gun. But merely picking up the gun does not make one a revolutionary. You must understand that. In order to be a revolutionary, one must pick up the gun. So we can say that picking up the gun to be a revolutionary picking up the gun is necessary, but it is not sufficient. Once one has the gun one must be armed with the political ideology that speaks for the masses of our people. Must. Must. Those two things combined makes one a revolutionary. There are a whole lot of Niggers that got guns. They are not revolutionaries. There are a lot of brothers with guns in Vietnam. They are not revolutionaries. They are not revolutionaries. There are a lot of brothers who get guns and shoot each other. They are not revolutionaries. There is nothing revolutionary about shooting a Nigger. Niggers been doing that, Nigger. So that we say that a revolutionary is someone who has picked up the gun, is willing to kill for his people, not die. Anybody can die. Kill for his people. Kill for his people. Anybody can die for his people. Kill for his people and armed with a political ideology that speaks to the masses (UNINTELLIGIBLE).

Now then what is a black militant, because there is a difference between a black militant and a black revolutionary. A revolutionary seeks to change the entire system of America, over throw the racists and capitalist system.

A black militant is a Nigger who is angry that he has been kept out of the United States. He just yelling to become part of the United States. That's a black militant. And you see a lot of black militants. I see them on TV all the time. If you don't give us a positive program, we'll burn your city down. A man comes along and gives him \$20,000 a year. Cool it baby. Cool it. Cool it. Cool it baby. Cool it. Cool it. Cool it.

So we must understand the difference between a black militant and a black revolutionary. A black militant wants in. A black revolutionary wants to over throw, destroy, over turn, disrupt, tear down and beat up.

Then we must talk about revolutionary violence and counter-revolutionary violence. Killing is a political act. Killing is a political act when it is involved with armed forces. It is always a political act when involved in armed forces. A black soldier killing a yellow man in Vietnam today is committing a political act. That's a fact. A white policeman shooting a Nigger in the street is committing a political act. A black man shooting a cop, a hunky racist cop, is committing a political act. A black man snipping at a policeman is committing a political act. Black people mean to become political.

Counter-revolutionary violence is violence that's used to keep the status quo. That's counter-revolutionary

violence. Revolutionary violence is violence that is aimed to overthrow the status quo. The police force is involved in counter-revolutionary violence because they aim to maintain the status quo. The brothers who are snipping policemen are a revolutionary force aimed to overthrow the counter-revolutionary force because they are engaged in arms struggle (UNINTELLIGIBLE). It makes sense.

Now then, why the police force? We have to talk about that at some length. I didn't know it would take this long. When a people begin to fight, there are three levels they learn on when they begin to fight revolutionary warfare. The first is that they attack the symbols of oppression, which are not always human. That is are things, objects. Secondly, they attack the tools of oppression. These are human and non-human. That is to say, they may be men and they may be things, objects, and finally to attack the oppressor himself. That's always human. Our people, black people in this country, have showed and demonstrated a revolutionary consciousness. We have moved against the symbols of oppression. That's the stores. They represented the first blatant symbol of oppression for us. You go into a store, hunky owns it, he insults you, he charges you high prices for rotten goods, blah, blah, blah, blah. See he goes. His store is burned. That's the first level.

The second leved is the tool of the oppressor. The tool of the oppressor represents the occupied force, the police force; and that's why there is more and more snipping incidents and there will be more and more snipping incidents in our community. They cannot print them. They will not print them, but baby it's going on. They're snipping left and right, morning, noon and night. And the policemen represent the forces that come into the community to keep our people, to control our people, and to make sure our people do not move out of the boxes that we have been put in by the oppressor himself. The occupied forces may be the same color as we are. They may be. They will have to define on which side they stand on the fence by their actions.

Because of the effects of colonization on us, the oppressed usually tries to identify with the oppressor in the means where he can oppress the oppressed more brutally than the oppressor. That's a black cop trying to be more hunky on a black man than a white man. And we must try and understand why he does these things, and if we understand, perhaps we can deal with them. We can say to him the first time, dig it brother, or you don't have to come down so hard on the brother. I mean it ain't your store, really you don't get nothing for it but a hard way to go. The second time around, look it brother. You don't have to hit him so hard,

I mean like you did brother. (UNINTELLIGIBLE) covers you. We're down her catching the aches. Ain't no reason for you to jump on him so hard brother (UNINTELLIGIBLE). The third time we say, look brother, this is our fight, all of us. The man using you against us and he wants us to get mad with you and we start fighting each other. Now we trying to stop that brother. We come to you slack three times, next time you die. For we gave him time because we have undying love. I'm very serious about that because a colonized people begin to fight they are so anxious to fight each other, that they don't get a chance to get to the enemy. That's right and unless we are conscious of the fact that we shouldn't always jump to kill somebody else who is our color and dressed as we are, we're going to be in trouble. So we should not always want to fight, and if we really have undying love, if you have undying love, it's gonna hurt you when you have to punish your own. So if we have to kill one of our own, we should really be hurt about it. I mean sincerely hurt about it. As hurt as we would be if we had to commit one of our children to a youth reformatory school. That's how hurt we must be. Once we get like that, then we're moving in the right path. But we have to understand that undying love because I'm deadly serious about that. The police force represents them breaking our forces of our community and we have to actively engage in ware against them.

Now let me explain something about self defense and aggressive violence. Of course, I'm not teaching aggressive violence because that's against the law, and I ain't going to jail for what I say. That's a fight for white folk. They fighting for free speech. I'm fighting for my rights. I ain't going to jail for what I say. If I go to jail, it's gonna be for what I do.

Well now, let me explain to you vaguely without concrete terms about self defense and aggressive violence. Chico Neblett says, and he's correct, that in self defense you never ever change anything. Things remains the same. All you do is stay in your little rat hole, and when they come to get you, you shoot it out, but you never get out of the rat hole. Let me give you an example, just an example. This is not concrete. It's abstract. If the United States was a racist country and if they weren't democratic, of course, we know they're democratic, and if they had black people chained up in ghettos all over this country, and if they had white policemen beating up black people indiscriminately and if black people decided to arm themselves and everytime a policeman shot one, they shot a policeman, things would never change. They would always stay in the ghetto. The only difference is that the policeman may not overtly move against them. But if the black people wanted to change things, they would

have to aggressively move against the police force, only theoretical. Only theoretical. So that in order to change, those people who want, theoretically speaking, must move against the oppressor. They must move against them. They just cannot stand and defend themselves. Self defense will never change anything. It will just keep them alive. Brother Malcolm X (UNINTELLIGIBLE) theoretically speaking that if black people in this country wanted revolutionary change then we would have to move aggressively. How then would we move aggressively? How then would we move aggressively? Brother Malcolm X used to talk, but unfortunately a lot of us wasn't listening when he was serious. We wanted to listen to when he was bad. You know when he was militant: Beat up the white man. Go shoot him down. Yeh man, go get him now. Go get him now. (UNINTELLIGIBLE) but when the brother was serious, we were waiting for the (UNINTELLIGIBLE), you know (UNINTELLIGIBLE). We got to get out of there. We got to get serious. There's a quote that Brother Malcolm has and I repeat the quote to you. I paraphrase it because I cannot remember it correctly. He says show me a Frenchman who has fought in Indochina, and I will show you a white man who has the shakes. Show me a Frenchman who has fought in Algeria, and I will show you a white man who has the shakes. He continues by saying show me any white man who has faced a guerrilla, and I will show you a white man

who has the shakes. (UNINTELLIGIBLE). Brother Malcolm X said we need to go into guerrilla warfare because he said in guerrilla warfare after-dark evens the score. We have to understand the concept of the guerrilla. We have to know

We have to know how to move as a guerrilla. You never had a confrontation with a force superior to you. You never had a confrontation with a force superior to you. A guerrilla picks his ground to fight his battle and wins--and wins--and wins. A guerrilla is not a martyr. He's not concerned with dying. He's concerned with killing and living to kill again. A guerrilla is not wild. He's wise. He's deathly. He's like a panther. You never see him. He strikes and before you know you dead, he's gone. But there are a lot of things we need to know about guerrillas. A guerrilla has the respect and admiration of his people. A guerrilla has the respect and admiration of his people. He works to bring his people together so that if he is in trouble, he can run to any place and be assured of a hiding place. A guerrilla works for respect and the uplifting of his entire community. A guerrilla don't walk around cursing, showing guns, being bad, militant. A guerrilla is a gentleman at all times, a leader in the community helping any way he can all peoples in the community, and a guerrilla never attacks his own people, except in self defense. This was revolutionary. Whenever you see the news, you hear 17,000 North Vietnamese killed today, 100 American soldiers. You never hear South Vietnamese being killed do you. That's because when I was in Hanoi the liberation forces of Vietnma told me they never attack the South Vietnames unless it is in self defense. As

a matter of fact, they run from the South Vietnamese even though they could kill them because they recognize the South Vietnamese's minds are mixed up and the real enemy is the imperialists of the United States of America.

The South Vietnamese are puppets. The North Vietnamese know that. If they shoot a puppet, the white man gonna put another puppet there, and if they shoot the white man, there ain't no more puppets. We must understand this about the Uncle Toms in our people. Don't be shooting them, unless he moves against us. Make him irrelevant. This is the one we're after. Because if you shoot one Uncle Tom, they're gonna get another. If you shoot him, then they gonna get another, but if you shoot him, Uncle Tom won't come home.

The guerrilla can never loud mouth. The guerrilla can never say what he has done, what he can do and who he is going to do it too. The guerrilla is known only to his small group of people. In the cities they tell me it should be no more than three. No more than three. That protects the guerrilla organization. If one guerrilla is picked up before he knows his two other people that's all they can get. If the guerrilla moves in a group of ten and they pick up one, and he talks that's ten gone. And don't say you won't talk because you don't know how much punishment you can take. If you know only two, you can't tell no more than two. The

guerrilla is never hot tempered. If he's walking the street and a white policeman and another white policeman there, he's outnumbered jacking up some brother, he doesn't loud mouth. He checks out the badge numbers and move away. Leave the loudmouthing to the people who are top ground. That's not the job of the guerrilla because those on top ain't got but so much more time to go anyhow. Let the guerrilla pick the badge number he wants. His job is to live to fight. His job is not to educate the masses. His job at this point is to fight, to let the masses to organize, to be the bulk grounds to educate. If they're not educating the masses correctly, the guerrilla should visit them.

If we're talking about revolution if we shock you (UNINTELLIGIBLE) and being black militants, then we don't talk about this. But if we're talking about sure enough blood bath revolution, this is what we got to get into. I'm not worried because black people got to fight. Got to fight.

Now we have in St. Louis some brave warriors. We have WAYMON THORNTON on the Zulu's, CHARLES KOHN of the Black Liberators. Young, strong men but they begin to direct, educate and lead our people. They will make mistakes. We all do. We all will. But if the masses of people are moving consciously with them, they can help direct them in the proper path. It is our job to do that, not to

criticize them for the sake of criticizing but so to criticize them constructively and warding out alternatives for incorrect paths they have taken. They need our help. All of them. They need your help specifically on a day-to-day basis. They need your help specifically on a day-to-day basis. (UNINTELLIGIBLE) they can't develop into true leaders of our people. We need leaders. We desperately need leaders because we don't have none, and that's the worst thing you can say for a people. Ain't got, and those that we got teach us (UNINTELLIGIBLE). Everytime you turn around and when they get snatched and try to organize, and the Negro has to be militant, (UNINTELLIGIBLE)

Well, he's only facing fact that he's in jail for saying things that made you feel good. That's all. May be too much (UNINTELLIGIBLE). So the white man wants to isolate him so the white man puts a restriction on him. Of course, he can break restriction and face three more years or five years. That ain't too long to lose in jail. (UNINTELLIGIBLE) nothing that ain't worth it. It ain't worth it. The brother should stay where he is and he should have our support and we should let him know when they touch him, someone gonna go down. Nobody has to doubt it (UNINTELLIGIBLE) Nobody else gonna talk bad about the hunky Niggers (UNINTELLIGIBLE). Might make some mistakes. But he was doing what he thought was best. Everybody who (UNINTELLIGIBLE)

him or (UNINTELLIGIBLE). We have many political prisoners in jail today. The jails are overflowing with them. There's Huey P. NEWTON. We are not worried about the brothers really because our decision is made. When they make their decision if that decision is guilty, the sky is the limit. That's already done so we don't have to talk about that.

Now you have people in jail here. How many? Thousands. You have a lieutenant from the black warriors picked up for protecting ADAM CLAYTON POWELL (UNINTELLIGIBLE) because someone had threatened ADAM CLAYTON POWELL's life. He was doing what he thought was correct, whether right or wrong, he was doing what he thought was correct and moving in the fashion which he thought was accurate. Can't let him sleep in jail. Got to get him out. At this stage we need our people on the streets with us, not in jail. If they can cut off the leadership before the movement develops, the struggle is set back.

(UNINTELLIGIBLE)

All them other Niggers say you can't do that man. Don't do that. Here, he's our people. He's good. The Nigger got to go, Nigger. And all the protestation and demonstrations would not stop them from putting ADAM CLAYTON POWELL out of office. The vote is total government because power does not come from the vote. Power as Mao Tse Sung says, comes from

the barrel of the gun. Because if we had understood that just imagine all those black people who came to the Capitol to demonstrate for Brother POWELL. If we all walked up there with guns and said Nigger is staying.

I will give you another example of power with the gun, among white folk. You've been watching the Democratic Convention. Did you check it out last night? All those white folk up there that (UNINTELLIGIBLE)

That's what he says is that when you go to school you only learn what people think you should learn, what they think is good, what they believe in and what their society has been brought up in. In other words, you help perpetuate a system when you become educated in that system. So you've got to understand education is not truth. Education is propaganda. Let me give you an example. Young lady, who discovered America? Young lady, who discovered America? No Christopher Columbus did not discover America. But all of us thinks he did. Christopher Columbus didn't discover America. America was here when the hunky came. I want to use that example in another (UNINTELLIGIBLE). Because just as everybody believes that Christopher Columbus discovered America so you believe in America, (UNINTELLIGIBLE) and motherhood. Yes, because it has been drummed down on all of our minds. All of us believe that Christopher Columbus discovered America, and when we say Christopher Columbus discovered America (UNINTELLIGIBLE)

That is not to say that we shouldn't fight because the white man controls everything. That should be more of a stimulus to fight because he controls everything.

Now (UNINTELLIGIBLE)

the poverty program down our throats, and the poverty program is aimed to do two things and only two things. Number one, divide and split the black community, and number two, control the leadership of the black community. And I do not think there is any need for us to go into an explanation of that. The poverty program has been around this country long enough for all of us to know what they are doing and will continue to do. Therefore, if we become involved in the poverty program, it should be used for one reason and one reason only to bring our people together. (UNINTELLIGIBLE)

Now we want to talk especially for this community about two things. It's going to be long. Are you people tired? That's good, because we got armed men guarding the back. If you said yes, you couldn't get out anyhow.

We want to talk about the difference between colonization and exploitation, and then move into the need for unity and the formation of a black united front in this area, specifically talking about the destruction and position of the black community but without specifically talking about those in this area because while I know they exist, I cannot speak on them because I do not live here on a day-to-day basis. It is up to the people who are involved in those division and (UNINTELLIGIBLE) to sit down and work them out for the benefit of our people, for the benefit of the masses of our people.

There are two types of oppression we want to deal with basically, exploitation and colonization. Exploitation is when one person oppresses another person economically. Therefore, the only form of oppression is taking money from them, using the (UNINTELLIGIBLE) to get another person rich. That's exploitation. That's all we have to consider. The oppression just has to do with money. Colonization on the other hand is different. It does not only have to do with oppression for the sake of monetary wealth, it has to do with oppression for the sake of dehumanizing the individual.

Now let me show you why there is a differentiation. In exploitation is when same race are involved. For example, if a white person is oppressing another white person, that's exploitation. He's just taking money from that person, just money. For example, you got rich white people and poor white people. Poor white people are exploited. They have the same values, the same systems, the same way of life, the same history, the same language as rich white people. All they need is money. Having once obtained that money they can melt into a system. That's different from someone who is colonized. When you're colonized, the question of race comes into play. Colonization is when one race totally oppresses another race solely because of their race. We are a colonized people. That is to say not only are we striped of moeny, we are striped of our culture, our values, our language, our history, our total way of life. Poor white people are not dehumanized. They try to (UNINTELLIGIBLE) poor white people, and poor black people have the same problem. We do not have the same problem. If you had all the money in the world when you walk down the street you would still be a Nigger. If you had all the money in the world, you still do not have the same values, the same culture, the same system, or the same way of life as an European because you're basically African. And I'll find you out everytime. I'll see you sitting up there with white folk and I'll go in there and slip an Uretha

Franklin in on you. (UNINTELLIGIBLE)

and we must begin to understand that because as we move our allies must be not people who are exploited necessarily but people who are also colonized. Because the fight of colonized people is for humanity. The fight for exploited people is for more money. You've got to understand that. We, black people, in this country are not only fighting for economic security we are fighting for our very humanity. That means we fight and the forces of the world will fight for humanity. That's very, very important. Because we're really a dehumanized people. We are so dehumanized we cannot hate our oppressor. That's how dehumanized we are because all human people hate their oppressors, but dehumanized people cannot even hate their oppressor, and because we are dehumanized, we do not function on emotions because if we did we would know that emotions operate in opposites. For every action there is a reaction. That is a fact of life. For hot, there's cold. For joy, there is sorrow. For laughter, there is tears. For love, there is hate, and if you love you got to hate, or you at least got to know about hate. But when we say we do not hate our oppressors, it is because we do not love our people. We do not love our people. Because if we loved our people, we would have to hate our oppressor for what they are doing to our people. If you have a child, you love that child, but if somebody comes to attack and kill that child,

what would you do to that somebody? You'd kill him. But it's because we do not have that undying love for our people that when a Nigger gets show we can turn our heads and walk away. Ah, I don't hat the white man. I don't hate the rich white man. If it was your child lying in the street, you'd kill him. Kill him. That's all you'd talk about. Until we have an undying love for our people, we ain't going no where. Don't let the white man tell you there ain't no such thing as hate. You tell him hunky, we don't hate you, we love our people and its love that motivates us to ruin you when you oppress against our people. If we can understand that motivation, then it's positive. I love my mother. I love my wife. I love my sisters. I don't want nobody laying their filthy hands on them. If anybody does, then either I die or they die. Now if we were to fill that way about all our people, there would be no problem in this country. If we felt that way about all our people, there would be no problem in this country. I don't care if my sister is a prostitute on the corner, I don't want nobody putting their hands on her because she's my flesh and my blood. So that if she was a prostitute and somebody tried to slap her and I saw it, I'd kill him. Undying love. Undying love. Not hate, undying love because we love we must surrive and perpetuate, and because we love, we will fight to surrive and perpetuate.

No then to a black united front. There is need for a black united front I think specifically in this area. That decision again would depend upon the organizations as they came together and see how to work out those problems, but they need to get together so that we can stop the infighting and inbickering that's going on inside the people that say they getting themselves together, because the infighting in little organizations never benefits the masses of our people. The masses of black people in this country today are unorganized. Nobody speaks for the masses of black people in this country today. They are totally unorganized. That's a fact. That's a fact. The people who are most organized happen to be people from the bourgeoisie. That is always a fact of any colonized people. The people who do the organizing are the bourgeoisie who have been closest to the oppressor. They've learned the means of making isms of organizing and the structure of the oppressor, and they do the organizing. Today more and more we see the masses of people beginning to organize, but they are still not organized and nobody speaks for them. No organization speaks for them. Any Nigger who jumps up and says he speaks for them is jiving himself and the white man, but he ain't jiving us. If we want to organize the masses of our people, we have to form a black united front for a number of reasons. Number one, our people are tired of black people fighting

black people. They're tired of it. If we say we're concerned about our people, we have to begin to show them that at least the organizational structures can come together and not fight each other. That sets a tone for unity in our community and begins to make the masses of our people more consciously aware to the need for organization. But until that organization of organizations comes about, black people on the street they don't care. Yeh, I see him fighting you, him cutting. They're not concerned. They're not concerned.

Now when you form a black united front, it does not mean that you give up your identity or your ideology. Each group maintains its ideology, maintains its identity, but comes together for the purpose of working out programs, establishing an atmosphere of unite and allowing those people who are going to organize to begin to organize the masses of our people as we move out, as we move out. That means you don't say, NAACP you come on and you got to become a Zulu or a Warrior or a Black Liberator. No, all these groups can sit down together. Zulus, Warriors, the NAACP, the Urban League, everybody can sight down together inside a black united front and work concretely towards uniform goals for the community. And no group should ever publicly attack another group, never. If I do not agree with Roy Wilkins, I will never get up and say Roy Wilkins he ain't got no followers but the white man. I'll never say that. I will say my

program is a, b, c, d, e, f, g. Mr. Wilkins, you tell us what your program is. Let the people decide and that you should force all the organization sin your community to do the same. Anytime one attacks the other, he's jiving because there's no need for him to be attacking another black man. Just work positively and (UNINTELLIGIBLE), no matter how treacherous the other black man is. But the fact that a black man attacks another black man shows the weakness of his program. His only program is to attack everybody else and that's not a program. That's not a program. So we have to understand consciously the need for uniting, the need for a black united front, for our very survival we need a black united front, for our very survival because a man can isolate the so-called extremist groups. If he gets rid of the, then he move on the entire community. But if the entire community is organized and united for survival, he has to move against the entire community, and he's not ready for that yet, yet. We're fighting time. It's a question of whether we can organize before he's ready. So there isn't very much time.

Okay, then to try and organize very quickly. I didn't know it would take this long (UNINTELLIGIBLE). We want to try and move programmatically by defining some of the terms that are thrown around loosely. Now black people are fighting two evils in this society. We're fighting

racism and capitalism, and we must understand that because too many times we see black people talk about they gonna be a black capitalist, and when they say that they do not understand what they're fighting. We're also fighting capitalism and to make it black capitalism is just gonna make it more treacherous. It's gonna mean we're gonna be fighting black people because today there are not black capitalists. There are some aspiring people to be black capitalists, but capitalists is a producer of goods. Don't know no black person in this country can do nothing with cosmetics. That's (UNINTELLIGIBLE) and what they're going to try to do is to build factories and put black people in those positions so that we will now have black people exploiting us. It's the same thing America does wherever she goes. She divides people against people and that's how she fights the wars. North Korea against South Korea. North Vietnam against South Vietnam, and today the western powers have Niafra fighting Algeria, and if we're not careful, we'll have black people fighting black people with guns and arms in this country. So we have to understand our fight is against racism and capitalism or imperialism, which is the highest stage of capitalism. Now then we should define racism, capitalism and imperialism very quickly because time is running out. Racism is one race deciding to subjugate another race solely because of its race. While people have

decided to subjugate black people because we're black. If we decide to fight white people because they are racists, that does not make us racists. It makes us anti-racists. Because if we are not clearly in our minds, they will say we are reverse racists or we're just like them and we will be confused. We cannot be confused. We are not fighting white people because they are white, we are fighting them because they think they are better than us because they are white. That's racism. So we have to be crystal clear in our minds. Now capitalism we talked about the producer of goods. I'll give you some examples. Essentially capitalism is where (UNINTELLIGIBLE)

We must begin to develop our scope internationally because we never do. We just talk about it. We (UNINTELLIGIBLE) in the United States. This man is stretched out all over the world. He's like an octopus. He's got a leg in several countries, and if they can chop all the legs in all the other countries, we can stab the eye right here because (UNINTELLIGIBLE). (UNINTELLIGIBLE) We must understand which people are fighting to cut off the legs of the octopus so we can support them. We should not always say that we're not going to go to Vietnam, but we should say the North Vietnamese are our comrades in arms. The North Vietnamese are fighting against the United States of America. That's who we fighting against.

A blow for the North Vietnames against the United States makes us stronger because it makes the United States weaker. Now we can always be conscious of the brotherhood especially with this war program they gonna be throwing people in jail, so we can develop new tactics. When a bunch of brothers gonna get drafted, don't say hell no, you won't get drafted. March down, volunteer. Tell the man look here I want to kill the enemy. I want to wipe my enemy out everytime I see him. Traim me good (UNINTELLIGIBLE) . I'll kill my enemy everytime I get a chance. Give me a gun. I want to kill my enemy, and If they draft you, kill our enemy everywhere you see him. Kill him. On the streets of New York, in the jungles of Vietnam, wherever you see our enemy, kill the beast. I'm supporting the United States. I want to kill the enemy. I'm imploring to all the young black people to go into the Army, learn how to kill, learn guerrilla tactics, use it and practice it on the enemy and then come home with it and teach.

We have to understand the role that China plays, what China is today in the world. China is stopping the United States. That's why she don't (UNINTELLIGIBLE). Mao Tse-tung has one million armed Chinese people to the teeth ready to fight, die and kill for Mao and their people. Can't nobody dispute it. So we don't have to worry about China. Whatever the Chinese do is good. We don't care.

They ain't doing nothing to us. Really, they doing it to them, and we must differentiate them from us and us from them. Sometime we get mixed up. Someone of us thinks we're them.

Let me help you clarify the issue about Cuba. We should support Fidel Castro. 65% of Cuba is black. They never tell us this because they don't want us to identify with them. But aside from that what can a little island like Cuba do to the United States of America? What could they do? Cuba is good. If you get a passport, you go to Cuba. So you get a passport, you go any place you want to go. Tell Lyndon Baines Johnson he's not your father. He can't tell you where to go, who to talk to. He ain't nothing but a hunky. I went to China. I went to North Vietnam. I went to Cuba. I went to Algeria. I went to Syria. I went to Egypt. I got my passport back, and I'm going again. They want to stop us from going to these places because when you go there, you learn. They don't want you to learn. They want to educate us.

We must understand the conflict in the Middle East between the so-called State of Israel and the Arabs, and we must say that we stand fullpack behind the Arab world. And don't be afraid when you say that the Jews gonna say you anti-Semitic. You gonna get scared? Did you know the Arabs were also a Semitic people? Did you know that? Yes, and

when the Jews tell you you're anti-Semitic they are racists because they are saying the Arabs who are dark-skinned people are not also Semitic. Not only that, what do you know about the history of the so-called State of Israel? Did you know that in 1917, an Englishman by the name of Lord Belfor gave Palestine to the Zionists. He just gave it to them. He said here you can have it. There were thousands of Arabs living there, and the Zionists went into there and bombed there, murdered them using terrorist activity, drove them out, and then they said this country belongs to us. We have to understand politically what's going on in the world. We stand with the Arabs. Not only that, Africa is our former land. The so-called State of Israel right now is occupying Egypt. Egypt is in Africa. Don't tell me they ain't because that issue is gonna become very important when the United States of America starts sending troops to the so-called State of Israel and all the liberal Jewish people in this country will tell us to be on their side. We're gonna tell him wherever we find a Zionist we gonna tear him out, be it in the ghettos of our country or in the Middle East.

We have been asleep too long. We have been asleep too long. They have been taking our mothers, sisters, brothers, uncles aunts and grandmas, and we have been sleeping through it. We've got to wake up. We've got to wake up. We've got to wake up. We got to wake up. Our struggle is

not going to be a small or easy struggle. It's going to be hard, long and bloody. It's going to be hard, long and bloody. What we have seen in the past two years is going to be a picnic compared to what we have to see. There are times when we have to step into each others blood to run to get away to fight another day. We must be prepared for that day. Now I'm not worried about that people fighting because a revolutionary state is here because revolution is there when the contradictions are heightened. Fair talking people don't make revolutions. The heightening of contradictions and the people at the right time create revolution. The contradictions are heightened. We are the people whether we like it or not, and the historic time is here. We've got to fight. We've got to fight. There's no place for us to run. Asia is on fire. Latin America thank God for a maligning move against them is on fire, and Africa is going to be burning very swiftly. We may as well know where to fight. We got to fight. We may want to run and hide but our color is gonna make us visible. We got to fight. The law has listened to us well for the past two years while he's preparing. The slightest hope today and he comes down because he knows that there are some of us who gonna fight and all of us got to fight. Because tonight if I go (UNINTELLIGIBLE) he's gonna put (UNINTELLIGIBLE) on the entire black community. We've got to fight. We've got to fight.

If we're armed with an undying love for our people and all of the other concepts, victory is ours. Victory is ours. There is no where for us to go but the gun. There is nothing for us to do but to fight, and we have to prepare ourselves physically and mentally. We have to understand culture, but we can't stop there. Being black and being beautiful doesn't save anybody or make anybody victorious. It just prepares them for the fight. Too many people become black and beautiful but think they can stop there. You say I'm black and I'm beautiful right now. Let me get the gun and move where I'm supposed to. Because our cultural programs are not a threat to the man's system so he can allow for cultural programs. He's got the best in the country. a black American, can't nothing be more beautiful than a beautiful (UNINTELLIGIBLE) because that a cultural program. It is the political and economic programs that effects them and it's that program that he wants to cut out in this country, but those are the only programs that's gonna save us so we must work on all three programs, political, economic and cultural. All three of them combined is going to lead us where we have to go. If not for ourselves for our ancestors who took all they took so that we could live, we've got to fight. If not for ourselves for our mothers who scrubbed floors and were spat upon, we got to fight. If not for ourselves for our children who will come after us, we can't

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

let them live like me and you.

We are fighting for our humanity. We are fighting for humanity of the world, and if our lives are the price that we have to pay to restore humanity, it is not too great a price.

Thank you and good night.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

F B I

Date: 12/10/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM: SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-68783)(P)
SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM

Re Washington Field teletype to the Bureau dated
11/27/68.

The following sources, who are familiar with Black
Nationalist activities in Los Angeles, California, indicated
that they were unaware of any information concerning any
movement being made to push the subject out of the Black
Panther Party because he is emphasizing Black Culture rather
than Militancy:

- 3 - Bureau
2 - Baltimore
2 - San Francisco
2 - Washington Field (100-43503)
2 - Los Angeles

JWW/sjg
(10)

cc 40620

REC-6

100-446080-2193

16 DEC 12 1968

X 106

RACIAL INT. SECT.

C. C.

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

DEC 12 1968

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

FBI WASH DC*

FBI ATLANTA

8:40 PM URGENT 12-12-68 JWE

TO DIRECTOR, WASHINGTON FIELD AND NEW YORK
FROM ATLANTA 100-6812

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RM.

RE AT TEL DEC. ELEVEN SIXTYEIGHT.

SUBJECT SPOKE AT CLARK COLLEGE, EMORY UNIVERSITY AND SPELMAN
COLLEGE, ATLANTA, DEC. ELEVEN SIXTYEIGHT.

SPEECH AT CLARK COLLEGE, PREDOMINATELY NEGRO INSTITUTION,
WHERE SUBJECT SPOKE ONE YEAR AGO, DESCRIBED AS NOT AS WELL RE-
CEIVED AS ON PREVIOUS OCCASION.

SPEECH AT SPELMAN COLLEGE, ALSO PREDOMINATELY NEGRO, ON NIGHT
OF DECEMBER ELEVEN DISCONTINUED BY SUBJECT WHEN HE BECAME DISGUSTED
WITH AUDIENCE WHICH HE REFERRED TO AS "ACTING LIKE CHILDREN".

SPEECH AT EMORY UNIVERSITY, PREDOMINATELY WHITE RECEIVED
WITH LITTLE ENTHUSIASM.

ALL SPEECHES DESCRIBED AS TYPICAL OF THOSE MADE IN THE PAST.

END PAGE ONE

156 DEC 26 1968

W. L. Y. A. C.

Summary 12/13/68

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b7D

PAGE TWO



b7D

WFO AND NEW YORK ADVISE ATLANTA AND APPROPRIATE OFFICES IF
INFORMATION AVAILABLE AS TO IMMEDIATE ITINERARY.

END

GMA

FBI WASH DC*

@

MR. TRAINOR
CC: ROOM 836 9&D

F B I

Date: 12/4/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (100-10358)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Re Charlotte teletype to Bureau 12/4/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of LHM regarding captioned matter, copies of which have been disseminated locally to Military Intelligence and Secret Service. Copies also furnished WFO and San Francisco for their information.

Investigation at Greensboro, N. C., and contact with [redacted] Military Intelligence. Winston Salem, N. C., was conducted by SA [redacted] Secret Service, Charlotte, N. C., was advised by SA [redacted]

LEAD:CHARLOTTEAT GREENSBORO, N. C.

Will obtain coverage of subject and his speech and keep the Bureau advised of pertinent developments.

- ENCLOSURE
- ③ - Bureau (Encs. 11) (RM)
 - 2 - San Francisco (Enc. 1) (RM)
 - 2 - WFO (Enc. 1) (RM)
 - 3 - Charlotte (2-100-10358) (1-157-6171)

GDF:gjc

(10) AGENCY: ACSI, OSI, SEC. SERV.,

: IED, CRD, RAO, D/O, CRIM

FBI

DATE FORW

BY:

20 DEC 7 1968

54 DEC 20 1968

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

b6

b7C

RACIAL MAT. SECT



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Charlotte, North Carolina
December 4, 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-24-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CPB/bls

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

[redacted] Greensboro, North Carolina, Police Department, Intelligence Unit, advised on December 4, 1968, that [redacted] A and T State University, Greensboro, North Carolina, had advised him on December 4, 1968, that STOKELY CARMICHAEL was scheduled to speak at A and T State University Gymnasium at 8:00 P.M. on December 9, 1968. CARMICHAEL had been invited by the Black Afro Cultural Center of A and T State University.

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[redacted] stated that CARMICHAEL is supposed to arrive at the Greensboro Airport shortly before the speech and is to leave promptly after the speech.

Attached as an appendix to this memorandum is a characterization of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and a characterization of Black Panther Party.

Information as developed on December 4, 1968, was immediately furnished to representatives of Military Intelligence, Secret Service, and appropriate local authorities.

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OUTSIDE YOUR AGENCY.

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286 MAR 1 1971

100-4460802145
ENCLOSURE



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

*In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.*

Charlotte, North Carolina
December 4, 1968

Title	STOKELY CARMICHAEL
Character	RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY
Reference	Memorandum at Charlotte, North Carolina, dated December 4, 1968, captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

CODE

December 10, 1968

TELETYPE

URGENT

1 -
1 -
1 -



TO SAC BOSTON (157-437)

FROM DIRECTOR FBI (100-446080)

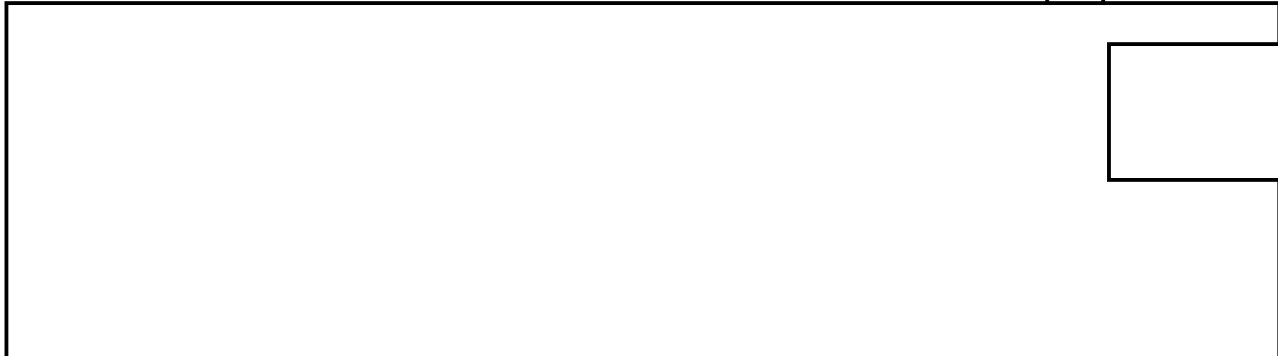
6 M...

b6
b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

2

REBSAIRTEL DECEMBER FOUR, ONE NINE SIX EIGHT.



b7D

THERE IS NO OBJECTION TO SPECIAL AGENT



2146

1/2 WFO(100-43503) (BY SPECIAL MESSENGER) 76

17 DEC 18 1968

PTB:ekw (6)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

- Tolson ☒
- DeLoach ☒
- Mohr ☐
- Bishop ☐
- Casper ☐
- Callahan ☐
- Conrad ☐
- Felt ☐
- Gale ☐
- Rosen ☐
- Sullivan ☐
- Tavel ☐
- Trotter ☐
- Tele. Room ☐
- Holmes ☐
- Gandy ☐

VIA TELETYPE
DEC 10 1968
ENCIPHERED

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☒

wegs

Get 17/12
9/17

me

TELETYPE TO SAC, BOSTON
STOKELY CARMICHAEL
100-446080

NOTE:

[REDACTED] b6
[REDACTED] b7C
The Fund was established in Boston by white citizens for the b7D
purpose of raising \$10,000,000 to be given to militant Negroes
in the greater Boston area for whatever purpose these groups
wished. It has been reported that at least \$250,000 has been
given to the Black United Front, a coalition of Negro organizations
in the Boston area. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Boston advised that the Fund
members are members of the Caucasian race [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] b7D
Bureau airtel to all offices 12/21/67 advised the
Department has requested that whenever possible Special Agents
attend and mechanically record any public speeches by Carmichael.
Attendance should be limited to those situations where Bureau
Agents are lawfully on the premises. The field was also
instructed that Carmichael's speeches may be covered by informants,
sources, contacts in the news media, radio, and television field
depending on the need and circumstances and to advise Bureau
the type of coverage being effected.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

DEC 9 1968

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

FBI WASH DC*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-24-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CPB/bis

FBI CHARLT

7:10 PM URGENT 12-9-68 RHM

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: CHARLOTTE (100-10358) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; RM.

b6

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RE CHARLOTTE TELETYPE TO BUREAU TODAY.

UNIVERSITY OF N.C.

AT CHARLOTTE, ADVISED TODAY STOKELY CARMICHAEL APPEARED AT UNC CAMPUS AT CHARLOTTE, ARRIVING AT STUDENT UNION BUILDING AT APPROXIMATELY TWO FORTY-FIVE P.M., SPOKE TO CAPACITY CROWD, NINETY-FIVE PERCENT OF WHICH WERE NEGRO. BALLARD STATES CARMICHAEL'S SECURITY GUARDS PERMITTED ONLY NEGROES TO ENTER UNTIL APPROXIMATELY TEN MINUTES PRIOR TO TIME FOR SPEECH TO BEGIN, WHEN APPROXIMATELY TWELVE TO FIFTEEN WHITES AND NEWS MEDIA WERE PERMITTED TO ENTER. WAS SOME MINOR PUSHING AND SHOVING. NO MAJOR INCIDENTS AND NO ARRESTS.

FOLLOWING SPEECH AT UNC AT CHARLOTTE COMPUS, CARMICHAEL PROCEEDED TO JOHNSON C. SMITH UNIVERSITY WHERE HE REMAINED FOR TWENTY MINUTES AND DEPARTED CHARLOTTE EN ROUTE GREENSBORO, N.C., AT FOUR FORTY-FIVE P.M.

END PAGE ONE

58 DEC 23 1968

12 DEC 12 1968

REC-31

2147 SNIF
286 3/18/71

CE 100-10358

PAGE TWO

SOURCE, WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE
PAST, ADVISED ~~CAS MCKIEL~~ ^{CARMICHAEL} ACCOMPANIED BY [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] AND INDIVIDUAL BELIEVED TO BE [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] DESCRIBER AS [REDACTED] FROM WEST COAST.

MILITARY INTELLIGENCE, SECRET SERVICE, STATE ANN LOCAL
AUTHORITIES COGNIZANT. LHM FOLLOWS. BUREAU WILL BE KEPT
ADVISED OF DEVELOPMENTS FOLLOWING CARMICHAEL'S SPEECH AT
GREENSBORO, N.C., BEGINNING EIGHT P.M/. TONIGHT.

NEW YORK AND WFO ADVISED BY AIR MAIL.

END.

~~CORR PARAGRAPH ONE ON PAGE TWO LINE WOXX TWO WORD THREE SHOULD
READ CARMICHAEL~~

GJM

FBI WASH DC*

@

b6

b7C

MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

DEC 9 1968

TELETYPE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-24-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CPB/DLS

P
FBI WASH DC

FBI CHARLT

243PM URGENT 12-9-68 DRA

TO: DIRECTOR

FROM: CHARLOTTE 100-10358 2P

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RACIAL MATTERS.

[REDACTED] UNIVERSITY
NORTH CAROLINA
OF N. C., CHARLOTTE, N. C., ADVISED TODAY THAT SUBJECT IS
SCHEDULED TO SPEAK IN THE STUDENT UNION BUILDING BEGINNING
AT APPROXIMATELY TWO PM TODAY.

[REDACTED] STATES THAT NEGRO INDIVIDUALS CLAIMING TO BE
ADVANCE SECURITY GUARD OF CARMICHAEL HAVE ENTERED BUILDING
AND TAKEN OVER ENTRANCEWAYS, ADVISING THAT ONLY NEGROES
WILL BE ADMITTED. [REDACTED] STATES THIS IS IN VIOLATION OF
CAMPUS REGULATIONS AND COLLEGE AUTHORITIES HAVE REQUESTED
CARMICHAEL'S SECURITY PEOPLE TO LEAVE THE PREMISES AND THEY
HAVE REFUSED. [REDACTED] STATES INCIDENT MAY DEVELOP IF
END PAGE ONE

EX-103

REC-76

100 446080-2149
DEC 16 1968
DEC 8 2 00 PM '68

MR. DELOACH FOR THE DIRECTOR

Mr. Tolson ✓
Mr. DeLoach ✓
Mr. Mohr ✓
Mr. Bishop ✓
Mr. Casper ✓
Mr. Callahan ✓
Mr. Conrad ✓
Mr. Felt ✓
Mr. Gale ✓
Mr. Rosen ✓
Mr. Sullivan ✓
Mr. Tavel ✓
Mr. Trotter ✓
Tele. Room ✓
Miss Holmes ✓
Miss Gandy ✓

CE 100-10358

PAGE TWO

SCHOOL AUTHORITIES TRY TO PHYSICALLY REMOVE SECURITY GUARD
OF CARMICHAEL OR IF SCHOOL AUTHORITIES ATTEMPT TO REVOKE
USE OF BUILDING.

MILITARY INTELLIGENCE, SECRET SERVICE, AND LOCAL
AUTHORITIES COGNIZANT.

MEMO
LHM FOLLOWS.

AIRMAIL COPIES TO NEW YORK AND WFO.

END.

BJP

FBI WASH DC

TUP

CC- MR. SULLIVAN

 XEROX

DEC 1968

Date: 12/10/68

Via AIRTEL _____ (Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (100-10358)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Re Charlotte teletypes to the Director
12/9/68 and 12/10/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of LHM, captioned as above, copies of which have been disseminated locally to representatives of military intelligence and Secret Service agencies.

Copies are also furnished New York, WFO, San Francisco, and Columbia for their information.

his information to SA [redacted] who furnished
SA [redacted] furnished the initial information from
source to [redacted] University of N. C. at
Charlotte Security Officer: Detective [redacted]
Charlotte, N. C. PD: [redacted] 111th MIG, Charlotte;
and [redacted] U. S. Secret Service, Charlotte.
SA [redacted] thereafter kept representatives of military
intelligence and Secret Service apprised of the information
set forth in the LHM as it was developed, along with [redacted]

- ③ - Bureau (Encls. 11) (RM)
 1 - Columbia (Encl. 1) "
 1 - New York (Encl. 1) "
 1 - San Francisco (Encl. 1) "
 1 - WFO (Encl. 1) "
 9 - Charlotte (2 - 100-10358)
 (1 - 157-6171) (1 - 157-6182) (1 - 157-6179)
 (1 - 157-A & T State U.) (1 - 157-5490)
 (1 - 157-177Sub B) (1 - 157-)
- THG:dh CC 806 940

THG:
(16)

Approved:

Sent

M

Per

Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

CE 100-10358

furnishing the information obtained from [redacted]
(PROB) to the appropriate local authorities.

SA [redacted] made the observations
at the Charlotte Municipal Airport.

[redacted] and Detective [redacted]
obtained photographs of CARMICHAEL and the group greeting
him, copies of which will be made available to the FBI
for identification purposes.

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Previous investigation reflected in this LHM
is in case captioned [redacted]
RM - BLACK CULTURAL ASSOCIATION," Charlotte file 157-6179.

[redacted] is on the Agitator Index of
the Charlotte Office.

Investigation at Greensboro, N. C., was conducted
by SA [redacted]

[redacted] 111th MIG,
Winston-Salem, N. C., and SA [redacted] surveilled the
activities of CARMICHAEL throughout his appearance in
Greensboro, N. C., 12/9/68.

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[redacted] taped CARMICHAEL's speech
at the University of N. C. at Charlotte and will make
available copy of the tape at a later date. This will be
transcribed and the results furnished appropriate offices
in a form suitable for dissemination. Sources at
Greensboro to be debriefed and the results also included
in LHM.

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Charlotte, North Carolina
December 10, 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-24-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CPB/b13

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Reference is made to memorandum at Charlotte dated December 4, 1968.

On December 9, 1968, [redacted] advised that he was in receipt of information that STOKELY CARMICHAEL would give a speech at the Student Union Building at the University of North Carolina at Charlotte beginning at approximately 1 PM. According to [redacted] a student at the University of North Carolina at Charlotte, extended the invitation to CARMICHAEL who is to speak in the Parkay Room of the Student Union Building, thereafter departing for Greensboro, North Carolina, where he is scheduled to speak at A & T State University at 8 PM.

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On December 9, 1968, [redacted] University of North Carolina at Charlotte, advised that the Parkay Room had been reserved by [redacted] for 2 PM, December 9, 1968, for a speech by STOKELY CARMICHAEL.

This information furnished by [redacted] and [redacted] was immediately made available to representatives of the Charlotte, North Carolina, Police Department, the 11th Military Intelligence Group, and United States Secret Service.

b2 b6
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100-446080-2149X
~~100-446080-6165~~

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286 MAR 1 1971

ENCLOSURE

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

A Special Agent of the FBI observed the arrival of Eastern Airlines Flight 545 which arrived at Gate 3 of the Charlotte Municipal Airport at approximately 1:50 PM, December 9, 1968. [redacted] and

D.L.
[redacted] accompanied by two Negro females and one Negro male, whose names were unknown to the observing Agent, were observed standing together near Gate 3 at the Charlotte airport. Also observed in the corridor outside Gate 3 was a Negro male who appeared to be identical with [redacted]

At 1:55 PM STOKELY CARMICHAEL, accompanied by a Negro female, entered Gate 3 of the Charlotte airport from a Eastern Airlines plane. CARMICHAEL was joined by the person believed to be [redacted] and then by [redacted] and the unidentified members of the group. [redacted] and the unidentified male obtained the baggage claim checks and picked up CARMICHAEL's luggage, which [redacted] was observed placing in a 1965 white Ford, North Carolina License [redacted] CARMICHAEL and the Negro female accompanying him, along with [redacted] and the person believed to be [redacted] and one unidentified Negro male departed the Charlotte airport in a late model tan Buick, 1968 North Carolina License [redacted] driven by [redacted]

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Records of the Charlotte, North Carolina, Police Department, reflect that 1968 North Carolina License [redacted] is registered to a 1965 Ford, two door, to [redacted] 2005 Renner Street, Charlotte, North Carolina.

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On December 9, 1968, [redacted] advised that Negro individuals claiming to be advance security guards of CARMICHAEL had entered the Student Union Building, and took over the entranceways, advising that only Negroes will be admitted. [redacted] stated this is in violation of campus regulations and college authorities have requested CARMICHAEL's security people to leave the premises; however, they have refused. [redacted] stated an incident may develop if school authorities try to physically remove the security guard of CARMICHAEL or if school authorities attempt to revoke the use of the building.

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Later on December 9, 1968, [redacted] advised that CARMICHAEL appeared at the Student Union Building at 2:45 PM. spoke to a crowd which he estimated to be 95 percent Negro. [redacted] advised that CARMICHAEL's security guard permitted only Negroes to enter until approximately ten minutes prior to the time for the speech to begin. At that time approximately 12 to 15 white persons and members of the news media were permitted to enter. There was some minor pushing and shoving; however, no major incidents or arrests occurred.

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On December 9, 1968, [redacted] Charlotte, North Carolina, Police Department, advised that following the speech at the University of North Carolina at Charlotte, CARMICHAEL proceeded to Johnson C. Smith University, Charlotte, North Carolina, where he remained for approximately 20 minutes and then departed Charlotte en route Greensboro, North Carolina.

MRS [redacted] [redacted] advised on December 9, 1968, that he had determined CARMICHAEL was accompanied by [redacted] and an individual believed to be [redacted]

According to [redacted] CARMICHAEL's travel from the Charlotte, North Carolina, airport to the University of North Carolina at Charlotte and then to Greensboro, North Carolina, was in a late model tan Buick, North Carolina License [redacted]

On December 9, 1968, a representative of military intelligence advised he had determined that 1968 North Carolina License [redacted] was issued to a 1966 Buick in the name of [redacted] Oxford, North Carolina,

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Previous [redacted] has determined that [redacted] North Carolina. [redacted] also known as [redacted]

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

[redacted] Greensboro, North Carolina, Police Department, Intelligence Unit, advised on December 9, 1968, that STOKELY CARMICHAEL and his party arrived at Greensboro at approximately 7 PM that evening and they had dinner at the Red Carpet Room on A & T State University campus.

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CARMICHAEL went to Moore Gymnasium where he began his speech at 8:10 PM to a capacity crowd of some 3,000 people, almost entirely students. The speaking engagement ended at 10:20 PM and CARMICHAEL and his party then went to the Student Union Building on A & T University's campus for a private meeting of about 100 selected invitees.

b7C

This meeting broke up at 11:45 PM and at 11:50 PM CARMICHAEL and his party left Greensboro, North Carolina, in a white Oldsmobile Dynamic 88, bearing Washington, D. C., License [redacted]. The Oldsmobile was preceded out of town by a 1965 Buick bearing North Carolina License [redacted] which was occupied by two Negro males. Both cars proceeded south on United States Interstate 85, towards Charlotte, North Carolina.

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[redacted] stated inquiry by his department of [redacted] of A & T State University, the individual who had invited CARMICHAEL to the campus, revealed that CARMICHAEL and his party were headed from Greensboro, North Carolina, to Orangeburg, South Carolina.

The Greensboro "Daily News" of December 10, 1968, in reviewing CARMICHAEL's speech at A & T State University, said CARMICHAEL had stated that NIXON was going to polarize the white community by using the black community.

The article also quoted CARMICHAEL as saying "This country is crawling with black militants, but there are very few black revolutionaries. We need more black revolutionaries and less black militants." The article continued that CARMICHAEL had said black revolutionaries must be willing not only to die for their people but to kill for them as well. "I don't want to die so I'm going to kill," CARMICHAEL said. He was further quoted as saying "I'd rather see a brother kill a white cop than to kill a Vietnamese. It's better to kill with passion than to kill passionless," CARMICHAEL said.

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

A representative of the 111th Military Intelligence Group was present in Greensboro, North Carolina, and is cognizant of CARMICHAEL's activities.

Information as developed has immediately been furnished to representatives of military intelligence, United States Secret Service, and appropriate local authorities.

A characterization of the Black Panther Party (BPP) and a characterization of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) are attached as appendices to this memorandum.



*In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.*

**UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**

Charlotte, North Carolina
December 10, 1968

Title	STOKELY CARMICHAEL
Character	RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY
Reference	Memorandum dated December 10, 1968, at Charlotte, North Carolina, captioned as above

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

~~JAN 13 1969~~

SAC, Charlotte (100-10358)

REC-28

Director, FBI

12/24/68

1 -
1 -
1 -

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Reurairtel 12/10/68.

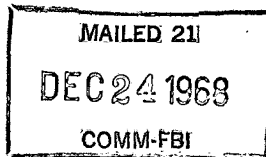
Reairtel reported that a source would make available a copy of a tape of Stokely Carmichael's speech at the University of North Carolina on 12/9/68. In addition to furnishing the Bureau a verbatim transcript of Carmichael's speech, you should also attempt to make a copy of the tape recording which source will make available and furnish that copy to the Bureau for permanent retention.

JCM:ra
(6)

NOTE:

Carmichael spoke at the University of North Carolina on 12/9/68. In connection with our continuing efforts to obtain tape recordings of violence statements by black extremists, Charlotte is being instructed to furnish the Bureau a copy of the tape recording made of Carmichael's speech.

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____



61 JAN 9 1969
MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

DEC 11 1968

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan ✓
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

FBI WASH DC

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-24-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CPB/bis

FBI BOSTON

10:25AM URGENT 12/11/68 NTY

TO DIRECTOR

FROM BOSTON 157-437

STOKELY CARMICHAEL. RACIAL MATTERS DASH BPP.

REBUTEL DECEMBER TEN LAST.

[REDACTED] INTELLIGENCE DIVISION, BOSTON POLICE
DEPARTMENT, HAS ADVISED THAT ARRANGEMENTS ARE BEING MADE TO

b6

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END

LCC

FBI WASH DC

59 DEC 31 1968

MR. TRAINOR

ROOM 836 9&D

10 DEC 1968

F B I

Date:

12/5/68

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-153751)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS

ReNYtel to Bureau and WFO, 12/3/68.

Enclosed for Bureau are 11 copies of LHM, dated and captioned as above. Two copies of LHM are being enclosed for Washington Field Office.

This LHM is being classified "Confidential" to protect the identities of sources of continuing value, whose identities, if revealed, could have an adverse effect upon national security.

The confidential sources referred to in LHM are:

confidential source
confidential source
confidential source
confidential source

Information copies of LHM are being furnished to I, NISO, 108th MI Group, Secret Service and USAS SDNY and EDNY.

- 1 - Bureau (Encls. 11) (RM)
- 2 - Washington Field Office (Encls. 2)
- 1 - New York (#43)

BJW:1jm
(7)

ENCLOSURE
C. C. Bishop

b2 b6
b7C
b7D

51 DEC 30 1968

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York
December 5, 1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

NYfile 100-153751

Stokely Carmichael

b6 A confidential source, who has furnished reliable
b7C information in the past, advised Stokely Carmichael arrived at
b7D [redacted] New York,
at 11:30 p.m., November 30, 1968. Carmichael was observed removing
luggage from 1967 Blue Plymouth, 1968 New York license [redacted] which
is owned by [redacted]. This same source observed Carmichael
at residence on December 1 and 2, 1968.

[redacted] confidential source, who has furnished
reliable information in the past, advised that Stokely Carmichael
appeared at a rally sponsored by the Onyx Society of City College
of New York. Source advised Carmichael arrived late and spoke
of unity of Black man.

b7D [redacted] confidential source, who has furnished reliable
information in the past, advised that Stokely Carmichael spoke
at Shepard Hall, City College of New York at 4:15 p.m., December 3,
1968. Source advised that the majority of the audience were high
school students and that Carmichael was introduced as a Prime
Minister of the Black Panther Party. Source advised that Carmichael
stated that a revolution must take place within this country in
order that the Negroes or blacks gain their rights. Carmichael
told the audience then it should not depend on white liberals for
support and that Socialism and Communism are not the answer for
the blacks. Carmichael further stated that neither is the
ideology for the "New Left" any assistance in the Black Revolution.
Carmichael told the audience that he had visited both Cuba and
Russia and there is evidence of racism in both of these countries.
Carmichael stated it is necessary for the blacks to love one
another and not fight amongst themselves. Source advised that
Carmichael stated, regarding arms, that the blacks have to get
arms as long as the whites have armed themselves. Carmichael
when speaking on violence, stated it is necessary to answer
violence with violence. Carmichael stated that the "man" is

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ENCLOSURE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~GROUP 1
Excluded from auto-
matic downgrading
and declassification~~

COPIES DESTROYED

286 MAR 1 1971

100-446080-2151

Stokely Carmichael

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

dehumanizing the blacks Carmichael stated that blacks must not hate Negroes, as a Negro is good and will eventually become black. Source advised that Carmichael was well received and on occasion was given a standing ovation. b6 b7C b7D

[redacted] confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that [redacted]
[redacted]

A characterization of the Black Panther Party is contained in the appendix attached hereto.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

F B I

Date: 12/11/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority)TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706)
FROM: SAC, BUFFALO (157-689) (P)BLACK PANTHER PARTY
ROCHESTER, NEW YORK
RMRe New York radiogram, 12/4/68 and Bureau
airtel, 12/5/68, both captioned [REDACTED]On 12/10/68, [REDACTED] who has furnished
reliable information in the past, advised as follows:

- ⑤ - Bureau (AMRM)
 { 1 - 100-47251 (ELDRIDGE CLEAVER)
 { 1 - 100- (STOKELY CARMICHAEL)
 { 1 - 100- [REDACTED] b2 b6
 b7C
 b7D
- 1 - Newark (Info) (AMRM)
 6 - New York (100-161993) (AMRM)
 { 1 - RAP BROWN
 { 2 - STOKELY CARMICHAEL)
 { 1 - SNCC)
 { 1 - 100-161321 (ELDRIDGE CLEAVER)
- 5 - San Francisco (AMRM)
 { 3 - 157-2588)
 { 1 - [REDACTED]
 { 1 - ELDRIDGE CLEAVER)
- 5 - Buffalo
 { 1 - 157-649 (ELDRIDGE CLEAVER)
 { 1 - 157-213 (SNCC)
 { 1 - [REDACTED]

TJM:cap
(22)100-44600
NOT RECORDED
150 DEC 23 1968

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

ORIGINAL FILED IN 105-165706-6-6

BU 157-689

On 12/6/68, he attended a meeting held at Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) headquarters, 100 5th Avenue, New York City. Among the approximately 20 persons present were SNCC leaders [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] dominated in the meeting. He berated the Black Panthers whom he said were stupid because everytime they shot a cop they ended up in jail ten minutes later.

[REDACTED] attempted to defend the Panthers actions. [REDACTED] mentioned in an off hand manner that ELDRIDGE CLEAVER "can do the movement a lot of good now that he is in Cuba." An unidentified person inquired as to how CLEAVER got to Cuba and a second unidentified person said he had gone via Mexico.

Most conversation centered on recent police actions against Panthers in New Jersey. Panthers felt they have several security leaks, particularly in New Jersey because of this, and their recent encounter with police, and they and SNCC plan to go underground.

b6

b7C

b7D

[REDACTED] said STOKELY CARMICHAEL would attend a weekend conference in New York City, 12/7-9/68 at an unnamed location. The chief topic was to be the details of going underground. [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] advised informant that [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

BU 157-689

[REDACTED]
Informant feels [REDACTED] would be unlikely to
furnish information to law enforcement officers.

LEAD

NEW YORK

AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK

Will, if not previously done, attempt through
logical sources and informants to verify data regarding
[REDACTED]

b6

b7C

b7D

F B I

Date: 12/16/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM: SAC, COLUMBIA (100-179)
SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Re Columbia airtel and enclosed LHM dated 12/12/68.

On 12/13/68, [] made available a tape
which recorded the speech of the subject at South Carolina
State College, Orangeburg, S. C., on 12/10/68.

Columbia will transcribe pertinent portions of this
tape and furnish the results to the Bureau and appropriate
offices in a form suitable for dissemination.

b2

b7D

- ③ - Bureau (RM)
2 - New York (100-153751) (RM)
2 - WFO (100-43503) (RM)
2 - Columbia (100-179)

FHA/mg
(9)

22 DEC 18 1968

22 DEC 18 1968

b6

b7C

Approved: *[Signature]*

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

VIA TELETYPE

DEC 16 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson_____
Mr. DeLoach_____
Mr. Mohr_____
Mr. Bishop_____
Mr. Casper_____
Mr. Callahan_____
Mr. Conrad_____
Mr. Felt_____
Mr. Gale_____
Mr. Rosen_____
Mr. Sullivan_____
Mr. Tavel_____
Mr. Trotter_____
Tele. Room_____
Miss Holmes_____
Miss Gandy_____

WA -----7-----

FBI NEW YORK

5:40 PM URGENT 12-16-68 WPK

TO DIRECTOR AND WASHINGTON FIELD (CODE)

WASHINGTON FIELD VIA WASHINGTON

FROM NEW YORK 100-153751 1P

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; RACIAL MATTERS.

CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE ADVISED SUBJECT [REDACTED]

NEW YORK, DECEMBER FOURTEEN AND FIFTEEN, LAST.

ADMINISTRATIVE

SOURCE MENTIONED IN TEL [REDACTED]

NEIGHBORHOOD SOURCE.

END

WA....LRC

FBI WASH DC

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-24-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CPB/b1s

EX-103
REC-76

100-446080-2152X
100-446080-2142
DEC 18 1968

TWO COPIES WFO

530502 61968
ROOM 836 9&D

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : MR. D. J. BRENNAN, JR. *[Signature]*

DATE: 11/29/68

FROM : R. H. HAYNES *[Signature]*

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

G. B. Moore

[Redacted] Office of the Secretary
of Defense, furnished the enclosed tape recording, which he
described as a speech made by the subject. This tape was

b6
b7C
b7D

The tape was made at a meeting of the Organization of Arabian
Students held in the University of Michigan League Building on
August 26, 1968. The attendance was largely Arab students
and some Negroes. Students came from both Canada and America.
The meeting was taped by Radio Station WZBN with semiofficial approval
by the sponsor. Station WZBN is a local Ann Arbor, Michigan,
station, which several weeks after the meeting, replayed the
tape on the local station with a panel discussion. *B*

The tape was obtained by [Redacted] from a colleague
at the University of Michigan, who desires to remain anonymous.

ACTION:

For information of the Racial Intelligence Section.

Enclosure

RHH:hke *[Signature]*
(4)

1-Mr. G. C. Moore (Attn.: [Redacted])
1-Liaison

ENCLOSURE ON BULKY R

REC-6

100-446080-

2153

b6
b7C
b7D

DEC 24 1968

XEROX COPY ENCLOSED IN
BULKY 1-14-69. CWN

Set to DE 12/19/68
PTB: epm

100-446080-2153

4-881

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 08-24-2006 BY 60324/AM/CPH/DLS

BULKY ENCLOSURE

BIN #

~~179~~ ~~184~~ ~~175~~
164 49-D

copy of cover letter enclosed

100-446080-2153

4-381

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-24-2008 BY 60321/AUC/HAM/LFB/DLS

BULKY ENCLOSURE

BIN # ~~17~~ ~~184~~ ~~175~~
~~201~~
~~#4~~ 49-D ~~200~~
copy of cover letter enclosed

ATTENTION

The following documents appearing in FBI files have been reviewed under the provisions of The Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) (Title 5, United States Code, Section 552); Privacy Act of 1974 (PA) (Title 5, United States Code, Section 552a); and/or Litigation.

☐ FOIA/PA☐ Litigation☐ Executive Order Applied

Requester: _____

Subject: _____

Computer or Case Identification Number: _____

Title of Case: _____ Section _____

* File _____

Serials Reviewed: _____

Release Location: *File _____ Section _____

This file section has been scanned into the FOIPA Document Processing System (FDPS) prior to National Security Classification review. Please see the documents located in the FDPS for current classification action, if warranted. Direct inquiries about the FDPS to RIDS Service Request Unit b2

File Number: _____

Serial(s) Reviewed: _____

100-14Q-446080

Section

46 EBF

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: _____

983317

File Number: _____

Serial(s) Reviewed: _____

Section _____

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: _____

File Number: _____

Serial(s) Reviewed: _____

Section _____

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: _____

THIS FORM IS TO BE MAINTAINED AS THE TOP SERIAL OF THE FILE, BUT NOT SERIALIZED.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-24-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CPB/b1s

ATTENTION

DO NOT REMOVE FROM FILE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-24-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CPB/b1s

Enclosure to memorandum from R. H. Haynes
to Mr. D. J. Brennan, Jr., 11/29/68,
re "Stokely Carmichael, Racial Matters,"
RHH:hke

100-446080-2153

ENCLOSURE

NOTICE

DOCUMENT CANNOT BE SCANNED

DESCRIPTION

Tape

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-24-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CPB/bls

Scotch[®]

BRAND

MAGNETIC TAPE



¼ IN. x 600 FT.

(6.35mm x 180m)

SILICONE LUBRICATED

1.5 MIL ACETATE BACKING

111[®]

5 INCH REEL • SPLICE FREE • PROFESSIONAL
STANDARD LENGTH



3M
COMPANY

ESIC-080974-001

DATE 08-24-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CPB/PJS
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

TIME CHART	RECORDING BOTH DIRECTIONS							
	150 FT.	300 FT.	600 FT.	900 FT.	1200 FT.	1800 FT.	2400 FT.	3600 FT.
1 1/2 IPS	30 min.	1 hr.	2 hrs.	3 hrs.	4 hrs.	6 hrs.	8 hrs.	12 hrs.
3 3/4 IPS	15 min.	30 min.	60 min.	1 1/2 hrs.	2 hrs.	3 hrs.	4 hrs.	6 hrs.
7 1/2 IPS	7 1/2 min.	15 min.	30 min.	45 min.	1 hr.	1 1/2 hrs.	2 hrs.	3 hrs.

3M
COMPANY

NOTICE: The following is made in lieu of all warranties, express or implied: Seller's and manufacturer's only obligation shall be to replace such quantity of the product proved to be defective. Seller and manufacturer shall not be liable for any injury, loss or damage, direct or consequential, arising out of the use of or the inability to use the product. Before using, user shall determine the suitability of the product for his intended use and user assumes all risk and liability whatsoever in con-

nection therewith. The foregoing may not be changed except by an agreement signed by officers of seller and manufacturer.

THE TERMS "SCOTCH", "111" AND THE PLAID DESIGN ARE REGISTERED TRADEMARKS OF MINNESOTA MINING AND MANUFACTURING COMPANY, ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55119.

TAPE PATENTED UNDER ONE OR MORE U.S. PATENTS: 2654681, 2711901.

MAGNETIC PRODUCTS DIVISION 3M COMPANY

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-24-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CPB/bls

b6 b7C

b7D



STOKELY CARMICHAEL
Org. of Arabian Stu.
U. of Mich. 8-26-68

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-24-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CPB/bls

END

PARTIALLY SCANNED

esa
SAC, Detroit

December 19, 1968

REC-6

Director, FBI (100-446080) — *2153* 1 - [redacted]

STOKELY CARMICHAEL *EX-103*
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

ReWFOairtel and letterhead memorandum (LHM) dated
9/17/68 and Detroit airtel dated 10/25/68 (no copies to WFO).

Enclosed for Detroit is a copy of a tape recording
of a speech made by Stokely Carmichael at a meeting of the
Organization of Arab Students held on August 26, 1968,
University of Michigan, League Building, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

This tape was made available by [redacted]

[redacted] Office of the Security of Defense. This tape was
furnished to [redacted]

[redacted] who in turn received it from

a [redacted]

b6 b7C

b7D

[redacted] According to
[redacted] the Carmichael speech was taped
by Ann Arbor Radio Station WZBN with semi-official approval by
the sponsor. Subsequently, several weeks after the speech,
Station WZBN replayed the tape with a panel discussion.

[redacted] advised the tape was obtained
[redacted] from a colleague at the University of Michigan who
desires to remain anonymous.

Detroit should determine if this speech by Carmichael
is identical to the speech set out in referenced WFO LHM. If
not, Detroit should promptly prepare a verbatim transcript
suitable for dissemination. Detroit may retain the enclosure
in your files.

Enclosure

1 - WFO

PTB:ekw (5)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

MAILED 24
DEC 19 1968
FBI

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

60 JAN 13 1969

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Letter to SAC, Detroit
RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
100-446080

NOTE:

The activities of black extremist Stokely Carmichael at the above meeting of the organization of Arab students have previously been disseminated including a verbatim transcript of a speech to the pertinent divisions of the Department, Secret Service, State, CIA, and interested military agencies.

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

b6
b7C

December 16, 1968

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Director of Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I wish to bring to your attention the attached photocopy from a recent newspaper. Why do the authorities in this grand country of ours tolerate this preaching of revolution and subversion?

The entire purpose, obviously, is not the improvement of the black people, but rather the promotion of armed conflict between black and white.

Preaching of this nature only provokes hate on each side, and if allowed, it will inevitably lead to armed conflict. If a situation like this should occur, no American could win -- the only winner would be the Communist Party.

I would appreciate your comment.

Yours very truly,

b6
b7C

FJB/cd

Enc.

EX-103

REC 54

18 DEC 18 1968

ENCLOSURE

airb
12-20-68
BNA/psc

CORRESPONDENCE

Carmichael Asks Black Revolution

ATLANTA. (AP) — "We are for revolution and violence. Yes, I mean killing. Whatever it takes to get our liberation, I'm for that."

Black power advocate Stokely Carmichael made the statement at Emory University here yesterday as he outlined his plans for a new society in America.

He said he wanted a society free of racism and capitalism, but "that does not

mean it would be communism or socialism. That would be a problem of economics."

He declined to be more specific.

An advocate of armed revolution by Negroes, Carmichael, 27, said the biggest question in the world today is whether his "revolution" should be exclusively Black.

"I have a proclivity for the former all-Black," he said in answer to question. "I think

the color conflict transcends."

He said he thought sympathetic Whites should try to soften the White majority's attitude as the two groups move "toward a physical confrontation."

Carmichael described color consciousness and identification of Negroes with other non-White races as absolutely necessary to his revolutionary aims.

How would he get power?

FT. LAUDERDALE NEWS-
Thurs., Dec. 12, 1968 21A

"You take it with guns," he said.

What would he do if he gained power? "Redistribute the wealth."

Where does the sympathetic White fit in?

"That depends," Carmichael said. "To the victor belongs the spoils. If he fights with me, he shares the spoils."

ENCLOSURE

100-446080-2154

December 20, 1968

REC 54

100-446080-2154

[Redacted]

Permanent

b6 b7C

Dear [Redacted]

I have received your letter of December 16th, with enclosure, and understand the concern which prompted you to contact me.

Regarding Stokely Carmichael, the FBI is strictly an investigative agency of the Federal Government and, as such, does not determine whether prosecutive action will be undertaken in any situation. Such decisions concerning violations of Federal law are within the province of the Attorney General. Voluminous data regarding Carmichael have been furnished to the Attorney General and you may wish to contact him.

I want to assure you that this Bureau is aware of its responsibilities with respect to the internal security of our country. We will continue to make every effort to carry out our duties with the highest degree of thoroughness and dispatch.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

[Handwritten signature]

[Handwritten initials]

NOTE: Bufiles contain no information identifiable with correspondent. His enclosure is a newspaper clipping from the 12-12-68 issue of the "Fort Lauderdale News" entitled "Carmichael Asks Black Revolution" and concerns his speech at Emory University on 12-11-68. Upon approval, this letter, with its enclosure, should be forwarded to the Domestic Intelligence Division for review and any action deemed appropriate.

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

ALA:cac (3)

6 JAN 3 1969

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

[Handwritten signatures and initials]

[Handwritten signature]

December 23, 1968

Airtel

1 -
1 -

To: SAC, Charlotte (100-10358)

From: Director, FBI (100-446080)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

b6 b7C

b7D

ReCEairtel dated 12/17/68 captioned "Black Student Movement, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, Racial Matters."

Bureau permission is granted to interview
 as to any information he may have concerning a meeting

insure that the interview will be directed and handled in such way to preclude possible embarrassment to the Bureau. Promptly submit results in a form suitable for dissemination.

1 - WFO

REC-59

100 - 1146080 - 2155

PTB:ekw
(6)

SI 114

19 DEC 30 1968

NOTE: A confidential source of the Charlotte Office advised that
 a student at the University of North Carolina,

b6 b7C

b7D

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____

NOTE CONTINUED PAGE TWO

56 JAN 3 1969 MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

Airtel to SAC, Charlotte
STOKELY CARMICHAEL
100-446080

NOTE CONTINUED PAGE TWO:

[REDACTED]

where he received an A.A. Degree. The personnel file of [REDACTED] at the University of North Carolina contains no unfavorable information. Bureau files contain no information identifiable with [REDACTED]

b6

b7C

b7D

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

DEC 11 1968 *lcc*

TELETYPE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-24-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAM/CPB/bis

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

FBI WASH DC

FBI BOSTON

11:29 A.M.

URGENT 12-11-68 JMC

ST
TO DIRECTOR

BP FROM BOTON (157-437)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL. RACIAL MATTERS DASH BPP.

REBTEL TODAY.

[REDACTED] INTELLIGENCE DIVISION, BOSTON POLICE
DEPARTMENT, ADVISED AT TEN FIFTY-FIVE A.M., THIS DATE, THAT

b6 b7C

b7D

END

CKG

FBI WASH DC

REC-115

109-446080-2156

17 DEC 18 1968

54 JAN 6 - 1969

CC- MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D
&D

VIA TELETYPE
DEC 19 1968
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson.....
Mr. DeLoach.....
Mr. Mohr.....
Mr. Bishop.....
Mr. Casper.....
Mr. Callahan.....
Mr. Conrad.....
Mr. Felt.....
Mr. Gale.....
Mr. Rosen.....
Mr. Sullivan.....
Mr. Tavel.....
Mr. Trotter.....
Tele. Room.....
Miss Holmes.....
Miss Gandy.....

WA ----15----

FBI NEW YORK

5:40 PM URGENT 12-19-68 AWS

TO DIRECTOR AND WASHINGTON FIELD (CODE)

ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM NEW YORK 100-153751 (IP)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; RM.

CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE ADVISED THIS DATE THAT SUBJECT

[REDACTED] HAVE NOT BEEN OBSERVED SINCE DECEMBER FIFTEEN, LAST.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

SOURCE MENTIONED IN TEL IS [REDACTED]

NEIGHBORHOOD SOURCE.

EFFORTS CONTINUING TO LOCATE SUBJECT.

END

WA.... R RELAY.

RDR

FBI WASH DC

TWO COPIES WFO

b6 b7C

b7D

15 DEC 1968

100-446080-2157

MR. FRAKUN
ROOM 836 9&D.

6 1969

SAC, Charlotte (100-10358)

December 26, 1968

Director, FBI (100-446080)

1 - [REDACTED]

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

b6 b7C

b7D

Reference is made to letter from [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] North Carolina,
a copy of which was forwarded to your office by letter dated
12/17/68.

If not already handled and unless there is some
reason to the contrary, you should have an Agent from
headquarters city promptly contact [REDACTED] for any
information he may have of value to the Bureau.

PTB:ekw *ekw*
(4)

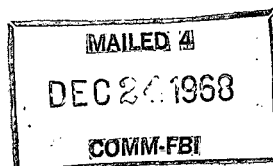
NOTE:

[REDACTED] by letter dated 12/11/68 sent to the
Director a clipping from the "Greensboro Daily News"
12/10/68 concerning black extremist Stokely Carmichael's
recent address at A & T State University. [REDACTED] indicated
he is active in the churches (black and white) and might be
able to furnish the Bureau information which we do not have.
[REDACTED] requested that he not be contacted by anyone from
our Greensboro Resident Agency, apparently as such a contact
would be known to local residents. Bureau files contain no
identifiable information concerning [REDACTED]

b6 b7C

b7D

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____



EX-113

REC-57

DEC 27 1968

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

b6 b7C

b7D

December 11, 1968

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

As a loyal citizen of our beloved United States of America I wish to thank God
and you for your loyal and unswerving leadership of the Bureau of Investigation.

I am enclosing some clippings as to an event which happened here and in Charlotte.
I feel that this man has committed the highest type of treason to our country.

I know you are aware of this man and his movements locally and nationally. Is
there anything that I can do to help? I am white and due to the nature of my
work in the churches (black and white) I might could give you information the
bureau may not have.

Should you follow this up and send a man to see me, be sure he is from Washington,
certainly not from Greensboro, N.C.

May you have a Blessed Christmas and a New Year of God's best.

Stokely Carmichael

b6 b7C

b7D

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

2 ENCLOSURE

REC-57

100-446086-2159

1 DEC 27 1968

*ack/rml
12-17-68
RMG:ack EX-113*

CORRESPONDENCE

on this envelope

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-24-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAM/CPB/dls

ENCLOSURE

100-446080-2159

100-446090-2158

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-24-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CPB/b18

North Carolina's
Finest Newspaper

Tuesday
December 10, 1968

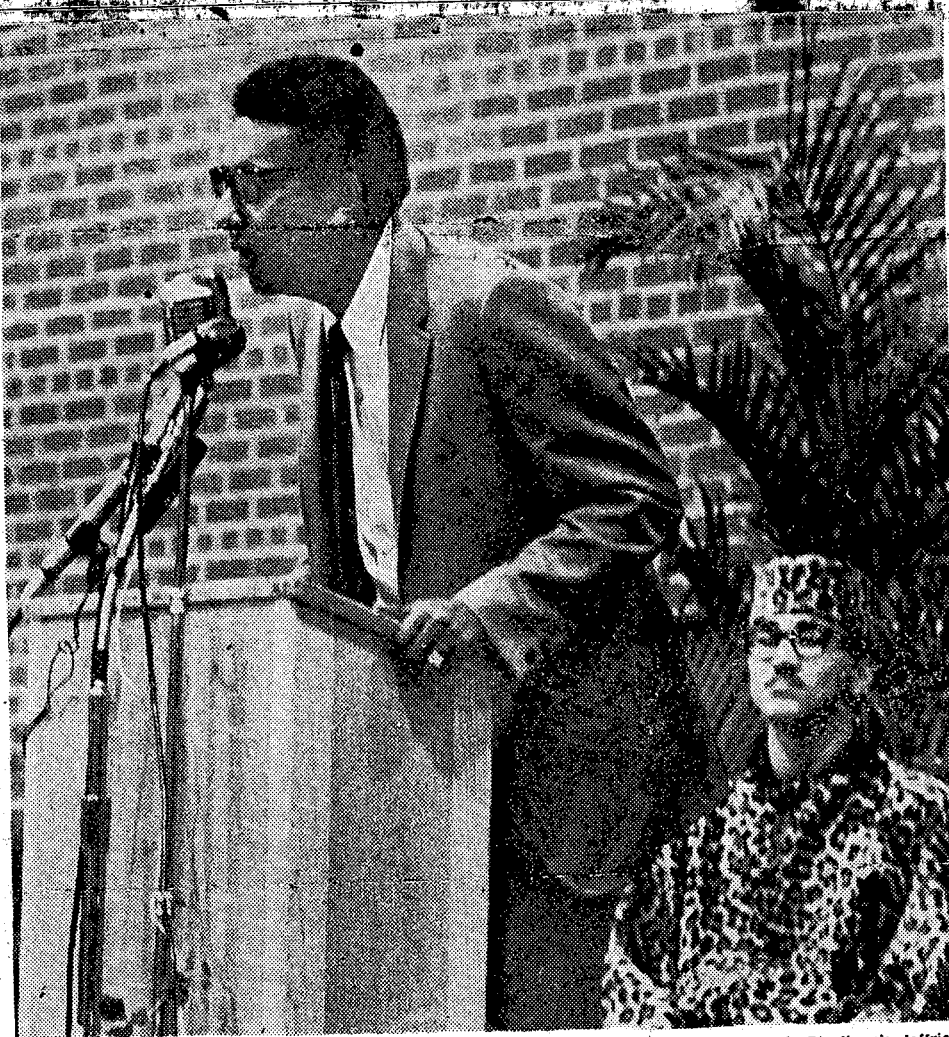
GREENSBORO DAILY NEWS

Section B

Sports

Obituaries

Classified Ads



Staff Photo By Jimmie Jeffries

Stokely Carmichael Speaks At A&T

Herald For 'Wallaces'

Nixon Using Blacks, Carmichael Asserts

BY KENT POLLOCK
Daily News Staff Writer

Black revolutionary Stokely Carmichael told several thousand students at A&T State University Monday night that President-elect Richard Nixon is going to "set the stage for the Wallaces of this country."

Carmichael made the statement while speaking at Moore Gymnasium in a program sponsored by the Student Government Association and the University's Center for African Afro-American Studies.

"Richard Nixon is going to polarize the white community of this country by using the black community. He has already started this . . . He is going to set the stage for the Wallaces of this country," he said.

Asked whom he voted for in the 1968 general election, Carmichael replied, "I didn't vote, I stayed home and cleaned my guns."

HE ALSO criticized the recent black Christmas march in Durham, saying, "I don't see anything black about Christmas. Instead of buying all those Christmas trees and spending all that money on presents, buy your brother a gun."

He wore a conservative light tan suit. His speech was interrupted numerous times with applause and he received standing ovations upon his arrival and departure.

Carmichael said there was a definite difference between black militants and black revolutionaries. He calls himself a black revolutionary.

A black militant, he said is an angry black man who is angry with the whites for keeping him out of their society. "A black revolutionary is an angry black man who wants to tear up and destroy an entire system that is oppressing his people and replace it with a new system where his people can live like human beings," he said.

HE CONTINUED, "This country is crawling with black militants, but there are very few black revolutionaries. We need more black revolutionaries and less black militants."

Carmichael said there was a general misconception about new programs instigated by a white system and said, "Black folks be careful. White folks haven't improved, they're getting smarter."

Carmichael said that black revolutionaries must be willing not only to die for their people, but to kill for them as well. "I

Carmichael Says Nixon Uses Blacks

From B-1

don't want to die, so I'm going to kill," he said.

He said his movement was one that believed in "revolutionary violence" which he defined as violence which seeks to overthrow a system that serves a few and replace it with one that serves the masses.

"It is more violent for a child to go to bed hungry than it is for a black man to kill a pig . . . I'd rather see a brother kill a white cop than to kill a Vietnamese. It's better to kill with passion than it is to kill passionless," Carmichael said.

A&T Student Asks Boycott Of Classes

A&T State University student government president Calvin Matthews called Monday night for a two-day boycott of classes at the university beginning Wednesday.

Matthews issued the surprise call at the close of a speech by Stokely Carmichael in the university gymnasium. Students cheered his announcement. It was estimated that as much as 90 per cent of the student body attended the Carmichael speech.

Matthews did not give any reason for calling the boycott when he made the announcement.

A&T president Dr. Lewis Dowdy said the announcement was made "without my knowledge of it." He said he planned to talk with student government leaders today. "I'd prefer to wait until . . . I've talked with them to give you a statement," he said.

Matthews could not be reached for further comment Monday night, but student government vice president Willie Drake said the purpose of the boycott was "to investigate some of the problems students are having on campus."

He said two-hour workshops would be held in the Student

By Jimmie Jeffries

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-24-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CFB/DIS

12-11-68

Sen. Neilson Protests Carmichael's Visits

WINSTON-SALEM (AP) — State Sen. Geraldine Nielson of Forsyth County protested Tuesday the appearance of Negro militant Stokely Carmichael at two state-supported universities, where he called for a black revolution.

In a letter to Gov. Dan Moore, the senator said she would like to have the Governor's office look into whether taxpayers' money was used for Carmichael's appearances at the University of North Carolina at Charlotte and A&T State University in Greensboro Monday.

Following Carmichael's speech, the president of the Student Government Association at A&T, Calvin Matthews, called for a student boycott on the campus for Wednesday and Thursday.

The president of the school, Dr. L. C. Dowdy, said he understood the call was not for disruptive purposes, but that the students wanted to present recommendations for improvements on the campus.

December 17, 1968

EX-113

REC-57

100-446150-2158
6080-2159

b6 b7C

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Dear [redacted]

I have received your letter of December 11th, with enclosures, and certainly appreciate your kind remarks concerning my administration of the FBI.

With respect to your comments regarding Stokely Carmichael, the FBI is strictly an investigative agency of the Federal Government and, as such, does not determine whether prosecutive action will be undertaken in any situation. Such decisions concerning violations of Federal law are within the province of the Attorney General. Voluminous data regarding Carmichael have been furnished to the Attorney General and you may wish to contact him.

In regard to your offer to be of assistance, if you have any information you believe would be of interest to this Bureau, please feel free to contact our office which is located at 1120 Jefferson Standard Life Building, Charlotte, North Carolina 28202.

I want to thank you for your Holiday Greetings and wish you a Merry Christmas and a prosperous New Year.

MAILED 21

DEC 17 1968

COMM-FBI

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

1 - Charlotte - Enclosure

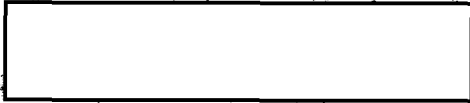
Attention SAC: Bufiles contain no identifiable information concerning correspondent. One of his enclosures is a clipping from the "Greensboro Daily News" of 12/10/68 and concerns Stokely Carmichael's recent address at A&T State University. His other clipping is from an unidentified newspaper of 12/11/68 and also concerns Carmichael's visit to that institution.

FMG:llk (4)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO.

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

56 JAN 23 1969



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b7D

NOTE: With respect to correspondent's remark that we should not send anyone from Greensboro, North Carolina, to see him, it is assumed he does not want anyone from our Greensboro Resident Agency to contact him as such a contact would be known to local residents.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-24-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CPB/bis

1 -
1 -

b6 b7C

SAC, New York

January 22, 1969

Director, FBI (100-446080)

**STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK
PANTHER PARTY**

REGISTERED MAIL

Enclosed is certain foreign language material:

frh
Two newspaper items in Swedish concerning Carmichael and Miriam Makeba, received as enclosures to Legat, London routing slip dated 1/14/69.

This material should be processed as indicated below:

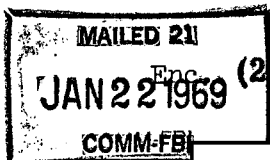
Full translation by SA Please handle expeditiously.

Following disposition should be made of enclosure and translation:

Both to Bureau, attention FBI Annex.

If the results of your review are not furnished the Seat of Government, in accordance with instructions set forth above, then the office initiating the request, to which translation is made available by you, has the responsibility of appropriately notifying the Bureau of any pertinent information contained therein.

b6 b7C



100-446080-

1 -

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

BWR:trs *trs*

(6)

51 JAN 24 1969

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐**NOT RECORDED**

10 JAN 23 1969

F B I

Date: 12/20/68

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM

A source who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised this date that the following information had been obtained from _____

b6 b7C

b7D

- 3-Bureau
- 2-Atlanta (RM)
- 2-St. Louis (AM) (RM)
- 2-Springfield (RM)
- 1-New York (Info) (RM)
- 2-WFO

RNW:kpm
(12)AIRTEL

EX-103

REC-10

100-446080-2160

17 DEC 27 1968

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M Per _____

WFO 100-43503

Administrative

Source is [REDACTED] Extreme caution should be used in attempt to verify above information so as not to reveal source.

Information copy sent to New York.

b6 b7C

b7D

LEAD

ATLANTA

AT ATLANTA, GEORGIA. Through sources and appropriate investigation attempt to verify [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

ST. LOUIS AND SPRINGFIELD

AT EAST ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI. Determine through sources [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

ATTENTION

The following documents appearing in FBI files have been reviewed under the provisions of The Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) (Title 5, United States Code, Section 552); Privacy Act of 1974 (PA) (Title 5, United States Code, Section 552a); and/or Litigation.

☐ FOIA/PA☐ Litigation☐ Executive Order Applied

Requester: _____

Subject: _____

Computer or Case Identification Number: _____

Title of Case: _____ Section _____

* File _____

Serials Reviewed: _____

Release Location: *File _____ Section _____

This file section has been scanned into the FOIPA Document Processing System (FDPS) prior to National Security Classification review. Please see the documents located in the FDPS for current classification action, if warranted. Direct inquires about the FDPS to RIDS Service Request Unit,

b2

File Number: 100-HQ-446080 Section 47Serial(s) Reviewed: ALL

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: 983317

File Number: _____ Section _____

Serial(s) Reviewed: _____

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: _____

File Number: _____ Section _____

Serial(s) Reviewed: _____

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 08-25-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CPB/bls

THIS FORM IS TO BE MAINTAINED AS THE TOP SERIAL OF THE FILE, BUT NOT SERIALIZED.

ATTENTION**DO NOT REMOVE FROM FILE**

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 08-25-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CPE/BJL

F B I

Date: 12/11/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson _____
 Mr. DeLoach _____
 Mr. Mohr _____
 Mr. Bishop _____
 Mr. Casper _____
 Mr. Callahan _____
 Mr. Conrad _____
 Mr. Felt _____
 Mr. Gale _____
 Mr. Rosen _____
 Mr. Sullivan _____
 Mr. Tavel _____
 Mr. Trotter _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Miss Holmes _____
 Miss Gandy _____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

b6
b7C

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 11 copies
 of an LHM regarding the above captioned subject. One copy
 each is furnished the offices listed in the copy count for
 information.

b6
b7C

Offices be alert for any information subject [redacted]
 [redacted] will be traveling abroad or to Guinea to establish
 a residence there.

PRO C.R.I.M.-ation [redacted]
 1 cc ISD - att [redacted]
 1 DIV [redacted]
 ERD [redacted]
 ACS: [redacted]
 OSI [redacted]
 State [redacted]
 [redacted] (1/2 Liaison)

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b7C

b2

- 11 ③ - Bureau (Enc. 11)
 1 - Atlanta (100-6812) (Enc. 1) (RM)
 1 - Baltimore (100-24220) (Enc. 1) (RM)
 1 - Boston (157-437) (Enc. 1) (RM)
 1 - Los Angeles (RM) (AM) (Enc. 1)
 1 - New York (100-153751) (Enc. 1) (RM)
 1 - San Francisco (Enc. 1) (RM) (AM)
 1 - WFO

WWH:tjd
(10)AIRTELApproved: 37
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

59 JAN 7 1969

XEROX
DEC 19 1968

100-446080-2161

DEC 18 1968

RECEIVED AND FILED IN 105-176923-1



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Washington, D. C. 20535
December 11, 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-25-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CPB/b1s

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

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[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted] Washington, D.C., advised on
December 11, 1968, he had been previously engaged to handle
the shipment of household furnishings belonging to Stokely
Carmichael [redacted] to Conakry, Guinea.
He advised the furnishings, amounting to about twelve thousand
pounds, had been removed from their Washington, D.C. residence
during mid-November, 1968, preparatory to shipment by boat
to Conakry from Baltimore, Maryland, during the early part
of December, 1968. Prior to actual shipment, they were
stored temporarily in Washington, D.C. at an overseas
shipping company warehouse.

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[redacted] advised that as of December 11, 1968, half
of the furnishings belonging to Carmichael [redacted] had
been put on board the boat "African Rainbow" in Baltimore,
being handled by the Farrell Lines, Incorporated. He related
that prior to departure from Washington, D.C., Carmichael [redacted]
[redacted] purchased a new household refrigerator, two washing
machines and a range stove, which they also desired included
with the shipment to Conakry. As of December 11, 1968, all
of these ordered appliances had not arrived for shipment.
Consequently, [redacted] advised when the remainder of the
appliances arrive for shipment, they will be included with
the other half of the remaining furnishings and taken to
New York City. Upon arrival in New York City, they will be
loaded onto the "African Rainbow" then due in New York City
at about that time. The "African Rainbow" is expected to
sail from New York City on December 17, 1968.

XEROX
DEC 19 1968
dt

100-446080-2161
ENCLOSURE

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

[] stated he last saw Carmichael [] during the latter part of November, 1968, while they were still in their residence in Washington, D.C. and packing their furnishings. During that time they told him they planned to give away one of the washing machines mentioned above but did not indicate to whom it was being given.

[] stated that they also indicated they were going to Africa to live and he definitely got this impression; however, they did not specifically say so.

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b7C

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

F B I

Date: 12/20/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM - SNCC;
BPP - SEDITION;
INCITING TO RIOTb6
b7C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 11 copies of
LHM regarding the above captioned subject.

The information regarding the statements made by
[redacted] was furnished to ASAC JOHN J. MC DERMOTT on
12/18/68 by Assistant U.S. Attorney HAROLD SULLIVAN. The
information furnished by Mr. SULLIVAN to ASAC MC DERMOTT had
been previously furnished to SULLIVAN by [redacted]

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Washington, D.C. (WDC). A copy of the LHM is being
disseminated to AUSA SULLIVAN. Copies are not being furnished
to Secret Service and Military Intelligence Agencies since it
contains no information of an intelligence matter.

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FD 302s have been prepared setting forth the
information provided by [redacted] and are
being retained in the file of WFO.

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- 3 - Bureau (Enc. 11)
2 - WFO
(1-62-9737) (INCITING TO RIOT)

WWH:sas
(5)

AIRTEL

18 DEC 23 1968

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RACIAL INT. SECT.

51 JAN 9 1969

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

WFO 100-43503

No additional information regarding this aspect of the CARMICHAEL case is contemplated by WFO.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D.C. 20535

December 20, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-25-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CPB/bis

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

[redacted] Washington,
D.C. (WDC), advised on December 19, 1968, that he is a member
of [redacted]

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WDC. In connection with his church membership, several months
ago he became interested in an organization known as the
People's Involvement Corporation (PIC) which he described as
a social action group working in racial problems and with race
relations. In connection with the PIC, other groups within
the organization known as Coordinating Councils are operating,
holding active meetings on problems in which the PIC has an
interest. The PIC and the Coordinating Councils are biracial
and he believes they are funded by one of the United States
Government sponsored anti-poverty agencies, the exact agency
he does not know. [redacted] attends meetings of the Coordinating
Council from time to time.

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[redacted] While at a meeting of a Coordinating Council on
December 3, 1968, a discussion was being held about riots and
looting, their causes and what the age group is usually of
the participants. A lady in the audience asked the question
as to who exactly starts the riots and looting and if they
were mostly young people? A staff member of the PIC who was
present then, [redacted] described as a young Negro in his
20's, stood up and said that young people were not only
involved but that riots and lootings included all age groups.
As an example, he related an incident that took place in the
vicinity of 14th and U Streets, N.W., WDC, following the
assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King. He stated that about
April 5, 1968, during the evening when Dr. King was killed,

COPIES DESTROYED

ENCLOSURE

232 FEB 26 1971

100-446020-2162

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

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he heard looting was beginning to take place around 14th and U Streets, N.W., WDC. He walked over to the vicinity and saw people of various ages looting a store. Stokely Carmichael was in the area and called out to the looters "Take your time boys, then we'll burn it down." [redacted] thought this a rather incriminating statement on the part of Carmichael and later he [redacted] home from the meeting. While on the way home, he asked [redacted] about the incident involving Carmichael and the looters and [redacted] reiterated the incident substantially as previously told at the meeting. [redacted] did not know where [redacted] worked or that he was [redacted] then asked [redacted] if he would testify to what he heard uttered by Carmichael or appear before a Grand Jury. [redacted] indicated he was not sure but that he would be inclined to give the matter serious consideration. Conversely, he indicated he might not want to get involved. [redacted] he would mention it to a friend of his working in law enforcement but would go no further.

Subsequently [redacted] contacted Harold Sullivan, Assistant United States Attorney, District of Columbia, and related the matter to him. Sullivan indicated he would look into the matter.

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[redacted] advised that [redacted] could be located at the PIC Office, 651 Florida Avenue, N.W., WDC.

[redacted] PIC, 651 Florida, N.W., WDC, and who resides at [redacted] WDC, [redacted] advised on December 19, 1968, as hereinafter set forth:

He is employed as set forth above and occasionally meets with local civic groups in the WDC area about social and racial problems. Recently, he had a meeting in which [redacted] was present. He related to the group at the meeting in the presence of [redacted] an incident that he observed concerning Stokely Carmichael during the April, 1968 riots. He stated that he did not recall

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

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precisely what he told [] and the group but that he was general in nature. He added he does not want to become involved and would have to ponder the matter a long time before deciding to testify before a Grand Jury or other court hearings.

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He restated the matter in more detail regarding Carmichael as he had told it to [] and the group at the meeting previously. He stated that on the night of April 4, 1968, at about 8:30 p.m., after having heard of the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, he also heard there was some looting beginning to take place in the area of 14th and U Streets, N.W., WDC. He does not normally frequent that area but decided to walk over that way to see what was happening. He walked west on U Street and upon arriving at 13th and U Streets, N.W., WDC, he saw a crowd in front of London Custom Shop. The crowd was composed of various ages and they appeared to be pushing and shoving to get inside the shop to loot it. Other looters had already gone inside and were removing the merchandise. He did not recognize anyone in the crowd. About that time, a car passed by going east on U Street but he is not able to recall the make, model, license number, color, or year. As the car passed, he observed a Negro male wearing a bush hair cut stick his head out the rear window of the car and upon observing the crowd pushing and shoving to get in the store hollered out "Take your time, there is enough for everybody. After you loot it, burn it down." The car continued east on U Street without stopping. [] did not recognize any of the occupants of the car. Upon hearing the remarks from the passing car, some members of the crowd commented that "That was Stokely Carmichael." [] had never met Carmichael or seen him before that time so he did not actually know who the person was other than from the identifying remarks made by the crowd. He was unable to furnish any further description of the individual that had made the remarks from the vehicle.

Several months later while in the vicinity of 14th and U Streets, N.W., WDC, a crowd had gathered and a meeting

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

was apparently taking place at a Safeway Store concerning a shooting of an individual by a member of the Metropolitan Police Department (MPD) who had been reportedly caught walking out of the store with some merchandise. In connection with the meeting, a number of people were present and several persons pointed out to him an individual in the crowd who was wearing boots and said that is Stokely Carmichael. He then recalled the incident that had taken place on the night of April 4, 1968 and then was reasonably sure that Carmichael was the same individual that had made the remarks about looting and burning from the passing car.

He stated that he was not otherwise familiar with Carmichael or his activities. He stated that he had not seen him since that time and did not know where he was residing in WDC. He also advised that he had never visited the New School of Afro-American Thought, 2115 14th Street, N.W., WDC, and the headquarters of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), 2208 14th Street, N.W., places frequented occasionally by Stokely Carmichael.

[] further advised that the PIC is funded he believes through the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO). He stated that he is married but that he is separated from his wife and that he has three kids. He currently resides at the above address with his girl friend. He continued that he served in the United States Navy for about one year having received a honorable discharge somewhat earlier because of the fact he had a double hernia rendering him medically inactive for service so they discharged him before his normal time was up. He was asked to furnish a description of Carmichael and he stated that he was a Negro male, about 30 years of age, that he had sharp features, wearing a bush hair cut, and about 6 feet 2 inches. Upon being pointed out to him that Carmichael had not been known to wear a bush hair cut and that he was not as tall as [] thought he was, he stated that he could not be certain that the person occupying the car on the night of April 4, 1968, making the comments about the looting and burning was Carmichael. He reiterated that he did not want

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL

to become involved unless he had thought the matter out thoroughly and also had received competent advice. He added he did not desire to jeopardize his job and his family. In addition, he was not sure it was Carmichael who had made the statements.

The New School of Afro-American Thought has been publicly described as the headquarters for a small group of self-supporting artists and educators who are attempting to spread a message that black people should be proud of being black in classes given in Negro history, African languages and arts.

A characterization of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is attached herewith in the appendix.

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, is a nonmembership organization, which was born out of the sit-in movement that erupted across the South beginning in 1960.

Today SNCC identifies itself as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

According to SNCC, the year 1967 marked a historic milestone in the struggle for the liberation of black people in the United States and the year that revolutionaries throughout the world began to understand more fully the impact of the black movement. SNCC declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus--the capitalistic system of the United States with all its life-sucking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The realities of black life, together with the recognition instilled in SNCC workers forced its members to further popularize the legitimacy of self-defense and rebellions when oppression became too great."

From May, 1966, until May, 1967, Stokely Carmichael was National Chairman of SNCC. As of July, 1968, Carmichael resided in Washington, D.C., where he was affiliated with SNCC and active as temporary chairman of a black coalition group. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced [redacted] who served [redacted] until June, 1968.

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In June, 1968, at the Staff and Central Committee meeting of SNCC held in Atlanta, Georgia, it was decided to restructure the organization by equalization of responsibility by creating ten deputy or vice chairmanships. The primary purpose for this change is to take law enforcement pressure off any single individual.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

VIA TELETYPE

DEC 22 1968

ENCIPHERED

2/7&, /6WA 4

355PM URGENT 12-22-68 RPD

TO DIRECTOR AND WASHINGTON FIELD PLAINTEXT

ATT:DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

WASHINGTON FIELD VIA WASHINGTON

FROM NEW YORK 100-153751 1P

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b7C

STOKLEY CARMICHAEL; RACIAL MATTERS.

SOURCE OBSERVED SUBJECT AT THREE TWO ZERO PM, THIS DATE,
IN FRONT OF [REDACTED] RESIDENCE IN [REDACTED] NEW YORK.
SUBJECT WAS TALKING TO THREE UNIDENTIFIED MALE NEGROES WHO
HAD CAMERAS IN FRONT OF [REDACTED] RESIDENCE. THREE UNIDENTIFIED
MALE NEGROES APPARENTLY NEWSPAPERMEN.

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ADMINISTRATIVE

SOURCE MENTIONED IN TELETYPE IS [REDACTED]
NEIGHBORHOOD SOURCE.

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END

EFH

FI WASH DC R RELAY

REC 54

DEC 27 1968

52 JAN 8 1969
TELETYPED TO

MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

VIA TELETYPE

DEC 20 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

WA 08

315PM DEFERRED 12-20-68 JAM

TO DIRECTOR AND WASHINGTON FIELD CODE

ATT DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM NEW YORK 100-153751 1P

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 08-25-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CPB/bls

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; RACIAL MATTERS

RE NEW YORK TEL TO BUREAU AND WASHINGTON FIELD
DATED TWELVE NINETEEN SIXTYEIGHT.

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b7C

CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE ADVISED TWELVE TWENTY SIXTYEIGHT
SUBJECT OBSERVED AT RESIDENCE OF [REDACTED]
NEW YORK, ON TWELVE TWENTY SIXTYEIGHT.

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ADMINISTRATIVE

SOURCE IS [REDACTED] NEIGHBORHOOD

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SOURCE.

END

HWL

FBI WASH DC
TWO COPIES WFO

REC-9

100-4460802164

DEC 20 3 12 PM '68

CODING UNIT

DEC 27 1968

57 JAN 8 1969

cc - Mrs. [unclear]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 08-25-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CPS/PLS

F B I

Date: 12/27/68

Transmit the following in _____

CODE

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via _____

TELETYPE

URGENT

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, AND SAC, NEW YORK

FROM: SAC, WFO

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b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; RM

A SOURCE WHO FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN PAST ADVISED THIS DATE THAT STOKELY CARMICHAEL PLANS TO DEPART UNITED STATES DECEMBER TWENTY-EIGHT, NEXT, MODE OF TRAVEL AND DESTINATION UNKNOWN.

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b7C

[REDACTED] WDC ASSOCIATE OF CARMICHAEL AND [REDACTED] (LNU), ALLEGED BLACK PANTHER MEMBER FROM DETROIT LEFT WDC THIS DATE TO MEET WITH CARMICHAEL BEFORE HIS DEPARTURE.

ADMINISTRATIVE

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b7D

SOURCE IS [REDACTED] EXTREME CAUTION

SHOULD BE USED IN DISSEMINATING INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN INASMUCH AS IT WAS OBTAINED THROUGH PERSONAL CONVERSATION BETWEEN SOURCE AND SUBJECT.

REC-24

100-446680-2166

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b7C

- 2 - Bureau
- 3 - Teletype Unit
- 2 - WFO (100-43503)

RNW:arw
(7)

JAN 3 1969

SHIF # 2165

232 2-26-71

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

56 JAN 10 1969

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

PAGE TWO

WFO 100-43503

NEW YORK

ALERT SOURCES AND ATTEMPT TO COVER DEPARTURE OF
CARMICHAEL FROM NEW YORK.

P.

cc-MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&DApproved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

FBI

Date: 12/23/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via **AIRTEL** _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

b6
b7C

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RMEnclosed herewith are eleven copies of an LHM
regarding the above-captioned subject.The LHM contains a summary of a tape of a speech
by STOKELY CARMICHAEL made at the First Black Writers' Confer-
ence held in Montreal, Canada, 10/11 - 14/68. The tape was
prepared by [redacted][redacted] Washington, D.C., and turned over to WFO by
[redacted]A copy of the tape turned over has been prepared
and is being returned to [redacted] The tape turned over is being
retained by WFO in subject's file.A verbatim translation of the tape by LHM will follow
when completed. WFO contemplates interviewing [redacted]
regarding this matter. FD 302's regarding [redacted]
will be prepared and retained in file of WFO.3 - Bureau (Encs. 11)
1 - WFOWWH:sls
(4)

AIRTEL

JAN 7 1969

Approved: [redacted]
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per JAN 3 1969

ISA - Attn: Paul Vincent
Crim - Attn: [redacted](A verbatim transcript is being prepared,
a copy of which will be furnished to you)

FBIHQ, ESS, ACST, OSE, STATE, [redacted] (By [redacted])

1 cc HAIT + 2 cc LHM to

Legat, Ottawa REC-9

12/31/68/00-446080-2167

PTB/dkt

b2



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Washington, D.C. 20535

December 23, 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-25-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CPB/bls

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

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[redacted]
[redacted]
Washington, D.C., advised on December 17, 1968, he represents radio station WOL, Washington, D.C., on legal matters. He advised that [redacted] made a tape of a speech by Stokely Carmichael delivered at the First Congress of Black Writers held at McGill University, Montreal, Canada, during the period October 11 - 14, 1968, which he, [redacted] personally attended. [redacted] advised that WOL broadcast the speech over its Washington, D.C. station, and he expressed disappointment that this had been done.

Carmichael was the keynote speaker and the theme of the conference was "Black International Unity."

During the course of the speech, as disclosed by the tape, Carmichael made the comments, among others, hereinafter set forth:

Black people are increasingly moving together now to solve their problems. There are ideological problems involved as discussed by previous speakers at the conference. Several problems which black people are involved in concern oppression, which is of two types; they are exploitation and colonization. However, under exploitation the problem is only economic, whereas under colonization the question of race comes up, meaning one race against another. Therefore, black people are a colonized people in the countries they inhabit. The black man is on the bottom everywhere and he is fighting racism produced by white western civilization. His problem is not just

100-446050-2167
ENCLOSURE

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

social, economic or political, it is ingrained racism. The white man raped Africa and spread the black man as slaves all over South America, the Caribbean, the United States, parts of Europe and Canada. He has been colonized everywhere he has been living. He is not only exploited, but by being colonized, he has been stripped of his language, his culture, his history and his complete way of life. All African culture was plundered by the white man. These are the effects of colonization and they do not happen under mere exploitation. So, the black man is fighting for his humanity. These problems are pointed out in Fanon's book entitled "The Wretched of the Earth." He continued, why did the white man do this to the black man? It was not merely economic, and the black man should not delude himself thinking that it was. The white man is for money, but he had plenty of other peoples he could have enslaved, such as the Indians. He enslaved the black man because of racism. As a result, the black people are a colonized people seeking to re-establish their culture. Once a person is colonized, he is directly affected by the colonization. He seeks to identify himself with his master who he thinks is all good, and later begins to hate his own people. He then begins to hate himself and is taught to love and adore his master. In view of this, the black man must be liberated, which becomes an absolute necessity because he is colonized and oppressed. The black man must move against the colonizer and ~~de~~-humanizer by "education." Black people must speak concretely about oppression. When this is done, this becomes dangerous for the oppressor. Negroes are moving in positive areas toward their liberation. Black people previously were critical of their masters but were silent about it, and would whisper ugly names about him from time to time. Now they are becoming more open as they are being "educated" since they are moving toward liberation. When the black man seeks to liberate himself, initially the white man reacts by being very nice, then he develops poverty programs to assist him. Later he sends agent provocateurs and later the Armed Forces.

Carmichael stated that he thinks of the white man in relation to the three M's; he first sends the missionaries to black people, then money, and then the marines. So being

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

a colonized people with Africans scattered without any nationalism as they seek liberation, they must work for undying love for each other. Not having any nationalistic ties, they control nothing in the countries they inhabit; however, there are a few black puppets around. Black people must begin to get to the roots of racism. The fight is against racism, capitalism and imperialism. There must be a revolution free of racism and imperialism.

In speaking of types of government systems to be considered by black people, Carmichael mentioned communism and socialism. He stated, however, there are many types of communism and socialism and as an example of different forms of communism he mentioned the governments of Russia and China. He then added the Russians are racists. He said that Russia completely compromised on colonization in Africa and that one only has to ask an African student studying in Russia about the Russians being racists and "he will tell you about racism there."

He continued that the black man has no country to call his own, and he must build a base to liberate himself. In considering liberation, one must define several terms, such as revolution and black militant. A revolution is a total destruction of the old system and replacing it with a new system. In revolution one must seize power before it begins. For example, the Cuban Revolution did not begin until Fidel Castro got into Havana and announced that he was taking over the country for the benefit of his people.

The period preceding revolution is called "armed struggle." He added that Fidel Castro had this in Cuba prior to the revolution but actually had to seize power before the revolution was underway. He said that there are three ways to get things; you can ask for it, you can beg for it, or you can take it. "You don't steal it, you take it. You only steal if you have no power. If you have power, you take." These must be taken through revolutionary violence. Murder is not right or wrong, but who has power to legitimize it. For example, if a soldier in Vietnam kills thirty Vietnamese, he will get a medal. This highlights the problem. The Africans have never been able to legitimize because they have always

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

had this done for them by white people. Africans must start to legitimize as they struggle. Revolutionary violence is necessary. Self-defense only protects the status quo. Aggressive violence is needed to change this. The system in the United States will never change without aggressive violence. The africans must begin to define violence for themselves. Violence is not just use of guns. It is violence to rape and steal African copper and gold.. It is violence to see black children go hungry, poverty is violence and violence must be met with violence.

There is a difference between a black revolutionary and a black militant. There are many black militants but few black revolutionaries. A black militant is an angry black man not in the system. He wants to get in; a revolutionary wants to destroy the old system and start anew. Carmichael stated that he was a revolutionary. He added that when a black militant gets a \$20,000 poverty job he says, "Cool it, brother, everything will be all right." He continued that there are a lot of black militants in the United States trying to get into the system.

Black people must be concerned with revolutionary black power in the world. H. Rap Brown, Leroy Jones and Eldridge Cleaver were not permitted to leave the United States to attend the Black Writers' Conference. The United States does not want them to leave because it does not want black people to have any international ties. He stated he spent nine months just trying to get his passport back. He added he went to China, Cuba and Vietnam to see the world as a free person. He then stated that black people must learn of other oppressed peoples in the world. The United States creates added friction among black people by their world-wide imperialism. The United States promotes factions and guerrilla groups in black countries. Black people must de-emphasize factions and begin to present a united front. They must not be colonized in their minds and want to take each other. The North Vietnamese will not fight the South Vietnamese now unless absolutely necessary. The North Vietnamese know the real enemy is the United States. Mao in

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

China did not fight Chiang Kai-chek in 1929. He added that "You cannot fight two at once, you must fight the major enemy first."

He continued that the problems of Africa have been caused by the white man. If the blacks in South Africa today tried to start a revolt, the United States would not stand idle and permit it. They are part of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) which supplies arms. He stated that the international area is very important to black people, and their struggle is an international one. In the dispute between Nigeria and Biafra, white people are just waiting to get the Biafran oil. Black people must understand this situation because World War III is right around the corner. He stated, "When you move, you must move culturally, politically, economically and militarily. There must be a balance of power." He continued that the United States will never let anyone endanger its system but force along or technological power will not win. "It's the will of the people that win." He commented that Ho Chi Minh and the Vietnamese people proved this to be true. The United States cannot win in Vietnam because of the will of the people. He said that black people must learn to be offensive not just defensive, and that black writers can instill this into black people. He continued that the contradictions must be heightened and that this must be done for the Mother Continent. The forces must be polarized as the contradictions are heightened. Black writers can do this, and things must be redefined by Africans. He stated that the black people need black heroes and that black writers should see that this is accomplished. He criticized what he called "intellectual games" that were played in the United States by the case of W. E. DuBois, which postponed the black movement considerably. He continued that the United States, when it moved, it did not take things non-violently, but went with what they called "pioneering spirit." Black people must move with "pioneering spirit" which includes the international arena. Black people must talk about black power internationally because the problems of black people are international. As black people move into the international arena, they must remember the North Vietnamese are "our comrades in arms and

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

the United States is the aggressor in Vietnam." Regarding the Arab-Israeli conflict, he called the Arabs "our friends" and that the Arab war is a "just war." To the Cubans he commented we should say, "We are with you, Fidel." He added the Sino-Soviet split will grow and in that dispute black people should "check Mao out." He then criticized the Organization of American States for its hold on black people in South America and the Caribbean area. He also criticized DeGaulle and stated that "French interventionist forces are at work."

He concluded by stating that black people must get guns and prepare. "Get all the guns you can," he stated. "We believe in equality. White people have guns; then black people should get them also. The U. S. and allies has atomic bombs and then they don't want anyone else to get it. Force must be balanced and equalized. Black people must be liberated. They must work and continue their struggle."

This document contains neither
recommendations nor conclusions of
the FBI. It is the property of
the FBI and is loaned to your agency;
it and its contents are not to be
distributed outside your agency.

VIA TELETYPE
DEC 28 1968
ENCIPHERED

WA---6---

1029PM URGENT 12-28-68 WJZ

TO DIRECTOR AND WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE

ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM NEW YORK 100-153751

STOKLEY CARMICHAEL- RM

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PLAINTEXT

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION
IN THE PAST OBSERVED SUBJECT AT [REDACTED] RESIDENCE, SIX PM , THIS
DATE.

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SUBJECT [REDACTED] OBSERVED DEPARTING JFK AIRPORT
ABOARD SAS FLIGHT NINE ONE TWO- V, EIGHT FORTY FIVE PM THIS DATE,
SCHEDULED TO ARRIVE COPENHAGEN, NINE FIFTEEN PM , TWELVE TWENTY
NINE SIXTY EIGHT.

b6
b7C

A [REDACTED] CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE ADVISED SUBJECT [REDACTED]
SCHEDULED TO DEPART COPENHAGEN FOR STOCKHOLM , SWEDEN ABOARD SAS
FLIGHT FOUR ZERO TWO AT TEN AM, TWELVE TWENTY NINE SIXTY EIGHT,
AND ARE SCHEDULED TO ARRIVE IN STOCKHOLM ELEVEN TWENTY FIVE AM,
TWELVE TWENTY NINE SIXTY EIGHT.

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ADMINISTRATIVE-----

RENYTEL TO BUREAU AND WFO DATED TWELVE TWENTY SEVEN.

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END PAGE ONE

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TELETYPED TO:

W50 JAN 10 1969

advised at 11:25 pm
12/28/68
WJZ

State Dept Watch
Officer's Kidney
advised 12/28/68
WJZ

5-M

CABLE 6-22-AM
LEGAT LONDON 12/20/68
PM/49

100-446080-21168
4 JAN 2 1969

PAGE TWO

NY 100-153751

NEIGHBORHOOD SOURCE. AGENTS OBSERVING SUBJECT DEPART JFK AIRPORT,
NYC, WERE SAS [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] SOURCE MENTIONED IN TELETYPE, [REDACTED]

b2
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[REDACTED] SAS AIRLINES , JFK AIRPORT.

LHM TO FOLLOW.

END

RNK FBI WASH DC

MR. TRAINOR

CC - ROOM 836 9&D

b6
b7C

1 - [REDACTED]

December 30, 1968

CODE

CABLEGRAM

URGENT

TO LEGAT LONDON

FROM DIRECTOR FBI

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY.

SUBJECT [REDACTED] DEPARTED JFK AIRPORT,

NEW YORK CITY, ABOARD SCANDINAVIAN AIRLINES SYSTEM, FLIGHT
NUMBER NINE ONE TWO - V, EIGHT FORTY-FIVE P.M., DECEMBER TWENTY-
EIGHT, LAST. THEY WERE SCHEDULED TO ARRIVE COPENHAGEN, DENMARK,
NINE FIFTEEN P.M., DECEMBER TWENTY-NINE, LAST. THEY PLANNED TO
DEPART COPENHAGEN FOR STOCKHOLM, SWEDEN, ABOARD SCANDINAVIAN
AIRLINES SYSTEM, FLIGHT NUMBER FOUR TWO TWO AT TEN A.M.,
DECEMBER TWENTY-NINE, LAST, AND WERE SCHEDULED TO ARRIVE
STOCKHOLM ELEVEN TWENTY-FIVE A.M., DECEMBER TWENTY-NINE, LAST.

SUBJECT [REDACTED] HOLD OPEN RETURN AIRLINE TICKETS. REASON FOR

CARMICHAEL'S TRIP ABROAD, NOT KNOWN; HOWEVER, IT IS NOTED YOU

WERE PREVIOUSLY ADVISED CARMICHAEL [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] IN STOCKHOLM COMMENCING JANUARY ONE, LAST.

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

PROMPTLY SUBMIT IN A FORM SUITABLE FOR DISSEMINATION ALL

VIA TELETYPE

1 - Foreign Liaison Unit (Route through for review)

2 - WFO (BY SPECIAL MESSENGER)

PTB:sd (5)

ENCIPHERED

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

MAIL ROOM

TELETYPE UNIT

CABLEGRAM TO LEGAT LONDON
STOKELY CARMICHAEL, RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY.

PERTINENT INFORMATION DEVELOPED CONCERNING CARMICHAEL'S
ACTIVITIES ABROAD. COPY TO WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE BY
SPECIAL MESSENGER.

NOTE:

Black extremist, Stokely Carmichael, recently moved from his residence in Washington, D. C. His household goods were packed for shipment to Guinea. For the past month Carmichael has been residing temporarily at [REDACTED] residence in New York City. No additional information has been developed to date substantiating Carmichael may move to Guinea. The fact that he holds a return airline ticket indicates he plans to return to the United States. State and [REDACTED] has been advised of the above travel.

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 08-25-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CPB/DLS

FBI

Date: 12/30/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-721)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISC
RM - BPP

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Re San Francisco airtel and LHM, dated 11/15/68,
and San Francisco letter to Bureau, dated 11/25/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are eight (8) copies
of an LHM suitable for dissemination. Enclosed for WFO
are two (2) copies of the LHM.

Sources utilized are as follows:

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(by request).

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(by request).

b2
b7Db6
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This LHM is classified "~~confidential~~" as it
contains information which, if disclosed, could reasonably
result in the identification of confidential sources of
continuing value.

3 - Bureau (Encs. 8) (RM)
2 - WFO (Encs. 2) (RM)
2 - San Francisco
FL/pae
(7)

REC 49, 100-446080-2170

25 JAN 2 1969

Approved: C. C. Bishop
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M

60 JAN 14 1969

RECEIVED SECT

ISA letter Paul Al...
OK 1/10/69 SS-HAS/OS/
KLS 1/3/69 9774/100
100-446080-2170

ENCLOSURE



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

San Francisco, California

December 30, 1968

DECLASSIFIED BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CPB/bls
ON 08-25-2006

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Copies of this memorandum are being furnished locally to intelligence agencies of the Army, Navy, and Air Force and to Secret Service.

Reference is made to memorandum of November 15, 1968, concerning Carmichael's speech at De Anza College in Cupertino, California, on November 12, 1968.

A source advised on November 19, 1968, that he was present when Stokely Carmichael spoke on the evening of November 12, 1968, at De Anza College. The program started at about 8:15 p.m. and ended at 9:30 p.m. Carmichael gave about a 10 to 15 minute speech then answered questions for the rest of the time.

Carmichael started his speech by saying that he wanted to make it very clear at the beginning that he believes in violence to relieve the oppression of the Black man.

Carmichael's discussion was aimed at the Liberal. Carmichael pointed out that they have not been effective. The Liberal has failed. Carmichael implied that "radicalism" has to be the answer to the Black man's plight. Destruction of the system has to be the answer.

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~~GROUP 1~~

~~Excluded from automatic
Downgrading and
Declassification~~

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

100-446080-2170
ENCLOSURE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

No specific comments per se about the overthrow of the Government were remembered. Instead of referring to the Government he would say instead "destroy the system." He said this on one or more occasions during his appearance.

A [] source advised he also attended Carmichael's speech at De Anza College on November 12, 1968. This source could not recall any specific statements by Carmichael in which he advocated the overthrow of the U. S. Government by force or with guns, although he could see how someone could read implications of this into some of Carmichael's statements. Carmichael did state he believes in violence and killing if necessary in overcoming the oppressor.

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A [] source, who is the same source mentioned in referenced memorandum, after transcribing notes taken on Carmichael's speech at De Anza College, advised on December 6, 1968, that a close review of the notes does not substantiate the source's earlier statement to the effect that Carmichael specifically stated he advocates the overthrow of the U. S. Government with guns. The following statement was provided by this source:

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Stokeley Carmichael started his speech by saying: "I want to make it clear right now as I know people are going to ask are you really serious about this violence you talk about, do you really mean it? I want it understood clearly right now, that I mean it. I am very serious about this"

He mainly attacked the white liberals and right wingers, as being a part of this society so they couldn't do anything to change this society. They went ahead to influence changes, but lacked the power to see that the changes they influenced were carried out. He also said that they lacked alternatives. Even Gov. Wallace had alternatives and power, but the liberals just stayed on the fence. They told the poor people they can become rich, and the rich that they can become richer, but the gap between the poor & rich remained the same. They don't take from the rich to give to the poor. He said there were two kinds of freedoms - economic and political. The economic was the only one that means anything, because it doesn't mean anything to a man to be able to vote if he has an empty stomach. In Cuba, they may not be able to vote for their choice, but they have a full stomach and this is what is important to people who have been suppressed, and the land in Cuba was also divided among the people. This is important.

He said that the entire United States Government should be put into jail, as they are criminals by killing in Viet Nam and by ravaging and raping the American Indians and keeping Negroes oppressed in order to build their imperialistic country. Every black man should be freed immediately from prison no matter what the charge, as they are all political prisoners. (He received applause here.)

He was asked if he was a Communist? He struck back by saying "What is a Communist?" -- The boy that asked the question said that he wasn't sure all that they stood for, but that he knew that they stood for the violent overthrow of the government. To this Carmichael said-- "If they stand for violent overthrow of this government, then I stand for that, and I am working on it." He was asked again if he was a Communist. And he said "I stand on the 5th & 14th Amendments." Then someone asked him why, if he hated all this government stood for so much, did he use part of its Constitution to defend himself. He replied "Because I am smart - that is why."

When asked about the violent overthrow of the government again, he said "How do you feel about the take-over of Czechoslovakia? Are you for the overthrow of the imperialism there?" "I am against imperialism wherever it is and plan to do something about it as it has kept my people oppressed too long." Martin Luther King was brought up, and a lot of laughter came from the Panthers in the audience. They said "Yeh, and he's dead now." Carmichael said there would be no more movements like King's as they didn't work, and also that the white man has never produced a Martin Luther King, whereas there were at least 10,000 black Martin Luther Kings. To this some of the audience brought up Bertrand Russell, Sweitzer, and Kennedy. He got very violent when Kennedy was mentioned, and said he was in office when Cuba was fighting for freedom and also Viet Nam and he didn't give a damn about being non-violent.

He said that peace is nothing more than the absence of conflict. It does not mean that justice is involved. He was asked why he intends on using guns and violence. He said that it was guns that makes the U.S. the most powerful nation in the world, and only guns, and that guns mean power. He said everyone else can do it their own way, but "I am going to use guns."

A man from South Africa who said that he could no longer return there without being arrested, asked him why he felt only the black people were being oppressed. He got violent and also made fun of the fellow. He said "Are you trying to make me believe that you, a white man, can possibly tell me you and your father and family were oppressed in Africa? The fellow shot back that his family had escaped from Russia to Africa because they were Jews and they were not accepted there either. Carmichael said "Yeh, just how many black men did your family have working for them? Don't you ever try to put yourself in a black man's shoes, as you can't. Right now, you have proved it. You got a passport and came over here. No black man could ever do that or ever escape."

There was a white boy who pleaded with him to try and help him with his plans, but it was evident that there was no place in their movement for white people no matter how anxious they were to help out. Absolutely none.

Before his speech he introduced Tommy Smith and Johnny Carlos who were in the audience, they got a round of applause.

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL.

The [] source provided a copy of a tape recording of Carmichael's speech. However the acoustics in the auditorium are not good and Carmichael wandered from the microphone at times, thereby making portions of his speech inaudible. The following is a transcription of this speech.

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DECLASSIFIED BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CPB/bls
ON 08-25-2006

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
De Anza College

..... start off by eliminating many of the questions that will be.... (Opening remarks of speech are unintelligible).

..... because it is necessary to end suppression.... so we don't have to waste time asking, "Are you really mean you(are)for violence now?" Yes, just like the United States is using violence in Vietnam, just like they use violence to get everything they acquire, just so we are for violence to end our oppression, period. And that's the infinitive scale of violence. Whatever we have at our disposal we will use to end our oppression, period. And I think if we can get that out of the way we won't have to waste time with it.

I think that white people get, uh, disturbed about violence only when it deals with the oppressed picking up the guns. They are quite used to violence, but they are not used to seeing the oppressed use violence against them. They are used to violence by the oppressed against other oppressed. For example, they are very proud to see a black man with a gun in his hand fighting in Vietnam. (If) he killed thirty Vietnamese they'll give him a purple, gold, yellow, blue, all kinds of medals, you know. So, they are used to violence, but they just don't want to see that black man with that gun shooting the ir policemen, or disrupting their system. And I don't think we should waste time discussing that, because that is really irrelevant, especially since the question is moot. There's going

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to be violence anyway, so why waste time discussing it. They are already dynamiting police stations across the country; there's already the sniping on policemen. So, it's a moot, moot question. Violence is, period.

Now then, let us discuss the important issues.

We want to talk about the break-down of the conventional political system in the United States, and it is basically the two-party system. We want to exclude Mr. WALLACE's party for awhile. (Echo's terrible, isn't it?). Can you hear me? We want to exclude Mr. WALLACE's party for awhile, because we want to bring Mr. WALLACE's party in a little bit later to show how the conservatives or the right wing, moves to consolidate power as opposed to what the liberals usually do. We want to point out some of the failures of the liberal movement in the United States, in the sixties, in the thirties, and in general, the failures of most liberal movements around the World, and why, because of the failure of the liberal movement that violence then becomes a necessity. (Isn't it bad?).

Let us talk about the conventional political parties. It is clear that in terms of conventional politics the United States of America is concerned with political equality, but is not concerned with economic equality; that is to say, opportunity for economic equality. The United States would go all out to grant opportunity for political equality, but it would not do that for economic equality. So that you have a situation where you have at least the opportunity for

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political equality, but you do not have the opportunity for economic equality. And I think that contradiction is beginning to catch up with America, that people are now beginning to move beyond political equality and to begin to become more concerned with economic equality.

Now, each time I make a point I would like to refer back to the liberals, especially because I think the white liberal movement in the United States today finds itself in a sort of limbo, as with most liberal movements when they are forced to make a decision one way or the other.

I think the tragedy of the liberal movement in this respect is that they themselves concentrate on political equality and neglect economic equality, or opportunity for economic equality. And when they do that they themselves allow themselves to be used as a pawn in the game to heighten the contradictions.

It is more important for someone to have a full stomach than to have the vote. The vote with an empty stomach really doesn't mean anything. I would much rather have economic equality than political equality. And I think this becomes crystal clear, especially after the Chicago convention where people begin to see clearly that the vote really doesn't mean anything, because if we accept the polls for whatever they are the real choice is of the people within those conventions were never realized, and so people had to

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vote on what other people had picked for them.

So, I think the new issue today, and the issue which more people are going to move, is going to be the issue of economic equality. The question then for the liberal movement in the United States is whether or not they can move towards creating any type of atmosphere that will become conducive to discussing opportunity for economic equality.

I don't understand that around the World many people seize the opportunity for economic equality as far more important than opportunity for political equality. And the United States recognizes this. With its propaganda it always emphasizes political equality. For example, they will attack Cuba and say, "In Cuba they don't have the freedom of the press, they don't have freedom of speech, they don't have political freedom". But they will not deny nor can they deny the fact that in Cuba there is an equal distribution of land, there is an equal distribution of resources, which is far more important after all than freedom of the speech or freedom of the press. But what the United States does is that in its priority it assumes political equality is far more important than economic equality. And the liberals fall into that trick-bag, because they do not even analyze. They assume that political equality is more important than economic equality.

Now I want to move on more particularly and talk about the liberal movement and keep touching on the conventional political system with the general outline that we have.

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There are several, it seems to me, failures of liberal movements in the country, in the liberal movement in the country. But perhaps the major failure of all the liberal movements is that their primary task is to stop confrontation. The primary task of liberal movements is to stop confrontation. If they see a polarization occurring on the right and polarization occurring on the left; if they see whites becoming polarized, and they see the blacks becoming polarized; if they see the rich becoming polarized and the poor becoming polarized, their main job is to stop confrontation. Their primary task, I remind you, is not the readjustment of injustices but rather stopping the confrontation. They want to be able to stop the confrontation. I think that that is failure because in stopping the confrontation one does not necessarily solve the problem, and in many cases there is need to be a confrontation so that the problem can be resolved. And that is, I think, the greatest tragedy of the liberal movement.

Now, following from that comes what I think is also the second reason why the liberal movement in the United States makes mistakes, and that is the liberal movement in the United States is afraid to alienate. They do not want to alienate anybody. They are afraid to alienate. They want to tell everybody that they can be their friends. They can be friends with rich people; they can be friends with poor people; they can be friends with black people, they can be friends with white people; they can be friends with people on the left and they

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can be friends with people on the right. They are afraid to alienate any of these groups. And this again becomes another, seems to me, a failure of the liberal movement because of its fear to alienate it can never really solve problems. It can never really solve problems.

Let us say, for example, the reason why you find the liberal, uh, set the stage for the fascists, or for the conservative or the right wing take-over. GEORGE WALLACE, for example, is not afraid to alienate, because GEORGE WALLACE, unlike the liberal, says, he starts off with his basic assumption: There have been troubles in this country. And whatever he lists his troubles are, but his basic assumption is that there are troubles. Then he said: To readjust the troubles or problems we must get rid of the people who caused those problems. And then he finds the people who caused the problems. To him the people who caused the problems are the Federal Judges, the bureaucrat briefcase toting people, etc., etc. But he seeks out the people who he says are responsible for causing the problem. The liberal does the opposite.

The liberal says, "Yes, there are problems, but we can resolve these problems without blaming anybody". So that they do not blame anyone for the problems and they keep assuring everybody "these problems just developed", I imagine metaphysically, and so they will be solved metaphysically, rather than saying that these problems have developed (for) human error and we must resolve these human error, either through

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punishment or through correction. But whatever the liberal never ever seems to grasp the idea that he must point out who caused the problem. He cannot just assume it's a happy, merry world and just somehow something went wrong but we can all readjust and everybody will live happily ever after. You know, the remarks usually are, "Well, it's true that black and white didn't get along, but why can't we all just sit down now and sing "We Shall Overcome" and enjoy life", and they just dismiss the problem. I think that one of the reasons for that is because the liberals have to seek to maintain the status quo.

Third point: They have to seek to maintain the status quo because the liberals benefit from the status quo. Liberalist groups in the United States are economically secure. They are an economically secure group, and their economic security depends upon the status quo.

Poor white people are economically insecure. They are not liberals. They are not liberals. Their positions are not liberal, because the economically insecure seeks to change the situation as he sees fit. But since the liberal is already economically secure he does not want to threaten his economic security. So, what he hopes to do is to reform the system while maintaining his economic security, and that is the basic failure of the liberal movement in the United States.

Witness, for example, McCARTHY. The wishy-washiness of McCARTHY led to his complete failure. His failure to take a stand and to go for power to develop a third party shows the

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complete dismal of the liberal movement in the United States, the white liberal movement in the United States.

Unstand how the right wing moves. GEORGE WALLACE consolidates power. He moves to build a third party. The liberal does not, because the liberal does not really want to change the system, because his economic security depends upon that system. And from that hinges the second reason that we mentioned before, that the liberal really cannot afford to alienate, because if he has to alienate he would have to alienate the people who are in the system, and since the liberal is part of the system he cannot alienate those people. So, he must seek to talk some niceties about how everything can happen without doing anything, you can have everything okay. He would say to poor people, "You are poor", and he would say to rich people, "You are rich", and then he would say to the poor people, "You can become rich". But he doesn't say to the rich people in order for them to become rich you must become less rich. He assumes that poor people can become rich, and rich people can be or become richer. Usually he assures them they can become richer. But while he assures them they can become richer the gap between rich and poor still remains the same. The variable is still there. It is no longer a question of amount. That is another failure of the liberal movement in the United States. Because if poor people are going to become rich they

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must either take money from rich people, and rich people become less rich, or they must find money elsewhere. Are the liberals telling us that there is an inexhaustable sources of resources in the World and that we continually keep dragging and getting it and we don't have to worry about the rich people? Is the liberal saying to us that rich people are rich not because they exploit us but just because the World is that few are rich and many are poor? We do not understand precisely what questions liberals are posing, precisely because the liberals themselves does not understand what question he or she is posing.

And I think we have to understand very clearly the failures of the liberal movement, because it becomes clearer since the rise and consolidation of power by the right (wing), and since the absolute abysmal failure of Chicago.

Now the last--Well, there are two--next to last, is that the liberals themselves do not seek power. Liberals never seek power to implement the changes they work for. The liberals are satisfied to exert a certain amount of influence over the society, but they do not really care about having the power to implement those changes because the changes they seek are really reform changes which do not alter the basic structure of the society in which they find themselves.

For example, you had during the civil rights movement a liberal coalition made up of labor movements, church

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groups, uh, people on the left, religious groups and students. They worked to influence legislature to pass certain legislation concerning race relations in the country. Let's say they worked precisely for the voting right act, okey? Once the liberal exerted their influence and the influence was felt (in) the country, and the country passed those legislation, the liberals did not have enough power to implement the legislation or even see that the legislation was implemented, showing again a short coming of the liberal movement because they do not seek power. It seems to me that if I were fighting for something when I get it I wouldn't turn it loose. I would hold it and do with it as I will, 'cause I fought for it. It seems to me that if the liberal movement was serious in the United States having once grabbed power they would be able to control whatever gains they have made. But, because they do not understand power, because they are afraid of power, because they do not really want to change the basic structure of the system, they are satisfied to let the affluence fly around and to mouth all sorts of humanistic ideals which never change anything.

Finally, the problem with the liberal is that he does not offer alternatives. he does not offer alternatives. And because the liberal does not offer alternatives he sets the stage for the conservative right wing or fascist takeover which does offer an alternative. Witness again the last campaign. Witness HUMPHREY's answer to the war in Vietnam. Well, we will (solve) the war in Vietnam by honorable peace

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negotiations, whatever that means. But witness GEORGE WALLACE's solution, if you will. It's an alternative, whether or not you agree with this. Mr. WALLACE said, "We will try to solve the problems peace negotiations. If we do not, we will (end) the war with every kind of power we can get our hands on within conventional (system). That is an alternative. You may not agree with this but it is an alternative. And because he presents a (fair) alternative, the people begin to see clearly where there is a choice.

So, the basic failure, ah, so many, of the liberal movement is that they do not offer clear alternatives to the problems that they find themselves in, and, therefore, they allow, they allow for setting the stage and for the breeding of fascism in the society.

I don't know if I'm coming around clear. I just keep hearing echos back and forth. Okey.

Then, finally, the liberal movement, because it does not consolidate power, seeks to talk to the oppressed rather than the oppressors in terms of resolving the problems. For example, the liberals, since they do not amass power, are incapable of dealing with WALLACE who is amassing power. But they would talk to the oppressed black people who are not powerful and try to tell them, "Do not try to get power". For example, they would say to the oppressors, "Don't get excited; don't do this, don't do that; you're going to cause WALLACE to do this or that". But the oppressed works from a

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different assumption. The oppressed assumes that GEORGE WALLACE is going to do what he is going to do anyway. Therefore, they must move to insure their protection. The liberal tries to convince them that GEORGE WALLACE is not going to do what he is going to do. So, the final solution is that the oppressed must accept the status quo, 'cause the only way you won't have GEORGE WALLACE is if the oppressed do not push. But if the oppressed pushes for change, then they say to the oppressed, "You are causing a GEORGE WALLACE". But, in fact, it is the failure of the liberal movement that forces and causes a GEORGE WALLACE.

I think maybe if we stopped now we could have a lot of questions. (Applause).

I bet you thought we were going to talk about white folk .

I think it would be best if we had questions.

Unintelligible question.... something about "seize black power". CARMICHAEL comments: Now you know how he feels. (The 'question' is a lengthy one, all unintelligible with the exception of the above few words.)

CARMICHAEL:

I have some, too. So we can get on it. Or was it contingent on the... (not finished).

You can't pick it up from this one? (This is apparently in reference to a microphone pickup).

CARMICHAEL:

Anyone raise a question?

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Unintelligible question.

CARMICHAEL:

Uh, I think that our first program is to get that black power. Once ~~having~~ gotten the power we will use that power to meet the needs and the desires of the masses of our people. I mean, I don't know if you expect a planned program. Caint give you the five-year plan.

Unintelligible question.

CARMICHAEL:

Black people. No, when I say 'our people' I mean black people. We are fighting for power for black people. Therefore, when I say 'our people' I mean black people.

Unintelligible question.

CARMICHAEL:

You know, if it isn't too inconvenient, maybe the people who want to ask questions could maybe just line up and use the mike as a favor.

Unintelligible question. (Rather lengthy).

CARMICHAEL also makes a few unintelligible remarks.

CARMICHAEL:

Right. I didn't want to make any person/^{al}questions but rather political. I feel more comfortable on the political level than the personal level. I think, that I, I think the only thing that you could do to help us
..... that's why there is no black power. There's clearly no black power, because black people are oppressed. Then you find out who is oppressing black people. Once having found that

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out, you move against those people. (Applause).

Unintelligible question.

CARMICHAEL:

You want an answer on how to move against them?

UNMAN: Yeah.

CARMICHAEL:

Well, you move against them as you see fit. I would move against them..... (CARMICHAEL apparently moves away from the microphone).people move against their own level Some people feel that they will move against those structures, not violently; others say they will move against it with the gun. I say you move against it with a gun. If you.... I beg your pardon. You want to ask a question?

Unintelligible question.

CARMICHAEL:

(He moves away from the microphone and is unintelligible).

.... black power.... Investigate it and see. ...

I am not..... nor have I ever thought to oppress you. The question is irrelevant, because I'm not concerned with white people. I'm only concerned with them stop oppressing me, and that's where I stop. (Applause) That's a question for white people. They continually oppress black people, so that's their problem. They are hung up on black people. Black people are not hung up on white people. (Applause).

Now to get back to your question, I'm sorry he just....

Unintelligible question.

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CARMICHAEL:

Once I get in power, am I going to oppress white people? (Carmichael moves away from the microphone and is unintelligible)..... and I'm not afraid to say that. White people are afraid to say it. White people are..... we can..... black power because it will mess up our life. And so what they say is, "Well, when you take it you're going to fight us". Why should I want to fight you if you're not bothering me? I'm not going to go to Europe to fight you. I got no time for Europe. It's too cold. I like warm climate. That's the problem of the white people. Not my problem. No. White people talk about peace. Peace just means that absence of conflict. It does not necessarily mean.... Peace and Freedom Party. Peace (openly) means absence from conflict. It does not necessarily mean justice. Right?

Unintelligible question.

CARMICHAEL:

Black people never do what?

(Carmichael moved away from the microphone and is unintelligible). Hope I answered

Unintelligible question.

CARMICHAEL is unintelligible.

UNMAN:

..... firearms is not the way, because you don't have the power to obtain weapons, you don't have to train the people. You said, "Every man that walks around and carries a flame equalizer... Don't

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shoot. When you burn you destroy and then people start.....

CARMICHAEL:

..... Number one, you are not from South Africa,
and you are the son of a settler in South Africa who killed

.... (Applause). You had your chance.

Let's see if.... You are not from South Africa.

You are the son of a settler who raped and killed...(shouts
loudly and is unintelligible).

He doesn't make very much sense to me, because I see South
Africa still standing. I see Black people still oppressed,
side
in/(~~fact~~) our own country. We have to have permission
from the settlers who have hung and raped.....
both natural and human, and human. And I donot see you resolv-
ing the prospect unless you get the gun.

UNMAN:

(Unman speaks of his grandparents and something
about South Africa, not sufficiently clear to be intelligible).

CARMICHAEL:

In South Africa? (UNMAN: In South Africa).

CARMICHAEL:

You need a pass in South Africa?

UNMAN: Unintelligible.

CARMICHAEL:

On the contrary. You are a white man. You have the
choice of being revolutionary. Black man has to (accept
to be revolutionary. The white man.....

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UNMAN:

.... they were given equal treatment and they were given higher wages than anybody else. My father pulled my mother out of there because of the treatment they were getting because...

CARMICHAEL: interrupts

That's all well and good. Unintelligible.
Look at me. big deal..... I gotta fight. Right? ...

UNWOMAN:

.... I was wondering what you thought of using....
article in the National Guardian.

CARMICHAEL:

I didn't read it.

UNWOMAN:

Oh, okey. He's telling us not to be so...
that FIDEL in Cuba went... got the guns near.... They treated them and took care of the wounds, because they are potential revolutionaries, this enemy of theirs, and that we should all look, even.... all the people as potential revolutionaries. And we don't know/what made us revolutionaries, the secret of and we have to look for the things in people, and we have to be very subtle about it, (but) we have to constantly look for it. And this.....

CARMICHAEL:

I think this is very humanistic but not at all political.

UNWOMAN: Not at all what?

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CARMICHAEL:

Political. Despite political. Let us say, for example, we've said the same thing about HITLER. See, you may look... I would say that you may look and hope that you can change them, but you must insure that you are really able to change them in case you don't--

UNWOMAN: (cutting in)

Yeah, yeah. With your eyes wide open.

CARMICHAEL:

Oh, yes. that's....

UNWOMAN:

Yeah, but all the time I hope.... keep this in mind.

CARMICHAEL:

I'm keeping it in mind. (laughter)

UNMAN:

Once you achieve this power, black power, and you gain it through violence wherever you (noise covered last word), do you plan, as one of the leaders of the black power movement, to set up a new Africa within this country, or exist within the white society as long as they respect the power you will achieve?

CARMICHAEL:

.....do not know..... but I think that once the white people stop oppressing....

UNMAN:

You'll be able to live within the white community integrated as a body?

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CARMICHAEL:

No, no, no. I'm sure that we want be able to do that. I just want us to have the power to find our destinies as we see fit, and I do not think that that necessarily.. I do not think necessarily means running counter to white people. White people mean.... No, I do not think I want to integrate into America. Absolutely not. Because you're asking me to integrate into a war in Vietnam. I do not want that. You are asking me to integrate into a system that oppresses sixty percent of the World. I do not want that. So, I could not want to integrate with (that system). I seek to destroy that system.

UNMAN:

I got one other question. Uh, I'm curious, as I've read a little bit about ELDRIDGE CLEAVER in the Play Boy, the new Play Boy issue, and he, uh, he brought up the point that he doesn't believe the blacks should serve in the military. Is this strictly because of Vietnam or is there other reasons (for that)?

CARMICHAEL:

No, there are other reasons that I would I would... fight. Do not, and I think Mr. CLEAVER.... does not believe in compulsory drafting. First of all it should be and it should be his own individual act. He should not be forced to (applause).

UNMAN:

You stated earlier that you didn't see-what-you-

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feel that you had equality in economic . Seems to me that you do have equality or the opportunity is not being taken advantage of. I wonder if you could tell me why?

CARMICHAEL:

You're very clever. I could tell you why I agree with your assumption, but since I do not, I cannot tell you why. I could tell you why if I agreed with your assumption.

UNMAN:

What is my assumption?

CARMICHAEL:

Your assumption is that there is opportunity but it is not being taken advantage of. That is your assumption, is it not? That's what you stated. I do not agree with that so I can't tell you why. (Laughter) Or I should tell you why I do not agree with your assumption, yes. I can tell you your assumption is absolutely incorrect. (laughter).

UNMAN: Unintelligible.

CARMICHAEL:

We have a chance.

UNMAN: Unintelligible.

CARMICHAEL:

I was born in Trinidad in the West Indies, after having been maliciously across the Western Hemisphere by the powers of white.... (Applause). My name is CARMICHAEL. The Irish were sent to Trinidad to get me. Everybody has his chance at the black man.

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UNMAN: Unintelligible.

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CARMICHAEL:

I have a paper (citizenship) from the country.

UNMAN: You actually want equality or superiority?

CARMICHAEL:

I think I stated clearly that we were fighting for equality. I think that is what I said. I do not even recall saying superiority, but..... I might have said it and not recognized it. (Laughter).

UNMAN:

a few things
Now, I heard you say quite/about our system...
various systems, our two party system and our so-called third party...
how come or why you have not yet set down
... an alternative for this..... society we live in?

CARMICHAEL:

Well, I have.... (unintelligible).. (laughter).
That's what I'm working on. (Applause).

UNMAN:

..... how do you explain.... JULIAN BOND
is. He's a very good man. He seems to be...

CARMICHAEL: (cutting in)

He's very intelligent, quite articulate. Could you tell....

UNMAN:

..... Well, JULIAN BOND... But he has created a
very favorable impression on people of this country, of your
people. He's very brilliant and astute man.

CARMICHAEL:

What are his successes?

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UNMAN: Unintelligible.

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CARMICHAEL:

What are his successes? You still haven't mentioned...

All you said is that JULIAN BOND has created an atmosphere where white people now begin to think favorably of black people. You shouldn't stereotype. Not all of us are JULIAN BONDS.

UNMAN:

Well, JULIAN BOND has made more progress in creating favorable impressions of black men.

CARMICHAEL:

Okey, let's say that he has created that favorable impression. What successes have come about from it?

UNMAN:

That's a success in itself...

CARMICHAEL:

Okey, then I think we'd better (go) a little more. Beyond that, it seems that Mr. JULIAN BOND is a very impressive ... We worked together for several years and created a success by creating an atmosphere which allows white people to look favorably on black people. Is that correct?

I do not think that that is success. I think that JULIAN BOND, according to your interpretation, is saying that as long as white people pat me on the head and say you are good, and they look on you with favorable condition, and that's ... I do not need white people to look on me favorably. I don't give a damn how ^{they look on me.} ~~(they regard me)~~. (Applause).

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White people are not my God. White people are not my judges; they are incapable of judging me. So, I do not them to pass any judgement I don't care what they think of me. That's.... The only people..... in this country who can judge me are black people, and they will decide whether or not what I am doing is really progress.

UNMAN:

You stated earlier, I think this is what you stated, that you believed in, it's your duty to get every black man out of jail, put the (government) in jail, and then, finally, to get every white man out of jail. Right?

CARMICHAEL:

..... Black Panther Party (ten) point program... we want all black people.... political institutions turned free, because they are kept there... according to the United States Constitution because they did not have (trials) by their peers.

UNMAN:

Yes. Uh, are you a Communist? support Communist platform? (Laughter)

CARMICHAEL:

I would like to answer ^{your} ~~that~~ question, but before I do, I will have to ask you.... define for me what a Communist is.

UNMAN:

I asked if you are a member of the Communist Party...

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... Are you a member of the Communist Party?

CARMICHAEL: (Unintelligible).

UNMAN:

Well, I can't tell you the complete of
the Communist Party platform, but I could tell you that.....

CARMICHAEL:

The young man said he does not know.. he does not
know... platform of the Communist Party... not all of them..
but he knows one, he names one. He may know more. We'll get
to that later. Right? He knows that the Communists are for
violent overthrow of the Imperialist countries, and he wants
to know if I am for the violent overthrow of Imperialist
countries. Now, before I answer the question I want to make
something clear. If my answer is yes, it does not mean that
I am a Communist. That should be clear. Now, I am for the
overthrow of Imperialist countries violently. Now, Let me
ask you a question. You know the Russians, by invading
Czechoslovakia
~~Czechoslovakia~~, have taken on a position of Imperialism. Do
you agree?

UNMAN:

Yes sir. Absolutely.

CARMICHAEL:

Yes sir. Are you for the overthrow, then...
Czechoslovakia?

UNMAN:

No, I....

(Laughter).

CARMICHAEL:

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CARMICHAEL:

Number one, you'll agree that the intervention of Russia into Czechořlovakia--that's an act of Imperialism, act of Imperialism, is it not?

UNMAN:

Unless it's a complete act of dictatorship... I mean, it shows that Russia can't even stand a little bit of freedom.

CARMICHAEL:

Right, that's, that's an act of Imperialism. An act of Imperialism (is) once occupied... is it not?

UNMAN:

Not necessarily.

CARMICHAEL:

..... define imperialism.

(UNMAN from ~~an~~ another part of the audience yells out: Answer the question).

CARMICHAEL:

I have to get definitions before I answer it. Would you like to define Imperialism? I do not answer labels, I answer reasons. Now would you define imperialism, and I will answer very clearly. What is an imperialist nation?

UNMAN:

Are you a Communist? Are you a Communist?

CA MICHAEL:

You have to define for me. Are you a shabagabow (ph)?

UNMAN:

I don't know it.

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CARMICHAEL:

Well, I don't know what Communism is. (Laughter).

Now then the young... (interrupted by UNMAN).

UNMAN:

We can assume that you're a Communist, by not answering our question.

CARMICHAEL:

You can assume that I am a Communist by my not answering your question. That only shows me how ignorant you are. (Laughter and applause). Because, by constitutional rights, I can refuse to answer your question and stand on my constitutional rights. The first and the fifth. So, then if you assume that I'm a Communist, you assume that anyone who opposes the constitution is a Communist.

UNMAN:

Okey, so I'll support the constitution...

(Do) the constitution by using violent means to overthrow our government?

CARMICHAEL:

We're not getting there yet. We are fighting out imperialism. Young men... Would you define... for me what an Imperialist country is?

UNMAN:

I would think that rape of Czechoslovakia, for one thing, and the divergence of national resources from Warsaw Pack members to Soviet Russia were not given even the slightest chance for the Eastern European countries to engage in free

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trade with other nations as they saw(chose) would be an act of imperialism.

CARMICHAEL:

Okey, then, do you agree that the Russian intervention in Czechoslovakia is an act of Imperialism?

UNMAN:

Yes.

CARMICHAEL:

Then, are you for the violent overthrow of the Russian troops in Czechoslovakia? Let the man answer. Are you for the violent overthrow of the imperialist forces in South Vietnam?

UNMAN: No.

CARMICHAEL:

Oh, then you're not against imperialism.

UNMAN: No. (Laughter)

CARMICHAEL:

He's honest. He's honest...

UNMAN: Unintelligible.

CARMICHAEL:

Oh, no. Answer the question. Are you for the violent overthrow of the Russian troops who are now in Czechoslovakia, which is a first act of imperialism, by your definition. Are you for the violent overthrow of those troops?

UNMAN:

At this point, because of a

I would say

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no, but I tell you this much, there gonna be a.....

CARMICHAEL: (Interrupts)

You don't have to do it. I know you're the policeman of the World, but would you be for it if somebody else did it? If the Czechoslovakia people did it, would you be for it?

UNMAN:

(If)

(The) Czechoslovakia people did it, I think that would be fine.

CARMICHAEL:

Then you are for the violent overthrow of imperialist countries? Watch out, ~~xxx~~ you might be a (Communist) (commie now). (Laughter).

Next point. You'd better come on and give him some help. Come on, help him.

Point number two of the Communist platform. Now, so far, you agree with the first platform of the Communist Party. Point number two, let's go on.

UNMAN: I also North Vietnam's aggression against the South is naturally imperialist. If they want to trade with (national) resources they can do so, but they don't have to do it by (war). Just like any other country can trade with any other country as they please.

CARMICHAEL:

I agree with that. That's why the United States shouldn't be there. (Laughter) What's the next question? What's point two of the Communist Platform?

UNMAN:

Unintelligible.yes or no, are you a

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member of the Communist Party? (Laughter)

CARMICHAEL:

I refuse to answer the question on the grounds
it may tend to incriminate me. (Loud laughter and applause).
Are you a member of the Chabazzkaboo Party? (ph).

UNMAN: Unintelligible.

CARMICHAEL:

Communist Party. I'll tell you a secret. You would
be happy and you'd be lucky if black people were members of
the Communist Party, because the Communist Party in the United
States follows the Moscow line which pushes peaceful co-exist-
ance. Black people are pushing armed struggle. You should
hope they run to the Communist Party. That's too deep. You
don't even understand that... (laughter and applause).
Your trouble is the trouble of all Americans. You allow
your government to define for you your enemy by calling him
a Communist, and then all they have to do is 'oink' and say
he's a communist and you're ready to kill. If they told you
your father was a communist you'd shot her. That's how stupid
you are. (Applause). Stupid. You ought to know. You ought
to know for yourself whom your enemies are so you will know
who to fight, and don't throw labels around. Throwing labels
around shows ones incapacity to deal with an intellectual
position. (Applause).

UNMAN: Unintelligible.

CARMICHAEL:

I cantdefine Communism, so I/ know whether or not
dont

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

I am or I am not one. You do not know any of the positions of the Communist Party, but you are willing to fight against Communism. It might be good for you, really.

UNMAN:

I fight against Communism, because of my political freedom.

CARMICHAEL:

You don't know what your political freedom is.

How's that?

UNMAN: ... I do, yes sir.

CARMICHAEL: You do.

ANOTHER UNMAN:

Mr. CARMICHAEL, will you criticize an opinion of mine for me, please. Uh, (it refers) to the so-called localized or circumscribed black state.... and wonder if it is likely that the minute this is created ~~it~~ might not every highway patrolman in the continental United States ring around this area and attempt to wipe it out?

CARMICHAEL:

I think (that) would be a mistake. I think that tactically speaking it's best to be where we are, because the United States power does not result in man to man power, it results in superior fire power, the dropping of bombs, and if we went to one state they could just drop bombs. But, if we lived right in the heart of their cities they couldn't drop bombs, because they would destroy their cities. (Applause).

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNMAN: (unintelligible).

CARMICHAEL:

I have to agree with this; however, I think that white people must define (unintelligible few words) and move against that oppression. I think.. What's the name of that (dame) that started womens rights...

(CONVERSATION between UNMAN and CARMICHAEL unintelligible).

UNMAN:

Let me, uh... Do you see any place for members of the liberals?

CARMICHAEL: (Unintelligible).

UNMAN:

I'd like to ask you.. (unintelligible).

CARMICHAEL:

I'm not a (unintelligible word).

UNMAN continues his question:

.... Are you for the democratic government throughout the United States today?

CARMICHAEL:

Kells: Hell no. (Applause). I want you to define for me that democratic government.... (unintelligible).

UNMAN:

If you don't believe in the government we have today (use) how can you stand up there and (abuse) the system (unintelligible few words) use our government, you said yourself. (Applause) I don't think that that.. (unintelligible).

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CARMICHAEL:

Well, obviously, that's because I'm doing it. (Applause).
I don't understand your question. I don't understand your
question. I do not believe in the government. Do you believe
in free speech? Do you believe in free speech?

UNMAN: (Makes few unintelligible remarks about free speech).

CARMICHAEL:

No, your government doesn't have a monopoly on free
speech.

UNMAN: (unintelligible).

CARMICHAEL:

Yes, it's your government.

UNMAN: (says something unintelligible about it being
"your government").

CARMICHAEL: (unintelligible).

Let me ask you a question. In order to be a citizen
of the United States one must enjoy all the rights and privil-
eges of the (unintelligible word) country. For example, you
(unintelligible), uh, this principle that says, uh, all of
the parts, the sum parts of the... all of the parts equal the
whole, right? In order to have the whole you must have the
sum total of the parts, is that the correct wording? The
sum total of the parts equal the whole. If you do not have
the sum total of the parts, do you have a functional whole?
W-h-o-l-e (spelled). (Laughter). The sum total of the
parts equal the whole. For example, you have an automobile.
In order to have an automobile you must have wheels, you must

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have a steering wheel, you must have brakes. All of those things equal an automobile. Now if you have an automobile without a steering wheel you do not have a functional automobile. That correct? Can you call it an automobile?

UNMAN:

You can call it a part of one.

CARMICHAEL:

You can call it part of one. That's what you call me. (laughter).

UNMAN:

Okey. I want to ask you, then, if you didn't like our government, if you didn't like the way it was run, why did you want to become a so-called paper citizen?

CARMICHAEL:

Because when I became a paper citizen I believed the (rise or rights) of the country.

UNMAN:

Throw away your paper.

CARMICHAEL:

No, no, no, (unintelligible) throw away the paper, but throw away the government. (laughter and applause). (more comments unintelligible).

UNMAN:

Mr. CARMICHAEL, I'd like to say first of all that I respect you for your views and I cannot (unintelligible) your argument you (identified) for your people and what you stand for. But, as a white man and as a citizen of the United

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

States, I'd like to just make a two part statement and then just have you comment on it. First of all, the only reason you have given me for your use of violence is condemn the United States as animals for being in Vietnam and saying, "Look, they're using violence, so I can use violence". What I'm asking you right now is does that justify you ~~xxx~~ using violence?

.....(unintelligible).

As I see it, it is a heck of a lot easier for you to stand up to people and to tell your own people to go get a gun and to stand up to a white man with a gun and hold the white gun in his face, not as Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING would do, so I have...(unintelligible). He took his time about things--it was going to take time. (Some male member of the audience comments: And he got (unintelligible). UNMAN continues: I know he did. Alright! He took his time and he's dead. I'm not saying he's not dead. I agree with you on that. (laughter).

CARMICHAEL:

Very liberal of you. (laughter).

UNMAN continues:

Dr. KING is dead, but he is dead because he stood for something that he believed in. And he's not dead because he did not respect man. He's dead because he respected every single man alive. And I would just like to ask, if I can get my thoughts back again, is that the only thing that I see as an alternative that you offer is a state that exists like the United States and Russia are in right now, that the black man gets his power, the only alternative for the white society is

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to either lock out the black community (at) all, or it is
(unintelligible) submit to them and to let them be superior.
And, so what I would like to ask you now ^{is} /that this not the
black power that you talked about in your first book, I think.
It is not a black power...(outside interference)...

END.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

DATE: 1/6/69

FROM : SAC, ATLANTA (100-6812) (P)

SUBJECT: ⁰STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM

✓ Re WFO airtel dated 12/20/68, requesting that Atlanta identify CARMICHAEL's hasty departure from a scheduled speech in Atlanta, Ga., such departure possibly being attributed to unidentified Negro males who were armed and planned to shoot CARMICHAEL.

Reference is made to Atlanta airtel dated 12/13/68, enclosing a copy of a LHM reflecting results of CARMICHAEL's appearances in Atlanta on 12/11/68. This memorandum, on Page 7, contains information attributed to [] relative to CARMICHAEL's appearance on the campus of Morehouse College at approximately 7:15 to 7:30 p.m. on 12/11/68. It is believed this particular reference to CARMICHAEL's appearance in Atlanta is the one referred to in re WFO airtel.

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-25-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CPB/bls

REC-25

100-446080 2171

EX-101

16 JAN 8 1969

(2)-Bureau (RM)
2-WFO (100-43503) (RM)
2-Atlanta
EUC:bjc

cc 806 94D

RACIAL INT. SECT.



5010-108-01

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 08-25-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CPE/BLs

FBI

Date: 12-12-68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, COLUMBIA (100-179) (RUC)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

RM- BPP;

SNCC

OO: WFO

b6
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Re Columbia teletype to Director and Atlanta with
airmail copies to New York and WFO dated 12-11-68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are eight copies of a LHM
dated and captioned as above; two copies are enclosed for WFO
and one copy each for New York and Atlanta.

Copies of the LHM are also being designated to the
Secret Service and 111th MIG, Columbia, South Carolina, and
to OSI, Langley AFB, Virginia and NISO, Charleston, South
Carolina.

Referenced teletype inadvertently did not indicate
that WFO and New York received airmail copies; however, those
offices did receive copies of referenced teletype.

The confidential sources in the LHM are identified
as follows:

EX-103

REG-64 100-446080-2172

The [] confidential source is []

South Carolina.

- 3- Bureau (Enc. 8) (RM)
- 2- WFO (100-43503) (Enc. 2) (RM)
- 1- New York (Enc. 1) (RM)
- 1- Atlanta (100-6488) (Enc. 1) (RM)
- 1- Columbia
- FHA:rat:
- (8)

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b7C

ENCLOSURE

C. C. Bishop

AGENCY: ACST, OSI, SEC. SERV.,

HOW FORM: R/S, ISD, CRD, RAO, Crim, IDIU

DATE FORM 12/18/68

BY: P/B/alt

M

Per

Approved:

JAN 1 1969

Special Agent in Charge

RACIAL INT. SECT.

100-446080-2172

CO 100-179

The [] confidential source is [] whose identity is known to the Bureau.

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b7D

The [] confidential source is [] South Carolina SO.

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b7D

The [] confidential source is [] (PROB) whose identity is known to the Bureau.

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b7D

The identities of those individuals who were furnished pertinent information contained in enclosed LHM are as follows:

1. []
111th MIG,
Columbia, South Carolina
2. []
U. S. Secret Service,
Columbia, South Carolina
3. []
South Carolina Law Enforcement Division,
Columbia, South Carolina
4. []
Columbia, South Carolina PD
5. []
Orangeburg PD
6. []
Denmark, South Carolina PD

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[] (PROB) as well as the other sources identified above all advised that STOKELY CARMICHAEL's visit to South Carolina was not given any publicity prior to his arrival in the state.

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No additional investigation is being conducted with regards to this matter since there is no indication that the subject plans to return to South Carolina in the immediate future. Should other sources in the Columbia Division furnish additional pertinent information, that information will be submitted to the Bureau and other pertinent offices promptly.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Columbia, South Carolina

December 12, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

46
22

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Characterizations of the Black Panther Party (BPP), the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), and the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) are included as an appendix to this communication since these organizations are mentioned herein.

A confidential source advised on December 10, 1968 that Stokely Carmichael who carries the title Prime Minister of the BPP arrived on the campus of South Carolina State College (SCSC), Orangeburg, South Carolina at 12:50 p.m., December 10, 1968 and spoke before approximately 500 members of the student body of SCSC. This speech was given in the student chapel in the building known as Whitehall on SCSC campus and lasted from 1:30 p.m. until 2:40 p.m.

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Carmichael arrived at SCSC in a 1967 white Oldsmobile bearing Washington, D. C. license number [redacted]. He was accompanied by [redacted] both associates of Carmichael, and also by [redacted] who was introduced by Carmichael as a member of the BPP. S.C.

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Carmichael's appearance at SCSC was sponsored by the Black Awareness Coordinating Committee (BACC), and Carmichael was introduced to the student body by members of BACC, [redacted]

BACC was recognized as a student campus organization of SCSC on October 9, 1967. Its purpose is the development of black consciousness on the campus and a direct and indirect relationship of brotherhood between the school and the community.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

100-446080-2172

ENCLOSURE

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

This source further stated that immediately after Carmichael completed his speech, he left SCSC in the above described Oldsmobile en route to Columbia, South Carolina.

0410
S.C.
A [] confidential source advised on December 10, 1968 that Carmichael arrived on the campus of Benedict College, Columbia, South Carolina, at 3:40 p.m. accompanied by the same individuals who were with him and described above at SCSC. The same source stated that in addition to those people, [] of SNCC was present with Carmichael at Benedict College. He was not present, according to this source, at SCSC.

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Carmichael was introduced at Benedict by [] [] a new department at Benedict dealing with African culture and the Afro-American heritage. Carmichael then introduced his group to the audience and identified them as [] [] all of whom have been described above.

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Carmichael spoke to a crowd of approximately 1,200 on the Benedict College campus which campus adjoins Allen University, and his speech was from 4:15 p.m. to 5:20 p.m. This source further advised that immediately after Carmichael spoke he left the Benedict campus in the above Oldsmobile and allegedly was to go to Denmark, South Carolina, the home of [] and also the location of Voorhees College.

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A [] confidential source advised on December 10, 1968 that Carmichael appeared at Voorhees College and spoke to a crowd estimated at 400 or 500 people between 9:30 p.m. and 10:30 p.m. Thereafter, Carmichael left Voorhees College to visit [] at the home of [] in Denmark, South Carolina.

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[] Denmark, South Carolina, advised on December 11, 1968 that at approximately 12:30 a.m., December 11, 1968, Carmichael left Denmark, South Carolina in the above described Oldsmobile and was allegedly going to Atlanta, Georgia via Augusta, Georgia.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

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A [] confidential source advised on December 10, 1968 that he had received information that Carmichael would speak at Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia on December 11, 1968, and his visit was sponsored jointly by a militant Negro group known as the Black Student Alliance at that college and also by a white group known as the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS).

All sources mentioned above in this communication advised that Carmichael told his audience at the above schools that he was definitely in favor of revolutionary violence. He encouraged all Negroes to obtain guns and that in retaliation for the three Negro students killed at Orangeburg, South Carolina in February 1968, the people should kill white policemen. He stated that they should kill these policemen during the nighttime. Carmichael also encouraged the black man to unite and stated that the young Negro male should avoid the draft in the United States because he should stay in the United States and fight his real enemy in this country and not go to Vietnam and fight the white man's enemy. Carmichael also encouraged his audience to form local BPP groups.

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The [] confidential source, mentioned previously, stated that he attended the speech of Carmichael at SCSC and at Benedict College. He advised that the speech was practically identical at both schools. This source stated that the main theme of Carmichael's talk was that the black man had to become violent if he was to achieve equality in this country. This source further stated that the crowds at both of these schools received Carmichael's comments enthusiastically and applauded Carmichael frequently.

The above source advised there were no incidents and no arrests made by local law enforcement officers.

Pertinent portions of the above information was furnished to the 111th Military Intelligence Group, Columbia, South Carolina; United States Secret Service, Columbia, South Carolina; and the local authorities in Columbia, Denmark and Orangeburg, South Carolina on December 10 and December 11, 1968.

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, is a nonmembership organization, which was born out of the sit-in movement that erupted across the South beginning in 1960.

Today SNCC identifies itself as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

According to SNCC the year 1967 marked a historic milestone in the struggle for the liberation of black people in the United States and the year that revolutionaries throughout the world began to understand more fully the impact of the black movement. SNCC declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus-- the capitalistic system of the United States with all its life-sucking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The realities of black life, together with the recognition instilled in SNCC workers forced its members to further popularize the legitimacy of self-defense and rebellions when oppression became too great."

From May, 1966, until May, 1967, Stokely Carmichael was National Chairman of SNCC. As of July, 1968, Carmichael resided in Washington, D.C., where he was affiliated with SNCC and active as temporary chairman of a black coalition group. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

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In June, 1968, at the Staff and Central Committee meeting of SNCC held in Atlanta, Georgia, it was decided to restructure the organization by equalization of responsibility by creating ten deputy or vice chairmanships. The primary purpose for this change is to take law enforcement pressure off any single individual.

APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam, and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of the United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us". At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anticommunist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of July 24, 1968, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

APPENDIXBLACK PANTHER PARTY

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by [redacted] Huey P. Newton, BPP Minister of Defense. Newton is presently serving a sentence of 2 to 15 years on a conviction of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

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The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP [redacted] which ends with the following:

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"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement, "...we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature MAO's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.

APPENDIX

6*



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Columbia, South Carolina

December 12, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Title

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Character

Reference

Columbia memorandum
dated and captioned as
above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

5-113 (1-10-61) ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-28-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CPB/b13

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 12/28/68

Information in the attached indi-
cates black extremist Stokely

Carmichael [redacted]

[redacted] will
depart John F. Kennedy Airport,
New York City, 7:45 p.m. this date
destined for Stockholm, Sweden. b6
They hold an open return ticket. b7C

According to information pre-
viously received, [redacted]

[redacted] in
Stockholm commencing January 1, 1969.

The above is being furnished to
the Department, State and [redacted] b2

PTB:111

①

GCY/RR

WCS
/pt

WA...12

FBI NEW YORK

9-50 PM URGENT 12-27-68 WPK

TO DIRECTOR AND WASHINGTON FIELD (PLAINTEXT)

WASHINGTON FIELD VIA WASHINGTON

ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM NEW YORK 100-153751 1P

VIA TELETYPE

DEC 27 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; RACIAL MATTERS.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 08-28-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CPB/bls

CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE, WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION

IN THE PAST, ADVISED THIS DATE THAT SUBJECT [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] WILL DEPART SCANDINAVIAN AIRLINES SYSTEM (SAS)

FLIGHT NUMBER NINE ONE TWO - V FROM JFK AIRPORT, NYC,
SEVEN FORTY FIVE PM, TWELVE TWENTY EIGHT, SIXTY EIGHT SCHEDULED TO
ARRIVE IN COPENHAGEN NINE FIFTEEN AM TWELVE TWENTY NINE,
SIXTY EIGHT. SUBJECT [REDACTED] WILL THEN DEPART
SAS FLIGHT NUMBER FOUR ZERO TWO FROM COPENHAGEN TEN AM TWELVE
TWENTY NINE, SIXTY EIGHT SCHEDULED TO ARRIVE IN STOCKHOLM, SWEDEN
ELLYVEN TWENTY FIVE AM TWENTY NINE SIXTY EIGHT.

SOURCE ADVISED THAT AIRLINE TICKETS FOR SUBJECT [REDACTED] IS
AN OPEN RETURN TICKET.

ADMINISTRATIVE

REWFOTEL TO NEW YORK TWELVE TWENTY SEVEN SIXTY EIGHT.

SOURCE MENTIONED IN TEL IS [REDACTED]

AIRLINES RESERVATIONS, JFK AIRPORT, NYC. NYO AGENTS WILL
COVER SUBJECTS DEPARTURE.

END

TELETYPED TO:
54 JAN 1 4 1969
WA...R RELAY

LRC R RELAY FBI WASH DC

MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D

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JAN 3 1969
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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-28-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CPB/b1

F B I

Date: 12/23/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-161993) (P)

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY
RM - SNCC

ReBUairtel, 12/11/68, captioned "BLACK PANTHER
PARTY, ROCHESTER, NEW YORK."

6 - Bureau (RM)
(1-100-47251) (ELDRIDGE CLEAVER)
(1-100-) (STOKELY CARMICHAEL)
(1-100-)
3 - Buffalo (RM)
(1-100-) (SNCC)
(1-100-) (BPP)
(1-) (INV)
3 - Los Angeles (RM)
(1-100-) (SNCC)
(1-100-) (BPP)
(1-100-)
1 - Newark (INFO) (RM)
2 - San Francisco (RM)
(1-100-) (ELDRIDGE CLEAVER)
(1-100-) (BPP)
1 - New York () (INV) (43)
1 - New York (100-161993) (BPP)
1 - New York (100-147963) (SNCC)
1 - New York (100-153751) (STOKELY CARMICHAEL)
1 - New York ()
1 - New York ()
1 - New York (100-148047) (SDS) (L2)
1 - New York (157-)

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100-446080
NOT RECORDED
184 JAN 7 1969

RMM:dld
(24)

54 JAN 14 1969

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

ORIGINAL FILED IN 105-165706-34

NY 100-161993

On 12/7/68, [] who has furnished reliable information in the past telephonically advised an informal meeting was held in Queens, NYC, on 12/6/68, between affiliates of the Black Nationalist Movement and several white representatives of SDS.

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According to this source, [] described as a former BPP officials, from Los Angeles, California, initially met with several members of SDS at the NYC office of SNCC, 100 5th Avenue, NYC. Source related this meeting was initiated by the SDS representatives, who had called [] at NYC, SNCC, suggesting they would like to meet with some affiliates of SNCC to illustrate what contribution they were making to the "revolution."

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This source stated the meeting moved to an unrecalled location in Queens, NYC, and during same, the SDS representatives enumerated the various student/campus disturbances throughout the academic community of the country and credited their organization with this contribution to the overall "revolution."

During the course of this meeting [] made critical remarks of the Black Panther, and ELDRIDGE CLEAVER in particular, as he had done in past public statements, and he was also highly critical of the way the Black Panthers conducted their operation in both NY and NJ. These remarks prompted a general discussion of the difficulty the Panthers were having with NJ authorities.

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The topic of "SNCC Going Underground", was originally introduced 2 years ago by [] a former SNCC official and whenever a particular Black Militant group encounters difficulty with the police, this topic presents itself. At the time the Revolutionary Action Movement encountered difficulty with the New York City Police, the idea of SNCC going underground was evidently discussed but never carried out.

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BEST COPY AVAILABLE

NY 100-161993

This source related the officials of SNCC do not have the fortitude to function in an "underground" capacity, and presently their critical financial situation does not even permit them to operate openly, much less "underground". In addition, source related the friction that exists between SNCC and the Panthers would prevent any mutual underground operation, should it be financially possible.

With respect to STOKELY CARMICHAEL attending a conference in NYC, the weekend of 12/7-9/68, source related CARMICHAEL spoke at a rally of sorts in the Newark, NJ area, which was regarded among the local NYC militants as just another CARMICHAEL speech, wherein he would advocate a particular course of action, and then "flee" if anyone followed his suggestions. Source stated CARMICHAEL is regarded among leading militants as an egotistical revolutionary, who believes in nothing he's preached.

[redacted] was accompanied to this meeting by a Negro female, named [redacted] who is employed at the [redacted] NYC, and who resides at [redacted] NYC. According to this source, [redacted] of STOKELY CARMICHAEL and as a result of [redacted]

[redacted] Source stated [redacted] at the time she was associating with CARMICHAEL deliberately planned [redacted]

[redacted] Reportedly, CARMICHAEL and his family have acknowledged [redacted]

Source further reiterated this meeting with SDS representatives was not to formulate any type of future plan of action but merely one in which the SDS representative wanted an opportunity to blow their "revolutionary horn" to SNCC officials. This is illustrated by the fact [redacted] no longer function within SNCC and [redacted] has been dismissed by the Panthers.

NY 100-161993

This source further stated it is the general opinion among the "militants" that CLEAVER has fled to Cuba, although no one has been able to offer concrete information to support this theory. It is based solely on fact Negro militants as a whole have enjoyed a friendly relationship with the Cuban Government, and have traveled to that country in the past as guests of the Cuban Government.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-28-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CPB/bls

F B I

Date: 1/3/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM: LEGAT, LONDON (105-2989) (P)
STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS

ReBucab 12/30/68.

Sources of Legat, London, at Stockholm, Sweden
advise subject [redacted] arrived Stockholm on 12/29/68 and
were interviewed on arrival by Swedish T.V. [redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

[redacted] arrival had been given advance
publicity and subject was asked if he was going to stay for
the month [redacted] To this subject
replied he probably would.

This matter will be followed and the Bureau
further advised.

3 - Bureau
1 - Liaison (direct)
1 - London
ACM:vw
(5)

1cc to NY & WFO
by 0-7 for info.
1-9-69 ATB/jes

REC 101

100-446080-2174

JAN 5 1969

b6
b7C

54 JAN 15 1969
Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

RACIAL INT. SECT.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-28-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CPB/SL

FBI

Date: 12/31/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____ (Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM: SAC, BOSTON (157-437) (P)
SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM - SNCC; BPP

b6
b7C

Enclosed for the Bureau are eleven copies of an LHM which sets forth a transcription of a tape recording of a speech given by CARMICHAEL at Tufts University, Medford, Massachusetts, on 11/15/68. Two copies of the LHM are enclosed for the WFO. /

available The confidential source who made the tape recording

[redacted] advised that he experienced difficulty obtaining a copy of the tape recording through the University Public Relations Department, which had made a tape recording of the speech but which delayed a long period of time prior to obtaining copies of this tape recording.

The LHM is classified "~~CONFIDENTIAL~~" since the information furnished was from a source who has requested his identity be protected, and his identification could jeopardize his position and future activity. (u) (S) 2175

Copies of the enclosed LHM have been made available locally to OSI, Westover AFB; 108th MI Group, NISO, and USA, all Boston.

3-Bureau (100-446080) (Encs. 11) (RM)
2-WFO (Encs. 2) (RM)
2-Boston (157-437) **EX-113**

RWK:mac
(7)

b6
b7C

b6
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JAN 2 1969

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M

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~~SECRET~~



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Boston, Massachusetts

December 31, 1968

DECLASSIFIED BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CPB/bls
ON 08-28-2006

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

A confidential source of the Boston Office made available a copy of a tape recording of Stokely Carmichael's speech given on November 15, 1968, at Tufts University, Medford, Massachusetts.

The original recording was not available.

Due to the quality of the tape, portions of the speech are unintelligible and these sections of the transcription are so indicated.

The tape recording was transcribed as follows:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

ENCLOSURE

100-446080-2175

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STOKELEY CARMICHAEL

Unidentified Male: Brother STOKELEY CARMICHAEL!

The Field Marshal of the Boston Black Panthers will speak very shortly before brother STOKELEY will speak.
~~CHICO NEBLETT.~~ *MASS MICH CALIF*

CALIF MASS CHICO: Thank you. I'm not going to speak. I'm just going to introduce a couple of people that I work with across the country. The San Francisco Field Marshal *MASS MICH* DONALD COX. From Detroit, Field Marshal ~~GEORGE SAMS~~, and the Black Panther Party's Minister of Information for the Boston area - Mr. T. D. ~~MURLEY~~. We just want *MASS* to say that we're sorry the newsmen had to go through such an experience, but that's tough (or Tufts). Thank you.

STOKELEY CARMICHAEL!

STOKELEY: Good evening. What we wanted to do tonight was to just give a short little talk and leave most of the time open for questions. We wanted to do was to outline some of the areas that help us to form our ideology, dealing only with and primarily with the white community, simply because I do not think it is necessary for black people to waste time talking about their struggles in front of white people. So that maybe we could open some analyses and examine the white community politically since the white community is always examining the black community, not only politically, but economically, socially, and every other way out. But since we're not concerned very much with the black community's - the white community except politically, politically and as it deals within a political arena, therefore economically also, we want to discuss that and the trends in the country so that we could see how we will have to relate and then, of course, once having outlined our analysis, it would be up to white groups - activists, liberals, conservatives, right-wings, fascists, what have you, to then decide which way they move.

Now, before we begin talking though, I'd like to say very briefly so that we do not have a lot of haggling and waste a lot of time during the question and answer period about violence, we stated that we are for revolutionary violence. We are affirmative about that.

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(C)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

So that if you have questions, you may ask your questions, but please don't try to convince me that our decision to use violence is a silly, or whatever. Please, just so that we can move on. We have decided that. Even if it's fatalistic and if it is suicidal, please allow us that mistake. We have decided to use violence.

And we have decided to use revolutionary violence because we are oppressed by violence - by violence. And therefore, we have run the gamut and there is nothing left. I think that white students get hung up on violence because when they see black people move with a gun, that's the only type of violence they see, or with a match. But they never try to understand other types of violence in the society. For example, they never take time out to consider that it is violence for a child to go to bed hungry in the most wealthy country in the world. That's violence. But they do not recognize that as violence. It is violence for a man to live to age 67, die with his head bowed, been bowed all of his 67 years, never been able to stand up straight, and to see his children die of hunger. That's violence. So that there are all forms of violence. But when the oppressed retaliates, the only way the oppressed can retaliate is with the guns, with the overt violence because the oppressed does not have the power to institutionalize and legitimize his violence. The oppressor does. So that the oppressor's violence is not as overt as is the oppressed. So we are for revolutionary violence.

Now, we want to talk a little about the conventional, political arena of the United States and why it is that we assume that that political, conventional system as it now is must be totally destroyed in order for black people, if they are able to ever live as human beings in this country, we must destroy the conventional political system - the two-party system, for a number of reasons. I think that what white America has done is that it's allowed people to believe that political equality is more important than economic equality, or let me say, opportunity for political equality is more important than opportunity for economic equality. And it's allowed everyone to assume that if you do have opportunity for political equality, you can by that alone also move to a position where you can help develop your economic sense of stability. That's

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totally incorrect. As a matter of fact, I think it would be more important if there was opportunity for economic equality and not opportunity for political equality. That is, if one had a choice. I think it would be more important if I had food in my stomach than to vote. I think that's more important. And if there was re-distribution of the wealth in this country, if every man had an acre and a mule, then you could have all the votes you want, or if every man had a gun, then you could have all the votes you want. But what the United States stresses is political democracy as being the key issue to re-structuring the system of the United States, and many white students, white leftists and activists, have fallen for that. They have not begun to concentrate on raising the issues of really opportunity for economic equality. And I think then that the group we could deal with most logically would be liberals, especially liberals in the United States. But we could talk about not only liberals in the United States, but liberals around the world, because I think they have certain characteristics that we can point out and learn from them and see where their failures are. Because they do have a lot of failures.

I think the major failures of liberals in this country is that aside from deep analysis of the situation, their primary purpose is always to stop the confrontation. That is, they're not really concerned with readjusting grievances. The primary role of a liberal is always to stop the confrontation. If the liberal sees polarization to the right and polarization to the left, he or she seeks to stop the confrontation. If the liberal sees polarization from blacks and polarizations from whites, they seek to stop the confrontation. If the liberal sees polarization from the rich and polarization from the poor, they seek to stop the confrontation. That is their primary purpose. They're not concerned at that point, they say, with re-adjusting the grievances. But they say that they are (unintelligible word) a priority that violence or a conflict will not, in fact, resolve the conflict. And that is an incorrect assumption on the part of liberals. Sometimes it is necessary for conflict in order to solve solutions. And they know it well. But because they are in a position where they have a certain amount of influence - not power, influence, they try to talk about stopping the confrontation. I think then that it would be the job of black people to understand that we must decide if, in fact, there is to be a confrontation and we cannot allow

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL

the liberals to make the decision for us that a confrontation is not to anybody's benefit. We have to decide whether or not a confrontation is desirable, if it is desirable, when and how. And that must be our decision. So that it seems to me that the first thing the liberals must do is that they must make sure that if they stop the confrontation, they can redress the problems. Because if they cannot, people will be angry at them. That's No. 1.

And I think secondly, the dilemma that the liberals find themselves in is that they usually come from an economically stable group. Liberals have economic stability. And they have economic stability depending upon the very status quo. The people who are economically unstable - the poor whites, happen not to be liberals in this country and in most countries. Because the economically unstable is fighting for the hope that he or she can become economically stable. Therefore, he wants a change in the system. But the economically stable is not going to fight for a chance or hope to change the situation because he may, or she may, end up economically unstable. And that doesn't make very much sense. So what the liberal does really is that the liberal tries to say that he or she is sure you do not have to change the basic structure, but that everyone can become economically stable. And that is insanity - that is insanity. And that leads, I think, to the third failure, it seems to me, of liberals is their fear of alienation.

The liberals are afraid to alienate anyone. So what they have then is a broad, humanistic program where they say, "Well, it's true that for 400 years there have been these grievances; therefore, things aren't right". But they say we can adjust this without readjusting or punishing anyone. For example, the liberals will say, Yes, there are a lot of rich people in the country; and yes, there are a lot of poor people in the country, and they will tell the poor people, well, just take time and you'll become as rich as the other guy without explaining to the poor people that in order for them to get rich, one of two things must happen: Either they must take money from the rich and divide it up amongst themselves, or they must find another group to exploit from which the money comes. But the liberals assures us that there is another alternative without pointing it out. They just say that we're sure that everybody can get along well, you know. Yes, it is a fact that white and blacks have been having trouble in the past, but there's no need for that now. We can sit down and hold hands.

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They're afraid to alienate. Afraid to alienate because they're not really concerned with changing the system, but really, with maintaining the status quo. Again, because of their own economic stability. I think that that's going to be the major hang-up or major - that's an SDS word, isn't it? Hang-up! The major, all right SDS, the major hang-up. We'll give it (laughter). . . it's the major hang-up of liberal movements in the country. And I think all of these problems stem from the fact that liberals never tend to consolidate power, but rather what they tend to do is to influence the society. And in many cases, while they can influence the society to a desired end, they never have enough power to implement the decision. For example, it is a fact that during the Civil Rights era in this country, there was a broad coalition of what would be called liberals - labor movements, churches, groups on the left and student groups. And all of these liberals got together and urged and agitated for the passage of certain civil rights legislation. Yet when such legislation did come about, they were completely incapable of carrying out the decisions, that is, of enforcing the laws that they had fought for. And it seems to me that again is ridiculous. You do not fight for a law against somebody who's refused to give it to you and then once he's admitted he's wrong, just sit. It seems to me that the job of the liberal would be if you fight for a civil rights legislation, or if you fight for the voting rights legislation, once you get it you wouldn't stop, you would try to make sure it is implemented. But again, because the liberal does not really seek change, but just some sort of reform, he is able to make it pretend that he is really working for the benefit of the oppressed when in fact he is working for his own interests, which conflicts with the interests of the oppressed, because the oppressed is, again, economically unstable.

Now then, I think finally, and this is perhaps the dilemma within the political ideology of liberals, is that liberals expound a humanism, they expound a humanism. But they say that this humanism, if expounded and if believed by everyone, can create the type of political state which would then define the behavior of people. And that is absurd. One first must create the political state and the political state will define - will define, and will be able to tell you what kind of behavior each individual has. So what the liberal says is, well, if we all stop fighting, and if we all get together, and we spread the word about love and love power and flower power and all this nonsense, everything will be all right. But while they're doing this nonsense, the people who are consolidating the power are really the fascists. So that the fascists will have consolidated the power, and they will decide the atmosphere for the society. The liberals

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then do not seek power. They do not seek power. And that is perhaps their biggest fallacy. And it's clear. You can see it even in politics in 1968. It was GEORGE WALLACE who built a third party. It was GEORGE WALLACE who built a third party. It was GEORGE WALLACE who began to consolidate his power; the liberals who were wishy-washy, MC CARTHY - wishy-washy, because they're afraid to make the decision for real change. WALLACE is not afraid to make it for change. The liberal may disagree with the alternatives, but WALLACE is not afraid. He does in fact, and will, make those decisions and move to consolidate power - to consolidate power, and that is a drawback, I think, of the liberal movement. It does not seek to consolidate for power. It does not seek to consolidate for power.

And the final drawback, then, is how we view it in the black community. Since they do not seek to consolidate power, it seems to us that those who are now seeking to consolidate power will be able to overrun the liberals. For example, if WALLACE does get power, and begins to consolidate his power, the liberals who are not building a power base will not be able to stop WALLACE and if we do not seek to build a power base, WALLACE will run over us. Therefore, we have to build a power base. If the liberals were building any type of a power base, we could at least say, well, perhaps they are and therefore. . . But they do not seek to build a real power base because again, they just want to reform and to keep everyone happy.

Now I think that, finally, this is the last statement - we can open up for questions - the white leftists are making a big mistake when they assume that black people can make coalitions with or work along with poor whites, solely because they are both oppressed. I think the assumption is incorrect. Because the oppression is entirely different. For white people, there is just the question of exploitation; for black people, there's the question of colonization. And that has a lot to do with the grief. White people are economically exploited in the society, but they have the same values, the same systems, the same culture, the same way of life as the white people who are oppressing them. But for black people, that's not true. We have been stripped, or at least the oppressor's tried to strip us, of our culture. They've tried to strip us of our value systems; strip us of our language; and strip us of our history. So that what they've tried to produce is someone who is completely de-humanized. So that the white person, the poor white person, usually is fighting for more money, or for better economic ways of life, and the black person is usually fighting for his humanity, for his humanity.

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Witness then, the militancy, if you will, of the black bourgeoisie, who are economically stable and who do not protest against what white liberals protest against, that is a sense of humanity, that is of - if you will, the black bourgeoisie, whose movement more and more to the ranks of the more militant groups because, even though they are economically stable they feel the oppression which again white liberals do not feel, because while economically stable, I think that in Esquire Magazine there's an article this month on Tom Hayden, and the writer says that Tom Hayden and the others have a need - they have a need to identify with those who are suffering. That is to say, that they want to sort of inflict suffering or cast their lots with those who suffer. So that their fight then is not that they themselves are threatened, or at least, they have not defined their position as being threatened, and perhaps it is because in the final analysis, their position is not threatened. The difference then is that black people's positions and their very lives are threatened so that they have no alternative but to move to fight for change of the system.

Perhaps if we stop there we could get more questions which I think would open up a better floor for dialogue.

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Question: If there is an existence of a black American in a black American (words unintelligible) community (words unintelligible) I can't doubt (unintelligible) and I can understand your line (unintelligible), but if I'm to grant you the existence of a black American in a black community, why can't you grant me the non-existence of a white American in a white community. Why can't you grant me the non-fellowship that we feel (unintelligible) oppressors, but the fellowship that you feel (unintelligible)?

Answer: Well, I'm not sure. Could you outline concretely in terms of your oppression?

Question: Yes. In other words, you talk about black America and you say that you can turn to a black man and call him (unintelligible) brother.

Answer: Correct.

Question: I can't understand that because I'm not black. I can't understand that because I'm not oppressed. But why can't you grant me because you can't understand me, because you are not the oppressor, that I cannot turn to another white man and call him brother?

Answer: I understand that.

Question: O. K. Then, if you grant me that, then why can you not why do you blame me for what my non-brother may be doing?

Answer: I blame you because you enjoy part of the system that your non-brother is in. Is not that correct? You enjoy the economic stability of that system of your non-brother.

Question: That's your point of. . .

Answer: No! No, no. Then, therefore, since your non-brother is moving to attack me, I have to now prepare to attack your non-brother. Is that correct? If you now get in the middle and say to me, "Do not attack my non-brother", because you never turn to your non-brother and say, "Do not attack the blacks", you always turn to me and say, "Do not attack" or "Do not fight my non-brothers", it seems to me that you're really brothers. (Applause). Because if you were non-brothers, you would say to him, since you admit a priority before you began that he is oppressing me, you would say to him "Look, you're wrong. Stop it!"

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Question: (Inaudible reply)

Answer: Well, that's fine. And then, to the victor belongs the spoils.

Question: Tell us something about SNCC. Why you feel you are opposed (rest of question inaudible).

Answer: Oh, I never publicly discuss internal disputes. The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee expelled me so that you should write them or ask them for that information. I will not help to increase those political contradictions. (Applause)

Question: You've spoken about liberals. I wonder if you could turn your attention for a minute to the white liberals that call themselves revolutionaries. I have (inaudible)

Answer: Alliance? (Laughter)

Question (Cont'd): (Inaudible)

Answer: O. K. I think that for black people we have two systems against which we fight. Racism and capitalism. All right? I think for the groups on the left - the white groups on the left, PL, YSA, or what have you, they are concerned primarily with capitalism. They say that if you eradicate capitalism, you will also eradicate racism. We say that the mere elimination of capitalism does not safeguard the elimination of racism. Understand? And that, I think, is the political difference. Now, along with some other petty thing, like for example, most of the groups you name, with the exception of PL, which we'll deal with separately, but the YSA, SWP, and YIPS (phonetic) and all these other groups, they follow the Moscow line. And the Moscow line is a line of peaceful co-existence. Obviously for black people, there can be no peaceful co-existence. So that, the line, then, that black people either consciously or unconsciously push is obviously a line of armed struggle. Have to push it. The armed struggle line is the line being raised by MAO and by FIDEL. So that PL follows the line of MAO. So that there's no argument there. But for the other two groups, there's the argument of peaceful co-existence versus armed struggle. Witness their own dilemma when the Soviet Union invaded Czechoslovakia. The dilemma was that the Soviet Union has been telling all the liberation forces in the third world to - urging them for peaceful co-existence. They urged the Arabs to accept peaceful co-existence, yet when their borders are threatened, when their borders are threatened politically, they use armed intervention

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL

to secure their own political states. And so I think those groups would fall under that criticism. Along with the fact that I do not think they think that - that you have to fight racism consciously. They think the mere elimination of capitalism will produce the elimination of racism. And they cannot prove that to me. As a matter of fact, on the contrary, we have more information to prove that that's not true. For example, George Badmon (phonetic) was a black man who served on the COMINTERM in 1934 under STALIN, left, and wrote a book entitled "Pan-Africanism of Communism", where he said that the United - the USSR was denouncing or going soft on colonialism for its favoritism among the west. And we see that being clearly true today. That the USSR is trying to win favor in the eyes of the West at the price of the third world. And because of that we have to be conscious. We also have to be conscious that while people mention class conflict, that there has been race conflict, and that race conflict is more instinctive than class conflict. So that they're asking us to op out on racism and follow their line on capitalism. And notice, if you will, that those very people, PL, SWP and YSA, come from the middle class and are incapable of getting a base among the working class, so that they're really paper machineries and theoretical machineries. They do not have the force to even start a match to burn one police station down. So you don't have to deal with them.

Question: Recently, there was published in a national magazine an interview with Brother ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, where he said a couple of things about violence, and a couple of things about coalition between blacks and whites. He said the words that time is running out on - that time is running out towards the black people waiting for some kind - some physical confrontation, some physical violence, and that if the system doesn't move to make the necessary changes without physical violence, then physical violence will take place. He also said that the people involved in this physical violence will be blacks doing their duty as blacks and the people that they form coalitions with, the whites that they form coalitions with, will be doing their duties as whites. Can you say anything about that or about (inaudible words)?

Answer: O. K. What I do not deny there will be violence within the white community. I am not sure that that violence will be geared behind a - anyone type of political ideology. I mean, I notice already the beginning of violence inside the white community. But I'm not sure that since white people grown up in this country are so prone to violence, that that's not just something that's been imbedded in them. For example, I witnessed confrontations with the hippies and the police. I have yet to find out what is the political position of the hippies on anything other than pot. Other than pot. (Applause)

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL

So that I do not see those groups are saying that I can't - I couldn't see myself forming a coalition with a group that's fighting for pot. I mean, I imagine pot is important and a basic necessity for the life of people who have already eaten dinner and are watching television, but for the man who's trying to get dinner, I don't think that pot is really essentially the point (?). So that I don't see how there could be a coalition, but I think that they will have - they will, as they say using their own quotes, they will do their thing and whatever that is, and probably help to create some more chaos which, of course, will work for the benefit of those who are fighting at the same time. And I. . .

Question: Do you think time will run out before the system really changes (rest of question inaudible)?

Answer: No. I think that there is going to be violent conflict in the United States. And I think the best we can do is to begin to prepare for it.

Question: Can you describe the economic system that you would like to see (inaudible word, sounds like adopted)? (Rest of question inaudible).

Answer: Well, the first program one has before one begins a revolution is a program of seizing power because you cannot create a revolution until you've seized power. I think that's a mistake even of a lot of the white left in its rhetoric. They talk about they are in a revolution. They are not in any revolution. There is no revolution going on in the United States. A revolution begins only after you've seized power. For example, witness Fidel Castro. He fought in the Sierra Madres (phonetic) a long time struggling against Battista. After he kicked Battista and the American lackeys out of Cuba, when he walked into Havana with CHE at his side, on that day when he said "Today, I claim this land Cuba for the masses of Cuban people", then the revolution begun. Because then he had the power to implement programs. Now, I want to deal with your question because I don't think it's just a straight question. It's really very subtly meant to misdirect black people. Because all they keep saying is what is your program. You want change, but what is your program? But you cannot put out a program until you have power to implement it. So our only program now is a program for the power. Once having seized the power, then we will begin to decide how to distribute the land. But we have certain guidelines. And we can say that one of them we know we do not want is capitalism. We do not want capitalism.

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL

So then, the two economic systems in the world that we know about from western society, since they're the ones that have been doing the writing since they've burnt the other records, is communism and socialism. So that if we allow our thinking to be structured according to western society, and it's very hard for us to be free of it since we've been brought up in western society, we have to look to either communism or socialism. That does not necessarily mean that one of those two will be the real thing. 'Cause there may be others. That answer your question?

Question: But there must be some program where you can gain this power. . . .that part of the question (inaudible).

Answer: Well, there is a program to gain power.

Question: What's that?

Answer: I don't think NAPOLEON told you what his was. (Laughter - applause)

Question: (Inaudible)

Answer: I'm sorry. Could you repeat the question, please?

Question: You very frequently use the terms "Afro-American society" and I (inaudible) find it difficult to understand the relationship between the black (inaudible) and the black national (inaudible).

Answer: You asked the right man. The relationship is sometimes marital. (Laughter) But more importantly, the relationship is the same people who have been divided by the malicious will of western society. We do not know whom our brothers are. We do not know where we've come from. And we cannot trace our roots back beyond two or three generations. But we do know one thing. We do come from Africa. That is a fact. We do come from Africa. And, I'm going to explain. . .

Question: Then you (inaudible) a cultural relationship rather than an economic relationship?

Answer: No. It is cultural, economic, political and social because once Africa becomes united, it will be the most powerful continent on the face of the earth. And that would give us something. And that what white people would have us believe is that there is no relationship between Africa; it is a backward nation, et cetera, because they know that the black man in America has the technical skills needed in Africa. Also,

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL

because he's lived so close to western society, he understands very clearly the moves of western society. So that a hook-up with a man who has that type of political knowledge and technical knowledge - with a man who has the resources, since they are all one men, means the certain defeat of western society, wouldn't you say? And I think that's why the question is asked. But just like in - you know, have you ever heard the saying that blood is thicker than water. Yes, well see, we're all the same people, the same blood. And when the white folk came and scattered us in South America, the West Indies, all over the Western Hemisphere, well they put bodies of water between us but they forgot that blood is thicker than water. (Applause)

Question: Do you know now of any economic oppressors left, and if so, how do you reconcile (inaudible)?

Answer: The economic what?

Question: Oppressor.

Answer: Am I part of the economic oppressor?

Question: You made it.

Answer: I have? No. Unhuh! Oh this! (Laughter) San Francisco. San Francisco. They knocked off a store (Laughter) But even if I did make it, I'm still part of the oppressed because I had to fight oppression in order to make it. Even twice as hard as the poor white person. I know there are some poor whites. But his chances are, you know, much better than me, wouldn't you say? And I had to fight. And I'm not really part of the oppressor, because I do not define the oppression. Nor do I even enjoy that system. It's a constant fight just to get a dollar from them. Anybody. For example, if you knew anything about the entertainment world, you would know that before most of those black singers open their mouths, thirty percent of the money is gone - gross. They have to pay the net. That on every record they make, they only get three cents. The rest of it goes to the industrialists, I imagine is what you'd call them. So on every level, there is oppression. Only when I control and I'm in the power to produce do I then become part of the oppressor.

Question: (Inaudible).

Answer: I beg your pardon.

Question: You don't really (inaudible).

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Answer: No. I don't think so, man. When I was on the blocks, I was always dressing good. (Laughter). That is, see, I think, that is the nonsensical statement of the white left. They are proletariat chauvinists. Everybody's running away from poverty. They're running to poverty. And I'll never understand that. Black people are trying their best to find decent jobs and get good clothes and white kids are going out in dungarees and trying to buy rat-infested houses. I do not understand that. I do not understand that. (Applause) And I see that also - see, 'cause that's the liberals. They do that. They don't give up any money. But they come and join you because they want to show again that this humanism can exist without changing the political realities. See, if they were really concerned, well, let them divide up their money, divide up the apartment and then we could move. But I'm not running to poverty. I'm trying to get out of it. And I'm going to do that, one way or the other. Really! As long as there's money out there. Ummhmm! We're going to survive until we come to the final confrontation.

Question: Well, I would certainly agree that the primary purpose (inaudible) before the (words inaudible) inter-colonial or neo-colonial U. S. policy in the third (inaudible) in Vietnam. I would (inaudible) that in order to achieve that goal, Brother Stokely, (inaudible) would you form coalition (inaudible) War Resistance League which are aware of the the French in the third (inaudible). (Laughter)

Answer: Wait, wait. I'm sorry. I didn't hear the last part. If I understand you correctly, is not the War Resistance League a non-violent organization? And is not the International League also non-violent? Yes, that would be my opposition. My opposition clearly because they do not take a realistic position.

Question: (Inaudible).

Answer: I don't see how. If I see tanks coming at me, I wouldn't form a coalition with somebody who sits there with flowers in their hands. I need another tank. I mean, speaking realistically, I need a tank. If I can't get a tank, I need some men who are willing to help stop that tank. I don't need people singing love songs and sitting in the streets, 'cause when the tank rolls over them, they roll over me. And misery loves company, not me. I don't know that their misery will do me any good. Unless their misery is going to

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alleviate my misery, there's no need for me to join coalition. I'm neither sadistic or masochistic. (Laughter). (Then the whispered sentence, "Do I look mad?"

Question: I'd like to get some. . .

Answer: I beg your pardon?

Question: (Inaudible) of society and place (inaudible) community in which you can build (inaudible). Now it seems to me about the only place power is right now in the university and beyond that our only alternatives are ineffectual habitat efforts or bog yourselves down in ineffectual third party (inaudible).

Answer: Okay. I think that that would have to come from white people when they are really forced in a position where they feel threatened. See, white people do not, at this point, really feel threatened. They hear the grumblings and the mumblings, but to them it's still entertainment. The natives are restless tonight. They'll be okay tomorrow night. And until they really see the natives before their tents with spears in their hands ready to cut their throats, they will not become serious about the analysis they want. That's my own personal feeling. And I think that you could witness even the very things you talked about. A university. They want control of the university. The job of the university is to perpetuate the system, the values in the institutions of a given system. Is it not? How could you change the university without changing the system? I do not understand that contradiction. Do not understand it. And I think unless the students begin to grapple with it, they're just going to find themselves wasting points on confrontations without analyzing or even trying to heighten contradictions. It seems to me what the black movement is doing today is beginning to heighten contradictions, to prepare for confrontations. And again, that would be the point why there is a disruption between PL and SWP and the other groups. Because those groups have been incapable of heightening the contradictions on capitalism in this country. But black groups have been capable of heightening the contradictions around racism in this country. And if what they - what they say is correct, it seems to me they should be able to heighten the contradictions around capitalism to politically awaken the masses, to give - 'cause when you heighten the contradictions, you give political education to the masses of the people. Yet it is through heightening the contradictions around racism that the black masses have become politically awake, not through the heightening of the contradictions of

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capitalism because those groups are incapable of heightening the contradictions around capitalism. Does that answer your question? I thought, you know, I was going to come up here and yell at you and talk, you know, those kind of things. You get tired of that?

Unintelligible comment in background.

Answer: Me? I'm not sure of a lot of things. Don't feel bad.

Question: (Mostly unintelligible.) How do you feel about a black capitalist trying to (rest of question inaudible).

Answer: Okay. The possibility is that you recognize the black capitalist as a threat, but that you do not fight two people at the same time. You concentrate always on the major enemy, which is very revolutionary. Witness, if you will, FIDEL CASTRO. Bourgeoisie were backing FIDEL, giving him money. They wanted him to overthrow BATTISTA. He did. When he got the power, he said "This is a Marxist-Leninist state. Up against the wall. Make up your mind. Either you're with me or you go to the home of imperialism."

Question: Are you saying that the black capitalist is a threat to (inaudible)?

Answer: It's a threat to the black liberation struggle. Clearly.

Question: What about - you're fighting for economic (inaudible). I mean, you're having your difficulties. What about the black man that wants - who feels that by capitalism (inaudible) through this he can go on and bring himself out? Why are you trying to (inaudible) against capitalism?

Answer: I'm sorry. I have problems understanding your question. Could you repeat it?

Question: You don't have power. You're trying to get (inaudible).

Answer: Fact.

Question: Why (inaudible) you're not getting anything done (inaudible). (Laughter)

Answer: You might. You might. You might. 'Cause you're right.

Question: (Inaudible). How can you say that it's wrong for black capitalism? If it is wrong for you to get yourself out of problems, do you have an answer now (Inaudible)?

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Answer: No, it's not, because I said that we recognize in the black struggle two evils - racism and capitalism. So, for fighting against it, it would be silly for us to encourage it.

Question: You said you wouldn't form a coalition with a white flower power (inaudible). Would you form a coalition with a white who was there fighting for the same goal as you were? Witness Chicago, when there were whites and there were blacks (inaudible) who came to Grant Park and they were both fighting against a form of oppression, namely society, the establishments, (inaudible), the community. When you were standing there in Grant Park, there was a black (inaudible) and you were a white, both fighting for some sort of same goal, it didn't matter what color you was, but there was an oppressor as (inaudible) representing this establishment. Now would you form a coalition for (inaudible)?

Answer: Were they fighting for the same goals? See, I think the mistake you make is when you see parallel activity, you automatically assume that the goals are the same. Just because you have two men running don't mean they're running the same place. Right? The man may turn right at the next block and you have to go on alone.

Question: (Inaudible).

Answer: Oh yes. Oh yes. They're Chicago students and because again, they didn't make their goals clear. I think they're only, and I'm convinced that I'm correct, especially after reading Mr. HAYDEN's remarks in Esquire Magazine, this issue, I'm especially convinced that the whites wanted to have the whole world see them with bloody heads. That was their only end, that's what HAYDEN said. We're coming for a confrontation. That's what all the leaders said. We're coming to Chicago for a confrontation. And they had confrontations. It seems to me that goals were met. My goal would not be confrontation. If a cop came to hit me with a billy stick, I'd try to kill him, and then kill every other cop that I saw next to him, you know? Until I just got rid of all the cops who at least began to build power to shake up the structure enough to then begin to bargain for other grounds. I would not just have a cop beat my head and sit there and say "The whole world is watching. Yeah, the whole world is watching me. Yeah!" (Laughter). And so, again, I don't understand that. I don't think the goals are the same. I think their activity will continue anyhow, and it may or may not help us, but that we should not depend on that.

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Question: First, is it your opinion that it is possible for a serious black (inaudible) or a way that both races (inaudible) and second of all (inaudible) see any seriousness in the platforms or the actions (inaudible).

Answer: Okay. No. 1. I think that there cannot be any serious coalition between the whites that are now active. If there can't be any serious - if there can be any serious coalition, it would have to come from poor whites, if you can even begin to maintain the thought, because they are the ones who would fight for the break-up of the economic system as it is now structured. Right? I don't think the economically stable are going to fight. Now, there are few of them who will fight. Make no doubt about it. Because history's always given us examples of people who have left the bourgeoisie to join the oppressed, or who have left the class of the oppressor to fight. There's no doubt about that. But I do not think the number is going to be that significant where one bases one's whole strategy or one's political ideology around that issue. So, I think unless poor whites begin to develop a revolutionary perspective, that will not happen. And notice that poor whites are developing a fascist perspective rather than a revolutionary perspective.

Now, on the second question, I'm not sure, because I'm not quite sure - because the students of SDS are not quite sure they've decided what they want yet either, other than confrontations. I think the mistake of SDS is that they push for confrontation without heightening the contradictions to politically awaken the masses of Americans - white Americans. And because they are always pushing for confrontations, they find themselves in the inevitable bind. And because they do not analyze the society, but they accept, really, you know, (unintelligible word) society. It was SDS people who were urging people to vote for MC CARTHY, and then some of them were quibbling about whether or not one should support HUMPHREY. The liberals never put forth an alternative. They wait for other people and then they grab onto it. That's because again they don't seek power, I think.

Question: (Inaudible) but it seems to me the great psychological problem, and I can't really see how violence is (inaudible).

Answer: Well, certainly we could say that violence institutes racism, does it not? Wouldn't you say that violence helps to maintain and perpetuate racism?

Question: I believe that racism is a state of mind and (inaudible) have the state of mind to perpetuate violence (Inaudible).

Answer: Well, let us be specific, for example, JIM CLARK. Is he a racist in the way of his mind? JIM CLARK, Sheriff of Sumterville (Phonetic), Alabama. Huh?

Question: (Inaudible).

Answer: Yes. I have faced him once and his mind is very active. It really is. I mean, it generates his entire body. And I think that what I have to do is to get my mind that active to generate my body against his mind. So then, if we can do that, I could understand your question. If we couldn't do that, I'm not sure I understand it. His mind uses his hands to get a billy club to come down on top of my head. And my mind must do the same thing. Get a billy club or - my mind should be smarter than his. When he gets a billy club, I get a gun.

Question: (Inaudible).

Answer: I beg your pardon.

Question: How do you (inaudible) of having you reach for a gun? How do you get him to stop using it?

Answer: That's not my problem. That's the problem of white society. They've been incapable of doing that. It's not my job to treat the victim. I did not produce him. It's my job to kill. My problem - my problem is him. I do not think see - see, that's the question, because white people, especially white western society pushes half the time. They now have the fire power. So they use all types of philosophies and reasonings why other people should not get more fire power. Witness the nuclear test peace ban treaty. Russia, the United States, England, France. They've got the atomic bomb, the hydrogen bomb, the cobalt bomb. So they say, okay, we want to have a nuclear peace treaty. Nobody should have a nuclear bomb. So they've got the bombs. They're telling all these other countries, you all don't need the bomb. Don't experiment. We've got it. That's equality, isn't it? Their racism is so subtle that they do not even see it. And the same thing is true. You are now telling me how do I stop from getting beyond the point of the gun. I face the gun. I don't have time to think about it. I want to get the gun out of his hand. Then after I get the gun out of his hand, maybe I can deal with that question. Fortunately for you, you have the luxury of dealing with the question because the gun is not in your face. If the gun was in your face, you wouldn't have time to think about, well, if I got the gun away from him then what I would do. No. You want to get the gun out then you could decide. Makes sense to me.

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Question: (Inaudible) suggestion (inaudible) the white universities of how they might be able to (inaudible) the entire problem?

Answer: Why, I'm not sure that I can. I'm not sure that I can. Because I think first the white student has to really consciously decide in his mind whether or not he really wants to change the system at his sacrifice - at his sacrifice, where he may come out the loser. Not the winner. You see, everybody else who's oppressed, when they fight, the chances are that they will come out the winner. They can't come out any worse than they are already. But for the college - the white college student especially, he has a luxury to deciding. Because while he might win the war, he might himself come out on a lower economic level or lower status level in the society. Understand what I'm saying. So, I think that's the first decision that they have to consciously make. And I don't think that I can make that decision for them. I am much more fortunate than they are. My decision has been already made. I have to fight.

Question: (Inaudible)

Answer: No. Well, then, it seems to me they have to begin to build an organizational base of other people who share the same interests. See, you fight with people who share the same interests - political, economic - the basic interests. You don't usually fight with people who may have the same ideals. But it's really interests. 'Cause everybody has the same ideals. JOHNSON is for peace. I'm for peace. MAO TSE-TUNG is for peace. FIDEL is for peace. HUMPHREY is for peace. NIXON is for peace. WALLACE is for peace. Those are ideals. But the question is the specific interests. While JOHNSON is for peace, is it in his interests to stop the war in Vietnam or to prolong the war in Vietnam? While WALLACE is for peace, is it his job to get justice in Vietnam, to bomb the Vietnamese out, or to stop the Vietnamese? Because you can have peace if you bomb - if you bomb them into the Stone Age, you certainly will have peace because they won't bother you anymore. At least you can take the country and do with it as you will. But it is the specific interests and that means that the person who has come to that must see if he can find people who share and are willing to fight for those specific interests.

Question: At the beginning of your talk, you spoke about (inaudible) revolution and you asked us not to wait for time (inaudible). Now if I were revolution (inaudible) you'd say. . .

Voice close to microphone "That's the one I'm talking about".

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. Question continued (Inaudible).

Answer: I am talking about violence. Using it from NAPOLEON to the Vietnamese. Any form of it that is necessary for liberation. Now do you want me to draw out a battle plan? (Laughter)

Question: (Inaudible)

Answer: Oh. You forgot one other. As the American Revolution did. You forgot one the American Revolution did. That form of violence led to tyranny - slavery, dictatorship. So maybe ours will too. Your basic question is really, if we win the power, if we conquer, will we then do the same things to whites as they do to us. Is that your basic question?

Question: (Inaudible).

Answer: I beg your pardon?

Question: (Inaudible) (Laughter)

Answer: I'm sorry. Could you repeat the question please?

Question: (Inaudible)

Answer: I would propose to do it any way that got me my liberation. See, I am not opposed to the use of power. I am not opposed to it. I wish I had some chance.

Question: (Inaudible)

Answer: I beg your pardon?

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In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Boston, Massachusetts
December 31, 1968

Title STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Character

Reference Memorandum dated and captioned as
above at Boston.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.

FBI

Date: 12/13/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

AIRMAIL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (100-6812) (P)
STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS

Re Atlanta teletypes 12/10/68, and 12/11/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are eight copies, and for New York and WFO two copies of an LHM, regarding speeches made by subject while in Atlanta on 12/11/68. Copies of this memorandum are being disseminated to U. S. Secret Service, Atlanta, Georgia, and 111th MIG, Region V, Fort Mc Pherson, Georgia.

[redacted] is identified as [redacted]
[redacted] is identified as [redacted]
[redacted] is identified as [redacted]
[redacted] of SA [redacted] who is a
student at [redacted] and
attended the Emory University speech
given by CARMICHAEL.
[redacted] is identified as [redacted]
[redacted] is identified as [redacted] (PROB)
[redacted] is identified as [redacted]

b2
b6
b7C
b7D

RAL: ISD (attache)
GJM (attache)
CRD 1011
SS, ACS, OSI
WYR/S 12/20/68
WYR/S 12/20/68

b6
b7C

ENCLOSURE

3-Bureau (Enc. 8) (RM)
2-New York (Enc. 2) (100-153751) (RM)
2-WFO (Enc. 2) (100-43503) (RM)
2-Atlanta
EUC:bjc
(9)

C. C. - Bishop

REC-121 100-446080-2176

EX-103

RECORDED
2 DEC 18 1968

b6
b7C

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Approved: [Signature]
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

AT 100-6812

11 [] recorded the speech made by CARMICHAEL. The audibility of the tape is good in some instances, particularly that portion relating to statements by CARMICHAEL that he is a proponent of violence; however, due to CARMICHAEL continually changing the modulation of his voice, the size of the audience and the overriding noises, the tape is not sufficiently clear to warrant a verbatim transcript. The tape is being authenticated by [] and will be maintained in the Atlanta files as an exhibit.

b2
b7D



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Atlanta, Georgia

December 13, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-28-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CPB/b1s

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS

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[redacted] advised on December 10, 1968, that
STOKELY CARMICHAEL was scheduled to speak at 8:00 p.m.
on December 11, 1968, at Morehouse College, Atlanta,
Georgia.

On December 11, 1968, [redacted]

[redacted]
[redacted] which encompasses Clark College, Morehouse
College, and Spelman College, advised that [redacted]

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[redacted] was
passing out a circular advertising the fact that
CARMICHAEL was to appear on December 11, 1968, at
Davage Auditorium, Clark College. According to [redacted]
it was not possible to put a specific time as to the
CARMICHAEL speech, as it was not known when he would
arrive in Atlanta; however, later [redacted] advised [redacted]
[redacted] that the speech would be at 1:00 p.m. The
circular distributed on the campuses at Atlanta
University is set forth as follows:

This document contains neither recommendations nor con-
clusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and
is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to
be distributed outside your agency.

100-446080-2176
ENCLOSURE

THE STUDENT GOV'T
ASSOCIATION
CLARK COLLEGE
PRESENTS:

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Wednesday Dec. 11, 1968

Dodge Auditorium

CLARK COLLEGE

EVERYONE WELCOME!

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

[redacted] advised that he attended the speech given by CARMICHAEL at Davage Auditorium and CARMICHAEL spoke from about 1:00 p.m. to approximately 2:05 p.m. CARMICHAEL spoke on the theory of black unity and included in his speech a lecture to the black community for violence by black on black. CARMICHAEL urged Negro inductees to refuse to submit to the draft, but that if the black man had to participate in the Viet Nam war, he should endeavor to kill his white counterpart. After lecturing for a while praising Castro and the purposes of Communist countries for their efforts to overcome Capitalism, he opened the meeting for a question and answer period; however, instead of giving intelligent answers to questions asked, he attempted to embarrass individuals who may have asked a negative-type of question, that is, one that would not be in keeping with the Black Power theory.

[redacted] observed that CARMICHAEL had spoken at this same location approximately one year ago and that his speech on this particular occasion was not as well received as it was on the previous occasion.

[redacted] Atlanta, Georgia, advised that an organization on the Emory campus known as the Student Center Board invited STOKELY CARMICHAEL to speak on the campus on December 11, 1968, for which he was to receive a fee of \$300.

[redacted] advised that CARMICHAEL was to speak at 4:00 p.m. in the alumni hall, but at 4:00 p.m., an unidentified white male told the audience, numbering approximately 1,000 persons, that CARMICHAEL's appearance at Emory had been confirmed the previous day by telegram and telephone calls and that he should appear shortly. At approximately 4:15 p.m., it was announced that CARMICHAEL was in the area and would speak as soon as parking facilities could be located. At approximately

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

4:20 p.m., a Negro male, identifying himself as [redacted] a student at Emory University and a member of the Black Student Alliance, introduced CARMICHAEL to the audience.

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CARMICHAEL opened his speech by stating since there are going to be questions regarding violence, and before we go into the basic discussion, we must state affirmatively, "that we are for revolutionary violence. Do you mean violence? Yes, I mean violence. Do you mean killing? Yes, I mean killing. Whatever it takes to get our liberation. Now please do not tell me that violence never accomplished anything."

Violence is only good where one has the product to make it good. He then cited examples of institutionalized violence such as the United States participation in the war in Viet Nam.

As regards to the violence of CARMICHAEL's speech, [redacted] advised that CARMICHAEL attempted to justify actions on the part of Negroes, or any other minority group, to participate in violence to achieve what they want.

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Other remarks attributed by CARMICHAEL at Emory University appeared in articles published in the public press. Copies of these articles are as follows:

Carmichael Chides Liberals

By PHILIP GAILEY

Black Power advocate-at-large Stokely Carmichael told Emory University students Wednesday the "great liberal mistake" has been the expounding of humanitarian goals they cannot deliver.

"The liberal is caught in the middle," Carmichael said. "While the oppressed and the oppressors are arming, the liberals are standing between them yelling but no one is listening."

He said liberals are in trouble because they have influences but no power.

WIFE AND BODY GUARDS

Carmichael, accompanied by his wife, African singer Miriam Makeba, and an entourage of body guards and others, spoke to approximately 1,000 students and faculty members at Emory's Alumni Memorial Building. His speech was interrupted several times by applause and several hundred stood and cheered when he entered the auditorium.

His Emory appearance was one of several on college campuses in Georgia and South Carolina. He spoke earlier at the predominantly Negro Clark College in Atlanta.

Nattily dressed in a tan, double-breasted suit and brown leather boots, Carmichael said the primary role of the liberal has been "to stop confrontations."

"He (the liberal) decides that



ATTACKS LIBERALS
Stokely Carmichael

confrontation is not good for either side," the Negro militant said. "So his primary role has been not to insure justice, but to avoid confrontations."

"That's why the liberal is caught in the middle of a polarization in this country and is being attacked from both sides," Carmichael declared.

"Liberals influenced the passage of civil rights legislation but they have been powerless to implement it," he said.

Carmichael said he wants to create in this country a new society "free of racism and capitalism."

"That does not mean it would be communism or socialism," he said. "That would be a problem of economics. We need a system that goes beyond that and addresses itself to racism."

FORMER SNCC LEADER

Carmichael, 27, who now lives in Washington, D.C., is the former leader of the militant Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

An advocate of an armed Negro revolution, Carmichael said it is primarily a black revolution which he advocates.

He said a "color conflict" transcends a "class conflict."

During the question-and-answer session several white students verbally tangled with the former leader of the Student

Non-violent Coordinating Committee from which he was expelled after his marriage to the wealthy singing star from Africa.

When Carmichael called for a redistribution of this country's wealth, a student, speculating Carmichael's suit cost about \$100, challenged him to start the redistribution by "coming down to South Georgia where I'm from and redistributing your wealth with us."

FLASHES SMILE

After the applause and laughter, Carmichael flashed a smile and snapped: "Fact No. 1. This suit cost more than a hundred dollars."

He added: "When you go into

a revolution you approach in terms of institutions and not individuals."

Asked how Negroes can get power, he said: "You take it with guns."

A Negro student asked if racial conflicts in this nation are leading to "all-out war between black and white?"

"As the contradictions heighten, the possibility of conflict becomes more discernible," Carmichael said.

Where does the white liberal and sympathizer fit into his revolutionary scheme? "It all depends," Carmichael smiled. "To the victor belongs the spoils. If he fights with me, he shares the spoils."

Date: 12-12-68

Edition: Morning

Author:

Editor: Philip Gailey

Title: CARMICHAEL CHIDES LIBERALS

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office:

☐ Being Investigated

AT EMORY

Kill, Be Killed, Carmichael Says

By DAVID NORDAN

A very cool Stokely Carmichael exorcised an amalgamation of about 1,000 Emory University students and professors and left no doubt he would as soon nail their Methodist hides to the barn door—if that's what it takes.

"There can be no ethical judgment on violence," the tall, young revolutionary broadcast across the college hall Wednesday—"Kill or be killed—a hard, cold reality."

Carmichael stunned his audience with a studied denunciation of the white liberal and left the whites present—the vast majority of his audience—wondering exactly what he has in mind for them.

More than one listener of that description was prompted to ask during a question-and-answer session: "So where do we fit in?"

The 27-year-old firebrand, immaculately and fashionably dressed in a tan suit and brown boots, responded: "To those who fight with me—well, to the victors go the spoils."

"To those who don't—well..." and he stretched his arms outward and shrugged.

"YOU KILL THEM..." a youth volunteered from the back of the room.

"I'm not afraid of that," Carmichael shot back immediately. "You are. At least I have a reason for killing. You'll be going to Vietnam soon, and you won't even know why you're killing."

The speaker strolled into the Alumni Hall late for the afternoon meeting (he couldn't find a parking place) surrounded by young toughs uniformed in Black Panther garb. His wife, South African singer Miriam Makeba, smiled admiringly at her husband from the front row.

Carmichael hit his Emory audience right in the gut by telling them they—if they consider themselves white liberals—are

his enemies as much or more so than anybody else.

"The liberal's role is to stop confrontations," he said. "... maybe at times you need a confrontation... the liberal seeks to stop it by addressing himself to the oppressed. ... You be cool. ... 'You be reasonable'."

HE CHARGED that "liberals don't know the difference between influence and power," pointing out that the liberals were able through influence to get civil rights laws passed, but powerless to enforce them.

"How do you get power?" he was asked.

"You get a gun and take it," he responded. "After all, that's how the whites got this country in the first place—they killed the Indians."

One of the 50 or so Negro students in the audience wanted to know if an all-out war between blacks and whites would be the result of racial conflict.

"As the contradictions heighten," the speaker answered, "the possibility of conflict becomes more discernible."

HE SAID the biggest question today is whether his "revolution" should be all-black. Explaining that color conflict transcends class conflict, Carmichael said he tends to lean towards "a black revolution."

Carmichael, the guest of several campus groups Wednesday, said his ultimate goal is "a society free of racism and free of capitalism."

"This doesn't mean that it would be Communist or Socialist. That would be a problem of economics," he said, without further classification.

The Atlanta, Georgia
Journal
December 12, 1968

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

[] advised that CARMICHAEL returned to the campus of Morehouse College at approximately 7:15 to 7:30 p.m. on December 11, 1968, for the purpose of again addressing a group of students. The group, numbering approximately 1,000, went to the gymnasium at Morehouse College and found that it was locked and the administration would not acquiesce to their requests that it be opened and set up for use by CARMICHAEL. The crowd milled around until approximately 8:15 p.m. when they were finally admitted to utilize Archer Hall, located on the campus of Spelman College.

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[] advised that an individual introduced CARMICHAEL as a 'prime minister of the Black Panther Party. At the beginning of the speech by CARMICHAEL, he asked how many people in the audience had heard him earlier in the day when he had spoken at Davage Auditorium on the Clark College campus. A number of those in attendance raised their hands and CARMICHAEL commented that he would more or less reiterate what he had said on the previous occasion.

CARMICHAEL stated that the white people had been persecuting the black people for many years and that the black people must rise up and take control. He cited the confusion over his securing a place to speak as an example of how the Negro should take control of a given situation. The speech was interrupted by someone in the audience stating that several white persons were in attendance and that they should be requested to leave the gathering. Several white persons did leave the auditorium; however, an individual later identified as

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[] was observed standing in the center of the auditorium. [] a white man, was requested to leave but he made statements to the effect that this was his university and he expected to remain there as long as anyone. At this point, an unidentified Negro hit [] and the guards located near the exit to the auditorium assisted him from the building. Considerable confusion existed after this

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

action on the part of the audience and CARMICHAEL became disgusted with the activities, stating that "they were all acting like children," and he left the building.

According to [redacted] CARMICHAEL went to the restaurant located at [redacted] where he had supper.

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A characterization of the Black Panther Party is attached hereto.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] Huey P. Newton, BPP Minister of Defense. Newton is presently serving a sentence of 2 to 15 years on a conviction of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP [REDACTED] which ends with the following:

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"Black men. Black people, colored persons of American, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement, "... we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature MAO's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.



*In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.*

**UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**

**Atlanta, Georgia
December 13, 1968**

Title

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Character

RACIAL MATTERS

Reference

**Memorandum prepared at Atlanta,
dated and captioned as above.**

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

December 23, 1968

1 -

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W Airtel

To: SAC, Atlanta (100-6812)
REC-121
From: Director, FBI (100-446080) — 2176

STOKELY CARMICHAEL **EX-103**
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

ReATAirtel dated 12/13/68 wherein it was reported that a tape recording was made of the speech by Stokely Carmichael on 12/11/68 at Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia.

Prepare inaa form suitable for dissemination a verbatim transcript of that portion of the tape which is audible. Include in the letterhead memorandum a predicated statement that due to Carmichael continually changing the modulation of his voice, the size of the audience, and room noises, portions of the tape are not audible.

1 - WFO

PTB:ekw *ekw*
(5)

NOTE: Atlanta submitted as an enclosure to referenced airtel an LHM containing the summary of Carmichael's statements at Emory University. Atlanta advised portions of the tape recording of this speech, particularly those relating to statements by Carmichael that he is a proponent of violence, are good. However, due to the overall poor quality of the tape, a verbatim transcript was not being made. In view of the fact pertinent statements by Carmichael are audible, Atlanta is being instructed to submit a transcript.

MAILED 24
DEC 20 1968
COMM-FBI

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

JAN 21 1969
MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

W *W* *W* *W*

F B I

Date: 1/8/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-153751)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM

Re WFO airtel to Bureau, 12/11/68.

Enclosed for Bureau are 11 copies of LHM dated and captioned as above. Two copies of LHM are being enclosed for WFO.

This LHM is being classified "~~Confidential~~" to protect the identities of sources of continuing value, whose identities, if revealed, could have an adverse effect upon national security.

Information copies of LHM are being disseminated to OSI, NISO, 108th MI Group, Secret Service, and USAs SDNY and EDNY.

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The confidential sources mentioned in LHM are:

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Neighborhood source

[Redacted]

[Redacted] NYC

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- 3 - Bureau (Encls. 11) (RM)
2 - Washington Field (Encls. 2) (RM)
1 - New York

BJW:kbm

b2

AGENCY: ACST, ONI, OSI, SEC SER, STATE, [Redacted] (BY LIAISON) JAN 9 1969
DEPT ISD: CRD, CRIM, IDIU

DATE FORW: 1-10-69

HOW FORW: R/S

BY: PTB:sd

Approved: [Signature]

Sent

Per

Special Agent in Charge

54 JAN 24 1969

EX-103
REC-121

100-446080-2177

RACIAL INT. SECT.

NY 100-153751

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] NYC

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

NYC

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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b7C

Buagents observing subject at JF Kennedy Airport
on 12/28/68, were SAS [REDACTED]



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York
January 8, 1969

DECLASSIFIED BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CPB/bls
ON 08-28-2006

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

NYfile 100-153751

~~Confidential~~

Stokely Carmichael

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A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, observed Stokely Carmichael at Carmichael residence, New York, during the morning of December 9, 1968.

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A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised Carmichael departed Eastern Airlines Flight Number 545, from John F. Kennedy Airport, New York City, 12:20 pm, December 9, 1968, scheduled to arrive in Charlotte, North Carolina, 1:57 pm, December 9, 1968.

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A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that Stokely Carmichael was arriving at La Guardia Airport, New York City, aboard United Airlines Flight 630 at 11:47 pm, December 12, 1968. Source advised this flight originated at Omaha, with stops at Des Moines, Chicago, and Detroit.

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The confidential source, mentioned above, observed Carmichael at residence in New York, on December 14 and December 15, 1968, December 20, 1968, and December 22, 1968.

A confidential source advised on December 27, 1968, that Stokely Carmichael will depart Scandinavian Airline System Flight Number 912-V from John F. Kennedy Airport, New York City, 7:45 pm, December 28, 1968, scheduled to arrive in Copenhagen, 9:15 am, December 29, 1968.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~Confidential~~

~~GROUP 1~~

~~Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

100-446080-2177
ENCLOSURE

Stokely Carmichael

~~Confidential~~

b6 Source further advised Carmichael [] will
b7C then depart Scandinavian Airline System Flight Number
402 from Copenhagen 10:00 am, December 29, 1968, scheduled
to arrive in Stockholm, Sweden, 11:25 am, December 29,
1968. Source advised that airline tickets for Carmichael
[] are open return tickets.

b2 A [] confidential source, who has furnished
b6 reliable information in the past, advised that it was
b7C rumored within Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
b7D individuals in New York and Atlanta that Stokely Carmichael
reportedly is planning to move to Guinea, Africa. Supposedly,
[] to Carmichael has been
doing very poorly with [] and this is
believed to be the reason for the move. Source further
stated that there have been rumors that [] plans
to "dump" Carmichael because of his adverse effect on
[]

Stokely Carmichael [] were
observed by Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation
(FBI) departing John F. Kennedy Airport aboard Scandinavian
Flight 912-V, 8:45 pm, December 28, 1968, scheduled to
arrive in Copenhagen 9:15 pm, December 29, 1968.

[]
[]
b6 New York City, advised on January 7, 1969, that 7700 pounds
b7C of household goods consigned to [] have been
b7D placed in [] New
York. [] advised that this freight was originally
scheduled to be placed aboard the African Rainbow on
December 17, 1968, but that because of the dock strike
in New York City, the African Rainbow did not stop at
New York City. [] advised that this freight will
go on the next available freighter. [] advised
that the Rainbow will not stop at Conakey, Guinea, and
all freight aboard now will be discharged in Monrovia,
Liberia.

AIRGRAM

 TRV Carmichael,
 Stokely
 FOR RM USE ONLY

AF-5	RM/R	REP	AF
1	ARA	EUR	FE
	NEA	CU	INR
	E	P	IO
	L	FBO	AID
PPT	SCA	SY	
1	1	1	
AGR	COM	FRB	
INT	LAB	TAR	
TR	XMB	AIR	
ARMY		NAVY	
OSD	USIA		
10			
INS			
1			

A-298
NO.

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

HANDLING INDICATOR

TO : Department of State

RECEIVED

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

JAN 3 1 53 PM 1969

RS/AF
ANALYSIS BRANCH

FROM : AmEmbassy CONAKRY

DATE: December 31, 1968

SUBJECT : The Stokely Carmichael's Move to Guinea

b6
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 REF : ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED
 b2 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 08-28-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CPB/bls

DEPARTMENT PASS FBI

In the course of a conversation with [redacted] on other matters December 27, 1968, I mentioned that the U.S. press was carrying stories to the effect that [redacted] Stokely Carmichael planned to establish residence in Guinea.

He replied that they were indeed and that it was on that very subject that he had consulted me last summer (see Conakry 2145 of September 9, 1968). I said that I had apparently misunderstood the inquiry, thinking he was referring only to a visit in Guinea. I added that my same comments about Carmichael's political activity still applied.

[redacted] said that [redacted]

[redacted] and that Stokely himself felt his luck might run out some day soon and he might wind up in the clink.

Comment: It is hard to imagine limelight-loving Stokely vegetating for long in their villa at Dalaba in the Guinean Fouta Djallon highlands a couple hundred miles from even Conakry.

McILVAINE

EX-113

NOT RECORDED

1 JAN 7 1969

NAT. DEF. SEC.

FORM 4-62 DS-323

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

FOR DEPT. USE ONLY

☒ In ☐ Out

Drafted by:

AMB

hek

b6
b7C

Contents and Classification Approved by:

Clearances:

56 JAN 21 1969

 MEMO
 1/10/68 PPS

 b7C
 [redacted]

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 b7C

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

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b7C

DATE: 1-3-69

FROM :

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Bishop
1 - Mr. Sullivan

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

1 - [Redacted]
1 - [Redacted]
(Mass Media)
1 - [Redacted]
1 - [Redacted]
1 - Mass Media

This is to recommend item about the amount of funds received by black extremist Stokely Carmichael be furnished a cooperative news source on a confidential basis by the Crime Records Division.

In the past two years Carmichael has spoken on over fifty college campuses advocating a black revolution by violence and guerrilla warfare. His speaking fees have ranged from \$400 to as high as \$1,800. Assuming he received an average fee of \$800 for each appearance on a college campus, he would have obtained over \$40,000. Carmichael has also received revenue from speeches at public halls and churches, as well as from a book he co-authored. The value Carmichael puts upon his services is indicated by the fact that he attempted in December, 1967, to sell an exclusive interview to a major news media for \$70,000.

Carmichael directs his doctrine of hate and violence to the Negroes in the ghetto but he does not linger there. Instead, he travels first class, dresses in the latest fashion and has been living in a \$50,000 home in Washington, D. C.

ACTION:

That attached item be furnished a cooperative news media source on a confidential basis by Crime Records Division.

Enclosure

PTB:sd (9)

REC 101

100-446080-2179
6 JAN 15 1969

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53 JAN 27 1969

1/8/69

IS CARMICHAEL A CAPITALIST?

In the past two years black extremist Stokely Carmichael has spoken on over fifty college campuses advocating a black revolution by violence and guerrilla warfare. His speaking fees have ranged from \$400 to as high as \$1,800. Assuming he received an average fee of \$800 for each appearance on a college campus, he would have obtained at least \$40,000. However, Carmichael has also made many speeches in churches and public halls where in most instances an admission price was charged or a collection was taken. In addition, the funds received from a book Carmichael co-authored is believed to be substantial. The value Carmichael puts upon his services can be illustrated by the fact that when he returned to the United States in December, 1967, after an extensive trip abroad, he endeavored to sell an exclusive interview to a major news media for \$70,000.

Carmichael may direct his doctrine of hate and violence to the Negroes of the ghetto but he never lingers there. He is developing a reputation among leading black extremists as a person who makes a speech advocating a particular violent action to the blacks and then "fleeing" if anyone follows his suggestion.

Carmichael travels first class all the way. He dresses in the latest fashion, eats in the better restaurants and has been living in a \$50,000 house in Washington, D. C.

ENCLOSURE

100-446080-2179

~~SECRET~~

DATE: 10-05-2006

CLASSIFIED BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CPB/ELs

DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1)

09-19-2031

F B I

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

Date: 1/10/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

CLASSIFICATION PER OGA LETTER

(Priority)

DATED 09-19-2006

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELEY CARMICHAEL
RM

ReWFOairtel, 12/11/68.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 11 copies
of LHM regarding the above captioned matter.

Any additional information developed regarding
the shipment of CARMICHAEL'S goods to Guinea will be
furnished.

1-13-69

RM: 1SD, 1D10 CRIM CRD;
SS ACSL 1SL state

(S)

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REC-28 100-446080-2180

EX-113

ENCLOSURE

- 3 - Bureau (Enc. 11)
- 1 - New York (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)
- 1 - WFO

WWH:pgp
(5)

18 JAN 16 1969

53 JAN 22 1969

~~SECRET~~

Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-28-2006 BY 60324/AUC/EAW/CPB/BL

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C. 20535

January 10, 1969

[REDACTED] STOKELY CARMICHAEL

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Washington, D. C. (WDC),
advised on December 11, 1968, he had been previously
engaged to handle the shipment of household furnishings
belonging to Stokely Carmichael [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] to Conakry, Guinea. He advised the furnishings,
amounting to about twelve thousand pounds, had been re-
moved from their WDC residence during mid-November, 1968,
preparatory to shipment by boat to Conakry from Baltimore,
Maryland, during the early part of December, 1968. Prior
to actual shipment, they were stored temporarily in WDC
at an overseas shipping company warehouse.

[REDACTED] advised that as of December 11, 1968,
half of the furnishings belonging to Carmichael [REDACTED]
had been put on board the boat "African Rainbow" in
Baltimore, being handled by the Farrell Lines, Incorporated.
He related that prior to departure from WDC, Carmichael
[REDACTED] purchased a new household refrigerator, two
washing machines and a range stove, which they also desired
included with the shipment to Conakry. As of December 11,
1968, all of these ordered appliances had not arrived for
shipment. Consequently, [REDACTED] advised when the remainder
of the appliances arrived for shipment, they would be in-
cluded with the other half of the remaining furnishings
and taken to New York City. Upon arrival in New York City,
they would be loaded onto the "African Rainbow" then due in
New York City at about that time. The "African Rainbow"
was expected to sail from New York City on December 17, 1968.

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100-416080-2180

ENCLOSURE

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

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On January 9, 1969, [] advised the "African Rainbow" departed Baltimore on December 12, 1968, with the first half of the Carmichael shipment, en route to Africa. The "African Rainbow" did not return to New York City as planned to pick up the second half of the shipment in view of the fact a longshoremen strike was in progress there and the loading of the shipment could not be accomplished.

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The second half of the shipment was sent to New York City for delivery to Africa on a vessel sailing at a date later than the "African Rainbow." As of January 9, 1969, the shipment was reported to be in the possession of the United States Customs and the Farrell Lines, Incorporated in New York City. [] stated the longshoremen strike is still existing in New York City and there is talk it will not be settled until February, 1969. However, as soon as the strike is over and the shipment can be handled, it will be loaded for transport to Africa on the first boat available.

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[] advised [] last contacted him on December 22, 1968, telephonically from New York City inquiring about the status of the shipment and he informed her as set forth above. He advised payment for the shipment of the goods has been made. He added he has gotten the definite impression the Carmichaels plan to live in Guinea but in the future will visit the United States occasionally either for pleasure or business.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

~~SECRET~~
5010-106

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop

DATE: January 10, 1969

1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - [redacted]
1 - [redacted]
1 - [redacted]

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : [redacted]

b6
b7C

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

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This is to advise that black extremist, Stokely Carmichael, [redacted] intend to establish residence in Guinea, Africa.

In late November, 1968, Stokely Carmichael moved from Washington, D. C., to New York City. On December 12, 1968, a portion of his household goods were put aboard a ship at Baltimore for shipment to Guinea. The remainder of his household goods are being held at New York City due to a longshoremen's strike.

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The State Department has advised that Guinea [redacted] stated on December 27, 1968, that Carmichael [redacted] plan to establish a residence in Guinea. According to [redacted] has become very depressed over the fact that [redacted] and that Carmichael himself felt his luck might run out someday soon and he might wind up in prison.

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Carmichael [redacted] arrived in Stockholm, Sweden, on December 29, 1968. [redacted] has a one-month [redacted] in that city, and Carmichael has indicated to news reporters he will probably remain in Stockholm during the period [redacted]

(S) Department [redacted] The above information has been furnished to the

b1

ACTION:

For information.

100-446080

PTB:mk1 (7)

REC 49

100-446080-2181
18 JAN 16 1969

53 JAN 27 1969

~~SECRET~~

DATE: 10-05-2006

CLASSIFIED BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CPB/b1s
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1)
09-19-2031

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

1/10/69

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

RM

(OO:WFO)

In connection with the following past speeches of subject, receiving offices requested to contact sources, if information not already available, to ascertain current information regarding composition of audiences as to race, age, sex and number of military personnel known to be in audience in or out of uniform. Include information about any fee, remuneration, or other monetary reward received by subject for making the speech including any known expenses paid. Also include statement as to whether transcript of speech obtained and if furnished to the Bureau.

- (1) Speeches at Old Warren Street Methodist Church, 304 North Warren Street, (Afro-American Training School), Mobile, Alabama, July 26 and 27, 1968;
- (2) Speech at Afro-American Arts Theater, 39th Street and Draxel Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois, 8/9/68;
- (3) Speech at Manzanita Center, Marin City, California, 8/22/68;
- (4) Speech at Will Rogers Park, Los Angeles, California, 8/24/68;
- (5) Speech at De Fremery Park, Oakland, California, 8/25/68;

- REC-6
- 100-446080-2182
- 3- Bureau
- 2- Chicago (RM) (157-1279)
- 2- Detroit (RM) (100-34122)
- 2- Los Angeles (RM) (100-68783) (AM)
- 2- Mobile (RM) (100-1858)
- 2- St. Louis (RM) (100-20639) (AM)
- 2- San Francisco (RM) (157-721) (AM)

1- WFO
C. C. Bishop
(16)

10 JAN 13 1969

56 JAN 27 1969

RACIAL INT. SECT.

WFO 100-43503

- (6) Speech at Organization of Arab Students
(OAS) Convention, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 8/26/68;
- (7) Speech at Sheldon Memorial Hall, 3648
Washington Avenue, St. Louis, Missouri,
8/29/68.

In addition, ascertain if a collection was taken or fee charged for admittance at the rallies or functions where he spoke, approximate amounts collected and if possible recipients of the monies.

Expedite reply via airtel.

F B I

Date: 1/3/69

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
 FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (100-10358) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
 RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Re Charlotte airtels to Bureau 11/22/68 and 12/10/68.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are eight copies of an LHM captioned as above, copies of which are being disseminated locally to Military Intelligence and Secret Service Agencies. Copies also being furnished other listed offices for their information.

[redacted] (PROB) who furnished his information to SA [redacted] and contact with [redacted] was by SA [redacted]

Copy of the recordings as furnished by [redacted] (PROB) and [redacted] will be furnished the Bureau by separate communication.

C. C. Bishop
 CC SULLIVAN

ENCLOSURE

REC-111

JAN 6 1969

- 3 - Bureau (Encs. 8) (RM)
- 1 - Atlanta (Enc. 1) (100-6812) (RM)
- 1 - Columbia (Enc. 1) (RM)
- 1 - New York (Enc. 1) (RM)
- 1 - San Francisco (Enc. 1) (RM)
- 1 - Washington Field (Enc. 1) (100-43503) (RM)
- 6 - Charlotte (2 - 100-10358)

THG:cca (1 - 157-6171) (1 - 157-5490) (1 - 100-9885)

(14) (1 - [redacted] (PROB))

Approved: _____

57 JAN 2 1969

Special Agent in Charge

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Per _____

RACIAL INT. SECT.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Charlotte, North Carolina
January 3, 1969

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Reference is made to memorandum at Charlotte, North Carolina, dated December 10, 1968.

b6
b7C
b7D

[REDACTED] made available a tape recording of STOKELY CARMICHAEL's speech at Saint Augustine College on November 21, 1968, the text of which is as follows:

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ENCLOSURE

STOKELY CARMICHAEL - SPEECH AT ST. AUGUSTINE COLLEGE

(Introduction of those with him)

"Next is a young man who works. He is known around the country as the world's biggest agitator. Mr. ~~WILLIE~~ RITZ (phonetic). *NC*

Next to Mr. RITZ is a young man whom everybody here should know; he is from South Carolina. He is just out of jail. He is one of the young men who has refused to go to the armed services. He is out on appeal for that. He is also out on appeal for federal cases. He was shot in the Orangeburg Massacre. He was one of the young men who helped organize it. He has been the program secretary for the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, and he now serves as the director of the project for the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. (could not hear name).

Next is Mr. ~~JAN~~ BAILEY, a young man from Washington, D. C., who is out on bail. He has also refused to go into the army. Mr. BAILEY. *NC*

On my right on the stage is the master of culture for the Black Panther Party from the west coast, Mr. EMERY DOUGLAS. Mr. DOUGLAS is an artist. His works were just displayed at Howard University, and he came down to the south to see what the scene looked like in Mississippi. (Unable to hear the rest because of clapping, etc.) *NC*

STOKELY CARMICHAEL - SPEECH AT ST. AUGUSTINE COLLEGE

(context of speech)

Now what we would like to do today is to go through the concepts that would enable you to put together a philosophy for black people living in this country and black people living in other countries, and to allow us to survive. I want to begin by saying that my major assumption is that white people are prepared to commit genocide against black people. And that is my basic assumption.

Many people disagree. White people don't agree. But that is not the truth. Don't let them fool you. They told the Indian the same thing. Don't let them fool you. Even if it's not true it wouldn't hurt if we were prepared, right? So we want to talk about being prepared for number one, fighting for our liberation, not only in this country but in the world; and I have to keep stressing the world, because as people living in the United States we get carried away with just thinking about ourselves as black Americans and not thinking of ourselves as Africans, which we are.

You aren't ashamed to be Africans today are you? I don't like it, watching TV and seeing Tarzan beating us up all the time . . . you want to be like Tarzan, right? Africans, we are Africans, and we have been scattered all over the Western Hemisphere by the malicious desire of the powers of white western society . . . and because in our unity we will be the strength that will divide white western society. And they understand this very clearly, so they have scattered us all over the Western Hemisphere. Did you know that in Brazil in South America that 45 per cent of the population is African, black, just like you and me? Did you know that in the entire northeast section of South America it is heavily populated with Africans, black, just like you and me, all the way up to Panama. You know, even in Nova Scotia today there is a large number of Africans, just like you and me.

We have been scattered all over the Western Hemisphere, in the West Indies, Cuba, Haiti, Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic, Guatamala, Vienna, Panama, you name it, we have been scattered by the white man.

(context of speech, continued)

And if we are to fight today, our adhesive force and use of our black power, you understand our black power is not limited to black people in the United States, but it talks about black people wherever they are--from South Africa to Nova Scotia, we are one and the same. Because we really don't know who our ancestors are. Some of the people in Brazil might be our own brothers and sisters, and we know the way brothers and sisters fight, Okay.

Now the second assumption is black people in the United States are a colonized people. We are a colonized people. We form a colony within the United States. Now, the main characteristics of a colonized people . . . and rather than go into it, I would hope that your history professors and your social science professors and your sociology professors would begin to discuss the characteristics of a colonized people. But the most important characteristic that we want to determine and deal with today is the characteristic which separates a colonized people from other oppressed people, and that is the characteristic of self-hatred. A colonized people more than anything else hates themselves. And because they hate themselves, they hate any image that reflects themselves. Therefore, they hate each other.

So this is a hatred for each other and for oneself by the colonized people, so that they try to imitate the ways of the master and try to identify with the oppressor rather than to identify with their brothers and their sisters. Everything is so destroyed having a colonized people, even the standard of beauty is severed by the oppressor.

You know, we don't have to discuss the magnolia creams of today, but that's just an example of self-hatred. So much do we hate ourselves and our color, that we would spend three hours a night using magnolia cream trying to be white, or burning out our hair, frying it, as we try all these other things, trying to imitate white society, and when we pick someone who is beautiful in our race, it was always someone who was light, bright, and fair-haired white, right?

(context of speech, continued)

And the reason for this was because of the self-hatred that we had for ourselves. And the self-hatred goes very, very deep. We sometimes cannot even analyze it. But let us view some examples.

You know black people who fight black people much quicker than they will fight white people. And it's not because we are afraid of white people. It is only the hatred which we have for ourselves, that we let it show in each other. For example, if you tell a black man to pick up a gun and shoot a rookie cop, they'll say, "I don't want to do that, I don't want no part of that, I don't believe in that." But let that same black man shine his shoes on Saturday night, and another nigger steps on them. Because of the hatred manifested for himself when his brother steps on his shoe, he is ready to kill his brother just to keep his shoes. He'll stomp him into the ground. And if a white man does it, what does he do then? Yes, sir, boy-- because of the hatred that we have for ourselves.

Now, we have to begin to counteract this hatred. Now we can just go on and list characteristics, but I think you should do that in your own discussion classes. Now, to counteract hatred, you counteract an opposite with an opposite. The opposite of hatred is love. So, you see, we must counteract the hatred we have with love, but now love that I'm talking about must be appreciated from a lot of other people. I say that we, black people, must have an undying love for each other, for each other.

Now would I say, for example, as Dr. KING did, that if a white man slapped you to turn the other cheek? No, if a white man slaps you, rip his arm off! But if a black man slaps you, I would say turn the other cheek. Because the hatred that we have for each other is destruction. We have a feeling of destruction, to destroy ourselves. We must begin to counteract that with love.

And so, we say that our first concept is to begin to build a sort of ideology that will present a cohesive force for black people inside the United States and around the world, is that we must have an undying love for each other, an undying love for each other. That means we are willing to die for each

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(context of speech, continued)

other. Not only are we willing to die for each other, our people should be willing to kill for each other. I know you don't like to hear the word "kill," and I know they will say this is violence. But you take a look at all the young men in this audience and when they are graduated from college, I'll tell you what they will be. They will be hired killers, killing yellow people in Vietnam. So, it's not a question of killing. It is a question of being able to feel that you can kill for something worthwhile.

What would the young men sitting in this audience be killing in Vietnam for? They would be killing to stop Communism, when the majority of them can't spell the word Communism, let alone know what it means. So, they would be fighting to stop Communism, they would be fighting for democracy, and living in North Carolina, we know what a joke that is! They would be fighting for the free world (laughter), the free world. For real, that's what they would be fighting for, the free world. They've never smelled freedom and they don't understand the word "free" but they're fighting to maintain the free world.

It seems to me clearly that the three things they're fighting for does not have any substance to black people. Number one, Communism. If Communism were a kind of force with black people, we would know what it's all about. We do not know what Communism is all about. So our people may define Communism as something trying to overthrow the United States and America. Well, we should all be trying to overthrow the United States and America. We'll talk about that later. Don't let it scare you; just relax.

Now why are we trying to overthrow the United States? They just got us to be slaves. They went out and did it. We must have an undying love for each other. When a policeman shoots a rifle in one of the major cities of this country, and our brothers pick up bricks, stones, and anything they can find to throw back at that policeman, they are demonstrating an undying love for their people, because they are facing tanks

(context of speech, continued)

with bricks and bottles and that is heroic. It is. You have studied the Boston Tea Party, and how they went out there throwing bricks and bottles. Do they ever call them vagabonds and rioters? They were called heroes, right? They were fighting the British with bricks and bottles. They were pouring and dumping tea in the ocean. They were committing acts of vandalism but they were doing it for a purpose, the purpose being for their own liberation, white liberation. Now, to the British they were committing acts of vandalism. And the British told them they would shoot them, so we're in the same position, the United States and the British. If they catch us they shoot us, but for us we can never define those acts as bad acts or say that they don't get you anywhere at all. Don't believe that, oh please don't believe that, because you'll really sound stupid. You cannot tell me that stealing don't get you anywhere; look where the United States is today!

Don't say that killing doesn't get you anywhere, look where the United States is today. The white man got this country--he killed the Indians and stole it. So he can't say anything about killing and stealing. Not only did he steal the country, but he stole us, you and me. He stole black people. He cannot talk about stealing to us. When he tells you you can't steal, tell him, look at the same thing, you stole my father.

We must decide for ourselves what our actions will be. We must decide what our actions will be. It is not a question of violence. Violence is not either right or wrong. It is a moral. It is he who has the power to legitimize the violence that counts.

If I were in Vietnam with a gun and I shot thirty yellow people with slanted eyes who some white man told me were my enemy, the Viet Cong, I would get a medal. Did you see that a black man was decorated the other day? He was decorated for what? For being a cold-blooded killer. That's what he was getting decorated for. What are they decorating them for? For being cold-blooded killers. But JOHNSON has

(context of speech, continued)

the power to legitimatize killing. It is the white man's privilege. When a white man shoots a nigger in the ghetto he becomes a sergeant, because they have the power to legitimatize killing. But since we are the powerless, if we kill one of our enemies and we get caught, we go to jail.

But it is neither right or wrong. It is just a question of power. That's all. If we were running this country we would be in power and it would be okay. We could kill who ever we defined as our enemies. And that's because if it is important for you as college students because you are going to have to move to define the action of our people, and you cannot define those actions as white western society defines them. You cannot, because they always condemn our acts. They have to because in the long run black power will move to destroy white western society, and if we stand up it is going to kill them, so we must not stand.

Our concept, one more time, as black people, we must have undying love for our people, undying love.

The second concept, which is very close: Every Negro is a potential black man. Every Negro is a potential black man. Because I'm going to take time out and explain the concept of a Negro and the concept of a black man.

When we were in Africa, and you know all of us were before they stole us, so don't believe what you have in your history book, that our brothers sold each other out. Don't believe that. They tell us that so we will mistrust each other. Don't believe that. When the white man told me that, he said they did not steal us, your people sold you. I said, well what did you use to buy us with, what did you give them? You did not have no money, you didn't have no property, you didn't have no gold. You didn't have nothing. You came to Africa to steal everything. So what we gave was a slave. What did you give us in return? He couldn't answer. What did they give us in return. We turned over slaves. If I'm selling you something I give you something and you must give something in return. What did the white man have to offer Africa? Tobacco? He didn't have any. We had to come and pick in in Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina.

(context of speech, continued)

He didn't know anything about it. We had the best tobacco in Africa. We didn't need the tobacco.

Cotton? They didn't have the cotton. We were the ones who picked the cotton. We invented the cotton gin. That would produce cotton. So he certainly didn't have cotton, and that was his cash product.

What else did he have, money? He didn't have any paper money because he didn't develop a monetary system until his economy was stable. His economy was not stable while he was employing slaves. It did not develop a real sense of stability until after the Civil War.

What else did he have, gold? We know where the gold comes from. Diamonds? Copper? Zinc? It's a lie. It was time for the distribution of guilt. The white man doesn't want to feel bad if he has to admit that he stole us. So what he does is distribute the guilt. He gives everybody a little piece of it. He said I didn't do it all, your father sold you to me. So now, your father is guilty. It is called distribution of guilt. That's a new term for you psychology teachers. So, white man, we don't want the distribution of guilt. You keep it, you did it all. You did it all. We didn't do nothing. You stole us.

Now then, we say that when we were in Africa, we were Africans or black men. But when we came to America, we became Negroes. Because there were no Negroes in Africa; Africans are black men. When we came here, we were slaves, so that the term slavery and Negro is synonymous, is it not? Because when we were Africans, or black men, we were free. But once captured, we became Negroes. So Negro and slavery really means the same thing. And if you say that you are a Negro you say that your beginning is in this country; but if you say you are an African or a black man, then your beginnings go back to a time way beyond the development of white western society. It goes back to the beginnings of culture in the Mesopotamia Valley or Egypt. It goes back to the great warriors we had in our time.

(context of speech, continued)

And that's why we must extend our thinking beyond calling ourselves Negroes. Now, you watch what they do all the time on radio, not like they have in North Carolina, but across the country on the so-called soul stations. They have the spots in Negro history. They play a JAMES BROWN record and say "Even though he was slave in the District of Columbia . . . CHRISTOPHER ADAMS was the first good Negro. He died, so glad to die for the American Revolution." And everybody feels proud. We shouldn't feel proud. CHRISTOPHER ADAMS was a fool, man, he was a fool. Are you going to fight for a man who sold your people to slavery? If my people were in slavery, I would fight them. But because they are around us, we keep calling ourselves Negroes. Because what Negro really means is being a good nigger. That's all it means. Because even though you aren't a slave, you're still working to help the country. Even though you have been a slaver, you're still supposed to help the country. That's junk, that's junk. If I can't sit at the table nobody can sit at the table, and if the table is to my back, I'm not going to kneel down there with my back to the crowd and them sitting on top of me eating steak. Junk! Nobody eats steak on my back. Kill me, but I'm not going to be under the table. And that's the position some of us take.

We must understand, then, what it means to be black. It means the process of moving to what is a feeling of total liberation where we are committed to do anything necessary for liberation of our people. So, a lot of people could become black that are not black. We were not black; until a while ago, all of us were Negroes. We were running high. "I don't like that nigger. He is going to cause trouble, always preaching hate." The white man says that.

They know what education is, right? They believe what the teacher tells them, right? Of course it is. That's education, correct? And so the white man says this guy is not going to make a speech of hatred. Did you ever see a teacher with a wig on? A wig she got in Africa, black. . . .

(context of speech, continued)

Every Negro is a potential black man, and those of us who claim we're black must help Negroes become black. We must take time with our people, and if we have an undying love for our people, then it becomes easy. Every Negro is a potential black man, second concept. Very important. We have to take time with our people and help them to be black.

A couple of years ago you talked about black power and people jumped under their seats. You know, now everybody is talking about black power. A few years later, you talked about guns and everybody was jumping under their seats. But now, everybody is beginning to see the necessity of guns. And we have to take time with our people; we cannot afford to alienate our people further because we need every single black man, woman, and child for the price that is coming ahead of us. We cannot alienate one, not one. We must bring them home. Especially on campus, because the kids on college campuses come from the bourgesdie, except maybe your first generation college. And therefore, sometimes because they have been grouped like that, it is sometimes difficult for them to understand the concept of being black.

The third concept, and perhaps the most important and the most difficult is the question of community, a question of our color, our people, and where we are. I'll restate that because it's very difficult, for us black people. the question of community is not just simply a question of land but the question of our people, our color, and where we are. Let me give you some examples.

If you went to New York City you would not be home until you went to Harlem. That's where our people are. If you went to Harlem, then you would really feel relaxed. If you went to Los Angeles--Washington; Chicago--South Side, West Side. You wouldn't feel relaxed until you are with our people. If you go to Washington, D. C., you're home.

Now we must begin to understand that concept more fully. Because then we begin to break down the barriers that the white man has pushed in front of us. If we say that, then

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(context of speech, continued)

we say if we go to Brazil, 50 per cent of the people in Brazil are African, and we will be home. If we go to Cuba, 65 per cent of the people in Cuba are African, we're home. If we go to the West Indies, we're home. And when we get to Motherland, we know we're home. And we must begin to understand that concept because for black power to have any reality or any substance, it must be international. It must be international. And we must begin to understand that what they do to one black man affects every black man, wherever we are, from South Africa to Nova Scotia. If they touch one they've got to touch all.

And that concept must become a reality because the Western Power is a move and a threat. When they want a country they divide the country. Look at North Korea. They have North Korea fighting and South Korea. They've got North Vietnam fighting South Vietnam. And today they are trying to do the same thing in Africa.

They have Nigeria fighting Biafra. And if that concept grows, we will fight ourselves, each fighting each other. And we cannot allow them to do that to us. I'm sorry when I see a black man stand up on television and say "I'm for Biafra," or "I'm for Nigeria." How can he take a position when his brothers are fighting their brothers? If your brother is killing your brother, the first thing you want to do is get the weapon out of their hand. Then you can sit them down and talk. If you are in the house and your little brother is fighting your big brother, and they have guns, you're not going to take sides with either one of them. You're going to try to get them to put down the gun. And it becomes even more important because they don't even manufacture the guns. The guns are given to both sides by white folks. There ain't no white folks going to give niggers no guns without they're going to kill each other or his enemies. Ain't no white man going to give a black man a gun. The only time he is going to give a nigger a gun is when he is killing somebody who is threatening them or when he is killing his enemy. That's all.

So we can't afford to take sides. And we must begin to understand that we have to work for the unity of our people, and we must become more politically about what's going on in this world. We have to, we have to.

(context of speech, continued)

Therefore, being students, you don't have no time for parties. You are less fortunate than my generation in college was. When I was in college we had some time to party. But you don't have nothing. You don't have no time to party. You have to know about the schools in Africa, and what happened in Zanzibar yesterday. There is a state of emergency . . . we have to understand what's going on. The students in Jamaica are burning down the _____ company that belongs to the United States. We ought to know why. We have to know why. And it is your responsibility to be able to analyze these situations and after analyzing them read them back to our people. Are you prepared to do that? No. You are not prepared to do that because you really do not know what education is.

Education is fine for the white man. What is education? Education, really breaking down numerically, the e is for the Latin word meaning "out of." DUC means . . . comes from the Latin "dos duces," which means "to lead." And then of course you have ACTION. You learned that in your vocabulary building course, didn't you? Isn't it required here? Is it required? (the audience answered "no.") That's good. I hope they require reading.

Does the education we get in our schools help us to solve our problems? No. Let me define education for you, about a theory of education from FRANTZ FANON. I keep quoting FRANTZ FANON. Is everybody familiar with FRANTZ FANON? Oh, I'm sorry, you should be. FRANTZ FANON - don't get lost by the name. He is a black man, a black man from Martinique, who is a psychiatrist who was educated in France and was sent to Algeria to support the French Government in their fight against the Algerian rebels. FANON went there and began to fight with the young left, which was the national cause of liberation for the Algerians during the Algerian Revolution. And he wrote book . . . (sets out names of books, unable to hear). One book deals with colonialism and with the effect of colonialism on the victim. He has another book, "White Against the Black Mass" the story of a black man in a white society, and a little pamphlet called "Studies in _____ Colonialism."

(context of speech, continued)

This reading should be a must. Students just don't read. They think too much. They talk about so and so going with so and so. They talk about who was where and what they wore. They talk all that junk which doesn't do anything at all but satisfy their own selves and selfish needs rather than take time to talk about, Hey, man, was I correct? Which way should we be going? Is MARTIN LUTHER KING correct? Is RAP BROWN correct? Is WICKLEY (phonetic) YOUNG CORRECT? Should we try separate? Should we try guns? Should we try non-violence? No, it seems to me that this should become your everyday topic. That is better than junk because that ain't nothing but a weak imitation of white folk.

If we look at society, hate society, broken society, there is no white in the world who can keep order in his society better than black people. Why did they imitate the Greek? They thought he was dangerous. A poor imitation for white folks. That is what they said.

You know why they formed fraternities don't you? Oh, I meant to tell you. It showed their hatred. When black people first started to go to school and they got a chance to go to white schools, these white boys had their fraternities and they wouldn't let the niggers in. So the niggers got drunk. So the light-skinned niggers formed a fraternity. Funny thing about that. They imitated the white man. Because when they formed their's, only light-skinned brothers could get into their's. So the others, not to be outdone, they formed their's for brown-skinned brothers, and the black brothers had to go and do the same thing. If you don't believe me, you just look at the sororities and see which sisters are full-blooded and which sororities are not. You know the blue brothers. A blue brother is light, bright, and damn near white.

You know the sorority where they have light-skinned girls? Even today, when I was in Howard they had it. If you were dark, you couldn't get into it. Now you can laugh about that, but I think you ought to recognize the seriousness of it. I think you ought to recognize how fully dehumanized we are as the Negro.

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(context of speech, continued)

Now we have tried to imitate the white man, but what they used to bar us out is the same thing we used to bar others out. The color of skin, the complexion. So we automatically assume that what is white is right. So if you are not white but you are near white, then you are Okay. Because anything black, we have been taught, is evil, and we must hate it. And we have tried so hard not to be black, that we have become whiter than the white man. We're whiter than snow. And there again I just pointed that out to show you, this is fact; it's documented and you can read it, that the fraternities were set up that would only let the black-skinned people in. I hope that none of it is still continuing, but it is always wise to at least mention it so that if it isn't, perhaps we could try and correct it. I hope it is not true at St. Augustine College.

Okay, for a definition of education. Fanon says that education is the reinforcement and re-establishment of values and institutions of a given society. I want to repeat that because we've got to do a lot of work with this. Fanon says that education is the re-establishment and the re-instituting of values and institutions in a given society.

All it means is that whatever society says is right, that's what your education is going to be. Now, if we agree, and I think we all can, that America is a racist society, does it not fall that if we get educated at an American University, we will also grow up to be racists? Yes, it does, yes, it does. And we grow up to be racists without even being conscious of it.

Let us go back to the example of COLUMBUS.. Who discovered America? COLUMBUS discovered America in 1492. If you said that you get an A. You would be an excellent student because you were saying actually what the teacher said. But now, we know that CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS did not discover America. The red man was here before he came. As a matter of fact, CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS thought he was in India and he was right there in America.

(context of speech, continued)

But now where would we be if we say CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS discovered America? Let's see. CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS discovered America. VASCO DA GAMA discovered something else. Who was the guy who discovered China - MARCO POLO? No. Who discovered China? MARCO POLO, yes. Somebody else discovered the North Pole--some other white man. What they are saying to us is that the world did not begin with us, but that some white man discovered us. Who discovered you? Have you ever asked yourself what happened before COLUMBUS? You never think about that because they tell you that COLUMBUS discovered America. Now when you discover something, it just becomes yours. And all of the discoveries are made by white men. So the only reality we have is white reality, and we don't even know it. We are sure COLUMBUS discovered America in 1492; and MARCO POLO, he discovered China. Ha, Ha, Ha. No, it wasn't them that discovered it. It was there before they came along.

But now, if your teacher says to you, who discovered America, you say the Indians were here before COLUMBUS came along. And I used COLUMBUS only as an example. We can go along here willing to willing to bet that what we learn from white society is really a lie . . . a big white lie. But then we are so used to that, we consider it to be education. And what is education? Education is the way to better white philosophy. Man, I could tell you about Plato . . .

Why is the white man doing everything. Do you think there were no niggers around? No niggers nowhere, nowhere. And the only time they let a nigger in is when he was for white society. If he is for white society, he is not to be considered in reality.

Do you want to know what black power is? Black power is opening the truth to the white lies; it is declaring our position to the white lies. Does that scare you? It should. It should scare you, because if you knew what you were talking about you would be scared. Because that means that what's coming is nothing but bloodshed. And if you were serious you

(context of speech, continued)

would be scared. But you aren't children. Children laugh and walk off a cliff because they don't know where they are going. Once you know there is a cliff there, you wouldn't laugh. You become scared. And that is why you laugh, because you don't admit to what may turn out to be the bloodiest holocaust that history has ever seen, and you say that you are not scared. You ought to be scared. You ought to be trembling, because I am.

Can we avoid the bloodshed? I do not think we can avoid the bloodshed. I do not think we can avoid the bloodshed. I think that the contact between the white race and the black race has always been a struggle, and the white race has always predominated, and today it is coming to a head. I do not think that the white institution will allow equality for the black man. Because just as they have brought hope to the inferior, they have caused themselves to be superior. And in order for us to come up from an inferior position, they must come down from their level. Because I see clearly that we are heading for a revolution, and that should scare us. And it is going to be worldwide. And that should scare you even more. There will be a colored war rather than a black war.

People argue about that. They think there will be a black war. It is going to be the war of colors because everywhere the white man has gone, he has ruled whether he is in the majority or the minority, he has ruled. Whether he lived in America which claims to be 90 per cent white, or he lives in South Africa, where he is less than 5 per cent, he rules. He dominates. Where he cannot dominate, he destroys.

I say then, that the confrontation is coming, and we must prepare for the confrontation. I want to make this crystal clear--I am for violence. I don't have to think about it. I am for revolutionary violence. That's the only way that we are going to get our liberation. That is to say that black people, men, women, and children, got to, got to, got to reach their goal. Now don't get scared. We want to be prepared. If a man comes with a gun, we have to have a gun. But the white man burns so many weapons.

17

(context of speech, continued)

The white man says, we got the bombs, don't you let them get it. That's all they say. France, Russia, England, the United States. They got it. China got it, but they try to make believe China is not alive. They got the bomb, and they say there was no more testing. That's why you've got a two-barrel shotgun, and I got a .22. And you are going to tell me, don't try to get a two-barrel shotgun. You keep the .22. If I keep the .22 I am a fool. If you got a gun and I don't have a gun, that's not equal.

Now, if they have an equal amount of power, and we have an equal amount of power, then and only then can we deal realistically. But if they have all the power and we have nothing but rhetoric, we are always going to be at the mercy of white western society. Now, I know what the question is going to be. How are we going to get the guns? All right, there are three ways to get anything out of the whites. One, you beg for it; two you work for it; or three, you take it.

Now, let's talk. How are we going to take guns so that we don't get caught? Let me give you an example. Look at those rifles in Vietnam. If you were in Vietnam, you would be on the front lines, because you are black, and you would have a white lieutenant and a white officer. He would say, "Private, I understand that 15 miles from here the Viet Cong have a stockpile of guns. They have the Viet Cong guarded. And I want you to take 12 people with you and go and get those guns. They've got the guns." If he doesn't go, he gets court martialed.

Now what's the difference between me and a brother walking down the street and saying, "Now look here brother, that's the 13th policeman over there. They've got carbines, they got F-15, they got double-back shotguns, they got some automatics. They got all the ammo to back it. We need it. Let's go take it. We need it for our people." In Vietnam they get the guns.

Do you have a husband or a wife or a child? Do you have a brother or a sister. Let somebody come and try to destroy

(context of speech, continued)

that brother or sister, and see how quickly you kill them. Let somebody try to come and destroy that child and see how quickly you kill them. You weren't taught that "I don't hate no more" nonsense. You were taught "I don't hate" nonsense because you don't have that "I love." If you love, you would destroy that which is trying to destroy that which you love. If we love our people, we will have to hate the institutions of white western society and what it has done to us and to our people. If we do not love our people, we do not love ourselves, because we do not even hate that which is trying to destroy us. They destroyed KING because he was black. That means that they can destroy us because we're black.

Nobody will allow themselves to be destroyed unless they are full of self-hatred. That's suicide. We are so full of self-hatred that we wish for suicide. That seems to be the only luxury that we are allowed, and we even wish this on ourselves.

But today, some of us want to live. We do not want to die. It is easy to die for one's people. It is much more difficult to live and to kill for them, but a whole lot of us are going to live and kill for our people.

Thank you.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

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[] made available a tape recording he had made of the speech of STOKELY CARMICHAEL at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, on November 21, 1968, which is as follows:

STOKELY CARMICHAEL - SPEECH AT UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
AT CHAPEL HILL
(context of speech)

"We have thought today, tonight rather, instead of just talking about the problems, racial problems, in the United States, since it is crystal clear that there is beginning to be a polarization in the United States and since we are at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, which has a tradition for being liberal, then we can point out that perhaps it's the pitfalls of liberalism that really cause polarization. And so what we wanted to do tonight was to begin to talk about the pitfalls of liberalism, and that allows us some latitude, because then we talk about the failures of white society rather than the failures of black society and it gives us an opportunity to begin to criticize politically white society in the political context that will then allow us to base our analysis on how we move.

"It is also important that we should deal with this subject because at this point the questions coalition are uppermost in everyone's mind, whether or not there can be such a thing as coalition between white groups and black groups, and if so, how can those coalitions come about and what will be their end view? We want to leave the bulk of time open for questions because we are sure there will be many, and what we'd like to do before we go into the major topic is deal with some of the problems from which we always get questions. For example, we want to deal with the question violence, because we always have questions about violence. Were you really violent?

"Now, affirmatively, that we are for revolutionary violence. We are for revolutionary violence. So that there will not be any questions as to whether or not we are hedging, we are not hedging. We are for revolutionary violence.

"Now please, when you ask questions, don't try to convince me that violence is not the correct way, that we're only 10 per cent, that we will lose, etc., etc. If we are going to lose, please allow us the opportunity to make our own mistakes. That's all we ask.

(context of speech, continued)

"Now, we ought to talk a little about revolutionary violence and about violence in particular, and further to analyze it from a white point of view.

". . .to stop confrontation, not to readdress grievances, understand that, it's to stop confrontation. They are one step better than the people who preach law and order, they do it in nice ways. We can't have confrontation, we can't have bloodshed. Law and order, it's reversed but the liberals sound much better. Because really, that is what they do, they just sound good. They have good sounding rhetoric, liberals do. They cannot, it seems to me, make an assumption a priori that confrontation will not in fact solve problems. It seems to me that history again validates the opposite of the assumptions of white liberals.

"Clearly, a confrontation with Hitler and the allied forces solved problems. It wiped out Naziism and solved the problem. Confrontation with the British and the American colonies solved the problem, and allowed the Americans living on the continent to run the country free of those few British living in England who wanted to run the country. It solved the problems so that perhaps rather than liberals' primary role being that to stop confrontation, they should begin to readdress themselves to how to bring about a more equitable society. And if they begin their primary function, perhaps they could see that in some cases confrontation can do that. But because they a priori decided that we must stop the confrontation, leads them I think, to a number of incorrect analyses which render them totally ineffective in all societies. Again, witness if you will the liberals in the rise of Naziism.

"They were trying to stop Hitler and stop the Jews from a confrontation. And since they failed, the powerless lost, the powerless lost. In the long run, Hitler was defeated, I'm sure, but I don't think that's very happy news to six million Jews.

(context of speech, continued)

"Now then, one of the reasons why the liberal tries to stop the confrontation is because it is the role of the liberal to maintain the status quo rather than change it. I know that the liberal says that he wants to change the status quo, but he does not. What the liberal really seeks to do is to maintain the status quo. He seeks to maintain the status quo because the liberal enjoys economic stability from the status quo. You do not have many poor white people who are liberal.

"Number one, the liberal is afraid to alienate and because he is afraid to alienate, he finds himself hooked up in a number of political rhetoric which does not present any alternatives, any clear alternatives.

"Witness the past campaign. Is it not a fact that the only man who really presented a clear alternative was George Wallace? Whether or not one agrees or disagrees with Mr. Wallace, he presented a clear alternative. The liberals did not because the liberals were afraid to alienate. Mr. Wallace kept saying time and time again, 'I say the same thing in California that I say in Alabama, that I say in New York.' The other candidates could not say that because they did not say the same thing in California that they said in the South that they said in New York. Because they did not, they were afraid to alienate.

"The liberal is afraid to alienate, because the liberal does not really want change. . . . You have very many rich white people who are liberal. They can afford the luxury of liberalism and liberalism in fact just simply means maintaining the status quo, maintaining the status quo. The reason is that the liberal, since he has economic stability, cannot fight for change because if the liberal is fighting for change, he is risking his economic stability for economic instability. And no one with any sense does that.

"The people who fight for change are those who are economically unstable. Their hope is to produce from a new order economic stability, economic stability, and I think because the liberal really seeks to maintain the status quo, he then falls into a number of pitfalls and does not really

(context of speech, continued)

want change so that what you have is a bunch of rhetoric which comes out something like: In the past there have been problems but we can readdress these problems now in the future without hurting anyone. And that is certainly not sensible, certainly not sensible. Mr. Wallace was clear. There have been problems in the past. He knew who was to blame. He blamed the federal judges. He blamed the briefcase toting bureaucrats. At least he spoke out and tried to point out to the people where the problem was. The liberals did not. The liberals say: Given that there has been problems between black and white people in the past. Why can we not now sit down and hold hands together. I don't know how they jumped to that conclusion without seeking to punish.

"Notice that the liberal does not speak to the oppressor nor do they speak to the Facists nor do they confront the conservatives. They seek only to confront the oppressed. Again, because they have no power and because they have no influence, because they are from the oppressor, again they can exert their influence but they have no real power nor do they ever seek any real power because they do not want change.

"And you see you can have, you can notice for example, the extreme of the liberal movement in the United States, the hippie movement. You can see how simple they are. They seek to influence. Drop out, smoke pot. The hippies are consolidating pot and Wallace is consolidating power. And the hippies have no real political ideology. Really, their ideology is such that anyone with a personal problem can join their movement. If you get beat up by your mother and want to run away from home, come join the hippies. They do not, again, seek a confrontation. They seek a cowardly way out at the expense of their parents' pocketbooks, incidentally; While the groups on the right, i.e. the Young American for Freedom, the young groups for Wallace, are busily consolidating power and the only one with whom there's any communication between the oppressed and the oppressor happens to be the liberal.

(context of speech, continued)

"And so if today, you see black people not even paying attention to liberals, you will see why. It is because of the pitfalls of liberalism.

"Finally, and I think perhaps the greatest pitfall of the liberal is that the liberal espouses a sort of humanistic idealism which they say can bring about a political state, which is total incorrect. If one wants to insure the humanistic idealism that the liberal talks about, it seems to me the liberal must first establish a political state that will produce that type of humanistic idealism. But what the liberal does is the exact reverse. The liberal talks about humanistic idealism and then tells us from this will flow a political state which will allow for the humanistic idealistic nonsense that they always taught. No. If the liberals want humanistic idealism that they espouse, then it seems to me very clearly that they must begin to work for a political state that will allow for that type of human development. Again, that is going back to seeking a power. I think maybe if we stop here we will have more time for questions and that may be more beneficial for everyone.

Question: "If you were a liberal what would you do to help the oppressed?"

Answer: "I would help destroy the oppressor."

Question: "How can I, a young white, personally change the power system and open up confrontation in an effort to save the country?"

Answer: "I think this is the mistake of most liberals. They always move personally, individually, rather than politically or institutionally. Individually, there is nothing you can do, but if they can move to consolidate power then they will become a political force inside the country."

(context of speech, continued)

Question: "You are obviously going to alienate the liberals with this type of speech. What are your motives in doing this? (Question number 1); (Question Number 2) Why don't you use the liberal voice, even if weak, to your own ends?"

Answer: "Okay, first question, if the liberals are alienated by their own pitfalls, it seems to me to be their own weakness. It seems to me it's the job of people to point out the analysis. Second question, why don't you use the liberal voice, even if weak, to your own ends? Because I don't think we can use it because the liberals do not want change and we have to fight for change."

Question: "Assuming that your revolution succeeds, I guess that's a safe assumption, what would be the goals of your government?"

Answer: "It seems to me that black people in this country are fighting two things. We are fighting racism and capitalism, and then the goals would be a society free of racism and free of capitalism."

Question: "In what way, using violence, can you improve your cause in the United States? How do you plan it?"

Answer: "Well, the first question is very easy. If you defeat your enemy you win and then you just simply make your plans. I don't think that this makes very much sense. How does the United States carry out its plans in Vietnam if it defeats the North Vietnamese and carries out its plans. Wherever it defeated people and conquered them, it carried out its plan. When one fights each one, to the victor belongs the spoil. It's cold but it's fair."

(context of speech, continued)

Question: "Is revolution worth the cost of human existence, both white and black?"

Answer: "When one fights in a revolutionary cause, one fights to affirm human existence. Therefore, I do not understand the question."

Question: "Since you suggested that the liberals are caught up in a totally non-sensical position economically because they do not and implicitly will not address themselves to change, what alternative do they really have or do you consider them lost to the Revolutionary Action Committee?"

Answer: "I don't think it's my position to consider what the liberals are. It seems to me liberals have to define for themselves what they want to do and then once having defined that, do it. I think that liberals are so wishy-washy that they always look to everyone else for leadership because, again, I think that you don't understand. My assumption is that the primary goal of the liberal is to stop confrontation because they're afraid that through confrontation they will get hurt."

Question: "What is your opinion of black separation and how would this be done or what steps should be taken?"

Answer: "That sounds like a 1964 question. It seems to me that the United States has already separated and that it is just a question of black people in the areas where we're separated, first taking control of those areas and then moving to implement what we see is necessary for us to live like human beings. Now just how that separation is to come about I don't know and if we did, we wouldn't publicly say."

(context of speech, continued)

There has been quite a number of dynamiting police stations and quite a number of police sniping. It just means that the violence is becoming more constructive, more directed, and less spontaneous. It follows a totality national damage to the enemy and minimum risk to us. You see, because I don't think that white people really understand the fight. Actually, it would be profitable for white people if black people in this country were to fall under the influence of Communism, especially the Communist Party, USA. Because the Communist Party, USA is closely allied to the Moscow Line. The Moscow Line urges peaceful coexistence so that it would be profitable for white people to have black people follow that line. Because the other thing is armed struggle, for obviously that is where black people are going.

Secondly, Communism speaks to economic exploitation. We're not sure it speaks of regaining one's humanity or one's lost culture. Francefenan (phonetic), brilliant black psychiatrist, says then they would fight with us.



*In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.*

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Charlotte, North Carolina
January 3, 1969

Title STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Character RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Reference Memorandum at Charlotte, North
 Carolina, dated January 3, 1969

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-30-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CPB/bls

F B I

Date: 1/15/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-721) - P
RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM
OO - Washington Field

Re Washington Field airtel to Bureau, 1/10/68, and report of SA [redacted] dated 8/30/68, at San Francisco.

For information of Bureau and Washington Field, both of Subject's speeches on 8/22/68 and 8/25/68, mentioned in reairtel, were recorded and transcriptions were submitted to the Bureau and Washington Field in rerep.

SA [redacted] estimated crowd at 8/25/68 rally in Oakland, California, at 1500-2000. At most, 20-25% were whites and they stayed in the background areas away from the speakers platform. Estimates of number in attendance could vary widely due to fact crowd was scattered over a large park area and was milling around and spread out. Most of the Negroes in attendance were males in the younger age group in teens and early 20s. The whites appeared to be mostly of college age. A collection was taken at the rally and any estimates of amount collected would be purely speculative. CARMICHAEL was not known to have been compensated. Since the rally was a benefit for the BPP and to provide for HUEY NEWTON's legal defense compensation for other than expenses incurred in traveling from Washington, D. C. is believed unlikely. There were no military or uniformed men known to be in the crowd.

- REC-42 100-446080-2184
cc 806 980
3 - Bureau (AM-RM)
2 - Washington Field (100-43503) (AM-RM)
1 - San Francisco

FL/jc - Bishop
(6)

JAN 17 1969

b6

b7C

57 JAN 24 1969

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

SF 157-721
FL/jr

[redacted] for the "San Francisco Examiner," estimated the crowd at the 8/25/68 rally at 1000, approximately 40% being white. [redacted] estimated 25% white in a crowd of about 3000-4000 at this same rally.

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SA [redacted] attended the 8/22/68 speech by Subject at Marin City. He estimated the crowd at 500, approximately half white. The majority of the whites were middle aged to elderly and the Negroes were from all age groups. CARMICHAEL was not known to have been compensated for this appearance and compensation is believed unlikely as it was strictly a Black Panther Party organizing rally. No admittance fee was charged, but a collection was taken and this was estimated by SA [redacted] and Marin County Sheriff's Office as approximately \$300.00. Most of the individuals in attendance were males and white females appeared to outnumber Negro females.

b6
b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 08-30-2006 BY 60324/AUC/BAW/CPH/ELs

F B I

Date: 1/15/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

b6

b7C

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM: SAC, ST. LOUIS (100-20639) RUC
SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM
OO: WFO

Re WFO airtel to Bureau, 1/10/69.

Audience break-down in connection with subject's speech at Sheldon Memorial Hall, 3648 Washington Ave., St. Louis, Mo., on August 29, 1968, is as follows:

Total attendance approximately 800, 98% black, 2% caucasian.

Aproximately 55% of the audience was male and 45% of the audience was female.

Estimated age of members of the audience: 19 or under, 15%; age 20-29, 50%; age 30-39, 20%; and over 40, 15%.

There were no individuals in the audience observed to be wearing U. S. Military uniforms. No individuals were observed in the audience who were known to be on active duty with the U. S. Armed Forces, although, it is possible that some members may have attended in civilian attire.

Admission to this affair was by ticket alone. The advance tickets were priced at \$1.50, and were priced at \$2 if purchased at the door. The majority of those attending paid at the door. The probable total receipts of this rally were estimated to be \$1500. Informants and

3 - Bureau (RM)
1 - WFO (Info) (RM)
1 - St. Louis
JAF:jmb
(5)

b6
b7C

JAN 16 1969

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M

Per _____
RACIAL INT. SECT.

SL: 100-20639

other sources have not been able to determine how much of this CARMICHAEL received. No additional collections were taken up during the rally.

A transcript of this speech (uneven in quality) was prepared by the St. Louis Division utilizing a tape of the speech which was obtained by an informant in the Black Liberators, the group who sponsored the rally. This has been previously provided the Bureau.

ATTENTION

The following documents appearing in FBI files have been reviewed under the provisions of The Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) (Title 5, United States Code, Section 552); Privacy Act of 1974 (PA) (Title 5, United States Code, Section 552a); and/or Litigation.

☐ FOIA/PA

☐ Litigation

☐ Executive Order Applied

Requester: _____

Subject: _____

Computer or Case Identification Number: _____

Title of Case: _____ Section _____

* File _____

Serials Reviewed: _____

Release Location: *File _____ Section _____

This file section has been scanned into the FOIPA Document Processing System (FDPS) prior to National Security Classification review. Please see the documents located in the FDPS for current classification action, if warranted. Direct inquires about the FDPS to RIDS Service Request Unit, b2

 File Number: 100-HQ-446080 Section 48

 Serial(s) Reviewed: 44

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

 FOIPA Computer Number: 983317

File Number: _____ Section _____

Serial(s) Reviewed: _____

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: _____

File Number: _____ Section _____

Serial(s) Reviewed: _____

FOIPA Requester: _____

FOIPA Subject: _____

FOIPA Computer Number: _____

THIS FORM IS TO BE MAINTAINED AS THE TOP SERIAL OF THE FILE, BUT NOT SERIALIZED.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-14-2005 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

ATTENTION

983317

DO NOT REMOVE FROM FILE

F B I

Date: 1/6/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (100-6812) (P)
STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-14-2005 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/lsg
983317

Re Atlanta airtel dated 12/13/68, and Bureau airtels dated 12/16/68, and 12/23/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are eight copies of an LHM prepared for dissemination in accordance with re Bureau airtel.

The source referred to in the LHM is identified as [REDACTED] and attended the Emory University speech given by CARMICHAEL.

b7C
b7D

145 to AT, for info
1/21/69. REC-

REC-6

EX-103

CC YOC 9 HD

cc of AIT + LHM sent to:
WFO by R/S 1/21/69.

b7C

PTB/121

JAN 8 1969

3-Bureau (Enc. 8) (RM)
2-Atlanta
EUC:bjc
(5)

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Approved: [Signature]
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

61 JAN 30 1969



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Atlanta, Georgia
January 6, 1969

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTER

On December 11, 1968, a source provided a tape recording of the speech given by STOKELY CARMICHAEL on that date in the Alumni Hall, Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia.

A verbatim transcript of the tape was attempted and the results are set out on the following pages; however, due to CARMICHAEL continually changing the modulation of his voice, the number of people in attendance, and the room noises, portions of the tape are not audible.

The transcript is as follows:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-14-2005 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

983317

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

100-446080-2186

ENCLOSURE

Because of white liberalism you have polarization. Now, before we get into the questions and answers, I know there is to be a question and answer period and I know there are going to be questions about violence. But, before we go into the basic discussion, we should talk about violence. We answer these questions in the affirmative. We are for revolutionary violence. So we do not have to discuss that. You ask the question 'Do you mean violence'. Yes, I mean violence. 'Do you mean killing?' Yes, I mean killing, whatever it takes to get our liberation.

..... Please don't tell me that violence never accomplishes anything Please don't tell me there's any morality in violence, because there is not . . . Violence is either political or it may be anti-political. But violence is only good where one has the power to make it good For example. If I were in Vietnam today and if I killed thirty Viet Cong, I would get a medal. If I were in Harlem and I killed thirty white policemen I would get the electric chair. It is simply a question of who has . . . he who has the power to decide this, or his destiny . . . Black people . . . or any oppressed never has the power the oppressor does. Not only does the person who has the power . . .

The oppressor also has the power to institutionalize the violence so that it becomes an accepted way of life. For example, it is contradictory for a baby to go to bed hungry in the richest country in the world than it is for a black man to kill a white man not only . . . to overthrow an unjust system and replace it with a just system . . .

Now, there are several hate . . . in the American political system I think that the major contradiction in the United States is the opportunity of police holding quality without having the opportunity of economic equality. . . . For example, one-half of the freedom of the vote every thing else is to be commensurate. So you have the two political parties, the Republican party, the Democratic party Both parties have legal equality, you don't even have You have the same political interest . . . can also have the same . . . interest. You can have an Eastman, a Kennedy and a share cropper. The share cropper makes two dollars a day, Kennedy is a millionaire, Eastman is a . . . millionaire, and they are all in the same political party and they try to convince Americans that they should all have the same interest. That is being absolutely absurd, because the interest of the share cropper must conflict with the interest of Eastman and they have more economic opportunity and political economic system the liberal comes forth.

What is the primary role of the liberal to insure justice, but that is not correct. The primary role of the liberal is to stop confrontation, from hating. The liberal that controntation is not good for either side not to insure justice for the oppressed, but to stop confrontation. If the liberal polarization on the right, polarization on the left, polarization from the rich, polarization from the poor, polarization from the black, polarization from the white and he recognizes there is going to be a confrontation but he doesn't know The liberals have been incapable of solving the problem. . . . Never addressing himself to the powers to be. . . .

The liberals want to maintain the status quo. The liberal is economically secure The liberal does not understand the difference between influence and power. The liberal has influence, but no power. . . . The liberals were effective in pushing for legislative Civil Rights and getting legislation passed, but they were powerless They had influence to get them passed, but powerless The implementation of those Civil Rights Whether one agrees with it or not What would you do about fighting in the streets and then you attack who is responsible for the bureaucrats

After the above remarks by CARMICHAEL, the source said the meeting was opened to questions from the audience. However, no roving microphone was utilized for questions from the floor. This coupled with the side remarks made by many of the 800 to one thousand persons in the auditorium, made it practically impossible to hear the question, much less the answers put forth by CARMICHAEL. The source noted, however, that it was obvious the questions from the floor were antagonistic towards CARMICHAEL's stand on issues and rather for him to attempt to give any type of logical explanation, he would answer the questions with a sarcastic remark in an effort to embarrass the questioner.



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Atlanta, Georgia
January 6, 1969

Title	STOKELY CARMICHAEL
Character	RACIAL MATTER
Reference	Memorandum prepared at Atlanta, dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FBI

Date: 12/16/68

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

REGISTERED MAIL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (157-9549)
 FROM: SAC, BOSTON (157-694) (C)
 SUBJECT: THE FUND
 RACIAL MATTERS

Re Boston letter to Bureau, 12/5/68, and
 Boston teletype to Bureau 12/13/68, captioned "STOKELY
 CARMICHAEL, RACIAL MATTERS."

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of an
 LHM concerning captioned group. Dissemination is being
 made locally to NISO, 108th MI Group and the USA's Office,
 all at Boston, Mass.

The source mentioned in the LHM is [REDACTED]

The LHM is
 classified "~~Confidential~~" inasmuch as disclosure of
 information contained therein could lead to the identifi-
 cation of a source of continuing value and compromise her
 future effectiveness.

The information contained in this LHM is being
 disseminated locally to the Boston, Mass. PD and the
 Mass. State Police. A tape recording of the talks given
 during the meeting was obtained through [REDACTED]
 [REDACTED] and a transcript of
 this tape is being made by the Boston Office. SA [REDACTED]
 [REDACTED] of the Boston Office accompanied [REDACTED]
 to this meeting.

①-Bureau
 (100-446080) (STOKELY CARMICHAEL)
 3-Boston
 (1-157-437) (STOKELY CARMICHAEL)
 (1-157-591) (UNITED FRONT)
 RWK:car
 (7)

100-446080

NOT RECORDED

141 JAN 3 1969

ENCLOSURE

54 JAN 1 1969

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 11-14-2005 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

Approved: _____
 Special Agent in Charge

SCARBON CC-7

M

Per _____

ORIGINAL FILED IN 157-9549-6

BS 157-694

In view of the fact that The Fund is not a black extremist organization and since investigation has not revealed that the monies from The Fund is being given to black extremist groups, this case is being closed in the Boston Office. This office will remain alert to the activities of The Fund and for any information indicating The Fund is directly supporting extremist groups.

The Negro organization which handles money supplied by The Fund is the Black United Front and the Boston Office is currently investigating this group and will be able to follow the activities of The Fund through its investigation of the Black United Front.

During the meeting described in the attached LHM it was noted that the vast majority of the persons in attendance appeared to be substantial professional men, business leaders, faculty members of prominent universities in the Boston area and highly regarded civic leaders. A Fund membership list was distributed during the meeting. [REDACTED]

b7C

[REDACTED]

In view of the distinguished group of individuals who are members of The Fund and in view of possible embarrassment to the Bureau in connection with open investigation of this group, it is felt that the activities of The Fund can better be followed through investigation of the Black United Front, which contains known black militants among its members.



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Boston, Massachusetts

December 16, 1968

THE FUND
RACIAL MATTERS

On November 29, 1968, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that a meeting of the group known as The Fund was to be held on December 14, 1968. Stokely Carmichael was scheduled to address the group. The source noted that the objectives of The Fund were to raise capital and to develop a pool of white manpower to assist the black community with professional and legal advice when requested.

On December 14, 1968, the source advised that the meeting described above was held at the Hotel Somerset, Boston, Massachusetts, as scheduled but that Stokely Carmichael failed to appear. A speaker representing The Fund advised that Carmichael would not appear due to a commitment in another part of the United States.

The source advised that 300 to 400 people attended the meeting which began at approximately 9 a.m. and finished at 12:30 p.m. The meeting was followed by a luncheon at the Hotel Somerset.

The meeting was addressed by several members of the Black United Front, which group controls the disposition of money raised by The Fund. Among the speakers were Chuck Turner, described as a co-chairman of the Black United Front, Bryant Rollins of the Joint Center For Inner-City Change, and Reverend James Breedon, Chairman of the Black United Front Foundation. The speakers discussed the work of the Black United Front and its association with The Fund. The Black United Front

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg
ON 11-14-2005

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

100-446080

ENCLOSURE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

THE FUND
RACIAL MATTERS

has allocated more than \$100,000 to small businesses in the Roxbury Negro ghetto of Boston. Reverend Breeden explained that the Black United Front Foundation very carefully examines applications for funds to determine whether requests for money from the black community should be honored. He noted that normal banking and financial criteria are not used and that the fact that a man had a criminal record or had been arrested as a child would have no influence in the decision to be made. Whether or not the money would be loaned was determined by the availability of funds and the likelihood of success on the part of the person requesting the funds.

Ralph Hoagland, one of the originators of The Fund, and a prominent Boston area businessman, advised the group that new sources of capital for The Fund were being sought. Among these sources were a Fund Development group which would seek donations of \$10,000 or more which would involve the issuance of 22 year, 4 percent bonds. These funds would be considered as investments rather than donations. Mr. Hoagland explained that the original members of The Fund donated \$1,000 apiece and that more than \$300,000 had been raised in this manner but he advised that the aims and demands on The Fund had grown and the sums raised were totally inadequate for the demands on The Fund. He noted that large corporations, financial institutions and charitable institutions would be solicited in the very near future for large requests or major donations to The Fund Development resources.

The source noted that the majority of people in attendance at the meeting appeared to be substantial civic, professional and financial leaders of the communities surrounding Boston, Massachusetts, and from the city of Boston. Members of The Fund also consist of a considerable number of members of the faculties of leading Boston area universities, according to the source.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

THE FUND
RACIAL MATTERS

At the conclusion of the meeting and prior to the lunch, forms were passed out to those in attendance requesting additional pledges and requesting that those in attendance become involved in community groups, educational groups or technical skills groups or in investment committees, which would solicit large amounts from corporations and financial and charitable institutions.

THIS DOCUMENT CONTAINS NEITHER RECOMMENDATIONS
NOR CONCLUSIONS OF THE F B I. IT IS THE PROPERTY
OF THE F B I AND IS LOANED TO YOUR AGENCY; IT AND
ITS CONTENTS ARE NOT TO BE DISTRIBUTED OUTSIDE
YOUR AGENCY.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1/16/69

AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM
(OO:WFO)

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In connection with the following past speeches of subject, receiving offices requested to contact sources, if information not already available, to ascertain current information regarding composition of audiences as to race, age, sex and number of military personnel known to be in audience in or out of uniform. Include information about any fee, remuneration, or other monetary reward received by subject for making the speech, including any known expenses paid. Also include statement as to whether transcript of speech obtained and if furnished to the Bureau.

- (1) Speech at the Organization of Arab Students Convention, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 8/26/68;
- (2) Speech at Sheldon Memorial Hall, St. Louis, Mo., 8/29/68;
- (3) Mt. Zion Methodist Church, Baltimore, Md., 10/17/68;
- (4) Speech at San Diego, Calif., 10/26/68, in connection with Demonstration for TIMOTHY D. THOMPSON.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-14-2005 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

- 4-Bureau
- 2-Atlanta (RM) (100-6812)
- 2-Baltimore (RM)
- 2-Boston (RM) (157-347)
- 4-Charlotte (RM) (100-10358)
- 2-Columbia (RM) (100-179)
- 2-Detroit (RM) (100-34122)
- 2-Honolulu (RM) (100-6465)
- 2-New York (RM) (100-153751)
- 2-St. Louis (RM) (100-20639)
- 2-San Diego (RM)
- 2-San Francisco (RM) (157-721)
- 2-WFO

VWH:jgp
(30)

cc 806 980

REC-12

100-446080-2187

25 JAN 22 1969

59 JAN 27 1969

(5) Speeches at Honolulu Press Club, Andrews Amphitheatre, University of Hawaii, University YWCA, and Church of the Crossroads, Honolulu, Hawaii, 10/29-31/68;

(6) Speeches at San Jose State College, San Jose, Calif., and De Anza College, Cupertino, Calif., 11/12/68;

(7) Speech at Tufts University, Medford, Mass., 11/15/68;

(8) Speeches at Saint Augustine College, Raleigh, N.C., and University of N.C., Chapel Hill, N.C., 11/21/68; speeches at University of N.C. at Charlotte, N.C., and A & T State University, Greensboro, N.C., 12/9/68;

(9) City College of New York, New York City, 12/3/68;

(10) S.C. State College, Orangeburg, S.C., and Benedict College, Columbia, S.C., 12/10/68;

(11) Clark College, Morehouse College of Atlanta University System, and Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia, 12/11/68.

In addition, ascertain if a collection was taken or fee charged for admittance at the rallies or functions where he spoke, approximate amounts collected, and if possible recipients of monies.

Subject also spoke before First Congress of Black Writers held McGill University, Montreal, Canada, during 10/11-14/68. Bureau requested to give consideration to ascertaining financial circumstances relating to the speech through liaison

b7D

Submit results expeditiously via airtel.

F B I

Date: 1/14/69

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

AIR MAIL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-68783) (P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM

OO: WFO

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-14-2005 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

Re Los Angeles airtels and LHMs dated
8/30/68, and 9/6/68, and WFO airtel to Bureau 1/10/69.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL SPEECH
WILL ROGERS PARK
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA
8/24/68

b7C

The above rally was observed by agents of the
Los Angeles Office as indicated in referenced airtels
and LHMs.

At the above rally there were approximately
500 persons in attendance, with all but four persons being
Negro. The majority of the persons were male Negroes
between 16 and 25 years of age. Twenty percent of the
audience consisted of Negro females. No persons were
observed to be dressed in military attire or known to
be military personnel.

During the rally a collection was taken, but the
response was not enthusiastic and it was estimated the
contribution amounted to \$250. No fees were charged
for admittance to rally. Members of the Black Panther
Party gathered the containers of money and carried them
from the park after the rally terminated. No information
is available concerning the person funds were turned over to.

- ③ - Bureau
1 - WFO (100-43503)
2 - Los Angeles

JEW/laf C. C. Bishop
(6)

cc 806 960

REC-12/100-446080-2188

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

JAN 22 1969

Per _____

61 JAN 27 1969

LA 100-68783

On 8/29/68, a source of the Los Angeles Office obtained a transcript of a mechanical recording of excerpts of CARMICHAEL's speech on 8/24/68, from a member of the Black Panther Party in Los Angeles, which was furnished to the Bureau and WFO in referenced Los Angeles airtel and LHM.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. Bishop *RB*

DATE: 1-13-69

FROM : G. E. Malmfeldt *GE*

SUBJECT:

WTOP NEWS, CHANNEL 9
SUNDAY, 1-12-69

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-14-2005 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

Above-captioned program was monitored by Special Agent Correspondence and Tours Section. predicted that Stokely Carmichael would leave the country after the 20th of January and possibly take refuge in Guinea which he described as a pro-Communist country. predicted this action on the part of Carmichael as he feared of a Justice Department crackdown on him under the new administration.

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Malmfeldt
- 1 - M. A. Jones

100-446000-
NOT RECORDED
191 JAN 15 1969

HCS:rlf
(8)

54 JAN 27 1969

CORRESPONDENCE

Tolson _____
DeLoach *✓*
Mohr _____
Bishop *✓*
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen *✓*
Sullivan *✓*
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

ORIGINAL FILED IN 94-8-250-1471

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

DATE: 1/23/69

FROM : SAC, ATLANTA (100-6812) (P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM - BPP

Information received from [redacted] indicates that the subject [redacted] have left the United States and established residence in Africa. It is additionally reported by the source that rumor in the Negro community in Atlanta is that CARMICHAEL will be out of the United States for a period of approximately four years.

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The above information is being furnished to WFO and New York for whatever value it may have in assisting those offices in following the activities of the subject.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-14-2005 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

- 3 - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - WFO (100-43503) (RM)
- 2 - New York (100-153751) (RM)
- 3 - Atlanta

(2 - 100-6812)

(1 - [redacted])

EUC/jah
(10)

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b7D

REC-104

cc 806900

100-446080-2189

15 JAN 24 1969

RACIAL INT. SECT.

59 JAN 26 1969

F B I

Date: 1/17/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, MOBILE (100-1858) (RUC)

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM
OO: WFO

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-14-2005 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

Reference is made to WFO airtel to the Bureau, 1/10/69.

The information requested in re airtel is set forth as follows supplementing the information set forth in report of SA [redacted] 9/9/68, Mobile.

SPEECHES BY STOKELY CARMICHAEL NIGHT OF 7/26/68 AND AFTERNOON OF 7/27/68, AT OLD WARREN STREET METHODIST CHURCH, 304 NORTH WARREN STREET, MOBILE, ALABAMA.

Composition of Audience:

There were approximately 500-600 persons reported in attendance at each speech. On 1/14/69, [redacted] advised that there had been about 15-20 white persons attending the speech of 7/26/68, and about 8-10 white persons attending the speech of 7/27/68. The remainder were Negroes, including male and female of all ages, the majority appearing to be adults.

No servicemen in uniform were noted in attendance at either speech and on 1/14/69, [redacted] advised that no one in attendance at either speech had been identified as military personnel.

- ③ - Bureau (RM)
2 - WFO (100-43503) (RM)

1 - Mobile

JTB: crb

C. C. Bishop

Approved: [Signature]

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M

Per

RACIAL INT. SECT.

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b7C

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REC-12

100-446080-2190

8 JAN 20 1969

cc 80694D

59 JAN 30 1969

MO 100-1858

Remuneration:

On 7/22/68, [redacted] advised that on 7/17/68, [redacted] which group had sponsored the appearance of CARMICHAEL in Mobile, showed [redacted] a Western Union receipt for [redacted] reflecting money sent by [redacted] Washington, D.C., to cover transportation costs for STOKELY CARMICHAEL and his associates to Mobile. [redacted] told [redacted] that CARMICHAEL was not being paid anything, other than expenses, for his appearance in Mobile.

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Sources reported that no collection was taken up at the speech of 7/26/68 or 7/27/68, and no fees were charged for admission to either speech.

Transcript:

No transcript of either speech, 7/26/68 or 7/27/68, have been forwarded to the Bureau. It has been reported that no transcript of either speech is available.

F B I

Date: 1/21/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
 FROM: SAC, BALTIMORE (100-24220) RUC
 SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
 RM
 OO: WFO

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 11-14-2005 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

Re WFO airtel to Bureau, 1/16/69.

The following is the information available concerning the speech given by STOKELY CARMICHAEL at the Mount Zion Methodist Church, Baltimore, Maryland, on 10/17/68. On 10/21/68 a report was received concerning this meeting from [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] The report reflects that the meeting took place on 10/17/68 at 8:00 p.m. Approximately 500 persons attended; and of those present there were about 75 to 100 white persons. Persons of both sexes were in attendance, but there was no breakdown as to the percentage of each sex. The estimated age range of persons in attendance was 14 years - 2%; 18 years - 8%; 21 to 28 years - 40%; 29 to 35 years - 30%; and 36 and older - 20%.

The report did not contain any information concerning any military personnel either in uniform or out known to be present at this meeting. On 1/21/69, [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] advised that inasmuch as there was no information of military personnel in the reports received

3 - Bureau (REGISTERED MAIL)
 2 - WFO (REGISTERED MAIL) (100-43503)
 1 - Baltimore
 FJW/jme
 (6)

EX-102
 CC 806 940 REC 11

100-446080-2192

22 JAN 22 1969

SNIF #1 2191
 232-2-267

C. C. Bishop

Approved: _____
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

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RACIAL INT. SECT.

BA 100-24220

by them, in all probability there were no known military personnel present. On 1/21/69 [redacted]

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[redacted] advised that he was present at this meeting for the purpose of taping CARMICHAEL's speech. He stated that he did not see any persons in the audience wearing a military uniform.

The report received from [redacted] reflects that at the beginning of the meeting a member of the Soul School, Baltimore, Md., announced that a collection would be taken up for the purpose of aiding the Soul School. The reports reflects that the monetary collection was generous; but there is no mention of the approximate amount of money collected.

b7C

A characterization of the Soul School is appended hereto.

By airtel and LHM dated 11/26/68 captioned "STOKELY CARMICHAEL", it was reported that under date of 11/19/68 [redacted] furnished a copy of a transcript of a speech given by STOKELY CARMICHAEL 10/17/68. The text of the transcript was included in the LHM, copies of which were furnished to the Bureau and WFO. On 11/25/68 [redacted] made available a taped copy of a recording of a speech of CARMICHAEL at the Mount Zion Methodist Church 10/17/68; and this is being retained in the files of the Baltimore Division.

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SOUL SCHOOL

Also Known As the Society of United
Liberators, Incorporated

On July 19, 1968, a source advised that the Soul School located at 522 North Fremont Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland, is not connected with any other institution in Baltimore City. All Soul School members have Arabic or African names and are forbidden to drink alcoholic beverages, use dope, or eat pork.

The source advised that the aim of the members is to teach the Negro about himself and build a nation for black men in America separate from the white race. Obtaining all land below the 40 degree parallel line of the United States for a black nation is the goal of the members, at any cost. The school is militant and it preaches militancy to black people. The uniting of all black people is the top theme. The members include both sexes, and courses in African culture are a major requirement of the school.

On July 19, 1968, the source furnished a pamphlet called "The Black Liberator," published by the Soul School, Baltimore, Maryland, and dated June 21, 1968. The pamphlet states, "The Soul School is a non-profit educational institution set up by black people. Its purpose is to enlighten black people through education and action. Students are urged to come to the school regularly and participate on any committee or work shop in which they have an interest. The black community both here in Baltimore and in the far-reaching corners of the black world is a thing in which we involve ourselves and study."

On July 10, 1968, [redacted] advised that [redacted] stated that the real purpose of the Soul School is to be a front and carry on underground activities and over-throw the "system." He also stated that the Soul School has guns in small quantities, but they are attempting to get more to be used in any type of revolutionary activities which might come about in the future.

On September 12, 1968, [redacted] advised that the Soul School continues to function at 522 North Fremont Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland.

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F B I

Date: 1/16/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 10/8/82 BY SP4/ELN/STP

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (100-10358) (P) #220357

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

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b7C

Re Charlotte airtel to Bureau dated 12/17/68,
captioned "BLACK STUDENT MOVEMENT, CHAPEL HILL, N. C.,
RACIAL MATTERS"; and Bureau airtel to Charlotte dated
12/23/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are eight copies of LHM
captioned as above,, copies of which are being locally
disseminated to military intelligence agencies and Secret
Service.

A copy of this LHM is also enclosed for WFO,
Atlanta, and San Francisco.

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It is to be noted that [redacted] had furnished
information that [redacted] possessed information
C. C. = Bishop

- 3 - Bureau (Encs. 8) **ENCLOSURE**
- 1 - Atlanta (100-6812) (Enc. 1) (RM)
- 1 - San Francisco (Enc. 1) (RM)
- 1 - WFO (100-43503) (Enc. 1) (RM) REC-96
- 7 - Charlotte
- (2 - 100-10358) Crim-Attn [redacted] ISO-Attn [redacted]
- (1 - 157-6171) AGENCY: ACSI, NIC, OSI, SEC. SERV.
- (1 - 157-5490) HOW FORW: 145
- (1 - 100-9885) DATE FORW: 1/23/69
- (1 - 157-5830) BY: PZB/MLK
- (1 - 157-5802)

100-446080 2193

JAN 17 1969

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EJB:dmb

(13)

57 FEB 3 1969

CLOJ AIT + Xerox M
LHM 806 920

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Approved: [Signature] Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

CE 100-10358

of possible value regarding [] meeting of Negro
militants held at University of North Carolina, Chapel
Hill, North Carolina, [] was interviewed
at Charlotte, North Carolina by SA [] on
1/2/69.

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2

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Charlotte, North Carolina

January 16, 1969

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Reference is made to memorandum at Charlotte,
North Carolina, captioned as above, dated November 22,
1968.

Information was received that [redacted] *Informant*

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b7D
a student at the University of North Carolina at Chapel
Hill, North Carolina, had overheard portions of [redacted]
meeting which followed an appearance of STOKELY CARMICHAEL
at Carmichael Auditorium on the University of North Carolina
campus, Chapel Hill, [redacted] Accordingly, the
information in the attached interview report form was
obtained.

A characterization of the Black Panther Party
is attached as an appendix to this memorandum.

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NOR CONCLUSIONS OF THE FBI. IT IS THE PROPERTY
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ITS CONTENTS ARE NOT TO BE DISTRIBUTED OUTSIDE
YOUR AGENCY.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10/8/82 BY *[signature]*
220,357

100-446080-2192
ENCLOSURE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date January 8, 1969

[redacted] advised he is a student at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina. He said that [redacted] he went to the auditorium at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, to hear the speech of STOKELY CARMICHAEL. He entered the auditorium about an hour and a half early to watch the gathering of those attending and noted about seventy or so Negroes who apparently had duties assigned to them in connection with the meeting. He observed two to three large Negro males at all the exits except at the one serving the dressing room where there were more than twelve covering that door. He also observed one or two large Negro males at the head of every aisle at the top of the auditorium. When STOKELY CARMICHAEL ran on to the platform to speak, eight more extremely large Negro males in typical Afro dress came out with him obviously serving as body guards. He said he made note of the foregoing in order to make it clear that Mr. CARMICHAEL surrounded himself with a large group of his own "Security People." The speech was revolutionary in nature, and he stated Mr. CARMICHAEL's comments were undoubtedly a matter of record in the student newspaper, so he would not go in to them. In the audience, there were from 200 to 500 Negroes, and the rest of the capacity of the crowd were whites. He estimated that ninety per cent of them were students most of whom were laughing and poking fun at CARMICHAEL and his comments.

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b7Db7C
b7DOn 1/2/69 at Charlotte, N. C. File # Charlotte 100-10358by SA [redacted] gc Date dictated 1/6/69

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

CE 100-10358

2

what was apparently CARMICHAEL's staff tell another person he could see CARMICHAEL at the Baptist Student Union Building. After about thirty minutes, [] said he located the place and he found between 100 and 120 Negroes, all of college age, gathered in the meeting room at the Baptist Student Union. From dress (his criteria for dress was an article in Playboy Magazine), he observed between twelve and twenty of the group were Black Panthers. [] said he missed the first third of the meeting, but he did hear about twenty minutes conversation of the [] meeting. Among the points he recalls CARMICHAEL specifically mentioning were arguments that the Negroes should obtain guns and "kill Whities", which he observed caused some consternation. He observed that the group were apparently of a higher intelligence and cultural level than CARMICHAEL was used to addressing, and CARMICHAEL's emotional outcries did not come across to their orderly logical way of thinking. He recalled CARMICHAEL specifically stating that Negroes should shoot up and blow up police stations. He observed that from newspaper articles, this has apparently been done in New Jersey. CARMICHAEL argued that schools should start courses in Afro-History and in black culture and should teach black nationalist views. He went on to argue that Negroes should arm themselves to shoot and bomb police stations.

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CARMICHAEL advocated violence on the part of the Negroes and said that he knew that the militants were being held back between "Uncle Toms" and said "if the Uncle Toms are holding you back, get rid of them." He argued for urban guerrilla warfare and constant confrontation.

Some of those in attendance asked "What's our plan, when, where, etc.?", and CARMICHAEL emotionally replied, "We don't need a plan, all we need are guns."

CE 100-10358

1

[redacted] stated that CARMICHAEL observed him attempting to listen to what was going on whereupon he nodded to several of those wearing African garb, who told him it was [redacted] meeting. Thereafter, he went to the kitchen behind a partition some two to three feet behind CARMICHAEL. After five or six minutes, another man wearing "panther garb" saw him and asked him to leave, so he went to a third door where he was unsuccessful in hearing what was going on in the meeting room, so he left.

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BLACK PANTHER PARTY

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, BPP Chairman, and HUEY P. NEWTON, BPP Minister of Defense. NEWTON is presently serving a sentence of 2 to 15 years on a conviction of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther", which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service", states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, GEORGE MASON MURRAY, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement, "... we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature MAO's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

DATE: 1/22/69

FROM : SAC, DETROIT (157-3185)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM

Re Washington Field airtel and LHM, dated 9/17/68,
and Bureau letter to Detroit, dated 12/19/68, captioned as
above.

Referenced letter enclosed a tape recording of a
speech made by STOKELY CARMICHAEL, at a meeting of the
Organization of Arab Students, here on August 26, 1968, at
the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

The tape made available in referenced Bureau letter,
is identical to the speech set out in referenced Washington
Field LHM.

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - Washington Field (100-43503) (RM)
- 2 - Detroit

JEK/ejb
(6)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-14-2005 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

REC-115

100-446080-2194

18 JAN 27 1969

CC 806 980

RACIAL INT. SECT.



F B I

Date: 1/22/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM : SAC, BOSTON (157-437) (RUC)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL⁰
RM
OO: WFO

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-14-2005 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

Re WFO airtel to Bureau, 1/16/69.

b7C

[redacted] advised on 1/22/69 that STOKELY CARMICHAEL had been paid the sum of \$1,000.00 for a talk given at the school on 11/15/68. CARMICHAEL'S visit was sponsored by two student organizations, Students Concerned About Racism and Afro-American Students. A fee of \$1.25 admission was charged.

b7C

[redacted] noted that the student groups sold approximately twelve hundred tickets for this talk by CARMICHAEL. The audience consisted of students and faculty members from Tufts and surrounding Boston-area colleges. College identification cards were required for those who wished to attend the talk. [redacted] noted that expenses of \$957.60 were also paid to CARMICHAEL for air fares. This sum represented the cost of two round trip airline tickets from San Francisco which CARMICHAEL had indicated to the sponsoring organizations was necessary in order to secure his appearance at the school.

3 - Bureau (RM)
2 - WFO (100-43503) (RM)
1 - Boston
RWK/mo'k
(6)

cc 806 940

REC 109

100-446080-2195
25 JAN 23 1969

b7C

RACIAL INTV SECT.

APR 10 1969

Approved: [signature]

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

BS 157-437

b7C

[redacted] stated that no military personnel were known to have been in the audience. No collection was taken up during or following the talk.

A transcript of CARMICHAEL'S speech given on this occasion was obtained and has been furnished to the Bureau.

F B I

Date: 1/22/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-721)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM
OO: WFO

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-14-2005 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

Re San Francisco letters and LHMs to the Bureau and WFO, dated 11/15/68 and 12/30/68 and WFO airtel to San Francisco, dated 1/16/69.

For info of the Bureau and Washington Field Office, a transcript of Subject's speech delivered at De Anza College in Cupertino, California, on 11/12/68 was provided in re San Francisco LHM, dated 12/30/68. No recording is known to have been made of Subject's speech at San Jose State College on the same date.

b7C

[redacted] advised on 1/21/69 that he estimated attendance at the De Anza College speech at 450. Approximately 80% were white and averaged in age from 19 to 21. Approximately 65% were female. There were no military personnel known to be present. CARMICHAEL is believed to have received \$1,000 for this appearance.

- ③ - Bureau (RM)
2 - Washington Field (RM) (100-43503)
2 - San Francisco
FL:jb
(7)

C. C. - Bishop

CC 80698D

REC-93

100-446080-2196

2 JAN 24 1969

b7C

RACIAL INT. SECT.

54 FEB 6 - 1969

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

SF 157-721
FL:jb

[redacted]
[redacted] San Jose, California, advised on 1/21/69 that he estimated the attendance at Subject's San Jose State speech on 11/12/68 at approximately 700. The audience was composed of over 80% white students, half male and half female. The average age is estimated at 21 to 22. No military personnel were known to be in attendance. [redacted] does not know if CARMICHAEL was compensated for his appearance but assumes that he was.

b7C

F B I

Date: 1/15/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-153751) (P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM-SNCC-BPP
(OO: WFO)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-14-2005 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

ReWFOlet to Bu, 10/29/68. *per 2033*

b7C

NYO indices check negative regarding [redacted]

A credit record check was conducted by IC [redacted]
[redacted] with the Credit Bureau of Greater New York regarding
[redacted] with negative results.

b7C

A criminal record check was conducted by SA [redacted]
[redacted] with the Bureau of Criminal Identification, NYCPD, regard-
ing [redacted] with negative results.

b7C

On 1/13/69, SA [redacted] contacted [redacted]
[redacted] NYC, and [redacted] advised that
[redacted] is his son and that he resides at [redacted]
[redacted] advised that
his son is [redacted] and also works as [redacted]

b7C

3-Bureau
2-Washington Field (100-43503)
1-New York (43)

BJW:dpm
(6)
C. C. Bishop

b7C

100-446080-2197
10 JAN 16 1969

b7C

Approved: *[Signature]*
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

61 FEB 3 1969

F B I

Date: 1/21/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (157-1297) (RUC)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM
OO: WFO

b7C

Re Chicago letter to WFO, 8/22/68 with enclosed 302s; Chicago airtels and LHMS dated 8/13/68, 8/16/68, and 9/18/68, copies to WFO; and WFO letter to Bureau, 1/10/69, all captioned "STOKELY CARMICHAEL. RM."

Captioned Chicago communications contain information (and identities of sources to whom attributed) requested by WFO.

The speech given by subject at the Afro-American Arts Theater, Chicago, Illinois, on August - September, 1968, was attended by 700 to 1,000 individuals, all of whom were Negro. Approximately 90 per cent were male and average age was estimated to be 25. No military personnel identified as being in attendance.

An admission fee of \$3.00 was charged to hear the speech and it was announced that the profits were \$1,900.

b2

b7D

[redacted] advised 8/13/68 CARMICHAEL had been paid \$500 to make the above appearance.

A tape recording of the speech was obtained and furnished to the FBI Laboratory, however, the tape was not intelligible due to background noise. 12 JAN 28 1969

In view of the fact there are no outstanding leads in this matter in Chicago, it is being considered RUC.

3 - Bureau
2 - WFO (100-43503)
1 - Chicago
DRH/kmb
(6)

cc 806940

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-14-2005 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

54 FEB 7 - 1969

FBI

Date: 1/23/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM: SAC, COLUMBIA (100-179) (RUC)
RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-14-2005 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

Re WFO airtel to the Director, 1/16/69.

CARMICHAEL spoke in South Carolina on 12/10/68 before the student bodies at South Carolina State College, Orangeburg, S.C., Benedict College, Columbia, S.C., and Voorhees College, Denmark, S.C.

The audiences at all of these appearances were Negro and was composed of the student bodies of those schools plus a few faculty members.

There were no outsiders attending these speeches because there was no advanced publicity given to CARMICHAEL's appearance at any of these schools.

There were no military personnel observed at any of his speeches in South Carolina.

At Voorhees College the fee for CARMICHAEL's appearance was \$150.00, however, the Student Government Association refused the authorization to pay this money and it is not known whether CARMICHAEL received any money for his appearances at Voorhees or either of the other two schools mentioned above. There were no collections taken up at the above speeches.

A transcript of CARMICHAEL's speech was obtained at South Carolina State College and has been forwarded to the Bureau.

There were no charges made for attendance at any of CARMICHAEL's speeches in South Carolina.

3 - Bureau (RM)
2 - WFO (100-43503) (RM)
1 - Columbia
FHA:jc (6)

C. C. - Bishop

Approved: 57 FEB 7 1969

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

JAN 25 1969

b7C

CO 100-179

The following informants were contacted regarding the above information and all advised that they know of no money received by CARMICHAEL for his visit to the three schools identified above:

b2

b7C

b7D

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (100-10358)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

DATE: 1/7/69

Re Charlotte airtel to Bureau enclosing LHM 1/3/68.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are two reels containing the speech of STOKELY CARMICHAEL at Saint Augustine College, Raleigh, N.C., 11/21/68, and one reel containing the speech of STOKELY CARMICHAEL at the Univ. of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, N.C., 11/21/68. The original of the speech at Saint Augustine College, Raleigh, N.C. is being maintained by the Raleigh Police Dept. The original of the speech at Univ. of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, which was made available by [redacted] is being maintained in the files of the Charlotte Office.

[redacted] is to make available the original tape of CARMICHAEL's speech at the Univ. of North Carolina at Charlotte, which was made on 12/9/68.

Upon receipt of the tape of CARMICHAEL's speech at Univ. of North Carolina at Charlotte from informant, a copy will be furnished to the Bureau along with a communication suitable for dissemination containing a transcript.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-14-2005 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

REC 16

10 JAN 30 1969

3 - Bureau (Encs. 3) (RM)
2 - Charlotte
THG:cca
(5)



57 FEB 19 1969

ENCLOSURE

CC 806 980

RACIAL INT. SECT

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

FBI

Date: JAN 13 1969

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-14-2005 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM

ReWFOairtel dated 12/23/68.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are eleven copies
of an LHM regarding the above-captioned subject.

The LHM contains a verbatim transcription of a tape
of a speech by STOKELY CARMICHAEL made at the First Black
Writers' Conference held in Montreal, Canada, 10/11-14/68.
The tape was prepared by [redacted] Radio Station WOL,
Public Affairs Department, Washington, D.C., and turned over
to WFO by [redacted]

The transcription was prepared by employees of WFO.

A copy of the tape turned over has been prepared and
is being returned to [redacted]. The tape turned over is being
retained by WFO in subject's file.

WFO contemplates interviewing [redacted] regarding
this matter. FD-302s regarding [redacted] will be
prepared and retained in the file of WFO.

- 2 Xerox copies 806 940
3 - Bureau (Enc. 11) ENCLOSURE
1 - WFO

WWH:stb
(4)

FSD - Allen
Crim - Allen

FBIU, CRD, ACSE, OSZ, SS

STATE, [redacted] (By Liaison)

1 cc MAIT + 2 cc of LHM to

RCMP, LHM, S Sent

Special Agent in Charge R/S 1/23/69

JAN 14 1969

RACIAL MAT. SECT.

Approved: 67 FEB 6 1969

Special Agent in Charge

M

Per



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Washington, D.C. 20535
January 13, 1969

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

[redacted]
[redacted] Washington,
D.C. (WDC), advised on December 17, 1968, he represents radio
station WOL, WDC, [redacted] He advised [redacted]
[redacted] WOL Public Affairs Department made a tape of a speech of
Stokely Carmichael delivered at the First Congress of Black
Writers held at McGill University, Montreal, Canada, during
the period October 11-14, 1968, which he, [redacted] personally
attended. [redacted] advised that WOL broadcast the speech over
its WDC station, and he expressed disappointment that this had
been done. [redacted] made a copy of the tape available for
information.

b7C

The hereinafter set forth is a transcription of the
statements made by Carmichael:

RADIO
ANNOUNCER:

McGill University in Montreal, Canada, played host to the
first congress of Black Writers. Black International unity
as the tool for black liberation was the theme of the congress
but congress was in dedication to the late Dr. Martin Luther
King, Jr., and Malcolm X. Stokely Carmichael was the key-note
speaker and for the next 60 minutes the WOL Public Affairs
Department will present to you that speech by Stokely Carmichael.

CAR:

(after wild applause) Thank you very much. Good afternoon.
The trouble with being the last speaker is that everybody says

100-446080-2201

ENCLOSURE

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

what you had written down or have heard you say it before.

(laughter) What I think maybe I can do is try to pull some of the things said this morning and then move on from there.

Now I think that it is clear that black people around the world are moving together today to solve the dilemma that we face.

I agree with brother Forman (v.ph) that we have certain ideological problems, I think we have a lot of ideological problems because we start from different major premises. Before I get into that I want to regroup where we are now and where we have to go. Now there are two types of oppression in the world, there is exploitation and there is colonization, Forman explained that, I want to go into it more deeply because I think when one talks about exploitation the question of race is not present; one just talks about a group of people who are economically taking advantage of another group. But when one talks about colonization the question of race comes into play because in colonization it is one race which seeks to dominate a entire other race. And if we begin to see those concepts then we will begin to see clearly where our revolutionary ideology must lead us and not into the pitfalls of any other type of ideology. Now brother Fanon (ph) wrote a book called The

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Wretched of the Earth, and he said in essence that the third world was the wretched of the earth but of the third world the most damned happens to be the black man, happens to be the black man. Wherever the black man is found he is on the bottom of the ladder, and there must be reasons for this other than economic. I would say the reasons happen to be a deep ingrain racism produced by white western society. And we must understand that and if we try to bluff it over we will indeed fail where many other black communists and black socialists have failed because they fail to deal with the realities of racism. It is indeed a fact that not one Western power today achieved their power today without raping Africa. You name it and I'll claim it, not one, Portugal, Spain, the Netherlands, Belgium, France, England, the United States and Canada, an extension of the United States, except for the French Canadians. (laughter and applause) But they are still part of White Western (Society), and they did rape West Africa because my friends in Guinea speak fluent French. Now I want (them) to begin for us to deal clearly with the question of colonization, wherever the black man is, he is colonized. Now then in concrete terms what is the difference between exploitation and colonization? There are in fact poor

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

white people in the United States, they are exploited, that is to say they are economically deprived of some wealth in the United States. But those white people have their culture, their history, their language and their value system, these things have not been striped from them but that is not true of black people living in the United States, we have been striped of our culture, our language, our history, our value system, our way of life. We are in fact what Fanon (ph) called de-humanized, we are de-humanized. And that is the effect of the process of colonization, it seeks to de-humanize its victims, exploitation does not. So we are fighting for our humanity; Fanon (ph) says that very clearly in the end of The Wretched of the Earth. It is our humanity we are fighting for; white people are just fighting for more money, poor white people. (laughter) And we have to understand precisely what that means, what the fight of humanity is all about because it means that we will proceed differently, No. 1, it is necessary for Africans, and I made no distinctions between Africans living on the continent or Africans living abroad. There is a necessity for Africans to begin to understand the culture that has been plundered purposely and maliciously by white western society, and it is

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

a necessity for us to pick up that culture and begin to use it as a unifying tool because a culture is a cohesive force for a people. It is a cohesive force. And that culture has been taken from us because we were never meant to be a united people because in the unity there will alone begin to amass (a wave for us) to make an assault against our aggressors. Now I want to keep hammering on that point because I think too many times people, especially Africans, just over gloss it as if it doesn't mean anything, as if racism was just nothing there but there must be something to it, we must question it. Why us? Why did they go to Africa and just scatter us all over the earth; they had the Indians, why us? Why the black man? Why is it that they saw fit to split us up? Put us in Trinidad, in Jamaica, in St. Thomas, in Brazil, in Cuba, in Panama, in Santo Domingo, in Guatemala, in the United States, and even in Canada. Why us? (applause) And to simply say that its for economic reasons is to delude ones self, it is to delude ones self because they could of just as easily found white slaves, they could of just as easily got red slaves; they had Indian slaves, I'm talking about from East India; they had Chinese. Why the black man? And unless we begin to deal consciously with that ingrain racism

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

our ideology will come to nil. You must understand that. Now then in understanding the effects of colonization we must ask ourselves what is it that they do that de-humanizes us? The main affect that I've found of colonization is that it makes the victim hate himself, hate himself, hate himself. (wild applause) And by allowing the victim to hate himself he seeks to identify with the master who he assumes has the values that he himself hates because he hates the values that he produces (wild applause) And that is precisely what whitewestern society has done wherever it has gone it has destroyed and created hatred among its victims of each other and of themselves, therefore they never want to unite with each other because they hate each other and themselves and they seek to unite with the master whom they love and adore. And we must begin to speak to that, now then so colonized people when we begin to move for a real struggle of liberation moves on two phases, I call them for lack of better words, entertainment and educational, I think brother Harry spoke of the entertainment. The entertainment is a necessity. That is where you call the oppressor names, you have to call him names because prior to that stage you can't even speak out loud against the oppressor. Let us take point

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

in case - Africans living in the United States, until a couple of years ago they were afraid to say what they really felt about white people out loud, they had to whisper it to each other. So there becomes a state where they begin to, as they define themselves, speak out against the oppressors; its sort of a warming up session for a fight, you know, like you say I can take him, I can whip him anytime, its a feel good session, its a necessity. It is as Courtland Cox (ph) says insufficient, we need something else to go with it but we must recognize the necessity of the stages of our struggle. We cannot let white people interpret it for us because they will always degrade it and if we accept (their declaration?) of ourselves we're back in the colonial state. Now once a people who are colonized begin to move against entertaining themselves then comes the point of education, the point where they began to speak concretely to the things that must be done. Now in the United States particularly Africans have begun to reach that level; that is the most dangerous level for the oppressor, the most dangerous level and that is why there is so much friction among the movements inside the United States, which are again caused by the oppressor, Fanon says that, Fanon says very clearly that when, I can't

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

remember what page it is and I don't think I got the quote correctly but he says when (can you get it for me Brother Paul) (laughter) he says when the colonies begins to move, the oppressor tries a number of tricks: number one is the good trick, they try to be nice, kind to you, they let you poverty programs, grants. They try to pacify you. Once the process of pacification is not working, then they began to send agent provocateurs inside your movement to stir up and cause friction within the different branches of your liberation movement (applause) when finally that stage itself does not work they come in as they always come in with the armed forces, right then we say the United States particularly moves in three ways, we call it the three M's. Missionaries, the money and the marines. (applause) now then let us go back to the hatred because I don't think that we can dig deep into that enough. Because to cleanse ourselves of this self hatred is a process which for non recognized and says that sometimes that cleansing period comes out in violence against the oppressor, against the oppressor. Now we must begin to direct and channel that violence so that it is against, a decisive blow against the oppressor. I don't think that they (tape blank here) Now if we are going to begin to counteract

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

the hatred that we have had for ourselves and for each other and it is clearly manifested in black people. I mean the running away from the identity of ourselves or trying to seek to identify with the oppressor, with his symbols of beauty, his symbols of success etc, etc. We today have come to grasp with most of those things but in order to really counteract it, we must develop since we live in a dialectical world where opposites prevail, we must begin to develop an undying love for ourselves to counteract the hatred that we have for ourselves and in developing that undying love which is not in fact contradictory to revolution, because it is the same type of love that Che Guevera speaks about, the love the revolutionary has. But for the colonized it must be concrete, it must be the love of ourselves that we have to get and the love of our people especially for the African because geographically we have been scattered all over the world. All over the world (applause) And while we can look to Africa as the mother continent we have many of our people abroad who do not have any geographical area so that the nationalism which is usually based in land is going to be lacking for a certain number of time, while that is lacking we must give our people at least a type of ideology that they

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

can hold onto. (applause) and that philosophy must be based in the concept of the African wherever he is scattered around the world. What is the history of the African? In Brazil, fifty percent of the population is African all over the north of South America, the northern section of it, Africans. We don't even know where we are. We have not asked to be sent there, in each of these countries we do not own, control anything. In each of these countries we're at the bottom, in each of these countries at this time we're not strong enough to seize power. And in each of these countries it is the white people who keep running and deciding while we are left on the bottom as puppets, in each of these countries, in each of these countries. So we've got to understand the roots of racism, got to understand that, got to understand (applause) Then we have to state clearly what our fight is, our fight is against racism and capitalism and certainly imperialism which is the highest stage of capitalism (applause) I do not think any of us sitting on this platform are deluded by the black power pimps in the United States. If they were not there we would not be doing a good job. The fact that they have to co-opt black power means that we are doing our job (applause) And if we follow correctly it means that

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

we are heading for the right struggle because that is precisely what they are supposed to do. Try and co-opt it. Then when co-option fails, then the real confrontation will begin to take place and we have to know that in our minds if we say we're revolutionary. Now then if we fight against racism and capitalism and imperialism our question is what is our goal. Clearly our goal would be a society free of racism and a society free of capitalism or imperialism. When talking about capitalism there are three dominating economic systems in the world. Capitalism, Socialism, and Communism. It means that if one is anti-communism, ah, anti-capitalism and if one is going to seek within the conventional framework to redress one's problems one must look to socialism and to communism. But just to say socialism or communism today is not enough, because there are many types of socialism and communism in the world today. Tito calls himself a communist, Mao Tse Tung calls himself a communist, Fidel Castro calls himself a communist and the Russians say that they are communists (laughter, applause). So just to throw those words loosely around just won't make it. I certainly don't think that one could go along with the Russian form of communism

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

and also go along with the Chinese form of communism because they're clearly different, they're clearly different ideological areas where people must take sides and what is happening is that the African who doesn't have a land to talk about is caught up in an ideological fight between whether we should be Mao Tse Tung guys or whether we should be Russianites and we don't even have a country to call our own. A country to call our own, so that the first thing we must seek is to begin to talk about ourselves and how we get that ideology together, move to seize some land, build a base and began to liberate our people and of course, the motherland. OK. We ought to understand though in dealing with communism, especially Russian communism, that we have to gather from the history of our people. Now there was a black man from Trinidad by the name of George Padmore (ph). He served on the comiturn (ph) under Stalin and he left because he said the Russians were racists, essentially. On the question of colonialism in Africa the Russians compromised, claiming clearly, clearly any African student that has been to Russia will tell you clearly that the Russians are racists. (applause) And we must begin to understand, we must, must, must because there are too many tricks being played on us today.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Because the black man is going to be pivotal in the coming years. We know it and they it. Our goal is society free of racism and free of imperialism the question is can we achieve a society free of racism where both races can live together. That is the question that we must really address ourselves to. And not just quote words and say niceties about all human beings cause that's western. They have said that and as Fanon (ph) says they have proved themselves incapable of bringing it about. Their own thing (applause) own thing. So that the question that we must now be asking is that whether or not you can. Brother Harry said that it's clear that inside of society you cannot have two political and economic systems. Can it also be true that you can have inside a society two races which can in fact co-exist without one dominating the other. And I am not just talking about physical domination, I am also talking about cultural domination. I am talking about cultural domination. We have then to begin to define some terms which are being thrown around very loosely. Such as revolutions, black revolutionaries, militants, black militants, arms struggle, etc, etc. I think we ought to understand what a revolutionary is, what a revolution is and how it comes about. A revolution

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is the total destruction of the old system, total destruction, the re-emplacment of a new system which speaks for the masses of the people of a given country. That's only when you have revolution you have the changing of hands of governments, you have coup d'etat you don't have revolutions. In order to have a revolution, I think that, Forman (ph) went into this quite lengthy so I can just brush over it, but keep reminding us that you don't have a revolution until you have taken power. A revolution does not begin until you take power. To talk about revolution before you take power is to be at best politically naive, at worst stupid. (applause) For example, Fidel Castro fought in the Siera Maestra (ph) for several years, but while he was fighting the Cuban revolution was not going on. The Cuban revolution did not start until Fidel walked into Havana with guns in his hands, Che on his side and said "this date I claim this country for the masses of Cuban people," then the revolution was on (applause) then the revolution was on. Now the period that proceeds a revolution is called armed struggle, so that what Fidel was waging before he walked into Havana was armed struggle, not revolution. Armed struggle, armed

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struggle because you can't have a revolution until you have the power, you can't give people jobs if you don't control them. You can't distribute the wealth unless you got the wealth. So you can't talk about revolution until you have seized power, seized power. Now for me it is clear there is only three ways you get things: you ask, you beg, or you take (applause) You work for it, you beg for it, or you take it, no you don't steal it, you take it. You only steal it when you don't have power, if you have power you take (applause) I don't think that white Canadians would say that they stole Canada from the Indians. They say they took it and they did. (applause) Well then it's clear that we can't work for these lands, we can't beg for them, so we must take them. Then it's clear that we must take them through revolutionary violence. Now violence is neither good nor bad there is no moral judgment to violence. Violence is only he who is the power to legitimize. Oh yes, oh yes. In the United States, if I were in the United States Army I would be in Vietnam. If I killed thirty yellow people with slanted eyes I would get medals. Yes. In the United States of America if I shot two white cops in Harlem I would get the electric chair. So murder is neither right nor

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wrong, it is he who has the power to legitimize. (applause)
And that the major dilemma that Africans face is that we have never legitimized. White western society has legitimized every thing for us. We have never been able to legitimize. They legitimize religion, they legitimize wars, they legitimize education, they legitimize beauty, they legitimize everything. We must now seek to legitimize for ourselves. We must say to the people of the United States, it is more honorable to kill honky cops than to kill Vietnamese, they have done nothing to us. (applause) We have to seek to legitimize because they will not let us legitimize. If I were in power and you were arming against me, I wouldn't let you arm against me. Destroy you, have to if I am going to stay in power. And we have to recognize that. That's our struggle. The struggle is that much harder, the victory is going to be that much sweeter. Now then what do we mean by revolutionary violence. I think we ought to understand because the line is very thin. Its a line that the late Dr. King used to play with. He said "I am against self defense because in self defense the line of aggressive violence and offensive violence is very thin!" He's correct, it is very thin, but we

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must understand that self defense never changes the status quo, it maintains the status quo it just keeps the victims alive. Let me give you an example. If every black man in the United States was armed today and they sat in the boundaries of the communities we're confined to and every time a white cop came after us we shot him the system of the United States would never change it would remain the same we would live longer they would just isolate us. So self defense never changes the situation, Che Guevera said that. It maintains the status quo. Aggressive violence is what is needed to change the status quo (applause) But that is because Africans get caught up in the questions of violence we think that violence is just shooting or murder we do not see that poverty is violence, we do not see that rape is violence, we do not see that cultural degradation is violence, we have allowed white society to define society to define violence as only the man with the gun. How stupid. It is violent for white society to rape Africa of copper, gold, aluminum, (wild applause)(some of talk drowned out) it is violent, it is violent. It is violent to have little black children get up and feel that they are ugly, it is violent, it is violent (applause) We have to define violence and we define how we meet that violence.

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You meet violence with violence. It's just the degree that's all it is. And once we begin to define it, then we legitimatize the right to move. We should not think that violence is just a gun or death, matter of fact I would much rather die at twenty-six than live to seventy-six and die of malnutrition and see my children hungary, starving, my daughters prostitutes, and my wife sitting in a corner and my children with big stomachs, I would rather die at twenty-six. (applause) So then what the African has to do is do for himself, define and no longer allow white society to define.

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We must define, we must define, we must define. I'll give you the two dollars I promised you (Laughter and applause)

Now I want to say one thing about the period in which black revolutionary movements around the world find themselves.

Or maybe I should talk, I think I should talk about black militants versus black revolutionist first. Now in the United States there are a lot of black militants. There are few black revolutionaries, because we said revolutionaries are for total overthrow of the old order. A black militant is someone in the United States who is an angry black man, but he is angry that he, individually, is kept out of the system. A black revolutionary is someone who wants to overthrow, destroy, tear up, burn down and start all over again (applause) A black militant is someone who yells and screams about the degradation of black men and as soon as he gets a twenty thousand dollar a year poverty job jumps up and yells cool it brothers everything is going to be alright. (laughter and applause) And we have to make clear that distinction. There are a lot of black militants in the United States that's why you have somebody who is

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for black power and black capitalism, he is a black militant.

Militant is that he is moving out against the system because he wants to be part of it, he has been kept out of it, he wants to be in it. A black revolutionary does not want to be any part of it, he wants to completely destroy it. Now then if there are black revolutionaries in the United States it's clear that we cannot just look inside the United States, but we must begin to look internationally. To talk about black power in the United States is absurd and self defeating, we must talk about black power in the world. (applause)

The congress invited Rap Brown, Leroi Jones, Eldridge Cleaver and several other people. They cannot leave the United States because the one thing the United States does not want is the blackman making international ties. (applause)

It took me nine months just to get back a passport they took from me and I didn't do anything but go where I wanted to go and they told me I was free to go so I went to China,

Vietnam, Cuba, see the world, why not, I am an American.

(laughter and applause). Took my passport, they take those passports because the most vulnerable spot of capitalism

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today because it is no longer domestic capitalism but world imperialism is the struggle on the international level and that's why we cannot seek to talk about local problems as entity unto themselves, we must begin to internationalize our thinking, therefore it is our responsibility to know about the struggles in the world not only of black people, but of other oppressed peoples and to know which side we are on, who we must begin to support at this point, morally to a point where we can then move materially. (applause)

Now then, because the United States is aware of this what they're going to do is to create more factions inside the black movement. You will have divisions, for example in one country in Africa you have five guerrilla groups. Yes, each of them had the message, each of them had the correct ideology and each of them are going to lead the masses to revolution. Each of them with their cadres(ph) of twenty-five each, they're going to lead the revolution and that there is more friction added to this. Now it seems to me it is the role of anyone who calls himself a revolutionary rather than emphasize, de-emphasize the divisions within

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his own group. We must present a united front. (applause)
Because to emphasize those conditions only lead to our people
who still hate themselves an excuse to wipe out each other,
because our people are still cottonized (very ph) in the
mind. All of us, all of us, the first thing we do when we
become revolutionary is to attack another black man. It is
true that the Vietnamese kill South Vietnamese but they do
not seek to kill South Vietnamese they run from fights with
the South Vietnamese and only when they got to fight the
South Vietnamese do they fight the South Vietnamese. They
know who their major enemy is. Their major enemy is the
United States of America, the aggressors, the aggressors
(applause) they understand that in their minds very clearly
and that is very revolutionary. When Mao Tse Tung broke
from the Coolie Tong (ph) in 1929 he didn't go around fight-
ing Chang Kai Shek (ph). They kept running from the Chinese,
pleading with the Chinese they were brothers, we're the same
people lets not fight each other, let's unite, let's take
care of the Japanese invaders. They were always consciously
attacking the major enemy, the major enemies never your own

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people who have developed and come out of the same environ-
ment that you come out of. It is the man who has worked and
controlled those environments that produces your people to
turn against you. Certainly the people in South Vietnam, Ky
and Thieu and all, every day there is another one are just
puppets if you shoot them the man is going to get another
puppet, but if you shoot the man controlling the puppet, then
they're going to do like you want them to do. (applause) Our
major enemy first, because also speaking revolutionary you
cannot wage two fights at the same time, especially if you're
trying to organize and develop an army. You can't do it,
you have to wage only one front. Fidel Castro told the Cuban
bourgeoisie, "Let's get rid of BATISTA, brothers", then when
he got rid of BATISTA he said dig this is a Leninist, Marxist
state, pick your sides, either you're with me or get against
the wall. (laughter and applause) He did not fight the Bour-
geoisie while he was fighting Batista and the American lackies.
It's impossible to do that, he first had to get rid of the
external threat and then begin to talk about the internal
threat. You can't talk about an internal threat when you

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have nothing to talk about. You certainly are cautious, but you don't begin to make an onslaught against your own people, that's just what the enemy wants you to do. When you hear the tallies of the South Vietnamese in the Vietnam war you never hear five hundred South Vietnamese killed, you hear five hundred Americans killed this week. You very rarely see South Vietnamese because the Vietnamese consciously try to get to their people and to correct them. And say (V.PH) to them you have no business fighting with the Americans. They try to convert them, they try to get people working inside the lines with America and unless they have to defend themselves, that's the only time they fight South Vietnamese. Now we have to understand that principle. Now we have to ask ourselves how then do Africans move against white western society. Because we cannot see it as an isolated fight, black people in the United States against white America or black Trinidadians against whoever controls them or.....(applause) Their intellectuals they went to Oxford. (laughter and applause) That's why we have to re-define education. (laugh) Yeah, we gonna get 'em, no doubt about it. (laughter). We have to

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understand that in Guina (Bathea ?) in Angola, in Mozambique, its not gonna be just black people against the Portugese; the Portugese are supported by the United States of America. (applause) Yes, when Portugal bombs Guina (Bathea) Portugal doesn't manufacture any planes, its an American plane bombing Guina (Bathea). But what America says is we don't give them planes to bomb Africa, they are part of NATO and we have to give them planes for NATO (laugh). If South Africa were to revolt today do you believe that the United States of America would sit idly by and let the blacks take their country? You are absolutely deluding yourself. It is going to be an international fight. Do you think Inkruma (v.ph) was dethroned merely by some simple black man named Ankara (v.ph)? No, he was dethroned by the forces of Britian, the United States and France. (applause) What is the fight in Nigeria today? Do you think the fight in Nigeria is really a black mans fight or is it white people who are waiting to gain the oil in Biafra because the Arabs have closed their oil ports? (wild applause) We have to understand in the world precisely what is going on because the African is going

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to play a key role in world war three and its right around the corner. Now then when you move as a colonized people you move culturally, you move politically, you move economically and you move militarily. Now obviously the United States of America is not going to allow black people to move politically in any way thats going to endanger their political system, clearly, they are not going to allow black people to move ecomomically in any way thats going to ... at least if they see it, going to endanger their economic system, they are not going to let black people move in any way culturally or military thats going to allow black people to endanger their system, any way they see it they will break it up, in any (mange??) and finally there is always force and with force at this time they can win. So, we must begin to instill in our minds something that will balance out the question of force. Now Maô Tse Tung said and the Vietnamese proved that technological power does not win a war; it is the will of the people to fight that wins the war, it is always the will of the people to fight that decides which war is won. The United States should be able to defeat Vietnam, they cannot

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because Ho Chi Minh has instilled in the people of Vietnam a () that no matter what, they die, the only way that America can have Vietnam is when the last Vietnamese is wiped out, if he is six months or 106 years (wild applause) the only way. We have to begin then to do that to our people, that then is the job of writers, they must instill in our people a will to fight to the death. It is a question of either we will or we die, nothing else. We win or we die. Either we control the resources of our mother continent or no one controls the resources of our mother continent. (applause) Either we control the destinies of our lives or nobody control any lives where we live. The paradoxes must be clear and the contradictions must be heightened because in heightening contradictions you prepare the ground for revolutionary warfare. We must heighten the contradictions. It is the job of the black writer then to work to heighten the contradictions. Let us not waste our time mishmashing, lets polarize the forces, lets polarize them so that the contradictions are clear so that there is a choice, either you fight with us or you fight with them, there is no middle

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ground, we must heighten the contradictions, we must consciously work to heighten the contradictions, that is the job of the artist, it must be his job because he at this time is allowed to move where other people are not, and he must seek now to break the ground and prepare the movement for the political and economic because the military will continue to go on but not in the onslaught that is needed at this time. He must begin, the black writer must begin to re-define for the African who our heroes are, we no longer need white cowboys we need (CAR then list a number of apparent black heroes but names are not clear) It is the job then of the black writer to do this and the black writer must begin to re-define it and not in a concept of western society but in an African concept which means that it is not wholly intellectual but rather quite emotional, because Africans are a emotional people. I know we have been taught to be ashamed of it because white society says you just can't do something, you have to sit down and think about it. (laughs) And we sit down and think about it and think about it and still go out and do the wrong thing. Even one of their

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philosophers, Pascal (ph), says the mind has a heart of its own, of its own. And we do not have to just think all the time that you can't move until you analyze your situations, of course there is need for scientific analyzation but the period of analyzation has always been used by white society to delude and forestall our movements, always have been used. All we have to do is look at Dr. W.E.D. Du Bois, they allowed him to play back and forth with their intellectual nonsense and forestall our movement. And if we continue to play intellectual games with them we do a disservice to the masses of our people. We are not responsible to answering western society, we are responsible only to fullfilling the needs of the masses of Africans in the world today, nothing else, nothing else. (applause) And clearly that is the job of the black writer and if he wants to do that he must just ignore do not even waste time answering or contradicting they are not worth our time. In most places only the black writer who has been to a white college know of them. Shakespeare (laughs) Whats that cat that wrote Canterbury Tales? (laughs) We don't have to waste our time even

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contradicting the arguments they give because that means we are on the defensive. We have always to be on the offensive because we are fighting a just struggle, they have to be on the defensive, if we allow them to put us on the defensive we never wage a war we are just (caught) up defending them. For example, a black man gets up and a white will say you're a racist and he spends 25 minutes explaining that he is not a racist to white people. You can call them a racist and they'll tell you yeah I'm a racist and if you get smart I'm gonna kill you and there ain't nothing you can do about it.

Because they do not waste their time arguing. Black man says that black people must arm themselves and white people says that violence, you have to be non-violent. And a black man is going to argue for years and years on the need for violence, when they came to get slaves from Africa they didn't come non-violently (laughter). When they took South America, when they took the United States, when they took Canada they didn't take it non-violently they took it with a pioneering spirit (laughter). And it is with a pioneering spirit that we must move forward (laughs) Then that becomes the main

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task and the main responsibility of the black writer because too many black writers are involved in contradicting and proving white society incorrect, the fact that you pay attention to them means that you give their arguments validity. Assume the major assumption is that they are invalid, let us create our own and move on, move one. (applause) And Foreman(ph) said it is the job of the black writer to become involved, certainly he is not a writer first, he is black first. The writings that he produces are the writings from an environment which he is from because he is black not because he has writer skills but because he is black, because he is black. Yes, thats his first task, not to talk about the literary skills of writing and blah, blah, who denies (or defies) the literary skills of writing? Shakespeare. (laughs). Now then before I conclude I want to touch down on the subject where we must move and thats the international arena and this becomes the most important task of the writer because he can begin to create heroes thru little poems, little rhymes, thru little short stories, for example he could write a little short story called "Our Comrades in Arms,

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the Vietnamese...the North Vietnamese" and we could just pass it around because the Vietnamese are our comrades in arms. (applause). Then let the white writers try to tell us why they are not our comrades in arms. He could write our friends the Arabs because we must understand the conflict in the Middle East if we are to be international and we must understand why it is imperative that black people side with the Arabs because theirs is a just war. (applause). But most of the black writers get caught up in defending the so called state of Israel and justifying the fact that six million Jews got killed and therefore they should have Israel. What nonsense is that? All of us are sorry that six million Jews got killed but that doesn't mean that therefore Israel, therefore East Germany, therefore East Germany, the Arabs did not kill the Jews, Hitler killed the Jews, if you want it take it from Hitler. (applause). The black writer today is caught () afraid to open his mouth because as soon as he says Arabs they say anti-Semitic and he crawls back into his shell. They're anti-black, later for them, lets move on. We must understand the () of the Middle East

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War and we must understand why the Arabs....emotionally Egypt is in Africa. (applause) It has been in Africa for over 4,000 years. If we say we come from Africa then we fight for Africa. Can we let people who just developed a state in 1948 cling to that anymore then we cling to over 4,000 years of history? No, we must prepare, we must be precise and we can never be afraid of not moving. We maybe afraid but we can never let fear immobilize us, we got to move on. (applause) We got to understand the implications of Cuba and we have to say yeah the Cubans are doing it and we with 'em, go on Fidel work with it. And we have to prepare ourselves for the Sino-Soviet dispute which is going to grow and understand who's side we're on and why we're on their side. Check Mao Tse Tung out, check him out. We have to understand the implications of the Organization of American States in South America and the hold that it has on our territory, our territory in the Carribean, we must understand that. (applause) We must understand the French () forces that Foreman (ph) talked about sode Gaulle can preach his junk but he moves in with force anytime somebody threatens

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one of his territories which is in our motherland. There is little time for us to do anything but to consciously think, read, communicate, prepare and get guns, and get guns. Get 'em, get all the guns you can get, we believe in equality. (applause and laughter) White people got guns, black people should have guns, yeah. Don't get caught up with that new proliferation nuclear ban test, that's junk. Russia the United States, France, England they got,...and Israel got the Atomic Bomb and now they are going to say to everybody, don't develop it, you all don't need it, we got it. (Laughter and applause). If they got an Atomic Bomb, every country needs an Atomic Bomb. If they got a hydrogen, Cobalt, whatever bomb that they have, every country has to have it, because they must understand that equality is not this political nonsense about one man one vote. It is Economic and Military equality that counts in the world today. (applause) It must be political, it must be economical, it must be militarily. When you have those three, then you have real equality, you can't have one without the other. Can't have the vote and no gun, and the white man has got the gun, can't

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have the vote and no money, and the white man got the money. I can have the vote and he can have the vote, I can have the gun and he can have the gun, I can have the money and he can have the money, and then when he gets smart, we can go to it. But if I don't have anything and he has everything I have to take from him what he gives to me. For none is correct, there is lacking in ideology for the Africans. But the Chinese didn't have their ideology in the blue print of revolution, they struggled, they fought, if contradictions arose they resolved. If they didn't resolve the contradictions, the contradictions resolved them. It was not until they conquered that they began to develop a real revolutionary ideology. (applause) I'll move it up to three..... The same then is true of Cuba and the same must be true for us. We must work, struggle, develop that ideology, but we must be conscious of what we are against, racism, capitalism and imperialism, that is our fight. Thank You. (Wild Applause)

KARL E. MUNDT
MADISON, SOUTH DAKOTA

R. L. MCCAUGHEY
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

ROBERTA VAN BEEK
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

WALTER C. CONAHAN
PRESS SECRETARY

ROBERT E. RUDDY
LEGISLATIVE ASSISTANT

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

January 15, 1969

MEMBER:

APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE

FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE

GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS COMMITTEE

SENATE INVESTIGATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE

ADVISORY COMMISSION ON
INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS

Mr. Tolson ✓
Mr. DeLoach ✓
Mr. Mohr ✓
Mr. Bishop ✓
Mr. Casper ✓
Mr. Callahan ✓
Mr. Conrad ✓
Mr. Felt ✓
Mr. Gale ✓
Mr. Rosen ✓
Mr. Sullivan ✓
Mr. Tavel ✓
Mr. Trotter ✓
Tele. Room ✓
Miss Holmes ✓
Miss Gandy ✓

Honorable J. Edgar Hoover
Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Edgar:

I have a letter from a friend of mine who is exploring the phenomenon of "Black Power" and is interested in getting background information concerning Stokley Carmichael as a potential menace to the internal security of this country.

Any information you have which would be available and which would be helpful to him would be appreciated.

With best wishes, I am

Cordially yours,

Karl E. Mundt
Karl E. Mundt, U.S.S.

KEM: bkh

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-14-2005 BY auc tam/mlt/tcg

EX-10300

446080-2202

REC-8

1 FEB 12 1969

51 FEB 12 1969

100-446080-2202

JAN 16 1969

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 1-21-69

FROM :

1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

This is to recommend that we furnish the attached information concerning Stokely Carmichael to Senator Karl E. Mundt (Republican - South Dakota).

By letter to the Director dated January 15, 1969, Senator Mundt advised he has a friend who is exploring the phenomenon of "Black Power." He would like to furnish this friend any available background information the Bureau has concerning Carmichael as a potential menace to the internal security of the country.

Attached is a blind memorandum setting forth background data pertaining to Carmichael, including his activities in the black extremist organizations, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the Black Panther Party, as well as his participation in the Black United Front, a coalition of moderate and militant Negro leaders in Washington, D. C. Also attached is a transcript of a speech by Carmichael August 29, 1968, at St. Louis, Missouri. In this speech, Carmichael calls for a black revolution through violence and guerrilla warfare to "overthrow, destroy, overturn, disrupt, tear down, beat up" the "entire system" in the U. S. This speech is identical to a number of speeches Carmichael has made in the past year.

We enjoy cordial relations with Senator Mundt, who is on the Director's Special Correspondence List.

ACTION:

4 JAN 31 1969

If approved, this memorandum, together with its attachments, should be sent to the Crime Records Division which will furnish Senator Mundt the attached material, which is public source type data.

Enclosures (2)

ENCLOSURE

100-446080

PTB:sd (6)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-14-2005 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

January 21, 1969

Carmichael was born June 29, 1941, Trinidad, West Indies, but is a naturalized citizen through his father's naturalization. He graduated from Howard University, Washington, D. C., in 1964, with a degree in philosophy. He is married [REDACTED]

b7C

After being elected National Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in 1966, Carmichael changed this organization from a civil rights group to a revolutionary black extremist organization. As head of SNCC, he maintained that "violence is inevitable in this struggle for Negro liberation" and he urged Negroes in the United States to prepare for a "bloody revolution."

Replaced as Chairman of SNCC in May, 1967, Carmichael traveled extensively throughout the world seeking support for the U. S. black extremists. Included in his travels were the countries of Cuba, North Vietnam, and Communist China.

Shortly after returning to the United States, Carmichael established residence in Washington, D. C., early in January, 1968, where he organized the Black United Front, a group of militant and moderate Negro leaders. He has urged members of this group to "get guns" and to take complete control of the police department covering the black community of Washington, D. C.

Carmichael's presence as a leading spokesman for black extremists made him less amenable to SNCC direction and control and he was expelled from SNCC in August, 1968. Since being expelled from SNCC, Carmichael has served as Prime Minister of the Black Panther Party, a black extremist organization headquartered at Berkeley, California. In December, 1968, Carmichael shipped his household goods to Guinea, Africa. [REDACTED]

b7C

[REDACTED] Carmichael has indicated he intends to establish residence in Guinea.

PTB:sd (9)

b7C

See memorandum [REDACTED] to Mr. W. C. Sullivan, same date, captioned as above, prepared by PTB:sd.

100-446080-2203

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

DATE: 1/29/69

FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-68783)(P)

b7C

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM - SNCC
(BPP);
SEDITION
OO: Washington Field

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-14-2005 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

Re Washington Field letter to the Bureau dated
12/10/68.

On 1/27/69, [redacted]

[redacted] advised that he
arrested one [redacted]

When [redacted] was searched incidental to the
arrest, a tape recording of excerpts from a speech of
STOKELY CARMICHAEL was located in a Craig tape recorder
that [redacted] had in his possession. [redacted] recalled
that these statements were militant and were typical
of CARMICHAEL's presentations. He indicated that the tape
recording was played to representatives of the Los Angeles
Police Department, Intelligence Division, and then was
returned to [redacted]

[redacted] reported that he did not have this tape
recording and was unaware of the fact that the Los Angeles
Police Department might have made a copy of this tape
recording.

On 1/27/68, [redacted]

[redacted] (Conceal by request), was contacted
concerning the above recording and was unable to recall
whether his department made a copy of this recording. [redacted]
indicated that he would attempt to locate this recording if
a copy had been made by his department and if available would
furnish it to the FBI. He further stated that it would take
several weeks in order to check records and review their
recordings concerning CARMICHAEL and his activities.

- ② - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - Washington Field (100-43503)(RM)
- 1 - Los Angeles

REC 49

JWW/mlj
(5)

51 FEB 13 1969

15 FEB 3 1969

RACIAL INT. SEC.

F B I

Date: 1/28/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED AIRMAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-44-6080)

FROM: SAC, HONOLULU (100-6465) (RUC)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM

OO: WFO

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-14-2005 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

b7C

Re WFO airtel, 1/16/69; Honolulu report of
SA [] 11/13/68.

b7C

Report of SA [] Honolulu,
11/13/68, pointed out that CARMICHAEL and EARL ANTHONY
were in Honolulu 10/29-31/68 and that CARMICHAEL spoke
at the University YWCA on 10/30/68, at the Honolulu Press
Club, Andrews Amphitheater, University of Hawaii (UH)
and the Church of the Crossroads on 10/31/68.

b2

b7D

Transcript of subject's speech at Andrews
Amphitheater was set forth in referenced report. []
covered speeches at University YWCA and Church of the
Crossroads and his report set forth in referenced report.
[] covered speech at Church of the Crossroads and
his report set forth same report.

b7C

The following investigation was conducted
by SA [] at Honolulu, Hawaii:

3 - Bureau (RAM)
2 - WFO (100-43503) (RAM)
1 - Honolulu
LSB:ssi
(6)

REC 11

b7C

25 JAN 31 1969

D. C. Bishop

cc 80696D

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Approved: []
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

HN 100-6465

[redacted]
[redacted] advised as follows:

b7C

b7D

Trip of CARMICHAEL and ANTHONY to Honolulu was sponsored by Black Student Union (BSU). The Associated Students of the University of Hawaii furnished BSU \$450 with provision that CARMICHAEL would speak on campus and also loaned BSU an additional \$450 to cover expenses of Black Panther leaders. \$1600 was collected from admissions or collections during CARMICHAEL's and ANTHONY's speeches. \$240 was collected when ANTHONY spoke at University Kennedy Theater. \$900 was collected at University Amphitheater during CARMICHAEL's talk. Most of the remaining money came from admission charged for speech at Church of the Crossroads. Speech at Amphitheater was attended by capacity crowd of more than 6,000. Audience mostly students and probably all of Negroes at UH, maybe 50, were in attendance. No one in military uniform was seen at any of CARMICHAEL's speeches. At Church of the Crossroads same date, some 250 - 300 in attendance. [redacted] believes there may have been some 20 Negroes in audience who were military because there are very few local Negroes and these blacks were not recognized as students. \$1000 of the \$1600 was turned over to CARMICHAEL who stated the money would be utilized for defense of [redacted]

b7C

b7D

1/23/69, [redacted]

[redacted] reported that CARMICHAEL in his speech Honolulu Press Club, 10/31/68 spoke to about 125 adults who are members of the club composed of persons from media organizations. [redacted] states CARMICHAEL received no payment. No indication military personnel present and only Negroes were one or two accompanied CARMICHAEL.

b7C

[redacted] reporting on speech YWCA, 10/30/68, reported 200 in the audience, mostly students, with some 20 Negroes but of whom appeared to be military because wearing GI shoes.

b2

b7D

HN 100-6465

b2

b7D

[redacted] reported about 275 persons at speech, Church of the Crossroads, 10/31/68, paying \$2.00 admission. He reported less than 20 Negroes in the audience.

1/28/69. [redacted]

b7C

[redacted] reported there were between 20 - 25 Negroes in the audience at Church of the Crossroads, 10/31/68, and he believed that some of these were military because several cars in parking lot bore military stickers. [redacted] stated that the audience that evening was predominantly adult Caucasians.

~~SECRET~~

1 - Liaison

1 - [REDACTED]

b7C

(RI) 100-446080

BY LIAISON

Date: January 23, 1969

b1

To: Director
Central Intelligence Agency

Attention: Deputy Director, Plans

From: John Edgar Hoover, Director

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

Subject: STOKELY CARMICHAEL per oga let. dtd. 11/14/05

RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

DATE: 11-14-2005
CLASSIFIED BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1) 11-14-2030

As you are aware, Stokely Carmichael [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] have been in Stockholm,
[REDACTED]

b7C

According to a press release Carmichael stated in Stockholm on January 16, 1969, that he and his wife intend to establish residence next April in Conakry, Guinea.

It is noted you were previously advised that Carmichael and his wife have shipped their household goods to Conakry. To further confirm Carmichael's intention of living in Guinea, several confidential informants of this Bureau have advised Carmichael has indicated that he plans to live in Guinea for a period of one to three years.

MAILED

JAN 24 1969

COMM-4

b1

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

1 - WFO
1 - Legat, London
1 - Legat, Paris
1 - Foreign Liaison Unit (Route through for review)

PTB:dgf
(9)

56 JAN 30 1969

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

GROUP 1

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

19 JAN 24 1969

~~SECRET~~

Director
Central Intelligence Agency

NOTE:



b1

~~SECRET~~

FBI

Date: 1/17/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-153751) (P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-14-2005 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

ReNYairtel to Bureau, 12/23/68, captioned "BLACK
PANTHER PARTY, RM-SNCC".

Enclosed for the Bureau are eleven copies of an
LHM dated and captioned as above. Two copies of this LHM
are being enclosed for WFO.

This LHM is being classified "Confidential" to
protect the identity of a source of continuing value, whose
identity, if revealed, could have an adverse effect upon
national security.

The source mentioned in LHM is [redacted] who
was interviewed on 1/10/69. by SAS [redacted]
[redacted] of
STOKELY CARMICHAEL and, as a result of [redacted]
reportedly [redacted]

[redacted] advised she had not
seen CARMICHAEL in two months, but stated she received a
letter from him two weeks ago while he was in Sweden. [redacted]
advised CARMICHAEL stated in the letter that he would not
return to the United States for at least one year. [redacted]

- 3 - Bureau (Enc. 11) (RM)
- 2 - Washington Field (Enc. 2) (RM)
- 1 - New York

BJW:jem
(7)

JAN 18 1969

Approved: [Signature]
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

RRD: 1SD, 101U, CRD, CKIM,
SS, Hess, SST, State
by RLS 1-23-69
1 cc 806940

b7C

[redacted]

[redacted]

b7C

[redacted]

b7C

[redacted]

b7C

b7D

128 270 1100 1446080 2207

[redacted]

[redacted]

NY 100-153751

b7C

b7D

[redacted] advised that she does not belong to any Black national movement, but stated she is very much for black people and their causes. [redacted] advised that she feels that whites have disrupted many of the black power organizations and whenever anything gets going, the white people attempt to mess it up.

[redacted] advised that she is employed at [redacted] and is in contact with many black militants who frequent this [redacted]

b7C

b7D

b2

b7C

b7D

In view of [redacted] association with STOKELY CARMICHAEL and other black nationalists in the New York City area and because of her willingness to cooperate, [redacted] [redacted] is being opened by the NYO.

Information copies of LHM are being furnished to OSI, NISO, 108th MI Group, Secret Service, and USAS, SDNY, and EDNY.



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York
January 17, 1969

Stokely Carmichael

A confidential source, with whom insufficient contact has been made to establish reliability, advised that Stokely Carmichael stated that he was not going to return to the United States for at least one year.

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg
ON 11-14-2005

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GROUP 1

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

100-446080 2207

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

FBI

Date: 1/21/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, COLUMBIA (100-179)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-14-2005 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcgSUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

b7C

Re Columbia airtel to Bureau, 12/12/68, and
Columbia airtel to Bureau, 12/16/68.Enclosed for the Bureau are 8 copies of an
LHM dated and captioned as above.A copy of the tape is also enclosed for the Bureau. Enclosed for
New York, San Francisco, Atlanta, Charlotte and WFO is one
copy of LHM.One copy each of LHM is being disseminated
to MIG, Columbia, S. C., Secret Service, Columbia, S. C.,
NISO, Charleston, S. C. and OSI, Langley Air Force Base,
Va.

b2

b7D

Confidential source in LHM is

- 3-Bureau (Enc. 9) (RM)
- 1-Atlanta (Enc. 1) (100-6812) (RM)
- 1-Charlotte (Enc. 1) (100-10358) (RM)
- 1-New York (Enc. 1) (RM) (100-153751)
- 1-San Francisco (Enc. 1) (RM) (157-721)
- 1-WFO (Enc. 1) (RM) (100-43503)

- 4-Columbia (1-100-179)
- (1-100-265)
- (1-157-4677)
- (1-100-320)

100-446080-2208

FHA-1mh

b7C

(12)

b7C

35 FEB 13 1969

Approved:

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

RACIAL INT. SECT.

CO 100-179

The tape recording is difficult to understand in many spots and there is one blank spot during the middle of the speech by CARMICHAEL and also a blank spot at the very end of the speech. In transcribing this tape, portions of CARMICHAEL's speech are paraphrased but, where pertinent direct quotes are furnished.

b7C

Columbia has initiated an investigation on

The enclosed LHM is being classified ~~confidential~~ since it reveals an FBI source who obtained a tape recording of CARMICHAEL's speech and this could lead to the identity of this informant.



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Columbia, South Carolina 29202
January 17, 1969

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg
ON 11-14-2005

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

A confidential source of the Columbia Division of the FBI advised on December 13, 1968, that he had obtained a tape recording of the speech made by STOKELY CARMICHAEL, Prime Minister of the Black Panther Party (BPP), a characterization of which is attached, at South Carolina State College (SCSC), Orangeburg, South Carolina, on December 10, 1968. This source made available a copy of the tape recording to the FBI.

S.C. Carmichael introduced several individuals who accompanied him to SCSC and these individuals were introduced as Donald Cox of the BPP, John Battiste of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), a characterization of which is attached, Bill Ballon, of SNCC, Janis Bailey of Washington, D. C. who is presently free on bond for refusing to go into the armed forces, his secretary, JEAN HUGHES and finally his wife, MIRIAM MAKEBA. Carmichael

Carmichael also referred to Cleveland Sellers formerly Program Director and Field Director of SNCC in South Carolina. He stated that Sellers was unable to be present as he is not allowed to enter Orangeburg, South Carolina, which is a result of the "Orangeburg Massacre"

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GROUP 1
EXCLUDED FROM AUTOMATIC
DOWNGRADING AND
CLASSIFICATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

69
53
10
ENCLOSURE

100-446080 - 2208

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

in February, 1968, whereby three students were killed on the campus of SCSC. He stated SELLERS had been wounded during the "massacre" and "the brother is not here in physical presence but he is here with us in spirit. We are going to have to even the score for brother Sellers. Of course, we are doing it in other places, we are just going to have to do it in Orangeburg."

Carmichael stated that he wanted to talk very seriously about a number of things including the problems faced by the black people and some of the solutions that are going to help the black people get rid of their problems. He stated that many of the things he says may sound crazy but he urged the audience to listen to his reasoning. "Don't disagree with what the white man says because whatever he tells you to disagree with you should agree with and what he tells you to agree with you should disagree with. When he tells you about a responsible nigger; you had better run from that nigger but if he says that man is crazy, he is an imperialist - he is militant then that is the man to follow".

Carmichael stated that they must realize that the black people are a colonized people - that they have been de-humanized and now the black man has started the hard struggle for his liberation.

There are two levels on which the black man must begin to move forward which he identified as the entertainment level and the educational level. He described the entertainment level as one in which the Negro has to adjust himself psychologically to be prepared to face the white man whom Carmichael called the "oppressor".

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

He said this was a necessary step.

He gave as an example of the entertainment level the following:

A couple of years ago if a Mr. Jones shot and killed a Negro in Orangeburg, South Carolina, the rest of the Negroes would whisper about it and ask if they had heard about the "nigger" being killed by Mr. Jones and when they asked why Mr. Jones had killed him they would whisper "he was killed because he was a nigger". Today if that same Mr. Jones killed a Negro we would not whisper as indicated above but would shoot and kill Mr. Jones - kill him. This shows we are psychologically ready to face the white man and we are beginning to feel psychologically equal to the "oppressor". After the black man passes the entertainment level they move to the educational level. "Here we begin to analyze our problems and organize what we think are our solutions." Carmichael said that in Orangeburg the black man needs both levels. He said that after the "Orangeburg Massacre" there must be some hard followups - "revenge is ours, we must revenge - that is from the Bible. Revenge is ours saith the Lord I will revenge" and I say "God helps those who helps themselves." The black man is so ashamed of his being black and that is because the "oppressor" makes him ashamed of what he is. The white man makes the black man that way so the black man will identify with the white man and thereby the black men will not stick together and they will not unite. The black man must understand this problem and he must realize that he has a hatred for each other that can be easily seen. He said that is why the black man is so quick to fight each other. Carmichael said that if a brother "nigger" steps on another "nigger's" shoes

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RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

the Negro will say "what did you do that for and then out comes the blade" whereas if a white man steps on a Negro 's shoes he will say "it's all right sir".

He stated the black man runs from what he is and tries to identify with the white man. "We think the only way to make good is if we are white". The black man seeks to destroy himself because they fight each other when they should be fighting the white man. He stated that if there were five white policemen in a town and five 'Uncle Toms' we would jump the Uncle Toms. Now, if a black man gets mad at his brother he goes out and hits five white policemen and then comes back. Before you shoot an 'Uncle Tom', kill five white policemen and then talk about killing an 'Uncle Tom'. "

"If we are really talking about uniting then we should try to save our people which leads us to our first concept. In order to counteract the hatred that we have for ourselves we must begin to have an undying love for our people. Black people. We do not have an undying love for America - it should tumble but we should have an undying love for our people. Black people. Got to understand that concept. Because if we had an undying love for our people anytime one of us is in trouble all of us would be in trouble. If we had an undying love for our people, a policeman hits one of our people walking down the street that policeman dies right there. If a policeman is beating up a sister, we fight that policeman but if we see one of our brothers in trouble and the policeman is racking him up against his will, we say that policeman sure is bad."

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Carmichael continued to emphasize that the black man must have an undying love for his people and he stated "an undying love for our people does not mean that you are only willing to die for your people but that you are willing to kill for your people, that is far more important."

Carmichael then told his audience "don't be shocked at the thought of killing" and told all of the ROTC students in the audience that when they graduated they were going to have to kill for their country because they would be sent directly to Viet Nam. He told his audience not to get scared at the idea of killing. He stated he had a brother-in-law who had served in Viet Nam and had killed forty Vietnamese soldiers and had received all kinds of medals. Yet if he killed a white policeman in Harlem for laying a hand on my sister, his wife, my brother-in-law would get the electric chair. "Killing is neither right nor wrong, it is just who has the power to legitimize it".

Carmichael told the audience that he did not understand why a black man was willing to kill for this country - "after all it has done to us, is doing and is planning to do we should fight much harder to kill for our people than our country. So if we have an undying love for our people then we can begin to see the necessity to kill for our people. "

Carmichael then discussed the second concept which is "every Negro is a potential black man".

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Carmichael told the audience that the black man was from Africa and was stolen by the white man and brought to this country. He stated "the white man is a thief . He stole us and brought us here". He said when the black man was in Africa they were called Africans - they were black - but when they were brought to the U. S. they became Negroes. "When we came here we were in slavery - when we were in Africa we were free. When we were in Africa and free we were black men. When we became slaves we were Negroes." "Slavery and Negroes are synonymous ".

He stated that the black man must understand this concept that every Negro is a potential black man because this concept means that even "Uncle Toms" have a chance and the black man should not waste time fighting the "Uncle Toms" because maybe they could bring them home. "A converted somebody is always more powerful than somebody that has grown up with them".

Carmichael then discussed the third concept which he said was much more difficult but very important. That concept is "for us, black people, the question of community is not just simply a question of geographical boundries but a question of our people and where we are." Thereafter Carmichael discussed institutionalized violence. He said that institutionalized violence is when a young Negro baby in the United States goes to bed hungry every night. "That is much more violent than killing policemen."

Thereafter Carmichael discussed the question of education in the United States. He claimed that the Negro is not receiving an education in the white man's schools but what he is really receiving is a study of a "white racist ideology". He cited as an example the fact we are taught Columbus discovered America. He stated that is

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONCLUSION

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

ridiculous because the red man was in America long before Columbus even came to this country but that the white man in all of his history indicated that the colored man did nothing until he was discovered by the white man. He stated the Negro is being brainwashed in the schools in the United States. What they teach is "that we are all dependent upon the white man to find us and bring us around. We memorize what they want us to memorize." Education is really indoctrination and the education we have been getting in this country is racist. It is against us, that is why the more educated we are, the more anti-black we become.

We have to find new types of values so that we can make institutions that speak to the needs of black people.

"Let's talk about violence, about militancy, revolution and armed struggle and let's understand them. Let's talk about revolutionary violence. There are two types of violence - revolutionary violence and counter revolutionary violence. Revolutionary violence is that type of violence which seeks to overthrow a system which supports the few in society and by overthrowing this system we hope to institute a new system that speaks for the majority of the people.

Revolutionary violence is that violence which seeks to overthrow an established system that is unjust and seeks to replace a new system that speaks to the needs and desires of the masses of our people. Counter revolutionary

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

violence is that violence which seeks to maintain a system that is unjust. Okay. In the U. S. the police department in Orangeburg, South Carolina, represents counter revolutionary violence. They represent counter revolutionary violence because they use violence to maintain their status quo in Orangeburg as it is, even though it is unjust. Revolutionary violence would be that type of violence which is aimed against the police force that snipes at a policeman dynamite a police station and machine gun a police station, that is revolutionary violence. Revolutionary violence in Vietnam would be the Viet Cong. Counter Revolutionary violence in Vietnam would be the violence of the American forces. The U. S. is just beginning to see the marks of revolutionary violence as the dynamiting of several police stations in the past months and machine gunning of a couple in New Jersey, the sniping and killing of several policemen across the country. That is the beginning of revolutionary violence and we need more of that. We need a lot more of that. We need more of that because in the final analysis that is the only way we are going to protect ourselves and survive.

Because the police in Orangeburg can march back on this campus tomorrow and shoot three more "niggers", they know nothing will happen to them, they will be set free. White folks will pat them on the back, call them heroes.

They are going to talk about getting an NAACP lawyer and in the end the policeman is going to be right. We are going to come out mad and say that we just can't trust white folks. That is right, you can't.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Do something about it folks. Don't talk about it. A couple of policemen get shot every time they shoot at black people - in Orangeburg - a policeman will think twice about shooting a black man. Because in the final analysis one is prohibited by force. They use force to prohibit us, we have to use force to prohibit them in the final analysis. A policeman knows he can shoot down any 'nigger' on the streets and walk away scott free just like in Viet Nam you shoot a Viet Cong and they give you a medal. The policeman - he shoots a Negro and he gets a medal. Right! Open Hunting Season! But if everytime a policeman shot a Negro, a couple of policemen were fired upon - a couple of policemen were dead - they wouldn't be so happy to come and start trouble. They just say that's them Negroes having trouble on the campus, let the President handle it. We don't have anything to do with that.

We must begin to understand that in the final analysis it all boils down to a question of power. Nothing else - we are the powerless - they have the power and because of this and only because of this can they do what they do to us. White folks don't run this country because they are democratic - because they are beautiful - they run the country because they have guns. That's all. That's all. It's not really a question of right - it's a question of might. He who organizes himself to fight. That's all it boils down to. If you're willing to fight then you have a good chance to live and if you're not willing to fight, they're going to mess over you every day of your life. That's a fact. That's a natural fact. We know. We all know. A white man will think twice before messing with a black panther man - they call him crazy. They say then 'niggers' in the black jackets are crazy -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Don't mess with them. That's right. We're crazy They are not going to mess with no crazy Negro cause if he slaps a crazy Negro, he's going to come up with an arm missing but until we begin to understand this, we're not going anywhere.

It's been almost a year since three brothers were killed on this campus. What do we have to show for it. Nothing. They ain't even scared. They probably are still laughing about it. Every time they drive by and see these three little wreaths they probably laugh and say, that's where they got the three 'niggers'. Ha! Ha! Ha! That's right. That's right. They don't fool around places where policemen were shot - Houston, Texas, they don't mess with that Negro school. No sir. Them 'niggers' is crazy. They shoot back. Leave them alone. Texas A & I - them 'niggers' is crazy. They kill policemen. Leave them alone. San Francisco State - when those policemen are called to that campus they pray - Lord, please - not them 'niggers' again. Because in the final analysis that is the one time when you must have time to organize. If we let them know that every time they touch one of us, one of them going to get taken - that's the only time - the only, only time he don't care what anybody says. If your preacher tells you something different, then he's lying. He's lying and you ought to tell him not to lie from the pulpit of the church. If your professor tells you this, you should tell your professor he's lying and tell him he is in school to learn the truth.

Political power comes out of the barrel of the gun and its only a question of being right. Organized guns - that's going to stop anything.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Why do you think white folks walk down here, because they're better than you - you know they're not better than you are. Even with guns they got to come 100 to 1. They come to get us in a pack and they got the power. They're not better than we are, its just because they've got the guns and we don't, and we are not willing to fight back. That's all! It's like a bully. A bully only picks on someone who won't fight back. Even if he can beat someone up but this cat keeps fighting back, the bully don't mess with him. He don't want no bloody nose so he leaves him alone. It's only the people that don't fight back that he messes with. Time and time again they have been messing with the 'niggers' because we have not been fighting back. We should fight back. We fight in Viet Nam - we fight in Korea - we fight in the Pacific - we fight in Europe - we fight but we don't fight back. We say yes we never say no. Boy, they say, go to Viet Nam. Boy say yes sir. They say boy go to Korea, boy say yes sir. They say boy, go into the National Guard and go to Chicago and run the people down. The boy says yes sir. Boy say hell no I ain't going white boy. That's all we got to say. One time just say no to them. For once in your life say no to the white man. Boy - yes, boy - yes, boy - hell no. Just say it one time.

And we talk about the fear of death. The reason people don't fight back is I'll get mowed down That's not it. What he's really saying is he's just afraid to fight back. Look here, you can snipe at a policeman and nobody's going to know who did it if it's at night... (laughter) ... You laugh too easily. This is true.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

You say you read Malcolm X. If you read Malcolm X you know what Malcolm X said. He said 'show me a white man who has fought in Viet Nam - show me a white man who has fought in Algeria - show me a white man who has fought in Latin America - show me a white man who has fought the mau mau and I'll show you a white man whose got the creeps and the jeeps and a nervous condition.' He said 'because a white man could not face a guerrilla fighter.' He said a white man could not face it because a guerrilla makes his own rules of war and he fights after dark because after dark its even steven - an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth and a life for a life.

They tell you about Malcolm X all the time - they make him out to be a hero. You are not reading Malcolm X because if you were reading Malcolm X you would know we can't beat that white boy out there right now in a face out showdown but after dark on the rooftops of Harlem you can bugaloo down the alley just shooting the cops and we are going to have to do this. You laugh, you think its funny because you really don't want to face it.

The only way to stop a few Negroes from dying is to kill a few cops but you are not going to face it. That's violence. That's irreligious. That's this. That's that. That's murder. That's that. Ha! Ha!

Because you know what you have got to do but you are running. You can't run any more. It's like Joe Lewis said. You can run but you sure enough can't hide because they are coming to get us. Wherever we are they are coming to get us, every last one of us. Got to - Got to- Got to- Got to- mau, mau, mau, mau, - got to fight so get your guns and let's go. You can't run no more. You all got to fight.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

They are going to solidify the white community against us and prepare us for Wallace. That's all. You know it and I know it. Like Rap Brown says black people breath when Nixon got elected but they did not recognize they were whistling gas. That's right. Whew! Wallace did not get it! Whew! woo woo. No Nixon is going to solidify the whole community against us and unless we are prepared to fight we are going to find ourselves like the Jews did against Hitler. We will be bugalooing into gas chambers. We will be reading our mathematics books. The colleges while they put us on trains. Right on into the gas chamber unless we wake up, ~~unless~~ we face reality. Everyone is afraid to talk about guns and black people for a number of reasons. It's because we don't love our people. If we did love our people we would try to destroy those who are hurting our people. You got a woman - if a brother tried to rape that woman, you would kill him. You got a brother and you are walking down the street with that brother and let someone try and beat up that brother, you jump in and fight with your brother because you love him. Say you are walking down the street and you see a black woman being raped. It's a shame - just did not love her. See your brother getting beat up by some white folks, whew, leave them alone. Because you don't love your people.

Too many people throw the term revolutionary around too loosely. They talk about we are in a black revolution. We are not in a revolution in this country because a revolution begins when you have seized power.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

You can only have a revolution after you have seized power because revolution means a change and you can't change until you have power. Castro - you know about Fidel Castro - a bearded cat who lives in Cuba - bad - Americans don't mess with him. He's got a small island. American can't stand him. Talk about how bad they are. They tell America, we will fight to the death. There's only ten of us but ten of us have got to die. We're going to take some of you. America hears this - they don't mess with them. They run over people who don't fight back. They take 1,000 'niggers'. They don't mess with the Vietnamesebecause the Vietnamese say we are going to die with you. We are the only ones who die alone. Dr. King died alone. He did, you know. He died alone and we had to bury him. If he had killed five, that would have been five less you'd have to worry about. You can't die alone. Revolution means that when you have power you begin to revolutionize. The Cuban revolution began when Fidel Castro and Che Guevara seized power in Havana, Cuba. From that day the revolution began. Before a revolution - the armed struggle. Now Malcolm X said that. He said there can be no revolution unless its bloody.

But the white man is doing a trick today. He lies when he says there was a bloodless revolution. He's trying to tell you there is such a thing as a bloodless revolution because if he tells you there is a bloodless revolution we will believe we are really in a revolution but a revolution can not be any way but bloody. Malcolm X said that, I didn't. Malcolm X is correct. You have to have armed struggle before you have a revolution. Black people in this country - we have just begun to scratch

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

the surface of armed struggle so how can we talk about revolution. You can't talk about revolution until you seize power. We have not seized any power. We have to understand that. Now what you don't understand is that the white man is working a trick. He is letting us think we've got power. Let me give you an example. A couple of years ago you could not find any black people on television but today you have got them on all of the television programs right. Now think how many black men on television is a cop. Every one, including David in 'The Outcast', 'Mod Squad' - cop; 'NYPD' - cop; 'Mission Impossible' cop; 'I Spy' International cop. Right. Right. What are they saying to us. They are making us identify with the system of law and order and the only black men we are supposed to hero worship for are the black men who fights for law and order. White folks are correct - correct. Example #2. On every white television family show, if a member is missing from the family in the show it is always the mother. It is always the male image in every white family and every white family on television. But for us there is the mother. Once again there is imposed on us - we don't even recognize it.

Where on television do you see a white family with just a mother and where is our father. He died in Viet Nam. So we can all grow up to have our fathers killed in Viet Nam. (a helicopter pilot). Their mothers take care of them. We don't recognize what he's doing but we call this progress. Sure that's progress because we don't take time out to understand what those white boys are doing. Those boys are just getting smarter.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

That's all, they are just getting smarter. Every day he gives us that same talk about revolution. You can't have revolution unless you have blood. He knows George Washington did not have revolution until he had blood. Lincoln did not have revolution until he had blood. The Chinese did not have revolution until he had blood. They going to tell us 'niggers' we can have a revolution and don't shed no blood and we will believe it unless we understand. There must be armed struggle before there is revolution and the organizing for armed struggle is the most important era in this struggle and we are beginning to reach it - we are beginning to reach it and he knows it and we know it and he is going to try to stop us. That's something else you should know. Before a man comes down on you, he tries to fool you and what the white man is doing now with these pacification programs is he is trying to fool us all. He's trying to fool us so he can come down on us so he can bring in the real repressive agents and we must be aware of this. Now, alot of people say we talk hate - Rap Brown - Stokely Carmichael - Huey P. Newton - Ron Karenga. All they ever talk about is hate! hate! hate! Some black people say that. You hear this on television, don't you. I ain't got nothing to do with those people that teach hate and violence, bla bla bla. We live in a world of opposition. It is called dialectic philosophy. For every act there is a reaction. There is an opposite for everything. For wet there is dry - hot there is cold - joy there is sadness - laughter there is tears - white there is black. They are opposite. We are living in a world of opposition. Everything has its opposite. If you love you have to be able

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

to hate and if you don't hate you have to have the capacity for hating. If you don't have the capacity to hate, it is impossible to love..... You've got to have hate, you've got to have that capacity. "

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1

APPENDIX

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia, is a nonmembership organization, which was born out of the sit-in movement that erupted across the South beginning in 1960.

Today SNCC identifies itself as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

According to SNCC the year 1967 marked a historic milestone in the struggle for the liberation of black people in the United States and the year that revolutionaries throughout the world began to understand more fully the impact of the black movement. SNCC declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus-- the capitalistic system of the United States with all its life-sucking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The realities of black life, together with the recognition instilled in SNCC workers forced its members to further popularize the legitimacy of self-defense and rebellions when oppression became too great".

From May, 1966, until May, 1967, Stokely Carmichael was National Chairman of SNCC. As of July, 1968, Carmichael resided in Washington, D. C., where he was affiliated with SNCC and active as temporary chairman of a black coalition group. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced by Hubert Geroid Brown, commonly known as H. Rap Brown, who served until June, 1968.

In June, 1968, at the Staff and Central Committee meeting of SNCC held in Atlanta, Georgia, it was decided to restructure the organization by equalization of responsibility by creating ten deputy or vice chairmanships. The primary purpose for this change is to take law enforcement pressure off any single individual.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

*In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.*

Columbia, South Carolina 29202
January 21, 1969

Title	STOKELY CARMICHAEL
Character	
Reference	Columbia memorandum dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

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ITS CONTENTS ARE NOT TO BE DISTRIBUTED OUTSIDE YOUR AGENCY.

Domestic Intelligence Division

~~SECRET~~

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date January 31, 1969

[REDACTED]

~~SECRET~~

[REDACTED]

CLASSIFIED BY 2100 JPD/MS

DECLASSIFY ON: 25X

[REDACTED]

Cornichon [REDACTED] have
been spending the month of January, 1969,
in Stockholm [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Cornichon has stated he will
soon move to Guinea.

TID:cbu

~~SECRET~~

DATE: 11-14-2005

CLASSIFIED BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3x2 (1) 11-14-2030

1 -

2/4/69

~~SECRET~~

Airtel

#910386
 CLASSIFIED BY 39063clw/boe/116
 DECLASSIFY ON: 25X

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
 OTHERWISE

To: SACs, Atlanta (Enclosure)
 Houston (Enclosure)
 New York (Enclosure)
 WFO (Enclosure)

From: Director, FBI (100-446080) - 2209

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
 RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

REFERRAL DOCUMENT

FOI/PA # 247638

APPEAL #

CIVIL ACT. #

E.O. # 12356DATE 9/27/87 INITIALS as/

b1

Classified by SP-8 lty/hcy
 Declassify on: OADR

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MAILED 24

FEB 3 - 1969

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 Trotter _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holmes _____
 Gandy _____

PTB:mk1

(10)

57 MAR 7 1969

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

This matter should be handled expeditiously. Submit results to the Bureau in a form suitable for dissemination.

~~SECRET~~

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

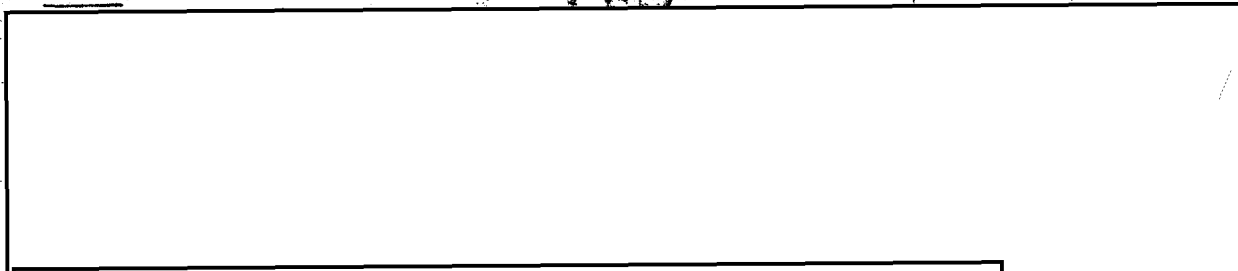
DATE: 11-14-2005
 CLASSIFIED BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg
 DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1) 11-14-2030
 Classification per OGA letter dated 11-14-2005

Airtel to SAC, Atlanta
RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

~~SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

NOTE:



(S)

b1



~~(S) (S-1)~~

~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Fe 2/3

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

DATE: 1/30/69

FROM : SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM

per 2122

Re WFO letter 12/10/68.

b7C

Los Angeles requested to expedite results of investigation regarding a tape found in the possession of [redacted]

[redacted] containing inflammatory remarks by CARMICHAEL.

Calif.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-14-2005 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

30

- 2 - Bureau
- 2 - Los Angeles (157-1907)(RM)
- 1 - WFO

WWH/mee
(5)

REC-25 100-446080-2210
2-6
15 JAN 31 1969

RACIAL INT. SECT.



61 FEB 14 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

F B I

Date: 2/1/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL - REGISTERED

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, SAN DIEGO (100-13995) (RUC)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-14-2005 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

Re Washington Field Office airtel to Bureau 1/16/69;
and San Diego Letterhead Memorandum dated 11/13/68, captioned
"Demonstration for TIMOTHY B. THOMPSON, October 26, 1968,
30th and Ocean View Boulevard, San Diego, California.

A transcript of the speech by STOKELY CARMICHAEL
at San Diego, California, on October 26, 1968, in connection
with the demonstration for TIMOTHY B. THOMPSON was submitted
in referenced letterhead memorandum.

On 1/28/69, [] advised that he believed there
were approximately 300 - 400 people who attended the demonstration
for TIMOTHY THOMPSON at which STOKELY CARMICHAEL spoke. About
93% of these were Negroes and 7% white. 50% of the audience
was male and 50% female. A few Servicemen were present in
uniform and possibly 5 military personnel were present who
were not wearing their uniforms. The amount paid STOKELY
CARMICHAEL for making this speech was unknown but source has
heard that his expenses were paid. Source did not know how
much money was collected but stated that they passed the
hat five separate times through the audience in order to
collect the amount of money they felt they needed. This money
is alleged to have gone to STOKELY CARMICHAEL but this is not
known as a fact.

On 1/27/69, [] advised that he has heard that
STOKELY CARMICHAEL was paid about \$1,000 for his trip to San
Diego to speak on 10/26/68. [] based this on the fact
that he heard before CARMICHAEL arrived that he had been invited

C. U. Bishop

3 - BUREAU (AM-RM)
2 - Washington Field (100-43503) (AM-RM)
1 - San Diego
EMP:ejt (6)

REC 29 100-446080-22

cc 806 94D 17 FEB 5 1969

Approved: [Signature]
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

RACIAL M. SECT.

SD 100-13995

to speak and that it was believed that it would cost \$1,000 to have him speak in San Diego. [] stated that the collection taken at the meeting for TIMOTHY B. THOMPSON on 10/26/68 allegedly amounted to \$730. He had last heard where this money went or heard that another collection was taken on the night of 10/26/68 and that an amount of \$800 or more was mentioned, but source is not sure whether this is the total of both collections or whether an additional \$800 was collected at a meeting at a church on the night of 10/26/68. [] remarked that when TIMOTHY THOMPSON appeared in Court he had to have a Court-appointed Attorney so apparently the money that was collected did not go for his defense.

b2
b7D

On 10/28/68, [] had advised that approximately 500 people attended the demonstration for TIMOTHY B. THOMPSON and of this group it was estimated that 20 - 25 % were white and 5% Mexican-American with others being Negro.

b2
b7D

All sources reported that no fees were charged to attend this demonstration but that paper buckets were passed through the audience to collect money allegedly for the defense of TIMOTHY THOMPSON.

Other sources contacted could not furnish further information requested in referenced airtel.

1 -
1 -

b7C

SAC, WFO (100-43503)
REC- 25

2/4/69

Director, FBI (100-446080) - 22/2

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WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

b1

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PTB:mkl/rel
(5)

DATE: 11-14-2005
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DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(6) 11-14-2030

NOTE:

Black extremist, Stokely Carmichael, is on the
Security Index and the Agitator Index. He is currently
reported to be in Stockholm, Sweden, [REDACTED]

b7C

[REDACTED] He has indicated that he will soon
move to Guinea.

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
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Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

MAILED 20
FEB 4 - 1969
COMM-FBI

57 FEB 14 1969

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

SAC, Los Angeles

January 29, 1969

Director, FBI (100-446080)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK
PANTHER PARTY

REGISTERED MAIL**TRANSLATION MATTERS**

Enclosed is certain foreign language material:

Newspaper item in Swedish concerning the subject and Miriam Makeba, received as enclosure to Legat, London routing slip dated 1/21/69. Also enclosed is a letter in Norwegian.

This material should be processed as indicated below:

b7C

SA [] should prepare expeditious full translation of item #1 and short concise summary of item #2.

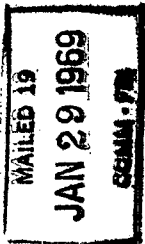
Following disposition should be made of enclosure and translation:

Both to Bureau, attention FBI Annex.

If the results of your review are not furnished the Seat of Government, in accordance with instructions set forth above, then the office initiating the request, to which translation is made available by you, has the responsibility of appropriately notifying the Bureau of any pertinent information contained therein.

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 DATE 11-14-2005 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

Enc. (2)



Tolson _____
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 Holmes _____
 Gandy _____

BWR:cjs

(5)

54 JAN 31 1969

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐**NOT RECORDED**

JAN 29 1969



Department of State

TELEGRAM

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834

PAGE 01 STOCKH 00259 301023Z

17 11
ACTION SY 03

INFO AF 12, EUR 15, PPT 02, SCA 01, FBI 01, [] 00, DODE 00, INR 07, [] 00,

P 04, RSC 01, USIA 12, L 03, RSR 01, /062 W

036283

R 300850Z JAN 69

FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3221

INFO AMEMBASSY CONAKRY

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMCONGEN GÖTEBORG UNN

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DATE 11-14-2005 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

b7C

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE STOCKHOLM 0259

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL'S TRAVEL PLANS

REF: STOCKHOLM A-48

NOT RECORDED

4 JAN 30 1969

~~NAT. INT. SEC.~~

1. ACCORDING TO FRIENDLY AMERICAN NEWSMAN JAN 29, STOKELY CARMICHAEL TOLD AFRICAN WORKING FOR RADIO SWEDEN THAT HE PLANS TO TRAVEL TO FINLAND WITH HIS WIFE, MIRIAM MAKEBA, NEXT TUESDAY, FEB 4. THEY WILL THEN GO ON TO ITALY, DAR ES SALAAM, LAGOS, BACK TO WEST GERMANY, AND FINALLY TO GUINEA, WHERE THEY WILL "SPEND SOME TIME."

2. CARMICHAEL HAS BEEN RELATIVELY QUIET DURING HIS MONTH-LONG STAY IN STOCKHOLM. WITH EXCEPTION OF DAGNES NYHETER INTERVIEW, A TAPED BROADCAST FOR THE SWEDISH RADIO FOREIGN SERVICE (TO AFRICA) AND A SCHEDULED APPEARANCE IN UPPSALA, []

CARMICHAEL TOLD AFRICAN OFF THE RECORD THAT HE BROKE WITH SNCC BECAUSE SNCC WAS RUN BY A "MILLIONAIRE JEW" WHO WAS MANIPULATING THE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

b7C

6

1 X cc to WFO & NY 100-7
and to ISD (later)
81 FEB 12 1969
RTB/ies

100-446080
5-12



Department of State

FEB 6
TELEGRAM

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PAGE 02 STOCKH 00259 301023Z

ORGANIZATION INTO TAKING AN ANTI-ARAB STAND. THE AFRICAN TOLD THE AMERICAN NEWSMAN THAT HE FOUND CARMICHAEL REMARKABLY NAIVE (E.G., ALL BLACKS ARE BROTHERS AND SHOULD LOVE ONE ANOTHER) AND THAT CARMICHAEL COMPLAINED THAT PEOPLE CAME TO LISTEN TO HIM AS AN "ENTERTAINER" RATHER THAN A SPOKESMAN FOR THE BLACK PEOPLE.



b7C

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

F B I

Date: 1/30/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-4466080)
 FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (100-6812) (P)
 STOKELY CARMICHAEL
 RM

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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 DATE 11-14-2005 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

Re WFO airtel dated 1/16/69, with request that receiving offices furnish certain information regarding composition of audiences addressed by subject and type of remuneration received for making speeches.

As reflected in previous communications, subject was in Atlanta on 12/11/68, and spoke at Clark College and Emory University. Subject's attempt to speak at Morehouse College on the evening of 12/11/68, was abruptly terminated.

[redacted] advised he had heard subject had been offered a fee of \$500 to address the student body at Clark College on 12/11/68; however, the sponsoring group, the Student Government Association, was unable to raise the full amount, but was able to pay CARMICHAEL approximately \$300. [redacted] could furnish information regarding this allegation, or if in fact, CARMICHAEL had received any type of fee.

3-Bureau (RM)
 2-WFO (100-43503)(RM)
 2-Atlanta
 EUC:bjc
 (7)

ET-115

100-4466080-2213

4 FEB 1 1969

C. C. - Bishop

REC-8

CC 806 98D

b7C

4 FEB 13 1969

Approved: [Signature]
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

RACIAL INT. SEC.

AT 100-6812

According to [REDACTED]

b7C

[REDACTED] (Protect), the audiences at Clark College were composed of both male and female Negro students of the Atlanta University System, and if any military personnel attended, it was unknown to them, as no one was observed to be wearing a military uniform.

b7D

[REDACTED] (Protect) advised that the audience

b2

CARMICHAEL attempted to address on the evening of 12/11/68, at Morehouse College was composed of Negro male and female students. They were unable to report if any military personnel attended.

b7C

b7D

As regards to Emory University, where CARMICHAEL spoke on the afternoon of 12/11/68, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised that an organization on the Emory campus known as The Student Center Board had invited CARMICHAEL, for which he was to receive a fee of \$300.

b7C

Source attending CARMICHAEL's speech at Emory University advises that no military personnel attended.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

b7C

TO : [REDACTED]

DATE: January 31, 1969

FROM : S. J. Papich

b7C

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WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

Tolson _____
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Sullivan _____
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Holmes _____
Gandy _____

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTER

[REDACTED]

b1

[REDACTED]

(S)

b1

[REDACTED]

(S)

b7C

[REDACTED] suggested the possibility that [REDACTED] is
identical with [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] with headquarters in Houston, Texas.
[REDACTED] inquired if the Bureau considered this to be a good identi-
fication. He also asked if we would furnish information in our
files concerning [REDACTED]

request

Q

b7C

If [REDACTED] does not fit, [REDACTED] inquired if we
knew of any other individuals who may have traveled to
Stockholm, Sweden, recently and who could be contacts of
Stokely Carmichael.

b1

[REDACTED]

(S)

ACTION:

per oga let. dtd 11/14/05

The above information is being directed to the
attention of the Racial Intelligence Section.

b7C

- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - Liaison
- 1 - S. J. Papich

EX-103

b7C

DATE: 11-14-2005
CLASSIFIED BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1) 11-14-2030

SJP:clb
(4)

REC-1

100-446080-243
DUN

57 FEB 17 1969

REC-105

22 FEB 7 1969

F B I

Date: 2/6/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
 FROM: SAC, DETROIT (157-3185)
 SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
 RM

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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 DATE 11-14-2005 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

Re WFO airtel dated 1/10/69, captioned as
 above.

On the occasion of the subject's appearance
 before the Organization of Arab Students at Ann Arbor,
 Michigan, 8/26/68, referred to as Item 6 in referenced
 communication, [redacted] were present. The sources
 were [redacted]

b7C

b7D

[redacted] advised that
 the audience was made up entirely of Arab speaking students
 with the exception of about ten Negroes.

CARMICHAEL's traveling party consisted of
 five individuals, all Negroes, and the balance of his
 traveling unit were local Ann Arbor people interested in
 civil rights groups. [redacted]

b7C

b7D

[redacted] estimated the audience as 350 people, averaging
 25 to 30 years of age, entirely male containing no known
 military personnel either in or out of uniform. [redacted]
 [redacted] stated that he met CARMICHAEL's party at the airport
 where he observed CARMICHAEL being met by an official
 of the Organization of Arab Students. [redacted]
 stated he is not aware of what monetary return CARMICHAEL
 received from this appearance, but is of the opinion he

b7C

- 3 - Bureau (RM)
 1 - WFO (100-43503) (Info) (RM)
 1 - Detroit
 JEK/cmt
 (5)

100-446080-221

CC 806 94 DEC 127

25 FEB 8 1969

55 FEB 26 1969

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

RACIAL INT. SECT.

DE 157-3185

received a nominal fee plus traveling expenses

[REDACTED]
could furnish no other specific information regarding
this appearance of CARMICHAEL at Ann Arbor, Michigan.

b7C

b7D

SAC, WFO (100-43503)

February 12, 1969

Director, FBI (100-446080)

1 -

b7C

0
STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

S.T.
[Handwritten signature]
ReWFO letterhead memorandum dated 2/7/69, captioned "Black United Front (BUF) - Racial Matters" wherein it was reported that a tape recorded message by Stokely Carmichael was played at a BUF meeting held 2/5/69, Washington, D. C.

Through racial informants and established sources, endeavor to obtain a copy of the above referenced tape. If successful, promptly submit to the Bureau in a form suitable for dissemination, a verbatim transcript of the tape.

[Handwritten signature]

PTB:mjb/ekw *[Handwritten signature]*
(4)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-14-2005 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

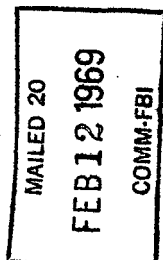
NOTE:

Black extremist Stokely Carmichael is on the Security Index and the Agitator Index. He departed from the United States on 12/28/68 to spend a month in Stockholm, Sweden and subsequently moved to Guinea, Africa. Reportedly, Carmichael explains on the tape that he will go to Africa for "black liberation."

b7C

REC-110/100-446080-227
19 FEB 12 1969

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Sandy _____



[Handwritten signature]
57 FEB 14 1969

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

SAC, Los Angeles

February 4, 1969

Director, FBI (100-446080)

**STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK
PANTHER PARTY**

REGISTERED MAIL

Enclosed is certain foreign language material:

Two newspaper items in Swedish concerning Carmichael and Miriam Makeba, received as enclosures to Legat, London routing slip dated 1/14/69.

This material should be processed as indicated below:

Expeditious full translation by SA

b7C

Following disposition should be made of enclosure and translation:

Both to Bureau, attention FBI Annex.

If the results of your review are not furnished the Seat of Government, in accordance with instructions set forth above, then the office initiating the request, to which translation is made available by you, has the responsibility of appropriately notifying the Bureau of any pertinent information contained therein.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-14-2005 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

Enc. (2)

Addendum for yellow

b7C

Above items previously sent to New York for translation. Bulet 1/22/69. Returned by NYlet 1/30/69 because SA transferred to language school, Monterey, California.

1 - Room 806, 9 & D (sent direct).

b7C

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
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Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

BWR:mep

54 FEB 11 1969

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

706

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
(ATTN: FBI ANNEX)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-153751)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM-BPP

DATE: 1/30/69

ReBulet 1/26²²/69.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are two newspaper items in Swedish concerning CARMICHAEL and MIRIAN MAKEBA, received as enclosures to Legat, London routing slip, dated 1/14/69.

Instruction set forth is referenced Bureau communication instructing that this material was being sent to NYO, for processing by the Special Agent listed thereon, familiar with the Swedish language.

Special Agent [redacted] was transferred prior to completing this translation and as a result the Bureau is requested to have the enclosed Swedish newspaper item translated.

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-14-2005 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

100-446080-13

3 Bureau (Encls 1)
1- New York (43)

BJW:lng
(4)

2 ENCLOSURES
Let to Los Angeles
w/enclos (Re)
(2 FAM)
BWR - map
2-4-69

NOT RECORDED

12 JAN 31 1969

b7C

SEEN

CC 806 9 + 17

RACIAL INT. SECT.



SAC, Los Angeles

February 6, 1969

Director, FBI (100-446080)

b7C

S.T.

**STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK
PANTHER PARTY**

REGISTERED MAIL

ReBulets 1/29 and 2/4/69

Enclosed is certain foreign language material:

Four newspaper items in Swedish concerning Carmichael and wife, received as enclosures to Legat, London routing slip dated 1/28/69.

This material should be processed as indicated below:

Enclosed material and material submitted with reBulets, in view of the developing volume of the material, should be succinctly summarized with particular emphasis on subject's travel plans and on anything of intelligence interest to Bureau.

Following disposition should be made of enclosure and translation:

Both to Bureau, attention FBI Annex.

If the results of your review are not furnished the Seat of Government, in accordance with instructions set forth above, then the office initiating the request, to which translation is made available by you, has the responsibility of appropriately notifying the Bureau of any pertinent information contained therein.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-14-2005 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

b7C

Enc.(4)

ADDENDUM FOR YELLOW: This matter coordinated with [redacted] Domestic Intelligence Division.

b7C

MAILED 10
FEB 6 1969
COMM-FBI

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

detached

BWR:sjm *sjm*
(6)

Room 806, 9th & D, sent direct

100-446080-

NOT RECORDED

16 FEB 11 1969

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

F B I

Date: 2/6/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-153751)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RACIAL MATTERS

On 2/4/69, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised that he did not know when [REDACTED] would return to the United States. [REDACTED] advised he had not been in contact with [REDACTED] and did not know where she was at this time.

[REDACTED] advised that [REDACTED] was in Africa and she stated she did not know what his plans were. [REDACTED] advised that [REDACTED]

On 2/4/69, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised he had no [REDACTED] this year and that he had not been in contact with her.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-14-2005 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

REC 98

- ② Bureau (RM)
2- Washington Field (RM)
1- New York (43)

BJW:tf
(6)

1- Supv. #43

C. C. - Bishop

3 FEB 7 1969

b7C

Approved: 57 FEB 24 1969
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

~~SECRET~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

SAC, Boston (100-37622)

2/14/69

Director, FBI (62-111663)

PERSONAL ATTENTION

Ce b7C
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

1 - Field Guidance Folder

1 -

1 -

b1

b1

b1

Information furnished by is classified "~~Top Secret~~" and must not be included in any communication prepared for dissemination. It is to be used for lead purposes only and the fact the Bureau is in possession of such data must not be revealed to outside agencies or individuals.

referred to above is apparently identical to captioned subject. The individual referred to by source as is unknown.

- 1 - San Francisco (Personal Attention)
- 1 - Los Angeles (Personal Attention)
- 1 - WFO (Personal Attention)

- ① - 105-165706 (ESP)
- 1 - 100-446080 (Carmichael)

PEN:F'sh
(10)

62 FEB 26 1969

187
DUPLICATE YELLOW

100-446080-
NOT RECORDED
167 FEB 18 1969

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

DATE: 11-14-2005
CLASSIFIED BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1) 11-14-2030

~~SECRET~~

ORIGINAL FILED IN 62-111663-70

~~SECRET~~

Letter to S [redacted] Boston

RE: [redacted]

62-111863

b7C

Boston is requested to advise of possible significance of information set forth above regarding individual identified as [redacted] and the "money thing" in connection with investigations of the Black Panther Party, [redacted] Carmichael or other individuals or extremists. If necessary, leads should be set out to appropriate field divisions in this matter. Results should be reported to the Bureau by airtel or other appropriate communication.

b7C

Information copies of the communication are being furnished to San Francisco and Washington Field Office as office of origin in the Black Panther Party and Stokely Carmichael cases. A copy is also being furnished to Los Angeles in view of information regarding Huggins and [redacted]

b7C

NOTE:

Information concerning contact with Stokely Carmichael abroad by individual apparently identical with [redacted]

[redacted] and another unidentified individual was furnished to Liaison representative [redacted]

b7C

[redacted] 1/30/69. BPP members John J. Huggins and Alprentiss Carter were killed by Negro members of the extremist US organization on the UCLA campus on 1/17/69.

- 2 -

~~SECRET~~



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C. 20535
February 18, 1969

gm
SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

REFERENCE: Report of SA [redacted] dated
2/14/69 at Washington, D. C. b7C

Referenced communication contained subject's residence and/or employment address. A recent change has been determined and is being set forth below (change only specified):

Residence: Currently traveling in Europe prior to
establishing residence in Guinea

Employment: Temporary Co-Chairman, Black United Front,
Washington, D. C., also, Prime Minister,
Black Panther Party with Headquarters in
Berkeley, California

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-14-2005 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

*cc to SS by
P/S 2/26/69
PTB/akt*
FD-122 DETACHED

100-446080-
NOT RECORDED b7C

25 FEB 20 1969

[Handwritten signature]
RACIAL INT. SEC.

149
This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

61 MAR 3 1969

F B I

Date: 2/17/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-43503) (P)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM; BPP

According to previous info received [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] CGO ascertain if
engagement filled by [REDACTED] and if accompanied by subject.
If subject appears in Chicago, cover per previous Bureau in-
structions.

CGO also attempt to ascertain [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] and set forth pertinent data in LHM form.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-14-2005 BY 60309 auc tam/mlt/tcg

REC 49

ST-112

- 3- Bureau
- 2- Chicago (RM)
- 1- New York (Info)
- 1- WFO

WWH:br
(7)

3 FEB 17 1969

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Approved: [Signature]
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

2202
WFO 100-43503

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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b7C

He spoke of guerrilla warfare and urged internationalizing the "movement". He traveled to Africa with [] in September, 1968, and continued attacks on the U.S. [] who traveled in the U.S. and abroad, filling personal appearances, reportedly supports "nationalists" groups in Africa and along with CARMICHAEL, had contact with African government officials. On 11/30/68, they moved from WDC reportedly to later go to Guinea to live. Activities in SNCC, BPP and the BUF set forth as well as information regarding speeches, travel and financial data. CARMICHAEL CONSIDERED ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

- P -

*Classification retained per 6962 (WNP/984)
note markings of (C)+(S) on following
pages and others are (U)
pages 12, 14, 23, 26, 41, 48, 169; 203; 204; 206;
; 220; 221; 225; 247; 253;
259; 262; 265;
Category 1, 2 and definite*

100 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WFO 100-43503

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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b6 b7C	VII.	FINANCIAL INFORMATION REGARDING CARMICHAEL AND HIS WIFE, [REDACTED]	248-258
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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DETAILS: AT WASHINGTON, D.C.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

I. BACKGROUND

A. Organization, Affiliation and Residence

CARMICHAEL was previously affiliated with the Washington, D.C. (WDC) office of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) as an "organizer", with national headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia. CARMICHAEL's duties at SNCC were not specifically defined. He appeared to act on his own volition and did not appear to take orders from any specific SNCC official including [REDACTED] SNCC office. Similarly the duties of SNCC are not clearly defined and the term "SNCC" representing Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee is no longer accurate as there are few actual legitimate students left in the organization.

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During August, 1968, the national SNCC organization announced that its relationship with STOKELY CARMICHAEL had been terminated and that he would no longer have any affiliation with that organization. Subsequently, it was announced that CARMICHAEL had been affiliated with the Black Panther Party (BPP) and that he would hold the position of Prime Minister in that organization.

CARMICHAEL was also reportedly affiliated with the Black United Front (BUF), WDC, where he was Temporary Co-Chairman. During some of the meetings CARMICHAEL often presided and in addition attended meetings of the Steering Committee and handled other administrative functions.

A characterization of the SNCC, the BPP, and the BUF is subsequently set forth in this report.

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He has not attended any BUF meetings recently but has not publicly resigned from that organization and apparently still holds the position of Temporary Co-Chairman.

CARMICHAEL is not otherwise known to be gainfully employed.

After their marriage, STOKELY CARMICHAEL and his wife [] resided at 5015 16th Street, N.W., WDC, from about April, 1968, to November, 1968. Prior to that time, while single, CARMICHAEL resided at 2200 12th Street, N.W., WDC, an address he acquired when he came to WDC to live in January, 1968.

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In November, 1968, CARMICHAEL and [] moved all their furnishings from their WDC residence and had them packed for shipment, apparently abroad. They left WDC on November 30, 1968, for New York City, prior to subsequent travel abroad. No formal announcement of their plans was made but they indicated to acquaintances that they were leaving the United States and would be living abroad for the indefinite future. While in New York City, after moving from WDC, they stayed at CARMICHAEL's mother's residence, 1810 Amethyst Street, Bronx, New York City, and also did some traveling, making speeches and handling public appearances. They left New York City in late December, 1968, for Sweden and were scheduled to go to Guinea to live.

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[] 10/68; 11/68; 1/69)]~~9~~~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WFO 100-43503

1810 Amethyst Street
Bronx, New York

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Mabel ~~Carmichael~~

B. Record Checks

British West Indies

Florence ~~Carmichael~~

MRS

The files of the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), WDC, disclosed STOKELY CARMICHAEL was born June 29, 1941, at Port of Spain, Trinidad, British West Indies. His father, ADOLPHUS STANDIFORD CARMICHAEL, now deceased, was born in Port of Spain, Trinidad, British West Indies (BWI) on February 1, 1913. His mother, MABEL FLORENCE CARMICHAEL, nee CHARLES, was born in Panama City, Panama, on March 24, 1919. MABEL FLORENCE CARMICHAEL, nee CHARLES, was married to ADOLPHUS STANDIFORD CARMICHAEL on October 7, 1939, at the Port of Spain, Trinidad, BWI. MABEL FLORENCE CARMICHAEL entered the United States as a non-quota Panamanian native immigrant on October 30, 1944, at Miami, Florida. She was naturalized a United States citizen at the United States District Court, Southern District, New York, on December 22, 1952. ADOLPHUS STANDIFORD CARMICHAEL entered the United States at New York, New York, on July 15, 1945, as a transient to the BWI and on March 28, 1951, an order by the Assistant Commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service that his deportation as an alien who had remained for a longer period than authorized be suspended and that his case be referred to Congress. The suspension was based on a finding of economic detriment to his lawful resident alien wife, should he be deported. A Concurrent Resolution of Congress, CR-29892, approved the action. A record of entry for permanent residence, retroactive to July 16, 1946, was created on January 28, 1952.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL entered the United States for permanent residence on June 15, 1952, and was destined to his father. STOKELY CARMICHAEL automatically became a citizen of the United States on April 27, 1953, the date of the naturalization of his second parent under provisions of

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Section 321 (a) of the Immigration and Naturalization Act. CARMICHAEL applied for a derivative certificate of citizenship and after being interviewed with his parents, was issued Certificate A338082 on April 17, 1958, by Immigration and Naturalization Service at New York, New York.

The files of the United States INS, 20 West Broadway, New York City, for [] revealed that [] U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service file number [] was born [] at [] applied for permanent residence in the United States on February 27, 1961, and residence was granted May 1, 1961. [] was admitted to the United States as a visitor on November 11, 1959 and August 23, 1960, and listed her occupation as a singer. [] listed her prior residence as [] and listed her former spouse as [] born [] in [] is classified as [] with the INS. [] listed her employment as Independent Contractor in South Africa from 1954 to 1959 and Music Corporation of America from 1959 to present date.

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The records of the District of Columbia Court of General Sessions, WDC, disclosed that STOKELY CARMICHAEL and [] filed an application for a marriage license on April 22, 1968. In applying for the license CARMICHAEL furnished information he was a resident of WDC, twenty-six years of age, of the "black" race and had no previous marriages. [] advised she was a resident of WDC, thirty-six years of age, of the "black" race and had one previous marriage that terminated in divorce in Juarez, Mexico. The license, number 11514, was sworn and subscribed before the court clerk on April 22, 1968. The officiating clergyman was listed as Reverend DOUGLAS MOORE. The marriage license authorized Reverend MOORE to marry CARMICHAEL and [] and return the license to the court clerk within ten days. The document was subsequently returned with the

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certification by Reverend MOORE that he solemnized the marriage of CARMICHAEL and [] on April 29, 1968, at 2628 Monroe Street, N.E., WDC. The document contained the signature of Reverend MOORE and the signature of [] a witness.

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C. Current Physical Description

STOKELY CARMICHAEL is described as follows:

Name:	STOKELY CARMICHAEL
Date and Place of Birth:	June 29, 1941, Port of Spain, Trinidad, British West Indies
Naturalization:	Naturalized a United States citizen, April 27, 1953, Certificate Number A338082
Race:	Negro
Sex:	Male
Height:	6 feet 1 inch
Weight:	160 - 170 pounds
Eyes:	Brown
Hair:	Black
Build:	Medium
Complexion:	Medium Brown
Scars and Marks:	1 inch scar under chin
Marital Status:	Married; wife []
Education:	Graduated from Bronx High School of Science, Bronx, New York, June, 1960

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WFO 100-43503

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Residence:

Graduated from Howard University,
Washington, D.C., June 5, 1964,
receiving B.A. Degree in Philosophy
Carmichael moved from 5015 16th.
Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., 11/30/68
He traveled to New York City, then to
Sweden and is later scheduled
to live in Guinea.

Current Employment:

Prime Minister, BPP, Headquarters
located in California; Temporary
Co-Chairman, BUF, Washington, D.C.
ADOLPHUS STANDIFORD CARMICHAEL,
Father (deceased)

Parents:

MABEL FLORENCE CARMICHAEL, nee
CHARLES, 1810 Amethyst Street,
Bronx, New York, Mother
853121D

FBI Number:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

II. ACTIVITIES IN SNCC, BPP AND THE BUF

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

A. Activities in SNCC and the BPP

The data regarding STOKELY CARMICHAEL's activities in SNCC and the BPP is being set forth under the same caption due to the interrelationship of the information developed.

Information regarding STOKELY CARMICHAEL's activities in SNCC for the period January to June, 1968, has been previously set forth in an investigative report.

The following information, except for the summary, which sets forth prior data, covers pertinent SNCC and BPP activities of CARMICHAEL from June to December, 1968.

Summarizing his activities in connection with SNCC and the BPP to June, 1968, STOKELY CARMICHAEL had been publicly identified as the former National Chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee with headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia, for the year 1966-67. He was later replaced by [] as National Chairman, who held the office for the year 1967-68. CARMICHAEL carried on considerable racial activity with SNCC as National Chairman which brought him great notoriety and included travel abroad, in some cases to various communist countries. After his return to the United States in December, 1968, his passport was seized for unauthorized travel to several restricted countries.

Upon arriving in WDC on January 4, 1968, to take up residence, he announced he would continue his activity with SNCC and work out of the WDC SNCC office under the leadership of [] Director of the WDC SNCC office. During approximately the first six months of his residence in WDC,

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in early 1968, he worked out of the WDC SNCC office in various SNCC interests and also established and became active in the BUF. During the above mentioned period, he apparently became increasingly disillusioned with the leadership of [] the SNCC Director and allegedly was, as of June, 1968, attempting to get him removed from that position. Feelings prevalent among WDC members were that CARMICHAEL wanted [] deposed from SNCC leadership so he could appoint someone to that position more favorable to himself and his leadership or have the job personally. In the meantime, he continued his activity in the BUF on a regular basis and apparently with considerable interest.

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During his entire residence in WDC, which encompassed almost the calendar year of 1968, no chapter of the BPP was known to have been established or existing in WDC. However, during the middle of 1968, about July, SNCC and BPP announced a "working alliance" nationally and STOKELY CARMICHAEL became Prime Minister of the BPP. However, this relationship did not apparently last very long as the SNCC and BPP association was later dissolved including CARMICHAEL's affiliation with SNCC.

(U)

[], 12/68)

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At a national conference of SNCC held during June, 1968, in Atlanta, Georgia, STOKELY CARMICHAEL was not elected to the Central Committee, the policy making body. The feeling among SNCC officials was that CARMICHAEL would slowly drift away from SNCC due to his marriage to [] [] Negro entertainer.

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[], 6/25/68)

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b7D~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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During July, 1968, the internal battle between STOKELY CARMICHAEL and [] reportedly continued for control of the WDC SNCC office. They were previously reported to be at odds over the SNCC operation with CARMICHAEL attempting to oust [] from his SNCC position and gain this position for himself. [] publicly alleged CARMICHAEL had enlisted outside help to work for him and cause [] trouble. CARMICHAEL reportedly did not come to the SNCC office as often as previously and when he visited the office, he avoided direct contact with [] as much as possible. [] was soliciting new SNCC support for his position against CARMICHAEL. CARMICHAEL was reportedly keeping aware of [] movements through his, CARMICHAEL's, secretary.

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The SNCC office in June, 1968, had an outstanding telephone bill of \$700 and had been threatened with discontinuance of service.

(U)

[] 7/68) X

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The BPP and the SNCC have announced the formation of a "working alliance" which the two militant groups hope will form the genesis of a black political party. According to [] the alliance will try to unify all black militant groups in the United States against "the mounting forces of repression". Some examples were the "stockpiling of arms and arming of whites" and the "assassination of black leaders". In the alliance SNCC leaders also hold office in the BPP. [] SNCC's chairman of International Relations, is Minister of Foreign Affairs in the BPP. STOKELY CARMICHAEL of SNCC is the Panther Prime Minister. [] is Panther Minister of Justice.

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[] , 8/6/68) X

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b7D~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

An activist in SNCC indicated that organization had been having problems with the BPP in New York City. The problems involved the role STOKELY CARMICHAEL was to take within each group and whether CARMICHAEL in filling speaking engagements would speak on behalf of the SNCC or BPP.

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b7E[redacted], 7/26/68) ~~X~~

N.J.
D.C.
170. On July 28 - 29, 1968, a SNCC Central Committee gathering was held in New York City. The meeting was chaired by [redacted] SNCC Program Director. During the meeting, a decision was made to sever all relations with the BPP and to "fire" STOKELY CARMICHAEL as he was currently responsible for friction between the BPP and the SNCC and regarded by SNCC as a "racist". A press release to that effect was to be issued. [redacted] SNCC official, and [redacted] former SNCC National Chairman, reportedly sent the BPP written notification they were resigning positions held in the BPP.

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[redacted], 7/31/68) ~~X~~b2
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A very serious rift has developed between SNCC and the BPP who only recently announced an alliance. The rift reportedly occurred out of jealousy and mistrust. SNCC is reported to be jealous of growing strength of the BPP which has a large active following and the fact the Panthers are seeking UN observer status which SNCC had thought an exclusive domain. During the past week a press conference was called by the BPP at which time STOKELY CARMICHAEL was scheduled to speak but never showed up. After four hours of waiting, the

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conference was called off. The SNCC organization reportedly has been pressured by many militant groups including the BPP to move its New York office to the black community or be forced to disband. Several members of SNCC felt it had not identified with the black community in New York City.

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The telephone company in WDC has again been after [redacted] to pay the SNCC telephone bill. Most of the former regulars of SNCC in WDC do not go to the office any more because of the split between STOKELY CARMICHAEL and [redacted]. They drop in occasionally to pick up messages but it seems [redacted] has instructed the girls in the office not to take messages for those persons who are not on his side in the dispute.

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[redacted] of WDC SNCC has stated on a number of occasions he knows STOKELY CARMICHAEL was trying to get him ousted as Director of the WDC SNCC office. [redacted] contends he will hang on and over-come CARMICHAEL's efforts.

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[] the SNCC midwest Director in Chicago, Illinois, reported on August 16, 1968, a closed conference of SNCC was being called to be held on that day at the Christ King Lutheran Church, Chicago, Illinois. He indicated it might last through August 17, 1968, and was extending invitations to out of town SNCC members to attend. Out of town SNCC leaders received the impression from [] the conference or meeting would partially concern a closer association or uniting of SNCC with the BPP.

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[] mentioned above, indicated earlier in July, 1968, SNCC supposedly severed its association with the BPP and at a closed meeting held in Brooklyn, New York, during late July, 1968, SNCC and the BPP had reestablished relations. Former National Chairman, STOKELY CARMICHAEL, was believed present during the July meeting along with other SNCC officials as well as representatives from the BPP and other militant racial organizations.

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(U) The meeting in Chicago on August 16, 1968, was poorly attended. Reportedly only the Cincinnati SNCC members were able to attend. After remaining at the church several hours, they went to the home of []

In discussing SNCC, [] stated he called the meeting to clarify for various SNCC groups in the midwest the status of SNCC. He quoted STOKELY CARMICHAEL to the effect SNCC as an organization would be "dead" in six months because of internal conflicts and dissension, primarily between SNCC national leader [] and CARMICHAEL and their respective followers, consequently CARMICHAEL was intent on fully uniting SNCC with the BPP. He cited as an example of dissension that [] had left SNCC when and because CARMICHAEL assumed control over SNCC, and that [] finally got [] to return to SNCC who became the current Chairman.

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[] also reportedly said that the dispute between [] and CARMICHAEL goes back to the fact CARMICHAEL stopped putting the proceeds of his personal appearances into the SNCC treasury. [] also said the BPP was backing CARMICHAEL fully and were ready to stand behind him in any dispute with SNCC.

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[] SNCC National Program Secretary, probably had a part in CARMICHAEL's ouster as [] is loyal to [] for his appointment as National Program Secretary.

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CARMICHAEL had been at increasing odds with [] [] WDC Director of SNCC and had engaged in a power struggle with [] for control of the WDC office of SNCC which had caused internal dissension. [] had brought this matter up at the SNCC conference held in Atlanta, Georgia, in early June, 1968, but no official action had been taken at that time.

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There is speculation among some SNCC individuals CARMICHAEL could be a target for assassination by the more militant adherents because of hostility toward him. However, this was reported to be speculation only and no overt action or discussion was known to have taken place in that regard.

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"It became all but certain Monday that the Washington Chapter of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee will soon move to disassociate itself from the national organization.

"A new sign in front of the local SNCC office reads 'Washington Independent SNCC' confirming the speculation of a possible split between the national organization and its local chapter.

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[] however, denied the possibility, and said, 'There is no break' between the national body and its Washington chapter.

"He indicated that he might have something more to say later. It is believed he might soon make a formal announcement of the independence of the Washington SNCC despite his denial of the possible split.

[] and [] squarely put the blame for the shooting and related developments on STOKELY CARMICHAEL who is reportedly away in Africa. [] said 'STOKELY is the lead man' in all this and that his absence from the country would make him 'appear clean' []

[] said [] who, [] charged Monday is leading a Black Panther Party effort to take over the local SNCC is only a 'flunkie' of STOKELY's 'who is doing the job for the boss'. CARMICHAEL is Prime Minister of the Black Panthers. []

DC

"The exchange of shots and other related violence appeared to have been caused by an underlying struggle for the leadership of the local SNCC which is said to be part of a nationwide effort by the Black Panthers to eliminate SNCC from the national scene.

[] and [] have charged that the shots fired into the SNCC office were from Black Panthers.

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not press charges because of what he called a lack of evidence. [] made his decision after hearing from the Colonel, members of his Black Man's Volunteer Army of Liberation, and other witnesses.

"The hearing was called after reports of three shooting incidents at the Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee office, 2208 14th St., NW., where [] and some 25 other men spent the week-end.

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"Meanwhile, [] said yesterday [] who like [] did not appear at the hearing, has 'disappeared'. [] has claimed [] is a target of the Panthers, who he said are trying to get control of the nation's militant black communities from SNCC.

[] in deciding against filing charges, said, 'We don't have anybody who saw these shots fired...we certainly have had some careless use of guns, tho. But it doesn't seem like we have anything to prosecute. It doesn't mean we condone this kind of thing.'"

An article appearing in the "Washington Afro-American" on September 14, 1968, reported as follows:

"With the reported departure of [] from the city, a dispute between Washington SNCC and the Black Panthers was said to be settled Thursday--at least temporarily.

[] reportedly left the city and is not expected to return.

"No one was at the SNCC office when the AFRO attempted to contact [] Wednesday.

"Many attribute the threats and aggression against SNCC to an internal dispute between [] and former SNCC members disgruntled over his leadership."

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Regarding the Institute for Policy Studies, mentioned in connection with the seizure of the WDC SNCC office, a brochure published by the Institute in 1966 entitled: "First Three Years", it was stated the Institute was opened in 1963, and located at 1520 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., WDC. The Institute was described as "an independent center for research, education and social invention on public policy in Washington, D. C." The brochure continued "the institute is perhaps unique in that it has almost simultaneously been called 'the intellectual arsenal of the New Left' by two political Columnists and the 'vanguard of the status quo', by a leader of the student movement."

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Regarding the Blackman's Volunteer Army of Liberation (BVAL), [] its leader, has described it as an organization which has as its purpose the securing of the migration of Negroes in the United States to Africa to establish a black independent nation.

PRIDE, INC., mentioned in connection with the seizure of the WDC SNCC office, has been publicly described as an organization working among underprivileged Negro youth in Washington, D.C., headed by [] and supported by the United States Government.

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On September 17, 1968, a BPP meeting was held in Baltimore, Maryland. BPP representative [] conducted the meeting. Among other things, [] stated he carried a gun when he was on "Panther alert". Further, that the Panthers traveled in pairs during an emergency and that this order came from STOKELY CARMICHAEL, the "head man".

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[] also stated STOKELY CARMICHAEL selected the individuals who were to direct the Panthers in the area and rules for the Panther officers were approved by CARMICHAEL before they were printed.

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Due to internal differences between several factions the WDC office of SNCC was closed. In addition, the Director, [] became emotionally upset over the problem and left WDC because of personal fear. [] had been having trouble with factions within the local WDC SNCC office for about six months and particularly with supporters of STOKELY CARMICHAEL, the former National Chairman of SNCC who came to WDC to live in January, 1968. As a result of increased friction, [] became very suspicious of everyone affiliated with the SNCC office. He also became exceedingly secretive and became obsessed with the idea of retaining his position as Director of the office. While others were apparently trying to work [] out of his position, he became very upset, nervous and irritable. He showed signs of extreme anxiety. [] always was nervous but due to internal staff problems he became increasingly nervous and secretive. He allegedly began reading employees' mail and failed to relay messages to staff members received by him at the office. In addition, he never accounted for any money received through the SNCC office which was a source of constant

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irritation to other members. As a result, staff members of SNCC were not paid promised subsistence for working, and as the dissension increased, [] seemed to lose all contact with reality in his efforts to keep his position as Director. When the dissension was about to erupt into violence, he solicited help from outside groups. He alleged publicly that outsiders had been brought into WDC with orders to take over the local SNCC office. Subsequently, when the shooting broke out between the groups, [] decided to close the SNCC office. He reportedly became afraid for his personal safety and with increased anxiety and fatigue, he decided to leave WDC for the time being.

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[] reported girl friend, had not been into the SNCC office in about five months. She was there one day recently when [] and his Black Man Volunteer Army of Liberation was helping [] hold the office against the dissident members of SNCC.

[] reportedly carries an umbrella which it is rumored contains a mechanism for firing bullets.

[] has not been around SNCC since June. She was unwilling to take sides in the dispute between CARMICHAEL and [] so she stopped coming to the office.

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[] plans to open a store on 11th Street, N.W., WDC, wherein they will sell dashikis, African artifacts and fashions. This store could also be used for a meeting place for SNCC members who are opposed to [] acts as STOKELY CARMICHAEL's secretary.

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[redacted] was reportedly given the option of affiliating himself with SNCC in Atlanta or New York City by the National SNCC leadership.

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[redacted], 9/1/68)

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Information indicates that there is extreme hard feelings between SNCC and the BPP which has resulted in an open break between these two groups. This is a result of STOKELY CARMICHAEL completely disassociating himself from SNCC and becoming associated with the BPP on a full-time basis and engaging in attempts to raise money for the BPP through speaking engagements. CARMICHAEL did this on his own without the permission of the Central Committee of SNCC, and as a result, was thrown out of SNCC. He thereafter took the position of Prime Minister with the BPP and as a result was successful in taking some of his personal followers in SNCC with him. [redacted] one of the heads of BPP in Oakland, California, issued instructions and orders that the BPP should be moved into the areas where SNCC is operating and attempt to take over SNCC operations in those areas. It appears that CARMICHAEL will be behind this move in an attempt to retaliate against SNCC. As a result in early September, 1968, a fight between SNCC members and members of the BPP in New York City had taken place in front of the BPP office according to [redacted] of SNCC in New York. A few days later, according to [redacted] of SNCC in WDC, members of the BPP had fired into the SNCC office and had tried to firebomb the office. Members of the BPP had also attempted to invade the office space but were physically restrained from doing so by SNCC members. As a result, [redacted] had all of the locks of the entrances to the SNCC office changed.

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[redacted], 9/20/68)

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Contact with persons familiar with the situation since the incident at the WDC SNCC office resulting in it being closed, disclosed the Black Panther Party was not even indirectly involved in the incident or responsible for the trouble in any way. Negro males known to be associated with [] of the Blackman's Volunteer Army of Liberation (BVAL), were observed personally in front of the SNCC office during the height of the dispute.

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[] was not an effective leader and would not report to the SNCC organization how the money collected and contributed was being spent. [] acted as if he was obsessed or preoccupied with lofty thoughts. The trouble within SNCC occurred when members of SNCC siding with STOKELY CARMICHAEL clashed with the [] group within SNCC.

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[] 10/11/68)]~~X~~

[] of SNCC made the statement on October 7, 1968, that he did not think he would attend the Black Writers Conference being held in Montreal, Canada, on October 13, 1968, but did intend to send a copy of his speech. [] gave as a reason for not attending that he did not want to be involved in a confrontation with STOKELY CARMICHAEL and [] who were also scheduled to attend. He said SNCC was so disorganized now he was going to resign. (C)

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There had been much discussion by the WDC group around STOKELY CARMICHAEL regarding where to take [] a BPP official from California, to prevent him from being sent back to prison. Mention was made of sending him to Cuba, Hanoi, North Vietnam or Guinea in Africa. However, no definite information was mentioned as to where [] had gone or information about his whereabouts. Reportedly only several persons knew [] whereabouts and one of them is STOKELY CARMICHAEL. [] had been previously serving time in California but was released on parole. Later his parole was revoked and he was ordered to return to jail. Instead he disappeared and is still missing.

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[] 10/11/68; 12/68) ~~C~~b2
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[] of BVAL commented in his headquarters, 1642 Newton Street, N. W., WDC, on October 16, 1968, that he and his men had gone to the assistance of [] and the WDC SNCC office because [] was alone and had no help. [] said that he did not want to see STOKELY CARMICHAEL take over SNCC as he was afraid CARMICHAEL would cause trouble like burning police stations. [] stated he was a peaceful man and wanted to help the

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community. [] said that people like CARMICHAEL cause trouble and many innocent people get hurt.

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[] 10/16/68) ~~X~~b2
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[] Midwest Director, BPP, Chicago, Illinois, allegedly is working primarily for the eventual take-over of the National Headquarters of the BPP by STOKELY CARMICHAEL, according to another Chicago youth gang leader.

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[] 12/6/68) ~~X~~

[] of the BPP and STOKELY CARMICHAEL had a conversation during which [] pointed out that there were three groups located in the Chicago area who wanted to affiliate with the BPP. [] advised CARMICHAEL BPP member [] was then in Chicago trying to organize these groups. [] instructed CARMICHAEL that when he saw [] that he should tell him not to officially organize any one of these groups until they determine which one will get his "thing going first" and "scrape up the money".

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[] 12/13/68) ~~X~~~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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[] WDC Secretary to STOKELY CARMICHAEL, who accompanied him to Atlanta recently, advised that on December 11, 1968, CARMICHAEL was scheduled to speak at a gathering in Atlanta and went to the gathering but left hurriedly without giving the talk because of a disturbance in the hall of three unidentified males who were armed and planned to shoot CARMICHAEL. The unidentified males allegedly came from St. Louis or East St. Louis. They started a minor disturbance in the hall where CARMICHAEL was to speak to cover the attempt on CARMICHAEL's life. CARMICHAEL and a group of associates fled out the back door before any action could be taken by the unidentified individuals.

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[] , 12/20/68)]

It is rumored within SNCC in Atlanta and New York that STOKELY CARMICHAEL reportedly planned to move to Guinea. Supposedly, [] since her marriage to CARMICHAEL, has been doing very poorly with her career as an entertainer and this is believed to be the reason for the move. Some circles have reported [] plans to "dump" CARMICHAEL because of his adverse affect on her career.

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[] 12/18/68)]

Additional Activities of CARMICHAEL
In SNCC and the BPP in Connection
With Other Information is mentioned
Elsewhere In This Report Under The
Various Captions

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B. Activities In the Black United Front (BUF)~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, after returning to the United States (US) from a six months trip abroad in December, 1967, announced he would make Washington, D.C. (WDC) his future home. He arrived in WDC to take up residence on January 4, 1968. He had been previously a resident of the District of Columbia while attending Howard University and had a familiarity with the area. He indicated he was to continue his association with the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), an organization of which he was former National Chairman (1966-1967), and in connection with SNCC activities, would work out of the WDC SNCC office. In addition to SNCC activities, he indicated he would soon start another organization in WDC to function in matters relating to the black community.

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[January, 1968)

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On January 9, 1968, a meeting was held at WDC by STOKELY CARMICHAEL. At this meeting the BUF, an organization consisting of representatives of black organizations and individuals was formed in the District of Columbia in order to effect operational unity among all black people.

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[January 9, 1968)

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During June, 1968, the BUF in an official statement of purpose, stated it was established for the purpose of expanding the lines of communication between, and effecting togetherness among all the black people in the District of Columbia in order that they might obtain a rightful and proportionate share in the decision making councils of the District of Columbia and rightful and proportionate control of the economic **institutions in the black community.**

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The standards for qualification as a member were listed as follows:

1. Any black individual who **had** concern and interest in the black community.
2. Any organization whose primary involvement **was** for the benefit of black people, provided it **had** at least a 50 per cent black **constituency** and its representative in the BUF **was black**.

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[redacted] June, 1968.]

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Activities of STOKELY CARMICHAEL in connection with the BUF for the period January to June, 1968, were previously set forth by investigative report.

The following pertinent activities of STOKELY CARMICHAEL during the period July through December, 1968 in connection with the BUF are being set forth:

The BUF was an idea (name included) which originated with STOKELY CARMICHAEL. His idea was to develop a black shield for all **black people** and their organizations. Initially, he wanted it to be a coordinating **body**. It appears, however, that the front became a moving arm of revolution instead, involving many who belong to no other group, but who were clearly militant.

[redacted] July 17, 1968.]

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DC A meeting of the BUF was held at Douglas Memorial Methodist Church, WDC, on the evening of July 3, 1968. There were about 65 people present including STOKELY CARMICHAEL.

[redacted] of Build Black Incorporated, during the meeting asked that an incident concerning a shooting on 13th Street and Columbia Road, Northwest, WDC., of two Metropolitan Police Department (MPD) policemen by members of a family named WHITE, whom they were trying to arrest, be put on the BUF agenda for discussion. An argument ensued over the procedure followed, but agreement was finally made to place it on the discussion agenda.

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During subsequent discussions over the issue, STOKELY CARMICHAEL reportedly stated that the BUF membership should get out placards and put these around the city to the effect that they were "2 Down and 3,998 To Go" referring to the members of the police department in the District of Columbia. He stated the killing of the officer was "justifiable homicide" and should be used as an educational symbol to the black community. A committee was appointed to draw up a resolution. A resolution was prepared and adopted stating the WHITE family had used self defense in the slaying of a policeman and that it was "justifiable homicide." Further, that this was as much as "justifiable homicide" as it is when the police kill black people and it is called "justifiable homicide." The resolution also stated the black community should be able to control the police assigned to the black neighborhoods and that society must take the responsibility of removing racist systems which make such things happen. In addition, it stated black people resolved that a change should occur any way that is necessary to have it happen.

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[redacted]
[July 3, 1968]

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At the BUF meeting held on July 3, 1968, mentioned above, a version of CARMICHAEL's activities and statements were reported as follows:

DC The main topic of discussion was the shooting of a LPD policeman STEPHEN WILLIAMS, who was killed by members of a family named WHITE, who were charged with homicide. STOKELY CARMICHAEL jumped up and said that this should be considered "justifiable homicide," for those accused in the same meaning that policeman who kill Negroes, claim "justifiable homicide." He condemned actions of white police in general and stated that the BUF should go on record to make heroes out of the accused. He said that an all out effort should be made to publicize the incident, to raise money and to get a good criminal lawyer in their defense. This would have a great **psychological affect** on others who might find themselves in the same **situation** and that a **psychological victory** could be won to **encourage others to arm themselves when "honky cops" come into the black community.** [redacted] another BUF leader, said the BUF should not go on record just yet and that they should wait to see what all the facts were around the shooting. CARMICHAEL argued against this and said, "We will document our own evidence on the facts as we see them and know them to be in our black community. We act on the facts as we know them to defend our people against the 'honky cops', when they come into the community, have their guns drawn and ready to kill." [redacted] argued about the legal issues involved and said we still do not have all the facts." Reverend CHANNING PHILLIPS, another BUF leader, also entered into the discussion, and acted as a buffer individual between Reverend EATON and CARMICHAEL. A committee was appointed to draw up a resolution on the matter and which was subsequently prepared along the lines suggested by CARMICHAEL. A vote of the BUF membership present was taken on the resolution which was passed.

[redacted] July 4, 1968] ~~X~~b2
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(U) On the afternoon of July 5, 1968, STOKELY CARMICHAEL visited the office of Build Black, Incorporated and asked for [redacted] who was not present. CARMICHAEL talked briefly with another person present and then left a copy of the BUF resolution endorsing the shooting of two policemen at 14th and Columbia Road, N.W., WDC, on July 2, 1968, as being "justified homicide." (C)

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(U) [redacted] July 5, 1968) (C)

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"The Washington Post and Times Herald," a daily newspaper printed at WDC, in an article on Page A-1, dated July 6, 1968, captioned, **the "Slaying of Police Defended,"** stated: "The Black United Front issued a statement which described the slaying of a District of Columbia policeman Tuesday night as "justifiable homicide."

"The statement said in part:

'The methods of self defense used by the family charged with the alleged slaying of the honky cop is justifiable homicide in the same sense that police are allowed to kill black people and call it justifiable homicide.'

"Several hours later, Mayor Walter E. Washington asserted that the BUF resolution with respect to the slaying of Officer (Stephen A.) Williams is inflammatory, irresponsible and unfortunate."

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DC

A rally sponsored by the BUF was held at the New Bethel Baptist Church, WDC, on the evening of July 17, 1968. It was attended by about 300 people, about 75 of whom were BUF members. Among those present was Reverend WALTER E. FAUNTROY, a member of the City Council, an official of the BUF and also Pastor of the New Bethel Baptist Church. In addition, STOKELY CARMICHAEL was present and during the rally read minutes of the BUF Board of Conveners, which pertained to actions of police in ghetto areas. CARMICHAEL gave a brief history of police in community relations in the District of Columbia, as he saw them since the death of MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., former head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). CARMICHAEL stated after the death of Doctor KING the white people had put the MPD on the defensive by criticizing them for allowing black people to loot and burn immediately subsequent to Doctor KING's assassination. Until June 24, 1968, CARMICHAEL said the MPD had been unable to regain the offensive because of the SCLC's campaign for the poor, commonly known as the Poor Peoples Campaign, conducted during that period. On June 24, 1968, however, CARMICHAEL stated the MPD took the offensive again with the termination of the Poor Peoples Campaign and their policy thereafter appeared to be that any time the black people got out of line, "The police reply with a massive show of force. CARMICHAEL stated that the only way this could be stopped was for the black community to take control of the MPD. He then read off a resolution outlining a five-point program which would give black people control of the MPD in the black community.

49a.

Reverend Walter FAUNTROYReverend FAUNTROY~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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The outlined BUF proposal was reported to be as follows:

"NEIGHBORHOOD CONTROL OF THE POLICE IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY

A 5-Point Legislative Proposal by the Black United Front

On July 29, 1967, a black teenager-, CLARENCE BROOKER, was gunned down by a white policeman. The official cause of his death: "justifiable homicide."

Since that terrible evening in the nation's capital, there has been an acceleration of shooting of black men by white policemen. In each instance, the "official" verdict has been predictably the same: "justifiable homicide."

Never once in the history of the D.C. police department has a white policeman even been indicted, convicted, or dismissed for killing a black man.

The black community of the capital of the United States of America no longer has confidence in its police department. There is the widespread conviction that the police actions are not to protect, but to persecute, not to make peace, but to maim people in the black community.

In the month of July, 1968, in less than two weeks, two men were killed in Washington, D.C. in a black citizen - white policeman confrontation -- July 2nd, Pvt. STEPHEN A. WILLIAMS and July 15th, THEODORE R. LAWSON.

The statements of witnesses to Brother LAWSON's death, as reported by the newspapers, left small doubts in the minds of the black citizenry that white policemen have apparently declared unofficial war on the black community.

The outrage which seethed through the white community at the Black United Front's comments on the concept of justifiable homicide is now felt by the black community for the killing of THEODORE LAWSON.

Yet, there has been no Congressional anger expressed for the way Brother LAWSON died. No public official has labeled the horrible events attending his death as "inflammatory, irresponsible, and unfortunate." No dignitaries nor the mayor of this city attended his funeral.

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And yet Brother LAWSON is just as dead as Pvt. WILLIAMS. Brother LAWSON'S family will miss him as deeply and his death diminishes us all.

The 5-Point Legislative Proposal

Because of the D.C. black community's loss of confidence in its police department, because tensions between the D.C. police department and the black community are at an explosive breaking point, and because there can be no peace in this city until conditions within the police department are radically changed, the Black United Front offers,

THE 5-POINT LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM FOR NEIGHBORHOOD CONTROL
OF THE POLICE IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY

1.) The elimination of the Police Chief's Advisory Council and the Precinct Advisory Councils.

2.) The establishment by public elections of Precinct Citizens Selection and Review Boards in the 2nd, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, and 14th Precincts. These Precinct Citizens Boards will have the following powers:

a.) To determine the criteria for policemen in their respective precincts.

b.) To receive applications from the Metropolitan Police Department and pass on such applications.

c.) To act on a complaint and review board for all occurrences between police and citizens in each precinct.

3.) The establishment of a city-wide D.C. Police Personnel Board composed of the chairmen of the Precinct Citizens Selection and Review Boards. This Board will recruit, hire, process, and approve all police applications. It would have the power of dismissal. The power of the Police Chief to waive criminal records of potential applicants will be delegated to this Committee.

4.) The selection by each Precinct Citizens Selection and Review Board of the precinct Police Captains from a list submitted by the Civil Service Commission.

5.) The prohibition of all-white police patrols in the black community.

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City-wide Community Hearings

The Black United Front Board of Conveners recommends that a 7-man panel hold hearings on Neighborhood Control of the Police Department in the Black Community be set up, and that it consist of the five members of the BUF Police-Community Relations Committee -- Rev. WALTER FAUNTROY, Mrs. JEAN HUGHES, CHUCK STONE, STOKELY CARMICHAEL, and STERLING TUCKER -- and two additional BUF members selected by the body.

The Board of Conveners further recommends that these public hearings in the black community be held in the following precincts on the following dates:

2nd Precinct - July 23rd

9th Precinct - July 25th

10th Precinct - August 1st

11th Precinct - August 6th

12th Precinct - August 8th

13th Precinct - August 13th

14th Precinct - August 15th

The Panel will then meet on August 22nd to draft a report based solely on the recommendations by the black citizens attending these hearings and will report to the total membership on the Black United Front on August 28th. The BUF will then make a final decision on the legislation to be proposed to the District of Columbia.

This Committee also recommends that the black ministers of this city, acting through the various Alliances and Committees, be invited to join hands with the black community by making their churches available for these critical and historic hearings."

Regarding the above mentioned BUF proposal, CARMICHAEL insisted the committee could make it work. He further stated the BUF represented all elements of the people, "those who pray each night that the attitude of the police will change and those who want to take a gun and go to the police station and fight for their rights." He remarked, "that the point he was

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making was that it made no difference as long as the MPD is taken over because the first step in a revolution is the taking over of the military apparatus. CONFIDENTIAL

The resolution presented by CARMICHAEL was adopted by the BUF, procedures were then established to hold future hearings on the resolutions proposed in various police precincts of the District of Columbia. CARMICHAEL stated that all meetings were to be held in a church if possible and at each meeting the BUF resolution was to be discussed and additions or deletions from the resolution made according to the desires of the people. CARMICHAEL stated all hearings should be held in all of the Negro precincts first and then later in other precincts in the city.

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July 17, 1968

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The "Washington Daily News", another daily newspaper, printed in Washington, D.C., in an article on Page 5, dated July 17, 1968, captioned "BUF Takes New Tact" stated in part that the BUF plans to find ways and means to take control of the police force in the District of Columbia.

In addition to the above, a local newspaper account of the BUF meeting quoted CARMICHAEL as saying the BUF resolution would be "put into effect by any means possible."

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July 18, 1968

At the BUF rally on July 17, 1968, at the New Bethel Baptist Church, WDC, among those present was STOKELY CARMICHAEL, who appeared to be the prominent figure and dominant force in the BUF. The entire meeting was taken up in discussing various resolutions looking to control, personnel make-up, and procedures, of the police in the black community. Resolutions were passed as advocated and discussed by CARMICHAEL. CARMICHAEL urged complete control of the police and the schools. It was mentioned at the time that the BUF had no entree into the school system, but a way would be eventually found. He urged that to get the matter of control underway, a panel be appointed to hold hearings at the various police precincts in the black community together with local reaction of the public to suggested BUF policies and later have a report rendered to the general BUF membership.

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July 18, 1968

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A meeting of the BUF was held at the Church of the Redeemer, WDC, on the evening of July 22, 1968. About 200 persons were in attendance. The theme of the meeting was black control of the police in the black community. The purpose of the meeting was to raise funds for the legal defense of a family named WHITE who had been accused of shooting two white policemen several weeks previously. One speaker called for community organization to control the police in WDC, emphasizing the WHITE case as the reason for such control. He defended the statement by BUF labeling the shooting of the two policemen as "justifiable homicide." He accused the police of "shooting down black people" without any motive. He stated committees and groups of black citizens should be formed to raise funds to defend the WHITE family and for general use in cases where black persons met with violence.

Another speaker, was 'KOKO' HUGHES, secretary of STOKELY CARMICHAEL, who delivered a militant speech. She discussed the "police system" in the district. She stated "everyone here knows what revolution is and I'm not here for any intellectual exercise. I'm talking about arming myself for defense. We are not thinking in terms of working with the system. Our policy is to break down the system. I am sick and tired of talk, I want action." She cited several cases involving shooting by D.C. policemen, of Negroes in the recent past as "all examples of genocide", a "conspiracy to eliminate the black people." She said this meeting was the first in a series of meetings on the same subject. She mentioned the possibility of sit-ins at different police precincts, and that such personalities as STOKELY CARMICHAEL would participate in sit-ins and hearings.

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[redacted]
July 23, 1968b2
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At the BUF meeting held on July 22, 1968, at the Church of the Redeemer, WDC, pertaining to black control of the police in the black community, STOKELY CARMICHAEL was billed as a speaker. However, he was not observed in the audience. His secretary "KOKO" HUGHES, among others, spoke in fiery terms of getting action and less talk. She encouraged her listeners to make an appearance at the court house hearing on July 23 to let "them know down there that we are interested in this matter." She held a long dissertation on the alleged injustices committed by the police in the black community and of alleged injustices

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suffered by black people in the courts. She accused Mayor WALTER WASHINGTON of "not knowing what its all about" and described him as a "honky Mayor." She termed the D.C. Government hearings conducted regarding victims of "police killings" as "whitewash."

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July 23, 1968) X

On the evening of July 23, 1968, a BUF meeting was held at the John Wesley A.M.E. Zion Church, WDC. The meeting was moderated by Reverend WALTER FAUNTROY, who explained that the meeting was being held regarding the 5-point resolution advocating neighborhood control of the police in the black community. FAUNTROY advised the approximately 300 people present that any one who desired to comment regarding the resolution would have to register. He then introduced KENNETH JACKSON, LILLIAN MURPHY, TONY COX, STERLING TUCKER, and himself, as being members of the BUF panel who had been designated to get information regarding the above mentioned resolution. *OC*

During the meeting, a student at Howard University, WDC, named JONES, gained the floor. He stated "These white people here have got to go. I will address myself to the proposal later." He then angrily called white people in the audience "white honkies" and "pigs", at the same time gesturing to white persons in the audience. He continued by stating "all these white people must go if we are going to tell it like it is." The white people in the audience were asked to leave. However, Reverend FRANKLIN JACKSON, Pastor of the church, stated if white people were asked to leave, then everyone would have to leave as he had been led to believe before making the church available for the meeting, that it was an open meeting and all members of the community, black and white, would be allowed to participate in the meeting. Reverend FAUNTROY urged all persons in the audience to stay. Shortly thereafter, STOKELY CARMICHAEL appeared. He began asking specific questions of the speakers beginning with JONES. He asked JONES if persons with criminal records should be allowed to serve on the police force. JONES answered that only persons convicted of a felony should be excluded. CARMICHAEL then asked if the residents of the community should control the police force and JONES answered in the affirmative.

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He then asked if policemen should be kept out of black communities and JONES again answered "yes." At times CARMICHAEL left the questioning to Reverend FAUNTROY, but each speaker was closely examined by CARMICHAEL regarding the BUF 5-point program for control of the police.

A young man named RAND, approximately 19 years of age, spoke. He indicated that only old people were speaking and he believed that teenagers should be allowed to express their voice. CARMICHAEL asked this young man if he was "ready to die with us if we fail to get what we want through these proposals?" The young man asked CARMICHAEL if he meant this year or next year. CARMICHAEL replied, "I mean this year!" The young man answered "yes."

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[redacted] July 24, 1968)]~~X~~

During the course of the above meeting, CARMICHAEL was heard to say in response to a question from the audience, "we must take control of the police by any means necessary, or we will die in the streets."

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[redacted] July 24, 1968)]~~X~~

During the BUF meeting held at John Wesley A. M. E. Zion Church, WDC, on the evening of July 23, 1968, STOKELY CARMICHAEL was heard to say among other things, that "if the BUF did not get its proposal one way, then as MALCOLM X said, they would get it another way."

[redacted] July 24, 1968)

A meeting of the BUF was held on the evening of July 25, 1968, at the Douglas Memorial Methodist Church, WDC. Approximately 200 persons were present. STOKELY CARMICHAEL and his secretary, "KOKO" HUGHES, among others, acting as a panel, conducted the meeting. Various views were expressed both in favor and against the BUF proposal and how the police should function in the black community by members present. CARMICHAEL and HUGHES acted as questioners of the speakers along with other panel members, including TONY COX and Reverend WALTER FAUNTROY.

[redacted] July 25, 1968)]

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During the BUF meeting at the Douglas Memorial Methodist Church, WDC, on July 25, 1968, STOKELY CARMICHAEL in response to a speaker, said that the color of the policeman in the neighborhood was not the important thing, but that the control of the police in the neighborhood was the important thing. About 200 people were present of whom, about 12 were white. Reverend WALTER FAUNTROY presided. As the people entered the church, they were given a copy of the BUF proposal setting forth a 5-point program for community control of the Police Department. Among the BUF panel members were STOKELY CARMICHAEL and his secretary, JEAN "KOKO" HUGHES.

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July 26, 1968

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A meeting sponsored by the BUF was held on the evening of August 1, 1968, at the Canaan Baptist Church, WDC. The purpose of the meeting was to place before the people who reside or work in the area serviced by the 10th Precinct of the MPD, the 5-point resolution of the BUF, which advocated control of the police by black people in the black communities. About 100 people were in attendance. The BUF panel, consisting of the Reverend WALTER FAUNTROY, STOKELY CARMICHAEL, C. SUMNER ~~STONE~~, JR., and TONY COX, were sitting at the front of the church and questioned each speaker about points raised concerning the BUF resolution. STOKELY CARMICHAEL, in cleverly worded remarks, asked each particular speaker from the audience what she or he would do about police brutality after all steps had been taken through legal and public channels to eliminate this condition in the community. The speakers generally agreed that stronger and perhaps "violent methods would have to be used."

"Chuck ~~Stone~~[]
August 2, 1968

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At the BUF meeting held on August 1, 1968, at the Canaan Baptist Church, WDC., one person instead of defending the BUF panel, attacked it verbally. STOKELY CARMICHAEL became very upset and for a time it appeared as though the meeting would end. CARMICHAEL left the church and continued the discussion with the man outside. CARMICHAEL later returned.

The purpose of the meeting was to hear testimony from people of the 10th Precinct of the MPD about the BUF proposal concerning community control of the Police.

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August 2, 1968

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Of the people attending the BUF meeting at the Canaan Baptist Church, WDC., on August 1, 1968, five or six were white and the other Negroes. STOKELY CARMICHAEL was present and acted as a member of the panel along with Reverend WALTER FAUNTROY, a member of the DC City Council. Most of the people who spoke supported the BUF 5-point proposal. STOKELY CARMICHAEL cleverly asked each person in the audience who participated in the discussion of the resolution, what he or she would do about police brutality after all steps had been taken through legal and other appropriate channels to eliminate these conditions to no avail. In replying to these questions, most of the participants advocated resistance to the police methods and some of the participants implied in their remarks that a revolution should be conducted. A young man who supported the BUF proposal was asked by CARMICHAEL what he would do to eliminate police brutality; the young man replied in his remarks that a "revolution should be conducted."

WALTER STRANGE (PHONETIC) a young man in making remarks, said some educated Negro people were leading other Negro people down the wrong path when they themselves really did not know what to do for the community. STOKELY CARMICHAEL interrupted him at this point and said that they did not need a black police force, but just a police force that the black community could control. The young man then replied, "I don't understand hypocrites like you, Carmichael." CARMICHAEL then replied, "you can jump on my chest when you like" and then invited the young man outside, which he did. At this point, several of the supporters of CARMICHAEL arose and placed themselves at strategic points apparently for the protection of CARMICHAEL. Many people in the church arose and left the meeting temporarily. CARMICHAEL and STRANGE(ph) participated in a heated argument on the steps outside of the church while the meeting was temporarily discontinued. CARMICHAEL was then persuaded to return to the church for the meeting to resume. Some of CARMICHAEL's supporters followed STRANGE (ph) down the street.

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[redacted] August 5, 1968) X

A BUF meeting was held on the evening of August 6, 1968, at the Southeast Neighborhood House, WDC. About 30 persons were in attendance. The main theme of the meeting was the black control of the police in the black community. STOKELY CARMICHAEL was a member of a panel along with others who listened to speeches and questioned witnesses about alleged police brutality. One member of the panel stated "the only way to neutralize the guns of the police were for the blacks to arm themselves."

[redacted] August 7, 1968) X

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At the BUF meeting on August 6, 1968, at the Southeast Neighborhood House, TONY COX acted as moderator. STOKELY CARMICHAEL was a member of the panel. REGINALD H. BOOKER, a member of the panel, proposed (1) arming the black people as a neutralizing force against the "police brutality" (2) eliminate police entrance examinations "which are geared to the white middle class" and (3) immediate cessation of hiring additional policemen, most of whom are recruited "from Southern States." JEAN "KOKO" HUGHES, the WDC Secretary of STOKELY CARMICHAEL spoke in favor of a repeal of the D.C. Gun control law and advocated arming by black people. She stated to be careful where you hide your gun because a "white power message" advised whites on how to secure guns and where to hide them.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL said it was not enough to just have black police Captains, the blacks must control the police. He said what the black man needs is decentralization of the police force. He stated centralization is good for the whites, but not for blacks.

Earlier in the evening, the meeting began in a room downstairs at the Southeast Neighborhood House, but was found to be too hot and was moved upstairs to an air-conditioned room. While downstairs, STOKELY CARMICHAEL sat directly behind COX, but upstairs he stood against the wall and from time to time conversed with several unidentified males. He left the room several times initially and seemed nervous.

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[redacted] August 7, 1968)

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[redacted] also known as [redacted] has attended several BUF meetings. He does not seem to have leadership ability. He seems to be riding on STOKELY CARMICHAEL's coattails. In most instances, his remarks supplement and support remarks made by CARMICHAEL previously in BUF meetings.

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[redacted] September 16, 1968)

A meeting of the BUF was held on the evening of August 7, 1968, at the Nash Memorial Methodist Church, WDC. STOKELY CARMICHAEL was chairman of the meeting and approximately 95 to 100 people were present, all Negro. Three women were named to act as BUF secretaries, one of them "KOKO" HUGHES, secretary of STOKELY CARMICHAEL. He agreed to pay \$15.00 toward a fund to pay them.

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL suggested a resolution to completely disobey the D.C. Gun Laws recently passed by the D.C. Council. He spoke of Mayor WASHINGTON in disrespectful terms and said he wanted a resolution to appear in the papers that the black community would ignore and disregard the gun laws until such time as the entire metropolitan area passed a law which would encompass the entire suburban communities. He said if the black community obeyed the gun law, and there were none on the books for suburban whites, the white community would have the edge and advantage to have guns to come into the black community to kill. CARMICHAEL stated the way the law stands now they just want enforcement of the gun laws for the black community and anyone would be a fool to register the guns he has. He urged the backing of the repeal of the gun law and said the black community should arm themselves in "self defense."

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[redacted] August 8, 1968)

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During the BUF meeting held on the evening of August 7, 1968, at the Nash Memorial Methodist Church, STOKELY CARMICHAEL among other things, said with men like Governor WALLACE around, blacks would get more guns. He endorsed the idea of arms for the masses of black people. He criticized the United States (US) for not wanting other nations to have nuclear weapons and then compared this with the District of Columbia allowing guns for whites in the suburbs and not for blacks in the city. The main objective of the meeting was to discuss the recently passed gun control law by the D.C. Council. Also discussed was black control of the police in the black community and the establishment of a means to defend ghetto residents charged with crimes. During the meeting, CARMICHAEL engaged in a debate with Reverend WALTER FAUNTROY, member of the D.C. Council and the BUF. CARMICHAEL wanted to know why FAUNTROY was on the city council when his position was not an elective one, but an appointment 'by a racist like President JOHNSON."

He also criticized Mayor WASHINGTON alleging he did not have the best interest of black people at heart. He based this on his earlier comments on the D.C. Gun Law which he considered helpful in allowing the whites to arm against the black. Reverend FAUNTROY stated he was opposed to any form of

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violence and CARMICHAEL countered that he favored arming masses of black people.

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[redacted] August 8, 1968)]

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During the BUF meeting at the Nash Memorial Methodist Church on August 7, 1968, STOKELY CARMICHAEL said he wanted Reverend WALTER FAUNTROY, member of the BUF and D.C. City Council to defend himself as to why he was sitting on the City Council, that he was not elected, and did not represent anybody. He stated in that connection, FAUNTROY was appointed by President JOHNSON, who was a "known murderer."

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[redacted] August 8, 1968)]

At the BUF meeting held on the evening of August 7, 1968, at the Nash Memorial Church, WDC, about 60 to 80 people were in attendance. STOKELY CARMICHAEL acted as Chairman. At a previous meeting of the BUF, a committee had been set up to study the Federal City College, and how the BUF could control it and everything concerned with it. At this meeting CARMICHAEL had in his possession one copy of a report of the committee which he read including 7-points of recommendation. The recommendation had to do with the administration and staff of the college advocating more of them being black; more courses in black history; and an effort to specialize in various courses. CARMICHAEL wanted the recommendations adopted by the BUF which was subsequently done.

During the meeting, CARMICHAEL stated that the recently enacted D.C. Gun Control Bill was a racist measure. He said its objective was to deny the 58 per cent of the black people in the District of Columbia the "instrument of change", while 90 per cent of the white suburbs were being advised to secure arms and "are arming themselves for oppression against black people."

A member made a recommendation which was accepted that "be it resolved that it is being left to the black people and to the conscience of the black people to see to the defense of black people and their families." It was proposed that a referendum be conducted immediately to repeal the gun control law passed by the D.C. Council "until such a law is passed and enforced for the entire country."

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One member recommended that all black people disregard the Gun Control Law in WDC, which was rejected.

At one point CARMICHAEL indicated that the aim of the BUF was to arm every black man for self defense. Reverend WALTER FAUNTROY objected to this, explained the remarks of the City Council, and its passing of the Gun Control Law. CARMICHAEL stated that FAUNTROY should "explain why he is on the WDC City Council when the black people did not vote nor elect him; and "why he should not resign from the City Council as it was felt his BUF membership and City Council activities were in conflict and FAUNTROY was not effectively serving the black people." Reverend FAUNTROY explained that he did not have to resign from the City Council and that his presence there meant more power for black people.

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[redacted] August 8, 1968) ~~X~~

On the evening of August 8, 1968, a BUF sponsored meeting was held at the Church of the Redeemer, WDC. Approximately 50 persons were present and the meeting concerned the BUF's proposal for community control of the Police Department. The meeting pertained to the 12th Precinct of the MPD. Among the panel members was STOKELY CARMICHAEL. There were six speakers from the floor and only one spoke against the BUF 5-point proposal for community control of the Police Department.

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[redacted] August 9, 1968) ~~X~~

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During the BUF meeting at the Church of the Redeemer, WDC, on August 8, 1968, STOKELY CARMICHAEL was a member of the panel, and made several references to the black community arming itself "for defense."

The meeting and hearings concerned the BUF 5-point proposal for black control of the police in the black community.

[redacted] August 9, 1968) ~~X~~

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At the BUF meeting on the evening of August 8, 1968, at the Church of the Redeemer, WDC, STOKELY CARMICHAEL appeared to act as Co-Chairman. The meeting was one of a series of meetings relative to community control of the Police Department and pertained to the 12th Precinct of the MPD. About 50 persons, all Negro, were in attendance. During subsequent discussions of the BUF proposal, STOKELY CARMICHAEL said it is the "honky white cops" and the "honky black cops" that are responsible for all the trouble in the community. One speaker tended to argue with CARMICHAEL about the proposal and asked what would happen if the BUF proposals were blocked. CARMICHAEL said "We are only tentatively blocked and will negotiate further, and if we can't negotiate further, we'll get guns and act through guns."

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(U) [redacted] August 9, 1968)

A BUF meeting was held on the evening of August 14, 1968, at the New Dunbar Hotel, WDC. Approximately 40 people were in attendance. The meeting regarded the BUF's 5-point proposal concerning control of the local Police Department. The hearings pertained to the 13th Precinct of the MPD. An announcement was made that STOKELY CARMICHAEL was out of the city and unable to attend.

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(U) [redacted] August 14, 1968)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL attended a general BUF meeting held on the evening of October 2, 1968 at the Lincoln Memorial Congregational Temple, WDC. He apologized for recent absences from BUF meetings and stated he had been out of the country. One matter discussed at the meeting was neighborhood control of the police in the black community. At the meeting, a member suggested, regarding policing, that the black community set up a trial program in a small area in which its own security patrol would be in charge. There was immediate objection to this by members present. One member stated that the proposal sounded too much like a Black Panther operation in the District, patterned after the Black Panther Party operating on the West Coast. CARMICHAEL

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cut short discussion by saying the BUF is a legitimate organization and had no right discussing anything pertaining to the violence in the community. He said such proposals would be taken up by organizations such as the Black Panther Party of which he is Prime Minister. He stated he would organize a chapter of the Black Panther Party in WDC "if he so desired."

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 October 3, 1968)
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On October 11, 1968, a rally reportedly was scheduled to be held at 3 p.m. on October 12, 1968 at Meridian Hill Park, 15th Street and Florida Avenue, Northwest, WDC, in order to give the citizens an opportunity to "blow off steam" as a result of the shooting of ELIJAH BENNETT, JR., a Negro male, by Officer DAVID A. ROBERTS of the MPD on the afternoon of October 8, 1968. The BUF was to sponsor the rally and planned to advertise through local radio and newspaper that the rally would be held. The feelings of the residents in the area of the shooting, particularly around 14th and U Streets, Northwest, WDC, were reported to be "bad" and that emotions in the area could only be described as "ugly." Reportedly any incident could trigger the area into violence. The purpose of the BUF rally allegedly was to allow people to get rid of their tension and emotion by talking about the matter.

On October 12, 1968, the BUF rally previously scheduled for Meridian Hill Park, was changed to take place instead in front of the New School for Afro-American Thought, (NSAAT) 2115 14th Street, Northwest, WDC. STOKELY CARMICHAEL, a member of the BUF and other members of the organization, were scheduled to speak at the rally.

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 October 11-12, 1968)
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A Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) observed STOKELY CARMICHAEL shortly after 2 p.m., October 12, 1968, at his residence, 5015 16th Street, Northwest, WDC. He entered a 1968 green Rambler sedan bearing New York license 2...40 and drove to the vicinity of the New School of Afro-American Thought, 2115 14th Street, Northwest, WDC, where a rally of the BUF protesting the shooting of ELIJAH BENNETT, JR.,

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by a member of the MPD reportedly would be held. CARMICHAEL parked the vehicle on 14th Street heading south across from the above-mentioned school and joined a crowd mingling in the area.

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At approximately 3:05 p.m., Special Agents of the FBI observed a gathering of about 300 people standing on the sidewalk and street in front of the New School of Afro-American Thought, 2115 14th Street, Northwest, WDC, on October 12, 1968.

Previous information available indicated that a BUF rally protesting the shooting of ELIJAH BENNETT, JR., by a member of the MPD would be held there. Earlier reports were that the rally was to be held at the Meridian Hill Park; however, later it was reported the rally had been changed from the Meridian Hill Park to the New School for Afro-American Thought. No reason for the change was readily available.

The crowd gathered in front of the New School of Afro-American Thought appeared to be composed primarily of male individuals in the 20-35 age bracket. All of them appeared to be Negro and some females were also observed to be present. No white persons were observed in the gathering. No television news gathering crews or other technical news media representatives were noted to be present. The crowd was facing the entrance to the New School of Afro-American Thought and appeared to be expectant about what was to take place. An unknown Negro in his early 20's had a "bull horn" and appeared to be beginning to address the crowd. The crowd increased in numbers and traffic flowing on 14th Street, particularly in the northbound lane was being affected.

Officers of the MPD were in the area directing traffic. Shortly thereafter a truck was observed being parked across 14th Street in front of the New School of Afro-American Thought, and a number of persons were attempting to get onto the rear of the vehicle. Subsequently, members of the MPD were successful in getting the truck moved because of the fact it was obstructing traffic.

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The rally appeared to break up about 4 p.m., and the crowd dispersed in a peaceful manner in various directions. Some individuals appeared to linger about the area the remainder of the afternoon and into the evening. The vehicle of CARMICHAEL remained parked across from the New School of Afro-American Thought until late afternoon.

Sergeant [] Intelligence Division, MPD, advised on October 22, 1968, that he was on the scene during the rally and planned to make a tape recording of CARMICHAEL's speech. He stated, however, that CARMICHAEL at the beginning of his speech attempted to use a "bull horn" afforded him and that it did not function. CARMICHAEL discarded the "bull horn" later and did not use any amplifying devices whatever. Sergeant [] advised that he was not able to move in closer to where CARMICHAEL was standing due to the sensitive nature of the area and crowded conditions prevalent. Due to this and lack of amplification, he was prohibited from recording the remarks. In addition, he advised that he did not want to be indiscreet and too obvious in his efforts because he thought he might precipitate violence if discovered due to the volatile nature of the crowd. He advised that he heard part of CARMICHAEL's remarks from a distance but not very well.

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Sergeant [] advised further that he made a report of the matter to his superiors, which is as follows:

"CARMICHAEL stated, 'When a black brother kills in Vietnam they give him a medal. The only way we can stop the killing of our black brothers in D.C. is to see that a "Honky Cop" is killed when a black brother is killed. When the black brother kills a "Honky Cop", I think the black community should give him a medal. Now we can't give him a medal above ground because he will be arrested; we should honor him underground. If a black brother or sister speaks out against a brother who kills a "Honky Cop", he should get the same thing.

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" 'I am tired of making speeches and having rallies.
We should do what we have to do.' "

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At the BUF rally held in front of the New School of Afro-American Thought on the afternoon of October 12, 1968, STOKELY CARMICHAEL was one of the speakers. About 250 persons were present and the rally got underway at 3:15 p.m. During the rally, STOKELY CARMICHAEL spoke and stated that he was tired of making speeches and appearing at rallies. He said that he wants some action. He added that there is no such thing as right or wrong when it comes to killing. It is a matter of who ordered you to do the killing. He said the young men in the audience would be in Vietnam soon killing Vietnamese, which they should not be doing. Further, if they kill enough Vietnamese they **would get a medal**. Instead, he urged that they should get a **medal** for killing a "Honky Cop". He advised that **you cannot** kill a "Honky Cop" outright, **because you** would get arrested and that instead "you have to stab him in the back at night with a knife or any other way you can think of." He added "nobody is to talk about the killing of a "Honky Cop" and if this person does talk, he should be taken care of." He said the community should set up a system of **medals** by putting tin cans on the street and everyone going by drop something in it, and that this would be the reward to the one doing the killing.

The meeting was over about 4:15 p.m. and the crowd was enthusiastic about CARMICHAEL's speech. The only problem was that the crowd overflowed into the street, but the police maintained order and directed traffic. Among those present to assist in collecting a contribution for the slain individuals family was JEAN "KOKO" HUCHES, CARMICHAEL's secretary.

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[redacted] October 14, 1968)

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Several other reports regarding the rally held at the New School of Afro-American Thought on October 12, 1968, during which STOKELY CARMICHAEL spoke **are as follows:**

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"At approximately 3:00 p.m., a rally was held in front of the New School of Afro-American Thought, 2115 14th Street, Northwest. The rally was sponsored by the BUF, and approximately 150-200 persons attended. The crowd gathered on the sidewalk and street which resulted in police having to block off that section of 14th Street. The rally was held regarding the shooting of a Negro, ELIJAH BENNETT, by a white policeman on October 8, 1968. "

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"There were several speeches concerning control of the police being placed in the hands of the black community in order to prevent shootings by white policemen. Source stated that the speeches related to the five-point proposal of the BUF which **'called for black control of the police'**."

"In his speech, CARMICHAEL stated that when a black brother is killed by a white policeman, then someone in turn should kill a white policeman. He stated that if one could go to Vietnam, kill a Viet Cong, and get a medal, then the Negro community should give a medal to any black who kills a white policeman. According to CARMICHAEL, this would stop white cops from killing black brothers.":

"The rally ended at approximately 4:00 p.m. Donations were solicited for the family of ELIJAH BENNETT. There were no incidents in connection with the rally.

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[redacted]
[October 12, 1968]

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"Shortly before 3:00 p.m., there were approximately 50 persons crowded in front of the New School of Afro-American Thought, 2115 14th Street. "

"STOKELY CARMICHAEL was introduced as Prime Minister. He stated that we shall not stop talking about police brutality until we kill some honky cops and control the police. When black brothers kill Vietnamese they are awarded medals. If black brothers kill honky cops they should be awarded medals also. He stated that this cannot be done publicly without the brother going to jail so the brother doing the killing

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should be rewarded privately. He advised the crowd to kill at night instead of the daytime and stab the honky cops in the back if necessary.

"Whenever a black brother is killed, no black man should say anything about it. He should just say 'that it is OK.' Then he should do something about it in retaliation."

"There were approximately 200 or so persons present, but there were no arrests or incidents."

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[redacted] October 12, 1968)

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"A rally was held on the afternoon of October 12, 1968, in front of the New School of Afro-American Thought, from 3:00 p.m. until 4:15 p.m. The crowd in attendance numbered between 600 and 800 persons."

"STOKELY CARMICHAEL spoke last and advised that he is sick and tired of rallies. They give black brothers in Vietnam medals for killing Vietnamese. Perhaps we should give brothers medals here for killing honky cops. He stated that we could set up situations where cops could be killed and the brothers doing the killing would be heroes. It would have to be done covertly though so the brothers would not be arrested."

"The mood of the crowd at the New School was 'ugly' and at 4:20, after the rally, it was possibly getting worse as many people were still milling around. One man was observed with a sign which said, 'I'm Jaywalking, Shoot Me.'"

"There were no arrest."

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[redacted] October 12, 1968)

A characterization of the New School of Afro-American Thought (NSAAT) is subsequently set forth in this report.

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Sergeant [] Intelligence Division, MPD, advised on October 15, 1968, that considerable violence among the youthful **residents, broke** out in the Northeast section of WDC on the evening of October 13, 1968, and that a number of arrests were made for looting and burning. Considerable outbreaks of violence also occurred in **the same area on October 14, and 15, 1968.** Considerable speculation had arose as to whether the speech by STOKELY CARMICHAEL at a rally on October 12, 1968, had any causative connection with the outbreaks. He stated that investigation disclosed no evidence was developed there was significant connection between the outbreaks and the speech by CARMICHAEL.

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Captain [] Commanding Officer, Number 13 Precinct, MPD, WDC, advised on October 22, 1968, that he saw no significant connection between the speech of STOKELY CARMICHAEL and subsequent outbreaks of violence in the Northeast section of WDC on October 13, 14, and 15, 1968. He stated that the speech was made in the Number 13 Precinct of the MPD, and the subsequent violence on October 13, 14, and 15, 1968, occurred in the area covered by the Number 9 Precinct of the MPD, a considerable distance apart. He advised that from past experience, he **had** learned that usually news developing in the Number 13 Precinct, such as the rally on October 12, 1968 where CARMICHAEL spoke, does not reach the Number 9 Precinct area en masse until about two days later. He stated he feels the youth in the Number 9 Precinct may have heard of the previous activity in the Number 13 Precinct area on October 12, 1968, and decided to get in on the action also, by showing they, too, could cause as much trouble as the "boys uptown." He emphasized that this **was** theoretical only and he **had** no factual evidence there **was** any connection between CARMICHAEL's speech and subsequent violence in the Number 9 Precinct area on October 13, 14, and 15, 1968.

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Captain [] Intelligence Division, MPD, advised on October 29, 1968, no significant information had been developed that the rally held at the NSAAT on October 12, 1968,

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during which STOKELY CARMICHAEL spoke, caused the outbreaks of violence on October 13, 14, and 15, 1968. He stated that it had been conjectured that CARMICHAEL was behind the violence that developed on October 13, 14, and 15; however, he stated that no factual evidence had been developed to corroborate this. He noted that CARMICHAEL was reported to have left Washington on the evening of October 13, 1968, and did not return until October 17, 1968, being out of Washington during the dates of the disturbances.

On October 16, 1968, a meeting of the BUF was held in WDC. CARMICHAEL did not attend and no reason was given for his absence. A discussion was held regarding the recent law passed in the District of Columbia requiring residents to register guns. The BUF voted that residents should not be required to register guns until a Federal law was passed requiring such registration.

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[redacted]
[October 17, 1968]

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At a meeting of the Board of Conveners of the BUF on November 29, 1968, it was decided to put CLIFTON MC CLEARY's name up to the next general meeting of the BUF as Executive-Director.

At the BUF general meeting which was held at the Nash Memorial Methodist Church on December 4, 1968, MC CLEARY was nominated as Executive-Director. MC CLEARY is believed to be STOKELY CARMICHAEL's choice for the job and he will be controlled by CARMICHAEL through JEAN "KOKO" HUGHES, CARMICHAEL's secretary, who will remain in WDC.

CARMICHAEL closed his residence and left for New York City on November 30, 1968.

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[December 5, 1968]

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At the BUF meeting held at the Nash Memorial Methodist Church, WDC, on December 4, 1968, a new ~~Executive-Director~~ was elected who will be in charge of the day to day administration of the operation of the BUF. The reason for electing a new ~~Executive-Director~~ is because STOKELY CARMICHAEL and the other person who acted as ~~Co-Chairmen~~ are too busy and cannot be reached when immediate action is necessary. The other ~~Co-Chairman~~ and STOKELY CARMICHAEL plan to remain in these official capacities.

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[December 5, 1968]

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A memo, as follows, was sent to the membership of the BUF from STOKELY CARMICHAEL per a BUF secretary dated December 27, 1968:

MEMORANDUM

TO: Black United Front

FROM: Stokely Carmichael
Chairman

SUBJECT: First Anniversary Meeting of the Black United Front
Scheduled Wednesday, January 8, 1969".

"The First Anniversary Meeting of the Black United Front will be held at 8:00 p.m. Wednesday, January 8, 1969, at Lincoln Temple located at 1701 - 11th Street, Northwest, Washington, D.C."

"Those attending the subject meeting will be given the opportunity to question the Board of Conveners as well as discuss the Front's past, present, and future. Ideas from the Body for short-range and long-range goals during the Front's second year will be entertained."

"It is suggested that any Black individual with questions and ideas relating to the Front attend this First Annual Meeting along with the regular Members of the Front."

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"Hopefully, the entire 21-member Board of Conveners will be in attendance."

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December 30, 1968)

JEAN HUGHES, also known as "KOKO" HUGHES, who has been publicly identified as the secretary to STOKELY CARMICHAEL, advised on December 23, 1968, that CARMICHAEL was then in New York City and that she did not know what his future plans were at that time. She stated that CARMICHAEL had asked her to remain in WDC and continue the work that he had begun. She said she felt sure that CARMICHAEL would return to WDC sometime in the future, but she did not know when this would come about. She advised that the news media would try to make it look as though CARMICHAEL had run out on the problems of WDC and the black people in America, but that those who really knew him know that these stories are false. She advised regarding the BUF, that it was easy to see that it is an ineffective organization and that it remains to be seen what results will come from it. She avowed her disappointment with the organization and that it appeared to her that most of the people who join BUF do so for their own sake and not necessarily for the betterment of black people. She said that most used the BUF for their own personal fame and then drop out. She stated that the true test of the effectiveness of the BUF would come sometime in the future and that in the meantime it remained to be seen who would be willing to help. She said that if and when the BUF opened an office in WDC, she would be willing to work there, but that for the time being, she was in need of funds and would have to seek employment to support herself. She said she would continue her association with STOKELY CARMICHAEL insofar as she was able, even though he would not continue to reside in WDC.

WALTER BISHOP COX JR., 3020 Park Place, N.W., WDC, advised in December, 1968, that he was currently a first year law student at Howard University, following his

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graduation in June, 1968, from Weber State College, Ogden, Utah. COX stated he first began to participate in black power and civil rights activities about four years ago while at college. His only organizational activity in college was membership in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). On breaks and vacations from school, he stated he would travel to Oakland, California, where he met other individuals connected with the movement, including members of the Black Panther Party (BPP).

COX explained his involvement in black nationalist activities. He stated he was involved to help black people free themselves from the oppression of white people. He also wanted to help blacks build an economic base for themselves. COX believed that the black man can achieve equality and freedom of oppression within the limits of present government structure. His aim is not to overthrow the government as it exists today, but only to gain equality for black people. COX believed, however, that armed confrontation between blacks and whites is inevitable. He stated that whites and blacks will come together in a compromise only over the barrel of a gun. He believed that many white people's minds needed to be changed about blacks and that these minds would not change unless they were forced to change. COX distinguished between blacks participating in racial disturbances, such as those which occurred April, 1968, and those blacks whose intention is equality through revolution. He called riots "spontaneous" where no planning occurs. He stated that those individuals participating in the black revolutions are in a sense like assassins who would be willing to give up their lives for the cause. COX stated he would give up his life for the cause of black freedom.

COX denied membership in or knowledge of any group or organization which was planning to participate in any type of armed revolutions. He denied knowledge of any movement or storage of weapons and ammunition.

COX praised the BUF stating that it had educated many black people and had pointed out the leadership qualities of STOKELY CARMICHAEL. It had also brought black people like

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FAUNTROY, STERLING TUCKER and Mayor WASHINGTON in touch with the ghettos. COX stated he became involved in BUF during the Summer of 1968 and had acted as Chairman with STOKELY CARMICHAEL at several meetings where police control by the black community was discussed. He believed he could be a member of the Board of Conveners if he so desired, however, he does not have time for increased involvement in BUF because of his law school studies, and because BUF is too politically oriented. However, he expects to continue his membership and attend the meetings of the organization.

COX stated he admired and respected CARMICHAEL and considered CARMICHAEL his personal friend. He believed he could call on CARMICHAEL for assistance at anytime and CARMICHAEL would respond. COX stated that, in his association with CARMICHAEL during the past summer, he hoped he had provided CARMICHAEL with assistance. COX claimed no knowledge of CARMICHAEL's future plans.

During the period July through December, 1968, other items of interest to the BUF were brought up at meetings, discussed and acted upon. However, the idea that dominated during this period was the BUF proposal for control of the police in the black community. This was seemingly of particular interest to STOKELY CARMICHAEL who had advocated the BUF proposals be adopted and efforts to secure their implementation be effected.

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No significant progress seemed to be made on the proposals and they were still pending in the BUF when CARMICHAEL rather suddenly left WDC without any formal announcement, apparently to reside elsewhere. Prior to leaving WDC, his interest and activity in the BUF had declined considerably, but his interest in the BPP continued.

JEAN "KOKO" HUGHES, and CLIFTON MC CLEARY, the newly elected BUF Executive Director, planned to go to New York to see STOKELY CARMICHAEL before he goes abroad on December 27 or December 28, 1968.

[redacted] December, 1968)

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The New School of Afro-American Thought, mentioned previously, has been publicly described as the headquarters for a small group of self-supporting artists and educators who are attempting to spread a message that black people should be proud of being black through classes given in Negro history, African languages, and arts.

Additional activities of Carmichael in the BUF, in connection with other information, is mentioned elsewhere in this report under the various captions.

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III. STATEMENTS MADE BY CARMICHAEL IN SPEECHES
URGING REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITY, SECURING OF
ARMS, RACIAL VIOLENCE AND OPPOSITION TO
THE WAR IN VIETNAM.

JULY - DECEMBER, 1968

While maintaining interest and membership in the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), BPP and BUF, CARMICHAEL continued during the latter part of 1968, as he had done in 1967 and earlier in 1968, to travel to various parts of the United States making speeches and statements vehemently condemning the United States participation in the war in Vietnam, urging Negroes to arm themselves for revolutionary violence, and advocating destruction of the capitalistic form of government. These remarks caused much comment and consternation in the United States with urgings he be arrested and tried for such actions as he was hurting the cause of the United States in Vietnam by advocating a Viet Cong victory and by further aggravating the already existing racial problems prevalent in the United States.

In most instances verbatim transcripts were obtained of speeches made by CARMICHAEL during the above period, as well as tape recordings which are available. In the interest of brevity they are not being set forth in this report in toto. In many of his speeches CARMICHAEL repeated himself and made expressions that he had often made in other speeches at different locations. Some of the statements made by CARMICHAEL during the above period, according to reports available, is hereinafter set forth:

Instead of attending the wedding of his sister in

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England to [redacted] reportedly being held on July 26, 1968, CARMICHAEL, on that date, travelled from Washington, D. C. to Mobile, Alabama, such travel verified by Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). Upon arrival in Mobile he was met at the airport by [redacted] President of Neighborhood Organized Workers (NOW) Mobile, Alabama.

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[redacted] of July 26, 1968 CARMICHAEL went to the "Old Warren Street Methodist Church", Mobile, Ala. where he spoke for approximately two hours and fortyfive minutes.

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[redacted] July 26, 1968)

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Concerning the speech by CARMICHAEL on the night of July 26, 1968 at Mobile, Ala, various reports of accounts transpiring were developed by investigative authorities. A number of reports furnished to investigative authorities by persons in attendance stated highly incendiary statements were made by CARMICHAEL during the speech. Several such accounts are set forth as follows:

Speech at Mobile, Alabama on July 26, 1968

[redacted] Alabama, a reporter for "The Mobile Press", advised on August 6, 1968 that he had attended the speech of STOKELY CARMICHAEL at the Warren Street Methodist Church on the night of July 26, 1968. He furnished a six page type-written report of excerpts from CARMICHAEL's speech which he typed from notes he had made. He advised that he had been inside the church at the time of this speech, but that he did not attend the speech made by CARMICHAEL the following date. There follows a copy of the report prepared by [redacted] of the CARMICHAEL speech July 26, 1968.

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CARMICHAEL was introduced by [REDACTED] President of the NOW, after comments by the Rev. NATHANIEL GIBBS, who warned "white reporters" not to take pictures unless authorized.

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CARMICHAEL began his address with a tribute to the late Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, saying, "Wherever he is, he's digging it."

"Dr. KING would have stopped violence " the Black Power leader said, "but nonviolence died with Dr. KING."

CARMICHAEL praised Russia, Cuba, Red China, North Vietnam and the Viet Cong for "standing up" to the United States, which he described as "the monster of the world."

He lauded the North Vietnamese and the Viet Cong for preventing the United States from controlling Vietnam, declaring, "They had rather die than bow down to any white man."

Turning to the U. S. domestic front, CARMICHAEL predicted that a "confrontation" is fast approaching between blacks and whites. The trouble is, he said, that the average Negro fears the white man. "It's much better for whites to fear us."

The Black Power leader, who was wearing what appeared to be a Mao Tse-Tung shirt, paused at this juncture to assail the so-called "honkie" (derogatory term for white press. "You can't believe what you read in the white man's paper. He (the white man) lies and will continue to lie."

At this point CARMICHAEL excoriated "Tarzan," calling him a figment of the white man designed to help suppress the true image of the black man. He expressed mock bewilderment as to why EDGAR RICE BURROUGHS (creator

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of Tarzan) failed to choose a black man for the role of the agile jungle man.

He urged blacks (he doesn't like the term Negro) to be proud of their African heritage, emphasizing that Africa is the richest continent in the world.

Unfortunately, CARMICHAEL contended, the whites "are stealing it just like they stole us."

"Africa has the most beautiful women in the world," he stated proudly.

Returning to the United States again, CARMICHAEL lamented the fact that the "black man's mind is whitewashed. We need to tell the truth and blackwash our minds."

Commenting on the KENNEDY family, he asserted that if they had to work for money, they would be the "poorest honkies in the world."

CARMICHAEL said blacks should not "pray or beg for power, but take it (from the honkie power structure) with a gun." He reasoned that whites took this country from the Indians with weapons and took Negroes into slavery with the same approach. "You take things with guns," he said.

"LBJ ain't taking Vietnam with nonviolence," he chuckled.

"We blacks aint scared of violence, we're afraid of whites," he said, explaining that by 3 a.m. Mobile jails would be filled with Negroes charged with disorderly conduct, drunkenness and assault and battery.

CARMICHAEL, who remarked that he once lived in Selma, Ala., ranted that the white man had taught "us to hate ourselves."

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Thus, it is highly important for blacks to unite and love each other. "To destroy this country we must have an undying love for each of our fellow black men," he said, encouraging listeners to follow the predicates set by [redacted] and Black Panther leader HUEY NEWTON.

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CARMICHAEL characterized as "heroes" Negro snipers who ambushed and killed three white policemen in Cleveland, Ohio. He described the murders as even better than what happened previously in Watts and Detroit.

He then paused to ask what black soldiers are doing in Vietnam. "What are they fighting for. Those little yellow men never bought or sold us in slavery. You know who the blacks should be shooting -- whites."

He said insurrectionists learned something in Cleveland -- they must obtain equipment to match armored cars used by Cleveland police.

"Every nigger is a potential black man," CARMICHAEL said. "Those who cooperate with the honkie power structure are not Uncle Toms but "traitors," he said.

"You know what you have to do with traitors," CARMICHAEL shouted rubbing his finger across his throat in a slashing manner.

Speaking admiringly of Cuban Dictator FIDEL CASTRO, he pointed out that CASTRO has "traitors" placed against a wall and shot.

CARMICHAEL angrily denounced Negro policemen, describing them as pawns for the "honkies." "Some try to out-honkie the honkies," he said, adding that "Someone ought to talk with them."

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He rapped ISOM CLEMON, President of the International Longshoreman's Association, for not permitting him to speak at the ILA Hall. (Firebombs were thrown at the hall several days after Black Power leader departed.)

"Some of our people try to be honkies, but can't even be good honkies," CARMICHAEL said.

"If a white man tells you something is good for you, shoot it on sight," he said.

CARMICHAEL quoted Chinese Communist Leader MAO TSE-TUNG as saying, "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." Therefore, for Negroes to achieve proper status in American society, they must take power from the white power structure through armed insurrection, he said.

He said Negroes can keep on reading ABRAHAM LINCOLN if they want to, but he personally prefers MAO TSE-TUNG and North Vietnamese Leader HO CHI MINH.

CARMICHAEL praised Black Panther Leader HUEY P. NEWTON, who is currently in a California jail for killing a white policeman and critically wounding another, for analyzing the presence of white policemen in Negro areas.

NEWTON, through a brilliant process of reasoning, concluded that the white police were actually "occupation forces" sent into black sections to keep "blacks in place." He quoted NEWTON as saying, "While the police are patrolling us, we're going to patrol them. So NEWTON did with a gun," CARMICHAEL said.

CARMICHAEL argued that white police do not live in Negro communities; hence, they have no right to enter such areas.

The only areas in which whites excel blacks, CARMICHAEL said, are in murdering and stealing.

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Commenting again on Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, he said it is no use to talk about nonviolence any longer. "Ain't no use to preach it and he killed," he laughed.

"Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth," CARMICHAEL quoted from the Holy Bible. "It's about time we took it," he shouted.

"But to take it," he said, "blacks must have guns." "If you've got the gun, you've got everything," he said. "If white men have a gun, you should have one too,"

"Once Negroes obtain guns, then they can talk 'business' with whites," CARMICHAEL said.

He said, "Blacks are in the beginning phase of an armed struggle against the American government, or white power structures." "The actual revolution will take place after blacks (militants) assume control of the government," he said.

CARMICHAEL said blacks should wage guerrilla warfare against the honkie power structure in the same manner that the Viet Cong are fighting American forces in South Vietnam.

He called America an "imperialist country" that steals raw goods from the rest of the world for its own enrichment.

CARMICHAEL expressed hope that GEORGE WALLACE wins the presidency, saying that this would trigger the Black Revolution earlier than anticipated.

Actually, he maintained, blacks should refrain from voting for any of the presidential candidates.

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"There's no need to vote," CARMICHAEL said. "A vote's no good unless it has a gun behind it."

Elaborating on the coming Black Revolution, he informed whites, "We may die, but a whole lot of you are, too."

Quoting from HO CHI MINH, CARMICHAEL said defeating the United States is not a question of numbers but of "the will of the people."

[redacted]
Alabama, a reporter for the Associated Press, advised on August 5, 1968 that he had attended a speech by STOKELY CARMICHAEL at the Old Warren Street Methodist Church in Mobile the night of July 26, 1968. With him had been [redacted] [redacted] of Mobile, who is a reporter for "The Birmingham News" newspaper, and [redacted] a reporter for the local "Mobile Press Register." He said that following this speech he had filed a report with the Associated Press and stated that the report, which he had filed with the Associated Press, was an accurate report of his impression of CARMICHAEL's speech. He did not retain any notes after filing this story. He said that [redacted] of the United Press International was also present at this speech, but was not present inside the church as he, [redacted] had been. [redacted] did not cover the speech by CARMICHAEL on Saturday, July 27, 1968.

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[redacted] advised that since the story filed by him was his only record of his impressions of the talk by CARMICHAEL and was correctly reported by him at the time, he would at this time just reaffirm the information in the story as to its correctness.

A copy of the report filed is as follows:

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"Mobile, Ala. (AP)- Black Power advocate STOKELY CARMICHAEL urged a crowd of Mobile Negroes Friday night to take political power away from the whites with a gun.

" 'Don't pray for power, don't beg for power, take it with a gun barrel,' he shouted. The Negroes applauded enthusiastically.

"Police estimated that the gathering numbered about 600. About 20 whites, including several Catholic priests, were among them.

" 'We must create the maximum damage with a minimum of losses of black people. and that is through guerilla warfare,' CARMICHAEL added.

"He referred to the armed state of the Black Revolution, citing such places as Watts and Detroit, praised the Negroes who had died there and said, 'Look at Cleveland two days ago and that was even better wasn't it?'

"Again the Negroes roared approval.

" 'To destroy this country we must have an underlying love for each of our fellow black men,' he declared.

"He said, 'After all, every "Nigger" is a potential black man.'

"The former head of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee said of the Revolution, 'A lot of us may die but a lot of whites are going to die too.'

"He told the crowd not to worry about numbers because the will to win is what counts. 'If you don't believe me, read the Bible story of DAVID and GOLIATH and if you don't believe that read HO CHI MINH.'

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"CARMICHAEL then went on to criticize Negro soldiers who are fighting in Vietnam.

" 'They should be shooting white men and not yellow men,' he said. Again the crowd roared approval.

" 'The Viet Cong never hurt a black man.' He said the Viet Cong would rather die than give their country to the white man and added that so too must the black man.

"CARMICHAEL stated that the white man did not work to get America, he didn't beg for America, he simply took it from the Indian, 'Just like he is trying to do in Vietnam now.' He said the only thing the white man had done for the black man was to sell him.

"The black man is not as lazy as the white-washers say, he continued. 'We work the hardest for the lowest pay. Who picks the cotton and digs the ditches for \$3 a day? We do. So you see, we have worked the hardest and got nothing so we must take what we want.'

"CARMICHAEL spoke for more than two hours and concluded his appearance with a question and answer session. The speech was delivered in an Afro-American School in Mobile's predominantly northside section.

"The building formerly served as a Negro Methodist church.

"About 350 persons jammed into the sweltering school and another 300 or more stood outside in a hot, windless night straining to hear.

"CARMICHAEL was the guest of the Neighborhood Organized Workers which is demanding that the city of Mobile create a 40 per cent ratio of Negro to white city employees.

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[REDACTED] NOW President, has led several marches and demonstrations in the Mobile area and some NOW members have been jailed.

"Sources in Washington had said earlier that CARMICHAEL was enroute to London. However, when he arrived at Mobile Airport Friday afternoon a large contingent of City Police, Sheriff's Deputies, U. S. Marshals, Alabama State Troopers and FBI Agents were on hand.

"Police Chief JAMES J. ROBINSON said Mobile's Police Force was on a 12-hour shift basis. He noted that additional law enforcement officials are in the city in case of any disturbances. No incidents had been reported by midnight Friday.

"CARMICHAEL, notably absent from public appearances since his marriage to folk singer [REDACTED] reportedly planned to leave the Mobile area Saturday. He declined to tell newsmen of his plans."

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CARMICHAEL again spoke at the "Old Warren Street Methodist Church" on the afternoon of July 27, 1968. A report available indicated CARMICHAEL spoke as hereinafter set forth:

SA [REDACTED] FBI, advised that STOKELY CARMICHAEL told the gathering that in their struggle for power there could be no division within the ranks of the Negroes. CARMICHAEL stated, however, that presently existing in the country, which is nullifying the efforts of the Negro to achieve power, was the existence of a class of Negroes whom he termed as house Negroes as compared to the majority of Negroes whom he classified as the field Negroes.

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CARMICHAEL advised that the house Negro was one who worked for the white man, received the white man's hand-me-down clothes and who, on occasion, had fun, food and drink with the white man. CARMICHAEL stated that the house

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Negro was one who owed everything to the white man and consequently he referred to the white man as being a good fellow and accordingly, was not in sympathy with the present movement of the Negro to gain black power. CARMICHAEL referred to the house Negroes as being "Uncle Toms."

CARMICHAEL stated that the field Negroes were the ones on whose strength the success or failure of the Negro movement depended and that the field Negro should pay no heed to the advice received from the house Negro not to participate in demonstrations, marches and the like. CARMICHAEL told the gathering that if they are field Negroes and work for a house Negro and this house Negro, in the course of their work, maltreats them or issues instructions that they do not desire to do, "then kill the house Negro too." CARMICHAEL told the gathering that Mobile was not a white man's town but was the Negro's town, for the Negro built it through labor and hard work and that since Mobile was their town, if they felt that they wanted to burn it then "since it is your town, go ahead and burn it."

CARMICHAEL told the gathering that if the field Negro does not own a television set, portable radio, or other items that they would like to have, then he should go out and get them.

The August 6, 1968 issue of "The Mobile Register," a daily newspaper published at Mobile, Ala. reported that Birmingham Fire Chief JOHN SWINDLE spoke in Mobile on August 6, 1968 before the Alabama Fire Chiefs Association meeting at the Sheraton Battle House Hotel. He was critical of authorities for not prosecuting STOKELY CARMICHAEL for his inflammatory statements. Chief SWINDLE exhibited to the group a copy of "The Mobile Register," dated August 5, 1968, headlining destruction of three businesses in the Toulminville area by fire bombs the previous night. Chief SWINDLE noted

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that the firebombings occurred a little over a week after an address by CARMICHAEL in Mobile, Ala.

Other news sources in Mobile reported various fires of undetermined origins occurring in Mobile following speeches by STOKELY CARMICHAEL and speculation was that these were caused by statements made by CARMICHAEL. Subsequent investigation failed to develop any factual evidence that the fires were a direct result of the visit and statements of CARMICHAEL to the Mobile area.

Speech at Chicago, Illinois, August 9, 1968

The Intelligence Unit of the Chicago Police Department, Chicago, Illinois, reported that STOKELY CARMICHAEL spoke at the Afro-Arts Theater, Chicago, Ill. on August 9, 1968. The purpose of the meeting was reportedly to raise funds for persons arrested during the Chicago westside riots following the assassination of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. JORJA ENGLISH served as Master of Ceremonies.

A report of the appearance of CARMICHAEL at the Afro-Arts Theater on August 9, 1968, is as follows:

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, formerly head of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) was in Chicago, Illinois, August 9, 1968, and on the evening of that date, made an appearance at the Afro-Arts Theater, 3947 South Drexel Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. CARMICHAEL did not arrive at the theater until approximately 11:00 p.m., at which time some 900 - 1,000 persons were present.

His remarks were in large measure a call for unity within the black communities. He advised black people do not need anymore prostitutes, school drop-outs, or gangs among their number, but need more black togetherness in

order to survive the oppression. Genocide is upon us. The white man is the black's enemy and capitalism is the system he uses to exploit blacks. Black people should not be a part of a capitalistic society, but should develop a socialist society as more suitable to their needs. Colonialism, which is a part of capitalism, works against the needs of black people.

Blacks should develop an emotional love for their own people so that if one is abused or killed, his brothers will immediately rise to the situation and destroy the white man or men involved. In order to do this, guns are necessary and all blacks should have them. Even those who are not willing to fight should prepare for the revolution, should get food and clothing and ammunition so that guerrilla warriors can have a place of refuge. Money should also be provided by those who are not willing to fight. The people today most ready to fight the white man are the hard laborers, the butchers, and ditch diggers.

He urged his audience to read and listen to the teachings of MAO (TSE TUNG). Black soldiers should agree to go to Viet Nam, but once there, should kill American soldiers, not North Vietnamese. Blacks should control and police their own communities and not allow regular police to patrol these areas. Blacks who are police informants should not be killed, rather the police to whom they report. Black communities must be prepared to match forces with the police and the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Guns are easily obtainable, buy one, work for one, or steal one.

CARMICHAEL's remarks were received by the crowd with great acclaim and applause, and although some groups became somewhat excited during his comments, the crowd generally was orderly.

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August 12, 1968)

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Speech at Marin City, California, August 22, 1968

STOKELY CARMICHAEL spoke on the evening of August 22, 1968 at a "Free HUEY Rally" held at Manzanita Center, Marin City, sponsored by the Marin City Black Panther Party (BPP). The purpose of the rally was in support of HUEY NEWTON, Minister of Defense of the BPP, then being tried for murdering an Oakland, California police officer. Other speakers included BOBBY SEALE, Chairman of the BPP, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister of Information of the BPP, KATHLEEN CLEAVER, Captain of Women of the BPP. CARMICHAEL was introduced as the Prime Minister of the BPP and Ex-National Chairman of SNCC.

A transcribed portion of the speech of STOKELY CARMICHAEL is set forth as follows:

"I want to begin by saying that all of the things I talk about tonight will hinge upon, center around, and the pivotal point of which will be our Minister of Defense HUEY P. NEWTON, so that no matter what I say, I'm always talking about Brother HUEY.

"Now before I begin I want to explain something. I am tired of hearing Free HUEY. I am tired of hearing that if you don't free HUEY or if you touch HUEY the sky is the limit. We're not going to say this anymore. We're a party, we're organized, and we will deliver, period.

"Now then, we have said that we see brother HUEY NEWTON as a prisoner of war, and he is. Now many people say that that's not true because the United States, or white America, has not declared war on black people. I'd like to remind the people that say that that White America has not declared war in Vietnam, yet she's killing Vietnamese. White America never declared war in Korea, but she killed thousands of Koreans; and the best example black people have in this

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country is the fact that white America never declared war on the Indians, she just wiped them out. And if we understand this, then we understand and we define and we say that we are at war. If we are at war, our Minister of Defense is a prisoner of war, and if he is a prisoner of war, we will do what is necessary to free him, whether we fail or we succeed. If we fail and if they kill our prisoner of war, then we have to do what we deem necessary. There is no more discussion.

"Now we want to talk about colonized minds because black people inside this country are colonized people. We are. And when a colonized people begin to prepare to fight, there are a number of things that we have to do, which can be broken down into two categories: one called entertainment; the other called education. Entertainment is the first phase of a struggle, and naturally we have to tell ourselves how bad we are. We have to make fun at our oppressor just so that we can begin to feel that we are psychologically prepared to fight. Yeah, that's why we had to jump up and say we can get the honky, we can burn the city down. We had to act bad to convince ourselves because prior to that time we weren't even acting bad. We were afraid to call white folk honkys, we were afraid to do what we knew we had to do.

"Now we have passed the stage of entertainment. It was necessary. Now we must talk about education. How we as a people educate ourselves and move forward to bring about revolution in this country. And we have to bring about revolution in this country. There is no alternative. We can do nothing else. We have to prepare for revolution in this country. So we have to define certain things. We have to define what we're fighting for; what we are fighting against; what our goal is; what our aim is. We have to define words such as revolution, armed struggle, revolutionary violence, capitalism, imperialism, and civil _____. And we want to talk a little about liberals because the audience is sprinkled with members of the Peace and Freedom Party who -- liberals or radicals? -- both. Thank you. White liberals and white radicals.

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"Let us begin then by recognizing what our fight is. Black people in this country are fighting against two evil systems -- racism and capitalism, or imperialism. Imperialism is a higher stage of capitalism. Let us define racism; and we just want simple definitions so we can understand it. Racism is when one race decides to subjugate another race based solely on its race; that is to say, if white people decided to pick on black people just because we're black, then white people are racists. I do not think that we have to waste time re-defining the fact that this country is racist. We all know that, Now

_____ . The Black Panther Party is anti-racist. Black people in the United States are anti-racist. That means that they're out to destroy racism and racists. I don't make _____ definitions anymore about people in systems. A system is upheld by the people and the people are responsible for that system. So black people are out to destroy racists. And if black people are out to destroy racists, that does not mean that black people themselves are racists because they're destroying racists; they're just destroying white people who think they're better than black people. That doesn't mean black people are now destroying white people because they think they're better than white people, they're destroying white people just in order for them to live. So that we don't have to be arguing anymore about whether or not black people are racists. We're clearly anti-racist and we do not have to discuss that anymore. We must move on.

"We want to talk then about capitalism because that's very important. It is important because we have to know the economic system in which we live, and the economic system in which we live is a capitalistic system which has produced most of the evil and quite a bit of the oppression and brutality that we have to suffer. A capitalist society is a society which is geared to _____. It begins with the fact that the man who has capital has the right to invest his capital to buy the labor of another individual and to make a profit. That's it simply. It's

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"a lot more complicated but we don't have time to go into _____ . We just have to try to touch on some of these things. Now, maybe we could give examples of capitalism. That would be better. An example of capitalism would be my father. All right? My father is a carpenter, a very good carpenter. But my father does not have any capital. Capital is money. But there happens to be a rich white man who has a lot of money. Now he probably stole the money in order to accumulate it since he and my father both came into the world having no money or having no capital. So you see if he's got more capital than my father he had to have stolen because otherwise they would all have the same amount. But he comes in having this money. He then says to my father, I want to build a house. My father builds the house. He pays my father about \$40 or \$50 a week. He then sells the house for \$25,000 and makes all the profit. My father has nothing to show for his sweat except the fact that he can say I built that house. The same is true of my mother who is a maid. She has nothing to show except to say, I raised those children and I was, or am, a part of the family, although I never understood how.

"Now then, the highest stage of capitalism is imperialism. The United States is an imperialist country. Imperialism means that this country goes to other poorer countries, takes the resources of those countries, brings them here, develops them, and then sells them back to the countries at a high rate of profit. Let me give you a concrete example. Let us take one of the most revolutionary countries in the world today. The little island of Cuba. When the United States controlled Cuba they used to get all the sugar from Cuba. They would have the Cuban people pick the sugar cane. They would pay them 40 cents a day. They would bring the sugar cane into the United States, manufacture sugar, then sell it back to the Cubans for a high price, so that all the money again was staying inside the United States.

"That's basically the _____ of an imperialist

"society, and we have to understand that we're fighting those two things, racism and imperialism. Racism and imperialism, they are both our fight. What then is our goal? Well, our goal is a society free of racism. Whether or not we will be able to have a society free of racism with white people in it is a question which has not yet been resolved, although many people seem to think it can come about, and many people say you can't have it until you separate, etc. etc. But certainly that is one of the goals that we must have, a society free of racism. Now I'm not sure I have any solutions on it, I don't know if anybody else has, but I think it's something we have to work on. But one thing is going to be clear, there is going to be a society free of racism or there will be no society and that has been resolved.

"We should not be applauding when things sound bad anymore because all the bad things have been said by either RAP BROWN, HUEY P. NEWTON, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, BOBBY SEALE, or somebody. What we need today is the things that are going to help us move forward not the bad things, we done told them that we converted _____ and we done it. What else can we show them. We have to show them that we can build a revolutionary struggle. And that means hard work and not just _____ at what sounds good. O.K. We need a society that's free of capitalism. Capitalism is an economic system. There are basically three economic systems in the world today: capitalism, socialism, or communism. Since we cannot have capitalism we need either socialism or communism. Clear. Crystal clear. There's no need to run from it. No need to run from communism or socialism. Most of us do not know anything about it and we are afraid of what we do not know. What we do know is that we live in a capitalist society, it has imprisoned us, and we can no longer have it. So we've got to break out of it, and we must look to other places and see what type of economic systems they have _____ and where it has been able to work. Now the question that's uppermost in our minds as black people is whether or not inside a communist or socialist society you will automatically

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eliminate racism. Many people claim so, many people claim not. I tend to think that just because one has socialism or communism does not necessarily mean you get rid of racism, and so I tend to believe that black people will have to move beyond the system other than socialism and communism.

"O.K. Now we get to some of the meat of the talk. We want to begin to define _____ the terms that are being thrown around very loosely. We are not _____ a revolution because a revolution only begins when you have these powers and begin to change the system. Let me give you an example. FIDEL CASTRO fought in the _____ for a number of years, that's in the mountains. That was not the revolution. The Cuban Revolution began when FIDEL CASTRO walked into Havana and _____ and ran. When FIDEL CASTRO said this government belongs to me for the people, that's when the revolution began because then he began to change the entire system. For us black people our revolution will never come about until we have seized some territory inside the United States, blocked it off, are able to maintain it, hold it, and say this is our property, we will now divide it among all of the people that live here, then the revolution begins.

"Then what precedes the revolution? We are in the stage that precedes the revolution, or we're beginning the stage that precedes the revolution. That stage is called armed struggle. Armed struggle is when you engage in armed conflict against the enemy for the people. And that's what we are moving into now more and more. And as we move more and more in armed conflict against the enemy, we will begin to see clearer and clearer who exactly our oppressors are. And we must begin to understand that. So we can't just be talking about we in a revolution. We are beginning armed struggle. It is important because we've got to define then what a revolutionary is. Many people think that merely because they pick up a gun they are revolutionaries. That is not true. Many black people think because they pick up a

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"gun that makes them revolutionaries. That is not true ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
 have a lot of brothers who have guns in Vietnam and they are
 not revolutionaries because they're killing Vietnamese. So
 just picking up a gun does not make you a revolutionary. The
 question is then, what makes you a revolutionary? In order
 to be a revolutionary you've got to pick up a gun. Understand
 that. Before you can even talk revolution you've got to be
 willing to kill, not just to die, but kill, because sometimes
 it's much easier to die than it is to kill. And when you pick up
 the gun, you've got to be willing to kill. Once you're
 willing to kill for your people then you begin to talk about
 revolution. Then you begin to talk about what a revolution
 really is. With gun in hand, once you have a ideology which
 says you're fighting basically for the masses of our people,
 then you can begin to say you are revolutionary. Too many
 of our people pick up guns and the beginning of _____
 political groups start fighting each other saying that this
 one is stopping the revolution, that one is behind the
 revolution, that one is counter-revolutionary, this one is
 that kind of revolutionary. There ain't nothing revolutionary
 about one of those groups, niggers _____ shoot at niggers.
 Nigger. Ain't nothing revolutionary about that. Nothing.
 Nothing. Nothing. And I want you to begin to understand
 that before we even get on to an armed struggle against our
 oppressors. We will be wasted and we cannot be wasted if
 we intend to build a real revolutionary struggle in this country.

"Now then, there are two types of violence. I
 don't think we any longer need to discuss violence. Don't
 even waste our time with it. There can be no other solution
 for us but the gun. There can be no other solution for black
 people but the gun. That is clear. That is clear. And
 the party will say it over and over again, get guns, get
 guns, get guns, get guns. Get 'em any way you can. There
 are three ways you get anything; you work for it, you beg
 for it, or you take it. Just get 'em. Either work for
 it, beg for it, or take it. But we need guns. Get the guns.
 So we don't have to argue about that today. We don't have
 to argue why we need guns. If the Czechoslovakians talking

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bad _____ if they had guns they wouldn't be where they were today. But they were talking bad without guns. And the Russians _____ that when they got ready they showed them who really was the master. And we cannot let ourselves fall into that trap. We've got to have those guns so that when they come down on us we're going to blow them away. That's what we have to get them for so we don't even have to argue about that.

"Now, people have proven a _____ to fight. They have proven a revolutionary _____. When a people move in a revolutionary consciousness they _____ in to attack in different levels three things: the first is the _____ symbols of oppression; the second is the tools of oppression; and then the final phase is the oppressor himself. Our people, whether we recognize it or not, have attacked the symbols of oppression. The symbols of oppression happen to be the _____ stores, the stores in our community that exploit us and take advantage of us. They were the first ones that we can teach. That's why we burned them out, looted them, gutted them, and will continue to do that. We now move to the second level. This is very important, because the second level is the tools of the oppressor. I think that this is where HUEY P. NEWTON becomes very important because he was one of the first to begin to move on that level. He said very clearly that the police represented the occupied forces in our community, the police is the tool of the oppressor. If we're now on the second level, we're moving against the tool of the oppressor. We're moving against the pigs. That's who the tools of the oppressor is. But in order to begin that move we have to be very conscious. That move is a move that is now geared to clear armed struggle. Now there's very different forms of armed struggle. The one who taught us the best was brother MALCOLM X. He says, I don't remember the quote exactly but it says in essence, every time you see a white man who's come back, a Frenchman who comes from Indo-China, he shakes. Anytime you see a white man who's

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come back from Algeria, he shakes. Every time you see a white man who's come back from a war where there's been guerrilla warfare, he's got the shakes, because the white man cannot deal with guerrilla warfare. That's Brother MALCOLM X. And if we had been reading Brother MALCOLM X the way we supposed to be reading him instead of being happy and clapping at the things he said bad, we would have recognized a long time ago where we should have been moving and we would have been ready today, and we have to be today not just listening to people who sound bad and clap, but listening to the direction in which we're going. The direction becomes important today. It's no longer the cat who talks the badest. It's the cat who has the correct ideology that we must follow. Because everybody is bad today. Everybody. Ask the Uncle Toms on TV. Two years ago they used to be Uncle Toms. Today they're talking about my black brothers and _____ unkie, and I say wowiee wow, they make me sound like an Uncle Tom. You know. So it's not any longer a question of who sounds militant, who sounds mean, who sounds bad. It's a question of who has the correct ideology. The correct political mind for our people, and that's what we must begin to sift through. Brother MALCOLM X is absolutely correct, guerrilla warfare is the answer.

"Now, guerrilla warfare means a lot of things. In order to have guerrilla warfare you must have the support of the masses of the people. You must have it. You cannot move unless you have the support of the masses of the people because the guerrilla will need to live and sustain himself off the masses of people. This becomes especially crucial for black people because we live in the cities. You can't go out there and start no war if you don't have food for people. Because no matter how revolutionary you are, if you can't eat you can't fight. That means that we can't start open conflict with the man for a number of reasons. He out numbers us. But he can cut off our supply of food. We cannot grow food in the cities even if we _____, but if you have guerrilla warfare going on and you have

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support from the masses of people, the guerrilla can always be moving around, will always be fed, will always be hidden, and will always be taken care of. That's why it is important that we have the support of the masses of our people. Then how do you get the support of the masses of our people? We get it number 1 by beginning to appeal to them, to show to them and to explain to them the necessity for a revolution. We do not do it by yelling and screaming and shouting and fighting and beating them into it. You can't do that.

_____ that the people follow you for one of two reasons. Either they love you or they fear you. We want our people to love us because then they'll never turn on us. If they fear us they will turn on us. That's why the concept of undying love is so important for black people. It becomes a total necessity, a binding force that can create the revolution. Very important.

"All right. We want to talk about how black people then can begin to move. But before we do that, we want to examine the roles of liberals because that's very important. It's very important because the roles of liberals have always been basically two in history. Number 1, the liberal always wants to avoid confrontation at any cost between the left and the right or between what he would call the two extremists. For example, the job of the white liberal in the United States is to stop a confrontation between black people and white people. The reason that they can stop us from _____ stopping the confrontation is because the liberal enjoys the system in which he lives. He enjoys it. The liberal is differentiated from other people who enjoy the system only by what he says. Only by his philanthropic feelings. Only by his moral values. Other than that, he is no different from the Burchites because they both make a whole lot of money, most of them have a _____, they still go for the same, and enjoy the same, and oppose the same racist institutions of the society. Their job is essentially one -- stop the

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confrontation at any _____. Now the mistake the liberal always makes is that the liberal is so busy trying to stop the confrontation they never build up power themselves, and while the right is building power and while the left is building power, they're busy trying to stop everybody and they usually get crushed in the middle. Crushed in the middle. If the liberals are going to be intelligent, then they must build power. For a number of reasons. It is the liberal that says to the black man, you don't need guns. But it is the liberal who is incapable of delivering the goods. Everytime. White folk will tell us all the time, you don't need guns. Don't shoot. There's a better way. We say O.K., show us how. They know there's a better way but they're incapable of showing us how. They're incapable because they have no power. And they have no power because they need no power. They need no power because they enjoy the crumbs of the system. And so while the right wing is arming, we have to arm. We have to arm, and we will arm.

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(August 23, 1968)~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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Speech at Los Angeles, California, August 24, 1968

On August 24, 1968 Special Agents of the FBI were present and observed there were about 500 persons in attendance at the Peace and Freedom Party (PFP) (a legally constituted political party in the State of California) and BPP sponsored rally to free HUEY NEWTON, at the Will Rogers Park, Los Angeles, California, 4:00 pm to 6:30 pm, featuring STOKELY CARMICHAEL. CARMICHAEL was the last speaker on the program and he spoke from 4:25 p.m. to 6:25 p.m.

Portions of the speech made by CARMICHAEL are hereinafter set forth.

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"Burning down the cities is old stuff to Black revolutionaries. 'We're not going to go around yelling 'Free HUEY NEWTON' anymore. If HUEY P. NEWTON is not freed, the Black Panther Party will act accordingly. We will free HUEY by any means necessary.'

"HUEY P. NEWTON is a prisoner of war. They may say there has been no declaration of war - there wasn't any declaration of war in Korea, there isn't any declaration of war in Vietnam and the United States didn't issue any declaration of war against the Indians - they just wiped them out.

"So it is for us to define our condition, not for them to define it. Whenever we let them define our situation, they say we're making progress. When we define our situation, we see that we're at war. We are an occupied community. The police are an occupying force.

"Here, in our community the police do as they so well please. We have absolutely no control over the police. When you have nothing to say about a force inside our community - then it is an occupying force.

"We must make political moves against the Police Department. Until they cool it, we got to keep the fire on, 24 hours a day. When THEY cool it, then maybe we can think about coolin' it ourselves.

"Let us make the best possible use of the meeting this afternoon. We're not going to be able to hold as many of these big rallies in the future.

"A colonized people can engage in two levels of activity to meet their oppressor - entertainment and education. We have entertained ourselves for two years. It is time to educate ourselves. The question is whether we can find the correct political ideology that can bind us together.

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"I'm tired of seeing Black people on TV. I'm not downing those who entertained us in the past, cause I entertained in the past too.

"Don't expect the white press media to tell us what is happening around the country. As long as it was just entertainment they were glad to report what we were doing.

"Just because you don't hear anything about what is going on in another city doesn't mean we ain't takin' care of business in that other city.

"We are fighting the government of the United States of America.

"The government is both racist and imperialist. When a race decides to suppress, oppress and brutalize another group solely because of their race you have racism.

"Some people say all they want is a piece of the American pie. We can't have a piece of the American pie because that pie exploits our brothers in Vietnam, in Latin America and in Africa. Imperialism is the highest form of Capitalism, where Capitalism is exported by force to foreign lands.

"Capitalism is when money is the important thing in society, when the profit motive runs over the human element.

"Imperialism combines racism and capitalism and is directed outwards at other peoples in foreign lands.

"There is a brave little island 90 miles from the coast of Florida which used to be one of America's most exploited colonies. The Cubans worked the sugar canes and Cuban sugar was sent to the U. S. to be refined and was then sold back for profit while the people starved.

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"It is hard to be free of racism. We cannot ever support anybody who says to us they want to make us Black capitalists. Black capitalism cannot function in our community because that means that Black people take advantage of us. The term 'Black Revolution' has been thrown around too loosely.

"A Revolution begins when a faction seizes power and begins to use it to change society. Armed struggle comes before the revolution. That is what we are getting into now in this country. Armed struggle begins when the oppressed people pick up guns and are willing to die for the Revolution.

"My father, a carpenter, was exploited all his life for another man's profit. He was exploiting my father because my father was working for nothing. The old man had built house for \$50 a week while the White man down the road grew rich by selling the houses for \$25,000. When a Black man kills a hory pig policeman who represses, brutalizes and oppresses him - that is a political act.

"Show me a Frenchman who has fought in Indo-China and I will show you a white man who has the shakes. Show me a man who has fought in Algeria and I will show you a white man who has the shakes. Imperialism is vulnerable to guerrilla warfare and can be defeated by a people in arms.

"Four things are needed for armed struggle; food, shelter, clothing and ammuntion.

"If each individual will work for these, beg for them, or simply take them. As long we do, one of these three things for our people, we do not have to be ashamed.

"We must not debate getting guns. WE GOT TO GET GUNS. And don't go for no fancy rifle neither. Get a gun like the

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enemy has because that is where the ammunition is to come from.

"It will be great hard struggle. The Vietnamese have been fighting for 25 years. We may have to fight for 50. It's time to learn these things. Understanding is the best thing in the world.

"It is possible to attack the oppressor at three levels. One is to attack the oppressor's symbols, his tools, (the police), or the oppressor himself. The police are occupation forces.

"The United States Government is not trying to stop Communism. If they were trying to stop Communism they would invade countries like North Vietnam, Cuba and elsewhere. The United States Government is not trying to stop Communism. If they were trying to stop Communism they would invade them and push them all the way back to Moscow. I say invade Czechoslovakia. Invade if you're not a racist. Invade and help the Czech people get free of Communism. They're not going to invade and fight white people.

"I will be friends with whom I want, I will go where I want, when I want. I am a man! To hell with LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON.

"We must distinguish the black militant from the black nationalist. The black militant is one who has just found out he's black and now he's getting mad so he can sit by the white man. The black nationalist works to overturn, root out and destroy the racial oppressor. MALCOLM X was such a black nationalist. HUEY NEWTON is such a nationalist.

"The Revolutionary is willing to kill for his people. To be a revolutionary one must pick up the gun and be willing to kill. It is relatively easy to pick up the gun. But that is not sufficient. One must have the political ideology to bind us together in the coming struggle. We must understand the difference between revolutionary violence

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and counterrevolutionary violence. Revolutionary violence is aimed at changing a certain type of system. By definition, we mean the LAPD engages in counterrevolutionary violence.

"We cannot debate whether we want Revolution, because for our very survival we are going to make Revolution.

"HUEY was always saying these things. They touch HUEY, they will see action!

"A colonized people waits until the leaders die before making them leaders. This is what happened to MALCOLM X.

"Divide and conquer, that is the way of imperialism. In Biafra and Nigeria, North Korea and South Korea, North Vietnam and South Vietnam. The enemy varies between brutal oppression and spectacular gestures of friendship, while all the time he is trying to divide the people with agents-provocateurs and plain-clothesmen.

"When REDDIN comes on with all those pictures of kids and patrolman and the Community Relations Program, he's just trying to brainwash the black community that the honky pig policeman are not going to shoot them down. The police force belongs to us. If we can't have it, there ain't going to be no police force.

"CARMICHAEL ended his speech with the recommendation of two books - "The Wretched of the Earth" and "Malcolm X Speaks."

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[August 29, 1968)

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~Speech at Oakland, California August 25, 1968

On August 25, 1968 STOKELY CARMICHAEL spoke at a "Free HUEY Rally" at DeFremery Park, Oakland, California. The function was sponsored by the BPP in connection with plans for future activities around the trial of HUEY NEWTON, Minister of Defense, who was being tried on charges of murdering an Oakland police officer. CARMICHAEL was introduced as Prime Minister of the BPP.

CARMICHAEL stated in making the lengthy speech, that it was the same speech basically that he had delivered in Marin City, California on August 22, 1968.

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(August 26, 1968) ~~X~~b2
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In view of the fact the speech of CARMICHAEL at DeFremery Park, Oakland was substantially the same speech made in Marin City, California, on August 22, 1968, in the interest of brevity it is not being set forth. However, the following is being set forth, which was contained in an article of "The Washington Post and Times Herald", dated August 25, 1968. The article reported as follows:

"STOKELY CARMICHAEL, newly acclaimed as the Prime Minister of the Black Panther Party, told a 'Free HUEY NEWTON' rally today that the black revolution is entering 'the period of armed struggle' just before there is guerrilla warfare. He predicted the Black Panthers would eventually be forced underground.

"Speaking in a park behind a guard of 50 stony-face Panthers all dressed in black leather jackets and black berets, he, in effect, gave the crowd of 2000 a revolutionary primer that drew on concepts of LENIN and MAO TSE-TUNG.

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"CARMICHAEL said that HUEY P. NEWTON, the Black Panther Minister of Information now on trial in the murder of an Oakland policeman, is a 'prisoner of war' in a struggle for 'a society that is free of racism and a society that is not capitalistic'.

" 'We must get him out,' CARMICHAEL said. 'If we can't get him out we must -- we must -- retaliate.'

"CARMICHAEL said the Black Panther Party was revolutionary. A revolutionary differs from a militant, he said, in that he accepts no compromise with the existing system and 'must be ready to pick up a gun.'

" 'Don't wear a leather jacket unless you are ready to kill,' CARMICHAEL said.

"The struggle against the police now under way in the black community, he said, is important in the revolution because the police's job is 'to keep things as they are -- that's what they call law and order.'

"CARMICHAEL was recently expelled from the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee because of what he has described as 'political and ideological differences.' He has not elaborated on the nature of the disagreement.

"CARMICHAEL said the black revolution had passed the stage of psychological preparation. Two years ago, he said, people would have been afraid to say openly that 'pigs must be killed.' Pigs is a Black Panther word for police and other Establishment figures.

"The job now is to educate and plan for seizing power, CARMICHAEL said. He described the revolutionary struggle as being against the U. S. Government. 'We are fighting against racism and imperialism,' he said. 'The government of the United States is racist and imperialist.'

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Therefore, we are fighting against the Government of the United States.'

"He said the revolution began by moving against symbols of oppression and is now fighting against the tools of oppression, among whom are the police.

"The following stage would be movements against the oppressor himself and seizure of power.

" 'In a revolution one wins or one dies,' CARMICHAEL said."

Speech at Sheldon Memorial Hall, St. Louis, Mo.
August 29, 1968

According to the Intelligence Unit, St. Louis, Police Department, STOKELY CARMICHAEL spoke at the Sheldon Memorial Hall, St. Louis, Mo. on the evening of August 29, 1968, The function was reportedly to be a fund raising program to secure money for the bond of a confined member of the Black Liberators who had been arrested on a charge of possessing illegal firearms.

The Black Liberators were reported to be a recently formed black militant organization, headquartered in St. Louis, Mo. Members of this organization had recently appeared in public bearing firearms.

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August 28, 1968)

CARMICHAEL spoke, according to reports available, for approximately two hours, beginning at 9:45 p.m.

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His speech was frequently interrupted by loud applause and expressions of assent from the capacity crowd which contained less than ten white people.

He began his talk by speaking of the "undying love" that Blacks must have for all other Blacks which necessitated an undying hatred for all whites. He stated that all Blacks must support the Black revolutionaries even if they don't agree with their ideas. CARMICHAEL stressed that Black organizations must stop quarelling among themselves and form one united front.

CARMICHAEL indicated that Blacks can obtain power militarily, politically, and economically in the United States, but only if they have "the guns and bullets" to back it up. He pointed out that racism and United States imperialism can be destroyed only by "the gun" and he urged the audience to buy, steal, or beg weapons and "the bigger, the better." He cautioned his audience not to obtain fancy pearl-handled weapons of uncommon calibre, but instead concentrate on getting weapons similar to those utilized by the police and the National Guard in order that stolen ammunition may be used.

He praised the Communist countries and revolutionary leaders of Cuba, North Vietnam and North Korea. He said all United States foreign policy is directed toward the exploitation of the non-white world and urged the audience to travel abroad and witness the truth of his statements. He encouraged cooperation with all countries who are fighting the United States because any enemy of the United States is a friend of the Black man.

CARMICHAEL criticised the "Black Militants" who appear on radio and TV and protest against white oppression and then "sell out" their Black brothers by quietly accepting a high paying job with a federally funded agency. He stated such individuals should live on \$100 a week and then give the rest of their large salary to the "Black revolutionaries" so they can buy guns.

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(U) He stated that the black panther is an ideal symbol for the black guerrilla because he is quiet, cunning, kills at night and then slips away. He pointed out that Blacks should avoid getting arrested because "we are outnumbered now" and Blacks are lost to the movement if they are in jail. He told his audience if they had trouble with "honkie cop", merely get his badge number and later strike without warning when your escape is certain. [redacted]

August 30, 1968) X

Speech at Mt. Zion Methodist Church
Baltimore, Maryland, October 17, 1968

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A meeting was sponsored by the Soul School, 522 North Fremont Street, Baltimore, Md. on the evening of October 17, 1968 at the Mt. Zion Methodist Church, Baltimore, Maryland. STOKELY CARMICHAEL was the featured speaker. He was introduced by the Minister of the Church. CARMICHAEL reportedly gave a rather lengthy speech in which he talked about, among other things, poverty programs, education, gun control, presidential candidates, the forthcoming elections and unity among black people. Regarding gun control he said that an attempt is being made to disarm black people and to keep them from getting arms, while at the same time white people were arming at an alarming rate. He stated black people want and need guns to protect themselves and their families as much as white people. He continued that if blacks were disarmed and whites are not disarmed, then there would be trouble. He pointed out to black women in the audience that in the suburbs white women were obtaining guns and being taught how to use them. He stated black women should do the same thing.

CARMICHAEL also spoke of the need for love and brotherhood among black people and received a standing ovation from the audience at time of conclusion of the speech.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~Speech at San Diego, California, October 26, 1968

STOKELY CARMICHAEL spoke at a rally for TIM THOMPSON, held at 30th and Ocean View Boulevard, San Diego, Calif. on October 26, 1968. The rally was reportedly held to protest against the San Diego Sheriff's Office and the San Diego Police Department for a shooting incident involving THOMPSON.

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Portions of the speech made by CARMICHAEL, which were substantially the same as previous speeches, is herein-after set forth.

We have a lot to talk about today so we are going to have to take a lot of time. We have to take time for a number reasons. We have to take time because today we have to choose what we say; we have to be careful how we say it because we are at a crucial point of our survival. We have to take time today because its not going to be too long before we are not allowed to hold outdoor rallies like these and while we've got the time we ought to take it and we ought to try and say some intelligent things today. We ought not just to come for a feel-good session. This is not church. This is not church, church is a feel-good session. It makes you feel good about the sins you committed last week so you can go out and committ'em next week. But we are at a rally which deals with our very survival and so, if we are going to talk about our survival, we can talk about feeling good. We can talk about forgiving the things we did last week and hope to do'em next week because the mistakes we did last week we cannot repeat next week because we will end up in camps. Now then, we ought to start off by saying that black people living in America are colonized people--colonized people--and we'll have to define our terms as we go along. But we can say now, at

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the beginning, that a colonized people, when they begin to move for their liberation, move in two levels. The first we will call entertainment and the second we will call education. Now, we need to understand them. Entertainment is the feel-good session. That's where we all come together and we talk bad about the honkie. Now that's a - that's a - necessary stage, but however it is an insufficient stage to get our complete liberation. Education---entertainment is necessary, but it is insufficient. However this entertainment is necessary because that's a level where we can publically joke about our oppressor. Before we could not publically joke about our oppressor, for example, even in San Diego, especially years ago, if a brother had been brutalized the way Brother Tim was brutalized, we wouldn't dare hold a rally publically and talk about pigs. We would sit behind the door--did you hear they shot Timmy down? Isn't that a shame? Isn't that a shame? Isn't that a shame? But now, once we've gotten to the point where we can talk about the police and call them pigs and joke about the mayor and call him a pig or slob or honkie, we must move beyond that point and figure how to destroy the pig, honkie etc. etc. And talking about him will not destroy him, it will create in us a psychological feeling that is necessary for us to prepare to meet the man. What we want to do today is to divide the talk into two sections--entertainment and education. First, entertainment because in San Diego it is necessary--it is necessary because there are not many brothers and sisters out heretoday and there should be many brothers and sisters out here today. Education because we have to help each other and when we wake up we want to know--we want to know--that we are going in the right direction. that's goin to lead to our liberation, and not only that because if you dance too much you get tired. Let us begin then by sayin that we should begin to throw out some concepts which would begin to band our people together; and we have for the last year been throwin out three main concepts which are vital to our survival. The first

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concept we must understand because it is to counteract that of a colonized people. Now then, one thing colonized people have in common is that they hate themselves and that's crystal clear that black people in this country hate themselves. Even tho we wear naturals we still hate ourselves because the process of colonization has been so deep. That's why we fight each other, because we see in each other an image of ourselves and we want to destroy ourselves because we hate ourselves. Now, in order to counteract that feeling of hate, we must give something more profound. We must see concept number one for our people--black people. We must have an undying love. We must have an undying love for our people and that is necessary before we can talk about revolution. We must have an undying love for our people and that can work very concretely because love for us would not be abstract. If we have an undying love for our people when they touch one of us they would have to touch all of us. That's an undying love. We say that Brother Tim is our brother, but if he was a real brother, if he was our blood brother, and the police had shot down our real brother, we would shoot down the police. That's an undying love for our people. That's an undying love for our people. The problem is that the white man has been able to transplant love that we have for each other, for this country--for this country--and for himself. We love this country and we love white people more than we love ourselves. And we must counteract that so that we love ourselves first and anybody that's nice to us we would love, but anybody who was not nice to us we would deal with. We must have an undying love for our people. The second concept follows from the first, every Negro is a potential black man. Second concept, every Negro is a potential black man, and this is very important because inside our communities they are becoming divided because the new black nationalists are turning their backs on what we call the so-called Negroes; but the black nationalists themselves are forgetting that they were Negroes when Brother Malcolm X was talking. Brother Malcolm X was talking--and if we understand that, we have an

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undying love for our people and then we would take time out with our people and bring them home. But it is because of the hatred we still have that we turn against each other. You see it all the time, a sister who used to wear a wig and straighten her hair, two weeks she's got a natural and she is a new born black. She's running around with a bad natural, she just got stung by being black; and here come a sister with a wig. I don't talk to her, she's a mean girl, but two weeks she was a Negro and somebody had to work with her to make her black. We have to work with our people and make them black--we have to work with our people and make them black. Because we are all ready to fight, die and kill for our people we are in the minority and we must become the majority. We must become the majority, and the only people who we can recruit from are our own brainwashed people and if we alienate our people they will run to the honkie and he will use them against us. Every Negro is a potential black man. The third concept, which is more difficult than the others, but which is vital in-- a vital necessity for our survival. For black the question of community is not just simply a question of land, but it is a question about color and where we are. I want to repeat that because it is very difficult. For black people the question of community is not just simply a question of land, but it's a question of color and where we are. Now let me give you some examples. If you went to New York, you wouldn't be home until you went to Harlem. If you went to Los Angeles, you wouldn't be home until you went to Watts. If you went to Chicago, you would not be home until you went to the South Side or the West Side. If you go to Washington, D. C. you're home in the whole city. And the reason we must begin to understand that is so that we can relate with a community inside a country while we do not have land, so that our black nationalism will be rooted in something concrete, but it is important for another reason. The one thing the white man wants to do is--to do--to give us a complex of inferiority in terms of numbers. He keeps

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sayin you're only 10 per cent, you can only do this and you can only do that and it traps many of our people in their thinkin because they think that we are a minority. We are a minority inside the continental borders of the United States, but we are a majority in the world--a majority in the world. And what we have to understand is that the struggle that is brewing in the world is not a struggle confined to the borders of the United States, it's a world wide struggle and we must be part of that struggle. We must be part of that struggle and we have to be part of that struggle and we must be with our brothers and sisters who are black and from Africa because we are from Africa. We may not want to admit it, but we are from Africa. You know you see people all the time, where your granmother come from? Where your mother come from? San Diego. Where you granmother come from? Arkansas. Where'd your great grandmother come from? ooo ooo. She came from Af---ri---ca. And she was stolen from Africa and brought here by white men to be a slave. So we are Africans. Just because you're born in American don't make you an American. You are what you are, African, because there ain't no black men originated in this North American wilderness. African--and once we begin to understand that we will begin to tie the bonds of our people in a world wide struggle. Now I'll show you what the white man did to us. He stole us from Africa. He scattered us in the West Indies. He scattered us in Cuba; he started us in the Northern tip of South America; he started us inside the United States. He started us inside Canada and he gave us each different names. In Brazil we call ourselves Brazilians; in Panama we call ourselves Panamanians; at Puerto Rico we call ourselves Puerto Ricans; in America we call ourselves Negroes; in Canada we call ourselves Canadians and when the man wants us to fight each other, he sends Negro to fight Brazilian. It's an African fighting African. It's African fighting African. And we must begin to understand that concept because as the world begins to divide the man is going to use us to--to fight against our brothers.

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He will begin to call us Americans. He will let us be in the mainstream of America because if you are in the mainstream of America you rate in Africa, Asia and Latin America, and we get into the mainstream of America we are raping flesh of our flesh and blood of our blood. You've got to understand that. The man never told us where he scattered us. All over the West Indies there are black people who look like you and look like me. In Brazil 45 percent of the population is black--look like you and like me. You couldn't tell we weren't brothers except when they opened their mouth and spoke Portuguese. In Panama 45 per cent of the population is African like you and me, they speak Spanish. In Santo Domingo and Guatamala and the Dominican Republic they are black like you and me, but they speak Spanish. In America we are black like them but we speak English. All over the world the man has divided us, give us new languages to speak, give us new cultures, new values and let us think that we are different people, so we must understand the concept because when the fight comes out we will not fight our brothers, whether they be in Brazil, in Panama, in Puerto Rico or Santo Domingo or anywhere, we will not fight our brothers. Now then, if we can begin to understand those three concepts and move on them, we can begin to build something that will give a concrete and tangible way to deal with our problems. Now we know, we say, what our problems are and everybody says we know what we want but I'm tired of hearing people say we want freedom--we want freedom--we want freedom. We must be concrete and specific. We must say what we are fighting against and what we want to create. Our fight are two-fold. Racism and capitalism, that's what we are fighting against. Racism and capitalism. And we must begin to talk about those two things together. We cannot talk about one without talking about the other. Our fight is against racism and capitalism and of course, imperialism--imperialism is just the highest stage of capitalism. The United States of America is an imperialistic country. If we are fighting against imperialism

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We are fighting against the United States of America, nothing less. If we are not fighting against that, then we can go ahead join the United States of America and become black Americans and go and fight in Vietnam and be happy doing it cause we would get somethin from it, but if we are fightin for a just fight our fight must be against racism and capitalism. Then, what kind of society do we seek to create? We seek to create a society free of racism and free of capitalism. That's the society we have to work to create. We have to do it. We can leave the molding of that society to nobody else but us because we know racism--we've been the victims of racism. We know capitalism because we have been the victims of capitalism. Racism and capitalism--a society free of either. Now there will be a lot of questions that we will have to raise on how we go. There are many discussions going around the world today and on just which route we will take, but if we begin to understand what our problems are then we can begin to understand where we have to go in concrete terms. Now then, there are certain things that the man is going to do to cut our struggle and we must begin to know what he is going to do so that we will know how to move to make the struggle continue to grow and continue to become real revolutionary. We must begin to understand that we cannot just say we are aware of this and that, we must show them. Let's show them in three specific areas. Let's show them in the area of education. Let's show them in the area of politics and let's show them in area of economics. for the black people that would be the poverty program. Let us start this with education. Franz Farnon (phonetic), a black man who wrote a book called The Wretched of the Earth, says that education is nothing but the re-enforcement and re-establishment of values in the given society. I want to repeat that, education, says Farnon, is nothing but the re-establishment and re-instatement of the values of a given society. That's to say, if you live in America you are goin' to get an education that will make you a capitalist. If you live in Cuba

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you will get an education that will make you a communist. If you live in Russia you will get an education that will make you a socialist or a leftist or whichever. If you live in China you would get an education which will make you a communist with a Maoist interpretation. So if we grow up in America and we go to school in America, then education is just gonna support the values of America. If America is a racist society, if we're educated by Americans, we will grow up to be racists and since America hates black people, if we go to school in that system, we will grow up to hate black people. We grow up to hate ourselves. So we have to understand specifically how then the educational system works and what we must do. Now let me give you a concrete example of racism in the education system to tell you how subtle it is and how we never even recognize it. If I asked you who discovered America you would say Christopher Columbus in 1492. If you said somethin else and I were your teacher, I would flunk you, but now we know that Christopher Columbus did not discover America. They were people here before he came. Not only that, he was a dumb honkie, he thought he was in India and he was in the United States. (laugh) But when you say that Christopher Columbus discovered America what you are saying is nobody is alive, nobody is functioning, until a white man comes along and discovers you. That's precisely what you're saying. I wanna repeat that so you understand it. Every history book that you read says Marco Polo discovered China, Columbus discovered America, somebody else discovered South America, somebody else discovered the North Pole, somebody else discovered Brazil, somebody else discovered the West Indies, but they're all white men. Sir Walter (Dra) Drake discovered the West Indies--what's that cat's name from Spain--Ponce de Leon discovered something else and when you keep saying that, all you're sayin is that nothin is discovered until a white man comes along. History does not exist until the white man comes along and that's racist--racist--

racist--racist--but we swallow that hook, sink and line, as a matter of fact, we memorize that because we want to get A's in class. We memorize Christopher Columbus discovered. We memorize that Galleleo was the one who first worked out the functions of space. We memorize Shakespere was the first one to write beautiful plays and express all that junk. We think that first thoughts start with a white man and all we're saying is that we're nothin cause the white man is discovering everythin'. If we wanna change that, we must move to control education in our communities. We got to take it over. We got to take it over. But we have got to understand that in taking over education we don't replace black people inside a white system because all we will have are black carbon copies of a white ideology. We don't want that. We don't want to imitate the system of education in this country, we want to create a system of education. So merely asking for a black principal does not change the situation cause that can give you a lot of black people in the skin color but very white in mind color, mind color. If we want a black man, we must begin to talk seriously how we control the entire system. We decide what course are to be taught. We decide and we teach it. We don't-may not need French, Russian, Spanish, German. We may not need those languages. We may need Palsa (phonetic). We may need Pula (phonetic). We may need Swahili. We should decide that. We should decide that. We may not need courses in or about banking and stuff. We need courses in chemistry. Chemistry. We need a course in physics. We should decide that. We need course on a lot of things but we have to decide and they cannot interpret those courses for us. Now, what the man is doing around this country is--he is replacing white people with black people who respond to him and we're getting caught up in that because a whole lot of black people are yelling I'm black and I'm proud, but they're comin from a white thing. They're comin from a white thing. And we have to understand that merely being black does not, if you imitate a white society, meet their needs. We

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must talk about recreate rather than imitating. Now let's talk about the second thing, politics, and let's talk about it in the convention since that's called the vote. The vote has never and not now or never will it meet the needs of the black people in this country. The vote has never, not now, nor ever will it meet the needs of the black masses of people in this country. The vote is nothing but a trick bag to let you think your're free. That's all it is. We have survived without the vote. We have survived Mississippi, Alabama, Virginia, Texas, Louisiana, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia. We survived in Washington, D. C. without the vote. In the major cities we don't vote because the vote is irrelevant to the lives of black people on a day-to-day basis. But there is another reason why we can't go anywhere with the vote. It's simply because the vote means nothing unless you got the guns to back up your vote. That's the biggest mistake we make. Mao Tse Tung said political power grows out of the barrel of a gun. He absolutely correct, cause you go-go downtown with all the votes you got and talk to the mayor, city council and everybody and talk about suspending the boardmen and the sheriff because he shot Brother Tim and ain't nothin gonna happen; but if we had guns and all of us went down and with our gun somethin would happen. So we must begin to understand politics in this country. Let's even examine the campaign today. There are three candidates--none of them are actively seeking the vote of black people. But the only thing of importance in the campaign is niggers--what we gonna do with niggers? What we gonna do with niggers law and order? It's a simple question, what we gonna do with these niggers who risen up in the cities, who risen up in the high schools, who risen up in the colleges? What we gonna do with these niggers and how's the best we to put them back to sleep? That's what their campaign is all about. The campaign is about us and they're not even asking us what we think we want to do about us. It's simple, Wallace talked about law and order; Nixon talked about law and order; Humphrey talk about law and order, they're talkin about the same thing so we can't afford to get tied up with the vote for Wallace, for Humphrey and Nixon. We have got to get tied

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up with the guns so that whoever wins, whoever decides what they gonna do to us, when they come to do it, we're gonna be ready to do it to them. Got to have the guns now. I never apologize for talking about the guns because I think black people--think are talkin about our non-violence. It's not they don't want violence it's because they are afraid of facing the white man with a gun. It's not a question--there isn't a black woman in this country who got a son can tell me she don't want her son pickin up a gun, cause soon as he turns 18 he going to Vietnam. So she can't tell me that she afraid of her son pickin up a gun and going against the white man cause he is going to Vietnam against the yellow people over there. There isn't a black person I know in this country can tell me they're afraid of violence. Like the brother said earlier, we're the most violent people in this country. Violent to each other. Tonight is Saturday night, I betcha before the night is over 12 of us gonna be cut or a couple of us gonna be shot and lot of us is gonna be in a fight for steppin on each others shoes. In addition to that a lot of husbands are gonna be goin to jail for beaten up their wives and they is gonna be out on Monday. So don't tell me about violence. I don't deal with it. I deal with it from another level--you believe in equality---white women are gettin guns, black women should have guns and if ya don't believe in equality don't talk to me. You see (pause) in the white man plays all those tricks on us--you see'm. Russia, France, England, United States all of them got the--got the atomic bomb and hydrogen bomb, the cobalt bomb, they wanna sit down and say we don't want nobody eles to get the bomb (laugh). Ain't that jive! That's called halting nuclear development and the threat of nuclear warfare. Jive! Could you imagin little Africa goin up against the United States and the United States says if you get smart we're gonna drop the hydrogen bomb on you. What could we do but fight to the death. We need to get the bomb ourselves. If America has got the bomb; if France got the bomb; if England got the bomb; if

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Germany got the bomb, every country in the world should have the bomb. That's equality. That's equality, and if white people got guns we got to have guns. And let's not waste our time playing with them about guns. It's a gun that kill you, it's a gun that's gonna protect you. Period!! Let's move on now, we wanna move into talking about definin because through definition man is messing up alot of our movements. For example, he is yellin about the black revolution. I see more white people talkin about revolution that black people and they're talkin about us; and a lot of black people believe that we're really in the midst of a revolution. We're not in the midst of a revolution. A revolution only begins when you have seized power. We have not seized power--we're not in the midst of a revolution. Let me give you an example. Fidel Castro fought in the Sierra Miestras (phonetic) for several years--for several years--but while fightin with guns in his hand he was not engaged in the Cuban revolution. The Cuban revolution did not begin until Fidel Castro, with 'Che' Guivera on his right side, walked into the city of Havana, chased out Batista and the American lackies and said this date he claimed this island for the masses of our people. Then the Cuban revolution began. Because then he had power to do what had to be done. Had power. So we should not waste our time talking about a revolution--we're not in a revolution because a revolution means total change, total change, and we have not reached that point of total change. We don't have anything yet. So now, what is the period that precedes a revolution. The period that precedes a revolution is called armed struggle, armed struggle. Black people in this country are just beginnin to get into this area of armed struggle, and that's what we have to understand. Don't say no revolution, say we're just beginnin to get into the armed struggle. Armed struggle is when the oppressed begins to fight the oppressor with guns in his hands. That's the beginnin of armed struggle and that just where we're beginnin to go. So we must begin to understand the difference. Now I wanna talk about

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revolutionary violence, counter-revolutionary violence. I wanna make the difference between a black militant and black revolutionary cause it's important. I don't think that violence is either good or bad, it's just a question of who can legitimatize violence. Period!! If an 18-year-old black man was in Vietnam and he shot 30 Vietnamese he would get a medal. He would get a whole lot of medals. If he shot a honkie cop for brutalizin one of our brothers he would get the electric chair. So killin is neither good nor bad, it's just a question of who can legitimatize this, and black people will not begin to legitimatize the killin of those people who oppress us. Now man, notice I put the emphasis on killin--not dyin. It's easy to die for your people, it's not so easy to kill for your people. It's easy to die for your people, it's harder to live and kill for your people. And we have to put the emphasis on killin not on dyin. Too many of us been dead, let's live a little--live a little. You hear white folks talk about I'm willin to die? No but fear they say let's kill some niggers. You ain't never heard them say they're willin to die so as the black man suggests I'm willin to die for my people. Hey there niggers you can do me nothin' dead. Kill someone, you can make it less for me, easen my burden. Don't talk about no dyin--kill. That's what you have to talk about. You are afraid to talk about killin the man. Yes, we are because we have been taught to be afraid. We have been taught because they kill us and make us afraid. They kill Brother Tim systematically because they want us to be afraid. That's why they kill Brother Tim. They kill a 14-year-old Chicano girl because they want us to be afraid. That why. Kill them. And once we stop movin because the kill the people they have succeeded. We must be afraid, but we must never let fear immobilize us. No matter how afraid we are we got to move. We got to move. Now we've got to begin to understand. Now the revolutionary violence is the violence of a group of people who hide the feelings, the feelings and the - uh - let's say - expressions of the masses of our people at

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hand who are fighting against the forces that to keep our people oppressed. Now we could point out counter-revolutionary forces in the society. A counter-revolutionary is force that seeks, through violence, to keep the people oppressed. That's the police department in each of the cities around this country. They seek to keep us oppressed with the guns--with the guns--and they're a counter-revolutionary force. Revolutionary forces then would be those forces which seek to destroy the counter-revolutionary forces or at least to intimidate them to a point when we can begin to organize, because the real fight in this country is whether or not black people can organize like they want to or whether now we gonna organize like white people say we got to organize. Now the only way we will be organized the way we want to is when we intimidate them sufficiently to let them know that we intend to do what we intend to or we intend to kill while doin it. To kill while doin it--not to die. Now then, let me move on to the most important trick that the white man is puttin down on us today and that is the difference between a black militant and a black revolutionary. We said in the beginnin that a revolutionary is someone who wants complete change, a militant is someone who wants complete change, he wants reform. A militant is an angry black man who wants to be a part of the United States--that's a black militant. He's angry because he's been kept out. He's not concerned about his people. He mad. He yells. He screams until he gets him a \$20,000 a year poverty program job. Then he's cool. That's a black militant--you see'm all the time. They run down the streets of San Diego with their naturals. They run to the mayor. Look here Mr. Mayor if you don't give us a program then there's gonna be burnin, there's gonna be lootin, there's gonna be shootin, there's gonna be bloodshed and I can't talk to my people. You got to give us a poverty program. The mayor tells them to get out o'here. Then the people they all move, they create a situation where a rebellion occurs, then they run back to the mayor. They say,

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I told you so and the mayor gives them a \$20,000 a year job and the next time the people move they are on the streets--cool it--cool it brother--cool it--be cool, we got it, everythin in control. We got it under control. We talkin to the mayor. They listenin. They listenin. Don't worry about it. That's black militancy. A black revolutionary is a man who seeks to destroy all the time, burn down and take up the old system and start all over again. There are many black militants in this country and are very few black revolutionaries in this country. There are many black militants in this country. There are very few black revolutionaries in this country. But if we are talking about total liberation we are talking about black revolution not black militancy. Black militancy will heighten the contradictions but black revolution is going to resolve the contradictions. We have to understand that and we must begin to understand it more and more because--because they gonna push the black militant on us and make him our leader. I see it all the time. I see black people today talkin about we'll do okay for black people if we can be capitalistic, you - uh - mentioned the capitalist--everythin'll be all right. (uh) Black men cannot be a black capitalist in this country and talk about any kind of liberation for his people. Not, can't, not and we have to understand that. Now this type of talk is not as enthusiastic as the first part where we can laugh, feel good and talk about the white man, but this is the most important part of this speech because this is what is gonna to begin to return us to the true liberation in this country. Not a lot of nonsense. Now when you move for liberation, there are three levels on which we move--the cultural, the political and economical. It's crystal clear that the white is not gonna let us move on the political arena. He is not gonna let us move on the economic arena. He is trying to control the cultural arena. He is trying to say it's all right, let'm say I'm black and proud. It's good you should feel proud. Wear a natural. (mock laugh) White man is trying to

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define again for us what our culture will be. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
 Our culture can only be a culture of a revolution,
 we must have cultural revolutionaries. We must
 begin to understand that. Let's get out people
 together. Let's organize them. Let's, like
 the brother said, keep thinking about the guns
 and hand grenades that we got to be throwin.
 Let's not just talk about bein black and sittin in
 a corner. Being black is necessary but its
 insufficient. Black man without a gun is another
 dead Negro. A black man without a natural, without
 a gun, is a dead Negro. A black woman with a
 natural, without a gun, is a dead niggeress (haha).
 Got to have the guns in our hands. Got to get
 the guns. The only way we are gonna protect
 ourselves is with the guns. We cannot even
 question that any more today. If we need 10,000
 Brother Tims then we will have them, unless we
 pick up the guns. Now you fight fire with fire;
 you fight talk with talk; you fight money with
 money; you fight police brutality with civilian
 brutality. Every time they shoot one don't talk
 about it -- ax them. Period!! We can't talk
 about it above ground, we know that, but if it's
 being done underground, every time we hear about it
 it--didja hear that they killed officer so-and-so
 good. Good--good--good. Don't be afraid to say
 it because we live in a world of opposition.
 Before I end I want to put this point to you
 clear. We live in a world of opposites--for hot
 there's cold, for laughter there's sadness, right?
 For boys there's girls, right? For short there's
 tall, for love there's hate. Don't let them
 fool you and say I don't hate. If you love you
 got to hate, or at least know about hate. When
 a black man gets up and says I don't hate nobody,
 it's because he doesn't love anybody. If you
 have children and somebody come to kill you children
 you will kill them because you love your children.
 If you have children and you love your children and
 somebody comes to kill your children you will kill
 them because you love your children. When Dr. King
 died and took to the streets ole black man that
 was walking by there said, 'well didja hear what they
 did?' I said yeh, they killed him, they killed him
 and I'm gonna get me some. Don't do that, that ain't

going to do no good. I said I'm a kill'em. I hate'm. He said I don't hate'm. I said you don't hate'm cause you don't le--ve King. Cause if you love Dr. King, you got to hate'm for what they did. And if you say you love black people then you've got to hate that which is trying to destroy black people, but you say you don't hate it, it's because you don't love your people like you love yourself. You know, it's sad. If we had an undying love for our people we would automatically take care of the enemy. Thank you.

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Speeches at Honolulu, Hawaii, October 30 and 31, 1968

STOKELY CARMICHAEL arrived at Honolulu International Airport, Honolulu, Hawaii on October 29, 1968. He gave speeches at the University YWCA on October 30, 1968; Honolulu Press Club; Andrews Amphitheater, University of Hawaii, and the Church of the Crossroads, Honolulu, Hawaii, on October 31, 1968. According to information available from persons in attendance the contents of all four speeches were substantially the same. The following is being set forth regarding the speeches at the Honolulu Press Club and Andrews Amphitheater, University of Hawaii:

According to an article appearing in the "Advertiser", a Honolulu daily newspaper, on October 31, 1968, written by staff writer JOHN BILBY, CARMICHAEL made the following remarks, among others, during the Press Club address.

"His message was serious."

"I am for revolutionary violence, CARMICHAEL said softly at the outset. I am for killing anybody who tries to kill me.

"I do not think violence has to do with right and wrong, he added

"My brother-in-law is in Vietnam.

"If my brother-in-law kills 30 Vietnamese, he will

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"get a medal. If he sees a policeman push my sister and he kills him, he will get the electric chair.

"In his speech and answers, CARMICHAEL:

"Called GEORGE WALLACE more honest than his presidential rivals.

"Said the object of Black Power is to destroy racism and capitalism in the world.

"Criticized the USSR for plainly showing her hypocrisy in Czechoslovakia.

"Said there was a possibility of black people and white people working together.

"Black people are going to have to fight, the Black Panther Prime Minister said. The question is how many of them will we have to fight.

He added, "We have to be suspicious of white help because the white help we received in the past never helped us."

Regarding the speech by CARMICHAEL at Andrews Amphitheater, University of Hawaii, on October 31, 1968, an article by staff writer JANE EVINGER, appearing in the "Advertiser" on November 1, 1968, reported in part as follows:

Wearing a yellow and black African kuba, black slacks and dark glasses against the afternoon sun, CARMICHAEL spoke to a University of Hawaii audience which overflowed Andrews Amphitheatre.

Estimates of the size of the crowd range from 6,000 by University officials to 10,000 by ENGLISH BRADSHAW of the Black Students Union which paid \$900. to sponsor

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CARMICHAEL's visit to Hawaii.

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CARMICHAEL began his 45 minute address by saying he would "not hedge" on the question of violence.

"I am stating affirmatively that we are for revolutionary violence as a way to crush racism and capitalism, to change the status quo, and to liberate black people," he said.

"We do not believe that violence is either right or wrong; it just is. Killing is a moral. It is neither right or wrong. It is a simple question of who has the power to legitimize it."

CARMICHAEL criticized liberals because, he said, historically their role "has always been to stop the confrontation whenever society becomes polarized."

"They do not seek redress of grievances.

"They seek to stop the confrontation not by building a power base, but by appealing to morality and humanism. But they speak to the oppressed rather than the oppressor when they seek to stop the confrontation."

The following is being set forth regarding the speeches of CARMICHAEL at the University YMCA on October 30, 1968, and Church of the Cross Roads, Honolulu, Hawaii on October 31, 1968.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, representing the Black Panther Party, spoke at the University YMCA on the evening of October 30, 1968. An audience of about 200, mostly students, filled the small auditorium. There were perhaps 20 Negroes in the audience and a number of these appeared to be servicemen rather than students because they wore GI shoes.

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It is difficult to differentiate between CARMICHAEL's speech at the YWCA and his talk the following night at the Church of the Crossroads. The context of both were almost the same and his answers to questions were almost identical.

CARMICHAEL, in his main address, had three themes; one that he is not opposed to violence, killing is amoral, some people can legitimize it, and violence is necessary for a revolutionary change. The second that he is opposed to racism and capitalism and that America is a white racist nation; and three that the Negro has to heighten the contradiction between classes and bring on a confrontation. The liberals are the real enemy of the blacks for opposing confrontation and white university activists are of no help.

He also stated that numbers did not particularly matter, pointing out the United States was being beaten every day in Vietnam.

On Thursday evening, October 31, 1968, CARMICHAEL spoke at the Church of the Crossroads. An admission of \$2 was charged and there were about 300 persons present. There appeared to be more Negroes at the gathering than that of the previous evening.

CARMICHAEL delivered basically the same address with the same themes, reiterating that he advocated violence for a revolutionary change and opposed racism and capitalism in the United States.

At the Church of the Crossroads CARMICHAEL again criticized the liberals for preventing a confrontation between the oppressed classes and the right wing. He also pointed out that the university youth should realize that their real allies are going to have to be the oppressed people rather than the liberals who have money.

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In speaking of violence, he stated that it is neither right nor wrong but that the person who has the power can legitimize it.

In discussing killing, he gave the example the black man who gets a metal for killing in Vietnam and the electric chair for killing a policeman in the United States.

He categorically stated that he was for the overthrow of the United States Government because after capitalism had been overthrown, racism could be abolished. CARMICHAEL also discussed exploitation versus colonization.

He criticized American university youths, stating that they were naive; that they should unite with the university students of other western countries. He claimed they accomplish little because the violence they commit is strictly defensive rather than offensive, and they do not realize when you go to war you have to go with guns.

An Arabian student in the audience asked CARMICHAEL what he would do if MAU invaded California and he replied, "I'd sit on my porch drinking beer and show him the right way."

A caucasian asked CARMICHAEL what he, the caucasian, should do inasmuch as CARMICHAEL is advocating violence of the black against the white. He stated, "I can't tell you that."

CARMICHAEL refused to discuss the exact degree of preparation the Black Panthers had made for confrontation but declared the Negro is going to get guns. He stated we cannot blow up tanks but we are getting there.

He also refused to answer a question as to how many guns and how much training are given the Black Panthers.

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Regarding the speech at the Church of the Crossroads, on October 31, 1968, the following is being set forth:

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, representing the Black Panther Party, appeared before an audience of about 275 persons at the Church of the Crossroads on the evening of October 31, 1968. An admission of \$2 was charged. There were less than 20 Negroes in the audience. On the stage with CARMICHAEL was EARL ANTHONY of the Black Panther Party and Negro University of Hawaii students ENGLISH BRADSHAW, "SLEEPY" SIMONS and CHARLES WILLIAMS.

Before starting his speech, CARMICHAEL asked for a show of hands of those who had heard him at Andrews Theater at the University, at the University YWCA and at the Honolulu Press Club. After noting that there were several people in the audience who had been at his other speeches, he stated there was nothing else to talk about and asked the group, "Should we have a dialogue or just answer questions?" CARMICHAEL then proceeded to deliver an address.

In his introductory remarks he stated that the black people are going to have confrontation sooner or later with the white man and that he is going to be ready for that confrontation and have the guns.

The speaker then developed the theme that violence is necessary for a revolutionary change; that it is not bad, but is a fact of life. He also made the claim that killing is amoral and it just depends if you are able to legitimize it. He stated that Americans' violence to override HITLER was not successful because it was just but because they had sufficient power. In discussing legitimizing violence, he pointed out that a black man can kill Orientals in Vietnam and be awarded a medal, while if he kills a white policeman in the United States, he will be electrocuted.

CARMICHAEL also talked of the necessity of doing away with racism and capitalism. He declared America was a

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racist country but demanded that the black also would obtain economic as well as political equality.

In discussing capitalism, CARMICHAEL stated that in socialist countries such as Cuba there is not a grave necessity for the use of money. Housing, transportation or any other necessities are furnished free and hence, in the future the Negroes will be able to get guns without a great deal of money.

CARMICHAEL compared colonization and exploitation, stating that the former was not only stripping man of his labor but of his history and culture. He stated the Indian and the black man have been a victim of colonization in the United States. Exploitation was stripping man of the results of his labor.

During his speech, CARMICHAEL was extremely critical of the liberals, stating that this group did everything in their power to prevent a confrontation between the right wing and the oppressed peoples. However, he noted that they always called upon the oppressed people to "cool it" rather than directing their remarks to the right wing. CARMICHAEL stated that these liberals do a disservice to the black people.

He also characterized white university youths as being naive and of little help. He stated that their violence is defensive rather than offensive and do no good in bringing about a change of the status quo. CARMICHAEL warned that you need guns to go to war.

When questioned concerning Israel, CARMICHAEL declared he was for the Arabs. He said that he was not anti-Semitic; had been against HITLER, but added that this could not justify the taking of land from the Arabs, and that this land had been handed over to Zionists on a silver platter by Balfour in 1917.

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In commenting on WALLACE, he claimed that he had admiration and respect for the man because he was honest and would hasten a confrontation of the races.

When he was questioned as to how much preparation the Black Panthers had made, he answered, "Do you want me to go to jail?"

One person in the audience stated that police departments on the mainland are being integrated and asked him if he would shoot a black policeman as soon as he would a white. CARMICHAEL answered, no, because all black people are our potential allies and the North Vietnamese try to keep from killing South Vietnamese.

When questioned concerning his opposition to MARTIN LUTHER KING and asked if more progress could not be made by following KING's teachings, CARMICHAEL replied that he stood up and opposed KING when KING had made the statement nonviolence was the only way to bring about equality of opportunity for the black. CARMICHAEL stated he contended that it is not; he thinks another way is by violence, but he is not contending that violence is the only way. If KING had said nonviolence is the one way of reaching their goal, "I'd have gone along with him."

Asked concerning his attitude on Communism, CARMICHAEL stated he did not believe Communism was the ultimate solution because even under the present systems in Russia and China there is racism.

Questioned concerning the progress made in Hawaii in integration and race relations, CARMICHAEL stated that he would not comment because he did not know.

One person pointed out that the Negro represents only a small fraction of the population in this country and asked him how they could be successful in confronting the

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white man. CARMICHAEL answered that numbers are not important; that the Vietcong are beating us every day in Vietnam, that police stations are being blown up on the mainland. You see nothing about this in the paper and that he could not tell you everything because he does not want to go to jail. He stated, however, the blacks are preparing and they are waiting and working.

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Speech at San Jose, California, November 12, 1968

STOKELY CARMICHAEL appeared at Morris Daily Auditorium on the San Jose State College campus, San Jose, California at 1:30 p.m., November 12, 1968. Approximately 700 persons were in attendance, comprising an overflow audience. The audience was made up primarily of white students. His appearance was sponsored by the Experimental School, a department of the San Jose State College, the United Program Board of San Jose State and the United Black Students for Action at San Jose State. CARMICHAEL reportedly in his speech made comments similar to those made previously in various places in the U.S. At the beginning of the speech he stated that he wanted to clarify his remarks in that he does believe in violence and killing if necessary as a means to overcome the oppressor. He stated that many in the U.S. are being exploited and that he was addressing most of his remarks to white people since he was speaking before a mostly white audience. CARMICHAEL also reportedly criticized "liberals" that tried to avoid confrontation between blacks and whites. After the speech by CARMICHAEL, along the lines previously mentioned in other speeches, a question and answer period followed. During the period he was asked what his program was "after the revolution." He stated "there is no program. The taking of power is the only program. You don't have to have a program until you gain power, then you decide". He was then asked "Who will you oppress if you get in power?" He replied "Anyone who oppose me."

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~Speech at Cupertino, California, November 12, 1968

STOKELY CARMICHAEL spoke at De Anza College, Cupertino, Calif. at 8:00 p.m. November 12, 1968. There were approximately 450 persons present. The audience was predominantly white and attentive. CARMICHAEL spoke for about 25 minutes and during the speech he stated, among other things, that the Black Power Movement would continue its policy of harassment which would include a program of "sniping in the nation's police departments." He also spoke of political and economic equality for black people. He also stated, as he did the same day in a speech at San Jose State College, that the "liberals are seeking to maintain the status quo." He added, "They are attempting to avoid confrontations." He also stated that "his goal was to destroy the American society as we know it." During the question and answer session that followed, when asked if he was a U.S. citizen, he answered, "I am a paper citizen."

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Another report regarding the speech of CARMICHAEL at De Anza College on November 12, 1968, was that CARMICHAEL "advocated the violent overthrow of the U.S. Government with guns." He reportedly went on to say "that everyone else can overthrow the Government any way they want to, but that he is going to do it with guns." He added "peace is an absence of conflict, it does not mean that justice is involved, so he is not for peace." He also, during the speech, stated that black men should be free from prisons because they are in reality political prisoners and that the U.S. Government, in its entirety, should be put in prison because it is made up of criminals and is killing in Vietnam. He stated Americans ravaged and raped the American Indians, took their land, and expected the black man to build the country.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~Speech at Washington, D.C., November 13, 1968

STOKELY CARMICHAEL was the keynote speaker at a Black University Conference (BUC), at Howard University, Washington, D.C. on November 13, 1968. During the course of the speech CARMICHAEL reportedly discussed three general concepts. First, that black people are colonized people. That they are "processed" by the "honky" to hate each other. He stated that blacks should counter by learning to love each other. Secondly, CARMICHAEL likened a Negro to a slave, but as long as he is black he should strive to become a militant "black man." The third concept was the internationalization of the struggle which would put the whites in the minority. The internationalization of blacks in the world would be included, thus changing the population ratio in favor of black people. He stated that the U.S. "oppresses black people in every part of the world and the enemies of blacks are racist capitalists." He added that certain blacks are oriented in this capitalistic system which he opposes. He then went on to speak of revolution and defined revolution as "existing when a faction seizes power." He stated what has happened in the U.S. so far had only scratched the surface. He condemned the U.S. for the existence of hunger and poverty in the "richest country in the world" and stated "hunger is violence." He stated that "in order to be a revolutionist, you have to pick up a gun and be willing to kill for ones people." He applauded other militant civil rights activists such as H. RAP BROWN, former SNCC National Chairman. He continued that "students must lead the struggle to revolutionize the system" and that the struggle would depend on them.

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In an article dated November 14, 1968 in "The Washington Post and Times Herald", it was reported that Howard University students had been told the previous night by black power activist STOKELY CARMICHAEL, at the opening

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session of the four day conference on the theme "Towards a Black University" that they should "quit talking and start acting." The article stated that CARMICHAEL's two-hour speech dealt mostly on revolutionary struggles going on in the world.

Speech at Medford, Massachusetts, November 15, 1968

STOKELY CARMICHAEL appeared as a guest speaker at Tufts University, Medford, Massachusetts, on November 15, 1968. He reportedly represented the Black Panther Party. CARMICHAEL arrived at the college at 8:00 p.m. and began to speak shortly thereafter. He was accompanied by a field marshal of BPP, San Francisco, Calif.; field marshal of BPP, Boston, Mass.; and (phonetic) field marshal, BPP, Detroit, Mich.. CARMICHAEL reportedly told the audience that he was for revolutionary violence to solve the problems of blacks in the U.S. He told the audience that they and other white people might consider his posture fatalistic or suicidal, but that he was committed to it. He indicated Negroes of the U.S. were oppressed for violence and it would take violence to relieve this oppression. He predicted there would be a violent conflict in the U.S. and Negroes should be prepared for it. He noted the first step for Negro improvement must be the obtaining of a seat of power and that this would probably take violence to obtain. In speaking of policemen he stated that "if a cop were to try to strike him on the head, he would kill the cop and or other cops nearby." CARMICHAEL continued that no serious coalition could exist between negro and white groups in the U.S. with the possible exception of poor whites, but he noted that while they are also oppressed, they do not seem to be able to organize. CARMICHAEL stated he would use any form of violence to "liberate himself and the black people living in the U.S."

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Speech at Raleigh, North Carolina, November 21, 1968

Major [] Raleigh, North Carolina Police Department, advised on November 21, 1968 that STOKELY CARMICHAEL spoke at St. Augustine College Raleigh, N.C. on that date. According to Major [] CARMICHAEL "advocated violent revolution as the best means of solving the racial problems in the U.S." According to information made available by Major [] CARMICHAEL, during the course of that speech, among other things, stated as herein-after set forth.

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"Now what we would like to do today is to go through the concepts that would enable you to put together a philosophy for black people, living in this country and black people living in other countries, and to allow us to survive. I want to begin by saying that my major assumption is that white people are prepared to commit genocide against black people. And that is my basic assumption.

"Black people in the United States are a colonized people. We are a colonized people. We form a colony within the United States. Now, the main characteristics of a colonized people . . . and rather than go into it, I would hope that your history professors and your social science professors and your sociology professors would begin to discuss the characteristics of a colonized people. But the most important characteristic that we want to determine and deal with today is the characteristic which separates a colonized people from other oppressed people, and this is the characteristic of self-hatred. A colonized people more than anything else hates themselves. And because they hate themselves, they hate any image that reflects themselves. Therefore, they hate each other.

"Now we have to begin to counteract this hatred. Now we can just go on and list characteristics, but I think you should do that in your own discussion classes. Now, to

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counteract hatred, you counteract an opposite with an opposite. The opposite of hatred is love. So, you see, we must counteract the hatred with love, but now love that I'm talking about must be appreciated from a lot of other people. I say that we, black people, must have an undying love for each other, for each other.

"And so, we say that our first concept is to begin to build a sort of ideology that will present a cohesive force for black people inside the United States and around the world, is that we must have an undying love for each other, an undying love for each other. That means we are willing to die for each other. Not only are we willing to die for each other, our people should be willing to kill for each other. I know you don't like to hear the word "kill", and I know they will say this is violence. But you take a look at all the young men in this audience and when they are graduated from college, I'll tell you what they will be. They will be hired killers, killing yellow people in Vietnam. So, it's not a question of killing. It is a question of being able to feel that you can kill for something worthwhile.

"What would the young men sitting in this audience be killing the Vietnam for? They would be killing to stop Communism, when the majority of them can't spell the word Communism, let alone know what it means. So, they would be fighting to stop Communism, they would be fighting for democracy, and living in North Carolina, we know what a joke that is! They would be fighting for the free world (laughter), the free world. For real, that's what they would be fighting for, the free world. They've never smelled freedom and they don't understand the word "free" but they're fighting to maintain the free world.

"It seems to me clearly that the three things they're fighting for does not have any substance to black people. Number one, Communism. If Communism were a kind of force with black people, we would know what it's all about.

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We do not know what Communism is all about. So our people may define Communism as something trying to overthrow the United States and America. We'll talk about that later. Don't let it scare you; just relax.

"Now why are we trying to overthrow the United States? They just got us to be slaves. They went out and did it. We must have an undying love for each other. When a policeman shoots a rifle in one of the major cities of this country, and our brothers pick up bricks, stones, and anything they can find to throw back at the policeman, they are demonstrating an undying love for their people, because they are facing tanks with bricks and bottles and that is heroic.

"Don't say that killing doesn't get you anywhere, look where the United States is today. The white man got this country--he killed the Indians and stole it. So he can't say anything about killing and stealing. Not only did he steal the country, but he stole us, you and me. He stole black people. He cannot talk about stealing to us. When he tells you you can't steal, tell him, look at the same thing, you stole my father.

"We must decide for ourselves what our actions will be. We must decide what our actions will be. It is not a question of violence. Violence is not either right or wrong. It is a moral. It is he who has the power to legitimize the violence that counts.

"If I were in Vietnam with a gun and I shot thirty yellow people with slanted eyes who some white man told me were my enemy, the Viet Cong, I would get a medal. Did you see that a black man was decorated the other day? He was decorated for what? For being a cold-blooded killer. That's what he was getting decorated for. What are they decorating them for? For being cold-blooded killers. But JOHNSON has the power to legitimize killing. It is the white man's privilege. When a white man shoots a nigger in the ghetto

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he becomes a sergeant, because they have the power to legitimatize killing. But since we are the powerless, if we kill one of our enemies and we get caught, we go to jail.

"But it is neither right or wrong. It is just a question of power. That's all. If we were running this country we would be in power and it would be okay. We could kill who ever we defined as our enemies. And that's because it is important for you as college students because you are going to have to move to define the action of our people, and you cannot define those actions as white western society defines them. You cannot, because they always condemn our acts. They have to because in the long run black power will move to destroy white western society, and if we stand up it is going to kill them, so we must not stand.

"Can we avoid the bloodshed? I do not think we can avoid the bloodshed. I do not think we can avoid the bloodshed. I think that the contact between the white race and the black race has always been a struggle, and the white race has always predominated, and today it is coming to a head. I do not think that the white institution will allow equality for the black man. Because just as they have brought hope to the inferior, they have caused themselves to be superior. And in order for us to come up from an inferior position, they must come down from their level. Because I see clearly that we are heading for a revolution, and that should scare us. And it is going to be worldwide.

"I say then, that the confrontation is coming, and we must prepare for the confrontation. I want to make this crystal clear--I am for violence. I don't have to think about it. I am for revolutionary violence. That's the only way that we are going to get our liberation. That is to say that black people, men, women, and children, got to, got to, got to reach their goal. Now don't get scared. We want to be prepared. If a man comes with a gun, we have to have a gun. But the white man burns so many weapons.

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"The white man says, we got the bombs, don't you let them get it. That's all they say, France, Russia, England, the United States. They got it. China got it, but they try to make believe China is not alive. They got the bomb, and they say there was no more testing. That's why you've got a two-barrel shotgun, and I got a .22. And you are going to tell me, don't try to get a two barrel shotgun. You keep the .22. If I keep the .22 I am a fool. If you got a gun and I don't have a gun, that's not equal.

"Now, if they have an equal amount of power, and we have an equal amount of power, then and only then can we deal realistically. But if they have all the power and we have nothing but rhetoric, we are always going to be at the mercy of white western society. Now, I know what the question is going to be. How are we going to get the guns? All right, there are three ways to get anything out of the whites. One, you beg for it; two you work for it; or three, you take it.

"Now let's talk. How are we going to take guns so that we don't get caught? Let me give you an example. Look at those rifles in Vietnam. If you were in Vietnam, you would be on the front lines, because you are black, and you would have a white lieutenant and a white officer. He would say, "Private, I understand that 15 miles from here the Viet Cong have a stockpile of guns. They have the Viet Cong guarded. And I want you to take 12 people with you and go get those guns. They've got the guns." If he doesn't go, he gets court martialed.

"Now what's the difference between me and a brother walking down the street and saying, "Now look here brother, that's the 13th policeman over there. They've got carbines, they got F-15, they got double-back shotguns, they got some automatics. They got all the ammo to back it. We need it. Let's go take it. We need it for our people." In Vietnam they get the guns.

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"Nobody will allow themselves to be destroyed unless they are full of self-hatred. That's suicide. We are so full of self-hatred that we wish for suicide. That seems to be the only luxury that we are allowed, and we even wish this on ourselves.

"But today, some of us want to live. We do not want to die. It is easy to die for one's people. It is much more difficult to live and to kill for them, but a whole lot of us are going to live and kill for our people.

"Thank you."

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Major [] mentioned previously, stated that CARMICHAEL left Raleigh, N.C., en route to Chapel Hill, N.C. where he was reportedly also to speak.

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Speech at Chapel Hill, North Carolina
November 21, 1968

On November 21, 1968, ARTHUR BEAUMONT, Chief of Security, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N.C., advised that CARMICHAEL spoke there from approximately 8:15 p.m. to 8:50 p.m. on that date.

During the speech of STOKELY CARMICHAEL at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, N.C. on November 21, 1968, he stated, among other things, as hereinafter set forth.

"We have thought, tonight instead of just talking about the problems, racial problems, in the United States, since it is crystal clear that there is beginning to be a polarization in the United States and since we are at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, which has a tradition for being liberal, then we can point out that perhaps it's the pitfalls of liberalism that really cause polarization. And so what we wanted to do tonight was to begin to talk about the pitfalls of liberalism, and that allows us some latitude, because then we talk about the failures of white society rather than the failures of black society and it gives us an opportunity to begin to criticize politically white society in the political context that will then allow us to base our analysis on how we move.

"It is also important that we should deal with this subject because at this point the questions coalition are uppermost in everyone's mind, whether or not there can be such a thing as coalition between white groups and black groups, and if so, how can those coalitions come about and what will be their end view? We want to leave the bulk of time open for questions because we are sure there will be

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many, and what we'd like to do before we go into the major topic is deal with some of the problems from which we always get questions. For example, we want to deal with the question violence, because we always have questions about violence. Were you really violent?

"Now, affirmatively, that we are for revolutionary violence. We are for revolutionary violence. So that there will not be any questions as to whether or not we are hedging, we are not hedging. We are for revolutionary violence.

"Now please, when you ask questions, don't try to convince me that violence is not the correct way, that we're only 10 per cent, that we will lose, etc., etc. If we are going to lose, please allow us the opportunity to make our own mistakes. That's all we ask.

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"Now, we ought to talk a little about revolutionary violence and about violence in particular, and further to analyze it from a white point of view.

"...to stop confrontation, not to readdress grievances, understand that, it's to stop confrontation. They are one step better than the people who preach law and order, they do it in nice ways. We can't have confrontation, we can't have bloodshed. Law and order, it's reversed but the liberals sound much better. Because really, that is what they do, they just sound good. They have good sounding rhetoric, liberals do. They cannot, it seems to me, make an assumption a priori that confrontation will not in fact solve problems. It seems to me that history again validates the opposite of the assumptions of white liberals.

"Clearly, a confrontation with Hitler and the allied forces solved problems. It wiped out Naziism and solved the problem. Confrontation with the British and the American colonies solved the problem, and allowed the Americans living on the continent to run the country free of those few British living in England who wanted to run the country. It solved the problems so that perhaps rather than liberals' primary role being that to stop confrontation, they should begin to readdress themselves to how to bring about a more equitable society. And if they begin their primary function, perhaps they could see that in some cases confrontation can do that. But because they a priori decided that we must stop the confrontation, leads them I think, to a number of incorrect analyses which render them totally ineffective in all societies. Again, witness if you will the liberals in the rise of Naziism.

"They were trying to stop Hitler and stop the Jews from a confrontation. And since they failed, the powerless lost, the powerless lost. In the long run, Hitler was defeated, I'm sure, but I don't think that's very happy news to six million Jews.

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"Now then, one of the reasons why the liberal tries to stop the confrontation is because it is the role of the liberal to maintain the status quo rather than change it. I know that the liberal says that he wants to change the status quo, but he does not. What the liberal really seeks to do is to maintain the status quo. He seeks to maintain the status quo because the liberal enjoys economic stability from the status quo. You do not have many poor white people who are liberal.

"Number one, the liberal is afraid to alienate and because he is afraid to alienate, he finds himself hooked up in a number of political rhetoric which does not present any alternatives, any clear alternatives.

"Witness the past campaign. Is it not a fact that the only man who really presented a clear alternative was George Wallace? Whether or not one agrees or disagrees with Mr. Wallace, he presented a clear alternative. The liberals did not because the liberals were afraid to alienate. Mr. Wallace kept saying time and time again, 'I say the same thing in California that I say in Alabama, that I say in New York.' The other candidates could not say that because they did not say the same thing in California that they said in the South that they said in New York. Because they did not, they were afraid to alienate.

"The liberal is afraid to alienate, because the liberal does not really want change. . . . You have very many rich white people who are liberal. They can afford the luxury of liberalism and liberalism in fact just simply means maintaining the status quo, maintaining the status quo. The reason is that the liberal, since he has economic stability, cannot fight for change because if the liberal is fighting for change, he is risking his economic stability for economic instability. And no one with any sense does that.

"The people who fight for change are those who are economically unstable. Their hope is to produce from a new order economic stability, economic stability, and I think because the liberal really seeks to maintain the status quo, he then falls into a number of pitfalls and does not really

want change so that what you have is a bunch of rhetoric which comes out something like: In the past there have been problems but we can readdress these problems now in the future without hurting anyone. And that is certainly not sensible, certainly not sensible. Mr. Wallace was clear. There have been problems in the past. He knew who was to blame. He blamed the federal judges. He blamed the briefcase toting bureaucrats. At least he spoke out and tried to point out to the people where the problem was. The liberals did not. The liberals say: Given that there has been problems between black and white people in the past. Why can we not now sit down and hold hands together. I don't know how they jumped to that conclusion without seeking to punish.

"Notice that the liberal does not speak to the oppressor nor do they speak to the Facists nor do they confront the conservatives. They seek only to confront the oppressed. Again, because they have no power and because they have no influence, because they are from the oppressor, again they can exert their influence but they have no real power nor do they ever seek any real power because they do not want change.

"And you see you can have, you can notice for example, the extreme of the liberal movement in the United States, the hippie movement. You can see how simple they are. They seek to influence. Drop out, smoke pot. The hippies are consolidating pot and Wallace is consolidating power. And the hippies have no real political ideology. Really, their ideology is such that anyone with a personal problem can join their movement. If you get beat up by your mother and want to run away from home, come join the hippies. They do not, again, seek a confrontation. They seek a cowardly way out at the expense of their parents' pocketbooks, incidentally: While the groups on the right, i.e. the Young American for Freedom, the young groups for Wallace, are busily consolidating power and the only one with whom there's any communication between the oppressed and the oppressor happens to be the liberal.

"And so, if today, you see black people not even paying attention to liberals, you will see why. It is because of the pitfalls of liberalism.

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"Finally, and I think perhaps the greatest pitfall of the liberal is that the liberal espouses a sort of humanistic idealism which they say can bring about a political state, which is total incorrect. If one wants to insure the humanistic idealism that the liberals talks about, it seems to me the liberal must first establish a political state that will produce that type of humanistic idealism. But what the liberal does is the exact reverse. The liberal talks about humanistic idealism and then tells us from this will flow a political state which will allow for the humanistic idealistic nonsense that they always taught. No. If the liberals want humanistic idealism that they espouse, then it seems to me very clearly that they must begin to work for a political state that will allow for that type of human development. Again, that is going back to seeking a power. I think maybe if we stop here we will have more time for questions and that may be more beneficial for everyone."

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Speech at New York, New York , December 3, 1968

STOKELY CARMICHAEL spoke at Shepard Hall, City College of New York on the afternoon of December 3, 1968. During the course of the speech CARMICHAEL stated that a revolution must take place within the U.S. in order that blacks could gain their rights. He told the audience that they should not depend on white liberals and that socialism and communism may not the answer for black people. He further stated that neither is the ideology of the "New Left" of any assistance to the black revolution. He urged the necessity for blacks to love one another, not fight among themselves, but that blacks would have to get arms. He added it is necessary to answer violence with violence. He also stated that the white man is dehumanizing the black people.

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An article appeared in the "New York Daily World," a New York daily newspaper, dated December 5, 1968, reporting that STOKELY CARMICHAEL had spoken on December 3, 1968 before 1500 striking high school students who had come to City College that date to hear him. The students, striking in protest against the lengthening of the school day by 45 minutes, and the elimination of holidays, went to the campus from Washington Square where they had previously protested. The article reported that CARMICHAEL ended his speech by saying "that the only way black people could gain freedom was to overthrow capitalism because racism and capitalism are inseparable."

Speech at Charlotte, North Carolina
December 9, 1968

On December 9, 1968, STOKELY CARMICHAEL arrived at the Charlotte Municipal Airport, Charlotte, North Carolina. Subsequently he appeared at the University of North Carolina at Charlotte. WILLIAM BALLARD, Chief of Security, University of North Carolina, advised that Negro individuals claiming to be advanced security guards of CARMICHAEL, appeared at the Student Union Building on December 9, 1968 and took over the entranceways. They advised only Negroes would be admitted for the speech, reportedly to be made there by CARMICHAEL. BALLARD advised this was in violation of school rules and college authorities asked them to leave the premises and they refused. BALLARD was fearful incidents might develop if university authorities tried to remove the people. BALLARD stated CARMICHAEL later appeared at the student union building at 2:45 p.m. and spoke to a crowd estimated to be 95 per cent Negro. The security guards stationed at the entrance permitted only Negroes to enter until approximately ten minutes before the time for the speech to begin. BALLARD advised that approximately 12 to 15 white persons and members of the news media entered. There was some minor pushing and shoving, however, no major incidents occurred. The nature of CARMICHAEL's comments, due to the security imposed, was not readily available, according to BALLARD.

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On the same date, Sergeant [] Charlotte, N.C. P. D., advised following the speech at the University of North Carolina at Charlotte, CARMICHAEL proceeded to Johnson C. Smith University, Charlotte, N.C. where he remained for approximately 20 minutes and then departed Charlotte, en route to Greensboro, N.C.

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Speech at Greensboro, N. C., December 9, 1968

Regarding the speech by STOKELY CARMICHAEL at A & T University, Greensboro, N.C., the following is set forth.

Lieutenant [] Greensboro, North Carolina Police Department, Intelligence Unit, advised on December 9, 1968, that STOKELY CARMICHAEL and his party arrived at Greensboro at approximately 7 p.m. that evening and they had dinner at the Red Carpet Room on A & T State University campus.

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CARMICHAEL went to Moore Gymnasium where he began his speech at 8:10 p.m. to a capacity crowd of some 3,000 people, almost entirely students. The speaking engagement ended at 10:20 p.m. and CARMICHAEL and his party then went to the Student Union Building on A & T University's campus for a private meeting of about 100 selected invitees.

This meeting broke up at 11:45 p.m. and at 11:50 p.m. CARMICHAEL and his party left Greensboro, North Carolina, in a white Oldsmobile Dynamic 88, bearing Washington, D.C. license 674549. The Oldsmobile was preceded out of town by a 1965 Buick bearing North Carolina license ZM 5352, which was occupied by two Negro males. Both cars proceeded south on United States Interstate 85, towards Charlotte, North Carolina.

Lieutenant [] stated inquiry by his department of Doctor [] of A & T State University, the individual who had invited CARMICHAEL to the campus, revealed

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that CARMICHAEL and his party were headed from Greensboro, North Carolina, to Orangeburg, South Carolina.

The Greensboro "Daily News" of December 10, 1968, in reviewing CARMICHAEL's speech at A & T University, said CARMICHAEL had stated that NIXON was going to polarize the white community by using the black community.

The article also quoted CARMICHAEL as saying "This country is crawling with black militants, but there are very few black revolutionaries. We need more black revolutionaries and less black militants." The article continued that CARMICHAEL had said black revolutionaries must be willing not only to die for their people but to kill for them as well. "I don't want to die so I'm going to kill," CARMICHAEL said. He was further quoted as saying "I'd rather see a brother kill a white cop than to kill a Vietnamese. It's better to kill with passion than to kill passionless," CARMICHAEL said.

Speech at Orangeburg, South Carolina, December 10, 1968

On December 10, 1968 STOKELY CARMICHAEL, Prime Minister of BPP, arrived on the campus of South Carolina State College (SCSC) Orangeburg, S. C. and spoke before approximately 500 members of the student body. The speech was given in the Student Chapel and lasted from 1:30 p.m. to 2:40 p.m. He was accompanied by his wife, [redacted] and [redacted] a member of the BPP, and several other individuals. CARMICHAEL's appearance was sponsored by the Black Awareness Coordinating Committee (BACC).

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BACC reportedly was organized as a student campus organization of SCSC on Oct. 9, 1967. Its purpose is the development of black consciousness on campus and a direct and indirect relationship of brotherhood between the school and the community.

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Subsequently, after making the speech at SCSC he reportedly travelled to Columbia, South Carolina on the same date.

Speech at Columbia, South Carolina, December 10, 1968

STOKELY CARMICHAEL arrived on the campus of Benedict College, Columbia, S. C. on the afternoon of December 10, 1968, accompanied by a group including his wife, [REDACTED] CARMICHAEL reportedly spoke to a crowd of 1200 on the Benedict College campus, which adjoins Allen University.

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After making the speech at Benedict College, he later travelled to Denmark, S. C.

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Speech at Denmark, South Carolina December 10, 1968

STOKELY CARMICHAEL reportedly appeared at Voorhees College, Denmark, S. C. on the evening of December 10, 1968. He spoke to a crowd estimated at between 400 and 500 people, between 9:30 and 10:30 p.m.

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The above sources [] and [] advised that CARMICHAEL told his audiences at the above schools that he was definitely in favor of revolutionary violence. He encouraged all Negroes to obtain guns and in retaliation for the three Negro students killed at Orangeburg, S.C. in February, 1968, the people should kill white policemen. He stated these policemen should be killed during the nighttime.

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He also encouraged black people to unite and stated young Negro males should avoid the draft in the U.S. because they should stay in the United States and fight his real enemy and not go to Vietnam to fight the white man's enemy. He also encouraged his audience to form local BPP groups. [] mentioned above, stated that he attended the speech of CARMICHAEL at SCSC and Benedict College. He advised that the speech was practically identical at both schools. He reported the main theme of CARMICHAEL's talk was that the black man must become violent if he is to achieve equality in the U.S. CARMICHAEL was reportedly received enthusiastically at both schools.

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Speeches at Atlanta, Georgia, December 11, 1968

STOKELY CARMICHAEL spoke at Davage Auditorium, Clark College, December 11, 1968. He reportedly spoke on the theory of black unity and included in his speech a lecture to the black community about violence by blacks against blacks. CARMICHAEL urged Negro inductees to refuse to submit to the draft, but if the black man had to participate in the war in Vietnam, they should endeavor to kill their white counterparts. He praised Premier CASTRO of Cuba and efforts of Communist countries to overcome capitalism.

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ALFRED K. JOHNSON, Chief of Security, Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia, advised that an organization

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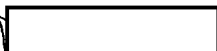
on the Emory campus had invited STOKELY CARMICHAEL to speak there on December 11, 1968.

CARMICHAEL appeared at the Alumni Hall on the afternoon of that date, where there was an audience of approximately 1000 persons present and spoke before the group.

CARMICHAEL reportedly opened his speech by stating there was going to be questions regarding violence and before he went into the basic discussion he wanted to state affirmatively "that we are for revolutionary violence" and by that he meant "killing". He also stated he was for whatever it takes "to get our liberation" and that "don't tell me violence never accomplished anything." He continued that violence is only good when you have the product to make it good. He then reportedly cited examples of institutionalized violence such as the U.S. participation in the war in Vietnam. He indicated regarding violence, that actions were justified on the part of Negroes and any other minority group to achieve what they want.

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Other remarks attributed by CARMICHAEL at Emory University on December 11, 1968 appeared in articles published in the public press. An article appearing in the "Atlanta, Georgia Journal," a daily newspaper, dated December 12, 1968, reported as follows:

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"Kill, Be Killed, CARMICHAEL Says

"A very cool STOKELY CARMICHAEL exercised an amalgamation of about 1,000 Emory University students and professors and left no doubt he would as soon nail their Methodist hides to the barn door - if that's what it takes.

"There can be no ethical judgment on violence, the tall, young revolutionary broadcast across the college hall Wednesday - 'Kill or be killed - a hard, cold reality.'

"CARMICHAEL stunned his audience with a studied denunciation of the white liberal and left the whites present - the vast majority of his audience - wondering exactly what he has in mind for them.

"More than one listener of that description was prompted to ask during a question-and-answer session: 'So where do we fit in?'

"The 27-year-old firebrand, immaculately and fashionably dressed in a tan suit and brown boots, responded: 'To those who fight with me - well, to the victors go the spoils'.

"To those who don't - well . . . ' and he stretched his arms outward and shrugged.

"You kill them" a youth volunteered from the back of the room.

"I'm not afraid of that,' CARMICHAEL shot back immediately. 'You are. At least I have a reason for killing. You'll be going to Vietnam soon, and you won't even know why you're killing.'

"The speaker strolled into the Alumni Hall late for the afternoon meeting (he couldn't find a parking place) surrounded by young toughs uniformed in Black Panther garb.

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"His wife, South African singer [redacted] smiled admiringly at her husband from the front row.

"CARMICHAEL hit his Emory audience right in the gut by telling them they-if they consider themselves white liberals-are his enemies as much or more so than anybody else.

"The liberal's role is to stop confrontations,' he said. '..... maybe at times you need a confrontation ... the liberal seeks to stop it by addressing himself to the oppressedYou be cool....You be reasonable.'

"He charged that 'liberals don't know the difference between influence and power,' pointing out that the liberals were able through influence to get civil rights laws passed, but powerless to enforce them.

"How do you get power?' he was asked.

"You get a gun and take it,' he responded. 'After all, that's how the whites got this country in the first place -- they killed the Indians.'

"One of the 50 or so Negro students in the audience wanted to know if an all-out war between blacks and whites would be the result of racial conflict.

"As the contradictions heighten,' the speaker answered, 'the possibility of conflict becomes more discernible.'

"He said the biggest question today is whether his 'revolution' should be all-black. Explaining that color conflict transcends class conflict, CARMICHAEL said he tends to lean towards 'a black revolution.'

"CARMICHAEL, the guest of several campus groups Wednesday, said his ultimate goal is 'a society free of racism and free of capitalism.

"This doesn't mean that it would be Communist or Socialist. That would be a problem of economics,' he said, without further classification."

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On December 11, 1968, STOKELY CARMICHAEL also appeared at Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga. at approximately 7:15 p.m. for the purpose of addressing a group of students. The students went to the gymnasium at Morehouse College and found that it was locked and the administration would not acquiesce to their requests that it be opened and set up for use by CARMICHAEL. Subsequently the crowd was admitted to utilize Archer Hall, located on the campus of Spelman College. Subsequently, CARMICHAEL was introduced as the Prime Minister of the BPP. He asked at the beginning of the speech, how many people in the audience had heard him earlier in the day when he had spoken at Davage Auditorium on the Clark College campus. A number in attendance raised their hands and CARMICHAEL commented he would more or less reiterate what he had said on the previous occasion. CARMICHAEL stated that the white people had persecuted the black people for many years and black people must rise up and take control. He cited the confusion over his securing a place to speak as an example of how the Negroes should take control of a given situation. The speech was interrupted by someone in the audience stating that several white persons were in attendance and they should be requested to leave the gathering. Several white persons did leave the auditorium, however, an individual later identified as Professor [redacted] of the History Department, was observed standing in the center of the auditorium. [redacted] a white man, was requested to leave but he made statements to the effect this was his university and that he expected to remain there as long as anyone. At this point, an unidentified Negro hit [redacted] and the guards located near the exit to the auditorium assisted him from the building. Considerable confusion existed after this action on the part of the audience and CARMICHAEL became disgusted with the activities stating that "they are all acting like children," and he left the building.

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It is to be noted that elsewhere in this report information is set forth indicating that an attempt was made on CARMICHAEL's life while he was making a speech in Atlanta, Georgia in early December, 1968. In that connection a "ruckus" was reportedly begun to "cover for the assassination attempt." The incident described above concerning the confusion caused at Spelman College could possibly relate to the attempt as previously reported, but there is no corroborating evidence to this effect at the present time.

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IV. INFORMATION REGARDING COMPOSITION OF AUDIENCES
WHERE CARMICHAEL SPOKE AS TO SEX, AGE, RACE,
FINANCIAL ARRANGEMENTS AND IF ANY MILITARY
PERSONNEL KNOWN TO BE PRESENT

Information regarding the composition of the audiences before whom CARMICHAEL spoke between July and December, 1968, as to number in attendance, sex, race, age, and if any military personnel were present, is being set forth. In addition, information developed about any monetary fee received by CARMICHAEL for speaking as well as other financial details of the functions before whom he appeared is also being set forth.

Speeches at Old Warren Street Methodist
Church, Mobile, Alabama, July 26-27, 1968

Captain [] Mobile, Alabama, Police Department, advised on January 14, 1969, that there were approximately 500-600 persons reported to be in attendance at each of CARMICHAEL's speeches in Mobile on July 26-27, 1968. He advised that there had been about 15-20 white persons attending the speech of July 26 and 8-10 attending the speech of July 27, 1968. The remainder were Negroes, including male and female of all ages, the majority appearing to be adults. He advised that no service men in uniform were noted in attendance at either speech. Military authorities in Mobile have advised that no one in attendance at either speech had been identified as military personnel.

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Officer [] of the Mobile Police Department advised on July 22, 1968, that [] President of the Neighborhood Organized Workers (NOW) which group had sponsored the appearance of CARMICHAEL in Mobile, on July 17, 1968, showed [] a Western Union receipt for \$470.86 reflecting money sent by [] to [] SNCC, Washington, D.C., to cover transportation costs for CARMICHAEL and his assistants to Mobile. [] told [] that CARMICHAEL was not being paid anything other than for expenses an appearance in Mobile. No collection was taken up at the speech of July 26, 1968, or July 27, 1968, and no fees were charged for admission to either speech.

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Speech at Afro-American Arts Theater,
Chicago, Illinois, August 9, 1968

The speech given by CARMICHAEL at the Afro-American Arts Theater, Chicago, Illinois, on August 9, 1968, was attended by 700-1,000 individuals all of whom were Negro. Approximately 90 per cent were male and the average age of each was estimated to be 25. No military personnel were identified as being in the audience. An admission fee of \$3.00 was charged to hear the speech and it was announced that profits were \$1,900. CARMICHAEL reportedly had been paid \$500 to make the appearance.

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CARMICHAEL's appearance was primarily a fund raising benefit to raise funds for the release of [] who was incarcerated in Cook County Jail on an arson charge for his activities occurring during the April, 1968, riots in Chicago, following the assassination of MARTIN LUTHER KING. JORJA ENGLISH, founder and director of the United Bail Bond and Legal Defense Committee (UBLDF) served as the master of ceremonies. The UBLDF is a group established in Chicago for the purpose of assisting individuals involved in civil rights

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and related activities in obtaining legal counsel and to provide bail money for those arrested while engaged in such activity.

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Speech at Manzanita Center, Marin
City, California, August 22, 1968

SA [] of the FBI attended the speech of STOKELY CARMICHAEL on August 22, 1968, at Manzanita Center, Marin City, California. SA [] estimated the crowd to be approximately 500 of whom about half were whites. The majority of the white people present were of middle age to elderly and the Negroes present were of all age groups. CARMICHAEL was not known to have been compensated for the appearance and compensation was not believed likely by SA [] as it was strictly a BPP organizing rally of which STOKELY CARMICHAEL is Prime Minister. No admittance fee was charged but a collection was taken and this was estimated at approximately \$300.

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Most of the individuals in attendance were males. White females present appeared to out number Negro females.

Speech at Will Rogers Park,
Los Angeles, California,
August 24, 1968

Special Agents (SAs) of the FBI, Los Angeles, California, observed the above rally on August 24, 1968, at which STOKELY CARMICHAEL spoke. There were approximately 500 persons in attendance all of whom were Negro except four. The majority

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of the persons were male Negroes between 16 and 25 years of age. 20 per cent of the audience consisted of Negro females. No persons were observed to be dressed in military attire or known to be military personnel.

During the rally a collection was taken but the response was not enthusiastic and it was estimated the contributions amounted to \$250. No fees were charged for admittance to the rally. Members of the BPP gathered the containers of money and carried them from the park after the rally terminated. No information was available as to whom the funds were turned over to.

Speech at the DeFremery Park,
Oakland, California
August 25, 1968

SA of the FBI was present at the above speech of CARMICHAEL on August 25, 1968, and estimated the crowd to be between 1,500 and 2,000. Approximately 20 to 25 per cent were white and they stayed in the background areas away from the speaker's platform. The estimation of the number in attendance could vary widely due to the fact the crowd was scattered over a large park area, spread out and milling around. Most of the Negroes in attendance were males believed to be in their teens or early twenties. The whites present appeared to be mostly of college age. A collection was taken at the rally but estimates of the amount collected, are speculative. CARMICHAEL was not known to have been compensated. Since the rally was a benefit for the BPP and to raise money to provide for the legal defense of HUEY NEWTON, then incarcerated on a murder charge, it is not believed CARMICHAEL received anything other than perhaps expenses incurred in traveling there from Washington, D.C. There were no military or uniformed men known to be in the crowd.

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Speech at Organization of Arab Students (OAS)
Convention, Ann Arbor, Michigan,
August 26, 1968

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There were approximately 350 people at the Organization of Arab Students (OAS) Convention, Ann Arbor, Michigan on August 26, 1968, made up entirely of Arab speaking students, with the exception of about ten Negroes. CARMICHAEL's traveling party consisted of five individuals, all Negroes, and the balance of his traveling unit were local Ann Arbor people interested in civil rights groups. The ages of persons present ranged from about 25 to 30 and were entirely male. No known military personnel either in or out of uniform were present.

The fee received by CARMICHAEL for speaking is not known. However, it is believed he received a nominal fee plus traveling expenses.

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(August 28, 1968)

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Speech at Sheldon Memorial Hall,
St. Louis, Missouri, August 29, 1968

SAs of the FBI were present during the speech of STOKELY CARMICHAEL at Sheldon Memorial Hall in St. Louis, Missouri, on August 29, 1968. The audience break down is as follows:

Total Attendance: Approximately 800
98% black
2% Caucasian

Approximately 55% of audience male
45% of audience female

The estimated age of members of audience:

19 or under;	15%
20-29	50%
30-39	20%
Over 40	15%

There were no individuals in the audience observed to be wearing U.S. military uniforms. No individuals were observed in the audience who were known to be on active duty with the Armed Forces although it is possible some members may have attended in civilian attire.

Admission to the affair was by ticket alone. The advanced tickets were priced at \$1.50 and were sold for \$2.00 if purchased at the door. The majority of those attending paid at the door. The probable total receipts rally was estimated to be \$1,500. No additional collections were taken up during the rally and it has not been determined how much of the money collected went to CARMICHAEL.

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Speech at the Pan African Students
Organization in the Americas Convention
(PASOA), Washington, D. C.,
August 31, 1968

Most of the approximately 250-300 persons in attendance at the speech by STOKELY CARMICHAEL before the PASOA held at the Envoy Towers, Washington, D.C., were Negro. Since it was a social function, including a dance, the audience was composed of approximately half male and half female. They were primarily of student age and believed to consist predominantly of African students and their guests attending college in the U.S. No military personnel in uniform were observed to be present; however, some could have been in their civilian clothing.

It is assumed CARMICHAEL received a fee for making the speech; however, the amount received, if any, is not known.

Prior to the function leaflets were being given out in the vicinity of the Envoy Towers where the function was to be held on the evening of August 26, 1968. The leaflets read as follows:

"The Pan African Students Organization in the
Americas invites you to attend its 8th
Annual Convention Dance.
Place: Envoy Tower Ballroom
2400 16th Street
Time: 8:30 p.m.
August 31, 1968
Guests: Diplomats and Celebrated Artists
Main Speaker: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
African Solidarity
\$3.00 per person"

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Speech at First Congress of Black Writers
 McGill University, Montreal, Canada
 October 14, 1968 ~~C~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL was the keynote speaker at the First Congress of Black Writers, McGill University, Montreal, Canada, on October 14, 1968. The Congress was previously opened on October 11, 1968, at McGill University by Chairman BURNLEY ALLEN "ROCKY" JONES. Approximately 700-1,000 persons both black and white were in attendance. On October 14, 1968, the date of CARMICHAEL's speech, the Congress was attended by a mixed group of 1200 - 1500 persons. About 75 per cent of the group were Negroes who wore African style dress. No collection was made during the conference. The majority of persons attending both black and white, appeared to be "revolutionaries". The blacks appeared to reject the whites in the audience. The more militant view was expressed during the restricted black meetings. A number of persons from the United States were believed to have been in attendance. ~~(C)~~

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The phrase "Towards the Second Emancipation in the Dynamics of Black Liberation" was ratified as the theme of the over-all program. The cost of the registration for attendance at the conference was \$4.00. It is not known what fee CARMICHAEL charged or received for being the keynote speaker at the function. ~~(C)~~

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The Congress was described by one observed as nothing more than a front for drawing together colored Canadians and internationally known black revolutionaries in an attempt to indoctrinate Canadian colored people to radical black power methods. Other speakers on the program during the course of the congress were H. RAP BROWN, former National Chairman of SNCC, JAMES FORMAN of SNCC; LEROI JONES, Negro Playwrite, and Negro Entertainer DICK GREGORY. ~~(C)~~

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Speech at Mt. Zion Methodist Church,
Baltimore, Maryland,
October 17, 1968

On October 21, 1968, a report was received concerning the speech. The report indicated the meeting took place on October 17, 1968, at 8:00 p.m. The approximate number in attendance was 500 persons. Of those present about 75 to 100 were white and persons of both sexes were in attendance. No break down as to the percentage of age or sex was made. The estimated age ranged as follows:

14 years	-	2%
18 years	-	8%
21-28 years	-	40%
29-35 years	-	30%
36 or older	-	20%

The report did not contain any information concerning any military personnel either in or out of uniform known to be present at the meeting.

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The report of the meeting, mentioned above, described that at the beginning of the meeting members of the Soul School, Baltimore, Maryland, announced that a collection would be taken up for the purpose of aiding the Soul School. The report indicated further that the volume collected was generous but there was no mention of the approximate amount of money collected.

No information was available indicating the fee, if any, received by CARMICHAEL for making the speech.

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Speech at Demonstration for [REDACTED]
San Diego, California, October 26, 1968

There were approximately 300 to 400 people in attendance at the demonstration for [REDACTED] at which STOKELY CARMICHAEL spoke. About 93 per cent of these were Negroes and 7 per cent white. 50 per cent of the audience was male and 50 per cent female. A few servicemen were present in uniform and possibly five military personnel were present who were not wearing their uniforms. The amount paid CARMICHAEL for making this speech was unknown but word received was his expenses were paid. The amount of money collected was unknown as a hat was passed through the audience five different times in order to collect money, which they felt they needed. Allegedly, this money went to CARMICHAEL but this is not known as a fact.

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Word was heard that STOKELY CARMICHAEL was paid about \$1,000 for his trip to San Diego to speak on October 26, 1968. Before he came to San Diego word was around that he had been invited to speak and that it would cost \$1000 to have him there. The collection taken at the rally for [redacted] allegedly amounted to \$730. Further word was that another collection was taken on the night of October 26, 1968, involving \$800 or more. However, this could have been the amount collected for both occasions when collections were taken rather than separate amounts. When [redacted] appeared in court later he had to have a Court appointed Attorney to represent him, so apparently the money that was collected did not go for his defense.

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A further report about the rally for [redacted] disclosed approximately 500 people were in attendance. Of this group, it was estimated that 20 to 25 per cent were white and 5 per cent Mexican - Americans with the remainder being Negroes. No fees were charged to attend the rally. However, paper buckets or hats were passed through the audience to collect money allegedly for the defense of THOMPSON.

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Speech at University YWCA, October 30, 1968;
Honolulu Press Club, Andrews Amphitheater,
University of Hawaii, and the Church of the
Crossroads, Honolulu, Hawaii, October 31, 1968

CARMICHAEL spoke at the University YWCA on
October 30, 1968, at the Honolulu Press Club, Andrews
Amphitheater, University of Hawaii and the Church of
the Crossroads on October 31, 1968.

CARMICHAEL's trip to Honolulu was sponsored by
the Black Student Union (BSU). The Associated Students of
the University of Hawaii furnished BSU \$450.00 with pro-
vision that CARMICHAEL would speak on campus and also loaned
BSU an additional \$450.00 to cover expenses of Black Panther
Leaders. Sixteen hundred dollars was collected from
admissions or collections during CARMICHAEL's speech and
the speech of EARL ANTHONY. Two hundred forty dollars was
collected when ANTHONY spoke at the University Kennedy
Theater. Nine hundred dollars was collected at University
Amphitheater during CARMICHAEL's speech. Most of the
remaining money came from admission charged for the speech
at Church of the Crossroads. The speech at the Amphitheater
was attended by a capacity crowd of more than 6,000, mostly
students and probably all Negroes at the University of Hawaii,
numbering about 50, were in attendance. No one in military
uniform was seen at any of CARMICHAEL's speeches. At the
Church of the Crossroads, about 250 to 300 were in attendance.
About 20 Negroes in attendance were believed to be in the
military service because they were not recognized as students
and there were few Negroes in the area. One thousand dollars
of the \$1600 was turned over to CARMICHAEL who stated the
money would be used for the defense of H. RAP BROWN.

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At the speech by CARMICHAEL at the YWCA in Honolulu on October 30, 1968, about 200 were in attendance, mostly students. About 20 Negroes were present and appeared to be in the military service as they were wearing GI shoes.

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On January 23, 1969, [REDACTED] reporter for the "Honolulu Star Bulletin" reported that CARMICHAEL in his speech before the Honolulu Press Club on 10/31/68 spoke to about 125 adults who are members of the club composed of persons from news organizations. [REDACTED] stated CARMICHAEL received no payment and no indication of military personnel was present. The only Negroes present were those that accompanied CARMICHAEL.

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About 275 persons were reported to be in attendance at the speech of CARMICHAEL at the Church of the Crossroads on October 31, 1968, paying \$2.00 admission. There were less than 20 Negroes in the audience.

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On January 28, 1969 [REDACTED] Commission on Subversive Activities, Legislature, State of Hawaii, reported there were between 20 and 25 Negroes in the audience at the Church of the Crossroads on October 31, 1968. He believed some of these were military because several cars in the parking lot bore military stickers. He stated that the audience was predominantly adult caucasians.

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Speeches at San Jose State College,
San Jose, California, and DeAnza
College, Cupertino, California
November 12, 1968

The estimated attendance at CARMICHAEL's San Jose State College speech on November 12, 1968, at approximately 700. The audience was composed of over 80 per cent white students, half male and half female. The average age was estimated at 21-22. No military personnel were known to be in attendance. It was not reported whether CARMICHAEL was compensated for his appearance but assumptions are he was.

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Estimated attendance at the DeAnza College speech of STOKELY CARMICHAEL was 450. Approximately 80 per cent were white and the average age was from 19-21. Approximately 65 per cent were female. There were no military personnel known to be present. CARMICHAEL is believed to have received \$1,000 for his speech.

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Speech at Black University Conference (BUC)
Held Howard University, Washington, D.C.,
November 13, 1968

STOKELY CARMICHAEL was the keynote speaker at the BUC, Howard University, Washington, D.C., on the evening of November 13, 1968. The audience was estimated to be approximately 1200 to 1500, many of whom were students both male and female, from Howard University. However,

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others apparently from the WDC community and out of towners attending the BUC were present. The audience was believed to be entirely Negro. The ages ranged from teen-age to middle age. No persons in military uniform were observed to be present but many appeared to be of draft age.

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The registration for the BUC was \$5.00 for local people attending and \$15.00 for people from out of town.

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL received a \$200 honorarium for his speech on November 13, 1968.

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Speech at Tufts University
Medford, Massachusetts
November 15, 1968

STOKELY CARMICHAEL was paid \$1,000 for the talk given at Tufts University on November 15, 1968. CARMICHAEL's visit was sponsored by two student organizations, Students Concerned About Racism and Afro-American Students. A fee of \$1.25 admission was charged. No military personnel were known to have been in the audience. No collection was taken up during or following the talk.

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Speeches at Saint Augustine College
Raleigh, North Carolina and University of North
Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C. 11/21/68

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Major [] Raleigh, North Carolina Police Department, advised on November 21, 1968, that CARMICHAEL spoke before approximately 1,500 people at Saint Augustine College, Raleigh, N.C. on that date. About 50 persons in the audience were white, the remainder were Negro.

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On November 21, 1968, ARTHUR BEAUMONT, Chief of Security, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N.C., advised CARMICHAEL spoke before an audience of 6,500 at the University on that date. He estimated that about 5 per cent were Negro and the remainder were caucasian.

Speech at City College of New York (CCNY)
New York City, 12/3/68

Most of the persons attending the speech of STOKELY CARMICHAEL at the City College of New York, NYC, on December 3, 1968 were high school students.

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An article appearing in the "New York Daily World," dated December 5, 1968, reported in part, "some 1,500 striking high school students went to City College Tuesday to listen to STOKELY CARMICHAEL."

Speeches at University of North Carolina at Charlotte and A & T State University, Greensboro, North Carolina, 12/9/68.

[redacted] Security Officer, University of North Carolina, at Charlotte, N.C., advised on December 9, 1968 that CARMICHAEL appeared at UNC campus at Charlotte on that date and spoke before a capacity crowd, ninety-five per cent of whom were Negro. [redacted] advised CARMICHAEL's security guards permitted only Negroes to enter the building until about ten minutes prior to time for the speech to begin when approximately 12 to 15 whites and members of the news media were permitted to enter. Some minor pushing and shoving developed, but no major incidents occurred. Following the speech CARMICHAEL went to the campus of Johnson C. Smith University located in Charlotte, later proceeding to Greensboro, N. C.

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Regarding speech at A & T State University, Greensboro, N.C., Lieutenant [redacted] Greensboro, N.C. Police Department, advised CARMICHAEL spoke before a capacity crowd of some 3,000 almost entirely students.

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Speeches at South Carolina State College,
Benedict College and Voorhees College,
South Carolina
December 10, 1968

CARMICHAEL spoke in South Carolina on December 10, 1968, before the student bodies at South Carolina State College, Orangeburg, South Carolina; Benedict College, Columbia, South Carolina; and Voorhees College, Denmark, South Carolina.

The audiences at all of these appearances were Negro and was composed of the student bodies of those schools plus a few faculty members.

There were no outsiders attending these speeches because there was no advanced publicity given to CARMICHAEL's appearance at any of these schools.

There were no military personnel observed at any of his speeches in South Carolina.

At Voorhees College the fee for CARMICHAEL's appearance was \$150; however, the Student Government Association refused the authorization to pay this money and it is not known whether CARMICHAEL received any money for his appearances at Voorhees or either of the other two schools mentioned above. There were no collections taken up at the above speeches.

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There were no charges made for attendance at any of CARMICHAEL's speeches in South Carolina.

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Speeches at Clark College, Emory University and Morehouse College, December 11, 1968, all located Atlanta, Georgia

CARMICHAEL spoke at Clark College and Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia on 12/11/68. He attempted to speak at Morehouse College on the evening of 12/11/68 but was abruptly terminated.

Colonel [REDACTED] Director of Security, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia, advised he heard CARMICHAEL had been offered a fee of \$500 to address the student body at Clark College on 12/11/68; however, the sponsoring group, the Student Government Association, was unable to raise the full amount, but was able to pay CARMICHAEL approximately \$300.00.

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According to Colonel [REDACTED] the audience at Clark College was composed of both male and female Negro students of the Atlanta University System and if any military personnel attended, it was not known, as no one was observed to be wearing a military uniform.

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Regarding the Emory University speech on the afternoon of 12/11/68, [REDACTED] Chief of Security, advised that an organization on the Emory campus, known as The Student Center Board, had invited CARMICHAEL, for which he was to receive a fee of \$300.00. No military personnel were known to have been in attendance at the speech at Emory University.

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The audience at Morehouse College where CARMICHAEL attempted to speak on the evening of 12/11/68 was composed of Negro male and female students. No military personnel were known to be in attendance.

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V. STATEMENTS MADE AT OTHER FUNCTIONS INDICATING
REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES, URGING USE AND SECURING
OF ARMS AND RACIAL VIOLENCE

One BABATUNTI, possibly a "Sole Brother," and tentatively identified as [redacted] advised in Philadelphia that he was from Chicago and made the statement during the Sole School meeting the previous week that STOKELY CARMICHAEL solicited arms and ammunition from communist countries he visited in 1967.

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL appeared at radio station KATZ, St. Louis, Missouri, on August 29, 1968, and recorded an interview to be broadcast Sunday afternoon, September 1, 1968, at 3 p.m., St. Louis, Missouri.

The interview was broadcast as scheduled.

A verbatim transcript of the interview made available by the Intelligence Division of the St. Louis Police Department is hereinafter set forth:

Interviewer: Brother STOKELY CARMICHAEL in St. Louis this week for a lecture. Welcome to Round Table.

CARMICHAEL: Thank you very much, brother. It's a pleasure to be here.

Interviewer: It's a pleasure to have you, Brother CARMICHAEL. Let me get into one thing right away. And that is your purpose, total purpose, not only for being here but your desire for black people in this country.

CARMICHAEL: Well, the desire is only one. It seems to me that in order for black people to function in this country and live as human beings, we must

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CARMICHAEL: completely change the entire established way of life. That is, the social, economic, political way of life. That means we must have a total revolution. However, I think that people misunderstand revolution. For example, many people are in the country now talking about a black revolution. A revolution does not begin until one sees his power. After you see his power, then you can change his structure as you see fit. And we must talk about black people seizing power in this country in areas where we can, and then changing the structure. I'll give you an example. For example, FIDEL CASTRO fought in the Sierra Meastras for a number of years. While he was fighting, the Cuban revolution was not going on. The Cuban revolution started when FIDEL CASTRO walked into Havana and chased BATISTA and the American lackies out. When he said, "Today I claim this island for the masses of Cuban people," then the Cuban revolution began. And before that period, there was armed struggle. Now, black people have to decide whether or not armed struggle is necessary for them to seize power to bring about a revolution in this country. Now, I think it's necessary.

Interviewer: Recently, you were in Chicago, Brother CARMICHAEL, and you spoke and you said that it is necessary for black people to come together and show their initial strength in politics and the body politic. And how would you define this type of unity?

CARMICHAEL: I ought to make that very clear. When I talk about conventional politics, voting and stuff like that, I don't think the black people can really show any strength, especially given the conventional political parties today - the Republican and Democratic Party. Well, we saw the Republican Party. It was totally exclusive

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CARMICHAEL: of black people in Miami, and if anyone has been watching the Democratic Convention this past week, they see how totally relevant it is to the lives of the black people. Black people are going to be involved in conventional politics and it can be used only as an organizing tool to bring our people together. We can't really have any faith in organized politics or conventional politics because we don't have any power in there. And of course, ADAM CLAYTON POWELL showed us that most clearly when they want to get rid of him, they just did, and nobody could say anything about it.

Interviewer: What type of relief would you suggest that the black man in total should take, should look forward to, as far as helping himself to relieve himself of this opposed political oppression that's placed upon him?

CARMICHAEL: I would say the only one is the gun. Political power comes through the barrel of a gun, and that's absolutely correct. Again, the Democratic Convention shows that most clearly. Everybody was yelling about DALEY. DALEY didn't have to yell. He had the power. He had the police outside and the police inside. And all the other supposed to be powerful people of the country all had to get up and yell names at him, but he had it up tight because he had guns. And whether or not people like that, it happens to be a fact. Once you've got the gun, then you can begin to decide how to move. Well, until you have that gun, you can't decide because if I have a gun and you don't have a gun, we're not equal. If black people believe in equality, white people are getting guns, we have to get guns. That's just being pragmatic about one's equality. I think that once black people have begun to get guns,

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CARMICHAEL: then we can begin to talk about a political ideology that will bind us together as a people in order to carry on the struggle that's ahead. And our struggle is going to be a long, vicious, and hard one, and I don't think black people even thinking seriously about the struggle that comes, most people are hoping that it won't come but it's clear that it is going to come and the best we can do is to prepare ourselves for that struggle.

Interviewer: When we speak of preparation, what are the basics, the basic needs for preparation - what you would suggest?

CARMICHAEL: Well, you need three things to survive - food, shelter, and clothing. And if you're going to fight, you need ammunition. So that means that black people need four things in this country - food, shelter, clothing, and ammunition. Now if we begin to think seriously about fighting, about armed struggle, then we have to figure out how we can always keep our people with these four things - food, shelter, clothing, and ammunition. Very few people have really thought very seriously about that. For example, if a city rebellion were to occur in St. Louis, East St. Louis, or Chicago, all the National Guard would have to do is to surround the city. Once the city was surrounded within a week, the fighting would have to subside. The fighting would have to subside Number 1 because there would be no food because in the cities we don't grow any food, and Number 2 because people would run out of ammunition. So that if we're thinking seriously we have to think about how we would continue a food supply if cut off by the forces, how do we continue to fight to sustain our people. But those are the four basic things we must think about.

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Interviewer: Now, I know that you had visited Newark right after the uprising that had taken place there and you had spoken to many people there and you know that in Newark the city was closed down almost immediately. They had shut down Highway 21, 22, the Parkway, and all of the major highways and traffic that helped the city to survive in itself. What do you feel we could do in order to, what do you feel could be done in this situation, in this city?

CARMICHAEL: Well see, I'm not sure because we have not been able to work that out, but I think that our people must become conscious of those problems so we can begin to work out methods of solving them. I don't think they're impossible. No problem is impossible. But I just think that once we become attuned to really what's happening and not just a murder mountain of men, I mean I think that we've murdered a mountain of hunkies enough. It's necessary. I do not downgrade that stage. That's a necessary stage; when people prepare to fight a bully, they have to convince themselves psychologically that they're as equal. I think that's what black people in this country have had to do for the past two years. But now we're psychologically equal to the hunky. So now our job now is to prepare in a cold blooded manner to move against him and to win the struggle that's ahead of us. So that I think that what I learned then from Newark was that they were still at the stage of murder mountain. That is to say, "We're going to burn them down," we're going to do this, and we're going to do that, but it wasn't really serious thinking and tactics. That isn't to say cool it, because I'm not for cooling it. Rebellions may still be necessary. I'll never condemn them. If people engage in them, there must be some good to them because the majority

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CARMICHAEL: of our people are engaged in them, so that we can't condemn them. And certainly emotionally one is involved in that. But I think there is the other level we must now move to and that is the level of slowly understanding, examining, analyzing, and posing solutions to our problems.

Interviewer: May I ask you this also? Would you say in total that we have gone, in your estimation, it has gone past the stage of discussion and compromise and negotiation as far as the racial problem within this country?

CARMICHAEL: Yes. I think that's clear. It's gone completely past that hand. I think that what's going to happen now is more black people are going to be used. And some of them are going to be used unconsciously, you know. For example, there is people always talking about black militants. Now there is a difference between a black militant and a black revolutionary. A black militant is a black man who's angry, but he just wants to get into the American piece of pie. He wants to be part of America. A black revolutionary is somebody who wants to overturn the complete system and change it. Now see, a black militant may **not** know that he is consciously being used against his people. You see them all the time. One week a cat gets up and he'll be yelling and screaming about these dirty white folk and bla, bla, bla, and black people are going to burn the city down. And then next week he gets a big job, a Poverty Program grant or whatever, you know, and then the cat disappears. Well, he was just angry. He doesn't mind being part of the American system. He just objects to being left out. But the black revolutionary doesn't just talk about how angry people is and bla, bla, bla, and wants a job, he talks about the masses

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CARMICHAEL: of our people, how they must be fed and recognizing that they cannot be fed and cannot live a life as human beings inside of this system, he talks about the complete overthrow of this system.

Interviewer: Who, in your estimation, would be the four most likely people to guide and direct for black people in this country to guide and direct?

CARMICHAEL: That's very hard to say, I'll tell you why. And I know some names for example, right off my mind would come the name HUEY P. NEWTON, Administration Defense for the Black Panther Party. It's not because the problem that black people face in this country is that our generation, this generation, the youth, are forced to lead that revolution. They're forced to lead it because we don't have anyone older than us who have the experience, or who have our trust. The only man who had that was brother MALXOM X, and since there's no one else, it's just among us, the young, how we begin to grow and move and try and find methods in which to solve our solutions. Now, there are a lot of them around. Maybe some of them don't have a public name, for example. But I think definitely all of the guys out of this generation will not be capable of leading. If they are, we don't know them yet, of those that we know.

Interviewer: Would you in your thinking on this, would you think or guess or presume to place in the forefront the name of Dr. HAMILTON?

CARMICHAEL: You know, brother, I have a policy of not criticizing or condemning any black man, so I'll just say that I don't think that anybody outside of this generation has yet proven themselves capable of helping out in that.

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Interviewer: Let us go deeper into you now. You have now made your home base of operations, being your home, now in Washington, D.C. You have taken to yourself a wife, the very beautiful MIRIAM MAKEBA CARMICHAEL.

CARMICHAEL: Leave CARMICHAEL out. You can't hang a slave name on an African. I adopt MAKEBA.

Interviewer: Let us then say for yourself and for your wife, what do you have planned for yourself to generate from your home base out of the two of you for all of us?

CARMICHAEL: Well, nothing except to be just part of the struggle. I mean in where we see fit, where we can help to help out. I think that it's a time for hard thinking, for serious thinking and for serious movement. And that's what we have to understand as a people. That the yelling and screaming, not only is it gone, but there's nothing new to say. I mean I've watched television ever since I've been back in the country and the black militants, or whoever they are, they're saying the exact same thing that was said two years ago. So repetition just isn't going to get anywhere. There's time for new thinking. Until people do come up with new types of thoughts and new types of ways for us to move, they should just keep their mouth shut. Now we have not been saying much because there hasn't been very much to say. That we're in a period now where we're not quite sure where to go, you know, and until people are, they should keep their mouth shut.

Interviewer: Let me also ask you this, and that is. You have to excuse my throat. It's not too good with me.

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CARMICHAEL: Oh, go ahead, brother, rap on.

Interviewer: Two people whom I feel are fairly close to you have been hit with the seeds of a great many problems, Brother H. RAP BROWN and Brother HUEY in Oakland, California. Would you let us in on this?

CARMICHAEL: Right. Well, everyone knows about Brother RAP's position. He's got a restriction on him. He cannot move outside of New York and he's got a five-year sentence hanging over his head. My own personal feeling is that it's absolutely absurd for Brother RAP to serve five years at this time. I mean it's just absurd for speaking. I don't think the black people can go to jail for what they say. We have to go to jail for what we do because we're not fighting for free speech. That's a fight for white liberals. We're fighting for our lives. And Brother RAP, they're trying to put him in jail just over the question of free speech. So that one of the things that we have to do is to organize more strongly and to organize in the manner that when we say, "If you put RAP BROWN in jail for five years, well then there'll be no peace," and when we say it **to insure our statement, we have to back our statements up with actions these days.** In the past, we said things and we hoped, we hoped they would come true. You know, we say, "Well, if you send so and so to jail, the city will burn down," and we hoped the city would burn down. In many cases the hope came through, you know, people got on the streets. But the difference between that type of person and the real revolutionary is that the revolutionary plans so that when he says if you do x and y and z, then a, b and c will follow, he knows that it will follow. Then power structure knows that it will follow

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CARMICHAEL: and they begin to respect his power. So we're trying now to coalesce that base moving around with Brother RAP and trying to keep it as quiet as possible so that when we say, "If you do to Brother RAP x, y, z, then a, b, c, will follow." And it will follow. Now then of Brother HUEY P. NEWTON, the name is true. Brother NEWTON is a political prisoner who was arrested for the alleged murdering of a hunky policeman and the wounding of another, and it is the same thing. It is just a political arrest. Most of these arrests are political, but what the power structure tries to do is to arrest the leadership of the movement so that once having done that the movement itself will die. I mean that is the harassment, for example, this week of Brother SWEDE JEFFERIES of the Imperial War Lords. If you can harass and arrest a leadership, you hope to kill the movement.

Interviewer: I see. You are in town to speak, you spoke this Thursday, concerning the arrest of several members of Black Liberators here in the city of St. Louis. Now I would like to know your feeling on the organizations that are within this city or in the metro area of St. Louis and East St. Louis.

CARMICHAEL: Well, it would be very hard for me to give an analytical description of each. All I could say is that because I move so much, it's almost impossible. If there's a black man in trouble and we feel just from the overall picture that he's doing something for the benefit of the masses of our people, then our life belongs to that people. And that's how we felt about the arrest of the Black Liberators. I mean they were doing something which they thought, whether it was or was not true, they thought and as long as

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CARMICHAEL: the man feels that he is doing something for the masses of his people and he gets in trouble, then we are willing to back him up with our lives. So we feel that then most black organizations that think they are doing something for the benefit of the masses of our people, we're willing to help them.

Interviewer: Very recently travel restrictions were placed upon you. I'd like to get into this.

CARMICHAEL: They took my passport and they gave it back. They gave it back because we organized many African nations to back the appeal for the passport. They said that when they gave me back the passport that I promised not to go to some countries, but that's a lie. I'm free man. I go where I want, I see whom I want, and I go when I want. So they can't stop me. I'll go to China, I will go to North Vietnam, I will go to North Korea, I will go to Cuba, I will go anywhere I so please.

Interviewer: Now, if I'm correct, I believe you were supposed to have visited one of the smaller South American countries.

CARMICHAEL: Right. Venezuela. They refused me entry. Free countries I cannot go to now. Venezuela, England, and my home country, Trinidad.

Interviewer: In your opinion, why should they do this?

CARMICHAEL: Well, I could see why they have done it in all three, especially in my home country, in Trinidad. There's the brewing of a revolution - a real revolution, a real armed struggle. And just three weeks ago they capture a truck full of guns which with some of the people I know and I met with outside of the island on my trip.

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CARMICHAEL: So that the Prime Minister, Mr. WILLIAMS, who is a lacky of the American government, is saying I have planned with these people to overthrow the government, and that therefore, if I were to come into the island, there would definitely be the beginning of armed struggle. Now, we're going to go to Trinidad, one way or the other. People like Mr. WILLIAMS are going to have to be moved out of the way, because they do not look to us the benefit of the masses of our people but rather they look for their own self interest. And anyone that does that is indeed a traitor to black people and wherever he is, he has to be wiped out. As to Venezuela, there is a strong movement in Venezuela. Many people don't know that over forty per cent of the people in Venezuela are black, and that they had asked me to come. The government, again, was afraid of the reaction, so they stopped me. England, we were put out of the country a year ago for organizing the blacks and the coloreds in England. We tried to bring together a third world.

Interviewer: There's a brother in England, I can't recall his name.

CARMICHAEL: MICHAEL X.

Interviewer: MICHAEL X, right.

CARMICHAEL: Right, he just got out of jail. I just received word. He was with us and we split the country and they picked him up and put him in jail. He just got out.

Interviewer: Now, you had, if I'm correct, had visited Hanoi.

CARMICHAEL: Correct

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Interviewer: And on your visit there did you meet or speak with HO CHI MINH?

CARMICHAEL: I most certainly did. It was the most exciting moment of my life.

Interviewer: May I ask you this? Your reaction to the people within that country?

CARMICHAEL: Of Vietnam? I was impressed with the people of Vietnam for specifically four things. The first is that the people of Vietnam are a technologically backward country. Now don't say the word backwards in the sense of the white man does. I mean they have not developed technology as rapidly as the West. I don't think that the development of technology is necessarily good.

Interviewer: Well, were they primarily an agrarian country?

CARMICHAEL: Right. But now what little technology they have, they are using for the benefit and for the improvement of human life. And here is the great irony. America, one of the most technically developed countries in the world is using its technology for the destruction of human life. Is that amazing? So here's Vietnam and they got all these little Vietnamese and whenever they get a chance to study in the underground schools because they have to go underground because of the bombing, the people of Vietnam sit down and try to figure for example how to cure napalm burns. They can cure a napalm burn in exactly two and a half months and restore the skin back to life. They combine Western technology with their own medical herbs and stuff like that. And for example, if you have a bone that is broken what the West do is that when the

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CARMICHAEL: bone is broken, they cut another piece from another place and put it together. But in Vietnam they have a herb. And they tie that and apply it along with still some Western technology and the bone grows back. And this what they are, I mean, doing. They're wasting their time trying to figure out how to improve human life, and here's America building napalm bombs and paying scientists and universities thousands and thousands and millions of dollars to try to figure how to destroy human life. The second thing I think the thing we're going to have to learn from the Vietnamese more than any other thing is the fact that they have integrated war into their life. They have not let war defined them, they have defined their own way of life and they have fit war into it. For example in any country where there is war or where there's constant bombing, and so that means that death is eminent, it's around you all the way, where you find people who are promiscuous, you find people in gambling industries, you find people and the morales are loose because they figure well we're going to die tomorrow anyway. But in North Vietnam I saw the opposite. I saw people who were not promiscuous, who were not morally loose, who worked very hard and that they just fit war into their life. For example, when I was in Vietnam the bombing was very, very heavy, and they bombed a hospital about three blocks from where I was staying. Right after the bombing, we went to visit the hospital and they were carrying away babies, and nurses who had died. The next day when I returned to the hospital, they were clearing away the bricks. So I asked my guide I said, "What's going on, man? Are they getting more bodies?" He said, "No, they're clearing away the bricks to build again." I said, "Build again? You're crazy, man. The hunkies are bombing you out!" He

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CARMICHAEL: said, "That's what they have to do. We have to build." I mean that's so beautiful because they consciously know, you know, that they've got to build later for this, man. And I think that's one thing the black people have to get. We have to understand that we have to build. And if every time he destroys, and we can't get him back, we build again. But whenever he tries to destroy, we can stop him, we stop him. But we've constantly got to keep in our mind that we've got to build. That's very, very impressive. The third that impressed me about the Vietnamese was the organization of the country. That country is organized into every facet, old to the young, from the 99-year-old man to the nine-month-old baby. There's always constantly something for them to do for the benefit for their country, and the benefit for their people. And that's active in their minds, always, because they have absolutely nothing to do except to think about their people and the development of their country. And the finally fourth thing that impressed me is their awareness of the international problem. Wherever I went in Vietnam, from HO CHI MINH to the lowest peasant, the first thing they said to me when they found out that I was a Black American was that, "Let me tell you, we are incensed what LYNDON B. JOHNSON is doing to you all in the cities." And I would automatically want to laugh because here the Vietnamese are getting bombed by LYNDON B. JOHNSON, but they had time out to think about what LYNDON B. JOHNSON was doing to us in the cities and they showed a great sense of humanity, a great compassion, and a recognition of World Wide Humanity, which America does not have.

Interviewer: You took part in the celebrations that took place in Havana last year.

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CARMICHAEL: That's correct.

Interviewer: I don't know whether or not you ever met CHE GUEVARA.

CARMICHAEL: No, I never met CHE GUEVARA.

Interviewer: But you had met and spoke with FIDEL CASTRO.

CARMICHAEL: We spent three days together up in the hills going over the fronts that he and CHE had fought over.

Interviewer: Could you elaborate a bit?

CARMICHAEL: Well, I think that FIDEL represents the spirit of the oppressed today. No matter what the prices are that we have to fight, I mean, his favorite saying is to America is that, "Let me remind you, JOHNSON, we are an island. We're surrounded by water. For the inhabitants of this island, there can be no retreat." And the second phrase he always says is, "Let me remind the imperialist that on this island there is no such word as surrender. There's only death or life."

Interviewer: Many things have been thrown at you, Brother CARMICHAEL.

CARMICHAEL: That's right. They talk bad about JESUS.

Interviewer: The accusation that you are communist employed. The accusation that you work for the CIA.

CARMICHAEL: I got a \$70,000 house.

Interviewer: Would you please, on this microphone, still tongues?

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CARMICHAEL: O.K. Number 1, I wish I had a \$70,000 house because if I did, I could write off a lot of tax and use the money to buy guns for my people. I don't have a \$70,000 house. But I think that you know instead of going on to still ~~tongues~~ to run down the lies saying I don't have this, I don't have that, I don't have this, I think that the power structure recognizes the effects of a colonized people. Now the major effect of anybody who colonizes is that they hate themselves. So that means that they automatically have distrust for each other. And the man always plays on this more than anything else. So what he does is that he puts out rumors about experts who is trying to organize his people. And then what we have is that this man is constantly trying to defend the rumors. But if you're caught up in trying to defend the rumors, you're never organized. For example, if the man gets up and says, "Well, STOKELY CARMICHAEL bought a \$70,000 house," then I've got to get up and say, "Look man, I didn't buy a \$70,000 house; I don't own a \$70,000 house." Well, my whole life is defending that. And when he's through with that, he gets up and he says, "STOKELY CARMICHAEL is a CIA Agent," and then I've got to spend my whole life defending. I never get any work done. But I think that the colonized people we have to recognize the trick. The man puts out these rumors to constantly keep us divided. And that we have to give each other the benefit of the doubt until proven differently. And that's why brother MALCOLM X never got anywhere, because everybody believed he was shucking and jiving, and that's the best example of colonized people. They never believe that anybody's for real until they're killed. So Brother MALCOLM never developed until his death. Then people said, "Oh man, the cat was really serious." And

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CARMICHAEL: as colonized people we must understand we cannot believe anything the man says about any of us because his job is to constantly to destroy us. So instead of stilling tongues by saying I'm not this, I'm not this, I'm not that, I refuse to do it. I say those people who fall for that trap, I'm very sorry for them, we have to work with them, but we have to move on.

Interviewer: My guest on Round Table has been Brother STOKELY CARMICHAEL. One thing that I'd like to get into and that is MIRIAM MAKEBA and her latest album and her latest song.

CARMICHAEL: Right. She has a record called Ebaba Gooni (phonetic), which is Down in the Dumps, and the record stations are trying to ice it. They won't play it.

Interviewer: Would you say that again?

CARMICHAEL: It's called Down in the Dumps. The flip side of it is Baba Lusi. And the record stations won't play it because they're trying to ice it completely.

Interviewer: We will.

CARMICHAEL: Thank you very much, brother.

Interviewer: I'll repeat that. We will. Thank you.

CARMICHAEL: O.K., brother.

One of the militants that served as a guard for CARMICHAEL during his speech at St. Louis, Missouri, on August 29, 1968, stated that CARMICHAEL was very angry because his sister had recently married a white man. He indicated to

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close associates at the St. Louis meeting that he intended to kill this white man.

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During late September, 1968, officers of the UCLA campus arrested [redacted] on the UCLA campus. When arrested he had guns and ammunition in his possession. In addition he had a tape recorder containing militant statements made in the voice of STOKELY CARMICHAEL. These statements were: "We are at war with our leaders. We will kill them by any means necessary. If we cannot cure them, then we must retaliate. We are going to free our country of imperialism and capitalism until this system is changed. We must continue the struggle. The police department is a counter-revolutionary power. A revolutionary is one who is willing to kill to bring about a change for the working people."

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It was not readily possible to verify the date, time, and location where the tape was first recorded.

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL's trip to the West Coast and Honolulu had been temporarily delayed due to his efforts to bring banished olympic participants [redacted] and [redacted] to WDC for speaking engagements. Later [redacted] arrived in WDC on October 24, 1968. [redacted] reportedly was unable to come. STOKELY CARMICHAEL arranged for a rally to be staged to meet [redacted] at National Airport, WDC, with a sizeable group, including [redacted] former SNCC National Chairman, to welcome him to WDC.

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[redacted] after arriving in WDC, later held a press conference and attended several rallies in the company of CARMICHAEL and [redacted] plus others. [redacted] spoke at the rallies supporting the black power movement and justifying his actions at the Mexico City Olympics by raising a clinched fist symbolizing "black power." CARMICHAEL did not say very

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(U) much during the day's events, describing it as a "hero's welcome for [] and that "it should be his day." However, CARMICHAEL praised [] and [] for identifying themselves with the Black Power Movement.

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[] 10/24/68

The "Washington Post and Times Herald" reported in an article dated October 23, 1968, that Olympic medalists TOMMIE SMITH and JOHN CARLOS were beginning a national speaking engagement in WDC. STOKELY CARMICHAEL reportedly arranged the engagement and said "they must start in the Nation's Capital" and that "the city should give them a heroes welcome." The article reported, after placing first and third respectively in the 200 meter finals, they stood for the medal bestowing ceremony without shoes and in black stockings, each holding one clinched hand in a black glove, creating a black power symbol.

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(U) At a press conference held by [] 1968 Olympic medal winner, WDC, on October 24, 1968, STOKELY CARMICHAEL was in attendance among others. During the conference CARMICHAEL said no one had told [] and [] to make a black power symbol at the Olympics and that they did this on their own. He further stated "The American people can no longer tell black people who their heroes will be. Black people will pick their own heroes. They will join the revolutionary forces in the world in order to see that this country is destroyed."

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[] 10/24/68

(U) During one of the rallies held on the afternoon of October 24, 1968, in WDC honoring [] STOKELY CARMICHAEL stated it was "necessary for the brothers to speak up, but when they speak up, white society kills them economically by ending financial assistance."

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On November 14, 1968, STOKELY CARMICHAEL conducted a seminar entitled "Responsibility of the Black University to the Black Community" as part of the Black University Conference being held at Howard University, WDC. About 600 people were present.

During the seminar, CARMICHAEL stated, among other things, that the white man is the enemy and that blacks cannot be divided in "this war." He recalled that when he was in North Vietnam the North Vietnamese never mentioned "their brothers," the South Vietnamese. Emphasis was only on the Americans as aggressors. CARMICHAEL stated "my enemies are capitalism and racism." He added "that our goal is to abolish the capitalist society. We don't want capitalism."

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[redacted] 11/14/68) Jc

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[redacted] North Carolina, a student at the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill, advised on January 2, 1969, he attended a meeting conducted by STOKELY CARMICHAEL at the Baptist Student Union Building following a speech by CARMICHAEL at the university auditorium on November 21, 1968. About 100 to 120 Negroes, all of college age, were gathered in the meeting room. He observed between 12 to 20 of the group to be "Black Panthers." He advised that he missed part of the first meeting that was held there but later heard about 20 minutes conversation of a closed meeting with CARMICHAEL present. Among the points he recalled CARMICHAEL specifically made were arguments that the Negroes should obtain guns and "kill whitey." He recalled CARMICHAEL specifically stated Negroes should shoot and blow up police stations. He argued that Negroes should arm themselves to shoot and bomb police. He noted from newspaper articles that this had been done in New Jersey recently. He continued that schools should start courses in Afro-History and in black culture and should teach black nationalist views. He continued to argue for violence on the part of Negroes and said he knew that the

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militants were being held back by "Uncle Toms" and stated, "If the Uncle Toms are holding you back, get rid of them." He argued for urban guerilla warfare and confrontation. Some of those in the audience asked CARMICHAEL, "What's our plan, when, where, et cetera?" and CARMICHAEL emotionally replied, "We don't need a plan, all we need are guns."

Canada
The Conference Chairman of the Congress of Black Writers held at McGill University, Montreal, Canada, October 11-14, 1968, was BURNLEY ALLAN "ROCKY" JONES, Halifax, Nova Scotia, a prominent Canadian black nationalist.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL was the keynote speaker. He was accompanied by his wife, [redacted] and his [redacted]. After the conference they later returned to the United States. *AKA* [redacted]

[redacted] also known as [redacted] left WDC again during the week of November 24-30, 1968, to go to Canada. The purpose of the travel was reported to be to "help a brother." On December 5, 1968, [redacted] returned from Canada and was planning to travel to North Carolina with STOKELY CARMICHAEL during the period, December 9-11, 1968.

[redacted] was publically identified as the [redacted] to STOKELY CARMICHAEL, as previously mentioned.

Subsequent to her trip to North Carolina with CARMICHAEL, [redacted] stated that the purpose of her trip to Canada with other members of the Black Panther Party was to confer on ways to obtain bail money for one [redacted] (last name unknown), a BPP member who was in jail in Canada. [redacted] did not indicate any further plans to return to Canada.

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[redacted] 12/68] ~~X~~

Prior to the return of [redacted] from Canada on December 5, 1968, eight members of the BPP reportedly arrived in Halifax, Nova Scotia, on December 3, 1968, led by LAFAYETTE SURNIHM or SURNERY. The names of other BPP members were not available, and all were staying with BURNLEY ALLEN JONES, a

LAFAYETTE~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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(U) Canadian black extremist. Up to 100 members of the BPP from the United States were expected to arrive in Halifax in the near future. (C)

One [] departed Halifax on December 4, 1968, via Air Canada Airlines, Flight 331, to Boston, Massachusetts, accompanied by two Negro females.

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[] and a [] believed to be [] [] also known as [] had a connecting flight to WDC. [] was reportedly seeking support to exploit the conviction of [] then incarcerated in Canada and to receive a sentence on December 6, 1968. [] was expected to return to Halifax in about three days. (C)

(U) [] 12/4/68) (C)

Subsequently, [] during the course of an interview with Special Agents (SAs) of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) refused to answer questions concerning her trip to Canada where she allegedly met with one [] to arrange to bail him out of jail in Canada. She would not disclose her relationship to [] or the reason for his being in Canada. [] reportedly was from the area of Detroit and a racial militant activist.

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A meeting was held on December 5, 1968, in a private home at an unknown location in Orange, New Jersey. There were approximately thirty persons present. STOKELY CARMICHAEL was the principal speaker and the meeting was attended by BPP [] from New York City, [] from Newark, New Jersey, [] from Albany, New York, and [] from Jersey City, New Jersey.

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CARMICHAEL gave a short talk about white people expecting a "D-Day." He said that this was in reference to a national day of destruction which had been rumored for some time. He stated that law enforcement people had forced the blacks to move forward the day when "D-Day" would occur. He said that instead of having a "D-Day" only once, "D-Day" must occur every day "starting tonight." He reportedly continued "that two police officers are to be killed in every city, town, and county, not otherwise specified, even though there were no BPP chapters in those areas. He told the group that this "must be done now." CARMICHAEL reportedly displayed to the group a .357 Magnum revolver which he said he had near him at all times. At the meeting other members of the group were reportedly armed. No specifics were given by CARMICHAEL as far as implementing the orders to kill police officers.

N.J. [redacted] Jersey City, New Jersey, Black Panther leader, talked briefly about the arrest of BPP [redacted] [redacted] in Jersey City. [redacted] stated that, "We were set up and sold out."

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VI. INTERNATIONAL TRAVEL AND OTHER FOREIGN ASPECTS OF CARMICHAEL'S ACTIVITIES

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DC
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NJ
Mexico
England
Virgin Islands
Guinea
Senegal

"The Evening Star", mentioned previously, reported in an article dated December 12, 1967, that STOKELY CARMICHAEL returned to the US on December 11, 1967, and was met by US Marshals who confiscated his passport for traveling to Communist countries without authorization. During his trip, which began in July, 1967, CARMICHAEL reportedly visited Czechoslovakia, Sweden, France, England, Tanzania, Egypt, Algeria, Spain, Cuba, Guinea, and North Vietnam. CARMICHAEL'S passport was revoked according to US Government spokesmen because he violated a section of the US Code forbidding unauthorized travel to Cuba, North Vietnam, North Korea, Communist China and Syria.

Additional information regarding travel and foreign activities of STOKELY CARMICHAEL was previously set forth in an investigative report.

The following additional data developed about STOKELY CARMICHAEL and [redacted] his wife is being set forth:

[redacted] was born [redacted] at [redacted] South Africa. She is described as a "folk singer". Her passport is [redacted] number [redacted] date and place of issue not available. She is reported to be the former wife of [redacted] also known as [redacted] South African Indian, born [redacted] in [redacted] South Africa. [redacted] and [redacted] traveled to England where they were residing in 1959. Later, they reportedly separated. [redacted] reportedly had prior connections with African nationalist organizations.

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A clipping appeared in the February 5, 1968, issue of the Caracas, Venezuela newspaper "Ultimas Noticias," containing statements by MIRIAM MAKEBA concerning travel to Cuba. MAKEBA

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reportedly stated just prior to her February 4, 1968, departure for New York that she was ready to go to Cuba in response to a invitation from FIDEL CASTRO. When asked if she was a Communist, she reportedly stated, "I am an artist, a Negro, and this sometimes determines who may be branded as being in a certain political stream. However, I am simply on the side of the Negro because I am one of them. I am not interested in politics, but I am interested in the defense of my race."

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL and wife, [redacted] attended a reception at the Embassy of Guinea, WDC, on March 4, 1968.

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[redacted]
3/21/68)

A wedding reception was held in honor of STOKELY CARMICHAEL and MIRIAM MAKEBA at 30 Overhill Road, Mt. Vernon, New York, on May 18, 1968, at 6:30 p.m. This is the residence of [redacted] of [redacted]. The reception was sponsored by Madam and Ambassador ACHAR MAROF of Guinea. Mrs. FLORENCE CARMICHAEL, mother of STOKELY CARMICHAEL, was co-sponsor of the reception.

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5/20/68)

On July 7, 1968, STOKELY CARMICHAEL was an honored guest at a reception held by the Embassy of Tanzania, WDC. CARMICHAEL was accompanied by "two body guards." The Tanzanian Ambassador, MICHAEL LUKUMBUZYA made a short speech at the reception in which he condemned all colonization of territories by foreign countries and spoke against the capitalistic system.

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In July, 1968, [] was reportedly returning from Africa to the US where she had spent an extended stay.

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On the evening of July 30, 1968, STOKELY CARMICHAEL and his wife, [] visited the Tanzanian Embassy, WDC. The purpose of the trip was not determined.

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL was the keynote speaker at The Organization of Arab Students Convention, Ann Arbor, Michigan, on August 26, 1968, held at the University of Michigan. Portions of the speech are being set forth hereinafter:

"It is indeed a great pleasure to come before you this evening. This is one of the ties that has been too long in coming. It is far past the time that we should come together and begin to discuss our common problem because we have indeed a common enemy.

"If you would bear with me I would like to begin by talking a little about the history of the black movement because as oppressed people we do have in common the fact that our press releases, our statements, if they even hit the news media, which is controlled by the oppressor, are often times distorted and never tells the truth.

"We want to begin very briefly so that you can see the development of our movement and the need and the necessity and, in fact, the only course that black people in this country must take a revolutionary path. As you may know, African Americans were stolen from Africa. We were brought to this country as slaves. We had no choice as to whom we were to mate with, how we were to be mated, where we were to live or anything. We had, of course, to face the most brutal oppression of anyone. Of the wretched of the earth, it is said the black people are most damned. I

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am inclined to believe that because certainly we have faced the most brutal oppression. We have been stripped of everything. We have been the most de-humanized of all the oppressed people. Having been stripped of our culture, the black man now finds himself inside a country and inside a world which he must begin to try his best to relate to.

"Now we find that black people in the United States are colonized people as differentiated from exploited people. The exploited are oppressed people, so are Colonized people. But exploited people are oppressed mainly because of economic wealth. Colonized people are not only exploited because of economic wealth but their culture, their value, their language, their entire way of life is stripped from them and they are forced to identify with the oppressor, and that's very important because it means that as the two groups which are oppressed, exploited and colonized, they must move in different paths. For example, it is a fact that there are white people in this country who are exploited - they are not colonized. They may be stripped of their economic wealth, but they have same value, same culture, same history and the same language as their rich white oppressor.

"But now let us examine black people in this country. While we are also stripped of economic wealth; we are poor. We are also stripped of our culture, our language, our history, and our very way of life - that certainly defines and differentiates the difference between poor whites in this country and black people in this country. And it differentiates around the world the difference between colonization and exploitation. We dare venture to say that colonization comes into play when there are people of different race oppressing another people. Let me give a clear example. In Algeria today in the schools French is taught - in Viet Nam 20 years ago French was taught - French was made the national language. In Algeria today while Arabic is the national language, as the Algerians begin to cope with the process of de-colonization they are still forced to use French in the upper grades. What it means is that the Algerians were stripped of the language. They were forced to speak the language of their oppressor. Once one is forced to speak the language of his oppressor, to identify with the value, culture and history of his oppressor, he begins to think that his oppressor,

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is in fact superior and, by definition, his own way of life, his culture and his value system, is inferior.

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"Is it not a fact that the Algerians who were to make it to the top had to, in fact, become Frenchmen. The same is true of Vietnamese, and the same is true today of the black Americans. If they want to be accepted by the oppressor they must, in fact, become carbon copies of the oppressor. I want to give that background because it is important for us to understand the movements in the world today. Let me give another example. It is a fact that the United States of America, which is the world's greatest imperialist power, does exploit Europe, but she exploits Europe economically. She colonizes the third world - that is the world's color, Asia, Africa and Latin America. While 65% of the French economy is underwritten by American businessmen, the French people can still speak their own language, they can still have their own type of culture. Let us take for example the Island of Puerto Rico. The Island of Puerto Rico, where over 85% of the business is underwritten by American economy, forces the Spanish people to speak in their own schools in Puerto Rico, English for three years and Spanish for two years because, again, the question of race comes into play, and the superiority complex of Western society built around an ingrained fact that because one is white therefore one is superior, comes into play whenever we deal with colonization. So we say black people in America and perhaps colonized people around the world, that what we fight is not just an economic system but also a racist system; that is an economic system which exploits one. Black people in this country are fighting two evils. One of the evils is racism, secondly the evil of capitalism or imperialism which is the highest stage of capitalism. Since our fight is against both those twin evils we must prepare an ideology which will meet both those, a society which is free of racism and a society which indeed is anti-capitalist and where capitalism cannot function. That then is the goal of the black movement in this country and those goals must be made clear because if they are not made clear the movement will be subverted and we will find ourselves becoming black capitalists trying to enjoy a piece of the American pie, trying to identify with our oppressor and helping to oppress the rest of the world.

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"Now then, I want to come up very rapidly to the black liberation movement in this country, give some of the groups that are functioning. I will not at all give the philosophy of these groups. I think that perhaps as students in the country you could get information concerning those movements and let them speak for themselves. I will not speak for them because I would not want their representatives to speak for us. There is, of course, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Congress for Racial Equality, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Black Panther Party. Most of these groups have basically been fighting for a share of the American pie, at least until recently. That is to say, they were kept out of the American dream, and many of them thought that if they were to adapt the manner, the mode, and the culture of the oppressor, they would be accepted and they too could enjoy the fruits of American Imperialism. But today, among the young generation of blacks in this country there is becoming and developing an ideology which says that we cannot in fact become a part of the American system. What we must do is move to destroy that system entirely. This then differentiates the black militant from the black revolutionary. The black militant is one who yells and screams about the evils of the American system, himself trying to become a part of that system. His cry is that he is excluded from being part of a person who is allowed to enjoy the fruits of imperialism. The black revolutionary is not angry because he is excluded but wants to destroy, overturn, and completely demolish the American system and start with a new one which allows humanity to flow. I stand then on the side of the black revolutionary and not on the side of the black militant.

"Now then, for many black people in this country FANON is becoming certainly one of the men whom we are gathering a lot of our ideological strength and FANON is indeed very important. He was a West Indian, I am a West Indian. He was educated by the French, the imperialist, I was educated by the imperialist. (I'm not going to compare myself to FANON). FANON was sent to Algeria to work for the French. Everyone knows the history. He joined the Liberation forces and was wounded, became a doctor for the Liberation forces, went to Ghana representing the Algerian Liberation government and began to write the profound book "The Wretched of the Earth." Now what FANON represents

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to us is precisely what we begin to know - that we must alienate ourselves from the values of the system that we have been taught. That of course is a very difficult problem especially for the black people inside this country who live here and who are continually subjugated with the propaganda, and that propaganda touches us all.

"A few years ago I was for the Jewish people of Israel. I wanted to know why the Arabs were always picking on the Jews. I could not figure it out. It is not funny, because most Americans believe that the Arabs are picking on the Jews. That is because we live inside a society which subjugates and gives out assertions which are accepted as truths and never questioned - never questioned. And because of that we find ourselves completely in a world of fog which makes it very difficult to move clearly; for us to find the correct ideology and the correct positions as we move. That becomes very important for a number of reasons. I want to touch on the problem of Zionism as we black people in this country see it, and what our relation must be to the Arab world, and must be to the forces who are fighting against.

"Now we see that before we do that we want to understand clearly what revolution is all about. The word is easily tossed around and we become very confused. For us the revolution is a complete changing of one system but not just a changing of a system because systems change hands all the time. It is a changing of the system which speaks and meets the needs of the masses of people. Once the system is changed meeting the needs and speaks for the masses of people then a revolution begins. So that we must understand a revolution cannot begin until one seizes power. Let me give an example. FIDEL CASTRO fought in the Sierra Miestros for several years. That was not the Cuban revolution. The Cuban revolution did not begin until FIDEL CASTRO walked into Havana, drove out BATISTA and his American Lackeys and said, 'This day I claim this island for the masses of Cuban People', then the revolution began. Before the revolution, the period before that is preceded by what is called armed struggle. Armed struggle is when the revolutionary forces

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are engaged in battle against the forces that maintain the status quo, or fight to maintain the status-quo. What we have around the world today of oppressed people are people who are moving into the stages of armed struggle. Several are already in the stage of revolution - Cuba, China and a few others. Some of them are revisionists however. It's a term I heard used when I was in Algeria. I'm not sure I know what it means. It sounded good. Now there's one other problem the black people face in this country. It is a problem I do not know whether or not we will solve until, in fact, if we are successful we begin a revolution in this country.

"Since we fight both racism and capitalism we are not quite sure that merely because we have abolished capitalism and, let us say, set up either a state of Socialism or Communism that we will also automatically wipe out racism. Many of the forces tell us that if you set up a socialist state you automatically destroy racism, but we are not quite sure of this because of our brutality in this country and our understanding the theories of white supremacy. And while we try to grope with those problems, we would have to ask the forces in the world that are fighting to liberate themselves to maybe give us some time because that is going to be a hard problem because for us racism is more important, because we were made slaves because of the racism ingrained in white people. They picked us because we were black. They had a number of white people they could choose from in their own continent, Europe, but they decided to come to Africa and for some reason pick us. They say because we were physically superior, Perhaps there is some truth to that and we will see. If there is, we will soon find out. Now then, into the problem of Zionism.

"I want you to understand that for black people dealing with Zionism is a new thing. I could use myself as an example. When I went to college I was totally convinced that the people of the Arab world were the most vicious people in the world. Always persecuting the poor Jews. The reason for that is because we have found that the Zionist has a very effective offensive propaganda. They state their propaganda and everyone accepts it as the truth and anyone who even tries to even question their propaganda they put on the defensive by calling them anti-semitic.

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It is a very very good trick. And an extremely good one because nobody wants to be anti-semitic. Nobody wants to hate people because of their race, so when I said, 'well now, why did the Jews go to Israel...', 'you're anti-semitic'. I don't want to be anti-semitic, please. The way we found to counteract the offensive propaganda of the Zionists is that we state our propaganda, and that we state it offensively and we state ours as the truth and we do not bow down or question or quibble with the propaganda of the Zionists. And that is the only way we have found to be able to meet them head on. If the Zionist assert that they have a right to Israel then we assert that the Palestinians have a right to Palestine. And once we assert that, then there can be room for discussion. If we accept the assertion and begin to quibble with the Zionist, there is never room for discussion. But once we assert that the Palestinians have a right to Palestine because it belongs to them, then there can be room for discussion in this country. And that is precisely what we did, trying very hard last year to calculate assertives which would for once put the Zionist on the defensive in this country and let them back up their so-called state of Israel which we all know to be an unjust and certainly immoral state.

"But what makes the forces of Zionism so effective in it's propaganda? It is because the Zionists have something else; not only do they assert theirs as fact, and anyone who questions it they put on the defensive by calling them anti-semitic, but the Zionists hook up the killing of 6 million Jews as a justification for a so-called state called Israel. And what they say is because 6 million Jews were murdered by Hitler, we have a right to Israel. And that is a very dangerous thing. It is a fact that 6 million Jews were slaughtered by Hitler. All of us feel very badly about that. But because 6 million Jews were murdered by Hitler does not give the right to the Zionist to go ahead and slaughter and kill Palestinians and take the land. If in fact the Zionist - (I want to make sure I use the correct term because I don't want to be called anti-semitic.) If the Zionists are in fact worried about the fact that they have lost 6 million Jews in Germany; if they are worried about their treatment that Hitler meted out to them, then it seems clear to me that they should take the land for their home state from Germany. It was Germany who fought them, to the Victor belongs the spoils. I think the reason why they got support for the

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State of Israel from the Western powers is precisely because the role of Israel is now playing and had been planned to be played. I don't have to tell you about the history, when Balfour gave them the land, it was totally impossible for them to get European Jews to move to Israel. It was not until the slaughter of the Jews in Germany by Hitler that the state of Israel became a reality. It was not until that time. Prior to that time they could not get the state to move. No one would leave and no one would go. Who wanted to go to the desert? Except Palestinians. But this is a very important point in terms of us coming to grips with dealing with the propaganda of the Zionist. Because once you feel sorry and sympathize for a person then you have a chance to give them a lee-way. And, of course, with the other propaganda telling people that there was nobody in Palestine; it was a land without people for a people without land, and making these propagandas and assertions fact in the minds of our people, it becomes almost impossible to deal with it. Now we in this country as anyway necessary see fit has a gesture of solidarity with our brothers in the Arab world, intend to deal with the propaganda of the Zionist. We have to for several reasons. Because the same Zionist that exploit the Arabs also exploit us in this country. That is a fact. And that is not anti-semitic.

"But as we move in our propaganda we must be offensive. We cannot be self-defensive. We cannot just take a position of self-defense. That certainly can be related to areas of physical combat. One cannot take an area of self-defense. CHE GUEVARA clearly points out that self-defense does nothing but maintain the status-quo. If one wants to change things, one must move against the status-quo aggressively. That is a fact. And what the Zionists do is that they have you believe that if you move aggressively against them, you are committing an act. That is very clever. We have watched their movement. What the Zionists do is that they set up a state called Israel. And then they give the justification for that state. And then people now have to question and deal with Israel as a state. People never anymore question the foundations or the beginnings or the fact that this state came into being. As they expand after each war the

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territory that they cover becomes incorporated in the state of Israel. No one questions that anymore, and then they continue to expand. Always expanding, incorporating, expanding and incorporating. And anyone who tries to fight them, becomes aggressive.

"Now we stand clearly in this country, self-defense will only maintain the status-quo. If Egypt, Syria, and Jordan today took a position of self-defense, they would still come out losing, because the Israelis still occupy their land. If they want the land back, they must move aggressively against the occupied forces. And as they move aggressively, we have to move aggressively. There is no need to talk about peaceful coexistence. It is fact, the only solution is armed revolution. Period. That cannot be discussed. That cannot be. Anyone who calls for peaceful coexistence, is in fact, calling for the status-quo to remain the way it is. Those who say we can exist with the Imperialist forces are saying we can exist with things the way they are. We never have to change them. But if we are the ones who are suffering, we are the ones who must change, and we must decide how that change is to come about. It must come about. And the forces that call for peaceful coexistence in this world do not believe it. It is important to note that forces call for peaceful coexistence in the Middle East, but when their satellites are invaded they do not use peaceful coexistence but use armed intervention to stop. To stop. If they believe in peaceful coexistence in the Middle East, they should believe in peaceful coexistence in Eastern Europe. That's a fact. But they cannot believe in peaceful coexistence in the Middle East and armed intervention in Eastern Europe. We cannot go along with those forces that call for peaceful coexistence. It is clear to us that they are revisionist.

"How then do we stand? We do not intend to discuss the internal policies of the Arab world. That's a discussion for the Arabs. We can only support the Arab world as we see fit. It is clear that we may have certain likes and we feel strongly to certain groups or certain governments more than we do to the others. For example, we feel very strongly to the Commandos in Palestine. We feel they are the group that will get most of our support. We feel very strongly committed to those Arab countries which are arming their people because if you are for the people you have nothing to fear from the

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people. We feel very strongly committed to those governments which are building revolutionary governments, and we do not, and are not, afraid to say so. We know that the aggression of June 6th was for several reason; one of them was to destroy the revolutionary governments of the Arab world. We know that. And so we will support those revolutionary governments in what little meager way we can. In what little meager way we can. Because the spreading of these revolutionary governments in the Arab world is indeed a threat to world imperialism.

"Now then, what is the role as we see fit and how can we work with out Arab brothers? Number one, we can begin to spread the propaganda against Zionism and begin to enlighten and educate the masses of our people. And we have begun to do that. Not only have we done it publicly last year, but at certain conventions, for example the National Convention of New Politics in Chicago last year, we took a strong position that if those white people who call themselves revolutionary or radical wanted our support they had to condemn Zionism. And we will continue to do that. When we work with groups we must. And we will continue to spread that. We are trying now in many of the black colleges across this country to see to it that Arab culture and Arab language becomes in fact a part of the curriculum, so that we can begin to know more about the Arab way of life and understand what the imperialists are doing.

"We intend to start story books and talk about the life in Arab so that our people become aware and consistent with them and begin as much as possible to fight the propaganda. Unfortunately we do not, at this point, control the mass media. It is controlled by the United States of America, which wholeheartedly supports Israel. Unfortunately, and until we get a chance to control the mass media, you laugh, but the Zionist said they would take Israel and they did. We intend to make it clear that we will help the struggle of the Arabs in anyway that we can. Not only financially and morally, but with our very lives. For a number of reasons. We are Africans. The United Arab Republic is in Africa. It is Egypt. We see Africa as our Mother land. That's not so far fetched. The Zionist built a propaganda that Israel was the Mother land, the homeland of the Jews. And building up this propaganda has made young Jewish people feel they

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have to be committed to their homeland for life or death. When the aggression took place in several cities across the world, money was raised at the snap of a finger. Young people were dropping out of school to go and fight to defend the homeland. There is no difference for black people going to fight and defend Egypt, it is our homeland, it is Africa. That may seem far fetched, but it is not. There are many of us who are slowly beginning to prepare for the propaganda and prepare for the actual fight. We intend to fight imperialism wherever it is. Be it in the United States of America or in our homeland. Jewish people fight wherever they are. They fight in their homeland. They established a state in 1948 and they feel such a strong tie for it. Egypt is our home. The oldest civilization in the world comes from Egypt. We must feel a link and a tie to it. So we say very clearly that because Egypt is in our Motherland we will fight the forces of imperialism, whenever they are trying to invade our homeland, and our Motherland. That's correct.

"Finally then, as we begin to develop our struggle more and more, there will be a lot of subversion. There will be a lot of setbacks. But we made clear now our position that we will never be intimidated by the United States of America. Not anymore, not anymore. We better than all the oppressed people of the world, know the United States because we have lived inside of her for 400 years. No one has to tell us of her brutality. No one has to tell us of her exploitation. No one has to tell us. We know it better than everyone. We, in fact, can tell you something about it. The United States of America made its greatest mistake. Rather than like other empires which colonized their people on their own land, she had the gall to bring her subjects into her country and colonize it; after She had wiped out the Indians, of course. We aim to fight with guns in our hands, we aim to fight to the death. The word surrender cannot exist for us. It is better for us to die on our feet at age 26 than to live in starvation and die at age 76. We would rather die first.

"We will become the 5th column. The United States cannot stop it, no matter how they try. Not only are we not going to go the the Vietnamese war, we stand loud and clear; the North Vietnamese are our commrade-in-arms. They are fighting Imperialism, we are fighting Imperialism. He who strikes

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a blow at Imperialism is our comrade-in-arms. We make it clear that we see the Arab world, not only as our brothers, but also our comrade-in-arms. We are not worried about the contradiction among the Arab worlds. History and the oppressor forces will force them to unite and force them to fight. They have no alternative, they must fight. And because we know the Arab world must fight for its very survival, because Imperialism is like a sponge that is never satisfied until it has sucked up everything; in order just to live the Arabs are going to have to fight. We know that. And we are just waiting because our people know it. In order to live we will have to fight. So that now we are not worried about the contradictions that now exist inside the Arab world. The youth is going to lead that country to victory. And they are going to use it like Miss Fatima is using it. Yes, it is far better that every Arab woman become FATIMA and be wiped out than to live under the shame that the Arab world now lives under. Yes, you should all become Lady FATIMA. This is the beginning of our ties. We hope to strengthen them. We will strengthen them. We will work closer with the Arab students. We will work closer with the Arab students wherever we can. Our eyes are now open; we have begun to see this trickery of Zionism; we have begun to see the evil of Zionism, and we will fight to wipe it out wherever it exists. Be it in the Ghetto of the United States or in the Middle East; we will fight against it actively on all fronts. Our position is clear with those of the 3rd world. We fight with the colonized world."

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On August 31, 1968, STOKELY CARMICHAEL made a speech at the Envoy Towers, 2400 16th Street, N.W., WDC, which was sponsored by The Pan African Students Organization in the Americas (PASOA). During the speech CARMICHAEL made the following points:

1. The white man uses two tools to destroy the black man, racism and imperialism.
2. The African Students in the US must:
 - a) identify with their black brothers in the US.
 - b) begin to identify themselves with the revolutionary movement.

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- c) act in order to effect a change in the continent of Africa.
 - d) revolution is defined as when a government is overthrown and there is a change. This can be done through the acquisition of guns. "You can't bring about a revolution without guns, and the white people already have guns."
 - e) He down't see a revolutionary movement in Africa. But we should start educating the African masses.

The occasion was the 8th Annual Ball sponsored by the PASOA given in conjunction with the 8th Annual Conference.

The theme of CARMICHAEL's speech was "African Solidarity."

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(U) On September 5, 1968, [redacted] Pan American Airlines, Reservations Supervisor, John F. Kennedy International Airport, New York City, advised [redacted] and her husband STOKELY CARMICHAEL departed New York City that date for Dakar, Senegal via Pan American flight number 150. (S)

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(U) STOKELY CARMICHAEL gave a press conference on September 6, 1968, while in Africa. CARMICHAEL reportedly stated he was in Africa to strengthen ties between American Negroes and Africans to continue their struggle against imperialism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism. He stated that American Negroes would boycott the November, 1968, elections in the US. He added he was a free citizen of a free country and able to travel wherever he wished. He claimed his passport was returned to him because of intervention on his behalf by African diplomats. He confirmed he was going to Conakry, Guinea, on September 8, 1968. He indicated the Black Panther Party (BPP) was the first party in the US which recognized the use of arms for the fight against racism. His wife, [redacted] stated they would return to the US very soon, as she had another singing engagement. (S)

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On September 7, 1968, President TOURE of Guinea told an American Government official that [] had written him about visiting Guinea during the annual "Quinzaine Artistique" as she had done the year before and wanted to be sure such a visit did not complicate US - Guinea relations. He had just heard that [] was in Dakar, Senegal with her husband and due to arrive in Conakry on September 8, 1968. The U.S. position, with respect to [] and CARMICHAEL, was explained to President TOURE, and he indicated vigorous agreement with that position. He noted CARMICHAEL had not been permitted to "sound off" in Guinea the previous year while there on a visit. President TOURE stated that he had not actually met CARMICHAEL during that previous visit.

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On September 12, 1968, [] reportedly was due to arrive in Monrovia, Liberia from Conakry, Guinea.

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On September 24, 1968 [] Security Branch, Legal Division, Passport Office, made available a report of an interview by the Press of STOKELY CARMICHAEL on September 13, 1968, held in Monrovia, Liberia.

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He reportedly stated, among other things, in response to questions as follows:

"The US has 2500 bases abroad, China has none. This proves that it is the US that is trying to dominate others, not China."

"White people are sworn enemies of black people, there can be no compromise with them. The only solution to the white man's problem (it is a white problem; they're the oppressors, the imperialists; not a black problem) is through violence."

"Non-violence died with Dr. KING. I agree with the Black Panther Information Minister that the only assistance

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white people can give us is for them to kill other white people or give us the money and the guns to do it ourselves. "

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"Black people want Americans defeated in Vietnam because Americans have no business there."

"Imperialism is the highest form of capitalism. I am unalterably opposed to capitalism."

"It is wrong to say that there is a conflict between Communism and Capitalism. I am not advocating Communism but it might be a better system for the blackman than what he has already. It certainly couldn't be worse."

"There is a difference between a black militant and a black revolutionary. The militant is angry with the system and is yelling, 'let me in.' Once he gets a job paying about \$10,000, he says, 'well, perhaps it isn't so bad.' The black revolutionary wants to destroy the system entirely. I am not a black militant. "

CARMICHAEL went on to say "that American blacks are not afraid, that the systematic picking off of policemen by gun fire was one evidence of this, that the blowing up of factories was another, and that armed struggle is the only solution." He quoted MAO stating "power goes out of the barrel of a gun."

In response to a question, CARMICHAEL defined black power as "the ability to make phenomena act in the desired manner. Black power would be the ability for black people to make phenomena act in a desired manner. Let me give you an example. Africa is the richest continent in the world. But Africans do not control the resources of our very continent. It is controlled by outside forces, particularly white western powers. So that the resources, white western people have the power to make the resources act in a desired manner. Those resources act towards the benefit of the white western powers and against Africans. Now if we had black power in Africa, we could make the resources work for the benefit of the masses of our people. That is a clear example of black power. "

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He also stated that he did not get his US passport back until several African diplomats put pressure on the State Department to do so. Commenting on the war in Vietnam, he stated that this was just another facet of American imperialism and black people in the US were against the war. He stated "We do not want peace in Vietnam. We want the Vietnamese to defeat America because the Americans have no business there and we wish that the Vietnamese people like ourselves, who are fighting for self-determination, will win their fight."

"Now, there is then in my own mind no place for non-violence in such a struggle. I think armed struggle is the only solution to the oppressed peoples of the world. And I say that frankly, realistically and as a person, sir, willing to join that struggle and participate in it, and will continue to do so until my death."

"There are two types of black groups and black spokesmen in the U. S. today. There is the black militant and there is the black revolutionary. Now the black militant is an angry black man who is yelling at the system to let him in. The black revolutionary wants to destroy the system. So you find a lot of black militants today who are yelling and saying the U. S. is terrible, but as soon as they get a job for about \$10,000 a year, then, well, then 'maybe we could work it out'--that is a black militant. A black revolutionary says you must destroy the total system so that the masses of our people can live decently. I am not a black militant."

"A revolution means a total abrupt change, an overthrow of one and imposing of another. In governmental terms, revolution means the overthrow of one government, one governmental system, and replacing it with another governmental system. You must understand revolution. Revolution is not just the replacing of governments. For example, you've had in Africa many coups, military coups; they're not revolutions; they are just military coups, they are just people at the top fighting for power. Revolution is when the system, the old system, is changed totally. What does that mean?"

"In the U.S. black people are fighting against racism

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and imperialism. The system of the U. S. arose from institution-racism and, of course, precipitates imperialism. That means that if you talk about revolution, you talk about destroying the system now that's there and replacing it with a system that does not allow racism and does not allow imperialism. Okay. So that means that you are not now involved in a revolution. Revolution comes only when you have seized power. For example, FIDEL CASTRO fought in the Sierra Maestres for several years but that was not the Cuban revolution. The Cuban revolution did not begin until FIDEL walked into Havana, chased BATISTA and the American lackeys out and said, 'Today, this day, I claim this Island for the masses of Cuban people.' On that day the revolution began.

"The period preceding the revolution is called armed struggle. That's when revolutionary forces fight against the status quo, their forces. And that's a violent struggle. It's not a non-violent struggle. It's a violent struggle. And what you have now in the U.S. is the beginning of armed struggle. For example, the sniping of policemen on a regular basis in the U.S. is the beginning of that armed struggle and the dynamiting of certain factories and plants is the beginning of that terroristic activity that leads and heightens the contradictions to a full armed struggle that leads either to the victory or the defeat of the revolution."

"I think that revolution comes about for a number of reasons, but one of the most important reasons, two of the most important reasons, must be the right time and the right people. Two very, very important reasons. I think that that's why we're going to find revolutionary warfare developing around the world because it is the right time and the right people are fighting. Now I say that because I agree that Africa is our home. There is no doubt about that. But we had a debt to pay. We can do that with an advantage for us. I am African. No matter where I am, I am African. Nobody can convince me that I am anything else but African. So that my first allegiance is to the mother continent, Africa. I recognize that Africa is not strong enough militarily to defend itself against the U.S. I know the U.S. wants to more and more control, economically,

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politically and culturally, Africa. I think the best protection against that would be that Africans living in the US develop a nationalism to Africa so strong that if the US tries in any way to intervene into Africa that Africans living within the US will begin to blow it up and that becomes then a protection for Africa; for example, if let's say that the ANC and PAK (sic) began to really move in South Africa and the US decided to intervene into South Africa. If the U.S. did that, if you could arouse the consciousness of Africans living in the US, they could begin to blow up the cities and force the US to withdraw from its confrontation; that's one. Number two, there is a debt that must be paid because we built America. I mean black people, we built it; our sweat, our blood; we picked the cotton; we made the railroads; we built the ditches; we built it and after building the most technological power in the world, just to walk away and let it stand like that, I am sorry; I am not that forgiving. No. I have to burn it down before I leave it. And I think that that's precisely the way black people feel. Before we leave America - just walk out - we got to burn it down. We just can't leave such a beautiful country for them. No, we have got to burn it down."

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL reportedly told Liberia newsmen in Monrovia on September 13, 1968, that he had gone to Liberia from Conakry, Guinea, where he had a long meeting with "President NKRUMAH." CARMICHAEL commented that he and NKRUMAH would realize their dreams together and said that he would have future meetings with NKRUMAH in Conakry when he left Liberia about September 15, 1968. (S)

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According to an article appearing in the "Washington Post and Times Herald" dated July 8, 1968, NKRUMAH is the Ghanaian leader, then in exile living in Guinea.

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(U) A copy of a clipping from the Bamako, Republic of Mali, daily paper, "Anim" dated September 14, 1968, reported Negro singer MIRIAM MAKEBA, who arrived in Monrovia with STOKELY CARMICHAEL, her husband, stated, "I uphold all African liberation movements, but I do not consider that I myself have been liberated since my country, South Africa, is not a free country." She added she was traveling on a Tanzanian passport but would "opt" for Guinean citizenship. ~~X~~

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(U) [redacted] 10/25/68) ~~X~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL and [redacted] his wife, returned to New York City from their trip to Africa on September 27, 1968, via Pan American Airlines flight number 151.

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(U) [redacted] 9/27/68) ~~X~~

(U) On October 14, 1968, STOKELY CARMICHAEL was the keynote speaker at the First Congress of Black Writers held at McGill University, Montreal, Canada, on October 11-14, 1968. The theme of the conference was "Black International Unity."

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During the course of the speech CARMICHAEL made the comments, among others, hereinafter set forth:

Black people are increasingly moving together now to solve their problems. There are ideological problems involved as discussed by previous speakers at the conference. Several problems which black people are involved in concern oppression, which is of two types; they are exploitation and colonization. However, under exploitation the problem is only economic, whereas under colonization the question of race comes up, meaning one race against another. Therefore, black people are a colonized people in the countries they inhabit. The black man is on the bottom everywhere and he is fighting racism produced by white western civilization. His problem is not just

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social, economic or political, it is ingrained racism. The white man raped Africa and spread the black man as slaves all over South America, the Caribbean, the United States, parts of Europe and Canada. He has been colonized everywhere he has been living. He is not only exploited, but by being colonized, he has been stripped of his language, his culture, his history and his complete way of life. All African culture was plundered by the white man. These are the effects of colonization and they do not happen under mere exploitation. So, the black man is fighting for his humanity. These problems are pointed out in FANON's book entitled "The Wretched of the Earth." He continued, why did the white man do this to the black man? It was not merely economic, and the black man should not delude himself thinking that it was. The white man is for money, but he had plenty of other peoples he could have enslaved, such as the Indians. He enslaved the black man because of racism. As a result, the black people are a colonized people seeking to re-establish their culture. Once a person is colonized, he is directly affected by the colonization. He seeks to identify himself with his master who he thinks is all good, and later begins to hate his own people. He then begins to hate himself and is taught to love and adore his master. In view of this, the black man must be liberated, which becomes an absolute necessity because he is colonized and appressed. The black man must move against the colonizer and de-humanizer by "education." Black people must speak concretely about oppression. When this is done, this becomes dangerous for the oppressor. Negroes are moving in positive areas toward their liberation. Black people previously were critical of their masters but were silent about it, and would whisper ugly names about him from time to time. Now they are becoming more open as they are being "educated" since they are moving toward liberation. When the black man seeks to liberate himself, initially the white man reacts by being very nice, then he develops poverty programs to assist him. Later he sends agent provocateurs and later the Armed Forces.

CARMICHAEL stated that he thinks of the white man in relation to the three M's; he first sends the missionaries to black people, then money, and then the marines. So being

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a colonized people with Africans scattered without any nationalism as they seek liberation, they must work for undying love for each other. Not having any nationalistic ties, they control nothing in the countries they inhabit; however, there are a few black puppets around. Black people must begin to get to the roots of racism. The fight is against racism, capitalism and imperialism. There must be a revolution free of racism and imperialism.

In speaking of types of government systems to be considered by black people, CARMICHAEL mentioned communism and socialism. He stated, however, there are many types of communism and socialism and as an example of different forms of communism he mentioned the governments of Russia and China. He then added the Russians are racists. He said that Russia completely compromised on colonization in Africa and that one only has to ask an African student studying in Russia about the Russians being racists and "he will tell you about racism there."

He continued that the black man has no country to call his own, and he must build a base to liberate himself. In considering liberation, one must define several terms, such as revolution and black militant. A revolution is a total destruction of the old system and replacing it with a new system. In revolution one must seize power before it begins. For example, the Cuban Revolution did not begin until FIDEL CASTRO got into Havana and announced that he was taking over the country for the benefit of his people.

The period preceding revolution is called "armed struggle." He added that FIDEL CASTRO had this in Cuba prior to the revolution but actually had to seize power before the revolution was underway. He said that there are three ways to get things; you can ask for it, you can beg for it, or you can take it. "You don't steal it, you take it. You only steal if you have no power. If you have power, you take." These must be taken through revolutionary violence. Murder is not right or wrong, but who has power to legitimize it. For example, if a soldier in Vietnam kills thirty Vietnamese, he will get a medal. This highlights the problem. The Africans have never been able to legitimize because they have always

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had this done for them by white people. Africans must start to legitimize as they struggle. Revolutionary violence is necessary. Self-defense only protects the status quo. Aggressive violence is needed to change this. The system in the United States will never change without aggressive violence. The Africans must begin to define violence for themselves. Violence is not just use of guns. It is violence to rape and steal African copper and gold. It is violence to see black children go hungry, poverty is violence and violence must be met with violence.

There is a difference between a black revolutionary and a black militant. There are many black militants but few black revolutionaries. A black militant is an angry black man not in the system. He wants to get in; a revolutionary wants to destroy the old system and start anew. CARMICHAEL stated that he was a revolutionnary. He added that when a black militant gets a \$20,000 poverty job he says, "Cool it, brother, everything will be all right." He continued that there are a lot of black militants in the United States trying to get into the system.

Black people must be concerned with revolutionary black power in the world. H. RAP BROWN, LEROI JONES and ELDRIDGE CLEAVER were not permitted to leave the United States to attend the Black Writers' Conference. The United States does not want them to leave because it does not want black people to have any international ties. He stated he spent nine months just trying to get his passport back. He added he went to China, Cuba and Vietnam to see the world as a free person. He then stated that black people must learn of other oppressed peoples in the world. The United States creates added friction among black people by their world-wide imperialism. The United States promotes factions and guerrilla groups in black countries. Black people must de-emphasize factions and begin to present a united front. They must not be colonized in their minds and want to take each other. The North Vietnamese will not fight the South Vietnamese now unless absolutely necessary. The North Vietnamese know the real enemy is the United States. MAO in

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China did not fight CHIANG KAI-CHEK in 1929. He added that "You cannot fight two at once, you must fight the major enemy first."

He continued that the problems of Africa have been caused by the white man. If the blacks in South Africa today tried to start a revolt, the United States would not stand idle and permit it. They are part of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) which supplies arms. He stated that the international area is very important to black people, and their struggle is an international one. In the dispute between Nigeria and Biafra, white people are just waiting to get the Biafran oil. Black people must understand this situation because World War III is right around the corner. He stated, "When you move, you must move culturally, politically, economically and militarily. There must be a balance of power." He continued that the United States will never let anyone endanger its system but force alone, or technological power will not win. "It's the will of the people that win." He commented that HO CHI MINH and the Vietnamese people proved this to be true. The United States cannot win in Vietnam because of the will of the people. He said that black people must learn to be offensive not just defensive, and that black writers can instill this into black people. He continued that the contradictions must be heightened and that this must be done for the Mother Continent. The forces must be polarized as the contradictions are heightened. Black writers can do this, and things must be redefined by Africans. He stated that the black people need black heroes and that black writers should see that this is accomplished. He criticized what he called "intellectual games" that were played in the United States by the case of W. E. DU BOIS, which postponed the black movement considerably. He continued that the United States, when it moved, it did not take things non-violently, but went with what they called "pioneering spirit." Black people must move with "pioneering spirit" which includes the international arena. Black people must talk about black power internationally because the problems of black people are international. As black people move into the international arena, they must remember the North Vietnamese are "our comrades in arms and

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the United States is the aggressor in Vietnam." Regarding the Arab-Israeli conflict, he called the Arabs "our friends" and that the Arab war is a "just war." To the Cubans he commented we should say, "We are with you, FIDEL." He added the Sino-Soviet split will grow and in that dispute black people should "check MAO out." He then criticized the Organization of American States for its hold on black people in South America and the Caribbean area. He also criticized DEGAULLE and stated that "French interventionist forces are at work."

He concluded by stating that black people must get guns and prepare. "Get all the guns you can," he stated. "We believe in equality. White people have guns; then black people should get them also. The U.S. and allies has atomic bombs and then they don't want anyone else to get it. Force must be balanced and equalized. Black people must be liberated. They must work and continue their struggle."

The "Montreal Gazette" Montreal, Canada, in an article dated October 15, 1968, reported in part as follows:

"Black Power Fire Brand Stokely Carmichael yesterday told black people to 'get all the guns you can' and prepare for a long period of armed struggle against white society.

"We've got to get guns, got to get guns," he told 1,500 wildly enthusiastic delegates at the final session of the Black Writers' Congress at McGill University.

"To loud applause and cheers of 'yes sir' Mr. Carmichael told the session that military equality is what makes the world turn. 'If whites can get guns, blacks can get guns. and you get all the guns you can get -- we believe in equality,' he said.

" 'We will meet violence with violence.'

"In a 45-minute speech packed with rhetorical dynamite, Mr. Carmichael stressed that violence and murder are 'neither right nor wrong...it is for him who has the power to legitimize it.

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"And so far only the white man has been able to legitimise it.

"Urging a period of intense armed struggle to bring about a revolution that would destroy white capitalism and colonization of the world's blacks Mr. Carmichael said 'we must always be on the offensive because we are fighting a just struggle.'

"He told the cheering audience that violence can be the only action to end a white policy of 'Three ms -- missionaries, money and the Marines' consistently practised on blacks.

"Whites first try to be nice to you and pacify you, then they send in the agents provocateurs, then when that doesn't work they come in with the armed forces.

"Blacks have never been permitted to achieve their aims politically or economically, so they must find another way, he said.

"For me, there are three ways you can get something: You ask for it, you beg for it, or you take it -- you don't steal it, you take it . . . it's clear we can't get what we want any of the other ways, so we must get it through revolutionary violence . . .

"And you can't be revolutionaries until you pick up guns and are willing to kill for your people. Note that I didn't say 'die' -- that's too easy, it is harder to kill.

"This action must be closely linked with popular revolutions all over the world. Mr. Carmichael said, 'We must say now that it is more honorable to kill honkie (white) cops than it is to kill Vietnamese', he said, noting that North Vietnamese, Africans and Arabs are all 'brothers in arms' with black revolutionaries.

"Speaking confidently of the 'sweet victory' Of revolution, Mr. Carmichael told the delegates that technological power does not win wars.

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"It is the will of the people that wins a war . . . and black writers must instill in our people a will to fight to the death.

"Mr. Carmichael's emotion-charged and often jubilant speech drew him a deafening 30-second standing ovation from the predominantly black crowd."

Set out below is a verbatim transcript of the television presentation, "Say Brother," a panel discussion program which appeared on Station WGBH-TV, Channel 2, Boston, Massachusetts, at 9:30 p.m., on October 17, 1968. This program ended at 10:00 p.m. The moderator of the panel was HAYWOOD HENRY and the panelists were STOKELY CARMICHAEL. Mrs. ANDREA COAXUM of the Boston Globe, a daily newspaper, and Mr. LES RANGE of the Christian Science Monitor, also a daily newspaper published at Boston, Massachusetts:

HAYWOOD HENRY: "Good evening, ladies and gentlemen. Welcome to our show. This evening we have in our studios Mr. Stokely Carmichael who will share some ideas with us on the international implications of Black Power. I am your host and moderator, Haywood Henry. To my left is Mrs. Andrea Coaxum, a reporter from the Boston Globe, and to her left is Mr. Les Range, a reporter from the Christian Science Monitor. Mr. Carmichael is with us this evening after he has just returned from a trip where black writers held a conference on the continuing dynamics of the black liberation struggle. At that conference some very interesting and provocative political processes apparently emerged. We've been informed that one of the participants, a Brother Dr. Walter Rodney, has been excluded from return to his homeland.

"Brother Carmichael, what do you see as the implications of such political activities and decisions by governments as that just made affecting Brother Rodney?

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Stokely Carmichael: "Well, I think we have to understand that, that's really the United States, that the United States has now developed a new technique. Recognizing the danger of black people around the world coming together, the United States has decided that she must break up this process, but without appearing as if she's doing it, because if she were to appear as if she was herself doing it, it would only heighten the contradictions. So now, what she's doing is that the countries that she controls, she's telling them to bar people who were born there from returning. For example, in Jamaica, the Caribbean, and the latest spot is the Caribbean. The United States has done this all over Africa, but now because of a lot of work that we've been doing quietly in the Caribbean which is now beginning to surface, she's moving very directly in the Caribbean. Jamaica, the literature of Malcolm X, the literature of Fance Fenom (phonetic), the literature of Elijah Muhammad and the literature of Stokely Carmichael is banned. The literature, that is any books written by any of these people, cannot be brought into the country. And this is clearly not the workings of the masses of Jamaican people because all the people listed are black people talking about the black liberation struggle in the world and they have not made any offenses, either physical or verbal, against these governments, so that clearly it is the United States moving to block any of this literature or any of these people from entering. Now the case in point of Dr. Walter Rodney is very important. Now here's a brother who was born in Jamaica, has been all over the world, a very together brother. He taught at the University of Tanzania where we met. He left Tanzania and returned to Jamaica last year. He was teaching at the University of the West Indies in Jamaica and he's been there quietly. He left five days ago and came to the conference in Montreal, which was a very explosive conference in terms of the international black people that came together, and when he returned to Jamaica, they deported him. And certainly, he has made no, nothing against the Jamaican government. You take

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"my point in view, my own homeland where I was born, Trinidad. I am barred from Trinidad. And again I have made no offenses against the Trinidadian government. It's clearly again the United States afraid of the dynamism of Black Power getting hold in those islands and knocking out the control that the American imperialists have over the Caribbean Islands.

Haywood Henry: "Are you saying then that it is the official, or end, or unofficial policy of the United States Government to take specific steps to prevent the spread of Black Power in other black nations?

Stokely Carmichael: "I'm saying that, precisely, yes, in this country here its object has been to co-opt the Black Power slogan, to have people think that you can have Black Power and black capitalism work hand in hand which is absolutely absurd and nonsensical. It is a way to dilute the definitions and to confuse the masses of our people and to completely corrupt the political ideology of Black Power. But sensing that around the world, other people are now beginning, black people, to look to us Black Power (unintelligible) to cut those international ties. I'm saying precisely and I charge the United States with that, yes. For example, I cannot travel to England, I cannot travel to Venezuela, I cannot travel to Trinidad, I cannot travel to Argentina and I have done nothing to any of these countries.

Haywood Henry: "What do you interpret as the specific reason for the action taken against Brother Rodney? Do you think it was because of his association with this particular conference?

Stokely Carmichael: "It's clearly because of that association, you see, because this conference brought together people from the West Indies, people from Africa, people from Canada, people from the United States and people from South America. All these people were black and we were all talking about internationalizing the concept of Black Power and moving concretely to find bases where black

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"people can begin to hang their hats. This causes ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ and spells trouble for the United States; therefore, it must move against this type of work.

Mrs. Andrea Coaxum: "Brother Carmichael, are there other black political refugees in this country, such as Rap Brown and others who have spoken out?

Stokely Carmichael: "Yes, I think that the United States is moving on two battles, on two fronts. For example, when I returned to the country last year, the United States illegally seized my passport and held it for eight months. It had no grounds for which to take my passport. I traveled to Cuba, I traveled to North Vietnam, I traveled to Algeria, to Syria, to Egypt and to China. All of these countries, one is forbidden to use your passport for entry. See, the passport said that this document, it is invalid to use this document to travel into Cuba, North Vietnam, China and a list of countries. I never used the passport to travel into Cuba, into Vietnam, into China or anywhere. I was invited by some people in those countries and I went and I didn't have to have it stamped so that they had no right to take my passport, but because the United States is afraid and more and more because a lot of us are traveling abroad and beginning to hook in internationally, she cannot afford to have that. She seized the passport. Now politically, it wasn't very well, it didn't go very well with the United States to talk about freedom of travel and still seize my passport. So after a number of maneuvers back and forth, they had to return the passport. But now their aim is to appear as if they have given me a passport but to stop other countries where the potential of Black Power can become a reality which will affect American imperialism, not only its racism, but American imperialism, it now moves to stop. Now what it does then is moves on two fronts. The second front is that, one, the way it moves with Rap Brown, Elridge Cleaver (phonetic) and Leroi Jones, by making them refugees where they cannot move. For example, Rap Brown is the only black man in America that lives in Manhattan and needs a visa to travel to Brooklyn.

Mrs. Andrea Coaxum: "Does, it does apply within the United States?"

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Stokely Carmichael: "Even within the United States. And the United States employs this around the world. There are hundreds of thousands, I would say even millions, of black political refugees around the world and we become political refugees, we have absolutely nothing to do with the political struggles that go on. The political struggles are white political struggles, but they're white political struggles over the control of black people and we get caught in the middle. Every time there's a coup in an African country which is brought about by white western imperialistic forces, then thousands of black people have to run. But again, no one wins because the people who come out on top is white people. Let us take the Congo as a specific example. In the Congo, you had Tshombe and Mobutu and Lumumba. When the white imperialist forces killed Lumumba and put in Tshombe, tens of thousands of black people living in the Congo had to flee the Congo looking for political refuge in the surrounding countries. When Mobutu, when Tshombe's overthrown, then other thousands have to flee. And again we're always fleeing, but we get nothing. We get nothing because the people who control these puppets like Tshombe and the others are Ancara (phonetic) who's now in Ghana, and thousands of people who had to flee when Dr. Nkrumah was overthrown, are the white forces that control the wealth and we still have to be running around. My wife is a political refugee from her own country. Born and bred in South Africa, some white invaders come and kick people out of their own land and tell them they cannot return. We have thousands of political refugees from South Africa, Mozambique, Angola, Southwest Africa, Guinea Bersea (phonetic), all of Africa is just flooding with black political refugees and now the United States is plotting to move it into the Caribbean and the final step, of course, into the United States.

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Mr. Les Range: "Brother Carmichael, will the attempt to create political refugees, black political refugees, do anything to end this, an international movement towards Black Power that you speak of?

Stokely Carmichael: "I think that's precisely what the United States is trying to do. For example, if she could forestall or hold back the people who she thinks are a threat to her economy in Jamaica, then she can just cut us out completely and we cannot go in. So she hopes then to forestall the black liberation struggle which is really on its peak at this point.

Mr. Les Range: "Will it be effective?

Stokely Carmichael: "It will be effective, yes. Unless black people now begin to understand how to move to stop that. Now what happens unfortunately is that again the white man comes out on top. Because, for example, the Caribbean Islands, islands which black political refugees and people who are concerned about the masses of people living in those islands, we do not want to move against the black, other black people, but what will happen is that we will be forced because the Caribbean now opens itself to a very precarious position. Most of these islands in the Caribbean, for example, thrive off of the tourist business. To begin to stop political refugees from entering opens up a course for students rioting and certainly terrorist activities against the tourist industries.

Haywood Henry: "How do you specifically recommend that the black American with his new awareness of the international nature of the struggle, how specifically do we move to effectively counteract or neutralize the kind of political isolation that is occurring?

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Stokely Carmichael: "OK. Number 1. There are a lot. Number 1, we have to understand how the white west moves. It is clear that whenever they want control of a country, they can no longer just invade the country. So what they have to do is to pit person against person. That's been a technique developed since World War II with the white imperialist forces. For example, they split Korea. There's North Korea fighting South Korea. And they're not invading, they're coming to help the South Koreans beat up the bad guys, because they're the good guys. They split North Vietnam against South Vietnam. And they're not invading, but they're coming to help the good guys in South Vietnam beat up the bad guys in North Vietnam. And now we see they've done the same thing in Nigeria. They have split again. Now there's Biafra versus Nigeria and they're not going to be invading, but they're just going to come and help the good guys which ever they decide happen to be the good guys. Of course, it's going to be with their interests. So we must begin to consciously recognize this so that we can't be out there picking sides with Nigeria and picking sides with Biafra, but rather talking about these two people getting together and stop fighting because nobody's profiting but the white because the fighting by Biafra and Nigeria, while heightened certainly by tribalistic differences, certainly is not really the sole context of the fight. Biafra is very rich in oil and since the Arab countries have closed their oil ports due to the conflicts in the Middle East, it would be very helpful for practically every white country in Europe to be able to get to that oil.

Haywood Henry: "Now, Brother Carmichael, it seems that the same kind of process is happening in many of the South American nations today in which the United States is economically and politically controlling them. How do you compare the attempt by many of the Asian and African nations to engage in liberation struggles as opposed to those in Latin America?

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Stokely Carmichael: "I don't. I think we are going to. There's no alternative. I think that in terms of the Asian situation, it's clear. It's crystal clear. The United States controls completely Japan. Japan is, as far as I'm concerned, yellow America. And through her control of Japan, she's trying to stretch out her tentacles to influence the rest of Asia. Thank God Vietnam is stopping her. Because Vietnam really represents the real block to what she wants to get to, China. Now in Latin America, the only block they've had is Cuba. But Cuba's not really a military threat; it's only a political threat. It's an island which they have to fight the political ideas because the political ideas of the Cuban revolutionaries might spread to the other Latin American countries. But other than that there is no threat. Now the next spot left, obviously, is Africa. And Africa becomes central, because if black people who are aware, becoming aware to political consciousness, begin to hook up with Africa inside America, then America becomes in a lot of trouble, because if, for example, America decided to invade South Africa, decided to invade Haiti, decided to invade Trinidad, decided to invade Tobago, Jamaica, on the side of the good guys, then the black people in this country could stand up and say, 'Keep your hands off of it; it's a black man's fight; stay out,' and if she refuses to, then she has another war inside.

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Mr. Les Range: "Is there any attempt going on now to get this kind of political awareness for black people in America for the total picture of the struggle internationally?

Stokely Carmichael: "Oh yes, yes, while the United States has been trying to dilute the concept of Black Power and make it look as if it's a local nonsense, some of us have been internationalizing it because Black Power cannot be seen in a local aspect of Black Power in Boston or Black Power in Roxbury or Black Power in the United States or Black Power in Canada or Black Power in the West Indies, it has to be seen in Black Power in the world. It must be seen in that context.

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Mrs. Andrea Coaxum: "One of the early black political refugees from this country was Robert Williams. Do you know where he is at this time and what political activities he's involved in?"

Stokely Carmichael: "Mr. Williams was in China. He's now in Tanzania and he's working with the people who are setting up the new Republic of Africa inside this country. He's the leader of their group and they themselves are now trying together, and banding together with a number of other political refugees. For example, Tanzania is just loaded with political refugees because it's right on the border of Mozambique and, see, all of the people who flee from the harsh treatment of the Portuguese or even brothers and sisters who get a chance to flee from South Africa, as soon as they run up, they always come right into Tanzania.

Haywood Henry: "What is your opinion about the attempt being made to establish the Republic of New Africa? Have you had a chance to meet yet with any of the brothers and sisters involved.

Stokely Carmichael: "No, I haven't had a chance to really have a serious talk at it. I think it's another area where people are striving and that we should try each in our own area to see which one works best. I don't know very much about it, but I think that people who are in it are serious about what they're doing and we have to, if we can, aid it in any way we can to make it a successful program.

Mr. Les Range: "Will there be an attempt to help Walter Rodney return to Jamaica?"

Stokely Carmichael: "Yes, now, as I said earlier, see, what the West Indies now does is opens itself for really terroristic activities. Because if it bans Walter Rodney from returning to Jamaica, and already student rioting has begun in Jamaica and Trinidad early this morning, then there's nothing left except to begin terroristic activity against,

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"but you see, you don't want to play into the white man's hands by fighting black people against black people because that's precisely what he wants. I mean, that's why they've been creating all the friction inside the United States with this black group against that black group, hoping to heighten the friction within the black groups so that we could arm and fight ourselves while they sit back.

Haywood Henry: "Conquer and divide" or "Conquer in delight."

Stokely Carmichael: "Right, so we cannot afford to play into their hands. At this time we must de-emphasize any, certainly publicly, political friction we have with any black group inside our communities. We must because they will play on that and heighten it. Now we recognize that's precisely what they want in Jamaica. But the way to move against them in a terroristic activity destroying any sort of a tourist activities will bring the economy in those countries to a screeching halt. Also, for example, in Jamaica, America has large bauxite companies. People will begin to develop a consciousness not to move against other black people, but to move against those bauxite companies because we recognize who the enemy is.

Haywood Henry: "Imperialism at home and imperialism abroad, part of the same continual process.

Stokely Carmichael: "Dr. Nkrumah says when it's domestic, it's capitalism; when it's international, it's imperialism. So the black man is internationalized whether we like it or not, so it must be imperialism.

Mrs. Andrea Coaxum: "You mentioned, Brother Carmichael, that your wife is a political refugee from South Africa. What efforts are being made to liberate black South Africans?

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Stokely Carmichael: "Well, there's (unintelligible) guerilla groups, that's the only effort that can be made and that, for example, in Africa, there's a lot of fighting going on, but the white man never, will never talk about that fighting because he's afraid that it will heighten political consciousness of Africans living inside the United States. He will talk about the Biafran War and try and begin to show some nonsensical pity about black people starving in Biafra. That's nonsense. No white man is ever concerned about black people starving and dying. And certainly Lyndon Baine Johnson is not concerned, Kennedy is not concerned, Nixon is not concerned, Humphrey is not concerned. None of them are concerned. Because inside their own country thousands of black people die each year, starving to death. So they're not concerned. They're only doing that because of their own political interests. The only way that we will free anyway in Africa, the only way we will free anyway is with a gun in our hands. All those countries must be freed, but by guns, by arms. The white man didn't go into those countries with non-violent means. He doesn't oppress people in South Africa with non-violence; he oppresses them with the guns. It's our job is to begin to raise our consciousness so we can raise money and help those brothers get some guns and kill every white man they see in South Africa.

Haywood Henry: "Brother Carmichael, what is your particular opinion about the unusually large number of black men fighting in Vietnam, ostensibly a war which is not in the interest of black people, a war which is obviously a racist war?

Stokely Carmichael: "Well, I think we've been crystal clear on that. We said very simple a long time, 'Hell no, we won't go.' I mean, I think everyone knows what the position is. There's no need now to reiterate. The time is to move to find, try and get some type of tactics that will begin to alleviate the drafting of young black men and certainly if one cannot avoid the draft, then one should go and kill the enemy.

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Haywood Henry: "How do you interpret the recent action of the brothers at Fort Hood, Texas, who refused to come to the Democratic National Convention understanding that they may possibly have to destroy black people?"

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Stokely Carmichael: "I applauded the action. I thought it was very courageous and it shows that black people are heightening their consciousness regardless of what they say on the press."

Haywood Henry: "Do you think this is a beginning of a kind of internal resistance by black people in the situation where they would normally have to destroy black people."

Stokely Carmichael: "Right, and it must be coming, it must spread, it must, it will spread. There's no way to stop it. It will spread."

Mr. Les Range: "I think something many black people in America have been interested in is how Africans feel towards them. Can you tell us something about that?"

Stokely Carmichael: "Well, you should ask my wife. She's African. I think we can't afford to get caught up in what the white man says about Africans don't like African-Americans. That's the white man talking. I've been all over Africa and everywhere I've been to Africa, including Liberia, I have been welcomed with open arms by thousands of people."

Mrs. Andrea Coaxum: "Excuse me, will there be a follow up to the Congress of Black Writers where black political refugees will get together and discuss new techniques and new tactics?"

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Stokely Carmichael: "Oh, there will be, yes, there has to be. But I think it's also important for our brothers and sisters in the United States to begin to become aware. Now, let me show you, for example, the so-called State of Israel gets thousands of dollars in aid and sells jets to, America sells jets to them, and that's because of the powerful force of Zionism in the United States where they wage a lobby for the so-called State of Israel. Now we black people have, it seems to me, a stake in this country, since our sweat built it. Therefore, we should say if X person wants to come to this country, he can come. And we have to build a political, for example, we don't know when they expel African students. They expel African students from this country (snap of his fingers) just like that and we're never aware of it. But certainly, it must become our job to fight out against that when they start to begin to try, that we begin to use means to stop it, and begin to, if money is going to go, let's get some of that money.

Haywood Henry: "Brother Carmichael, in your book, Black Power, the Policy of Liberation, you had some specific opinions about coalition politics and about why such coalitions have not worked to the advantage of black people. What do you see as new kinds of coalitions for us in the future?

Stokely Carmichael: "Internationalizing our ties with other black people around the world, that's the coalition we have to work for now. Because there have been black people who have made the mistake in that past, it seems to me, of coalescing with so-called white radical groups without insuring that those white radical groups would wage a fight against racism. They've done that in the past time and time again.

Haywood Henry: "So you're saying there should have been evidence of the extent to which any such parties is committed before making coalition.

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Stokely Carmichael: "Right. And it cannot just be in terms of words. It must be in terms of actions."

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Haywood Henry: "Do you think that there's anything in particular that we can learn from the experiences of men like Dubois and Garvey and Malcolm X who also attempted to internationalize the movement?"

Stokely Carmichael: "I think that we have to, I think we definitely have to follow in their footsteps. Definitely, I mean, that's a rhetorical question. You're the moderator, you can't say it."

Haywood Henry: "Well, Brother Carmichael, it's certainly been our pleasure to have had you with us in the studios today. We think that certainly the discussion which we've had is a very crucial one, a very important one. We will certainly be looking forward to hearing more from you on this particular subject and ladies and gentlemen of the press, thank you for having come."

- - - - -

STOKELY CARMICHAEL and female believed to be his wife [redacted] spent the evening on November 29, 1968, at the residence of the Tanzanian Ambassador, WDC. The was their last evening spent in WDC prior to departing for New York City on November 30, 1968, later to travel to Guinea where they reportedly will reside in the future.

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[redacted] 12/1/68)

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On December 27, 1968, while in conversation with a United States Government official, President TOURE of Guinea confirmed STOKELY CARMICHAEL and [] planned to establish a residence in Guinea. He indicated that this was what he had in mind previously when discussing them with an American official but apparently the official got the impression they were visiting Guinea only and not establishing a residence. President TOURE said [] had become very depressed over the fact she had been virtually boycotted as an entertainer since her marriage to CARMICHAEL and that CARMICHAEL himself felt "his luck might run out some day and he might wind up in jail".

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VII. FINANCIAL INFORMATION REGARDING [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

The following information of a financial nature developed about [REDACTED] in connection with other investigative activities is being set forth:

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The records of the Bergen County Clerk's Office, Hackensack, New Jersey, disclosed that property located

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

The records of the Bergen County Clerk's Office further disclosed [REDACTED] s

[REDACTED]

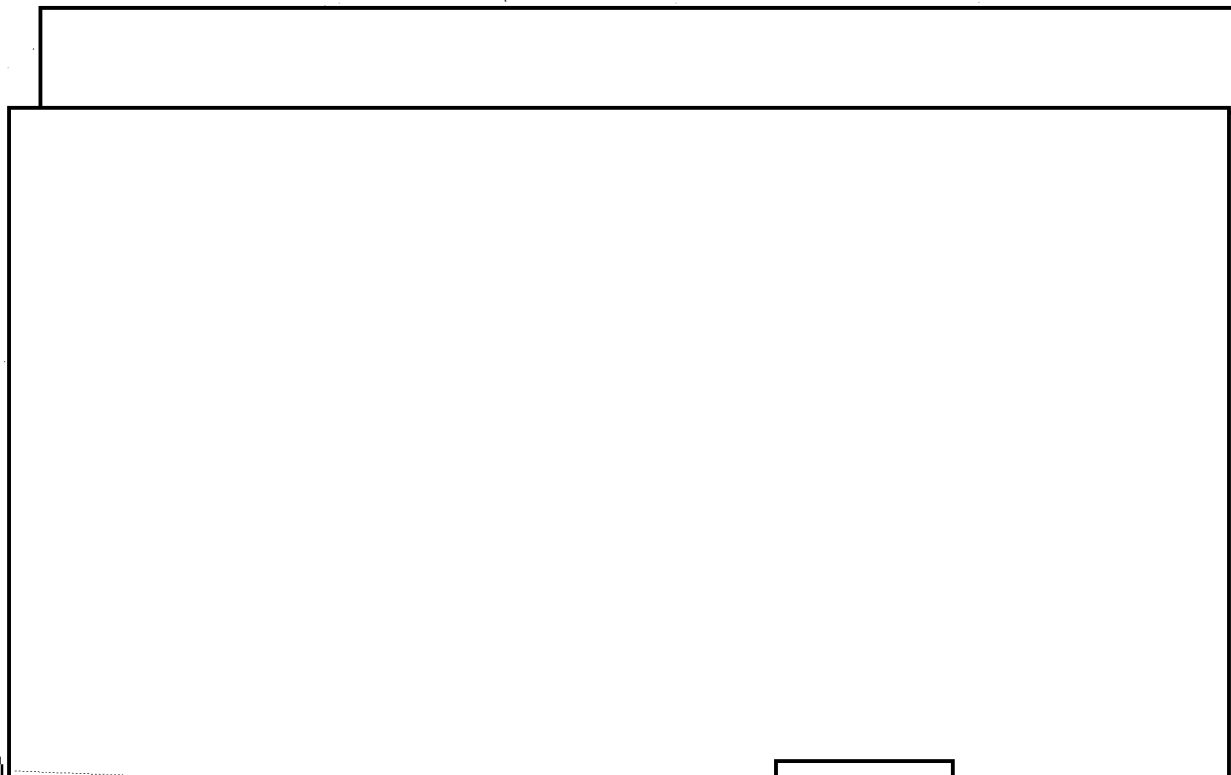
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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August 30, 1968) ~~7X~~

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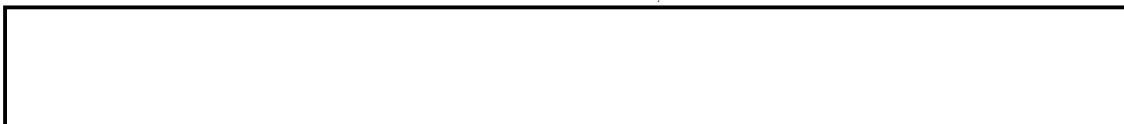


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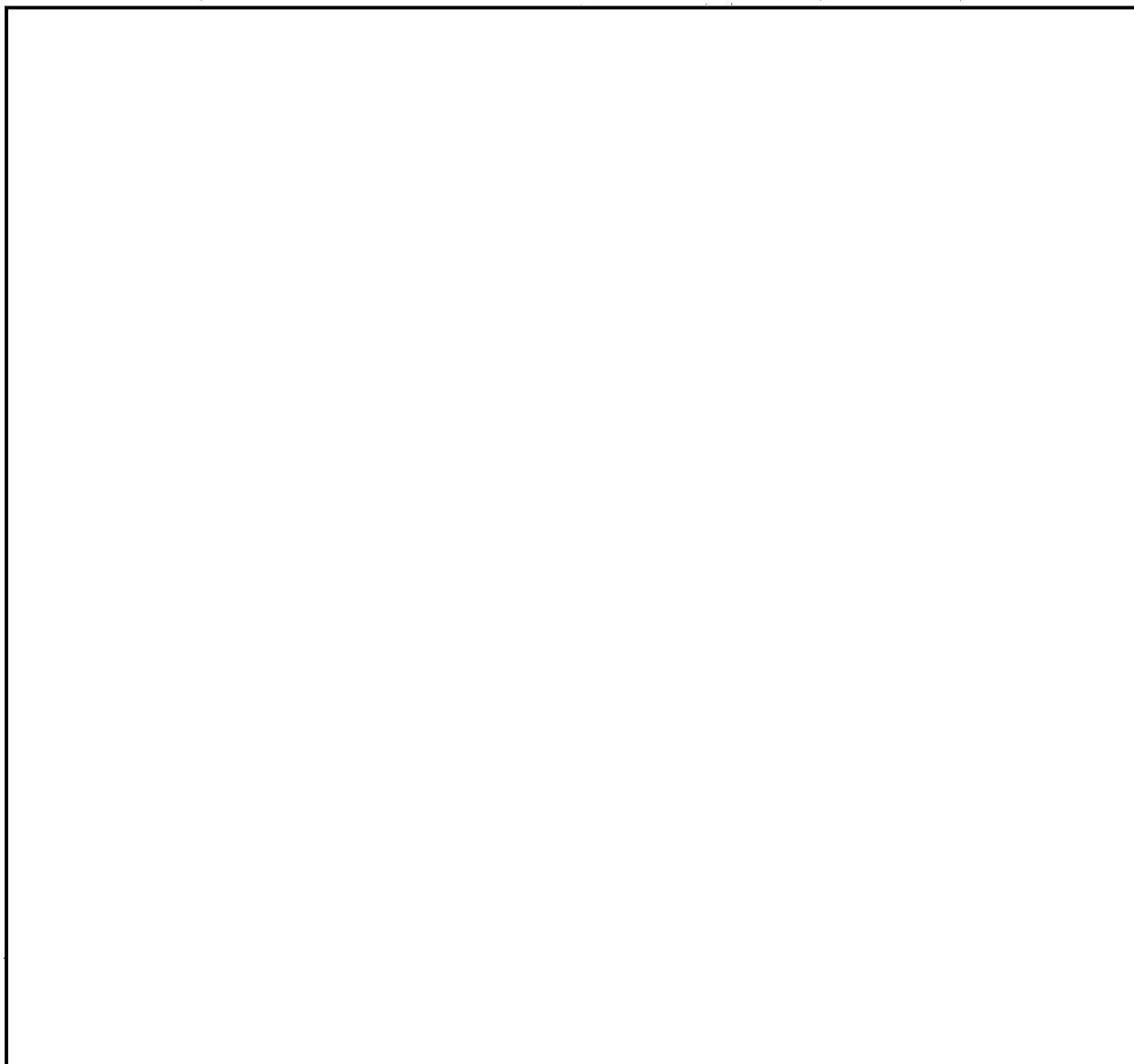


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Check
Number

Date

Payee

Amount

Bank of Deposit
and/or Endorser

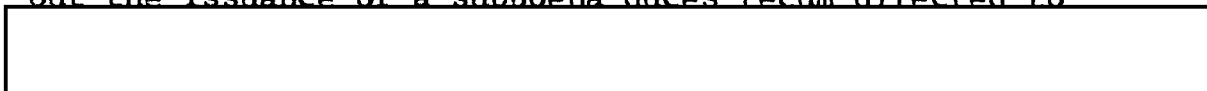
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The above information is not to be made public without the issuance of a subpoena duces tecum directed to



(Current June, 1968)

[redacted] affiliated with the [redacted]
[redacted] realtor, 1629 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.
advised on June 14 and 18, 1968, his company had negotiated
for the sale of a house at [redacted] Wash-
ington, D. C. to [redacted] wife of STOKELY CARMICHAEL.
The contract to buy was contingent upon [redacted] being able to
raise satisfactory financing within thirty days. Later the
sale was given considerable publicity in the news media.
Apparently, in view of this publicity, [redacted] and CARMICHAEL
notified the company they had been unable to raise satis-
factory financing to buy the house and requested that the
contract be cancelled. The company agreed to the cancellation
and the down payment of \$3500 made by [redacted] was returned to
her.

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(U) A source was told in June, 1968, that [redacted] made a contribution to STOKELY CARMICHAEL of \$100,000. The money reportedly had not been given personally to CARMICHAEL but had been handled by a bank transfer. It was noted that while the source was regarded as of some reliability, it was prone to exaggeration and was frequently careless in reporting figures and units of currency. (S)

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(U) In interpreting the above, it was possible the original figure of \$100,000 may have been quoted to the source in CFA (245 CFA equals one United States dollar) or in French francs rather than in dollars. (S)

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[redacted]
August, 1968) (S)

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As of July 23, 1968, STOKELY CARMICHAEL was reported to still be on the SNCC payroll receiving \$38.65 per month from the National Office. However, because of the poor financial condition of SNCC there are some months when no salary is forthcoming.

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[redacted]
July 23, 1968) (S)

On July 26, 1968, STOKELY CARMICHAEL had reportedly informed the BPP, Oakland, California, that unless he was given the "bread" in advance he refused to come to Oakland on July 28, 1968, where a BPP rally was being staged in support of BPP official HUEY NEWTON, then being held in Alameda County Jail on a murder charge.

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[redacted]
July 26, 1968) (S)

A BUF meeting was held at the Nash Memorial Methodist Church, Washington, D. C., on the evening of August 7, 1968. There were about seventy people present, all Negroes, about forty-five being men. STOKELY CARMICHAEL presided. During

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the meeting a new secretary was to be selected. STOKELY CARMICHAEL, among others agreed, to contribute money toward a salary. CARMICHAEL stated he would contribute \$15.00 per month and hoped others would also.

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[redacted] August 8, 1968] ~~C~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL usually pays approximately \$350 to the four or five persons who act as his personal bodyguards while making speaking appearances. However, on his trip to Chicago, August 9 and 10, 1968, he reportedly paid them \$500.

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[redacted] August 14, 1968] ~~C~~

No information is available that STOKELY CARMICHAEL has received large sums of money from abroad. CARMICHAEL's wife [redacted] is well-off financially. She has been drawing large sums for her appearances and recordings as an entertainer.

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[redacted] August 27, 1968] ~~C~~

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[redacted] September 3, 1968] ~~C~~b2
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[redacted] Washington, D. C., associate of STOKELY CARMICHAEL reportedly said the dispute between CARMICHAEL and [redacted] of SNCC goes back to the fact CARMICHAEL stopped putting proceeds of his personal appearances into the SNCC treasury.

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[redacted] August 29, 1968] ~~C~~~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

When CARMICHAEL was in Atlanta on August 30, 1968, at Paschal's Motor Lodge, located on Hunter Street, he had a roll of \$20 bills in one hand and a roll of \$100 bills in the other. CARMICHAEL did not volunteer how he came in possession of the money. Since CARMICHAEL married [REDACTED] the South African entertainer, he does not appear to have a lack of money. He has not been known to receive any money from anyone associated with a foreign government or from abroad.

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[REDACTED]
August 30, 1968)

When STOKELY CARMICHAEL was in Atlanta on August 30, 1968, he was in possession of a large sum of money but it was not possible to determine where the money had been obtained. Since he married [REDACTED] he does not appear to suffer financially. No information is available about money being received by him from abroad.

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[REDACTED]
September 3, 1968)

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Sources familiar with some of the activities of STOKELY CARMICHAEL in the Washington, D. C. area reported they had no information he was the recipient of any large sums of money, particularly from abroad.

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[REDACTED]
September, 1968)

[REDACTED] advised on October 8, 1968, she had a "steady association" with STOKELY CARMICHAEL from January to June, 1968. She stated that she felt confident CARMICHAEL had not been financed by any foreign sources. She stated she received no indication at all of this during her six months of constant association with him. In fact, she stated he seemed broke most of the time before he married [REDACTED] and dressed very modestly. The money he used

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for trips and transportation to other cities away from Washington, D. C. was furnished to him as an honorarium and for expenses by the group sponsoring the affairs and meetings at which he was scheduled to speak. She also presumed he got some salary from SNCC, although she did not think this was a very substantial amount. She never assisted him in getting a loan or any other form of credit. He once accompanied her to a bank, the Industrial Bank of Washington, D. C., which he assured her was a bank catering to black people. She obtained a checking account at this bank. She stated CARMICHAEL told her investigating officials would probably contact her trying to determine his source of income.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL is not known to be gainfully employed or receive any significant salary from SNCC, the BUF or the BPP.

(U) [redacted] October, 1968) X

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Records at Carte Blanche Office, 3460 Wilshire Boulevard, Room 801, Los Angeles, California, indicated the following information concerning [redacted] as of October, 1968:

[redacted] Account No. [redacted] was opened by her agents, [redacted] and [redacted] and Associates, Three East 57th Street or 57 West 56th Street, New York City, New York. Payments on the account have been made by [redacted] and [redacted] and Associates through the Security Bank and Trust Company, 11 West 51st Street, New York City, Account No. [redacted]. Payments on the account have also been made by [redacted] [redacted] New York. A supplementary application, together with a request that it be completed and returned, was sent to this account holder on 10/24/68.

Addresses for [redacted] include the following:
[redacted] New York City, New York; [redacted]
Street, New York City, New York; and [redacted]
New York City, New York.

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A work sheet prepared by Carte Blanche from July, 1968, through October, 1968, indicated payments in amounts due on [] account as follows:

<u>MONTH</u>	<u>PREVIOUS BALANCE</u>	<u>PAYMENTS</u>	<u>AMOUNT DUE</u>
June, 1968	\$3,173.84	\$3,173.84	\$ 501.36
July	501.36	--	1,042.02
August	1,042.02	501.36	1,173.69
September	1,173.69	484.04	2,134.58
October	2,134.58		2,260.04

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November, 1968)

[] New York,
is one of STOKELY CARMICHAEL's sisters.

During 1968, Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation observed both STOKELY CARMICHAEL and MIRIAM MAKEBA enter the Industrial Bank of Washington, D. C., 11th and U Streets, N. W., Washington, D. C., on a frequent basis.

In renting the property at 5015 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C., STOKELY CARMICHAEL and MIRIAM MAKEBA signed a lease for one year beginning April, 1968, and terminating in March, 1969. They had an option to buy the property if they desired and reportedly paid \$450 per month rent. They resided there from April, 1968, to November 30, 1968, when they broke the lease and moved out without exercising the option. While residing there they installed wall-to-wall carpeting and made other modest innovations.

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[] December, 1968)

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According to an article appearing in the "Washington Afro American" dated December 7, 1968, a general denial was reported by radio stations in Washington, D. C. that a boycott of MIRIAM MAKEBA's records was made, a previous allegation by

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CARMICHAEL. The article added that CARMICHAEL conceded that his wife's income had been affected since their marriage. "Although his wife has debts and finds the boycott a serious matter, she is continuing her own support of African Southern area of the continent".

Sergeant [redacted] Intelligence Division, Metropolitan Police Department, advised in December, 1968, that he heard the installer of the carpeting in CARMICHAEL's Washington, D. C. home, had stated that he read in the paper where it had been packed for shipment to Guinea and that it had not as yet been paid for.

During 1968, a survey of all banks in Washington, D. C. failed to locate an account for STOKELY CARMICHAEL or his wife [redacted]

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(U) [redacted] December 31, 1968)]~~X~~

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[redacted] Overseas Shipping Company, 2221 Adams Place, N.E., Washington, D.C. advised in late December, 1968, that he handled the shipment of CARMICHAEL's household furnishings to Guinea and that the expenses for the shipment had been paid in advance by [redacted]

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VIII. OTHER ACTIVITIES AND MISCELLANEOUS INFORMATION

On July 23, 1968, [] Chief, Legal Division, Passport Office, United States Department of State, Washington, D. C., advised that the Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs, United States Department of State, returned STOKELY CARMICHAEL's passport number H139577 to him on that date. It was mailed to him at his Washington, D. C. residence. The passport had been previously revoked in December, 1967, but the revocation was rescinded and the passport was restored to its previous standard terms and conditions of its validity.

[] advised CARMICHAEL on July 17, 1968, visited the United States Passport Office, Washington, D. C., and requested that his passport be returned to him so that he and his wife could honeymoon in Africa before the end of the summer. On that date CARMICHAEL signed an affidavit that he would not use the passport to travel to or through restricted areas if the passport was returned to him.

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[redacted] mentioned above, advised on July 24, 1968, [redacted] CARMICHAEL's [redacted] signed the mail registry receipt, showing CARMICHAEL's passport had been returned. [redacted] stated that by normal procedures CARMICHAEL should have signed the receipt personally. However, that it was only an incidental matter that he failed to do so. B. APPROX. 1946

The United Kingdom reportedly had agreed to permit STOKELY CARMICHAEL to visit England for five days to attend the marriage of his sister, [redacted]

[redacted] on July 26, 1968. MASSIN, a British subject, reportedly formally asked the British Home Office to allow CARMICHAEL into the United Kingdom to give the bride away at the wedding. CARMICHAEL had been previously denied entry into England because of his past activities. (U) (C) MR & MRS

England

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[redacted] (July, 1968.) X

An article appearing in "Jet" magazine, a United States weekly publication dated September 5, 1968, disclosed STOKELY CARMICHAEL's sister JUDY CARMICHAEL, age twenty-two, a former nurse, was married to a white fur designer, MARC X MASSIN, at Caxton Hall, Westminster, London. The couple had met at Clayburg Hospital where JUDY was a staff nurse and had known each other for five years.

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A discussion took place on October 5, 1968, regarding [redacted] reportedly stated her former husband [redacted] was "mad" because she had been dating STOKELY CARMICHAEL prior to his marriage to [redacted] CARMICHAEL used to sleep at her apartment at least three times per week, and on one occasion took her son, [redacted] to California with him. He now visits her occasionally and they are on friendly terms.

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[redacted] 8/5/68)

[redacted] mentioned above, advised on October 8, 1968, that she had a "rather steady" association with STOKELY CARMICHAEL from January to June, 1968. After CARMICHAEL and [redacted] were married, this association was discontinued, and as of October 8, 1968, she saw him only rarely. She stated that CARMICHAEL took her son to the West Coast by plane on one occasion. She stated that she observed STOKELY CARMICHAEL to be a "very gentle person." She continued that he talked a great deal and sometimes makes extreme statements; however, she was dubious about him ever carrying out these statements. She stated that she also doubted that he exercised very much influence over the people with whom he was associated and they would be prompted to act on suggestions made by him only if they became infuriated by some incident or strongly impelled by some other motive. She advised that if a situation developed which was ripe for action and their feelings could be aroused, they might be influenced by CARMICHAEL and statements which he might make. She continued that after CARMICHAEL was married to [redacted] he brought [redacted] to see her on one occasion. Following this meeting, [redacted] manifested a decided jealousy toward her and other women with whom CARMICHAEL had been associated prior to their marriage. Consequently, she stated that she had discontinued seeing him except when she saw him at the Washington, D.C. (WDC) Headquarters of SNCC or some similar place in the vicinity.

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL was observed to visit regularly the home of [redacted] WDC, also the residence of her mother, [redacted] prior to his marriage to [redacted]. Sometimes he would stay overnight for several nights. He would always arrive walking. [redacted] was observed to bring groceries to the house while CARMICHAEL was there.

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Washington, D.C.

[redacted] 8/19/68)

[redacted] also known as [redacted] advised on September 13, 1968, that she met STOKELY CARMICHAEL originally during the Summer of 1966, when he attended a house party in WDC. Subsequently, their relationship became "quite personal and intimate" until his marriage in the Spring of 1968, to [redacted]. She continued that when she met CARMICHAEL he was living in New York, and because of her affection for him, she visited him there several times during the months of August and September, 1966. She added that she was not interested in SNCC or its associates, only STOKELY CARMICHAEL, but when she visited New York, she would go to the local SNCC office to see him.

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During the Fall of 1966, she went to Paris, France, and attended the Sorbonne, and while there corresponded with CARMICHAEL. In 1966, while in Paris, she became one of the Friends of SNCC. She described this organization as one which consisted of American Negro students in Paris who sympathized with SNCC in the United States and whose only purpose was to raise money at social gatherings and speeches, later to send it to the international SNCC office in New York. The organization had no membership and no dues were required. She became affiliated with it because of her relationship with CARMICHAEL.

When the Friends of SNCC learned of CARMICHAEL's travels abroad during the Summer of 1967, they made arrangements for him to come to Paris to speak. Upon his arrival

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and during his stay in Paris, she was with him all the time. When he left Paris, she accompanied him to Algeria and Guinea, and after a few days she returned to Paris while he continued his travels. She stated that he made speeches in both countries but she could not recall what he said.

She continued that she did not see CARMICHAEL again until she returned to the United States on December 31, 1967. After returning to the United States she saw CARMICHAEL in WDC and on two occasions visited the local SNCC office to see him. However, when she learned he was not in the office, she returned to her home as she did not like people who hung around SNCC. During the Spring of 1968, she was quite surprised to learn that CARMICHAEL was getting married to MIRIAM [redacted] inasmuch as she had left Paris to come to the United States earlier, anticipating that in view of their relationship, CARMICHAEL would ask her to marry him. She advised that she feels that if the marriage between [redacted] and CARMICHAEL terminates, he would not hesitate to return to her, as she had been with him on a few occasions since his marriage to [redacted]. She advised, however, that their relationship for the time being had been terminated.

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CARMICHAEL uses the name SHALKA (phonetic) as his African or true name.

(U) [redacted], 9/3/68)] X

STOKELY CARMICHAEL had very few close friends and few people that he was really close to. The person most likely to know what he is doing is [redacted] his Washington secretary.

[redacted], 9/68)]
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(U) A source reported STOKELY CARMICHAEL smokes marijuana, and during a "gathering" while in Canada during the Black Writers Congress in October, 1968, he pulled a plug of marijuana from inside his ankle sock. (C) X

[redacted] 11/68)]

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[] is getting increasingly rude to persons calling their WDC residence asking to speak to STOKELY, her husband. She says that they do not get enough time for themselves, and that callers are inconsiderate by calling all hours of the day and night. Some of CARMICHAEL's local associates are reluctant to call his home for this reason. One of his associates has been saying lately in private that he thinks there might be a conflict between CARMICHAEL's personal life and the "movement."

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(U) [] 11/20/68)

Recently [] has accompanied CARMICHAEL on most of his speaking engagements and has indicated that she is well aware of his romantic life before their marriage and knows by name some of his former girl friends. It appears that CARMICHAEL himself might have told his wife of his former girl friends before their marriage so as to forestall any possible intimidation if she learned of them from other people.

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It appears that CARMICHAEL's marriage has served to divide his time, which allows him less time to actively organize. He remarked once that he never used to fear death but that since his marriage, he began to fear death because he feels that there is something more than his own life at stake.

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**IX. INFORMATION REGARDING CARMICHAEL'S
MOVING FROM WASHINGTON, D.C., REPORTEDLY
TO SUBSEQUENTLY LIVE IN GUINEA**

As of October 28, 1968, STOKELY CARMICHAEL resided at 5015 16th Street, N.W., WDC. He reportedly had a lease renting the property with an option to buy which was to run until March, 1969. During October, the wife of CARMICHAEL, [] contacted the real estate company handling the property informing them they did not intend to exercise the option to buy the property. They had previously indicated they would exercise the option when they moved in. [] claimed they were unhappy about the purchase price as it was too high. [] stated they were thinking, in fact, of breaking the lease before the expiration date in March, 1969. The real estate company informed [] at that point that a verbal discussion of the matter and further details was not desired and that if they were inclined to break the lease, they should inform the company of such intentions in writing. The company apparently did not feel they were serious about breaking the lease and not exercising the option because they had installed wall to wall carpeting at considerable expense and had also made other repairs. Consequently, for them to move would result in considerable loss. The real estate representative speculated that by their talk about breaking the lease and failure to exercise the option, they were actually trying to obtain the property at a lower price than previously discussed.

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On October 31, 1968, the real estate company received a letter dated October 23, 1968, from [] in which she said she was vacating the house at []

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N.W., WDC, on November 30, 1968, as they "had found another place". The letter was reported to be "nasty" in tone and among other things alleged the house was dirty, needed to be painted and was "not fit for pigs". She also set forth in the letter she hoped the matter could be resolved without legal action but if not, she was prepared to go to court.

The CARMICHAELS originally signed a years lease in March, 1968, and at that time made a security deposit equal to a months rent. The owner of the house reportedly did not want to release them from the terms of the lease about the requirement to rent the property until March, 1969.

(U) [redacted] 10/28/68; 10/31/68) JX

(U) The furniture at the Washington residence of STOKELY CARMICHAEL is packaged up and all the small stuff is packed in boxes. It appears they may be planning to move. (C)

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(U) [redacted], 11/19/68) JX

On November 21, 1968, [redacted] Overseas Shipping Company, Incorporated, International Freight Forwarders and Export Packers, 2221 Adams Place, N.W., WDC, advised his company had done business with the Embassy of Guinea, 2112 Leroy Place, N.W., WDC, in the past. He advised he had forwarded a considerable amount of freight overseas for the Embassy. About three months ago by virtue of the above association he was put in touch with [redacted] wife of STOKELY CARMICHAEL, to come to their residence in WDC and give them a shipping estimate on their household furnishings.

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Subsequently, he went to their residence at 5015 16th Street, N.W., WDC, to make the estimate, where he met both [] and CARMICHAEL. They told him they were moving. He surveyed their household belongings thoroughly. They told him they wanted everything packed up including the furniture and what appeared to be personal belongings. CARMICHAEL intimated [] was handling the matter and that it was her property being moved and not his. After conducting the survey of what was to be moved, he estimated they would have between ten and twelve thousand pounds. He asked where he was to send it. They told him they wanted to send it in its entirety to Conakry, Guinea, in care of SEKOU TOURE, the President of the country. CARMICHAEL said they were giving it away. They added they wanted it packed for shipment during the middle of November, 1968. He asked CARMICHAEL if the carpeting was to be moved also. CARMICHAEL said yes they were also shipping it. He explained to CARMICHAEL his employees could not take up the carpeting as they were not skilled along that line. CARMICHAEL said he was going to take it up personally.

[] said his employees began packing their household belongings readying them for overseas shipment on November 18, 1968, and continued for several days. They packed up the furniture, except for several pieces appearing to be discarded, the carpeting which had been removed from the floors, and also pictures, trinkets, odds and ends, appearing to be in the personal vein. In view of the fact the more personal items were also being packed, he [] concluded they were not likely giving the furnishings away as CARMICHAEL had previously told him. He thought they were moving to Conakry to live, but they never let on where they were going. [] was present in the house during the packing and assisted in supervising the employees. CARMICHAEL was also present and assisted too. [] and CARMICHAEL appeared to be cordial to one another. [] advised he speculated that perhaps

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they were splitting up with only [] returning to Conakry, but no information along this line was obtained. He stated, however, he did hear from one of his friends returning from Argentina that a widely circulated rumor exists in that country that they were separating. He felt then perhaps there was a possibility they were breaking up because of their diverse interests, that is, she being a notable entertainer and he being a racial agitator.

After the packing was concluded, he again asked them where it was going to be sent. They reaffirmed it was to go to Conakry, Guinea in care of President SEKOU TOURE. [] stated he understands [] is a citizen of that country. No address in Conakry in addition to "in care of President SEKOU TOURE" was mentioned. [] stated apparently [] knows the President of the country personally and by sending the goods in care of him personally, they are doing so to insure their delivery--properly. [] stated [] is paying the expenses of the move prior to their shipment.

[] advised he had made arrangements to pick up the shipment from the residence at 5015 16th Street, N.W., on November 26 or 27, 1968. He had made arrangements to ship them to Conakry via the Farrell Lines, Baltimore, Maryland. He contemplated they would leave Baltimore via boat of the Farrell Lines during the first week of December, 1968.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL and [] left their WDC residence on November 30, 1968, after closing the house. The furniture had been previously packed and prepared for shipment. Upon leaving on November 30, 1968, they said goodbye to some WDC friends and announced they were en route to New York City. They were driving CARMICHAEL's mother's car, MABEL CARMICHAEL of Bronx, New York.

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An article appearing in the "Washington Daily News" dated November 30, 1968, stated in part that STOKELY CARMICHAEL had been previously removing carpeting from the floor of his Washington, D. C. residence preparatory to moving. He conceded "I might be leaving," but said his destination was a secret. "I never tell people my private address. I'm going to fight and my fight is where black people are. I plan to fight with my black brothers and sisters against white western society and its evils of racism and capitalism".

CARMICHAEL also alleged "the whole entertainment industry is boycotting my wife. She has cut a new album and they refuse to play it because she married me. They are afraid I will buy guns with the money. I'm like an elephant, I never forget. I always seek revenge and I get it, I get it".

CARMICHAEL, according to the article, also expressed as much "dislike for President-elect RICHARD NIXON as he had at public appearances for President JOHNSON". He reportedly stated, "NIXON is going to unite white America against black America". He warned the final solution to America's racial problems would be "genocide of the blacks by whites".

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An article appearing in the Washington Afro-American newspaper, published on Tuesday, December 3, 1968, entitled "STOKELY HITS BAN ON WIFE'S ALBUM", reported as follows:

Militant STOKELY CARMICHAEL told the Afro over the weekend that his recording star wife, South African singer [redacted] felt the radio industry was boycotting her records. "She figures if they are going to boycott her records because of her marriage, then later for them".

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She reportedly had cut a new album and he alleged they refused to play it because she married him. In addition to the boycott against airing the album, CARMICHAEL alleged the entire industry had also "iced" his wife's concerts and television appearances. He conceded that the boycott was having an affect on his wife's income.

CARMICHAEL has moved from his residence in WDC but he did not say where he would be living. He was genuinely concerned about the possibility of being arrested in the future and subsequent efforts made to prosecute him by the United States Government. CARMICHAEL has moved into a revolutionary stage in his thinking. He is advocating complete change. He is telling blacks to arm to destroy.

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[redacted] Overseas Shipping Company, mentioned previously, advised on December 11, 1968, that further arrangements were being made regarding the moving of the household furnishings of STOKELY CARMICHAEL and [redacted] to Conakry, Guinea.

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[] advised that as of December 11, 1968, half of the furnishings belonging to CARMICHAEL and [] had been put on board the boat "African Rainbow" in Baltimore, being handled by the Farrell Lines, Incorporated. He related that prior to departure from WDC, CARMICHAEL and [] purchased a new household refrigerator two washing machines and a range stove, which they also desired included with the shipment to Conakry. As of December 11, 1968, all of these ordered appliances had not arrived for shipment. Consequently, [] advised when the remainder of the appliances arrive for shipment, they would be included with the other half of the remaining furnishings and taken to New York City. Upon arrival in New York City, they would be loaded onto the "African Rainbow" then due in New York City at about that time. The "African Rainbow" was expected to sail from New York City on December 17, 1968.

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[] stated he last saw CARMICHAEL and [] during the latter part of November, 1968, while they were still in their residence in WDC, and packing their furnishings. During that time they told him they planned to give away one of the washing machines mentioned above but did not indicate to whom it was being given. [] stated that they also indicated they were going to Africa to live and he definitely got this impression; however, they did not specifically say so.

[] is currently in New York City and there are no concrete rumors of an impending break-up in her marriage to STOKELY CARMICHAEL.

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL recently said that he is going to leave the country but that all his friends would always be able to get in touch with him if they need him.

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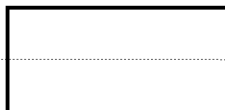


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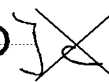


It is rumored within SNCC in New York City and Atlanta that STOKELY CARMICHAEL is planning to move to Guinea to live. Supposedly  feels her marriage to CARMICHAEL has been doing very poorly with her career as an entertainer and this is believed to be the reason for the move. Some circles have reported  plans to "dump" CARMICHAEL because of his adverse effect on her career.

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 Overseas Shipping Company, mentioned previously, on January 9, 1969, advised the "African Rainbow" departed Baltimore on December 12, 1968, with the first half of the CARMICHAEL shipment, en route to Africa. The "African Rainbow" did not return to New York City as planned to pick up the second half of the shipment in view of the fact a longshoremen strike was in progress there and the loading of the shipment could not be accomplished.

The second half of the shipment was sent to New York City for delivery to Africa on a vessel sailing at a date later than the "African Rainbow". As of January 9, 1969, the shipment was reported to be in the possession of the United States Customs and the Farrell Lines, Incorporated,

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in New York City. [] stated the longshoremen strike is still existing in New York City and there is talk it will not be settled until February, 1969. However, as soon as the strike is over and the shipment can be handled, it will be loaded for transport to Africa on the first boat available.

[] advised [] last contacted him on December 22, 1968, telephonically from New York City inquiring about the status of the shipment and he informed her as set forth above. He advised payment for the shipment of the goods has been made. He added he has gotten the definite impression the CARMICHAELS plan to live in Guinea but in the future will visit the United States occasionally either for pleasure or business.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL and [] departed John F. Kennedy International Airport, New York City, aboard Scandanavian Airlines System Flight 912V at 8:45 p.m., on December 28, 1968, scheduled to arrive in Copenhagen, Denmark, 9:15 a.m., December 29, 1968.

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CARMICHAEL and [] were scheduled to depart Copenhagen, Denmark, for Stockholm, Sweden, aboard Scandanavian Airlines System Flight 402 at 10:00 a.m., December 29, 1968, arriving Stockholm, Sweden, 11:25 a.m., December 29, 1968.

(U) [] 12/28/68) ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[] wife of STOKELY CARMICHAEL, was reportedly to make personal appearances as an entertainer in Sweden during the month of January, 1969.

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CARMICHAEL and [redacted] upon arrival in Stockholm, Sweden, on December 29, 1968, were interviewed by Swedish television. CARMICHAEL's wife was asked if her records were being boycotted in the United States to which she replied she thought they were because of her husband's activities. Her arrival had been given advanced publicity and CARMICHAEL was asked if he was going to stay for the length of his wife's singing engagement and he replied that he "probably would".

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An article appearing in the "Evening Star," Washington, D. C., dated January 17, 1969, reported as follows:

"A Swedish newspaper today quoted black-power advocate STOKELY CARMICHAEL as saying that he and his wife, singer MIRIAM MAKEBA, plan to move permanently to Africa in April.

According to United Press International, CARMICHAEL told the Stockholm newspaper Aftonbladet that their new home would be in Conakry, Guinea.

[redacted] who has been appearing at a Stockholm nightspot, is from South Africa.

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Since their marriage last spring, the CARMICHAELS have been maintaining rented quarters in Washington. At the end of November, they moved from a house in the 5000 block of 16th Street N.W. to an undisclosed location."

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An article appearing in the "Washington-Afro American" dated January 28, 1969, reported as follows:

"Carmichael says Panthers plan 'Guerrilla War'"

STOCKHOLM, SWEDEN

"We believe in violence," said STOKLEY CARMICHAEL in a front page newspaper interview here recently.

CARMICHAEL, who refers to himself as the "prime minister" of the Black Panther party, said that the Panthers are preparing for a "guerrilla war" in the United States.

"I am using all the money I can spare to buy arms," he said in the article in the Stockholm daily, Dagens Nyheter.

He also said it was necessary "to attack police stations and to kill policemen."

CARMICHAEL is here with his wife, MIRIAM MAKEBA, who is singing at a nightclub. He said that black people in the U.S. were engaged in a struggle "to find an identity of their own."

He stressed the need to identify with Africa but said this could happen only when "Africa is free and strong."

"Death and liquidation awaits us blacks in the U.S.," he said. "I see the day before me when there will be made an effort in the United States to exterminate black people, to treat them the way the Nazis treated the Jews."

Additional details of CARMICHAEL's reported intention to move to Guinea were set forth under the international travel section of this report.

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X. APPENDIXSTUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, is a nonmembership organization, which was born out of the sit-in movement that erupted across the South beginning in 1960.

Today SNCC identifies itself as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

According to SNCC, the year 1967 marked a historic milestone in the struggle for the liberation of black people in the United States and the year that revolutionaries throughout the world began to understand more fully the impact of the black movement. SNCC declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus--the capitalistic system of the United States with all its life-sucking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The realities of black life, together with the recognition instilled in SNCC workers forced its members to further popularize the legitimacy of self-defense and rebellions when oppression became too great."

From May, 1966, until May, 1967, Stokely Carmichael was National Chairman of SNCC. As of July, 1968, Carmichael resided in Washington, D.C., where he was affiliated with SNCC and active as temporary chairman of a black coalition group. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced by [redacted] [redacted] commonly known as [redacted] who served until June, 1968.

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In June, 1968, at the Staff and Central Committee meeting of SNCC held in Atlanta, Georgia, it was decided to restructure the organization by equalization of responsibility by creating ten deputy or vice chairmanships. The primary purpose for this change is to take law enforcement pressure off any single individual.

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APPENDIX~~CONFIDENTIAL~~BLACK PANTHER PARTY, aka
Black Panther Party for
Self Defense

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by Bobby George Seale, BPP Chairman, and Huey P. Newton, BPP Minister of Defense. Newton is presently serving a sentence of 2 to 15 years on a conviction of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, George Mason Murray, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement, "... we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature MAO's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.

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STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Title STOKELY CARMICHAEL, AKA

Character RACIAL MATTER - BPP

Reference Report of SA [REDACTED]
dated 2/14/69

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All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past. All except [REDACTED] with whom insufficient contact has been had to determine reliability.

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Date 8/21/67

Title and Character of Case

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION
OO: ATLANTA

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Date Property Acquired

6/9/67
6/16/67

Source From Which Property Acquired

Location of Property or Bulky Exhibit

Third Floor
Bulky Exhibit Room

Reason for Retention of Property and Efforts Made to Dispose of Same

Description of Property or Exhibit and Identity of Agent Submitting Same

1. Tape Recording, Stokely Carmichael talk, Garfield High School 4/19/67.
2. Tape Recording, Stokely Carmichael talk, U. of W., 4/19/67

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-10-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
AUG 21 1967	
FBI - SEATTLE	

SEMIANNUAL INVENTORY CERTIFICATION TO JUSTIFY RETENTION OF PROPERTY (Initial and Date)

Destroyed 4/24/78

Field File # 100-28676-1B(1)

SEARCHED.....INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....FILED.....
AUG 13 1967
FBI-SEATTLE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-10-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

File No. 100-28676-1ADate Received 6-23-67From [REDACTED]
(NAME OF CONTRIBUTOR)Yakima Wash
(ADDRESS OF CONTRIBUTOR)(Editor - Yakima Eagle)
(CITY AND STATE)By [REDACTED]
(NAME OF SPECIAL AGENT)To Be Returned ☐ Yes☒ NoReceipt given ☐ Yes☐ No

Description:

1 typed copy of
tape received by
[REDACTED]
SA [REDACTED]

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Filed 8/18/67.

STOCKELY CARMICHAEL at YAKIMA, WASHINGTON
June 23, 1967

Good Evening

This afternoon I was very surprised, I came expecting to hear a wishy-washy speech about the United Nations and MR. O'BRIEN really delivered a very good paper and I thought that moving on from there we could go into discuss some of the theories and assumptions of SNCC and then to see how they could be applied on modern day struggle again the country. We want to deal with the theories of self condemnation, the theory of denying one ones freedom rather than giving one ones freedom we want to talk about the theories of definition and the importance they play in the world today and then to go from that to include the fight of the third world, that is the fight for cultural integrity and the rights of those people to define themselves as they see fit to have those definitions recognized by their oppressor. And then we want to talk about the Vietnamese Protests the difference between the black struggle and the struggle with white youth in this country very possibly there can be some coalition on what grounds those coalitions ought to be and then we want to talk about integration versus white supremacy and to touch on institutionalized racism as opposed to individual acts of racism. That's not so bad. I've got to do it that way because tomorrow when you read your newspapers you'll say that isn't what he said but you shouldn't blame the newspapers really because these cats are incapable of dealing with any kind of ideas at all.

I'm often amazed that anytime they write a story they have (harsh - raspy, unintelligible) and they never say what he says.

The philosophers, CAMOU and SOT (phonetic) representing the epitomy of existentialist philosophy in our thought today raises the question of self condemnation. They want to know whether or not it is possible for a people to condemn themselves. CAMOU never answers the question, SOT cops out of answering the question when in the introduction to MR. book "The Wretched of the Earth" after three pages of the most hostile condemnation of white western society as opposed to white western civilization he says "but we can be saved if we listen to this profit and he moves on. says that self condemnation is impossible. People cannot condemn themselves, but if they condemn themselves they would have to punish themselves, thus they would turn themselves into masochists. In SNCC we tend to believe in MR. we don't believe that a community of people can condemn themselves. Some examples for us would be Germany after World War II when the allied forces began to bring to or to trial the Nazis. Now the Nazis who did not condemn themselves, that is the ones who said that they killed jews and the jews were after all inferior as human beings, or they said they didn't know what was happening in Germany at the time, or more ~~s~~ophisticatedly and as most Americans are getting ready to say today they say they were just following law and order so they were able to rationalize away their guilt. The ones who could not rationalize away their guilt committed suicide, that is the ones who said "Yes we did commit human beings" and had to fact reality, committed suicide. The ones who allowed themselves to live rationalized away their guilt. More immediately for us

here in the United States, an example of that would be Rainy in Mississippi in Neshoba County, Mississippi, Philadelphia, Mississippi there is a man who is supposed to be the sheriff and he commits a crime. He kills three human beings because they are trying to change the status-quo. Now the entire county of Neshoba is incapable of indicting Sheriff RAINY because they have elected him and he is carrying out their wishes and well wishers that if anyone tries to change the status quo they should be stopped by any means necessary and stops three human beings by any means necessary, so that the entire county can't condemn him. If they condemn him they would have to condemn themselves and they would all have to send themselves to the electric chair since when you kill a man you have got to go to jail. So broadening that analogy we feel that the total white American community cannot condemn itself for acts of brutality and bestiality which he has heaped upon black people it is totally impossible. For the entire community to condemn itself it would have to commit suicide. So we feel that white America is totally incapable of condemning itself so that what we must then do is to move on beyond white America instead of stopping and looking and seeing what she is going to do and to begin for ourselves to carve out a space where it is possible for us as a people to move inside a country that continues to carry on its life there and in the way of violence and just to begin to live our lives. Now you move on to another theory then, one which I think white America must get clear in its mind. The concept is in this country that somehow white America can give freedom to black people. It is a totally fallacious

assumption. Nobody can give anybody their freedom. All people are born free. Once they are born free they are then enslaved by certain institutions within the society or by other people within the society. So at the fight for freedom is the fight to stop the oppressor from denying you your freedom. That is to say the real fight then of black people inside the continental United States is to fight to stop America from denying us our freedom so that we have to force America to recognize our humanity. The real fight is to help civilize white America because she is really uncivilized if she does not recognize our humanity. Let me give you an example because if you take that to its logical extension you would say that any bills passed in this country, Civil Rights Bill, might have eased the struggle of black people but what they did in fact was to help civilize white America. Let me explain. I am black, I know this. I also know that I am a human being, but some white Americans don't know that. Institutionally most Americans don't even recognize that. But I know I'm black and that I'm a human being. That means that there are certain things to which I am entitled. One of them is the right to vote. Now whenever I am working on the assumption that I am a human being attempt to vote, some white person gets in my way and stops me. He tells me that I can't vote, and if I try to vote he shoots at me, burns my house and takes me off to jail. So you have to write a civil rights bureau in Washington, D. C. FOR THIS white man to tell them when I come to vote, get out of my way. So that now he is forced to recognize my humanity, I'm not changed, he is more civilized. When I go to vote he just gets out

of my way. And the bill was really for him not for me. He's changed I'm not. I'm the same person. So that we all go on the factor that a little more segment within the white society has now become more civilized. He won't shoot me when I attempt to carry on the acts that all men are entitled to carry on so that is very very important and you must begin to understand that concept in your mind. Then we want to talk now about the theories of definitions which are very very important.

CAMOU reminds us on the first page of the Rebel. He says that when a slave stops accepting the definitions imposed upon him by his master, then and only then does he begin to create life for himself. That is if he continues to accept the definitions that are imposed upon him by his master he will continue to be a slave. For example if I said that you are my slave and you said "yes sir, I'm your slave" there is no problem. But if I said you are my slave and you said no I'm not your slave I am a man, if I try to make you my slave then there is going to be some conflict. So CAMOU says that the creation of that conflict begins when the slave refuses to let his master define him. Now that is very important because white Western society has been able to define everything and everybody. they define people as uncivilized as primitive, as savages, as illiterate, as stupid as dumb, happy, apathetic, loves watermelon, and have good rhythm. And what is happening in the world today is that people are fighting to break out of those definitions. Now white America and especially white western society has done this unconsciously

without even recognizing that it defined everyone or that it discovers everyone. For example we are told that Christopher Columbus discovered America in 1492. The truth is that he did not. What it meant was that might be the first time a white man might have put his foot on this continent, but he didn't discover the continent. The continent was here and there were other people here before he was here. What happens to be a fact is that white America does not recognize the existence of other non white people so that they are never alive until some white person finds them. Oops I found you, come alive. And that most people can see through that racism and here are red people who have been defined Indians because Columbus thought he was in India and all their lives they have been stigmatized with that definition and everybody calls them Indians and no one recognized they shouldn't be called Indians but Columbus was stupid. But since he was white it was OK. I want to give two more examples of definitions because I think they are very important. One again about the red man and the white man, whenever they are fighting on television if the white man wins it is a victory when the red man wins it is a massacre and this is very important because the connotation of a massacre is not as honorable as the connotation of a victory. A victory is very honorable, a massacre is very dirty. So no matter how good and how strong and how brave and how courageous and how well you liked, the red man is, he'll never win a victory, all he can win is a massacre. So again he has been defined to a secondary role. Today we see that all the time with the editorial twins of America, Huntley and Brinkley. They get on and they talk about the Vietnam war

those dirty vietnamese, filthy communist rebel forces today threw a molotov cocktail and wounded 17 civilians and there is a flash and Brinkley is in D. C. and he says In the mean while our good GI boys have been bombing the hell out of North Vietnam. So that what you have is that they have been defined, these people who are fighting are filthy and dirty. You know up at Nashville, black students throw rocks and bottles at policemen (harsh raspy voice, unintelligible) and there are some college students at Fort Lauderdale throw bottles and rocks at policemen "College Students go on a spree". Now that is very important because the existentialists talk about definitions but it can be found it can be found in "Alice in Wonderland". He notes it is very very important the need for definitions and the importance of it he says is a little dialogue back and forth between Humpty Dumpty and Alice in Wonderland, and Alice says in essence to Humpty Dumpty "When I use a word Humpty, it means what I choose it to mean". And Humpty says "Oh nonsense Alice that definitely can't be!" She says "Well maybe you're right, when I use a word then Humpty, it's what I want it to mean, it's what people want it to mean!" He says "Oh no, no, no, Alice, the question is he who is master, that is all". And lets be clear, because what it means is that if you are master you can define anything, and if you are able to define you can prescribe people and keep them trapped. For example if I were a master and I said you are a communist, you would have to answer whether or not you are a communist just because I said so. An you spend

the rest of your life defining whether or not you are or you are not a communist so that some people on the television say STOCKELY CARMICHAEL incited to riot in Nashville, and everybody else says (whisper) Stockely Carmichael incited to riot in nashville.

Everybody says "Did you?" I say "Did I?" And they don't even bother to arrest me or even follow up any proof of whether or not I incited to riot but since they can define they just define that I have incited to riot, And nobody even asked "Well if he incited to riot why don't you arrest him?" No need to because you have already been defined. Very important, because I think what black people are saying today is that they will no longer be bounded by the definitions of white society. We are going to use our own terms, our own phrases, we are going to define ourselves as we see fit and those definitions will have to be recognized by white America so that black power will simply mean the coming together of black people to fight for their liberation by any means necessary. No more discussion.

Now we want to move in and to talk about what's developin in the country. I have just been looking at the news, and I used to go to school in Washington, D. C. and Catholic University was about as bland as you can get. I mean they did nothing. Really all they used to do was to walk to school and say prayers, and I always wondered why don't those kids move? and the whole school is on strike for the last two days because they fired a Priest who has liberal leanings and the school is protesting his being fired. Now that is very important, because it indicates that around the country the youth of the country are beginning to move against a number of things, and a lot of people in the older generation

can't understand it, they try their best to define it, most of them define it as insubordination or as the kids just restless, they'll come home to roost after awhile, you know I was a flaming radical in 1930 but look at me in 1967. I'm not that way anymore, leave the students alone in 1966 they'll be radicals, in 1997 they'll be just like me. I don't think that is true. I think that the white youth in this country, particularly the white youth, are suffering from a number of things. Number one they have been alienated from the best in their tradition. They do not have any white heros that are really genuine that they can look up to. Nor do they have any white leaders in the country whom many of them can identify with so that they are floating in a dilemma. Secondly I think that the youth in this country, particularly our generation, have been people who have grown up, and a large number of us happen to be first generation college and yet some of us are asking how is it possible for us to be the richest country in the world, and how is it possible for us to have all the wealth that we do have? And after we ask that question we usually ask is it a fact that the united states is exploiting other countries, that's why she's as rich as she is, and that's why so many people can enjoy the life she enjoys. And then some people go beyond that and say if this is the case we don't think the country should function this way and the reason they say we don't think the country should function this way is because they have been in situations as kids where they were told about equality and persuit of happiness and equality and theories that they believed in, but the people who were teaching them obviously didn't believe them. Now that can be

made very key and centered around the Vietnam War. And I want to make a . I want to make a between the reasons for protestations by white youth for the Vietnamese War as I see it and I'm probably incorrect, and in the reasons for protestations among black youth as I see that, because I think they are different things and that most people in the country don't recognize that. As the white youth in the country rebel against the Vietnam war on reasons of morality, they think that it is an immoral war. They rebel because a lot of them who in the peace movement are dominated by a philosophy of pacifism and they want peace. This is very very important. And thirdly I think that because they found America out to be very hypocritical and feel very frustrated with that feeling of hypocrisy of being lied to of being programmed, that they rebel. I think the black youth in the country rebel against the war in Vietnam because he has to. Because it's a question of survival for the black youth and that doesn't necessarily mean that you want peace. You have to survive and then you survive any way you can so that while most white youths would fight to stop the war in Vietnam, black youth must go beyond that point because if the war in Vietnam were to be stopped the the oppression of black people will not automatically be stopped inside the country and the fight would still have to be continued. Now you could recognize that in the speeches of black people who condemn the war in Vietnam. DR. KING who would represent within the black community perhaps the man who takes the moral position, because he is a Nobel Peace Prize winner, and has his life been dominated by a theory of pacifism, when he

to the black community, says the percentage of black people being drafted is much higher than the population ratio to the society so that even Dr. King recognizes it to be a fight for survival that you can't draft 35% black people to fight a war when they are 10%. On a higher level of morality the black youths must fight against that war for his own humanity. He is beginning to recognize that white America has used him to fight colored people around the world to help enslave them, and so he doesn't even begin, he is now beginning to recognize that he can't any longer fight those wars because he is helping to enslave himself by enriching a system which enslaves him. This is very very important, but I think that system also enslaves the white youth. I'm not sure that many of the white youth have come to that recognition as yet. Finally I believed that the black youth must fight against that war in Vietnam if in fact he is to prove to the United States that it must lift up to lines of democracy, that is that they draft black people to fight for democracy and the black youth never knows anything about it so that he is now raising the question very hard "Why should I fight and give democracy to someone else when I have never gotten it here inside this country!" and I don't think again that on those lines the white youth can wage their battle. So that what you can have then on the peace issue would be a coalition of black youth and white peace movements on that issue of maybe stopping the war and of course stopping the draft which many white youth themselves inside the peace movement have not even begun to approach stopping of the draft which is becoming very key for the black community.

So you could hook up on a coalition of those points but I doubt very seriously whether or not you can become married to the peace movement. I know we can't do that.

Now finally I want to talk about institutionalized racism in the country and a few other things

I think that there is a lot of feeling of the people in the country to file the new left together with the civil rights movement, and that's really a mistake because the fight is really two different things. Again for the new left a lot of the fight would be a fight of morality, but for a number of reasons. Many of the people who make up the new left in this country, the white new left are economically secure. This is very very important. Black people in this country are economically insecure. You've got to understand that. Black people are fighting to make this society a place where they can derive economic security. The white people on the new left are already economically secure so that's not the same fight and you can't form a coalition with an economically secure group and an economically insecure group to change a system in which both of them derive their economic standards from the given system. That is to say that since the white liberal or the people on the new left derive an economic security from this system and we derive economic insecurity from the same system the system has changed. And if the system is to change it may mean that the white liberal may no longer be able to have economic security or maybe we'll both have to come down. I don't think people will fight to give up their economic security

in the society so that the people who black people can best
coalist with in this country are white people who are economically
insecure. Because then their fight will be the same fight.
The economically insecure white will be fighting for economic
security, to stop economic exploitation and political oppression.
That means then that there needs to be then inside the white
community, white youth organizing the unorganized poor whites
if they are really serious about bringing about internal change
in the country. Institutionalized racism will effect all the
work we do. We must realize that we have been trapped by a
society that doesn't even recognize its racism. There are two
types, there is individual acts of racism and there is institutionalized
racism. Let me give an example of both.

An individual act of racism would be from five white
men bombing the church and they kill five black children. That's
an individual act of racism that is widely deplored by most
segments of this society, black and white. If in that same
city, Birmingham, Alabama, not five, but 500 black babies die
each year because of lack of proper food, lack of medical facilities,
lack of clothing and lack of the things they need to have ta
descent living, and thousands more black people are mamed physically,
educationally and psychologically because of conditions of poverty
in the Gheto. That is an acto of institutionalized racism. It is
clear to me that black people must focus their attention on
institutionalized racism which is so subconscious that it runs
in every major city in this country and every major city in this
country you can find a Gheto area that has been prescribed by law

the incidious subterfuge for the maintenance of white supremacy. If a supreme court ruling said that all segregated schools are inherently inferior because they separate races, then it seems to me that all white schools and an all black school is as equally inferior, so that if you are going to integrate the schools to stop that inherent inferiority you put white kids in black schools and black kids in white schools, but everybody in the country assumed automatically that the black schools were inferior. Because they were all black, so what you have to do is to bring some of the blacks to a good school which was the white school. So what the interpretation turns out to be is that the white school is really good but the black kids were really bad, so you just have to bring some white kids next to some black kids and everything would be ok, and I think that a lot of people have never thought it out very clearly and end up in the trick bag they drew all confused about integration. Because if you talk about integration you talk about both sides as equally inferior as the other. That is to say that if the suburbs is all white, if the Ghetos is all black, — and if separate equally inferior, they they are both inferior. Then the white people must also come to the Ghetos and the black people move to the suburbs. But since that is not about to happen, being realistic, the black people in the Ghetos must talk about being able to control their communities and their institutions so they can live and function as human beings and I think that is going to be the major fight in the country, whether or not white America can allow for that, can allow for black people to control the institutions in which they live and to really have the equal

share of the political representation that they are supposed to have which they never do.

Finally I think that psychologically black people in this country, using MR. as our literary giant, are going to more and more recognize the importance of the Third World as a force that is going to help strip the country of the type of system that oppresses non white people both in and out the continental boundries of the United States. And a recognition that those forces are probably fighting the same thing. Their fight is a fight for cultural integrity also, because they too have been defined as illiterate, unfit for democracy, or usually, well you know those people in that little country, they are backwards and they need time before they grasp a concept of democracy and we will just have to stay there and rule them until they get that concept. Yes, we know we havent' worked with it well in the United States, but we knowhow to manipulate it a little bit better so we will let them hold on and they are not allowed to. But they are fighting now for their own cultural integrity. Secondly we begin to recognize that the non white world has been prescribed, has been divided up by white western society. They sat down and Europe and France took this and Britain took this and she bragged that the sun never sat on her and I and Belgian took this and the United States took this, and that these people are going to begin to fight to break the traps and the people that exploit them, which happens to be the same people that exploit us. inside this country. It is important to note that the Chase Manhattan Bank which holds the economy of South Africa also controls many of the mortgages in slum areas and that the controlling

interest of the Chase Manhattan Bank is controlled by the Rockefeller Empire, and we are told they are liberals in this country. They are philanthopists, they are CECIL RHODES. He stole Rhodesia and named it after him and gave black people scholarships and they call him a philanthropists.

Finally then, the movement of the white youth in this country can go in several directions. They can take the form I think that has been taken most largely by the hippies on the West Coast, who have decided that it is now use trying to fight the society that the best thing for them to do is to turn their backs on it and to leave it alone and to try their best to create for themselves what other type of life they can. Now that movement is not to be taken too lightly because at a human being day last month they gathered some 20,000 people, and if you can gather 20,000 people for human being day it's obvious that the movement is also gathering strength, it's also moving to the East Coast where they are beginning to set up hamlets of hippies there as they are referred to. Now those then are the white youths who have just given up their hands. You've got the white youth who particularly run the question of the draft flees the country rather than fights it and that's developing in Vancouver, for example, there is a large colony now of white American youths and of course Canada who are refusing to fight the war. Now what is left usually is some form of white activists who are really willing to fight, to fight back against the system rather than to take it sitting down. They are beginning to diminish in force I think because the hippies are beginning to attract them more and more. Sometimes I think when they look up and see the fight they

have to carry on they just turn around and sit down, tune in, tune out, turn on and drop out. Now they are about the only group that are beginning to find any type of white identity, there identity usually is around people like TOM LEARY, ALLEN GYNSBURG or of course MR. who is with us here this afternoon, and that's one healthy group in terms of having some white identity. The problem I think that white America then faces is can she develop a white identity which would incorporate concept of humanity that the other people in the society who are not attracted to the hippies can begin to move around, so that maybe she, herself, can begin to save the inevitable conflict that is seen that the world is headed for. If she cannot do that I think that there is no choice left but for the people who are oppressed around the world to take what belongs to them and I'm afraid the black people will have to see themselves as a part of that group.

FD-340 REV. (6-24-65)

File No.

100-28696 1A (3)

Date Received

4/18/73

From

(NAME OF CONTRIBUTOR)

(ADDRESS OF CONTRIBUTOR)

(CITY AND STATE)

By

(NAME OF SPECIAL AGENT)

To Be Returned

☐

Yes

☒

No

Receipt given

☐

Yes

☒

No

Description:

TAPE OF speech by
Shirley Carmichael
Todd Hall WSC
Pullman, Wash 4/18/73

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-10-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

DOC LAB NOTE

DOCUMENT (S)
DID NOT SCAN
DESCRIPTION
CASSETTE TAPE

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DATE 11-10-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ



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INTRA-DEPARTMENT COMMUNICATION
SEATTLE POLICE DEPARTMENT

FROM Lt. E. Wesselius, Intelligence

TO Deputy Chief C. A. Rouse, Staff Division

SUBJECT STOKELY CARMICHAEL PLANS

DATE 3-21-67

Sgt. [] Reports:

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A STOKELY CARMICHAEL fund raising dinner on March 25th is planned for 2022 32nd So. by Mary Gibson, RA 4-4595.

His speech, or rally, is tentatively set for April 18th, 7:30 - 10:30 P. M., at the First A.M.E. Church.

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DATE 11-10-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

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cc: Chief of Police F. C. Hanson
Insp. []
Intelligence Files
FBI - []
Chief Hanz - U. Of W. Police

100-28676-15
SEARCHED..... INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED..... FILED.....

MAR 22 1967

FBI - SEATTLE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC, SEATTLE (100-26956)

DATE: 3/22/67

b6
b7C

FROM : SA [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: COMINFIL SNCC
Racial Matters

On 3/22/67 [REDACTED]

(PROTECT IDENTITY) advised that STOKELY CARMICHAEL was coming to Seattle 4/18/67, that SNCC had requested rental of Garfield (high school) auditorium 4/18/67, but ~~XXXXXX~~ this request was refused.

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b7D

[REDACTED] made available a copy of the letter from Mrs. JOHN BUNDY, Chairman Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, 3238 1/2 Eastlake E, Seattle, 3/9/67 and the letter of refusal, 3/17/67.

This data is attached.

jlk
(2)

cc: 100-28676 (Carmichael)

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DATE 11-10-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STW/SZ

100-28676-16
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SERIALIZED..... FILED.....

MAR 22 1967

FBI - SEATTLE

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SEATTLE PUBLIC SCHOOLS
Administrative and Service Center
815 Fourth Avenue North
Seattle, Washington 98109

March 17, 1967

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Mrs. John Bundy
3258 1/2 Eastlake East
Seattle, Washington

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-10-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

Dear Mrs. Bundy:

Re: Request for use of Garfield High School

Your request for the use of the Garfield High School auditorium for a lecture by Mr. Stokely Carmichael has been given careful consideration by the School District administration and the School Board.

We all know that Mr. Carmichael has become and is growing as a controversial figure. Although we may sympathize with his basic purposes to improve the standard of the Negro people, we find extreme conflict with his procedures and recent actions regarding national problems.

An official School Board regulation regarding the rental of school properties provides that "Permits will not be granted for any meeting which, in the judgment of the Board of Education, may be in any way prejudicial to the best interests of the schools or the educational system, or for which satisfactory sponsorship is not provided."

We are apprehensive that Mr. Carmichael's speaking in one of our schools would be construed by the opposition as an endorsement of Mr. Carmichael and that statements which he should make may develop and aggravate tensions detrimental to the best interests of the community and the schools.

For these reasons we feel it unwise to grant permission for the use of Garfield High School for the appearance of Stokely Carmichael.

Yours very truly,

/s/

Frank M. Brock,
Secretary

FMB:md

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3238 1/2 Eastlake East
Seattle, Washington
9 March 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-10-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

Mr. Walter Larsen
Seattle Public Schools
810 Dexter Avenue North
Seattle, Washington 98109

Dear Mr. Larsen:

I am writing to you at the suggestion of Mrs. Jensen regarding rental of Garfield Auditorium for the evening of Tuesday, April 18th, from 7:30 to 10:30 p.m. The SNCC membership in Seattle is bringing Mr. Stokely Carmichael here to speak at a rally.

While no one will deny that Mr. Carmichael is a controversial figure, as Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee he represents one of the most discussed currents in the civil rights movement today. With a few notable and laudable exceptions, the mass communications media have distorted SNCC's position and proposed strategy for the civil rights movement.

It is important that the residents of the Central Area be given the opportunity to hear Mr. Carmichael himself explain SNCC's position and to question and challenge him in person. We certainly do not expect all those who hear Mr. Carmichael's speech to agree with him and I am sure the question and answer period after his speech will be very stimulating. By allowing Mr. Carmichael to speak in Garfield Auditorium, where he can communicate directly with the audience and advance and defend SNCC's position, the administration of the Seattle School System will be making a great contribution to an intrinsic part of any educational process--the free exchange of ideas and opinions.

Because of the pressure of time in the planning of this event, I would appreciate a prompt reply from you. Would you please send a copy of your reply to our secretary, Mrs. Barry Adam, also.

Sincerely,

/s/

(Mrs.) John Bundy
Chairman, SNCC

100-0-48296

Vice Chairman

Secretary - 714 24th East - Seattle, Wn. 98102

Assistant Secretary

Treasurer

100-28115 > CAN'T TELL w
PROB IDENT

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SAC, SEATTLE (100-26956)

3/22/67

SA [REDACTED]

COMINFIL SNCC
Racial Matters

On 3/22/67 [REDACTED]

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jlk
(2)

cc: 100-28676 (Carmichael)

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DATE 11-10-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/ST

100-28676-10
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SEATTLE PUBLIC SCHOOLS
Administrative and Service Center
815 Fourth Avenue North
Seattle, Washington 98109

March 17, 1967

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/s/

(Mrs.) John Bundy
Chairman, SNCC

Vice Chairman
Secretary - 714 24th East - Seattle, Wn. 98102
Assistant Secretary
Treasurer

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b7C

TO: SAC, SEATTLE (100-19057)
FROM: SA [redacted]
SUBJECT: [redacted]

3/8/67

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Date received 3/8/67	Received from (name or symbol number) [redacted] b2 b7D	Received by SA [redacted]
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Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks)

☒ in person ☐ by telephone ☐ by mail ☐ orally ☐ recording device ☒ written by Informant

b6
b7C

If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent:

Date

Dictated _____ to _____

Transcribed _____

Authenticated
by Informant _____

Date of Report

3/5/67

Date(s) of activity

3/5/67

b6
b7C
b7D

Brief description of activity or material

Telephone conversation with [redacted]
Spokane, Washington.

File where original is located if not attached

[redacted]

Remarks: ACTION: None.

b2
b7D

1 - 100-19057

cc: [redacted]

5 100-0-46443 (COMMITTEE FOR PEACE IN VIETNAM)
100-27547 (VIDEM-CONTROL)(INFO)
100-26956 (S.N.C.G.)
100-0-47148 [redacted]
157-491- [redacted]
5 100-28676 (STOKLEY CARMICHAEL)

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SLH/ajs DATE 11-10-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

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Block Stamp

100-28676-17

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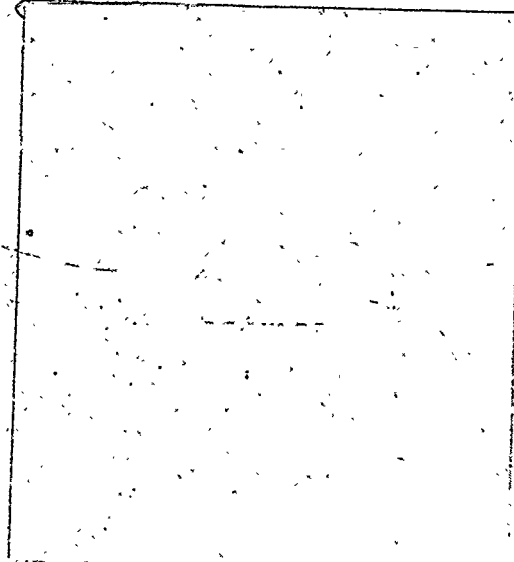
Spokane, Washington
March 5, 1967

March 5, 1967
Telephone

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b7C
b7D

[redacted] said that Edward Keating, editor of Ramparts, will speak at the Kennedy Pavilion next Tuesday at 8 P.M. He is being sponsored by the Town and Gown Forum of Gonzaga University. He said that as many people as possible should be notified of the meeting. [redacted] said that communications among the Liberals are lousy. He said that Stokley Carmichael was on the West Coast only a month or so ago. Now he is making another to Seattle all the way from Georgia. Evelyn Marshall is coming with him. He will be in Seattle in the middle of April and is also scheduled to speak in Ellensburg at Central Washington State College. Eastern Washington State College is trying to get him on the same tour. [redacted] said that the Committee for Peace in Vietnam meeting are too sterile. He said it is just a rehash each time. He did not get a reply to his letter to the Coordinating Committee about films on Vietnam. He suggested going to the Vis a Vis meetings which are held each Friday and Saturday. He said we have to go where the crowd is or else become isolated. The publications he has been receiving are too repetitious.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-10-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC, SEATTLE (100-28676)

DATE: 3/22/67

FROM : SA [REDACTED]

b6
b7C

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INFORMATION CONCERNING

b2
b6
b7C
b7D

On 3/22/67 [REDACTED] orally advised that he had learned that day from [REDACTED] Seattle, Washington, that STOKELY CARMICHAEL will arrive in Seattle on 4/18/67 and will be here one week. Subject will give at least one talk that the source knows of, but source does not know the subject matter thereof.

Subject will stay at [REDACTED] and source learned further that subject is being sponsored by SNCC. Source said he would donate a chicken to [REDACTED] to help feed CARMICHAEL.

b6
b7C

[REDACTED] said that maybe subject will talk at Washington Hall.

Source also learned that on Saturday, 3/25/67 there will be a fund raising affair for the subject at 2022-32d Avenue South, Seattle. He will try to go. (This is the address for [REDACTED])

1-100-28676 ✓

1-100-28183 [REDACTED]

1-100-26956 (SNCC)

1-100-20248 [REDACTED]

1- [REDACTED]

CNG:

(5)

b2
b6
b7C
b7D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-10-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

100-28676-18

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAR 23 1967	
FBI - SEATTLE	



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC, SEATTLE (100-28676)

DATE: 3/23/67

FROM : SA [REDACTED]

b6
b7C

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
SM-C

Re memo SA [REDACTED] 3/22/67.

On 3/23/67 [REDACTED] orally advised that STOKELY CARMICHAEL, who will arrive in Seattle on 4/18/67, will speak in Rev. ADAMS' church, because no hall could be rented. Subject is being sponsored by SNCC.

b2
b7D

Source advised that some Negroes do not want subject to come to Seattle, because he is nothing but trouble.

① 100-28676

1- [REDACTED]
1-100-26956 (SNCC)

1-100-27730 [REDACTED]

CNG:
(4)

b2
b6
b7C
b7D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-10-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

100-28676-19

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAR 23 1967	
FBI - SEATTLE	



3/23/67

AIRTEL

AIRMAIL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-433199)
FROM: SAC, SEATTLE (100-26956) (P)
SUBJECT: COMINFIL (SMCC)
IS - C
OO: ATLANTA

Enclosed herewith are nine (9) copies of LHM
entitled "STOKELY CARMICHAEL - INFORMATION CONCERNING".

Sources utilized are identified as follows:

First source is [REDACTED]

b6
b7C
b7D

Second source is [REDACTED]

Copies will be disseminated locally to Army, NISD,
OSI, Secret Service and the NSA.

As ordered in Bureau airtel to Albany, 2/29/66,
discreet coverage of CARMICHAEL will be afforded should he
appear in Seattle and the Bureau will be advised of all
pertinent developments.

Discreet investigation being conducted to ascertain
officers of Seattle SMCC group and to determine extent, if
any, Cominfil.

For information of Bureau, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] engaged in
civil rights projects in the south. They have both been active

b6
b7C

- 3 - Bureau (Encl. 9) (REG)
- 2 - Atlanta (100-5469) (Encl. 2) (REG)
- ③ - Seattle (2 - 100-26956) *ml*
(1 - 100-28676)

WHD:cmh
(8)

100-28676-20

SE 100-26956

in legitimate civil rights activities since their return to the Seattle area, and neither have been reported involved with subversive groups to date.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Seattle, Washington

March 23, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INFORMATION CONCERNING

On March 22, 1967, a source advised that Mrs. JOHN BUNDY, Chairman, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), 3238 1/2 Eastlake East, Seattle, Washington, had recently attempted to arrange rental of the Garfield High School auditorium in Seattle for the evening of April 18, 1967. Mrs. BUNDY advised representatives of the Seattle Public School System that the auditorium was to be used for a rally at which STOKELY CARMICHAEL, National Chairman of SNCC, would be the principal speaker. This source advised that Mrs. BUNDY's request was denied.

A second source advised that a STOKELY CARMICHAEL fund raising dinner was being planned in the Seattle area for March 25, 1967, with a rally featuring STOKELY CARMICHAEL, tentatively scheduled for April 18, 1967, at the First A.M.E. Church, 1522 14th, Seattle, Washington.

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), with national headquarters at 360-362 Nelson Street Southwest, Atlanta, Georgia, is an organization involved in civil rights activities.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-10-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

United States Department of Justice
Federal Bureau of Investigation

Seattle, Washington
March 23, 1967

Mr. Eugene G. Cushing
United States Attorney
United States Court House
Seattle, WASHINGTON 98104

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INFORMATION CONCERNING

Dear Sir:

For your information, I am enclosing communications
which may be of interest to you.

Very truly yours,

J. E. MILLER
Special Agent in Charge

Enc.

1 (REG)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-10-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

United States Department of Justice
Federal Bureau of Investigation

Seattle, Washington
March 23, 1967

Mr. Elmer W. Moore
Special Agent in Charge
U.S. Secret Service
U.S. Treasury Department
220 U.S. Court House
Seattle, Washington 98104

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INFORMATION CONCERNING

Dear Sir:

For your information, I am enclosing communications
which may be of interest to you.

Very truly yours,

J. F. MILNES
Special Agent in Charge

Enc.

1 (REG)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-10-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

100-28676-206

United States Department of Justice
Federal Bureau of Investigation

Seattle, Washington
March 23, 1967

Lt. Col. Ralph R. Bayer
District Commander
Office of Special Investigations
20th District Headquarters
McChord Air Force Base,
Washington

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INFORMATION CONCERNING

Dear Sir:

For your information, I am enclosing communications
which may be of interest to you.

Very truly yours,

J. E. MILNES
Special Agent in Charge

Enc. 1 (REG)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-10-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

United States Department of Justice
Federal Bureau of Investigation

Seattle, Washington
March 23, 1967

Captain E. B. Martin
Commanding Officer
Naval Investigative Service Office
Building 9, Naval Air Station
Seattle, Washington 98115

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INFORMATION CONCERNING

Dear Sir:

For your information, I am enclosing communications
which may be of interest to you.

Very truly yours,

J. F. MILNES
Special Agent in Charge

Enc.

1 (REG)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-10-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

100-28676-205
(d)

United States Department of Justice
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Seattle, Washington
March 23, 1967

Major Raymond J. Auzias de Turenne
Regional Commander,
Region III, 115th MIG
Fort Lawton
Seattle, Washington

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INFORMATION CONCERNING

Dear Sir:

For your information, I am enclosing communications
which may be of interest to you.

Very truly yours,

J. E. MILNES
Special Agent in Charge

Enc. 1 (REG)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-10-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC, SEATTLE (100-26956)

DATE: 3/24/67

FROM : SA, [REDACTED]

b6
b7C

SUBJECT: STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING
COMMITTEE (SNCC)
IS-C

On 3/23/67, Lt. [REDACTED] Community Relations Unit, Police Department, Seattle, Washington, made available the attached information. This shows that STOKLEY CARMICHAEL will be in Seattle April 18, 1967. Also that a fund raising party will be held 3/25/67 at 2022 32nd Ave. South, Seattle, which is the address of [REDACTED]

b6
b7C

LKS:ls (6)

100-28676 (STOKLEY CARMICHAEL)
100-20248 [REDACTED]
100-21086 [REDACTED]
100-28115 [REDACTED]
100-21798 (NEGRO VOTERS LEAGUE)

b6
b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-10-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ



5010-108

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

100-28676-21

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAR 24 1967	
FBI - SEATTLE	

1.11
21.19

INTRA-DEPARTMENT COMMUNICATION

SEATTLE POLICE DEPARTMENT

FROM

S. K. Fridell & R. Short, Intelligence

DATE 3-22-67

TO

Lt. [REDACTED]

b6
b7C

SUBJECT

STOKELEY CARMICHAEL

The latest planning regarding STOKLEY CARMICHAEL is to have him arrive in Seattle on April 18, 1967. Since he has been turned down on the use of Garfield High School he will be in town for four or five hours. There will be a cocktail party which is by formal invitation only, a copy of which is attached. They are asking for five dollars donation for each invitation. There will also be a dance to follow his appearance, but dance information will be first announced at the cocktail party.

He is being sponsored by the following two organizations which are just being formed:

Now S.N.C.C. which has four members, and the Negro Voters League which has five members.

2022 32nd Ave. is the residence of [REDACTED] who moved into this address on 7-1-66. [REDACTED]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-12-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

Enc.

cc: Chief F. C. Ramon
Asst. Chief M. E. Cook
Insp. [REDACTED]
Deputy Chief G. A. Rouse
SNCC File, Intelligence Unit
FDI [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] U. of W. Police
Community Relations Unit

STUDENT NON VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

AND

THE NEGRO VOTERS LEAGUE

WILL PRESENT

ON APRIL 18, 1967



STOKELY CARMICHAEL

WE ARE HAVING A PARTY ——— YOU ARE INVITED TO A FUN(D) RAISING PARTY

9 UNTIL ——— MARCH 25, 1967

AT ——— 2022 32nd AVENUE SOUTH

HELP

HELP

HELP

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-12-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

PLEASE SEND CONTRIBUTIONS TO:

FLO WARE, NVL
1115 - 14th Avenue
Seattle, Washington 98122

OR

MADLYNE F. SCOTT, SNCC
3238 Eastlake Ave. East
Seattle, Washington 98102

THANKS

THANKS

THANKS

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-12-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

TO : SAC, SEATTLE (100-26956)

DATE: 3/21/67

FROM : sa, [REDACTED]

b6
b7C

SUBJECT: COMINFIL SNCC
Racial Matters

On 3/17/67 [REDACTED] stated that STOKELY CARMICHAEL may appear in the Seattle area on April 18, 1967. She went on to state that a local group was formed for this purpose and an attempt will be made to obtain Garfield High School auditorium for this purpose. She said that she will attempt to obtain more definite information as this is in the planning stages.

b6
b7C
b7D

On 3/20/67 [REDACTED] advised that the local group claims to be a chapter of SNCC with Mrs. JOHN BUNDY, Chairman; [REDACTED] Vice Chairman; [REDACTED] Secretary; [REDACTED] Assistant Secretary; and, [REDACTED] Treasurer. Mrs. BUNDY wrote a letter to the Seattle Public Schools to obtain Garfield for April 18th.

On 3/21/67 [REDACTED] said that the present plans are to have CARMICHAEL speak at the 1st A.M.E. church on April 18th as they were refused the Garfield High School.

CC [REDACTED]

157-359

100-28676 (STOKELY CARMICHAEL)

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~

100-

100-0-46168

100-

100-0-45458

100-28115

100-26956 (S.N.C.C.)

b2
b6
b7C
b7D

100-28676-22

SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED

MAR 22 1967

FBI - SEATTLE



5010-104

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

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DATE 11-12-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Black Power Hands School 'Hot Potato'— Carmichael At Garfield? No! Maybe

BY ROBERT COUR

Seattle school officials may back down on a decision not to let "Black Power" advocate Stokeley Carmichael speak in the Garfield High School auditorium April 19.

Back down, that is, from a decision the district's public information staff says hasn't been made.

Puzzling? A scholarly "yes" to that question.

IT WAS SHADES of Dr. Timothy Leary versus the Seattle City Council all over again.

The new hot potato found just about everyone concerned running for cover. "No comment" was the order of the day Friday.

Mrs. John Bundy, chairman of the Seattle Chapter of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, of which Carmichael is the militant national head, requested use of Garfield's auditorium from the Seattle School Board.

A school spokesman Friday said no decision had been reached.

Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

1 SEATTLE POST
INTELLIGENCER
Seattle, Washington

Date: 4-1-67
Edition: Sunrise
Author:
Editor:
Title: COMINFIL (SNCC)

Character:

or IS - C

Classification:

Submitting Office: Seattle

☐ Being Investigated100-28676
COPY SENT TO BUREAU

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
APR 1 1967	
FBI - SEATTLE	

100-28676-24

BUT MRS. BUNDY, the only person talking — and she very little — said she had received a formal letter rejecting her request. The letter read in part:

"Although we may sympathize with his (Carmichael's) basic purposes to improve the standards of the Negro people, we find extreme conflict with his procedure and recent actions regarding national problems . . .

"We are apprehensive that Mr. Carmichael speaking in one of our schools would be misconstrued by the opposition as an endorsement of Mr. Carmichael and that statements which he should make may develop and aggravate tensions detrimental to the best interests of the community and the schools."

The board did not spell out who the "opposition" might be.

MRS. BUNDY, after receiving the rejection, went to the board last Wednesday accompanied by an attorney and The Rev. John Adams, civil rights leader of many a skirmish. Adams reportedly acted as conciliator during the meeting.

Mrs. Bundy said the board and Superintendent Forbes Bottomly indicated that she would get an answer Friday.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-12-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

Carmichael's Use of School Left to Board

Prosecutor Charles O. Carroll today left it to the School Board as to whether Stokely Carmichael, controversial head of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, should speak at Garfield High School.

In an opinion for the School Board, Carroll said use of school premises for public meetings should be on a non-discriminatory basis. But, he added, the board is justified in denying its use on reasonable grounds.

The School Board delayed its decision on renting the school auditorium for a speech by Carmichael April 19 until it had received Carroll's opinion.

Carmichael, advocate of "black power," is being sponsored by the Seattle Chapter of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the Negro Voters League.

Carroll said the board could deny the request "if the board has reasonable grounds to believe that the high-school auditorium will be used to advocate violence or other criminal activity or that its use will in any way be prejudicial to the best interests of the district or in conflict with the school program."

Earlier the School Board told Mrs. John Bundy, chair-

man of the Seattle S. N. C. C. Chapter, that it would not rent the auditorium but it agreed to reconsider when Raymond E. Brown, attorney, raised the question of free speech.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

SEATTLE TIMES

APR - 1 1967

PAGE 32 COL 1

Date:

Edition:

Author:

Editor:

Title: **STOKELY CARMICHAEL**

Character:

or

Classification:

100-28676-25

Submitting Office: **Seattle**

☐ Being Investigated

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SEARCHED.....INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....FILED.....

APR - 3 1967

FBI - SEATTLE

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

The School Board Erred on Two Counts

THE Seattle School Board's decision to deny use of meeting space at Garfield High School to Stokely Carmichael is, in our opinion, unwise on two counts:

1. The decision runs counter to the basic concept of unrestrictive free speech; the ban constitutes discrimination against Carmichael, head of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, because of his radical viewpoints; and the School Board has put itself in a position of censuring what may or may not be advocated from a school platform during nonschool hours.

2. The board has provided Carmichael an aura of public interest he would not have had if the School Board had routinely approved the application

to make his principal Seattle appearance at the high school.

Radical zealots of Carmichael's stripe, of course, thrive on adversities of the variety provided by the School Board; in fact it is entirely possible that the application for use of the high school was motivated in part to put the School Board squarely on the spot and create a community controversy for the purpose of attracting wide attention to his appearance here and the views he espouses.

In short, it looks to us as though the School Board played into Carmichael's hands, unwittingly giving him a wider and more attentive audience than he would have received if the application had been approved routinely.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

SEATTLE TIMES

APR - 4 1967

PAGE 10 COL 1

Date:

Edition:

Author:

Editor:

Title: COMINFIL (SNCC)

Character: IS - C

or

Classification:

Submitting Office:

☐ Being Investigated

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DATE 11-12-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

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SERIALIZED.....

APR - 4 1967

FBI - SEATTLE

100-28676-26

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Carmichael Decision Left to School Board

BY ROBERT COUR

King County Prosecutor Charles O. Carroll Monday passed the Stokeley Carmichael controversy back to the Seattle School Board.

The board first denied the use of Garfield High School's auditorium for a Carmichael speech on April 19, then after his local supporters protested, asked Prosecutor Carroll for legal advice.

CARMICHAEL is national chairman of the Student Non - Violent Coordinating Committee and preaches "Black Power" and "Black Consciousness." Mrs. John Bundy, Seattle chapter chairman, was denied use of the auditorium but asked the board to reconsider its decision last Wednesday.

Prosecutor Carroll, in his legal opinion, told school officials that use of buildings

must be on a non-discriminatory basis.

However, Carroll added, that if the board had grounds to believe the auditorium will be used "to advocate violence or other criminal activity" it would be justified in rejecting the request.

CARMICHAEL has already been given permission to speak at Central Washington State College

during the same week he wishes to talk here.

The total effect of Carroll's opinion was to leave Mrs. Bundy's request entirely up to the board. A school spokesman said no decision had been made by late Monday.

Mrs. Bundy said Carmichael would speak on "Black Power" at a rally open to the public. No admission will be charged, she said.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

SEATTLE POST
INTELLIGENCER
APR - 4 1967
PAGE 38 COL 1

Date:
Edition:
Author:
Editor:
Title: COMINFIL (SNCC)

Character: IS - C
or

Classification:

Submitting Office:

☐ Being Investigated

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-12-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

100-28676-27
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SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED

APR - 4 1967

FBI - SEATTLE

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-12-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

Board Retains Ban On Carmichael at Garfield

(For editorial comment,
see Page 10.)

By CONSTANTINE ANGELOS
Education Editor, The Times

The Seattle School Board today announced it will stand on its decision to deny use of Garfield High School April 19 for a speech by Stokely Carmichael, controversial head of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

The American Civil Liberties Union of Washington announced that it will go into Superior Court for a show-cause mandamus action to try to require the school board to rent the facility for the Carmichael speech.

Michael H. Rosen, A. C. L. U. staff attorney, said the action will be sought on grounds that the denial is an unconstitutional infringement of the right of free speech.

The board acted after receiving an opinion from Prosecutor Charles O. Carroll yesterday and because the Seattle Chapter of S. N. C. C. had refused to permit

a panel to appear on the same program with Carmichael to react to his comments and present other views, a board statement said.

CARROLL HAD informed the board that school facilities for public meetings should be on a nondiscriminatory basis, but the board was justified in denying such use on reasonable grounds.

"We feel that if a public school were to be used by a controversial figure such as Mr. Carmichael, then a full discussion of all related views should be heard," Dr. Robert A. Tidwell, board president, said.

Carmichael's appearance here is sponsored by the Seattle S. N. C. C. chapter and the Negro Voters' League. Carmichael is an advocate of "black power."

THE REQUEST for use of the Garfield auditorium was made by Mrs. John Bundy, chairman of the S. N. C. C. chapter here on March 15.

The prosecutor's opinion was sought after Raymond

E. Brown, attorney, and representatives of civil-rights organizations Wednesday asked the board to reconsider on legal grounds.

Brown had argued that the right of free speech requires the rental of the facilities to all equally since the board had rented its facilities previously for public meetings.

The committee had asked to rent the Garfield auditorium between 7:30 and 10:30 o'clock the night of April 19.

BROWN, REQUESTED by the A. C. L. U. to represent S. N. C. C., said there were other board conditions than the one in the board's public statement.

The attorney said these included board selection of the panel to rebut Carmichael and the requirement that there be "broader community support in sponsorship" from "grassroots organizations which would not include the Congress on Racial Equality or the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People."

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

SEATTLE TIMES

APR - 4 1967

PAGE 1 COL 6

Date:

Edition:

Author:

Editor:

Title: COMINFIL (SNCC)

Character:

or IS - C

Classification:

Submitting Office:

☐ Being Investigated

COPY SENT TO

SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED

APR - 4 1967

FBI - SEATTLE

100-28676-28

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

ACLU Backs Carmichael

BY ROBERT COUR

The American Civil Liberties Union of Washington will ask a King County Superior Court judge to void the Seattle School Board's decision of Tuesday not to allow "Black Power" advocate Stokely Carmichael to speak at Garfield High School.

The Board declined a request of the Seattle Chapter of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee for the use of Garfield's auditorium April 19.

MICHAEL Rosen, ACLU staff counsel, said the legal action probably would be in the form of seeking a writ of mandamus to set aside the School Board's decision.

ACLU intervention into the controversy came Tuesday afternoon and at the request of Mrs. John Bundy, local chairman of SNCC, of which Carmichael is national chairman, and Cliff Hooper of the Negro Voters League.

At a press conference, Mrs. Bundy said she was "disappointed" at the refusal but added:

"I'm confident that Mr. Carmichael will speak in Seattle."

THE SCHOOL Board, in rejecting Mrs. Bundy's request, cited an opinion by King County Prosecutor Charles O. Carroll and the refusal of the local chapter of SNCC to accept certain conditions.

School officials termed Carroll's opinion as uphold-

ing the Board's right to withhold use of the auditorium and said Carmichael supporters had rejected a decision as in the City Council's refusal to allow Dr. Timothy Leary use of the Seattle Center.

Board President Dr. Robert Tidwell said:

"We feel that if a public school were to be used by a controversial figure such as Carmichael, then a full discussion of all related views should be heard."

But Raymond E. Brown, cooperating attorney for the ACLU, said the Board had insisted on selecting the panel and had ruled out such organizations as CORE and NAACP as not representing "grass roots" elements taking part in the rally.

CARMICHAEL will speak at Central Washington State College on April 20 and 21.

Henry Schroerluke, ACLU executive director, said the school board had rented its facilities to others outside school hours and the fact that Stokely Carmichael may be objectionable to certain segments of the Seattle community is not sufficient reason to deny him a forum.

Attorney Brown said he felt that any proprietary

rights the board might claim to school property is less valid in the Carmichael case than in the City Council's refusal to allow Dr. Timothy Leary use of the Seattle Center.

The Leary case is "far from closed," added Brown. Mrs. Bundy and Hooper said cost of Garfield for four hours would be \$117

whereas other possible speech sites would cost much more. They said Carmichael supporters had limited funds to pay for a place for him to speak.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

SEATTLE POST
INTELLIGENCER

APR - 5 1967

PAGE 2 COL 2

Date:

Edition:

Author:

Editor:

Title: STOKELY
CARMICHAEL

Character:

or

Classification: 100-28676-

Submitting Office: Seattle

☐ Being Investigated

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SERIALIZED.....FILED.....

APR - 4 1967

FBI - SEATTLE



THESE PEOPLE ANNOUNCED INTENTION TO ASK COURT TO OPEN SCHOOL DOORS TO BLACK-POWER ADVOCATE

From left are Raymond Brown, Cliff Hooper, Henry Schroerlücke, Mrs. John Bundy, and Michael Rosen.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Carmichael Offers to Make 2nd Appearance Here, at U. W.

Stokely Carmichael, controversial head of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, has offered to speak at the University of Washington before the evening talk April 19 that supporters are trying to arrange at Garfield High School.

The School Board yesterday stood by a former decision not to allow the "black power" advocate to rent the Garfield auditorium.

THE AMERICAN CIVIL Liberties Union of Washington then announced it would seek a show-cause mandamus action to try to force the board to rent the auditorium on grounds of violation of the right of free speech.

Billy M. Jackson, co-chairman of the S. N. C. C. chapter here, said Carmichael has offered to appear at the university that afternoon for his standard college appearance honorarium of \$1,000.

The Student Board of Control at the university may consider the Carmichael request at a first reading at its regular meeting today. The proposal requires two readings before a vote. The next meeting would be Wednesday,

a week before Carmichael's scheduled arrival in Seattle.

THE SCHOOL Board denied the rental of the auditorium because S. N. C. C. representatives refused to accept certain conditions, including a panel to reply to Carmichael's remarks.

The board action followed

an opinion by Prosecutor Charles O. Carroll that the board should make its facilities available for public meetings on a nondiscriminatory basis, but that it had the right to refuse such use on reasonable grounds.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

SEATTLE TIMES

APR - 5 1967

PAGE 13 COL 5

Date:

Edition:

Author:

Editor:

Title: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Character:

or

Classification: 100-28676-30

Submitting Office: Seattle

☐ Being Investigated

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-12-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

COPY SENT TO BUREAU

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SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
APR - 5 1967	
FBI - SEATTLE	

SAC, SEATTLE (100-26956) ← (SNCC FILE)

4/5/67

SA [REDACTED]

SNCC

b6
b7C

Re → STOKELY CARMICHAEL
SM - C

The April 2, 1967, Sunday edition of the Yakima Sunday Herald, page 1B, contained an article reflecting that STOKELY CARMICHAEL, Chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, would be one of the principal speakers at a symposium being held at CWSC April 19 - 22, 1967.

Bureau instructions require that discreet coverage should be afforded any appearance by CARMICHAEL and accordingly efforts should be made by the Yakima RA, through established sources not connected with CWSC, to obtain the following information:

LEAD

Yakima RA
At Ellensburg, Washington

1. Through established sources at the Ellensburg PD, or other sources not connected with CWSC, identify the group sponsoring CARMICHAEL's appearance.

2. Will determine the exact dates CARMICHAEL is scheduled to appear at CWSC.

3. Will determine where CARMICHAEL is supposed to stay during his appearance at CWSC or will obtain any other details concerning CARMICHAEL's appearance which would be of interest to other agencies.

100-26956 (SNCC)
WHW:cmh
(3) ① 100-28676 (STOKELY CARMICHAEL)

100-28676-31
ARCHED.....INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....FILED.....

APR 5 1967

FBI - SEATTLE

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

CWSC Symposium To Scan Civil Disobedience Forces

ELLENSBURG — The conditions and forces which stir human beings into civil disobedience, violence and revolution will be examined April 19-22 during the sixth annual Symposium on American Values at Central Washington State College.

The theme of revolution will be examined by five keynote speakers:

— Stokely Carmichael, chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

— Dr. Sidney Hook, chairman of the Department of Philosophy at New York University.

— Susan Sontag, author and critic.

— Dr. John Dyckman, chairman of the Center for Planning and Development Research at the University of California.

— Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien, regents and Schweitzer professor at New York University.

Dr. Hook will open the program at 8 p.m., April 19, with a discussion of "The Symbols, Myths and Rationale of Revolution." Believing that revolution is justified only when legitimate avenues of reform are not open, Dr. Hook will discuss the "legitimacy" of revolution.

Miss Sontag, whose writings on the arts and modern culture have appeared in such magazines as "Partisan Review," "Film Quarterly" and "Mademoiselle," will speak at a 9:30 a.m. session on April 20. She will examine how art may reflect and influence the mood of revolution.

Her talk on "Art and Revolution" will be followed at 1:30 p.m. by Dr. Dyckman's address on "Technology, Utopia and Revolution." Dr. Dyckman has contended that discontent and social unrest are common to urban areas, partly be-

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Page 1B

Yakima Sunday Herald

Yakima, Washington

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-12-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

Date: 4/2/67

Edition: Sunday

Author: Unknown

Editor: TOM THOMAS

Title: CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE
SYMPOSIUM. CWSC,
ELLENSBURG, WASH.

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office: Seattle

☐ Being Investigated

Copy sent to Bureau
100-281716-32
SEARCHED..... INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED..... FILED.....
APR 5 1967
FBI - SEATTLE

cause of the dehumanizing effects he sees in the modern city.

Dr. O'Brien, who will speak at 1:30 p.m. April 12, personally experienced revolution in Africa as a representative of the United Nations. His talk is entitled "Order, Justice and Revolution."

The final address by Carmichael is scheduled for 8 p.m. on April 21. Carmichael was specifically asked by the symposium planning committee to discuss revolution as he has experienced it. Carmichael has made headlines as a "Black Power" advocate.

Each of the major addresses will be in Nicholson Pavilion. Discussion, or colloquia, sessions will follow in seven campus locations.

The colloquia will be headed by a faculty member, a student and either by one of the keynote speakers or a guest commentator. The guest commentators will be Dr. Fred E. Stockholder, assistant professor of English at the University of British Columbia, and Fred T. Haley, president of the Brown and Haley Company in Tacoma.

Other related activities include symposium panels, featuring all five speakers, at 2:45 p.m. April 20 and again at 9:15 p.m. April 21. Also planned is a film program of "Castro Street" and "The War of the Buttons" and the student-produced "Zoo Story," by Edward Alee. The films and play will be Thursday and Saturday evenings during symposium week.



DR. SIDNEY HOOK



STOKELY CARMICHAEL



DR. JOHN DYCKMAN



DR. CONOR C. O'BRIEN



SUSAN SONTAG

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-12-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Right Decision, But Wrong Reason

The Seattle School Board, we believe, made the right decision in refusing to grant Stokely Carmichael use of the Garfield High School auditorium, but for the wrong reason.

In turning down the request of the Black Power advocate, the board based its action on unwillingness of Carmichael's sponsors, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, to accept rebuttal speakers on the same program. The attitude that every controversial speaker must be followed by someone of opposite views in a forensic balancing act is nonsensical.

There does seem to be justification, however, for a school board to deny use of a public high school auditorium to any radical who files a request.

A high school is an educational facility, not a public lecture hall. In accepting or rejecting speakers in public grade and secondary schools, either during or after school hours, a school board should weigh the educational value to the community it serves.

We think the board could have made a reasonable argument that a Stokely Carmichael talk isn't likely to contribute to the educational goals of the Seattle School District.

IT IS A FALSE analogy to equate the board's refusal to permit Carmichael use of a public school with the City Council's recent rejection of Dr. Timothy Leary as an Opera House speaker.

First, Leary, the crown prince of LSD advocacy, had a prior agreement for use of the Opera House. In the second place, the Opera House is a public lecture and theatrical facility, a school-house is not.

Thus we believe the Council violated the principle of free speech and made the wrong decision, while the school board did not abridge the right of free speech and made a proper decision. We only wish they'd come up with a better reason.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

SEATTLE POST
INTELLIGENCER
APR - 6 1967
PAGE 10 COL 1

Date:
Edition:
Author:
Editor:
Title: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Character:

or

Classification: 100-28676-33
Submitting Office: Seattle

☐ Being Investigated

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SERIALIZED.....FILED.....

APR - 6 1967

FBI - SEATTLE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 11-12-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Court Orders Hearing On Carmichael Ban

School officials were ordered Thursday to permit "Black Power" advocate Stokely Carmichael to speak at Garfield High School — or show cause in court Tuesday why he was banned.

Presiding Judge James Mifflin issued the alternative writ. He ordered the School Board to appear in Judge Frank James' court to explain denial of the auditorium to Carmichael.

THE COURT ACTION, in which Carmichael joined with local groups as plaintiffs, said the School Board is refusing to rent the Garfield auditorium to Carmichael for an April 19 lecture.

Carmichael contends the denial is an unconstitutional abridgement of the rights of freedom of speech and assembly.

The School Board previously expressed sympathy with Carmichael's basic premise "to improve the standards of the Negro people," but the board added:

"WE FIND EXTREME conflict with his procedure and recent actions regarding national problems."

Meantime, Carmichael may be invited to speak at the University of Washington.

A bill before the student government Board of Control Thursday asks appropriation of \$1,000 to pay Carmichael's speaking fee.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

SEATTLE POST
INTELLIGENCER

APR - 7 1967

PAGE 1 COL 3

Date:
Edition:
Author:
Editor:
Title: **STOKELY CARMICHAEL**

Character:

or

Classification: 100-28676-34
Submitting Office: Seattle

☐ Being Investigated

COPY SENT TO BUREAU
SEARCHED.....INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....FILED.....

APR - 7 1967

FBI - SEATTLE

TO: SAC, SEATTLE
(100-28676)

FROM: SA [REDACTED]

b6
b7C

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INFORMATION CONCERNING

44/3/67

Date received 3/23/67	Received from (name or symbol number) [REDACTED] b2 b7D	Received by SA [REDACTED]
Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks) ☒ in person ☐ by telephone ☒ by mail ☐ orally ☐ recording device ☒ written by Informant		

b6
b7C

If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent:

Date

Dictated _____ to _____

Transcribed _____

Authenticated
by Informant _____

Date of Report

3/22/67

Date(s) of activity

3/24/67

Brief description of activity or material

Information re fund raising for STOKELY CAR*
MICHAEL, on 3/24/67 at Seattle, Washington

File where original is located ~~if not attached~~

[REDACTED]

Remarks: Make Xerox copies for subject files.

b2
b7D

ACTION: None. Number 3 desk aware of planned Seattle trip.

1 - 100-28676 (STOKELY CARMICHAEL)

cc: [REDACTED]
100-26956 (S.N.C.C.)
100-28183 [REDACTED]

b2
b6
b7C
b7D

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CNG/ajs
(4)

Block Stamp

100-28676-38

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
APR 3 - 1967	
FBI - SEATTLE	

March 22, 1967.

Seattle, Washington.

What is Developing

Stokely Carmichael

He is due in Seattle for about a week's stay.

SNICK is getting him here.

Mrs. Daisy Boyetta, 1839-24th Avenue, East, has plans to let him stay at her residence.

A fund-raising affair is planned at 2227-35th S.
Saturday, 9pm, March 24th.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-12-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC, SEATTLE (100-28676)

DATE: 4/17/67

FROM : SA [REDACTED]

b6
b7C

SUBJECT: STOKLEY CARMICHAEL
SM - M

On 4/17/67 [REDACTED] orally advised SA [REDACTED] to pick up STOKLEY CARMICHAEL at the Sea-Tac Airport at 3:00 PM on 4/19/67 and take him immediately to the University of Washington where he is scheduled to speak at 3:30 PM [REDACTED] the University has raised the amount of payment for CARMICHAEL to \$500.00 from \$300.00 therefore he is going to make this appointment.

[REDACTED] stated that between speeches at the U of W and his 8:00 PM speech at Garfield High School, he will be either at the residence of Mrs. JOHN BUNDY or [REDACTED] After his speech at Garfield there will be a reception at the Pink Pussycat. He is going to stay the night of 4/19/67 at the home of MAURICE DAVIS, 5236 22nd N.E., Seattle, and will leave early in the morning, possibly by car, as he desires to be in Ellensburg by 9:00 AM for a speech and session of two days.

b6
b7C
b7D

Informant stated that CARMICHAEL may bring his secretary, Evelyn MARSHALL with him.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-12-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

1 - 100-28676 (STOKLEY CARMICHAEL)

cc: [REDACTED]

100-26956 (SNCC)
100-0-44579
100-19450
157-491
100-

Det'd

b2
b6
b7C
b7D

EKS
(7)

100-28676-39

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
APR 18 1967	
FBI - SEATTLE	



FBI SEATTLE

FBI TAMPA

112 AM URGENT 4/19/67

TO DIRECTOR, ST. LOUIS, SEATTLE, LOS ANGELES AND CHICAGO
FROM TAMPA (100-11103) 2PG

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-M, OO: ATLANTA

RE BU TEL CALL TO TP APRIL EIGHTEEN LAST AND TP TEL TO
BUREAU SAME DATE.

SUBJECT MADE TWO SPEECHES IN NEGRO SECTION, ST.
PETERSBURG, FLA EVENING OF APRIL EIGHTEEN. FIRST SPEECH
TO EIGHTEEN OR TWENTY PERSONS ON STREET AND NEXT TO SIX
HUNDRED TO SEVEN HUNDRED PERSONS ON STREET. NO INCIDENTS
REPORTED. SUBJECT ALSO ATTEMPTED TO VISIT JOSEPH WALLER,
JAILED ST. PETERSBURG STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING
COMMITTEE LEADER BUT POLICE AUTHORITIES ST. PETERSBURG DENIED
VISIT AS TUESDAY A NONDASH VISITORS DAY AT JAIL.

SUBJECT REFUSED TO BE INTERVIEWED BY CAUCASIAN REPORTERS
BUT DID INDICATE TO ONE HE WAS ENROUTE APRIL NINETEEN NEXT TO
QUOTE WEST COAST UNQUOTE WITH STOP IN ST. LOUIS. TO A LIFE
REPORTER. ACCORDING TO POLICE, SUBJECT STATED HE WAS TO ADDRESS
STUDENTS OF QUOTE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY UNQUOTE ON APRIL NINETEEN.
END PAGE ONE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-12-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

100-28676-40

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
APR 19 1967	
FBI - SEATTLE	

W. J. [signature]
4/19/67
PWA

b6
b7C

NEGRO CORRESPONDENT, ST. PETERSBURG TIMES DETERMINED FROM
CARMICHAEL DURING INTERVIEW THAT HE PLANS TO FLY "STRAIGHT TO
SEATTLE" EARLY MORNING OF 4/19. HE PLANS TO SPEAK TO THE "BLACK
COMMUNITY" IN SEATTLE THEN PROCEED TO WASHINGTON STATE COLLEGE
WHERE HE IS TO SPEAK AT A "SYMPOSIUM". WHEN HE LEAVES THE LATTER
HE PLANS TO PROCEED TO THE WATTS SECTION OF LOS ANGELES. INQUIRY
BY ST. PETERSBURG PD REVEALS NORTHWEST AIRLINES FLIGHT SEVEN TWO
NINE DEPARTS TAMPA NINE AM 4/19/67 TO SEATTLE VIA CHICAGO.
CONJECTURE IS THIS WOULD BE MOST LOGICAL FLIGHT FOR CARMICHAEL
EARLY 4/19/67.

ATLANTA AND CHICAGO ADVISED BY AM FOR INFORMATION.

END.

PJM

FBI SEATTLE

P

9/14/67

AIRTEL

AIRMAIL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439190)
FROM: SAC, SEATTLE (100-28956) (P)
SUBJECT: COMINTIL (SNCC)
IS - C
OO: ATLANTA

Re Seattle airtel to Bureau, 8/23/67.

Enclosed herewith are nine (9) copies of LHM
entitled "STOKELY CARMICHAEL - INFORMATION CONCERNING".

The first source utilized in this LHM is [redacted]
[redacted] who furnished the information to SA [redacted]
[redacted] on 8/14/67. Second source is [redacted]
[redacted] who
furnished information to SA [redacted] on 8/13/67.

b6
b7C
b7D

Copies of this LHM will be disseminated locally
to Army, NISG, OSI, Secret Service and the USA.

- 3 - Bureau (Encl. 9) (REG)
- 2 - Atlanta (100-6486) (Encl. 2) (REG)
- 4 - Seattle
 - (2 - 100-28956)
 - (1 - 100-28956) (STOKELY CARMICHAEL)
 - (1 - [redacted])

WHL:cmh
(9)

b2
b7D

100-28676-42



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Seattle, Washington

April 14, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INFORMATION CONCERNING

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-12-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

On April 14, 1967, a source advised that a ruling by the King County Superior Court reversed a previous decision by the Seattle Public School System to deny use of the Garfield High School auditorium for a speech by STOKELY CARMICHAEL, National Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL is now scheduled to speak at the Garfield High School auditorium beginning at 7:30 p.m. on Wednesday, April 19, 1967. A reception, honoring CARMICHAEL, is being held at the "Pink Pussycat", a Seattle, Washington, cocktail lounge, following his speech at Garfield High School.

The source advised that CARMICHAEL will arrive on a commercial flight scheduled to land in Seattle at 3 p.m., April 19, 1967. Definite arrangements have not been completed relative to where CARMICHAEL will stay during his visit, but it is believed he will stay in the private residence of one of the Seattle civil rights leaders.

On April 21, 1967, at 8 p.m., CARMICHAEL is scheduled for an appearance on the campus of Central Washington State College (CWSC), Ellensburg, Washington.

A second source said on April 13, 1967, CARMICHAEL's appearance at CWSC was arranged by the CWSC Student Government Association. He is one of five speakers scheduled to appear during the sixth annual "Symposium on American Values" April 19-22, 1967, for a discussion of "Revolution and the forces which stir human beings into civil disobedience, violence, and revolution." CARMICHAEL, and the other four speakers, will be speaking at Nicholson Pavilion, on the CWSC campus. CARMICHAEL will probably spend the night of April 21, 1967, at the Thunderbird Motel in Ellensburg, Washington.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

The first source states that CARMICHAEL has been invited to speak on the University of Washington campus, Seattle, Washington, however, the invitation to speak was accompanied by an offer of a \$300.00 fee. This source states that CARMICHAEL's usual appearance fee is \$1000.00, and it is questionable if he will appear at the University of Washington. He will receive the \$1000.00 fee for the appearance at CWSC and this is the primary purpose for his appearance in the State of Washington.

The first source states arrangements for CARMICHAEL's schedule have been handled by Mrs. JOHN BUNDY, Chairman, SNCC, 3238½ Eastlake East, Seattle, Washington.

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), with national headquarters at 360-362 Nelson Street Southwest, Atlanta, Georgia, is an organization involved in civil rights activities.



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Seattle, Washington
April 14, 1967

Title STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Character INFORMATION CONCERNING

Reference Communication dated and
captioned as above at
Seattle, Washington.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-12-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-12-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/ASZ

F B I

Date: 4/19/67

Transmit the following in PLAIN TEXT
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE DEFERRED
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM: SAC, SEATTLE (100-28676)
STOKELY CARMICHAEL; IS - M. OO:ATLANTA.

RE SE AIRTEL APRIL FOURTEEN LAST.

CARMICHAEL ARRIVED SEATTLE EARLY PM TODAY FOR SCHEDULED
SPEECHES AT UNIVERISTY OF WASHINGTON AND SNCC SPONSORED
APPEARANCE AT GARFIELD HIGH SCHOOL AUDITORIUM. SPEECH AT
EIGHT PM BEFORE RACIALLY MIXED CROWD OF THIRTY FIVE HUNDRED
AT GARFIELD HIGH WARNED OF CONTINUED RACIAL TROUBLES IF NEGROES
CONTINUE TO RECEIVE ILL TREATMENT. URGED NEGROES TO FIGHT BACK.
COMMENTS GNERALLY DEVOID OF REFERENCES TO VIETNAM, DRAFT,
GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS AND RELIGION. SPEECH WAS EMOTIONAL AND
GENERALLY WELL RECEIVED. NO INCIDENTS REPORTED. LHM FOLLOWS.
AM COPY TO ATLANTA.

WHW:kny
(2)
AM copy to ATLANTA

100-28676-43

Approved: Jan/ww

Special Agent in Charge

Sent 1127 MPer Kny

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-12-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

SNCC Snubbed

By MIKE STEWARD

A decision two weeks ago by the Seattle School Board not to allow Stokeley Carmichael, controversial head of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), to give a public speech in the Garfield High School auditorium smacks of the City Council-Tim Leary debacle.

In a letter to Mrs. John Bundy, local SNCC leader who originally asked the board to let Carmichael use the auditorium, the board explained its decision as follows:

"Although we may sympathize with his (Carmichael's) basic purposes to improve the standard of the Negro people, we find extreme conflict with his procedure and recent actions regarding national problems.

"An official school board regulation regarding the rental of school properties provides that permits will not be granted for any meeting which in the judgment of the Board of Education may be in any way prejudicial to the best interests of the schools or the educational system or for which satisfactory sponsorship is not provided.

"We are apprehensive that Mr. Carmichael speaking in one of our schools would be misconstrued by the opposition as an endorsement of Mr. Carmichael and that statements which he should make may develop and aggravate tensions detrimental to the best interests of the community and the schools."

Forbes Bottomly, superintendent of Seattle schools, told this writer Tuesday the board had two basic reasons for their decision. First, he said, they didn't believe the loosely-knit local SNCC organization would have been an adequate sponsor for Carmichael's appearance.

The second reason, which he emphasized the most, as did the letter sent Mrs. Bundy, was that the board feared it would raise adverse community reaction to current school system programs to ease racial tensions if they let Carmichael use the auditorium.

These programs include the voluntary transfer program, a plan through which extra funds and teachers are pumped into schools with large numbers of deprived youngsters, and an in-service project for teachers and administrators to instruct them on the school problems arising from poverty and racial discrimination.

These programs have been carefully constructed over several years and certainly deserve encouragement.

But we think the School Board has underestimated the capabilities of Seattle citizens to distinguish between its allowing Carmichael to use the school's auditorium for a public speech and its endorsing him.

Consequently, they may have taken an unnecessary step to protect their programs which has the end effect of tending to suppress public discussion about civil rights, "Black Power," and SNCC.

Since Carmichael won't speak in the school there will be no way to test our conclusion. However, we think it would have been better to take the risk of adverse public opinion rather than to add to Seattle officialdom's record of suppressing controversial speakers.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

3 UNIVERSITY OF
WASHINGTON DAILY
Seattle, Washington

Date: 3-29-67

Edition: Campus

Author:

Editor:

Title:

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office: Seattle

☐ Being Investigated

100-286716-444

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED 512	FILED 512
APR 13 1967	
FBI - SEATTLE	

Our nominee for the most mangled news story of last week goes to the courage given the beach beer blast in Ft. Lauderdale, Fla.

Apparently not realizing that college students aren't the only ones who like to down a cold one now and then, the wire services turned out daily dispatches from the Florida city telling how college students were boozing, brawling and otherwise being boisterous.

Headline writers at Seattle's other morning newspaper added the final touches to these orgy stories with headlines guaranteed to set off an epidemic of apoplexy in little old ladies.

"Students Hurl Cans, Curses at Beach Police" and "Students Run Wild in Florida" were P-I. headlines over dispatches from Ft. Lauderdale last weekend.

But lo and behold, when the itzy-bitsy bikini blondes left the beach on Sunday the wire service reporters there were apparently once more able to concentrate on their jobs. In a wrap-up story composed of stories from both the Associated Press and United Press International that was published in Monday morning's P-I, a reporter wrote:

"It was ironic. Most of those arrested were not college students. The bad guys included local businessmen, a vast mob of high school students, servicemen and even newsmen. But it was the college students who won the reputation."

That wasn't the extent of the irony, however. The four-column, inch-high headline splashed across the story in the P-I, read, "College Beach Ball Rolls to Stop."

Oh, hum.

* * * *

Next month Congress will take another look at Selective Service rules to decide whether they will change the present law that expires June 30.

If a recent comment made on the House floor by the chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, Rep. L. Mendel Rivers (D.-S.C.), is representative of Congressional thinking, we have little hope that any action they may decide to take will make much sense.

Chastizing the Howard University students who last week demonstrated against the draft during a campus appearance of Selective Service Director Gen. Lewis Hershey, Rivers said "college deferments may become a thing of the past" if such demonstrations continue. He called his statement a "fair warning to every college student."

Rivers appears to us to have lost all sight of what Selective Service is supposed to accomplish. Rather than seeing it as a means for providing the nation with an army, Rivers apparently views the draft as an instrument of the state to punish those who would exercise their right to protest a government policy.

Ironically, it was the same Rivers who told a "National Observer" reporter this week that most of the letters coming to him concerning the draft law show "no understanding of the draft system and its purpose for national security."

Mr. Rivers, we fear, is as poorly informed about the purposes of Selective Service as he claims his constituents are.

We hope his colleagues can straighten out his thinking before Congress begins consideration of the draft rules.

SAC, SEATTLE (100-27603)

b6
b7C

4-3-67

FROM: SA [REDACTED]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-12-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

RE: SEATTLE CONTI. TO END WAR IN VIETNAM

Date received 3-31-67	Received from (name or symbol number) [REDACTED] b2 b7D	Received by SA [REDACTED]
Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks) ☒ in person ☐ by telephone ☐ by mail ☐ orally ☐ recording device ☐ written by Informant		

If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent:

Date

Dictated _____ to _____

Transcribed _____

Authenticated
by Informant _____

Brief description of activity or material

Calendar of events from SCEWV

Date of Report

3-31-67

Date(s) of activity

4-1-67 to
4019067

Mailer- Literature

File where original is located if not attached

[REDACTED]

Remarks:

ACTION: NONE

Do not Disseminate

1 - 100-27603 (S.C.E.W.V.)
cc: [REDACTED]
100-28672 (SPRING MOBILIZATION,
4/15/67)
100-28713 (SEATTLE SPRING MOBILIZATION
COMMITTEE)
100-27547 (VIDEM-CONTROL)(INFO)
100-26956 (S.N.C.C.)
100-28676 (STOKLEY CARMICHAEL)
157-491 [REDACTED]
100-26077 [REDACTED]
100-21553 [REDACTED]

b2
b7D

b6
b7C

LGZ/ajs
XXX(10)

Block Stamp

100-28676 - 45

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
APR 3 - 1967	
FBI - SEATTLE	

(Press release)

At a recent general meeting, the Seattle Committee to End the War in Vietnam adopted a resolution which extends its policy position on ending the war to include a demand for withdrawal of U. S. forces from Vietnam.

In view of the record of the U. S. conduct of the war and U. S. diplomatic conduct during the past two years, the Committee feels that Americans should not shrink from the ultimate repudiation of this country's actions in Vietnam:

That the U. S. is indeed the aggressor in Vietnam.

That the U. S. alone bears the moral obligation and the diplomatic responsibility to end the war.

That neither the national prerogative of self-defense nor loyalty to any national ideal calls for our presence in Vietnam, and that such justifications serve only to obscure a ruthless pursuit of political and economic power.

Seattle Committee to End the War in Vietnam
NEWSLETTER

Well, we made it through one fiscal year, and had a modest convention February 1 to elect a new steering committee and map out our policy for the coming year.

We came up with a steering committee of 20 persons, and established a perspective of organizing and promoting organization in outlying areas.

A policy decision calling for withdrawal of U. S. troops was passed overwhelmingly. (See full text other side.)

February 23 the new steering committee met and voted support for the April 15 Mobilization in San Francisco, and to post a list of cars that are going and those who need rides and try to get the two together.

SO, IF YOU WOULD LIKE TO GO TO SAN FRANCISCO ON APRIL 15, TO JOIN IN A MASSIVE ALL-WEST COAST DEMONSTRATION OF THOUSANDS AGAINST THE WAR, CONTACT THE SCEWV OFFICE.

ME 2-2463

1126 Roosevelt Way N.E.

WE WILL TRY TO ARRANGE FOR RIDERS TO SHARE EXPENSES AND DRIVING -- OR RIDES. OVERNIGHT ACCOMMODATIONS ARE POSSIBLE.

In addition we are organizing an art sale (notice enclosed) to raise money for the mobilization. (It's what's happenin'.)

We tried to get Stokely Carmichael (a member of the International War Crimes Tribunal and Black Power spokesman) as a speaker against the war, but he is appearing for a local Ad Hoc SNCC group on the evening of April 19. We urge everyone to attend.

Meanwhile we will organize a meeting for Evelyn Marshall, Seattleite working for SNCC in the South who will report on 7 SNCC workers arrested for demonstrating against the draft.

Happy to report that over 900 signatures were collected by Seattle Committee in support of the International War Crimes Tribunal along with a significant donation of funds.

New treasurer asks 60 second break for commercial.

"All those who are not already pledged financial supporters of SCEWV (and there are presently only 20) are asked to consider committing themselves to a regular monthly contribution. We must insure that SCEWV not only meets its office and communications expenses but maintain a reserve which enables it to react to situation and opportunities which require a financial investment."

So there!

CALENDAR OF COMING EVENTS

Party for SNCC -- Sunday, April 2, 4-10 p.m., 8923 2nd Avenue N.E. (LA 4-4763)

Party for Mobilization -- Saturday, April 1, 1619 35th Avenue, 6:30 (potluck)

Mobilization Committee plans to place an ad in the daily press on the Mobilization appearing around April 1; to contribute call ME 3-2480

MOBILIZATION IN SAN FRANCISCO APRIL 15

Stokely Carmichael speaks April 19

Evelyn Marshall speaks around the same time

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-12-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/22

Yours for bringing the troops home now,

SEATTLE COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Defeated Their Own Purpose

The big deal in Seattle this week has been the school board's refusal to allow Stokely Carmichael to speak in Garfield High School.

Carmichael is an advocate of "black power," a militant approach to racial rights, and the school board apparently felt he would stir up too much racial trouble for them in the school system if they let him appear.

As it's working out, however, the school board is probably getting a lot more heat from its refusal to let him use the school than it would have if he had spoken and moved on.

It usually works out that way.

A controversial figure could come in and make a speech and the only ones who pay much attention are those who are on his side in the first place.

But let him be refused a platform, and all matter of discussion breaks out.

That's what has happened with Carmichael.

By refusing to let him express views that they oppose, the school board members have given him and his views many times the exposure that they would have received if the board hadn't made an issue out of it.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-12-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Page 3, The Wenatchee
Daily World, Wenatchee,
Washington

Date: 4/9/67

Edition: Daily

Author: ROBERT W. WOODS

Editor:

Title: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Character:

or

Classification: 100-28676-46

Submitting Office: Seattle

☐ Being Investigated

COPY SENT TO BUREAU

SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
APR 12 1967
FBI - SEATTLE

TO: SAC, Seattle. (100-27603)
FROM: SA [REDACTED]
SUBJECT: SEATTLE COMMITTEE TO END WAR IN VIETNAM
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISC. (X)

4-10-67

b6
b7C

Date received 4-7-67	Received from (name or symbol number) [REDACTED] b2 b7D	Received by [REDACTED] w/
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Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks)

☒ in person ☐ by telephone ☐ by mail ☐ orally ☐ recording device ☒ written by Informant (Document)

If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent:

Date

Dictated _____ to _____

Transcribed _____

Authenticated
by Informant _____

Date of Report

4-3-67

Date(s) of activity

Current (Feb.,
March, April, 1967)

Brief description of activity or material

UNDATED SCEWV NEWSLETTER COVERING FEBRUARY,
MARCH, APRIL, 1967, TOGETHER WITH FLYER
ADVERTISING ARTS MARKET, APRIL 6-8, 1967

b2
b7D

File where original is located if not attached

[REDACTED]

Remarks:

ACTION: None. Source received the above through the mail
on 4-3-67. *MAKE copy only for 100-27603*

1 - 100-27603 (S.C.E.W.V.)
cc: [REDACTED]
100-27547 (VIDEM-CONTROL)(INFO)
100-28672 (SM, 4/15/67)
100-26956 (SNCC)
100-28713 (SMC)
~~100-28676 (STOKLEY CARMICHAEL)~~
100-28676 (STOKLEY CARMICHAEL)
100-26077 [REDACTED]
100-21553 [REDACTED]
157-491 [REDACTED]

b2
b7D

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-12-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

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b7C

WEF/ajs
(10)

Block Stamp

100-28676-47

SEARCHED.....	INDEX.....
SERIALIZED <i>SLC</i>	<i>SLC</i>
APR 10 1967	
FBI - SEATTLE	

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Rights Committee Hits Schools For Rejecting Carmichael Talk

The Central Area Civil Rights Committee today criticized the Seattle School Board for attempting to exercise a "paternalistic control" of ideas in denying the rental of Garfield High School for a speech by Stokely Carmichael, black-power advocate.

The committee said a facility would be found for Carmichael if the courts sustain the School Board's decision.

CARMICHAEL is scheduled to speak here Friday.

A show-cause hearing is scheduled tomorrow in Superior Judge Frank James' court. The action has been brought by the Student Non-mittee and the Negro Voters League, sponsors of Carmichael's appearance.

"Whether or not we agree with or support Mr. Carmichael's ideas, he certainly represents ideas which this community has every right to hear and explore," the Rev. Dr. John H. Adams, chairman of the civil-rights committee, said.

The Rev. Samuel B. McKinney, minister of the Mount Zion Baptist Church,

and Walter Hundley, director of the Central Area Motivation Program, also criticized the School Board.

DR. ADAMS called Carmichael "one of the chief influence makers and opinion-makers" in the country. "I think every community ought to hear him express his ideas," he said.

Dr. Adams said a lot of what Carmichael has been criticized for "has been lifted out of context."

Hundley said most Negroes "in one or another respect" believe in the basic premise of "black power."

Mr. McKinney said black power is an attempt of the Negro "to achieve an image of himself."

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

SEATTLE TIMES

APR 10 1967

PAGE 6 COL 2

Date:

Edition:

Author:

Editor:

Title: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Character:

or

Classification: 100-28676-48

Submitting Office: Seattle

☐ Being Investigated

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-12-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

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SERIALIZED.....FILED.....

APR 10 1967

FBI - SEATTLE

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

School Board May Appeal Ruling on Carmichael Speech

The Seattle School Board today was considering whether to appeal a Superior Court ruling to allow Stokely Carmichael, controversial "black power" advocate, to speak at Garfield High School next Wednesday evening.

David E. Wagoner, attorney member of the board, had a luncheon meeting with James E. Kennedy, chief civil deputy prosecutor, to discuss the appeal possibilities.

The appeal decision was expected to be made at a regular board meeting scheduled for this afternoon.

There was some sentiment

among board members for an appeal for no other reason than to establish a firm precedent in law upon which to base future policy on use of school facilities.

IT WAS learned that the original board decision to bar Carmichael was not unanimous. At least two of the five members felt it was wiser to allow Carmichael to speak.

Superior Judge Frank D. James yesterday overturned a Seattle School Board ruling denying Carmichael use of the auditorium.

Judge James ruled for the plaintiffs in a suit brought against the School Board after hearing arguments by

Raymond Brown, American Civil Liberties Union attorney, and James E. Kennedy, chief civil deputy prosecutor.

THE A. C. L. U. had filed the suit and obtained an order directing the School Board to show why it had ruled as it did.

Brown presented an affidavit by Mrs. John Bundy who said she had attempted to rent the auditorium for the speech on her own behalf and on behalf of the Seattle Chapter of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the Negro Voters League.

The judge listed two main points in his decision. He

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

SEATTLE TIMES

APR 12 1967

PAGE 7 COL 3

Date:

Edition:

Author:

Editor:

Title: Stokely Carmichael

Character:

or

Classification: 100-28676-49

Submitting Office: Seattle

☐ Being Investigated

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SERIALIZED.....FILED.....

APR 12 1967

FBI - SEATTLE

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DATE 11-12-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

said the regulations for auditorium rental adopted by the School Board were not definite enough to meet the constitutionally required standard, and that the board's reasons for refusing to rent the auditorium for Carmichael's speech could not be supported legally.

THE BOARD is permitted by statute to rent school facilities, Judge James said, but the law says that if the board elects to rent it must adopt regulations that are reasonable, understandable and apply equally to everyone. He said the board must function in a non-discriminatory manner and

in a manner which applies equally to every citizen.

The School Board of the City of Seattle unquestionably sincerely believes that if Mr. Carmichael is permitted to speak, a danger will be created in the community, the judge said.

"THIS IS A danger which the public must accept and is a danger which can be met at the appropriate time if in fact it does transpire.

The School Board has overlooked the fact that the greater danger to the public would be its exercise of prior restraint in Carmichael's constitutionally guaranteed right to speak, even though the things he has to say may be offensive to most of us.

The whole idea that gave birth to this country with its ideals of freedom to the individual was a dangerous one, and we must have the courage to face that danger. We must not at any point take that first step that will endanger our constitutional liberties, Judge James said.

Kennedy, appearing for the School Board, had argued that the matter of renting the auditorium was

within the discretion of the School Board and the courts had no right to interfere unless there was a showing that the board had not properly exercised its discretion.

THE PROSECUTOR said that news reports of Carmichael's speeches elsewhere indicated he advocates violence and is opposed to programs which the School Board has in effect here.

They are asking the use of this facility to advocate violence and the use of Molotov cocktails and bombs, Kennedy said. He said the School Board had acted properly in refusing to rent the auditorium for Carmichael's speech.

HOWEVER, Brown said that Carmichael did not pose a clear and present danger. He said the question was one of the right of the individual to free expression.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-12-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

School Board OK's Permit For Carmichael Appearance

The Seattle School Board yesterday approved a permit to allow Stokely Carmichael, controversial "black power" advocate to speak Wednesday evening in the Garfield High School auditorium, as directed by a Superior Court ruling.

The action came as a new, but unsuccessful challenge on the court's ruling was made on jurisdictional grounds.

Forbes Bottomly, school superintendent, said the board still is considering seeking a legal opinion on which to base future decisions on its discretionary power to allow use of school facilities.

This would not affect Carmichael's appearance at Garfield, however, he said.

James E. Kennedy, chief civil deputy prosecutor, asked Superior Judge Frank D. James to declare void his ruling Tuesday that the School Board must rent the auditorium to Carmichael's backers.

The American Civil Liberties Union had filed suit against the School Board on behalf of citizens who wished to hear the "black power" advocates. The School Board had denied a request to rent the auditorium for the speech.

IT WAS ARGUED by Kennedy that the backers of the speech had failed to exhaust means of appeal before going to court.

The judge heard arguments by Kennedy and Raymond Brown and Michael Rosen, A. C. L. U. attorneys, in an unusual, 2½-hour session in the judge's chambers.

Kennedy charged that Brown and Rosen had known before Tuesday that the law required an appeal through administrative channels to the highest level before the case could be taken to court.

"You can't waive jurisdiction, you can't stipulate jurisdiction," Kennedy said. "You've got to follow the law."

Brown and Rosen argued that there had been no time for administrative appeal. They said it would have been impossible to get a decision before the speaking date and therefore their only remedy was to go to court.

"I again insist that we must all have the courage to obey the law and the Supreme Court has spelled out what must be done," Kennedy said. He cited two cases decided by the State Supreme Court which he said supported his position.

Judge James said, however, that Carmichael would be denied his constitutional right of free expression if he were not allowed to speak in the auditorium. He told Kennedy there was "plenty of time for appeal" to the State Supreme Court before the speaking date.

The judge's final ruling consisted of three points:

That the School Board waived its right to insist upon the exhaustion of ad-

ministrative appeals by the plaintiffs by not raising the issue at Tuesday's hearing.

THAT, IN ANY EVENT, the plaintiffs would have suffered irreparable injury if they had been required to exhaust the administrative course of appeal because of the time factor.

That the substantial constitutional question raised by the plaintiffs could not be decided by an administrative agency.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

SEATTLE TIMES

APR 13 1967

PAGE 4 COL 6

Date:

Edition:

Author:

Editor:

Title: Stokely Carmichael

Character:

or

Classification: 100-28676-50

Submitting Office: Seattle

☐ Being Investigated

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SEARCHED.....INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED 322 FILED 322

APR 13 1967

FBI - SEATTLE

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-12-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Carmichael Wins Court OK for Talk at Garfield

Board Told To Allow School Use

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

PAGE 1

SEATTLE POST
INTELLIGENCER

SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

Date: 4/12/67
Edition: SUNRISE
Author:
Editor:
Title: Stokely Carmichael

Character:

or

Classification: 100-28676 -
Submitting Office: SEATTLE 51

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APR 13 1967

FBI - SE-

BY ROBERT COUR

Black power advocate Stokely Carmichael must be allowed the use of Garfield High School's auditorium on April 19, Superior Court Judge Frank D. James ruled Tuesday in overturning a decision by the Seattle School Board.

In so doing, Judge James held with attorneys for Carmichael, national chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, and his local backers.

THE SCHOOL Board twice rejected a request by Mrs. John Bundy, Seattle area chairman of SNCC. She was joined in a request for a writ of mandamus from Judge James by Clifford Hooper of the Negro Voters League, Gerrit W. Kouwenhoven and Waymon Ware, individuals listed in the suit as among those wanting to hear Carmichael.

American Civil Liberties Union attorneys Raymond E. Brown and Michael H. Rosen presented the case for Carmichael and his companion plaintiffs. King County Chief Criminal Deputy James E. Kennedy and Deputy Prosecutor Stephen R. Schaefer represented the School Board.

For the most part, Judge James held with ACLU contentions that to deny Carmichael the Garfield auditorium for his speech was an infringement of the constitutional privilege of free speech.

THE JUDGE held that suits in other states, while not binding on him, could be applied. He ruled that one Spokane case raised by Deputy Kennedy was clearly "distinguishable" from the case presented in the Carmichael petition.

Judge James declared that the School Board did have discretion in allowing the use of school buildings. But, he added, the Board, if it allows any use at all, must:

- (1) Adopt regulations reasonable and understand-

able and applied equally to every one. He used U.S. Supreme Court wording in ruling that these regulations must be "narrowly drawn and provide definite standards."

- (2) Apply the regulations on a non-discriminatory basis.

JUDGE James said he was certain the board was sincere in believing that a Carmichael speech at Garfield might constitute a danger and might be inconsistent with the school program, in particular, with those designed to relieve the racial imbalance in the Central Area.

"This is a danger the public must accept and it can be met at an appropriate time," Judge James held.

He said the board overlooked a "greater danger" in asking that he give judicial sanction to what would amount to "prior restraint" of Carmichael's right to speak "even though things he may say are offensive to most of us."

Judge James declared the board regulations were not definite enough and that its decision to not grant Carmichael use of the auditorium was "not based upon legally supportable grounds."

HE POINTED out that "the whole idea that gave life to this nation" was that America must have courage to face danger rather than open the way to the abolition of any of the constitutionally guaranteed freedoms.

Chief Deputy Prosecutor Kennedy said it would be up to the School Board to decide whether or not to appeal Judge James' ruling. The board will hold a regular meeting starting at 4:15 p.m. today in the Administrative Center.

Tuesday's afternoon-long court hearing saw most of Judge James' courtroom nearly filled with faces familiar to the civil rights movement here.

The Rev. John H. Adams, president of the Central Area Motivation Program, came in toward the end of oral arguments. Monday night, he suggested the closing of Garfield High School and the new Washington Junior High School as possible interim solutions to school de facto segregation problems.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Burn Church for Church, Carmichael Urges

JACKSON, Miss.—(UPI)—Militant black-power leader Stokely Carmichael vowed last night to burn a white church every time a Negro church is burned by Ku Klux Klansmen. He indicated his retaliation program already may have begun.

Carmichael told 700 Negro students at Tougaloo College that two Negro churches burned in Lowndes County, Ala., recently.

A week later, a white

church "burned" to the ground," he said. "We'll all worship in one church or we'll all worship outside."

CARMICHAEL did not elaborate on the cause of the fire at the white church in Alabama, but he broke into a broad grin as he announced its burning. The students roared their approval.

The head of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee said that whites

had taught Negroes how to burn churches and warned that Negroes would use that knowledge unless the burning of Negro churches in the South is stopped.

Earlier, Carmichael received a standing ovation when he called upon Negroes to refuse to fight in Vietnam. "We ain't going, hell no," the students chanted.

CARMICHAEL said Negroes "never have been vio-

lent . . . we have been too nonviolent." And he blamed the recent Negro rioting at Nashville, on "white cops," whom he had accused earlier of beating students on the Tennessee A & I University campus.

"We've got to develop the right to fight back with anybody who messes with us," he said. "The days of cops coming into our neighborhoods running over us are over."

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

PAGE 11

SEATTLE TIMES

SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-12-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

Date: 4/12/67
Edition: NIGHT FINAL
Author:
Editor:
Title: Stokely Carmichael

Character:

or

Classification: 100-28676-52
Submitting Office: SEATTLE

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SERIAL 7- 362-100 362
APR 13 1967
FBI - SEATTLE

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DATE 11-12-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Board May Appeal Ruling Carmichael Speech

The Seattle School Board Raymond Brown, American in a manner which applies to all, was considering Civil Liberties Union attorney equally to every citizen. Whether to appeal a Superior Court ruling to allow Stokely Carmichael, controversial "black power" advocate, to speak at Garfield High School next Wednesday evening.

THE A. C. L. U. had filed the suit and obtained an order directing the School Board to show why it had ruled as it did. Brown presented an affidavit by Mrs. John Bundy, who said she had attempted to rent the auditorium for the speech on her own behalf and on behalf of the Seattle Chapter of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the Negro Voters' League.

David E. Wagoner, attorney member of the board, had a luncheon meeting with James E. Kennedy, chief civil deputy prosecutor, to discuss the appeal possibilities. The appeal decision was expected to be made at a regular board meeting scheduled late this afternoon.

There was some statement among board members for an appeal for a other reason than to establish a firm precedent in law upon which to base future policy on use of school facilities.

IT WAS learned that the original board decision to bar Carmichael was not unanimous. At least two of the five members felt it was wiser to allow Carmichael to speak. Superior Judge Frank D. James yesterday overturned a Seattle School Board ruling denying Carmichael use of the auditorium.

Judge James ruled for the plaintiffs in a suit brought against the School Board after hearing arguments.

THE BOARD is permitted by statute to rent school facilities, Judge James said, but "the law says that if the board elects to rent, it must adopt regulations that are reasonable, understandable and apply equally to everyone." He said the board must function in a non-discriminatory manner and

THE SCHOOL Board has ordered the fact that he would be its exercise of prior restraint in Carmichael's constitutionally guaranteed right to speak, he said the regulations for auditorium rental adopted by the School Board were not definite enough to meet the constitutional requirements of the standard, and that the board's reasons for refusing to rent the auditorium for Carmichael's speech could not be supported legally.

Kennedy, appearing for the School Board, had argued that the matter of renting the auditorium was

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

7 SEATTLE TIMES
Seattle, Washington

Date: 4-12-67
Edition: Night Final
Author:
Editor:
Title: Stokely Carmichael

Character:
or

Classification: 100-28676 -
Submitting Office: Seattle 53

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APR 20 1967

FBI - SEATTLE

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within the discretion of the School Board and the courts had no right to interfere unless there was a showing that the board had not properly exercised its discretion.

THE PROSECUTOR said that news reports of Carmichael's speeches elsewhere indicated he advocates violence and is opposed to programs which the School Board has in effect here.

"They are asking the use of this facility to advocate violence and the use of Molotov cocktails and bombs," Kennedy said. He said the School Board had acted properly in refusing to rent the auditorium for Carmichael's speech.

HOWEVER, Brown said that Carmichael did not pose a "clear and present danger." He said the question was one of the right of the individual to free expression.

SAC (100-26956)

4/12/67

SA

b6
b7C

SPOKELY CARMICHAEL
SM - C

On 4/7/67 JOHN LARSEN, Chief of Police, Ellensburg, Washington, advised that the scheduled campus appearance of the subject in Ellensburg is being sponsored by the Student Government Association of the Central Washington State College. He stated also that the exact date of the appearance of the subject has not been obtained, however he will attempt to develop this through his local sources, as well as obtain information as to where CARMICHAEL will stay in Ellensburg and any interesting information which would affect any other agency or jurisdiction.

Contact will be maintained with LARSEN to develop and report any additional information regarding the movements of the subject.

2 - Seattle

1 - FILE

100-28676 R.S. Carmichael

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100-28676-54

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APR 12 1967	
FBI - SEATTLE	

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

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DATE 11-12-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

Carmichael Gets Invitation to UW

Stokely Carmichael has been invited to speak at the University of Washington April 19, either before or after his scheduled address at Garfield High School.

The student government's Board of Control (BOC) voted to offer the invitation at its meeting Wednesday. The BOC offered to pay Carmichael \$300 for the appearance.

CARMICHAEL will speak for free at Garfield, Mrs. John Bundy, Seattle Area SNCC chairman, said.

"He does have a policy, however, of not accepting less than \$1,000 to speak at a university," Mrs. Bundy said. "I don't know whether or not he will speak at the University of Washington for less."

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

PAGE 1

SEATTLE POST
INTELLIGENCER

SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

Date: 4/13/67
Edition: SUNRISE
Author:
Editor:
Title:

Character:
or

Classification:

Submitting Office: SEATTLE

☐ Being Investigated

100-28676-55

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
APR 20 1967	
FBI - SEATTLE	

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

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DATE 11-12-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

Carmichael OK'd at U. W., But Fee Is Cut

If Stokely Carmichael wants to take a fee cut, he can speak Wednesday afternoon in Edmundson Pavilion, the University of Washington Board of Control decided yesterday.

A \$300 honorarium was voted for Carmichael, who usually asks \$1,000 for talks at universities. It was not learned if Carmichael would speak at that fee.

Students would pay 25 cents to hear the speaker, as they did at the recent campus appearance of George Lincoln Rockwell, leader of the American Nazi Party. The board allotted up to \$600 for pavilion expenses for a Carmichael address.

In other action, the board voted to appoint a committee for further study of a proposal to form a student lobby for the Legislature.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

SEATTLE TIMES

APR 13 1967

PAGE 4 COL 5

Date:

Edition:

Author:

Editor:

Title: Stokely Carmichael

Character:

or

Classification: 100-28676

Submitting Office: Seattle 56

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APR 13 1967

FBI-SEATTLE

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DATE 11-12-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Slogan: 'We Ain't Going'

TOUGALOO, Miss.—(AP)
— Stokely Carmichael
whose black power war cry
set racial feelings on edge,
unleashed a new rallying
call for Negroes Tuesday
night: "Hell, no, I ain't
going to Vietnam."

More than 600 Negroes at
a meeting at Tougaloo Col-
lege north of Jackson took
up the chant. Carmichael
had to quiet them down
after several minutes to con-
tinue his speech.

WHY SHOULD Negroes
go 8,000 miles to shoot a
man, he asked, "That ain't
never called you Nigger.
We must tell them, 'Hell,
no, we ain't going.'"

While the leader of the
Student Non-violent Coordi-
nation Committee spoke,
his lieutenants distributed
orange bumper stickers
bearing the slogan.

Carmichael spoke of cur-
rent racial strife in Nash-
ville, Tenn., saying:

"It is not a riot, it is a
rebellion. You ought to be
proud of your black brothers
at Fisk. The days of a
hunkie cop running into our
neighborhood, beating us up
and running out are gone.
We want to instill in our
people the right to fight back,
on anybody who messes with
us."

(Indicate page, name of
newspaper, city and state.)

SEATTLE POST
INTELLIGENCER

APR 12 1967

PAGE 5 COL 1

Date:

Edition:

Author:

Editor:

Title: Stokely Carmichael

Character:

or

Classification: 100-28676 -

Submitting Office: Seattle ⁵⁷

☐ Being Investigated

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APR 17 1967

FBI - SEATTLE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-12-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

TO : SAC, SEATTLE (100-26956)

DATE: 4/14/67

FROM : SA, [REDACTED]

b6
b7C

SUBJECT: COMINFIL SNCC
Racial Matters

On 4/14/67 [REDACTED] stated that the date
STOKELY CARMICHAEL will appear in Seattle is April 19, 1967
at the Garfield High School at 7:30 p.m. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] The present plans
are to hold a reception at the Pink Pussycat 110 3d South,
Seattle. Also [REDACTED] has offered her home to
STOKELY so he may be staying at her home instead of a Hotel.

b6
b7C
b7D

PRI also stated that the present plans are for CARMICHAEL
to speak at Central Washington College, Ellensburg, Washington
on Thursday and Friday, 4/20, 21/67. [REDACTED] heard that this
College is paying the usual \$1000.00 for his appearance and
as the University of Washington has offered only \$300.00, he
will not appear at the U of W.

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] does not agree with the
violent tactics of CARMICHAEL [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] believes that [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] will introduce him.

b2
b7D

LKS:ls (8)

cc [REDACTED]

100-28676 (CARMICHAEL)
100-21086
100-0-45458
100-0-44579
100-0-46502

100-19450

b6
b7C

100-28676-58

SEARCHED.....
SERIALIZED SL2 SL2
APR 14 1967
FBI - SEATTLE



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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-12-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Teamster blasts Carmichael ban

SEATTLE — As the dispute over a Seattle platform for the national leader of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee moved into the courts, THE Washington Teamster (April 7) commented editorially:

"By refusing to allow Stokely Carmichael to speak at Garfield High School, the Seattle school board has given credence to one of the big complaints the younger generation has with the older. The act of denial also reinforces the suspicion that Carmichael may know something that the elders want to keep from students.

"Keeping Carmichael from the stage of Garfield is not going to keep his message out of the minds of Negroes and whites, however. And denying him a platform supports the belief that a young student can not expect to get the truth out of the people who control the power structure.

"Admittedly, Carmichael is a hard man for an official to accept graciously. He has dis-

turbing ideas. In Nashville two weeks ago he urged students at Tennessee A.&I. State University to assume control from the administration. His appearance at a rally was without official sanction. Countering such a cry, uttered with or without authorization, takes skill. But officials have a lot of advantages on their side in retaining control; Carmichael's appeal represents no real threat to officials.

"By refusing to allow him to speak, officials give Carmichael just what he needs to show students they can't expect to work with authorities in peace.

"Some of the complaints Carmichael shouts should be acted on, not banned.

"His charge that 'the bombing and burning of black churches in the American South . . . has the approval of white Americans' should not be ignored. Carmichael referred then to the burning of a renovated church rented to the Lowndes County Christian Movement for the anti-poverty program in Alabama. One day later the Macedonia Baptist Church in Fort Deposit, Ala., was burned following a mass meeting for the Lowndes County Christian Movement.

"He asserted that the FBI conducts only routine investigations and 'takes notes' while Negro churches burn.

"The way for the FBI to prove him wrong is to go after church burners with the same efficiency that marks pursuit of bank robbers."

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

PEOPLES WORLD
SAN FRANCISCO

PAGE 3 COL 4

Date: 4-15-67

Edition: NW

Author:

Editor:

Title:

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office:

☐ Being Investigated

100-28676-59

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
APR 20 1967	
FBI - SEATTLE	

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-12-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

Carmichael Talk on TV

The appearance of Stokely Carmichael, "black-power" civil rights advocate, at Garfield High School will be televised over Channel 5 from 7:30 to 10 o'clock tomorrow night. Roberta Byrd and Herb Altschull of the KING-TV staff will offer commentary on Carmichael's address.

At 9 o'clock tomorrow night on KING Radio, Irving Clark will present a discussion of Carmichael's talk. Guests will be Mrs. John Bundy, head of the local chapter of S. N. C. C., the Rev. John Adams, local civil rights leader and pastor of the First Avenue Church, and Walt Hundley, head of CAMP.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

SEATTLE TIMES

APR 18 1967

PAGE 25 COL 8

Date:
Edition:
Author:
Editor:
Title: Stokely Carmichael

Character:

or

Classification: 100-28676-60
Submitting Office: Seattle

☐ Being Investigated

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APR 18 1967	
FBI - SEATTLE	

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-12-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

TO : SAC (100-28676)

DATE: 4-17-67

FROM : SA [REDACTED]

b6
b7C

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INFORMATION CONCERNING

On 4-16-67, a confidential source (see below) who has furnished reliable information in the past reported the following:

[REDACTED] who resides in the Seattle area and [REDACTED] Seattle, are currently conducting a telephone campaign to recruit 1200 patriotic, Christian women to meet at 5:45 P.M. at the Seattle Transit Parking Lot Wednesday, April 17, 1967, from where they will take chartered busses to CARMICHAEL's speaking site--Garfield High School.

b6
b7C
b7D

The 1200 women will take the 1100 seats and the one-hundred standing room locations and thus pack the auditorium before the regular audience arrives to take seats in the auditorium. During CARMICHAEL'S talk, the women will take a kneeling, praying position.

No one organization is assuming responsibility for the operation. In fact, no organization is acknowledging promotion of the affair.

b6
b7C

(Source--PROTECT)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b6
b7C
b7D

RBC/(3)

① 100-28676 (STOKELY) e)
1-100-26956 (SNCC)
1-157-359 (RM)

100-28676-61

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
APR 17 1967	
FBI-SEATTLE	



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-12-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Stokely to Speak Here Tomorrow

The Board of Control came to terms with the Seattle chapter of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee last Friday over the issue of having nationally known SNCC leader Stokely Carmichael speak on campus.

In a special meeting called by ASUW President Judd Kirk, the Board offered Seattle SNCC a guaranteed \$500 and 50 per cent of all gate receipts. The speech, open to students, faculty and staff, will cost 25 cents.

Carmichael will appear at Edmundson Pavilion tomorrow at 8:45. Tickets will be available in the HUB ticket office beginning Wednesday morning. They may also be bought at the door beginning at 3 p.m. tomorrow.

The Board had earlier offered Carmichael \$300 to speak in the Pavilion, \$700 less than his regular price. But,

after the controversial Black Power advocate vetoed the offer, the Board worked out a compromise agreeable to SNCC representative Steve Kalberg.

Kalberg earlier told the Board that the \$300 offer was "insulting" and implored the BOC not to "shut the door on Carmichael's views." He said the \$1,000 asked was not unreasonable and cited schools across the nation that had paid the Negro leader \$1,000 or more.

ASUW leaders pointed out, however, that a straight \$1,000 honorarium for the speaker was not in line with the ASUW budget. It will cost the students an additional \$600 to set up the Pavilion, it was pointed out.

Nevertheless, Kalberg would not accept the proposed compromise until after the Board had voted on the straight \$1,000 honorarium.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

1 UNIVERSITY OF
WASHINGTON DAILY
Seattle, Washington

Date: 4-18-67
Edition: Campus
Author:
Editor:
Title:

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office: Seattle

☐ Being Investigated

100-28471-62

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
APR 20 1967	
FBI - SEATTLE	

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-12-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Carmichael Ticket Sales Slow at U. W.

Ticket sales were going slowly for this afternoon's appearance by Stokely Carmichael, black-power advocate, at Edmundson Pavilion at the University of Washington.

Carmichael also will speak at 7:30 o'clock this evening at Garfield High School under sponsorship of the Seattle Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the Negro Voters League.

University officials said that fewer than 100 tickets were sold by yesterday afternoon. The officials said it appeared likely that the attendance would fall far short of filling the 9,000-seat pavilion.

Carmichael will receive a \$500 honorarium from the university's student Board of Control and half of the receipts from a 25-cent admission fee.

His speech is under sponsorship of the Political Union.

Carmichael was scheduled to arrive in Seattle less than an hour before his university appearance. He will make only the two public appearances in Seattle.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

SEATTLE TIMES

APR 19 1967

PAGE 2 COL 3

Date:

Edition:

Author:

Editor:

Title: Stokely Carmichael

Character:

or

Classification: 100-28676

Submitting Office: Seattle

☐ Being Investigated

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SERIALIZED.....FILED.....

APR 19 1967

FBI - SEATTLE

4/19/67

AIRTEL

AIR MAIL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446030)
FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-68783)
SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS
OO: Atlanta

Re Tampa teletypes to Bureau 4/19/67.

[redacted] Los Angeles Police Department, Intelligence Detail, today advised CARMICHAEL arrived in Los Angeles on 4/19/67 at approximately 10:42 A.M. as scheduled and left for Seattle at 11:30 A.M. 4/19/67. He was met at the Los Angeles International Airport by an unknown male and an unknown female in a vehicle registered to one [redacted] Los Angeles. He told a plain clothes police officer posing as a newspaper reporter that he contemplated returning to Los Angeles on Saturday, 4/22/67, at which time he will grant a news conference.

b6
b7C

As Seattle is aware, CARMICHAEL is scheduled to leave Seattle via Western Airlines, Flight 700, on 4/22/67, arriving in Los Angeles at 10:44 A.M. same date, at which time he is scheduled to go to Watts, Southeast Los Angeles.

LEAD

SEATTLE

AT SEATTLE, WASHINGTON: Seattle is requested to advise Los Angeles if any change in CARMICHAEL's plans is

3 - Bureau
2 - Seattle REGISTERED
1 - Atlanta
2 - Los Angeles
JST/met (8)

4/20

100-28676-64

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
APR 23 1967	
FBI - SEATTLE	

b6
b7C

LA 100-68783

determined either by local police, press sources, or confidential informants. Los Angeles Police Department would be interested in the purpose of CARMICHAEL's visit to Los Angeles, the approximate length of his intended stay, and any other plans he might have while in this area.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-12-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Carmichael Rips Into Whites Here

BY ROBERT COUR and
WALTER A. EVANS

Stokely Carmichael, the pied piper of Black Power, trumpeted a powerful speech for Negroes to fight back the shackles imposed on them by "white hunkies" in two resounding talks in Seattle Wednesday.

Carmichael, tall, slender with an engaging wit and smile to match, jabbed rapier-like stabs into the White Society and warned that the organized Negro would "tear down" cities where the colored man's stature is curtailed.

HE SPOKE FIRST at the University of Washington but he saved most of his highly-touted oratory for a jam-packed Garfield High School Auditorium and an overflow crowd in Garfield's new gymnasium where his speech was delivered by loud-speaker.

Nor was the crowd all Negro. At least 20 per cent were whites and many joined Negroes in sending wave after wave of cheers reverberating through the auditorium at Carmichael's incisive jabs at "White America."

The auditorium and gym were full long before the lithe Carmichael stepped onto the stage to an ear-splitting thunder of applause.

SOME reporters had hard going getting in. Even Michael Rosen, staff attorney for the Seattle Chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union, who helped win the court battle with the Seattle School Board for Carmichael's right to use Garfield, was stopped at the door and had to talk his way in.

Mrs. John (Mattie) Bundy, Seattle chairman for the Student Non Violent Coordinating Committee, of which Carmichael is national leader, introduced the speaker. But she first led the crowd in singing her strong coloratura singing out, "Everybody Wants Freedom" and "We

Shall Never Turn Back." Cliff Hooper, head of the Negro Voters League here and a party to the SNNC suit against the School Board, spoke briefly saying that "black awareness" was the issue, the focal point, not whether it was "to agree or not to agree," presumably with Carmichael.

AT 8:32 P.M., Carmichael, relaxed and flashing a stunning smile, stepped out. Cheers rent the old auditorium in the school that graduated King County Prosecutor Charles O. Carroll, whose deputies had to try, as school board counsel, to stop Carmichael from using school property as a rostrum.

Carmichael barely finished saying he was glad to be here when he slipped a quick needle into dozens of newsmen covering him. He noted that there was "not one member of the press—not one black man" covering the event.

Loud cheers began and several Negroes in the front row chuckled at reporters furiously taking notes as Carmichael added that "they (the press) don't understand because we are talking about Black Power."

THE YOUTHFUL Negro who has vaulted to national prominence in only the recent three years casually gripped the rostrum, his tie hanging loosely a couple of inches down from the collar. Later, as he waxed furiously at the whites, he took off his jacket and another wave of applause rocked the auditorium.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

1 SEATTLE POST
INTELLIGENCER
Seattle, Washington

Date: 4-20-67
Edition: Sunrise
Author:
Editor:
Title: Stokely Carmichael

Character:
or

Classification: 100-28676-65
Submitting Office: Seattle

☐ Being Investigated

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FBI - SEATTLE

Whites, he said, had beaten and lynched Negroes. They had distorted textbooks to withhold the prominence of Negroes in our early history. In this, his speech followed much the same theme uttered only last Wednesday night at the Seattle Urban League annual meeting by Edwin (Bill) Berry, Chicago Urban League director.

"White people assume they can give freedom," Carmichael said. "But nobody gives freedom. They can only deny it." Whites have done this for 400 years, he added.

"They don't give us anything; you got to get that through your minds," he exhorted.

He referred to whites as "dumb hunkies" who bomb Negro churches, beat Negroes and kill their children. He alluded to "white western society" as distinguished from "white western civilization."

The white stole America from the Red man and then stole us from Africa. In cowboy shows an encounter between the whites and Indians, if the whites win it's a victory. If the Indians win, it's "called a massacre."

"THE RED man can't win victories, only massacres," Carmichael declared. "Sitting Bull didn't win a victory, he won a massacre."

He charged into the myth that "white hunkie" Christopher Columbus discovered America. The Red man was already there but were not "discovered" until the white man came upon it.

Derisively, Carmichael said the white even misnamed the red man an Indian because he thought he must somehow be from India.

"They call us Negroes, I guess we came from Negroland," he scorned.

THE WORD Negro isn't in the French, German and other nation's dictionaries.

Whites say, "you want to marry our daughters," Carmichael said.

"We (of SNCC) tell them the white woman is not the queen of the world. She is not the Virgin Mary. She can be made like any other woman."

Black Power is the coming together of Black people to achieve "by any means" a place in the country. "It's a new day today," Carmichael warned whites.

TOO LONG has the Negro been made to feel ashamed of himself.

"We have been taught we are lazy," he added. "We

are not lazy. We are the hardest working of Americans. In Mississippi Blacks pick cotton for \$2 a day while whites sit on the porch and drink scotch and talk about us."

Carmichael, obviously alluding to the "doves" of the civil rights movement, said Negroes "cut and shoot ourselves more than any one else."

"They (the whites) don't talk about that because they don't give a damn about us. They ought to be preaching non-violence in the black areas because that's where it's needed."

ON THE WAR in Vietnam, Carmichael said Negroes are being asked to "go 8,000 miles to shoot a man who has never called you a nigger." In this war, America is becoming a nation of murderers.

"We're the victims and the white people are the executioners," he added.

Negroes should proclaim they are beautiful and not be ashamed of their color.

"We have been the recipients of violence for 400 years," he declared. If less strident civil rights leaders can't condemn the whites "at least they can keep their mouths shut."

Power is the answer. Without it, "Bobby Kennedy would be the poorest hunkie in the land."

He explained that the term "Black Power" had been misinterpreted by the "white press." Speaking to about 3,000 students at Edmundson Pavilion earlier in the day, he said:

"No one is talking about the blacks taking over the country, but about taking over our own communities."

"The Civil Rights movement saw its role as liaison between the powerful white community and the powerless black. Its posture was that of a dependent, a supplicant."

IT TENDED to maintain the traditional dependence of the blacks, to make the white community accessible to selected black people.

"Then as more are armed with a couple of college degrees, they will be accepted and, eventually, you will have no Negro community."

"That is not realistic, nor particularly desirable."

"What must be abolished is not the black community, but the dependent, colonial status forced upon it."

STRIKING out at ghetto conditions, Carmichael said the 20 million American Negroes—10 per cent of the population—live in well defined areas and that the same combination of economic-political-social forces are at work in all of them.



—Post-Intelligencer Photos by Dave Pott

STOKELY CARMICHAEL ADDRESSED CROWD AT GARFIELD HIGH

"Civil Rights Act lets me enter white man's store"



READY FOR SPEECH

Carmichael wore sandals

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-12-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Black Power Would Knock It

We suspect that Stokely Carmichael would disapprove of the student racial exchange program involving youngsters in the Seattle School District and those in the suburban Edmonds and Shoreline districts, which was announced this past week.

Children from predominantly all-white suburban classrooms are visiting Central Area schools populated with a preponderance of Negro youngsters, and vice versa.

Coincidentally, the program was revealed while the local chapter of the American Jewish Committee was releasing results of a study of suburban school systems. The basic conclusion was that suburban school children are being deprived of important lessons in human relations because of virtually no contact with Negro boys and girls.

The opposite also is of course true; Negro youngsters are being deprived. They are denied exposure to the relatively higher aspirations of achievement prevalent among those of the affluent, Caucasian suburban society.

We say we doubt Carmichael would approve of the exchange program because it represents the antithesis of his black power philosophy, as we perceive it. He preaches not racial cooperation and dialogue, but total independence of the Negro community from the white community.

IT'S TRUE that the exchange program has the features of any other educational field trip and that it smacks of the sort of gradualism in race relations that the most militant civil rights leaders deplore. Nevertheless, it is a positive step toward creation of the social climate in which racial harmony will be achieved.

The Carmichael alternative, we believe, is inclined to lead to the perpetuation of a racially divided society, with hardening prejudices on both sides. Such a society is not one we should be seeking for our youngsters, either those with white complexions in the suburbs or black ones in the central city.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

**SEATTLE POST
INTELLIGENCER**

APR 23 1967

PAGE 6 COL 1

Date:
Edition:
Author:
Editor:
Title: Stokely Carmichael

Character:
or
Classification: 100-28676-66
Submitting Office: Seattle
☐ Being Investigated

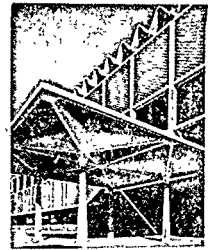
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APR 5 1967	
FBI - SEATTLE	



Central Washington State College

WEEKLY BULLETIN



Items and Announcements of Interest

Issued Fridays

VOL. VI

April 14, 1967

NO. 28

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GREEN SHEETS--Complete Activities Bulletin

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-12-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

100-28676-67

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAY 10 1967	
FBI-SEATTLE	

1. DATES FOR CALENDAR

2 p. m.-----Tennis Match vs. Eastern Washington, Tennis Courts.

7:30 p. m.-----Speaker, Russell Johnson. Topic: Vietnam,
Student Union Building.

8:30 p. m.----- Movie, "Room at the Top, " McConnell Auditorium.

12:45 p.m.-----Track Meet vs. Whitworth, Tomlinson Field.

8:30 p. m.-----Movie, "The L-Shaped Room," McConnell Auditorium.

1 p. m.-----Quigley Hall Dedication, Quigley Hall.

6:30 p. m.-----AAUP Meeting, Grupe Conference Center.

8:15 p. m.-----Gordon Leavitt, tenor, faculty recital, Hertz Hall.

8 p. m.-----Symposium begins and continues through
Saturday--see back page for schedule.

2 p.m.-----Tennis vs. Whitman, Tennis Courts.

9 a. m.-----Board of Trustees Meeting, Grupe Conference Center.

SYMPOSIUM SCHEDULE

Wednesday, April 19

8:00 p.m.--Nicholson Pavilion

Welcome: President James E. Brooks

Greetings: Dennis Hamilton, President, Student Government Association

Presiding: William Desmonde

Address: Sidney Hook--"The Symbols, Myths, and Rationale of Revolution"

9:15 p.m.--Colloquia

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-12-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

Thursday, April 20

9:30 a.m.--Nicholson Pavilion

Presiding: Richard Johnson

Address: Susan Sontag--"Art and Revolution"

10:45 a.m.--Colloquia

1:30 p.m.--Nicholson Pavilion

Presiding: Pat Vernie

Address: John Dyckman--"Technology, Utopia and Revolution"

2:45 p.m.--Nicholson Pavilion

First Symposium Panel

4:00 p.m.--Student Reception for Speakers at SUB Ballroom

5:30 p.m.--Faculty Buffet Supper for Speakers

8:00 p.m.--Hertz Recital Hall

Special Films Program: "Castro Street"; "The War of the Buttons"

8:00 p.m.--McConnell Auditorium

The Zoo Story--a play by Edward Albee

Directed by Terry Parker

Friday, April 21

1:30 p.m.--Nicholson Pavilion

Presiding: Raymond Smith

Address: Conor Cruise O'Brien--"Order, Justice and Revolution"

2:45 p.m.--Colloquia

8:00 p.m.--Nicholson Pavilion

Presiding: Susan Campbell

Address: Stokely Carmichael--"The Act of Revolution"

9:15 p.m.--Nicholson Pavilion

Final Symposium Panel

Saturday, April 22

8:00 p.m.--Hertz Recital Hall

Special Films Program: "Castro Street"; "The War of the Buttons"

8:00 p.m.--McConnell Auditorium

The Zoo Story--a play by Edward Albee

Directed by Terry Parker

TOWARD BLACK LIBERATION*

by Stokely Carmichael

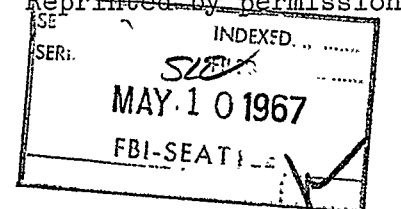
One of the most pointed illustrations of the need for Black Power, as a positive and redemptive force in a society degenerating into a form of totalitarianism, is to be made by examining the history of distortion that the concept has received in national media of publicity. In this "debate", as in everything else that affects our lives, Negroes are dependent on, and at the discretion of, forces and institutions within the white society which have little interest in representing us honestly. Our experience with the national press has been that where they have managed to escape a meretricious special interest in "Git Whitey" sensationalism and race-war mongering, individual reporters and commentators have been conditioned by the enveloping racism of the society to the point where they are incapable even of objective observation and reporting of racial incidents, much less the analysis of ideas. But this limitation of vision and perceptions is an inevitable consequence of the dictatorship of definition, interpretation and consciousness, along with the censorship of history that the society has inflicted upon the Negro--and itself.

Our concern for black power addresses itself directly to this problem, the necessity to reclaim our history and our identity from the cultural terrorism and depredation of self-justifying white guilt.

To do this we shall have to struggle for the right to create our own terms through which to define ourselves and our relationship to the society, and to have these terms recognized. This is the first necessity of a free people, and the first right that any oppressor must suspend. The white fathers of American racism knew this--instinctively it seems--as is indicated by the continuous record of the distortion and omission in their dealings with the red and black men. In the same way that southern apologists for the "Jim Crow" society have so obscured, muddled and misrepresented the record of the reconstruction period, until it is almost impossible to tell what really happened, their contemporary counterparts are busy doing the same thing with the recent history of the civil rights movement.

In 1964, for example, the National Democratic Party, led by L. B. Johnson and Hubert H. Humphrey, cynically undermined the efforts of Mississippi's Black population to achieve some degree of political representation. Yet, whenever the events of that convention are recalled by the press, one sees only that version fabricated by the press agents of the Democratic Party. A year later the House of Representatives in an even more vulgar display of political racism made a mockery of the political rights of Mississippi's Negroes when it failed to unseat the Mississippi Delegation to the House which had been elected through a process which methodically and systematically excluded over 450,000 voting-age Negroes, almost one half of the total electorate of the state. Whenever this event is mentioned in print it is in terms which leaves one with the rather curious impression that somehow the oppressed Negro people of Mississippi are at fault for confronting the Congress with a situation in which they had no alternative but to endorse Mississippi's racist political practices.

*This article appeared in the Massachusetts Review, Fall 1966.
of SNCC.



I mention these two examples because, having been directly involved in them, I can see very clearly the discrepancies between what happened, and the versions that are finding their way into general acceptance as a kind of popular mythology. Thus the victimization of the Negro takes place in two phases--first it occurs in fact and deed, then, and this is equally sinister, in the official recording of those facts.

The "Black Power" program and concept which is being articulated by SNCC, CORE, and a host of community organizations in the ghettos of the North and South has not escaped that process. The white press has been busy articulating their own analyses, their own interpretations, and criticisms of their own creations. For example, while the press had given wide and sensational dissemination to attacks made by figures in the Civil Rights movement--foremost among which are Roy Wilkins of the NAACP and Whitney Young of the Urban League--and to the hysterical ranting about black racism made by the political chameleon that now serves as Vice-President, it has generally failed to give accounts of the reasonable and productive dialogue which is taking place in the Negro community, and in certain important areas in the white religious and intellectual community. A national committee of influential Negro Churchmen affiliated with the National Council of Churches, despite their obvious respectability and responsibility, had to resort to a paid advertisement to articulate their position, while anyone shouting the hysterical yappings of "Black Racism" got ample space. Thus the American people have gotten at best a superficial and misleading account of the very terms and tenor of this debate. I wish to quote briefly from the statement by the national committee of Churchmen which I suspect that the majority of Americans will not have seen. This statement appeared in the New York Times of July 31, 1966.

We an informal group of Negro Churchmen in America are deeply disturbed about the crisis brought upon our country by historic distortions of important human realities in the controversy about "black power". What we see shining through the variety of rhetoric is not anything new but the same old problem of power and race which has faced our beloved country since 1619.

. . . The conscience of black men is corrupted because, having no power to implement the demands of conscience, the concern for justice in the absence of justice becomes a chaotic self-surrender. Powerlessness breeds a race of beggars. We are faced now with a situation where powerless conscience meets conscience-less power, threatening the very foundations of our Nation.

. . . We deplore the overt violence of riots, but we feel it is more important to focus on the real sources of these eruptions. These sources may be abetted inside the Ghetto, but their basic cause lies in the silent and covert violence which white middleclass America inflicts upon the victims of the inner city.

. . . In short; the failure of American leaders to use American power to create equal opportunity in life as well as law, this is the real problem and not the anguished cry for black power.

. . . Without the capacity to participate with power, i.e., to have some organized political and economic strength to really influence people with whom one interacts--integration is not meaningful.

. . . America has asked its Negro citizens to fight for opportunity as individuals, whereas at certain points in our history what we have needed most has been opportunity for the whole group, not just for selected and approved Negroes.

. . . We must not apologize for the existence of this form of group power, for we have been oppressed as a group and not as individuals. We will not find our way out of that oppression until both we and America accept the need for Negro Americans, as well as for Jews, Italians, Poles, and white Anglosaxon Protestants, among others to have and to wield group power.

Traditionally, for each new ethnic group, the route to social and political integration into America's pluralistic society has been through the organization of their own institutions with which to represent their communal needs within the larger society. This is simply stating what the advocates of black power are saying. The strident outcry, particularly from the liberal community, that has been evoked by this proposal can only be understood by examining the historic relationship between Negro and White power in this country.

Negroes are defined by two forces, their blackness and their powerlessness. There have been traditionally two communities in America. The White community, which controlled and defined the forms that all institutions within the society would take, and the Negro community which has been excluded from participation in the power decisions that shaped the society, and has traditionally been dependent upon, and subservient to the White community.

This has not been accidental. The history of every institution of this society indicates that a major concern in the ordering and structuring of the society has been the maintaining of the Negro community in its condition of dependence and oppression. This has not been on the level of individual acts of discrimination between individual whites against individual Negroes, but as total acts by the White community against the Negro community. This fact cannot be too strongly emphasized--that racist assumptions of white superiority have been so deeply ingrained in the structure of the society that it infuses its entire functioning, and is so much a part of the national subconscious that it is taken for granted and is frequently not even recognized.

Let me give an example of the difference between individual racism and institutionalized racism, and the society's response to both. When unidentified white terrorists bomb a Negro Church and kill five children, that is an act of individual racism, widely deplored by most segments of the society. But when in that same city, Birmingham, Alabama, not five but 500 Negro babies die each year because of a lack of proper food, shelter and medical facilities, and thousands more are destroyed and maimed physically, emotionally and intellectually because of conditions of poverty and deprivation in the ghetto, that is a function of institutionalized racism. But the society either pretends it doesn't know of this situation, or is incapable of doing anything meaningful about it. And this resistance to doing anything meaningful about conditions in that ghetto comes from the fact that the ghetto is itself a product of a combination of forces and special interests in the white community, and the groups that have access to the resources and power to change that situation benefit, politically and economically, from the existence of that ghetto.

It is more than a figure of speech to say that the Negro community in America is the victim of white imperialism and colonial exploitation. This is in practical economic and political terms true. There are over 20 million black people comprising ten percent of this nation. They for the most part live in well-defined areas of the country--in the shanty-towns and rural black belt areas of the South, and increasingly in the slums of northern and western industrial cities. If one goes into any Negro community, whether it be in Jackson, Miss., Cambridge, Md. or Harlem, N. Y., one will find that the same combination of political, economic, and social forces are at work. The people in the Negro community do not control the resources of that community, its political decisions, its law enforcement, its housing standards; and even the physical ownership of the land, houses, and stores lie outside that community.

It is white power that makes the laws, and it is violent white power in the form of armed white cops that enforces those laws with guns and nightsticks. The vast majority of Negroes in this country live in these captive communities and must endure these conditions of oppression because, and only because, they are black and powerless. I do not suppose that at any point the men who control the power and resources of this country ever sat down and designed these black enclaves, and formally articulated the terms of their colonial and dependent status, as was done, for example, by the Apartheid government of South Africa. Yet, one can not distinguish between one ghetto and another. As one moves from city to city it is as though some malignant racist planning-unit had done precisely this--designed each one from the same master blueprint. And indeed, if the ghetto had been formally and deliberately planned, instead of growing spontaneously and inevitably from the racist functioning of the various institutions that combine to make the society, it would be somehow less frightening. The situation would be less frightening because, if these ghettos were the result of design and conspiracy, one could understand their similarity as being artificial and consciously imposed, rather than the result of identical patterns of white racism which repeat themselves in cities as distant as Boston and Birmingham. Without bothering to list the historic factors which contribute to this pattern--economic exploitation, political impotence, discrimination in employment and education--one can see that to correct this pattern will require far-reaching changes in the basic power-relationships and the ingrained social patterns within the society. The question is, of course, what kinds of changes are necessary, and how is it possible to bring them about?

In recent years the answer to these questions which has been given by most articulate groups of Negroes and their white allies, the "liberals" of all stripes, has been in terms of something called "integration." According to the advocates of integration, social justice will be accomplished by "integrating the Negro into the mainstream institutions of the society from which he has been traditionally excluded." It is very significant that each time I have heard this formulation it has been in terms of "the Negro," the individual Negro, rather than in terms of the community.

This concept of integration had to be based on the assumption that there was nothing of value in the Negro community and that little of value could be created among Negroes, so the thing to do was to siphon off the "acceptable" Negroes into the surrounding middle-class white community. Thus the goal of the movement for integration was simply to loosen up the restrictions barring the entry of Negroes into the white community. Goals around which the struggle took place, such as public accommodation, open housing, job opportunity on the executive level (which is easier to deal with than the problem of semi-skilled and blue collar jobs which involve more far-reaching economic adjustments), are quite simply middle-class goals, articulated by a tiny group of Negroes who had middleclass aspirations. It is true that the student demonstrations in the South during the early sixties, out of which SNCC came, had a similar orientation. But while it is hardly a concern of a black share-cropper, dishwasher, or welfare recipient whether a certain fifteen-dollar-a-day motel offers accommodations to Negroes, the overt symbols of white superiority and the imposed limitations on the Negro community had to be destroyed. Now, black people must look beyond these goals, to the issue of collective power.

Such a limited class orientation was reflected not only in the program and goals of the civil rights movement, but in its tactics and organization. It is very significant that the two oldest and most "respectable" civil rights organizations have constitutions which specifically prohibit partisan political activity. CORE once did, but changed that clause when it changed its orientation toward black power. But this is perfectly understandable in terms of the strategy and goals of the older

organizations. The civil rights movement saw its role as a kind of liaison between the powerful white community and the dependent Negro one. The dependent status of the black community apparently was unimportant since--if the movement were successful--it was going to blend into the white community anyway. We made no pretense of organizing and developing institutions of community power in the Negro community, but appealed to the conscience of white institutions of power. The posture of the civil rights movement was that of the dependent, the suppliant. The theory was that without attempting to create any organized base of political strength itself, the civil rights movement could, by forming coalitions with various "liberal" pressure organizations in the white community--liberal reform clubs, labor unions, church groups, progressive civic groups--and at times one or other of the major political parties--influence national legislation and national social patterns.

I think we all have seen the limitations of this approach. We have repeatedly seen that political alliances based on appeals to conscience and decency are chancy things, simply because institutions and political organizations have no consciences outside their own special interests. The political and social rights of Negroes have been and always will be negotiable and expendable the moment they conflict with the interests of our "allies." If we do not learn from history, we are doomed to repeat it, and that is precisely the lesson of the Reconstruction. Black people were allowed to register, vote and participate in politics because it was to the advantage of powerful white allies to promote this. But this was the result of white decision, and it was ended by other white men's decision before any political base powerful enough to challenge that decision could be established in the southern Negro community. (Thus at this point in the struggle Negroes have no assurance--save a kind of idiot optimism and faith in a society whose history is one of racism--that if it were to become necessary, even the painfully limited gains thrown to the civil rights movement by the Congress will not be revoked as soon as a shift in political sentiments should occur.)

The major limitation of this approach was that it tended to maintain the traditional dependence of Negroes, and of the movement. We depended upon the good-will and support of various groups within the white community whose interests were not always compatible with ours. To the extent that we depended on the financial support of other groups, we were vulnerable to their influence and domination.

Also the program that evolved out of this coalition was really limited and inadequate in the long term and one which affected only a small select group of Negroes. Its goal was to make the white community accessible to "qualified" Negroes and presumably each year a few more Negroes armed with their passport--a couple of university degrees--would escape into middle-class America and adopt the attitudes and life styles of that group; and one day the Harlems and the Watts would stand empty, a tribute to the success of integration. This is simply neither realistic nor particularly desirable. You can integrate communities, but you assimilate individuals. Even if such a program were possible its result would be, not to develop the black community as a functional and honorable segment of the total society, with its own cultural identity, life patterns, and institutions, but to abolish it--the final solution to the Negro problem. Marx said that the working class is the first class in history that ever wanted to abolish itself. If one listens to some of our "moderate" Negro leaders it appears that the American Negro is the first race that ever wished to abolish itself. The fact is that what must be abolished is not the black community, but the dependent colonial status that has been inflicted upon it. The racial and cultural personality of the black community must be preserved and the community must win its freedom while preserving its cultural integrity. This is the essential difference between integration as it is currently practised and the concept of black power.

What has the movement for integration accomplished to date? The Negro graduating from M.I.T. with a doctorate will have better job opportunities available to him than to Lynda Bird Johnson. But the rate of unemployment in the Negro community is steadily increasing, while that in the white community decreases. More educated Negroes hold executive jobs in major corporations and federal agencies than ever before, but the gap between white income and Negro income has almost doubled in the last twenty years. More suburban housing is available to Negroes, but housing conditions in the ghetto are steadily declining. While the infant mortality rate of New York City is at its lowest rate ever in the city's history, the infant mortality rate of Harlem is steadily climbing. There has been an organized national resistance to the Supreme Court's order to integrate the schools, and the federal government has not acted to enforce that order. Less than fifteen percent of black children in the South attend integrated schools; and Negro schools, which the vast majority of black children still attend, are increasingly decrepit, overcrowded, under-staffed, inadequately equipped and funded.

This explains why the rate of school dropouts is increasing among Negro teenagers, who then express their bitterness, hopelessness, and alienation by the only means they have--rebellion. As long as people in the ghettos of our large cities feel that they are victims of the misuse of white power without any way to have their needs represented--and these are frequently simple needs: to get the welfare inspectors to stop kicking down your doors in the middle of the night, the cops from beating your children, the landlord to exterminate the vermin in your home, the city to collect your garbage--we will continue to have riots. These are not the products of "black power," but of the absence of any organization capable of giving the community the power, the black power, to deal with its problems.

SNCC proposes that it is now time for the black freedom movement to stop pandering to the fears and anxieties of the white middle class in the attempt to earn its "good-will," and to return to the ghetto to organize these communities to control themselves. This organization must be attempted in northern and southern urban areas as well as in the rural black belt counties of the South. The chief antagonist to this organization is, in the South, the overtly racist Democratic party, and in the North the equally corrupt big city machines.

The standard argument presented against independent political organization is "But you are only 10%." I cannot see the relevance of this observation, since no one is talking about taking over the country, but taking control over our own communities.

The fact is that the Negro population, 10% or not, is very strategically placed because--ironically--of segregation. What is also true is that Negroes have never been able to utilize the full voting potential of our numbers. Where we could vote, the case has always been that the white political machine stacks and gerrymanders the political subdivisions in Negro neighborhoods so the true voting strength is never reflected in political strength. Would anyone looking at the distribution of political power in Manhattan, ever think that Negroes represented 60% of the population there?

Just as often the effective political organization in Negro communities is absorbed by tokenism and patronage--the time honored practice of "giving" certain offices to selected Negroes. The machine thus creates a "little machine," which is subordinate and responsive to it, in the Negro community. These Negro political "leaders" are really vote deliverers, more responsible to the white machine and the white power structure, than to the community they allegedly represent. Thus the

white community is able to substitute patronage control for audacious black power in the Negro community. This is precisely what Johnson tried to do even before the Voting Rights Act of 1966 was passed. The National Democrats made it very clear that the measure was intended to register Democrats, not Negroes. The President and top officials of the Democratic Party called in almost 100 selected Negro "leaders" from the Deep South. Nothing was said about changing the policies of the racist state parties, nothing was said about repudiating such leadership figures as Eastland and Ross Barnett in Mississippi or George Wallace in Alabama. What was said was simply "Go home and organize your people into the local Democratic Party--then we'll see about poverty money and appointments." (Incidentally, for the most part the War on Poverty in the South is controlled by local Democratic ward heelers--and outspoken racists who have used the program to change the form of the Negroes' dependence. People who were afraid to register for fear of being thrown off the farm are now afraid to register for fear of losing their Head-Start-jobs.)

We must organize black community power to end these abuses, and to give the Negro community a chance to have its needs expressed. A leadership which is truly "responsible"--not to the white press and power structure, but to the community--must be developed. Such leadership will recognize that its power lies in the unified and collective strength of that community. This will make it difficult for the white leadership group to conduct its dialogue with individuals in terms of patronage and prestige, and will force them to talk to the community's representatives in terms of real power.

The single aspect of the black power program that has encountered most criticism is this concept of independent organization. This is presented as third-partyism which has never worked, or a withdrawal into black nationalism and isolationism. If such a program is developed it will not have the effect of isolating the Negro community but the reverse. When the Negro community is able to control local office, and negotiate with other groups from a position of organized strength, the possibility of meaningful political alliances on specific issues will be increased. That is a rule of politics and there is no reason why it should not operate here. The only difference is that we will have the power to define the terms of these alliances.

The next question usually is, "So--can it work, can the ghettos in fact be organized?" The answer is that this organization must be successful, because there are no viable alternatives--not the War on Poverty, which was at its inception limited to dealing with effects rather than causes, and has become simply another source of machine patronage. And "Integration" is meaningful only to a small chosen class within the community.

The revolution in agricultural technology in the South is displacing the rural Negro community into northern urban areas. Both Washington, D.C. and Newark, N.J. have Negro majorities. One third of Philadelphia's population of two million people is black. "Inner city" in most major urban areas is already predominantly Negro, and with the white rush to suburbia, Negroes will in the next three decades control the heart of our great cities. These areas can become either concentration camps with a bitter and volatile population whose only power is the power to destroy, or organized and powerful communities able to make constructive contributions to the total society. Without the power to control their lives and their communities, without effective political institutions through which to relate to the total society, these communities will exist in a constant state of insurrection. This is a choice that the country will have to make.

CENTRAL WASHINGTON

STATE COLLEGE

SYMPOSIUM:

REVOLUTION

APRIL 19-22, 1967

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SIXTH ANNUAL SYMPOSIUM ON AMERICAN VALUES

REVOLUTION

April 19 - 21, 1967

Central Washington State College

Ellensburg, Washington

The symposium began in 1962 in conjunction with the inauguration of Dr. James E. Brooks as President of the College. The first symposium explored American values broadly from within the contexts of the arts, the sciences, and the humanities. In the next four, the intention was to look at American values in terms of activities which seem to be common to all human beings: thinking, worshiping, working, and playing. The symposium this year has the purpose of examining the conditions and the forces which move people to civil disobedience, violence, and revolution.

The goal of the entire series has been to find a way of starting and continuing a conversation among the faculty and student body--both as persons and as scholars--on common ideas and concerns. The series has attempted to provide a thematic unity within which the various segments of the college could, if they wished, exhibit in concrete fashion the learning and skills that are the center of the academic program.

This year's symposium does not consider any one revolution, exclusively, making a study of it. There has been no intention of concentrating on say the "scientific revolution" or the "technological revolution" or the "revolution in morals". There is no intention either of concentrating on a revolution in ideas or in discoveries or in artistic movements nor in education nor in any given area nor, for that matter, among any given group or nation. Any or all of these revolutions or ideas might have been used as a focal point. And it is clear that any and all of these kinds of revolutions and examples of revolutions may become important in discussing the subject of this symposium. But we hoped to avoid the possible abstraction of an academic or purely theoretical approach by concentrating on specific kinds of revolution, and we also hoped to avoid the restricted appeal that a given name to revolution might have. In addition, political--social--economic revolution as a topic is most immediate to us, and it is the sort most commonly meant when the word "revolution" is used. Then too, these are the kinds of revolutions in which we are most directly involved abroad.

What this symposium seeks to do is to discuss patterns and relationships that exist among the factors in revolution of whatever kinds. More specifically, within the political--social--economic revolutions with which we are most familiar. And where else will meaning or morality or values lie except in finding the patterns in relationships that exist among these different factors?

I. THE SYMBOLS, MYTHS, AND RATIONALE OF REVOLUTION. (Sidney Hook)

No elaborate community of elaborate organisms could exist unless its systems of symbolism were in general successful. Codes, rules of behaviour, canons of art, are attempts to impose systematic action which on the whole will promote favourable symbolic interconnections.

(Whitehead--Symbolism)

Carl Becker once described the Declaration of Independence as "a philosophical creed designed to justify the action of men who had taken the law into their own hands. It was at one and the same time a justification of rebellion and a statement of those common principles on which was to be founded a new state."

The American Revolution was a violent one, though not nearly so violent nor destructive as others, such as the French Revolution. But in both cases, elements of the revolutionary impulse have survived. Becker believes that in the American case the revolutionary impulse has survived as a "movement for the democratization of American society and politics--a movement which has continued from that day to this and which is the central theme of our history."

So the rationale, and some of the myths and symbols of contemporary "revolutionary" movements in the United States have roots deep in American history. But taking the law into one's own hands is now almost universally condemned. Though violence does occur, and in some instances is rationalized, Americans generally no longer condone the presumption of violence implicit in the Declaration of Independence. Ordered societies do not condone violence.

Mr. Hook has sharply criticized recent instances of violence and the rationales offered to justify them. As an example, he regards the mass civil disobedience at Berkeley, and the "free speech" rationale supporting it, as defensible only in the most extreme circumstances, and "in behalf of basic principles of freedom". In a democracy, he believes, revolution is justified only when legitimate ways to achieve reform are not available. Mr. Hook will discuss the "legitimacy" of revolution, and try to clarify the meaning of a word whose overuse has enveloped it in clouds of ambiguity.

II. ART AND REVOLUTION (Susan Sontag)

Where bread is short, ideals are bread.

(Yevtushenko)

Revolution ordinarily is thought of as a more or less violent attempt to alter or abolish fundamental social institutions such as the government, the church, or the economic system. But revolution sets in motion forces that in time affect virtually every aspect of life, including the arts. In revolution, people in the arts take sides as almost everyone else does; some will support revolution and others oppose it. In either case, because

the arts can be powerful instruments of persuasion, they will be used to impel people to action one way or the other. Any of the arts--poetry, the drama, painting, music; writing--can influence the mood, the style, the tempo of rebellion or resistance.

While the moods and styles of art themselves can be "revolutionary", independent of whatever rhetorical uses art may be put to, this symposium is more concerned with the influence art can have in a revolutionary social and political context, and particularly how art may reflect and influence the mood of revolution. That art does reflect and influence the mood and style of revolution is apparent in a number of the arts today: in the poetry of Allen Ginsberg, Gary Snyder, and Robert Bly; in the folk music of Bob Dylan, Joan Baez, or Pete Seger; in the drama of Edward Albee or Barbara Garson; in the prose writings of Ralph Ellison, James Baldwin, Joseph Heller and Norman Mailer; in the films of Stan Brakhage, Jonas Mekas, and Stan Vanderbeek.

Miss Sontag's interest in the arts, and their relationships to contemporary political movements, should contribute a very important dimension to the subject of revolution.

III. TECHNOLOGY, UTOPIA, AND REVOLUTION. (John Dyckman)

And there's the fact that we confront somehow or other the needs of a world order, whether we want it or not, because technology is forcing that kind of conclusion upon us. Isn't that a fact? And a fact? I think that the avoidance of revolution in a society like ours is "wholesome" in the sense that a highly complex industrial state can't stand anything but a palace revolution.

(Kenneth Burke)

Human beings for centuries have dreamed of utopia, and often have associated utopia with the city. They have not, however, usually associated utopia with technological development, nor seen the two even as related to each other. Since the 18th century, though, the character of the city has been predominantly defined by technology, and technology viewed as the means for achieving utopia. Today, the almost universal acceptance of the idea of progress goes hand in hand with technological development. Most of the developing nations seem to accept without question the notion that technology is the answer to most of their difficulties, and they are determined to share in the technological order as quickly as possible.

Modern technology and urbanization both are worldwide phenomena, mutually reinforcing and mutually complicating. As Mr. Dyckman has written, both technology and urbanization, or "over-urbanization", are serious threats to social order. Technology threatens social order because it brings about economic and social conditions that are increasingly intolerable, and because it inspires expectations which cannot be immediately realized. Over-urbanization threatens social order, especially in the developing nations, because the city lacks capital to meet basic community needs, because human expectations outstrip economic and political development, and because urban centers provide revolutionary cadres with strategic places from which to operate.

Mr. Dyckman asserts that discontent and social unrest and common to urban areas in both the developing and advanced nations, and that in both

cases the root of the unrest lies partly in the dehumanizing effects of the techno-materialistic system which is characteristic of the modern city. If this is so, new models of utopia are in order, or at least revisions of the old ones.

IV. THE REVOLUTIONARY IDEAL. (Conor Cruise O'Brien)

I please myself with imagining a State at last which can afford to be just to all men, and to treat the individual with respect as a neighbor; which ever would not think it inconsistent with its own repose if a few were to live aloof from it, not meddling with it, nor embraced by it, who fulfilled all the duties of neighbors and fellow-men. A State which bore this kind of fruit, and suffered it to drop off as fast as it ripened, would prepare the way for a still more perfect and glorious State, which also I have imagined, but not yet anywhere seen.

(Thoreau)

Implicit in any revolution are notions of order and justice, and one object of revolution is to implement new definitions of the terms. Slogans, symbols, and myths help to define, in a rhetorical sense at least, the revolutionary ideal. Not only in the United States, but around the world, people are struggling for their respective notions of order and justice.

As a representative of the United Nations Secretary General in the Congo, Mr. O'Brien personally experienced the revolutionary ferment in Africa. This experience, in addition to his long involvement in world affairs, has contributed to his concern about the revolutionary movements in the developing nations. The extent of Mr. O'Brien's concern is suggested in the following questions which he has raised:

"What kinds of order are possible in the conditions of the under-developed world"? "How do the ideas of order and justice present themselves to people there"? "What are the conditions in which revolutionary violence becomes likely"? "What attitudes on the part of the advanced countries to revolutionary violence in the under-developed ones are possible, probable, desirable"? "What is the relationship of the pressures towards revolutionary violence in the under-developed countries to the danger of international violence on the thermo-nuclear scale and the possible destruction of civilization"? "What policies in relation to the revolutionary possibilities of the under-developed countries seem most likely, on the other hand, to permit the development of human society, with a minimum of violence, towards an order more nearly just"?

V. THE REVOLUTIONARY ACT. (Stokely Carmichael)

All men recognize the right of revolution; that is, the right to refuse allegiance to, and to resist, the government, when its tyranny or its inefficiency are great and unendurable. But almost all say that such is not the case now. But such was the case, they think in the Revolution of '75.

(Thoreau)

Whether one is sympathetic or hostile toward a revolutionary movement, what it looks and feels like from the outside is no doubt greatly different

from what it looks and feels like to be in the action. Stokely Carmichael, head of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, is one who has been engaged in activities associated with the current "political" revolution, and he has been asked to discuss the strategy and tactics of revolution as he has experienced the struggle.

Mr. Carmichael has been represented erroneously as advocating violence as a tactic in the civil rights movement. The term "black power", which he first popularized, symbolizes for many the abandonment of the non-violent tactic customarily associated with the movement. Mr. Carmichael denies that SNCC advocates the use of violence. Rather, he interprets black power to mean the acquisition of political and economic power by Negroes, at least in proportion to their numbers, an end to the monopoly of political and economic power based on race, and the elimination of race as the basis for determining who can acquire and achieve in a democratic society. Nevertheless, his opponents persist in the notion that black power means the use of violence in order to establish Negro dominance over whites. Mr. Carmichael's address at the symposium should help to relieve the ambiguity that exists in the term black power. And as an activist in the civil rights movement, Mr. Carmichael can be expected to explain the strategy and tactics he has adopted.

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

Sidney Hook: Professor of Philosophy and Chairman, Department of Philosophy, New York University Graduate School of Arts and Sciences. M.A., Ph.D., Columbia University.

Among Professor Hook's publications are: "The Metaphysics of Pragmatism", "John Dewey: An Intellectual Portrait"; "Reason, Social Myths and Democracy"; "The Hero in History: A Study in Limitation and Possibility"; "Education for Modern Man"; and "The Quest for Being". Firmly opposed to all varieties of totalitarianism, Mr. Hook has expressed in his many writings the belief that democracy can become a living faith for America in this age of social and scientific advance. He is one of the chief targets of philosophical and political attack in the press of Communist countries.

He is a member of the American Philosophical Association, the New York Philosophy Club, the International Committee for Academic Freedom, and other professional societies. He served as president of the American Philosophical Association (Eastern Division) in 1959-1960 and was a Fellow at The Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences in Stanford University in 1961-1962.

John Dyckman: Chairman, Center for Planning and Development Research, and Professor of City and Regional Planning, University of California, Berkeley. M.A., Ph.D., University of Chicago. Professor Dyckman has served as consultant to a large number of agencies including the New York City Planning Department, the Michael Reese Hospital in Chicago, the National Park Service, the American Council to Improve our Neighborhoods (ACTION) during the early phases of the formation of the program, and the planning boards of Puerto Rico and the City of Monterey, California. His books include Explorations into Urban Structure, (1963) and Capital Requirements for Urban Development and Renewal (1961); Mr. Dyckman has also written a large number of articles. During the present academic year, Mr. Dyckman spent several months in Yugoslavia.

Susan Sontag: Author and critic; B.A., University of Chicago; M.A. (English), M.A. (Philosophy), Harvard University; taught philosophy at Harvard, Sarah Lawrence and elsewhere; attended Oxford and the Sorbonne; recipient of Rockefeller Foundation Grant (1964), Merrill Foundation Grant (1965). First novel, The Benefactor, 1963; her reviews, essays, and articles have appeared in such magazines as Partisan Review, the New York Review of Books, Film Quarterly, Mademoiselle, and others. Against Interpretation, a collection of Miss Sontag's essays, was published in 1966. The essays deal with novels, films, and the theatre, and general problems of the arts and of modern culture. Miss Sontag is currently working on her second novel.

Conor Cruise O'Brien: Educated at Sandford Park School, Dublin, and Trinity College, Dublin. Foundation Scholar 1937; B.A. Modern Literature (French and Gaelic) First Class Honours, First Place, Gold Medal 1940; Ph.D. (History) 1953. Entered Irish Civil Service 1942. Department of External Affairs, Dublin, 1944. Head of United Nations Desk, Department of External Affairs, Dublin, 1956-60; Member of the Irish Delegation to the United Nations, 1956-60; Assistant Secretary, Department of External Affairs, 1960; appointed Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General in Katanga, May, 1961. Vice-Chancellor, University of Ghana, 1962-65. Presently, Regents Professor and Schweitzer Professor, New York University. Professor O'Brien's publications include: Maria Cross: Imaginative Patterns in a Group of Catholic Writers (1952); Parnell and His Party (1957); The Shaping of Modern Ireland (Edited), 1960; To Katanga and Back (1962); Writers and Politics (1965). Professor O'Brien has also contributed to numerous journals.

Stokely Carmichael: Chairman, Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee; A.B., Howard University. SNCC Chairman Stokely Carmichael, 24, was raised in the slums of Trinidad, The West Indies, New York City and Washington, D. C., where he attended Howard University. Toughened by his ghetto life, Carmichael was a militant leader of Howard University Student Government and gave direction and leadership to the Student Activist Group in Washington called the Nonviolent Action Group. Carmichael is one of five children put through school by Mrs. Mabel Carmichael. He graduated from the select Bronx High School of Science of New York in 1960. Arrested over 12 times while participating in Movement activities, Carmichael has seen action in Jackson, Mississippi, New Orleans, Tennessee, Maryland, Virginia, New York and Alabama. He has worked with SNCC since its inception. When asked why he joined the Movement and wanted to work for SNCC Carmichael said, "I have worked with SNCC since its beginning. I believe that while most other organizations are working for reform, SNCC is trying to lay the foundation for a revolution. I do not feel that a reform movement will solve the socio-economic problems facing us. The best it can do is bring the problems to the public..."

Fred E. Stockholder: Assistant Professor of English, University of British Columbia; B.A., The City College of New York; Ph.D., University of Washington; Lecturer at the University of Ghana, 1964-66. Special field, British literature; has published works on Joyce Cary, and on the problem of alienation in modern literature.

Fred T. Haley: President, Brown and Haley Co.; B.A., Dartmouth College; post-graduate study in business administration, University of Washington. Mr. Haley has been associated with a wide range of civic activities: Washington State Board Against Discrimination; Regional Board, National Conference of Christians and Jews; Board of Trustees, Seattle Symphony and Tacoma Philharmonic; Chairman, Washington Citizens Committee for Civil Rights Legislation.

SELECTED QUOTATIONS ON THE THEME OF REVOLUTION

I own I am not a friend to a very energetic government. It is always oppressive. The late rebellion in Massachusetts has given more alarm than I think it should have done. Calculate that one rebellion in 13 states in the course of 11 years is but one for each state in a century and a half. No country should be so long without one.

(Thomas Jefferson)

The truth is, and let it humble our pride, the most ferocious of all animals, when his passions are roused to fury and are uncontrolled, is man; and of all governments, the worst is that which never fails to excite, but was never found to restrain those passions, that is, democracy.

(Fisher Ames)

They (popular revolutionary societies) may be set up against a good government indeed, but their efforts against it must ultimately be inefficacious and harmless. Because they sometimes succeed in overthrowing a tyranny, will it follow that there is even a possibility of these societies succeeding against a good policy?

(Ezra Stiles)

Already, in many quarters of our country, we are "beyond" the stage where we are being saved from Nazism by our virtues. And fascist integration is being staved off, rather, by the conflicts among our vices. Our vices cannot get together in a grand united front of prejudices; and the result of this frustration, if or until they succeed in surmounting it, speaks, as the Bible might say, "in the name of" democracy.

(Kenneth Burke)

Under a government which imprisons any unjustly, the true place for a just man is also a prison.

(Thoreau)

If I have unjustly wrested a plank from a drowning man, I must restore it to him though I drown myself. This, according to Paley, would be inconvenient. But he that would save his life, in such a case, shall lose it. This people must cease to hold slaves, and to make war on Mexico, though it cost them their existence as a people.

(Thoreau)

Men in a state of civil war are no longer the same. They cease to view the former objects through the same medium as before. The most unjust thoughts, the most tyrannical actions, the most perverse measures, which would have covered them before with infamy or would have made them dread the omnipotence of heaven, are no longer called by these ancient names; the sophistry of each party calls them policy, justice, self-defence.

(deCrevecoeur)

SYMPOSIUM SCHEDULE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-12-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

Wednesday, April 19

8:00 p.m.--Nicholson Pavilion

Welcome: President James E. Brooks

Greetings: Dennis Hamilton, President, Student Government Association

Presiding: William Desmonde

Address: Sidney Hook--"The Symbols, Myths, and Rationale of Revolution"

9:15 p.m.--Colloquia

Thursday, April 20

9:30 a.m.--Nicholson Pavilion

Presiding: Richard Johnson

Address: Susan Sontag--"Art and Revolution"

10:45 a.m.--Colloquia

1:30 p.m.--Nicholson Pavilion

Presiding: Pat Vernie

Address: John Dyckman--"Technology, Utopia and Revolution"

2:45 p.m.--Nicholson Pavilion

First Symposium Panel

4:00 p.m.--Student Reception for Speakers at SUB Ballroom

5:30 p.m.--Faculty Buffet Supper for Speakers

8:00 p.m.--Hertz Recital Hall

Special Films Program: "Castro Street"; "The War of the Buttons"

8:00 p.m.--McConnell Auditorium

The Zoo Story--a play by Edward Albee

Directed by Terry Parker

Friday, April 21

1:30 p.m.--Nicholson Pavilion

Presiding: Raymond Smith

Address: Conor Cruise O'Brien--"Order, Justice and Revolution"

2:45 p.m.--Colloquia

8:00 p.m.--Nicholson Pavilion

Presiding: Susan Campbell

Address: Stokely Carmichael--"The Act of Revolution"

9:15 p.m.--Nicholson Pavilion

Final Symposium Panel

Saturday, April 22

8:00 p.m.--Hertz Recital Hall

Special Films Program: "Castro Street"; "The War of the Buttons"

8:00 p.m.--McConnell Auditorium

The Zoo Story--a play by Edward Albee

Directed by Terry Parker

INTRA-DEPARTMENT COMMUNICATION

SEATTLE POLICE DEPARTMENT

FROM Lieutenant [REDACTED] Community Relations Unit
TO Chief of Police F. C. Ranson
SUBJECT Stokley Carmichael

DATE April 17, 1967

Mrs. John Bundy and Mr. Clifford Hooper, of S.H.C.C. and Negro Voters League respectively, report the following information on Stokley Carmichael:

b6
b7c

- 1) Arrival at Sea-Tac at 3:00 P.M. on Wednesday, April 19, 1967.
- 2) Will go directly to University of Washington for a 1-hour talk at 3:30 P.M.
- 3) Program at Garfield High School starts 7:30 P.M. Carmichael speaks at 8:00 P.M. for about 45 minutes.
- 4) Following talk there will be a reception for him at the Pink Pussy Cat (near 3rd and Yesler) at approximately 9:00 P.M.
- 5) He will stay overnight at apartment of [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] phone LA. 2-4378.
- 6) He plans on being at C.W.S.C. in Ellensburg at 9:00 A.M. the following day.
- 7) He is reportedly traveling alone.

Respectfully submitted,

[REDACTED]
Lieutenant [REDACTED]

AB/rh

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-12-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

#42
100-28676-70

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAY 10 1967	
FBI-SEATTLE	

INTRA-DEPARTMENT COMMUNICATION

SEATTLE POLICE DEPARTMENT

FROM

Lieutenant [REDACTED]

DATE April 17, 1967

TO

F. C. Ramon, Chief of Police

SUBJECT

Stokely Carmichael

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-12-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/ST

A telephone conversation this date with Nashville, Tennessee, Assistant Chief of Police John Wise reveals the following information, suggestions and opinions:

1. Two of Carmichael's "Lieutenants" are identified as [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] Negro males, described as the sandal and processed long hair type against whom Nashville has Grand Jury proceedings.
2. In Nashville, Carmichael spoke exclusively at Negro student centers and among those present were Strom Thurmond, Martin Luther King, "Evans", "Rose" and Donovan.
3. In Nashville, he spoke in the afternoon, and the trouble followed that evening.
4. Nashville Police raided a place and found Molotov cocktails and other materials to make more.
5. Carmichael's prepared speeches are not too fiery, but when he departs from it, (if he feels he has the right type audience), he goes into the burn whitey, kill and "Hunkey" tirades.
6. Chief Wise suggested the Intelligence Unit should be out and active in the community gathering information.
7. He cited a deliberately set, harmless burning of a wood pile and stated this was simply ignored by police and firemen. Felt it was a trap to get official response to be used as targets for rioters.
8. He said an "Incident" was created and police called twice, and after ejecting, but not arresting the participants, pickets with signs already made appeared almost immediately.

It may be mere coincidence, but we have a very active local character by the name of [REDACTED] the same last name as one of Carmichael's "Lieutenants".

Respectfully submitted,

Lieutenant [REDACTED]

Community Relations Unit

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-12-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

TO : SAC (100-²⁸⁶⁷⁴~~26954~~) (P)

DATE: 4/20/67

FROM : [REDACTED] SA

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
SM-C

b6
b7C

On 4/20/67 [REDACTED] Ellensburg Police Department, Ellensburg, Washington, advised that at about 10:20 AM on that date the subject had arrived in Ellensburg and was checked into Unit 42, Thunderbird Motel. With him were four other subjects, all colored, and two of which were registered in Unit 43 at the same motel. The latter two were a [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] both of whom listed an address of "Bean East", University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon. CARMICHAEL and his group arrived in a blue Cadillac convertible. Washington license AWW-406, registered to [REDACTED] Renton, Washington.

[REDACTED] advised further that CARMICHAEL had attended an informal coffee hour from 4:00 PM to 5:00 PM at the ballroom of the Student Union Building, commonly known as the "SUB" or "CUB" which was attended by about one hundred persons, however there were no speeches. One of [REDACTED] contacts asked CARMICHAEL directly where he would be going from Ellensburg, to which he replied that he did not know where he was going, but would know when he got there.

CARMICHAEL is scheduled to attending an informal meeting in the CUB lounge at 2:45 PM on April 21, at which he will be featured, however this is not to be an address on his part, but rather a forum for questions. This will be followed by another reception or coffee hour from 4:00 PM to 5:00 PM in the SUB ballroom of Central Washington State College in honor of all the speakers at the symposium.

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b7C

[REDACTED] stated there have been no remarks of an inflammatory character on the part of the subject, nor has there been a demonstration of any kind. No meetings of the subject with any other groups or individuals are known and there has been no unusual congregation of persons of the colored race other than students of the college in the areas where the subject has been. [REDACTED] stated that students who ask questions of the subject listen to his answers and go away with their impressions confused and shaking their heads. One was heard to remark that after listening to CARMICHAEL answer a question, he had definitely decided not to attend the lecture scheduled by the subject.

[REDACTED] advised he intends to attend the lecture given by the subject at 8:00 PM in the Pavilian of the Central Washington State College, and he will furnish any information of interest which he obtains, as well as any additional information regarding the contacts and travel plans of the subject.

2 - Seattle



① - FILE
1-100-26954 (SNCE)

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100-28676-71

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
APR 22 1967	
SEATTLE	

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

F B I

Date: 4/20/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439190)
FROM: SAC, SEATTLE (100-26956) (P)
SUBJECT: COMINFIL (SNCC)
IS - C
OO: ATLANTA

Re Seattle airtels to Bureau, 3/23/67 and 4/14/67.

Enclosed herewith are nine (9) copies of LHM entitled
"STOKELY CARMICHAEL - INFORMATION CONCERNING".b6
b7C
b7D

The first source utilized is [redacted]
who furnished the information to SA [redacted] on 4/20/67.
Second source is [redacted] who
furnished information to SA [redacted] on April 20, 1967.

Copies of this LHM will be disseminated locally to Army,
NISO, OSI, Secret Service and the USA.

- 3 - Bureau (Encl. 9) (REG)
- 2 - Atlanta (100-6488) (Encl. 2) (REG)
- 2 - Los Angeles (Encl. 2) (REG)
- ④ - Seattle
 - (2 - 100-26956)
 - (1 - 100-28676) (STOKELY CARMICHAEL)
 - (1 - [redacted])

b2
b7DWHW:cmh
(11)

100-28676-72

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Seattle, Washington
April 20, 1967

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INFORMATION CONCERNING

On April 20, 1967, a source advised that STOKELY CARMICHAEL arrived in Seattle, Washington, by United Airlines Flight #398, at approximately 3 p.m. on April 19, 1967. Immediately on arriving in Seattle he proceeded to the University of Washington where he spoke to a crowd estimated at between 3500 and 4000 students and faculty members at the Hec Edmondson Pavilion.

At approximately 8:30 p.m., April 19, 1967, CARMICHAEL spoke to an overflow crowd of some 3700 people at the Garfield High School auditorium. CARMICHAEL spoke for approximately 45 minutes on both occasions and while the content of both speeches was essentially the same, his presentation before the predominately Negro audience at Garfield High School was more emotional.

Both speeches stressed the necessity of Negroes assuming a pride in their race, and a willingness to fight back against inequities imposed upon them by white "hunkies". He condemned America's participation in the war in Vietnam, and in answer to a question from a university student about the Negro's role in the draft, he said, "tell'em 'Hell no, we aren't going.'"

This source stated that CARMICHAEL was honored at a reception held at the "Pink Pussycat" in Seattle's Central District, following his speech at Garfield High School. At this reception he was friendly but cautious not to divulge his future travel plans or activities. He explained his presence on the west coast as merely "to have a good time".

A second source advised on April 20, 1967, that CARMICHAEL spent the night of April 19, 1967, in the private home of [redacted] [redacted] Seattle, Washington. [redacted] was scheduled to drive CARMICHAEL to

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This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

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b7C

Ellensburg, Washington on April 20, 1967, in [] personally owned automobile. CARMICHAEL will be in Ellensburg, Washington, for a two-day symposium at Central Washington State College (CWSC), April 20-21, 1967. He will spend the night of April 20, 1967, at the Thunderbird Motel, Ellensburg, and is scheduled for one speech on April 21, 1967, at 8 p.m. on the CWSC campus. It is assumed he will return to Seattle, Washington, immediately following his April 21, 1967, speech as he is scheduled for departure from Seattle on Western Airlines Flight #700, 8:35 a.m., April 22, 1967, to arrive in Los Angeles, California, 10:44 a.m. the same date.

Both sources indicated there was no violence, or any incident following either of CARMICHAEL's speeches in Seattle on April 19, 1967.



*In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.*

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Seattle, Washington
April 20, 1967

Title	STOKELY CARMICHAEL
Character	INFORMATION CONCERNING
Reference	Communication dated and captioned as above at Seattle, Washington.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-12-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

CWSC Sessions Draw Bead On 'The Act Of Revolution'

By BILL LEE
Education Editor

ELLENSBURG — With the first sessions barely under way, major attention already is turning to the grand finale of the annual Central Washington State College Spring Symposium.

The finale will come at 8 p.m. Friday when Stokely Carmichael, chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, will abandon theoretical dissertations and zero in on the symposium theme during a talk on "The Act of Revolution."

Carmichael, fresh from speaking engagements at Seattle, arrived in Ellensburg today to join other symposium keynote speakers in "colloquia" or dis-

cussion sessions throughout Friday before his main address.

Two of the five keynote speakers — Dr. Sidney Hook, chairman of the philosophy department of New York University, and Robert Mezey, assistant professor of English at Fresno State College — already have delivered their addresses.

John Dyckman, chairman of the Center for Planning and Development Research and professor of City and Regional Planning at the University of California at Berkeley discussed "Technology, Utopia and Revolution" this afternoon.

Tonight's program includes a special symposium film and Edward Albee's play "The

Zoo Story," both starting at 8 p.m.

Friday's symposium program will begin at 1:30 p.m. with an address by Conor Cruise O'Brien, former United States representative in Katanga in 1961. O'Brien, a New York University professor, will discuss "Order, Justice, and Revolution."

Mezey, a last minute substitute for an ailing Susan Sontag, author and critic, raised some eyebrows with poetry readings that were generously sprinkled with four letter words, dissertations on love and a poetic blast at President Johnson and the war in Vietnam.

"There is no distinction between art and revolution — one is speech, the other action," the bearded poet charged.

"We have free speech only because it is harmless," he added. "We are becoming a very peculiar kind of police state which works by deceptions, not force. It's like a child being kept in line by the superior strength of a parent. The kid learns that if you can't beat 'em, join 'em."

Last night, Dr. Hook established the historical basis for revolution. He explained some of the myths of revolution and pointed a finger at the new left.

"The despair that alienates some young radicals under 30 from political life and leads them to regard the democratic process as an obstacle to a just society is short sighted and self-defeating," Dr. Hook said, because the failure to convince or persuade those in whose interest they presumably speak

Without political organization and political programs, they scare off some sections of the electorate that could be won for progressive causes, Dr. Hook said. He said our task at the symposium is to understand the nature of revolution, not to make or avert one.

Dr. Hook said the word "revolution" has an overtone of wide emotional range and attempts to define it produce greater confusion than enlightenment. The "revolution" he concerned himself with last night, he said, was one of fundamental changes in the power relations of the classes within society.

The doctor said revolution as a symbol evokes a deep emotional response, whether hope or fear, among the classes it affects.

"The word 'revolution' is like the sound of a trumpet and the bright color of blood but when it is heard in the context of disorder it is like the sound of a machine gun and like the color of death," he said.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Page 2

Yakima, Republic

Yakima, Washington

Date: 4/20/67
Edition: Evening
Author: BILL LEE
Editor: TOM THOMAS
Title: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Character: SM - C

or
Classification: 100-28676
Submitting Office: Seattle

☐ Being Investigated

100-28676-73

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
APR 22 1967	
LE	

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b7c

F B I

Date: 4-20-67

PLAIN TEXT

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via TELETYPE DEFERRED
(Priority)

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080)

from seattle (100-28676) 1pg

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS-M. OO: ATLANTA.

RE SEATTLE TEL FOUR NINETEEN LAST.

ACCORDING TO ELLENSBURG, WASHINGTON, POLICE DEPARTMENT,
CARMICHAEL ARRIVED CENTRAL WASHINGTON STATE COLLEGE, ELLENSBURG,
MIDMORNING FOUR TWENTY INSTANT DRIVING FROM SEATTLE. PRESENT AT
COFFEE HOUR FOUR TO FIVE PM STUDENT UNION BUILDING ON CAMPUS,
SMALL NUMBER OF NEGRO STUDENTS PRESENT. NO MAJOR SPEECHES. NO
FLAMATORY REMARKS OR DEMONSTRATIONS. STUDENTS WHO TALKED TO HIM
HAD DOUBTFUL ENTHUSIASM. NO INCIDENTS REPORTED. LHM FOLLOWS
FINAL APPEARANCES AT CENTRAL WASHINGTON STATE COLLEGE,
FOUR TWENTY-ONE.

AM COPY TO ATLANTA

Approved: *Jem*

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

6:40 PM

Per

*PSW**100-28676-74*

SAC (100-26956) (P)

4/21/67

b6
b7C

SA

SNCC
RE STOKELY CARMICHAEL
SM - C

b6
b7C

On 4/21/67 [redacted] Ellensburg, Washington, Police Department, advised that he had developed information regarding the scheduled appearance of the above subject at the "Colloquial" in the Student/Building of Central Washington State College Union.

[redacted] stated that the meeting started at approximately 2:45 PM on that date and lasted until about 4:10 PM. No inflammatory remarks were made by CARMICHAEL during the period, which consisted only of questions by students and the subject's answers, the answers slanted toward extolling the contributions made by negroes to the nation's history, including statements such as indicating the negroes are suppressed in the north as well as the south and that negro sweat had built this country. There were about 140 persons in attendance, most of whom were students, with a sprinkling of colored pupils believed from the Davis High School in Yacima. Questions by the students did not give the speaker any opportunity to open up any discussion of any issues of a controversial nature and his answers were principally evasive to the point of vagueness. He parried some direct questions and dodges others completely by changing the subject. No literature or posters of any nature were in evidence and there were no demonstrations.

[redacted] stated that CARMICHAEL spoke principally in a monotone. He also advised that he had received an unconfirmed rumor that CARMICHAEL had been invited to a student campus group to meet with them, but he has been unable to develop any information that any such meeting actually occurred. He stated he understands that the subject will depart for Seattle as soon as his lecture is over the evening of April 21, however he will verify this and report later.

b6
b7C

[redacted] later called and advised the lecture by the subject went off without incident, his remarks were vague and inferential, but he made very few direct statements of a positive nature. Some 3000 to 5000 persons attended the evening session at the Pavilion of the Central Washington State College where he spoke, and some scattered applause occurred when he spoke regarding Viet Nam. He hinted that negroes might oppose military service and resist the draft, but made no recommendation that it be done. He also mentioned that the white people were giving the negro integration, but it was not the true thing. No inflammatory statements were made, no demonstrations of any kind were evident, and the meeting was quiet and orderly. The general audience reception was described as receptive to cool and indifferent, with no marked measure of enthusiasm. Following the speech, the subject left at 10:15 PM for Seattle.

2 - Seattle

1 - File

(100-2867615 Carmichael)

100-28676-76

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED 312	FILED 542
APR 21 1967	
FBI - SEATTLE	

F B I

Date: 4/22/67

Transmit the following in PLAINTEXT
(Type in plaintext or code)Via TELETYPE DEFERRED
(Priority)

TO DIRECTOR (100-446080)
FROM SEATTLE (100-28676)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS - M. OO: ATLANTA.

CARMICHAEL SPOKE TONIGHT, CENTRAL WASHINGTON STATE COLLEGE, ELLENSBURG, WASHINGTON, BEFORE POSSIBLY FIVE THOUSAND PEOPLE. SPEECH PRIMARILY CONCERNING CIVIL RIGHTS WITH MINOR REFERENCE TO VIETNAM WAR AND SELECTIVE SERVICE. NO INFLAMATORY STATEMENTS OR OPENLY CRITICAL REMARKS CONCERNING GOVERNMENT LEADERS OR POLICY. PREDOMINANTLY WHITE CROWD COURTEOUS BUT UNENTHUSIASTIC. NO DEMONSTRATIONS, VIOLENCE OR INCIDENTS DURING CARMICHAEL'S STAY AT ELLENSBURG.

CARMICHAEL LEFT ELLENSBURG IN PRIVATE AUTO FOR SEATTLE, WHERE HE IS EXPECTED TO DEPART BY COMMERCIAL AIRLINE MORNING OF APRIL TWENTYTWO ENROUTE LOS ANGELES.

BUREAU AND LOS ANGELES WILL BE ADVISED OF DEPARTURE AND FLIGHT INFORMATION. LHM FOLLOWS. AIRMAIL COPY TO ATLANTA.
END

*Zero to
copy 100-26956*

100-28676-77

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent 2 29/A M

Per _____

F B I

Date: 4/22/67

PLAIN TEXT

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via TELETYPE DEFERRED
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI *LA*
FROM: SAC, SEATTLE (100-28676)
STOKELY CARMICHAEL; IS - M OO: ATLANTA
RE SEATTLE TEL APRIL TWENTY TWO INSTANT.

CARMICHAEL DEPARTED SEATTLE FOR LOS ANGELES BY UNITED
AIRLINES FLIGHT TWO NINE ONE, TWELVE FORTY-FIVE AM, APRIL
TWENTY TWO INSTANT. HELD ONE WAY TICKET. FLIGHT SCHEDULED TO
ARRIVE LOS ANGELES THREE FORTY-THREE AM THIS DATE.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-12-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

CNG:cng

(2)

AM copy to ATLANTA *ltd.*

12:40 AM

3:41 AM

100-28676-78

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

125 Dju
1:50 PM LA

Per _____

Bck

F B I

Date: 4/22/67

Transmit the following in PLAIN TEXT

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE DEFERRED

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
SAC, LOS ANGELES

FROM: SAC, SEATTLE (100-28676)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS-M
OO: ATLANTA

RE SE AIRTEL APRIL TWENTY-ONE LAST.

CARMICHAEL DID NOT DEPART SEATTLE AS SCHEDULED.

ACTIVITIES BEING ASCERTAINED.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-12-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

CNG:

(2)

AM copy to Atlanta *ditto*

b6
b7c

Text dictated by SA

100-28676-79

Approved: *JEH/MS*

Special Agent in Charge

Sent *1112 DM*
1115 LA

M

Per *BEB*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-12-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Ross Cunningham:

Carmichael Stirred Varied Emotions In Seattle Audiences

THE reaction of many to Stokely Carmichael's speaking appearances in Seattle last week is that he is as much of a showman as he is a racial agitator.

If his purpose is malevolence to the "white power structure" he castigates so acidly, it is mitigated by his rhetorical style of interlacing humor, which brought him his greatest audience reaction at Garfield High School.

In fact, I have heard countless political partisan spielers who could pack more malevolence toward their partisan opposites into a single sentence than Carmichael did in his four-long speech at Garfield. He could have taken lessons from Hubert Humphrey in his hey-day before becoming vice president.

Carmichael's audience at Garfield seemed in the main to be thoughtfully attentive; neither curiosity-seekers nor citizens eager to have their emotions set afire. He received his dullest audience reaction when he called upon Negroes to refuse to fight in Vietnam.

He perhaps scored his greatest reaction when he caustically ribbed history books for not identifying as Negroes members of that race who have made great marks in history. His mention of Hannibal as one of them sent me to my encyclopedia to learn that Hannibal is described there as a Carthaginian, but not directly as a Negro.

CARMICHAEL POKED SCORN at Booker T. Washington, who is generally recognized as having been a great Negro educator. Carmichael said Washington was an "Uncle Tom" and George Washington Carver was "doubly so." My encyclopedia identifies both as Negroes. It may be that any Negro so identified in history books is an "Uncle Tom" in Carmichael's semantics of derision.

Carmichael's most constructive pitch was that the Negroes should lift their attitudes in pride of their own heritage, quit knuckling under to the whites and stop misleading them by mumbling that "we aren't really mad." Negroes, he said, really built the country, while the whites sat on their porches and sipped bourbon.

Negroes, he said, built all those fine mansions in the South with craftsmanship which, in the present era, labor unions disregard by saying Negroes have no capabilities.



ROSS
CUNNINGHAM

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

SEATTLE TIMES

PR 23 1967

PAGE 10 col 5

Date:
Edition:
Author:
Editor:
Title: Stokely Carmichael

Character:

or
Classification: 100-28676-
Submitting Office: Seattle 80

☐ Being Investigated

COPY SENT TO BUREAU

SEARCHED.....INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....FILED.....

MAY 3 1967

FBI-SEATTLE

HE GAVE THE IMPRESSION of scorning civil rights legislation because the "hunkies" cannot by law give Negroes rights they have inherently. Education was not spared scorn. Carmichael assailed the premise that through education Negroes can find economic and social equalities. Take out a sheepskin and see what it gets you, he said.

Forbes Bottomly, Seattle school superintendent, was in the audience and must have winced when Carmichael gave quick shrift to education's special programs designed to assist the "culturally underprivileged." Negroes, he said, aren't "culturally underprivileged"; they are oppressed and enslaved.

If he implied that education should discontinue such programs as Head Start, he certainly leaves such educators as Bottomly in a quandary because this has been considered one of the most effective remedial programs in education.

CARMICHAEL ALSO WAS quite uncomplimentary toward President Johnson, Senator Robert Kennedy, both Democrats, and Senator Brooke of Massachusetts, a Negro Republican.

Carmichael is an iconoclast. He spared few, if any, of the theoretical remedies for injustice to the Negroes. Notably absent were alternatives.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Define Ourselves, Says Carmichael

By BILL LEE

ELLENSBURG — Part of the problem of inequality in the world today can be traced to a white western society that has been able to define everything and everybody, the national leader of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee charged here last night.

Speaking before a capacity crowd of more than 3,000 persons, Stokely Carmichael added that Negroes are "going to define ourselves as we see fit and White America is going to have to accept it."

Carmichael's address climaxed the annual spring symposium at Central Washington State College. The "Black Power" advocate was one of five keynote speakers brought to the campus to discuss this year's symposium theme of revolution in contemporary society.

Speaking in a soft, easy-going manner, Carmichael apparently again decided against the "more emotional" orations reserved for predominately Negro audiences.

"White America does not recognize the existence of other definitions," Carmichael said. "We are taught that Columbus discovered America. He was merely the first white man to set foot on the continent."

Charging that society's value judgments are determined by the definition of whites, he added that "If the white man's army wins on television it's a victory. If the red man wins, it's a massacre."

"When college students throw bottles at Fort Lauderdale, they go on a spree; when Negroes throw bottles, it's a riot," Carmichael added.

Turning to his oft-quoted Black Power slogan, Carmichael said that "control of their communities and institutions is the real fight facing Negroes. To fight institutional racism, you need power."

He defined Black Power as the "coming together of black people to fight for their rights by any means necessary."

"White America cannot give us freedom; we are born free, then enslaved," Carmichael said. "The real fight of Black people is to stop America from denying us our freedom."

Carmichael also charged that civil rights bills are for the white man, not the Negro, since "civil rights bills civilize White America. Denying freedom is uncivilized."

Turning to the inevitable topic of the Vietnam war, Carmichael said that white youth protests the war on the grounds that it is "immoral."

"They are frustrated by the hypocrisy of America," Carmichael said. "Black youths protest because it is a question of survival," Carmichael said. "A black soldier is fighting to enslave himself by fighting to save the system which enslaves him."

"A black youth is drafted to fight for democracy, but he never gets to live it," Carmichael added.

Carmichael, in effect, also viewed desegregation as a two-way street that calls for Negroes moving into white neighborhoods and whites into the ghettos.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Page 2

Yakima Morning Herald

Yakima, Washington

Date: 4/22/67

Edition: Morning

Author: BILL LEE

Editor: TOM THOMAS

Title: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Character: IS-C

or

Classification: 100-28676 -

Submitting Office: Seattle

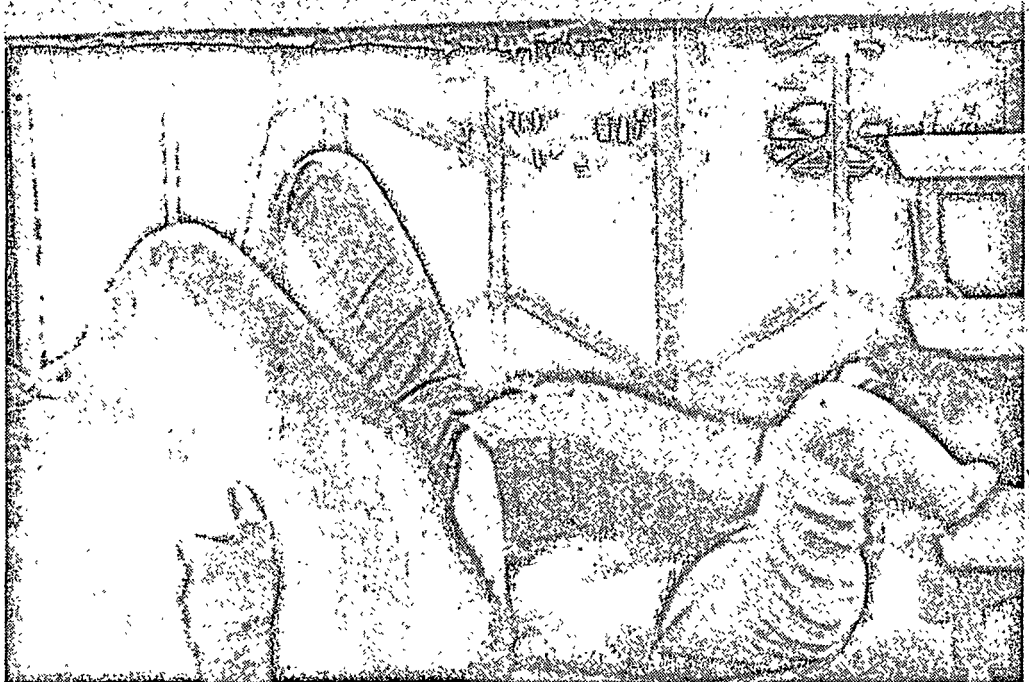
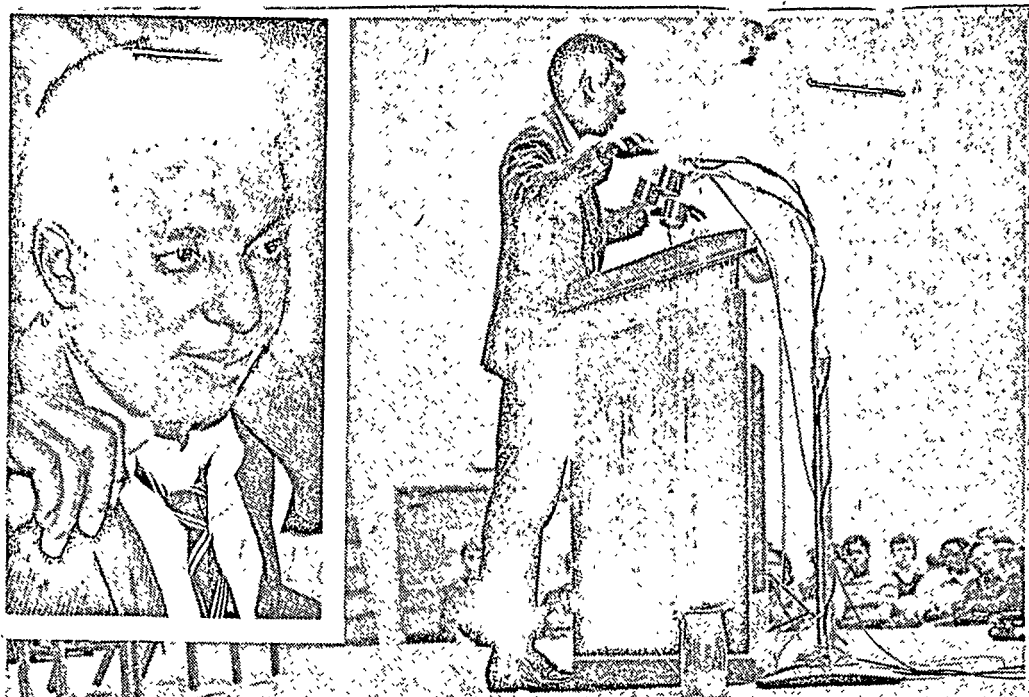
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APR 24 1967

APR 25 1967

FBI - SEATTLE



RELAXED — Stokely Carmichael, national Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee leader, spoke chiefly in calm tones at the Central Washington State College Symposium last night in Ellensburg and the two members of his audience in the foreground obviously took a relaxed view of the situation. Carmichael (inset) uses a more fiery manner when speaking to predominantly Negro audiences.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-12-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Cleric Calls Carmichael God's Judgment on Whites

By LANE SMITH
Religion Editor, The Times

It may seem paradoxical, but the Rev. Samuel B. McKinney went away from Stokely Carmichael's address at Garfield High School with the impression that the young black power advocate has two heroes — Malcolm X and Jesus Christ.

Carmichael listed Malcolm X, the martyred Black Muslim leader, as among the most influential of contemporary Negro leaders. If he was critical of white Christians, he seemed full of praise for Jesus, and "at home" in the Scriptures.

Mr. McKinney, pastor of the Mount Zion Baptist Church, president of the Greater Seattle Council of Churches and a spokesman in civil-rights causes, believes Carmichael's visit was positive in rallying the Negro community and speaking "truthfully" to what many "black people" have always felt and believed.

SOME OF Mr. McKinney's observations:

1. Carmichael, as an intellectual, was able to "communicate with everyone. I only trust that many of our young people caught the depth of his message.

2. "Brother Carmichael gave many of our youth and others lessons in the 'black man's' contribution to the world. Many received this gospel for the first time.

3. "Perhaps one of Brother

Stokely's best contributions was his emphasis on pride in one's self, one's history and one's future. Many Negroes will now hold their heads higher."

4. Carmichael "personified the youth of today who are weary of sham, pretense, hypocrisy, double talk, double deal, double cross, double standards and duplicity in any shape, form or fashion. His generation believes in telling it like it is."

Many things Carmichael says will "strike fear into the hearts of those over 30, white and black," the minister said, "but I still like him."

5. Carmichael is calling for a third political party, or force made up of black people. How well this will be received in the Northern or Western ghettos, "often dominated by political bosses of both parties," remains to be seen.

But a look at the youthful character of the audience revealed to Mr. McKinney "that in a few years he might well have the votes of the young who owe no allegiance to either or any political party."

6. Mr. McKinney said he was warmed to hear that Carmichael stood firmly with the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, who "has been repudiated by much of the 'white power structure' and many influential persons in the Negro community" because of statements against the war in Vietnam.

Carmichael and Dr. King have similar views on Vietnam, but Carmichael said Dr. King says it "nicer."

7. "When questioned about religion, Christianity and the color of God, Stokely 'was never tricked into an anti-Christian stance,'" Mr. McKinney said.

"In fact, it came through loud and clear that those who talk most about Christianity don't really know anything about it. Christianity is a revolutionary religion."

MR. MCKINNEY said he hoped he was not in error in his appraisal of Carmichael's high views of Malcolm X and Jesus.

"This is a strange mixture and amalgam which can do more than merely co-exist," Mr. McKinney said. "If taken seriously by Carmichael's followers, this can be a very interesting and exciting new wave of the future."

8. "I feel it ought to be said that Stokely Carmichael is also God's judgment upon white society's refusal and inability to meet the demands of an oppressed people. They have sown the wind and now must reap the whirlwind, Stokely. This is not bad, nor does it portend evil."

"Some of us have been saying all along that if you don't listen to what we say, you will have to deal with someone who won't hear nor care one iota about you. That awful day has surely come," the minister added.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

SEATTLE TIMES

APR 22 1967

PAGE 2 COL 3

Date:
Edition:
Author:
Editor:
Title: Stokely Carmichael

Character:

or

Classification: 100-28676
Submitting Office: Seattle

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SERIALIZED FILED

APR 22 1967

FBI - SEATTLE

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DATE 11-12-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Stokely Carmichael Aide Tells The Meaning of 'Black Power'

By LANE SMITH

Religion Editor, The Times
The Stokely Carmichael-
led Student Nonviolent Co-
ordinating Committee is say-
ing a "movement for black
people has to be controlled
by black people."

That's a definition of
black power by Evelyn
Marshall, Carmichael's sec-
retary and a former Uni-
versity of Washington stu-
dent.

Miss Marshall, 23, who
left the university in her
senior year "to join the
movement," is making a
number of talks to church
and student groups in the
Seattle area.

MISS MARSHALL said
the black power movement,
as espoused by Carmichael,
is not anti-white. But she
allowed, it is saying in ef-
fect to white people, "Phys-
ician, heal thyself."

"White people can't go
into black communities and
liberate anybody," Miss
Marshall said.

But white people can do
something about what Car-
michael calls "institutional
racism," she said.

Carmichael maintains that
every institution in Ameri-
can life keeps the Negro
community in a condition of
dependence and oppression.
It was white power that has
excluded the Negro from
participation in power deci-
sions, black power advo-
cates say.

Miss Marshall says that
S. N. C. C. draws financial



EVELYN MARSHALL

aid from such organizations
as the Seattle Friends of
S. N. C. C.

But Miss Marshall is ada-
mant that S. N. C. C. is not
to be controlled by an "out-
side" movement, church,
leftist or rightist.

SHE BECAME interested
in civil-rights activities at
the university when she be-
came aware of the difficul-
ty of nonwhite students in
finding housing in the Uni-
versity District, Miss Mar-
shall said.

She went to Washington,
D. C., in 1965 to participate
in the Freedom Democratic
Party challenge of the seat-
ing of the white Mississippi
congressional delegation.
She then went to Mississip-
pi to participate in S. N.
C. C. projects.

Miss Marshall, a native of
Wapato, Yakima County,
identifies herself as a Fili-
pina and "nonwhite." Her
mother was Cacaussian, she
said, but she was reared by
her stepmother, a Filipina.

She has been Carmichael's
secretary in S. N. C. C.

headquarters in Atlanta
since 1966.

Carmichael, she said, is
about the only S. N. C. C.
official who is bothering to
explain the movement, and
he doesn't go out of his way
to be "nice" because "he
is saying things like they
are."

"YOU LOSE A lot of time
and energy if you worry
about what white people are
thinking."

Most of S. N. C. C.'s pro-
gram is going into building
its "black power" political
movement and it is moving
North to address itself "to
the needs of the people of
the ghetto," she said.

Developing a "black con-
sciousness" is a primary in-
tention of the movement,
she added.

"We have accepted the
fact that most black people
live in restricted areas,"
Miss Marshall said. "If you
are talking about integra-
tion, you are dealing with
a small percentage of the
black people. So we are
dealing with the facts of life
and we believe black people
should control the communi-
ties in which they live."

Miss Marshall will speak
at the Edge Coffee House
at the Wesley Foundation at
9 p. m. today, to students
at Green River College at 2
p. m. Monday, at 8 p. m.
Monday at the University
Unitarian Church, and at
7:30 p. m. Thursday at the
Friends Center, 4001 Ninth
Ave. N. E.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

SEATTLE TIMES

APR 22 1967

PAGE 2 COL 6

Date:
Edition:
Author:
Editor:
Title: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Character:

or

Classification: 100-28676
Submitting Office: Seattle

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SERIALIZED.....FILED.....

APR 22 1967

FBI - SEATTLE

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Carmichael Hurts Civil Rights, Says Former Alabama Official

Richmond M. Flowers, who unsuccessfully tried to wrest control of Alabama from the George Wallace forces last year, said here today that Stokely Carmichael is doing more good for the Wallace cause than anyone.

"Carmichael should run for vice president with Wallace," Flowers said at a press conference before speaking to the Shoreline Community College student body.

Flowers, former attorney general of Alabama, said there is no more room in America for Carmichael's black power than there is for Wallace's white power.

He said the civil rights movement is slipping now, largely because of black-power advocates like Carmichael, Flowers said.

"If you leave the Carmichaels and Wallaces to deal against each other, you've got a race war. Civil rights has to be moved from white against black and black against white. It has to be black and white together."

FLOWERS SAID the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King also has dealt a devastating blow to the civil rights movement with his new anti-Vietnam war posture.

Flowers said there is "absolutely no connection between the war and civil rights."

Flowers said he stands by President Johnson's position on Vietnam. Right or wrong, first of all my country," he said.

The big, red-haired racial moderate was beaten soundly in last May's Alabama gubernatorial Democratic primary by Mrs. Lurleen Wallace, a stand-in for her husband, who was ineligible to run for another term.

Flowers said he would run for governor of Alabama



RICHMOND M. FLOWERS

"again and again." He acknowledged that he was a long way from representing a majority view in Alabama, but said the number of Alabamians hoping for peaceful integration is growing.

MRS. WALLACE doesn't even read well when delivering the speeches written by her husband, Flowers said. Emphasizing that there is no question that George Wallace is really Alabama's governor, Flowers said:

"Let's not degrade Lurleen. After all, nobody gets mad at Charlie McCarthy. It's Edgar Bergen who must carry the brunt."

Flowers said a Wallace bid for President as a third-party standard-bearer in 1968 "wouldn't take a single Democratic vote away from President Johnson." Flowers said, "he'll get the southern racist and Goldwater vote. He'll only hurt the Republican Party."

THE FORMER Alabama attorney general said Wallace never will be a serious candidate because of his racist attitude.

Flowers said: "He says he's not, but he's a racist. He knows that if he is going to campaign nationally, he no longer should say 'Segregation now, segregation tomorrow, segregation forever.' Now, he says local government now."

Flowers said the "one bright spot in Alabama is

that the young and those in the institutions of higher learning don't go along with the Wallaces."

He said Mrs. Wallace's defiance of a Federal Court order for state-wide school desegregation is unnecessary theatrics. He said the people of Alabama "had one show" of standing at the school-room door "and they're tired of it."

THEORETICALLY, integration should be solved at the local level, Flowers said. But he said the problem would not be faced in Alabama without federal pressure.

He spoke at Shoreline Community College, Green River Community College and Pacific Lutheran University today. Tomorrow, he will speak at Seattle University and University of Puget Sound. He will speak at the University of Washington Thursday.

Flowers said his speaking tour is "to show the other side of the Alabama coin."

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

19 SEATTLE TIMES
Seattle, Washington

Date: 4-25-67
Edition: Night Final
Author:
Editor:
Title: Stokely Carmichael

Character:

or

Classification: 100-28676
Submitting Office: Seattle

☐ Being Investigated

COPIES TO BUREAU

SLD SLD

SEE SEATTLE

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Carmichael For — V.P. With Wallace?

By United Press International

Black power advocate Stokely Carmichael is aiding the white supremacy cause of former Alabama Gov. George Wallace, Richmond M. Flowers, former attorney general of Alabama, said Tuesday.

"Carmichael should run for vice president with Wallace," Flowers told a news conference in Seattle before addressing the Shoreline Community College student body.

FLOWERS, WHO was defeated by Mrs. Lurleen Wallace in Alabama's gubernatorial primary last May, said America has no more room for Carmichael's philosophy of black power than it has for Wallace's philosophy of white power.

"If you leave the Carmichaels and Wallaces to deal against each other, you've got a race war," Flowers said. "Civil rights has to be moved from white against black and black against white. It has to be black and white together."

HE SAID Carmichael was hurting the civil rights cause, and added that Dr. Martin Luther King had dealt the movement a powerful blow with his new anti-Vietnam war posture.

Flowers will speak at 1 p.m. today in Pigott Auditorium, Seattle University.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-12-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

14 SEATTLE POST
INTELLIGENCER
Seattle, Washington

Date: 4-26-68
Edition: Sunrise
Author:
Editor:
Title: Stokely Carmichael

Character:
or

Classification: 100-28676
Submitting Office: Seattle

☐ Being Investigated

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SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
APR 27 1968
FBI - SEATTLE

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-12-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

Board to Appeal In Test Case

The Seattle School Board will appeal the Superior Court decision which permitted Stokely Carmichael, black power advocate, to speak at Garfield High School.

The board said yesterday the appeal will be a test case to obtain direction from the Supreme Court concerning the board's authority in renting school facilities.

The board originally denied Carmichael the right to speak at Garfield. Its action was overruled by Superior Judge Frank James, and Carmichael spoke at the school April 19.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

PAGE 53

SEATTLE TIMES

SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

Date: 4/28/67
Edition: NIGHT FINAL
Author:
Editor:
Title:

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office: SEATTLE

☐ Being Investigated

100-28676-86

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAY 1 1967	
FBI - SEATTLE	

F B I

Date: 5/1/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439190) (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, SEATTLE (100-28676) (RUC)
(100-26956) (P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - M
OO: ATLANTA

COMINFIL (SNCC)
IS - C
OO: ATLANTA

Re Seattle airtels to Bureau, 3/23/67, 4/14/67, and 4/20/67.

Enclosed herewith are nine (9) copies of LHM entitled "STOKELY CARMICHAEL - INFORMATION CONCERNING". This LHM contains information pertaining to CARMICHAEL's final appearance in the State of Washington, at Central Washington State College campus, Ellensburg, Washington, 4/21/67.

The first source utilized is [redacted] who furnished the information to SA [redacted] on 4/21/67. The second source is [redacted] who furnished the information to SA [redacted] on 4/24/67.

Copies of this LHM will be disseminated locally to Army, NISO, OSI, Secret Service and the USA.

- 3 - Bureau (Encl. 9) (REG)
 - 2 - Atlanta (100-6488) (Encl. 2) (REG)
 - 2 - Los Angeles (Encl. 2) (REG)
 - ④ - Seattle
 - (2 - 100-26956)
 - (1 - 100-28676)
 - (1 - [redacted])
- h [signature]

WHW:cmh

(11)

100-28676-87

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

b6
b7C
b7Db2
b7D



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Seattle, Washington

May 1, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-12-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INFORMATION CONCERNING

On April 21, 1967, a source advised that STOKELY CARMICHAEL arrived in Ellensburg, Washington, on the morning of April 20, 1967, accompanied by four other colored males in a private automobile, registered to [REDACTED] [REDACTED] Renton, Washington. CARMICHAEL and party arrived from Seattle, Washington, where he had given a major speech the previous night at the Garfield High School auditorium. On arriving in Ellensburg, CARMICHAEL and his party registered into units 42 and 43 of the Thunderbird Motel in Ellensburg, Washington.

b6
b7C

CARMICHAEL's first appearance on the Central Washington State College (CWSC) campus was scheduled at 4 p.m. where he met a number of students during an informal coffee hour in the ballroom of the Student Union Building. During this coffee hour the subject spoke informally to a small group of white and colored students, but most of his comments were limited to vague references concerning his previous public appearances. One of the individuals present at this "coffee hour" asked CARMICHAEL where he intended to go on leaving Ellensburg, to which CARMICHAEL replied only that he "did not know where he was going, but would know when he got there". In response to students questions, CARMICHAEL appeared to be somewhat vague and inconclusive and made efforts to avoid any controversial discussion.

On April 21, 1967, CARMICHAEL appeared at a "colloquia" beginning at 2:45 p.m. and lasting until approximately 4:10 p.m. During this time CARMICHAEL again gave vague and inconclusive answers to a series of questions asked by students and faculty members present. In answer to most of the students questions, CARMICHAEL would always make some reference as to contributions made by Negroes to American history and when possible would include statements indicating that Negroes were suppressed in the North as well as the South. Approximately 140 people attended this session, including a number of colored students from local high schools.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

At 8 p.m., STOKELY CARMICHAEL gave a major speech entitled, "The Act of Revolution" at the Nicholson Pavilion on the CWSC campus. This speech was given before a capacity crowd of approximately 3,000 people and because the audience was predominantly white, did not appear to be as emotional as his previously advertised appearances. A major portion of CARMICHAEL's comments were directed toward the role of the Negro in American history and a summary of "wrongs" Negroes had suffered under the white master. During the speech, he defined black power as the "coming together of black people to fight for their rights by any means necessary". Along the same lines he said "the real fight of black people is to stop America from denying us our freedom".

CARMICHAEL touched briefly on the Vietnam war stating that "black youths protest because it is a question of survival. A black soldier is fighting to enslave himself by fighting to save the system which enslaves him." He further commented "a black youth is drafted to fight for democracy, but he never gets to live it".

CARMICHAEL's reception at his appearances on the CWSC campus was quiet and orderly and no demonstrations occurred at any time during his stay in Ellensburg, Washington.

His general audience reception was polite with no noticeable enthusiasm.

After his final speech, CARMICHAEL and his group left Ellensburg at approximately 10:15 p.m. in the same automobile in which they had arrived from Seattle.

On April 24, 1967, a second source advised CARMICHAEL arrived in Seattle, Washington shortly after midnight following an earlier speech at Ellensburg, Washington, during the evening of April 21, 1967. CARMICHAEL reportedly went directly to the Seattle-Tacoma Airport where he departed from Seattle, Washington, via United Airlines Flight 291 at 12:45 a.m., April 22, 1967. CARMICHAEL was traveling on a one-way ticket to Los Angeles with scheduled arrival at Los Angeles at 3:43 a.m., April 22, 1967. There was no indication that CARMICHAEL had made arrangements for any further appearances in the State of Washington prior to his departure.



*In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.*

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Seattle, Washington
May 1, 1967

Title	STOKELY CARMICHAEL
Character	INFORMATION CARMICHAEL
Reference	Communication dated and captioned as above at Seattle, Washington.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-12-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

TO : SAC, SEATTLE (100-28672)
FROM : SA [REDACTED]
RE : SPRING MOBILIZATION TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM
INFO CONCERNING

b6
b7C

3/31/67

Date received 3/28/67	Received from (name or symbol number) [REDACTED] b2 b7D	Received by SA [REDACTED] <i>MC</i>
--------------------------	--	--

Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks)

☒ in person ☐ by telephone ☐ by mail ☐ orally ☐ recording device ☐ written by Informant

Documents

b6
b7C

If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent:

Date

Dictated _____ to _____

Transcribed _____

Authenticated
by Informant _____

Date of Report

3/20/67

Date(s) of activity

4/15/67

Brief description of activity or material

Documents: 1. Call For a National Spring
Mobilization to End the War in Vietnam
2. Leaflet calling for participation in
Spring Mobilization. 3. Letter from
Spring Mob. Committee dated 3/13/67.

b2
b7D

File where original is located if not attached

Remarks: Action: None. Make copy for files marked with an *.

b2
b7D

1 - 100-28672 (SM, 4/15/67) *
cc: [REDACTED] 100-0-46889

100-28713	(SSMC) *	100-23010
100-27547	(VIDEM-CONTROL)(INFO)	100-0-47166
100-10104	(W.I.L.P.F.)	100-28223
100-28107	(U OF W COMMITTEE ON WAR & PEACE)	100-28527
100-28413	(U OF W VIET NAM COMMITTEE)	100-19330
100-24106	(SEATTLE YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE)	100-27555
100-25362	(C.O.R.E.)	100-20039
100-12119	(F.O.R.)	100-0-47167
100-28708	(INDEPENDENT STUDENT COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR IN VIET NAM)	100-12198

b6
b7C

100-27795	[REDACTED]	100-24766 (W.C.C.)
100-25178	[REDACTED]	100-27603 (S.C.E.W.V.)
100-20890	[REDACTED]	100-28676 (STOKLEY CARMICHAEL)
100-20975	[REDACTED]	157-491
100-22854	[REDACTED]	100-26077
100-0-44592	[REDACTED]	100-21553
100-0-47164	[REDACTED]	
100-28667	[REDACTED]	
100-16462	[REDACTED]	
100-27435	[REDACTED]	
100-0-47165	[REDACTED]	
100-26956	(S.N.C.C.)	

100-28676-88

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
MAR 31 1967	
FBI - SEATTLE	

TO: SAC, SEATTLE (100-25998)
FROM: SA [REDACTED]
SUBJECT: NO CENTRAL CP SECTION
IS - C

4-6-67

b6
b7C

Date received 4-6-67	Received from (name or symbol number) [REDACTED] b2 b7D	Received by SA [REDACTED] b6 b7C
Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks) ☐ in person ☐ by telephone ☒ by mail ☐ orally ☐ recording device ☒ written by Informant		
If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent: Date _____ Dictated _____ to _____ Transcribed _____ Authenticated by Informant _____		Date of Report 3-30-67 Date(s) of activity 3-28-67
Brief description of activity or material NO EAST MADISON CP club meeting at 1416 25th Ave., East, Seattle, Wn. 3-28-67		File where original is located if not attached [REDACTED] b2 b7D

Remarks:

WW

1 - 100-25998 (CP-NORTH CENTRAL SECTION)
cc: [REDACTED]
100-27267 (C.I.R.M.)
100-24103 (COMINFIL OF MASS ORGS)
100-28672 (SPRING MOBILIZATION, 4/15/67)
100-27547 (VIDEM-CONTROL)(INFO)
100-19812 (P.W.)
100-18577 (EDUCATION)
100-22492 [REDACTED]
100-12198 [REDACTED]
100-19553 [REDACTED]
100-20659 [REDACTED]
100-18115 [REDACTED]
100-26937 [REDACTED]
100-28676 (STOKLEY CARMICHAEL)

b2
b7D

b6
b7C

WHW/ajs
(15)

Block Stamp

100-28676-89

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
APR 6 - 1967	
FBI - SEATTLE	

March 30, 1967

b6
b7C

Date: Tuesday, March 28, 1967

Place: Home of [REDACTED]
Seattle, Washington

Event: Meeting of the North East Madison Club of the CP

Those in attendance: [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] said that the March 25 conference on Black Power had been postponed because the people who were to attend from California were involved in the Spring Mobilization and could not attend. [REDACTED] would have had to fly to Seattle as the only California participant.

[REDACTED] said that Stokely Carmichael planned to be in Seattle April 18. She did not know whether he had plans to speak on the University of Washington campus.

Most of the meeting was devoted to discussion of the PW Fund Drive and ways to build a PW route.

[REDACTED] will lead an educational on the Playboy article on Fidel Castro at the next meeting.
[REDACTED]

Cover Sheet for Informant Report or Material
FD-306 (3-21-58)

TO: SAC, Seattle (100-25998)
FROM: SA [REDACTED]
SUBJECT: NWDCP - NORTH CENTRAL SECTION
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

4-10-67

b6
b7C

Date received 4-7-67	Received from (name or symbol number) [REDACTED] b2 b7D	Received by [REDACTED] wj
Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks) ☒ in person ☐ by telephone ☐ by mail ☐ orally ☐ recording device ☒ written by Informant		

b6
b7C

If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent:

Date

Dictated _____ to _____

Transcribed _____

Authenticated
by Informant _____

Date of Report

4-7-67

Date(s) of activity

4-4-67

b2
b7D

Brief description of activity or material

MEETING OF WATERFRONT-EAST MADISON CP CLUB,
SEATTLE, WASHINGTON, 4-4-67

File where original is located if not attached

Remarks: ACTION: None.

b2
b7D

1 - 100-25998 (CP-NORTH CENTRAL SECTION)	100-20023	[REDACTED]
cc: [REDACTED]	100-13394	
	100-25706	
100-28672 (SPRING MOBILIZATION, 4/15/67)		
100-27547 (VIDEM-CONTROL)(INFO)	100-9784	
100-24103 (COMINFIL OF MASS ORGS)	100-1220	
100-18977 (INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)	100-211	
100-19248 (STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY)	100-19553	
100-27267 (C.I.R.M.)	100-15803	
100-18979 (YOUTH MATTERS)	100-28676 (STOKLEY CARMICHAEL)	
100-19812 (P.W.)	100-13456	[REDACTED]
100-17605 (FUNDS)		
157-560 (C.A.M.P.)		
100-25362 (C.O.R.E.)		
100-20462 (NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL)		
100-11516 (COMINFIL OF LABOR UNIONS)		
100-26068 (S.W.A.P.)		

b6
b7C

WEF/ajs
(27)

Block Stamp

100-28676-90

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
APR 10 1967	
FBI - SEATTLE	

April 7, 1967

The latest Communist Party meeting of the Waterfront-East Madison club was held the evening of April 4, 1967, at the home of [redacted] Seattle, Wn.

[redacted] explained that the meeting had been set ahead for several reasons. One of the reasons being that there has been so much happening lately like the preparations for the Spring Mobilization and involvement in the struggle for jobs for the Negro people. The other reason being that the meeting nights are changed from Wednesday night to Tuesday so [redacted] could attend. [redacted] said that [redacted] was caught between a conflict of meetings since [redacted] had to attend the Youth club meetings which are held on Wednesday evenings.

b6
b7C

[redacted] was appointed as chairman for the meeting in the absence of [redacted] the regular chairman who is out to sea again on the Alaska Steamship Company run to Alaska. The agenda was composed of 1, Report by [redacted] on the Negro Civil rights situation on the struggle for jobs; 2, Peace - Spring Mobilization; 3, P.W.; 4, C.P. dues; 5, Literature; 6, Good and Welfare; 7, Setting of the date and place for the next club meeting.

On the Negro job struggle, [redacted] reported that he had been attending meetings with people of the Central Area. These representing forces belonging to the Central Area Motivation Program and C.O.R.E. [redacted] said that out of these meetings has evolved a Negro Labor Council of which he has been elected to the office of secretary-treasurer. [redacted] said that he thought that the formation of a Negro Labor Council could prove to be practical in moving the existing trade unions to some action in taking into the unions Negro workers as apprentices. [redacted] said that while he thought that the C.O.R.E. threat of establishing Negro Free Unions was not entirely wrong, that he felt that a Negro Labor Council could best serve the interests of the Negro community in the struggle for jobs and housing.

[redacted] gave a report on the latest developments of the Spring Mobilization. She gave a run-down on the different costs of transportation to the Mobilization to be held in San Francisco, April 15, 1967. [redacted] said that at the latest report, 100,000 people are expected to attend the mobilization. [redacted] said that she and [redacted] would not go but would stay home and take care of the children of parents that are going to make the trip.

On the P.W. [redacted] said that she thought the club should



arrive at a decision as to the size of a quota to take for the P.W. Fund Drive. [] said the club has a good start as [] had, between trips to Alaska, given \$100. as his pledge. After some discussion it was agreed that the club should take a quota of \$450. which was about the same as last year's quota.

b6
b7c

On C.P. dues and RFF, [] paid dues and [] paid up back dues dating from last January and also on P.W. pledge.

Before the meeting was adjourned, [] and [] came in from attending a Seattle Women Act For Peace meeting. [] gave a short report on the meeting. [] said that several buses have been chartered for the Spring Mobilization trip and also Western Airlines will have special cut rates on plane transportation to San Francisco. [] said that advertisements with the list of sponsors of the Spring Mobilization were to appear in both the Times and Post-Intelligencer on Friday, April 7, 1967, issues. [] said that some problems have arisen with the Seattle Times, that though the paper had not said anything when the advertisement copy had first been submitted; the paper now says the sponsors would have to sign their names again. [] said this would be impossible because some of the people involved had not signed their signatures but had given the consent to use their names over the telephone. The committee felt that this is just a plain case of harrassment and feels that the Seattle Times could be sued for breach of contract. [] said that about 3000 people from all over the Northwest area are attending the Spring Mobilization in San Francisco. [] said that he was taking a car load of young people - in his car.

On the selection of date for the next club meeting, the club was presented with a problem. [] said that the Stokely Carmichael meeting was scheduled for Tuesday, April 18, 1967, and most likely to be held at the A.M.E. church now that the Seattle School Board has denied permission for Carmichael to speak at Garfield High School. [] said she thought everyone should attend this meeting. After some discussion, it was agreed to schedule the club meeting three weeks from the date of the April 4, 1967. meeting, this being the evening of April 25th, at the home of [] Seattle, Wn.

Those club members attending this meeting were: []

[] attended part of the meeting.



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-12-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Carmichael furor spurs new unity

SEATTLE — Stokely Carmichael came and went from Seattle last week, and the city appears to stand firmer than ever on its democratic foundations despite dire forebodings of local government and school authorities prior to his visit.

Principal reason for the trip to the Northwest by the national chairman of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee was a 6th annual symposium at Central Washington State College. Ellensburg. Carmichael was one of several distinguished participants scheduled this year to discuss revolution.

While arrangements proceeded quietly east of the Cascades, actual revolt threatened the Puget Sound country when public officials tried to prevent Carmichael's appearance. An outraged citizenry, Negro and white, promptly instituted court suit to guarantee a central meeting hall.

Cool heads and united determination of the Negro community and its leaders averted potentially ugly consequences of such provocations as police

plans to deploy riot personnel and equipment at Garfield High School when Carmichael arrived. The department finally refrained from turning out in full battle gear, but numerous plain clothes detectives were conspicuous in the overflow audience, estimated by Garfield principal Frank Hanawalt at 4,000 persons.

HALL PACKED

Most of the Central Area turnout consisted of young Negroes, who were with the speaker all the way when he talked about black power and pride, African history and the necessity to burst the bounds imposed by a corrupt society dominated by white people who refuse to learn.

The Negro youth were not with Carmichael all the way when he first attacked the U. S. war in Vietnam. Before he finished, however, it was evident he had won many over.

Carmichael pointed out Martin Luther King was considered a "great leader" by important U. S. ruling circles until the Nobel Prize winner recently

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

SAN FRANCISCO

PAGE 3 COL 1

Date: 4/29/67
Edition:
Author:
Editor:
Title:

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office:

☐ Being Investigated

100-28676-91

SEARCHED..... INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED..... FILED.....

MAY 5 1967

FBI - SEATTLE

spoke out against the nation's role in Southeast Asia.

The Garfield crowd applauded when Carmichael urged, "Get behind Dr. King."

The worst fears of the local "power structure" may have been realized in the unifying effect of Carmichael's visit on popular forces, Negro and white, particularly in bringing together peace partisans and civil rights elements. Even organized labor was aroused, especially at the attempted denial of a rostrum.

Indicative of the new level achieved was the report by Lane Smith, religion editor of The Seattle Times, of an interview with Rev. Samuel B. McKinney, after Carmichael's visit.

Rev. McKinney is not only

pastor of Mt. Zion Baptist Church, with the largest Negro congregation in Seattle; he is also president of the Greater Seattle Council of Churches.

He saw nothing inconsistent with Carmichael's beliefs and the true tenets of Christianity. Carmichael, according to Rev. McKinney, "personified the youth of today who are weary of sham, pretense, hypocrisy, double talk, double deal, double cross, double standards and duplicity."

The Mt. Zion minister specifically applauded Carmichael's firm identification with Martin Luther King in defying the "white power structure" and many influential persons in the Negro community to speak out against the Vietnam war.

Likewise, in an earlier television interview, Rev. John H. Adams, minister of First AME Church and chairman of the Seattle Central Area Civil Rights Council, rebuffed the suggestion of a rift in Negro ranks over Carmichael's visit.

Questioned about Carmichael's alleged advocacy of violence, Rev. Adams stressed the SNCC chairman does not advocate violence, but self defense, which is every man's right.

Rev. Adams led the fight to make Garfield auditorium available to Carmichael. He called the original school board denial of its use an expression of paternalism in deciding which ideas should or should not be heard.

To: SAC, Seattle (100-27603)
From: SA [redacted]
S.C.E.W.V.N.
IS-C

4/20/67

b6
b7C

Date received 4/20/67	Received from (name or symbol number) [redacted] b2 b7D	Received by SA [redacted] b6 b7C
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Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks)

☒ in person ☐ by telephone ☐ by mail ☐ orally ☐ recording device ☐ written by Informant

If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent:

Date

Dictated _____ to _____

Transcribed _____

Authenticated
by Informant _____

Date of Report

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ 3/31/67

Date(s) of activity

undated newsletter

1967

b2
b7D

Brief description of activity or material

SCEWVN Newsletter

File where original is located if not attached

[redacted]

Remarks:

JEC/ Action: 2E204 both sides of document.

1 - 100-27603 (S.C.E.W.V.)
cc: [redacted]
100-27547 (VIDEM-CONTROL)(INFO)
100-26956 (S.N.C.C.)
100-28672 (SM, 4/15/67)
100-28713 (SSMC)
100-28676 (STOKLEY CARMICHAEL)
157-491 [redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-12-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

b2
b7D

b6
b7C

JEC/ajs
(8)

Block Stamp

100-28676-922

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
APR 20 1967	
FBI - SEATTLE	

Seattle Committee to End the War in Vietnam
NEWSLETTER

Well, we made it through one fiscal year, and had a modest convention February 1 to elect a new steering committee and map out our policy for the coming year.

We came up with a steering committee of 20 persons, and established a perspective on organizing and promoting organization in outlying areas.

A policy decision calling for withdrawal of U. S. troops was passed overwhelmingly. (See full text other side.)

February 23 the new steering committee met and voted support for the April 15 mobilization in San Francisco and to post a list of cars that are going and those who need rides and try to get the two together.

SO, IF YOU WOULD LIKE TO GO TO SAN FRANCISCO ON APRIL 15, TO JOIN IN A MASSIVE ALL-WEST COAST DEMONSTRATION OF THOUSANDS AGAINST THE WAR, CONTACT THE SCEWV OFFICE

ME 2-2463

4126 Roosevelt Way N.E.

WE WILL TRY TO ARRANGE FOR RIDERS TO SHARE EXPENSES AND DRIVING -- OR RIDES. OVERNIGHT ACCOMMODATIONS ARE POSSIBLE.

In addition we are organizing an art sale (notice enclosed) to raise money for the mobilization. (It's what's happenin'.)

b6
b7C

We tried to get Stokely Carmichael (a member of the International War Crimes Tribunal and Black Power spokesman) as a speaker against the war, but he is appearing for a local Ad Hoc SNCC group on the evening of April 19. We urge everyone to attend.

Meanwhile we will organize a meeting for [redacted] Seattleite working for SNCC in the South who will report on 7 SNCC workers arrested for demonstrating against the draft.

Happy to report that over 900 signatures were collected by Seattle Committee in support of the International War Crimes Tribunal along with a significant donation of funds.

New treasurer asks 60 second break for commercial.

"All those who are not already pledged financial supporters of SCEWV (and there are presently only 20) are asked to consider committing themselves to a regular monthly contribution. We must insure that SCEWV not only meets its office and communications expenses but maintain a reserve which enables it to react to situations and opportunities which require a financial investment."

So there!

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DATE 11-12-2009 BY UC 60822 LP/STP/ST

CALENDAR OF COMING EVENTS

Party for SNCC -- Sunday, April 2, 4-10 p.m., 8923 2nd Avenue N.E. (LA 4-4763)

Party for Mobilization -- Saturday, April 1, 1619 35th Avenue, 6:30 (potluck)

Mobilization Committee plans to place an ad in the daily press on the Mobilization appearing around April 1; to contribute call ME 3-2480

MOBILIZATION IN SAN FRANCISCO APRIL 15

Stokely Carmichael speaks April 19

[redacted] speaks around the same time

Yours for bringing the troops home now,

(Press release)

At a recent general meeting, the Seattle Committee to End the War in Vietnam adopted a resolution which extends its policy position on ending the war to include a demand for withdrawal of U. S. forces from Vietnam.

In view of the record of the U. S. conduct of the war and U. S. diplomatic conduct during the past two years, the Committee feels that Americans should not shrink from the ultimate repudiation of this country's actions in Vietnam:

That the U. S. is indeed the aggressor in Vietnam.

That the U. S. alone bears the moral obligation and the diplomatic responsibility to end the war.

That neither the national prerogative of self-defense nor loyalty to any national ideal calls for our presence in Vietnam, and that such justifications serve only to obscure a ruthless pursuit of political and economic power.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-12-2009 BY UC 61322 LK/STB/32

"30"

Received by mail 7th March 31st, 1971

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC, SEATTLE (100-26956)

DATE: 4/20/67

FROM : SA [REDACTED]

b6
b7C

SUBJECT: STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)
INFORMATION CONCERNING

On 3/23/67 [REDACTED]

b6
b7C
b7D

[REDACTED] - protect by request) furnished a flyer received from P. O. Box 1143, Seattle, Washington, postmarked on March 21, 1967. The flyer regarded a SNCC and Negro Voters League presentation of STOKELY CARMICHAEL on 4/18/67, and a fun(d) raising party on 3/25/67 at 2022 32nd Avenue South. The names of FLO WARE, NVL, and MADLYNE F. SCOTT, SNCC, appeared on the flyer.

The address of 2022 - 32nd Avenue South is that of MARY GIBSON.

The original flyer is being filed in the 1-A Exhibit of SE File 100-26956, and a xerox copy is attached to each copy of this Memorandum.

1 - 100-26956 (SNCC)
cc: 100-21798 (NVL)
100-28676 (STOAKELY CARMICHAEL)
100-21086 ([REDACTED])
100-28115 ([REDACTED])
100-20248 ([REDACTED])

b6
b7C

HW
(6)

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DATE 11-12-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

SEARCHED..... INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED..... FILED.....

APR 20 1967

FBI - SEATTLE



5010-106

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

STUDENT NON VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

AND

THE NEGRO VOTERS LEAGUE

WILL PRESENT

ON APRIL 18, 1967



STOKELY
CARMICHAEL

WE ARE HAVING A PARTY ——— YOU ARE INVITED TO A FUN(D) RAISING PARTY

9 UNTIL ——— MARCH 25, 1967

AT ——— 2022 32nd AVENUE SOUTH

HELP

HELP

HELP

PLEASE SEND CONTRIBUTIONS TO:

FLO WARE, NVL
1115 - 14th Avenue
Seattle, Washington 98122

OR

MADLYNE F. SCOTT, SNCC
3238 Eastlake Ave. East
Seattle, Washington 98102

THANKS

THANKS

THANKS

TO: SAC, SEATTLE (100-26956)
FROM: SA [REDACTED]
SUBJECT: COMINFIL - SNCC
IS - C

4/28/67

b6
b7C

Date received 4/7/67	Received from (name or symbol number) [REDACTED] b2 b7D	Received by [REDACTED] b6 b7C
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Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks)

☐ in person ☒ by telephone ☐ by mail ☐ orally ☐ recording device ☐ written by Informant

If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent:

Date

Dictated _____ to _____

Transcribed 4/7/67 by SA [REDACTED]

Authenticated by Informant 4/28/67

Date of Report

4/7/67

Date(s) of activity

4/19/67

b6
b7C

Brief description of activity or material

Rental of Washington Hall, Seattle for

STOKELY CARMICHAEL appearance on 4/19/67

b2
b7D

File where original is located if not attached

Remarks: Action: None. Note: CARMICHAEL did not appear at Washington Hall on 4/19/67 and rental was cancelled.

b2
b7D

1 - 100-26956 (COMINFIL - SNCC)
cc: [REDACTED]
100-0-46502 ([REDACTED])
100-28676 (STOKELY CARMICHAEL)
100-17605 (FUNDS)

b6
b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-12-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

Block Stamp

HEM/ajs
(5)

100-28676-94

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
APR 28 1967	
FBI - SEATTLE	

11

Seattle, Washington

4/7/67

on April 7, 1967

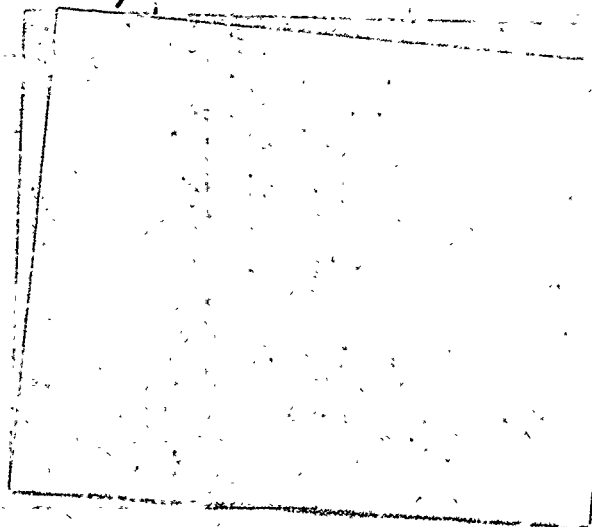
[redacted]
Telephonically requested rental of Washington
Hall for both ballrooms on evening of
April 19, 1967.

b6
b7c

Later on evening of April 7, 1967

[redacted] visited Washington Hall
and made \$30.00 down payment by check
and he said that Stokely Carmichael
would speak at Washington Hall on
April 19, 1967.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-12-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ



TO: SAC, SEATTLE (100-26956)
FROM: SA [REDACTED]
SUBJECT: COMINFIL & SNCC
IS - C

4/28/67

Date received 4/28/67	Received from (name or symbol number) [REDACTED] b2 b7D	Received by SA [REDACTED]
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Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks)

☒ in person ☐ by telephone ☐ by mail ☐ orally ☐ recording device ☐ written by Informant

If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent:

Date

Dictated _____ to _____

Transcribed _____

Authenticated
by Informant _____

Date of Report

4/13/67

Date(s) of activity

4/19/67

Brief description of activity or material

Letter of [REDACTED] dated 4/12/67
cancelling rental of Washington Hall, for
STOKELY CARMICHAEL appearance on 4/19/67

b6
b7C

File where original is located if not attached

[REDACTED]

Remarks: Action: None.

b2
b7D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-12-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

1 - 100-26956 (COMINFIL - SNCC)
cc: [REDACTED]
100-21798 (NEGRO VOTERS LEAGUE)
100-21086 [REDACTED]
100-28676 (STOKELY CARMICHAEL)
~~XXXXXX608XXXXXXNNNNXX~~

b2
b6
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HEM/ajs
KEX(5)

Block Stamp

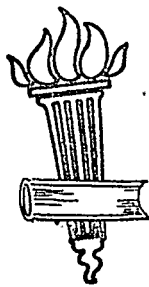
100-28676-95

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
APR 28 1967	
FBI - SEATTLE	

1M

news

INFORMATIVE



f forum

PROGRESSIVE

435 32nd Avenue East

Seattle, Washington 98102

EAsT 2-4051

Seattle, Washington
April 12, 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-12-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

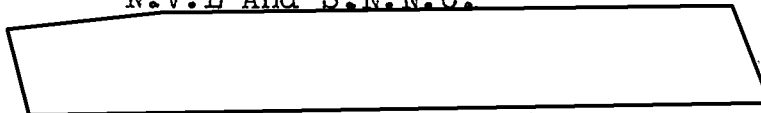
Mrs. Kisbye (Manager)
Washington Hall
14th. East Fir
Seattle , Washington

Dear Sir.

This is to enform you that The Negro Voters League, and
The Student Non-Voillint Coo rdinating Committee will not
Occupy the hall on April 19th.

Very Trully Yours,

N.V.L And S.N.N.C.



b6
b7c

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-12-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Black Power

By MIKE STEWARD

"When you talk of Black Power you talk of bringing this country to its knees. When you talk of Black Power you talk of building a movement that will smash everything Western civilization has created. When you talk of Black Power you talk of picking up where Malcolm X left off. When you talk of Black Power you talk of the black man doing whatever is necessary to get what he needs. ... We are fighting for our lives."—N.Y. Times Magazine, Sept. 25, 1966.

"Black Power is a demand to organize around the question of blackness. We are oppressed because we are black. We must organize around that question."—Ebony Magazine, Sept., 1966.

"When you say Black Power you mean the opposite of white and it forces this country to deal with its own racism."—Esquire Magazine, Jan., 1967.

The author of those three definitions of the much discussed, much heralded, much belittled "Black Power" slogan is, of course, the young, lean leader of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, Stokely Carmichael.

The conclusion is obvious. "Black Power" is little more than a catchy slogan that allows Carmichael to tailor his tune to his audience.

If he's speaking to a college audience as he was here last week, he wears a sport coat and makes an "intellectual" appeal. If he's speaking on national television he wears a business suit and spends most of his time ducking newsmen's efforts to pin him down on what "Black Power" means. If he's speaking before a crowd of southern Negro sharecroppers, as we saw him do in Jackson, Miss., this summer at the conclusion of the Meredith March, he wears bib overalls and talks in anarchistic terms like those quoted in the Times' magazine.

Nor is "Black Power" the only concept Carmichael has trouble with.

He told the Esquire reporter, "I don't go along with this garbage that 'you can't hate, you gotta love.' I don't go along with that at all. Man, you can, you do hate."

But in a conversation reported in the same article between him and a Catholic priest, Carmichael said churchmen "should start working on destroying the church and building more Christ-like communities."

While his ambiguities and contradictions contradict his "intellectual" approach, his emphasis on "hate" and destruction raises a more significant question.

For while he spends much of his time berating Negro leaders of Roy Wilkins' peaceful stripe and white liberals for their failure to bring the colored man instant equality, Carmichael has advanced no real program for doing the job better—or as well—than it is now being done.

The closest thing we've found to a Carmichael or "Black Power" platform was outlined by him in the Ebony article. There he says:

"We are demanding four things from black people: (1) That they stop being ashamed of being black; (2) that they move into a position where they can define what freedom is; (3) that they move to build a power base around the question of blackness; (4) that they move to build independent political, social, economic, and cultural institutions that they can control and use as instruments of social change."

The vital question Carmichael fails to answer, however, is how this program is to be accomplished. While he and his few hundred lieutenants can survive on their meager \$150,000-a-year budget and preach destruction and the construction of "independent institutions," there is little they can do to actually accomplish that construction.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

3

UNIVERSITY OF
WASHINGTON DAILY
Seattle, Washington

Date: 4-26-67
Edition: Campus
Author:
Editor:
Title:

Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office: Seattle
☐ Being Investigated

100-28671-96

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAY 5 1967	
FBI - SEATTLE	

And for those who are working to build healthier, equalized integrated institutions, Carmichael only has derision.

"Integration," he told the Esquire reporter, "means going to a white school because that school is good and the black school is bad. It means moving from a black neighborhood to a white neighborhood because one neighborhood, they tell you, is bad and the other is good. Well, if integration means moving to something white, moving to something good, then integration is just a cover for white supremacy."

In theory his view of integration may make sense. After all, if Negroes choose to live in one section of town and therefore to send their children to one school they should have the right to the same quality of sewer systems, street maintenance, schools, etc., as do whites in their neighborhoods. However, in practice it makes very little sense.

As long as whites remain in the majority in this nation and continue to get the best educations, the best jobs, and the top government posts they will continue to decide—whether wisely or not—who gets what.

As long as Carmichael and his brand of messiahs continue to preach "hate" and destruction the confirmed bigots will continue to feed upon the fears wrought by those sermons among the masses of white suburbia. And the Negro will continue to be educated in third-rate schools, hold menial jobs and live in slums.

If the cycle is to be broken it will be by placing the unbogoted minds of young children together in the same schools where they can receive equal educations. And if those educations are to be the best as well as equal they will be obtained in "white" schools which have received the most attention by the white power structure.

Slowly, very slowly, as Negroes are armed with quality educations they are finding their way past the white bigots into good jobs and positions of political power. It is this gradually expanding group with its educations, money and political power that can affect the politicians who decide who gets what.

This formula is, of course, the one upon which the NAACP's Wilkins and the Urban League's Whitney Young have staked many of their civil rights efforts. It hasn't brought sudden emancipation for the Negro. Certainly it is a political formula that takes full cognizance of the fact that progress is often purchased with political power at the expense of idealism and theory. In short, it is very much within the parliamentary heritage of Western civilization.

If Carmichael can demonstrate a concrete method by which a democracy can be maintained without the pragmatic difficulties of practical politics, we will consider whether we want to help him smash Western civilization. Until then, however, we prefer to struggle along with what we've got and work to improve it. We hope the majority of Negroes will continue to work with us.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-12-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

Stokely's Aide To Lecture

Miss Evelyn Marshall, secretary to Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), leader Stokely Carmichael, and former UW student, will speak today at 3:30 p.m. at the University YMCA, 4525 19th Ave. N.E.

She plans to discuss black power, the general philosophy of SNCC, various current legal challenges in the South and the involvement of SNCC in United States foreign and domestic policy.

Miss Marshall was a first quarter senior when she left the University in 1965 to participate in the controversy of the seating of the Mississippi congressional delegation in Washington, D.C.

Following SNCC work in Mississippi, she became Carmichael's secretary last year in Atlanta.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

4 UNIVERSITY OF
WASHINGTON DAILY
Seattle, Washington

Date: 4-25-67
Edition: Campus
Author:
Editor:
Title:

Character:
or

Classification:
Submitting Office: Seattle

☐ Being Investigated

100-286769

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAY 5 1967	
FBI - SEATTLE	

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-12-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

Carmichael Link To Reds Charged

WASHINGTON — (AP) — FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover has told a congressional committee that Stokely Carmichael has been in frequent contact with the leader of "a Chinese-Communist oriented organization."

Hoover's appraisal of Carmichael, a leader of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee was given last February at a closed-door session of a House Appropriations subcommittee. The committee made it public this week.

HOOVER SAID Carmichael, "in espousing his philosophy of 'black power' has been in frequent contact with Max Stanford, field chairman of the Revolutionary Action Movement, a highly - secret, all-Negro, Marxist - Leninist, Chinese - Communist oriented organization which advocates guerilla warfare to attain its goal."

He said Carmichael has given Stanford "assistance and guidance in forming a Black Panther party in New York City."

For years, Hoover said, "it has been Communist

policy to charge police brutality in a calculated campaign to discredit law enforcement and to accentuate racial issues. The riots and disorders of the past three years clearly highlight the success of this Communist smear campaign in popularizing the cry of police brutality to the point where it has been accepted by many individuals having no affiliation with or sympathy for the Communist movement."

IN GRAND Rapids, Mich., Carmichael Wednesday refused to confirm or deny Hoover's charge. He suggested Hoover resign.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

4

Seattle Post
Intelligencer

Seattle, Washington

Date: 5-18-67

Edition: Sunrise

Author:

Editor:

Title:

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office: Seattle

☐ Being Investigated

COPY SENT TO BUREAU

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
MAY 18 1967	
FBI - SEATTLE	

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____

5/26/67

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via _____

(Priority)

To: SAC, Albany

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-12-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

From: Director, FBI (100-446080)

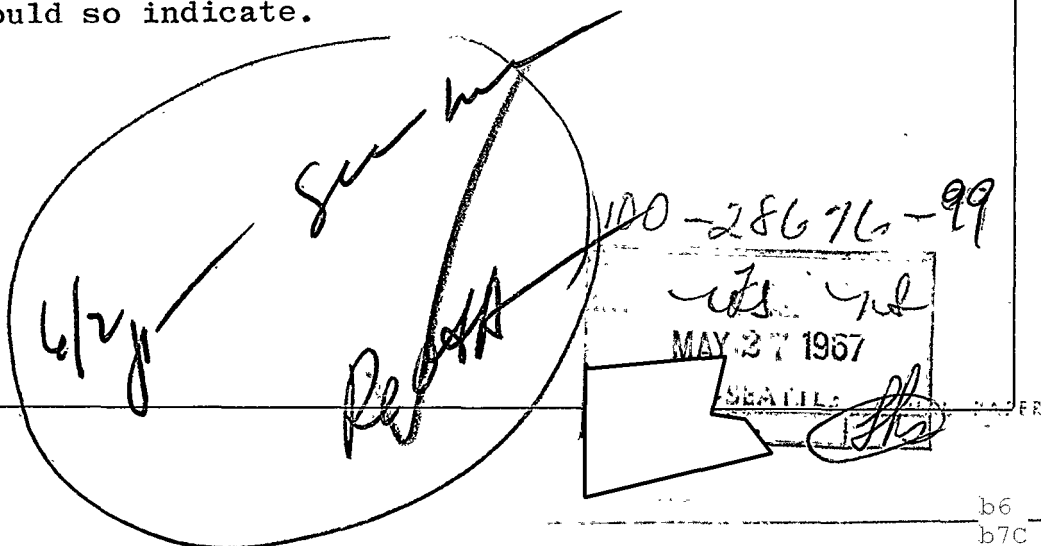
STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS

The Department has requested verbatim transcripts of speeches by Stokely Carmichael, former chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), when available, particularly, those speeches indicating a possible violation of any statute within our jurisdiction.

Bureau airtel to all offices captioned "Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, Internal Security - SNCC" dated 8/29/66 pointed out that Carmichael travels extensively and gave instructions for coverage. The Bureau does not desire any recording of Carmichael's speeches be made by Bureau personnel; however, you should be alert for such recordings through local law enforcement agencies or contacts among the news media. If they are available through such sources, submit a verbatim transcript of the recording in a letterhead memorandum (LHM) suitable for dissemination. Eleven copies of the LHM should be furnished to the Bureau.

In the event no source can be approached without embarrassment to the Bureau or if no source covers the speech, the cover airtel should so indicate.

2 - All Offices



Sent Via _____

M

Per _____

b6
b7c

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC, SEATTLE (100-28676)(P)

DATE: 6/8/67

FROM : SA,

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS

b6
b7C

RE: Bulet to Albany, 5/26/67.

Referenced Bureau letter requested verbatim transcripts of speeches by STOKELY CARMICHAEL.

LEAD: At Ellensburg

Will immediately obtain verbatim transcript of speech made by STOKELY CARMICHAEL at Central Washington College recently.

LKS:ls (3)

*shipped 6/13/67
#8*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-12-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

*file Stripped
7-25-74
MJ*

Yakima

b6
b7C

100-28676-100

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JUN 13 1967	
SEATTLE	



June 2, 1967

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation

Fred M. Vinson, Jr.
Assistant Attorney General
Criminal Division

FMV:JWB:ik
25-57-2286

Stokely Carmichael

Reference is made to the memorandum of the Internal Security Division to the Bureau dated May 19, 1967 expressing interest in receiving transcripts of speeches of Stokely Carmichael as a part of that Division's coverage of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

In view of the increasing number of instances in which it is reported that Carmichael has made critical references to the draft and military service, the Criminal Division would appreciate receiving copies of any Carmichael speeches in your records or that you can obtain, in which remarks of this nature are made. Also, from the standpoint of a possible selective service violation, it would be helpful to know the type of audience or individuals to whom these remarks are made, such as college students, etc.

Wherever practicable we should obtain the identities of representative individuals in the audience including but not limited to males of draft age. In the event our continuing study of this material and Carmichael's activities generally should indicate a possible federal criminal violation it will probably be necessary to interview these individuals.

As you know, this Division is responsible for coordinating the Summer Project program relating to the collection and evaluation of information on summertime civil unrest and disturbances. As a part of this responsibility, we are particularly interested in being advised as to any information or pattern of information tending to link the travel and activities of Stokely Carmichael (or any other individual or organization) to organized inciting of civil violence and riots.

A copy of this memorandum is being furnished to the Internal Security Division to insure coordination of Departmental interest in these matters.

100-28676-107

1 X any name
6/9

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JUN 9 1967	
SEATTLE	

b6
b7C

F B I

Date: **June 7, 1967**Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via **Airtel** _____
(Priority)

To: SAC, Albany

JH From: Director, FBI (100-446080)**STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS**

ReBuairtel to Albany captioned "Stokely Carmichael,
Internal Security - Miscellaneous," dated 5/26/67.

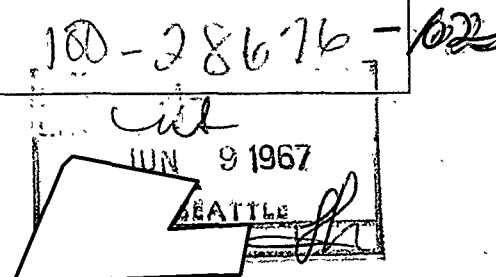
Attached is a copy of a request from Fred M. Vinson,
Jr., Assistant Attorney General of the Criminal Division of
the Department, dated 6/2/67, which is self-explanatory.

The Bureau does not desire Agent personnel to
personally cover Stokely Carmichael's speeches. His speeches
should be covered through established sources and, wherever
practical, the identities of representative individuals in
the audience should be determined through sources who monitor
his speeches.

You should specifically note the Department is
particularly interested in being advised as to any information
or pattern of information tending to link the travel and
activities of Stokely Carmichael (or any other individual or
organization) to organized inciting of civil violence and riots.

Enclosure

2 - All Offices (Enclosure)

b6
b7c

Sent Via _____ M Per _____

F B I

Date: **June 7, 1967**Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via **Airtel** _____
(Priority)

To: SAC, Albany

YAD From: Director, FBI (100-446080)**STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS**

ReBuairtel to Albany captioned "Stokely Carmichael,
Internal Security - Miscellaneous," dated 5/26/67.

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the audience should be determined through sources who monitor
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You should specifically note the Department is
particularly interested in being advised as to any information
or pattern of information tending to link the travel and
activities of Stokely Carmichael (or any other individual or
organization) to organized inciting of civil violence and riots.

Enclosure

2 - All Offices (Enclosure)

b6
b7c

100-28476-102

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JUN 9 1967	
FBI - ALBANY	

[Handwritten signature]

Sent Via _____ M Per _____

TO: SAC, SEATTLE (100-28346) 4/7/67
FROM: SA [REDACTED]
SUBJECT: FREEDOM SOCIALIST PARTY (FSP) OF WASHINGTON
IS - SWP

Date received 3/29/67 Received from (name or symbol number) [REDACTED] who has furnished reliable info. in the past. Recd SA [REDACTED] b6 b7C
Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks) b2 b7D
☒ in person ☐ by telephone ☐ by mail ☐ orally ☒ recording device ☐ written by Informant

If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent:

Date of Report

3/21/67

Dictated 3/21/67 to Dictophone

Date(s) of activity

Transcribed 4/4/67 by Steno [REDACTED]

Authenticated by Informant 4/7/67

b6
b7C

3/21/67
3/25/67

Brief description of activity or material

Contact with [REDACTED] and information re
SNCC and Negro Voters League.

File where original is located if not attached

Remarks:

Informant furnished a report on the activity described above.

b2
b7D

ACTION: None. All necessary action has been taken.

EXTREME CARE SHOULD BE USED IN REPORTING THE ABOVE INFORMATION
IN ORDER TO PROTECT THIS VERY VALUABLE SOURCE.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-12-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

1 - 100-28346 (F.S.P.)
cc: [REDACTED]
100-26956 (S.N.C.C.)
100-21798 (NEGRO VOTERS LEAGUE)
100-3429 ([REDACTED])
100-27993 ([REDACTED])
100-28676 (STOKLEY CARMICHAEL)
100-21086 ([REDACTED])
100-28115 ([REDACTED])
100-28672 (SM, 4/15/67)

b2
b6
b7C
b7D

HWW/ajs
(10)

100-28676-103
Block Stamp

ARCHED..... INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED..... FILED.....
APR 7 1967
FBI - SEATTLE

Seattle, Washington
Tuesday
March 21, 1967

On Tuesday, March 21, 1967, [] was heard to say that [] will be going to San Francisco for the April 15th demonstration.

A notice was seen at FSP headquarters from SNCC and the Negro Voters League. It said that STOKELY CARMICHAEL will be here on April 18th. It said that there will be a money-raising party for this on March 25th at 2022 32nd South. It said that contributions could be sent to [] of the Negro Voters League, 1115 14th, or to [] of SNCC, 3238 Eastlake East.

b6
b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-12-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

TO: SAC, SEATTLE (100-27603)
FROM: SA [REDACTED]
SUBJECT: S.C.E.W.V.

4/12/67

b6
b7C

Date received 4/12/67	Received from (name or symbol number) [REDACTED] b2 b7D	Received by [REDACTED] SA Rbe b6 b7C
Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks)		

☒ in person ☐ by telephone ☐ by mail ☐ orally ☐ recording device ☒ written by Informant

If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent:

Date

Dictated _____ to _____

Transcribed _____

Authenticated
by Informant _____

Date of Report

4/12/67

Date(s) of activity

4/11/67

Brief description of activity or material

SCEWV Steering Committee Meeting, Seattle Comm

Office, 4126 Roosevelt Way N.E., Seattle,

Wn., 4/11/67.

Remarks: ACTION: None.

1 - 100-27603 (S.O.E.W.V.)

cc: [REDACTED]

100-27547 (VIDEM-CONTROL)(INFO)

100-4655

100-26596

100-28569

100-28120

100-18262

100-0-47147

100-28728

100-26803

100-26077

100-27706

100-27766

100-28672 (SM. 4/15/67)

100-25706

100-0-47478

100-0-47161

100-27610

100-0-45297

100-0-47479

100-28676 (STOKLEY
CARMICHAEL)

b6
b7C

RBC/ajs
(23)

Block Stamp

100-28676-105

SEARCHED.....IN
SERIALIZED.....
APR 12 1967
FBI - SEATTLE

April 12, 1967

SCEWV Steering Committee Meeting.

Seattle Committee Office, 4126 Roosevelt Way, N.E. Seattle, Wn.

April 11, 1967

Present were:

[REDACTED]

The Seattle Committee opened the meeting at 8:P.M. with [REDACTED] reading the proceeds from the art show. [REDACTED] said \$1, 105. 19 had been made on the art show, of this \$350.00 was to go to the Seattle Committee. The group then discussed the mobilization and the students who would be receiving subsidies to go to the mobilization. [REDACTED] mentioned that [REDACTED] from the central area had called and that he had three carloads eighteen people in all of which twelve were negroes and that they needed some money. The committee agreed to help the [REDACTED] group by donating \$40.00 to them to help out. Maurice mentioned that [REDACTED] and possibly [REDACTED] should be helped since they had contributed so much in art work and their time to the art show. [REDACTED] said he had been to Bellingham and had conferred with anti-war groups there and had mentioned that a professor Scranton from Western State College, a Negro about six feet eight, was in charge of this group and that there were thirty people out when he was there. [REDACTED] remarked that this group was really going places and that this professor was a fireball. [REDACTED] also mentioned that a group had been formed at Everett Junior College, one in Yakima and also a new one in Moscow Idaho. [REDACTED] also remarked that an associated group of women in Seattle were sending

April 12, 1967

b6
b7c

out anti-war material to all doctors. [] mentioned that people in various parts of Seattle were anxious to start their own group and that he was encouraging this and merely make the Seattle Committee a coordinating committee offering help to these new groups in literature and providing speakers. [] remarked that the last two weeks he had been on vacation and had been going around looking into these peace groups and that he was really encouraged. Stokely Carmichael was discussed with everyone agreeing that a victory had been won in the courts. After more discussion on the mobilization the meeting adjourned at about 10:P.M. [REDACTED]

TO: SAC, SEATTLE (100-27603)
FROM: SA [REDACTED]
SUBJECT: S.C.E.W.V.)

4/12/67

b6
b7C

Date received 4/12/67	Received from (name of symbol number) [REDACTED]	Received by SA [REDACTED] RBE
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b2
b7D

Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks)

☒ in person ☐ by telephone ☐ by mail ☐ orally ☐ recording device ☒ written by Informant

If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent:

Date

Dictated _____ to _____

Transcribed _____

Authenticated
by Informant _____

Date of Report

4/12/67

Date(s) of activity

4/11/67

Brief description of activity or material

b2
b7D

SCEWV Steering Committee Meeting, SCEWV Ofc.,

4126 Roosevelt Way N.E., Seattle, Wn., 4/11/67

File where original is located if not attached

Remarks: ACTION: None.

b2
b7D

1 - 100-27603 (S.C.E.W.V.)

cc: [REDACTED]

100-27547 (VIDEON-CONTROL)(INFO)

100-4655

100-28120

100-28222

100-18262

100-26596

100-28569

100-26803

100-28728

100-0-47147

100-26077

100-27766

100-27706

100-28672 (SM. 4/15/67)

100-25706

100-27610

100-0-45297

100-11208 (A.F.S.C.)
100-28679 (BELLINGHAM COMMT
TO END THE WAR
IN VIET NAM)

100-0-47479

100-28676 (STOKLEY
CARMICHAEL)

b6
b7C

Block Stamp

RBC/ajs
(24)

100-28676-106

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
APR 12 1967	
FBI - SEATTLE	

April 12, 1967.

SCEWV Steering Committee Meeting.

SCEWV Office, 4126 Roosevelt Way, N.E., Seattle, Wash.

April 11, 1967.

Present were:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-12-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

b6
b7C

Opening business [] reported sales from the "love arts" festival at the Seattle Public Market totaled \$1,105.19, of which in the neighborhood of \$350. was to go to the Spring Mobilization bus subsidy [] said donated art works were still on hand and added sales could push the figure of profit, after the two-thirds cut for artists, to around \$400. Profits were reported to be below last year's efforts. After thrashing out some figures, it was decided to spend \$195. to subsidize a chartered bus to San Francisco and spend the balance by paying one half of the \$30. ticket, on a second bus, for persons who had worked especially hard on the arts show, or who were financially unable. [] said [] gave him a list of 18 persons-12 of them Negroes, who did not have money to go to San Francisco. Some names mentioned as deserving financial help and special consideration were []

[] said the big job now was to co-ordinate lists of car drivers and those wanting transportation so spaces in cars were not duplicated. [] said a meeting would now be []

April 12, 1967.

in session at the American Friends in Seattle dealing with this very problem and as a result [] and [] left the SCEWV office to learn what decisions would be made at that meeting. It was reported that chartered busses would leave around 6 P.M. and arrive in San Francisco an hour or so before assembling for the march at 2nd Street and Market for the walk to Kezar Stadium. It was not made clear how bus passengers would get to accommodations which might have been arranged for them. The chartered bus(es) would leave San Francisco Saturday (April 15) evening at 12 P.M. for the return trip to Seattle. [] said she had agreed to leaflet the following day (April 12) in metropolitan Seattle and perhaps seven or eight hundred Spring Mobilization leaflets were in the office for that purpose. The leaflet calls attention to the Bertrand Russell War Crimes Tribunal and calls on people to join in the Spring Mobilization against the war in Vietnam. [] reported that he had been in Bellingham, Washington, attending the Bellingham Committee to End the war in Vietnam's steering Committee meeting at which some thirty persons attended. [] said he did not need to spark them, as he had first intended, but found them full of energy and wonderful ideas. [] said a number of educational levels were represented and cited a negro professor, it was understood from Western State College, a [] (?) who was noticeable because of his 6'8" height. [] said anti-war committees and groups were forming all over and cited Everett and Yakima in Washington, and Moscow, Idaho as examples. He said that a women's organization was mailing anti-Vietnam War material to many MD's in Seattle, using pictures of children as war victims in Vietnam. [] said he was encouraged by all this and welcomed the infusion of independent groups with the same goals as SCEWV, who would help them with literature, etc. The victory of Carmichael at Garfield High School was hailed. The next meeting was to be on April 27, 1967, at the SCEWV office. []

b6
b7C

TO : SAC, SEATTLE (100-25999)
FROM : SA [REDACTED]
RE : SOUTH CENTRAL CP SECTION
IS-C

4/25/67

Date received 4/24/67	Received from (name or symbol number) [REDACTED] b2 b7D	Received by SA [REDACTED] <i>MM</i>
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Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks)

☐ in person ☐ by telephone ☒ by mail ☐ orally ☐ recording device ☒ written by Informant

b6
b7C

If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent:

Date

Dictated _____ to _____

Transcribed _____

Authenticated
by Informant _____

Date of Report

4/21/67

Date(s) of activity

4/20/67

Brief description of activity or material

South Central CP Section meeting at

[REDACTED] Wash.

b6
b7C

File where original is located if not attached

b2
b7D

Remarks: Action: Travel of [REDACTED] should be verified.

1 - 100-25999 (CP-SOUTH CENTRAL SECTION)

cc: [REDACTED]

b2
b7D

100-19812 (P.W.)
100-28672 (SM, 4/15/67)
100-27547 (VIDEM-CONTROL)(INFO)
100-18977 (INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)
100-24103 (COMINFIL OF MASS ORGS)
100-24766 (W.C.C.)
100-28415 (P & FP)
100-27267 (C.I.R.M.)
100-17755 (POLITICAL ACTIVITIES)
100-17605 (FUNDS)
100-18336 (PAMPS & PUBS)
100-14392 [REDACTED]
100-4766 [REDACTED]
100-580 [REDACTED]
100-12810 [REDACTED]
100-28676 (STOKLEY CARMICHAEL)
65-780 [REDACTED]
100-18979 (YOUTH MATTERS)

100-12883
100-15829
100-23014
100-19272
100-22081
100-22223
S 105-5768
100-13305
100-28404
100-26234
S 100-0-47486
100-23627
100-15371

b6
b7C

Block Stamp

100-28676-107

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
APR 25 1967	
FBI - SEATTLE	

SSC/ajs
(36)

Seattle, Wash.
April 21, 1967

Event: C.P. Section Meeting.

Place: [] home - [] Wash.

Time: Approx. 7:45 p.m. Thurs. April 20, 1967

Chairman: []

Attendance: 5



b6
b7C

[] came with [] and [] came with [] sat in the living room reading the latest issue of the PW. The meeting was held in the dining room where those attending were seated around the dining table. [] served coffee and cookies.

[] explained that the Section meetings are usually held on Wednesdays but due to the Mobilization and the Stokely Carmichael speech at the Garfield High School on Wednesday..it was decided to have the Section Meeting on Thurs.

[] flew down to San Francisco to the Mobilization. She and [] chatted about people they saw there. In their conversation they mentioned,

[] said [] drove with [] They mention [] and [] a splendid work she does. [] drove to the event with [] said [] and they saw [] there. [] had wanted to go with [] who was taking pictures of the paraders but [] and [] could not keep up. [] said he was trying to get to the head of the parade and get some pictures..but never made it. [] spoke up and said that [] has his passport and is getting ready to leave for Russia.

[] said that he and [] were on the same bus and when they reached Olympia there were others to get on (14) . He said that he and [] sat apart and a woman by the name of [] sat with her. []

[] They became friendly on the bus with [] and shared their basket lunch with them. [] invited [] to their home this weekend for dinner and a view of the pictures [] took.

[] asked about a young fellow on the bus by the name of [] [] described him as approx. 25 years of age [] said this fellow was one that she passed out a leaflet to about the Mobilization as he was passing Woolsworths dime store at 3rd and Pike St. She said he became interested and joined the journey to San Francisco.

[] said that she and [] are looking for a house. Their present quarters are becoming too ~~crowded~~ crowded.

[] said there were approx. 700 people from the Northwest at the Mobilization.

He said that [] phoned him and said that she was going to be in the Mobilization march in New York.

[] went on to say that the Stadium in 'Frisco held 62,500 people and that it was filled and many people were standing outside of the stadium. He said that the crowd was immense and that four people sat where usually only three could sit comfortably. He said everyone was squeezed together to make more room.

[] mentioned that the Pastor of the Salt Water Park Church at Des Moines, Wash. also made the trip to 'Frisco. [] said that the Pastor is a Hungarian. [] said he is a very nice person and plans to visit him.

[] urged us to think of ways and means of utilizing the pictures and slides taken at this peace march. She said there could be many house parties built on that event. She said there is to be a scheduled regional student conference May 25th. The place of meeting hasn't been decided upon. [] said it will be a coastwise affair.

[] said there are rumors that the PW will extend time limit to an extra day for getting in news material from the Northwest. [] announced that there will be a PW conference on Sunday, April 30th from 10 a.m. until 2 p.m. Meeting place hasn't been decided upon. Members and those attending are urged to go directly from this conference to the WCC Annual Membership Meeting being held from 2 p.m. until 5 p.m. at the San Juan Room of the Roosevelt Hotel.

[] said that the various CP districts or areas passed out literature at the Mobilization.

[] showed us a pamphlet she received in the mail from the Peace and Freedom Party urging a 3rd Party. [] said that she did not believe that the Negroes were prepared nor had the ability to have a presidential candidate ready for the 1968 election.

[] spoke up and said that with the success of the Mobilization and the speech by Stokely Carmichael and the statements of Cassius Clay...now would be the time to have a demonstration or a leaflet distribution. Everyone thought that was a splendid idea.

Next [] asked if there was any money to turn in. [] handed her an envelope. On the front of the envelope were the figures \$29.00 [] told [] this was dues. [] turned in the Des Moines club dues and the \$40 raised for the PW fund drive.

[] asked [] if he was going to have his usual waffle brunch. He said that he and [] have already planned it. He said that [] has suggested asking [] to have a house warming party (fund raising) [] thought this was a good idea.

3.

[redacted] Everyone thought was a very good idea.

Des Moines Club was the only club that has made any plans for the PW fund raising affair. [redacted] said that there has been so much going on that no one has had time to make any plans.

[redacted] suggested that if leaflets are to be passed out that some colored people to asked to help distribute them. She suggested asking [redacted] said that too much help from the white people isn't too good. She said that the Negroes should learn to do things for themselves. She and [redacted] both expressed admiration for the stand that Cassius Clay is taking on the draft issue. [redacted] said she thought he should be allowed to have his religious views and everyone speaking of him at this time called him Mohammed Ali. [redacted] spoke up and said "and he is a good fighter too".

No further business, the meeting ended approx. 11 p.m. Next meeting scheduled for Wed. May 17th. to be at [redacted]



b6
b7C

TO: SEATTLE (100-28676) 4-26-67
FROM: SA [REDACTED]
SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
SM-C

Date received 4-26-67	Received from (name or symbol number) [REDACTED] b2 b7D	Received by SA [REDACTED] RBE b6 b7C
--------------------------	---	--

Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks)

☒ in person ☐ by telephone ☐ by mail ☐ orally ☐ recording device ☒ written by Informant

If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent:

Date

Dictated _____ to _____

Transcribed _____

Authenticated
by Informant _____

Date of Report

4-20-67

Date(s) of activity

4-19-67

Brief description of activity or material

STOKELY CARMICHAEL MEETING AT
GARFIELD HIGH SCHOOL, SEATTLE, 4-19-67

b2
b7D

File where original is located if not attached

Remarks: No further action indicated.

1 - 100-28676 (STOKELY CARMICHAEL)
cc: [REDACTED]

b2
b7D

1 - 157-359 (POSSIBLE RACIAL
VIOLENCE)
1 - 157-253 (GENERAL RACIAL
FILE)

100-1191
100-1968
100-20659
100-18776
100-20481
100-28688
100-2675
100-18115
100-20029
65-1039
100-21553
100-26077
100-9784

100-27267 (G.I.R.M.)

100-28346 (F.S.P.)

100-0-44579 [REDACTED]

100-26956 (SNCC)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-12-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

b6
b7C

Block Stamp

RBC/ajs
(28)

100-28676-108	
SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
APR 26 1967	
FBI - SEATTLE	

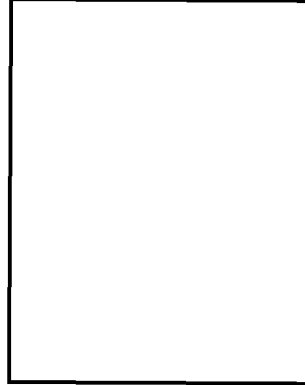
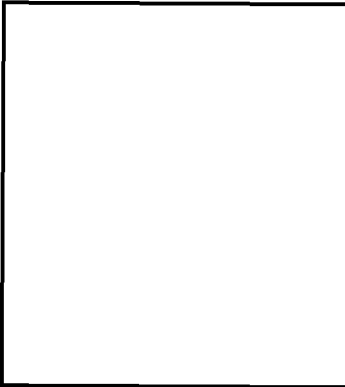
April 20, 1967.

Stokely Carmichael Meeting.

Garfield High School, Seattle, Washington.

April 19, 1967.

The following persons attended the meeting.



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The Garfield High School auditorium was filled to overflowing by 7:15 P.M. for the 8 P.M. scheduled meeting. A large crowd of excited people were turned back at the entrance and were directed to the gymnasium behind the school. The bleachers on each side of the gym floor were soon filled with an estimated 2,000 people and an additional several hundred sat on the gym floor or stood at the entrances of the building. The school auditorium was reported to seat 1,100 with room for 100 standees which could bring the attendance to around 3,700. Received on the school grounds was the leaflet "The Militant Forum Presents MALCOLM X on BLACK POWER", a tape recording of the last major speech given by Malcolm X. This program was slated for April 23, 1967, at 7:30 P.M. at 5257 University Way, Seattle. Another leaflet distributed among the crowd was entitled "Statement of Freedom Socialist Party on BLACK POWER", and sponsored by FSP of Washington Freeway Hall, 3815 5th Ave., N.E., Seattle 98105, Washington. Stokely Carmichael's audience appeared to be largely negro in structure and his address began about 8:30 P.M. after the crowd joined in singing "We Shall Overcome", and other civil rights songs, to the leadership emanating from the school auditorium and carried to the gym by public address system. Carmichael was introduced by Matty Bundy after a

April 20, 1967.

a lengthy talk by an unrecognized speaker who criticised attempts to bar Stokely Carmichael from delivering his address. Carmichael began his speech in a controlled tone of voice but soon began to be carried away with his subject and raise his voice to a shriek, preventing himself from being understood. Some folk left their seats with a look of disgust while others seemed to come alive at a humorous remark, at which time the building would resound with fervor and uncontrolled laughter. Carmichael continually criticized the whites for their non-recognition of the negro's worth and prominence in U.S. society. He said whites cannot afford to tell the truth about the negro because it would sabotage their ego. Carmichael said for example, that history books say Columbus discovered America, when the American Indians had been living here for centuries, but were evidently non-existent or non-entities-like the negro-until Columbus arrived. He said this attitude was indicative of a monstrous ego. He often used the terms "dumb monkey", and "dumb huncky", as a derisive term for the white man. He went on to say the Negro is taught to respect men such as George Washington who held negro slaves while the same negro perhaps does not know his forebears came from Africa. According to Carmichael, Booker T. Washington was a "super-Tom", while George W. Carver was an "ignorant super-Tom" who was so nice to give to the white man the benefit of his hard-earned knowledge about the economic value of the simple peanut. He said these men were perhaps the only negro greats publicized but, without Carver, the white man likely would be carrying jelly sandwiches only. Carver seemed to be rather a poor hero for the negro to worship these days. Carmichael then went on to de-bunk the white man's description of the Negro as lazy, ugly, ignorant, and culturally deprived. He said the white always uses himself as a standard and the Negro must become aware of this learn more respect for his background, his place in the work-a-day world, and his color and features. He said the negro has to learn

April 20, 1967.

to be as proud of his name as the white boy who will "sound off" in no uncertain way when asked this question while the negro will be apt to mumble something in an inaudible voice. In respect to culture, Carmichael said the negro has much room to boast in the arts and quoted names of present day celebrities as examples. He said Stephen Foster stole the musical idiom for his immortal composition, "Swanee River", from the Negro and then had the nerve to hand it to him as a product of white ascendancy. However, Carmichael said this was the dawning of a new day for the Negro and he was through coming in the white Man's "back door". He said the Negro has taken enough of the white man's insult and torture and is moving out to freedom, equality and justice. In saying the Negro would meet the white man's violence with violence of his own, Carmichael paraphrased the scripture in Matthew 10:34-35, saying he came not to preach peace and submission, but to call upon the militancy of his people and to set father against son and mother against daughter in the fight for human rights. In speaking about black power, Mr. Carmichael said an observer of the racial strife in Cicero had made the statement that a man without power was no man at all, and Carmichael said when the white man invades forcibly the sanctity of Negro human rights, and assaults him brutally in his sub-human living standard ghettos, the black man will tear him apart. Mr. Carmichael predicted more economic uprisings among the negro people and far greater racial strife if present relations between whites and negroes continue to exist. The crowd applauded Mr. Carmichael in the main for his statements. The crowd seemed to be orderly and police officers were inconspicuous. No counter-demonstration was noticed. [REDACTED]

TO: SAC (100-28676)
FROM: SA [REDACTED]
SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
SM-C.

4-26-67

b6
b7C

Date received 4-26-67	Received from (name or symbol number) [REDACTED] b2 b7D	Received by SA [REDACTED] RBE
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Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks)

☒ in person ☐ by telephone ☐ by mail ☐ orally ☐ recording device ☒ written by Informant b6
b7C

ALSO TWO DOCUMENTS

If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent:

Date

Dictated _____ to _____

Transcribed _____

Authenticated
by Informant _____

Date of Report

4-20-67

Date(s) of activity

4-19-67

Brief description of activity or material

STOKELY CARMICHAEL'S TALK AT
GARFIELD HIGH SCHOOL, SEATTLE,
4-19-67

b2
b7D

File where original is located if not attached

Remarks: Source also furnished two documents received at the talk which were distributed by unknown persons. One item is a leaflet announcing a talk by MALCOLM X on "Black Power" presented by the MILITANT FORUM 4-23-67 at 5257 University Way, Seattle. The other is a "Statement of the Freedom Socialist Party on Black Power." Make Xerox copies of the leaflets for files marked with an (*). No further action indicated.

1 - 100-28676 (STOKELY CARMICHAEL)
cc: [REDACTED]

b2
b7D

100-27267 (C.I.R.M.)*
100-28346 (F.S.P.)*
100-1191
100-20659
100-20481
100-18776
100-18115
100-2675
100-28688
100-4766
100-13305
100-9784
65-1039

100-20029
100-21553
100-26077
100-1968
100-571 (A.C.L.U.)
100-26956 (S.N.C.C.)*
100-27603 (S.C.E.W.V.)
157-359 (POSSIBLE RACIAL
VIOLENCE)*
157-253 (GENERAL RACIAL

b6
b7C

Block Stamp

RBC/ajs
X243 (26)

100-28676-109

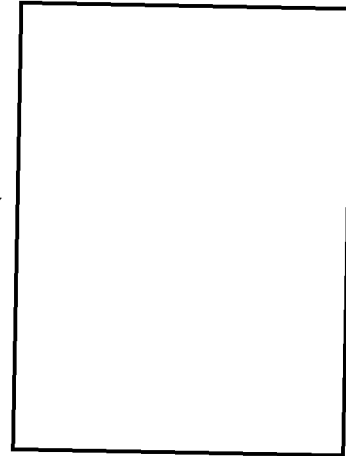
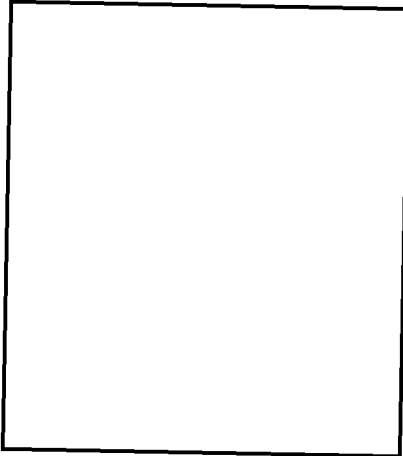
SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
APR 26 1967	
FBI - SEATTLE	

April 20, 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-12-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

Stokely Carmichael Meeting.
Garfield High School, Seattle, Wn.
April 19, 1967

Approximately four thousand people attended the Stokely Carmichael meeting, and of this amount the following were known by name.



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The meeting commenced at 8:P.M. with free admission. Due to the large crowd the school gymnasium was opened with the crowd eventually ending up sitting on the floor. Several freedom songs were then sang by the crowd. The meeting was sponsored by the ACLU, SnCK and SCEWV. Mr. Carmichael discussed the role that the American Negro had played in the past in a white mans society. Mr. Carmichael mentioned that the white man had made the Negro ashamed of his color and termed him as lazy, ugly and culturally deprived. Mr. Carmichael then asked the crowd if they believed this about themselves. The crowd then very emotionally yelled "No". Mr. Carmichael talked about the Negro using the white man's standard for beauty in the straight hair, thin lips and white face. As Mr. Carmichael talked on this line there was a great deal of laughter from the crowd. Mr. Carmichael mentioned

April 20, 1967

that it was the Negro craftsman that had built the South and it was the Negro mother that had raised the white man's children and yet, as Mr. Carmichael put it, they still call us lazy. Mr. Carmichael mentioned what would the white man do without the Negro garbage collector, the Negro elevator man, the cooks and the Negro domestic workers. Mr. Carmichael then went on how the white man had refused to put any Negro history in the schools. According to Mr. Carmichael the only Negroes the Negro hears about is Booker T. Washington and George Washington Carver. Mr. Carmichael then laughingly asked the crowd that is the white people if they would like to take jelly sandwiches all their life and forget the peanut butter since it was Carver that had explored the uses of the peanut. Mr. Carmichael remarked that the white man expects the Negro to worship George Washington when he to had slaves and if the Negro student doesn't put down that Washington was a great man he gets a bad grade. Mr. Carmichael mentioned that the Negro youth when asked where he came from he will mention Texas, Kentucky and when asked where his grandparents came from he still will say Texas or somewhere in the South, they are completely ignorant that they came from Africa and are just as ashamed that they are African. Mr. Carmichael then talked of Black Power and that he was for the Negro moving out and didn't go along with the ministers who were for the non-violent approach. Mr. Carmichael said that the Negro's back has been bent too many times and hñe has been coming in the back door too long and now is the time to arise and throw off the cloak of the white man. Mr. Carmichael.

April 20, 1967

voiced his opposition to the war in Vietnam by saying the Vietnamese have never called us Nigger but look at the white man. Mr. Carmichael mentioned that he was not about to defend a racist country like America. Mr. Carmichael talked on how the white people discuss equal job opportunity but that the Negro knows that is not true. Throughout the meeting there was a great deal of laughter and about 10:30 P.M. the meeting began to adjourn.

TO: SAC (100-25999)
FROM: SA [REDACTED]
SUBJECT: SOUTH CENTRAL CP SECTION
IS-C

4-26-67

b6
b7C

Date received 4-26-67	Received from (name or symbol number) [REDACTED] b2 b7D	Received by SA [REDACTED] RBE
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Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks)

☒ in person ☐ by telephone ☐ by mail ☐ orally ☐ recording device. ☒ written by Informant

If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent:

Date

Dictated _____ to _____

Transcribed _____

Authenticated
by Informant _____

Date of Report

4-21-67

Date(s) of activity

4-20-67

Brief description of activity or material

MEETING OF SOUTH CENTRAL CP
SECTION COMMITTEE, SEATTLE,
4-20-67

b2
b7D

File where original is located if not attached

Remarks: The Bureau has been advised concerning the San Francisco demonstration. No further action on this report at this time indicated.

1 - 100-25999 (CP-SOUTH CENTRAL SECTION)

cc: [REDACTED]

b2
b7D

100-28672 (SM, 4/15/67)
100-18977 (INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)
100-24103 (COMINFIL OF MASS ORGS)
100-27547 (VIDEM-CONTROL)(INFO)
100-24766 (W.C.C.)
100-19812 (P.W.)
100-27267 (C.I.R.M.)
100-28415 (P & FP)
100-19248 (STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY)
100-11516 (COMINFIL OF LABOR UNIONS)
100-17755 (POLITICAL ACTIVITIES)
100-12810 [REDACTED]
100-580 [REDACTED]
100-4766 [REDACTED]
100-14392 [REDACTED]

100-15829
100-13305
65-780
100-19751
100-22081
100-23627
100-0-47490
100-28404
100-12883
100-28676 (STOKLEY CARMICHAEL)
100-18979 (YOUTH MATTERS)

b6
b7C

1 - SAC, DETROIT - REG.
[REDACTED] (100-34068)

Block Stamp

RBC/ajs
(31)

100-28676-110

SEARCHED.....INL
SERIALIZED.....
APR 26 1967

April 21, 1967

South Central Communist Party Section Meeting.

b6
b7c

[redacted] Wn.

April 20, 1967

The section meeting commenced at 8:P.M. with [redacted]
[redacted] being
present. [redacted] remarked that due to the changed date [redacted]
and [redacted] were unable to make it. First on the agenda
was the mobilization and the impressions of those who had attended
the mobilization. [redacted] mentioned that he and [redacted] had went down
on the chartered bus and got into San Francisco at 10:30 A.M. just
in time to start marching. [redacted] mentioned that the bus had stopped
in Olympia and picked up some people. [redacted] mentioned [redacted]
on the same bus with him. [redacted] remarked that he had taken about
fifty pictures and that these would be available to anyone want-
ing to see them. [redacted] said the stadium held 62,000 and that it
was really packed. [redacted] mentioned that [redacted]
[redacted] were also evident at the parade. [redacted] mentioned that
[redacted] was in the New York parade and that there
estimate there was 555,000. [redacted] remarked that [redacted]
[redacted] mentioned that [redacted] had spoken
out to the University Unitarian church last week on the mobiliza-
tion to about one hundred and fifty people. Mentioned, also by
[redacted] was [redacted] of a Unitarian church out in
the Des Moines area that he had become acquainted with at the
march. [redacted] mentioned that he had shown several anti-war slides
at his church and that he felt he possibly might be interested
in his slides on the mobilization. [redacted] agreed that this would
be something to work on. [redacted] mentioned that the Communist Party

April 21, 1967

b6
b7C

had been pretty well represented at the parade mentioning that [] had been there and that Communist Party literature had been distributed to the marchers. [] mentioned that there would be a student regional conference discussing the mobilization on May 25, and that one should try and make an effort to attend. [] mentioned that the bookstore was having their annual membership meeting at the Roosevelt Hotel in the San Juan room on April 30, from 2:p.M. until 5:P.M. [] then mentioned that the People's World conference would be on the same day only from 10:A.M. until 2:P.M. [] urged each club to have a representative at both meetings. The Carmichael meeting was then discussed with the general feeling it had been a big success and that there should be some follow up work done in this area and that it should be done quickly while the spirit was up. [] remarked that he had spoken out to the University and that his speech was somewhat milder out there. [] discussed the Peace and Freedom Party literature and the coming conference [] discussed the trade unions and the role that they played in the mobilization. [] mentioned that he had told his boss that he was going to the mobilization and he was all for him. The group discussed the Democratic Party and felt they were moving in that the California democrats had voiced their opposition to the war in Vietnam. The meeting then adjourned at around 10:30 P.M. with the next meeting to be held on May 17.

TO: SAC SEATTLE (100-28346)
FROM: SA [redacted]
SUBJECT: FREEDOM SOCIALIST PARTY OF WASHINGTON (FSP)
IS - FSP

5/26/67

b6
b7C

Date received 4/28/67	Received from (name or symbol number) [redacted] who has furnished reliable info. in the past.	Received by SA [redacted] <i>RWW</i>
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Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks)

☒ in person ☐ by telephone ☐ by b7D ☐ orally ☐ recording device ☐ written by Informant

b6
b7C

If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent:

Date

Date of Report

4/26/67

Date(s) of activity

4/12/67

Dictated: _____ to _____

Transcribed _____

Authenticated
by Informant _____

Brief description of activity or material

Minutes of General Membership Meeting, 4/12/67.

b2
b7D

File where original is located *Handwritten*

Remarks: Informant furnished the item described above.

ACTION: None.

EXTREME CARE SHOULD BE USED IN REPORTING THE ABOVE
INFORMATION IN ORDER TO PROTECT THIS VERY VALUABLE SOURCE.

1 - 100-28346 (F.S.P.)

cc: [redacted]
100-28672 (SM. 4/15/67)
100-27993 ([redacted])
100-27708 ([redacted])
100-23694 ([redacted])
100-22970 ([redacted])
100-28676 (STOKLEY CARMICHAEL)
157-491 ([redacted])
100-26803 ([redacted])
100-28476 (FREE UNIVERSITY)
100-26956 (S.N.C.C.)

b2
b7D

b6
b7C

HWW/ajs
(12)

Block Stamp

100-28676-115
SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
MAY 26 1967
FBI - SEATTLE

4/12/67

General Membership meeting

1. Proposed on April 22 - Be a reading and discussion on correspondence - preliminary to discussion to labor & civil Rights disc. 2: pm - carried
 2. Organizers Report : Discossion of SF demonstration . May day social event April 29th. [] on arrangements [] to arrange for speaker. Next discussion 2 weeks hence. [] to be speakers. SNCC obtained favorable court action to hear Carmachel in Garfield school. [] says organization of affair well underway - posters - telephone calls for Sat. night affair. [] tour refered to organizer and ex. board. inquiring as to free University fraction? Proposal to set up committee to get out leaflet for S.F. Anti-War mobilization. Moved and carried to reserve table "Freedom Socialist Party" of Washington
 3. Leaflet for Carmachel meeting submitted by [] - concurred. referred to sub committee for editing.
 4. Literary and correspondence committee closer to goal. Material to be read and checked. Pamphlet to be forst.
 5. Finances Mar. 18 soc. \$12.70 in envelope. [] on meals and bar. Apr. 2nd all made was extra liquor. Bank acct \$15 - \$124 in cash. b6 b7C
 - 6 Reported by [] - some progress and some disagreement.
 7. Anti-War [] Downtown leaflet distribution Sat. afternoon - 3 busses leaving fri. car from central dist. Demonstration Sat. in Bellingham. Report acc
- New business
8. Materialist conception of Negro History proposed we get 20 copies from Nat. Sparticus. Carried.
 9. Good and Welfare [] reports he spoke to faculty meeting at University of Oregon, Eugene. Well received. Request for speaker on Feminine Mysteague.

TO: SAC, SEATTLE
(100-28676)

FROM: SA [REDACTED]

b6
b7CSUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INFORMATION CONCERNING (SM)

6/1/67

Date received 5/26/67	Received from (name or symbol number) [REDACTED] b2 b7D	Received by SA [REDACTED] <i>WMS</i>
Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks)		
☒ in person ☐ by telephone ☐ by mail ☐ orally ☐ recording device ☐ written by Informant		
If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent:		Date of Report 5/15/67
Dictated _____ to _____ Transcribed _____ Authenticated by Informant _____		Date(s) of activity Literature 4/19/67
Brief description of activity or material Flyer announcing STOKELY CARMICHAEL meeting on 5/19/67 at Garfield Auditorium, (Seattle, Washington). (Received at Negro Voters League meeting on 5/15/67 at Seattle, Washington.)		File where original is located if not attached [REDACTED]

Remarks: Make Xerox copies for subject files.

b2
b7D

ACTION: None

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-20-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

1 - 100-28676 (STOKELY CARMICHAEL)

 cc: [REDACTED]
 100-21798 (NEGRO VOTERS LEAGUE)
~~100-21798~~
 100-26956 (S.N.C.C.)
 100-27267 (C.I.R.M.)
 157-253 (RACIAL MATTERS)
 100-0-47584 [REDACTED]
 100-0-46502 [REDACTED]
 N100-0-47609 [REDACTED]
 100-28837 [REDACTED]
b2
b7Db6
b7C

Block Stamp

CNG/ajs
(10)

100-28676-125

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
JUN 1 1967	
FBI - SEATTLE	

YOU ARE INVITED TO MEET

STOKELY

AT A

STOKELY
CARMICHAEL
PARTY

Wednesday, April 19, 10 p. m.

(Immediately after lecture)

AT THE

PINK FUSSYCAT

110 THIRD AVENUE SOUTH
(Corner of 3rd & Yesler)

Sponsored by Seattle SNCC and NVL

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-20-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

Donation: \$2.00 per person

PROGRAM

STOKELY
CARMICHAEL



GARFIELD AUDITORIUM

8 P.M. April 19, 1967

NEGRO VOTERS' LEAGUE
Strength-Unity



ROBERT SIMPSON *Master of Ceremonies*

AUDIENCE (Standing)

"Lift Every Voice"

OPENING REMARKS Clifford I. Hooper, Sr.
Assoc. Director
Negro Voters League

ELIJAH SIWILA Zambia, Central Africa
U of W Student

MRS. JOHN BUNDY, Chairman Seattle SNCC

INTRODUCES

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

National

STOCKELY CARMICHAEL at GARFIELD HIGH SCHOOL

April 19, 1967, Seattle, Washington

Good Evening, It's good to be here.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-20-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

You know what usually happens is that in the newspapers they call us racists and anti-whites and say we hate white folk and all that irrelevant nonsense, and they do that because they use white people as the measuring stick. But I want you to look clear before you and you notice that in all their beautiful liberal press media, there isn't one black man. So when the honkeys talk tomorrow about violence and anti-white and hating white people, tell them they ought to have a black man reporting it because they don't understand because we are talking to black folk anyhow.

Tonight we want to do several things. We want to talk about some of the basic assumptions from which the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) moves and then move into an area of pragmatics and what in fact black people will have to do if we are going to survive in this country and live as human beings. The first thing we want to talk about is the theory of self condemnation, and we want to move on and talk about denying one one's freedom as opposed to giving one one's freedom and we want to talk about the importance of definition and the need for black people to define themselves as they see fit in this society and to have those definitions recognized by our press's white society. And we want to talk about violence because it is going to be important, because I don't know why everybody is so scared about it and they are going to draft you all and send you all to Vietnam, I guess you are going to go over there and make love to the Vietnamese. Then we want to talk about

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the lies that this country has told about black people to make us ashamed of ourselves and want to move on and talk about developing a concept of people which we desperately need in this country today and we want to instill among our people, particularly among the young in our generation, the will to fight back when messed over by anybody.

We want to talk about self condemnation. Self condemnation is impossible. No body can condemn themselves or no people can condemn themselves. If they do they have to punish themselves. If I did something wrong and I admitted that I did it wrong then I have to punish myself, but if I can keep that in line so I can rationalize away my guilt then I never feel guilty. Let me give you some examples:

The Nazis who were brought to trial after Hitler was, after the Hitler regime was brought down, they said, the ones who allowed themselves to live, they said that they killed Jews but the Jews weren't human beings, they were inferior so they didn't really commit a crime or they said they didn't know what was going on in Germany at the time that Hitler was killing all the Jews or they say what most white Americans are saying today we were just following law and order. If they said they rationalized away their guilt they just served their sentences and waited until they got out. But now the ones who admitted that they killed human beings had to commit suicide. You've got to understand that. For us in this country a clear example of that would be in Neshoba County in Philadelphia, Mississippi. A honkey by the name of Rainey (sp) decides with 18 other honkeys to kill three people. Now the entire county of Neshoba

cannot indict Rainey because they elected him to do just what he was doing, to kill anybody who troubled with the status quo. If they indicted him then all of them would be guilty and they can't do that, they cannot admit that they are guilty and in SNCC we say that white America, the total community, cannot condemn herself for the acts of brutality and beastiality that she has heaped upon us as a race, black people, It's impossible for her to do it. She must rationalize away her guilt. She must blame us or blame everybody else but herself because if she were to blame herself, she would have to commit suicide. MY brother LEROY JONES reminds me that wouldn't be a bad idea.

Now we want to move from there into the concept of denying one one's freedom, and this is very, very important because white people have assumed that they are gods, that they can give somebody their freedom, and so if they don't like the way you act they won't give you your freedom. But now what you have to get crystal clear in your minds is that no-body gives anybody their freedom, people can only deny somebody their freedom. This is very important. We are all born free. We are enslaved by the institutions of racism that white America produces. Our job is to stop America from being racist, not to give us our freedom, so in reality our fight is to civilize white America. Now then if you take that to its logical conclusion you would say that any civil rights bill that was passed in this country would have eased the struggle for black people but it helped civilized white America. Let me give you an example:

I'm black, I know that I'm black. I know that I am a human being and I know that with that comes certain dignities that all human beings have. One of those is that I am able to enter a public place.. But now there are some dumb hunkeys who don't know that so that every time I try to enter a store the hunkey gets in my way, shoots at me, bombs my church, kills my children or beats me up because he doesn't know that I'm a human being so the white folk in Washington, D. C., got to write a Civil Rights Bill to tell this hunkey, when I come, get out of my way. So that what they have done is they have civilized this hunkey because I'm the same man I was, I still go into the store. The only trouble is that he is not forced to recognize my humanity. That is very important. It is the same thing that is true about the voting rights act. We're black, we know we should be able to vote, but everytime we try to vote some hunkey stops us, so they got to pass a civil rights bill to stop them from denying us our rights. They don't give us anything. You've got to get that clear in your mind.

Now then we want to talk about definitions because they are very, very important. You see White Western Society and you should use the word Western Society never Western Civilization, because they don't know nothing about it. White Western Society has been able to define everybody and they just define them and put them in places, and when they define, they can't get out those definitions and people just stay there. Let me give you some examples so you can understand better:

You watch the red man and the white man on TV fighting each other. If the red man is winning then the white man calls for the calvery and here come the calvery, and they are riding very white and very proper, and when they get up to where the battle is they all get out their guns and they systematically shoot all the red men, you know, kill them dead. They get back on their horses and they ride back to the fort, and at the fort there is a white woman standing there, and she says, "What happened?" and there is always this Lieutenant who says, "We had a victory, we killed all the Indians". This is very good. Now the next time when the reverse happens, when the red man beats the hell out of the white man and there is one of them left dragging on the horse and she says, "What happened?" "Those dirty Indians, they massacred us." There was a feeling in there that a massacre is not as good as a victory. A victory is much better. She say 34 red people who all there lives are going to fight and they are never going to have a victory. Here is Sittin Bull, the greatest strategist you have in the world, he has won all these wars, but he ain't never going to win a victory, he's always going to win a massacre. And a massacre is dirty. You've got to understand that in your mind. You see that on television all the time, even today about the Vietnam war. Do you ever hear, "Those dirty, filthy, rotten, Communist, rebels, they threw a Molotov cocktail and killed civilians"? And then the other guy comes back and says, "In the mean time our good GI boys have been bombing the hell out of North Vietnam." Or even better would be a group

of students at Nashville decide to take care of some hunkey cops because they are picking on them, and its Fish Students Riot and in Fort Lauderdale hunkeys go and throw bottles and beers at policemen, they are going to say College Students go on a spree. So the white people have been defining us all our lives and we have been forced to react to those definitions and see they call us negroes, so I guess you all came from negro land. You have allowed white people to name you. When we were in Puerto Rico a couple of months ago we were speaking in spanish, I looked through the dictionary to find a word for negro in Puerto Rican. There is no such word. The closest word is negro, it means black. In french there is no word for negro. In german there is no word for negro. In Swahili there is no word for negro. You wouldn't want me to leave out Swahili, it's what's happening. So that they have defined that, and with the word negro comes dumb, stupid, apathetic, love water melon, and got good rhythm. But now they do something even more insidious with definitions. Let me give you an example, so then we can get into black power and the definitions of black power.

Now you remember, especially from my generation when this whole thing broke out with integration, and we used to sit glued to the TV set, you know and our black leader would get up and say "We want to integrate" and in our minds we knew the cat was talking about good schools, good houses, good jobs, and a good way of life. That was in the minds of all black people, but some dumb hunkeys going to jump up and say "You want to marry my daughter, don't you?" And then instead of our black leaders being aggressive and saying later for you hunkey, at that time

they would react to the hunkey, see they would let him define their own term, integration and he would say "Uh Uh we don't want to be your brother, we want to be your brother". And they just go to sweaten and puffin and "we don't want to sleep in your bedroom, we just want to live next door to you!" An so they were doing what ever the hunkey who defined their term, and they were reacting to his definition. They don't pull that junk with us in SNCC because we tell them right out when they come with that nonsense about marryng their daughter, your daughter, your sister, your mama, we tell them. We tell them crystal clear the white woman is not the queen of the world she's not the virgin Mary, she can be made like any other woman. Let's move over to something important, so that we will not be caught in a bind about reaction to their definitions and the same thing happens. We say black power, and some hunkey going to jump up and say "Oh you mean violence" and he wants us to say "Oh no boss man, we don't mean violence". Later for the hunkey, it's our term, we know what it means. Later for them. Black power is the coming together of black people to fight for their liberation by any means necessary. Now we want to talk about violence. Because I understand that some of your so called negro leaders have been saying that we violence. I won't deny it, yea I'm violent, somebody touch me I'll break their arm. But the problem isn't one of violence see, the problem is one of hitting back white people when they hit you, that's the real problem, because we've never done that all of our lives. They have been able to walk over us, bomb our churches, beat us up, shoot into our houses, lynch us, and do everything they wanted to do and we

would just sit there and whisper about it behind closed door. It's a new day today. But what really upsets me is these people who talk about violence and not concerned about black people because there is more violence in our neighborhood on Friday and Saturday night then there is anyplace else. We cut and we shoot each other more than we touch anybody in the world and don't nobody talk out against that violence. And the reason they don't do it is because they don't give a damn about us, they are only concerned about white folks. If they were against violence they would be preaching non violence in the black community because that's where we need it most. We need it there. We need it to learn to love and respect each other and stop cutting and shooting each other but they don't care about us. The only time you hear these preachers talk about non violence is when a hunky hits you and you're getting ready to take care of business. Then you see them on television. The only rule they have is to condemn their own people or we don't believe in violence those vagabonds throwing rocks and bottles, oh yes, we believe in the war in Vietnam, we think our boys should go over there and shoot, but we don't believe in violence at all, what is that junk. They're going to put you in a uniform and send you 8,000 miles to shoot a man who ain't never called you a nigger, get out of here. And you get cats like Lyndon Bains Johnson get up on TV and say "Ma fellow Americans every night before I go to sleep, I ask myself what have I done to preserve peace for this country". And here he is talking about preserving peace and dropping bombs all over Hanoi, bomb, bomb, bomb, bomb, bomb. And then he get up

before national TV and he says violence never accomplishes anything. Well if the hunkey believes that then tell him to use non violence in Vietnam. What they are saying is violence is OK against everybody except the white man, that's what they are saying, and you ought not to get fooled by it, you ought to understand that in the world there exists, especially in this country, a victim and executioner relationship. We are the victims and white people are the executioners, and they have kept us down by force and by violence and that if we're violent, it's just that we have learned well from our teachers. They have bombed our churches, they have shot us in the streets, they have lynched us, they have cattle prodded us, they have thrown lye over us, they have dragged our children out in the night, we have been the recipients of violence for 400 years. We have just learned well how to use it today. Don't you ever condemn people for using violence, and those black Preachers get up, you tell them to get the guts to condemn white folks for the violence they heap on us. If they can't do that, if they can't condemn the white folks, tell them to keep their mouth shut. So don't you get caught up in no discussion about violence, we're just making it crystal clear to the hunkey today that if you try to shoot us, we're going to kill them, so God get the noose. Now if he doesn't want to get shot, tell them to stay home because they leave their beds and their wives at 3:00 in the morning and come to our community and going to work out their frustrations by shooting into our community. If they got frustrations, tell them to go see a psychiatrist. So you've got to understand that

one in your mind and don't get carried away with that nonsense about riots, you ought to understand, you ought to be proud of your black brothers in Nashville, you ought to be proud, because what happened was on Friday night two hunkey policemen go walk into the middle of the neighborhood, and go startin to beat upon a black brother, and when the others brothers told them they didn't have to, they go and turn on them, but they forgot it's a new day. See they didn't recognize that this generation is saying if you wear a sheet at night or a badge in the day, if you put your filthy white hands on our beautiful black skin we're going to TCB. So you just dismiss that nonsense about violence when they tell you about violence, you tell them yea we dig your non violence in Vietnam. We've dug your non violence in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. You tell them we've dug it, yea. We ain't going to forget the Congo baby, we dig it there too. We dug the tried violence in Cuba, but Castro took care of them. Now we want to talk then pragmatically about how these things affect our lives as black people. What white America has done in order to rationalize away guilt for what she has done to us is that she's told a number of lies about us that she believes. Now that's expected. Hitler said if you tell a lie long enough and hard enough, everybody will think it's the truth and white America has done that. But what is pathetic and what is bad, is that some black people believe those lies about themselves. And so what we have to do tonight is begin to clarify those lies for ourselves. (You all don't mind if I take off my jacket do you?) (Us draw heat you know). Now the first lie that white America told about us is that we are a lazy people. Are

you hep to tat. And here goes some of us down the street. "Uh, Uh we're just lazy, we, we just like white folk, they're always working hard and trying to get somewhere but we're so lazy". You got to get it in your mind, We're not lazy, we're hard workin, white people are lazy. Look here, they were so lazy they came to Africa to steal us to do their work for them. We're not lazy, we are the hardest working people in this country, we are. The trouble is that we are the lowest paid, and the most oppressed and the most exploited people in this country. We're not lazy. If you ride up and down the delta in the south today, you'll see black people chopping and picking cotton for \$2.00 per day, while white folks sit on the porch, drink scotch, and talk about us. We're not a lazy people it's our mothers who take care of their own family and then go across town to take care of Miss Ann's family. So that you should get that out of your mind. We're not lazy we are hard working industrious people, always have been. Our sweat builds this country.

Now the next lie she tells is what she tells our kids in school. If you work hard you will succeed. Now you all know that's a lot of junk. Because if that were true, black people would own this country, lock, stock and barrel. It's not a question of hard working, it is a question of he who has power and he who has control. That's all, that's all it's about, because we are the people who really build this country. We are the domestics, we are the share croppers, we are the fruit pickers, we are the janitors, we are the elevator men, we are the garbage

men, we are the hardest working people in the country. If it were true that you have to work hard to succeed, then the contrary of that would be true. That people who didn't work hard would be poor, and Bobby Kennedy would be the poorest Hunkey in this country. So then we must begin to get it crystal clear in our minds, it is simply a question of he who has power and we don't have that, we've got everything else but that and the white man ain't got nothing but that. We got love, we got non violence, we got morality, we got christianity, we got rhythm, we got everything you need, but we ain't got power. The hunkeys don't have love, can't spell non violence, they don't know what religion is all about, you know they ain't got rhythm, but (unintelligible). But they have power, that's what they have, power over our lives, so we got to get it clear the thing we need is power.

The next lie they tell us is this thing about education. You go to school and get a degree, you're going to make it. All of our college students, when they get out of college, with a college degree, make less money than a hunkey with a high school degree. Not only that, the education system that they teach us is riddled with racism, filled with racism. We can't see ourselves projected anywhere, they show us as a stupid people to let us keep thinking we're stupid; they start out with their elementary books about Tom, Dick and Jane. Tom is white, Dick is white, Jane is white, even their dog Spot is white. And the only time we see ourselves is Little Black Sambo on the last page eaten water melon. But not only is it

riddled with out right racism it is riddled with subtle racism and the history books just lie, lie. And they have to lie because white people have got to lie because white people have to lie to themselves, they cannot tell the truth about themselves. And what happens is they fill our minds with all those lies and have us accept them as truths. Let me give you an example of one that's very hard but you don't dig it.

If I said to you that MR. Quami Enkruma, (who is a brilliant black man, he is out of sight, he should be your hero, don't let them white folk fool you, he's out of sight). Now if I said to you that Mr. Quam (you wouldn't know about him because he is the leader in Africa, or was until the CIA overthrew him) Now if I said to you that Mr. Quami Enkruma discovered England in 1961, you'd laugh, but if that was the first time that that black man had set foot on England and if we as black people did not recognize the existence of non black people, he would have discovered England. If I said to you that Christopher Columbus discovered America in 1492 you say that's right, if you were my teacher you would give me an A, all right, now dig. Here comes this hunkey from Europe, steps foot on this country, there are red people here but they don't exist so he discovers it. And this has been the history of white society. They have never recognized anybody who is non white, so nothing happens until they come and find you. But now you've got to dig this thing about Columbus real deep because you hate telling you that he discovered America and he was a dumb hunkey, I mean he was stupid, he died thinking he was in India. That's how dumb he was. And because he was stupid he titled the red man Indians and to this day they have the name because some dumb Hunkey thought he was

in India. So you've got to understand that. That's how riddled with racism it is that you can't even recognize it. They don't even recognize how racist it is to say that Christopher Columbus discovered America and they never will admit it. They can't, They can't. Not only that if you wrote the rehistory of this country we would say that this country is a nation of thieves. It started off by stealing the country from the red men and committing genocide against him. Not only did it steal the country from the red man, it wasn't satisfied, it turned around and it stole us from Africa. You've got to understand that this country has been a nation of thieves, and is moving to become a nation of murders in Vietnam and we've got to stop this. Because we have to save our humanity. Let white America do as she will, but as black people we will save our humanity. This is very, very important. They start our kids off with the Roman Empire, with the Greek Empire, they never teach you about Africa, they make you ashamed of Africa. You ask kids, where are you from, I'm from Seattle, where is your grandmother from, from Kansas, and where is your great grandmother from, from Texas, and where your great great grandmother from mmmmmmmmmmm. SHE IS FROM AFRICA!!!!!! But you don't know anything about Africa because you have let white people define Africans as savages. You let them define them for you and you don't want to be a savage. You want to be white. You want to be so white that you don't want to be part of your brothers in Africa, you want to be so white that you'll go to the movies to watch Tarzan. You want to be so white that you sit up on that movie seat and yell for Tarzan to beat up your black brother, that's how white you want to be. You should recognize what they are doing to you. Here you

are jumping up there, identifying with a white man, when he is dumb, he is dumb, he can't even speak, all he says is (Tarzan's war hoop). And your over there identifying with this white man because what they're telling you is here comes a hunkey from Europe, and because he's so smart and so intelligent and we're black and stupid he comes over to Africa and he knows the jungle better than us and we've been living there all of our lives. And when ever we get into trouble with the elephants we got to go to the great white father to talk to the elephants for us. Ain't that (something). What you have to recognize is what they have done is brain washed us. When you see Tarzan on TV you yell for your black brothers to come together and beat the hell out of that white man. But see that has been calculated by white America, that we will never find out about ourselves, because a people without its roots or people without its history is like a tree without its roots and we've been floating for 400 years. Disgustin. They didn't tell you that the first University in the world was the University of Timbuktu in Africa did they? They couldn't tell you that because you would begin to identify with Africa and feel proud with other black people. They tell you about the Roman Empire conquering the world. Did they tell you that Hannibal, a black man caught the (something) and beat the living day lights out of the Romans. That's right, Hannibal did it. And when they get ready to put Hannibal in the movies they put a hunkey like Victor Mateur playing Hannibal. Because they don't want you to know that Hannibal was black, but I'm here to tell you that he was a full black man. And clear up the alps and went into Italy and smashed the Romans, you

ever see those Italian hunkeys running around here with dark complexion and brown eyes. Hannibal did that. The next time some Italian hunkey call you a nigger, tell him get away from my face, I'm your daddy. But they can't afford to tell you about the things that black people did because you would identify with them. They tell you about Napoléon Bonapart, did they tell you the little black man who was a slave named Tousad, in Haiti, beat him up and sent him back to France crying like a baby. They leave that out of your history books because they want you to be ashamed and when Napoleon got back to France his wife was Pregnant for a Pygmy. And when Napoleon looked at his wife he asked her what happens when the baby was born black, she said the little man was staring at me, and he said he must have had an awful penetrating stare, my dear. But they won't give you that in the history books, they give you white heroes to identify with, they mesmerize our minds, they give you George Washington, he's supposed to be a hero, here is a man who had you enslaved, sold a black woman for a barrel of molasses, and he's supposed to be my hero? Later for him. They can't tell you about Ned Turners and the Denmark Bessies can they. They can't tell you about them because they were fighters who beat up all kinds of white folk who were trying to make them slaves, that's why they won't tell because they want you to keep on being slaves, they want to define your very actions, it ain't going to happen today. All of those things in the schools are calculated to make us ashamed of ourselves. The most insidious things they could have done to us is to make us believe as a people that we are ugly. The criteria for beauty in this society is set

by white folk, in the books you read, in the television programs you see, the movies, the magazines, the newspaper. If she is beautiful she's got thin nose, thin lips, skinny hair and white skin, and that's beauty. And they have made you believe that beauty so much that our women run around here bathing in (something) from morning til night. They have got us believing that so that our young men go out and 'conk' their hair so they can have straight hair to look beautiful. I hope you can take the truth, because they have mesmerized our women's minds so that they process their hair every Friday night. And the rest of them get their \$50.00 and buy wigs. We have to as a people, gather strength to stand up on our feet and say our noses are broad, our lips are thick, our hair is nappy, we are black and beautiful. So that we don't have to be any longer ashamed of our selves and make our children think that they are ashamed so our parents won't tell us don't drink coffee because it makes you black. Bite in your lips because it's too thick. And I was surprised when I was at college to find a young man who wore a nose clip on his nose every night, but that's how they have messed up our minds. They have messed it up so much that every time you get ready to pick somebody who is beautiful, you'd pick somebody who is light, bright and damned near white. And our mother's keep telling us when you marry somebody make sure there hair is straight because I want to be (blank). That's how much they have messed up our minds, we are ashamed of ourselves and of our color of our skin. If you want to start a fight, call somebody black. YOU ARE BLACK AND BEAUTIFUL, STOP BEING ASHAMED OF WHAT YOU ARE!!!!

Once we stop being ashamed, we can move on because we can then begin to develop a concept of people hood. Are we so ashamed of each other, yea I'm going to (something), we'll stand here and here she come, she going to stand next to us. We're so Clanish won't go stand anywhere else, we always got to be together. We're so ashamed, we don't even want to see each other in a group. We are so ashamed of ourselves that we walk down the street and see a hunkey cop beating up one of us and know the hunkey cop is beating him up because he's black and keep walking right on by. We are so ashamed of ourselves that we watch our brothers and sisters get put out of their houses, put their furnitures on the street and we wait till night time to go and steal what we want.

We are so ashamed of ourselves that we're raping, plundering and murdering each other. That's how much ashamed we are. We have to build a concept of people hood where we recognize that we are all the same people, the same brothers and sisters so that we can move to the strength to tell them when you touch one of us you got to touch all of us. And when we can begin to move to that position, ain't none of them going to mess with any of us. But the reason is they know that they can come into our communities, beat us up, take our women, and we won't do nothing because we don't even want to associate with them. You better wake up, the rest of your brothers and sisters are coming together, They're not letting them come in there and pick on one anymore. That's what we've got to do. If they

touch one they got to touch all. That is the only way we are going to survive as a people. You've got to understand that. Now I'm going to point out something to the older folk who get upset about this thing called law and order. They say well the trouble with that nigger and SNCC is they're going around there and they're stirring up trouble and breaking law and order and they talk so bad and so mean. Let me tell you. All the harsh words that we say in SNCC, we can never begin to match the treatment that white America has heaped upon us and continues to heap upon us. We can call them hunkeys until they turn red, we ain't even begun to match what they have done to us, so don't you get disturbed about the words. It's about time somebody spoke up. But you see our older folk talk about law and order because they don't recognize that you can have law and order and have injustice. This country has law and order, it don't have justice for black people. This land has the most efficient system of law and order, he couldn't spell justice. So what we are saying to them is that you may have law and order, but if you ain't got justice you ain't going to have no law and order. We tell them like Jesus Christ told them, I've come to bring the sword not the shield. I have come to turn son against father, mother against daughter, nation against nation, for where there is injustice there shall be no peace. And wherever the hunkeys are heaping injustices upon us in every city, we are going to tear it up. If they want peace in their country, they had better learn how to administer justice, if they don't know how we will teach them how. So you just explain to them law and order without justice ain't nothing but facism. Understand that, because we have to understand that these folks ain't playing

with us. You see a lot of folk out there thinking they're playing. You remember Noah, he told the place, come on, everybody better get in this ark, you all come on and build this ark, the man's going to rain on you all for forty days and forty nights. UnUn we ain't going, the man's good to us, he ain't going to rain on, un un, I know the man, I worked for him all my life. He give me his old clothes, he's good to me. Noah went on and built the ark, and he rained on them for forty days and forty nights. And don't you all forget Moses, he told all them Uncle Toms you all better come on and leave this Pharo. Un Un this Pharo's good to me, Un Un he's good to me, yes sir, he pat me on the head, I could speak to him any time I wanted to speak to him. I go through his back door and have tea and cookies with him. And Moses said you all better come on with me through this Red Sea, because this Pharo is a mean man. Un Un, you're just a trouble maker, Pharo, You're just a trouble maker Moses, Pharo ain't done nothing to us, and Moses just went on through the Red Sea, he left them behind. When we walk on through today, we're leaving a whole lot of Uncle Toms behind. We have to begin to instill in our young people the right and the will to fight back. We don't have it. Did you ever see our young kids, ask them what their name is, mumble mumble mumble. What's your name? Mumble, mumble, mumble. You shouldn't laugh, it's very serious. You ask a white boy what his name is. MY NAME IS RICHARD!! We are so ashamed of ourselves that kids won't even hold their heads up high. They learn to bow down before white folks by the time they are nine years old and out there those people call themselves Christians. Did they forget the first commandment. Thou shalt have no other Gods before me.

They have taught us to bow down before white folk as if they were god and white people believe they are god. And that has been the fault of black folk because we let them believe they were God, we let them play god, but they don't understand when we tell them that play period is over and they better come on home.

They think that everybody was put on this earth to benefit them and they use us against each other. Now I want to say two things before I sit down, I want to develop this concept to fight back and then I want to talk about Vietnam.

Now see, the only people that our children can identify with in school, in a school like this, is George Washington Carver and Booker T. Washington. Booker T. Washington was a super Tom and George Washington Carver was an ignorant Super Tom. Now the reason they teach our kids about Booker T. Washington was because he used his mouth to do two things. Eat and to say yea sir. And they want our kids to do the same thing, but I guess the reason they teach us about George Washington Carver, is because if white folk didn't have him they would eat Jelly Sandwiches for the rest of their lives. He was so stupid that every peanut butter factory in this country today is owned by white folk and he invented over one hundred uses for the peanut, and white folk got it all. He was so nice to them, did you see him? He used to go around and teach them, how to use the peanut and wouldn't come to his own people because we were too dumb and stupid and weren't cultured enough. Before I name our heroes for you I want to talk about this thing called culture. Cause the hunkeys are still the finest today. Did you ever hear them?

They are culturally deprived children. Are you up to that, and here you send you kids to school and they write in a paper "The cultural depviation of the black race!" Ain't that some junk? They say that we are culturally deprived. You all better let them in because they are going to charge me with inciting a riot. They wouldn't let us have the gymnasium and they are going to charge us with inciting to riot. Now let me tell you. Don't you ever let anybody say you are culturally deprived. Because what white folk are talking about is that they don't recognize our culture until they legitimatize it. Here they were teaching you in schools way down upon the Swannee River and My Old Kentucky Home was written by Stephen Foster. Ain't that some junk. They're going to tell you some hunkey wrote music like that about us and for us. He stole it, that's all he did. How could he know how to write it. The trouble is that they steal our music from us and then give it back and call it culture. Here come the Beatles singing our music they can't even harmonize and they are going to talk about (unintelligible). Here they come taking our kids to school talking about Music Appreciation. They teach them Bach, Grigaldi, Ragmonakov and all those others. And they say now lets bring it down to Modern Music and they play GersSchwin and they say and now we want to talk about Jazz. Kids here's the man who has led Jazz in America more than any other man. Benny Goodman. Brothers and Sisters. Do you know that Benny Goodman cannot carry the empty trumpet case of Miles Davis. They say we are culturally deprived. Culture is anything man made. If they say we are culturally deprived, they are denying our very existence. Don't let them do this to you. We've got

culture, we've got Dr. W. E. B. DuBois. We've got County Coolin, we've got ~~Lady~~ Jones, we've got Mahalia Jackson we've got (unintelligible). We've got the Stable Singers, we've got the mighty clouds of joy, we've got James Brown, we've got (unintelligible). And to put the icing on the cake we've got Rev. C. L. Franklin and his soulful daughter, Aretha Franklin. Sock it to me, Sock it to me, etc... The problem is that our culture is not legitimized. They have made us ashamed of it. Forget it. They have never had any culture, they have always stolen ours. That's a fact. The blues ain't theirs. Common be serious. We might let them get away with Bach, Beethoven was black, they won't even tell you that in school. He was a Spanish Moor, black as you and I. But they don't tell us that. It's calculated. It's calculated. We need for our kids, when they go to our school, to learn a number of things. They need to learn about Africa. It should be included in their curriculum. We don't want them teaching our kids German, they should teach them Swahili. You should learn Swahili so you can talk to your African brothers and the white man won't know what you are talking about. We need to know who our heroes are. Our books must have Frederick Douglas, they must have Denmark Bessie, they must have Nat Turner, they must have Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, they must have Richard Wright, they must have J. A. Rodgers, they must have Lerone Bennett, they must have County Collon, they must have Lane Lock, they must have Leroy George, and when you get the Judge, tell them you want to know about Malcom X. But you don't know anything about Malcom X, what do you know except what the hunkeys tell you. He preached hatred, he hated white folks, and white folk, right in the paper, they put black people

on the last page on a special sheet, call you niggers and describe you every time you rape somebody and they got the nerve to tell you that one of your own hates white folk. And you believe them. You ought to get your copy of Malcom X Speaks or the Autobiography of Malcom X and read it yourself. And then when you read it you will stand up when you hear his name called. But you ought to know that. The history is that white people never let any black man who is speaking for you speak to you they always castrate, they always lynch him, they always kill him or today they kick him out of congress. You ought to know that anything they are against you should automatically be for. That's how come we knew black power was so good, we said the word and the whole white world came out against it, and we said that's it, we got it, black power. Now finally, about the war in Vietnam. Oh before we do that black people also have to learn how to support their movement. They give money to religion but we don't give money to our movements. So we will pass the collection plate during this and you should give some money to support what you believe in. You can't have nobody else pay for the Music they are going to call the tune. If you want to call the tune you've got to pay for the Music. Oh yes, somebody reminded me to use Paul Robeson, I apologize for leaving him out, a great black man. MARCUS GARVEY, got to do it, got to do it. We know all the rest, we don't want to talk about the Senators from Massachusetts. Bomb Hanoi. We have more bombs in Hanoi. Look how white we are. Don't call me a negro, call me a man first. Have you ever heard somebody Jewish

get up and say change my name, don't call me Goldberg, call me Smith because they're ashamed of their name, they're ashamed of their heritage. Have you ever heard a black man get up and say don't call me black, I'm a man. For me American first. That's what we want to talk about. American First. Because that has been the dilemma of the black man in this country. We have always tried to be Americans first and black people all the way down the end, and that's why we're catching hell, the way we are catching it today. You ask anybody in this country what they are and they say Polish American, Jewish American, etc. Hey what are you little boy? American Negro. Wants to be American first because he is so ashamed of himself. The very first man to die for the war of independence in this country was a black man named Christus Addis. The very first man. He was a fool. He died for white folk country while the rest of us black brothers were enslaved in this country. He should have been fighting white folk instead of dying for white folk but that has been the history of black people. We've always been dying for white folk. In the American Revolutionary War, they wouldn't let us fight because we were black and stupid and ignorant. Oh but we wanted to be Americans, brothers and sister, we wanted to be American so bad that we got out in our bare feet and tramped up and down the Eastern Shores of this country, training with wooden rifles, begging white folk to let us fight, and finally they came and they said good you can fight. And they had us fight, and we went out and fought the Indians in the war for independence like fools we should have teamed up with the Indians. But that was alright, we fought and we won the war.

Our blood was shed and they gave us a purple heart and patted us on the head and said that's a good nigger. The rest of our brothers was still in slavery, but we were fighting because we were good Americans. We wanted to prove to America how good we was to her. The Mexican - American War came and they were yelling about remember the Alamo. They never told you the Alamo was on Mexican territory but that's ok we went out there and we begged to fight. Here we were again fighting non white people, dying for the white man. The war wasn't even over and we were still in slavery. Then came the civil war.. Our great white father, Abraham Lincoln was supposed to free us. Started the war in 1861 and didn't sign the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863 because the south was beating the living day lights out of the north and wouldn't even let us fight in the Civil War. He said we wern't fitting to fight. And Frederick Douglas, a great black man had to go to him and urge him to let us fight. And when the south was still winning he let us fight, but in segregated units. Said Mr. Lincoln, we wern't fitting to fight next to white men. Oh but we wanted to prove to America how good we were so we went out and fought in the Civil War. Then came World War I and they were drafting white people and they wouldn't draft us and we were ashamed. Oh draft us we cried. Please draft us. The NAACP begged them to draft us. Our forfathers ran to the draft table, we are good Americans, let us fight and they sent us over to Europe to make the world safe for democracy and we couldn't even spell the word democracy. That was in World War I. We didn't even come back. We didn't have a chance to take our uniforms off after World War I when they hung an entire platoon in Texas with our uniforms on our backs. Oh but we wern't, Oh not

us. We got to prove what good Americans we are so here come World War II and we're going to fight we are going to prove how good we are. Let us fight on the front lines. Let us stop this war. We must fight, we are good Americans, let us take Pork Chop Hill.. Let us fight in Poland to stop Hitler and our fathers gave their lives in Poland to stop Hitler from running over the Poles and in 1966 a Polish hunkey in Cigero will throw a rock at us and tell us get out of this neighborhood. Oh, but not us, we were good Americans, we were going to fight. And you ought to read MR. Langston Youths, Will Fight for Freedom, the History of the NAACP. He tells you in Texas there was a prison camp and black Americans soldiers who were going to Europe to fight for this country were bringing home Nazi Prisoners and they put them on a train in New York and when they get to Washington, D. C., the white Nazi who were enemies of this country sat in the front of the train and the niggers had to sit in the back. Oh but we wanted to prove what good Americans we are. May I remind you that in World War II we fought in segregated units. Oh but that wasn't enough, we wanted to be good Americans, so Mr. A. Philip Randolph in 1947 and 1948 mounts a campaign to integrate the troops and Truman get white enough and he integrates the troops and here comes our chance Korea, at last our chance to fight with our white brothers. Oh we must stop Communism at any price was the cry and it was our blood that paid the price. It was our blood that stopped Communism at any price. And our uncles came back to this country with one leg and one arm, only to walk into a store and have some foreigner slam the door in

his face and say get out my store, nigger. But we wanted to prove what good Americans we were in the Vietnamese war, let America prove something to us. We will not fight in their war. How could you let them destroy your humanity. How could you let them put you in a uniform and go fight people who have never done anything to you. How could you? When are we going to get the strength to tell this country we will not let her destroy us. You see that hunkey MacNamara on television. He ain't nothing but racist standing up there talking about Yes we're going to draft 30% of the negros in the Army. This is where they can have equal opportunities. Yes, Yes it's true that they're only 10% of the population but this is a better chance for them. When that Hunkey talk about drafting about drafting 30% of black people he is talking about Black Urban Removal. Nothing else. You have got to understand that that war on Vietnam is calculated to get rid of us. 35% of the people who die in Vietnam are us, by their figures. So you know what the true figures really are. You are to stand up like the greatest, the prettiest Muhammad Ali, and you are to tell them we are not going to fight your war. You get up on your feet and tell them that war is for the birds. Lynden Bird, Lady Bird and Lucy Bird. You tell them we are no longer going to kill people just because a hunkey says kill. You tell them when we decide to kill we will decide who we are going to kill. You have to recognize what they are doing. Dr. Martin Luther King was a great leader of his people until he came out against the war in Vietnam. Then all of a sudden he's not fitting to lead us anymore because the hunkey still think they are picking our leaders for us today. You stand back behind Dr. Martin Luther King, 100%

behind him. And you tell them that on the question of Vietnam he is nice to them on how we really feel about it. So you tell them they better be happy with Dr. King. Because when some of us get going we know who we are going to kill. So you tell them they better be happy Dr. King is as nice as he is about that war in Vietnam. OUR BLOOD HAS BEEN SPILLED INSIDE OUT FOR THIS COUNTRY, AND ALL WE GOT TO SHOW FOR IT IS SOME HUNKEY CALLING US NIGGER, RAT AND WRECHED AND SLUM, ALL OVER THE MOST POWERFUL COUNTRY IN THE WORLD!!! OUR GUTS AND BLOOD HAVE BEEN SPILLED FOR THIS COUNTRY AND WE GO TO THE WORST SCHOOLS CAN PRODUCE. We who have spilled our guts and blood for this country. Our Guts and our blood have been spilled for this country. It's time we spill them for our people. Thank You.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL AT THE
UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

April 19, 1967
Seattle, Washington

Why don't you all read an article with the depth of the Massachusetts Quarterly Review entitled Towards Black Liberation (unintelligible) paper and then we could have some discussion afterwards. I understand that the press has not been doing too good a job covering the activities of SNCC. I don't think they will be able to cover the lecture today because it is on an intellectual level. But since you are college students I know you'll be able to deal with the lecture. I'm sorry that Professor Hunt had to take so much time reaffirming free speech, I just assumed it was a natural thing, they taught it to me in school. One of the most pointed illustrations of the need for black power as a positive and redemptive force in a society degenerating into a form of totalitarianism is to be made by examining the history of distortion that the concept has received in the national media of publicity. This debate as in everything else that affects our lives black people are dependent on and at the discretion of forces and institutions within the white society which have little interest in representing us honestly. Our experience with the Nation Press has been that where they have managed to escape the most vicious special interests in "Get whity" sensationalism and race war mongering, individual reporters and commentators have been conditioned by the developing racism of the society to the point where they are incapable even of objective observations and reporting of racial incidents much less the analysis of ideas.

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But this limitation of visions and deception is an inevitable consequence of the dictatorship of definition, interpretations and consciousness along with the censorship of history that the society has inflicted upon black people and consequently upon itself. Our concern for black power addresses itself directly to this problem. The necessity for black people to reclaim our history and our identity from the cultural terrorism and depravation of self justifying while guilt. To do this we shall have to struggle for the right to create our own terms through which to define our selves and our relationship to the society and to have these terms recognized. This is the first necessity of a free people and the first right that any oppressor must suspend. Now we feel very strongly about that in SNCC, the right to define, the (unintelligible) philosophers feel that it is very important, the ability for man to define himself, (?) for example, on the first page of the Rebel tells us that when the slaves stop accepting the definition of slave imposed upon him by his master, then and only then does he begin to create a life for himself. That's very important, we see examples of that all the time. The trouble with the world today is that white western society as opposed to western civilization which has been a misnomer, white western society has named and defined everyone, and the people are trapped by those definitions. Let me give an example. We watch the television (idiot box) and we have the red man and the white man, and they are engaged in a battle, the white man is losing and he calls for the calvary and the calvary comes out and they

are riding very white and very proper and they get off their horses and they load their guns and they systematically shoot all the red men. They kill them all and then they ride back to the fort and there is a white woman standing at the door and she said, "what happened?" And they answered, "we had a victory, we killed all the Indians". And everyone applauds. Now when the reverse happens, when the red man beat up the white man and there is one man left hanging over a horse and she says, "what happened?" and he says, "those dirty Indians came and massacred us." You've got to understand that in your mind. What they are saying is that a massacre is less honorable than a victory so that the red man will never be able to match the white man, he will always have a massacre and I guess maybe they have something to that, because in a victory you shoot people to death and in a massacre you cut them to death, and I guess if we're going to die we'd rather be shot than cut. That's also very prevalent today on television in the news. I don't know if you ever watch the editorial twins of America, Huntley and Brinkley, but if you ever watch them, particularly when they talk about the war in Vietnam, one usually says those dirty, filthy communist Viet Cong Rebels, disgusting people, threw a molotov cocktail today and wounded 17 of our civilians. Then the other guy comes on and says, "In the mean time our good GIs have been bombing the hell out of North Vietnam. And the implication is that it is bad to throw molotov cocktails but it is ok if you bomb. The white fathers of American racism knew this instinctively it seems, as it is indicated by the continuous record of the distortion and the omission in their dealings with the red and black men. That is

also very clear with this cat called Christopher Columbus who discovered America even though there were people here when he got there. But because white Western society had the power to define, they had defined the red man as an Indian and they did that because Columbus was stupid, he died thinking he was in India, that's how dumb he was and he called red people Indians and because of that they're stuck with the name Indians and he didn't even know that he was in the United States of America. In the same way the Southerner apologises, for her Jim Crow society have so muddled, obscured and misrepresented the records of the reconstruction period until it is almost impossible to tell what really happened during that period. Their contemporary counter-parts are busy doing the same thing with the history of the civil rights movement.

Just one word about the gentlemen of the press.

They usually have names that they give to us like racists, reverse racists, and anti-whites and I have yet to see one black man among them when they come to report about SNCC. In 1964 for example, the National Democratic Party, lead by L. B. Johnson and boy wonder H. H. Humphreys. In SNCC we call them Batman and Robin because they run a (unintelligible) Government. In the black community H. H. Humphrey stands for Handkerchief Head Humphrey. Handkerchief Head is someone who is more (?) than an Uncle Tom, he's an unconditional yes man. I don't know if you dug Lyndon when he delivered his State of the Johnson message to the Union back in January or February, but if you were able to dig him, while he was speaking the cameras

were splashed on the back of Handkerchief Head and he was just (giggle, giggle) a just a himmen and a hawen. But anyway these two cats cynically undermine the efforts of Mississippi's black population to achieve some degree of political representation. We're speaking now of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party challenge which took place in 1964, Atlantic City, at the National Democratic Party Convention. Yet (unintelligible) the events of that convention (unintelligible) one sees only that version fabricated by the press agents of the Democratic Party. A year later the house of representatives in an even more vulgar display of political racism made a mockery of the political rights of Mississippi's black when it failed to unseat the Mississippi delegation to the house which had been elected through a process which had systematically excluded over 450,000 voting age blacks, almost one half of the total electorates of that state. Yet that same house two years later was able to unseat Mr. Powell because he did the same thing that they did but with more style. Whenever this event is mentioned in (unintelligible) it is in terms which leaves one with the rather curious impression that somehow the oppressed black people of Mississippi are at fault. But confronting the Congress with the situation in which they had no alternative but to endorse Mississippi's racial political practices. I mention these two examples, because having been directly involved in them I can see very clearly the discrepancies between what has happened and the versions that are finding their way into general acceptance as a kind of popular mythology. Thus, the victimization of black people takes place in two phases. First it occurs in facts

and deeds and then and this is equally sinister, it occurs in the recordings of those facts and deeds. The black power program and concepts which is being articulated by the Student Non Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), the Congress of Racial Equality and the hosts of community organizations in the ghettos of the north and the south has not escaped this process. The white press has been busy articulating their own analysis, their own interpretations, and criticisms of their own creations and we were very disturbed about that and all we said were two simple words, black power, and the white world came down against us and I couldn't figure out why, we hadn't even been given a chance to define it, but I was reading Mr. George Bernard Shaw a couple of weeks after and he has a phrase which I think is quite apropos for the press. This phrase is "All criticism is in fact an autobiography". For example while the press is giving wide and sensational dissertations to attacks made by figures in the civil rights movement, foremost among which are Mr. Roy Wilkins of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and his counter part, Mr. Whitney Young of the National Urban League and to the hysterical rantings about black racism made by the political (?) that now serves as a Vice President. It has generally failed to give accounts of the reasonable and productive dialogue which is taking place in the black community and in certain important areas in the white religions and in the intellectual communities of this country. A national committee of influential black church men affiliated with the National Council of Churches despite their obvious respectability and responsibility had to resort to paid advertisements to articulate their positions while anyone

shouting the historical yappings of black racisms got ample space. Thus the American people have gotten at best a superficial and misleading account of the very terms and tenure of this debate. I wish to quote from a statement made by the National Committee of Churchmen which I expect the majority of Americans would not have seen. It appeared in the New York Times, last years July 31. The churchmen had to pay to get their views articulate in the three quarter section advertisement. I wanted to read this quite at length because I wanted to let you know that inside the black community there are some intelligent black people other than the ones you always see who are ignorant and usually denouncing black power, their only fame to claim. I wish to quote. "We, an informed group of negro churchmen in America are deeply disturbed about the crisis brought upon our country by historic distortions of important human realities in the controversy about black power. What we see shining through the variety of rhetoric is not anything new, but the same old problem of power and race which has faced our beloved country since 1619. The conscience of black men is corrupted because having no power to implement the demand of conscience, the concern for justice in the absence of justice becomes a chaotic self surrender. Powerlessness breeds a race of beggars. We are faced now with the situation where powerless conscience meets conscienceless power". I wish to repeat that phrase because I feel that it is axiomatic to race relations in this country today. We are faced now with a situation where powerless conscience meets conscienceless power threatening the very foundations of our nation. We deplore the overt violence of

riots but we feel it is more important to focus on the real sources of these eruptions. These sources may be imbedded inside the Ghetto but their basic cause lies in the silent and covert violence which white middle class Americans inflict upon the victims of the inner city. In short the failure of American leaders to use American power to create equal opportunities in life as well as law, this is the real problem and not the angry cry of black power. Without the capacity to participate with power, that is to have some organized political and economic strength to really influence people with whom one interacts, integration is not meaningful. America has asked its negro citizens to fight for opportunity as individuals whereas at certain points in our history what we have needed most has been opportunity for the whole group, not just for selected and approved negroes. We must not apologize for the existence of this form of group power for we have been oppressed as a group and not as individuals. We will not find our way out of that oppression until we and America accept the need for negro Americans as well as the Jews, Italians, Poles and White Anglo Saxon Protestants among others to have and to wield group power. Traditionally for each new ethnic group the route to social and political integration in to America's pluristic society has been through the organization of their own institutions with which to represent their communal needs within the largest society. Simply stated, this is what the advocates of black power are talking about. This flagrant outcry, particularly from the liberal communities that has been evoked by this proposal can only be understood by examining the historic relationship between black people and the white power

structure in this country. Blacks are defined by two forces. Our blackness and our powerlessness. There have been traditionally two communities in America.. The white community which is controlled and defines the forum that all institutions within the society would take. And the black community, which has been excluded from the participation in the power decisions that shaped the society and have traditionally been dependent upon and subservient to the white community. This has not been accidental. The history of every institution of this society indicates the major concern in the order and structuring of the society has been the maintaining of the black community in its condition of dependence and oppression. This has not been on the level of individual acts of racism between individual whites against individual blacks but as total acts by the white community against the black community. This fact cannot be too strongly emphasized but racist assumptions of white superiority have been so deeply engrained in the structure of this society that it infuses its entire function and is so much a part of the national subconscious that it is taken for granted and is frequently not even recognized. Let me give an example of the difference between individual racism and what we in SNCC call institutionalized racism and the societies response to both.

When unidentified white terrorists bomb a black church and kill five black children, that is an act of individual racism widely deplored by most segments of the society, both white and black. But when in that same city, Birmingham, Alabama, not five but 500 black babies die each year because of lack of proper

food, shelter and medical facilities and thousands more black people are destroyed and maimed physically, emotionally and educationally because of conditions of poverty and deprivation in the Ghetto, that is a function of institutionalized racism. But the society pretends either that it doesn't know of the situation or it is incapable of doing anything meaningful about it. And this resistance to doing anything meaningful about conditions in the Ghetto comes from the fact that the Ghetto is itself a product of a combination of forces and special interests inside the white community, and the groups who have access to the resources and power to change that situation, benefit politically, economically from the very Ghetto. It is more than a figure of speech to say then that the black community in America is the victim of white imperialism and colonial exploitations. This is in practical, economic and political terms true. For those of you who take philosophy it is called a truism. There are over 20,000,000 black people, comprising 10% of this nation. For the most part we live in well defined areas of the country in the shanty towns and rural black bug areas of the south, and increasingly in the slums of northern and western industrial cities. If one goes into any black community, whether it be Jackson, Mississippi; Los Angeles, California or Boston, Massachusetts, one will find that the same combination of political, economic and social forces are at work. The people in the black communities do not control the resources of that community, its political decisions, its law enforcement, its housing standards, even the physical

ownership of the land, houses and stores lie outside that community. It is white power that makes the laws. It is violent white power in the form of armed white cops that enforces those laws with guns and night sticks. The vast majority of black people in this country live in these communities and must endure these conditions of oppression because and only because we are black and powerless. I do not suppose there is any point when the men who control the power and resources of this country ever sat down and designed these black (unintelligible) and formerly articulated the terms of their colonial and dependent status as was done for example by the (unintelligible) government of South Africa which this country supports, yet one cannot distinguish between one Ghetto and another. As one moves from city to city it is as though some malignant racist planning unit has done precisely this, designed each one from the same master blueprint, and in deed if the Ghetto had been formally and deliberately planned instead of growing spontaneously and inevitably from the racist functioning of the various institutions that combine to make the society it would be somehow less frightening. The situation would be less frightening if these Ghettos were the result of design and conspiracy one could understand their similarity as being artificial and consciously imposed rather than the result of identical patterns of white racism which repeat themselves in cities as distant as Boston is to Watts. Without bothering to list the historic factors which contribute to this pattern, economic exploitation, political impotence, discrimination of employment and education, one can see that to correct this pattern will require far reaching changes in the power

relationships and the in-grown social patterns within the society. The question is, of course, what kind of changes are necessary and how is it possible to bring them about.

In recent years the answer to these questions which have been given by most articulate groups of black people and their white allies, the liberals of all stripes have been in terms of something called integration.

According to the advocates of integration, social justice will be accomplished by, and I quote, "integrating the negro into the mainstream institutions of the societies for which he has been traditionally excluded". It is very significant that each time I've heard this formulation, it has been in terms of the negro, the individual negro, rather than in terms of the entire black community. This concept of integration had to be based on the assumption that there was nothing of value in the black community and that little of value could be created among black people. For the thing to do was to syphon off the acceptable black into the surrounding middle class white community. Thus the goals of the movement to integration was simply to loosen up the restrictions barring the entry of black into the white community. Goals around which the struggle took place, such as public accommodations, open housing, job opportunities on the executive level, are quite simply middle class goals articulated by a tiny group of black people who have middle class aspirations. Now I do believe that the press had quite a bit to do with that again because they were interpreting once again a movement for us in the early 1960s. You know you would see them on television and they would say black people have been marching in Selma,

Alabama today, Jim Clark has ridden over them with horses, he has beaten them up, he's (unintelligible), he's shot at them, he's whipped them, but still they are marching to integrate and on the next day they would say black people from the north have come to join their brothers in the south. They are marching in the streets again, Jim Clark has beaten them, rode his horses on them, saddle (unintelligible) them, horse whipped them, taken them to jail, but they are still marching to integrate. So I decided to carry that out to its logical conclusion. It appeared to me that what they were saying was that I left the north to go to Alabama to sit next to Jim Clark's daughter, sister or his mama. Obviously I never went there to sit next to Mr. Clark's daughter, sister, or his mama. I went to Alabama to render that hunky impotent over my life and there is a big difference. The difference is in the first you are fighting to sit next to Jim Clark so somehow you are going to civilize him. I don't think that it is possible. The other is and the most correct position is that you are fighting against white supremacy and that is where the fights have always been. Nobody wants to sit next to Jim Clark, he's uncivilized. But what people want to do is to render the white supremacists powerless. That is very important and I understand why the news reporters couldn't say that because for them to say that they would have to admit that in the land of the home and the gree and the brave and all that other garbage there existed some white men who were white supremacists who had power and they used their power against black people whenever they felt like it but it should be crystal clear in your minds to day that black

people weren't fighting to sit next to anybody who was fighting against white supremacy because the concept of the forum was really bad you know, we've become Joe black, (Unintelligible). Such a limited class (unintelligible) was reflected not only in the programs and goals of the civil rights movement but in its tactics and organization. It is very significant that the two oldest and most respectable civil rights organizations have constitutronna (when I become five fifths I'll be able to say the whole word). Anyway they have these things which specifically prohibit partisan political activities. (Complete sentence unintelligible) But this is perfectly understandable in terms of the strategy and goals of the older organizations. But the civil rights movement serves a role as a kind of liaison between the powerful white community and the dependent black community. The dependent status of the black community apparently was unimportant since if the movement was successful it was going to belnd into the white community anyway. We made no pretense of organizing and developing institutions of community power in the black community but in appealing to the conscience of white institutions of power. The posture of the civil rights movement was that of the dependent, the suppliant. The theory was that without attempting to create any organized base of political strength itself the civil rights movement could by forming coalitions with various liberal pressure organizations in the white community liberal reform clubs, labor unions, church groups, progressive civic organizations and at times one or other of the major political parties influence national legislation and national social patterns. I believe we have all seen limitations

of this approach. We have repeatedly seen that political alliances based on appeal to conscience and decency are chancy things. Simply because institutions and political organizations have no consciences outside their own special interest. The political and social rights of black people have been and always will be negotiable and expendable the moment they conflict with the interest of our so called allies. If we do not learn from history the philosopher (?) reminds us then we are doomed to repeat it and this is precisely the lesson that black people must learn from the reconstruction period. In the south they come into being a party called the Populist Party. One of its major spokesmen was Tom Watson. Mr. Watson was running for office in a county in Georgia which had forty percent black people of voting age. In order for him to win the position he needed the black votes. So Mr. Watson like some liberal people who will need the black vote in 1972 to become President, went around Georgia articulating a liberal philosophy. Said Mr. Watson, "Poor black and poor white should come together and they should vote because they are fleeced and oppressed by rich white. Black people believed Mr. Watson and joined the Populist Party and organized as an independent force. That was a decision made by a white man, Mr. Watson. No blacks were asked about that decision. When Mr. Watson tried to make this party National, to bring it out of the south, he started to coalesce with the farmers in the west. His party was too weak to take on the Industrial East. When he tried to coalesce to the economic interests of the Farmers in the west

conflicted with the economic interest of the blacks. Mr. Watson became a vicious racist leading lynch mobs himself and driving black people out of the party. Just because black people had not organized themselves independently first Mr. Watson could make two major decisions affecting our lives and we could not even threaten any of those decisions. Today that is not going to happen again. We will first organize ourselves independently, if people become racist at least we can disrupt. Thus, at this point in the struggle blacks have no assurance save a kind of idiot optimism and faith in a society whose history is one of racism but if it is to become necessary even the painfully limited gains thrown to a civil rights movement by the congress will not be revoked as soon as a shift in political sentiment should occur. The major limitation of this approach was that it tended to maintain the traditional dependence of black and of the movement. We depended upon the good will and support of various groups within the white community whose interests were not always compatible with ours. To the extent that we depended upon their good will and support we were vulnerable to their influence and domination. Also the program that evolved out of this coalition was really limited and inadequate in the long term and one which affected only a small selected group of black people. Its goal was to make the white community accessible to qualified black people and presumably each year a few more black people armed with their passports, a couple of university degrees would escape into white middle class

America, adopt the attitudes and life styles of their group and one day the Harlems and the Watts would stand empty, a tribute to the success of integration. This is simply neither realistic nor is it particularly desirable. You can integrate the communities but you assimilate individuals. Even if such a program was possible its results would be not to develop the black community as a functional and honorable segment of the total society with its own cultural identity, life patterns and institutions but to abolish it. The final solution to race problems in this country. Karl Marx reminds us that the working class is the first class of people that ever wished to abolish themselves. If one were to listen very closely to some of our moderate negro leaders, you would think that the black people were the first people that wished to abolish themselves. The fact is that what must be abolished is not the black community but the dependent colonial status that has been inflicted upon it. The racial and cultural personality of the black community must be preserved and the community must win its liberation while preserving its cultural integrity. This is the essential difference between integration as it is currently practiced and the concept of black power. And what has the movement for integration accomplished to date, that the black person graduating from MIT with a doctorate will have better job opportunities available to him than to Lynda Bird Johnson. But the rate of unemployment in the black community is steadily increasing, while that in the white community decreases. More educated black people hold executive jobs in major corporations and federal agencies than ever before but the gap between white income and black income has almost doubled in the last 20 years. More suburban

housing is available to black people if they can stand the rocks, but housing conditions in the Ghetto are still declining. While the infant mortality rates of New York City is at its lowest rate ever in the city's history the mortality rate of blacks in Harlem is steadily climbing. There has been an organized national resistance to the Supreme Court order to integrate the schools. Less than 6% of black children in the south attend so called integrated schools and 94% of our youth are still left in segregated schools which are increasingly decrepit, over crowded, under staffed, inadequately outfitted and under funded. It is time we turn our attention to the 94% of our youth. This explains why the rate of school drop outs is increasing among black teenagers who then express their bitterness, hopelessness and alienation by the only means they have through immitating this society, via violence. As long as people in the Ghettos of our large cities feel that we are the victims of the misuse of white power without any way to have our needs represented and these are frequently simple needs, we will continue to have rebellions. These are not the products of black power. But the absence of any organization capable of giving the community the power, the black power that it needs to deal with its problems. SNCC proposes that it is now time for the black liberation movement to stop pandering to the fears and anxieties of white middle class America in an attempt to earn its goodwill and to return to the Ghettos to organize these communities to control themselves. This organization must be attempted in northern and southern urban areas as well as in the rural black belt areas of the south. The chief

antagonists to this organization is in the south. The overly racists democratic party and in the north the equally racist and just as corrupt big city machines. The standard argument presented against independent political organization is that you are only 10%. I cannot see the relevance of this observation since no one is talking about taking over the country, God knows we wouldn't know what to do with this monster, but taking control over our very own communities. The fact is that the black population 10% or not, is very strategically placed ironically because of segregation. What is also true is that blacks have never been able to utilize the full voting potential of our numbers. Where we could vote, the case has always been that the white political machine stacks and gerrymanders the political sub division in the black community so that true voting strength is never reflected in political power. Would anyone for example looking at the distribution of political power in Manhattan ever think that black people represented 60% of the population there. Just as often the effective political organization in black communities is absorbed by tokenism and patronage, the time honored practice of giving certain offices to selected negroes. The machine does create a little machine which is subordinate and responsive to it in the black communities, the so called black political leaders are really vote deliverers more responsible to the white machine and the white power structure than to the community they allegedly represent, thus the white community is able to substitute patronage control for what Mr. Powell called audacious black power in the black community. This is precisely what Lynden Bains Johnson tried to do even before the voting rights act of 1965 was passed.

The National Democrats made it clear, crystal clear that the measure was intended to register Democrats, not black people. The President and top officials of the Democratic party called in almost 100 selected black leaders from the deep south. Nothing was said about changing the policies of the racist state parties. Nothing was said about repudiating such leadership figures as Eastlund and Ross Barnett in Mississippi or George and Lurleen Wallace in Alabama, but in SNCC we don't say anything about her because we have come to find out that the Governor of Alabama is a mother, and we are for motherhood. What was simply said, and I quote, was "Go home and organize your people into the local Democratic Party, then we will see about poverty money and appointments, mah fellow Americans". We must organize black community power to end these abuses and to give the black community a chance to have its needs expressed. A leadership which is truly responsible not to the white press and the white power structure, but to the community will be developed. Such leadership will recognize that its power lies in the unified and collective strength of the black community. This will make it difficult for the white leadership group to conduct its dialogue with individuals in terms of patronage and prestige and would force them to talk to the community representatives in terms of real black power. The single aspect then of the black power program that has encountered most criticism is this concept of independent political organization. This is presented as third partyism which has never worked or it would grow into black nationalism and black isolationism which leads to reverse racism. If such a program is developed it will not have

the effect of isolating the black community but the reverse. When the black community is able to control local offices and negotiate with other groups from a position of organized strength, the possibility of meaningful political alliances on specific issues will be increased. That is a rule of politics and there is no reason why it should not operate here. The only difference is that we will have the power to define the terms of these alliances. The revolution in Agricultural Technology in the south is displacing the rural black community into northern-western urban areas. Both Washington, D. C., and Newark, New Jersey have black majorities. One third of Philadelphia's population of two million people is already black. The inner city in most major urban areas is already predominately black, and with the white rush to suburbia blacks will in the next two decades, control the heart of our great cities. These areas can become either concentration camps with a bitter population whose only power is the power to destroy, or organized powerful communities, able to make constructive contributions to the total society. Without the power, the black power, to control our lives in our communities without effective political institutions through which to relate to the total society our communities will exist in a constant state of insurrection. This is a choice that white America will have to make. Thank you.

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

7/31/67

SAC, SEATTLE (100-28676) (C)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS

Re Bureau airtel to Albany, dated 6/7/67.

In accordance with the referenced airtel, enclosed herewith to the Bureau are the original and one xerox copy each of two taped speeches made by STOKELY CARMICHAEL in the Seattle area. The Seattle Office is maintaining a taped copy of the original tapes. The taped copies were obtained as follows: A speech made at Garfield High School, Seattle, 5/19/67, was obtained on 6/9/67 from [redacted] Seattle; another taped speech made 5/19/67 at University of Washington was obtained from [redacted] on 6/16/67.

The above tapes were difficult for the stenographer to read and considerable time and effort was spent in a review of these tapes in an effort to maintain accuracy.

A copy of a tape was also received from DON TATE, Editor, Yakima Eagle Newspaner, Yakima, Washington. This tape was received by SA [redacted] on 6/23/67. It is a copy of a tape made concerning a speech made by CARMICHAEL at Central Washington State Teacher's College, Ellensburg, Washington on 5/21/67. This tape is even more difficult to interpret and after a review of the typed copy there appears to be no evidentiary material and the tape is mostly illegible. Unless advised to the contrary by the Bureau, a copy of this tape will not be forwarded.

2 - Bureau (Enc. 4) REG.

1 - Seattle

LKS:lmd

(3)

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[redacted] stated that the audience at Garfield High School on 4/19/67 consisted of high school students and the normal public as the meeting was open to anyone who wished to attend. He said that the speech given at the University of Washington was given before University of Washington students only. He could not furnish any particular identity of individuals who attended either session.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Steward and Stoke

Editor, The Daily:

Black Power, and the implications behind it, is potentially the most important ideological force in America and the world. It could lead to revolution or to true freedom, depending upon the response white men make to it. Yet Mike Steward, in his essay, "Black Power" (Daily, April 26), dismisses it as simply a political gimmick of Stokely Carmichael, essentially undefined except in reference to his audience. Steward sees it as only a vague concept having no relationship to the real world and having no real program.

In Steward's view, it is only based on hate and destruction. To back this up he quotes from an article in Esquire (Sept. 1966) in which Carmichael denies that you can't hate, you must always love. "Man you can, you do hate." This was taken completely out of context. The quote came directly after Carmichael described being arrested and beaten by three policemen in an elevator in Jackson, Miss., and then spending 2 1/2 days in prison with only a T-shirt and summer pants on while the air conditioner was turned on to 38 degrees. I doubt if Steward or any other man could honestly deny hating his persecutors. To continue the quote, "You don't smile and say love thy white brother. You don't forget those beatings. You don't forget those funerals."

Carmichael doesn't hate all white men for these acts of a few. But he does hate the system that produces men like these, and that reduces Negroes in America to subservience and poverty. He doesn't believe in violence as a political tool to gain power, but he does believe in using violence to counteract violence of the whites. Passive resistance has been tried, but violence against Negroes remains, and the black ghettos and poverty remain.

Steward sees the answer to the Negroes' problem in education (oriented around white cultural values) and gradualist political action (following white politicians who can kick you but if you offend them too much). Steward says Carmi-

chael, in preaching social change, only embitters the whites.

"Confirmed bigots will continue to feed upon the fears. And the Negro will continue to be educated in third-rate schools, hold menial jobs and live in slums." He seems to be saying, "don't go too far or else the whites might not like it and not give you what you deserve." This is subservience, pure and simple. If the Negroes demand too much, then the whites can repeal civil rights legislation or decrease poverty funds, or increase discrimination. Civil liberties and social welfare then become a gift instead of a natural right.

This is what Carmichael is fighting, this is the reason for Black Power. Trusting the benevolence of the whites has been tried and failed. Only when the resources and their control are in their own hands can Negroes move forward with true freedom. Only then can they be economically free to progress, culturally free to express their own feelings, create their own art. Only then can they gain true self-respect, and pride in their culture so long downgraded by the whites.

Only then can the economic basis for prejudice be ended—the competition between blacks and whites for power. Only when the whites have control over their own destiny and the blacks have control over their destiny can the two cultures live in true harmony, brotherhood and mutual respect.

Steward charges that Carmichael has no consistent program that he changes his presentation to appeal to his audience. This is true. It is called politics. Every intelligent politician does it. President Johnson is particularly skilled at it. The difference is Carmichael admits it.

Carmichael doesn't have a program. His speeches are his program. He wants to change the ideas and values of the Negro people (and any whites who want to cooperate) to form a mass movement enabling them to end subservience and to achieve power over themselves. He doesn't want to achieve power over the whites. He wants the Negro people to achieve power over the political, economic and cultural life of the black ghettos and predominantly Negro cities. There is no sinister racism involved; there is only a desire to improve the life of the black people. He doesn't want to destroy Western Civilization, he wants to make a better world.

What is it he wants to destroy? He wants to destroy a system and a psychology that allows a man to categorize another man because of superficial appearance and then dismiss him without ever seeing an individual human being; a system that allows some white men to humiliate, ridicule, downgrade, persecute and kill a man for being black; a system that prevents even liberal white men from having a free, open relationship with a black man, and a Negro from openly trusting any white man.

Carmichael does not want to destroy Western Civilization. He wants to preserve what is good in Western Civilization—the Christian values that have been corrupted by the cynical, inhuman racist, colonialist attitudes of the modern world.

David Rader
Grad. History

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

3

UNIVERSITY OF
WASHINGTON DAILY
Seattle, Washington

Date:

4-28-67

Edition:

Campus

Author:

Editor:

Title:

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office:

Seattle

☐ Being Investigated

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SEARCHED	INDEXED
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MAY 5 1967	
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Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation

August 5, 1967

J. Walter Yeagley
Assistant Attorney General
Internal Security Division

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-20-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

Stokely Carmichael
Sedition - 18 U.S.C. 2388

This is to confirm an oral request made by Mr. John Davitt of this Division on August 3, 1967, to Special Agent [] for the following additional investigation of the captioned subject under the sedition statute (18 U.S.C. 2388).

This Division will consider prosecution of the subject, or any other identifiable co-conspirators, for violation of the Sedition Statute in the event sufficient legally admissible evidence can be adduced to establish that they:

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1. Wilfully caused or attempted to cause insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny or refusal of duty, in the military or naval forces of the United States, or
2. Wilfully obstructed the recruiting (draft) service of the United States, or
3. Wilfully obstructed the enlistment service of the United States.

A review of all the information furnished by your Bureau on Carmichael reflects a number of statements made in speeches by Carmichael which may be actionable depending, of course, on the circumstances in which they were made and the availability of witnesses to testify. A specific list was furnished Mr. Brennan reflecting the cities and the date on which Carmichael spoke therein, on ten different occasions.

The following constitutes a chronological list of the ten speeches made by Carmichael on which we are requesting specific investigation.

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Berkeley, California
University of California
October 29, 1966

We have a transcript of the speech which was furnished by the Chief of Police of the University of California at Berkeley. It is requested that your Bureau ascertain who made the tape recording, under what circumstances he made the tape, and whether he would be available and willing to testify. It is requested that you obtain the original tape for evidentiary purposes. We also wish to be advised of the composition of the audience, e.g., the total number of people in attendance, approximate number of men of draft age, how many Negroes, how many white, the vocal response on the part of the audience (e.g. chanting "Hell no, we won't go") and who would be available and willing to testify to these matters. It is also requested that you determine from an appropriate official of the University whether they have an ROTC program, how many are enlisted in it, and further, if possible, the percentage of male students who are subject to the draft.

Richmond, Virginia
Mosque Auditorium
April 5, 1967

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In a Bureau memorandum, dated April 6, 1967, Richmond, Virginia, captioned: "Stokely Carmichael," Detective [redacted] of the Richmond Police Department advised that Carmichael was the main speaker on the evening of April 5, 1967 at the Mosque Auditorium. He stated that there were about 1900 persons in a predominantly Negro audience, with about 400 white persons in attendance.

Detective [redacted] advised that Carmichael, in answer to a question concerning Negroes being drafted into the "white man's Army," said, "tell them 'Hell no.' there is no need to go 8,000 miles to kill Vietnamese; he ain't never called me a nigger. . . We will not fight their war. The war is for the birds, Linda Bird and Lady Bird."

We would appreciate being advised as to whether a recording or verbatim transcript of Carmichael's speech is available and if so, whether the person who made the recording would be available and willing to testify.

In the event that no recording or verbatim transcript was made, and assuming Detective [] was present at Carmichael's speech, we would appreciate his being interviewed as to whether he made notes on the speech, particularly the part quoted above, whether he still has his notes (or report), and whether he would be available and willing to testify as to the foregoing; also, whether he could testify as to the composition of the audience, the approximate number of men of draft age, whether there were any members of the Armed Forces present (in uniform), and the vocal response by the audience (e.g. chanting "Hell no, we won't go" etc.).

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If there was no recording or verbatim transcript made of Carmichael's speech, we would appreciate being advised of the identity and willingness to testify of any person who could corroborate the testimony of Detective []

We would also appreciate being furnished with a copy of any Form 302 which may have been prepared in connection with the first interview of Detective []

Tougaloo, Mississippi
Tougaloo College
April 11, 1967

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In a letterhead memorandum dated June 6, 1967, captioned Communist Infiltration, SNCC, Internal Security - C, Stokely Carmichael, Internal Security-M, at Jackson, Mississippi, we were furnished a copy of a verbatim transcript of Carmichael's speech at Tougaloo College which was made available by []

[] Mississippi Highway Safety Patrol, Jackson, Mississippi, [] said there were approximately 800 to 900 persons in attendance; however, he said he did not attend the speech. Your memorandum further reflects that the tape recording of Carmichael's speech was left at the MPSP State Headquarters and [] up to that time, was unsuccessful in determining who left him the tape.

Assuming he has been unsuccessful and that a voice identification on the tape is not possible, it is requested that the news media in Jackson be contacted, if feasible, to determine whether a similar tape is available.

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In the event that either [] now knows who left him the tape or, failing that, the news media or some other source comes up with a recording or verbatim transcript of Carmichael's speech, we would appreciate being advised who made the tape recording, under what circumstances was it made, and whether the person who made the tape would be available and willing to testify. It is further requested that you obtain the original for evidentiary purposes. In addition, as we have previously noted, we would appreciate being advised of the approximate number of people in attendance, an estimate of the number of men of draft age, how many Negroes, how many white, the vocal response of the audience (e.g. chanting "Hell no, we won't go" etc.), and who would be available to testify to these matters. If feasible, we would like to know whether the college has an ROTC program, how many are enlisted in it, and, if possible, the percentage of male students who are subject to the draft.

Houston, Texas
University of Houston
April 13, 1967

In a Bureau memorandum dated April 17, 1967, Carmichael is reported as having made a speech at the University of Houston on April 13, 1967, at Houston, Texas, in which he is reported as having said: "I advocate people to say to hell with the draft and go to jail."

We would appreciate being advised as to whether a recording or verbatim transcript of Carmichael's speech is available and if so, whether the person who made the recording would be available and willing to testify.

In the event that no recording or verbatim transcript was made, we would appreciate being advised as to who was present at Carmichael's speech who would be available and willing to testify to the foregoing, whether he made any notes or report that are still available, and whether he could testify as to the total number of people in the audience, the approximate number of men of draft age, how many Negroes, how many white, and the vocal response on the part of the audience (e.g. chanting "Hell no, we won't go" etc.). We would also like to know if any members of the Armed Forces were present in uniform.

St. Petersburg, Florida
April 18, 1967

We have a transcript of Carmichael's speech and question and answer forum at St. Petersburg, Florida, on April 18, 1967, which was furnished in your letterhead memorandum dated May 17, 1967, captioned "Stokely Carmichael, Tampa, Florida." Your memorandum reflects that the transcript was sent to the Bureau by Pinellas County Sheriff Don Genung in a letter dated May 10, 1967. The Sheriff's office estimated the audience to have been between 700 and 800 persons. It is requested that your Bureau ascertain who made the tape recording, under what circumstances he made the tape, and whether he would be available and willing to testify. It is requested that you obtain the original tape for evidentiary purposes. We also wish to be advised of the composition of the audience, e.g., the total number of people in attendance, approximate number of men of draft age, how many Negroes, how many white, whether there were any members of the Armed Forces present in uniform, the vocal response on the part of the audience (e.g. chanting "Hell no, we won't go") and who would be available and willing to testify to these matters.

Seattle, Washington
University of Washington & Garfield High School
April 19, 1967

In a Bureau memorandum dated April 20, 1967 captioned "Stokely Carmichael, Seattle, Washington" a source advised that Carmichael gave a speech at both the captioned university and high school. In answer to a question from a university student about the Negro's role in the draft, he said, "tell em 'Hell no, we ain't going.'" The audience was estimated at both speeches to be in excess of 3000 people.

We would appreciate being advised as to whether a recording or verbatim transcription of Carmichael's speech is available and, if so, whether the person who made the recording would be available and willing to testify. In the event that no recording or verbatim transcript was made, and assuming the source was present at the speeches and is available and willing to testify to the foregoing, it is requested that he be interviewed as to the approximate number of draft age men in the audience, how many Negroes, how many white, the vocal response on the part of the audience (e.g. chanting "Hell no, we won't go"). It is also requested that we be advised whether the university and high school have an ROTC program, the number of enlisted men and the percentage of male students subject to the draft.

Cincinnati, Ohio
Carmel, Church
April 29, 1967

With regard to Carmichael's speech at the Carmel Church in Cincinnati, Ohio on April 29, 1967, it would be appreciated if you would advise us as to the nature and availability for testimony of the confidential source who furnished the tape recording of his speech and the circumstances under which the recording was made. It is also requested that you obtain the original tape recording. In addition, as we have previously noted, we would appreciate being advised as to the composition of the audience, the approximate number of men of draft age and the names of the witnesses who would be available and willing to testify as to these matters.

Waukegan, Illinois
Waukegan Township High School
May 14, 1967

Your letterhead memorandum dated May 16, 1967 at Chicago, Illinois quotes Lieutenant [redacted] of the Waukegan, Illinois Police Department as advising that Carmichael spoke at the East Campus of the Waukegan Township High School on May 14, 1967. Lieutenant [redacted] quoted Carmichael as making several possibly seditious statements which were reflected in the foregoing report.

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We would appreciate being advised as to whether a recording or verbatim transcription of this speech is available and, if so, whether such person who made the recording is available and willing to testify.

In the event that a recording or transcript is not available, and assuming Lieutenant [redacted] presence during this speech, we would appreciate his being re-interviewed and questioned as to whether he made notes during the speech, if such notes are still available and if he would be willing to testify as to these matters. It is also requested that he be questioned as to the composition of the audience as has been previously noted. We would also appreciate being furnished with a copy of any Form 302 which may have been prepared in connection with his first interview.

Washington, D. C.
Lincoln Memorial Congregational Temple
May 16, 1967

We note from your letterhead memorandum dated May 24, 1967 of Washington, D. C. that the transcript of the speech made by Carmichael on May 16, 1967 was initially furnished to the Metropolitan Police Department by a major radio network and that the network did not wish to become involved in this matter. In light of the fact that in this speech Carmichael made several statements which would appear to be in possible violation of the sedition statute, it is requested that you ascertain the name of the individual who made the recording, the circumstances under which it was made and his availability and willingness to testify. It is also requested that you advise us as to the composition of the audience and other data along the lines previously requested.

* * *

We would appreciate your treating this request as a matter of urgency and we would, therefore, appreciate receiving on an expeditious and continuing basis the results of your investigation.

It is requested that copies of your investigative reports also be made available to the Criminal Division.

8/5/67

airtel

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DATE 11-20-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

To: SACs, Atlanta (Enclosure)
Chicago (Enclosure)
Cincinnati (Enclosure)
Houston (Enclosure)
Jackson (Enclosure)
Los Angeles (Enclosure)
Richmond (Enclosure)
San Francisco (Enclosures - 2)
✓ Seattle (Enclosure)
Tampa (Enclosure)
WFO (Enclosure)

From: Director, FBI

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
SEDITION

ReBuairtel 8/4/67, one copy of which is enclosed for San Francisco.

Enclosed for each recipient office is a copy of a self-explanatory letter from AAG Yeagley which confirms the information contained in referenced airtel.

Recipient offices are instructed to comply with the requests contained in this letter and with the instructions contained in referenced airtel regarding the investigation of Carmichael and the submission of pertinent information to Atlanta for inclusion in a prosecutive summary report.

Interviews with potential witnesses should be recorded on Form FD-302 or in a signed statement and wherever possible pertinent information should be furnished to Atlanta in insert form for inclusion in the prosecutive summary report. Insure

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Airtel to SAC, Atlanta
RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

that appropriate background information including information regarding the willingness and availability of witnesses to testify is furnished to Atlanta regarding each potential witness for inclusion in the witness appendix section of the report. Original recordings of interviews with potential witnesses should be retained by the office conducting the interviews. Auxiliary offices should furnish to Atlanta four copies of all exhibits to be included in the exhibits section of the prosecutive summary report and Atlanta should submit three copies of the prosecutive summary report and three sets of exhibits to the Bureau.

It is imperative that sufficient manpower be assigned to this investigation to insure that the deadline is met without fail.

8/4/67

Airtel

To: SACs, Atlanta Los Angeles
Chicago Richmond
Cincinnati Seattle
Houston Tampa
Jackson WFO

PERSONAL ATTENTION

From: Director, FBI (100-446030)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS;
SEDITION

The Department has advised it may proceed against Stokely Carmichael, former National Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), for violation of Title 18, U. S. Code, Section 2383, sedition.

The Department is interested in activities showing:

- 1) Counseling of refusal of military duty.
- 2) Statements which would constitute obstruction of voluntary enlistments for military service.
- 3) Statements which would constitute obstruction of recruiting for military service or the draft.

The Department desires transcripts of the following speeches:

- 1) Waukegan, Illinois, 8/14/67, Waukegan Township High School (Chicago).
- 2) St. Petersburg, Florida, 4/18/67 (Tampa).
- 3) Tougaloo, Mississippi, Tougaloo College, 4/11/67 (Jackson).
- 4) Richmond, Virginia, Monroe Auditorium, 4/5/67 (Richmond).

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100-28676-147

SEARCHED	INDEXED
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JUL 1967	
FBI-SEATTLE	

Airtel to SAC, Atlanta, et al.
 RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
 100-449080

- 5) Washington, D. C., Lincoln Memorial Congregational Temple, 5-18-67 (WFO)
- 6) Berkeley, California, University of California, 10-28-65 (Los Angeles)
- 7) Cincinnati, Ohio, Protestant Church, 4-28-67 (Cincinnati)
- 8) Los Angeles, California, 5-27-67 (Los Angeles)
- 9) Houston, Texas, University of Houston, 4-13-67 (Houston)
- 10) Seattle, Washington, University of Washington and Garfield, 4-29-67 (Seattle)

In connection with each of the above speeches, determine:

1) If a text is available which may have been furnished the school or press by Garfield. If a text is not available, is there a transcription of the speech by news media, school official, student or any member of the audience. Determine appropriate witnesses to any recording made, and ascertain the chain of evidence.

2) Determine the composition of the audience from competent witnesses, including whether students or persons of draft age. Ascertain proportion of Negro and whites in the audience.

3) Determine audience reaction to the speech, whether appropriate portions were applauded, cheered or booed. Did the audience respond to statements such as "Well no, we won't go."

4) Determine availability of witnesses who can testify as to the text and wording of the speech.

5) When the speech was at a school determine if there is an adjacent military installation or Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC). Were military personnel in the audience, either in or out of uniform?

6) Was there a question and answer period after the speech? Were there discussions by parts of the audience after the speech at the site or away from it? Determine witnesses to the substance of any gatherings.

7) Advise whether any informants alert to Carmichael who could be helpful in this type of case and submit the usual form.

Airtel to SAC, Atlanta, et al
RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
100-446030

These instructions apply even though a transcript has been previously furnished Atlanta and the Bureau. It is not necessary to forward the transcript again, but all information concerning source of transcript, availability for testimony of the person who recorded the speech, chain of evidence, and answers to the above questions must be furnished.

Refer to the Manual of Instructions, Volume 3, Section 50, regarding sedition, for instructions. Refer to Agents Handbook, Part 1, page 71, regarding preparation of prosecutive summary reports. This investigation must be thorough and penetrating.

Atlanta, as office of origin, will immediately prepare a prosecutive summary report to include all of the above. This report must reach the Bureau by August 14, 1967, without fail. Each other office must cover its leads and furnish results to the Bureau and Atlanta no later than August 9, 1967, in a form suitable for dissemination. Each Special Agent in Charge will be held strictly accountable for meeting these deadlines. Assign sufficient manpower to insure the deadlines are met and set out leads by teletype, if necessary.

Since this investigation will include contacts with members of the press and will be of public interest, persons contacted should be advised the investigation is being conducted at the request of the Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Internal Security Division of the Department of Justice.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date August 8, 1967

[redacted] Seattle, stated that she is a housewife and attended a speech given by STOKELY CARMICHAEL at Garfield High School, Seattle, on the evening of April 19, 1967. She stated that she left the meeting about 20 minutes before the end of CARMICHAEL's main speech as she was worried about getting out of a traffic jam. She now recalled that during the speech STOKELY CARMICHAEL made a statement such as "If somebody gives me a gun, I know who I would shoot". He had been referring to war in Vietnam and had stated that Negroes should not be shooting other persons of colored skin, in Vietnam, when they had a greater problem at home. Other than this remark, [redacted] could not recall any particular controversial remark made by CARMICHAEL. She estimated the audience at approximately 4,000 persons, mostly adults, and those of draft age in the audience about 15%. She also stated that the audience was approximately 60% Negro, and she did not hear any "chanting" to answers or remarks made by CARMICHAEL. She said that the closest military establishment to Garfield High School is approximately ten miles away. She did not see anyone in military uniform at this meeting.

[redacted] advised she would be willing to testify to this information.

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-20-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

On 8/8/67 at Seattle, Washington File # SE 100-28676-148
by SA [redacted] :cdv:bjl *th* Date dictated 8/8/67

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 8/8/67

[redacted]
Seattle Public School System, Seattle, Washington, stated that he made a tape recording of a speech made by STOKELY CARMICHAEL at Garfield High School, 400 - 23rd Avenue, Seattle, on the evening of April 19, 1967. He is maintaining the master copy or original tape of this speech as a matter of evidence. He said that he would be willing and available for testimony regarding this tape. [redacted] estimated the audience at more than 4,000 persons, and of this number, there were approximately 60 per cent Negroes, and no more than 15 per cent young men of draft age. He said he did not see a military uniform in the audience and does not know how many persons of the audience are in military service. He said the audience response was very warm, but he did not hear any "chanting" in response to remarks made by CARMICHAEL. He said that the nearest military base is approximately ten miles away and there is no ROTC program at Garfield High School. He added that a question and answer period was held at Garfield High School following the main address, and he does not recall any statements made by CARMICHAEL which would be construed as counseling or obstructing military recruiting or service.

[redacted] stated that CARMICHAEL delivered his speech on "Black Power and Negro Rights" in normal tone of voice and did not become overly excited. He spoke to all persons within sound of his voice and did not appear to use a text but may have referred to notes although they were not noticeable. CARMICHAEL was the main speaker of the evening.

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DATE 11-20-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

On 8/8/67 at Seattle, Washington File # SE 100-28676-149
by SA [redacted] /cdv:cmh Date dictated 8/8/67

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date August 8, 1967

[redacted] University of Washington, Seattle, Washington, stated that he attended a speech given by STOKELY CARMICHAEL at the University of Washington, Seattle, on the afternoon of April 19, 1967. He said he did not hear any remarks by CARMICHAEL which would indicate counseling to avoid military duty or similiar statements. He estimated the audience at approximately 3,000 persons of which less than 5% were Negro. He believes that the audience was receptive to CARMICHAEL but did not "go all out in applause". He said there was a question and answer period after his speech but there was no large response to any answers given by CARMICHAEL, and he does not recall CARMICHAEL making a statement such as "Hell no, we won't go". He estimated that the majority of the males in the audience or three-fourths of the audience would be about draft age, but he did not see any military uniforms.

[redacted] advised he would be willing to testify to this information.

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On 8/8/67 at Seattle, Washington File # SE 100-28676-150
by SA [redacted] /cdv Date dictated 8/8/67

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date August 8, 1967

[redacted]
[redacted] University of Washington, Seattle, Washington, stated he attended the speech by STOKELY CARMICHAEL given on the afternoon of April 19, 1967, at the University of Washington. He said that he was in and out of the audience due to his security duties but did not hear any remarks by CARMICHAEL which he thought were controversial. He said the audience consisted of slightly more than 3,000 persons, of which 70 or more per cent were college students and of this 70% three fourths were males of draft age. He said he does not recall that many Negroes were present but there could have been a few. He said the audience response was average, and he did not hear any vocal response such as "chanting" by the audience. He said the college has three Reserve Officer Training programs and the nearest military installation is the Sand Point Naval Air Base, which is three miles from the University. He also stated that he did not see any military uniforms at this speech.

[redacted] related he would be willing to testify to this information.

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On 8/8/67 at Seattle, Washington File # SE 100-28676 -151
by SA [redacted] *[initials]*/cdv Date dictated 8/8/67

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date August 8, 1967

[redacted]
Seattle Public School System, Seattle, Washington, advised he attended a speech of STOKELY CARMICHAEL given the evening of April 19, 1967, at Garfield High School, 400 23rd Avenue, Seattle. He said that he did not hear any comment made by CARMICHAEL which would indicate counseling of persons to refuse military duty or similiar remarks. He estimated the audience at about 4,000 or more persons with the majority of the audience being adults. He pointed out that the response of the audience was warm and cordial. He said that he did not notice any military uniforms in the audience, and he did not hear any "chanting" in response to CARMICHAEL's remarks.

[redacted] advised he would be willing to testify to this information.

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DATE 11-20-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

On 8/8/67 at Seattle, Washington File # SE 100-28676 -152
by SA [redacted] /cdv Date dictated 8/8/67

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date August 8, 1967

[redacted] Radio Broadcasting Service for the University of Washington, Seattle, Washington. He stated that he personally made a tape recording of the speech given by STOKELY CARMICHAEL on the afternoon of April 19, 1967, at the University of Washington. He said that as is the custom, the master tape was erased, but he did make a copy from it of the speech made by CARMICHAEL. He said that he has maintained this copy and made a copy from his copy for Agent [redacted] of the FBI. He said that he would be willing and available to testify to the copy that he maintains in his possession as being true and accurate copy of the tape he originally recorded as a "master tape" of CARMICHAEL's speech.

[redacted] said that he recalls that during a question and answer period following CARMICHAEL's main speech an anonymous student asked a question about military service and CARMICHAEL's reply was "Hell no, we won't go". [redacted] does not recall any other particular remarks derogatory in nature by CARMICHAEL such as counseling against military service. He estimated the audience at about 3,000 with approximately 90% being college students. He said that of this 90%, there were approximately three-fourths male students of draft age. He said that he did not see any military personnel present in uniform and does not know how many of the students present are in the Reserve Officer Training Corps but believes that 50% of the males present are members of the Reserve Officer Training Corps. [redacted] said that the audience response appeared to be "warm" but not "exuberant". He said that there was no "chanting" by the audience of CARMICHAEL's remarks.

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[redacted] remarked that CARMICHAEL appeared to deliver his speech in a normal tone of voice and in a deliberate manner. He did not become overly excited, and he spoke generally to all persons within sound of his voice. He may have used notes in delivering his speech, but they were not apparent. He was the main speaker for the afternoon and his announced topic was Negro Rights and Black Power. [redacted] further related he had also made a tape of the question and answer period following CARMICHAEL's main address, however,

On 8/8/67 at Seattle, Washington File # SE 100-28676-153

by SA [redacted] /cdv Date dictated 8/8/67

SE 100-28676

this tape has been erased. A separate copy of this portion of the tape was made before the tape was erased, however, he has been unable to locate the copy. C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date August 8, 1967

[redacted] at Garfield High School, 400 23rd Avenue, Seattle, Washington, stated he attended the speech of STOKELY CARMICHAEL at Garfield High School on the evening of April 19, 1967, attended mostly by adults. He said the audience response was very warm and he would estimate the audience at about 4,000 persons. He said the audience consisted of very few persons of draft age. He does not recall any remarks being made by CARMICHAEL of a controversial nature which would be construed as counseling or obstruction to military service. He estimated that the number of draft age persons in the audience would be about 10%, and the number of Negroes in the audience would be 70%. He said there was no vocal response by the audience to CARMICHAEL's remarks and a question and answer period was held at the high school directly following his main address. He does not recall seeing any military personnel in uniform at the high school and does not know how many persons were there that might be in the military service.

[redacted] related he would be willing to testify to this information.

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DATE 11-20-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

On 8/8/67 at Seattle, Washington File # SE 100-28676-154
by SA [redacted] *[signature]* /cdv Date dictated 8/8/67

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date August 8, 1967

[redacted]
University of Washington, Seattle, Washington, informed that he attended a speech of STOKELY CARMICHAEL which was held on the afternoon of April 19, 1967, at the University of Washington. He stated that he did not hear any comment made by CARMICHAEL which would indicate willful counseling or refusal for duty in military service or effort to obstruct recruiting into military service or enlistment into military duty. He said that the audience consisted of about 3,000 persons made up of students of which three-fourths were male persons of draft age. He said that the number of Negroes in the audience was very small and he would approximate no more than 5% of the audience. He added that the audience were warm in their reception but at no time did they appear to be "exuberant".

[redacted] stated that there is a Reserve Officer Training program at the University which includes a training program for Air Force, Army, and Navy. He said that to the best of his knowledge, there was no one in the audience in uniform. He stated that there was a question and answer period after the main speech by CARMICHAEL, and it was difficult for anyone to hear all of the questions and answers. He said he did not hear any changing to a question regarding the draft nor did he hear CARMICHAEL make an answer such as "Hell no, we won't go".

[redacted] advised he would be willing to testify to this information.

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On 8/8/67 at Seattle, Washington File # SE 100-28676 -155
by SA [redacted] /cdv Date dictated 8/8/67

8/8/67

AIRTEL

AIRMAIL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM: SAC, SEATTLE (100-28676) (RUC)
SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION
OO: ATLANTA

Re Seattle airtel to Bureau, 4/20/67 and 7/31/67;
Bureau airtels to Atlanta, 8/4/67 and 8/5/67.

Being forwarded herewith to the Bureau are three (3) copies each of eight (8) FD-302's reflecting interviews with witnesses of speeches given by STOKELY CARMICHAEL in the Seattle, Washington, area on 4/19, 1967. Also being forwarded to Atlanta are four (4) copies each of the same eight (8) FD-302's, and four (4) copies of two (2) tape recordings of CARMICHAEL's two speeches made at Seattle on 5/19/67, at the University of Washington at Garfield High School (previously furnished Bureau by Seattle airtel, 7/31/67). Also being forwarded to the Bureau are three (3) copies of an insert reflecting Seattle, Washington witnesses of CARMICHAEL's speeches and four (4) copies of these appendix pages for Atlanta.

Seattle airtel to Bureau, 7/31/67, forwarded a transcript of tapes made from the speeches of STOKELY CARMICHAEL in the Seattle, Washington, area at Garfield High School and University of Washington, 4/19/67.

The Statement, "Hell'en Hell no, we aren't going" as set forth in referenced Seattle airtel, 4/20/67, was first reported by [REDACTED]

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- 3 - Bureau (Encl. 27) (REG)
- 4 - Atlanta (Encl. 44) (REG)
- 1 - Seattle

LKS:edv/cabarched

(8) on 4- Serial

Indexed

Filed

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100-28676-156

[Signature]

SE 100-28676

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[redacted] and would not qualify as a competent witness. Upon recontact 8/7/67 [redacted] stated she did not personally hear CARMICHAEL make this statement and was not present at the speech at the University of Washington, but heard it from an unknown source who was at the University of Washington meeting. This statement was, however, also overheard by [redacted] whose FD-302 is enclosed with copies of FD-302's for the other witnesses, who attended either the speech of CARMICHAEL at Garfield High School or his speech at University of Washington. All of these witnesses stated that they are willing and available to testify.

8/10/67

AIRTEL

AIRMAIL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM: SAC, SEATTLE (100-28676) (RUC)
SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION
OO: ATLANTA

Re Seattle airtel, 8/8/67, and Atlanta and Seattle
tels, 8/10/67.

Due to a typographical error date of CARMICHAEL's
speeches at Seattle was reported as 5/19/67 in Seattle FD-302's
and on the first page of each transcript of two tapes made of
his speeches as submitted with referenced Seattle airtel,
8/8/67. This date should be 4/19/67. Seattle reference in
Seattle airtel, 8/8/67, should also read 4/20/67 instead of
4/30/67.

Enclosed for the Bureau are three (3) copies each of
2 corrected FD-302's reflecting interviews with witnesses of
speeches given by CARMICHAEL in Seattle, Washington, on 4/19/67.
Also enclosed for the Bureau are two (2) corrected copies each
of the first page of two transcripts of speeches made by
CARMICHAEL as furnished to the Bureau by Seattle airtel, 7/31/67.

Enclosed for Atlanta are four (4) copies each of 2
corrected FD-302's and four (4) copies each of the corrected
first page of two transcripts of CARMICHAEL's speeches as
furnished Atlanta by Seattle airtel, 8/8/67.

Seattle copies corrected.

3 - Bureau (Encl. 28) (REG)
2 - Atlanta (Encl. 40) (REG) (100-6812)
2 - Seattle

GK:cmh

(7) Gm a

100-28676-157

F B I

Date: 8/10/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via TELETYPE _____
DEFERRED
(Priority)TO: DIRECTOR (100-446080)
SAC, ATLANTA (100-6812)

FROM: SAC, SEATTLE (100-28676)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS - MISC.; SEDITION
RE ATLANTA TEL TODAY.

SEATTLE INSERT AND THREE ZERO TWOS SUBMITTED
AUGUST EIGHT LAST. REVIEW OF FILE INDICATES TYPOGRAPHICAL
ERROR ON THREE ZERO TWOS AND FIRST PAGE OF TRANSCRIPT OF
EACH TAPE WHERE DATE OF SPEECHES AT SEATTLE IS LISTED
AS MAY NINETEEN SIXTYSEVEN AND SHOULD BE APRIL NINETEEN
SIXTYSEVEN. CORRECTED COPIES SENT AIRMAIL THIS DATE.

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GK:cmh
(1) *cmh*

100-28676-158

Approved: _____
Special Agent in ChargeSent 4/47 pm M Per 11

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FBI SEATTLE

FBI ATLANTA

625PM URGENT 8-10-67 JDW

TO DIRECTOR, LOS ANGELES, NEW ORLEANS, AND SEATTLE
FROM ATLANTA /100-6812/

STOKELY CARMICHAEL. SEDITION.

RE BUREAU AIRTELS AUGUST FOURTH AND FIFTH LAST RELATING TO
PROSECUTIVE SUMMARY REPORT, AND JACKSON TELETYPE TO NEW ORLEANS,
AUGUST EIGHTH LAST.

APPROPRIATE INSERTS AND FD THREE ZERO TWOS AS YET NOT RECEIVED
FROM NEW ORLEANS, BASED ON TELETYPE LEAD OF JACKSON TO NEW ORLEANS,
SEATTLE, WASH., REGARDING TWO SPEECHES MADE BY SUBJECT APRIL
NINETEENTH LAST AND LOS ANGELES REGARDING SPEECH MADE MAY TWENTYSIXTH
LAST.

NEW ORLEANS, SEATTLE AND LOS ANGELES SUTEL ATLANTA WHEN INSERTS
SUBMITTED FOR INCLUSION IN PROSECUTIVE REPORT AND IF NOT ALREADY
SUBMITTED, WHEN THEY WILL BE FORWARDED. P

END

HGH

FBI SEATTLE

P

*Answered
8/10*

PH

100-28676-159

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AUG 19 1967	
SEATTLE	

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SE 100-28676
LKS:cdv:bjl

APPENDIX - WITNESSES

AT SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

1. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] is approximately 50 years of age and is [REDACTED] at the University of Washington. He resides at 4008 39th Southwest, Seattle.

2. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] is [REDACTED] at the University of Washington and is about 40 years of age. He resides at [REDACTED] Seattle.

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3. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] is about 40 and is [REDACTED] of the Seattle Public School System. He resides at [REDACTED]

4. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] is [REDACTED] of the University of Washington and in his late 50's. He resides at [REDACTED] Seattle, Washington.

5. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] is 25 years old and is [REDACTED] for the Radio Broadcasting Service at the University of Washington. He has been [REDACTED] for the past seven years and resides at [REDACTED] Seattle, Washington.

6. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] is in his 40's and is [REDACTED] Garfield High School where he has been for the past three years. He resided at [REDACTED] Seattle, Washington.

7. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] is about 50 years of age and is a housewife who has been active in conservative politics [REDACTED] area. She resides at [REDACTED] Seattle, Washington.

100-28676-160

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LKS/cdv

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8. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] is about 50 years of age and is
[REDACTED] for the Seattle Public
School System. He resides at [REDACTED]
Seattle, Washington.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Reporting Office ATLANTA	Office of Origin ATLANTA	Date 8/12/67	Investigative Period 8/7 - 8/12/67
Title of Case STOKELY CARMICHAEL, aka C. Kolcher		Report made by SA 	Typed By: ilca
		Character of Case SEDITION	
Synopsis: PROSECUTIVE SUMMARY REPORT			

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Approved:	Special Agent in Charge	Do not write in spaces below	
Copies made: 3 - Bureau (RM) 1 - USA, Atlanta (RM) 2 - Chicago (157-1297) (RM) 1 - Seattle (RM) COPIES CONT. COVER PAGE B 2 - Atlanta (100-6312)		100-28676-162	
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CONFIDENTIAL

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to: 1 - USA, Atlanta, Georgia (RM)

Report of: SA [REDACTED] Office: Atlanta, Georgia
Date: August 12, 1967

Field Office File #: 100-6812 Bureau File #:

Title: STOKELY CARMICHAEL, also known as
C. Welcher

Character: SEDITION

Synopsis: PROSECUTIVE SUMMARY

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DATE 11-20-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

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AT 100-6812

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I. NARRATIVE OF OFFENSE

STOKELY CARMICHAEL was born June 29, 1941, at Trinidad, British West Indies. By derivation through the naturalization of his parents, CARMICHAEL became a United States citizen on April 27, 1953, which citizenship was substantiated by Certificate of Citizenship Number A338082, which was issued to STOKELY CARMICHAEL on April 17, 1958. Subject's derivative citizenship is as a result of his father, ADOLPHUS S. CARMICHAEL, born February 1, 1913, Port of Spain, being naturalized in the Southern District of New York April 27, 1953.

CARMICHAEL received a Bachelor of Arts Degree in philosophy from Howard University, Washington, D.C., on June 5, 1964.

In May of 1966 CARMICHAEL, after several years of association with the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), was elected by the central committee of SNCC to become the National Chairman. He served in this capacity until May, 1967. During this period, CARMICHAEL was in a constant travel status throughout the United States; however, he has been known to utilize Apartment Number 1, 2222 Telhurst Street, SW, Atlanta, Georgia, as a residence.

The only alias known to have been utilized by CARMICHAEL occurred in September, 1966, when he was reported to have purchased an airline ticket in Alabama utilizing the name of C. WELCHER. He is not known to have ever served in the military armed forces of the United States; however, he is registered with the Local Draft Board in New York City, and by his own statements indicates he has a 4-F classification.

AT 100-6812

Throughout a series of speeches delivered by CARMICHAEL as Chairman of SNCC and as a recognized proponent of "Black Power", he has generally set forth the origins and concepts of SNCC, theories of self condemnation, concept of denial of one's liberation, differences in law and order, and history of the Negro peoples. CARMICHAEL in his speeches, following a discussion of the above described items, generally concludes his talks by dwelling on the war in Viet Nam and his opposition to the draft. He further advised his audience that they should inform the white people in authority as it relates to military service and induction, "Hell no, we won't go." He has advocated in his speeches that, "There is no need to go 8,000 miles to kill Vietnamese; He ain't never killed any nigger . . .; We will not fight the war. The war is for the Birds. Lynda Bird and Lady Bird." He has further advocated that the Negro people should say, "To hell with the draft" and go to jail.

AT 100-6812

II. NAME OF DEFENDANT

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, also known as C. Welcher.

III. DATES WHEN AND PLACES WHERE
ALLEGED ACTS WERE COMMITTED

- A. University of California
Berkeley, California
October 29, 1966
- B. Mosque Auditorium
Richmond, Virginia
April 5, 1967
- C. Tougaloo College
Tougaloo, Mississippi
April 11, 1967
- D. University of Houston
Houston, Texas
April 13, 1967
- E. St. Petersburg, Florida
April 18, 1967
- F. University of Washington and
Garfield High School
Seattle, Washington
April 19, 1967
- G. Carmel Church
Cincinnati, Ohio
April 29, 1967

AT 100-6812

H. Waukegan Township High School
Waukegan, Illinois
May 14, 1967

I. Lincoln Memorial
Congregational Temple
Washington, D.C.
May 16, 1967

J. Los Angeles, California
May 26, 1967

IV. STATUTE OF LIMITATIONS

The Statute of Limitations will be a bar to prosecution in this matter five years after the date of the particular speech in question. Hence, prosecution will be barred in the above instances commencing October 29, 1971, and thereafter, five years following each subsequent date of speech.

V. PENDING PROSECUTIVE ACTION

To date there has been no prosecutive action of CARMICHAEL. Consideration is being given to the possible prosecution of subject for his possible violation of Section 2388 of Title 18, U. S. Code, the Sedition Statute. Consideration will be given prosecution in the event admissible evidence can be adduced to establish that he:

"1. Wilfully caused or attempted to cause insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny or refusal of duty, in the military or naval forces of the United States, or

2. Wilfully obstructed the recruiting (draft) service of the United States, or

S-

AT 100-6812

3. Wilfully obstructed the enlistment
service of the United States."

AT 100-6812

F. SPEECHES BY STOKELY CARMICHAEL
AT THE UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON,
SEATTLE, WASHINGTON,
APRIL 19, 1967,
AND
AT GARFIELD HIGH SCHOOL,
400 23RD AVENUE,
SEATTLE, WASHINGTON,
APRIL 19, 1967

No prepared texts of these speeches made by CARMICHAEL were furnished to school authorities or to members of the press. Tape transcriptions are, however, available. [redacted] recorded the speech delivered by CARMICHAEL at the University of Washington and made a copy of this original recording, which he has maintained in his personal possession. He can testify that this is a true and accurate copy of the tape. [redacted] recorded the speech delivered by CARMICHAEL at Garfield High School and has the original or master copy of this speech in his personal possession, which he has retained since the time of recording.

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The Seattle Office has no informants sufficiently close to CARMICHAEL who are aware of his knowledge and intent in making the above two speeches.

F B I

Date: 8/12/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (100-6812) (P)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
SEDITION

Re Buairtels 8/4/67 and 8/5/67 and Departmental
Memorandum forwarded as an enclosure, dated 8/5/67.

There is enclosed herewith for the Bureau
three copies of a Prosecutive Summary Report on
STOKELY CARMICHAEL. Two copies each of this report
are being furnished to the following offices: Chicago,
Cincinnati, Houston, Jackson, Los Angeles, Richmond,
San Francisco, Seattle, Tampa, and WFO. These are
offices where the subject has delivered speeches
which are reported in this Prosecutive Report.
Prosecutive action, if any, might logically be
instituted in any one of these divisions and
recipient offices are to retain these copies until
such time as the Bureau may advise as to the
feasibility of making a copy available to the
appropriate USA for prosecutive consideration.

In re Buairtel of August 4, 1967, it
was indicated the Department desires transcripts

- 3 - Bureau (Enc. (3)) (RM)
- 2 - Chicago (157-1297) (Enc. 2) (RM)
- 2 - Cincinnati (100-16858) (Enc. 2) (RM)
- 2 - Houston (100-10598) (Enc. 2) (RM)
- 2 - Jackson (100-123) (Enc. 2) (RM)
- 2 - Los Angeles (Enc. 2) (RM)
- 2 - Richmond (14-91) (Enc. 2) (RM)
- 2 - San Francisco (14-215) (Enc. 2) (RM)
- 2 - Seattle (Enc. 2) (RM)
- 2 - Tampa (100-1103) (Enc. 2) (RM)
- 2 - WFO (100-43503) (Enc. 2) (RM)
- 2 - Atlanta

100-28676-163

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
AUG 15 1967	
SEATTLE	

[Signature]

Approved: AFM:lcs
(25) Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

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AT 100-6812

of speeches made by STOKELY CARMICHAEL at the places which are recorded in the Prosecutive Report enclosed.

Departmental Memorandum of August 5, 1967, reflects that the Department has a transcript of the speech made at Berkeley, California, on October 29, 1966, which was furnished to the Department by the COP, University of California, Berkeley.

A transcript of the speech delivered by STOKELY CARMICHAEL on April 5, 1967, at Richmond, Va., was obtained through [redacted] Radio Station WANT, Richmond, Va., and a transcript of this speech is included in the Prosecutive Report.

A speech delivered by CARMICHAEL at Tougaloo College, Tougaloo, Miss., on April 11, 1967, was recorded; however, as of August 11, 1967, the original of this recording could not be located. b6 b7C
A copy of this recording can be identified by the individual making the recording, and the copy is available through [redacted] of New Orleans, La. An LHM setting forth the transcript of this speech was submitted to the Bureau for dissemination by Jackson on June 6, 1967, under a dual caption of "SNCC; IS-M" and "STOKELY CARMICHAEL; IS-M".

A transcript of the speech delivered by CARMICHAEL at the University of Houston, Houston, Tex., April 13, 1967, is included in the Prosecutive Report, which also identifies individual making same available.

A speech delivered by CARMICHAEL at St. Petersburg, Fla., on April 18, 1967, was recorded and a transcript was furnished by the Tampa Office in their airtel and LHM dated May 17, 1967, captioned "STOKELY CARMICHAEL; IS-M."

AT 100-6812

The transcripts of the two speeches delivered by CARMICHAEL on May 19, 1967, in Seattle, Wash., are included in the Prosecutive Summary Report.

The transcript of the speech made by CARMICHAEL in Cincinnati, Ohio, on April 29, 1967, was furnished by an LHM of Cincinnati dated May 29, 1967, under "SNCC; IS-C" caption.

The speech made at Waukegan, Ill., by CARMICHAEL on May 14, 1967, was not recorded, and no transcript is available. Pertinent information regarding this speech was furnished to the Bureau by Chicago in LHM dated May 15, 1967, under caption of "STOKELY CARMICHAEL; IS-M."

The speech made by CARMICHAEL in Washington, D.C., May 16, 1967, was recorded by employees of NBC and is available upon issuance of a subpoena to officials identified in the report of NBC, Washington, D.C.

The speech made at Los Angeles, California on May 27, 1967, was not recorded.

There is no exhibit section being prepared for this report as there were a minimum of exhibits and they are attached to the FD-302's from whence they originated. A witness appendix attached to this report sets forth that background data known to the reporting office on each witness. In certain instances, this background data is somewhat sketchy; however, it was all that was known to the Atlanta Office concerning each witness at the time of the submission of this Prosecutive Summary Report.

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation

August 21, 1967.

J. Walter Yeagley
Assistant Attorney General
Internal Security Division

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

We note from your prosecutive summary report dated August 12, 1967 that Carmichael's speech in St. Petersburg, Florida, on April 18, 1967, was delivered on a street corner and was attended by a crowd of approximately 600 people. It would be appreciated if you would determine who sponsored this speech and what publicity was given to it such as handbills, flyers, or announcements. In this connection, we note that some students from Florida Presbyterian College attended the speech and we would be particularly interested in ascertaining what publicity was given to the speech on the campus of the university and if there are ROTC units at the college.

We would also appreciate being furnished a physical description of the locale of the speech and any information as to whether or not Carmichael was aware that his speech was being recorded.

It is also requested that the officers who accompanied Lt. [redacted] of the St. Petersburg Police Department be interviewed along the lines requested in our memorandum of August 5, 1967. We also note that Lt. [redacted] stated that because of a defective sound system he was of the opinion that only the individuals close to Carmichael could hear the speech. We would appreciate your ascertaining if the other officers are of the same opinion.

It is also requested that you ascertain the sponsorship and the nature of the publicity regarding the speech Carmichael made at Garfield High School in Seattle, Washington, on April 19, 1967.

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100-28676-164

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SEATTLE	

It does not appear whether [redacted] who recorded the speech, also recorded the question and answer session at its conclusion. In the event the session was recorded, it is requested that you furnish us a transcription.

We would also be interested in any information you may develop which would indicate whether or not Carmichael was aware that the speech was being recorded.

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8/23/67

Airtel

To: SACs, Atlanta (Enclosures - 2)
Los Angeles (Enclosures - 2)
Tampa (Enclosures - 2)
✓ Seattle (Enclosures - 2)

From: Director, FBI (100-440080)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION

ReBulairtel 8/4/67 and 8/5/67 and prosecutive summary
report of SA Alden F. Miller dated 8/12/67 at Atlanta.

Enclosed for each office is one copy each of two
letters from the Department concerning captioned matter. Each
office should conduct the requested investigation and furnish
Atlanta appropriate inserts or FD-302s and Atlanta will prepare
a supplemental report in this matter. Handle expeditiously and
follow instructions set out in referenced airtels.

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100-28676-165

8/24

Re 6/24

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DATE 11-20-2009 BY UC 60322.LP/STP/SZ

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 8/25/67

[redacted] Seattle Public Schools, who resides at 10442 - 35th Avenue South-west, Seattle, Washington, recalled that the appearance of STOKELY CARMICHAEL at Garfield High School on April 19, 1967, had been arranged by Mrs. JOHN BUNDY, who had identified herself as the "Chairman, Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee" (SNCC). He stated that a letter dated March 9, 1967, signed by Mrs. JOHN BUNDY, Chairman, SNCC, had been directed to [redacted] Seattle Public Schools, 810 Dexter Avenue North, Seattle, Washington, requesting rental of the Garfield High School auditorium for the evening of April 18, 1967, for a speech by CARMICHAEL. This letter indicated that CARMICHAEL's appearance was being sponsored by the SNCC membership in Seattle, Washington.

According to [redacted] a letter was directed to Mrs. BUNDY dated March 17, 1967, over the signature of [redacted] Seattle Public Schools, informing her that permission for the use of the auditorium at Garfield High School for CARMICHAEL's speech was being withheld. Following this exchange of letters, there was considerable coverage in Seattle newspapers of legal action brought against the Seattle School Board by the American Civil Liberties Union, on behalf of the Seattle Chapter of SNCC, which ended in a King County Superior Court decision forcing the School Board to make the auditorium available for the CARMICHAEL speech.

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[redacted] recalled that he made a recording of CARMICHAEL's speech and the question and answer session that followed, however, he said that the question and answer portion of his recording was garbled and of such poor quality that it was impossible to understand it. He further recalled that CARMICHAEL was well aware that his speech and comments were being recorded, and CARMICHAEL's attention had been directed to the recording instruments by someone in the vicinity.

On 8/24/67 at Seattle, Washington File # SE 100-28676 - 166

by SA [redacted] Date dictated 8/24/67

8/25/67

AIRTEL

AIRMAIL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM: SAC, SEATTLE (100-28676) (RUC)
SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION

Re Bureau airtel, 8/23/67.

Enclosed herewith for the Atlanta Division are fifteen (15) copies of FD-302 interview with [redacted] Seattle Public Schools, for inclusion in a supplemental report requested by referenced Bureau airtel. Three (3) copies of this FD-302 are being enclosed for information of the Bureau.

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The Bureau and Atlanta have been previously advised that [redacted]

[redacted] have been active in legitimate civil rights activities in the Seattle area and neither have been reportedly involved with subversive groups to date.

3 - Bureau (Encl. 3) (REG)
2 - Atlanta (Encl. 15) (REG)
1 - Seattle

HW:cmh

65Xme

100-28676-167

TO: SAC, SEATTLE (100-28676)
FROM: SA [REDACTED]
SUBJECT: STOKLEY CARMICHAEL
IS-M

5/9/67

Date received 4/24/67	Received from (name or symbol number) [REDACTED] b2 b7D	Received by SA [REDACTED] <i>WJ</i>
Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks) ☒ in person ☐ by telephone ☐ by mail ☐ orally ☐ recording device ☒ written by Informant		

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b7C

If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent:

Date

Dictated _____ to _____

Transcribed _____

Authenticated
by Informant _____

Date of Report

4/23/67

Date(s) of activity:

4/18/67

b2
b7D

Brief description of activity or material

STOKLEY CARMICHAEL meeting at Garfield High
School, Seattle, Wash., 4/18/67.

File where original is located if not attached

Remarks: ACTION: Make Xerox copies for subject files. *JE*

1 - 100-28676 (STOKLEY CARMICHAEL) b2 b7D
cc: [REDACTED]
100-27267 (C.I.R.M.)
157-359 (POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE)
157-253 (GENERAL RACIAL FILE)

100-14383
100-12542
100-27304
100-25891
100-17548
100-18426
100-26803
100-960
~~100-0-47488~~
100-1968
100-20264
100-19553
100-22970
100-3429
100-26725

b2
b7D

100-0-44450
100-26314
100-13394
100-16056
100-23010
100-28779
100-0-46711
100-0-46180

100-19061
100-22171
66-1998
100-18709
100-24475
100-28672
100-27547

(SM, 4/15/67)
(VIDEM-CONTROL)(I)

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Block Stamp

CNG/a js
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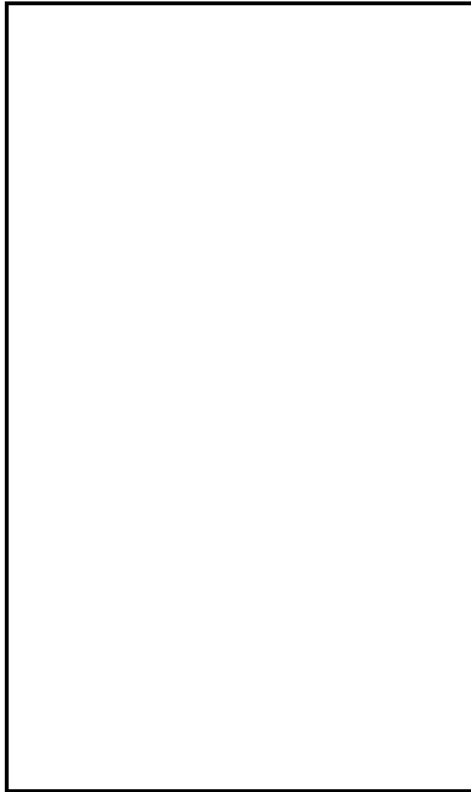
100-28676-170

SEARCHED.....
SERIALIZED.....
MAY 1 1967
FBI - SEATTLE

April 23, 1967

Seattle, Washington.

The Stokeley Carmichael Meeting
Garfield High School,
23rd and East Jefferson street
Seattle, Washington. April 18, 1967. 8- ? pm.
Those of the Left present:



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The Black Muslims present:



} They sold the Muhammad Speaks.

Pre-information of the Stokeley Carmichael meeting:

From [redacted] April 18th:

Stokeley Carmichael wanted a \$1000.00 to speak at the University of Washington. Up to date, about \$500. was raised. Whether the full amount would be raised and Stokeley would settle for the amount raised was a question.

[redacted] had heard that the northend of town Women Republican organization was planning to come early in the Stokeley Carmichael to fill up seats to keep Negroes from seats.

4/23/67

April 23, 1967.

Seattle, Washington.

The Stokeley Carmichael Meeting
Garfield High School,
23rd & E. Jefferson Sts,
Seattle, Washington. April 18, 1967.

C O N T I N U E D:

(Or More)

\$4000.00 was raised in the collection.

Radio Station KYAC carried the full speech to-day. Some of the radio listening audience phoned in questions regarding the speech to Bill Cummings and Walt Hundley. Most of the callers agreed with Carmichael's speech. One [redacted] La. 3-1173 wants to get together with a group to put Carmichael's speech on phonograph records.

KYAC IS thinking about putting the speech on tapes for sale, and the station's present tape can be used by interested persons.

A caller wants him to speak at the University of British Columbia, Canada.

Roberta Byrd's FACE TO FACE Program, KING TV Station, was very favorable to Stokeley Carmichael.

Stokeley Carmichael appearance in Garfield school brought Negroes out that usually don't be interested in attending a very few meetings in the Central Area. This is the first time that some Negroes have attended any meeting (outside of churches) in years. Many doesn't agree with Carmichael's stand on many issues he brought out, yet, they was glad he said for them what they always thought or wanted someone to say for them. They feel that they have been subjected to the most vicious anti-Negro speeches and actions too long, and talked it out privately, not wanting to be lumped with their persecutors. Now Carmichael says for them what they wanted, and they can point a finger at him and not themselves, and say, 'He said it, not Me!!'. The feeling is that Stokeley's speeches should be TOO white persons and NOT Negroes, because Negroes is long, long aware of he says, and how he feels.

April 23, 1967

Seattle, Washington.

The Stokeley Carmichael Meeting,

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CONTINUED:

5000 persons were present. The Garfield Auditorium and Gymnasium were overflowed. Many persons who were anybody in-and- for the Central Area were closed out.

What were said and done by many of those recognized and present:

1. [] Isn't this meeting just wonderful ? The reason her and Paul was there because of Stokeley's anti-Vietnam War position. She was thrilled over [] account of the Peace mobilization in San Francisco.
2. []: He distributed leaflets. He said he didn't get to the Spring Mobilization in 'Frisco, and because he haven't got all his reports from those that did go down, he have not had the opportunity to evaluate the Spring Mobilization March. And when he gets all the reports then he will know what to do and how to act.
3. []: he was on the door in allowing folks to come in.
4. []: She was selling the Young Socialist publication. A Negro friend of her's said either that she was then an employee of the U.S. Post Office Department or he, and had a limitation in selling the YS publication.
5. [] Excited over the crowd; and thinks its a big thing.
6. [] Very excited and "just loves" the meeting.
7. [] Very Enthused over the meeting.
8. [] Distributing leaflets.
9. []: Was in 'Frisco with [] in the Spring Peace Mobilization. She and [] was thrilled over the Peace March.

10..The Muslims: Sold so many papers, they wished they had more to sell.

Other observations:

- A. [] talking [] told []
[] that the Civil Rights leaders had been called in by Mayor Braman and Chief Ramon and "warned" of any trouble that Car-

4/23/67

April 23, 1967
Seattle, Washington.

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b7c

The Stokeley Carmichael Meeting,

CONTINUED:

michael might cause, and how the Police Department will have riot squads present in the event of trouble [redacted] stated how foolish that was for the Mayor and the Chief of Police to take that position with the Civil Rights leader. [redacted] pointed out that when him, the school board and the Civil Rights leaders met to discuss Stokeley Carmichael's appearance in Garfield school, it had nothing to do with any possible racial troubles. He also told [redacted] how the SOS (Save Our Schools) group follows him all over town and heckle him about transferring Negroes out of the Central Area.

B. [redacted] was present.

C. [redacted] was present. She was in 'Frisco for the Spring Peace Mobilization..

D. [redacted] He has withdrawn from the Freedom Socialist Party. They wasn't doing anything but "just talking!" He wants an all-Negro organization. He doesn't like [redacted] and [redacted]. He says they try to be too intellectual.

[redacted]
[redacted] introduced him to [redacted]

4/23/67

9/11/67

AIRTEL

AIRMAIL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM : SAC, SEATTLE (100-28676)(RUC)
SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - MISO.
SEDITION

Re Bureau telephone call 9/11/67.

Transmitted herewith under separate cover are
two (2) boxes of recording tapes obtained 9/11/67 by
SA [redacted] from the following individuals:

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1. [redacted] Radio Broadcasting
Service, University of Washington, Seattle,
Washington, re speech of subject 4/19/67 at
University of Washington, Seattle.

2. [redacted]
Seattle Public School System, District #1,
Seattle, Washington, re speech of subject
4/19/67 at Garfield High School, Seattle.

[redacted]
Seattle Public School System, Seattle, who
originally made the tape available to SA
[redacted] on 8/8/67, is out of the city and not
due to return to Seattle until late evening
of 9/15/67. [redacted] assisted [redacted] in
taking this tape and can testify that the
tape has been retained as evidence in the Security
Office of the Seattle Public School System.

3 - Bureau (AMXSD)(REG)

(1 - PACKAGE)

2 - Seattle

CK:lpt

(5)

SEARCHED

SERIALIZED

INDEXED

FILED

100-28676-171

F B I

Date: 9/11/67

Transmit the following in PLAINTEXT
(Type in plaintext or code)Via TELETYPE DEFERRED
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, SEATTLE (100-28676)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IS - MISC., SEDITION.

RE BUTELCALL TODAY.

TAPES OF SUBJECT'S SPEECH SENT AMSD REGISTERED EIGHT ELEVEN PM
INSTANT.

GK

~~RE~~:jknALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-20-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

100-28676-172

Approved: SK/AN

Special Agent in Charge

Sent 8 39

M

Per AN

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC, SEATTLE

DATE: 9/11/67

FROM : ASAC PAUL R. BIBLER

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

J. A. SIZOO called at 4:05 PM today. He said the Department was interested in the CARMICHAEL speech at Seattle on 4/19/67. I told him I thought there were two of those speeches, and he said if that was true, his instructions would apply to both.

The Department wants by the day after tomorrow the original tapes on which the speeches were recorded. They want them handled as evidence.

The agent securing them should mark the containers for identification. He should also initial the inner wrapping and the evidence tape, which should be put on the inner wrapping. He should put a memorandum label on the inner wrapping with the notation "RUSH TO ASSISTANT DIRECTOR SULLIVAN'S OFFICE BY SPECIAL MESSENGER."

They should then be wrapped in another wrapper forwarded to the Bureau AMSD-REGISTERED today.

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Supervisor was instructed to handle.

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PRB:eon
(2)

100-286716-173

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SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
SEP 11 1967	
FBI-SEATTLE	



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Reporting Office ATLANTA	Office of Origin ATLANTA	Date 9/11/67	Investigative Period 8/24/67 - 9/8/67
Title of Case STOKELY CARMICHAEL, aka G. Welcher		Report made by SA 	Typed By: met
		Character of Case SEDITION	

~~STOKELY~~

~~SUMMARY REPORT~~

SUPPLEMENTAL PROSECUTIVE SUMMARY REPORT

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REFERENCE:

Report of SA , Atlanta, 8/12/67.

- P -

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DATE 11-20-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

A*
(COVER PAGE)

Approved	Special Agent in Charge	Do not write in spaces below	
Copies made: 3 - Bureau (100-446080) (RM) 1 - USA, Atlanta, Georgia 2 - Tampa (100-1103) (RM) 2 - Seattle (100-28676) (RM) 2 - Atlanta (100-6812) <i>9/12</i>		100-	28676-174
		SEARCHED..... INDEXED..... SERIALIZED..... FILED..... SEP 12 1967 TITLE <i>[Signature]</i>	

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to: 1 - United States Attorney, Atlanta, Georgia

Report of: SA [REDACTED] Office: Atlanta, Georgia
Date: September 11, 1967

Field Office File #: 100-6812 Bureau File #: 100-446080

Title: STOKELY CARMICHAEL,
also known as
C. Welcher

Character: SEDITION

Synopsis: Supplemental Prosecutive Summary.

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 11-20-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

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II. NAME OF DEFENDANT	5
III. DATES WHEN AND PLACES WHERE ALLEGED ACTS WERE COMMITTED.	5
IV. STATUTE OF LIMITATIONS	5
V. PENDING PROSECUTIVE ACTION	5
VI. EVIDENCE RELATING TO STOKELY CARMICHAEL'S COMMENTS AT THE FOLLOWING LOCATED PLACES:	
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I. NARRATIVE OF OFFENSE

STOKELY CARMICHAEL was born June 29, 1941, at Trinidad, British West Indies. By derivation through the naturalization of his parents, CARMICHAEL became a United States citizen on April 27, 1953, which citizenship was substantiated by Certificate of Citizenship Number A338082, which was issued to STOKELY CARMICHAEL on April 17, 1958. Subject's derivative citizenship is as a result of his father, ADOLPHUS S. CARMICHAEL, born February 1, 1913, Port of Spain, being naturalized in the Southern District of New York April 27, 1953.

CARMICHAEL received a Bachelor of Arts Degree in philosophy from Howard University, Washington, D.C., on June 5, 1964.

In May of 1966 CARMICHAEL, after several years of association with the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), was elected by the central committee of SNCC to become the National Chairman. He served in this capacity until May, 1967. During this period, CARMICHAEL was in a constant travel status throughout the United States; however, he has been known to utilize Apartment Number 1, 2222 Telhurst Street, SW, Atlanta, Georgia, as a residence.

The only alias known to have been utilized by CARMICHAEL occurred in September, 1966, when he was reported to have purchased an airline ticket in Alabama utilizing the name of C. WELCHER. He is not known to have ever served in the military armed forces of the United States; however, he is registered with the Local Draft Board in New York City, and by his own statements indicates he has a 4-F classification.

AT 100-6812

Throughout a series of speeches delivered by CARMICHAEL as Chairman of SNCC and as a recognized proponent of "Black Power", he has generally set forth the origins and concepts of SNCC, theories of self condemnation, concept of denial of one's liberation, differences in law and order, and history of the Negro peoples. CARMICHAEL in his speeches, following a discussion of the above described items, generally concludes his talks by dwelling on the war in Viet Nam and his opposition to the draft. He further advised his audience that they should inform the white people in authority as it relates to military service and induction, "Hell no, we won't go." He has advocated in his speeches that, "There is no need to go 8,000 miles to kill Vietnamese; He ain't never killed any nigger . . .; We will not fight the war. The war is for the Birds. Lynda Bird and Lady Bird." He has further advocated that the Negro people should say, "To hell with the draft" and go to jail.

II. NAME OF DEFENDANT

STOKELY CARMICHAEL - also known as C. Welcher.

III. DATES WHEN AND PLACES WHERE ALLEGED ACTS WERE COMMITTED

- A. St. Petersburg, Florida, April 18, 1967
- B. Garfield High School, Seattle, Washington, April 19, 1967

IV. STATUTE OF LIMITATIONS

The statute of limitations will be a bar to prosecution in this matter five years after the date of the particular speech in question. Hence, prosecution will be barred in the above instances commencing April 18, 1972, and thereafter five years following each subsequent date of speech.

V. PENDING PROSECUTIVE ACTION

To date there has been no prosecutive action of CARMICHAEL. Consideration is being given to the possible prosecution of the subject for his possible violation of Section 2388 of Title 18, United States Code, the Sedition Statute. Consideration will be given prosecution in the event admissible evidence can be adduced to establish that he:

- "1. Wilfully caused or attempted to cause insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny or refusal of duty, in the military or naval forces of the United States, or
- 2. Wilfully obstructed the recruiting (draft) service of the United States, or
- 3. Wilfully obstructed the enlistment service of the United States."

AT 100-6812

B. Garfield High School, 400 23rd Avenue,
Seattle, Washington, April 19, 1967

CARMICHAEL's appearance was sponsored by SNCC membership in Seattle. Local Seattle newspapers carried considerable coverage of legal action brought against the Seattle School Board by the American Civil Liberties Union on behalf of the Seattle Chapter of SNCC, which ended in a court decision forcing the school board to make the auditorium available for CARMICHAEL on April 19, 1967.

Recording made of speech and question-and-answer period that followed; however, question-and-answer portion of the recording is garbled and of such poor quality that it is impossible to understand it. CARMICHAEL was aware the speech was being recorded.

AT 100-6812 .

APPENDIX - WITNESSES

Seattle, Washington

[redacted] is about 50 years of age and
is [redacted] for the
Seattle Public School System. He resides at
[redacted] Seattle, and is available
and a willing witness.

b6
b7C

9/19/67

airtel

To: SACs Atlanta
✓ Seattle
Washington Field

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-20-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

From: Director, FBI

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
SEDITION

Reference is made to previous communications concerning this matter.

The Department has requested that investigation be conducted to identify individuals of draft age who attended Carmichael's speeches at Garfield High School, Seattle, on 4/19/67 and Washington, D. C., on 5/16/67. The Department does not desire that such individuals be interviewed. Conduct investigation necessary to identify a representative number of such individuals.

Furnish the results of your investigation in a form suitable for dissemination to the Bureau and Atlanta by 9/29/67. >

In connection with this investigation, the Department has requested that potential witnesses not be asked whether they remember any remarks which they believe might be construed as counseling draft evasion or obstructing the recruiting service of the military forces. The Department explained that this request is being made to eliminate having the potential witnesses appear to interpret the possible seditious nature of the speaker's remarks. The Department noted that such opinions by witnesses would be included on Form 302 which might eventually have to be produced in court and the witnesses testimony would be less effective due to his opinion.

Atlanta advise auxiliary offices of the Department's request.

100-28616-175

7/20 ✓

Re [signature]

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
SEP 19 1967	
FBI - ATLANTA	

b6
b7C

9/27/07

AIRTEL

AIRMAIL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446680)
FROM : SAC, SEATTLE (100-2637) (RUC)
SUBJECT: DIANEY CARMICHAEL, aka
SEDITION
(OO: ATLANTA)

Reference Bureau airtel to Atlanta, 9/18/07.

Being forwarded herewith to the Bureau are five (5) copies and to Atlanta are three (3) copies of a LHM regarding captioned subject.

First source used in attached LHM is former
[redacted] and second source is [redacted]

3 - Bureau (Enc. 5) (REG)
3 - Atlanta (100-6612) (Enc. 3) (REG)
3 - Seattle

(1 - [redacted])
(1 - [redacted])
LKS:lpt
(9) [redacted]

b2
b7D

100 - 28676 - 176



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Seattle, Washington

September 27, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

RE: SPEECH OF STOKELY CARMICHAEL
AT GARFIELD HIGH SCHOOL,
SEATTLE, WASHINGTON, 4/19/67

The following information is being furnished in an effort to identify a representative number of individuals believed to be of draft age who attended the speech given by STOKELY CARMICHAEL on April 19, 1967, at Garfield High School, 400 - 23rd Avenue, Seattle, Washington.

On September 26, 1967, first source informed that [redacted] home address [redacted] Seattle, and present address Navy Air Force Target Operation, El Centro, California, attended above speech prior to enlisting in the U. S. Navy.

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On September 25, 1967, a second source advised that [redacted] Seattle, and [redacted]
[redacted]
Seattle, attended this speech.

On September 25, 1967, [redacted]
Garfield High School, stated that [redacted]
[redacted] Seattle, was at the above meeting.

On September 25, 1967, [redacted]
[redacted] Seattle, said he believes [redacted]
[redacted] Seattle, attended above-mentioned meeting.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

- 1* -

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-20-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ



*In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.*

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Seattle, Washington
September 27, 1967

Title : SPEECH OF STOKELY CARMICHAEL
AT GARFIELD HIGH SCHOOL,
SEATTLE, WASHINGTON 4/19/67

Character :

Reference : Memorandum dated and captioned
as above at Seattle, Washington.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-20-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

F B I

Date: 10/10/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via airtel _____
(Priority)

To: SAC, Seattle

From: Director, FBI

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
SEDITION

other Refs

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-20-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

ReSEairtel and LHM both dated 9/27/67.

Referenced LHM contained the names of several individuals "believed to be" of a draft age who attended a speech given by Stokely Carmichael on April 19, 1967, at Garfield High School, Seattle.

It is not sufficient to state these individuals are believed to be of draft age and you should endeavor to determine if they actually are of draft age.

Promptly submit the results of your investigation in a form suitable for dissemination; also, include the names of any other additional individuals identified of draft age who were also in attendance at the speech given by Carmichael at Garfield High School.

10/11/67

Re [signature]

100-28676-177

SEARCHED ☒	INDEXED ☒
SERIALIZED ☒	FILED ☒
OCT 11 1967	
TITLE	

b6
b7C

Sent Via _____ M Per _____

October 13, 1967

AIRTEL

AIR MAIL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM: SAC, SEATTLE (100-28676)(RUC)
SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL, aka
SEDITION
OO: ATLANTA

Re Bureau airtel 10/10/67 and Seattle airtel and
LHM both dated 9/27/67.

Enclosed to the Bureau are five (5) copies and
to Atlanta three (3) copies of LHM relating to captioned
subject.

Sources were recontacted October 13, 1967, who were
previously contacted, and no additional names of individuals
have been identified of draft age who were in attendance at
the speech given by STOKELY CARMICHAEL at Garfield High School,
Seattle, Washington, April 19, 1967.

Source used in enclosed LHM is [redacted]
[redacted] Selective Service System, Federal Office Build-
ing, First and Madison, Seattle, Washington. (Policy)

3 - Bureau (Enc. 5)(REG)
3 - Atlanta (100-6812)(Enc. 3)(REG)
① - Seattle
LMS/dm
(7)

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b7C

100-28676-179



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Seattle, Washington
October 13, 1967

**RE: SPEECH OF STOKELY CARMICHAEL
AT GARFIELD HIGH SCHOOL,
SEATTLE, WASHINGTON, 4/19/67**

A previous communication under similar heading and dated September 27, 1967, at Seattle, Washington, set forth names of five individuals believed to be of draft age who attended the speech given by STOKELY CARMICHAEL on April 19, 1967, at Garfield High School, Seattle, Washington.

On October 13, 1967, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished the birth dates of the five individuals mentioned above:

[redacted]
Born - [redacted]
At - Seattle, Washington

[redacted]
Born - [redacted]
At - Woodenville, Mississippi

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b7C

[redacted]
Born - [redacted]
At - Monterey, California

[redacted]
Born - [redacted]
At - Seattle, Washington

[redacted]
Born - [redacted]
At - Kingston, Jamaica

(It will be noted that [redacted]
is over draft age.)

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI, and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC, Seattle (100-208676)

✓ FROM : Director, FBI (100-446080)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
SEDITION

DATE: 10/25/67

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ReSEairtel and LHM 10/13/67.

Reference LHM indicated that [redacted]
[redacted] born [redacted] is over a draft age. For the
information of Seattle, persons up to the age of 35
are under certain circumstances eligible for the draft.

In view of the large audience that attended
Carmichael's speech at Garfield High School, Seattle,
on April 19, 1967, Seattle should continue through
established sources to endeavor to identify individuals
of draft age who were in attendance at the speech
given by Carmichael.

Pertinent information developed should be
promptly submitted to the Bureau in a form suitable
for dissemination.

1 - Atlanta (100-68182)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-20-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

100-28676-180

1/26

Reg

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
OCT 26 1967	
TITLE	



Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation

October 26, 1967.

J. Walter Yeagley,
Assistant Attorney General
Internal Security Division

STOKELY CARMICHAEL - SEDITION

Reference is made to your memoranda dated September 29, 1967 at Washington, D. C. and October 13, 1967 at Seattle, Washington containing the names of draft-age individuals who attended the speeches of Stokely Carmichael at Seattle, Washington and Washington, D. C.

It is requested that you make the appropriate inquiry to the local draft boards of these individuals to ascertain their exact draft status at the time they attended the speeches.

We would also like to have this information in regard to all other draft-age individuals you find attended these speeches.

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-20-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

100-28676-181

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED <i>MS</i>	FILED.....
OCT 28 1967	
FBI SEATTLE	

Stokely *JH*

F B I

Date: 10/30/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via airtel _____
(Priority)

To: SACs, Seattle (100-208676)
WFO (100-43503)

✓ From: Director, FBI (100-446080)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS: SEDITION

ReBuairtel to WFO dated 10/18/67 and Bulet to
Seattle dated 10/25/67.

Enclosed for recipient offices is a copy of a
letter from Assistant Attorney General J. Walter Yeagley
dated 10/13/67 which is self-explanatory. *WC*

As previously instructed, Seattle and WFO should
continue to endeavor to identify additional individuals of
draft age who were in attendance at the speeches given by
Carmichael at Seattle, Washington, and Washington, D.C.
Promptly submit the results of your investigation in a form
suitable for dissemination.

Enclosure

1 - Atlanta (100-68182) (Enclosure)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-20-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

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do at once

100-28676-182

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
OCT 31 1967	
FBI - SEATTLE	

Sent Via _____ M Per _____

10/30/67

AIRTEL

AIRMAIL

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-20-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, SEATTLE (100-28676) (-P-)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL, aka
SEDITION
OO: Atlanta

Re Seattle airtel to Bureau 10/13/67 and Bureau
airtel to Seattle 10/30/67.

Enclosed to the Bureau are five (5) copies and
to Atlanta three (3) copies of LHM relating to captioned
subject.

Sources were recontacted October 30, 1967, who
were previously contacted, and no additional names of
individuals have been identified of draft age who were in
attendance at the speech given by STOKELY CARMICHAEL at
Garfield High School, Seattle, Washington, April 19, 1967.

Source used in enclosed LHM is [redacted]
[redacted] Selective Service System, Federal Office
Building, First and Madison, Seattle, Washington. (Protect -
Policy)

Seattle will continue efforts to determine other
persons of draft age in attendance at CARMICHAEL's speech
in Seattle.

3 - Bureau (Encl. 5) (REG)
3 - Atlanta (Encl. 3) (100-6812) (REG)
2 - Seattle

LKS:mm

(8) 11/1/67

Searched

100-28676-183



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Seattle, Washington
October 30, 1967

RE: SPEECH OF STOKELY CARMICHAEL
AT GARFIELD HIGH SCHOOL
SEATTLE, WASHINGTON, 4/19/67

Previous communications under similar heading and dated September 27 and October 13, 1967, at Seattle, Washington, set forth names of five individuals believed to be of draft age who attended the speech given by STOKELY CARMICHAEL on April 19, 1967, at Garfield High School, Seattle, Washington.

On October 30, 1967, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished the following additional information concerning the five individuals previously mentioned in communications listed above.

[redacted]
Enlisted in the U. S. Navy May 3, 1967
Navy Serial No. [redacted]
Selective Service Number (SSN) [redacted]

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[redacted]
Classified I-Y on May 24, 1966, as moral reject
due to numerous arrest records
SSN [redacted]

[redacted]
Classified III-A February 21, 1967
He was married November 22, 1966, lives with wife
and one child three months old as of August, 1967
SSN [redacted]

[redacted]
Classified I-S (H), reason high school attendance
SSN [redacted]

[redacted]
Classified V-A on November 19, 1963
[redacted] entered the United States July 17, 1967
as an alien, No. [redacted] being over 26 years
of age at that time, his liability for the draft
would not be extended to age 35
SSN [redacted]

12/7/67

AIRTEL

AIRMAIL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM: SAC, SEATTLE (100-28676) (RUC)
SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL, aka
SEDITION
OO: ATLANTA

Re Seattle airtels to Bureau, 10/13/67 and 10/20/67;
and Bureau airtel to Seattle, 10/30/67.

Enclosed for the Bureau are five (5) copies and to
Atlanta three (3) copies of an LHM relating to captioned subject.

Sources were recontacted during November, 1967, who
were previously contacted and one additional name of an
individual was identified of draft age who was in attendance
at the speech given by STOKELY CARMICHAEL at Garfield High
School, Seattle, Washington, April 19, 1967.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-20-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

3 - Bureau (Encl. 5) (REG)
3 - Atlanta (Encl. 3) (100-6812) (REG)
2 - Seattle
LKS:cmh
(8) Jm

Searched

100-28676-187



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Seattle, Washington
December 7, 1967

RE: SPEECH OF STOKELY CARMICHAEL
AT GARFIELD HIGH SCHOOL
SEATTLE, WASHINGTON
APRIL 19, 1967

Previous communications of similar heading and dated September 27, 1967, October 13, 1967, and October 30, 1967, at Seattle, Washington, set forth names of individuals of draft age who attended the speech given by STOKELY CARMICHAEL on April 19, 1967, at Garfield High School, Seattle, Washington.

On December 6, 1967, Lieutenant [REDACTED] Community Relations Unit, Seattle, Washington, Police Department, furnished the following additional information concerning an individual who attended the above mentioned speech:

Name	[REDACTED]
Residence	[REDACTED] Seattle, Washington
Employment	[REDACTED]
Race	Negro
Date of Birth	[REDACTED]
Place of Birth	Bryan, Texas
Marital status	Married
Selective Service	Previously served in U.S. Army being honorably discharged November, 1955.

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-29-2009 BY UC 60922 LP/STP/SZ

This document contains neither
recommendations nor conclusions
of the FBI. It is the property
of the FBI and is loaned to your
agency; it and its contents are
not to be distributed outside
your agency.

F B I

Date: 12/21/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via airtel _____
(Priority)

To: SAC, Albany

From: Director, FBI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-20-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZSTOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION

The Department has requested that whenever possible in our investigation of Stokely Carmichael, Special Agents attend and mechanically record any public speeches or statements of Carmichael of which the Bureau may have advance notice.

The Department has advised use of a microphone for the purpose of recording Carmichael's statements should be limited to those situations where Bureau Agents are lawfully on the premises and are, therefore, merely recording that which they are legally entitled to hear for the purpose of obtaining the most reliable evidence possible of Carmichael's words.

In covering Carmichael's speeches you may use Special Agent personnel, informants, sources, contacts in the news media, radio and the television field depending on the need and circumstances of the situation.

Also, where other means are not feasible consideration may be given to the use of Negro clerical employees but specific Bureau approval in each instance must be obtained. Specific Bureau approval must also be obtained prior to utilizing personal recording devices, or any other type of microphone equipment.

2 - To all offices

100-28696-190

12/26

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
DEC 26 1967	
TITLE	

b6
b7C

Sent Via _____ M Per _____

Airtel to SAC, Albany
RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Upon receipt of information indicating Carmichael intends to make a speech of any type, as well as press conferences or panel appearances, notify the Bureau expeditiously and advise the coverage being provided.

Stokely Carmichael returned to the United States at New York City, on December 11, 1967, after an extensive trip abroad. It can be anticipated he will again engage in considerable travel in this country. It is absolutely essential that every effort be made to develop necessary evidence which can be furnished to the Department. Emphasis is being placed upon securing recordings wherever possible; however, efforts should be made to obtain live coverage in all instances. Individuals monitoring any of Carmichael's speeches should be adequately briefed in the event they are called to testify at a later date. Appropriate notes should be prepared and retained for future use and wherever possible depending on existing circumstances verbatim transcripts should be obtained.

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation

February 7, 1968.

J. Walter Yeagley
Assistant Attorney General
Internal Security Division

Stokely Carmichael
Sedition

Reference is made to prior correspondence in this matter in which you furnished us the names of draft-age individuals who had been reported as having attended the speeches given by Carmichael at Garfield High School, Seattle, Washington, on April 19, 1967; and at the Lincoln Memorial Congregational Temple at Washington, D.C., on May 16, 1967.

We would appreciate your advising us whether the various sources who reported the attendance of the draft-age individuals at both speeches know this of their own personal knowledge or whether they obtained this information by some other means.

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-20-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

b6
b7C

100-28676-202

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
FEB 10 1968	
FBI - [redacted]	

F B I

Date: 2/9/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via airtel _____
(Priority)To: SACs, Seattle
WFOALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-20-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

From: Director, FBI

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION

BUDED: 2/19/68

ReBuairtel dated January 30, 1967.

Enclosed for recipient offices is a copy of a
letter from Assistant Attorney General J. Walter Yeagley
dated February 7, 1968.

WFO and Seattle should each submit an LHM suitable
for dissemination by 2/19/68 in compliance with Yeagley's
request. The cover page of each LHM should list the names
of any individuals who attended either of Stokely Carmichael's
speeches but whose draft status has not yet been determined.
All outstanding leads must receive priority attention and the
results expeditiously submitted to the Bureau in a form suit-
able for dissemination. Of course, both offices, as previously
instructed, should continue to be alert to the identity of
additional individuals who were in attendance at the speeches
given by Carmichael at Seattle, Washington, and Washington, D. C.

Enclosure

100-28676-203

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
FEB 10 1968	
LE	

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Sent Via _____ M Per _____

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

2/16/68

SAC, SEATTLE (100-28676) (RUC)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS
SEDITION
OO: WFO

Re Bureau airtel to Seattle and WFO, 2/9/68.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are five (5) copies of an LHM relating to captioned subject. Three (3) copies of this LHM are designated for WFO.

As requested in referenced Bureau airtel, the Seattle Division will continue to remain alert to the identity of additional individuals who were in attendance at speeches given by CARMICHAEL at Seattle and Washington, D.C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-20-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

2 - Bureau (Encl. 5) (REG)

1 - WFO (Encl. 3) (REG)

1 - Seattle

WHW:cmh

(4) m a

RUC

(S) [Signature]

100-28676-204
Williams W

Seattle, Washington
February 16, 1968

RE: SPEECH OF STOKELY CARMICHAEL
AT GARFIELD HIGH SCHOOL
SEATTLE, WASHINGTON
APRIL 19, 1967

Previous communications of similar heading and dated September 27, 1967, October 13, 1967, October 30, 1967, and December 7, 1967, set forth names of individuals of draft age who attended a speech given by STOKELY CARMICHAEL on April 19, 1967, at Garfield High School, Seattle, Washington.

[redacted] Seattle, Washington, who was reported in attendance by [redacted] [redacted] Seattle, was not actually observed at the speech by [redacted] but personally informed [redacted] of his attendance at CARMICHAEL's speech.

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[redacted] was not personally observed attending this speech by Lieutenant [redacted] Seattle Police Department. [redacted] is an officer of the Seattle Police Department and attended this speech under Lieutenant [redacted] personal order and thereafter reported to [redacted] of activities in connection with CARMICHAEL's appearance.

All of the other draft age individuals identified in previous correspondence were actually observed in attendance by the various sources identified in previous correspondence.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-20-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.